Aristotle University of Thessaloniki   **Universität zu Köln**
Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg   **Universidad Autónoma de Madrid**
Center for the Greek Language

TCGLL   Trends in Classics - Greek & Latin Linguistics 1

"Synchronic and diachronic issues of Postclassical Greek"

SECOND POSTCLASSICAL GREEK CONFERENCE

Thessaloniki
October 12-14, 2023
https://www.lit.auth.gr/tcgll_01

Auditorium I
Aristotle University
Research Dissemination Center
September 3rd Avenue
University Campus

Program

9:00 – 9:30   **Registration**

9:30 – 10:00   **Welcome remarks – Opening of the Conference**

10:00 – 11:30   **Postclassical Greek and beyond**
      Chair: Jesús de la Villa (Madrid)

10:00-10:30

Nikolaos Pantelidis (Athens) & **Io Manolessou** (Academy of Athens)

The end of an era: From antiquity to modernity in Greek phonology

10:30-11:00

Stavros Skopeteas (Göttingen)

Word order changes in Postclassical Greek: Syntactic change or change of registers?

11:00-11:30

Andrea Cuomo (Ghent)

The linguistics of Medieval Greek: Sources, methodologies, challenges, and opportunities

11:30 – 12:00   **Coffee Break**

12:00 – 13:30   **First Panel:** ***Digital grammar of Greek documentary papyri (PapyGreek)***
      Organizer/coordinator: Marja Vierros (Helsinki)
      Chair: Daniel Kölligan (Würzburg)

Marja Vierros (Helsinki)

Digital grammar of Greek documentary papyri (PapyGreek) – project's results and future

Erik Henriksson (Helsinki)

PapyGreek's graphical query tool: A unified search for syntax and linguistic variation in documentary papyri

Polina Yordanova (Helsinki) (via Zoom)

'Tolerable fluency and grace and occasionally an interesting word order': Quantifying language proficiency for the study of word order variation in documentary papyri

13:30 – 15:00   **LUNCH**

15:00 – 16:00   Negation and Word Order
Chair: Marja Vierros

15:00-15:30
Giuseppina di Bartolo (Cologne), **Chiara Gianollo** (Bologna) & **Beatrice Marchesi** (Pavia)
The system of negation in Postclassical Greek: Evidence from documentary papyri
15:30-16:00
Staffan Wahlgren (Trondheim)
Negations in tenth century Greek

16:00 – 17:00   Postclassical Greek Lexicon/Lexicography
Chair: Nikolaos Pantelidis (Athens)

16:00-16:30
Panagiotis Filos (Ioannina) & **Evangelos Karakasis** (Thessaloniki)
Greco-Latin bilingualism and Postclassical Greek lexicography: Some remarks on the Latinisms in Hesychius' lexicon
16:30-17:00
Mark Janse (Ghent)
Modern Greek dialects and the vocabulary of the papyri

17:00 – 17:30   Coffee Break

17:30 – 19:30   Second Panel: *A historical socio-pragmatic approach to variation in Ancient Greek non-literary texts*
Coordinator/organizer: Klaas Bentein (Ghent)
Chair: Giuseppina di Bartolo (Cologne)

Marieke Dhont (Cambridge) (via Zoom)
Complementing directive downtoners in Postclassical Greek
Marta Capano (Siena)
Λοιπόν, how you send him the donkey! DMs λοιπόν and ἰδού and the speech acts 'request', 'statement' and 'assertion' in papyrus letters from the Roman period
Ezra la Roi (Ghent)
The historical pragmatics of greetings in the papyri (III BCE – VI CE)
Klaas Bentein (Ghent University)
Studying nominal forms of address from a historical socio-pragmatic point of view: Types, frequency and strategic usage in the body of Roman-period letters

19:45   Reception

9:00 – 11:00   **Biblical Greek**
                         Chair: Carla Bruno (Siena)

9:00-9:30
Jürgen Hammerstaedt (Cologne)
Eusebius' Commentary on the Psalms. Observations on language and style
9:30-10:00
Camille Denizot (Paris) & **Liana Tronci** (Siena)
The modal particle ἄν in Postclassical Greek: A corpus-based analysis of the
Apophthegmata Patrum
10:00-10:30
Araceli Striano (Madrid) & **Patricia Varona** (Madrid)
The linguistic characterization of the language of the 'confessions' of Asia Minor (1st-3rd c.): An example of a combination of registers
10:30-11:00
Daniel Kölligan (Würzburg)
Notes on the Greek version of the Armenian Agathangelos

11:00 – 11:30   **Coffee Break**

11:30 – 13:00   **Third Panel: *The language of the magical papyri***
                         Coordinators/organizers: Christopher A. Faraone (Chicago) **&**
                         Sofia Torallas Tovar (Chicago)
                         Chair: Athanasia Zografou (Ioannina)

Sofia Torallas Tovar (Chicago)
Linguistic interference in the corpus of the Greek and Egyptian magical papyri
Christopher A. Faraone (Chicago)
Poetry for gods, prose for mortals: Code-switching on Ancient Greek curse tablets?
Panagiota Sarischouli (Thessaloniki)
Voces magicae: *a multi-linguistic, transcultural phenomenon*

13:00 – 14:30   **Lunch**

14:30 – 17:30   **On the Verb**
                         Chair: Panagiotis Filos (Ioannina)

14:30-15:00
Jesús de la Villa (Madrid)

Changes in verbal complementation in Late Greek: The extension of the transitive / intransitive alternation
15:00-15:30
Enrico Cerroni (Rome)
The use of the perfect in literary prose of the 6th century CE
15:30-16:00
Marina Benedetti (Siena) & **Carla Bruno** (Siena)
(Dis)continuity in dream narratives: On δοκέω in Artemidoru's Oneirocritica

16:00 – 16:30   **Coffee Break**

16:30-17:00 (via Zoom)
Vit Bubenik (Newfoundland, Canada)
Development of tense and aspect in Hellenistic Greek
17:00-17:30 (via Zoom)
Brian Joseph (Ohio)
Learning from the future to explain the present: Modality in later Greek

17:30 – 19:30   Fourth Panel: *For a new historical grammar of the Greek language*
          Coordinator/organizer: Georgios K. Giannakis (Thessaloniki)
          Chair: Stavros Skopeteas (Göttingen)

Georgios K. Giannakis (Thessaloniki)
Why a new historical grammar of Greek?
Panagiotis Filos (Ioannina)
Histories, historical grammars and other linguistic accounts of Greek: Why we need them all
Theodore Markopoulos (Patras)
Historical grammar and Medieval Greek: Challenges and prospects
Nikolaos Pantelidis (Athens)
Issues on writing the historical grammar of Modern Greek
Klaas Bentein (Ghent)
Digital technology, corpora, and historical Greek grammar

19:30   Closing of the Conference

20:00   Dinner

SATURDAY, October 14, 2023

Visit to Vergina

9:30 am: Departure from Imperial Palace Classical Hotel

Lunch at the Kalaidzis wine cellar, Vergina

Synchronic and Diachronic Issues of Postclassical Greek

Abstracts

A. GENERAL SESSION

Marina Benedetti (Siena) & **Carla Bruno** (Siena)
(Dis)continuity in dream narratives: on δοκέω in Artemidoro's Oneirocritica

In Artemidorus' *Oneirocritica*, a treatise on dreams interpretation dated around the 2nd century CE, dream narratives are regularly introduced by verb forms of δοκέω, governing infinitive complements that encode the dream scene.

