

BOOK OF abstracts



Linguistics and Classical Languages

Rome, February 17th – 19th 2011



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PROGRAM

THURSDAY, 17 FEBRUARY 2011

8:30-9:00 Registration

9:00-9:30 Welcome address

GUIDO FABIANI Rector of Roma Tre University

FRANCESCA CANTÙ Dean of Humanities Faculty

FRANCA ORLETTI Director of Linguistics Department

Typology

Chair: Raffaele Simone

9:30-10:30 Plenary

CHRISTIAN LEHMANN (Erfurt)

The classical languages and linguistic typology

10:30-11:00 ANTONIO REVUELTA PUIGDOLLERS (Madrid - Autónoma)

Reciprocity in Latin and Greek: a comparative and typological perspective

11:00-11:30 Coffee break

Chair: Emilio Crespo

11:30-12:00 NICOLETTA PUDDU (Cagliari)

The contribution of Greek and Latin to a diachronic typology of reflexives

12:00-12:30 JOHN VAN WAY (Hawaii)

Relative case attraction in Ancient Greek and Latin: a typological perspective

12:30-13:00 MARGHERITA DONATI (Pisa)

The empathy hierarchy and the category of vocative: a case of contribution of Classical Language studies to theoretical Linguistics

13:00-13:30 JEAN-CHRISTOPHE PITAVY (Saint-Etienne)

Discours rapporté, indexicaux et logophoriques en grec ancien

13:30-14:30 Lunch

Contact phenomena

Chair: Mario De Nonno

14:30-15:30 Plenary

MARK JANSE (Gent)

Issues in language contact, variation and change: Asia Minor as a linguistic area, c. 2000 BC – c. 2000 AD

15:30-16:00 MARÍA LUISA DEL BARRIO VEGA (Madrid - Complutense)

¿Una lengua franca en el Mar Negro?

16:00-16:30 BEATRIZ MONCÓ (Madrid - Autónoma)

'Bad Greek' or Interlanguage?: the Greek documentary papyri.

16:30-17:00 Coffee break

Text and corpus based analysis

Chair: Jesús de la Villa

17:00-17:30 JULIÁN VÍCTOR MÉNDEZ DOSUNA (Salamanca)

Duel in the dark: Syntax vs. phonetics in Sophocles, Antigone 787-1199 and Electra 556-557

17:30-18:00 DOMINIQUE LONGREE (Liège – Bruxelles)

Les bases de données latines du LASLA: un banc d'essai pour tester les théories linguistiques?

18:00-18:30 GIULIANA GIUSTI & RENATO ONIGA (Venezia - Udine)

Il latino come corpus linguistico per uno studio teorico in chiave generativa. Metodi e problematiche

18:30-19:00 **Poster session**

CLAUDIA FABRIZIO, Latin nominal infinitives as a manifestation of inactive alignment

CRISTINA GUARDIANO, Typological comparison and the nominal domain. Articles and bare nouns across Ancient Greek

FRANCESCA PAGLIARA, Il riferimento indefinito in latino

JESÚS POLO, A new approach on adverbial subordination in Ancient Greek. The case of πλήν

ÁGNES JEKL, Cambiamenti fonetici del latino nella provincia Scythia Minor in base all'analisi delle iscrizioni imperiali latine rinvenute nell'area

MARCO PASSAROTTI, When Praguian Functionalism meets Latin

FRIDAY, 18 FEBRUARY 2011

Discourse grammar and information structure

Chair: Ma Esperanza Torrego

9:00-10:00 Plenary

CAROLINE KROON (Amsterdam - Vrije)

The limits of linguistics. Latin linguistics from a discourse perspective

10:00-10:30 GIORGIO BANTI (Napoli - L'Orientale)

Correlative focus constructions, hyperbaton and information structure (IS) in Classical Greek

10:30-11:00 **Poster session**

ROSSELLA IOVINO, L'ordine delle parole nelle espressioni nominali latine: la sintassi dei dimostrativi.

ELENA REDONDO MOYANO, Las combinaciones del adverbio conjuntivo ὁμως con otros conectores

PER ERIK SOLBERG, Latin long-distance anaphora: a minimalist analysis

GERMANA OLGA CIVILLERI, Nomi di processo definito in greco antico: i nomi deverbali in -μός/-μος

CHIARA GIANOLLO, External possession in New Testament Greek

LIANA TRONCI, Sulla flessione verbale in greco antico

11:00-11:30 Coffee break / Poster exhibition

Chair: Edoardo Lombardi Vallauri

11:30-12:00 EFROSINI DELIGIANNI (Lancaster)

Information-structure analysis for an in-depth study of Classical Greek word order

12:00-12:30 ANNEMIEKE DRUMMEN (Heidelberg)

Discourse organization in Greek tragedy: a multi-level approach

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12:30-13:00 RAFAEL MARTÍNEZ VÁZQUEZ (Sevilla)

The theory of discourse markers and conjunctive adverbs in Ancient Greek. Focus and οὐτως in the prose of some Greek Historians

13:00-13:30 LUCIO MELAZZO (Palermo)

Conjunctions and topicalized positions in Latin

13:30-14:30 Lunch

Syntax

Chair: Pierluigi Cuzzolin

14:30-15:30 Plenary

BERNARD BORTOLUSSI (Paris Ovest Nanterre)

The contribution of Generative Grammar to Latin and Greek linguistics

15:30-16:00 OLGA SPEVAK (Toulouse II)

Construction “ appositive “ ou syntagme nominal? Sur le statut des adjectifs postnominiaux en latin et en grec ancien

16:00-16:30 MARINA BENEDETTI (Siena)

“Have” / “be”: reconsidering an odd couple

16:30-17:00 Coffee break / Poster exhibition

Chair: Antonio Revuelta

17:00-17:30 DAVIDE BERTOCCI (Padova)

Osservazioni sulla tmesi in Omero: per un’analisi sintattica

17:30-18:00 DANIEL RIAÑO (Madrid - CSIC)

Internal object and cognate object in Ancient Greek

18:00-18:30 KLAAS BENTEIN (Gent)

Cognitive Grammar and the analysis of verbal periphrasis in Ancient Greek

18:30-19:00 FÁBIO DA SILVA FORTES (Juiz de Fora)

Discontinuous noun-phrases in Classical Latin: a generative approach

SATURDAY, 19 FEBRUARY 2011

Interfaces

Chair: Anna Pompei

9:00-9:30 EMILIA RUIZ YAMUZA (Sevilla)

Usos apodóticos: entre lo sintáctico y lo textual

9:30-10:00 PIERA MOLINELLI (Bergamo)

Verbi come marcatori discorsivi interazionali in latino: interfacce tra morfosintassi, semantica e pragmatica

10:00-10:30 ANNA ORLANDINI & PAOLO POCSETTI (Toulouse II – Roma II)

La comparaison dite « épistémique » en latin

10:30-11:00 Coffee break

Categories and constructions

Chair: Anna Orlandini

11:00-11:30 MA DOLORES JIMÉNEZ LÓPEZ (Alcalá de Henares)

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Aproximación a las construcciones con verbo de apoyo en griego antiguo

11:30-12:00 LUCA LORENZETTI (Cassino)

Contributo a una definizione dei nomi polirematici in latino

12:00-12:30 LUISA BRUCALE & EGGLE MOCCIARO (Palermo)

The semantic network of the Latin preposition per: a diachronic investigation

12:30-13:00 PAOLA DARDANO (Siena)

Tra verbo e nome: le nominalizzazioni del greco antico

13:00-13:30 EMANUELA MARINI (Paris IV - Macerata)

La notion de “classe d'objets” appliquée au vocabulaire des sons et des bruits vocaux articulés et inarticulés du latin

13:30-14:30 Lunch

Phonology

Chair: Julián Méndez Dosuna

14:30-15:00 PAOLO MILIZIA (Cassino)

Raddoppiamento attico e allineamento morfoprosodico

15:00-15:30 JORIE SOLTIC (Gent)

Modern clitic typologies versus the (Byzantine) Greek object clitic pronouns

15:30-16:00 GIANCARLO SCHIRRU (Cassino)

La condizione sulla coda della sillaba latina

16:00-16:30 ALCORAC ALONSO DÉNIZ (Madrid FECYT/ Paris EPHE)

The trimoraic puzzle: Superheavy syllables and compensatory lengthening in Ancient Greek

16:30-17:00 Closing statements

Alcorac Alonso Déniz

The trimoraic puzzle: Superheavy syllables and compensatory lengthening in Ancient Greek

Trimoraic (or superheavy) syllables are the object of a long-standing debate in phonological theory. According to proponents of moraic phonology (Hock 1986, Hayes 1989), some historical developments can bring about new trimoraic syllables. For instance, the lenition of a nasal followed by a fricative triggered compensatory lengthening (CL) in Germanic:

PGmc.*xanxana ‘hang’ > Goth. Hāhan
PGmc.*θanxta ‘thrive’ pf. > Goth. Þāxta

While the first example shows a heavy or bimoraic syllable (hā = 2 morae) resulting from CL, in the second a similar development generated a trimoraic syllable (þāx = 3 morae).

It is universally acknowledged that Ancient Greek attests to a similar evolution (e.g. Lejeune 1972: § 134):

*pantja > πάνσα [pánsa] > πᾶσα /pâ:sa/ ‘all’ fem. nom. sg.
*penth-sma > *pensma > πει̃σμα /pê:sma/ ‘rope’, ‘stern-cable’
*eklogidzonsthō ‘reckon’ 3rd. pl. imper. midd. > dialectal (Corcyra) ἐκλογιζούσθω
/eklogidzó:sthɔ:/
*espendtai ‘make a drink-offering’ 3rd. sg. pf. midd. > *espenstai > ἔσπεισται
/éspe:staj/

In the first example, the weakening of the nasal triggered the lengthening of the preceding vowel: the first syllable in πᾶσα is heavy (πᾶ- = 2 morae). Allegedly, the same development gave rise to a trimoraic syllable in the other words (πει̃σμα, κλογιζούσθω, ἔσπεισται = 3 morae).

The purpose of this paper is to show that, in spite of the appearances, the trimoraic hypothesis does not satisfactorily account for the data of Ancient Greek. As it happens, the development *pensma > πει̃σμα, etc. is problematic on several counts. To begin with, the evidence for a simpler (and more natural) binary opposition in syllable weight is compelling throughout the history of Ancient Greek. Accordingly, CL is unlikely to have created new trimoraic syllables. Moreover, the evolution *pensma > πει̃σμα, etc. contradicts the regular development of nasal + consonant clusters, i.e. nasal lenition without CL (e.g. *konsmos > κόσμος [kósmos]). After a reassessment of the Greek data, a new explanation will be proposed.

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Hock, H. H., 1986. «Compensatory lengthening: in defense of the concept ‘mora’», *FoL*, 20: 431-460.
Lejeune, M., 1972. *Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien*. Paris.

Giorgio Banti

Correlative Focus constructions, hyperbaton and information structure (IS) in Classical Greek

In the framework of the growing understanding of the effects of IS upon grammar and discourse, and of its typological variation, this paper will discuss some typologically peculiar features of Classical Greek syntax, mainly on the basis of a corpus of dialogical texts of the 5th and 4th centuries, such as Plato's dialogues and Aristophanes. On the one hand, correlative focus constructions consist of a focussed cataphoric demonstrative placed at the beginning of the matrix sentence, whose correlative counterpart is a right-extraposed constituent that is asserted as a broad focus, as in the following complex example, where three contrastive foci form the extraposed broad focus, and the matrix sentence is a (pseudo-)cleft:

[Socrates confutes Meletus's indictment]

Καὶ [τοῦτ']NARROW CATAPHORIC FOCUS ἔστιν [ὃ ἐμὲ αἰρεῖ], ἔανπερ αἰρή, [[οὐ Μέλητος]CONTRASTIVE FOCUS [οὐδὲ ἄνυτος]CONTRASTIVE FOCUS [ἀλλ' ἢ τῶν πολλῶν διαβολή τε καὶ φθόνος]CONTRASTIVE FOCUS]EXTRAPOSED BROAD FOCUS

'And this it is which will cause my condemnation, if it is to cause it, not Meletus or Anytus, but the prejudice and dislike of the many'. (Plato Apology 28.a.6)

On the other hand, the considerable literature on Ancient Greek word order has devoted much attention to the different kinds of discontinuous constituency that are traditionally known as hyperbaton. Recent analyses such as Matic' (2003) and, especially, Markovic (2006) have shown that only some kinds of hyperbaton are actually manifestations of IS, while others are due to inherited syntactic features such as P2 clitics ("Wackernagel's law") and to stylistic features that characterised Ancient Greek high diction. So, a proper understanding of them requires not only historical syntax and the effects of IS, but also an ethnography-of-speech approach.

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- Rieken E. & P. Widmer (eds.) 2009. *Pragmatische Kategorien. Form, Funktion und Diachronie*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

María Luisa del Barrio Vega

¿Una lengua franca en el Mar Negro?

El objeto de esta comunicación es el estudio de la situación lingüística en el área colonial griega del Mar Negro y de la Propóntide a la luz de los trabajos más recientes sobre contactos lingüísticos, especialmente en lo que respecta a la formación de lenguas francas y koinés. Entre las circunstancias que favorecen este tipo de contactos se encuentran la colonización y las relaciones comerciales. Ambos factores se dieron en el Mar Negro y la Propóntide durante el primer milenio antes de Cristo. En efecto, aunque la mayoría de las colonias griegas de las dos regiones citadas eran fundaciones milesias, algunas eran de origen megarenses y, si hacemos caso a las fuentes antiguas, hay que contar también con la presencia de griegos de otras procedencias. Así pues, además de los probables contactos entre el griego y otra(s) lengua(s) no griegas habladas en la zona, existieron otros dentro del mismo griego, entre las variantes dialectales de las diferentes colonias. Estos contactos estaban favorecidos por la existencia de estrechas relaciones, sobre todo de tipo comercial, que había entre ellas.

En este trabajo, y a partir de los datos epigráficos disponibles, veremos las consecuencias de dichos contactos. Por ejemplo, si se dieron condiciones favorables para el desarrollo de una lengua franca. De este modo, la existencia en el Mar Negro de una lengua vehicular basada en el dialecto jónico de las colonias milesias, explicaría que fuera considerado por los antiguos como un *ἡμιμακεδονικὴ γλῶσση*.

Referencias bibliográficas

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- Vinogradov, J. G. 2007. *Milet und Megara erschliessen den Pontos Euxeinos. Frühes Ionien: eine Bestandsaufnahme*. ed. J. Cobet, V. von Graeve, W.-D. Niemeier [et al.], 465-473. Mainz.

Marina Benedetti

« Have » / « be »: reconsidering an odd couple

The basis of the crosslinguistically widespread and asymmetric « have » / « be » correlation is still a debated topic in typological and theoretical linguistics.

In a historical comparative perspective, and in particular in the investigation of Classical languages, the question involves different dimensions: intralinguistically, the correlations εἶναι ~ ἔχειν and esse ~ habēre; interlinguistically, the comparison (and the comparability) between εἶναι and esse, between ἔχειν and habēre.

