Abstracts

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Language Change in Epic Greek and other Oral Traditions

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Principles of language change in epic Greek

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The basis of Homer's language was clearly some form of Ionic. Besides, Homerists usually distinguish three types of non-Ionic features (cf. e.g. Wachter 2000: 63-67): archaisms, forms of dialectal origin, and artificial forms. In the literature, the issue of dialectal forms has played a prominent role: it is usually assumed that non-Ionic *epic* forms have entered the epic language from a non-Ionic *vernacular* source. In my project, I explore the new idea that Epic Greek is primarily not a mixture of dialects, but the product of a South Greek poetic tradition that evolved independently from the vernaculars. In this tradition, I submit, we should primarily recognize (1) archaisms, (2) innovations of the Ionic vernacular, and (3) forms that developed within the epic tradition.

In this paper, I will first focus on reasons to doubt large-scale influence of other dialects on the epic tradition. As is well known, proponents of the Aeolic phase hypothesis and of the competing diffusion hypothesis are involved in fierce debates. Rather than taking sides in this debate, my first aim is to argue that the concept of Aeolisms itself is problematic (cf. Wyatt 1992: 169). No clear traces of an Aeolian epic tradition have survived, and almost nothing is known about the Aeolic dialects in Homer's days. Moreover, as I have argued elsewhere, many alleged Homeric Aeolisms are unattested in actual Aeolic sources (van Beek 2013: 193). As part of my criticism, I will explore the alleged Aeolism βροτός in more detail.

Secondly, I will present the hypothesis developed in my PhD thesis (van Beek 2013: 171-74) for explaining how an Ionic epic tradition may have ended up using Aeolic-looking forms. To this end, I will start with a discussion of traditional assumptions about language change in the epic tradition, notably those formulated by Milman Parry (1971:331-342). Crucially, no one so far has seriously doubted the principle (explicit in Parry's work) that poets automatically applied the sound changes of their own vernacular when using the epic language. In my view, it would be promising to investigate the possibility that (1) epic language was phonologically conservative as compared to the vernaculars, and (2) that it could undergo its own sound developments, especially in the case of phonemes or realizations thereof that had become obsolete in the vernaculars. I will illustrate these claims with examples from the sound change $*\bar{a} > \bar{e}$, the labiovelar developments, and the syllabic liquids.

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Les procédés linguistiques artificiels de la langue épique

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Les épopées traitent de faits d'armes que l'aède chante avec gravité pour les faire paraître grands, terribles, pour susciter l'admiration, le respect, la crainte ou même l'horreur devant la violence. Le poète peut être amené à utiliser un large répertoire lexical, à varier l'expression, à la renouveler, à utiliser les éléments qu'il connaît en inventant de nouvelles combinaisons pour donner de la majesté à son chant et pour s'écarter du parler ordinaire. De plus, il doit faire entrer les mots de la langue courante et les mots qu'il veut inventer pour ses chants dans le moule de l'hexamètre. Si nécessaire, il doit donc imposer aux mots de la langue courante des modifications, et s'il veut créer des mots nouveaux, il peut être amené à produire un résultat qui est différent de ce qu'aurait été le même mot dans la langue courante. Quels sont les procédés qui permettent au poète épique de modifier les formes de la prose pour les faire entrer dans l'hexamère et de créer des formes nouvelles ou en partie nouvelles, et jusqu'où peut-il aller dans l'emploi de ces procédés ? Les mots restent-ils facilement reconnaissables ou peuvent-ils être gravement altérés ?

Le premier procédé d'adaptation des mots à l'hexamètre est bien connu : l'allongement métrique. Ses manifestations ont été décrites ou mentionnées par tous les homérisants. Mais jusqu'où pouvait-on aller dans son emploi. A-t-on pu, par exemple, allonger deux syllabes successives, ce qui représenterait une modification très importante de la forme du mot ? Nous poserons la question en nous mettant à la place de l'aède qui devrait employer un adjectif courant en grec et qu'on s'attendrait à trouver souvent dans des descriptions de héros, εὐγενής « bien né, de bonne famille ». Il faudra voir quel(s) procédé(s) on mettait en œuvre pour employer le nominatif et les autres cas.

Un second procédé est ce que l'on peut appeler la flexibilité des désinences. Dans la langue courante, qui pratique l'économie il y a un morphème et un seul pour un sémantème (unité sémantique [qui peut comporter plusieurs indications mêlées les unes aux autres : une désinence nominale exprime nombre + cas]) ; dans la langue épique, il peut y avoir *metri gratia* plusieurs morphèmes de sens équivalent. La flexibilité des désinences peut permettre de ne pas modifier le radical d'un verbe, d'un nom, d'un adjectif. Nous illustrerons cette flexibilité à l'aide des différentes formes flexionnelles des adjectifs sigmatiques et nous serons amené à parler des synizèses, des contractions, et donc de l'influence des dialectes et de la langue courante sur la langue épique : jusqu'où sont allés les aèdes ? Se sont-ils permis d'employer tout le paradigme contracte, se sont-ils permis d'employer des paradigmes dialectaux ?

Le troisième précédé que nous examinerons est celui de la création/modification lexicale et nous essaierons de répondre à une question : parmi les adjectifs sigmatiques de grec, y a-t-il eu des innovations proprement épiques, et si oui, comment et pourquoi ? La réponse passera par l'examen de quelques formes dont l'étymologie (et donc la structure) a été discutée, comme ἀπηνής et κατηφής, puis nous signalerons quelques formes qui sont vraisemblablement des créations nouvelles,

mais dont la formation est, si l'on peut dire, quelconque, pour en arriver à trois formes remarquables, περιρρηδής, εὐρυπυλής et χαλκοβατής. Exceptionnelles si on les considère en synchronie, ces formes paraissent trouver des explications diachroniques fort simple. Cela nous acheminera vers la conclusion qu'en matière de création lexicale ou de modification de lexèmes, les aèdes ont été très respectueux des règles morphologiques de la langue grecque, dont ils étaient tout à fait conscients.

Heroic Rhythm as 'Situational Context':
Language Change in Homer due to Phonostylistics

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In this paper I propose to discuss autonomous language change in epic Greek due to prosody in terms of phonostylistics, the study of stylistic implication of phonetic variation[1]. Starting from comments on rhythm from antiquity[2], I will apply recent observations on melodious contour and the structure of the dactylic hexameter to the 'rhythmical impulse' on artificial word formation found in Homer. The underlying variety of metrical archetypes and its consequences for morphology find their ontological basis in a rhythmical profile that differs considerably – and consciously - from everyday language.