The use of δοκέω in dream narratives is well-documented across a long-standing tradition of literary and documentary testimonies, where δοκέω expresses the dreamer's elaboration of the oneiric vision (cf. Hanson 1980; Orlandini & Poccetti 2015).

However, while in traditional narratives, according to the different δοκέω syntactic constructions (cf. Benedetti & Gianollo 2020), the dreamer may occur either as subject or indirect object – with obvious consequences in terms of (de-)focalization of this role –, in Artemidorus, δοκέω mainly imposes the dreamer as subject.

Whether this uniform semantic and syntactic representation of the dreamer may reflect a shift in the conceptualization of dreams, or merely a development of the language system will be discussed in this paper, considering
- on the one hand, the syntactic behaviour of δοκέω with infinitive complements within a corpus of post-classical literary and documentary texts;
- on the other one, alternative – "post-classical" – dreams accounts diverging from the traditional format with δοκέω, which are testified by the language of papyri as well the Septuagint Greek (cf. Bruno 2020; Bruno *forth.*).

What emerges is a remarkable correspondence between the development of the syntax and semantics of dream accounts in Ancient Greek.

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Bruno C. (*forth.*), *Dream Language and Dream Ideology: Echoes from the Memphis Serapeum*, in: A.C. Cassio and S. Kaczko (eds.), *Alloglōssoi. Multilingualism and Minority Languages in Ancient Europe*, Berlin/Boston, 29-51.

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Vit Bubenik (St John, Newfoundland)
Development of Tense and Aspect in Hellenistic Greek

A number of theoretical frameworks is available for the analysis of tense and aspect (Aerts 1965, Hewson & Bubenik 1997, Binnick 2012). The status of periphrastic constructions in the biblical documents (LXX and NT) 'Septuagintisms/Hebraisms/Aramaisms' in the Imperfective aspect remains contentious (Maloney 1981, Porter 1989, Evans 2001, Bentein 2012). The classical language could have provided an initial motivation for the Imperfective/progressive drift but we also have to make a provision for structural influence from Hebrew and especially from spoken Middle Aramaic which would rationalize its frequency in the biblical documents. On the one hand, we have to admit that we are NOT dealing with the 'paradigmatic' progressive' aspect in Middle Hellenistic Greek comparable with that of Middle Aramaic (to be outlined); on the other hand, this construction is much more frequent in LXX and especially NT than in any other contemporary Hellenistic work (statistics in Bentein 2012). As a contribution to the current debate I will suggest that in the multilingual milieu of Hellenistic Palestine we have to make a provision for diglossia and bilingualism whereby the same ('educated') speaker could alternate between periphrastic constructions (ἦν διδάσκων, ἔσονται πίπτοντες corresponding to Aramaic *həwāh məlammēḏ* 'was teaching', *lɛhwü nāp̲əlīn* 'they (stars) will be falling down') and the synthetic Imperfect and Future tenses of contemporary Hellenistic literary works (ἐδίδασκε, πεσοῦνται).

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Markopoulos, Theodore. 2003. *The Future in Greek: From Ancient to Medieval.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Enrico Cerroni (Rome)
The Use of the Perfect in Literary Prose of the 6th Century CE

This paper aims to provide an in-depth survey of the use of the perfect in a sample of Greek literary prose of the 6th century CE, including authors such as Procopius, John Malalas, and Theophylact Simocatta. Recent research (e.g. McKay 1965, Porter 2003) has shown the need to revise Chantraine's theory (1926), according to which, when the process of overlap between aorist and perfect was completed, around the 1st or 2nd century CE, the perfect gradually disappeared. As a matter of fact, the quantitative analysis of a corpus of literary works from the 1st to the 5th century has shown that perfect forms, instead of disappearing, increase in frequency from the 1st to the 4th century (De Santis/Battezzato 2020).

Using a stylistic based approach, it will be clarified to what extent one can speak of hypercorrection by authors choosing to write in a good Greek at a time when the perfect had almost disappeared from the spoken language. Indeed, a restricted number of certain perfect forms seem to have remained in use in the spoken language during the early Byzantine Period, instead of 'irregular' aorist forms, especially the so-called strong aorist forms, e.g. εἴρηκα, ἔσχηκα, εὕρηκα, ἑώρακα for εἶδον etc. or root aorists, e.g., ἔγνωκα for ἔγνων (Hinterberger 2014: 195). A learned author such as Procopius completely avoids forms that were 'popular' at his time such as ἑώρακα and εὕρηκα, to which he greatly prefers the classical εἶδον and εὗρον. Instead, both perfect stems are attested in Malalas (ἑώρακα 50x vs. εἶδον 75x, εὕρηκα 25x vs. εὗρον 38x) and Theophylact Simocatta (ἑώρακα 6x vs. εἶδον 25x, εὕρηκα 3x vs. εὗρον 10x).

The investigation on literary texts will be complemented by a comparison with administrative language data, epigraphic evidence, and papyri.

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Andrea Cuomo (Ghent)
The linguistics of Medieval Greek: Sources, Mothodologies, Challenges, and Opportunities

The engaging multilingual and multi-register panorama characterizing Medieval Greek makes its study particularly challenging, while it promises to disclose new aspects of the Byzantine civilization. My paper aims to show the opportunities that linguistic research on Medieval Greek offers to the scholarly community, by discussing sources and methodologies: E.g. a text-oriented or a user-oriented approach? And if text-oriented: which texts? In my presentation, I mainly take into account the period from the 11th to the 15th century, and authors from Tzetzes, to Planoudes, to Manuel Kalekas.

Camille Denizot (Université Paris Nanterre) & **Liana Tronci** (Università per Stranieri di Siena)
The modal particle ἄv in Postclassical Greek: a corpus-based analysis of the Apophthegmata Patrum

The paper focuses on the modal particle ἄv in Postclassical Greek and investigates the distribution of the particle in the Sayings of the Desert Fathers (*Apophthegmata Patrum*), a collection of wisdom stories orally composed by monks who lived in the

Egyptian desert in the 4th and 5th centuries CE. Their oral and popular character makes them relevant for our research topic.