Whereas the comparison between εἶναι and esse rests upon the converging evidence of etymological identity and functional affinity, the comparability between ἔχειν and habēre can only be established on basis of functional affinity.

This study investigates syntactic patterns underlying sequences

NNom ἔχει NAcc / NNom habet NAcc

displaying that, both in Greek and in Latin, two different classes can be identified on the basis of the syntactic opposition “middle/ non-middle”: a class in which the diathetic opposition is encoded through the lexical contrasts εἶναι / ἔχειν, esse / habēre and a class in which the diathetic opposition is encoded through the inflectional contrasts ἔχεσθαι / ἔχειν, habēri / habēre. The research is developed in the framework of recent versions of Relational Grammar, and of the theory of Nominal Union developed by Carol Rosen.

References

- Baldi Ph. - P.Cuzzolin (2005), Considerazioni etimologiche, areali e tipologiche dei verbi di «avere» nelle lingue indoeuropee. In Kiss S. - L. Mondin - G. Salvi (edd.) (2005), 27-36.
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Klaas Bentein

Cognitive Grammar and the Analysis of Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek

In this paper, I discuss how the theoretical framework of Cognitive Grammar, as developed by Langacker and others, may contribute to the study of verbal periphrasis in Ancient Greek. Two basic tenets of the theory which will be particularly prominent are (a) that grammatical categories are organized prototypically (Langacker 1987:16-9), and (b) that there is no strict boundary between grammar and the lexicon (Langacker 2000:32-9).

My focus here is on a somewhat less well-known periphrastic construction, namely that of εἶμι „to be“ with a so-called „adjectival“ present participle, as for example in *aganaktōn esti* „he is angry“, where the participle is not used for the predication of actions but for that of properties. My main goal is to clarify the categorial status of the present participle. Some scholars have suggested that the present participle not only functions as an adjective but categorially also should be considered adjectival („adjectivised“), and hence that we cannot speak of true periphrasis. Porter (1989:454), on the other hand, has stressed the fact that the participle is not necessarily an adjective because it functions as such in certain constructions.

In the first part of the paper, I discuss the formal criteria proposed for the adjectival status of the present participle. The main focus is on morphological and syntactic criteria. Though (mor)phonological criteria constitute a strong argument in favor of adjectivisation, evidence is scanty in Ancient Greek. Although some criteria, for example adverb formation, give an indication of the adjectival status of certain participles (especially those formed from impersonal intransitive verbs, e.g. *prepon > prepontōs* “fitly”), none of them makes a convincing case for the complete adjectivisation of the present participle when combined with the verb *eimi*. The fact that many of these adjectival participles retain their argument structure, is a strong argument against such a generalization. What these criteria also bring to sight, is that constructions with an adjectival participle do not form a homogenous category.

The alternative I propose in the second part of the paper, locates adjectival periphrasis on an intracategorial continuum (cf. Pompei 2006 for the conjunct participle), and considers the constructions under analysis gradual extensions of a prototypical adjectival construction. More specifically, I propose to distinguish three main groups on the basis of formal and semantic criteria. Constructions of the first group are most prototypical: their participle comes before the finite verb and their content verb is lexically imperfective (mostly impersonal and intransitive). This group has a relatively small number of frequently occurring members (e.g. *sumpheron esti* „it is useful“). Constructions of the second and third group diverge increasingly from the prototype. With the latter, the participle usually comes after the finite verb and the content verb is lexically perfective. Its members are also much less entrenched (e.g. *estin tous hellēnas parakalōn* „it [the speech] is summoning the Greeks“, i.e. „it is a speech which summons the Greeks). This proposal does not exclude the possibility of adjectivised participles: frequent use in an adjectival function may lead to a decrease in analyzability, meaning that conscious attention to the component parts of the participle (the verbal stem and the participial morphology) is no longer required. That especially constructions of the first group are „between grammar and the lexicon“ is indicated by the fact that they are most often used for adverb formation.

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Davide Bertocci

Osservazioni sulla tmesi in Omero: per un'analisi sintattica

Il fenomeno della cosiddetta tmesi nella lingua di Omero è un caso speciale di interazione tra ambiti disciplinari diversi, poiché coinvolge, anche nella storia della questione, la dimensione linguistica, quella filologica, e quella stilistico-letteraria, con particolare riguardo alla tecnica metrica. Dal punto di vista linguistico la tmesi è stata generalmente considerata un fenomeno già in Omero arcaizzante (Wackernagel 1926), e ha contribuito, grazie anche alla comparazione con il vedico, a chiarire l'antica natura avverbiale e autonoma dei preverbi.

In questo lavoro si cerca di inquadrare la tmesi (limitatamente all'inizio di verso o di emistichio) alla luce di quanto le riflessioni teoriche più recenti, sia dalla tipologia sia dalla linguistica formale, hanno mostrato sul comportamento dei preverbi (Romagno 2004; Viti 2008; Svenonius 2008; Tungseth 2008).

In particolare, si possono sottolineare solidarietà sia dal punto di vista semantico, sia in un'ottica più propriamente sintattica:

i) i preverbi in tmesi mostrano con regolarità l'assenza di interpretazione aspettuale perfetta, che pure già si osserva in alcuni casi in interno di verso; al contrario (1), mantengono un significato spazio-temporale concreto che viene solitamente ricondotto all'origine come elementi avverbiali autonomi;

ii) i preverbi in tmesi, soprattutto, soggiacciono a regolarità sintattiche: (2) si trovano a sinistra della cd. posizione Wackernagel (1892); (3) hanno distribuzione regolare rispetto ai SN focalizzati; (4) e rispetto alle particelle "semi-enclitiche" come δέ, γάρ; (5) sono spesso anaforici.

L'esistenza di simili restrizioni fa pensare che la tmesi non sia solamente una sopravvivenza casuale, ma si possa spiegare come il risultato di un processo sintattico: il preverbo, originato come particella autonoma con valore concreto, nel corso della derivazione della frase si colloca nella periferia sinistra, insieme agli elementi focalizzati e a quelli tematici. Si può mostrare che questa analisi sintattica è vantaggiosa perché:

- a) permette, con l'interpretazione linguistica, una comprensione più completa del fenomeno;
- b) è coerente al comportamento dei preverbi univerbati, a sua volta collegabile a diversi effetti sintattici che partono comunque da un'origine comune come elementi avverbiali, inseriti dentro la struttura argomentale del verbo;
- c) ha rilevanza comparativa, mostrando paralleli con il latino e la tipologia, non solo indeuropea.

(1) πρίν γ' ἀπό πατρί φίλω δόμεναι ἑλικώπιδα κούρην (Il. I 98)

(2) ἀπό = 'indietro' vs. ἀπολέσθαι (Il. I 117) = 'perire completamente'

(3) ἀλλ' ἔκ τοι ἐρέω, τὸ δὲ καὶ τελέεσθαι οἴω (Il. I 204)

(4) κρατερὸν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε (Il. I 25)

(5) πρὸ γάρ ἦκε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη (Il. I 195)

(6) ἐν δ' ἀρχὸς ἔβη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς (Il. I 311) 'sopra', riferito a νῆα (308)

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Luisa Brucale-Egle Mocciaro

The semantic network of the Latin preposition per: a diachronic investigation

This paper explores the semantic network of the Latin preposition *per* (“through”) in a diachronic perspective derived from the analysis of two electronic corpora of 3rd century BCE – 4th century CE (PHI5; Intratext Digital Library). Drawing upon the insights of Cognitive Grammar (e.g. Langacker 1991), we analyze the role of the schematic import of *per* in the spread from basic to abstract meanings, thus accounting for the interconnections among the various senses of the polysemous entity. This theoretical position is integrated with Croft’s (1991) model of causal structure of events, as well as the results of an extensive analysis of Early Latin (Brucale & Mocciaro *fc.*), in order to address the following issues:

1. the diachronic shifts in the ratio of spatial to abstract meanings: spatial meanings are predominant in Early Latin (e.g. *per urbem ire*, Pl., Poen. 522; *per cribrum transire*, Cat., De Agr. 76.3.4), while the only abstract values which are fully grammaticalized at this stage are MEANS (a less prototypical and abstract instrument: *per vim retinere*, Pl., Bacch. 843; see Croft 1991: 178) and REASON (the motivation for an agent to act: *per metum mussari*, Pl., Aul. 131; see Pinkster 1990). We aim at tracing back the path(s) through which new abstract meanings arise.

2. the role of Animacy: MEANS and REASON involve non-animate (abstract) participants, whereas the spread to Animacy represents a secondary development within the area of Causation, documented in Early Latin in a few instances of CAUSE (the motivation of a non-agentive event: *per aliquem vivere*, Pl., Poen. 1187) and INTERMEDIARY (*per me interpretem*, Pl., Mil. 910). Out of the causal domain, however, Animacy is a rather ancient feature, represented in the expressions of Appeal (with performative verbs such as *iuro*, e.g. *per Iovem iurare*, Pl. Amph. 435) and Judgment of licitness (*per me licet*, Pl., Merc., 989). On the other hand, the expression of (concrete) INSTRUMENT represents a later development (cf. Luraghi 2010: *per nauiculam uenire*, Itala, cod. d., Ioh. 21, 8). In other words, the spread from concrete to abstract meanings appears to be non-unidirectional, rather drawing the following trajectory: SPATIAL (CONCRETE) > ABSTRACT > ANIMATE > INANIMATE (CONCRETE).

3. the grammaticalization of the expression of PURPOSE: another later development, which is based on an extension of Reason: “The objects we aspire for are usually also the cause for our aspiration” (Radden 1989: 562; see also Croft 1991: 293).

Finally we propose a semantic map of the range of values conveyed by *per*, showing that they do not arrange on a linear continuum, but rather represent a multi-directional configuration originating from the progressive (metonymical) extension of a prototypical nucleus over time.

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Germana Olga Civilleri

Nomi di processo definito in greco antico: i nomi deverbali in -μός / -μοσ

Il suffisso -μός/-μοσ occupa un posto esclusivo nel panorama degli studi di linguistica greca, perché in epoche più o meno recenti su di esso si è concentrato un interesse che non si registra invece nei confronti di altri suffissi che formano nomi deverbali. Almeno una ragione di questo maggiore interesse risiede nel fatto che il suffisso è tra i più produttivi nella lingua greca; un'altra potrebbe invece essere proprio la sua maggiore complessità – sia sotto il profilo morfologico sia semantico – rispetto ad altri suffissi anche più produttivi, come -σις.

Il presente contributo si propone di analizzare i nomi in -μός /-μοσ sotto vari aspetti (prosodici, morfologici, semantici, sintattici), allo scopo di determinare quale sia il significato centrale del suffisso e di definirne la specificità rispetto ad altri suffissi che formano nomi di processo in greco antico (come -σις, per l'appunto).

L'analisi si baserà su un gruppo di lessemi tratti da due serie di corpora: i dati tratti da un corpus costituito da tre testi filosofici verranno confrontati con quelli forniti dai poemi omerici. Questo confronto ci permetterà di esplorare il comportamento del suffisso anche in diacronia. Si descriverà quindi il meccanismo morfologico che regola l'affissione del suffisso alla base predicativa.

Quest'ultima verrà analizzata anche dal punto di vista dei tratti semantici (cioè azionali) che la caratterizzano, allo scopo di verificare se vi siano delle restrizioni semantiche sul tipo di base in entrata. Verrà spiegata l'alternanza prosodica -μός /-μοσ, dalla quale risulterà evidente la relazione che questa classe di nomi di processo intrattiene con la categoria aggettivale. Si affronterà la questione della compatibilità dei nomi in -μός /-μοσ con il meccanismo della preverbiazione e con quello della composizione. I casi di strutture argomentali rette da tali nomi verranno analizzati per trarne indicazioni sull'interpretazione semantica di questi ultimi. Sebbene il suffisso -μός formi tanto nomi astratti di processo (nominalizzazioni del predicato) quanto nomi concreti (nominalizzazioni dell'argomento), l'analisi dei dati mostrerà che in realtà i due significati non stanno affatto sullo stesso piano. La nostra ipotesi, in linea con le formulazioni di Holt (1940) e Benveniste ([1951] 1966), è che i nomi in -μοσ possano essere descritti come nomi di processo definito, in cui cioè il processo denotato è delimitato nel tempo (Simone 2003). Nomi come παρμός “starnuto” e φλογμός “infiammazione” ne rappresentano degli esempi prototipici. Nonostante, in effetti, la categoria dei nomi in -μός comprenda al suo interno nomi di diverso tipo (processuali, oggettivi, di risultato, locativi, strumentali) il valore processuale sembra l'unico in grado di raccordare tutti gli altri in un ciclo lessicale (cfr. Simone 2000) ‘processo > oggetto’, ‘processo > luogo’, ‘processo > strumento’.

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Paola Dardano

Tra verbo e nome: le nominalizzazioni del greco antico

Le nominalizzazioni lessicali, ovvero i derivati nominali che hanno come base un verbo o una radice verbale, sono una classe abbastanza produttiva in greco antico, costituita non solo da nomina actionis, ma anche da nomina agentis e da nomina rei actae. Pur conservando alcuni aspetti della semantica e della sintassi del verbo, le nominalizzazioni figurano in un ambiente sintagmatico di tipo nominale. Definite da W. Porzig “Namen für Satzinhalt”, le nominalizzazioni hanno la funzione di operare una transcategorizzazione di un’unità lessicale. Costituiscono pertanto un esempio significativo del continuum verbo-nome e presentano proprietà tipiche dei verbi accostate a proprietà tipiche dei nomi. Comportano infatti una graduale ristrutturazione del predicato verbale: le proprietà di quest’ultimo (in prima istanza categorie quali tempo, modo, aspetto, azionalità, diatesi) vengono ridotte secondo un procedimento non casuale, ma tipologicamente preordinato. Al contempo le nominalizzazioni presentano proprietà tipiche dei nomi: sono modificate da un aggettivo, sono accompagnate da marche di caso (e pertanto possono riempire posizioni argomentali di veri predicati), possono essere pluralizzate (la numerabilità è un caratteristica centrale della categoria del nome e la pluralizzazione contribuisce al processo di lessicalizzazione dell’astratto trasposizionale), il soggetto del verbo soggiacente è di solito espresso da un genitivo. Dal punto di vista sintattico, nel processo di nominalizzazione si registra una riduzione degli argomenti del predicato. La nominalizzazione di un predicato permette di mettere in secondo piano i partecipanti al processo, fino ad arrivare alla loro eliminazione. Tutti questi fenomeni, dalla riduzione degli argomenti alla lessicalizzazione, rimandano alla medesima strategia: il nome deverbale perde le caratteristiche del predicato e assume invece il comportamento tipico dei nomi, che sono non relazionali e referenziali.

