Weaving together the diverse threads of category change

Intersubjective ἀμέλει 'of course' and imperative particles in Ancient Greek

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This paper investigates category changes among imperative particles in Ancient Greek. Using diachronic evidence from the category change of the imperative ἀμέλει (*amélei* 'don't worry' > 'of course') and similar imperative particles, ἄγε (*áge)*, ἴθι (*íthi)*, φέρε (*fére)*, εἰπέ μοι (*eipé moi)* and ἰδού (*idoú*), this paper investigates the diachronic interdependence of intersubjectification, grammaticalization and language change in general. It does this in four ways. First, I show that intersubjectification can take place without subjectification (*pace* Traugott 2003: 134). Second, I detail the intersubjectification of ἀμέλει with changes in the cognitive domain (no practical > no epistemic worries), the pragmatic domain (responsively resolving > independently assuming resolved worries) and contextual conditions (creating intersubjective alignment > assuming it). Third, I tease apart the various diachronic origins of changes which have affected ἀμέλει. Finally, using contrastive evidence from parallel category changes of Ancient Greek imperative particles, I argue that whereas the imperative particles can be variously affected by structural grammaticalization changes, they all display signs of context change (as shown by illocutionary extensions to occurrence with declarative and interrogative illocutions). Thus, the diverse threads of category change can be woven together by tracing the contexts of change as well as the diachronic processes shaping them.

Keywords: category change, grammaticalization, intersubjectification, imperatives, Ancient Greek, morphosyntactic change, context, language change

1.   Introduction

1.1   Category change of Ancient Greek imperatives

Recent years have seen several publications on Ancient Greek imperatives that have pointed out their discourse-structural functions, functions which were before only associated with the vast class of discourse particles in Ancient Greek.[1] Examples of Ancient Greek imperatives with such particle-like features are: φέρε (*fére* 'bring! > come on'), ἄγε (*áge* 'lead! > come on'), ἴθι (*íthi* 'go! > come on'), εἰπέ μοι (*eipé moi* 'tell me! > tell me') and ἰδού (*idoú* 'look! > hey, look here'). Here, I give mere functional translations to near equivalents in English to empha-size both the imperatival origin and the apparent category shift, as English has a more limited set of imperative particles with different origins. In example (1) below the imperative singular is used in addressing a group, showing that the singular form was not used as such any more by speakers. Similarly in exam-ple (2), the imperative singular is used to address multiple persons and, more importantly, works as a turn-taking means instead of a directive 'bring!' (Fedriani 2019: 87). Note that throughout this paper I underline the imperative particle in question and any relevant piece of linguistic context that is discussed. Further, I use the text editions as found in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. My translations are based on the most recent Loeb translations.

(1)   <u>εἰπέ μοι</u>, τί τοῦτ᾽ ἀπειλεῖ τοὔπος, <u>ἄνδρες δημόται</u>, τοῖς Ἀχαρνικοῖσιν ἡμῖν;

    (Ar. *Ach.* 328–329)

    '<u>Tell me, fellow demesmen,</u> what does he mean by this threat against us Achar-nians?'

(2)   <u>φέρε</u> λόγων ἀψώμεθ᾽ ἄλλων.   (E. *Ion.* 544)
    '<u>Come</u>, let us take a different tack.

With regard to what I call imperative particles, Ancient Greek linguistics seems to follow recent trend from general linguistics in which an increasing number of studies reveal the cross-linguistically frequent recruitment of discourse-structural functions by imperatives. This is not the place to sum up all the research on this topic (see van Olmen 2010, Devos & van der Wal 2014, Mauri & Sansò 2014 and Fedriani 2019 for further references). However, it is relevant to note that these

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1. On φέρε, ἄγε, and ἴθι, see Labiano (2000), Biraud (2010), Fedriani & Ghezzi (2014), Nordgren (2015), Zakowski (2018) and Fedriani (2019). On ἰδού, see Bailey (2009: 314–377), Nordgren (2015: 12) and Julia (2018). For εἰπέ μοι see Zakowski (2014). For overviews of the particles in Classical Greek, see Denniston (1954) and Bonifazi et al. (2016); for Post-Classical Greek see Blomqvist (1969).

imperatives seem to pertain to specific verbal domains, every one of which constrains their development. As argued by Fedriani (2019), the difference in domain of the source construction constrains the pragmatic functions which the previously directive constructions (of imperative particles of movement and exchange) can obtain:

–   movement: ἄγε, ἴθι, *age* (Latin), *come on* (English), *allez* (French), *vai* (Italian)
–   exchange: φέρε,[2] *em* (Latin), *dai* (Italian), *toma* (Spanish)
–   visual perception: ἰδού, *look* (English), *guarda* (Italian), *kijk* (Dutch)
–   communication: εἰπέ μοι, *dime* (Spanish), *zeg* (Dutch)

All previous studies on such imperative particles in Ancient Greek highlight the role which they play synchronically in discourse organization, whereas only some studies detail the diachronic changes which these imperatives have undergone from their source uses as directive, most notably Zakowski (2014, 2018) and Fedriani (2019). According to Fedriani (2019: 72), previous literature such as standard grammars treated these imperative particles as interjections. There are exceptions to this however, such as for example the eminent grammarian Jakob Wackernagel who almost a century ago said:

> Conversely, imperatives can shed their verbal nature and join the class of interjections. So, e.g., Gk ἄγε and Lat. *age* are certainly imperatives in origin, but it is clear that they were not regarded as straightforward imperatives, partly in that they are used without regard to grammatical number (I, 85 above), but more importantly in that in context they give up the usual transitive meaning of the verb. The grammarians regard them as particles.
>
> (translation by Langslow 2009: 270)

Zakowski described the recruitment of such new non-directive functions as the result of grammaticalization, which refers to "the change whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions" (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 18).[3] Also, there are broader diachronic issues

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2.   Although I am fully aware that φέρε has some pragmatic extensions that are said to derive from its movement use (see Fedriani 2019), I have chosen in this paper to not overcomplicate the comparison and to treat φέρε as a primarily exchange domain imperative particle.

3.   Zakowski used grammaticalization criteria, but suggests that the evolution of imperatives does not evolve the same way as standard grammaticalization cases. Therefore Zakowski (2018: 67) suggests that pragmaticalized imperatives might be a better term, although he leaves this theoretical issue for others to solve. See below for further discussion on how to deal with the pragmatic extensions obtained by imperative particles.

of interest for historical linguistics in fleshing out which processes cause changes that lead to a directive imperative changing into an imperative particle. For example, (inter)subjectification, grammaticalization and pragmaticalization have all been held accountable for such category changes, but it would be prudent to tease apart their influence. In this way, we would gain a better grasp of both seemingly superficial imperative particles and the diachronic processes that shape their synchronic properties. In this instance, category change thus may be used as a descriptive umbrella term for the changes caused by various processes. For Ancient Greek, Zakowski (2014) and (2018) proposed an analysis in terms of grammaticalization but Zakowski (2018) suggested that pragmaticalization seems to better fit the types of changes observed for his data. Fedriani (2019) opted for a pragmaticalization approach supplemented by attention for influence from subjectification.

An Ancient Greek imperative particle which should be added to the group is the singular (imperfective)[4] imperative ἀμέλει (*amélei*). This imperative originally means 'do not worry' or 'no worries' (example (3)), but, as witnessed by its non-directive use in example (4) changed into a procedural marker meaning 'of course':

(3) μὴ οὖν ἀπορραθύμει τούτου, ἀλλὰ διατείνου μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸ σαυτῷ προσέχειν. καὶ <u>μὴ ἀμέλει τῶν τῆς πόλεως</u>, εἴ τι δυνατόν ἐστι διὰ σὲ βέλτιον ἔχειν: (X. Mem. 3.7.9.4–7)

'Don't refuse to face this duty then: strive more earnestly to pay heed to yourself; and <u>don't neglect public affairs</u>, if you have the power to improve them.'

(4) ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ σε προφθάσας λέγω ὅτι ἐν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἡγοῦμαι, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐν τῷ πλήθει, χαλεπὴν οὕτω φύσιν γίγνεσθαι.

καὶ ἐγὼ <u>ἀμέλει</u>, ἔφη, συνοίομαι.   (Pl. *R.* 500a)

'I will anticipate you and reply that I think that only in some few and not in the mass of mankind is so ungentle or harsh a temper to be found.'
'"And I, <u>you may be assured</u>," he said, "concur."'

