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Rutger J. Allan (Free University Amsterdam)

Localizing Caesuras in the Homeric Hexameter. A functional-cognitive approach.

The quantity and localization of caesuras in the Homeric verse have been the subject of substantial debate. While some scholars favour a basic division of the verse into four cola, as proposed by Hermann Fränkel (1926), others maintain that the verse in principle consists of two cola, divided by a middle caesura (e.g. West 1982, Sicking 1993). Kirk (1966, 1985) points out that there are also verses showing a division into three cola of increasing length (‘rising threefolder’), in which the middle caesura is (semantically) bridged.

In this paper, I will build on the important work of Bakker (1990, 1997), Slings (1992) and Janse (2012) and take a functional-cognitive linguistic approach to caesura. One of the issues in the colometry debate is the question which criteria should be applied to localize a caesura: when should a word break in a verse count as an actual caesura, and when is a word break just what it is—a word break. To establish linguistic criteria to localize caesuras in the verse, I will draw on more recent insights in the field of cognitively and functionally-oriented linguistics regarding the grammatical and pragmatic functions of intonation units (e.g. Chafe 1994, Hannay & Kroon 2005, Croft 2007, Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008). I will also use an text-internal criterion to localize caesuras, arguing that by examining the grammatical and pragmatic functions of verse end — more specifically, enjambement (e.g. Parry 1929, Kirk 1966, Bakker 1990, Higbie 1990) —, we may formulate linguistic criteria that help us to determine caesura positions within the verse.

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Béla Adamik (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

Romanisation and latinisation of the Roman Empire in the light of data in the Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of the Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age

For contributing to the discussion on the challenging and still somehow controversial problem of the linguistic Romanisation, i.e. Latinisation of the Roman Empire, I'm going to involve the data in the Computerized Historical Linguistic Database of the Latin Inscriptions of the Imperial Age. The aim of this database project is to develop and digitally publish (at <http://lldb.elte.hu/>) a comprehensive, computerized historical linguistic database that contains and manages the Vulgar Latin material of the Latin inscriptions found in the regions of the Roman Empire (Illyricum, Gallia, Britannia, Germania, Hispania, Italia, Africa, Roma and eastern provinces). This will allow for a more thorough study of the regional changes and differentiation of the Latin language of the Imperial Age in a wider sense and for a multilayer visualization of the discovered structures concerning linguistic geography.

This time, nevertheless, I will not be dealing with actual dialectological problems – however vital and interesting they are – but with more general problems related to the linguistic Romanisation and Latinisation of the Roman Empire. By that I mean the spread of spoken or vulgar Latin (preceded and triggered by mostly spontaneous language shift through the agency of the vernacular populations) both territorially and chronologically. These aspects will be addressed in the light of data in our Database. The presentation of the problem and the research questions of my paper sound as follows. Is the process of Latinisation of the Empire traceable by the data of such a linguistic Database? If yes, can any differences be evidenced between the provinces of the Roman Empire? If there are differences to be revealed between the provinces, is there any correlation between these differences and the future romance continuation or discontinuation in the respective provinces? Can such a linguistic database contribute to this complex problem?

Marina Benedetti (Università per Stranieri di Siena)

On διδάσκειν 'teach' between linguistics and philology

Double accusative constructions are dealt with in any historical description of Ancient Greek, and – as is well-known – have interesting parallels in other Indo-European languages. A renewed interest in the topic has arisen over the last decades in connection with some debated issues, such as the mechanisms of case assignment on the one hand and the presence of a class of “ditransitive” constructions, widespread in many different languages of the world, on the other. Also, Ancient Greek data have been fruitfully reconsidered in the light of recent approaches. Many questions remain nevertheless still open to further investigation.

This study is centred upon a typically ditransitive verb, διδάσκειν ‘teach’, selected as a case study. It is shown that the interaction of a linguistic and a philological approach may provide new interesting insights and open new avenues of research. The more general issue of the mutual relationship between linguistics and philology will also be tackled.

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Klaas Bentein (Ghent University)

In search of the individual: Norm-breaking in Greek papyrus letters

In the second half of the twentieth century, the concept of variation came to occupy a center-stage position in linguistic studies, under the impulse of William Labov and others. While initially based on spoken discourse, this ‘variationist’ methodology was also extended to written texts from the past, under the heading of ‘historical’ sociolinguistics. More recently, Labov’s approach has been criticized for being overly static and deterministic, and not being based on a firm sociological framework: ‘post-variationist’, constructivist approaches, for example, have argued for the need of developing a more reflexive, dialogically oriented approach (e.g. Piipo 2012).

The overall goal of this paper will be to make some preliminary observations on the contribution of documentary papyrology to current historical sociolinguistic debates, by focusing on norm-breaking in Greek papyrus letters. Papyrus letters can be considered a ‘formulaic genre’ (Kuiper 2009), in the sense that they consist of (i) fixed component parts and (ii) formulaic phrases announcing these different parts. Scholars have drawn attention to the serious changes letters as a genre underwent in Late Antiquity (e.g. Fournet 2009), but even before this period one finds interesting variation: in P.Mich. III 217 (297 n. Chr.), for example, a private letter from a certain Paniskos to his wife Ploutogenia, the sender starts *ex abrupto*, entirely omitting the health wish and disclosure formula.

My goals are twofold: first, I intend to give an overview of such norm-breaking practices in Roman letter writing (I – IV AD), discussing the different linguistic types that can be found, and their distribution in terms of the socio-pragmatic context. Second, I want to discuss the motivation behind these practices: editors have suggested a number of reasons, but unsystematically. For this purpose, I will draw in particular on studies related to linguistic norms and language change (see e.g. Keller 1994; Coupland 2007). My argument will be that individuals break norms in order to do what Coupland (2007:114) calls ‘personal identity work’. The same phenomenon

can be observed in language use more generally, suggesting a competition between what Keller (1994) calls ‘static’ norms (e.g. ‘talk in such a way that the other understands you’) and ‘dynamic’ norms (e.g. ‘talk in such a way that you are noticed’, ‘talk in a funny/amusing way’, etc.).