In the discussion concerning style and language in ancient Greek, the issues of style/register and prosody have been treated as separate topics in Bakker 2010[3], and, more recently, in Giannakis 2014. Like register, rhythm in ancient Greek is necessarily limited to a basis in phonology, whereas in modern natural languages its basis is mainly found in phonetics, and partly reflected in phonology. Due to the relation with phonetics, epic rhythm becomes part of phonostylistics: the phonological processes that depend on situational context. Phonostylistics focus on the visible and audible effects in tempo of speech, and attention paid to speech (on a scale of 'formality'). Tempo and attention are phonetically conditioned by ease of articulation, and hence commonly understood as automatic. Experiments over the past decades, however, show that a conscious usage of phonostylistics, i.c. a deliberate choice of deviant rhythm, is furthered by metacompetence in a language, and by the awareness of functional stylistics: the conscious appliance of language as a function in different situations.

Epic Greek does not allow for such experiments, but it does provide an intuition for the conscious and wilful change of language to accommodate a specific rhythmical profile – and not, as is usual, the other way around. Its use of rhythm is a deviation of natural, or unplanned, speech. The effects that rhythm may pertain are considered to be partly inherent[4], as opposed to prose composition[5], and partly to the taste and the talent of the performer[6]. A number of instances of phonological

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[1] Cf. Hartmann & Storck 1972: 175 'that branch of stylistics which investigates the expressive function of sounds'.

[2] Aristotle pointed at the basics of metrical composition: *Rhet.* 3.8.1-3, cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Comp. Verb* 17.

[3] Willi in Bakker 2010: 297-310, and Nagy in Bakker 2010: 370-387.

[4] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Comp. Verb.* 4, cf. Quintilian 9.4.14-15.

[5] Conditioned by the rhythm in stress-timed language e.g. reduction, hiatus avoidance, vowel elision, degemination, and shortening, cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Comp. Verb.* 11.

[6] As examples of the latter Dionysius points at the speeding up of tempo of speech through a preponderance of 'long' syllables, the solemnity of speech through different rhythms, and the possibility to 'dim' metrical phrasing. In his discussion of metrical archetypes Dionysius passes moral and aesthetic judgement on the feet and rhythms they produce and represent (*De Verb Comp* 17, 25, 26 [on Simonides, fr. 37]; cf. *Demosthenes* 50, Arist. *Poetica* 23, Longinus, *De Sublimate* 39.4).

development remain, however, that appear, as I will argue, to have come about independently, as a consequence of the rhythm of epic Greek: metathesis quantitates, diectasis, synecphonesis, lengthening, and hypercharacterization (itself a consequence of metrical syllabification).

Starting from phonostylistics means redirecting the route from meter back to phonology: as meter facilitates the performer to deploy a function of language, primarily to establish the formality of the level of speech, so the deployment of meter becomes itself a motivator of language change.

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Homeric Constructions, their productivity, and the development of epic Greek

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The study of the dialectal layering and diachronic development of epic Greek has largely focused on phonological and morphological features. This is true of recent monographic treatments (Haug 2002, Hackstein 2002), handbook syntheses (Passa 2008, Hackstein 2010), as well as collective volumes (Andersen and Haug 2012). Much less attention has been devoted to syntax and formularity: while Homeric formulas and their modifications have been mined for morphological and phonological features (Hoekstra 1965), their syntactic structure and usage has attracted relatively little scrutiny. This is unfortunate, since the study of phraseology and formulaic usage can present us with a much more fine-grained picture of language change than phonology and morphology alone.

This paper aims to show how the study of Homeric constructions can help us shed light on the history of epic Greek, and that constructional change in Homer has unfolded according to clear principles, which can be articulated in terms of grammaticalization theory (Bybee 2010).

Homeric constructions are a tool to capture formulas and formulaic expressions and describe their syntax and usage (Bozzone 2014b). An example of a Homeric construction is shown below:

$$[-]_{\text{Obj.Pron.}} \; \delta' \; [\cup\cup-\cup\cup-]_{\text{Subj.Part.}} \; \pi\rho\sigma\sigma\epsilon\phi\eta \; [\cup\cup-\cup\cup--]_{\text{Subj.NP}}$$

This construction captures the two lines below, as well as many other lines (100+ in Homer) built according to the same template:

Τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς· (*Il.* 1.148)
Τὴν δὲ βαρὺ στενάχων προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς (*Il.* 1.364)

Two features of Homeric constructions make them particularly valuable for diachronic study:

1. Homeric constructions can have different levels of productivity (which are measured by a construction's type and token frequency), which change over the lifetime of the construction. Young constructions start out as flexible (high type frequency) and relatively infrequent (low token frequency), while old, fossilized constructions show the opposite patterning (Bozzone 2010).

2. Constructional change can happen relatively quickly: the 'ageing' of one construction and the development of new competing constructions can often be observed between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

As a case study, this paper discusses how the constructions for the verbs προσέειπε, προσέφη, and προσηύδα change in their productivity and distribution between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. While speech introduction constructions are recognized as a highly traditional area of the poetic technique, this method reveals stark differences in our texts.

Overall, while the productivity of the προσηύδα construction remains stable between the two poems, the προσέφη and προσέειπε constructions exhibit a sharp loss of type frequency combined with an increase in token frequency, pointing to the fossilization of both constructions. A single subtype of the προσέειπε construction, however, (the ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη type), experiences a true explosion of

productivity in the *Odyssey*. Interestingly, the success of this subtype will continue beyond oral epic: a similar construction for προσέειπε is still preferred by Apollonius Rhodius and Quintus Smyrnaeus (Bozzone 2014a).

Beyond describing the change in speech introduction constructions in Homer, this study demonstrates that different constructions can change at different rates within the same span of time, and pinpoints some of the factors that contribute to the maintenance and spread of a given construction.

While the study of constructional change in Homer is still in its infancy, this paper hopes to prove that this method holds substantial promise for the diachronic study of the language of epic. In particular, the productivity of a construction can be employed to assess whether an expression is likely to be traditional or innovative (see Bozzone 2016 on ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἥβην), which in turn can provide crucial data for our discussion of the relative chronology of epic Greek.

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Looking into the Distance: the Homeric Futures of the Verb "To Be".

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"He/she/it will be" appears in the Homeric poems in no less than four different forms based on the same root $*h_1es$-: ἔσται, ἔσσεται, ἔσεται, ἐσσεῖται. Their use is remarkably unbalanced, since ἔσται and ἔσσεται occur some 70 times each, while ἔσεται is confined to 4 instances, and ἐσσεῖται to 3. Only ἔσσεται and ἔσεται belong to a complete inflection (ἔσσομαι, ἔσσεαι, ἔσσεται etc., ἔσομαι, ἔσεαι, ἔσεται etc.); disyllabic ἔσται (which was to become the standard form in Attic- Ionic and beyond) is confined to the 3rd pers. sing., as well as ἐσσεῖται: a complete inflection of the latter is found only in the Doric dialects (but, interestingly enough, not in choral lyrics). Ἔσεται, rare in Homer, becomes even rarer in later poetry, and looks artificial in any dialect; on the other hand, ἔσετοι is attested in Arcadian.