L’analisi della struttura argomentale delle nominalizzazioni è stata al centro di una serie di studi di impronta tipologica (Comrie 1976, Comrie-Thompson 1985, Hoekstra 1986). A partire da un vasto campione di lingue si è arrivati a individuare alcuni tipi sintattici di nominalizzazione, variamente distribuiti nelle lingue: il tipo sentenziale, il tipo possessivo-accusativo, il tipo ergativo-possessivo, il tipo nominale (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993, ead. 2003). Nella presente comunicazione si analizzano alcune nominalizzazioni del greco antico, con particolare riferimento ai mutamenti della valenza del verbo, alle strategie impiegate per esprimere gli argomenti e, infine, al grado di lessicalizzazione.

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Efrosini Deligianni

Information-structure analysis for an in-depth study of Classical Greek word order

In current linguistic research there has been a recent surge in the study of classical languages. This can be easily attributed to the fact that the latter provides the former with the opportunity to explore a new terrain hitherto largely left unexplored. One such case in point is Classical Greek (henceforth CG) word order.

It has been successfully argued that linearization in CG is pragmatically determined (see Dover 1960; H. Dik 1995 inter alia). This paper now sets out to analyze it in terms of information structure (henceforth IS). IS analysis is placed within Knud Lambrecht's theoretical framework (1986, 1987, 1994) as it is the most elaborate to date. However, it had to be specially adapted for the study of Greek. To my knowledge, there is only one application of Lambrecht's theory to a classical language to this date, which is Floor's (2004) IS analysis of Biblical Hebrew. Greek, with its extensive written documentation, has rendered possible the compilation of a broadly representative corpus of historical narrative texts. The selected theoretical model generates a taxonomy of declarative IS types, according to which each clause has been classified. All in all, the interaction of three interrelated parameters was investigated: functional structure, which describes the actual order of elements in the clause (i.e. S-V-O), syntactic structure, and information structure.

First and foremost, the fact that no basic word order can be identified for CG has been adequately accounted for. According to the data at hand, it is not possible to identify a single word order pattern as the unmarked one. SV(O), the unmarked word order in Modern Greek, is primarily restricted to shifted topic-comment clauses, a topic-comment subcategory. Besides, there is no direct mapping between syntactic constructions and pragmatic contexts, which is the expected pattern in languages with a syntactically determined word order. IS analysis of CG can also account for different word-order configurations like object-first constructions, as well as complex syntactic issues like hyperbaton (see Devine and Stephens (2000)). Furthermore, there are secondary issues to consider like the influence of IS on higher levels of discourse (text) organization, or the critical interpretation of Classical texts, as in instances of topic-comment clauses which call for focus disambiguation.

As it comes from the above, the methodology and insights of the IS theory can greatly assist in the study of CG word order. Reversely, Classical Greek can provide the testing ground for Lambrecht's cognitive-pragmatic theory, since it has been constructed on the basis of contemporary language data only.

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Margherita Donati

The empathy hierarchy and the category of vocative: a case of contribution of Classical Language studies to theoretical Linguistics

In this paper we will deal with a case of contribution of Classical Language studies to Linguistics. In particular, we would like to point out how theoretical remarks concerning the Latin and Ancient Greek category of vocative allow us to revise the internal structure of the empathy (or animacy) hierarchy, including in it a further degree.

The empathy (or animacy) hierarchy outlines a linguistically relevant extra-linguistic notion: several languages reflect different degrees of empathy in their structure. First appeared in Silverstein (1976), the it has been largely used as a heuristic tool in linguistic analysis since the seminal paper by Comrie (1981; then Dixon 1979, 1994 among others). Empathy refers to the possibility for the speaker to identify himself with an entity, and in particular, from a linguistic perspective, with the referent of a NP in a sentence. The linguistic manifestation of the hierarchy consists in the special (or different) treatment given by grammatical operations to the linguistic expression of referents which are superordinate on the hierarchy. Empathy is not a binary distinction, but it is better outlined as a continuum: 1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person > person name > human common noun > animate common noun > inanimate common noun. As Kuno (1987, 2004) and Lehmann pointed out (1997), the term “empathy hierarchy” is probably preferable to “animacy hierarchy”, since the relevant parameter is not only animacy, but rather the higher or lower possibility to empathise, given by animacy in its strict meaning and other parameters as well, in particular definiteness and the involvement in the speech act. In fact, the highest degree of empathy exists when the referent is a speech act participant (the empathy hierarchy is also known as “deictic hierarchy”): in other words, we obviously have the highest degree of empathy when the referent is the speaker himself (1st person) and, immediately after that, when the referent is the addressee (2nd person).

In this paper we will argue that, since the vocative case can be defined as a “referentiality shifter”, i.e. a morphological tool linking the inherently not deictic referentiality of nouns to the extra-linguistic context (Donati 2009, 2010), vocative forms are likely to identify a further step within the empathy hierarchy, placed between 2nd person pronouns and 3rd person pronouns. As a matter of fact, the vocative case is a person deictic, and in particular a grammaticalised device introducing a 2nd person deictic variable in nouns, in order to link their referentiality to the speech extra-linguistic context. As a consequence, our claim is that vocative forms (as well as every nominal form of address, in fact) suggest to revise the internal structure of the empathy hierarchy, since between 2nd person pronouns and 3rd person pronouns a class of deictic nominal items can be introduced, thus identifying a further degree in the hierarchy. Hence, with regard to the empathy hierarchy, the function of the vocative is to provide the opportunity to shift nouns in the continuum towards the highest degrees, where referentiality is linked to the extra-linguistic context. During the presentation it will be discussed the following scheme, which resumes in a synthetic frame the relation between the vocative case, the empathy hierarchy and the different strategies of reference:

FIGURE

Figure 1: The vocative case (in italics) within the empathy hierarchy and the relation with the strategies of reference.

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Annemieke Drummen

Discourse organization in Greek tragedy: a multi-level approach

The analysis of discourse organization in ancient Greek provides a clear illustration of how our study of classical languages may significantly profit from the insights of modern linguistic approaches. In this paper, I will try to show how lexical items with syntactic, semantic as well as pragmatic functions contribute to the discourse organization of Greek tragedy, and how these items relate to extralinguistic elements structuring the performance. Passages illustrating the different features are taken from Sophocles' *Ajax*, *Antigone*, and *Trachiniae*.

Present-day linguistic models such as Construction Grammar (see e.g. Feldman 2006, and Fischer 2010) show that it is cognitively most plausible to consider language understanding as taking place on the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic level at the same time. Recent applications of discourse approaches turn out to be fruitful for our understanding of ancient Greek as well (see e.g. Bakker & Wakker 2009, Crespo, De la Villa & Revuelta 2006, and Rijksbaron 1997).

Drawing from these perspectives, I will argue that words from different grammatical categories work together on different levels to structure a text. With regard to Greek tragedy, we may distinguish between several slightly distinct organizational functions. First, deictic markers, for instance the demonstratives ἐκεῖνος and ὅδε or the adverbs δεῦρο and νῦν, help to ground the discourse in its extralinguistic environment. Second, conjunctions like εἰ, ἐπεὶ, and ὡς mark pragmatic as well as syntactic relations. Cohesive markers such as ἀλλά, γάρ, and δέ, furthermore, and attention-getting devices such as μὴν, τοι, and ὦ, play another organizational role. Finally, attention should be paid to the structuring function of interjections, e.g. οἶμοι and φεῦ, which highlight the emotional relevance of certain events or discourse acts.

To get a complete picture of the discourse organization in a tragedy, we should also take into account a number of extralinguistic features, which may be inferred from the text. The characters and objects on stage, the events shown or implied, the number and type of characters present, and the changes of scene may extralinguistically contribute to the organization of the ongoing communication. Characters entering and leaving the stage form the most important global structuring feature of a play, and their (dis)appearance is often linguistically marked (e.g. καὶ δὴ... ὅδε in *Aj.* 544) or commented upon (e.g. *Ant.* 766). Which characters are on stage leads to different kinds of discourse: a dialogue usually contains more interactional and less syntactic markers than a monologue, whereas a choral song typically has a low frequency of all linguistic items mentioned, especially the deictic ones. Not only are extralinguistic features indispensable for the understanding of the discourse organization in the tragedies; they can also be shown to be inherently linked to some linguistic strategies.

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Claudia Fabrizio

Latin nominal infinitives as a manifestation of inactive alignment

The paper investigates the syntax of subject infinitives in Latin, with regard to their semantic role. Latin grammars (Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr 1965, Draeger 1878, int. al.) unanimously agree on the list of predicates nominal infinitives can be subject of:

- (1) a. passive verbs: *nunc autem mihi est visum de senectute aliquid ad te conscribere* (Cic.)
- b. stative verbs: *meminisse iacet* (Lucr.)
- c. nominal predicates: *quam enim turpis est adsentatio, cum vivere ipsum turpe sit nobis!* (Cic.)
- d. impersonal predicates: *minime irasci decet* (Sall.)
- e. inaccusative verbs: *qui in mentem venit tibi istaec dicta dicere?* (Pl.)
- f. verbs indicating mental experience: *me... hoc ipsum nihil agere et plane cessare delectat* (Cic.)
- g. non-relational contexts, as enumerations: *at illa multo optuma rei publicae doctus sum: hostem ferire, praesidia agitare, nihil metuere nisi turpem famam...* (Sall.)

Now, as contemporary researches show, predicates in (1a-g) regularly profile an inactive, non-agentive subject (Undergoer, in Van Valin-La Polla 1997's terms). Even with a transitive verb (as *delectare* in 1f), the infinitive realizes an inactive argument, corresponding to the Stimulus (Harris 1982: 303). For this reason, in Fabrizio (2010) it is argued that Latin nominal infinitives are devoted to express the inagentive subject.

Further evidences are offered by the syntactic distribution of cognate *nomina actionis*, as with *cogitare/cogitatio*, *animadvertere/animadversio*, *dicere/dictio*, etc.: the deverbal noun can be used in all predicative contexts, while the nominal infinitive is confined to inactive roles. Hence, the syntax of nominal infinitives does not conform to the typical Latin case marking, i.e. the nominative-accusative system: rather, it is a relevant manifestation of a semantically-oriented alignment (Lehmann 1985). Moreover, infinitives are neuter: as recently shown, the neuter gender can be used to express typical inactive participants, both in Latin (Rovai 2007) and Late Latin (Cennamo 2009), as well as, probably, in Indo-European (Lazzeroni 2002). The paper will also take into account the factors triggering the gradual extension of nominal infinitives to active subjects in Romance.

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Fábio da Silva Fortes

Discontinuous noun-phrases in Classical Latin: a generative approach

Discontinuous constituency represents a very common syntactic property of free word-order languages, such as Latin. It can be observed in the non-adjacency of nominal elements in Latin phrases, phenomenon addressed by classical scholarship as hyperbaton. Based on historical data, including prose texts dating back from I BC. to I AD., mostly collected from epistles by Seneca and Cicero, we propose an empirical analysis of the discontinuity of nominal constituents in Classical Latin. We aim at presenting and discussing three different perspectives under which such phenomenon has been analysed: (i) the ancient grammarians' and classical philologists' view on nominal phrase discontinuity (Marouzeau, 1922, 1949, 1953; Meillet & Vendryès, 1953); (ii) the hypothesis of non-configurationality of Classical Latin (Hale, 1983; Martins, 2002) and (iii) the hypothesis of left periphery extraction from nominal domains (Bošković, 2005, 2008). Broadly speaking, we assume the theoretical framework of Principles & Parameters Theory, after the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1995, 2000, 2001). In particular, we consider Bošković's (2005, 2008) analysis on the left periphery extraction from nominal domains, to test at which extent it can be successfully applied to describe and explain nominal Latin discontinuity. In most cases, we argue that Latin NP discontinuity can be better accounted for by assuming this hypothesis. Such extraction is only possible if we consider both (i) the absence of determinant phrase (DP) in Latin and (ii) the NP-over-AP pattern. Therefore, we propose that NP discontinuity can be described as the movement of A (including adjectives, adjective pronouns, and indefinite pronouns) to a Spec position at the left, as the examples to follow:

- (1) *Magnam*1 *ex* *epistula* *tua* *percepi* [NP t1 *uoluptatem*]. (Sen., Ep., 58.36)
Great-ACC from letter-ABL your-ABL have-1SG PAST pleasure-ACC
“I had great pleasure from your letter”.
- (2) *Nullus*1 *agenti* [NP t1 *dies*] *longum* *est*. (Sen., Ep., 122.3)
No-NOM who works-DAT day-NOM long is-PRES
“There is no long day for someone who is working.”

In our paper, we show many other empirical evidences for this analysis of Latin NP discontinuity, as well as we come up with some other counter-examples to be investigated in the future.

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Chiara Gianollo

External possession in New Testament Greek

The Greek of the New Testament displays an almost exclusively postnominal positioning of genitives within the noun/determiner phrase (henceforth, DP). The few prenominal instances are usually considered to be residues of the Classical Greek grammatical system, which allowed both pre- and postnominal genitives. In this work I focus on a subset of such instances, which is syntactically characterized by the fact that the genitive not only is prenominal, but also precedes the determiner heading the DP to which the genitive is semantically linked, as in (1):

- (1) act.23.2 ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας ἐπέταξεν τοῖς παρεστῶσιν αὐτῷ τύπτειν αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα
“and the high priest Ananias commanded those who stood by him to strike him on the mouth”

These constructions are special in at least four respects: (i) they most typically involve genitive forms of αὐτός and of the personal pronouns, whose unmarked position is postnominal in both Classical and Koiné Greek; (ii) unlike extraposed genitives in Classical Greek, they do not add emphasis on the genitive constituent; on the contrary, they have been typically considered unemphatic; (iii) they often convey an affectedness flavor; (iv) they become particularly frequent in New Testament Greek and, as said, they contrast with the generalized Noun-Genitive (NG) order found in the texts. I will argue that, in fact, these constructions are almost uniquely restricted to the expression of inalienable possession; thus, at least when used with pronouns, the extraposed genitives show a semantic specialization with respect to their status in Classical Greek, where they were used for informationstructural purposes. I will also show that the functional domain of such extraposed genitives in New Testament Greek largely overlaps with the distribution of the *dativus sympatheticus* in Classical Greek, as originally suggested by Havers (1911). König & Haspelmath (1998) have shown that the *dativus sympatheticus* in Greek, as in other ancient Indo-European languages, can be classified typologically as an ‘external possession construction’ (also sometimes termed ‘possessor raising construction’). Cross-linguistically, external possession constructions involve items that are interpreted as belonging to the thematic grid of the noun, but surface in the sentential position that is typically occupied by indirect objects. In Indo-European languages, they are most commonly marked with the dative case, as in the following examples from German and Italian:

- (2) a. Der Arzt hat mir den Arm verbunden
b. Il dottore mi ha fasciato il braccio
“the doctor has bandaged my arm”

The first goal of this work is to further substantiate Havers’ (1911) claim that extraposed genitives in New Testament Greek take the place of the receding *dativus sympatheticus* of Indo-European ancestry and, therefore, come close to the functional domain of external possessors. The second goal is to connect this development to a more general revolutionary process in the history of Greek, by arguing that the specialization of the extraposed genitive construction with pronominal forms is an important step towards the syncretism of genitive and dative case. An integration will be proposed to the reconstruction of the process presented by Horrocks (2007), by highlighting the importance of external possession constructions as a primary ‘bridging context’ for the reanalysis of genitive constituents into dative ones.

