Evert van Emde Boas, Albert Rijksbaron, Luuk Huitink, Mathieu de Bakker, *The Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019, xlii+811 pp., £29.99, ISBN 978-0-521-12792-5.[1]

Originally conceived as a concise grammar (in fact, the first C stands for *concise*), *The Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek* (henceforth, *CGCG*), is a bulky work, of more than 800 pages, grown "from a dissatisfaction with existing teaching materials in English". This long 10-year process has resulted in a comprehensive grammar of Classical Greek, especially aimed at native speakers of English; mainly, university students of all levels and teachers. Although the volume deals only with Classical Greek, as its title indicates, it includes a chapter on Ionic prose (Herodotus) and some dialectal features of drama. However, there is no reference to Homer and archaic lyric or *koine*, as well as to diachronic and dialectological approaches (except for chapter 25), because, as the authors themselves state, these contents are easily found on specialised publications and would have increased the size and complexity of the book

On the whole, *CGCG* offers an eclectic and traditional description of the grammar of Classical Greek at all levels. It should be noticed, however, that the section on syntax gives more modern approaches, and especially the final section on textual coherence, where particles and word order are described, stands out above the rest for being the most innovative one. They all are, furthermore, devised a clear descriptive and pedagogical tone due to the audience the book is addressed to. This didactic approach can be seen, on the one hand, in the tables and overviews provided, and on the other, in the examples, extracted from a wide array of literary sources and always followed by their English translation, used to illustrate the different phenomena dealt with in each section. The plentiful cross-references throughout the grammar are also quite helpful for readers since they enhance the interrelationship of its parts, thus avoiding unnecessary repetitions.

In addition, *CGCG* has a very friendly layout, although its table of contents take up 25 pages. It is divided in three parts: Part I: Phonology and Morphology, chapters 1-25 covering 304 pages; Part II: Syntax, chapters 26-57 (350 pages); Part III: Textual coherence, chapters 58-61 (almost 100 pages). In all of them large and small types of font are used: the former kind to present the main features being treated, and the latter to provide additional information in the sections called "Further considerations".

1 I sincerely thank my colleague Dr. Beatriz Rodríguez Arrizabalaga for the correction of the English version of this review.

Afterwards, a concise bibliography section (6 pages), thematically organised in seven parts, follows: I Encyclopedias and Companions; II Online sources; III General Works on Language and Linguistics; IV Historical Linguistics (Indo-European, Greek Historical Grammar, Etymology) and Greek Dialectology; V Greek: Full Reference Grammars; VI Greek: Phonology, Morphology, Accentuation, Word Formation; VII Greek Syntax, Semantics, Pragmatics, Discourse. It includes a selection, not only of the most important books and articles, but also of online sources, up to 2016. The book finally ends with three useful indexes, devoted, respectively, to examples, subjects, and words.

The first section begins with a chapter about the signs and sounds of Classical Greek, which opens with the alphabet, a brief historical overview from its Phoenician origins and its pronunciation in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Additionally, an approximation of the classical pronunciation is given in English and in another modern language (Italian, French or German). The following chapter – "Historical Developments" – tackles certain historical developments in the Greek language before the Classical period and explains concepts such as Ablaut (vowel gradation), essential for nominal and verbal morphology. However, and rightly so from our point of view, the laryngeals are not treated, and the authors refer to the specialised bibliography for their study. After an introduction to nominal forms, where the basic categories, stems and endings are described, the different grammatical categories are dealt with, on the basis of their morphological features: article, nouns, adjectives and participles, adverbs, pronouns, numerals and the dual nominal forms. In sum, by means of the tables and overviews of forms, declensions, and paradigms that pervade the whole section, the book offers a very clear and didactic presentation of the contents dealt with.

The section focused on the verb opens with an introduction and a chart that summarizes the Greek verbal system, which is very useful for students because it makes its understanding easy and quick. The verbal categories are classified and described depending on the categories pertaining to all verb forms (tense-aspect and voice), categories pertaining only to finite verb forms (person, number and mood), and categories pertaining to non-finite verb forms. The categories are illustrated by examples, morphologically analysed and translated into English. Something very helpful for students in this section is the application of the thematic/athematic criterion to verbal forms, and not just to verbs, since a verb, like δείκνυμι, for example, can have thematic and athematic conjugations. Furthermore, all subjunctive forms are thematic because they are characterised by a long thematic vowel. This distinction between thematic/athematic forms is particularly fruitful in the present and the aorist stems.