A long time ago J. Wackernagel offered for both ἔσται and ἐσσεῖται an explanation which I find very attractive, although it has found little favour with the authors of handbooks dealing with the history of the Greek language. This paper will examine especially ἐσσεῖται and try to show that it probably belongs to the (rare) West Greek features found in Homer, to which, in Martin West's words (*JHS* 108, 1988, 167), "scholars have persistently closed their eyes because on conventional accounts of the development of epic in Asia Minor their presence would be inexplicable." If the presence of those West Greek features is accepted the 'conventional accounts' obviously need to undergo revision.

Changes in the formulary diction of the genealogical epic

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One aspect of the Greek epic that has yet to be thoroughly explored is the possibility of differentiating, in the midst of formulary wording, the different genres that from the point of view of Greek literature comprise, for example, the telling of heroic deeds (*Iliad, Odyssey*), gnomic-paraenetic poetry (*Works and Days*), and the stories of genealogies, be they divine (*Theogony*), or heroic (*Eoeai*). However, each of these forms of poetic expression had available a specific formulary apparatus apart from the other much more abundant and more visible one shared among the different genres, as has been pointed out on some occasions but whose consequences the critics have scarcely pursued. Here, in an attempt to connect this matter with the main topic to be investigated in the meeting, that is, the linguistic evolution of the different poetic traditions, my proposal consists of investigating the evolution of the formulary diction of oral poetry of the genealogical type, based on information provided in this regard by the Hesiodic poems of the Theogony, and above all, of the Catalogue of Women.

Epic Compounds

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Nominal compounding is one of the most important means of word formation in Epic Greek (and other Indo-European oral traditions). The poets make use of the variation between different compound types (1) and the variation within compound types, i.e. different forms of first (2) and second (3) compound members:

(1)	ταμεσι- : -τομος	τέμνω 'cut'
	φειδι- : -φειδης	φείδομαι 'spare'
	φερε- : -φορος	φέρω 'carry', bring'
(2)	ἐρυ- : ἐρυσι-	ἔρυμαι/ἐρύομαι 'protect'
(3a)	-δεγμων : -δεκτης	δέχομαι 'receive'
(3b)	-ηγερετα : -ηγερετης	ἀγείρω 'gather, collect'
	-δαμος : -δαμᾱς	δάμνημι/δαμάζω 'tame'
(3c)	-βατης : -βητης	βαίνω 'step'

This paper aims at clarifying the motivation behind the use of variation in the formation of nominal compounds in Epic Greek. I will show that besides metrical considerations (e.g., 3c) some of the variation is due to morpho-syntactic reasons (e.g., the variation in 3a, 3b expresses the difference between attributive and substantival function). Furthermore, I will argue that the variation in the formation of compounds cannot be considered "artificial" since it is rooted in the grammar(s) of Greek (vernaculars) and/or follows inherited Indo-European patterns of derivational morphology.

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Adverb-initial compounds as a case of grammaticalization in epic Greek

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One of the most productive categories of compounds in Ancient Greek is compounding with prepositions as first constituent and verb or adjective as second constituent (Debrunner 1917), e.g. *καταγράφω* (V) "write down" < *κατά* (PRE) "down" + *γράφω* (V) "write", *ὑπόλευκος* (ADJ) "white-like" < *ὑπό* (PRE) "pejorative" + *λευκός* (ADJ) "white". These prepositions have been prefixized via grammaticalization (Kurylowicz 1964), since they have gained some characteristics of suffixes, such as boundness, generic and grammatical meaning and productivity (Ralli 1986, 2005). The prepositions are etymologically adverb-based (Debrunner 1917, Chantraine 1989) and represent an intermediate stage of grammaticalization between adverbs and prefixes (preverbs) on the basis of semantic, morphological and syntactic criteria (Vitti 2009, Fliatouras 2015, in print).

The initial "adverb status" of the prepositions and the "phrasal status" of compounding survive mostly in epic Greek, e.g. *πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε* (Schwyzer 1939, Rix 1976), as it is shown by the cases of anastrophe and tmesis (see Smyth 1920, Bertrand 2009 inter alia). The instability between phrasal and one-word compounds in epic Greek shows clearly that the language change occurred and/or was completed during this period. As a result, the basic aims of this paper are:

(a) The morphological classification of data (e.g. one-word vs phrasal compounds) on the basis of modern theory of compounding (for Greek language see Ralli 2013),

(b) The morphosemantic analysis of the process (from epic Greek to Classical Greek and henceforth) according to modern linguistic theory, namely grammaticalization theory (see Meillet 1912, Lehmann 1982, Hopper 1991, Heine & Kuteva 2002, 2005, 2007, Joseph 2003, Amiot 2005, van Goethem 2007, 2008, Booij 2010 inter alia) and

(c) The "how" and "why" of the language change,

(d) The contrastive, reconstructive and cross-linguistic perspectives (see also Halle 1993, Schmidt 1997, Hewson 2003, Rasmussen & Olander 2009 inter alia).

In parallel to the above, we will give answer to three basic questions:

- What is the role of metrics in this case?
- Which are the input and the output of the process (phrasal vs one-word compounds) and the intermediate stages, and consequently, what are the status and the directionality of the process (e.g. syntacticization or morphologization, grammaticalization or lexicalization etc.)?
- Can the distribution of the data be useful for determining the dating of epic texts? (see Andersen & Haug 2011).

Between two canons? The construction of epic verse in the 5th century B.C.

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Je me propose d'étudier quelques unes des particularités métriques et linguistiques de la poésie en hexamètres dactyliques du 5e s. av. J.-C., en analysant la façon dont ces poètes conçoivent la relation entre la réalisation métrique et prosodique d'un côté, et le travail conceptuel et linguistique sur les mots et les syntagmes de l'autre. L'intervention sera proposée en anglais.

Les métriciens modernes tendent à analyser l'évolution de l'hexamètre grec au moyen d'un modèle qui oppose, d'un côté, les règles de composition de l'hexamètre d'Homère et d'Hésiode et, de l'autre, celui des poètes alexandrins (Callimaque, Apollonios de Rhodes, Théocrite, etc.). La période charnière dans le passage du paradigme "homérique" au paradigme "alexandrin", soit le 5e siècle avant J.-C., a fait relativement peu l'objet d'études[7]. Cette situation s'explique pour partie par les conditions dans lesquelles ce corpus nous est parvenu : les difficultés d'établissement d'un texte fragmentaire et le caractère quantitativement limité du matériau qui nous est parvenu impliquent que les conclusions des analyses sont difficilement comparables à celles issues des corpus suscités.

En prenant ces difficultés en considération, j'ai élaboré un ensemble de statistiques pour les corpus de Parménide, Panyassis, Empédocle, Choérilos de Samos et Antimaque de Colophon. Ces données portent sur la prosodie (fréquences et positions des abrègements, élisions, abrègements attiques, etc.), la métrique (fréquences et position des césures, des diérèses bucoliques, etc.) et l'insertion des éléments linguistiques dans le vers hexamétrique (quelle est la fréquence des positions des mots dans le mètre selon leurs caractéristiques métriques et prosodiques[8]).

