

Participle constructions in Ancient Greek: Cosubordination, modification, and symmetry

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to analyze a construction which is usually classified as implying obligatory participles, i.e. the type that can be exemplified by the Epicurean maxim (Fr. 551) λάθε βιώσας “live unnoticed, live inconspicuously”. In traditional grammars the construction λανθάνω “to be hidden, to escape notice” plus participle is dealt with alongside similar constructions, such as τυγχάνω “to happen to, to chance to”, φθάνω “to be first to, to be beforehand with”, and φαίνομαι “to appear, to be manifest” plus participle. As has often been noted, the participle in these constructions is usually translated according to the grammatical categories codified by the finite verb, whereas the finite verb is translated by an adverbial element which only expresses its semantic content (e.g. *perchance* for τυγχάνω, *manifestly* for φαίνομαι, *previously* for φθάνω, and *unawares, without being observed* for λανθάνω). Rijksbaron (1994, p. 117), for example, proposes the translation “I did that unawares / without being noticed” for the sentence ἔλαθον τοῦτο ποιήσας. Cuzzolin (1995, pp. 160-1) examines participles occurring with λανθάνω and τυγχάνω. He considers them examples of satellites, making reference to the figure of enallage and adding that they are extremely typical constructions in Ancient Greek, albeit not ones that have been sufficiently explored.

This paper will only deal with the construction of λανθάνω plus participle; more specifically, we will question whether participles can actually be considered obligatory constituents in the construction. After setting out the different syntactic structures in which λανθάνω can occur (§ 2), the theoretical framework that is drawn upon to analyze the construction will be shown (§§ 3-3.1), and an interpretation of data will be presented (§ 4).

2. Constructions of λανθάνω + participle

The verb λανθάνω¹ means “to escape notice” in the active, whereas it means

¹ The verb also has another form, λήθω, which is an ancient form, more frequent in Homer and generally used in compounding; see e.g. Chantraine (1968-80: s.v. λανθάνω), according to whom the meaning of λανθάνω is “être caché, ignoré, passé inaperçu”. Only occurrences of λανθάνω are considered here.

“to forget” in the middle and passive. This means that only active forms occur in the construction under consideration. The active form can govern an accusative regarding a person, as happens in the following line, where the Homeric formula οὐδέ σε λήσει occurs²:

- (1) σῆμα δέ τοι ἐρέω μάλ’ ἀριφραδέες, οὐδέ σε λήσει. (*Il.* 23.326)
“Now will I tell you a manifest sign that will not escape you”.

The occurrence with a participle (henceforth λανθάνω + PTC) is more frequent and has some possible variants. Indeed, the construction can imply an accusative (2) or not (3):

- (2) τὸν οὖν παρόντα πέμψον εἰς κατασκοπήν,
μὴ καὶ λάθῃ με προσπεσών. (*S. Phil.* 46)
“Send your attendant, therefore, to keep watch, lest he come upon me unawares”.

- (3) ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων (*Hdt.* 8.5.3)
“No one knew that he had kept the rest of the money”.

When missing, the accusative can be inferred from the context, as happens in (3), where it coincides with “everybody”. However, a coreference of the missing object with the subject is generally hinted at (4):

- (4) οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξεῖνον φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε
βόσκων (*Hdt.* 1.44.2)
“[...] he [Croesus] had received the guest into his house and thus maintained the murderer of his son unawares”.

Sometimes, the reflexive pronoun is overt (5):

- (5) ἐλάνθανον αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ γενόμενοι ἔνθα ἐπολιορκοῦντο οἱ
Ἕλληνες. (*X. An.* 6.3.22)
“[...] they found themselves without knowing it upon the hill where the Greeks had been besieged”.

² A variant of this formula, which occurs after the bucolic diaeresis (cf. also *Od.* 11.126), is οὐδέ με λήσει (cf. *Il.* 23.415, *Od.* 13.393). Other variants, with λήθω, are οὐδέ με λήθεις (*Il.* 24.563), οὐδέ σε λήθω (*Il.* 1.561, *Il.* 10.279, *Il.* 23.648), οὐδέ ἐ λήθει (*Il.* 23.323). In μηδέ σε λήθη / αἰρείτω (*Il.* 2.33-34), the noun λήθη occurs.

