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Giuseppina di Bartolo
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Marina Benedetti:
Finite vs non-finite complementation patterns with μανθάνω 'learn' in Post-Classical Greek

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As is well-known, one of the most striking syntactic characteristics of Classical Greek is the variety of complementation patterns, involving the use of participles, infinitives, and finite clauses. In the diachrony of Greek, a drastic reduction of such a variety can be observed, with the decline of non-finite complementation, ultimately leading to the generalization of finite complementation. This process, starting from the Koine, gradually spread across the lexicon and across different construction types. Aspects of continuity / discontinuity in complementation patterns between Classical and Postclassical Greek are here investigated, assuming the verb μανθάνω (in its literary usage) as a case-study, with special emphasis on some innovative trends.

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Klaas Bentein:
Μέν … δέ and contrastive comparison in Post-classical Greek

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The μέν … δέ construction can be considered one of the hallmarks of Classical Greek: Lambert (2003:269-270) notes that in the Classical period the construction occurs so frequently that an instance can be found in practically every sentence, not just in rhetoric, but also in philosophy and poetry. Capturing the semantics of the construction has not been an easy task: Bakker (1993:239), for example, has claimed that δέ's function in the μέν … δέ construction is substantially different from that which it has elsewhere, an argument which has been openly rejected by Zakowski (2017:167). Allan (2017:282) has suggested that the construction was functionally specialized for what is called 'contrastive comparison' in the typological literature. A prototypical example of this can be found in (1), where there are two independent SoAs, each with their own subjects (τὸ ὠφέλιμον and τὸ βλαβερὸν); the predicates of these SoAs form lexical oppositions (καλόν vs. αἰσχρόν); and the two predicates are atemporal and interchangeable.

> … τὸ **μὲν** ὠφέλιμον καλόν, τὸ **δὲ** βλαβερὸν αἰσχρόν (Pl., *Resp.* 457b)

> "the helpful is good, and the harmful is bad."

For this talk I concentrate on the use of μέν … δέ in Post-classical non-literary texts (papyri in particular), analyzing whether the construction also/still meets the criteria for contrastive comparison. Despite the general decline of Classical particles, the μέν … δέ construction can be found quite frequently in non-literary texts, where, according to Lee (1985:6), it acted as 'a prestige feature associated with formal and educated Greek'. I intend to show that during this time, the construction was semantically and syntactically extended beyond its prototypical contexts: so, for example, μέν … δέ attaches to other elements than nominative subjects, and the predicates are not always lexical opposites. Similar, non-prototypical examples can already be found during the Classical period, but for Post-classical Greek one could wonder in many cases whether we are still dealing with contrastive comparison: μέν … δέ can be used for example, with topics that are not contrastive; with information that is rhematic, rather than thematic; and with SoAs that are not atemporal and interchangeable. In some cases, the double contrast structure (that is, with a double topic and a double focus) is completely abandoned, and μέν … δέ connects clauses/sentences that are in a broad sense related, or even nouns/noun phrases, as in (2).

> ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶσι καθὰ γέγραπ[ται ἐκ]τ̣ισάτω̣[σ]αν [οἱ] δεδανεισμένοι Τ̣ρυφαί[ν]η τ̣[ὸ] **μὲ̣[ν]** κ̣[εφάλαιον μεθ' ἡ]μιολίας τ̣ο̣ῦ **δὲ** ὑπερπεσόντος χρόνο̣(υ) τ̣[οὺ]ς̣ καθήκο̣ν̣τ[ας τόκου]ς̣ (SB XIV 11491, ll. 16-19 (59 AD))

> "If they do not give back as it is written the debitors have to pay back to Tryphaina the main sum with half of it added, as well as the interests for the in between time."

Another relevant development is the frequent use of μέν *solitarium*: when it comes to the Classical period, such occurrences are typically interpreted in terms of a more archaic, emphatic value of μέν, or of an elliptical contrast (cf. Denniston 1954:359-368). For the Post-classical period, it has been argued that all occurrences of μέν *solitarium* should be viewed as 'prospective' (that is, elliptically contrastive) (see e.g. Runge 2016:76), but the papyrological corpus contains clear evidence of the fact that this is not always the case.

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Anna Bonifazi:
How do to things with words: Pragmatic exercises on Origen's homilies

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The aims of this talk are three: first, to recap what a pragmatic approach to texts consists in; second, to list the advantages of such an approach, especially by considering ancient Greek language; third, to illustrate a few points by means of an analysis of passages from the homilies of Origen.

Not differently from many other texts—in historical as well as contemporary genres—homilies are designed to be performed. This fact suggests that the word level is only one of the communicative dimensions enacted during the full-fledged experience of a homily delivery. Other dimensions include the prosodic shape of each utterance (pauses included), which provides paralinguistic meaning, and facial plus arm and hand gestures, which provide extralinguistic meaning.