As is well-known, the modal particle ἄν combined with the optative, the past indicative and the subjunctive in Classical Greek. The combinations gave birth to different modal meanings i.e. potential, counterfactual, and *eventualis* (the last one occurring in some types of subordinate clauses, e.g. hypothetical, temporal, relative clauses, Kühner & Gerth, 1898: §399, Blass & Debrunner 1896: 209-214). In Postclassical Greek, the loss of the optative (cf. McKay 1993; Horrocks 2010: 102, 117; Bianconi & Magni forthcoming), on the one hand, and the spread of the imperfect into counterfactual domains (cf. Porter 1989: 198–211; Horrocks 1995, 2010: 154, 236; Di Bartolo forthcoming), on the other hand, contributed to the progressive disappearance of ἄν in several contexts where it occurred earlier. Moreover, the loss of the distinctive vowel length created some confusion between the hypothetical subordinator ἀν (equivalent to ἐάν and originally [a:n]), and the modal particle ἄν [an] (cf. Horrocks 2010: 236–237). Given these changes, the combination of ἄν and the subjunctive in subordinate clauses seems to be the last affected by the remodelling of the modal system in Postclassical and Medieval Greek.

Our investigation concerns the characteristics of the gradual disappearance of the modal particle ἄν, as witnessed by the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. Our corpus-based research deals with the following questions:
a) In which syntactic contexts (types of clauses, co-utterance with moods) and under which conditions did the modal particle ἄν remain used? The combination of ἄν and the subjunctive is particularly relevant in order to explore whether ἄν "survived" in specific syntactic patterns (some types of subordinate clauses and in univerbation with some subordinators, e.g. ὅταν)
b) Which role did the confusion between ἄν and ἐάν play in the preservation of the modal particle?

The hypothesis we intend to test is the following one: while phonetic and morphological reasons contribute to the weakening and the progressive elimination of the modal particle ἄν, syntactic factors helped maintain its use longer, leading to a remodeling of its use and meaning.

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    tense and mood.* New York: Peter Lang.

Giuseppina di Bartolo (Universität zu Köln), **Chiara Gianollo** (Università di Bologna) &
Beatrice Marchesi (Università di Pavia)
The system of negation in Postclassical Greek: evidence from documentary papyri

The morphosyntactic expression of negation in Greek has been the object of renewed
interest over the last few years, because of the theoretical relevance and of the
diachronic significance of the data (see a.o. Willmott 2011, 2013, Denizot 2014, 2019,
Horrocks 2014, Muchnová 2016, 2019, Veloudis 2017, Chatzopoulou 2018, Gianollo
2019, 2021, *forthcoming*, Liosis 2021).

This body of research has evidenced the necessity of an improved understanding of
the Postclassical Greek stage, in order to reconstruct the historical processes leading
to the shift from a non-strict to a strict Negative Concord system. In a strict Negative
Concord system, such as the system of Standard Modern Greek, a negative marker co-
occurs with a negative indefinite in all sentential contexts, independently of the
respective position. It has been established that the change had already been
completed in Medieval Greek (Willmott 2013, Horrocks 2014, Veloudis 2017, Holton
et al. 2019, 1051-1070), but we know little about its development. The non-strict
system of Classical Greek seems to be substantially preserved in Biblical and New
Testament Greek, although changes in the distribution start to appear (Gianollo
forthcoming); Liosis (2021) has highlighted the great relevance of papyrological
evidence in witnessing early signs of an ongoing development.

This paper aims to further our knowledge of the Postclassical Greek situation by
collecting and analyzing data from documentary papyri of the Roman period (1st
century - 4th century AD), using the search engines papyri.info and Trismegistos, and
the linguistically annotated corpus PapyGreek. Starting with this period, we begin to
identify consistent changes that will be the basis of major diachronic developments in
word order, which could potentially affect the syntax of negation. Moreover, from the
Roman period onwards, we have a greater variety of private letters than in previous
stages, and it is precisely in this type of documents that we expect to find the most
significant data for the study of intralinguistic variation leading to diachronic
developments.

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Panagiotis Filos (Ioannina) & **Evangelos Karakasis** (Thessaloniki)
Greco-Latin bilingualism and post-classical Greek lexicography: Some remarks on the Latinisms in Hesychius' lexicon

Latin influence on Greek, and Latin loan material into post-classical and early medieval Greek in particular, has been studied in several ways over the past decades, with various studies focusing on grammatical and/or lexical aspects of the Latin material found in literary, epigraphic and papyrological sources (cf. Adams 2003; Dickey 2023).

In this context it is also worth examining a less studied, yet very interesting metalinguistic aspect, namely the way Ancient Greek lexicographers wrote down and treated Latin loan material. Among them, Hesychius (ca. 5th c. / 6th AD), whose lexicon is mostly known for the recording of Ancient Greek dialectal glosses, but also for the listing of obscure lexical material from less well-known ancient languages, such as Thracian, Iranian, etc., is a particular case: on the one hand, Hesychius represents a late stage of the Ancient Greek lexicographical tradition since his own work relied heavily on previous works, while on the other hand one may also compare the way Hesychius treats the few dozens of listed Latin loanwords with the rest of his material, be it dialectal Greek or non-Greek at all (Cunningham and Hansen 2005–2022).

In that respect, the analysis of the limited Latin material found in Hesychius, be it (almost) undeniable (e.g. κάλτοι 'shoes for riding' < Lat. *calcei*) or just possible Latin loanwords (e.g. ἔλλα 'seat (in Laconian), sanctuary (at Dodona)' < Lat. *sella* ?), is worthwhile both from a lexical and a lexicographic viewpoint (cf. Immisch 1885). In addition, a rough comparison between Hesychius and other post-classical Greek authors who record abundant Latin material (e.g. Ioannes Lydus, 6th c. AD), but also a contrast between Hesychius and late Latin grammarians/ lexicographers who discuss (possible) Ancient Greek loanwords into Latin (e.g. Servius) may shed additional light on how lexicography in the Greco-Roman world dealt with loan material from either of the two classical languages (Maltby 1991; Ernout and Meillet 2001; Dickey 2007).

References

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Jürgen Hammerstaedt (Cologne)
Eusebius' Commentary on the Psalms. Observations on language and style

The commentary on the Psalms was once probably the most extensive writing of Eusebius of Caesarea. Larger parts are preserved in direct tradition, many more can be added from later catenae. The Berlin Academy is currently preparing the first reliable edition, and its first part, the commentary on Psalms 101-150 was published in 2022. It is now possible for the first time to take a closer look at linguistic and stylistic features of the commentary and to see, which modifications Eusebius' text underwent in the catenae and to what extent the style of this commentary differs from that of other writings of Eusebius.