The imperative ἀμέλει in example (4) is not a directive to stop worrying but an agreeing response to the addressee's assertion. In other words, ἀμέλει is aimed

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4. Note that ἀμέλησον (*amélēson*), which is the perfective imperative counterpart of imperfective ἀμέλει, has only four rare occurrences in middle Post-Classical Greek (in 2nd century Lucian and 3rd century Athenaeus), used as a full directive imperative (with a genitive complement in the two examples from Athenaeus). The reason that imperfective ἀμέλει gained ground could be aspectual in that imperfective imperatives in Classical Greek commonly order to proceed with something that the addressee was already carrying out, see Rijksbaron (2006: 44). This would in the case of ἀμέλει mean to *not* proceed with the worrying done by the addressee.

at making further discussion of the validity of the previous assertion infelicitous and, as such, functionally similar to the main intersubjective uses of English 'of course' or 'no doubt' (see respectively Clark 1996: 214 and Traugott 2010 for these usages in English). I take intersubjectivity to refer to the semantic coding of attention to the social and/or epistemic self of the addressee (Traugott 2003: 129–130 and Ghesquière, Brems & Van de Velde 2014: 130–131).[5] As signalled by this definition, intersubjectivity comprises different types of coding of attention to the self of the addressee, an issue to which I shall return in my analysis of the Ancient Greek data. Now, the intersubjective meanings of ἀμέλει are striking from the perspective of the proposed directionality of intersubjectification, as intersubjectification is said to only occur *after* subjectification but ἀμέλει appears to lack such a stage. That finding could support recent work suggesting that this relative order of intersubjectification is a definitional presumption rather than a matter of empirical fact, as it ought to be (see van Olmen 2010: 240–241 and Narrog 2017: 40, contra Traugott 2003: 134).

Furthermore, note that the psychological source domain of ἀμέλει (as witnessed in example (3)) is different from the source domains of the imperative particles studied thus far and therefore might generate new insights into the category change to imperative particles. Also, the new intersubjective function of ἀμέλει could potentially correlate with a change in word order, since directive imperatives are generally not found in a parenthetical position as in example (4) (see §4) but have a first position preference (Zakowski 2018: 65). Another question of considerable theoretical relevance is deciding which historical process caused such changes and, if intersubjectification contributes, whether we can identify structural or other correlates for intersubjectification (see Lopez-Couso 2010 and Ghesquière, Brems and Van de Velde 2014 who stress the need for identifying structural correlates of intersubjectification). Furthermore, ἀμέλει becomes especially frequent in Post-Classical Greek (as witnessed in Table 1), which makes it a good starting point for the study of the *understudied* imperative particles in Post-Classical Greek; see Zakowski (2018: 57, 86). Whereas Classical Greek morphosyntax has always been studied intensively, Post-Classical Greek morphosyntax is now receiving increasing attention. As a consequence, the morphosyntax of Post-Classical Greek is not merely studied in a problematically linear fashion as

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5. I choose to follow this definition because the definition by Verhagen (2005: 1) has been shown to be too broad and less well tested diachronically, see Ghesquière, Brems & Van de Velde (2014: 130–131). Verhagen's pragmatic definition of intersubjectivity as intersubjective coordination between the speaker and addressee has the downside that it subsumes many pragmatic markers which serve interactive functions but are not necessarily intersubjective in, for example, a social or epistemic sense (Traugott 2010: 32 and Ghesquière, Brems & Van de Velde 2014: 130–132).

an early precursor of Modern Greek any more, but rather as a rich diachronic corpus language in itself (see la Roi 2020).

Table 1. Diachronic distribution of ἀμέλει

Corpus	Occurrences
Classical Greek (5th/4th century)	24[a]
Early Post-Classical Greek (3rd-1st BCE)	22[b]
Middle Post-Classical Greek (1st AD-2nd AD)[c]	130[d]

a. Leaving out very fragmentarily transmitted authors and spurious works, I found uses of ἀμέλει in Aristophanes (12), Xenophon (5), Plato (6) and Demosthenes (1).
b. Leaving out very fragmentarily transmitted authors and spurious works, I found uses of ἀμέλει in Theophrastus (18) and Menander (4).
c. Note that I cut off Middle Post-Classical Greek a century earlier than usual for reasons of scope of the paper. Normally this periodization of Post-Classical Greek is: early (3rd to 1st BCE), middle (1st to 3rd AD) and late (4th to 6th AD), see Lee (2007: 113) and Bentein (2016: 6).
d. Leaving out very fragmentarily transmitted authors and spurious works, I found uses of ἀμέλει in Philo (5), Strabo (1), the New Testament (1), Flavius Josephus (20), Musonius Rufus (2), Longinus (4), Plutarch (77), Arrian (1), Epictetus (2), Soranus (4), Dio of Prusa (9) and the documentary papyri (4). For the papyri, I left out those instances which were editorially conjectured.

In fact, we possess ancient sources which display awareness of the category change of ἀμέλει from a directive imperative into a pragmatic marker. Pragmatic markers are commonly defined as "a phonologically short item that is not syntactically connected to the rest of the clause (i.e., is parenthetical), and has little or no referential meaning but serves pragmatic or procedural purposes" (Brinton 2008: 1). The following testimonies stem from the Atticist lexicon of Aelius Dionysius from the early second century AD, one of the founders of so-called Atticist lexicography. Atticist lexicography prescribed older Classical Attic Greek or Atticizing linguistic variants at the expense of other contemporary Post-Classical Greek forms; for a good introduction to this issue, see Lee (2013). His testimony displays the awareness that ἀμέλει has turned into a particle-like structure with particle-like features.[6] After all, he glosses ἀμέλει with other particles with similar meanings and calls ἀμέλει an adverb like other discourse particles such as δηλαδή (*dēladē* 'clearly'), δή (*dē* 'evidently') and δήπου (*dēpou* 'doubtless').[7]

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6. See la Roi (subm. a). who demonstrates how these ancient sources can be used as metalinguistic resources to identify morpho-syntactic change in Post-Classical Greek.

7. The category of the adverb was most probably introduced in the first century BCE according to Matthaios (2007) and de Jonge (2008: 103). For its early use in grammatical papyri of the first century AD, see Wouters (1979).

(5)   <u>ἀμέλει</u>· δηλαδή, πάντως· <u>ἐπίρρημα</u> γάρ <u>ἐστι</u> συγκατάθεσιν δηλοῦν.

<div align="right">(Ael.Dion. 97)</div>

     '<u>Of course</u>; clearly, undoubtedly; for <u>it is</u> an <u>adverb</u> signifying approval.'

<div align="right">(my translation)</div>

(6)   δήπου· ὡς 'δή', ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀμέλει, δηλονότι.   (Ael.Dion. 14)

     'doubtless; as 'evidently', <u>instead of 'of course'</u>, obviously.'   (my translation)

Glossing ἀμέλει only as a particle might imply that the directive use had become obsolete by then, although this is evidently not the case (See NT *1 Ep.Ti. 4.14.1* for a directive use of ἀμέλει). Similar contemporary Post-Classical testimonies to this type of language change exist for φέρε ('bring! > come on'), ἄγε ('lead! > come on') and Latin *age* ('lead! > come on').[8]

1.2   Grammaticalization, intersubjectification and category change

Before engaging in the analysis, a brief elucidation of the theoretical orientation of this paper is warranted. A discussion of the theoretical issues connected to constructionist modelling of the category change of Ancient Greek grammaticalized imperatives would be worthwhile.[9] However, the analyses in this paper first of all have a descriptive focus, detailing the many different semantic, morphosyntactic and distributional changes that come with the category change of ἀμέλει from directive imperative to pragmatic marker, and how these changes relate to each other. As I demonstrate, the category change entails loss in morphosyntactic structure but gain in intersubjective pragmatics and distributional freedom.[10] Therefore, we can tackle the question of which specific processes (e.g., grammaticalization and intersubjectification) are responsible for which types of changes, as those processes often go hand in hand (Lopez-Causo 2010:139–140). Also, the findings from the intersubjectification of ἀμέλει especially contribute to open questions in research on intersubjectivity, such as the directionality of intersubjectification, its relation with other processes such as grammaticalization, and the identification of the correlates of intersubjectification, whether semantic,

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8.   For ἄγε and φέρε see Apoll. Dysc. *Synt.* 3.19, *Adv.* 123.10–12 and 128.21–22 who glosses them as imperative adverbs on a par with εἴθε *eíthe* ('if (only)') the fossilized particle which introduces insubordinate wishes, see la Roi (forthc. a). See Fedriani (2019:74) for the evidence from the Latin grammarian Servius.

9.   The papers in Van Goethem et al. (2018) pay a great deal of attention to such theoretical issues.

10.   For further insights into the relation between pragmatics, grammaticalization and language change, see the articles in Ricci, Rossari and Spiridon (2009) and Nicolle (2011).

pragmatic or structural (see the overviews by López-Couso 2010 and Ghesquière, Brems & Van de Velde 2014).