Now: even though what survives of Origen's sermons is just the word level, several features of the language being used represent cues to the whole, multimodal, event in several ways. The analysis focuses not only on more expected cues such as deictic references, explicit performatives, and quotations, but also on less expected cues such as clitic pronouns and postpositive particles, anaphoric expressions, lexical repetitions, and negations.

The Origen's passages selected for this talk are taken from *Codex Monacensis Graecus* 314, an 11th century Greek manuscript of the Bavarian State Library including four homilies by Origen on Psalm 36—texts discovered in 2012, and previously known only through Rufinus' Latin translations. The linguistic analyses connect general assessments made about Origen's style, namely the prominence of subjective stance and the method *quaestio – responsio*, to specific grammatical cues that enable the great theologian to reach his goals no less on the communicative level than on the content level.

Albio C. Cassio:
Homeric Recitations and Hellenistic Spoken Language: Gleanings from Papyri, Scholia, and Ancient Grammarians.

La Sapienza University, Rome

When the two Homeric poems 'crystallized' (late 8th./7th c. BC) in a shape more or less similar to the one familiar to us from papyri and medieval manuscripts, their linguistic form was a strange conglomerate made up of disparate components: the remnants of an extremely old *état de langue* (possibly pre-Mycenaean: West 1988), prestigious Aeolic features, and contemporary Ionic (not exclusively East Ionic), the final, and crucial, dialect layer (Hackstein 2010).

Later on, in the long march from those chronological levels to Byzantine times, the narrative sequence was never modified, but phonology, morphology and (to a lesser extent) vocabulary tended to be modernized when it was possible without spoiling the metre, with the result that a good Homeric apparatus is full of Hellenistic or even 'late' variants found in medieval mss. and papyri.

This subject is obviously fraught with difficulties and 'traps' of all kinds. For instance, Ionic was highly influential in shaping the *koine*, and many features that we regard as Hellenistic may well have belonged to an old Ionic stratum; this means that features that are usually confined to a Homeric apparatus as allegedly 'late', may in fact have been old variants of what we accept in the text as 'early'.

Besides, some of the 'early' forms found in modern editions are nothing but learned reconstructions by ancient and/or modern scholars, the 'late' forms being transmitted without variants and certainly authentic. For instance, *Od*. 3. 427 εἴπατε δ' εἴσω (imper.) is found in all mss. and was accepted by Aristophanes of Byzantium; yet the (virtually never attested) 'earlier' imper. εἴπετε was recommended by Erotianus and printed by West 2017. And some embarrassingly 'modern' forms are ineradicable from the Homeric text, like e. g. σταίησαν at *Il*. 17. 733: "wenig Formen des überlieferten Homertextes fallen so völlig aus der alten Sprache heraus" (Wackernagel 1916:62), yet no conjecture has ever carried conviction.

My contribution will try to assess the relative merits of some Homeric variants that look much more recent than those accepted in most modern editon. Some instances: opt. pres. κάθοιτο < κάθομαι (ancient κάθημαι); aorist imper. εἶπον (anc. εἰπέ); οἶδας

and οἶσθας (anc. οἶσθα); μέντον (anc. μέντοι); τίννυμαι (Hellenistic but probably older than we suspect, see Cassio 1991-93 and West 1998: XXXV f.), ἐκαθέζετο (anc. καθέζετο); quasi-adverbial κρείσσω; unobvious στομαλίμνη (Z 4); 'epische Ausstaffierungen' of current words (ἀνδραπόδεσσι). Especially intriguing is the mention in scholia and ancient grammarians of fem. nouns in the nomin. plur. pronounced with 'recent Attic' accents, *e.g.* συνθέσιαι instead of regular συνθεσίαι (cf. αἴτιαι instead of αἰτίαι, influence of adjectival declension, Scheller 1951: 139), which must have originated from Hellenistic recitations of Homer.

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Enrico Cerroni:
ἐντροπή in Postclassical Greek: a case of semantic shift

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The diachronic semantics of post-classical Greek offers a dense panorama of problems, due to the difficulty of isolating cases of original polysemy from secondary developments, especially when these are generators of completely new meanings, replacing the previous ones.

Among the most productive lines of semantic change, especially for a language characterized by a conspicuous psychological lexicon and a philosophical vocation such as Greek, there is the process of metaphorization of terms originally linked to a material domain ("meanings based in the external described situation> meanings based in the internal – evaluative / perceptual / cognitive – described situation" according to Traugott 1989).

In this study, I present an example of the application of subjectification theory to Post-classical Greek, I mean the shift that is observed for ἐντρέπω in the medium: from a concrete meaning (to 'turn about'), it is allowed to document in the Hellenistic Greek a value 'to respect', 'to have shame', at the base of the use in modern Greek in which ντρέπομαι means 'to be ashamed'.