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Anna Bonifazi (University of Cologne)
Old and new pragmaphilology

As a subfield of historical linguistics, historical pragmatics represents the combination of two complementary approaches: a macro-approach to historical texts considering the relevance of situational and socio-cultural context to language use, and a micro-approach to historical texts considering the pragmatic development of individual linguistic features through time (see e.g. Taavitsainen and Fitzmaurice 2007). The macro-approach is often labeled pragmaphilology. The paper focuses on pragmaphilological input through examples related to ancient Greek literature. The goals are two: to bridge some gaps, at least, between classical philology and pragmatics on a theoretical level, and to show, on the empirical level, that literary criticism and grammatical descriptions substantially rely on pragmatically-derived inferences. Examples are drawn from ancient grammarians' views, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century essays, contemporary commentaries, and latest works explicitly applying pragmatic frameworks to ancient Greek. The conclusions point not just to the benefits of incorporating pragmatic concepts in textual analyses, but, more crucially, to the necessity of updating common underpinnings of ancient Greek grammar.

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A. C. Cassio (Università di Roma, “La Sapienza”)
Old morphology in disguise: Homeric episynaloephe, Ζῆν(α), and the fate of IE instrumentals.

The Homeric lines immediately following those ending with εὐρύοπα Ζῆν (Θ 206, Ξ 265, Ω 331) invariably begin with vowel-initial words (e.g. Θ 206 f. εὐρύοπα Ζῆν || αὐτοῦ κ' ἔνθ' ἀκάχοιτο...); the same holds true for the only Hesiodic example (*Theog.* 884 f.). Both Aristarchus and Aristophanes of Byzantium assumed elision (called in

such cases ἐπισυναλοιφή by Choeroboscus p. 225, 16 ff. Consbr.) of Ζῆνα before the vowel; and both recommended shifting the final < v > of Ζῆν to the following line (e. g. Θ 206 f. ...εὐρύοπα Ζῆ || ν' αὐτοῦ κ' ἔνθ' ἀκάχοιτο...). Whatever the merits of this editorial choice (H. Hagen, "Glotta" 72, 1994, 98-104), in modern times it has long been understood (A. Körte, "Glotta", 1911, 153- 156, Wackernagel *Sprachl. Unters. zu Homer*, 1916) that a line beginning with a vowel-initial word allowed the preceding legitimate (and obsolete) accusative Ζῆν (< *di9 ēm) appear as the elided form of the far more recent Ionic Ζῆνα; obviously the invariable arrangement Ζῆν + vowel must belong to the latest compositional layers. This has always been regarded as exceptional in epic poetry, but *episynaloephe* must have been used elsewhere by rhapsodes with the same aim, namely in order to make archaic forms and meanings more palatable to a 'recent' Ionic linguistic environment. A very interesting example (not discussed from this angle in C. J. Ruijgh, *Scripta minora*, 1991, 14 f.) is that of line-final ἐρετμοῖς referring to rowing a boat with oars (προέρεσσαν ἐρετμοῖς, ἄλλα τύπτον ἐρετμοῖς, A 435; δ 580; ι 104, 180, 472, 564; μ 147, 180; ν 22; ο 497) which is invariably followed by vowel-initial words in the next line (ἔνθεν, ἄψ, ἀλλά, ἡμῖν, ἐκ, οἱ; e. g. ι 564 ἄλλα τύπτον ἐρετμοῖς / ἔνθεν δὲ etc.). In *all* these cases ἐρετμοῖς has an obvious instrumental meaning, and I have a strong suspicion that we are before an old final -οῖς, heir to the IE instrumental ending *-ōis, which was obliged to become *salonfähig* in an Ionic environment by appearing as an -οῖσι elided before a following vowel. If this is accepted, in those lines -οῖς was no Attic innovation but a 'camouflaged' remnant of a very old -οῖς still perceived as an instrumental. At a general level, more attention to *episynaloephe* in Homer and the oscillating nature of his verse endings might prove rewarding.

Luz Conti (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)

Solidarity and power: first person plural forms in the Iliad

In the Indo-European languages, personal pronouns and verbal personal endings often change their deictic and referential values and develop some pragmatic meanings (Helmbrecht 2002, 2015). Specifically, *we* forms develop two quite opposite pragmatic meanings: either closeness or distance from the addressee (cf. Siewierska 2004 and Helmbrecht 2015). Closeness is clearly related to the inclusive value of *we* (1+2; 1+2+3), while distance emerges as the result of its exclusive value (1+3). Solidarity may be analysed as a nuance of closeness; dignity and power, on the other hand, as nuances of distance.

In the *Iliad* ἡμεῖς may be used instead of ἐγώ, of σύ and ὑμεῖς and of third person forms. In all cases, it has been interpreted as an expression of solidarity and modesty (cf. Kühner & Gerth 1898, and Schwyzler & Debrunner 1950, say). Nevertheless, while some passages seem to corroborate this hypothesis (cf. 1 and 2), others rather support an analysis of ἡμεῖς as an expression of distance and power (3):

- (1) **ἡράμεθα** μέγα κῦδος. **ἐπέφνομεν** Ἴκτορα δῖον (*Il.* 22.393) 'We have achieved a mighty triumph and **have slain** noble Hektor' (Achilles to the Achaeans)
- (2) ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' ὡς ἂν ἐγὼ εἶπω **πειθόμεθα πάντες** (*Il.* 9.26) 'Now, therefore, **let us all do** as I say' (Agamemnon to the Achaeans)

(3) τὴν δ' ἐγὼ οὐ λύσω· πρὶν μιν καὶ γῆρας ἔπεισιν / **ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ** ἐν Ἄργεϊ τηλόθι πάτρης (Hom. *Il.* 1.29–30) ‘I will not free her. She shall grow old **in my house** at Argos far from her own home’ (Agamemnon to Chryses)

This paper aims to analyze the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features of ἡμεῖς in Homeric poems in order to determine the factors that have triggered the development of new pragmatic meanings, some of which are involved, as data show, in (im)politeness strategies.

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Emilio Crespo (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)
‘And the will of Zeus was fulfilled’ (Iliad 1.5): Philology and historical linguistics in action

The clause Διὸς δ’ ἐτελείετο βουλή, which constitutes the second hemistich of verse 5 of the *Iliad*, has been interpreted and translated in two ways: a) as a clause which coordinated with the previous one, whose predicate is ἄειδε, forms an independent compound sentence; or b) as a parenthesis that interrupts the independent sentence that begins with Μῆνιν ἄειδε at verse 1 and ends with δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς at verse 7.

Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος
οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρὶ Ἄχαιοῖς ἄλγε’ ἔθηκε,
πολλὰς δ’ ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν
ἠρώων, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν
οἰωνοῖσι τε πᾶσι· Διὸς δ’ ἐτελείετο βουλή· 5
ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε
Ἄτρεΐδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.

According to the interpretation a), the subordinate clause introduced by ἐξ οὗ points to the time from when (and, probably secondarily, to the cause why) the will of Zeus continued to be fulfilled. Aristarchus supported ‘from the time when’. The will of Zeus referred to by verse 5, is stated in *Iliad* 1.514-530, where Zeus agrees to honour Thetis’ son, dishonoured by Agamemnon. This interpretation however has the disadvantage that there is no other example in the *Iliad* in which a sentence consists of two coordinated clauses whose verbal predicates are imperative and imperfect indicative, respectively.

According to the interpretation b), the subordinate clause is temporal, depends from ἄειδε and refers to the point of the legend from which the narration of the *Iliad* begins. The beginnings of the *Odyssey* (1.10) and of one of the songs sung by Demodocus in the same poem (8.500) also indicate the point of the legend from which the narration starts. Linguistic studies however have barely described the frequency and traits of parenthetical sentences in the Homeric poems and have not given reasons why the coordination of Διὸς δ’ ἐτελείετο βουλή with Μῆνιν ἄειδε... is unlikely.

Interpretation b) is defended, among others, by Schwyzer-Debrunner (*Griechische Grammatik* II 706) and by Chantraine (*Grammaire homérique* II 353) without stating the reasons for their preference. This presentation will provide data and probable reasons why those scholars preferred interpretation b).

Pierluigi Cuzzolin (Università degli Studi di Bergamo)

Definiteness in Ancient Greek

Despite the numerous contributions devoted to this issue, definiteness still remains a thorny and multifaceted problem not easy to deal with: the many questions still open and related to this category are discussed in Lyons’ book (1999) and, earlier, in a famous paper by Löbner (1985).

Definiteness is not only a category (even though the label “value” surely is more adequate, according to the terminology proposed by Pullum 1994) whose main marker is the definite article, but can be signalled by various other morphosyntactic devices such as the use of a phrase instead of an adverb or of an adjective instead of an adverb (the phenomenon called *enallage* by the ancient grammarians).

Needless to say that the article remains the fundamental way to express definiteness in Ancient Greek. But its use over many centuries continues to be not completely clear (as recently reasserted by the contributions collected in King (ed.) 2019, in particular the paper by Napoli 2019)

In this paper I will shortly discuss the problem of the expression of definiteness in Ancient Greek focussing on three points:

1. definiteness in noun phrases:
2. definiteness in enallage
3. function(s) and distribution of the definite article with particular attention to Classical Greek.

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Jesús de la Villa (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)

Ideological change and syntactic change: The relationship between semantics and syntax in the assignation of semantic roles.

Major social and political changes often involve linguistic changes. In the field of ancient Greek there are numerous studies that have shown how vocabulary can be renewed as a result, for example, of the development of Athenian democracy (e.g. Missiou 2007), or how the linguistic forms of a powerful and prestigious state, such as Athens, spread throughout the Greek world to form the so-called “Great Attic” (e.g. Horrocks 2014²: 73-78). The present paper tries to explore a semantic-syntactic phenomenon related to complementation and try to offer linguistic evidence about an important sociological and ideological change in the Greek World.

As it is known at least since the classic formulation of Nestle (1940), it has been argued that Greek thought and imaginary moved from an archaic phase where magical and animistic beliefs predominated, to an increasingly positive rationalism. The point

we want to test is whether this change leaved traces, not only in the lexicon, but also in syntax. In this paper I will study the possible evolution of the relations between semantics and syntax in the assignment of semantic roles. The hypothesis is that some abstract notions, such as δίκη, νίκη or ἀρετή, changed their possibilities of receiving certain functional interpretations along with the change of their respective conceptions in the imaginary of ancient Greeks.

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Wolfgang de Melo (University of Oxford)
Varro's De lingua Latina: Etymological theory and practice

Varro is the first Roman grammarian of whom we have more than fragments. Of the originally twenty-five books of his *De lingua Latina* 'On the Latin language', we still have books 5-10 in direct transmission, and there are a fair number of fragments from other books.

The now lost books 2-4 discussed etymological theory, while books 5-7 provide us with hundreds of etymologies. Although the theoretical discussion is by and large lost, it can to some extent be reconstructed through the introductions to books 5, 6, and 7, as well as through a lengthy piece in Augustine's *De dialectica*, which may be based on the *De lingua Latina*. By contrast, the practical etymologies have come down to us in their entirety, so that we can examine them directly.

In my contribution, I wish to compare Varro's etymological theory with his practice. How does he say we should do etymology? How does he actually do it? Does he stick to his own rules and guidelines? And what can we learn from Varro's work today?

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Panagiotis Filos (University of Ioannina)

Ancient lexicography and modern philological scholarship: Some remarks on ancient dialect(ologic)al scholia

Ancient scholia / glosses have often been considered an important source of information about the two classical languages, Greek and Latin, and particularly as regards some of their lesser-known features and varieties (e.g. dialects, sociolinguistic varieties, registers, etc.). From a certain point of view, this focus on less mainstream linguistic features reminds us, to some extent at least, of the ancient lexicographical interest in forms from other ancient languages, which the speakers of Greek and Latin came into contact with, e.g. Illyrian, Thracian, etc.

In this paper, I aim to examine a number of ancient glosses pertaining to less well-known varieties of Greek, particularly (N)W Greek, which ancient lexicographers (cf. Hesychius) and/or modern philologists (may) have considered genuine, however ‘odd’ for some reason, esp. from a phonological and/or semantic point of view: note e.g. Epirote δάξα ‘sea’, δράμιξ ‘(type of) bread’. The goal is twofold: on the one hand, to revisit the etymology and overall linguistic character of selected ‘aberrant’ forms, primarily in the sense of a case study; on the other, to examine the argumentation (not) used by modern philologists in determining the dialectal character of ostensibly dubious forms, in compliance with or deviation from their ancient counterparts.