Mark Janse (Ghent)
Modern Greek Dialects and the Vocabulary of the Papyri

The Modern Greek dialects provide a rich source of information on rare words and meanings attested in the papyri and generally in Ancient Greek. Especially words found in the archaic peripheral Asia Minor Greek ones (Cappadocian, Pharasiot, Pontic) are particularly relevant, as the body of these dialects is based on Byzantine Greek, which in turn is based on the Eastern (Asia Minor) Greek Koine of which they have retained quite a few elements, phonological as well as grammatical, and especially also lexical. The importance of Asia Minor Greek and of the modern Greek dialects in general has been pointed out by such renowded linguists as Albert Thumb (1865-1915), Georgios Chatzidakis (1848-1941), Richard McGillivray Dawkins (1871-1955), Nikolaos Andriotis (1906-1976) and George Pelham Shipp (1900-1980). Shipp's monumental *Modern Greek Evidence for the Ancient Greek Vocabulary* (1979) is an exemplary application and a constant source of inspiration for the approach adopted in this paper, in which evidence from the Asia Minor Greek dialects is used in combination with evidence from Byzantine Greek to elucidate the use and meaning of two particular words. The first case-study concerns the pair ἀξινίδιον (PCZ 59783.12) versus ἀξινάριον (both found in Josephus, *BJ*, 2.8.7 & 2.8.9 respectively, and explained as diminutives of ἀξίνη "axe" in *Suda* A 2809), the former not surviving in later Greek, but the latter with different meanings in Asia Minor (Dawkins 1916: 584) and other modern Greek dialects (Andriotis 1974: 124). The second case-study is based on Fournet (2000), who identifies a technical and geographically restricted meaning of κολλάω in the compound ἀρτοκολλητής "bread baker". In Cappadocian Greek the verb κολλάω has just this specialized meaning "I bake", because the dough was plastered to the sides of the τουνδούρ' (Turkish *tandur*), until it was baked and fell off (Dawkins 1916: 610). The discussion includes several Ancient Greek words for different sorts of bread and cakes such as κόλλιξ, κόλλαβος / κόλλαβος, κολλύρα / κολλούρα and their possible connection with κολλάω.

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Brian D. Joseph (The Ohio State University)
Learning from the future to explain the present: Modality in later Greek

While Ancient Greek can be viewed as a self-contained system unto itself, it must also be recognized that it is a point of departure for the attested two-plus millennia that brings one to present-day Greek. It is thus an interesting exercise in what might be called "forward reconstruction" (in the spirit of Watkins 1962) to see how starting with Ancient Greek and projecting forward in time to later forms can shed light on what the nature of the starting point must have been.

The admittedly punning title contains indications of the different directions in which the study reported on here moves. "Present" here refers both to present tense and to synchrony, and "future" here refers both to the future tense as a kind of modality and to the diachronic dimension whereby from any point in the past, "future" time brings one up to and into the present day.

Greek, with its long documentary record of attestation provides the perfect medium to explore how successful this methodology can be.

For instance, looking at the replacement of the infinitive — a development that began in the Post-Classical period (e.g. in the Greek of the New Testament) and thus happened in future time as far as Ancient Greek was concerned — allows one to get a handle on the types of infinitival complementation (modal and nonmodal) in Ancient Greek (viewing that stage as a present time).

Using this methodology, I explore here the nature of the future tense in Ancient Greek and argue that it represents a kind of modality in Ancient Greek, certainly so from a semantic point of view, but also within the structure of the overall verbal system. I base this account on how the Post-Classical successors to the Classical future tense, especially the future formation of ἔχω plus an infinitive, ultimately developed into overt modality in Medieval Greek — seen in the να είχε γράψει conditional — and how

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it spawned a whole range of modal "conditional" formations which were not really possible in Ancient Greek like that and were expressed in a very different way (e.g., with the particle ἄν). This argument also sheds some light on ἄν itself and its structural place in the verbal system of the Classical language and later.

This paper is at once an attempt to advance a new methodology for historical linguistics while at the same time offering an investigation into the status of various verbal categories in Classical and Post-Classical Greek.

Daniel Kölligan (Würzburg)
Notes on the Greek version of the Armenian Agathangelos

There are various Greek versions of the history of the missionary activity of St. Gregory Lowsaworič' ("the illuminator") in Armenia in the 3rd and 4th c., translated from Armenian between the 5th and 7th c., edited by Garitte (1946) [=Vg], Garitte (1965) and Lafontaine (1973) [=Ag].

They show (a) numerous influences of the Armenian original(s), such as, in phraseology, calques like Vg 29.6 τοῦτον ὑπὸ … βασάνοις ποιήσαντες 'after having tormented him' : Arm. *ənd č'areawk' aṙnel* 'to put under torments', and, in syntax, the frequent marking of the agent of a passive verb by ἐκ : Arm. *i/y* + ablative (Vg 45.3 ἡττηθέντα ἐκ γυναικός) and the use of a participle as clause predicate, e.g., Vg 35.4 Ὁ δὲ καῖσαρ Διοκλητιανὸς ἐν λύπη μεγάλη γενόμενος καὶ θρηνῶν τὴν ἰδίαν ἀβουλίαν, ὅτι …, which corresponds to the same feature frequent in Armenian narrative texts (cf. Meillet 1980: 114-115; Lyonnet 1933: 154-160, Garitte 1946: 187, 259). Other cases which have been interpreted as due to the *Vorlage* are more doubtful, however; e.g., Garitte (1946: 251) assumes that the use of χέω 'to pour' in Vg §11.1 ὕβρεις κατέχεας 'you have poured out insults (to the gods)' is to be compared with Armenian *t'šnamans dnem* "contumelias pono", with a verb meaning 'to put', however: one would expect *hełowm* 'to pour' or a near-synonym; cf., on the other hand, χέων ὕβριν in Greg. Naz. (*Carm. Moral.* 838.11).

While some features of this group of texts belong (b) to the well known developments of "post-classical" Greek, e.g., the gradual loss of agreement in the participle, cf. Vg 1495 διὰ τῶν ἁγίων παρθένων τῶν ἀφ' ὑμῶν <u>ἀναιρεθέντων</u>, switches in declension class, e.g., Vg 83 ἐσθήταις 'garments', etc., others (c) do not find a ready explanation as either due to Armenian or as a "late" feature, e.g., the use of παρασκευάζω as causative marker (Vg 81 κοινωνεῖν παρασκευάζοντες 'making participate', Ag 7 σὲ … δεσπόζειν παρασκευάσω 'I will make you rule').

The paper will discuss examples for all three types, focussing on cases where features of Greek may have been furthered or suppressed by the *Vorlage* and where conflicting norms may have led to solutions rare or unknown in both languages.

