

Lexical and constructional patterns of Ancient Greek perception verbs

Prof. Silvia Luraghi, University of Pavia

In my paper, I survey the lexical and constructional patterns of perception verbs in Ancient Greek. I show that the modality hierarchy (cf. Viberg 1984) is not reflected in semantic extension, but in the distribution of constructions (Luraghi 2020). I examine verbs of sight (e.g., *dérkomai*, *horáō*, *eídon*, *blépō*, *theáomai*), touch (e.g., *thiggánō*, *háptomai*, *psáúō*), smell (e.g., *osmáō*, *osphraínomai*), taste (e.g., *geúomai*), hearing (e.g., *akóúō*, *klúō*, *aíō*), as well as the verb *aísthánomai* ‘perceive’ by looking at how they take different cases of stimuli, and what this suggests of the modality hierarchy.

Talking and fighting in Rome: syntactic alternations with lexical reciprocal verbs in Latin

Dr Guglielmo Inglese, KU Leuven

In this talk, I offer a corpus-based investigation of constructional alternation with lexical reciprocal verbs in Latin, focusing on verbs of rivalry (e.g. *pugno* ‘fight’) and verbal intercourse (e.g. *colloquor* ‘converse’). One observes a great deal of variation in the syntactic realization of the arguments of lexical reciprocals, but the reasons behind the choice of one construction over the other remain unexplored. As I argue, two main factors can be detected. First, lexemes may show statistical preferences for individual constructions. Second, construction alternation also reflects the speaker’s conceptualization and the discourse status of the participants of the reciprocal event.

Headedness and centricity of Homeric nominal compounds

Baihui Cheng, UCL

Compounding is a productive means of forming new lexical items in Ancient Greek and other Indo-European languages. Headedness and centricity are traditional criteria for categorising compounds. The different heads (e.g., semantic, morphological, or syntactic head) of a compound, although significant to the understanding compounds, are not often sufficiently distinguished. In this paper, I examine the headedness and centricity of Homeric double-nominal compounds (i.e. compounds made of adjectival and noun stems). I quantitatively study double-nominal compounds in Iliad and Odyssey. Drawing on my data, I analyse the patterns regarding syntactic head and semantic head, and what these can inform us of Homeric nominal compounds.

Against "lexicalization" (and what to replace it with)

Prof. Martin Haspelmath, Max Planck Institute

The term "lexicalization" has a wide variety of uses in the literature, and often it is not immediately clear what authors mean when they use it. Here I suggest that greater clarity can be achieved by using alternative terms, and I will make a number of concrete suggestions. One problem is that the terms "lexicon" and "lexical" have been used both with respect to abstract language systems and concrete speakers' knowledge of language. For greater clarity, it may be good to distinguish more sharply between abstract/social language systems (Saussurean "langue") and cognitive systems (Chomskyan "competence"). These two interact in language use and language change, but for causal theories about language change, we also need to separate them conceptually.

Epistemic Modality And Subjectivity: Evidence From Comedy And Letters

Tomaž Potočnik, UCL

While the epistemic modality, subjectivity, and hedges in general—all three used by speakers to indicate their attitude to their utterance—have received a lot of attention in general linguistics, very little attention has been paid to their realisations in Latin. The aim of my paper is to identify and describe frequent lexica and constructions used for indicating degrees of subjectivity. I shall also address methodological problems, show some differences in distribution, and potentially trace their diachronic development. The evidence from Latin should thus provide a small piece of the puzzle in the cross-linguistic and cross-cultural understanding of epistemic modality and grammaticalized deixis.

Category changes in Ancient Greek diachrony: the trajectories of fossilized mood forms

Ezra la Roi, Ghent University,

In this paper I assess the different paths taken by fossilized mood forms from Classical to Post-Classical Greek through the notion of category change. Starting from my recent work on the category change of imperatives, I discuss three case studies of fossilized mood forms to demonstrate that fossilized mood forms do not only show changes on different levels (e.g. semantic, syntactic, pragmatic), but also that their category changes away from their original mood usage is driven by different diachronic processes.

Filling the “gaps” of the Latin participial system: Discourse analysis and contact-induced grammaticalisation

Sólveig Hilmarsdóttir, University of Cambridge

The Latin participial system has been considered “defective” and is characterised by Haspelmath (1994) as a prototypical asymmetrical system, whose arrangement might be explained by patterns in discourse. However, from the time of the Roman Republic, we see attempts among speakers to make the system more symmetrical with a series of changes in how Latin participles were used. Language-internal change does not provide a clear explanation for the motivations behind the rearrangement of this system. I therefore maintain that to identify the potential motivations within a discourse-analytical framework, we need to incorporate bilingualism and language contact, and consider contact-induced grammaticalisation.