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Raquel Fornieles (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)

The concept of News in ancient Greek literature

This paper provides the results of a study focused on the concept of news in ancient Greek literature. In order to understand what was considered news, I have conducted a lexical study of ἄγγελος – the word referred to the messenger in charge of transmitting news – and all of its derivatives in the works of the authors that make up the selected corpus.

The final purpose is to show that the concept of news that we have today is not a modern invention, but rather a social and cultural institution that has been passed down to us by the Greeks as a legacy. ‘News’ is a conceptual construction that is fabricated taking various aspects into account, such as its newness, its extraordinary nature and its relevance or social repercussions. When it comes to the transmission of news, a series of pragmatic factors are all at play that allow us to understand how, in order for a particular event to be considered a piece of news, it must be unknown until the moment when it is made known by somebody. This is true both in our own surroundings and in the world of the Ancient Greeks studied. The speaker must also assume that what he/she is announcing will be of interest to the receivers, will awaken in them emotions and will have consequences. An example can be seen in the death of

Patroclus: when Antilochus tells Achilles of his friend’s death, the latter lays aside his anger and decides to take part in battle, a decision that will permanently change the course of the war.

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Georgios K. Giannakis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

Tmesis and univertation in Greek: In the interstices of linguistics and philology

The phenomenon of tmesis has been variously explained: as a stylistic poetic device, as a means of emphasis, as a mechanism to express vividness, elevation of tone, decoration, and parody, as a standard feature of technical Ionian prose, as a feature with a discernible narrative function, or as a feature of inherited poetic grammar, etc. The paper discusses the possible connection of stress and intonation with syntactic problems, especially movement phenomena, with our case study being the phenomena of tmesis and univertation in ancient Indo-European languages, with particular emphasis on Greek. It is suggested that the transformation from tmesis (Preverb ...Verb) to univertation (PV) in Greek relates to similar shifts in stress and intonation patterns, a thesis first presented by Brugmann in 1913 but not exploited properly thereafter.

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Richard Hunter (University of Cambridge)

The inscriptional turn

A feature of recent study of classical literature has been the so-called ‘philological turn’, manifested in an increasing interest in the linguistic texture of the text and a turning back towards what might seem in some quarters an untheorised ‘close reading’ and an interest in textual criticism. What I am calling ‘the inscriptional turn’,

that is an increased interest in inscriptions and a willingness to take them seriously, has come late to ‘literary classicists’, but come it has; linguists, of course, have always been interested in inscriptions. This brief paper considers the interface of historical linguistics and classical philology by asking what both disciplines have to contribute to the understanding of a very interesting Cretan inscription of the Hellenistic period, and whether such disciplinary distinctions make any sense.

Mark Janse (Ghent University)

Girl, you’ll be a woman soon: Grammatical and/or semantic agreement with Greek hybrid nouns of the Mädchen type

Greek grammarians distinguished five gender classes: masculine, feminine, neuter, common and epicene nouns. Common nouns denote sexed beings and differentiate them accordingly, e.g. ὁ παῖς ‘the boy’ ~ ἡ παῖς ‘the girl’. Epicene nouns denote sexed beings as well but do not differentiate them according to sex, e.g. ὁ ἀετός ‘the (male / female) eagle’ ~ ἡ ἀλώπηξ ‘the (male / female) fox’. There is, however, another class not recognized by the grammarians and that is the class of hybrid nouns, defined by Corbett as “nouns [...] whose agreement specification varies according to the agreement target” (2015: 191). The agreement specification is determined by the Agreement Hierarchy (Corbett 1991: 226): “attributive > predicate > relative pronoun > personal pronoun”, of which he says: “For any controller that permits alternative agreements, as we move rightwards along the Agreement Hierarchy, the likelihood of agreement with greater semantic justification will increase monotonically” (2015: 193).

One of the prototypical examples of a hybrid noun is German *Mädchen*, which always takes the neuter form of the article, but often the feminine form of the personal pronoun (Corbett 1991: 182, 227-8; 2015: 194). Corbett, following a personally communicated suggestion of Manfred Krifka, noted that “the older the girl in question, the more likely the feminine becomes (and conversely the neuter” (1991: 228). Braun and Haig confirmed this suggestion in their study of 302 native speakers of German and concluded that the choice depends on the “semantics of age” (2010: 70) as well as on the “semantics of femaleness” (2010: 82).

In this paper I discuss the grammatical hybridity of Greek equivalents of German *Mädchen*: κόριον, κοράσιον, κορασίδιον, θυγάτριον, παρθένιον etc. I show that such nouns tend to follow the Agreement Hierarchy as well and that the semantics of age and of femaleness are as important in the gender assignment of Greek girls as they are in the case of German *Mädchen*. The Greek evidence confirms an important observation made by Braun and Haig in reference to the latter: “a natural boundary, that of puberty, appears to be relevant in the statistical distribution of feminine and neuter forms” (2010: 82). More specifically, they observed “a statistically valid preference to favour female forms when the *Mädchen* is presented as 18-years old, as opposed to twelve” (*ibid.*). Not surprisingly, the correlation between age, femaleness and semantic agreement differs significantly in the case of the Greek girls.

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Brian D. Joseph (The Ohio State University)

The Greek augment — What this amazingly enduring element tells us about language change in general and vice-versa

Whatever the origins of the verbal marker known as the “augment” may have been as far as Proto-Indo-European is concerned — and there are many possibilities, as Willi 2018 makes clear — the augment of Classical Greek is well entrenched in the verbal system as an obligatory marker of past tense. This little element — a mere ἐ- — has proven to be perhaps the most formally enduring grammatical inflection in the verbal system of Greek, and indeed more so in Greek than in all of the rest of the Indo-European family, including even those branches — Armenian and Indo-Iranian — where it is found to the present day. That is, the augment still occurs in Modern Greek as an ε-, as in Classical Greek, showing up in the standard language when accented but with more of a Classical Greek obligatory character in some of the regional dialects, e.g. the Greek of southern Albania.