This raises a legitimate question: in which semantic context can one place ἐντρέπομαι and ἐντροπή, especially during the Hellenistic age? Most likely, the answer must be sought precisely in the void left by the archaic αἰδώς, and therefore in its meaning as 'respect', 'esteem, regard', and 'care', which sometimes connote a deeper moral value. This is indicated not only by an onomasiological argument, which would be weak in and of itself, but also and above all by the contexts in which the term appears.

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Gregory Crane:
Post-Classical Greek in a Digital Age

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My paper seeks to articulate the following propositions and questions. **First**, the question is not what digital humanities can or cannot contribute. The question is how we analyze ancient Greek and then publish the results of our analyses in a digital age. Mainstream scholarship has taken only minimal and retrospective use of digital technologies, exploiting automated concordances and lexica and print-based PDF files as its medium of communication. **Second**, the shift to a digital ecosystem may well allow specialists in ancient Greek to transform their understanding of the language but of far greater importance would be an increase in the potential impact of this new work beyond immediate specialist networks. Such an increase can include traditional audiences: introductory students of Greek, specialists in fields such as Political Philosophy, specialists on Greek culture who are not focused on linguistic research, and specialists in Religion or History who exploit Greek sources but are not professional philologists. Audiences include as well members of the general public who may wish to push beyond modern language translations with a new class of editions that includes a dense network of machine actionable annotations that lead from a modern translation to the original source text and can provide far more depth of understanding for the non-specialist than has been possible in print. Finally, audiences include students, professional researchers and members of the general public in societies with little or no print infrastructure for ancient Greek. Such societies include those with geographical and intellectual ties to Greco-Roman culture (such as the Arabic and Persian speaking worlds) and those who view Greek as only one prominent historical language from the human cultural heritage as a whole (such as audiences from China or India). **Third**, modern (and, of necessity, openly licensed) digital resources for the study of Ancient Greek are particularly well developed, with not only machine readable versions of texts, lexica and grammars available but new, born-digital resources, such as more than one million words of morpho-syntactically analyzed Greek. While this initial work may overrepresent Classical Greek, post-Classical Greek can only be understood in reference to Classical. **Fourth**, emerging philological research integrates contributions not only by both humans and automated systems (both deterministic and probabilistic). A new culture of discourse and intellectual production is taking shape. **Fifth**, the questions that we pose about the digital shift, the answers that we produce and the actions that we in fact take will determine whether the study of ancient Greek declines further, maintains an equilibrium, or flourishes.

Sonja Dahlgren:
From methodology to analysis: Phonological variation in Egyptian Greek

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Egyptian Greek contains plenty of nonstandard variation, largely based on the impact of Egyptian. Morphosyntactic variation has been verified (Leiwo 2003, Vierros 2012 & Stolk 2015) but until recently, the orthographic/phonological variation has lacked a detailed analysis (but see Gignac 1976 and Horrocks 2010: 112). In Dahlgren (2017), I was able to prove a solid connection between Greek nonstandard spelling variants and Egyptian phonology.

Greek was used in Egypt for centuries before the Roman conquest but in the Roman period especially phonetically-based misspellings multiplied. This is connected to sociolinguistic factors (the growing population size of L2 Greek users; see Sinnemäki & Di Garbo 2018) and linguistic factors (the development of the Egyptian language into its final phase, Coptic). At the same time, Greek was in the process of phonological development (Horrocks 2010: 166-167). Analysing variation of this multicausal language contact situation required a multidisciplinary approach. I focused on the Narmouthis Greek ostraca, particularly rich with Egyptian-influenced variation. I verified variation in the L2 Greek by similar variants in Greek loanwords in Coptic texts. To separate the phonological level from orthographic conventions, I utilised Second Language Writing System (L2WS) studies. In order to understand the synchronic nature of the variation, I compared the phonological variation in Egyptian Greek to similar contact linguistic situations between languages of comparable structural differences, for instance English/French and Arabic.

The study showed that most nonstandard features in the L2 Greek were universal examples of underdifferentiation, overdifferentiation and stress transfer (cf. Weinreich 1968: 18-19). Furthermore, the sociolinguistic study of the early Roman period material showed similarities to the typology of language convergence as well as the analysis of early societal bilingualism (Matras 2009: 223-226; Haugen 1950: 215-217). The variation present in Egyptian Greek texts also suggests a contact variety (cf. Thomason 2001: 15-26), especially regarding iotacism.

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Giuseppina di Bartolo:
Independent ἵνα sentences and the case of μὴ ἵνα in Greek documentary papyri

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In this paper, I aim at investigating the function of the particle ἵνα in paratactical constructions from the 1st cent. AD onwards, in other words a new function with respect to the Greek of the Classical period in which the particle almost only occurs as subordinating conjunction to introduce purpose clauses. An analysis of these constructions allows us to investigate some significant linguistic phenomena on the morphosyntactic level as well as on the pragmatic level, to better understand the diachronic development of Greek and to explore the interface between syntax and pragmatic in everyday language.