It’s all Greek to me: Greek loanwords in Republican Latin

Prof. James Clackson, University of Cambridge

For this paper I have collected all the Greek loanwords which appear in Latin texts and inscriptions of the Republican period (i.e. down to 27 BCE) or which can be assumed to have been borrowed into Latin before the Empire because of phonetic or other changes. I use this material to challenge the widely-held view that during this period spoken Latin was ‘flooded’ with Greek loanwords, which were debarred from official and high registers of Latin (Palmer *The Latin Language* 1954: 186).

The Atticist Lexicographers on Lexicalisation

Mathilde Bru, UCL

This paper will look at the evidence that the Atticist lexica of the second century AD can provide about lexicalisation. It will examine how this evidence, which reflects the linguistic observations of contemporary users of the Greek language, can add to our understanding of the reasons for innovation and change in the lexicon of the Roman Period, in particular relating to the process by which a lexeme is formed. This paper will attempt to identify how the second century lexicographers thought about the concept of lexicalisation, and how it compares to modern scholars' understanding of this process.

Omitting Your Words: semantic specialisation in the Ancient Greek verbal system

Elena Squeri, University of Genoa & Sorbonne University

The aim of the paper is to show how the specialisation of meaning through the addition of semantic traits affects the syntactic behaviour of verbs, with reference to the Ancient Greek verbal system. It will focus on how specialisation alters the argument structure of a verb through omission and modification of its combinatory constraints. These changes will be paralleled to those identified for incorporating verbs, to show how specialisation can be considered a mechanism of word formation as well, though a non-syntagmatic one. In that, specialisation mirrors the word formation process of conversion, through which denominative verbs are created.

The future and modality in the Cassiodoran Latin Translation of Josephus

Shoni Lavie-Driver, University of Cambridge

In my paper, I analyse ways to express the future and modality in the Latin translation of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*. Analysing multiple phenomena, I argue that we see a verbal system in flux in the Latin of the translation. Perhaps most significantly, *habeo* + infinitive is deliberately avoided, even in its Classical usage or where the Greek has *ékho* + infinitive. I shall show that, though one can talk in broad strokes about grammaticalisation over a long period of time, the picture will always be more complicated if we zoom in at any single point in the process.

Not first at all: on (τὴν) ἀρχὴν and grammaticalization

Dr Evert van Emde Boas, Aarhus University

As LSJ note (s.v. ἀρχή, I.1.c) the original accusative (τὴν) ἀρχὴν is often used adverbially, in the sense 'to begin with', 'at first'. Under the same header comes its frequent use, combined with a negative, to mean '(not) at all', '(not) in the first place'. Two of LSJ's examples are:

And. 3.20: ἐξῆν γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐᾶσιν Ὀρχομενίους αὐτονόμους εἰρήνην ἄγειν. ('It would have been possible for them, if initially they had allowed Orchomenus to be independent, to maintain peace.')

Hdt. 1.193.2-3: ἔστι δὲ χωρέων αὕτη πασέων μακροῦ ἀρίστη τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Δῆμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν. τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα δένδρεα οὐδὲ πειράται ἀρχὴν φέρειν ... τὸν δὲ τῆς Δῆμητρος καρπὸν ... ('This land is by far the most fertile for grain of all that I am aware of. It does not even attempt to bear trees at all, but when it comes to grain ...')

In this second use ('at all'), ἀρχὴν has turned into a member of the notoriously difficult class of 'negative polarity items' (items restricted to the scope of negated contexts; e.g. in English

‘He has done that at all’ is normally impossible). Cross-linguistic evidence suggests that such items and related follow particular paths of grammaticalization (a particularly relevant concept in the broader study of negation). In my presentation I will assess to what extent the uses of (τὴν) ἀρχήν can be explained using contemporary research into grammaticalization. I will also address the added complication that ἀρχήν in both uses can occur either with or without the article, seemingly without distinction. I hope to contribute to a broader discussion on how grammaticalization can be studied in Greek.

***Pro di immortales!* and other composite interjections in Latin. From syntagms to pragmatic markers**

Luis Unceta Gómez, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

The religious sphere is a common lexical source for interjections in many languages, and Latin offers a wide variety of examples of invocations converted into interjections. Grounding on previous research, in this paper I will focus on certain complex invocations – such as *pro di immortales!*, among others – that underwent a process of subjectification, becoming secondary interjections. Even if interjections still remain a problematic and contested class, their typical realization, according to their traditional linguistic description in Indo-European languages, is a single word; thus, these complex interjections can help us to reassess the structural and functional account of this grammatical category.