Chapters 12 to 20 describe present-, aorist-, future- and perfect-stems; they always include a very practical "overview of forms" with the paradigms, the endings and suffixes/infixes, when applicable, and a brief description of

the different stem formations. The clarity and didactic tone that is present throughout the work is especially noticeable in these chapters, where simpler, yet more accurate, explanations of morphological phenomena are offered. The thematic present stem is a good example in this regard since it is divided in "unelaborated present stems" or presents without elaborations, and "present stems with elaborations"; whereas most of the first ones are described as "primitive" due to their similarity with the verbal root they come from, the second ones are created by means of the suffixes *–yod* and *–(ι)σκ-*, the nasal infix, and i- reduplication. The section on the aorist (chapters 13-14, pp. 147-79) describes, succinctly and clearly, three types of aorist (active and middle) stems: the sigmatic aorist (with a phonetic explanation of the -σᾰ suffix, important to understand why this ᾰ is absent in some forms, e.g. third person singular indicative, ἐπαίδευσε), and the thematic aorist and root aorist divided, in turn, in thematic and athematic aorists. This description is more accurate than the traditionally one offered, for example in Smyth's *A Greek Grammar for colleges (*N. York: American Book Company, 1920), which differentiates between first and second aorists. Chapter 22, "Principal parts", despite its misleading title, is a recapitulation of the previous pages on the verb which offers very interesting material for consultation: an alphabetical list of the main verbs (191 verbs) including verb-, present-, aorist-, future- and perfect-stems, as well as a section referred to as "particulars", where phonetic and morphological considerations, dialect, poetry and epic forms and internal references find their place.

The last sections on morphology are about Word formation (chapter 23), Accentuation (chapter 24) and Dialects (chapter 25). In our view, these pages should have been placed earlier, because their contents are previous to nominal and verbal morphology. The chapter on word formation focuses on noun and adjective formation, mainly by derivation, with English examples. An alphabetical list of derivational suffixes (pp. 262-9) with the types of nouns they form and examples closes this section. Having in mind the literary genres and authors most read and translated by the intended readership of the book in colleges and universities, chapter 25 consists of an overview of Greek spoken and literary dialects (Ionic literary prose and the Doric dialect of choral lyric).

The second part of the book, devoted to Syntax, begins with an introduction to the simple sentence (chapter 26), illustrated with examples mostly taken from Xenophon's *Anabasis* (complex sentences are dealt with from chapter 39 onwards). Afterwards, a description of the sentence core constituents follows: subject, predicate and its obligatory constituents. The section on the linking verb (copulative/copular verb or copula) seems quite daring for us, because it not only includes the canonical copulative verbs, but also some transitive verbs like νομίζω, ποιέω, ἡγέομαι, αἱρέομαι, that "link" an object and a nominal or adjectival predicative complement. Since both constituents are encoded in the accusative case, the traditional grammar categorisation of these patterns

as structures of "double accusative verbs", or even the one provided by Quirk et. alii (*A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Pearson Longman, 1985), in which they are classified as "complex transitive" clause types, would have been more clarifying.

Under the label of "Optional constituents" the following categories are described: adverbial modifiers, noun phrases (consisting of at least a head and various kinds of modifiers added to the head), predicative modifiers (the ones which function at the same time as adverbial modifiers and modifiers of the head of a noun phrase) and, remarkably, also the so called "circumstantial" participles. This chapter ends with a section named "Elements interrupting or outside the syntax of the sentence", which deals with parenthetic expressions, as interrupting elements, and vocatives, exclamations, interjections, among others, as "outside" elements.

After a chapter on Agreement, which, in our opinion, should have been placed earlier, three chapters on the article, pronouns and quantifiers and cases follow. Apart from its clarity, the section on the different uses of the article differs from other grammars in that, instead of presenting its pronominal use in the first place, it relegates this use to the end, thus not paying attention to its diachronic evolution. The different noun cases, except for the vocative, are described according to their uses in relation to obligatory and optional constituents. The chapter on cases closes with a section entitled "Cases and the expression of time and space", very didactic in its tone, which summarises by means of illustrative figures the different meanings of the accusative, genitive and dative cases (pp. 381-2). "Proper" and "improper" prepositions are, in turn, alphabetically listed and accounted for in chapter 31. The table concerning "proper" prepositions presents their meanings (spatial, temporal and abstract/metaphoric) in its horizontal axis and the cases they can go with, together with examples and their translations (pp. 385-95), in the vertical axis. In contrast, the list of "improper prepositions", besides being obviously shorter, does not include any examples.

After a chapter on comparison, the syntactic behaviour of the verb is extensively dealt with (from chapter 33 onwards). The first categories accounted for, through the explanation of some basic notions and terminology, are those of tense and aspect. The part devoted to the aspectual category explains the differences between grammatical (complete/incomplete) and lexical aspect (telic/atelic), which, being dependent on the context, is, in contrast to the former, inherent to the verb meaning and has to do with the objective properties of the action encoded in the sentence.