Furthermore, a brief justification of grammaticalization is required,[11] since I apply analytic instruments from grammaticalization. Previously, others have opted for a pragmaticalization framework in accounting for the evolution of imperative particles in Ancient Greek. Zakowski (2014) and (2018) adopt a grammaticalization framework, although Zakowski (2018: 66) signals the current controversy in general linguistics concerning the relation between grammaticalization and pragmaticalization. Fedriani (2019) adopts a pragmaticalization framework. Also, it should be noted that the critical remarks by Zakowski (2018: 64) on how the grammaticalization of imperatives does not meet all grammaticalization criteria are in fact based on a different grammaticalization approach than the one chosen here, namely the grammaticalization as increase in dependency and reduction of various aspects of the expression. As Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 32) explain, this grammaticalization approach has especially been advanced by Lehmann (and Haspelmath), and Zakowski specifically refers to Lehmann's criteria, not to expansionist grammaticalization criteria which would allow the description of pragmatic functions gained. I consider it more economical to view the diachronic recruitment of pragmatic functions ("pragmaticalization") as part of the grammaticalization process, since these pragmatic functions also belong to the grammar of language (Diewald 2011; Degand & Evers-Vermeul 2015). In addition, allegedly pragmaticalizing markers display layering, persistence, decategorialization and semantic bleaching (through pragmatic strengthening) just as grammaticalizing markers do (Degand & Evers-Vermeul 2015: 75). Finally, the fact that the imperative particles do not reveal the effects of all changes associated with grammaticalization (Zakowski 2018: 63–65) is not problematic, since grammaticalizing constructions do not *need* to undergo every change associated with grammaticalization (e.g., phonetic reduction).[12] In fact, some changes which are normally classed under the grammaticalization framework, as I will point out, need not be attributed to grammaticalization but can be seen as general properties of language change.

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11. I refer to the expansion conception of grammaticalization which goes back to Kuryłowicz and views grammaticalization as the expansion of semantic, pragmatic and collocational range, see Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 106).

12. For this non-isomorphic quality of grammaticalization, see Markopoulos (2009: 6). See Traugott and Trousdale (2010) for the role of gradualness in grammaticalization. For the changing face of grammaticalization studies see Lehmann (2015).

1.3   Organization of the paper

This paper is divided into the following parts. First I discuss previous views on ἀμέλει and the need for a holistic diachronic analysis (§2). Subsequently, I discuss the semantic, distributional, contextual (§3) and morphosyntactic changes (§4) which ἀμέλει undergoes by grammaticalization and intersubjectification in its category change from a directive imperative to a pragmatic marker. Section 3 especially pays attention to the intersubjectification of ἀμέλει and pinpoints how the various intersubjective meanings of ἀμέλει relate diachronically, among others by pointing to the role of context change.[13] After all, "pragmatic use in context, polyfunctionality of items, contextual ambiguity, and strategic interaction play a crucial role in triggering pragmatic-semantic change" (Ghezzi 2014: 16). Subsequently, §5 discusses how we can extrapolate the findings on Ancient Greek to diachronic studies of intersubjectification, grammaticalization and category change in general. As support, §6 provides contrastive evidence from the category change of other Ancient Greek imperative particles for the combined influence of grammaticalization, intersubjectification and the underestimated role of contextual change. Section 7 concludes the article and discusses further lines of inquiry that may build on the findings of this research.

2.   **Previous views on ἀμέλει**

In 1969 Blomqvist published his monograph on particles in Post-Classical Greek. In it he discusses the imperative ἀμέλει as a particle and makes many useful observations which are easily understood from within a category change analysis. Albeit in different terms, Blomqvist is on the right track when he notes:

– the categorial ambiguity of ἀμέλει, as he claims that in certain contexts it "could be regarded either as an imperative or as an adverb meaning 'certainly'"   (Blomqvist 1969: 104)
– how ἀμέλει is used for "emphasizing the certainty or *self-evident veracity* of a statement"   (Blomqvist 1969: 105, my italics)
– the false attribution of the meaning of 'for example' to ἀμέλει due to its frequent use in comparative clauses which already possess a subordinator with this meaning (e.g., ὥσπερ *ōsper*)

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13.   For the role of context viewed from within grammaticalization only, see Heine (2002) and Diewald (2002).

Nevertheless, he also argues for a progressive use of ἀμέλει on the basis of the examples in Theophrastus' *Characters*, saying that ἀμέλει was used to introduce a new discourse segment. For this meaning, he cites, among others, the following examples:

(7)   Ἔστιν ἀμέλει <ἡ> ἀπιστία ὑπόληψίς τις ἀδικίας κατὰ πάντων, ὁ δὲ ἄπιστος τοιοῦτός τις, οἷος ἀποστείλας τὸν παῖδα ὀψωνήσοντα ἕτερον παῖδα πέμπειν τὸν πευσόμενον πόσου ἐπρίατο   (Thphr. *Char.* 18.1–3)

     'It <u>goes without saying</u> that Distrustfulness is a kind of presumption of dishonesty against all mankind; and the Distrustful man is he that will send one servant off to market and then another to learn what price he paid.'

(8)   <u>Ἀμέλει</u> ἡ δεισιδαιμονία δόξειεν <ἂν> εἶναι δειλία πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον

                                            (Thphr. *Char.* 16.1)

     'Superstitiousness, <u>I need hardly say</u>, would seem to be a sort of cowardice with respect to the divine;'

According to Blomqvist (1969: 106), ἀμέλει (or, in his view, its equivalent ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ (*amélei dé kaí*) '(and) also of course') is used in both examples by Theophrastus to introduce a new point and a new character. He explicitly rejects earlier explanations (also advanced by him) of ἀμέλει in Theophrastus' *Characters* as being subjective like 'certainly' and underlining the veracity of the definition. His motivation for rejecting that subjective interpretation is that it makes the collocation with the potential mood and the future indicative, which is *supposedly used as* potential mood, problematic (Blomqvist 1969: 107). As has been recently argued by la Roi (2019), even non-subjective moods such as the potential optative can occur with subjective markers, even if less frequently. Moreover, la Roi (2019: 70–71) argues that the Classical Greek future indicative generally is more often used subjectively and as such contrasts with the potential optative. Therefore it would seem rather hasty to change one's entire view on ἀμέλει based on just four combinations with these moods, if the function of ἀμέλει were actually best characterized as subjective. Also, the collocation of ἀμέλει with δὲ καὶ '(and) also' in introductions of characters would suggest that the progressive value does not reside in ἀμέλει but rather in this collocation, meaning 'and of course', naturally moving the discourse along. Moreover, the frequency of ἀμέλει in Theophrastus' *Characters* is higher than one would generally expect for such a small work, 16 instances compared to a total of 22 in early Post-Classical Greek (3rd BCE to 1st BCE), and this increased frequency demands an explanation.

     Let us first return to the examples. As the translation suggests, ἀμέλει signals to the addressee(s) that the given definition will be readily accepted by the addressee, because it corresponds to an intuitive idea of the character trait under discussion. Thus, ἀμέλει could in these examples be translated as 'of course/nat-

urally' and is used by Theophrastus to signal that the addressee will know that the definition is what distrustfulness and superstitiousness entail. In other words, Blomqvist's characterization of ἀμέλει as emphasizing the self-evident veracity of a statement is more on the mark than his characterization of ἀμέλει as 'certainly' or as introducing a new point. Thus, ἀμέλει has an addressee-oriented value in signalling to the addressee that they agree with the proposition, i.e., *of course* accepts the proposition.[14] Such an addressee oriented value could explain the increased frequency in Theophrastus' *Characters*. Since this book deals with stereotypical characters and their traits and since the knowledge of such stereotypes belongs in speakers' Common Ground knowledge, Theophrastus can rely on the fact that his definitions are familiar ground to his readers. The Common Ground holds "the sum of [interlocutors'] mutual, common or joint knowledge beliefs, and suppositions" (Clark 1996: 96).[15] Types of Common ground can be distinguished as given in Table 2.[16]

Table 2. Types of common ground

Type of common ground	Contents
Communal	Shared cultural knowledge and values, social practices, shared attitudes or conventional human behaviour
Personal *based on* physical copresence of interlocutors	Joint experience (of any kind) of the physical domain of interaction
Personal *based on* linguistic copresence	Information, views, ideas shared in prior interaction

14.   Its precise relation to intersubjectivity, the semantic encoding of attention to the addressee's self, and how this intersubjective meaning is related to earlier meanings of ἀμέλει is fleshed out in §3. Blomqvist (1969: 107) criticizes Edmonds' (1929) earlier question answer theory, which suggests that Theophrastus used ἀμέλει to answer an implicit question, because the theory could not be applied to the examples from Classical Greek. This seems anachronistic, because, as I argue, ἀμέλει had undergone semantic changes which make later usages of ἀμέλει increasingly different from those found in Classical Greek.

15.   See Stalnaker (1978, 2002), Clark and Brennan (1991) and Clark (1996). This notion differs from the Cognitive Grammar notion of "grounding" which is based on a different conception of ground than the notion of ground used here.

16.   See Clark (1996: 92–122). Cf. also Thijs (2017: 84–85) who summarizes similar types: "(i) knowledge of the present communicative event, physically and linguistically (the preceding discourse), (ii) the common personal history of the interlocutors and (iii) general culturally-oriented knowledge about (regularities in) the world, which includes shared cultural models of nationality, ethnicity, religion etc., particular cognitive schemata, frames and generalized topoi (of the form: 'normally if x, then y' or 'generally, x because of y')".