Une présentation synthétique de ces données statistiques conduira à étudier deux aspects de la réalisation métrique et linguistique :

1) À l'intérieur du corpus, comment la nature et le genre du matériau déterminent-ils l'interaction entre les éléments linguistiques et la réalisation métrique ? Comment les créations lexicales sont-elles insérées dans l'hexamètre dactylique et comment expliquer ces particularités ? L'analyse montrera que la poésie narrative (Panyassis,

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[7] Les travaux de Traglia constituent une exception (*Studi sulla lingua di Empedocle*, Bari : Laterza, 1952, p. 85-87). Nuançant la thèse de Diels selon laquelle Empédocle préfigurerait la versification alexandrine, le savant établit que l'usage empédocléen est dans l'ensemble dépendant de celui d'Homère, quoiqu'il s'en distingue par une plus grande souplesse du fait du nombre de pauses et d'incises qu'il présente.

[8] Il s'agit de déterminer en quelles positions peuvent apparaître des termes tels que μῆνιν (forme –X) dans l'hexamètre dactylique, en prenant en compte leur structure prosodique (selon qu'ils commencent et se finissent par une consonne ou une voyelle). Ces analyses sont inspirées des travaux de O'Neill (« The localization of metrical word-types in the Greek hexameter », *Yale Classical Studies* 8, 1942 (105-178)) et de S. Hagel (« Tables beyond O'Neill », in F. Spaltenstein et O. Bianchi (éds.), *Autour de la césure*, Bern : P. Lang, 2004 (135-215)).

Choérilos de Samos et Antimaque) et didactique (Parménide et Empédocle) organisent les mots et les syntagmes dans l'hexamètre d'une façon pour partie distincte. L'introduction de particularités métriques ou prosodiques de la poésie d'Empédocle et de Parménide fonctionne ainsi comme un marqueur destiné à souligner leur travail conceptuel et linguistique.

Par exemple, Parménide et Empédocle usent de l'abrégement attique de façon structurellement différente de Panyassis : 10,83% des vers de Parménide et 19,91% des vers d'Empédocle comportent au moins un abrègement (contre 3,23% chez Panyassis). Empédocle a introduit une souplesse spécifique lorsque le groupe -θν- est impliqué, en particulier dans le cas de l'adjectif θνητός. Or Empédocle propose, dans sa doctrine, une refonte de la conception de mortalité : tout se passe comme si l'usage prosodique original du mot θνητός venait souligner ce travail conceptuel qui porte sur la notion même de mortalité et le lexique par lequel le poète l'exprime.

2) De façon diachronique, l'analyse précisera la position du corpus dans l'histoire de l'hexamètre et son interaction avec les deux paradigmes "homériques" et "alexandrins".

Par exemple : selon l'analyse de Naeke, les *Persika* de Choérilos de Samos sont une tentative de revitaliser la poésie épique en hexamètres dactyliques en exprimant un thème nouveau au sein d'une forme traditionnelle, alors qu'Antimaque avait choisi de traiter un thème ancien en introduisant des innovations formelles dans l'hexamètre[9]. La thèse de Naeke ne résiste pas à l'analyse : Choérilos présente en effet des traits absolument originaux (pour l'abrègement en hiatus, ou la position de certains termes dans l'hexamètre), alors même que par d'autres aspects, il participe d'une évolution de la poésie épique qui mènera aux canons métriques alexandrins (pour la diérèse bucolique). Antimaque introduit lui aussi des innovations, dont certaines sont en rupture radicale avec la tendance de l'évolution du mètre d'Homère à Callimaque. Chacun des deux poètes présente ainsi différents modes d'originalité, qui ne sont réductibles ni à une reproduction de la tradition antérieure ni à un alexandrinisme d'avant-garde.

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[9] A.F. Naeke, *Choerili Samii quae supersunt…*, Leipzig, 1817.

Change in Literary Syriac During its Formative Period:
A Reassessment of the Impact of Greek

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Syriac Christian language and literature emerged in Syria/northwestern Mesopotamia some time during the latter half of the second century C.E. Its position between native forms of expression on the one hand and Hellenistic culture on the other has been a controversial topic ever since. The language variety that underlies Syriac, at any rate, is clearly a local form of Aramaic that was part of a continuum of dialects shading into each other and only interrupted by the spread of Arabic in the Islamic period. By contrast, literary, or "Classical", Syriac has absorbed not only a fair amount of Greek loanwords (including function words) but has also replicated several originally Greek constructions by assimilating, e.g., the Semitic adverbs */ʾeḏay(n)/ > *dēn* 'thereafter' and */gayr/ > *gēr* 'certainly, indeed' to Greek *de* and *gar* in terms of function, position in the clause, and partly even form. These, as well as a few other, less easily classified, phenomena (such as certain elements of word-formation and the rise of a copula), occur already in the earliest literary texts but are consistently absent from the contemporaneous monumental inscriptions and legal documents. According to some recent scholarship, they point to a higher degree of exposure of Aramaic speakers in the region to Greek than has previously been assumed.

Evidence for extensive Aramaic-Greek bilingualism in the area is otherwise weak, however, hence it seems preferable to view such innovations as hallmarks of a new literary style that evolved from the local scribal idiom ("Old Syriac"), attested between the first and the third centuries C.E., and developed largely independently of the contemporaneous Aramaic vernaculars. This paper will reassess the impact of Greek on Syriac from the first textual witnesses until the early Islamic period (seventh century C.E.) against the background of very recent work (esp. A.M. Butts, *Language Change in the Wake of Empire*, Winona Lake 2016). It attempts to depict the somewhat ambivalent relation between Classical Syriac and Old Syriac and to connect a more nuanced analysis of the individual findings (in terms of the semantic fields covered by Greek loanwords, the exact distribution of replicated constructions across literary genres, and the increase of both over time) to the general sociolinguistic situation in Roman Syria.

A *Night Reconnaissance*: On Νύξ and its epithets in Homer

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§0 This paper aims to investigate four rather odd epic epithets of the word for 'night' that are not easily understandable within a simplistic view of the composition of the Homeric poems. All four of them—if taken at face value—betray in one way or another a "non-Ionic" origin. Can a closer inspection of the four examples help with the question about the existence of an "Aeolic phase" of the Homeric language?