By means of examples from Greek documentary papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods (1st – 8th cent. AD), I will show that ἵνα with the subjunctive is found, already from the 1st cent AD, to express an exhortation or a prohibition with the classic syntactic function of the hortatory and prohibitive subjunctive (i.e. subjunctive in main clause), foreshadowing the development of ἵνα as a subjunctive marker (i.e. later να). Moreover, ἵνα-clauses occur as alternative constructions to infinitive or imperative constructions, in other words they occur pragmatically connected to verba rogandi with a directive function (e.g. ἐρωτῶ and παρακαλῶ) in order to express the request.

In the second part of my paper, I will specifically focuses on the pattern μὴ ἵνα, which has so far explained as an inversion of ἵνα μὴ, arguing that the two patterns ἵνα μὴ and μὴ ἵνα are not syntactically equivalent variations, rather they convey different meanings and functions both on the syntactic and on the pragmatic level.

Finally, I will use this latter case to make some more general methodological observations on the linguistic analysis of the sources of the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine period with respect to some of the research questions which this conference aims at addressing.

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Eleanor Dickey:
Why layout matters

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Modern editions typically aim to reproduce only the words of ancient texts; the layout of our editions, like their word division, accentuation, capitalization and punctuation, follows modern conventions, usually without even mentioning the layout in the manuscripts or papyri from which the words come. There are good reasons for this practice: modern editions need to optimize reading efficiency for modern Classicists, and anyway it is often doubtful whether the layout in our manuscripts goes back to antiquity. Nevertheless, it is problematic because it makes the modern reader's experience of ancient texts very different from the experience their authors envisioned. Moreover, the all-pervasiveness of our silent suppression of information about original layouts means that modern scholars are largely cut off from the evidence we need in order to understand what the different ancient layouts were and how they functioned: usually we simply have no idea what experience an ancient author would have been trying to produce through layout. But all that could be changed, since a growing body of evidence exists in the form of papyri, whose layouts are always ancient (though not, of course, always those of the texts' original authors) and which in turn allow us to evaluate the layouts found in medieval manuscripts in a way that was not formerly possible. This talk will consider a number of medieval manuscripts of post-classical Greek texts whose layouts can be demonstrated to contain features going back to antiquity, and groups of such manuscripts and papyri in which attention to layout can reveal important information about other matters. These will demonstrate that it is really worth our while to try to understand what a text's original layout was, and point out opportunities for further discoveries in this area.

Hans Förster:
The possibility of an explanatory δέ in New Testament Greek

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The Greek conjunction δέ may be seen as adversative particle, which also includes aspects of copulation. It occurs in conjunction with preceding μέν marking the contradistinction to what is described in the μέν-clause. δέ may also be seen as introducing an explanatory clause, and may be used when a substantive is followed by an apposition.

In New Testament Greek, δέ is commonly taken as an adversative conjunction, the copulative aspect of it is noted in grammars but not very prevalent in translation and interpretation. The paper will discuss the possibility that the NT use of δέ is influenced by Septuagintal Greek. In the Septuagint δέ may translate Hebrew ו. This translational choice may have contributed to the concept of „Waw-adversativum". In case that the Septuagint is a sociolect, the possibility arises that the adversative aspect of δέ has faded into the background within this special Greek lingo, raising the question when and where this conjunction may be seen less as adversative and more as explanatory particle.

José Luis García Ramón:
Local dialects vs Koiné and literary patterns in Post Classical Greek: SYNTAX and formulaic phraseology

The coexistence of local dialects and the supradialectal Attic Koiné (and non-local Koiná) in the Hellenistic period may be stated to different degrees at the different levels of grammar. It is not easy to determine which phenomena represent the authentic dialect and which phenomena are rather borrowings from a supradialectal variety of Koiné. This especially applies to the lexicon, syntax and phraseological patterns in official documents: even if they are consequently written in dialect, plenty of apparent dialectal features turn out to be simply dialect-colored variants of supradialectal patterns, and even literary phraseology once one translates them into Attic. Anyway, if a term or formula occurs only in one particular region, either in dialect or in Koiné or in both, it is not always clear whether it is a dialectal formula that has been translated into Koiné or vice versa.

The present contribution will focus on a series of lexical items and syntactical and phraseological patterns which illustrate the coexistence of dialect and supradialectal Koinaí in inscriptions from the time between 3rd and 1st centuries BC in Arcadia, in Thessaly and in Asylia documents from Cos (a. 242 BC) written in different dialects.