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Nikolaos Pantelidis (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens) & **Io Manolessou** (Academy of Athens)
The end of an era: From antiquity to modernity in Greek phonology

This paper aims to discuss phonological change in Post-Classical Greek, concentrating on the major issue of the overall transition from the "Ancient" to the "Modern" phonological system. Although this is the most central phenomenon in the later history of the Greek language, it has never been treated from the viewpoint of modern linguistic theory. Therefore, this paper will attempt to address in a systematic and unified way the mechanism behind the loss of quantity distinctions in vocalism and consonantism, and its impact on the gradual regional diversification of Greek. The discussion will take into consideration a) recent theoretical and cross-linguistic research on diachronic changes in syllable structure b) extensive data from Late Antique Greek inscriptions and non-literary papyri and c) comparative data from the Modern Greek dialects.

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Stavros Skopeteas (University of Göttingen)
Word order changes in Post-Classical Greek

Ancient Greek belongs to the languages with flexible word order, mostly determined
by stylistic/ rhythmical and information structural factors, as shown by Dik (1995,
2007), Matić (2003), and Bertrand (2010). Besides the factors that determine the
choice of order in certain contexts, there are some general tendencies that change
over time, tending to an increase of head-initial orders with verbal phrases; see Dover
(1960). This tendency leads to a clear preference for VO orders in the New Testament
Greek (Kirk 2012).

The present talk reports the exact frequencies of word orders in various stages of
Ancient based on syntactically annotated resources (dependency Treebanks); see
Keersmaekers et al. 2019. The corpus contains poetry and prose from the Archaic and
Classical era, various postclassical authors as well as the New Testament and the
annotated papyri of the SEMATIA project (Vierros 2018). We examine the word order
preferences with different types of verbal heads (finite, non-finite), and with different
types of verbal complements (embedded verbs, accusative and dative objects).

The results reveal that the Greek word order is captured by an interaction between
Time and Genre. The oldest poetic documents (Homer, Hesiod) display a preference
for V-final linearizations (infinitives preceding finite verbs; objects preceding the verbal
head). This preference is maintained in Classical poetry and in stylized prose of the
Classical period, such that V-final configurations in oratory are even more frequent
than in poetry. Verb-finality remains a constant preference in the literary registers of
the Postclassical era. The earliest documents of Greek prose (Herodotus) already differ
from early poetry in that V-initial configurations (infinitives and objects following the
finite verbal head) appear already with considerable frequency. This preference is
continued in the less stylized texts of the Classical period (e.g., in Aristoteles) and
increases considerably in the Postclassical era (New Testament and Papyri).

The role of genre is crucial for understanding the developments of Ancient Greek
syntax: the word order preferences in earlier stages of Greek are not necessarily
evidence for the development out of an earlier OV language (in line with the word

order of Anatolian, see Lehmann 1975), but rather evidence for the development of V-final styles in a language that possibly had already turned to the VO type.

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Araceli Striano (Madrid) & **Patricia Varona** (Madrid)
The linguistic characterisation of the language of the 'confessions' of Asia Minor (1st-3rd c.): an example of a combination of registers

The language of the "Confessions" of Asia Minor is an interesting case study of Late Greek, as it has several ideal features for scholars of this period:

(1) The "Confessions" make up a geographically limited corpus, the region called Katakekaumene, around the river Hermos, in the inland of Asia Minor.

(2) The content of the documents—the acknowledgements of faults or offences committed by the worshippers of the temples of different Asian divinities—is homogeneous. The documents are written in the form of accounts that do not follow a fixed, repetitive pattern, but are rather written in a variety of forms of expression, sometimes resembling simple testimonies from the mouths of people frightened by the consequences of their actions. They are the background to events that provoke the punishment of the divinities associated with the temples of the region.

(3) The wording of the documents shows striking deviations from the written norm of standard Greek, affecting the phonetics, morphology and syntax, close to the spoken register of the language. However, the facts are presented in a

cumbersome wording, sometimes difficult to understand, with turns of phrase and expressions that are of a technical nature, typical of court rulings.

(4) The chronological range covers a broad but clearly delimited period, the 1st-3rd centuries (there are a few examples from the 4th).

It is quite possible that the Greek spoken in this area was influenced by the local languages (Phrygian or Lydian, for example), but at the same time, the poor establishment of Greek in the region gives us access to texts that are closer to the spoken language, with all the implications that it entails. It follows, therefore, that this corpus, little studied from a linguistic point of view, can be of enormous interest to scholars of Late Greek.

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Staffan Wahlgren (Trondheim)

Negations in Tenth Century Greek

The relative domains of the complementary negators (in their simplest standard form: οὐ and μή) change over the course of the history of Greek. In this paper I discuss what synchronic variation in a corpus of literary texts from the tenth century AD can tell us about this process. The data are taken from an ongoing project, in which tenth century texts are annotated morphologically and syntactically. The further aim of the presentation is to discuss the potential usefulness and design needs of a synchronic corpus of the kind I am preparing.

B. THEMATIC PANELS

2. Digital Grammar of Greek Documentary Papyri (PapyGreek) (Marja Vierros, Helsinki)

Marja Vierros (Helsinki)
Digital Grammar of Greek Documentary Papyri (PapyGreek) – project's results and future

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In this paper I will give an overview of what we have learned about Postclassical Greek from documentary papyri with our aim to study the corpus from a quantifying angle, in other words, the results of the project *Digital Grammar of Greek Documentary Papyri* (ERC Starting Grant agreement No 758481). I will present the linguistically annotated data and digital tools developed for producing and querying the data, and the current state of the Digital Grammar website. I will also discuss what the future looks like for the digital outcomes of a project whose funding is coming to an end.

Erik Henriksson (Helsinki)
PapyGreek's graphical query tool: a unified search for syntax and linguistic variation in documentary papyri

Until recently, linguists looking to study Greek documentary papyri – the essential source on Postclassical Greek – with digital tools had few options to choose from. That has now changed thanks to projects such as Trismegistos (<https://trismegistos.org>) and PapyGreek (<https://papygreek.com>). This paper presents PapyGreek's new treebank search tool, which differs from other similar tools on offer by a) letting users express queries in terms of visual trees, without needing to learn a new query language, and by b) incorporating editorial regularizations into the search, allowing for complex queries concerning linguistic variation. I discuss the tool's implementation, demonstrate its user interface, and give some example queries.

Polina Yordanova (Helsinki)
'Tolerable fluency and grace and occasionally an interesting word order': quantifying language proficiency for the study of word order variation in documentary papyri

In this paper, I transform the editorial commentary of Bagnall and Cribiore (2006) regarding the style and proficiency in their collection of letters into a set of rules that can be used for the automatic annotation of language proficiency of papyri. I am investigating two treebanked corpora of documentary papyri for effects that style and fluency, to the extent to which they can be estimated by the criteria established by editors, have on the variation of word order.