However, the enduring nature of the augment is far from a straight-line unchanged inheritance from generation to generation over centuries. For one thing, even in the classical period, there was some straying from the obligatory occurrence of the augment with past tense verbs in that there were some verbs such as εὔχομαι that generally did not take the augment, some verbs such as καθίζω that placed the augment anomalously to the left of preverbs (e.g. ἐκάθιζον, competing with unaugmented κάθιζον and differently augmented καθίζον), and some doubly augmented forms (e.g. ἐχρηῖν). All of these anomalies, however, have explanations in Greek synchronic phonology or in principles of diachronic morphological change involving reanalysis and analogy. Moreover, many of these anomalies are reflected in oddities of early and dialectal Modern Greek forms with the augment, such as ἐπήγα ‘I went’, from ὑπάγω, but with double augmentation (the ε- as well as the -ή- of -ήγα) and an augment to the left of the original preverb. Such cases, furthermore, are to be found as well in Medieval Greek, where there is even greater variety in the anomalies with the augment (Holton et al. 2019).

The vicissitudes and ultimate generalization of the augment across so much of the diachrony of Greek teach several important general lessons about language change: i) the forces of diachronic change can affect even the most stable of elements, ii) even in variability there can be stability and continuity of form across centuries, and suggest some lessons as well about the augment specifically: iii) its loss from other branches of Indo-European very likely reflects a resolution of competition similar to ἐκάθιζον ~ κάθιζον in favor of the unaugmented form but with a different generalized form and a broader scope than in Greek.

Sara Kaczko (Università di Roma, “La Sapienza”)

Inherited “Doric” [a:], non-Attic vocalism, and Attic poetic traditions

Forms with non-Attic vocalism where their epichoric counterparts would be expected are on occasion found in genres tied to Attica. A well-known example is that of the forms with inherited [a:] instead of Attic-(Ionic) [ɛ:] both in choruses (not surprisingly) and in dialogic sections of tragedy, a question that has been extensively dealt with by Björck 1950. However, this is by no means a unique case, see e.g. Ionic [ɛ:] instead of Attic [a:] and, more frequent and more striking, the spelling with retention of inherited [a:] (cf. Ἄθᾶνα, Ἀθαναία, ἄγνά, κόρα, κούρα, ἱπποσύνα etc.) in archaic and classical Attic verse-epigrams, passages of Aristophanic comedy, *Carmina Convivalia Attica*, “dramatic hymns”, Sophocles’ paian etc. This talk investigates such a phonological shape (arguing that different reasons, e.g. change in the vocalism for stylistic purposes, necessary borrowings of technical words, borrowings from prestigious poetic traditions, “internal” traditions etc., may be invoked) and its “ramifications” from a dialectological, literary, and philological perspective.

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Evangelos Karakasis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

Latin linguistics and Neronian pastoral revisited

The paper aims to examine the way historical linguistics may be used as a means for the hermeneutics of pastoral literature. By examining archaic linguistic markers, standardized classical and post-classical diction, it is evidenced that various linguistic registers are part of the Neronian pastoral tools for producing meaning and characterization through evoking intertexts from the whole of the previous and contemporary literature. Philology thus becomes an important means for the understanding of pastoral literature with an emphasis on Calpurnius Siculus and the Einsiedeln Eclogues.

Joshua T. Katz (Princeton University)

Mending οὐλομένην (Iliad 1.2)

The *Iliad* opens thus: Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά “Of the wrath sing, o Muse”. In recent work, I have re-evaluated these three words, individually and in combination, considering

them together with our other earliest Greek hexametric incipits (of the *Odyssey*, Hesiod’s two poems, and the *Homeric Hymns*), adducing evidence from Vedic and Old Avestan, and suggesting that it is possible to use historical/comparative linguistic methods to say something about how a pre-Greek hymnic poem would have begun and even to reconstruct a hitherto unnoticed fact about the performance context. In this talk, I skip over the fourth and fifth words, about which I regrettably have nothing original to say, and move on to the sixth: οὐλομένην, enjambé at the start of the second verse. The formal analysis of οὐλομένην, which agrees grammatically with the poem-initial feminine noun, has never been called into question: it would certainly seem to be the feminine accusative singular aorist middle participle of the verb ὄλλυμι ‘destroy’, which in the middle voice (ὄλλυμαι) means ‘perish’. How exactly this is to work semantically, however, is unclear: Achilles’s wrath may reasonably be described as “destructive” but not as “perished” or “perishing”. My aim is to show that the various ways scholars have tried to get around the problem are unnecessary since, in fact, both the standard grammatical analysis and even the precise form of οὐλομένην are incorrect. While it is awkward to discover that there is at some level an error in the first clause of what is frequently considered to be the first work of the Western tradition, we will see that there are positive consequences to mending the word and emending, if not the standard text, then the *Urtext*.

Daniel Kölligan (Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg)

Pindar’s genius or Homeric words? The interplay of synchronic and diachronic analysis in Greek philology and linguistics

The close relationship between Classical Philology and Indo-European studies has been both fruitful and conflicting. The different perspectives on the apparently identical data taken by scholars of both fields sometimes emerge in cases where the ascription, e.g., to either the poet’s genius, such as Pindar’s ἐπέων ... τέκτονες, or to material inherited from Indo-European poetic language, cf. Ved. *vacas takṣ-* ‘to timber words’, is at stake. Both views neglect the intricate relationship between inheritance and innovation constantly at play in language change and the evolution of literature: Language history is not available to speakers, but language use always has a history. The complementary character of the synchronic and diachronic analysis of linguistic features is obvious e.g. in the case of different meanings attached to the “same” lexeme over time, e.g. Myc. *qa-si-re-u*, Att. βασιλεύς, and of grammaticalized elements whose synchronic morphosyntactic restrictions betray the earlier syntax of the construction they originate from (“source determination”). Taking a number of “Homeric” words in the sense of Leumann 1950 (cf. recently Reece 2009, Le Feuvre 2015) as examples, the paper will discuss instances in which synchronic and diachronic analyses are independent (*interpretatio ex graeco ipso*), conflicting (*etymologies* or *folk-etymologies*?) and, in the ideal case, reinforcing one another.

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David Langslow (The University of Manchester)

The interplay of philology and linguistics in the editing of a Late Latin medical translation

The countless editorial decisions called for in reconstructing a text from several witnesses are as a rule made silently, on the basis of considerations that are taken for granted or left implicit in the outcome. This paper takes the opportunity presented by the theme of this conference to offer some explicit reflections on the business of editing, and in particular on the natural interplay between classical philology and social and historical linguistics. Such interplay is perhaps especially relevant when the text to be reconstructed is a translation apparently made by more than one translator/redactor, in a multilingual context, with various registers of Latin and Greek in evidence, with L2 being apparently sometimes Greek and sometimes Latin, and with varying degrees of control of the languages and subject-matter being displayed by the maker(s) of the text. The presentation is essentially typological. Examples are offered at different levels of analysis: pronunciation and orthography; inflectional and derivational morphology; morpho-syntax; and the syntax of the complex sentence.