Moreover, the availability of Common Ground knowledge of the stereotypes discussed in Theophrastus' *Characters* also explains the uses of ἀμέλει which are not found at the start of a stereotype (as in examples (7) and (8)) but later on, and describe what such a person would typically do: these activate common ground knowledge on conventional human behaviour of stereotypical characters.[17] Thus, the content of Theophrastus' *Characters* explains the unusually high frequency of ἀμέλει. To sum up, with a more comprehensive corpus than Blomqvist's and a holistic approach to semantic, pragmatic and distributional changes, the category change of directive ἀμέλει to a pragmatic marker can be more fruitfully evaluated.

3.   The intersubjectification of ἀμέλει: Semantic and contextual change

This section first distinguishes between different recruited intersubjective uses of ἀμέλει, subsequently discusses the diachronic relation between ἀμέλει's intersubjective meanings and finally discusses changes common to other imperative particles undergoing category change as well.

As remarked in the introduction, ἀμέλει has a different source domain than the other imperatives that obtained particle-like features: the psychological domain, deriving from the negative prefix ἀ- 'not' with the verb -μελ 'worry/care for', i.e., 'have no worry'. Note that the object of worry is highly infrequently specified as a genitive complement (as in example (9)), with only 4 of the 176 occurrences from Classical, early and middle Post-Classical Greek.[18] Instead, with imperatival ἀμέλει the object of worry is generally implicit in the sentence, because it is part of the linguistic Common Ground. For this, see example (10), where Lysistrata urges Myrrhine to do something and Myrrhine subsequently tells her not to worry about it (i.e., the object of concern which is information-structurally *given*), because she will take care of it. Thus, the type of use of ἀμέλει in example (9) differs from example (10) in that the object of worry is not implicit in the Common Ground. Also, their syntactic characteristics differ as example (9), which I call imperatival ἀμέλει₁ to reflect its polysemy, is modified by negation (μή *mé*) and specifies the object of worry in a complement (τῶν τῆς πόλεως *tōn tēs póleōs* '(about) public affairs'), whereas example (10), imperatival ἀμέλει₂, has lost these syntactic characteristics (I provide context in translation to facilitate comprehension).

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17.   See for example Thphr. *Char.* 2.9; 6.3; 19.3; 21.11.

18.   Also, in the Post-Classical papyri the genitive complement is circumscribed instead using περί *perí* 'with regards to', e.g., bgu.4.1080.14.

(9)   μὴ οὖν ἀπορραθύμει τούτου, ἀλλὰ διατείνου μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸ σαυτῷ
προσέχειν. Καὶ μὴ <u>ἀμέλει τῶν τῆς πόλεως</u>, εἴ τι δυνατόν ἐστι διὰ σὲ βέλτιον
ἔχειν: (X. *Mem.* 3.7.9.4–7)

'Don't refuse to face this duty then: strive more earnestly to pay heed to your-
self; and <u>don't neglect public affairs</u>, if you have the power to improve them.'

(10) **Myrrhine** *Oh God, I do. And it's my own husband, Cinesias!*

Lysistrata *Then it's your job to roast him, to torture him, to bamboozle him, to
love him and not to love him, and to give him anything he wants, except what
you and our wine cup know about.*

Myrrhine <u>ἀμέλει</u>, ποιήσω ταῦτ' ἐγώ. '<u>Don't you worry</u>, I'll do it!'

                                                        (Ar. *Lys.* 838–842)

As intersubjectivity refers to the semantic coding of attention to the social and/
or epistemic self of the addressee (Traugott 2003:129–130; Ghesquière, Brems &
Van de Velde 2014), ἀμέλει1 and ἀμέλει2 qualify as intersubjective in that imper-
atival ἀμέλει encodes attention to the needs of the addressee with respect to the
speaker. In example (9), ἀμέλει1 is used by Socrates to elicit specific behaviour
of the addressee with regard to public affairs, viz. to urge him to make his advis-
ing public. In example (10) Lysistrata wants to know whether Myrrhine will take
care of it, to which Myrrhine responds by saying not to worry, the conversational
implicature being 'of course'. Imperatival ἀμέλει1 and ἀμέλει2 thus are used for
"eliciting a certain action or behaviour on the part of the speaker, thereby aid-
ing discourse continuity", which Ghesquiere, Brems and Van de Velde (2014) call
responsive intersubjectivity. Apart from imperatives (Ghesquière, Brems & Van
de Velde 2014:144), tag questions such as "right?", "is it not?" or "isn't it?" are
said to express the same type of intersubjectivity (Ghesquière, Brems & Van de
Velde 2014:133–134). Still, whereas question tags typically invoke a confirmatory
response from the addressee, ἀμέλει2 rather removes the object of discussion
from the conversation in order to proceed with the discourse. Besides the usage
differences between ἀμέλει1 and ἀμέλει2, both in responsive intersubjective func-
tion and common ground availability of the object of worry, their pragmatic usage
domains differ. ἀμέλει2 only occurs in responses to either requests or questions
which have the function of a request,[19] as ἀμέλει2 reacts to a real world obsta-
cle and discards its supposed problems, whereas ἀμέλει1 occurs independent of
requests.

    Already in Classical Greek we encounter examples which are hardly translat-
able as an imperative anymore and have semanticized the implicature of agree-

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19. e.g., Ar. *Nu.* 1111, *Lys.* 842, 935, Pl. *R.* 5.450a5 and X. *Cyr.* 5.2.13.3.

ment, i.e., 'of course', thus showing the category change to a pragmatic marker.[20] I suggest that ἀμέλει functions as an agreement creation device which is used to coordinate the common ground knowledge of the interlocutor with that of the speaker, thus paying attention to the epistemic self of the interlocutor. This agreement creation use of ἀμέλει then, ἀμέλει3, signals to the addressee that the utterance (with ἀμέλει) easily fits their current assumptions, thus tracking the mutual construal of the common ground. Importantly, ἀμέλει3 occurs in response to different types of questions and is even increasingly found in the absence of a question, which demonstrates that this new intersubjective use correlates with a distributional extension. In example (11) ἀμέλει occurs in a response to a true question instead of a request and is used to signal that the addressee should have known, based on their communal common ground knowledge, that the Athenian women will obviously take care of the Athenian men, just as Spartan women will take care of their men. Metaphorically speaking, ἀμέλει signals that the proposition in the question warrants no epistemic worries by pointing to the joint common ground.

(11)   **Lampito** Καὶ τὼς μὲν ἁμὼς ἄνδρας ἁμὲς πείσομεσπαντᾶ δικαίως ἄδολον εἰράναν ἄγην·τὸν τῶν Ἀσαναίων γα μὰν ῥυάχετονπᾶ κά τις ἀμπείσειεν αὖ μὴ πλαδδιῆν;

     Lysistrata ἡμεῖς <u>ἀμέλει</u> σοι τά γε παρ' ἡμῖν πείσομεν.   (Ar. *Lys*. 168–172)

     Lampito 'And we will convince *our* menfolk to keep a completely fair and honest peace. But how can anyone keep your Athenian rabble from acting like lunatics?'

     Lysistrata 'We'll <u>of course</u> handle the persuasion on our side.'

Also, we should note the presence of the dative of interest[21] σοι (*soi* 'you') which underlines that ἀμέλει is not used as a second person directive any more.[22]

In example (12) Socrates asks the subjective question (ἆρά γε οὐ *ará ge ou* 'surely…not..?') that such a fighter, a trained boxer, will be able to defeat multiple lazy opponents. He thereby adds the presupposition to the linguistic Common Ground that one trained boxer will be able to defeat multiple lazy opponents. Adeimantus' response with ἀμέλει3 explicitly signals that he readily accepts this

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20. Implicature is generally seen as one of the most important motors for semantic change, for which see e.g., Traugott and Dasher (2005:5) who developed a model for tracing semantic change based on the conventionalization of implicatures ("invited inferences" in their terminology).

21. Van Emde Boas et al. (2019:379–380).

22. See Henderson (2002:88) who also notes parallel examples for the imperative particle: Ar. *Ach*. 470 ἰδού ('hey, look here') with σοι and Pl. *R*. 440A with ὑμῖν ('you (plural dative)').

inference as Common Ground knowledge. Note also the scope of the particle over the negated proposition, which demonstrates that ἀμέλει modifies a proposition and has lost its ability to be modified by a negation as ἀμέλει₁ could.[23]

(12)   ἆρά γε οὐ καὶ πλείους χειρώσαιτ᾿ ἂν τοιούτους ὁ τοιοῦτος;

    <u>ἀμέλει</u>, ἔφη, οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτο θαυμαστόν.   (Pl. *R*.422c)

    'Would not such a fighter down even a number of such opponents?'

    '"<u>Of course</u>," he said; "it wouldn't be surprising if he did."'

Similarly in example (13), the statement with ἀμέλει₃ serves as confirmation of common ground knowledge, but this time does not even respond to a question but specifically signals to the addressee that the proposition easily fits his current assumptions.

(13)   ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ σε προφθάσας λέγω ὅτι ἐν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἡγοῦμαι, ἀλλ᾿ οὐκ ἐν τῷ πλήθει, χαλεπὴν οὕτω φύσιν γίγνεσθαι.