On the other hand, in some cases the construction λανθάνω + PTC is absolute, i.e. without any accusative expressed or hinted at, as actually happens in the Epicurean maxim (Fr. 551) λάθε βιώσας “live unnoticed, live inconspicuously”.

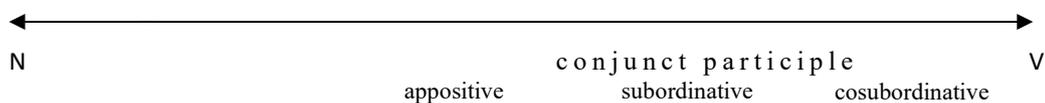
Finally, it is worth noting that in some instances the construction λανθάνω + PTC is reversed. In the following line, for instance, ἄλτο λαθών occurs, rather than ἔλαθεν ἄλμενος (or ἀλόμενος):

(6) ἀψ δ’ ἀπὸ τείχεος ἄλτο λαθών (Il. 12.390)
 “Back from the wall he leapt secretly”.

3. Modification and cosubordination

As is well known, the participle is a verbal adjective³ and its functions can be ordered along an intracategorical continuum with the noun and the verb at opposite extremes. We can place both modification and cosubordination among the verbal functions, that is, the predicative functions. These are performed by so-called conjunct participles, and in particular by subordinative participles and cosubordinative participles, respectively⁴:

TABLE A



Source: (Pompei 2006, p. 386)

In particular, modification here means semantic modification, i.e. “information expressing a propositional restriction which determines, characterizes, modulates, explains or comments on the base clause event, specifying its circumstances, constituting a frame of reference for it, situating it cognitively (for instance, as to reason, purpose, consequences, conditions, etc.)” according to Johanson (1995, p. 321)⁵. Therefore, a modifying participle –[+MOD] – answers questions such as *when / how / under what circumstances* the main predication occurs. This means that,

³ For a discussion of the twofold nature of participles with regard to Ancient Greek, see Pompei (2004).

⁴ On the other hand, appositive participles only modify the head noun, i.e. they are nominal modifiers.

⁵ Johanson (1995) actually deals with Turkic nonfinite verbal forms (converbs).

first of all, [+MOD] participles express semantic values which are equivalent to those of subordinate clauses introduced by complementizers, as a comparison between ἐλόμενοι in (7) and ἐπειδὴν ἐλησθε in (8) clearly shows:

(7) καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, μὴ μέλλωμεν, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ' ἀπελθόντες ἤδη αἰρεῖσθε οἱ δεόμενοι ἄρχοντας, καὶ ἐλόμενοι ἦκετε εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τοὺς αἰρεθέντας ἄγετε· (X. An. 3.1.46)
“And now, gentlemen,” he went on, “let us not delay; withdraw and choose your commanders at once, you who need them, and after making your choices come to the middle of the camp and bring with you the men you have selected”.

(8) ὑμεῖς δέ, ὧ Καδούσιοι, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπελθόντες ἄρχοντα ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἔλεσθε [...] ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐλησθε, πέμψατε πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν αἰρεθέντα καὶ ἀριστήσατε. (X. Cyr. 5.4.22)
“But you, Cadusians, go first and elect from your own number according to your custom a new general [...]; and when you have made your choice, send the man you have elected to me”.

This is a case of (temporal) modification of the predication. In other cases the participle can modify the only predicate⁶:

(9) αὐτὸς παρήγει θαρρύνων τοιάδε. (X. An. 1.7.2)
“he exhorts them encouraging them with these words”.

On the other hand, there is cosubordination when participles are non-modifying forms – [-MOD] –, i.e. they do not answer questions such as *when / how / under what circumstances* the main predication occurs. Indeed, they simply add another state of affairs (SoA) to the main predication or the main verb, as the opposition of the formulation “E1 occurs, E2 occurs” (cosubordination) to “E1 occurring, E2 occurs” (modification) clarifies (Johanson 1995, p. 321). This means that there can be verbal forms which are dependent from a formal point of view, as happens in subordination, but which do not express real modification, as also happens in coordination⁷.