Io Manolessou (Academy of Athens)

Investigating the history of the Greek language through corpora: Two case studies

The diachronic investigation of a language is the *par excellence* domain where the two disciplines of linguistics and philology (in its broader sense of ‘textual and literary studies’) meet, as by definition historical linguistics relies primarily on textual monuments of the past. Lack of attention to text critical-philological issues (choice of appropriate editions, textual information recorded in the apparatus criticus, contextual pragmatic information concerning the author and the era) can result in misleading representations of linguistic history. On the other hand, lack of awareness on the part of philologists that texts and textual corpora are to be used as sources for linguistic research can result in the production of editions or digital tools not sufficiently adapted to linguistic needs. These issues are illustrated through two case studies involving long-term diachronic research in the history of the Greek language, namely the *Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek* (Holton et al. 2019) and the *Historical Dictionary of Modern Greek* (ILNE, 1933-).

The discussion, based on specific examples, focuses especially on the use of historical corpora of Greek (*Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, online epigraphical and papyrological corpora) as compared to synchronic corpora of Greek (*Hellenic National Corpus-HNC*, *Corpus of Modern Greek*, *anemoskala*, *potheg* etc.), and to relevant international practices.

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Julián Méndez Dosuna (Universidad de Salamanca)

Ἀμόργινος, ἀμοργίς. *A study in scarlet*

The adjective ἀμόργινος occurs in a number of texts, both inscriptional and literary. It is applied to garments and fabrics, mostly in contexts of luxury and refinement. Modern dictionaries (largely inspired by ancient lexicographers) provide three different definitions; cf. e.g. Montanari’s *BDAG*:

- **made of mallow fiber**, of a tunic or cloth ARISTOPH. Lys. 150 ANTIPH 15.1 CLEAR1 19, etc. |*subst.* τὰ ἀμόργινα garments of mallow fiber AESCHN. 1.97.
- *also made at Amorgos* POLL. 7.74.
- **of purple** STEPH.1 s.v. Ἀμοργός.

The related noun ἀμοργίς is interpreted as ‘**mallow fiber** used like flax or hemp’. In my paper I will demonstrate that, despite being broadly accepted, the first two definitions are sheer guesswork based on the texts in which the adjective appears. The third definition, conversely, is both semantically and etymologically plausible. This sense, by the way, sheds new light on two jokes that figure in Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* which, in my opinion, have been misunderstood by ancient and modern scholars.

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Eduard Meusel (Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities (ThL)/LMU Munich)

A song of milk and honey: The poetic transformation of an ancient ritual drink in Pindar

At *Nemean* 3.77-8, Pindar mentions sending μεμιγμένον μέλι λευκῶ σὺν γάλακτι to his patron Aristokleidas, victor in the pankration. Although this μέλι is unanimously understood to refer to Pindar’s own victory song (cf. Slater 1969: 321), a satisfactory interpretation and explanation of this imagery is still lacking.

This talk introduces new arguments to account for this imagery, not only by seeking parallels within Pindar and the Greek tradition, but especially by linking it to the much older poetic tradition from which Pindar himself emerges, namely the hymnic tradition of Indo-European ritual (cf. Nagy 1990; Bremer 2008; Meusel 2020). It will be argued that the μεμιγμένον μέλι λευκῶ σὺν γάλακτι is the reflex of a very ancient ritual drink, which can be traced back terminologically (and not just conceptually) at least to Graeco-Aryan times (cf. Gr. μελίκτηρον, Ved. *ā-śīr-/ā-śīr-ta-*, Av. *haoma... gauua*; Watkins 1978). Starting with an investigation on the use of the PIE root **kerh*₂- ‘to mix, blend’, which is mostly confined to the ritual sphere in the earliest period, the talk focuses on elucidating the links to the PIE tradition and outlining the poetic process of transforming the terminological inheritance into the Pindaric μεμιγμένον μέλι λευκῶ σὺν γάλακτι (including such important mechanisms as lexical substitution: e.g. μεμιγμένον ← *κεκρᾶμένον). From this point of view, the identification of the μεμιγμένον μέλι λευκῶ σὺν γάλακτι as the current performance of the victory song (or as poetry in general) is no longer surprising. Indeed, the same phenomenon is encountered in Vedic as well and its motivation can be easily explained from the actual situation in a ritual context.

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Piera Molinelli (Università degli Studi di Bergamo)

New contents in old languages: Greek and Latin (and other languages) in the first Christian letters

The *First Epistle to the Corinthians* written by Clement of Rome is one of the first Christian texts spread in the Western Roman world, together with the New Testament versions of the so-called *Vetus Latina*. The Epistle has been given much attention with regard to both doctrinal and linguistic aspects, but generally in relation to the original Greek version of the text. By contrast, this study examines its translation into Latin, which is interesting for several linguistic and textual reasons.

In fact, the Latin translation witnesses some peculiar traits of the Latin language used by the Christians of these early centuries. On the textual level, it shows the adaptation of a genre, the epistle, and its remodeling based on the main, basic goal of spreading the Christian creed. This goal makes the *Epistle* as a part of a genre that is halfway between orality and writing, between an instrument of communication and an exegetical and normative text.

On the linguistic level, some features of the Latin version allow us to grasp both the innovative nature of the language and its relationship with the original Greek text.

However, both languages have to deal with the cultural contents of the new religion of which the *Epistle* is an exceptional witness, because it did not enter the canonical texts of the Church, and this probably preserved it in its original form, without the revisions that the Gospels and the Epistles of the Apostles have undergone.

This paper presents some linguistic traits that are useful to demonstrate the interest that the Latin version of the *Epistle* deserves.