    καὶ ἐγὼ <u>ἀμέλει</u>, ἔφη, συνοίομαι.   (Pl. *R.* 500a)

    'I will anticipate you and reply that I think that only in some few and not in the mass of mankind is so ungentle or harsh a temper to be found.'

    '"And I, <u>you may be assured</u>," he said, "concur."'

In Post-Classical Greek ἀμέλει only occurs independent from a question and becomes more intersubjective in that it *assumes* agreement (instead of creating it). To be sure, ἀμέλει₃ usages such as the ones above continue to be found in Post-Classical Greek, e.g., (14) where the common ground knowledge of the presence of fragrance was made linguistically explicit in 6.14.4–9.[24]

(14)   ἀλλ᾿ ὡς ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων ἐν τούτοις τοῖς γένεσιν ἡ εὐοσμία. τῶν δὲ φύλλων καὶ κλωνῶν καὶ ὅλως τῶν δένδρων καὶ ὑλημάτων ἐν οἷς καὶ δριμύτης τις ὑπάρχει καὶ λιπαρότης <u>ὥσπερ ἀμέλει</u> καὶ <u>οἱ προειρημένοι καρποὶ</u> καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰνωδῶν ἐνίων   (Thphr. *CP* 6.14.6)

    'Fragrance is found in the leaves and twigs and in the whole plant (1) in those plants in which a certain pungency and oiliness are present – <u>as of course</u> the ones with <u>the fragrant fruit just mentioned</u> (2)'

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23. For similar examples with negated propositions, see X. *Cyr.* 5.2.13.3 and Pl. *Hp.Ma.* 295b6.

24. Ὡς δ᾿ ἐπὶ τὸ πᾶν ἔν τε τῶν οἰνωδῶν τισι καρπῶν ἡ εὐοσμία, τοιοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τὸ μῆλον καὶ τὸ ἄπιον καὶ τὸ μέσπιλον· καὶ τῶν εὐστόμων διὰ δριμύτητός τινος οἷον κεδρίδος τε καὶ τερμίνθου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων· καὶ τῶν λιπαρῶν ὥσπερ ὅ τε τῆς ἐλάτης καὶ τῆς πεύκης καὶ τῆς πίτυος καὶ τῆς δάφνης. (Thphr. *CP* 6.14.4–9) 'Fragrance is found on the whole: (1) in certain fruits with a vinous flavour (for apples, pears and medlars are of this sort), (2) in some with an agreeable taste appearing through a certain pungency (as in juniper, terebinth and the like) (3) and in some oily fruit (as that of silver fir, Aleppo pine and bay).'

It is, I think, no coincidence that ἀμέλει₃ occurs in a comparative clause here, as this example foreshadows the frequent use of ἀμέλει in comparative clauses (with ὥσπερ 'like as', καθάπερ *katháper* 'just as' or ὡς *ōs* 'as' in middle Post-Classical Greek: 47 out of 130, 36%). These comparative clauses are used to present a parallel that the addressee will know about from their common ground knowledge.

A similar common ground availability applies to the next example. In example (15) Plutarch and his table guest discuss Aristotle's explanation for why heated cool water is colder than unheated water. Subsequently, Plutarch compares this to a phenomenon that his addressee will have been familiar with: after a hot bath one cools down more. Thus, ἀμέλει₃ signals that the proposition in the comparative clause presents communal common ground knowledge.[25]

(15) πᾶν ὕδωρ προθερμανθὲν ψύχεται μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ τὸ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι παρασκευαζόμενον· ὅταν γὰρ ἑψηθῇ μέχρι ζέσεως, περισωρεύουσι τῷ ἀγγείῳ χιόνα πολλὴν καὶ γίνεται ψυχρότερον· ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα σώματα λουσαμένων περιψύχεται μᾶλλον·   (Plu. *Quaest. conv.* 690c5–9)

'all water will get cooler if it is preheated, like that provided for royalty; it is the practice, after the water is heated to the boiling point, to pack snow abundantly around the container, and the result is cooler water. Analogously, as is well known, our bodies too cool off more completely after a warm bath'

Now, ἀμέλει starts in Post-Classical Greek to be used in a rhetorically intersubjective way to present a proposition as aligned with the addressee's supposed communal common ground, although this proposition was most likely absent from it and they might even disagree with it, ἀμέλει₄. In the context of example (16), Manasseh's recent change of heart with regard to God is presented as obviously bringing him to lead his life in a way that is to be evaluated as blessed and enviable. I give some more context in translation to facilitate comprehension.

(16) *he also erected very high towers and made the fortresses before the city stronger in various ways, especially by bringing in provisions and all sorts of things needed in them.*
ἀμέλει δὲ τῇ πρὸς ταῦτα μεταβολῇ χρησάμενος οὕτω τὸν μεταξὺ διῆγε βίον, ὡς μακαριστὸς εἶναι καὶ ζηλωτὸς ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου λογιζομένου, ἀφ᾽ οὗ τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβεῖν ἤρξατο.   (J. *AJ* 10.44.5–46.1)

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25. Some other examples are Plu. *Comp. Pel.Marc.*1.4 shared historical knowledge (=example (21) below), *Quaest.conv.* 706b6 shared cultural knowledge of Menander, *Quest.conv.* 686e shared personal common ground (ὥσπερ ἀμέλει βλέπομεν 'as we of course saw'), *recta ratione audiendi* 45b3 shared cultural knowledge of rhetoricians' practices, D. Chr. 23.5.6 personal common ground (ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ ἡμεῖς φαῖμεν ἄν 'as of course we would also say') or 31.82.4 shared social practice of temple robbers receiving the death penalty.

'Of course, due to such a change of heart in these respects he lived the rest of his life in such a way as to be accounted a blessed and enviable man after the time when he began to show piety toward God.'

This use of ἀμέλει4 is highly rhetorical since it is used to present a tendentious summary of Manasseh's life and fame as something that would be entirely in line with the addressee's common ground knowledge. More specifically, this use of ἀμέλει seems to construe a sort of generalized communal common ground that anybody supposedly would subscribe to. In other words, ἀμέλει4 is geared to steering the interpretation of the addressee towards the interpretation that the speaker *projects* onto the addressee(s) via a supposed communal common ground, even though the addressee may disagree. Also in example (17), the idea that ambition is profitable to virtue is *presented as* easily matching the addressee's assumptions, but it is very likely that many contemporary readers will not have readily accepted this due to the many known and almost proverbial examples of ambition leading to avarice in Ancient Greek literature. Thus, the clause with ἀμέλει4 imposes, as it were, the acceptability of this assumption (see also the supporting inferential counterfactual reasoning[26] which follows it). To be able to appreciate the reasoning in the context of the example I cite some more context in translation.

(17) *And so the Spartan lawgiver <u>seems to have introduced the spirit of ambition and contention into his civil polity as an incentive to virtue</u>, desiring that good citizens should always be somewhat at variance and in conflict with one another, and deeming that complaisance which weakly yields without debate, which knows no effort and no struggle, to be wrongly called concord.*
τοῦτο δὲ ἀμέλει συνεωρακέναι καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον οἴονταί τινες·
'Of course, some think that Homer <u>also</u> was of this mind;'
for <u>he would not have</u> represented Agamemnon as pleased when Odysseus and Achilles were carried away into abuse of one another with "frightful words," <u>if he had not thought</u> the general interests likely to profit by the mutual rivalry and quarrelling of the chieftains. (Plu. *Ages.* 5.3.4–5.4.7)

The different diachronically related usages of ἀμέλει and their requirements to how available the proposition (with ἀμέλει) is in the common ground is summarized in Table 3.

Thus, while ἀμέλει1 was already intersubjective, we observed that intersubjectification made ἀμέλει increasingly intersubjective. Whereas ἀμέλει1 and ἀμέλει2

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26. See la Roi (subm. b) who provides a new typology of past conditionals and distinguishes the uses of counterfactual conditionals in Ancient Greek. For a compact overview of counterfactuals in Ancient Greek, see la Roi (forthc. b).

Table 3. The intersubjectification of ἀμέλει and common ground

Usage	ἀμέλει1	ἀμέλει2	ἀμέλει3	ἀμέλει4
Pragmatic domain	Independent of requests	Response to requests	Response to questions and independent of questions	Independent of questions
Intersubjectivity	Responsive intersubjective (promoting discourse continuity)	Responsive intersubjective (promoting discourse continuity)	Creates intersubjective agreement	Assumes intersubjective agreement
Common ground availability	Absent	Linguistic Common ground	Linguistic and Communal common ground	*Presented* as available in communal ground

are responsive in nature, ἀμέλει3 and ἀμέλει4 assume epistemic control over the discourse as they create or even assume agreement irrespective of available common ground. In fact, the intersubjectification of ἀμέλει seems to provide evidence for the intersubjectification path suggested by Tantucci (2017), where intersubjective meanings limited to the speaker addressee range extend diachronically to intersubjective meanings with a range which includes a third party with them: "the former being bound to the mutual awareness of speaker/writer and addressee/hearer (immediate intersubjectivity), the latter including an assumed third party (specific or generic) who has a social bearing on the utterance (extended intersubjectivity)" (Tantucci 2017: 117).