Georgios K. Giannakis:
Dialect convergence and linguistic change: The Dodona tablets corpus and its significance for the study of the history of the Greek language

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The Dodona corpus consists of over 4200 tablets of mostly short and to a large extent fragmentary texts that represent the inquiries by visitors and other inquirers (individuals, cities or groups of people) to the oracle of Dodona who seek an answer to a large variety of issues, ranging from personal and private concerns to family affairs and to communal issues. These texts date between the end of the 6th century and the 3rd century BC, perhaps even to the first third of the 2nd century BC. This is a unique corpus that sheds light, in addition to many aspects of life in ancient Greece, also on many linguistic varieties of the Greek language of that period, i.e. of Classical and Post-Classical eras, in particular of the process of dialect convergence that gradually was taking place in the linguistic map of Greece. Our focus will be on a group of tablets written in mixed dialect, particularly in Attic koine and some other dialect, seeking to see the way or ways in which the language of the inquiries slowly but steadily and progressively shifts from a 'pure' dialect to a mixed code and eventually to koine. It is also argued that in the case of the Dodona corpus we may observe similar processes and tendencies also observed in many other cases of language convergence and formation of common linguistic mediums throughout history, not only in antiquity. Despite the peculiar nature of this textual corpus, the developments seen in the language here could also clarify the ways, means and reasons by which the gradual prevalence of koine in other areas of the Greek world took place during the Post-Classical period where similar conditions of dialect and/or language interactions appear.

Chiara Gianollo:
Negation and word order in New Testament Greek

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This paper investigates the changes between the system of negation in Early and Classical Greek and the system witnessed by the New Testament and comparable texts. I focus on forms of 'objective' negation (the system of οὐ(κ) and οὐδείς).

One prominent feature of post-Homeric Greek is the presence of Negative Concord (Willmott 2013, Horrocks 2014, Muchnová 2016): multiple negative expressions build an interpretive chain and deliver a single-negation interpretation. This characteristic is continued in New Testament Greek, which, like Classical Greek, is a non-strict Negative Concord language: negatively marked indefinites make a sentence negative by themselves if they precede the finite verb; they have to be accompanied by the negative marker (the particle οὐ(κ)) if they follow the finite verb.

Although the non-strict Negative Concord system remains stable in New Testament Greek, general changes in word order at the level of the clause, and in particular the rise in frequency of VSO and SVO orders (Kirk 2012, Celano 2014, Lavidas 2015) lead to the hypothesis that the various configurations in which Negative Concord obtains may change in frequency as well. More specifically, we expect an increase in configurations where the pre-verbal negative marker co-occurs with a negatively marked indefinite that realizes a post-verbal argument, as in (1):

> (1) Mark 14.60
>
> καὶ ἀναστὰς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰς μέσον ἐπηρώτησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγων **Οὐκ** ἀποκρίνῃ **οὐδέν**;
>
> Then the high priest stood up before them and asked Jesus, "Are you not going to answer?"

This, in turn, should be accompanied by a concurring decrease of configurations where the negatively marked indefinite is the only element marking negation in the clause, since pre-verbal arguments become in general less frequent.

However, it may also be the case that negatively marked indefinites retain a pre-verbal position more steadily than other arguments: many languages show that indefinites that express negation in a clause are more conservative in their distribution and retain OV orders even when the basic order becomes VO (cf. Gianollo 2018: chapter 3 for Latin and a comparison with other languages).

Potentially, changes involving the frequency of structures where the negative marker and the indefinite co-occur have important diachronic consequences: an increase in the employ of post-verbal indefinites in negative structures may create the conditions for competition with plain indefinites or with Negative Polarity Items, that is, indefinites that are not sufficient by themselves to negate a clause but need a semantically negative environment in order to be felicitous. As Horrocks (2014)

has argued, the history of Medieval Greek shows that the new indefinite κανείς originally has an NPI distribution. It is important for our understanding of the diachrony of Greek to check whether New Testament Greek may have represented a step towards creating favorable conditions for the substitution process affecting indefinite series.

In this paper, I investigate to what extent these hypotheses are substantiated by means of a corpus analysis over portions of the New Testament. Besides comparing the results with those obtained for Classical Greek in Gianollo (2019), I extend the study to portions of the Septuagint and samples of non-Biblical Koiné Greek.

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Brian D. Joseph:
How "post" is Post-Classical? Thoughts on the augment throughout the history of Greek

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The call for papers for this conference explicitly asks whether the label "Post-Classical" appropriately defines a specific stage of Greek. Addressing this issue, head-on, I discuss here the history of the augment in Greek, from its earliest manifestations in Mycenaean Greek up through Modern Greek, including present-day regional varieties, paying attention not only to the generalizations as to its form and function but also to various oddities it displays, such as multiple occurrence, unusual positioning, and absence when it might otherwise be expected. This examination of the augment across all of Greek demonstrates that even though there have been changes in its form and distribution, there is also considerable stability over millennia. As a result, at least as far as the augment is concerned, there is no meaningful use of the term "Post-Classical" except perhaps for purely chronological purposes.