Lara Pagani (Università degli Studi di Genova)

“Not according to our usage...”. Linguistic awareness in the Hellenistic ecdotic practice on Homer

The exegetical and ecdotic activity accomplished by the Hellenistic scholars is interpreted by most critics today as a groundbreaking achievement, which represents, from an ideological point of view, a forerunner of any modern philological practice. Furthermore, although ancient grammarians apparently were not interested in linguistic evolution *per se* or in examining their facts from some theoretical point of view (see, e.g., J. Lallot, “Did the Alexandrian Grammarians have a sense of History?”, in: S. Matthaios / F. Montanari / A. Rengakos [eds.], *Ancient Scholarship and Grammar: Archetypes, Concepts and Contexts*, Berlin-New York 2011, pp. 241-250), nevertheless that they had some awareness of linguistic diachrony and employed it in their philological interpretation has been recently demonstrated with solid arguments (R. Nünlist, “A Chapter in the History of Greek Linguistics: Aristarchus’ Interest in Language Development”, in: *Rheinisches Museum* 155, 2 [2012], pp. 152-165; F. Schironi, *The Best of the Grammarians: Aristarchus of Samothrace on the Iliad*, Ann Arbor 2018, *passim*).

This paper will investigate the question whether the Hellenistic scholars took advantage from ideas and remarks in a wide sense connected with historical linguistics, by employing them in their work of textual criticism, with a specific focus on Homer. An overview of a selection of Homeric scholia will show that ancient philologists (and especially their champion, Aristarchus of Samothrace) indeed maintained that some forms in the Homeric text were unacceptable, or thought to be able to detect parts added by interpolators, or even challenged (real or alleged) textual choices of predecessors, on the basis of the belief that changes had occurred in the language over time, from the point of view of semantics, morphology, construction, in such a way that Homeric linguistic usage had characteristics that made it different from the later one.

Harm Pinkster (University of Amsterdam)

Evidence for word order change in Latin

In an earlier publication (Pinkster 1991) I tried to demonstrate that quantitative data are not sufficient to prove a change in Latin word order from SOV (assumed to be the classical order) to SVO (assumed to be the pre-Romance order) since the underlying explanation for these data remains the same: they are the outcome of the same pragmatic constellations. The difference is brought about by the type of text in which these orders are found. Recently, Adams (2016) has proposed the word order in the *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis* as evidence for the alleged change in word order. I will try to show that here too text type explains the data.

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Paolo Poccetti (Università di Roma ‘Tor Vergata’)

Greek numeral systems in Southern Italy: Convergences and divergences

Numerals occurring in Greek epigraphy of Southern Italy are often regarded as an evidence for dialectal differentiation among the western Greek colonies. In the Hellenistic period they are considered in the perspective of different resistance to the adoption of the Koiné. This paper aims to combine dialectal features reflected by numerals with further perspectives focusing on their natural function of counting system, common to diverse communities. Therefore, almost universally numerals may activate processes of internal remodelling and undergo external influence owing to their circulation in common practices such as weights, coins.

In this respect, a particular attention will be drawn on the first series of Greek ordinal numerals, occurring in archaic inscriptions from a building recently excavated in an indigenous site in Southern Italy (Torre di Satriano in Lucania). Some of those numerals show interesting variants, that can be explained by contact between the Doric speaking area (around *Tarentum*) and the neighbouring Sabellian languages. Some of those variants could account for features of numerals later attested within the same region (especially Herakleia). Sociolinguistically the numeral series employed in the construction of the building excavated in Lucania suggests that the workers were indigenous people who had learned Greek (probably in the neighbouring Doric colony of *Tarentum*) at the same time as they were learning technical aspects of building.

Wojciech Sowa (University of Poznan)

Ancient Greek lexica and so called „fragmentary attested languages”

In historical-comparative linguistics the so-called “fragmentary attested languages” have a special status. Systematic interpretation of such languages is difficult primarily because our knowledge is based only on secondary information (mostly from ancient sources), glosses, and onomastic material. Further problems appear if we attempt to

arrange these fragmentary languages into suitable language groups according to the criteria of linguistic relationship. Completely different and very often contrary opinions on the nature of such languages often result from “etymological” interpretation of very meagrely attested material. Conclusions based on this approach remain always very problematic, because most of the material remains in the domain of proper names to which no specific “meaning” can be ascribed.

The following paper examines the problem of the reliability of the ancient lexicographical sources for the study of the languages of the ancient Balkans. It seems clear, that research into attested glosses can contribute much to the question of the contacts between various languages and Greek dialects, as well as to their external history. The lexica of Greek offer many interesting forms which may be used for the purposes of Indo-European reconstruction. To be sure, the preserved data, especially from glosses and ancient grammatical entries, should be treated with extreme caution, especially due to their mostly problematic provenance.

In this paper it is argued that the non-Greek glosses should be studied according to the same methodology as the lexical forms belonging to other dialects of Greek. The use of various methods of historical linguistics, as well as a detailed philological approach, can help us to contest traditional etymologies and to propose new ones. An important role should also be given to the relationship to other ancient Balkan languages as well as to the other Greek dialects, even though influences from other idioms cannot be excluded as well.

Olga Spevak (Université Toulouse Jean Jaurès)

*Towards a unified account of the *ab urbe condita* construction in Latin and Ancient Greek*

The functions of the participial clause traditionally called *ab urbe condita* or dominant participle construction in Latin have been discussed several times (Pinkster, *fc.* § 14.14, 16.87 et 17.16, Bolkestein 1981, and Spevak, 2019; *fc.*). In Greek, this construction has received relatively little attention (Denizot 2017). Furthermore, its description in the recent *Grammar of Classical Greek* (Emde Boas et al. 2019: 630-1) is far from being satisfactory: it is labelled as “dominant use of circumstantial participles” and, further on, it is stated that it serves “as obligatory constituent” (concerning the example I quote below under a)). This is a contradictory statement. As the functions of the *ab urbe condita* constructions are comparable in Latin and Greek, I aim at presenting their categories in both languages.