§1 The formula "Νὺξ ἐρεβεννή" (plus variants thereof) appear(s) 6× in Homer's *Iliad* (verse-final "νὺξ ἐρεβεννή" in 8.488; 9.474; "ἐρεβεννὴ νύξ" in 5.659 = 13.580 ≈ 22.466; "ἐρεβεννῇ νυκτί" in 13.425) and 2× in Hesiod (verse-final "Νὺξ ἐρεβεννή" in *Th*. 213; *Op*. 17). The otherwise unattested adjective ἐρεβεννός 'dark, gloomy' seems to be the "Aeolic" outcome of a pre-form **h1regu̯-es-nó-*. Despite the fact that its Ionic counterpart **ἐρεβεινός* would be a perfectly licit isometric alternative, this form is unattested. Instead, within Attic and Ionic context we find a similar adjective ἐρεμνός (**h1regu̯-nó-*), used as an epithet of νύξ at least in *Od*. 11.606; Hes. *Th*. 744; 758, and, surprisingly enough, in Sappho (*Suppl*. 1.18 Diehl).

§2 The second "nightly" epithet is the *hapax* "(νὺξ) ἀβρότη" at the beginning of verse *Il*. 14.78, where a more canonical (**)ἀμβρότη (cf. *Od*. 11.330: "νὺξ φθῖτ' ἄμβροτος") would have been metrically impossible. The actual attested "νὺξ ἀβρότη" could lead one to believe that the phrase was coined at a time when the phonology would still fit the dactylic meter (**/nuks amr̥tā/* vel sim.), but wouldn't we rather expect a **/nuks amr̥tos/* in that case? It is interesting to note, then, that a matching feminine acc.-sg. "ἀβρο⊙[ότ]α[ν] (κόμαν)" appears on a stone from Epidauros (IG IV²,1 131; conjecture by P. Maas; for the semantics *cf. h.Hom*. 2.40f: "χαίταις / ἀμβροσίαις"), and that an inversion "(ἐνθεάσασ') ἀβρότη ν[ύξ" is found on a metrical inscription of hellenistic date from Akrai, Sicily (SEG 31:821.15).

§3 The third form worth mentioning is δνοφερός 'dark, murky' ("νὺξ δὲ μάλα δνοφερὴ" *Od*. 13.269; "νύκτα διὰ δνοφερὴν" *Od*. 15.50; "Νυκτός τε δνοφερῆς" Hes. *Th*. 107), a derivative of the rather "un-Ionic" δνόφος m. 'darkness' (Simon., A. in lyr.). Apart from its epic use, the adjective δνοφερός is largely confined to "Doric(izing)" context (Pi.; A. and E. in lyr.).

§4 Number four is the syntagm "Νὺξ (δ)μήτειρα θεῶν … καὶ ἀνδρῶν" (*Il*. 14.259; δμ° Aristarch.; μ° Zenod., Ar. Byz.), where (δ)μήτειρα is a *hapax* as well. The form seems to be the feminine of a *nomen agentis* δμητήρ 'tamer' which itself appears in *h.Hom*. 22.5 and Alcm. 2 (Page) only. According to a well-founded doctrine, the few Homeric feminines in °τειρα are to be regarded as "Ionicized" isometric variants of underlying "Aeolic" forms in **°τερρα.

§5 After a discussion of these four conspicuous cases we will have to explore the question why it happens to be the 'night' that shows these exclusive epithets. Could one or the other by any chance be seen as (a) formulaic borrowing(s) from an independent tradition in which Nyx *personified* was bestowed on a more prominent role than in Homer or Hesiod? There is only little and significantly late, but

nevertheless noteworthy evidence for this assumption, and it all comes from "un-Aeolic" land: the odd "Νυκτὸς … μαντεῖον" 'oracle of the Night' in connection with "Διονύσου ναὸς Νυκτελίου" 'a temple of Dionysos Nyctelios' in Megara (Paus. 1.40.6), the "Νυκτὸς πρεσβυτάτ[ης" of an Epidaurian inscription (IG IV²,1 574.2), as well as the prominence of Nyx within the Orphic mythology (*cf.* Orph. *Hymn.* 3.1: "Νύκτα θεῶν γενέτειραν ἀείσομαι ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν" [~ *Il.* 14.259; see **§4**]), whose origin lies, after all, on mainland Greece.

Epic Greek as second language:
implications of acquisition, autonomy, and dialect contact

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There have been passing remarks that learning the poetic idiom of Epic Greek resembles second language acquisition, but the implications of this does not to seem to have been pursued as regards the linguistic status of the idiom and explanations of its form. Similarly, contact in some form between Greek dialects has been assumed for its development, but without systematic treatment of the mechanisms of dialect contact phenomena and what this can say about such contact.

This is an attempt to model Epic Greek as an autonomous, synchronic entity and the effects of contact and acquisition for language change of the poetic idiom in its transmission over generations of fluent poets. This is explored through principles of sociohistorical dialectology, dialect contact linguistics, second-language acquistion (Trudgill 1986, Siegel 2010 i.a.). The theoretical ramifications are set in a construction-based evolutionary model of language change (Croft 2000, 2001), with implications for treating formulae, meter and parallel forms as synchronic grammar.

The poetic idiom evolves through interaction with vernaculars as a dialect in its own right which recapitulates diachronic strata, dialect traits, and contact-induced changes. A major source of change is the continual first-language *interference* as poets learn their craft and become bilingual. But autonomy also implies internal developments and retention of archaisms, not only for metrical needs but because change does not automatically follow the vernacular. Not only do novel formations have to make sense and be appreciated by audiences (possibly across a wide dialect continuum), but it is argued that much of what is usually labelled 'artificial' forms arose from dialect contact as such, resulting in *dialect mixing*, *hyperdialectalism*, the

formation of *fudged forms*, and the *reallocation* of dialect variants. These processes are integral to dialect contact and hence to acquisition of the poetic idiom. In this view, what makes Epic Greek 'artificial' (apart from obvious poetic licences such as metrical lengthening) may mostly be the high concentration of variant forms and their poetic *refunctionalization* as metrical alternants.

As regards the contact between different dialect groups of Greek leading up to the Epic dialect mix, and specifically the interaction of Ionic and Aeolic, most accounts of contact phenomena have largely been outdated and simplistic (such as in Nagy 2011). Treating the extensive dialect mixing as an effect of actual, spoken varieties in a dialect continuum existing in space and time makes a simple 'Aeolic phase' unwarranted and difficult to account for. This is because mutually intelligible dialects in close proximity inevitably and continuously exhibit far-reaching contact,

where linguistic (and, presumably, poetic) traits mutually diffuse between them gradually over a long period of time. This needs not be to the exclusion of a specific Aeolic cultural impact on Ionian tradition (or the other way around) at some period, but the interaction cannot linguistically be a one-off event and cannot exclude a previous Ionian tradition (and ultimately the confluence of the traditions). Further,

an important contact phenomenon in mutually intelligible varieties is *multiple causation*: Aeolic contact may have *reinforced* particular Ionic variants already present, hence the relation between Aeolism and archaism need not be mutually exclusive.