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Giuliana Giusti-Renato Oniga

Il latino come corpus linguistico per uno studio teorico in chiave generativa. Metodi e problematiche

La grammatica generativa pone un problema preliminare alla sua applicazione a lingue come il latino: il suo oggetto di studio è la grammatica interiorizzata del parlante nativo, cioè la competenza della lingua interna (I-language), opposta all'esecuzione della lingua esterna (E language), rappresentata dai dati osservabili in natura o in un corpus linguistico (Chomsky 2005). Di conseguenza, lo stile di ricerca più tipico del generativismo, che consiste nel sottoporre al parlante una serie di test per ottenere giudizi di grammaticalità, non è applicabile alle lingue antiche (Kiss 2005). Ciò spiega perché la ricerca generativa su queste lingue abbia incontrato fin dagli inizi non poche difficoltà e solo negli ultimi decenni si sia avviata a costituire un settore produttivo e consolidato (Bortolussi 2006; Oniga 2007).

Nel nostro contributo, vorremmo fornire alcuni argomenti per sostenere che, con le dovute cautele di carattere metodologico, la prospettiva di ricerca in chiave generativa non è affatto preclusa per le lingue che non hanno più parlanti nativi, ma anzi, essa può offrire indubbi vantaggi nella formulazione di ipotesi predittive fondate sulla conoscenza dei principi universali (comuni a tutte le lingue e dunque anche alle lingue antiche) e della configurazione dei parametri (che producono fenomeni comuni alle lingue che le adottano). Le cautele metodologiche da applicare a questo tipo di ricerca sono parzialmente analoghe a quelle che si pongono nello studio dell'acquisizione del linguaggio da parte di bambini (Giusti 2010), anch'esso estrapolabile da un corpus (di produzione spontanea o elicitata), ma al contrario di quello, un corpus di lingue classiche può avvalersi della competenza di esperti, paragonabili a parlanti quasi nativi, che hanno competenza della lingua come L2 e possono valutare la grammaticalità di certe frasi o espungere strutture rare o non attestate come effettivamente agrammaticali. Il termine stesso di "parlante nativo" non si riferisce alla persona concreta che si interroga nell'esperimento, ma designa piuttosto un parlante idealizzato, facendo astrazione da idiosincrasie individuali. Anche nelle lingue moderne, la competenza della I-language viene pur sempre ricostruita a partire dai dati frammentari della E-language, e in certo senso la posizione del linguista è analoga a quella del bambino che impara la lingua a partire da un insieme limitato di dati. La procedura di interrogare un corpus esteso come quello del latino anziché dei parlanti, se ha lo svantaggio di non poter sollecitare la produzione di materiale linguistico nuovo e di non poter ottenere giudizi di agrammaticalità, ha l'indubbio vantaggio di poter accedere ad un numero di frasi grammaticali certamente superiore a quello che si può ottenere dalla produzione spontanea. Inoltre, nel caso del latino, l'interrogazione del corpus è facilmente realizzabile per mezzo di strumenti messi a punto dalla tradizione della filologia classica, come lessici, concordanze e indici cartacei fino ai più recenti corpora su supporto informatico. Il corpus del latino si caratterizza per una notevole estensione diacronica e stratificazione stilistica, difficilmente riscontrabile nella competenza di un parlante concreto. Inoltre il latino si colloca dal punto di vista storico come la madre delle lingue romanze, il che offre del materiale importante per studiare i meccanismi che regolano la convivenza tra sistemi grammaticali diversi e la transizione da un sistema grammaticale a un altro (Cecchetto 2007).

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Cristina Guardiano

Typological comparison and the nominal domain. Articles and bare nouns across Ancient Greek.

Introduction. The purpose of this paper is twofold: 1. Description of syntactic patterns in ‘ancient’ varieties. By means of the implementation of the theoretical tools provided by formal syntax, I will investigate a number of syntactic properties of nominal structures in Ancient Greek, showing that they fall within well-known crosslinguistic patterns, and that they obey the same constraints which act on ‘modern’ languages. 2. Analysis of diachronic change. Focusing on a number of (long-studied) phenomena, I will prompt minimal comparisons between successive diachronic stages, describing the development of the article-system as consisting of a series of successive micro-changes (formally ‘parameter resettings’) affecting the representation of particular features in the main functional category of nominal structures: D.

Background and corpus. The development of the Greek article-system from Homer to contemporary standard Greek involved at least three main distinct steps: a. the rise of the ‘definite’ article; b. the rise of the ‘indefinite’ article; c. the necessity for proper names to occur with a ‘definite’ article. Such changes are not abrupt: they implied ‘intermediate steps’, variously discussed in the literature. Here I will focus on data coming from four different stages: 1. Homeric varieties (HG): apparently no systematic use of any article; the item that will become a ‘definite article’ (οJ, ηJ, τοJ) is described as a ‘neutral’ (i.e. non deictic) demonstrative, covering different functions and ‘optionally’ used as a definite marker. I will show that most of its occurrences are in fact predictable as following from specific properties of D. 2. Classical Attic varieties (CG): the definite article is systematically visible on nominal structures with definite reading and on kind-referring (Longobardi 1994) expressions; it sometimes occurs with proper names (i.e. object-referential expressions). No ‘indefinite’ article is visible. 3. New Testament varieties (NTG): definite articles almost like Classical Greek. No systematic use of any ‘indefinite’ article; yet, specific readings of indefinite singular nominals are quite systematically marked (through either εις or τις, Manolessou 2000, Guardiano 2003). 4. Standard Modern Greek (MG): systematic use of both definite and indefinite articles. Definite articles are compulsory in order to get the definite reading and the referential interpretation (i.e. with kind and proper names). Analysis. After prompting evidence of the attested structures at each stage, I will suggest a synchronic analysis, focusing on the subset of syntactic parameters that define the properties of ‘definite’ and ‘indefinite’ articles crosslinguistically and that relate to: a. The grammaticalization of the quantificational features universally encoded in D, i.e. (partial, topical, and general) definiteness and (partial and general) count. HG grammaticalizes topical definiteness, CG partial and general definiteness, NTG also partial count, and MG all of them. b. The syntactic representation of reference/person. Greek has been a Strong D language at least since CG: exceptions follow from peculiar properties of DPs (i.e. N-movement, null D; Guardiano 2003, 2006) The diachronic comparison shows that each variety minimally differs from the others in at least one parameter setting: as such, the empirical evolution of the article-system will be claimed to derive from a step-by-step process of successive parameter resettings, which in turn originate from the reanalysis of particular empirical structures, stemming either from contact or from further ‘internal’ morphosyntactic changes.

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Rosella Iovino

L'ordine delle parole nelle espressioni nominali latine: la sintassi dei dimostrativi

Partendo dall'idea che “l'ordre des mots en latin est libre, il n'est pas indifférent” (Marouzeau 1922:1), si propone un'analisi della sintassi dei dimostrativi latini (hic, haec, hoc; ille, illa, illud; iste, ista, istud) in prospettiva diacronica, nel quadro teorico della Grammatica Generativa (Oniga: 2007). A questo scopo è stato selezionato un corpus di dati, dalla produzione di autori attivi dalle origini al IV secolo d.C. In particolare, saranno considerate espressioni nominali semplici, costituite, cioè, dal solo dimostrativo unito al nome, ed espressioni nominali complesse, in cui, oltre al nome, si trovano anche altri elementi (almeno due), come un possessivo, un numerale e/o uno (o più) aggettivo/i.

Rispetto alle prime, percentuali nell'ordine del 94%, 81% e 76%, in cui, rispettivamente, hic, ille e iste precedono il nome, fanno pensare che la posizione prenominali per il dimostrativo costituisca una “regola”. Tuttavia, in diacronia si osserva che le occorrenze di hic, di ille e di iste in posizione postnominale aumentano in maniera proporzionale (6% \diamond 13%; 19% \diamond 45%; 24 % \diamond 34%). Nonostante tale variabilità, si dimostrerà che la posizione di base del dimostrativo sia [SpecDP] (Giusti: 1997; 1999). È, poi, con l'ulteriore movimento del nome verso la periferia sinistra che si può rendere conto della mise en relief delle espressioni nominali semplici con dimostrativo postnominale.

Nelle espressioni nominali complesse, ciascuno dei tre dimostrativi precede, di norma, il nome e si trova in prima posizione (immediatamente seguito da un possessivo o da un numerale o da un aggettivo o da un nome) oppure in seconda posizione (preceduto da un aggettivo o da un possessivo o da un numerale). Non mancano, tuttavia, sintagmi in cui il dimostrativo ricorre in posizione postnominale. In questi casi i dati mostrano che l'unico dimostrativo che può seguire il nome nelle espressioni nominali complesse è ille (Causam illam integram; Cic., Sext., 32; Terram illam beatam; Cic., Mil., 105; Chilo ille sapiens; Gell., 1,3,17). Le strutture del tipo N+ille+Agg presentano soltanto aggettivi predicativi (di modificazione indiretta, Cinque: 2010) e possono essere confrontate con un costrutto del tipo N(ome) + DET(erminatore) + AGG(ettivo), individuato e riconosciuto da Ramat (1984) come di origine indoeuropea. In questi casi il determinatore può essere sia un dimostrativo sia una relativa posposta sia, più tardi, un articolo, che si formerà proprio a partire dal dimostrativo. Non a caso un'espressione come Chilo ille sapiens può essere parafrasata con: Chilone, quello sapiente; Chilone, che è sapiente; Chilone il sapiente. Tale struttura si è cristallizzata in romeno, lingua in cui è possibile trovare espressioni nominali introdotte dal cosiddetto “articolo-dimostrativo” cel/cea (Profesoară cea bătrână, la professoressa quella vecchia). Si propone, quindi, che nel nesso latino N+ille+AGG, analogamente a cel, anche ille sia un determinante morfologicamente ricco (Coene: 1999), che insieme all'aggettivo costituisce un DP complesso, inserito nello specificatore di una proiezione funzionale intermedia tra DP e NP. Il nome, essendo un elemento noto, si sposta dalla sua posizione di base a una posizione di [SpecTop], attivata nella periferia sinistra del sintagma.

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Ágnes Jekl

Cambiamenti fonetici del latino nella provincia Scythia Minor in base all'analisi delle iscrizioni imperiali latine rinvenute nell'area

La provincia romana Scythia Minor (parte nord-orientale della ex-provincia Moesia Inferior; l'attuale Dobrugia) rappresenta un esempio perfetto di convivenza della lingua latina e di quella greca (le due lingue „ufficiali” usate nell'area).

Nella presente relazione mi occuperò solo delle iscrizioni latine della Scythia Minor esaminando le deviazioni fonetiche presenti in esse. Tutte le iscrizioni esaminate sono di età imperiale – comprendendo il periodo in cui la provincia faceva ancora parte della Moesia Inferior. Le deviazioni presentate possono testimoniare le oscillazioni e deviazioni della lingua latina usata in quell'area rispetto alle norme del latino classico, anticipando in molti casi quella che sarà l'evoluzione verso le lingue romanze.

Per la presentazione userò il materiale da me raccolto nell'ambito del progetto OTKA – raccolta dei dati linguistici per la Banca Dati Informatizzata di Linguistica Storica delle Iscrizioni Latine dell'Età Imperiale, <http://lldb.elte.hu>. Le iscrizioni esaminate sono prese dalla collana IScM (Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae), che è una raccolta ancora incompleta delle iscrizioni della provincia (in quanto il quarto volume non è stato ancora pubblicato). Durante l'esame delle deviazioni userò anche i risultati di due lavori indispensabili a questa ricerca: l'opera di Stati, che è stato il primo ad esaminare sistematicamente le iscrizioni della Scythia Minor e quella di Herman, che ha elaborato la metodologia con l'aiuto della quale si può fare una ricerca dialettologica valida nel campo delle iscrizioni latine.

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M^a Dolores Jiménez López

Aproximación a las construcciones con verbo de apoyo en Griego antiguo

En los años 80 han proliferado en lenguas muy diversas estudios sobre construcciones del tipo de dar un paseo (to take a walk, faire une promenade, einen Spaziergang machen, fare una passeggiata) o tomar una decisión (to make a decision, prendre une décision, nehmen eine Entscheidung, prendere una decisione).

La gramática francesa acuñó para estos verbos el término de verbes supports, en los estudios ingleses se los llama light verbs o composite predicates, en el ámbito alemán Funktionsverben, en español se habla de verbos de apoyo. Estas y otras muchas denominaciones responden a algunas de las características que presentan estas construcciones: el verbo, que apenas tiene contenido semántico, lleva como complemento un nombre que no sólo aporta la carga semántica, sino que, además, determina los argumentos de la construcción.

Estas estructuras se han estudiado en profundidad en muchas lenguas, pero no así, por lo que sabemos, en las lenguas clásicas. Gramáticas y diccionarios se refieren, desde luego, a estas construcciones, a propósito de determinados verbos o sustantivos, y hablan de ‘locuciones’ o ‘perífrasis’, pero no se ha abordado un estudio completo de este fenómeno y todas sus implicaciones. Este es el objetivo que nos hemos propuesto en el ámbito de un Proyecto de Investigación sobre la Complementación en Griego y Latín. En este trabajo voy a tratar de ver hasta qué punto conceptos, propiedades sintácticas o criterios que se utilizan en el análisis de estas construcciones en las lenguas modernas son aplicables también a una lengua de corpus como el griego antiguo.

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Dominique Longree

Les bases de données latines du LASLA : un banc d'essai pour tester les théories linguistiques ?

Depuis 1961, le LASLA, – à savoir le Laboratoire d'Analyse Statistique des Langues Anciennes de l'Université de Liège (<http://www.ulg.ac.be/cipl/bdlasla/>) –, a constitué une vaste banque de données de textes latins classiques. Comptant près de 2 millions de mots, celle-ci est actuellement la seule à associer chacune des formes du texte à son lemme et à une analyse morphologique complète, systématiquement vérifiée. Le LASLA dispose également de bases de textes médio- et néolatins constituées sur le même modèle, mais plus limitées dans leur taille. Comme en témoignent les divers travaux s'appuyant sur les données du LASLA, l'intérêt de telles bases n'est plus à démontrer, ni en matière de linguistique de corpus, ni dans le domaine de l'analyse des données textuelles. En revanche, on peut s'interroger sur l'utilité de ces bases quand il s'agit de vérifier l'application au latin de théories linguistiques générales. Contrairement à d'autres banques de données de textes anciens créées plus récemment (par exemple, la Latin Dependency Treebank), le LASLA a en effet choisi une approche qui visait à assurer à la fois la fiabilité et l'incontestabilité linguistique des étiquettes retenues. Or ce choix a des conséquences tant sur le plan du volume de textes traités que sur celui de la nature même des données encodées : d'une part, la vérification systématique des données exige du temps et la base classique, par exemple, est loin de couvrir l'ensemble du corpus littéraire conservé ; d'autre part, le LASLA s'est interdit d'inscrire dans ses fichiers des données dont la nature pourrait être sujette à caution, – comme, par exemple, des analyses syntaxiques, sémantiques ou pragmatiques propres à un courant linguistique particulier – , et dont le bien-fondé ne serait pas reconnu par tous les latinistes ; ainsi, à côté de l'analyse morphosyntaxique, les fichiers du LASLA ne comportent qu'une seule donnée à proprement parler syntaxique, à savoir un code de subordination permettant de repérer les prédicats des propositions principales et des propositions subordonnées, et de préciser le type de subordonnée, en fonction de la nature du subordonnant.