⁶ In Functional Grammar terms, the modifiers of predication are satellites at least at the level of Extended Predication (σ_2), whereas the modifiers of predicate are σ_1 satellites, i.e. modifying the Core Predication.

⁷ Johanson (1995, p. 321) considers the identification of constructional subordination with semantic modification a typical Eurocentric fallacy.

For such forms, Van Valin and LaPolla (1997, p. 454) use the term cosubordination, pointing out that the dependence of cosubordinate forms merely is an operator dependence, for instance in the codification of TAM (tense, aspect, mood/modality) features.

To return to examples (7) and (8), this is the case with the participle ἀπελθόντες in both sentences: indeed, it is translated using two imperatives (*withdraw* and *go*), which are coordinated with the imperatives translating the main verb (αἰρεῖσθε “choose” and ἔλεσθε “elect”). Regarding the occurrence of ἀπελθόντες in the *Anabasis* (3.1.46) (7), Oguse (1962, p. 2) points out that the speaker – Cheirisophus – could have also said ἀπέλθετε καὶ αἰρεῖσθε, resorting to coordination. This means that the participle shares the mood of the main verb, i.e. the same illocutionary force (order): ἀπελθόντες contributes to establishing *what* Cheirisophus’s hearers have to do, rather than *when* they should choose their commanders. This is what Oguse (1962) defines as *solidarité modale*. Indeed, sometimes two SoAs which are codified through a participle plus a main verb can be as well codified through coordination, even in two different points of the same text:

- (10) ἐκέλευσε προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ἐπιχωρῆσαι ὅλην τὴν φάλαγγα. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα προεῖπον τοῖς στρατιώταις· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐσάλπιγξε, προβαλόμενοι τὰ ὄπλα ἐπῆσαν. (X. An. 1.2.17)
“he [Cyrus] gave orders that the troops should advance arms and the phalanx move forward in a body. The generals transmitted these orders to the soldiers, and when the trumpet sounded, advancing arms, they charged”.

Cosubordinative participles can also occur in the present stem, as evidenced by a comparison between (11), when there is a participle plus a main verb, and (12), when there is coordination between two main verbs:

- (11) Ξενοφῶν δὲ παρελαύνων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου παρεκελεύετο. (X. An. 3.4.46)
“And Xenophon, riding along the lines upon his horse, cheered his troops forward”.
- (12) ἐπεὶ δ’ ἡμέρα ἦν, ὁ Σεύθης παρήλαυνεν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν καὶ ἐπῆνεσε τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν νόμον. (X. An. 7.3.41)
“When day came, Seuthes rode along to the front and *expressed* his approval of the Greek practice”.

Besides the cases of *solidarité modale*, Oguse (1962, p. 2) identifies another type of participles that show operator dependence, i.e. the cases that he calls of *association étroite*:

(13) ἀπάγου τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μηδὲν αὐτῶν καταθείς
(X. Cyr. 3.1.37)

“take back your wife and children, without paying any ransom for them”.

Also in this case, the participle shares with the main verb the encoding of an order (= “and do not pay”), i.e. TAM features. Thus, the *association étroite* is another instance of cosubordination. The difference between the two types of mood dependence is that in the case of *solidarité modale* the participle has the same prominence as the main verb, whereas in the *association étroite* the SoA encoded by the participle exists only because of the content of the main predicate. This becomes clearer if the form *παρελαύνων* in (11), is compared with the same form in the following excerpt. This follows the main clause and codifies a sort of afterthought (Sicking 1996, p. 51):

(14) ἐθεώρει οὖν ὁ Κῦρος πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους [...] εἶτα δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, παρελαύνων ἐφ’ ἄρματος καὶ ἡ Κίλισσα ἐφ’ ἄρμαμάξης.
(X. An. 1.2.16)

“Cyrus inspected the barbarians first [...] then he inspected the Greeks, driving past them in a chariot, the Cilician queen in a carriage”.