2. The Language of the Magical Papyri (Sofia Torallas Tovar & Christopher Faraone, Chicago)
The re-edition of the corpus of Magical Formularies on papyrus and the continued publication of newly discovered lead curse tablets has given us an opportunity for further analysis of a large number of issues that had remained unexplored for years. Among them is the language of these fascinating texts. In this panel we will attend at different aspects that combine linguistic observation and papyrological detail.

Panagiota Sarischouli (Thessaloniki)

Voces magicae: a multi-linguistic, transcultural phenomenon

The word- or letter-strings (representing divine names or epithets, secret words, and sequences of vowels and/or consonants) which from the 1[st]century CE on accompany the invocations in almost every magical text (Egyptian, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Aramaic, or Syriac) are commonly known as *voces magicae*, (literally) 'magical voices'. Although these sequences may seem random, it has been shown that sometimes the *voces* originated in other languages, unknown to their users, who regarded them as exotic "words of power". This paper aims to demonstrate that a linguistic survey across corpora would shed light on the relations between these strings in different languages and cultures, identifying patterns and origins.

Sofia Torallas Tovar (Chicago)
Linguistic interference in the corpus of the Greek and Egyptian Magical Papyri

The corpus of Greek and Egyptian Magical papyri presents invaluable insights into linguistic contact between Greek and Egyptian. The interference is however not as evident as with synchronic documents. In this paper I will present a few cases of interference of Egyptian with the Greek of texts that are probably translations, focusing on calques and loans.

Christopher Faraone (Chicago)
Poetry for Gods, Prose for Mortals: Code-Switching on Ancient Greek Curse Tablets?

Literary sources, beginning in the late Classical period, suggest that Greek curses could be composed entirely in dactylic hexameters, and we can trace this practice closely in the texts of the lead curse tablets that the Greeks used to bind their rivals or to subject overpower the objects of their desire. The earliest examples appear to be entirely hexametrical and were, perhaps, a written transcript of an originally oral performance, but the Roman period, we another pattern emerging: the limited use of poetry at the very beginning of a curse or at the very end of the curse, two places where the author evoked this older tradition of poetic incantations in order to engage the gods. One could, it seems, abandon poetic, when it came to naming the victim, but not in the invocation of the gods.

3. A historical socio-pragmatic approach to variation in Ancient Greek non-literary texts (Klaas Bentein, Ghent)

Panel description
For the past five years, scholars affiliated with the 'Everyday Writing' project at Ghent University (www.evwrit.ugent.be) have been studying the communicative function of variation in papyrus texts such as letters, petitions, and contracts. Because we do not

limit the variation that we study to language, but also include other modes of meaning-making, such as layout, handwriting, material substrate, etc., approaching papyri from a broad, holistic perspective, we termed our approach 'historical socio-semiotic' (Bentein and Amory 2022).

Initially, we linked these different types of variation to social factors associated with the text and its communicative actors, such as the type of text, the degree of formality involved, the social status of the people involved, etc. More and more, however, we have become aware of the importance and interest of also looking at the concrete interactional context, analyzing the text from a more fine-grained perspective through the annotation of speech acts, and their constituent elements and modifiers (see further House and Kádár 2021).

In this panel, we would like to outline the 'historical socio-pragmatic' approach (Leitner and Jucker 2021) that we thus developed, introducing our annotation environment and the results that we obtained through a number of case studies. The panel consists of four papers: Marieke Dhont will discuss how directive downtoners such as καλῶς ποιήσεις and εὖ ποιήσεις, which are frequently used to formulate polite requests, are complemented; Marta Capano will look at requests, but also other speech acts such as statements and assertions, and the role that the discourse markers λοιπόν and ἰδού play in introducing them; Ezra la Roi turns to yet another type of speech act, greetings, discussing the different types of greeting strategies that one finds in papyri; Klaas Bentein, finally, discusses the interactive functions of nominal forms of address inside the body of letters.

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Marieke Dhont (Cambridge)
Complementing Directive Downtoners in Post-Classical Greek

One striking feature of the language of the papyri is the variation in complementation and subordination structures. In this paper I will explore the complementation patterns of καλῶς ποιήσεις and εὖ ποιήσεις "you will do well to", two of the most common directive downtoners used to express a polite request in ancient Greek

("please"). I. will focus on their occurrence in papyri from Middle Egypt dated from the first to the eighth century CE and show that there is a wide range of possible complementation structures for καλῶς ποιήσεις attested particularly in private letters. While we have some evidence of the grammaticalization of this expression already by the first century CE, I will also explore the question whether this variation in complementation relates to language change, social distance, or pragmatic force.

Marta Capano (Università per Stranieri di Siena)
*Λοιπόν, how you send him the donkey! DMs λοιπόν and ἰδού and the speech acts
'request', 'statement' and 'assertion' in Papyrus letters from the Roman period.*

In this paper I investigate the usage of particles λοιπόν and ἰδού (and, as we shall see, some instances of imp. ἰδοῦ) as discourse markers (DMs) in Greek letters on papyri dating between the 2nd and the 7th c. CE. Using the EVWRIT corpus, I explore their role in introducing respectively the speech acts 'request', 'statement' and 'assertion', which we have previously annotated in the corpus.

The clause connective λοιπόν has been interpreted as a discourse marker in Modern Greek (e.g., Georgakopoulou & Goutsos 1996), but it is quite understudied in Medieval Greek (Cavallin 1941; Loudová 2014). It has been argued that Modern Greek λοιπόν is an inferential DM (Brewester 1992) i.e., a DM that signals that a first discourse segment provides a basis for inferring something in a second discourse segment (cf. Bentein 2016). I argue that λοιπόν appears with this role already in papyrus letters. Here, because of pragmatic factors, especially related to politeness, requests tend to be preceded by a background segment with more information on the context where the request originates. Consequently, a DM such as λοιπόν might appear between the background information and the request, as in p.iand.2.18, from 7th c. CE, where it is positioned before a request verb, καταξιώσῃς. In several cases, especially from the archive of Basilios Pagarches of Aphrodito, the DM λοιπόν is used to re-actualize the information given and to put emphasis on the request already laid out (e.g., p.lond.4.1380, from 710 CE, λοιπὸν ὡς εἴρηται οὐκ ἔχεις τὴν οἵαν οὖν ἀφορμήν, "So, as said, you have no excuse"). I contend that, due to the occurrence of this DM just before a direct request, there was an association between λοιπόν and request, to the point that in some cases the request verb – such as μελησάτω – is implied, and only λοιπόν appears. For instance, in p.louvre.2.99 (100-125 CE), we read λοιπόν, πῶς ὄνον αὐ[τ]ῷ πέμψῃς, "so [take care of] how you send him the donkey!".