Dans ces conditions, avec un encodage syntaxique limité, sans aucun encodage sémantique ou pragmatique, on peut légitimement se demander si les bases du LASLA peuvent avoir un intérêt pour la vérification de théories linguistiques faisant appel à des réalités relevant de ces domaines, par exemple lorsqu'il s'agit d'étudier les principes régissant l'ordre des mots. Dans quelle mesure le LASLA peut-il répondre aux besoins de telles recherches sans renoncer au principe de base selon lequel ses fichiers ne doivent contenir que des informations linguistiques vérifiées et acceptables par tous ?

La présente communication décrira les outils que le LASLA développe pour concilier exigences de la recherche linguistique et respect de ses principes fondamentaux : transcodage des fichiers dans un format XML-TEI permettant l'adjonction de données spécifiques (syntaxiques, sémantiques, pragmatiques...) pour des recherches linguistiques particulières, utilisation des moyens offerts par la plate-forme textométrique TXM permettant des recherches multidimensionnelles, développement d'un analyseur syntaxique « LatSynt » s'appuyant uniquement sur les données morphosyntaxiques déjà encodées et sur la linéarité du texte. Les possibilités d'exploitation de ces nouveaux instruments pour la vérification de théories linguistiques générales seront illustrées par quelques exemples, portant en particulier sur les propriétés définies par N. Chomsky (1981) pour les langues dites « à sujet nul » et sur les principes d'organisation des constituants proposés par S. Dik (1997).

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Luca Lorenzetti

Contributo a una definizione dei nomi polirematici in latino

Vari modelli grammaticali correnti individuano l'esistenza di un gradiente tra lessico e sintassi e collocano all'interno di questo gradiente la variegata categoria dei lessemi polirematici (multi-word expressions, mots figés ecc.). Poiché le scale o i continui in questione sono definiti sul piano sintattico, le proprietà dei lessemi polirematici, nelle lingue che conoscono questa categoria, si situano perlopiù al livello della sintassi. Ad esempio, Voghera (2004: 57), nel proporre una scala "dalla parola monomorfematica alla frase, [...] dalla minima alla massima mobilità degli elementi costituenti", così strutturata:

PAROLA > PAROLA CON AFFISSI > PAROLA INCORPORANTE > COMPOSTO > POLIREMATICA > SINTAGMA > FRASE,

dispone per identificare le polirematiche dell'italiano una batteria di test che consistono essenzialmente in operazioni morfologiche (flessione) o sintattiche (inserzione di modificatori, dislocazione, pronominalizzazione) effettuate sulle teste dei presunti lessemi polirematici. Su una linea analoga i modelli costruzionisti, formalmente più elaborati, che suddividono la categoria degli idioms in base al grado di saturazione lessico-sintattica: cfr. jog <someone's> memory, parzialmente saturato, e give the Devil his due, totalmente saturato (Goldberg 2006: 5). Alle proprietà sintattiche si sovrappongono quelle semantiche della convenzionalità e della idiomaticità (o non-composizionalità) del significato lessicale. Sebbene alcuni repertori pongano la non composizionalità come categorialmente costitutiva delle polirematiche (ad es. Casadei 2001, di nuovo per l'italiano), più diffusa è la posizione per cui la categoria dei lessemi polirematici risulta definita primariamente su base (morfo)sintattica e solo secondariamente su base semantica. Tuttavia, il rapporto tra proprietà sintattiche e proprietà semantiche delle polirematiche è in buona parte linguospecifico. Una lingua nella quale la relativa debolezza delle proprietà morfologiche e sintattiche dei lessemi polirematici rende centrale la presenza di quelle semantiche è per l'appunto il latino. Limitandosi alle polirematiche nominali, i test sintattici risultano, come ci si attende, meno discriminanti che per altre lingue moderne: cfr. ad es. per la fissità d'ordine faber ferrarius vs. a ferrario fabro, mola salsa vs. salsa mola, manus ferreas 'arpioni da arrembaggio' vs. ferreas manus; per l'interrompibilità faber ferrarius vs. ex fabro, ut dicitur, ferrario, mola salsa vs. Mola litant salsa, sparge salsa colla taurorum mola; per la fissità di flessione domi belloque, domi bellique, belli domique 'in guerra e in pace'. L'influsso della scarsa fissità sintattica sullo statuto lessematico delle polirematiche latine è stato già discusso rispetto ai tecnicismi medici di traduzione dal greco (cfr. ad es. per Celso diffusio sanguinis < gr. αἱμορραγία: Langslow 1994); in questa comunicazione si intende testare il peso relativo di criteri semantici e sintattici su un corpus più esteso di nomi polirematici latini.

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Emanuela Marini

La notion de “classe d’objets” appliquée au vocabulaire des sons et des bruits vocaux articulés et inarticulés du latin

La notion théorique de “classe d’objets” est devenue de plus en plus centrale au sein de ce que j’ai appelé la “nouvelle démarche” concernant l’étude des constructions à verbe support (Marini 2007), dont le promoteur est M. G. Gross, directeur du LLI (Laboratoire de Linguistique Informatique) de l’Université de Paris XIII. Suivant la définition donnée par Gross (2007: 121), la classe d’objets est un «ensemble de substantifs, sémantiquement homogène, qui détermine une rupture d’interprétation d’un prédicat donné, en délimitant un emploi spécifique». Elles ne sont pas des concepts sémantiques abstraits, mais des entités construites sur des bases syntaxiques et sont induites par les prédicats. Soit, par ex., la classe des <vêtements>: ses éléments sont compatibles avec porter, ainsi qu’acheter, mais ce sera une combinaison de “prédicats appropriés”, comme porter, mettre, ôter, enfiler qui ne délimitera que des noms de <vêtements>. Or, la “classe d’objets” peut être également représentée par des “noms prédicatifs”, définis, comme les prédicats verbaux, par un domaine d’arguments et actualisés par les verbes supports.

Puisque, à la différence des prédicats verbaux, le choix des supports est directement lié à la nature sémantique des “noms prédicatifs”, on est contraint à sous-catégoriser ces derniers et d’en recenser les diverses propriétés caractéristiques. Il faut mettre au point autant de “classes” ou “sousclasses d’objets” de “noms prédicatifs” qu’il est nécessaire, pour assigner à chacun d’eux “le(s) support(s) basique(s)” et/ou le(s) “support(s) approprié(s)”. De cette façon, on pourra établir une relation de correspondance biunivoque entre les “classes” ou “sousclasses d’objets” d’une part et les verbes supports basiques et/ou appropriés de l’autre.

Dans ma communication j’appliquerai au latin la grille de description des noms prédicatifs mise au point au LLI (Vivès 2004 et Gross 2007) et comportant 14 rubriques, telles que nom de la classe sémantique, nombre et nature sémantique des arguments, verbe(s) support(s) basique(s), verbe(s) support(s) aspectuel(s), verbe(s) support(s) approprié(s), etc. La “classe d’objets” dont je ferai l’étude est celle des sons et des bruits vocaux articulés et inarticulés en latin, tels que risus, cachinnus, fletus, planctus, gemitus, vagitus, murmur, ululatus, clamor, questus, cantus, voces, verba, dicta etc. Je serai à même d’attribuer à chacun “nom prédicatif” son verbe support “basique”, qui est dare plutôt que facere, ainsi qu’un ou plusieurs verbe(s) support(s) approprié(s), tels que, par ex., edere et, moins souvent, reddere.

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Rafael Martínez Vázquez

The theory of Discourse Markes and Conjunctive Adverbs in Ancient Greek. Focus and οὕτως in the prose of Some Greek Historians

Modern studies on Discourse Markers within the frame of Discourse Grammar offer a fairly complete set of linguistic features which characterize the class and provide as well methodological clues to their identification. Such features are especially useful when applied to the study of conjunctive adverbs in Ancient Greek (Crespo). Discourse marking functions of conjunctive adverbs are harder to identify and have therefore been less studied, because, unlike particles, they function as regular adverbs as well. Besides, the study of connectors in a written language is always harder, since there are no native speakers to investigate.

The following features are relevant to the present study. Discourse markers are seen to lack propositional meaning as well as specific syntactic and semantic functions within the proposition, since they merely orient the hearer / reader to particular discourse relationships (Brinton). Closely related to this property and partly a consequence of it is the fact that they cannot fall under the scope of negatives and they cannot be focalized, they cannot bear a focus status within the informative structure of the sentence (Zorraquino – Portolés).

The working hypothesis runs as follows. Adverbs in general work as modifiers at different layers of the clause. Modifiers are basically optional terms and may be omitted without causing any lack of grammaticality on the rest of the sentence (Ramat – Ricca). In fact, they are regularly omitted, unless they are focalized in one way or another. Thus, if an adverb is used in a given text without bearing any focus status, one should be allowed to believe that the adverb is conjunctive and that it expresses relations at the level of discourse, quite above the sentence level. The author will focus on the values and uses of the adverb οὕτως with anaphoric reference. An anaphoric adverb, per se, cannot bear new information to the thematic structure of a text. It may build a contrastive focus, of course, but not much more than that. The question is, how about finding anaphoric οὕτως in passages where a contrasting focus function does not make any sense? Some passages will be discussed, drawn from the text of Ancient Greek historians, mainly from the work of Thucydides.

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Lucio Melazzo

Conjunctions and Topicalized Positions in Latin

This paper aims to propose a structural analysis of the position of some Latin conjunctions, both coordinative and subordinative. In the light of Kayne's theory of the antisymmetry of syntax and Rizzi's approach to the left periphery of the clause, an unmarked syntactic structure of both types of constructions in Latin is tentatively defined. Some cases like (1) and (2), in which the conjunctions are found in an unexpected position, are then taken into account.

- (1) non stratum, non ulla pati velamina possunt, | dura sed in terra ponunt praecordia (Ov. Met., 7, 558-559)
- (2) paucis cum esset in utramque partem verbis disputatum, res huc deducitur (Caes., Comm. Belli Civilis 1, 86, 3)

In both (1) and (2), an element of the clause, co-ordinate or subordinate respectively, has gone out, so to speak, and occurs to the left of the conjunction itself. The scrutiny of this syntactic "anomaly" may suggest an explanation of the composition, both linguistic and conceptual, of some Latin constructions.

The plays of Plautus, and Seneca and the poetical works of Virgil, Ovid, and Martial have been examined together with the prose writings of Caesar, Cicero, Seneca, Quintilian, and Apuleius so as to verify whether the phenomenon is to be connected with the peculiar form of poetry and regarded as a poetic licence or rather is a more extensive matter than had been imagined. So, the paper tries to state whether this "anomaly" belongs to grammar or qualifies as a sort of refinement of style which in verse tends to obscure the syntactic structure and in prose, though rare, may be related to some particular strategies of transmission of information.

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Julián Víctor Méndez Dosuna

Duel in the Dark: Syntax vs. Phonetics in Sophocles: Antigone 787-1199 and Electra 556-557

It is generally accepted that the argument structure of nominals differs from that of verbs to a greater or lesser extent depending of languages (De Simone 2008). For instance, while other less nuclear syntactic functions are easily combined with nouns, languages allowing for a direct object (DO) to be governed by a verbal nominal seem to be a minority. Ancient Greek is widely held to be one of such languages. Thus in (1a) the acc. pl. τὰ μετέωρα is analysed as the DO of φροντιστής. Allegedly this agent noun has the transitive force of φροντίζων in (1c). A more usual strategy consists in converting the DO of a verbal predicate into an objective genitive as a modifier of the verbal noun (1b)

(1a) ἔστιν τις Σωκράτης σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, τὰ τε μετέωρα φροντιστής (‘There is one Socrates, a wise man, a thinker [about] things above the earth’, Pl. Ap. 18b)

(1b) εἰ μὴ γε ἐδόκει τῶν μετεώρων φροντιστής εἶναι (‘If only you were not held to be a thinker about things above the earth’, X. Smp. 6.6.6)

(1c) Σωκράτης ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ φροντίζων τι ἔστηκε (‘Socrates has been standing since dawn considering something’, Pl. Smp. 220c)

In Méndez (forthcoming) I have argued that most of the alleged instances of DOs governed by nominals are illusory. Once time-honoured prejudice is put aside, it becomes clear that such examples are accusatives of respect of a trivial type (2). DOs governed by nominals in Greek are marginal and much more infrequent —if they exist at all— than scholars have assumed. (2) δεινὸς τὰ ἐρωτικά (‘Expert in matters of love’, Pl. Smp. 198d).

In my paper I intend to examine two passages of Sophocles (3a-b) that figure prominently in Greek grammars as undisputed examples of DOs governed by nominals. Crucially, unlike other alleged examples, these cannot be analysed as accusatives of respect.

(3a) καὶ σ’ οὔτ’ ἀθανάτων φύξιμος οὐδεὶς (‘And none of the mortals is capable of escaping you’, S. Ant. 787)

καὶ σε φύξιμος οὐδεὶς = καὶ σε φεύγει οὐδεὶς

(3b) εἰ δέ μ’ ᾧδ’ ἀεὶ λόγους (v.l. λόγοις) / ἐξῆρχες (‘If you always began speaking to me in this tone’, S. El. 556-57)

εἰ δέ με λόγους ἐξῆρχες = εἰ δέ με προσηγόρευες

According to a firmly entrenched scholarly tradition, σ’ and μ’ in (3a-b) can be nothing but the elided variants of the accusatives σε and με (demonstrably, word-final -ε is regularly elidable before a word-initial vowel in Attic tragedy). But appearances may be deceiving. Unquestionably, linguistic theories are indispensable to achieve a proper understanding of the syntactic structures of dead languages like Ancient Greek and Latin. In turn, Linguistics cannot do without Philology. Theories must be built on philologically validated facts. Deeds without faith and faith without deeds lead to the very same dead end.

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Book of abstracts

Paolo Milizia

Raddoppiamento attico e allineamento morfoprosodico

Il raddoppiamento del perfetto detto ‘attico’ (es. ὀδ- → ὄδωδ-α da ὄζω ‘odoro’) è stato spiegato sul piano diacronico (Kuryłowicz 1927) come esito di un raddoppiamento CV- applicato a base iniziante con nesso HC (p. es. *Hle-Hludh- > ἐληλουθ-, parallelo a *le-loikw- > λέλοιπα). Tuttavia lo schema di raddoppiamento del greco pare escludere la sequenza CCV-, con nesso consonantico iniziale, e l’ipotesi che le laringali antecoonsonantiche siano reduplicate in quanto elementi subsegmentali (cf. Keidana, in stampa) è difficilmente compatibile con il peso moraicmo mostrato dalle stesse in coda di sillaba. Inoltre le basi ie. di struttura HeC- presentano una difficoltà: *h3ed- → *h3e-h3od- darebbe **ῶδα, e l’ipotesi che forme come ὄδωδα continuino un raddoppiamento del grado zero (*h3d- → *h3de-h3d-) è ad hoc.