Adopting the classification proposed in the literature regarding converbs, and considering that conjunct participles actually behave like converbs⁸, in Pompei (2012):

- [+MOD] participles are differentiated in (a) *modifiers of predication* (cf. ἐλόμενοι in (7)), and (b) *modifiers of predicate* (cf. θαρρύνων in (9));
- [-MOD] participles are differentiated in (a) *narrative* – when they help to build the text, having the same prominence as the main verb (= *solidarité modale* to use Oguse’s (1962) term; cf. ἀπελθόντες in (7-8), προβαλόμενοι in (10), παρελαύνων in (11)) – and (b) of *extension* – when they only add a

⁸The terminology quoted here is adopted for the syntactic classification of converbs in Nedjalkov (1995, pp. 98-9). On converbs see also, among others, Nedjalkov & Nedjalkov (1987), Haspelmath (1995), Johanson (1995), König (1995), Kortmann (1995), Nedjalkov (1998).

kind of afterthought to the main predication (= *association étroite* in Oguse's (1962) terms; cf. *καταθείς* in (13) and *παρελαύνων* in (14))⁹.

The important features that distinguish participles functioning either as modifiers of predication, modifiers of predicate, or coordinative are the following¹⁰:

Table B	Predication modifier	Cosubordinative			Predicate modifier
		Narrative		Extension	
Morphological stem	aorist / present	aorist	present	aorist / present	aorist / present
Position	preposed ~ posposed	preposed	preposed	posposed	posposed > preposed
Prominence	⇒	⇔	⇔	⇒	⇒
Modification	[+mod] (temp.- caus. - cond. - conc. - etc.)	[-mod]	[-mod]	[-mod]	[+mod] a.c. - man. - instrum.
Eventive structure	relationship between two SoAs	relationship between chronologically ordered SoAs	relationship between SoAs not ordered chronologically	relationship between simultaneous SoAs	relationship between two SoAs / two aspects of the same SoA

In Table A the position is considered in relation to the main predication. The symbol ⇔ denotes the same prominence between SoAs, whereas the symbol ⇒ means that the participle exists simply because of the content of the main predicate. The event structure shows that in extension the relationship between participles and their main verbs has to be one of simultaneity, and that participles that modify the predicate can even only specify an aspect of the same SoA, as usually happens in manner modification, such as in *to walk limping*, or in *παρήνει θαρρύνων* (9); on the other hand, in the so-called accompanying circumstance there is unity of time, place and action, but it is possible to interrupt just one of the SoAs, as happens in *to enter laughing*.

⁹ The term *extension* is taken from Halliday (1985), who distinguishes between *enhancement* (subordination proper), *elaboration* (specification of the content of another clause, e.g. *θαρρύνων* in (9)), and *extension* (the adding of information to another clause, also as variation, precisely as with *καταθείς* in (13) and *παρελαύνων* in (14)).

¹⁰Table A is based on Pompei (2012, pp. 197-9). Only the present and the aorist stems are considered, which are the most frequent. The perfect stem largely behaves like present and aorist stems, whereas the future stem behaves quite differently (it codifies tense rather than aspect).

3.1 Symmetry

Symmetry is a logical-semantic property, according to which the two units x and y are symmetric with regard to a relationship r , if both xry and yrx are true¹¹. Instances of manner participles, such as *he walks limping*, or of accompanying circumstance, such as *he entered laughing*¹², have the property of symmetry, as they are conceptually equivalent to *he limps walking* and *he laughed entering*. On the other hand, symmetry is impossible in the case of predication modifiers: for instance, *he takes the train when he goes to Rome* is not conceptually equivalent to *he goes to Rome when he takes the train*. Conversely, coordination shows symmetry: saying *he studies and enjoys himself* is equivalent to saying *he enjoys himself and studies*. However, Haiman (1985, pp. 100-2) points out that in the case of coordination, symmetry is limited by temporal asymmetry which entails tense iconicity: to say *Spike left and got up early the next day* is different from saying *Spike got up early the next day and left*. This is also the case with narrative aorist participles, which codify a relationship between SoAs in chronological order, and have to precede the main verb diagrammatically (7-8, 10). On the other hand, we can assume that symmetry suits simultaneous narrative and extension participles (11, 13-14), where tense iconicity is not pertinent. It is worth noting that Haiman (1985) emphasizes that symmetry is due to conceptual closeness between the contents of clauses.