The dominant participle construction can be categorized according to the function it fulfils in the sentence: i) the dominant participle construction that functions as an argument or obligatory complement, i.e. the subject, direct object or indirect object required by the semantic value of the verb; Latin adnominal arguments in the genitive are part of this category (Jones 1939: 10 is not familiar with this use in Greek); and ii) the dominant participle construction that functions as a satellite or optional complement, which is not required by the semantic value of the verb. The difference of these two categories appears from the competing means: whereas dominant participle constructions that function as argument compete with argument clauses; dominant participle constructions that function as satellite (including ablative and genitive absolutes) compete with satellite clauses, especially time clauses. Furthermore, I will argue that in some cases, prepositional constructions can compete with single nouns without a participle, especially with nouns with a temporal

meaning: *post hiemem* ‘after winter’ or μετὰ Συρακούσας ‘after Syracuse’. These simple prepositional phrases cannot be regarded as proofs of “omissibility” of the participle (Denizot 2017: 32), nor as instances of “brachylogy” (Persson 1921-1922). Additionally, dominant participle construction should not be confused with predicatively used participles (*participium coniunctum*).

Examples:

a) Dominant participle functioning as argument:

Cum occisus dictator ... facinus videretur. (Tac. *Ann.* 1.8.6)

‘When the slaughter of the dictator ... seemed the finest of acts.’

ἐλύπει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ χώρα πορθομένη. (Xen. *An.* 7.7.12)

‘The plundering of the country distressed him.’

Confectorum ludorum nuntios exspectat. (Cic. *Att.* 16.4.4)

‘He is waiting for news about the end of the games.’

b) Dominant participle functioning as satellite, especially:

- ablative and genitive absolute (and other non-prepositional satellites)

(Cethegus) recitatis litteris ... repente conticuit. (Cic. *Catil.* 3.10)

(Cethegus) after his letter was read out ... suddenly fell silent.’

τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος τελευτῶντος ἐκπέμπεται Σάλαιθος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐς Μυτιλήνην τριῆρει. (Thuc. 3.25.1)

‘At the end of the same winter, Salaethus, a Lacedaemonian, was sent out ... to Mytilene.’

- prepositional use

ab urbe condita (Liv. 7.32.8)

‘from the foundation of the city’

μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθείσας (Thuc. 6.3.3)

‘after the foundation of Syracuse’

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Olga Tribulato (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia)

Greek lexicography between philology and linguistics: A look at Atticist lexica and their medieval reception

Greek lexicography has traditionally been the realm of philology and *Textgeschichte*, aiming at the reconstruction of the transmission paths of lexicographical material from antiquity to the Middle Ages. Although lexica have been investigated mostly as useful repositories of erudite information concerning ancient literature, more recent approaches have begun to apply a linguistic methodology to these works. Examples include the analysis of semantic adjustment in the *Suda* (Matthaios 2006), the approach to koine developments in the *Antiatticist* (Cassio 2012), the representation of registers and idiolects in Pollux's *Onomasticon* (Matthaios 2013 & 2015), and orthoepic prescriptions in the Atticist lexica (Vessella 2018). A further research strand within this broadly linguistic approach looks into the role of ancient lexica in shaping high-register Byzantine Greek (e.g. Cuomo 2017), also in the light of the parallel developments of Medieval Greek (e.g. Tribulato 2019 on some Atticist material).

Such diachronic and multidisciplinary approach to Greek lexicography now informs the methodology of the 5-year ERC project “Purism in Antiquity” (PURA) which started at the University of Venice in January 2021. In this paper I will illustrate the objectives and methodology of the project by tackling a concrete case-study taken from Atticist lexicography. I will show that the specific philological and palaeographic issues concerning the textual tradition of lexicographical material can receive new insights by adopting a diachronic linguistic approach that looks into the interest of a given lemma for a medieval readership. I will argue that the Byzantines treasuring the lexicographical material inherited from antiquity transcends the mere wish to imitate classical literature and its language: to the contrary, their interest is often guided by the need to negotiate between the different linguistic models provided by the Classics and the Scriptures, and between the language of these models and contemporary Medieval Greek usage.

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Marja Vierros (University of Helsinki)

How to build a historical digital grammar and why? A corpus of Greek Papyri as a test case

Most historical developments of Greek language after the Classical period and before Medieval times are quite well known to us. Nevertheless, the details on when, how, and how fast and wide the changes spread are not so clear. One source material, namely documentary papyri, give us direct evidence on how Greek was used in private letters, legal documents and administrative texts in Egypt. Although geographically and sociolinguistically somewhat a special case, Egypt with its dry sands has given linguists a treasure for studying the use of Greek for over a millennium of its existence. In this paper I will describe how we can make the papyrological corpus usable for studying phonological and grammatical structures and their development in different ephemeral text types in Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Egypt. In short, I will present the project “Digital Grammar of Greek Documentary Papyri” (ERC-StG-758481), its aims and current status with some examples and case studies. I wish to discuss what kind of new avenues Digital Humanities and corpus linguistics can offer for the study of the Greek language, but also point out how the philological analysis is at the core of preparing the data, planning the research questions and the queries, and modelling the tools.

Andreas Willi (University of Oxford)

The σχῆμα Σοφόκλειον between philological synchrony and linguistic diachrony

In the periphrastic construction commonly known as the σχῆμα Σοφόκλειον, a form of the verb ἔχω used as an auxiliary is combined with a (usually active) aorist participle to form a single syntactic and semantic unit. While this construction has been diligently discussed in the literature on periphrasis in Ancient Greek (see esp. Thielmann 1891, Aerts 1965, Bentein 2016), its chronology and distribution across genres and authors have remained somewhat mysterious. Against the *communis opinio*, which has seen in the σχῆμα a substitute, *faute de mieux*, of the so-called ‘resultative perfect’ which emerges at the end of the fifth century BC (Wackernagel 1904, Chantraine 1927), it will be argued here that this approach mixes up cause and effect since the rise of the resultative perfect only explains the decline, but not the (largely hidden) rise of the σχῆμα; in fact, the latter may have more to do with the history of the Greek aorist than with that of the Greek perfect. At the same time, it will be suggested that the concentration of pertinent examples in the plays of Sophocles and Euripides, as well as Herodotean prose, is not due to the construction being either vulgar/colloquial (Thielmann) or poetic (Aerts) but is better explained by reference to the Benvenistian opposition of *histoire* vs. *discours* in texts or utterances

with past-time reference (Benveniste 1966). Thus, the study of the σχῆμα Σοφοκλείου becomes a prime example of how, on the one hand, the evolution of the Greek verbal system can be better understood if attention is paid to philological ‘details’ and how, on the other hand, apparent philological oddities disappear if insights from historical and/or general linguistics are taken on board.

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