A similar situation is observable with the Greek particle ἰδού "look" (on which see Bailley 2009; Nordgren 2015; Julia 2018; la Roi 2022), which was used already in Ancient Greek (esp. drama, cf. e.g., Soph. *Ph*. 776, Aristoph. *Th*. 206) to introduce presentative constructions, but it also shows deictic value, especially in Late Greek,

[25]

and it appears sometimes as an interjection or an exclamation. In papyri letters, however, we see that the particle ἰδού can introduce the speech act 'statement' (e.g., ἰδοὺ εἶπον τῷ Μηνασίῳ τοῦτο· "Look, I told Menasios this" in p.apoll.26, dated from 650-699 CE) and 'assertion' (e.g., ἰδοὺ πλειστάκις λέγω "Look, I told you many times" in p.oxy.42.3063 3rd c. CE), even in the case of oaths (e.g., p.lond.4.1380, 710 CE). This particle ἰδού is formally similar, and surely connected on a formation basis, to the imperative ἰδοῦ, which is also found before the speech acts statements and assertions. For instance, ἰδοῦ is found in p.brem.64 ἐγὼ \γὰρ/ ἰδοῦ τετράμηνος ἀσθενῶι μου τὰ ὄμματα "I, look, have been sick in my eyes for four months.". Though the two forms should be kept separate on a formal point of view and knowing that the imperative ἰδοῦ corresponds quite perfectly to the pragmaticalized so-called 'frozen imperatives' (Fedriani 2019), I cannot rule out the possibility that the two were confused both by the letter writers and, possibly, by the editors of the letters. In this paper, I demonstrate that ἰδού and ἰδοῦ are functionally identical in the letters, and I will demonstrate that they both work as elaborative DMs (cf. Fraser 2009).

Finally, I analyze the constructions of λοιπόν, and of ἰδού and ἰδοῦ, in order to understand the paths and the chronology of this pragmaticalization process, and the extent of their usage in correspondence with speech acts.

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Ezra la Roi (Ghent University)
The Historical Pragmatics of Greetings in the Papyri (III BCE – VI CE)

Hi, *Hey* or *Hello*. These are some of the many different ways in which we can greet someone in English. Each of these strategies also has their own history (see Grzega 2008). In this paper, I aim to provide a synthesis of the different greeting strategies that we find in the Post-Classical Greek papyri (III BCE – VI CE) and try to explain their pragmatic histories. To do so, I will apply methods from the field of *Historical Pragmatics*, a field which studies "patterns of intentional human interaction (as determined by the conditions of society) of earlier periods, the historical developments of these patterns, and the general principles underlying such developments" (Jucker 2008, 894).

In this paper, I will do mainly three things. First, I present an inventory of greeting strategies from the papyri, covering imperatives such as χαῖρε, wish optatives such as χαίροις, insubordinate infinitives such as χαίρειν (cf. la Roi 2021) and what are sometimes called salutations (Nachtergaele 2023, 61–117 for example using ἀσπάζομαι to greet others). Second, I provide an overview of their use, focusing in particular on their cotext, as greetings do not always come as stand-alone units, as is shown in example 1:

(1) Ἐρε[ννία] Πομπηίῳ τῷ [ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ π]λεῖστα χαίριν(=χαίρειν) καὶ διὰ παν[τὸς] ὑγενειν(=ὑγιαίνειν), κα[ὶ τὴν μη]τέραν(=[μη]τέρα) μου ἀσπάζομαι. (sb.6.9122, 57 AD, private letter)
Herennia to Pompeius … very many greetings and all good wishes for his health, and I salute my mother.(translation by Bagnall and Cribiore 2006)

Third and finally, I address the historical dimension of these strategies, offering (preliminary) answers to the how and why these greeting strategies change over time in the papyri (e.g. caused by innovative uses of the optative, see la Roi subm.). The corpus evidence for this presentation is collected using Trismegistos Words.

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Klaas Bentein (Ghent University)
Studying nominal forms of address from a historical socio-pragmatic point of view: Types, frequency and strategic usage in the body of Roman-period letters

Nominal forms of address such as titles, kinship terms, and honorific epithets constitute an integral part of everyday genres such as letters and petitions, in particular the opening ('the prescript') of these texts, where such forms contribute to doing 'identity-work', that is, establishing the relationship between the initiator and his/her addressee. The usage of forms of address in papyrus texts has been relatively well studied from a historical sociolinguistic point of view, in particular by Eleanor Dickey (e.g. Dickey 2001; 2004a; 2004b), but less attention has been paid to their study from a historical *socio-pragmatic* point of view, that is, how forms of address occurring in the body of the text can underline certain speech acts, how they are used to segment longer stretches of text (so-called 'metricalization', Silverstein 2023) or to re-establish the contact between the initiator and receiver, how pragmatically coherent or incoherent the use of forms of address is throughout the letter, etc. In this contribution, I will report on the annotation work that has been done on forms of address in the context of the 'Everyday Writing' ERC project (www.evwrit.ugent.be), in particular the

'text-structural part' of the project, introducing the digital environment that we have created, and making some preliminary observations about types of forms of address, frequency of repeated address, and strategic usage, focusing on a corpus of non-official letters from the Roman period (compare Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1995; Nevala 2004 on early English correspondence).

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4. For a new historical grammar of the Greek language (Georgios K. Giannakis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

Antonius N. Jannaris' *An Historical Greek Grammar* (1897) is the only extant work of this type but is in many ways outdated and filled with a number of mishaps due either to its restrictive approach (lack of consideration of the finds of historical and comparative linguistics at the time) or to its scope with the absence of a large volume of evidence from its account, e.g. Mycenaean, Archaic Greek, much of the epigraphical material are not treated. Thus, the HGGL aspires to fill an apparent gap in the scholarship that deals with the historical treatment of the Greek language, by offering an up-to-date examination of the entire corpus and history of the language from its beginning to the present time. The HGGL will give a detailed account of the development of the grammar of the Greek language over time from Proto-Greek to the modern era, covering all aspects of its structure, phonetics and phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon, considering variation phenomena and the dialects and paying special attention to the social aspects of the language and its history.

To this end, an enormous volume of primary and secondary material will be exploited, such as original texts, literary sources and corpora, dialect collections and papyri, and

all other relevant material from all periods of the language; grammatical treatises, older and more recent, epigraphic resources, historical grammars and lexica, handbooks on the history of the Greek language, as well as collective works that treat different aspects of the language either from the synchronic point of view or from that of its diachronic development, data banks and other online resources of both the written and, when possible, the spoken language.

Georgios K. Giannakis (Thessaloniki)
"Why a new historical grammar of Greek?"

For more than a century the diachronic study of the Greek language relied mainly on the 1897 *An Historical Greek Grammar* by Antonius N. Jannaris, a great but in many ways outdated work. Thus, there is need for a new synthesis to fill an apparent gap in the scholarship that deals with the historical treatment of the Greek language, by offering an up-to-date examination of the entire corpus and history of the language.