Finally, there are two remaining semantic changes that ἀμέλει undergoes which are commonly attributed to grammaticalization: (i) the change from content to procedural meaning and (ii) the persistence of semantic influence from the source construction. As ἀμέλει3 and ἀμέλει4 no longer have a referential function as an imperative, they are best described as intersubjective pragmatic markers with a procedural meaning. In example (18), ἀμέλει3 can be left out without changing the semantics of the sentence, meaning that Alcibiades is still prone to be led away into pleasure. The only thing that leaving out ἀμέλει would change is the pragmatic coordination of the proposition within the assumptions of the addressee, namely that this evaluation of Alcibiades' inclination to pleasure easily matches the addressee's assumptions.

(18) Ἀλκιβιάδης δ᾽ ἦν μὲν ἀμέλει καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὰς ἀγώγιμος: ἡ γὰρ ὑπὸ
      Θουκυδίδου λεγομένη παρανομία εἰς τὸ σῶμα τῆς διαίτης ὑποψίαν τοιαύτην
      δίδωσιν.   (Plu. *Alc.* 6.2)

'And <u>of course</u> Alcibiades <u>was prone to be led away into pleasure</u>. That "lawless self-indulgence" of his, of which Thucydides speaks, leads one to suspect this.'

This increasing abstractness does not have to be attributed to grammaticalization, since, as we have seen, intersubjectification can be held accountable for changing the pragmatic domain of ἀμέλει.

Similarly, what would be called persistence in grammaticalization studies may be attributed to the increasing abstractness of the semantics of ἀμέλει due to ἀμέλει's increasing intersubjectification.[27] For example, Fedriani (2019) has convincingly shown how the cognitive domains from which Ancient Greek and Latin imperative particles of movement and exchange constrain their pragmatic extensions.[28] Among others, she illustrates how ἄγε from its movement domain ('lead!') receives two metaphorical extensions to the action domain, one to the physical and one to the linguistic action domain (> 'come on'). To illustrate, in extension one ἄγε starts to be used asyndetically with imperatives and adhortative subjunctives designed for "metaphorically pushing the interlocutor into action" (Fedriani 2019: 81). With the second extension, ἄγε is used with questions to push the addressee towards proceeding with linguistic action. In my view, the semantic changes undergone by ἀμέλει reveal a similar cognitively constrained pathway. As imperative ἀμέλει intersubjectifies, it changes its functional orientation from practical to the epistemic worries of the addressee, from meaning 'proceed due to absence of practical constraints' to 'proceed epistemically (i.e., agree to incorporate the proposition in common ground) due to absence of epistemic worries'. Its evolution can be schematized as in Table 4.

4.   Morphosyntactic changes: Grammaticalization, intersubjectification and language change

This section treats the morphosyntactic changes which ἀμέλει displays diachronically: ossification of form, decategorialization, layering, syntactic irrelevance and increase in positional mobility. An important theoretical question to be considered throughout is whether to attribute the change to the intersubjectification or grammaticalization of ἀμέλει or to something else entirely.

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27. In grammaticalization, the role of persistence is most commonly explained as follows: "when a form undergoes grammaticalization from a lexical to a grammatical item, some traces of its original lexical meanings tend to adhere to it, and details of its lexical history may be reflected in constraints on its grammatical distribution" (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 96; Hopper 1991: 22–4).

28. Fedriani (2019: 71) bases her approach on the axiom that systematic processes of functional enrichment largely depend on humanly embodied imaginative mechanisms.

Table 4. ἀμέλει's cognitively constrained pathway

Usage	ἀμέλει1	ἀμέλει2	ἀμέλει3	ἀμέλει4
Cognitive domain	No practical worries	No practical worries	No epistemic worries (as expected)	No epistemic worries (as *supposedly* expected)
Pragmatic domain	Independent of requests	Response to requests	Response to questions and independent of questions	Independent of questions
Intersubjectivity	Responsive intersubjective (promoting discourse continuity)	Responsive intersubjective (promoting discourse continuity)	Creates intersubjective agreement	Assumes intersubjective agreement

The following example betrays the signs of ossification for ἀμέλει (cf. Traugott 1995: 2; Zakowski 2018: 61–62)

(19)   ἰδοὺ θεᾶσθε, τὸ μὲν ἐπίξηνον τοδί,
       ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ ὁ λέξων οὑτοσὶ τυννουτοσί.
       ἀμέλει μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐκ ἐνασπιδώσομαι
       λέξω δ' ὑπὲρ Λακεδαιμονίων ἁμοὶ δοκεῖ.   (Ar. *Ach.* 366–369)
       'Well look and see, here's the butcher's block, and here's the man who's ready to
       make a speech, such as he is. Don't worry, by Zeus I won't shield myself, but I
       will speak in defence of the Spartans just what I think.'

Even though ἀμέλει is directed at the whole choir, as indicated by θεᾶσθε, it is still in the singular. One can compare it with the grammaticalized use of ἰδοὺ which is also undergoing ossification and is even found right next to a plural imperative of the same domain of perception.[29] However, I could only find one instance of an ossified imperatival usage of ἀμέλει, whereas several have been adduced for the other grammaticalized imperatives (e.g. Zakowski 2018: 62). Still, the early find of this ossified form already in Classical Greek corresponds well with the early semantic changes which ἀμέλει already underwent in Classical Greek. In addition to being used as a singular, ἀμέλει decategorializes[30] early on because, as mentioned above, it is only very infrequently used with a complement specifying the object of worry (=ἀμέλει1): once in Classical Greek and 3 times in

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29. Cf. Bailey (2009) and Julia (2018).

30. Company Company (2006: 100).

middle Post-Classical Greek (X. *Mem.* 7.9.6, NT 1 Ep.Ti. 4.14.1, J. *Ap.* 2.152.1 and P.mil.vogl.2.51.10.). Also, only ἀμέλει1 can still be modified by a negation, whereas its subsequent evolved usages no longer can be. This is in line with its decategorialization. Thus, we find ἀμέλει in a decategorialized state already in Classical Greek, since ἀμέλει is absent from our earlier Archaic Greek evidence (i.e., Homer, Hesiod and archaic lyric). These formal changes are changes typical of grammaticalization (Hopper & Traugott 2003:106–116) and, as it were, entrench ἀμέλει's loose intersubjective usage in its form.

Another change which has been frequently associated with grammaticalization is the co-existence of newer usage forms with older ones. Within grammaticalization studies this is called layering, as various historical layers continue to occur side by side. For ἀμέλει this meant that ἀμέλει1, for example, still occurs in Post-Classical Greek next to ἀμέλει3. Contrast the following two examples from middle Post-Classical Greek:

(20) μὴ <u>ἀμέλει</u> τοῦ ἐν σοὶ χαρίσματος, ὃ ἐδόθη σοι διὰ προφητείας μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως
      <u>τῶν χειρῶν</u> τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου.   (NT 1 *Ep.Ti.* 4.14.1)

      '<u>Do not neglect</u> the gift in you, which was given to you through prophecy with the laying on of the hands of the elderhood.'   (my translation)

(21) <καὶ> Ἀννίβας φοβερὸς μὲν καὶ δεινὸς ἐνέκειτο<Ῥωμαίοις>, ὥσπερ <u>ἀμέλει</u>
      Λακεδαιμόνιοι τότε Θηβαίοις·   (Plu. *Comp. Pel.Marc.*1.4)

      'Hannibal was fearful and terrible for the Romans, as, of course, the Lacedaemonians were in the time of Pelopidas for the Thebans.'

However, this change is not just characteristic of grammaticalization, since it concerns semantic and functional polysemy, which is a ubiquitous feature of language change (Traugott & Dasher 2005:11–16) that actually seems to aid processing (Rodd, Gaskell & Marslen-Wilson 2002).

Another consequence of the development of imperatival ἀμέλει (=ἀμέλει1+ἀμέλει2) into a procedural particle (=ἀμέλει3+ἀμέλει4) is that it becomes syntactically irrelevant to the argument structure of the sentence. As mentioned above with example (18), leaving out ἀμέλει would change neither the syntax nor the semantics of the sentence, but would change the pragmatics of the sentence. In other words, the sentence still means that Alcibiades can be tempted to pleasure, but the pragmatic signal that this fact is easily to be incorporated in the addressee's assumptions is lost.