The basic values of the indicative (present, imperfect, aorist, perfect, pluperfect, future and future perfect) are overviewed, both in narrative and non-narrative texts (pp. 412-31). As explained, readers get to know that their interpretation depends on the interaction between tense and grammatical aspect. This section ends with the uses and alternation of tenses in narrative

texts, where their specific roles, as well as the expression of relative tense by tense-aspect stem forms, are explained. Special emphasis is given to the texts used as examples.

Afterwards, the categories of mood (pp. 438-46) and voice (pp. 447-64) are dealt with. Mood is explained on the basis of its use in main clauses and in various types of subordinate clauses. Whereas a very clear characterisation of the meanings of the different moods used in main clauses is presented in this section by means of a useful summary table, especially for students, the description of the moods that appear in subordinate sentences is delayed until pages 495 ff., where this kind of clauses is described.

The category of voice, correctly defined as the "different ways in which the subject of a verb form is affected by the action" (p. 447), comes afterwards. Therefore, a distinction between the active and middle-passive voice is made: while the former does not say anything about the affectedness of the subject, thus being considered semantically neutral, the latter expresses that the subject is affected in some way by the verbal action. The classification of verbs in this section is noteworthy since, instead of being presented, as usually done, as transitive and intransitive verbs, they are distinguished on the basis of their (im)possibility of taking an object in the accusative case or a complement, in turn, in the genitive or dative cases. This is so because only the first kind, as a general rule, may occur in the passive voice. As a consequence, this section pays special attention to the middle-passive voice; specifically, its different meanings are described, together with those of different kinds of verbs: those which denote a change of state or position, mental verbs, and verbs which only have the middle or the passive voice. Like other chapters, this one ends with an overview of the middle-passive meanings, as well as of the forms of important verbal classes, which serves as a summary of the previous pages. The contents on the verb conclude with a chapter on impersonal constructions, where two classes of verbs are differentiated: 'quasi-impersonal' verbs that, like δεῖ and πρόδηλόν ἐστιν, for example, have an infinitive or subordinate clause functioning as subject, and 'proper' impersonal verbs, like weather verbs, which, in contrast, have no subject at all; verbal adjectives ending in -τέος, -τέα, -τέον and -τός are also treated in this section.

The next part of *CGCG* deals with the syntax of the sentence. It opens with a very interesting introduction about its communicative functions and their correlation with the sentence types. To show that one single sentence type may perform different communicative functions, three examples of the same interrogative sentence are provided. Similarly, examples with different linguistic forms are offered to illustrate that they may have similar communicative functions; in particular, instances with different tense-aspect stems of λέγω are exemplified to prove that they may serve as requests or commands. After the introduction, constructions used in questions, directives (commands, requests, exhortations, etc.), wishes and exclamations are examined.

Afterwards, the complex sentence is accounted for. Its explanation starts with the traditional division between coordination (parataxis) and subordination (hypotaxis). Here, three main types of subordinate constructions are defined on the basis of the form of the subordinate verb: infinitive, participle and finite subordinate clauses. Although the internal reference system of the book and the approach chosen seem very appropriate from a didactic point of view, we find a problem in this classification of subordinate sentences, which could have been avoided by cataloguing them according to their function and meaning, since declarative constructions are described in relation to three different kind of sentences, depending on their relation with their matrix verb: namely, finite, infinitive and participle clauses.

Finite subordinate clauses are the first ones to be described. As an introduction, chapter 40 begins with the types of subordinators which introduce finite subordinate clauses: conjunctions; relative pronouns, relative adjectives and relative adverbs; and finally, interrogative pronouns and indefinite relative pronouns. Afterwards, it moves on to the functions and types of finite subordinate clauses, thus distinguishing, on the basis of their syntactic function, among complement, adverbial and relative clauses. While complement clauses perform the role of obligatory constituents (subject or object), adverbial ones function as optional constituents to the matrix predicate. And, finally, the uses of moods, ἄν and the oblique optative are focused on.

The following chapters describe the different types of finite subordinate clauses. Complement clauses are dealt with from chapter 41 to 44 (indirect statements, indirect questions and indirect exclamations, fear clauses and effort clauses). The first ones to be described are indirect statements. Under this label not only the finite subordinate clauses which function as obligatory constituents of reported speech verbs are included, but also those that complement verbs of knowledge (e.g. οἶδα), perception (e.g. αἰσθάνομαι, ἀκούω, ὁράω) and emotion (e.g. χαίρω, ἄχθομαι). Here again, the greatest attention is paid to tense and mood in primary sequences (when the verb in the matrix clause is in a non-past tense) and in historic or secondary sequences (when the verb in the matrix clause is in a past tense).