Specific traits in Homeric Greek that can be (re)considered in light of the above include gen. -ᾱο, inf. -μεναι, -έειν, endings -σθα, -μεσθα, dat.pl. -εσσι(ν), diectasis, θεᾱ́, case clitics like -φι, -δε, prepositions and tmesis, definite articles. Some matters of sound change are also relevant, in particular vowel mergers in dialect contact. Looking at the evidence of relevant dialects (literary and epigraphic) in the Aegean area, in particular Lesbian reflexes of contact and the interaction of Ionian and Lesbian, this includes a reevaluation of some Lesbian vocalisms from phonetic arguments of nasalization, and their variational interaction with Ionian. An aim is to try to distinguish vernacular and poetic changes and to test models of the nature of the contact for different forms.

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Traditional and Individual use of Tmesis in the Epic *Kunstsprache*

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The importance of tmesis in the epic *Kunstsprache* has often been ignored; most scholars note that the freer word order is likely a heritage of Proto-Indo-European syntax. However, in this paper I argue that it is a valuable indicator of how epic poets stylistically manipulated the artificial language. Firstly, Haug (2012) has suggested that tmesis in itself might have been employed as a stylistic device by epic poets. Secondly, Hajnal (2004) has argued that tmesis with the particle one (or two) words before the verb (e.g. θεὰ δ᾽ ἐν δώματα ναίει, *Od.* 1.51) is a more recent, analogical invention, on the basis of tmesis with the particle at initially in the clause (ἐν δὲ τὰ μῆλα λαβόντες ἐβήσαμεν, *Od.* 11.4). This paper combines these two ideas, and suggests that the use of the newer (directly) "preverbial" tmesis as opposed to the older, inherited "initial" tmesis might illuminate how epic poets used syntax in different compositions. A count of this nature has already been performed for samples of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and it seems that Homer uses "initial" tmesis three times as often as "preverbial" tmesis. I therefore counted tmesis in Hesiod and the *Homeric Hymns*, and found a clear preference for "preverbial" tmesis, used far more frequently than in Homer.

This paper will explore why the distribution in Hesiod and the *Hymns* differ from that in Homer. It is possible that this can be explained straightforwardly through the chronological gap between Homer and the other works. However, on even the most liberal views of the relative and absolute dates of Homer, Hesiod and the *Hymns*, it seems unlikely that such a dramatic change could occur in so short a time. Instead, this paper argues that these results illuminate differences in *how* Homer, Hesiod and the *Hymns* were composed. Namely, it is argued that Homer's language mostly preserves the older syntax through (re)composition-in-performance, such that the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* were (re)composed in a traditional style, characterised by the older syntax. Hesiod and the *Hymns*, however, are likely less bound by the same (re)composition-in-performance, and are likely more "original" compositions, which is why they are characterised more by "preverbial" tmesis.

This has implications for how we understand the role of archaism in the epic *Kunstsprache*; perhaps we should revise Milman Parry's original statement (Parry 1932) that the bards modernise their diction wherever possible. Instead, this evidence suggests that bards could perform in a specific "mode" for Homer, when bound by the traditional style of composition, but that they could also use the artificial language more freely for individual poems. This, then, is this paper's main point of interest: that the *Kunstsprache* was employed in different ways for different compositions, in a more traditional way for more traditional poems, and more individually for more individual poems.

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Anatolian Substratum Influence in Homeric Greek?
A Critical Review of the Evidence

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The earliest phase of formation of the Trojan cycle and the Homeric *Kunstsprache* is closely associated with western Anatolia, wherever exactly one locates Homer's home city or the 'rhapsodic school' from which he learned his craft. There can be little doubt that around 800 BC western Anatolia still remained predominantly non-Greek; one may count with strong presence of indigenous peoples, such as Carians or Lydians, not only in the immediate neighbourhood of the Greek *poleis*, but also, to an extent, within them. Given this situation, the question about some Anatolian substratum influence on the Homeric text and language does not seem out of place. Attempts to identify such influence focused hitherto primarily on the subject matters of the poems (cf. most recently Bachvarova 2016), but also, directly or indirectly, touched upon different aspects of the Homeric language, as its phonetics (e.g., *psilosis* of the East Ionic and Lesbian), morphology (e.g., the comparison of the Homeric *-sk-* forms with Hittite iteratives on *-sk-*), lexica (Anatolian borrowings in early Greek), syntax (e.g., the usage of particle ταρ and Hittite *=tar*) or its idiomatics (cf., e.g., different contributions of Puhvel, Watkins 1986, 1995, 150f., Hajnal 2009 or Yakubovich 2010, 140ff.).

The aim of the present paper is to give a systematic survey of the phaenomena in the Homeric language which may be associated with Anatolian substratum influence, submitting every case to careful scrutiny. The two main questions which will be addressed are whether it is indeed possible to speak about Anatolian influence on early Greek in general and whether it is possible to separate an Anatolian strand specifically in the Homeric language. However, several more general questions will be touched upon as well, such as: do the postulated influences of the Anatolian oral tradition on the Greek one make it necessary an assumption of a direct *linguistic* influence? Is western Anatolia the likeliest place where the putative interference of the two traditions might have taken place or there are alternative candidates for it? If still it is, is it possible to specify the region in western Anatolia where the contact was most likely and, accordingly, is it possible to speak, for instance, about specifically 'Lydian' or specifically 'Luwic' influence?

The Morphology and Syntax of Imperatives in Homeric Prayer
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It is commonly said that religious language is more conservative than ordinary language. The question of what constitutes 'ordinary' language is not straightforward in Homer and is bound up with the question of to what extent the Greeks had a *Sondersprache* for prayer. That said, we do find in Homeric prayers evidence that is relevant to the question of continuity and change in the epic language. This paper will focus on the morphology and syntax of imperatives.

Imperatives formed with the ending -θι have an air of antiquity, corresponding as they do to apparently early forms in Vedic. They are, of course, by no means limited to prayers. But κλῦθι (A 37) is important for various reasons, not least because it looks like part of the inherited *Sakraldichtung*. It is striking for its vocalism, its position in the line and the syntactic question of what case it governs in object pronouns. δίδωθι (γ 380) is unique in all of Greek and repays further attention. An investigation of these and related issues will illuminate the question of how far we are looking at linguistic change or continuity.

ἄκουσον (ζ 325) is a lexical innovation within prayer. The normal imperative used in Homer when somebody asks a god to listen is κλῦθι. The etymology of ἀκούω is tricky to spell out in IE terms. What can have motivated its use here?

φῖλαι (K 280) is morphologically peculiar in ways that have not hitherto been explored and throws some light on questions of diachronic continuity and change.

κρῆνον (υ 115) is a *hapax* beside κρήηνον and ἐπικρήηνον and raises interesting related questions.

Absolute, Yet Changing:
Developments in the Use of Absolute Constructions in Epic Language

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In my talk, I would like to discuss the details of how the genitive absolute (GA) changes within Homer and Hesiod, and speculate on possible reasons for those changes. The GA is a construction which, in its minimal form, consists of a participle and a (pro)noun that both stand in the genitive and that together form an expression of time. Because the noun in question does not in itself refer to time, the presence of the participial modifier is syntactically required for the expression as a whole to be semantically meaningful.