Sul piano sincronico, la produttività del radd. att. (cf. ion. [Eroda] ὀρώρηκα, ie. *ser-) pone il problema del rapporto tra questo schema reduplicativo e quello del tipo λέλοιπα. A riguardo è possibile dare, nel quadro dell’OT, una descrizione unitaria che fa perno sui vincoli seguenti:

Red+/od/	ONSET	RED =σ	ALIGN-R (μ, Red)	DEP (μ)
o.od- (o-od)	**!			
o:d- (o-od)	*	*!		
o.do.d- (od-od-)	*		*!	
> o.do:d- (odo-od-)	*			*

ONSET: la sillaba deve avere un attacco;

RED=σ: il radd. comporta un incrementodi una sillaba;

DEP(μ): non inserire more nell’output;

ALIGN-R(μ, Red): l’ultimo segmento del radd. deve “allinearsi” con una mora.

Presupponiamo, inoltre, che nel radd. att. il margine tra reduplicante e base sia posto tra le due more della vocale lunga.

Vincoli di allineamento tra categorie morfologiche e categorie prosodiche sono teorizzati in McCarthy-Prince 1993. Se di norma l’unità minima coinvolta in tali restrizioni è la sillaba, la possibilità di un allineamento moraicmo pare giustificata per una lingua come il greco, in cui le singole more delle vocali lunghe si mostrano reciprocamente autonome anche nell’accentabilità. Il timbro della vocale del reduplicante, che è sempre e nel tipo λέλοιπα mentre è reduplicato nel tipo ὄδωδα, può essere determinato dall’interazione tra vincoli di marcatezza (rispetto ai quali e si comporta come non marcato: *F[back/low]) e vincoli di fedeltà sensibili alla distinzione tra base e reduplicante da un lato (IDENT-IO >> IDENT-BR, cf. McCarthy-Prince 1995) e tra posizione segmentale iniziale e non iniziale dall’altro (IDENT/X1 >> IDENT, per un vincolo analogo MAX-WI in ambito non reduplicativo cf. Casali 1997).

Red+/od/	IDENT- IO(F)	IDENT- BR(F)/X ₁	*F[back/low]	IDENT- BR(F)
e.de:d-	*!	*		**
e.do:d-		*!	*	*
>o.do:d-			**	

Red+/tak ^h /	IDENT- IO(F)	IDENT- BR(F)/X ₁	*F[back/ low]	IDENT- BR(F)
tetek ^h -	*!			*
>tetak ^h -		*	*	*
tatak ^h -			**!	

Se l'assenza di radd. attico con vocali alte è imputabile a un vincolo che sfavorisce i nuclei vocalici [+high] in quanto meno sonori (cf. Prince-Smolensky 2004: 20ss.), la coesistenza di radd. att. e radd. quantitativo (cf. ὀπεγ- 'tendere' → ὀπεγ- e ὀροπεγ-) può essere vista come riflesso di una variazione diasistemica relativa all'ordinamento DEP(μ) | ALIGN-R(μ, Red) >> RED=σ.

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Piera Molinelli

Verbi come marcatori discorsivi interazionali in latino: interfacce tra morfosintassi, semantica e pragmatica

Nell'uso linguistico sul piano funzionale tipicamente distinguiamo tra:

- (1) forme linguistiche che codificano concetti, significato proposizionale (Guarda il mare!);
- (2) forme linguistiche che codificano procedure interpretative relative all'interazione, riferite sia al parlante e alla sua relazione con l'interlocutore che alla strutturazione del messaggio. (Guarda, secondo me stai sbagliando).

In latino, come in altre lingue, molti verbi, oltre al significato proposizionale, assumono un significato procedurale (Watts, 2003) che in generale li rende segnali discorsivi interazionali cioè forme pragmaticamente motivate nel contesto di relazione tra parlante e destinatario. In questo intervento intendiamo presentare una classificazione dei verbi che in latino possono essere usati (anche) come marcatori discorsivi interazionali (MDI) sulla base dell'analisi di materiali (lettere private, commedie, contesti dialogici) che più permettono di applicare a documentazioni scritte le procedure di analisi adottate dalla pragmatica in relazione a contesti orali. In particolare si presenterà una proposta di classificazione di verbi usati come MDI basata sulle caratteristiche morfosintattiche, distribuzionali, semantiche e pragmatiche dei predicati. I parametri considerati riguardano in particolare la produttività morfosintattica del verbo (vs. uso formulare), la libertà di distribuzione, la possibilità di modulazione, il mantenimento dei valori semantici originari, i valori pragmatici acquisiti (hedging, politeness).

Il processo che interessa tutti questi verbi può essere definito grammaticalizzazione, in senso lato (Lehmann 1995, Traugott 1995) o pragmaticalizzazione (Dostie 2001, Molinelli 2008 e in stampa). Questo tipo di studi può dare a chi si occupa di latino un quadro teorico di riferimento importante per una lettura conversazionale di molti contesti che risultano difficili da spiegare in termini puramente morfosintattici.

Viceversa, l'analisi di questo fenomeno in una diacronia lunga quale è quella consentita da latino e lingue romanze può fornire nuovi apporti sia alla teoria della grammaticalizzazione che agli studi sulla formazione dei segnali discorsivi.

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Beatriz Monc6

“Bad Greek” or Interlanguage?: the Greek Documentary Papyri

The Greek found in documentary papyri had been often regarded in the past as corrupted, or bad Greek, because it is full of errors. These errors are today recognised as an essential tool to perceive how Greek was spoken in Hellenistic and Roman periods. The works of Teodorsson on the phonology of the Ptolemaic Koine (1977) and Gignac, on the papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods (1976; 1981), are well known examples, and put the errors in the wider perspective of the history of the Greek language.

Most papyrological testimonies certainly didn't originate in highly hellenised areas. Some documents, which were written in these areas, have been found in other sites, but neither Alexandria (a more hellenised area) has provided any papyri, nor Naucratis, nor the Greek city of Ptolemais in Upper Egypt. The only reason is the climate, for only the extreme draught of the desert can preserve organic materials like papyrus (or leather). In consequence, most preserved documents originated and were written in peripheral areas, such as Karanis, Arsinoe, or Soknopaiou Nesos, in Egypt. In the Roman Near East, a good example are the well-known documentary papyri from the Judean Desert, written both there and in the Roman province of Arabia, and not from the hellenised town of Caesarea, for instance. In these peripheral areas of Egypt and the Middle East, Greek was not the first language of most of the native population. The influence of native languages in papyrological Greek has been long recognised, and recently, ancient texts have been considered from the perspective of Cross-Linguistic Influence (CLI) (Adams, Janse, and Swain 2002; Rutherford 2010, etc.).

In this communication, I propose to review the errors found in the papyri under the light of Second Language Acquisition studies (SLA), a branch of Applied Linguistics that was first established by Corder (1967). I consider possible that many instances, generally considered as mere corruptions, errors, or even as the result of the normal evolution of the language, can be explained as phenomena related to the interlanguage (IL) of L2 learners. IL was first defined by Selinker (1972: 214) as “a separate linguistic system based on the observable output which results from a learner's attempted production of a TL (i.e., target language) norm.” It has been, since then, a commonly accepted hypothesis. However, the Greek found in documentary papyri has not yet been researched under this perspective, as far as I know.

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Anna Orlandini-Paolo Poccetti

La comparaison dite « épistémique » en latin

Nous enquêterons sur la spécificité que la langue latine présente dans le traitement des comparatives dites « épistémiques » (Rivara, 1979 : ch. X ; et 1990 : 100, note 13) du type : - Elle est toujours plus belle qu'intelligente. Ces structures sont « épistémiques » en tant qu'expression d'un jugement évaluatif du locuteur. Toutefois, ce jugement porte, dans certains cas, sur la légitimité de l'énonciation de deux contenus propositionnels ainsi que de leur relation. Il s'agit d'une « construction à parallélisme », « une comparative portant sur deux phrases » (Muller 1996, 136 sq.). De telles structures opèrent au niveau « speech act » et sont plus précisément des « comparatives métalinguistiques » (Muller, 1996 : 136-138 ; Amsili & Desmets, à paraître, § 2). Ces comparatives admettent la paraphrase métalinguistique « il serait plus correct/adéquat de dire qu'elle est belle ... plutôt que de dire qu'elle est intelligente ». En ce qui concerne le français, C. Fuchs (2010 a et b) a réuni une liste d'indices formels permettant de faire le clivage entre ces comparatives et les comparatives quantitatives (« comparatives standard »). Nous en retenons trois qui nous paraissent cruciaux aussi en latin : la non gradabilité, la nature extra-propositionnelle de la négation, la présence du comparatif non synthétique. En latin, la structure morpho-syntactique nous renseigne si les prédications se réalisent toutes deux à un certain degré (proportionnel entre elles) : « quelqu'un possède telle qualité à un plus haut degré que telle autre qualité (qu'il possède également, mais à un degré moindre) » (O. Riemann 1957, 18). Dans ce cas, que nous rapprochons des « comparatives standard » à cause de leur gradabilité, les deux adjectifs sont tous deux au degré comparatif signalé par le suffixe *-ior*, qui exprime ici, selon l'ancienne valeur de base, une certaine intensité :

(1) *qui alia bella fortius semper quam felicius gessissent* (Liv. 5,43,7)

«qui avaient conduit les autres guerres d'une manière plus courageuse que favorisés de la fortune»

En revanche, lorsque une qualité est possédée plutôt qu'une autre (qui pourrait aussi avoir un degré nul), la structure est réalisée par le comparatif non synthétique *magis quam*, et, d'un point de vue logique, on pourrait la rapprocher d'une disjonction exclusive :

(2) *dum se temere magis quam satis caute in mediam dimicationem infert* (Liv. 3,5,7)

«lorsqu'il se gette courageusement plutôt qu'assez prudemment au milieu de la bataille»

Cette tournure se rencontre souvent en latin post-classique, de préférence chez les historiens, en particulier, lorsqu'il s'agit de descriptions de portraits.

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Francesca Pagliara

Il riferimento indefinito in latino

Il lavoro che propongo consiste in un'analisi strutturale-funzionale dei pronomi indefiniti latini riconducibili alla radice indoeuropea *kw-o-/*kw-e-/*kw-i-.

Dopo una rassegna della trattazione dell'indefinito nei grammatici antichi e negli studi indoeuropeistici e una breve analisi etimologica e morfologica dei pronomi indefiniti corradicali di quis, il nucleo del lavoro consiste in un inquadramento tipologico dei pronomi indefiniti analizzati sulla base della regola di marcatezza universale di Haspelmath (1997). Lo studio del latino conferma questa regola, ma mostra anche la singolare ricchezza morfologica del latino, che infatti presenta tutti i tipi formali possibili di pronomi indefiniti (derivati, composti, a raddoppiamento, parole generiche).

L'analisi viene poi spostata sul livello funzionale: i diversi pronomi indefiniti sono considerati in un'ottica di sistema, in cui vengono stabilite le interrelazioni semantico-funzionali basate sul modello teorico, orientato tipologicamente, di Haspelmath, e sull'approccio critico, caratterizzato da una maggiore considerazione degli aspetti pragmatici, di Orlandini (1981).

Lo scopo ultimo del lavoro è arrivare a una sistematizzazione coerente dei pronomi indefiniti del latino, considerandone le caratteristiche ai vari livelli di analisi. Rispetto alla mappa implicazionale elaborata da Haspelmath risulta fondamentale: (a) un suo ampliamento, che consideri la forma quis, tralasciata da Haspelmath; (b) la considerazione della modalità, che risulta di enorme rilievo nella classificazione.

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Marco Passarotti

When Praguian Functionalism Meets Latin

Standard annotations of surface syntactic structure in text corpora represent nowadays only the first steps towards the creation of advanced language resources for developing better systems of natural language processing and for testing and refining linguistic theories. Presently, the available Latin treebanks (i.e. syntactically annotated corpora) provide surface syntax analysis (see the Latin Dependency Treebank [1] and the Index Thomisticus Treebank [3]) and basic semantic role labelling (see the PROIEL corpus [2]). In the Index Thomisticus Treebank project (IT-TB) we are now starting a further layer of annotation, adding (i) predicate-argument relations through semantic roles, (ii) sentential information structure and (iii) ellipsis and anaphora resolution and coreferential relations. The IT-TB is a 100,000 tokens syntactically annotated corpus, excerpted from the Index Thomisticus corpus, which retains the 11 million tokens *opera omnia* of Thomas Aquinas. The annotation workflow of the IT-TB is grounded on Functional Generative Description (FGD) [4], a dependency-based theoretical framework developed in Prague and intensively tested and applied during the creation of the Prague Dependency Treebank of Czech (PDT). Presently, the IT-TB data are annotated at the so-called ‘analytical layer’, which in PDT is conceived of as a step towards the annotation of the underlying syntactic representations (‘tectogrammatical layer’). Syntactic tagging in PDT consists of two steps:

(i) analytic tree structures (ATS), in which every word form and punctuation mark of the sentence is explicitly represented as a node of a rooted tree. The edges of the tree correspond to (surface) syntactic dependency relations, such as Subject, Object, etc.;

(ii) tectogrammatical tree structures (TGTS), describing the underlying structure of the sentence, conceived of as the semantically relevant counterpart of the grammatical means of expression. The nodes of TGTSs represent only autosemantic words, labelled with syntactico-semantic relations tags such as Actor, Patient, Addressee, Effect and Origin (‘inner participants’, i.e. arguments), and different kinds of adverbials (‘free modifications’, i.e. adjuncts). The values of function words and punctuation marks are captured by the labels of the nodes standing for autosemantic words. The two dimensions of TGTSs represent the syntactic structure of the sentence (the vertical dimension) and its information structure (‘topic-focus articulation’, TFA), based on the underlying word order (the horizontal dimension). In FGD, TFA deals with the opposition of contextual boundness (the ‘given’ information, on the left) and unboundness (the ‘new’ information, on the right). Ellipsis and anaphora resolution and coreferential relations are represented in TGTSs, as well.

This paper aims at presenting the transition from analytical to tectogrammatical annotation in the IT-TB, as a case-study of application of FGD to Latin.