Daniel Kölligan:
Hellenistic Greek in epic disguise: Apollonius of Rhodes and the Homeric language

Julius Maximilians - University of Würzburg

The *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes (3rd c. BC) is the first completely preserved epos after the Homeric poems. Apollonius was a *poeta doctus*, who studied the Homeric text in every detail, his language use is deeply entrenched in epic diction, reusing especially *rara* and *rarissima* attested in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in order to show his erudition, and avoiding the trivial. Yet, written roughly five centuries after the works of the admired ποιητής, the *Argonautics* are situated in a different linguistic environment, and Hellenistic Greek has a substantial influence on his version of the epic language both overtly, visible e.g. in post-Homeric words such as αἶπος ‚hight‘, and covertly, e.g. in the unhomeric use of pronominal forms in -θεν as possessive genitives, which may be connected with the gradual functional reduction of the Greek genitive as a whole to a pure adnominal case. The paper will discuss these and other instances of "unhomeric Homerisms" in the *Argonautica*.

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Martti Leiwo:
Greek varieties and language contact in Roman Egypt

University of Helsinki

My starting point is the fact that Greek was the language of communication in the Roman army in Egypt. The military forts had several L2 Greek speakers of various ethnicity (Fournet 2003). The situation in Roman military forts favoured an expansion of various contact varieties of Greek. The data from Egypt show that L2 speakers had an effect on Greek at all grammatical levels, strengthening existing and ongoing endogenous changes by creating substantial variation in phonology as well as in morphosyntax and even phraseology. Some attested variants later became grammaticalised in Modern Greek (MG) standard vernacular (*dimotiki*). Thus, important grammatical patterns that characterise MG can be traced back to the first two centuries CE, some of them even earlier (cf. Horrocks 2010). I suggest that the situation in the 2nd century CE can be seen as a period of linguistic resilience, which had created different phases of varieties at the same time. Bi- and multilingualism as well as the existing Greek diglossia between high and low varieties were conspicuous in the 2nd century CE, and all these are common ways of maintaining linguistic diversity and even resilience in a society (Hudson 2019:22–23; cf. also Katsikadeli 2018: 21).

An important social detail is also the fact that the 2nd century was peaceful, as Rome did not have any serious enemies. It was also socially and economically a period when active trade connections with multilingual speech communities were fundamental to the Empire's well-being.

According to Aboh and Ansaldo (2007: 44) "language can be seen as a population of linguistic features and grammar as a combination of idiolects: communication thus entails interbreeding of different idiolects." With this definition in mind, the sociolinguistic situation in these forts seem to have favoured an expansion of a Greek Contact Variety, or even Multicultural Egyptian Greek in the sense of Multicultural Varieties in present day European cities (cf. Trudgill 2016; Cheshire et al. 2011, cf. also Kerswill and Trudgill 2005). According to Mufwene the contact of different varieties produces a union of linguistic features of all the variables in use in a given speech community creating a feature pool in the mind of the speakers (Mufwene 2001: 30). It seems plausible that the Eastern Desert – perhaps even more than other parts of Egypt (Leiwo 2018) – could well meet the conditions of a feature pool and letter writers made their choices from the L1 and L2 (standard and non-standard) Greek varieties present in their contact environment. In the data we can observe almost all levels of Greek varieties from High L1 to Low L2 Greek with patterns that emerge from multicausal variation at the same time.

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Felicia Logozzo & Liana Tronci:
Pseudo-coordination in Hellenistic Greek

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As Ross (2016: 209) states, pseudo-coordination refers "to the use of the coordinator 'and' in constructions that behave unlike typical coordination", for instance English go and get or try and do. The verbs implied belong to lexically closed classes (e.g. go, take, try, etc.). A crucial syntactic difference from coordinating structures concerns the unbalanced extraction which is only allowed in pseudo-coordination, e.g. Here's the whisky which I went (to the store) and bought vs *Here's the whisky which I went to the store and Mike bought (cf. Ross 1967: 167ff. from which examples are taken). Pseudo-coordinating complex predications have some aspectual values, which are variable from one language to another, and may correspond to verbal periphrases formed by the verb 'go/come' + infinitive, e.g. Italian andare a prendere, provare a fare, French aller faire, etc. (cf. Coseriu 1977 for examples from many languages).

In Modern Greek, pseudo-coordination is a productive strategy (Bonnot & Vassilaki 2018), whereas in Ancient Greek it was not used. Some preliminary research (Logozzo & Tronci, submitted) shows that verbal predications corresponding to English go and get and Italian andare a prendere are expressed in Biblical Greek (both Septuagint and New Testament) by a third strategy, that is the participle of ἔρχομαι (mostly inflected in the aorist) + the finite verb, which are obligatorily contiguous, e.g. ἐλθὼν κατῴκησεν 'he came and lived'. Evidence of this is given by Latin versions of the Bible, in which the ἐλθὼν κατῴκησεν type is translated by pseudo-coordination, e.g. venit et habitavit.