> ἀλλ᾽ ἐν πρώτοισιν ὀΐω
> κείσεται οὐτηθείς, πολέες δ᾽ ἀμφ᾽ αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι
> **ἠελίου ἀνιόντος** ἐς αὔριον·
'in the front ranks he will lie wounded, I think, many of his comrades around him **when the sun rises** tomorrow' (*Il*. 8.536-8)

On the basis of comparative research (taking into account all absolute constructions (ACs) and some related phenomena in the *Rigveda*, in the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, Hesiod and the corpus of early Latin authors as defined by Bennett's *Syntax of Early Latin*), I will briefly demonstrate that the earliest ACs in Indo-European were formally minimal and pure expressions of 'natural' time, that is, they did not have the conditional or concessive connotations that many attested ACs have, and referred not just to any kind of event in time, but to natural phenomena such as sunrise, sunset, the seasons etc.

  Having looked at the unambiguous GAs in Homer (36 in the *Iliad*, 13 in the *Odyssey*), at a variety of ambiguous constructions in both epics, and at the ca. 18 GAs in Hesiod, I aim to show how we can tell that syntactically complex and/or semantically noteworthy GAs have indications of belonging to later compositional layers. A particularly interesting GA that my discussion will focus on is *Il*. 19.74-5 – a GA that is transitive, of almost purely causal (rather than the common mixed causal-temporal) semantics, standing where one might expect a conjunct participle agreeing with a pronoun earlier in the sentence, and in a passage that, I will argue, is likely to have been added in the final stages of the monumental composition. In a similar vein, I will use the GAs in Hesiod to add to the evidence that the *Shield of Heracles* as a whole is late and non-Hesiodic.

Verses, Melodies, Prose Sequences, Songs: the interdependency and interference of poetry, prose and (narrative) song in archaic ritual and epic traditions in India, Iran and Ancient Greece

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1. If the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-Iranian (PIIr.) is based on the linguistic comparison of texts of the Vedic and Avestan ritual poetry, this comparison could be really possible if we are able to analyze the texts concerned in their *major cultural contexts*. Thanks to a recent assessment of the Avestan Long Liturgy – esp. Yasna and Vīsprad – as compared to the Vedic liturgical corpora – the archaic corpus of the Ṛgveda-Khila and further texts from the Yajurveda –, *ritual texts* (formulae but also larger sequences) and *ritual practices* from the Iranian tradition that now can be better situated within the liturgical context of the Avestan corpus, can be linked – and even compared module by module – to data of the Vedic ritual literature. In a series of papers, most recently at the Leiden conference in honour of Alexander Lubotsky, we have tried to show that the analytic element that has largely lacked so far is the in-depth knowledge of the religious practices of the two cultural groups concerned, i.e. of the cultic activities, liturgies and ritual complexes in which the oldest Indian and Iranian texts were usually embedded as powerful 'performative speech acts', as prayers, hymns, multipartite litanies, mythological narrations or exegetic meta-ritualistics, demonstrating the sense of what Louis Renou used to call 'grammar of rit-ual', on a intra- but also interlinguistic level between Old Indian and Old Iranian tradition.

2.1. The requirement of a holistic perspective for the linguistic analysis obviously regards, on the one hand, the *pragmatic contexts* within the framework of the *ritual practices* they illustrate, accompany, (meta-)poeticize or simply refer to. A fruitful field of comparative analysis is delivered, for instance, by the comparison of the representatives of the so-called *catalogical poetry* – lists, catalogues and enumerations used both in cosmological texts and in litanies dedicated to the ritual re-creation of the Universe by mentioning every single item or group of items in it in the complex sequence of performative speech acts accompanied by liturgical activities which, at the end, not only intend to present the macro- and microcosm but to *actively modify* the Universe by means of ritual and re-create it anew for current 'anthropological' needs of the specific audience of performance of the texts concerned. Thus, the complex catalogical forms in Hesiod's *Theogony*, on theo- and cosmological level, his *Works and Days*, on 'anthropological' one, or his *Catalogue of Women*, on the 'genealogical' side, can be successfully compared with both similar ritual forms and individual poetical formulae in catalogues and lists of the oldest Indic, Iranian or Germanic poetry (see most recently the present author in: Geller, Mark (ed.): *Crossing Boundaries: Multilingualism, Lingua Franca and Lingua Sacra*, Berlin 2016, 216–252).

2.2. On the other hand, the comparative analysis between texts of ancient (oral) literature can be heuristically prolific only if the links between them transgress the level of the purely formal linguistic comparanda and focus on the *literary genre* and the *religious, social, axiological and ideological purposes* the texts have been used for. This idea of comparing entities of different language traditions linked not only by archaicity of their form on the level of expression but also of common references on the level of genre and socio-cultural function underlies the well-known paraphrastic metaphor of Calvert Watkins on 'Pindar's Rigveda', i.e. on the preferability of an *interlinguistic comparison* (in addition to Gregory Nágy's *intralinguistic* focus in the notion of 'Pindar's Homer') between archaic Greek and Indian representatives of the same genre of *public hymnal poetry* – instead of the mere comparison between individual formulae e.g. of the Rigveda with ones of the Iliad (or, so to say, of 'Homeric apples' with 'Kāṇvid pears') –, thus situating them in the major contextual framework of common genre characteristics.

3. In this sense, very little research has been done yet on how language development works in such '*same-genre comparison*' – specifically regarding *epic traditions*! – in the most archaic Vedic Indian framework as parallelized with the paragon case of epic poetry, Homer's Iliad and Odyssey. If for Homeric Greek the compilation of paradigmatic works such as Karl Meister's *Homerische Kunstsprache* has revealed deep mechanisms of language change on different linguistic levels within the complex system of epic poems composed in dactylic hexameter, a working hypothesis would be that such phenomena could not be limited to the borders of (epic) poetry within Greek only but have to be investigated in similar contexts in literatures of related IE languages, too. For what concerns Indo-Iranian, here we meet a first complication: Indologists usually do not speak of major *epic traditions* in the most ancient Vedic texts but rather of the preponderance of various genres of *hymnal poetry*, with the exception perhaps of a research line concerned with the *itihāsa-* or narrative literature (of legends written, however, mostly in Vedic prose). Does this mean that we do not possess material to compare between the two sister languages of the earliest period?

3.1. In fact, however, we can establish that in Vedic, starting already with the RV (Maṇḍalas I and X) but especially in the Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas of the Yajur-Veda, we meet a noteworthy corpus of texts that extends then over the various phases of Middle, Young, and Late Vedic, to end, seemingly without interruption, into the traditions of the classical epics, the Mahābhārata and the Ramāyana – it is the so-called corpus of Vedic "*gāthā-*" or "*śloka-*" literature:

3.2. This corpus is especially well attested in textual massifs from the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas und Upaniṣads that comprise more than 200 verse stanzas which explicitly contain the (explicit and provable within the text itself) auto-denomination as "*gāthā-*" or "*śloka-*". As Paul Horsch has made probable in a monograph and two articles published already around 1966 but generally not taken into consideration by non-Indologists (not to speak of comparative linguists), this is a part of a specific literary genre that has slowly come into existence in Kṣatriya circles, to which perhaps

already RV. 8,2,38 makes an allusion, and whose instances are to be assessed as the first examples of an already developed *epic poetry* in the Vedic period.