The time is ripe for such an undertaking, as the bibliography during the last 125 years has grown immensely, new material has been discovered, and the methodological tools have been refined both on the level of theory and of interpretation, as well as in the technological means that facilitate the handling of large volumes of material. In addition, the fundamental reference works that were lacking in the past are now in our disposal, e.g. reference grammars for all periods of the language, especially after the publication of the *Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek* by David Holton et al. (2019) a huge lacuna in the history of the language has been filled (although there is still a gap for the Early Medieval Greek period, especially in the area of syntax), more detailed treatments of some periods of the language have appeared such as *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language* by Egbert J. Bakker (2010), the *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics* edited by Georgios K. Giannakis et al. (2013/2014) and now with a new edition under preparation for the rest of the history of the language, *A History of Ancient Greek. From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity* by A.-F. Christidis (2007, 2014²), Geoffrey Horrocks' *Greek. A History of the Language and its Speakers* (2010²), and of course major dictionaries and thesauri of the language, such as (besides *LSJ* and older works) Fr. Adrados (1989-), Franco Montanari (2015), J. Diggle et al. (2021) for Ancient Greek, E. Kriaras' *Dictionary of Medieval Greek Vernacular Literature* (1968-, nearing its completion), the Vienna-based *Lexikon zur byzantinischen* Gräzität, edited by E. Trapp et al. (1994-2017), and other similar works for Medieval Greek, as well as a number of works for Modern Greek, e.g. *Historical Dictionary of the Academy of Athens*, still an on-going project, *Dictionary of Common Modern Greek* (1998), *Practical Dictionary of Modern Greek of the Academy of Athens* (2014, now an updated edition also available online), and others. In addition, there are a number of good etymological dictionaries especially for Ancient Greek (Frisk, Chantraine (with a Greek edition of the latter just appeared,

along with a new Supplement for later stages of the language), and Beekes), and of course a number of databases with large volumes of data such as the TLG project, Perseus, various inscriptional corpora, among them the online databank PHI, the Advanced Papyrological Information System (APIS Project), the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (SEG), the work by the Institute for Language and Speech Processing (Ινστιτούτο Επεξεργασίας Λόγου), and other similar projects.

Panagiotis Filos (University of Ioannina)
Histories, historical grammars and other linguistic accounts of Greek: Why we need them all

Over the past decades there has been a steady flow of new published accounts of the Greek language in its full or partial diachrony (e.g. Adrados 2005, Horrocks 2010), with the majority of them focusing, explicitly or implicitly, on Ancient Greek (e.g. Hoffmann et al. 1969, Palmer 1980, Christidis 2007, Bakker 2010) and less often on other periods (e.g. Browning 1983, Tonnet 2011). The preferred format of a 'history' of Greek (or part of it) has enabled authors to focus also on linguistic aspects that lie beyond the 'core' fields of the language system (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics/lexicon), such as sociolinguistics, language contact, etc., while they have also been able to cover a number of extra- and meta-linguistic issues, such as the historical context of each period (cf. Horrocks' title (2010) in particular), linguistic views of contemporary or later 'erudite' speakers (grammarians, scholars), etc. On the other hand, some more recent works, either in the form of companions/edited volumes (cf. Christidis 2007, Bakker 2010) or, much more, of encyclopedias (*EAGLL, EGLL* = Giannakis et al. 2014, 2024) have offered/can offer a far broader and more detailed thematic coverage of a multitude of linguistic topics which would hardly ever fit in any history of Greek. In that respect, one may ask with reason whether (and why) we also need a modern successor to Jannaris' (1897) classic, yet heavily outdated work (cf. also on Ancient Greek: Rix 1992, Sihler 1995 and, to some extent, Palmer 1980). The answer ought to be unequivocally affirmative, yet not tiresomely simplistic: a historical grammar should not only provide a clear, detailed overview of the diachronic development of the linguistic system of Greek, even though this may appear sometimes to be too linear, less variegated and more formalistic than was really the case, but may also offer, inter alia, a solid basis for a better reassessment of the various phenomena of Greek in a theoretical, typological and crosslinguistic perspective.

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Klaas Bentein (Ghent University)
Digital technology, corpora, and historical Greek grammar

Linguistic study of the Greek language has thoroughly changed during the second part of the twentieth century, with the advent of digital corpora, and especially during the first two decades of the twenty-first century, with the advent of semi-automatized and computational annotation methods. New subdisciplines have taken shape, such as 'digital classics', 'digital epigraphy' and 'digital papyrology' (Reggiani 2017; Berti 2019), and new methods are becoming increasingly common among younger generations of scholars, such as making available one's annotated corpus to the scholarly community, applying advanced statistical methods for relevance testing, interconnecting with other digital environments, etc.

In this contribution, I want to discuss what this digital revolution implies for our Historical Grammar project, taking as a point of reference the methodology proposed by the authors of the *Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek* (Holton et al. 2019), a foundational work that only recently appeared, but work on which in fact started some twenty years ago (2004). As these authors outline in detail the sort of methodology they followed in terms of how source texts have been processed and analyzed, and how the observed phenomena are described, we can ask not only to what extent their methodology is still standard today, but also how to prevent (if at all possible) our own grammar from becoming rapidly outdated, now that artificial intelligence is becoming increasingly available to the scholarly community.

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Theodore Markopoulos (University of Patras)
Historical Grammar and Medieval Greek: Challenges and prospects

The presentation addresses a number of important issues in the drawing and the implementation of a project aiming at a new Historical Grammar in relation to the Medieval period. More specifically, it discusses the long timespan of Medieval Greek and what this implies for a potential historical grammar of Greek in general and of this period in particular. Moreover, it focuses on various sociolinguistic aspects that need to be taken into account, such as: a) the extensive linguistic variation in the textual sources, b) the 'importance' of some sources in relation to others and c) the absence of a standardized variety.

Nikolaos Pantelidis (University of Athens)
Issues on writing the Historical Grammar of Modern Greek

A Historical Grammar of Modern Greek faces a number of issues, like the following:
a) The exact delimitation of Modern Greek with respect to Medieval Greek. The internal chronological structure of the period.

b) Exact chronology and geographic placement of the text sources, especially of the earlier centuries of the Modern Greek period. Texts of the Early Modern Greek period are extant in more than one version, from various epochs and places, the original often missing.

c) The extent of the corpus, especially from the 19th century on, and a linguistically understudied 18th c.

d) The Language Question which substantially contributes to obscuring the actual linguistic situation of the Grecophone world during the period from the late 18th to the early 20th c.

e) Insufficient documentation of the Modern Greek dialects, especially in their diachrony.

f) The insufficiency of the writing system often hides the actual phonetics which must then be reconstructed. The scarcity of other types of evidence, especially on the Early Modern Greek period.

g) Lack of clarity as regards the varieties/registers that are the object of grammatical description (starting in the 16th c.)

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