The aim of this paper is to investigate: (a) whether the participial strategy occurs in other texts; (b) when pseudo-coordination arose and spread.

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Chiara Monaco:
Setting norms: Atticistic interpretation of language change

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This paper will approach Atticist lexicography as important evidence on language evolution and the way it was viewed in antiquity. In the process of promotion of the long-dead dialect of Classical Athens, Atticistic lexica propose an interesting representation of the linguistic situation of the second century CE; a binary opposition between Attic and koine intended as two different languages defined in opposition to each other whose internal complexity was totally ignored. What is Attic is not koine and the other way around. Therefore, in order to promote the artificial Attic in which all the members of the educated imperial Greek elite aimed to write and speak, the lexicographers programmatically replaced any form common to Attic and koine with expressions that sounded as distinctively Attic. The suppression of optional variability and the selection of one choice as the correct one from a set of equivalent usages was the normal practice of the language guardians. The standardised written medium inculcated by education was so widespread that diversity was largely obscured, and many developments of the language remained out of sight in the Greek record.

However, the lexicographical selective process offers itself an insight into the evolution of Greek language. The tendency to promote exclusive usages and the censorship of forms which were actually used in Attic suggest which sorts of linguistic phenomena were at work at that time and which kind of perception language guardians had of Attic and the koine. In this paper I will analyse a few examples from Phrynichus' Eclogae in which he discusses the authorship of classical texts on the basis of linguistic usages. This practice, inherited from the Hellenistic scholarship, gives us an insight into the lexicographical methodology and into the lexicographers' understanding of language change.

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Emmanuel Roumanis:
Mixing up the old dialect and inflicting much shame: Registerial variation within the Atticist lexicon

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The manuals of Atticistic lexicographers (or grammarians) are often cited as important sources for recovering the structure and form of Postclassical (or Koiné) Greek. Typically, inferences as to the domains (lexis, morphology, orthography, and syntax) of the nonstandard or vernacular variants of Postclassical Greek are drawn from what Atticistic lexica proscribe, rather than their prescriptions (Browning 1983). Subsequently, any potential linguistic value contained within their pronouncements has not been sufficiently exploited, owing mainly, although not only, to an overriding concern with recovering this putative vernacular (e.g. Humbert 1930). Such an approach also denies the authors of these lexica any kind of metalinguistic awareness; but is this is truly the case?

I argue that, in spite of their *dicta* being rooted in linguistic approaches that are, to be sure, highly prescriptivising and largely antithetical to the modern descriptive consensus in the field of linguistics, we can draw much from both their pre- and proscriptions. I focus here particularly on register (e.g. Halliday 1978; Halliday and Hasan 1985), in which I aim to situate the phenomenon of postclassical Atticism (Atticistic prescription)—distinct from the language of classical Attic Greek itself. It is, therefore, instructive to begin from a broad, inclusive structural perspective that views the variation between disparate kinds of textual evidence—in genre and time (Lee 2018)—as useful to the explication of a given linguistic quality, or lack thereof, among writers of both literary and documentary texts (Bentein 2016).

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Joanne Vera Stolk:
A cognitive approach to the production of standard and nonstandard spelling in documentary papyri

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The Greek documentary papyri (300 BC – 700 CE) provide an interesting corpus for linguistic study due to the large amount of linguistic variation. Variation in spelling is traditionally used as evidence for phonological changes taking place in the post-Classical Greek language, resulting in the current pronunciation of Modern Greek (see e.g. Mayser & Schmoll 1970; Gignac 1976; Teodorsson 1977). The interchange of graphemes, however, does not solely depend on the pronunciation of the corresponding phoneme. Even if the two graphemes were pronounced identically in the spoken language, the choice between one grapheme or the other is likely to be based on other, cognitive and social, aspects, such as the general frequency of spelling patterns in the language, the exposure of the writer to various morphemes and lexemes in the language and local orthographic conventions. In this presentation, I will show various examples of these alternative factors contributing to the choice of spelling variants in documentary papyri.

Riccardo Vecchiato:
How did they read the Classics? Literary and Dialectological Studies in an unpublished Hellenistic Lexicon

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Only a few lexica on papyrus from the Hellenistic period are preserved (P.Hib. II 175; P.Heid. I 200; P.Berol. inv.9965; P.Feib. I 1c). In this paper I will give an overview of an unpublished papyrus of the Cologne collection containing a lexicon datable in the 3rd/2nd century BCE. This text will possibly be the longest example of its genre in pre-Roman times. The lexicon presents around 65 *glossanda*, all of them alphabetized beyond the third letter - a practice that was thought to come into existence only in the 2nd century CE. The *lemmata* involve mainly poetical, but possibly also non-literary words. Many of them are characterised as belonging to the dialect of a specific *polis* or region (e.g. Kleitor in Thessaly, Crete, Taranto). Interestingly, even clearly poetical words, as for example a Homeric *hapax legomenon*, are ascribed to a specific city-dialect.