Chapters 45-49 are devoted, in turn, to different kinds of adverbial clauses: purpose, result, temporal, causal and conditional clauses. They all follow a very similar structure which includes a general introduction and the ways how these sentences are constructed. Here, special attention is paid to subordinators and the possible uses of moods and tenses in them. Relative clauses are the last type of finite subordinate clauses to be considered (chapter 50).

Infinitive and participle subordinate constructions are next described. As regards the infinitive without article, the semantic and functional distinction between dynamic and declarative that goes back to H. Kurzová (*Zur syntaktischen Struktur des Griechischen /Infinitiv und Nebensatz/*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1968) is followed, in the same way as in A.

Rijksbaron (*The Syntax and Semantics of the Verb in Classical Greek,* Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1984). The description of both types of infinitives, always illustrated with examples, maintains a parallel pattern: the classes of verbs which require a dynamic/declarative infinitive as complement, the expression of dynamic/declarative infinitive subjects, the negation of dynamic/declarative infinitives and their tense and aspect.

In a similar vein, the description of the uses of participles (pp. 606-35) moves away from traditional grammar. The detailed description of all the uses of the three different kinds of participles identified (supplementary, circumstantial and attributive/substantial) follows the same pattern. Though supplementary and circumstantial occur in predicative position, the former are used as obligatory constituents; however, the latter, which can express a circumstance, cause, purpose, motivation, depending on the context and the possible adverbs or particles that may occur with them, are added to clauses as optional constituents in agreement with the constituent they refer to (connected use); on some occasions, however, they are added to the clause with their own subject; under this last circumstance, both elements are in the genitive cause (the so-called genitive absolute construction). Finally, attributive or substantial participles, normally preceded by an article, are used either in noun phrases as modifiers (attributive use) or as heads of a phrase (substantival use); it is under this heading that the periphrastic uses of the participle are dealt with.

The section on complex sentences closes with some overviews: a list of the most important semantic classes of verbs, their meaning and the type of complement – infinitive, participle or clause – they take; a thematically organised list of adverbial and adjectival subordinate clauses, where special emphasis is given to the moods and tenses common in both matrix and subordinate clauses; a list of the use of different moods in main and subordinate clauses; the uses of ἄν in independent sentences, as well as in finite, infinitive and participle subordinate clauses; some general points concerning οὐ and μή, together with their use in independent, subordinate clauses, with infinitives and participles; and finally, the uses of ὡς as a conjunction, an adverb and a preposition

The last section of the book has also an innovative approach. It deals with textual coherence, since the focus changes from sentences to texts. The first pages explain, through English examples, what textual coherence is and how the relationship between text segments, as well as the interaction between speaker, addressee and text, work. Afterwards, the different coherence devices (pronouns, tenses, particles and word order) are dealt with; since the first two ones have already been treated (chapters 59, pp. 663-701, and 60, pp. 702-21), particles and word order are the focus of the following sections. Particles are characterised and divided in three types: connective (or text-structuring), attitudinal (or interactional) and particles of scope. The particles belonging to each category are alphabetically listed and their basic functions are described

and exemplified (the examples are also explained, as usually in this book). Understanding how particles work in Greek is a quite difficult task, especially for students whose mother tongue has few particles. This grammar offers, therefore, a very clear and didactic treatment of particles, since it describes their basic function in different types of texts (narrative, description, argument, monological and dialogical texts). As a practical and comprehensive exercise, the last chapter of the book (61, pp. 722-48) consists of an in-depth analysis of four passages representing the following types of texts: narrative (Lysias 12.5-12), description (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.5.1-4), argument (Plato, *Gorgias* 484c-485a, also a monologue) and dialogue (Sophocles, *Ajax* 1120-41).

The final chapter on word order (pp. 702-21) is also very interesting and quite original because of its progression. In particular, it shows that, in opposition to English, where word order is fixed (Subject – Verb – Object), in Greek it is not a syntactic phenomenon since in this language word order is clearly dependent on the information status of constituents. At this point, with these assumptions in mind, concepts such as focus, topic and periphery (left and right) are explained and exemplified with very appropriate texts, whose context is also described.

To conclude, as can be seen from the previous pages, this work can be considered a reference grammar of Classical Greek because of its comprehensive character and didactic tone. Despite its length, it can be used as a textbook due to its organisation and its eclectic approach. The examples that mark out all the explanations are also worth highlighting because, besides being translated, they are very often interpreted, making their understanding easier.

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