4. $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ + PTC between cosubordination, modification, and symmetry

My hypothesis is that the construction $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ + PTC is based on the property of symmetry. This seems extremely likely if we compare the “reversed” form $\tilde{\alpha}\lambda\tau\omicron \lambda\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$ (Il. 12.390) (6) with the Epicurean maxim $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon \beta\acute{\iota}\omega\sigma\alpha\varsigma$: if we call the form of $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ x and the other verb form y , the symmetry between xry and yrx is patent from the structural point of view, and plausible at a semantic level. In both occurrences the conceptual closeness is apparent, and it is underlined through the use of the same morphological stem, which implies an overlapping of the two SoAs. On the other hand, the conceptual closeness possibly appears more evident because of the absolute use of the verb $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$, which in both occurrences does not govern any accusative. Indeed, this is not the only possibility, as an analysis

¹¹ On symmetry see Haiman (1985, pp. 72-102).

¹² These are my translations of the examples proposed by Simone (1993, pp. 82-83) for Italian.

restricted to Homeric poems – as the limits of the present paper require – clearly shows.

A comparison of the following two excerpts from *Iliad*, for instance, presents the same formula up to the hephthemimeral caesura, where *λαθών* is used with the overt accusative of an individual (16) or without it (15):

(15) τόφρα δέ οἱ Μενέλαος ἀρήϊος ἦλθεν ἀμύντωρ,
στῆ δ' εὐράξ σὺν δουρὶ λαθών, βάλε δ' ὄμιον ὀπισθεν·
(*Il.* 15.540-541)

“meanwhile warlike Menelaus came to bear him aid, and he took his stand on one side with his spear, unseen (by Dolops), and cast and smote him on the shoulder from behind”.

(16) στῆ δ' εὐράξ σὺν δουρὶ λαθών Ἀγαμέμνονα δῖον (Il. 11.251)
“and he [Coön] took his stand on one side with his spear, unbeknownst to goodly Agamemnon”.

In both occurrences the form of *λανθάνω* is the participle, and it is clearly an extension, whereas for *ἄλτο λαθών* (6) we might also take into consideration an accompanying circumstance, i.e. a more integrated form. The difference is in the information structure: even though there is a new piece of information in both instances, it can be assumed that in (15), and above all in (16), we have two information units. On the other hand, for *ἄλτο λαθών* we can hypothesize a single information unit where the important piece of information is precisely *λαθών*, as the following text clarifies (*Il.* 12.390-391): ἵνα μὴ τις Ἀχαιῶν / βλήμενον ἀθρήσειε καὶ εὐχετόφτ' ἐπέεσσι “[back from the wall he leapt secretly], that no man of the Achaeans might see that he had been smitten, and vaunt over him boastfully”. In poems we can thus find more integrated and less integrated constructions which appear “reversed” with regard to the *λανθάνω* + PTC construction. In both degrees of integration, the participle is [-MOD] or lightly [+MOD], as predicate modifier¹³, and it expresses a content that must be considered as centered on the meaning of the main verb, but still codifying a new piece of information. The realization of the participle of *λανθάνω* as an extension form is its most frequent form in Homer. Its cosubordinative nature can be easily shown, e.g.

¹³ Kortmann (1991, pp. 118-21; 1995, pp. 223-6) establishes an informativeness hierarchy, where the accompanying circumstance is just about the weakest informative relationship (after mere addition) because it simply establishes the contingent cooccurrence of two SoAs.

comparing the lines in (17) and in (18), where the equivalence between the use of λαθών and of the indicative aorist λάθε is evident:

(17) καὶ ὑπέρθoron ἐρκίον αὐλῆς
ῥεῖα, λαθῶν φύλακάς τ' ἄνδρας δμῶάς τε γυναῖκας. (Il. 9.475-477)
“[...] and leapt the fence of the court full easily, unbeknownst to the watchmen and the slave women”.

(18) ἀνὰ δ' ἤρπασε Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,
ἄψ δ' Ἀχιλῆϊ δίδου, λάθε δ' Ἑκτορα ποιμένα λαῶν. (Il. 22.276-277)
“but Pallas Athene caught it [Hector's spear] up, and gave it back to Achilles, unbeknownst to Hector, shepherd of the host”.