3.3. In its framework, the appraisal by singing or the "announcement" of glorious deeds of kings-and-warriors plays a central part, in continuation of an older, at least Indo-Iranian tradition of *nárām śáṃsa-* 'praising of men/heroes': Not only in Vedic but also in Avestan a special divinity of obviously Indo-Iranian age – Ved. *Nárā-śáṃsa-* (*Nr̥-śaṃsa-*) ~ YAv. *Nairiiō.saŋha-* 'the one who has/"makes" the praise of men' – is believed to be responsible for what otherwise is the domain of epics and is usually called RV+ *śrávo nr̥ṇā́m* = Hom. Gk. κλέα ἀνδρῶν 'the glorious deed(s) of men'.

3.4. Just as in the language of the Homeric epics, we can discover specific linguistic phenomena characteristic for the different strata of the extant texts that allow us a differentiation on various criteria: diatopic (with some tangible elements of dialectal differentiation), diachronic (real archaicity vs. innovative features vs. conscious, sometimes artificial archaization up to hypercorrect "Verschlimmbesserung" in emulating antiquated language) and diastratic (above all, in a 'sociolinguistic' perspective of using 'lower' vs. 'higher' stylistic features).

3.5. Now the assumption is close to mind that these specific strata of Vedic language have to be thoroughly analyzed in linguistic terms in order to see how far we could assign the phenomena sketched above to specific texts of 'Vedic epics' and if we could track such differences on a virtual *map of feature clusters* relevant for defining the relationship between the 'epic' textual massifs in question and the classical forms of hymnal poetry (which in Vedic are normally well known for their highly archaic language). Indeed, on several levels of language – inflectional morphology, derivational morphology (esp. nominal compounding), syntax (in particular, the use of tenses and moods) – we see variations between "(phonologically) progressive" and "(morphosyntatically) conservative" functional styles, of preferred categories and forms of linguistic expression that seem to be significantly distributed in accord with genre and sociolinguistic criteria in a way typologically similar to what we have in archaic Greek poetical contexts.

A research task of this paper is therefore to try to answer to the question if in the extant corpus of texts concerned one could discern characteristic cases that in a statistically significant way or in virtue of very specific constellation of distinctive features could speak in favour of potential affinities of specific language phenomena to specific poetical genres, functional styles and/or sociolinguistic contexts in Indic and Iranian monuments of oral literature.

Alleged Anatolian phraseological borrowings in Homer's language: A Reconsideration

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It has been frequently argued recently (first of all by J. Puhvel and C. Watkins) that Anatolian languages (more precisely, Hittite) influenced Homer's language in the form of translated borrowings and by adopting foreign phrases. While suggestions abound, critical discussions, especially from a methodological point of view, are very rare (see e.g. García Ramón 2011; Dardano 2013; Hajnal in press). Accordingly, the goal of the present paper is twofold: to provide a list of criteria of acceptable Anatolian influences, and to test all proposals based on these criteria. Thus it provides not only a critical overview of current proposals (raising doubts about the very existence of such influences), but also a solid basis to evaluate future suggestions. A preliminary list of criteria will include the following:

1) The proposal must be philologically valid;
2) Cross-culturally known phenomena must be excluded;
3) Those phenomena that may be inherited from the Proto-Indo-European period must be excluded;
4) No internal explanation should be available.

Although these criteria may sound obvious, most suggestions fail to fulfil them. Should a proposal fulfil these criteria, there remains one central issue to be investigated: the way of transmission. One has to deal with such problems that no immediate Hittite – Greek contacts existed beyond diplomatic affairs (aptly illustrated by the extremely small number of Hittite loans in Greek); the identification of Western Anatolian vernaculars is still hotly debated; and the "literary" life of Late Bronze Age – Early Iron Age Western Anatolia is completely unknown. These circumstances point out that the verification of these proposals is hardly possible.

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Recursive embedding of complement clauses in Epic Greek: *Od*. 15.156-9

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Od. 15.156-9, a 'wish' construction, is a problem. Ameis-Hentze took the ὥς in 156 to refer back to the previous clause (judged "probably right" by Hoekstra) but this makes for an anomalous construction and was rejected by Monro (followed, with adjustments, by Stanford). But Monro's reading is not possible; the ὡς in 158 is clearly a straightforward complementizer ('how'/'that'), following εἴποιμ'. The construction in fact looks suspiciously like a recasting of the standard type of structure seen in, e.g., *Il*. 8.538-41: 'if I might do x just as surely as y is the case', with elided 'it would be good', *vel sim.*, restructured to 'I wish *that* I might do x…'. Discussions by Monro (*Homeric Grammar*) and Goodwin (*Moods and Tenses*), with reference to Lange, who took αἴ/εἴ γὰρ ἐγών in such constructions, *standing alone*, to indicate 'I wish' (with αἴ/εἴ understood as a sort of 'exclamatory particle'), rejecting the usual interpretation (espoused by Aristarchus and accepted by Monro and Goodwin) that αἴ/εἴ introduces a protasis with elided apodosis (καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι or the like), although the latter must in fact have been the original structure. (*Il*. 8.538-41 is not a parallel for the *Od*. 15 passage, as claimed by Hoekstra, nor are the passages adduced by Stanford and earlier commentators.)

What is interesting about the *Odyssey* passage is that it looks like a reinterpretation within the history of Greek of the 'wish' construction with αἴ/εἴ from Aristarchus' structure to Lange's (with the first ὡς as well as the second functioning simply as a complementizer ('that')). And if so, then these four lines would give us an instance of a matrix clause with *double* (not coordinated) embedding of two complement clauses and thus a rare example of a feature clearly indicating the shift from paratactic to markedly hypotactic syntax in the Homeric text: 'I wish *that* I might tell him *that*…'.

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The freedom with which Homer can use or omit the augment in past-tense forms is often regarded as a prime example of the ʿartificialʾ (or *Kunstsprache*) character of his language. However, Homericists over the past 150 years have managed to pin down a number of formal and functional factors which (co)determine augmentation. Following a brief survey of these findings, a curiously neglected fact will be highlighted here: that the results of these investigations on Homeric Greek are virtually incompatible, in a diachronic perspective, both with conventional comparatist views on the functional distribution of augmented vs. unaugmented forms in the parallel oral tradition of Vedic Sanskrit and with traditional ideas on the origin of the augment. The paper will then explore whether or how the apparent contradiction can be resolved, in order to clarify to what extent Homeric language is really artificial in this respect.