The poetical words (half of them is Homeric) and their explanations can be further illustrated by quoting the *locus classicus* from which the *lemma* was taken. Of these eleven quotations seven come from the Iliad or the Odyssey, one from a Homeric hymn, one from Archilochus and one from Aeschylus. Parts of a further hexametric verse cannot be identified with any known text. By providing some relevant examples of this lexicon's entries I will suggest that both the way in which the *lemmata* are analysed and the lexicographer's knowledge of literary and dialectical studies point towards the possibility that this lexicon should be brought in connection with the philological studies in Alexandria's Mouseion.

Marja Vierros:
Digital humanities: Grammar of a Corpus Language in the Digital Age

University of Helsinki

Greek as a corpus language has an exceptionally long time span and wide range of sources. Therefore, focusing on a certain time period and even on a certain type of source material is grounded when building corpora and digital tools. Some methodological solutions may be specific for one type of source material and not applicable to others. On the other hand, some methodological issues are common and thus the solutions should be discussed more widely.

The project Digital Grammar of Greek Documentary Papyri (PapyGreek) is focusing on one specific source, documentary papyri. This also limits the geographical scope to Egypt and chronological scope from ca. 300 BCE to 600 CE. The outcome of the project will serve as an online tool and reference work for researches, students, and linguists. The Greek used in papyri has not before been easily available for linguistic study, especially in quantitative measures. Even with the limitations of source type and time period just mentioned, the data is not small. As such, it does give important evidence on the choronology, variation, and directions of the linguistic developments of postclassical Greek. It also brings forward multiple theoretical and methodological questions. It is important to plan how the data and results are presented in order to meet the criteria and needs of modern linguistics.

I will discuss some of these questions and present some solutions we have come up with. The issues concern many levels: We can start from the editors' decisions in splitting the ancient texts into words and sentences, and how the editorial decisions differ from one another and how that influences the results in digital editions and in our added annotations. Then we can continue to issues on theoretical framework, reliability of the data, audience and users, and what kinds of questions we are seeking answers to.

Staffan Wahlgren:
Word Order in Learned/Formal Byzantine Greek

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Excepting elements with a clearly fixed position (such as prepositives and postpositives) Ancient Greek word order has traditionally been described as free. It is not evident how, if at all, the ordering of the main constituents is determined by syntactic function. Indeed, although some progress has been made in recent times, for instance through the study of pragmatic aspects of the language, it is fair to say that we do not understand Ancient Greek word order very well.

However, while Ancient Greek word order may be considered less than well understood, we know next to nothing about this side of learned Byzantine Greek. In my contribution I will make an account of word order patterns in some learned, or, at least, fairly formal, Byzantine Greek texts from the 10th and 14th centuries. I will then put my findings in the wider perspective of, on the one hand, Ancient Greek, on the other hand, the vernacular (our knowledge of these varieties being what it is). In sum, this is a paper about tradition and trends (to what extent are rules of the ancient language still applicable?) and influences (does the fact that, from a structural point of view, the vernacular is such a different language mean anything to the usage of formal registers in Byzantium?), and about productive methodologies for further research.

Polina Yordanova:
Finding One's Way in the Digital Forest: Discontinuity in a Treebank of Documentary Papyri

University of Helsinki

Word order has traditionally been an underrepresented topic in the research of Ancient Greek, and even those studies that are particularly addressing it are mostly examining literary materials. Documentary sources could provide insight into some unexplored aspects of the development of the language, but, due to their vast number and miscellaneous content, traditional philological methods would necessarily be limited in their research scope.

This is where digital technologies come in as a solution giving scholars the opportunity to draw their conclusions on quantitative data that serves as the basis for qualitative approach. Morphosyntactic annotations of corpora of texts (a.k.a. treebanking) is a method proven to be extremely suitable for linguistic research from all points of view, but it is perhaps the best tool for studying word order in particular, as it allows the researcher to keep track of both the position of words in the sentence and the syntactic relations between them.

Creating a morphosyntactically-annotated corpus can be a cumbersome and time-consuming process, especially if made by hand, but it is querying treebanks that is the truly problematic endeavor. In order to query my trees for discontinuous structures, I have employed the power of XSLT (eXtensible Stylesheet Language Transformations), which allows me to manipulate the treebanked files and enrich their encoding through additional annotations. I will demonstrate how this approach can be applied on a heterogeneous corpus such as the one assembled by the Digital Grammar of the Documentary Papyri (PapyGreek) project.