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Jean-Christophe Pitavy

Discours rapporté, indexicaux et logophoriques en grec ancien

En grec, le discours rapporté (DR) peut être exprimé par deux types de compléments d'objets : SN à l'accusatif couplé à un prédicat verbal (proposition « infinitive ») ou subordonnée conjonctive (ὅτι ou ὡς) avec verbe au mode du discours direct (DD) ou à l'optatif. Bien que l'optatif « oblique » constitue une variante de « concordance des temps » comme on en trouve dans une grande variété de langues, le grec se distingue pour son usage des marques indexicales et déictiques (personnelles, temporelles et modales) dans le type conjonctif avec ὅτι :

– soit les indexicaux sont syntaxiquement intégrés dans un seul système de repérage énonciatif pour toute la phrase (discours narratif et DR) : ἀπεκρίνατο Κλεάνωρ... ὅτι πρόσθεν ἂν ἀποθάνοιεν ἢ τὰ ὄπλα παραδοίησαν (« Cléanor répondit qu'ils mourraient avant de rendre les armes. », Xen, Anabase, 2, 1, 10) ;

– soit la phrase du DR garde les indexicaux qui apparaîtraient en DD. Les positions personnelles (locuteur, destinataire) des indexicaux changent avec le passage en phrase régie : Ἐγὼ δ' εἶπον ὅτι « οὐκ ἐγὼ σε ἀποκτενῶ... » (« Je lui dis que ce n'était pas moi qui le tuerais. », Lysias, Meurtre d'Ératosthène, 1, 25-26). Les oppositions interpersonnelles se font par rapport au responsable du DR (logophoricité).

Ce fonctionnement, solution simple en termes de restriction de marquage, pose une série de problèmes descriptifs, sémantiques et théoriques.

Une vue simplicatrice pose que ὅτι n'a pas de rôle de subordonnant : il n'intègre pas le repérage énonciatif, mais se contente de joindre deux phrases correspondant à deux actes d'énonciation différents et deux situations distinctes : le discours narratif et le DR. Il n'y aurait pas de différence entre une phrase subordonnée de DR et l'indépendante correspondante.

Hypothèse

Cette contribution propose de réexaminer la relation entre indexicalité et DR en abordant les données grecques au niveau de la typologie générale, pour faire les propositions suivantes :

– ὅτι est un opérateur de subordination : la phrase (subordonnée) qu'il ouvre ne conserve pas au sens strict la structure du DD, même si elle peut reprendre certains paramètres comme la personne, la temporalité, la modalité, etc. ;

– les marques personnelles du DR ouvert par ὅτι peuvent être interprétées en tenant compte d'un risque d'ambiguïté dans un certain nombre de cas. La désambiguïsation des personnes est rendue possible dans le cas où c'est la relation logophorique du DR qui prend la place de l'indexicalité de la phrase matrice. Le travail est mené dans le cadre des théories des logophoriques, à partir d'exemples pris dans un corpus de prose classique (Platon, orateurs, historiens).

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Jesús Polo

A new approach on adverbial subordination in Ancient Greek. The case of πλήν.

Kortmann proposes in his book about adverbial subordination the existence of very different types of adverbial subordination. His approach is typological and focuses on European languages. Among the subordinated clauses of his study, he speaks about the so-called Exception clauses. In these clauses “p either stands in the way of q, or p and q serve as arguments supporting opposite conclusions” (Kortmann 1997: 87) as in the following examples:

(1) You can have dad’s car, except that it’s very low on petrol.

(2) She’s a great help in the kitchen, only she can’t keep her mouth shut.

These clauses have been studied in modern languages like English (cf. Quirk et alii 1985: 1102-1103, Pérez 2002: 66), French (cf. Togeby et alii 1985: V 119-20), German (cf. Klosa 1998: 808) or Italian (cf. Dardano - Trifone 1985: 284. 309). But in Ancient Greek, this type of subordination has not been very studied (cf. Redondo 2003, Polo 2006 and 2008). In some cases, this type of subordination can be recognised as in the following examples in which the exception is introduced by πλήν:

(3) Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα γόνιμα πλήν ὅτι τὸ μὲν μείζον τὸ δ' ἔλαττον γίνεται τῶν διδύμων, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον τερατῶδες (Arist. HA. 562a 31) “Twineggs therefore are fertile, except that in cases where one of the twins is larger and the other smaller, the smaller one is sometimes a monstrosity”.

(4) καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνη φέρει τὸν καρπὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχους καὶ ἐκ τῶν παχυτάτων ἀκρεμόνων, πλήν ὅτι βλαστὸν τινα ἀφήσει μικρὸν ἄφυλλον ὥσπερ ῥίζιον, πρὸς ᾧ γε ὁ καρπός (Thphr. HP. 4.2.3.4) “For this also bears its fruit on the stem and on the tickets branches, except that in this case there is a small leafless shoot, like a root, to which the fruit is attached”.

The aims of this work are the following:

- a) to present the conditions under which it is possible to recognize Exception subordinated clauses in Ancient greek.
- b) to propose a diachronical evolution of the kind of linguistic units that πλήν can link: from single word to informational units bigger than the clause.
- c) to clarify what kind of word class is πλήν.

The theoretical framework of the study is the Functional Grammar according to Dik (1997a & 1997b) and the comprehension of subordination of Villa (2000). When possible, last advances of Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld - Mackenzie 2008) are applied. The corpus is formed by the authors the CD TLG includes between the VIII B.C. century until II century A.D.

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Nicoletta Puddu

The contribution of Greek and Latin to a diachronic typology of reflexives

In this paper I will discuss the marking of person in reflexive markers from a typological-historical perspective, mainly relying on Greek and Latin evidence.

Reflexives have been first discussed from a typological point of view by Faltz (1985) and then by Geniušienė (1987), Comrie (1999) and König and Siemund (2000) among others. More recently, universals of reflexive marking have been dealt under a frequentist perspective by Haspelmath (2008). However, while the syntax of reflexives has been widely studied, less attention has been paid to their morphology. Reflexives have also been treated in a diachronic perspective by Faltz (1985), König & Siemund (2000) and Ariel (2008) among others. However, there are not uncontroversial diachronic universals for reflexives markers based on large diachronic corpora. Greek and Latin offer a good testing ground to study the morphology of reflexives because of their long history of documentation. Moreover, reflexives in Greek and Latin show interesting typological features.

As far as person is concerned, Faltz (1985), proposes to divide reflexives into two classes: functionally streamlined reflexives and strategically streamlined reflexives. Functionally streamlined reflexives have a dedicated reflexive marker only for third person, while strategically streamlined reflexives use the same marker for all persons.

He also suggests two diachronic universal tendencies:

- 1) languages tend to change from the “strategically streamlined” type to the “functionally streamlined” type;
- 2) if in a language there is a pronominal reflexive for 1st person, then there is also one for 2nd person and if there is a pronominal reflexive for 2nd person, then there is also one for 3rd person. Faltz proposes that this hierarchy has also a diachronic value, suggesting that, if a reflexive extends from the third person to first and second, it extends first to the second person.

However, he finds support for these hypothesis on evidence from very few languages. In Puddu (2010) Faltz’s claims have been challenged on the basis of diachronic data from Greek. In the history of Greek, reflexives change from functionally streamlined to strategically streamlined and vice versa. Moreover, person had no role in the extension of *heautón* from the third person to the others, while number played a central role. *Heautón* did not extend first to second person and then to first person, but it extended first to the plural and then to the singular forms. In this paper, I will enrich the picture by adding evidence from Latin and Romance languages. Moreover, I will show that Faltz’s claims are not even supported by data from other unrelated languages.

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Elena Redondo Moyano

Las combinaciones del adverbio conjuntivo ὅμως con otros conectores

El objetivo de este trabajo es presentar y explicar la combinaciones que se dan entre el adverbio conjuntivo ὅμως y diferentes conectores dentro del corpus de las cinco novelas griegas conservadas completas (escritas en griego aticista durante los siglos I a IV).

La clase de los adverbios conjuntivos se ha estudiado recientemente en varias lenguas modernas donde ha resultado ser de gran utilidad para la correcta descripción lingüística, cf. Halliday-Hasan (1976), Quirk et al. (1985: 631-647), Kovacci (1999), Lonzi (1991: 411 ss); Martín Zorraquino-Portolés (1999), RAE (2009: 2355-2370). Sin embargo, esta clase de adverbios no se han estudiado en ninguna gramática del griego antiguo; sólo en la reciente gramática de Crespo-Conti-Maqueira (2003:220ss) se les dedica una breve sección.

La comunicación que aquí se presenta forma parte de un proyecto de investigación dedicado al estudio de estos adverbios en griego antiguo. En esta comunicación se expondrá:

1. El valor central del adverbio conjuntivo ὅμως.
2. Los usos en los que aparece en combinación con otros conectores: apodótico, conector de oraciones y conector de enunciados. Frecuencias con las que aparecen las combinaciones en los diferentes usos.
3. Conclusiones: conectores con los que puede combinarse y valor de las combinaciones.

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Antonio Revuelta

Reciprocity in Latin and Greek: a comparative and typological perspective

Research on reciprocity has thrived in the last years from a typological point of view (Frajzyngier, König & Gast, Nedjalkov). Instead research on this topic in Latin and Greek has drawn little attention or has been limited to the study of prototypical marks: morphological voice markers (Greek middle voice), pronouns (ἄλλήλους) or mixed constructions (Latin *inter se*). The aim of this paper is to give a general description of reciprocity in Greek and Latin that covers the void in the field of ancient languages and may be used in typological studies. Therefore, apart from the above mentioned typical marks of reciprocity, the paper will take into account other forms of expression (see Evans's catalogue), as for example the use of prefixes (Greek ἀντι-) or multiple clauses, as exemplified in the following passages:

- (1) προχειπὼν τινα χαίρειν οὐκ ἀντιπροχειρήθη («he had saluted one who did not return his civility», X.Mem.3.13.1.1-1.2)
- (2) Τὸ φιλεῖν τε καὶ φιληθῆναι ὑπὸ ἐκάστου. («“That he should kiss and be kissed by everyone?”», Pl.R.468b11)

Verbs prefixed by ἀντι- in Greek behave as those prefixed by *contra-* in Spanish (*contraatacar*), *counter-* in English (*counterattack*) or *zurück-* in German (*zurückgrüßen*) (Cruse) and as verb-particle combinations of *back* in English (Bruce: *to kiss back*). Unlike other more prototypical reciprocal constructions verbal prefixation presents the subevents that compose a complex reciprocal event partially as presupposed and partially as asserted, as the following lexical decomposition into meaning postulates (Dik) of ἀντιφιλέω (prefixed verb), φιλοῦνται (middle voice) and φιλοῦσι ἀλλήλους (reciprocal pronoun) shows:

- (3) ὁ Σωκράτης ἀντιφιλεῖ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην (“Socrates kisses back Alcibiades”)
 - a. Assertion: ὁ Σωκράτης φιλεῖ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην (“Socrates kisses Alcibiades”)
 - b. Presupposition: ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐφίλησε τὸν Σωκράτη (“Alcibiades kissed Socrates (previously)”)
- (4) ὁ Σωκράτης καὶ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης φιλοῦνται / φιλοῦσι ἀλλήλους (“Socrates and Alcibiades kiss each other”)
 - a. Assertion: ὁ Σωκράτης φιλεῖ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην (“Socrates kisses Alcibiades”)
 - b. Assertion: ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης φιλεῖ τὸν Σωκράτη (“Alcibiades kisses Socrates”)

The account of reciprocity in this paper will therefore surpass the narrow description of this phenomenon in classical language studies and provide perhaps useful information for further typological studies.

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Daniel Riaño

Internal Object and Cognate Object in Ancient Greek

The internal accusative is found not only in most ancient Indo-European languages, but also in many unrelated languages, like Arabic and Kannada. Greek is considered one of the languages where this construction (and specially the Cognate object construction) is more frequent. A good deal has been written about the inner accusative in Greek, and still one finds the functionality of the construction and its very definition lays somewhat undecided. Even the relation between the Internal Object and the Cognate object is not without controversy (De Swart 2007). My aim is to consider this question within the frame of a general cognitive theory of transitivity, following Hopper & Thompson (1980), Langacker (1987; 1991), Fauconnier (1996; 1997) and Givón (2001).

A semantic approach to transitivity allows a classification of the functions of cases that makes possible a stronger prediction of case marking of the arguments than the inherited classifications (Kühner, Schwyzer, Moorhouse, etc) and at the same time explains better the relation between case marking and other morphosyntactic phenomena. I will propose certain rules (mainly semantic) to distinguish internal objects from other objects, and will propose certain considerations to explain the wide use of some types of Internal Objects in Ancient Greek. First I will try to define what an Internal Object is and what it is not, and what is its relation with the Cognate Object and with other types of effected objects. Second, I will show some of the inconsistencies in the treatment of the issue by other well known authors of the last two centuries. Third, I will place the role of the Internal object within my own hypothesis of the role of affectedness in the marking of Objects in Ancient Greek (Riaño 2006). Fourth, I will consider the special case of the indefinite pronoun $\tau\iota$.

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Emilia Ruiz Yamuza

Apodotic adverbs between syntax and discourse

Lexica and commentaries, on a regular basis, recognise apodotic uses of adverbs, specially phoric adverbs. These adverbs appear in the main sentence referring or pointing back to a participle or subordinate clause and, apparently, they seem to tie a link between main clause and subordinate clause. Our hypothesis considers that apodotic uses are related with the type of subordination, as well as with the type of entity referred to by the apodotic adverb, whether first, second or third level entities. And our further concern is whether they merely intensify the syntactic relation between the clauses or they play a role as discourses markers.

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Giancarlo Schirru

La condizione sulla coda della sillaba latina

In molte lingue si hanno restrizioni sulla presenza delle opposizioni consonantiche in coda sillabica nella quale può apparire solo un sottoinsieme delle opposizioni, o solo una ristretta classe di consonanti (p. es. le sonoranti), o si ha al limite la completa mancanza della coda (pertanto tutte le sillabe sono aperte). Sulla base di tale fenomeno si è formato in fonologia il concetto di legittimazione autosegmentale, che prevede «a close relationship between the way that segmental material is licensed, on one hand, and its metrical property, on the other» (Goldsmith 1990: 206): la struttura prosodica svolgerebbe quindi un ruolo nel legittimare i tratti che possono comparire in ciascuno dei costituenti della sillaba. Nei singoli sistemi linguistici può essere attiva una «condizione sulla coda» (ingl. coda condition) che prevede quali tratti possono essere legittimati in coda, e quali no (vd. Goldsmith 1990: 123-27; Kiparsky 2003; Ito – Mesters 2003: 26-29, 213-18; per l'italiano Marotta 1995).

Nella sillaba latina (su cui vd. Marotta 1999; Lehmann 2005) il fenomeno più evidente che rientra nella fattispecie descritta riguarda l'unico tratto laringeo: un nesso di due ostruenti ha normalmente lo stesso valore nel tratto di sonorità. La diffusa presenza nel lessico latino del nesso bt (ad es. obtineō, subtilis, subtus) sembra essere un fatto solo grafico, a fronte di una fonologia /pt/ ipotizzabile sulla base della testimonianza dei grammatici e dei referti epigrafici (cfr. Niedermann 1953: 129-30; Väänänen 1982: 118; Leumann 1977: 196). Se ne può concludere che il tratto [sonoro] non è legittimato in coda, ma assume in questa posizione la specificazione presente nell'attacco sillabico immediatamente successivo.