The last change that ἀμέλει undergoes is that it strongly increases its positional mobility diachronically. See Figure 1 below for the diachronic data which support the increase in positional mobility. The positions are defined relative to second position, Wackernagel's position, where enclitics (both particles and pro-

nouns) that depend prosodically on the first lexically independent item of the clause are found.[31] The abbreviations are as follows: RESP=responsively intersubjective, AGRE=agreement (seeking and assuming), CG=Classical Greek, EPCG=Early Post-Classical Greek, MPCG=Middle Post-Classical Greek.
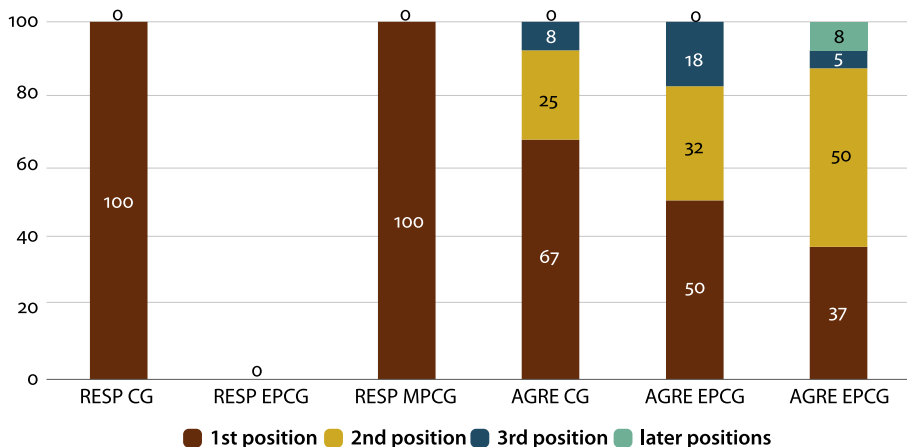

Figure 1. Diachronic positional mobility

Blomqvist (1969: 128) remarked, without explanation, that imperative ἀμέλει is generally found in the first position of the sentence and that pragmatic marker ἀμέλει is found early in the sentence but not necessarily in the first place. I argue that the diachronic trend of ἀμέλει losing its preference of first position is best explained as an increase in positional mobility which procedural items such as discourse markers obtain due to their category change. The procedural uses of ἀμέλει, ἀμέλει3 and ἀμέλει4 (AGRE in Figure 1), are increasingly found in second and later positions as opposed to the responsively intersubjective uses of ἀμέλει (RESP in Figure 1), ἀμέλει1 and ἀμέλει2, which stay in first position. Since agreement (seeking and creating) ἀμέλει is semantically superfluous to the argument structure of the clause, it occupies positions in the clause where other semantically peripheral items occur as well, such as pragmatic particles (γάρ 'for', μέντοι 'actually', οὖν 'well/so' etc.) and metalinguistic parentheticals such as οἴομαι 'I think' in

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31. As Goldstein (2014) illustrates, there are still many open questions when it comes to second position in Ancient Greek: (i) first position could be defined as the first prosodically or lexically independent item, (ii) depending on the syntactic unit a sentence may have several second positions, and (iii) the analysis of clitic chains is still controversial.

second and third position.[32] It would be harder to ascribe this increased positional mobility to grammaticalization, since fixation of word order is generally deemed an effect of grammaticalization.[33]

It would be tempting to ascribe ἀμέλει's diachronic increase in positional mobility in some way to intersubjectification, since the link between intersubjectification and a move to clause periphery is currently heavily discussed by those working on intersubjectivity (see especially Traugott 2014). However, as Traugott (2014) has demonstrated, the alleged link between left periphery and subjective markers and right periphery and intersubjective markers is not a very strict one, since intersubjective markers can occur in both peripheries. Moreover, linking word classes with specific positions is a more complex enterprise in Ancient Greek than in modern languages with a stricter word order such as English, since a particle's function does not directly correlate with its position in Ancient Greek.[34] After all, second position hosts not only discourse particles, but also pronominal clitics and word-level clitics (See Goldstein 2014:509–510 and with more elaboration 2016:85–118). Alternatively, one might suggest that the distinct diachronic increase in preference for the second position might be due to phonological attrition, since second position hosts the prosodic weaklings.[35] However, (i) there are too few descriptive generalizations available on the particles, their functions and corresponding sentence positions[36] and (ii) changes in the word order of Post-Classical Greek (see Horrocks 2007) would render descriptive generalizations from Classical Greek unusable for Post-Classical Greek. In conclusion, the absence of descriptive generalizations of position and word class make it too hazardous to securely ascribe ἀμέλει's diachronic increase in positional mobility to its intersubjectification for now. Given comparable positional prefer-

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32. See Revuelta Puigdollers (2017:21–23) who discusses their grammaticalization and its reflection in the word order and also Schwyzer and Debrunner (1950:583) who already note the correlation between evolution and sentence position for ἄγε.

33. See Hopper and Traugott (2003:52–63). For some points of criticism, see Say (2004) on Lithuanian, which has a rather free word order, as Ancient Greek did. Also, see Dryer (2019) who suggests that grammaticalization is not the only motor behind word order correlations.

34. See Thijs (2017:105) who contrasts the uses of the Dutch particle *toch*, whose sentential distribution is neatly dependent on its function, with Classical Greek μήν *mēn*, whose function does not directly correlate with its position. Consequently, I find unconvincing the suggestion by Zakowski (2018:64) that the predilection of the particles φέρε, ἄγε, ἴθι to first position is due to their fixation as pragmatic marker similar to modern language particles (e.g., English *well*). Equating first position correlations of languages with such different word orders is simply too hazardous.

35. For such an observation on Homeric Greek ἄγε, cf. Zakowski (2018:64–67).

36. See however Goutsos (2017:132–144) on this issue in Modern Greek.

ences of other procedural markers it is likely that ἀμέλει's diachronic increase in positional mobility is at least a side-effect of its increased use as a procedural particle. Still, a way to make a more confident judgment of the role of intersubjectification would be to contrast the positional evidence with the other imperative particles, taking into account the possible role of intersubjectification for them. φέρε, ἄγε, ἴθι are more limited in positional mobility than ἀμέλει and prefer the first position, cf. Zakowski (2018: 64), which would suggest that the increased positional mobility of ἀμέλει *can* in fact be attributed to intersubjectification.

5.   The interdependence of intersubjectification, grammaticalization and category change

This section details the conclusions relevant for historical linguistics in general, which we could draw from the diachronic evidence of ἀμέλει, especially with regard to intersubjectification, grammaticalization and, more broadly, category change.

First of all, the diachronic evidence from ἀμέλει underlines the point that intersubjectification can occur without subjectification first having taken place. ἀμέλει increased its intersubjective value over time, but did not subjectify beforehand. In this way ἀμέλει provides empirical support for voices in the literature on intersubjectification who say that the relative order of subjectification and intersubjectification should be an empirical matter (see van Olmen 2010: 240–241 and Narrog 2017: 40, contra Traugott 2003: 134). Furthermore, the diachronic evidence from ἀμέλει confirms that intersubjectification goes hand in hand not only with grammaticalization but also with changes that cannot be easily accounted for within either intersubjectification or grammaticalization, such as the diachronic increase of positional mobility.

Second, the diachronic evidence from ἀμέλει provides a welcome test-case for finding much needed structural correlates of intersubjectification. We found that the main changes that could be attributed to intersubjectification were semantic and co(n)textual, since the intersubjectification of ἀμέλει can be witnessed from its changes in cognitive domain (from no practical to no epistemic worries), pragmatic domain (from resolving worries responsively to independently assuming resolved worries) and in contextual conditions (creating intersubjective alignment in common ground vs assuming it). The role of co(n)textual factors could prove especially illuminating for further studies of intersubjectification, since, as van Olmen (2010) has shown, contextual factors allow us to not only distinguish uses but also successfully compare imperative particles across languages which on the surface seem very similar but actually differ in co(n)textual characteristics. As

I suggest in §6 below, these co(n)textual factors also facilitate intra-linguistic comparison.

Finally, we thus see a mixed division of labour when it comes to the category change of imperative particles. Morphosyntactic correlates of the category change of ἀμέλει were caused by grammaticalization, as witnessed by, for example, ossification and decategorialization, whereas changes due to intersubjectification can be tracked both in the changing semantics and contextual specificities of the imperative particle. These processes are supplemented by changes which seem related but prove difficult to subsume under them. These findings would suggest that imperative particles that change category are variously affected by intersubjectification and grammaticalization. Therefore, in the next section I discuss contrastive evidence from the category change of imperative particles intra-linguistically to provide further insights into this complex division of labour.

6. Contrastive evidence from the category change of Ancient Greek imperative particles

As shown in Table 5, the category change of Ancient Greek imperatives from directive imperative to pragmatic marker seems to display rather uniform semantic and morphosyntactic changes.