Likewise, (19) shows that λαθών expresses *what* Hermes wonders, in a similar way to ἐκπέμψειε, and not when to guide king Priam forth from the ships:

(19) ἀλλ' οὐχ Ἑρμείαν ἐριούνιον ὕπνος ἔμαρπτεν
ὄρμαίνοντ' ἀνὰ θυμὸν ὅπως Πρίαμον βασιλῆα
νηῶν ἐκπέμψειε λαθῶν ἱεροῦς πυλαωρούς. (Il. 24.679-681)
“but not upon the helper Hermes might sleep lay hold, as he pondered in mind how he should guide king Priam forth from the ships unbeknownst to the strong keepers of the gate”.

Another occurrence of λαθών as an extension participle is the following:

(20) αὐτὰρ ὁ νόσφιν ἰδὼν ἀπομόρξατο δάκρυ,
ῥεῖα λαθῶν Εὐμαίων (Od. 17.304-305)
“Then Odysseus looked aside and wiped away a tear, easily hiding from Eumaeus what he did”.

This excerpt is particularly interesting, because the fact that Odysseus cries and tries to hide his tears is codified elsewhere by the “symmetric” construction λανθάνω + PTC:

(21) ἔνθ' ἄλλους μὲν πάντα ἐλάνθανε δάκρυα λείβων
Ἀλκίνοος δέ μιν οἶος ἐπεφράσατ' ἠδ' ἐνόησεν
(Od 8.93-94 = 8.532-533)

“Now from all the rest he concealed the tears that he shed, but Alcinous alone marked him and took heed, for he sat by him, and heard him groaning heavily”.

In these lines two differences in information structure are noteworthy with regard to the use of λαθών, e.g. in (20): (a) in (21) the participle is more integrated, and there is a single information unit; (b) the piece of information codified by δάκρυα λείβων is given, for in the immediately preceding lines Odysseus is already crying, as Demodokos is singing in the Phaeacian’s assembly. The same thing happens in almost all other occurrences of the construction λανθάνω + PTC, as in the following¹⁴:

(22) τοὺς δ’ ἔλαθ’ εἰσελθὼν Πρίαμος μέγας (Il. 24.477)
“unbeknownst to these great Priam entered”.

(23) οὐδ’ υἱὸν λάθην Ἄτρεος ὄζυ βόησας (Il. 17.89)
“Nor was his [of Hector] shrill cry unheard by the son of Atreus”.

(24) οὐδ’ ἄρ’ Ἀθηναίην ἐλεφηράμενος λάθ’ Ἀπόλλων
Τυδεΐδην (Il. 23.388-389)
“But Athene was not unaware of Apollo’s cheating of the son of Tydeus”.

Moreover, (23) and (24) clearly show that participles are not the focused part of the sentence because it is the finite form of λανθάνω that falls within the scope of negation¹⁵. Rarely the information conveyed through the construction λανθάνω + PTC is not given, but is accessible or semi-active (25), to use Chafe’s term¹⁶. In these occurrences the participle seems to be more similar to an extension:

(25) τούτου μὲν καπνοῦ καὶ κύματος ἐκτὸς ἔεργε
νῆα, σὺ δὲ σκοπέλου ἐπιμαίεο, μὴ σε λάθῃσι
κεῖσ’ ἐξορμήσασα καὶ ἐς κακὸν ἄμμε βάλῃσθα. (Od. 12.219-221)

¹⁴ See also (Il. 24. 331-332 (τὸ δ’ οὐ λάθον εὐρύοπα Ζῆν / ἐς πεδίον προφανέντε “howbeit the twain, coming forth upon the plain, were not unseen by Zeus”); Od. 12.182-183 (τὰς δ’ οὐ λάθην ὠκύαλος νηῆς / ἐγγύθεν ὀρνομένη “the Sirens failed not to note the swift ship as it drew near”), and Od. 13.270 (λάθον δὲ ἐ θυμὸν ἀπούρας “but unseen I took away his life”).

¹⁵ See Dik *et al.* (1990, pp. 55-60).

¹⁶ See e.g. Chafe (1987).

“From this smoke and from this vortex, hold the ship and mind the cliff, so that the ship does not escape you and it does not smash and cast us into destruction”.