Un ragionamento diverso deve essere avanzato a proposito dei tratti consonantici di luogo diaframmatico. Il latino testimonia di opposizioni per questi tratti in coda sillabica, sia in posizione finale di parola (es. dōnec 'fino a che' ~ dōnet 'egli dia'), sia in posizione interna quando l'attacco seguente sia costituito da una consonante alveolare (es. optō 'scelgo' ~ octō 'otto'; rēpsī 'strisciai' ~ rēxī 'guidai'; amnī 'fiume.DAT(/ABL)' ~ agnī /aɲni:/ 'agnello.GEN').

Questo fatto può essere messo in relazione con la cosiddetta «sindrome delle coronali», cioè il fatto che le alveolari rappresentano il luogo consonantico non marcato (vd., per il latino, Marotta 1993): in tale prospettiva la coda consonantica latina manterrebbe solo un residuo della proprietà – attribuibile alla sillaba indoeuropea – di legittimare tutti i tratti di luogo sia in attacco sia in coda: essi sono attivi in coda interna di parola solo se l'attacco della sillaba seguente è non marcato proprio per quei tratti; in tutti gli altri casi la fonologia storica del latino testimonia l'assimilazione regressiva di un nesso ambisillabico non omorganico.

L'esito dell'evoluzione romanza primaria è per lo più riassumibile come un'estensione della condizione sulla coda della sillaba latina fino alla completa esclusione delle opposizioni di luogo consonantico (attraverso diverse trafilie: assimilazione, vocalizzazione ecc.). Malgrado una tendenza in tal senso si manifesti con nettezza già in latino volgare, bisogna sottolineare come l'estensione citata sia avvenuta in un ampio lasso di tempo, in cui non sono mancate spinte contraddittorie (p. es. la formazione di nuovi nessi consonantici per effetto della sincope): con ciò può essere messa in relazione la grande varietà degli esiti romanzi.

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Per Erik Solberg

Latin long-distance anaphora: a minimalist analysis

I propose a minimalist analysis of Latin long-distance anaphors (LDAs) in finite clauses, based on (Giorgi 2006). My data is mainly drawn from the annotations of Caesar in (the PROIEL corpus), supplemented by collections of examples from the philological literature.

It is commonly assumed that there is a correlation between the subjunctive of indirect speech and the occurrence of LDAs in finite clauses (c.f. (Bertocchi 1986) and others). According to (Benedicto 1991), the presence of a subjunctive is not relevant for the distribution of LDAs, because there are examples of LDAs occurring in indicative clauses, as in the following example: *Caesari duabus de causis Rhenum transire constituit; quarum una erat, quod auxilia contra sei Treveris miserant, altera...* (Gall. 6.9.1). She argues that a matrix subject can bind reflexives in a subordinate clause only if the clause containing the reflexives either is a complement of the matrix verb or is a restrictive relative clause to a matrix object. I find this approach both too strong and too weak: firstly, LDAs can occur in adjoined purpose clauses (c.f. (Ros 2001)): *Cuncti ad me saepe venerunt, ut suarum fortunarum omnium causam defensionemque susciperem* (div. in Caec. 2).

Secondly, her approach leaves unexplained why LDAs are very frequent in subjunctive clauses of indirect speech/thought, while indicative clauses with LDAs are very rare. (Giorgi 2006), analyzing Italian, suggests that a clause expressing indirect speech/thought contains the coordinates of the bearer-of-attitude (BoA), that is, the person whose thoughts or opinions the clause expresses. When a reflexive occurs within such a clause, reflexive binding can obtain, not only between the reflexive and the embedded subject, but also between the reflexive and the coordinates of the BoA. In most cases the BoA will be the matrix subject, yielding subject-oriented LD binding. It is not always the case that the BoA is the matrix subject, however, and other constituents subject may therefore occasionally serve as antecedents for LDAs.

I implement this theory in an analysis of Latin LDAs. In a large majority of the cases, Latin LDAs do occur in clauses of indirect speech/thought, and the BoA is the binder: *Ubi orabant ut sibi i auxilium ferret* (Gall. 4.16.5). The analysis also has the advantage of readily explaining cases like the following, discussed by (Benedicto 1991), where a BoA different from the matrix subject is the binder: *Annali litterae pergratae fuerunt quod curares de sei diligenter* (Ad Q.fr 3.1.20).

I suggest that indirect speech/thought is the appropriate domain for Latin LDAs, and that subjunctive mood is not directly relevant. This proposal explains all of the LDAs in subjunctive clauses, and also to a large extent the LDAs in indicative clauses, as a good number of these can be shown to be clauses of indirect speech/thought where the subjunctive is blocked. Some of the examples do not fit this pattern, however, and I will explore a special treatment of them.

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Jorie Soltic

Modern Clitic Typologies vs the (Byzantine) Greek Object Clitic Pronouns

In this paper, I challenge the applicability of Anderson's (2005) clitic typology to the Greek object clitic pronouns (OCPs), with special attention to Byzantine Greek. Anderson, an authority in the field of clitics, proposes a (modified) version of Optimality Theory, in which different rankings of constraints are set to account for the varying behaviour of clitics across languages. Anderson distinguishes three important constraint families: "Left/RightMost", "Non-Initial/Final" and "Integrity". Each constraint applies to a determined domain.

In Archaic Greek the OCPs were placed in second position (P2) in their domain, viz. the intonational phrase (IntPhr), in accordance with the Indo-European "Law" put forward by Wackernagel (1892), regardless of the position of their governing verb (cf. Janse 1993). In terms of Anderson's typology, we could say that Non-Initial (cli, IntPhr) dominates LeftMost (cli, IntPhr), while Integrity (Word) is ranked above all. I leave this constraint aside, since it is an absolute one during the whole history of Greek, as an OCP can never split up a word. Where clitics are located with respect to the head of a phrase, such as the finite verb (Vfin), Anderson suggests a different parameterization of the domain, in which the clitic is introduced. Thus, in Modern Greek, LeftMost (cli, Vfin) dominates all other constraints.

The Byzantine Greek OCPs take up an intermediate position between Archaic and Modern Greek. As in Modern Greek, the OCPs obligatorily form a unit with their governing verb, but their position vis-à-vis the finite verb is not (yet) fixed: postverbal position is the unmarked order, but pre-verbal position is (quasi-)obligatory if an IntPhr starts with a first position (P1) function word (syntactic rule) and optional if it begins with a focalized constituent (pragmatic principle) (cf. Mackridge 1993). Both principles for preposition, the syntactic and the pragmatic one, can actually be considered as remnants of the "Law" of Wackernagel, since it is a consequence of the "Law" that OCPs preferably attach to P1 function words and focalized constituents (cf. Janse 2000). If we attempt to describe the Byzantine OCPs by means of Anderson's typology, problems arise, for instance: *αἰχμάλωτόν σε ἦρπαξα* (Digenis Akritis, Grottaferrata ms, 2.188), but **σε αἰχμάλωτον ἦρπαξα*, **σε ἦρπαξα αἰχμάλωτον* and **ἦρπαξα αἰχμάλωτόν σε*. On the basis of this example, we can deduce that Non-Initial (cli, IntPhr) dominates LeftMost (cli, Vfin). Nevertheless, *αἰχμάλωτον ἦρπαξά σε* would also be perfectly possible, so here we have to recognize RightMost (cli, Vfin) as the highest ranked constraint. Obviously, a fixed ranking of constraints is impossible for the Byzantine OCPs. The difference between the two possible sequences can be explained in terms of pragmatics: in the last sequence we see the unmarked postverbal order; in the first sentence *αἰχμάλωτον* is emphasized and attracts the OCP, which now appears before its verb in second position and can thus be considered as a remnant of the "Law" of Wackernagel. In conclusion, Byzantine Greek OCPs pose a serious challenge for Anderson's typology, not only because their distribution is "transitional" between Archaic and Modern Greek, but also because their position is (partly) regulated by pragmatic principles, for which there seems to be no room in the constraint system.

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Olga Spevak

Construction « appositive » ou syntagme nominal ? Sur le statut des adjectifs postnominaux en latin et en grec ancien

La grammaire comparée (par exemple, Meillet 1937 : 360) considère généralement les adjectifs postnominaux en grec ancien et en latin comme des « appositifs ». D'un autre côté, le grec mais surtout le latin jouissent d'une grande flexibilité de l'ordre des composants du syntagme nominal (cf. D. Bakker 1998) qui permet le placement des adjectifs en position pré- et postnominale. Ch. Lehmann (1991 : 224) a caractérisé les SN en latin comme « nominal groups with a relatively low degree of integration ». En résulte-t-il que ces deux langues montrent des symptômes d'une langue non-configurationnelle ? (cf. Plank 2003 : 28, note 9). L'objectif de cette contribution sera de confronter la structure du syntagme nominal dans les deux langues, étudiées, en général, séparément (cf., parmi d'autres, S. Bakker 2009 sur le grec et Spevak 2010 sur le latin), et d'examiner le problème de « constructions appositives » vs syntagme nominal d'un point de vue syntaxique. Par exemple en latin, *bonus dans spernitur orator bonus* (Enn. Ann. 8.268) ne peut être analysé comme un « adjectif apposé » parce que *orator bonus* forme un syntagme qui commute avec *is* (*is spernitur* et non pas **is bonus spernitur*) et qui est résumé par un relatif (*orator bonus qui spernitur*). En revanche, un cas d'adjectifs en apposition serait, par exemple : *eam nauem nuper egomet uidi Veliae multique alii uiderunt, pulcherrimam atque ornatissimam, iudices* (Cic. Verr. 5.44), qui portent sur un nom dont la référence est saturée (*eam nauem*). En grec, langue qui dispose d'un article défini, certaines constructions se laissent analyser comme appositives, par exemple : *toi=si barba/roisi toi=si e)n th=|)Asi/h|* (Hdt. 6.58.2) mais, comme l'a montré S. Bakker (2009 : 221), une telle interprétation est exclue dans les cas comme *gnw/mh|si th=|si)Iw/nwn* (Hdt. 2.15.1) où un nom dépourvu d'article est suivi d'un modifieur accompagné d'un article (*des opinions, à savoir celles des Ioniens). En outre, dans ma contribution, j'essaierai de faire le point sur la question concernant les constructions appositionnelles en présentant de principales approches (typologique, générative et fonctionnel) qui divergent essentiellement quant au statut des adjectifs postnominaux dans les deux langues.

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Liana Tronci

Sulla flessione verbale in greco antico

In questo lavoro si discute di flessione verbale, prendendo a pretesto una varietà linguistica indoeuropea, il greco antico. Secondo una prospettiva di ricerca inaugurata in La Fauci (1988) l'opposizione tra flessione attiva e flessione media nelle lingue indoeuropee (dunque anche in greco antico) è manifestazione di differenze sintattiche relative alla funzione di soggetto. A illustrazione di tale correlazione (tra opposizione flessionale e differenze sintattiche) valga la coppia di costruzioni seguenti, una attiva e l'altra passiva:

(1) [...] ἐκ δὲ πηδήσας ἐγὼ / θῆρ ὡς διώκω τὰς μαιφόνους κύνας (Eur., Ec. 1172-1173)
'io camminando inseguo come una fiera le cagne macchiate di uccisione'

(2) ὄρῳ κήρυκα τόνδ' Εὐρυσθέως / στείχοντ' ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὐ διωκόμεσθ' ὑπὸ πάσης ἀλήται
γῆς ἀπεστερημένοι (Eur., Heracl. 49-51)
'vedo l'araldo di Euristeo che giunge da noi, lui dal quale noi siamo inseguiti, esuli privati d'ogni terra'

In tale prospettiva, le funzioni grammaticali stanno in dipendenza delle loro relazioni sintagmatiche e paradigmatiche. L'opposizione flessionale marca appunto la differenza tra soggetti non-medi e soggetti medi, ovvero tra soggetti che sono in relazione paradigmatica con la funzione di oggetto diretto e soggetti privi di tale relazione.

Dal punto di vista appena illustrato dipende una considerazione semplice che, tuttavia, non sempre è stata adeguatamente valutata nelle ricerche sui valori della flessione verbale in greco antico (ma anche in altre varietà indoeuropee: il sanscrito, ad esempio). Il valore della flessione verbale non è assoluto, ma relativo, e dipende dalla differenza fondamentale tra contesto oppositivo e contesto non-oppositivo: vi sarà dunque un valore della flessione dipendente dal tratto [+ oppositivo] che consente di determinare differenzialmente la pertinenza della flessione attiva e della flessione media e, in opposizione ad esso, un valore della flessione dipendente dal tratto [- oppositivo]. In quest'ultimo caso – siano essi contesti con flessione attiva o contesti con flessione media – la differenza di flessione non è linguisticamente pertinente, in quanto non oppositiva. Ne è un esempio il caso dei cosiddetti verbi media tantum e activa tantum, forme lessicali cioè che non presentano flessione oppositiva, ma ricorrono solo con flessione media o solo con flessione attiva (cfr., tra gli altri, Wackernagel 1926, Lazzeroni 1990).

La comunicazione discuterà di tre diversi costrutti, che illustrano sperimentalmente la differenza tra valore oppositivo e valore non-oppositivo della flessione verbale.

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John Van Way

Relative Case Attraction in Ancient Greek and Latin: a Typological Perspective

In this paper I address the phenomenon commonly referred to as attraction or assimilation, where a relative pronoun appears to be attracted into the case of its antecedent. An example from Plato (Apology, 29b):

pro tōn kakōn hōn oida
instead.of DET.GEN.PL evil.GEN.PL REL.GEN.PL know.1.SG
'instead of the evils which I know'

Here the relative pronoun is in the genitive case, instead of in the expected accusative. This kind of agreement has presented problems for both classicists and typologists. I examine cross-linguistic evidence of relative clause formation and describe this phenomenon in typological terms.

I argue that relative-pronoun case 'attraction' as it occurs in Ancient Greek and Latin is actually a strategy of relativization that is familiar in many languages, known as the gap type (Comrie 1992). The gap-type relative does not consider the role of the head noun within the relative clause and therefore the relative pronoun is free to receive case from the main clause.

In these instances, the relative pronoun is no longer a pronoun per se but simply a marker introducing a gap-type relative clause.

The instances where this construction has been observed are consistent with the relative-clause accessibility hierarchy proposed by typologists (Comrie 1992).

I also address the less common phenomenon of inverse attraction, where a head noun appears to be drawn into agreeing with the case of the relative pronoun. An example from Vergil (Aeneid 1, 573):

urb-em quam statu-o vestr-a est
city-ACC.SG REL.ACC.SG build-1.SG your-NOM.SG be.3.SG
'The city which I build is yours.'

Here the noun urbem is in the accusative case instead of the expected nominative. These are analyzed as head-internal relative clauses in which the head noun has been moved out of the relative clause for stylistic purposes. The analysis presented in this paper fits these constructions into typological theory and provides classicists an explanation from a cross-linguistic perspective.

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