Table 5. Comparing grammaticalized Ancient Greek imperatives

Imperative particle	ἀμέλει	ἄγε	ἴθι	φέρε	εἰπέ μοι	ἰδού
Verbal domain	Psychology	Movement	Movement	Exchange	Communication	Perception
Procedural meaning	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Persistence	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Ossification	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Decategorialization	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Divergence	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Syntactic add-on	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Positional mobility	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

However, there are also significant individual differences. First of all, the starting time of evolution obviously differs per imperative particle, with the result that

Classical and Post-Classical Greek imperative particles are in different stages of their change. Second, their developments have not been investigated in all stages of Ancient Greek, even though a fuller coverage would provide a more comprehensive view of their category change. Third and most importantly, there are individual differences in how affected the imperative particles are by either intersubjectification or grammaticalization. For example, as we have seen above, only one example could be adduced for the ossification of ἀμέλει, whereas several are available for highly grammaticalized markers such as ἄγε. A systematic corpus-based account could potentially reveal additional factors relevant to the category change of imperatives, for example distributional changes as discussed for ἀμέλει. Also, there are distinct differences in the intersubjectivity that the imperative particles come to encode.[37] For example, using counterexamples that are impolite, Zakowski (2018: 74–78) corrected the earlier idea by Fedriani and Ghezzi (2014: 123) that the intersubjective function of φέρε and ἄγε is mitigation, and suggested analysing them as conversational boosters (from within Relevance Theory) instead. A more satisfying answer to this issue could be given if one distinguishes between different types of intersubjectivity (as I did above for ἀμέλει), since that would make it possible to distinguish more intersubjective functions than just a politeness one.[38] Further, this methodology would force the analyst to determine the diachronic relation between the different intersubjective uses, which would be a welcome contribution to the study of intersubjective markers in general.

Moreover, there is also a diachronic trend in the category change of imperatives which is not readily observable in Table 5. The trend which cannot be observed there is the cognitively constrained pathways that the imperatives take. As discussed for ἀμέλει at the end of §3, its procedural use as *no epistemic worries* is constrained by its source use in the psychological domain of no worries. These domains are semantically related. Thus, the characteristics of the source use of grammaticalizing imperatives are not fully bleached away in the procedural use, as can be observed by the conceptual or metaphorical link (with Fedriani 2019) between the source use and its domain and the new procedural use and its domain.

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37. Also, there are imperative particles which start serving pragmatic functions in different domains, for example information-structural purposes as done by presentative ἰδού, see Bailey (2009).

38. For example Ghesquière, Brems and Van de Velde (2014) propose such a graded approach to intersubjectivity. Fedriani (2019: 72) signals that the literature on the evolution of such procedural markers would benefit from clearer differentiation of discourse oriented markers (discourse markers) and (inter)subjective markers (pragmatic markers). The adoption of a graded approach to intersubjectivity could go a long way in disentangling the functional differentiation of (imperative) particles and their diachrony.

Table 6. Cognitive evolutionary constraints on grammaticalized imperatives

Form	Imperative	Verbal source domain	Pragmatic marker	Procedural domain
ἀμέλει	no worries!	Psychology	of course	Agreement
ἄγε	lead!	Movement	come on	Continuation
ἴθι	go!	Movement	come on	Continuation
φέρε	bring!	Exchange	come on	Turn-taking
εἰπέ μοι	tell me!	Communication	tell me	Urgency
ἰδού	look!	Perception	hey, look here	Attention

Also, there is contrastive evidence for the co(n)textual change in illocutions observed for ἀμέλει for the other imperative particles as well. Generally, imperative particles receive many illocutionary extensions that go beyond their source use in directives (note the translation of the procedural meanings without directive exclamation mark in Table 6). As shown in Table 7,[39] the imperative particles widen their scope to other non-directive illocutions. A theoretical question sparked by these findings is whether we should attribute these scope extensions to intersubjectification as was done for ἀμέλει, to another process or to a combination of factors involved in the category change of imperative particles.

Table 7. The illocutionary extensions of imperative particles

		Illocutionary extensions		
Imperative particle	Procedural domain	Directive[a]	Declarative	Interrogative
ἀμέλει 'of course'	Agreement	+	+	−
ἄγε 'come on'	Continuation	+	+	+
ἴθι 'come on'	Continuation	+	+	+
φέρε 'come on'	Turn-taking	+	+	+
εἰπέ μοι 'tell me'	Urgency	+	−	+
ἰδού 'hey, look here'	Attention	+	+	+

a. Note that this category includes the hortatives with which especially the imperative particles of movement occur, cf. Zakowski (2018: 80).

Finally, there are two restrictions in Table 7 which warrant explanation: the absence of interrogative illocutions with ἀμέλει and declarative illocutions with εἰπέ μοι. These restrictions can be explained pragmatically, since interrogatives presuppose disagreement and declaratives are the functional mirror image of εἰπέ μοι.

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39. The data stems from Zakowski (2014, 2018: 80) and searches in the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae to check for remaining combinations.

7.   Conclusions

Using diachronic evidence from the category change of the Ancient Greek imperative particles (esp. ἀμέλει 'don't worry' > 'of course'), this paper has provided several insights into the complex interdependencies between intersubjectification, grammaticalization and processes of language change in general. Not only could we demonstrate that intersubjectification occurred without subjectification (cf. van Olmen 2010: 240–241 and Narrog 2017: 40; *pace* Traugott 2003: 134), but also that intersubjectification involves changes in the cognitive domain (from no practical to no epistemic worries), the pragmatic domain (from resolving worries responsively to independently assuming resolved worries) and, innovatively, in contextual conditions (from creating intersubjective alignment in common ground to assuming it). Morpho-syntactically Ancient Greek imperative particles display signs of grammaticalization such as ossification, and general effects of language change such as polysemy. Importantly, when contrasting the diachronic evidence from ἀμέλει to other imperative particles, the relevance of context change is observed across the board, as all imperative particles expand their usage to declarative and interrogative illocutions. This would suggest that contextual changes both in the pragmatic domain and in contextual usage conditions (i.e., common ground differences) are of diachronic relevance to the category change of Ancient Greek imperative particles. Also, these contextual characteristics would allow better intra-linguistic and cross-linguistic comparison of imperative particles which evolve in a superficially similar way but are actually shaped by various diachronic processes (cf. Cristofaro 2019).

This study allows for many further research opportunities, both in the field of Ancient Greek linguistics and general linguistics. As mentioned above, corpus-based analyses of grammaticalized imperatives in all periods of Ancient Greek are still a desideratum and would benefit from a holistic diachronic perspective such as the one adopted here. A relevant parameter to investigate further would be the increase in positional mobility, a factor which probably differs in relevance per imperative particle. Also, using a graded approach to intersubjectivity may solve definitional disputes about classifying intersubjective usages of imperative particles. Furthermore, cross-linguistic analyses of the category change of imperatives that take into account the role of context change (both in pragmatic domain and contextual usage conditions) could help distinguish pragmatic markers which look similar superficially but function differently in context.

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Resumé

D'après des indications diachroniques offertes par le changement catégoriel de l'impératif du grec ancien ἀμέλει et d'autres particules impératives (ἄγε, ἴθι, φέρε, εἰπέ μοι et ἰδού), ce travail traite de l'interdépendance diachronique de l'intersubjectification, la grammaticalisation et le changement linguistique en général. En premier lieu, le processus d'intersubjectification subi par ἀμέλει confirmera que l'intersubjectification peut se produire sans subjectification (*pace* Traugott 2003:134). Ensuite, nous décrirons en détail l'intersubjectification de ἀμέλει à partir d'évolutions sur les plans cognitif (pas de soucis pratiques > pas de soucis épistémiques), pragmatique (résoudre activement > supposer les soucis résolus de manière indépendante) et contextuel (créer un alignement intersubjectif > supposer un tel alignement). Par après, nous identifierons et distinguerons les différentes origines diachroniques des évolutions dont témoigne ἀμέλει. Enfin, nous appuyant sur une comparaison avec des changements catégoriels

parallèles impliquant d'autres particules impératives du grec ancien, nous démontrerons que, bien que certines particules impératives puissent être sujettes à des développements structurels par divers processus de grammaticalisation, toutes montrent des signes de changements contextuels (comme le prouvent les extensions illocutoires à des illocutions déclaratives et interrogatives).

Zusamenfassung

Unter Verwendung diachroner Belege für den Kategorienwandel des altgriechischen Imperativs ἀμέλει (mach dir keine Sorge > selbstverständlich) und ähnlicher imperativer Partikeln (ἄγε, ἴθι, φέρε, εἰπέ μοι und ἰδού) untersuche ich die diachrone Interdependenz von Intersubjektivierung, Grammatikalisierung und Sprachwandel im Allgemeinen. Erstens bestätigt die Intersubjektivierung von ἀμέλει, dass Intersubjektivierung ohne Subjektivierung erfolgen kann (*pace* Traugott 2003: 134). Zweitens erläutere ich die Intersubjektivierung von ἀμέλει mit Änderungen der kognitiven Domäne (keine praktischen > keine epistemischen Sorgen), der pragmatischen Domäne (reaktionsschnelle Lösung > unabhängige Annahme gelöster Sorgen) und der Kontextbedingungen (Schaffung einer intersubjektiven Ausrichtung > Annahme). Drittens unterscheide ich die verschiedenen diachronen Ursprünge von Veränderungen, die ἀμέλει beeinflusst haben. Schließlich argumentiere ich unter Verwendung kontrastiver Belege aus parallelen Kategorienveränderungen von altgriechischen Imperativpartikeln dafür, dass Imperativpartikel zwar durch strukturelle Grammatikalisierungsprozesse unterschiedlich beeinflusst werden können, aber alle Anzeichen einer Kontextänderung aufweisen (wie illokutionäre Erweiterungen des Auftretens mit deklarativen und interrogativen Illokutionen zeigen).

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