The fact that given information can promote the construction of so-called “dominant participles”¹⁷ is also worth noting as the translation of examples (23) and (24) underlines. In this case the participle becomes the predicative nucleus of an argument clause, and is no longer a conjunct participle. Therefore, what escapes notice is no longer an individual, but a propositional theme, in syntactic terms. In these circumstances a syntactic obligatoriness can actually develop. On the other hand, for the construction *λανθάνω* + PTC we cannot generally speak of syntactic obligatoriness, but only of pragmatic compulsoriness, as the new information, conveyed by the finite form of *λανθάνω*, is presented as linked to a piece of given information conveyed by the participle. That is to say, what escapes notice is an individual doing something, i.e. while he does something. In this case, the participle is a converb, i.e. «a verb form which depends syntactically on another verb form, but is not its syntactic actant, i.e., does not realize its semantic valencies» (Nedjalkov 1995, p. 103). In the framework of Functional Grammar, it is a satellite¹⁸.

The following excerpt clearly shows in which sense the participle can be considered a conjunct one, that is, a satellite:

(26) οὐδέ σέ γ' ἠριγένεια παρ' Ὀκεανοῖο ροάων
λήσει ἐπερχομένη χρυσόθρονος (Od. 22.198-199)
“[...] nor shall you fail to mark the early Dawn, golden-throned,
coming forth from the streams of Oceanus”.

If we compare these lines with the formula *οὐδέ σε λήσει* (§ 2; (1)), it becomes evident that the information conveyed through the participle is “conjoined” to an individual, specifying what he is doing when he escapes notice. In this occurrence the information conveyed by the participle *ἐπερχομένη* is semi-active, given that the image of Dawn coming forth from the streams of Oceanus is part of the world knowledge of the Greek addressee. This can be considered an occurrence regarding a sort of

¹⁷ On dominant participles in Ancient Greek see e.g. Rijksbaron (1994, p. 118).

¹⁸ This is the same situation as participles which depend on direct perception verbs. These are classified as satellites by Basset (1999) in the framework of Functional Grammar.

reanalysis, where the formation of the construction $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega + \text{PTC}$ can be seen.

The usual order of $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ and the participle, both in the construction $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega + \text{PTC}$ and in its reverse, is shown by the “paradigmatic” opposition between $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon \beta\acute{\iota}\omega\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ and $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\tau\omicron \lambda\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$. The opposing structures, i.e. the participle of $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ plus finite verb and the participle of another verb plus finite form of $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ are much rarer, but the information structure and the degree of semantic integration are the same¹⁹.

5. Conclusions

The construction $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega + \text{PTC}$ is an extremely interesting structure of Greek, where the finite verb is usually translated by an adverbial element simply expressing its semantic content (§ 1). The occurrence of $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega + \text{PTC}$ can be explained starting from its “reversed” structure and the logical-semantic property of symmetry (§ 3.1). When $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ is realized as a participle, it is usually a participle of extension (15-17, 19-20) or a predicate modifier, as happens in $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\tau\omicron \lambda\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$ (6). This means that it conveys a piece of information centered on the main verb (\Rightarrow), but which is new (§ 3). Extension and predicate modification suit symmetry, because of the conceptual closeness of the two SoAs expressed. Symmetry implies an opposite pattern of the morpho-syntactic structure. However, both the semantic relationship between the two codified SoAs and the information structure remain the same; indeed $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ conveys new information and is sometimes clearly focused, e.g. by negation (23-26). In Ancient Greek, the construction $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega + \text{PTC}$ possibly arises starting from the addition of a conjunct participle to the subject of a finite form of $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ (26), normally used in its active constructions (§ 2). In this perspective, we cannot speak of an effective obligatoriness of the participle, even though it certainly develops a certain degree of freezing. When in the $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega + \text{PTC}$ construction the conjunct participle conveys thematic information and there is a single information unit, in modern languages such as Italian or English – where there is no similar construction – the translation of $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ as a (predicate) adverbial favors the semantic-pragmatic functions, disregarding the syntactic structure.

¹⁹For an example of participle of another verb plus finite form of $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ in Homeric poems cf. (24) and *Il.* 13.721 ($\sigma\acute{\iota} \delta' \acute{\omicron}\pi\iota\theta\epsilon\nu \beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$ “and the others behind kept shooting from their cover”); for an example of participle of $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ plus finite verb see e.g. *S., Ant.* 531-532 ($\sigma\acute{\upsilon} \delta', \eta \kappa\alpha\tau' \omicron\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\chi\iota\delta\omicron\nu \acute{\upsilon}\phi\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta / \lambda\eta\theta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha} \mu' \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\xi}\epsilon\pi\iota\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ “You who were lurking like a viper in my own house and secretly gulping up my life’s blood”).

References

- Basset, L. (1999), *Des participiales parmi les complétives*, in B. Jacquinod (ed.), *Les complétives en grec ancien*, Publications de l'Université de Saint-Etienne, Saint-Etienne, pp. 33-44.
- Chafe, W. L. (1987), *Cognitive constraints on information flow*, in R. S. Tomlin (ed.), *Coherence and Grounding in Discourse*, Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 21-51.
- Chantraine, P. (1968-80), *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Klincksieck, Paris.
- Cuzzolin, P. (1995), *Preliminari per una descrizione dell'avverbio di frase in greco classico*, in Id. (ed.), *Studi di linguistica greca*, Franco Angeli, Milano, pp.137-64.
- Dik S. C., Hengeveld K., Vester E., Vet C. (1990), *The hierarchical structure of the clause and the typology of satellites*, in J. Nuyts, M. Bolkestein, C. Vet (eds.), *Layers and Levels of Representation in Language Theory*, Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 25-70.
- Haiman J. (1985), *Natural Syntax*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1985), *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, Arnold, London.
- Haspelmath, M. (1995), *The converb as a cross-linguistically valid category*, in M. Haspelmath, E. König (eds.), *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, pp.1-55.
- Johanson, L. (1995), *On Turkic converb clauses*, in M. Haspelmath, E. König (eds.), *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 313-47.
- König, E. (1995), *The meaning of converb constructions*, in M. Haspelmath, E. König (eds.), *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 57-95.
- Kortmann, B. (1991), *Free Adjuncts and Absolutes in English: Problems of Control and Interpretation*, Routledge, London.
- Id. (1995), *Adverbial participial clauses in English*, in M. Haspelmath, E. König (eds.), *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 189-237.
- Nedjalkov, V. P., 1995, *Some typological parameters of converbs*, in M. Haspelmath, E. König (eds.), *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 99-136.
- Nedjalkov, I. V. (1998), *Converbs in the languages of Europe*, in J. van der Auwera, D. P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Adverbial Constructions in the Languages of Europe*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 421-55.
- Nedjalkov, V. P. - Nedjalkov I. V. (1987), *On the typological characteristics of converbs*, in T. Help – S. Murumets (eds.), *Symposium on Language Universals*, Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR, Tallinn, pp. 75-79.
- Oguse, A. (1962), *Recherches sur le participe circonstanciel en grec ancien*, Cultura, Wetteren.
- Pompei, A. (2004), *Propriétés nominales et propriétés verbales du participe*, in “Studi Italiani di Linguistica Teorica e Applicata”, 33, 1, pp. 31-48.
- Ead. (2006), *Participles as a non-prototypical word class*, in Crespo E., de la Villa J., Revuelta A. R. (eds.), *Words Classes and Related Topics in Ancient Greek*, Peeters, Louvain-La-Neuve, pp. 361-88.
- Ead. (2012), *Participio greco e converbi*, in “Archivio Glottologico Italiano”, 97, 2, pp. 160-204
- Rijksbaron, A., 1994, *The Syntax and Semantics of the Verb in Classical Greek*, Gieben, Amsterdam (II ed.).
- Sicking, C. M. J. (1996), *Aspect choice*, in C. M. J. Sicking., P. Stork (eds.), *Two Studies in*

- the Semantics of the Verb in Classical Greek*, Brill, Leiden, pp. 3-119.
- Simone, R. (1993), *Stabilità e instabilità nei caratteri originali dell'italiano*, in A. Sobrero (ed.), *Introduzione all'italiano contemporaneo*, I, Laterza, Bari, pp. 41-100.
- Van Valin R. D. J., LaPolla R. J. (1997), *Syntax: Structure, Meaning and Function*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.