

The story of pu

The grammaticalisation in space and time of a Modern Greek complementiser

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ΓΕΩΡΓΙΩΙ ΜΠΑΛΟΓΛΟΥ ΧΟΡΗΓΗΣΑΝΤΙ

Οὕτε ζωγράφος δύναται ποσῶς νὰ ἴστορίσῃ,
ἐὰν μὴ βάλῃ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τρίχαν εἰς τὸ κονδύλιν
καὶ κάμνει ἄλλα ὑψηλὰ καὶ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτα·
καὶ ὅσα βούλεται ποεῖν, ὅλα διὰ τὴν τέχνην.

(*Quadr 392–395*)

ABSTRACT

This work is concerned with tracing the historical development of the various functions of the Modern Greek connective *pu*. This connective has a considerable range of functions, and there have been attempts in the literature to group together these functions in a synchronically valid framework. It is my contention that the most illuminating way of regarding the functional diffusion of *pu*—and of any content word—is by looking, not only at one synchronic distribution (that of Standard Modern Greek), but at the full range of synchronic distributions in the sundry diatopic variants (dialects) of Modern Greek, and that such a discussion must be informed by the diachrony of the form.

This I attempt to do within the framework of grammaticalisation theory, whereby the development of grammatical forms is considered in the context of reanalysis and analogical extension of forms. As a diachronicist model, this allows for fluidity between function distinctions, and puts in place a historically-oriented alignment of semantic transitions which a strictly synchronicist account would miss. Work on *pu* has already been done in this framework; however, such work has considered the distribution of *pu* in Standard Greek alone, with only a brief consideration of its ancient antecedents. I contend that the picture formed of its distribution under such constraints leads to several false generalisations.

In order to arrive at a truer picture of the factors determining the development of *pu*, there are three facets that need to be considered in detail:

- (a) its synchronic distribution in Standard Modern Greek, a variant for which extensive corpora and native speaker judgements are readily available;
- (b) its distribution in the various modern dialects—to establish the possible diversification of developments for the particle, and to ensure that one potential pathway is not privileged as a universal tendency at the expense of other, divergent developments (a problem identifiable in treatments of this topic, hitherto looking only at the standard language);
- (c) a detailed investigation of the use of the etymon of the particle—*hópou*—in Ancient Greek. It is one of the major contentions of grammaticalisation theory that the past meaning of a particle influences its subsequent meanings. In order to test the relevance of this principle fully, it is necessary to investigate the functionality of *hópou* not in isolation, but in the context of the entire Ancient Greek grammatical system.

Due to time and scope constraints, I attempt only these first three tasks in this thesis. I do not attempt a detail look at areal diffusion or the mediaeval Greek semantic transitions involved, nor at the use of *pu* in collocation.

DECLARATION

This is to certify that

- (i) *the thesis comprises only my original work,*
- (ii) *due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used,*
- (iii) *the thesis is less than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies, appendices, footnotes, block quotations, captions, and linguistic examples.*

Nick Nicholas.
Melbourne, November 1998.

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Lastly, I acknowledge my indebtedness to the very subject of my study: the generations of those who have spoken Greek and its neighbour languages, in and around Modern Greece. Times change and level; where a high-bred Atticist disdained the vernacular, and a ludicrous and προγονόπληκτη Puristic battled with Demotic, now a colourless televised urban standard is wiping out the remains of the erstwhile linguistic diversity of Greece—Tsakonian and Heptanesian, Arvanitika and Cretan, Aroumin and Pontic, Chiot and Thessalian alike. The diversity of the Modern Greek language, centuries in the moulding, is no more. This dissertation chronicles, at its end days, a little of that diversity; and I salute those who—unwittingly—brought it about.

And then, what though Death's scythe
comes! Earth will have woken
from the deceptive nightmare of life and death—
and in the light above the dark killer
will reap only empty air!
—Nikos Kazantzakis; *Terzinas: To Himself.*

Και τότε πια του Χάρου το δραπάνι
δεν πάει να ’ρθεί! απ’ το βρωχά τον πλάνο
ζωής και χάρου θα ’χει η Γης ξυπνήσει—
κι ο σκοτεινός φονιάς στο φως απάνω
άδειο μονάχα αγέρα θα θερίσει!
—Νίκος Καζαντζάκης *Τερτσίνες: Εις Εαυτόν.*

CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Centuries are given in lowercase roman numerals; thus *xix* AD = nineteenth century. Frequently a vernacular mediaeval text is preserved in manuscripts dating much later than the putative date of authorship. Given the tendency of scribes to modify vernacular texts, the work as given to us may reflect the language situation of its date of copying more faithfully than it does its date of authorship. For that reason, text datings are given in the format (*Date of Authorship/Date of Manuscript*). Where a date occurs at some unknown time between *x* and *y*, it is given as *x~y*; where a text is known to have been written over the period between *x* and *y*, it is given as *x–y*. Thus, the Paris manuscript of the *Chronicle of Morea* can be dated as (1370~1388/xv), while Makriyannis' *Memoirs* are dated as (1829–1851). ~*x* means *around date x*.

Transliteration of Greek over the range of times covered in this work raises several problems. The phonetic change-over between Ancient and Modern Greek took place over an extended period; as a result, any phonetic transcription of texts between *v* BC and *x* AD is tentative, and would have to be either modified from century to century, or conventionalised and treated as more of a transliteration than a transcription. For instance, the singular accusative noun γυναίκα ‘woman’ has at various times been pronounced /gunaíka/, /gynaíka/, /gy'naika/, /gy'neka/, /yy'neka/ and /yi'neka/ (its spelling remaining constant), which in Standard Modern Greek is realised as [ji'neka], and in other dialects as [zi'neka], [zi'neka] or [yu'neka].

Problems remain after *x* AD: for example, it is impossible to know when gemination died out in Early Modern Greek texts, given that it still survives in South-Eastern dialects. The phonetic transcriptions done by modern Greek dialectologists present problems of their own. For instance, ḁ is used to transcribe the front allophone of /k/, where it is further front than Standard Modern Greek [c]; but we seldom have any way of knowing whether the allophone involved is [tʃ] (as in Cypriot), [tç] (as in at least some varieties of Cretan), or some other posterior coronal.

In the face of such complications, transcription offers few benefits to the kind of study undertaken here; phonetics is not particularly relevant to this study, and phonology is relevant only as far as the phonological reduction concomitant with the grammaticalisation of *pu*. The only real use for transcription is in citing linguistic forms in discussion, which would otherwise be hard to keep track of for readers unfamiliar with the Greek alphabet. Since text examples are glossed where appropriate, they give rise to no such need, and transliteration would impede legibility of extended texts for readers already familiar with Greek. On the

other hand, Greek-alphabet-only examples would make it difficult for non-hellenists to keep track of examples from this work. For that reason, textual citations are given in both Greek alphabet and transliteration, while individual forms under discussion are transliterated. The subject matter of this thesis thus appears in examples as ὅπον, οπού or πον, while in-line instances in discussion appear as *hópon, opo* or *po*.

The problem of what kind of transliteration to adopt remains. Given that phonetic accuracy is not essential for this study, two different transliterations are used. The first is used for Ancient Greek; the second, a broad phonemic transliteration, is used for Modern Greek.¹ Texts from before 1100 AD are transliterated as if they were Homeric Greek. So *v* is transliterated as /u/, not (Attic) /y/, *ov* as /ou/, not /ø/, *ει* as /ei/, not /ɛ:/, and so on. It might be argued that the latter two choices are factitious, since most instances of orthographic *ov* and *ει* were never diphthongal; but the aim here has been a graphemically close transliteration, rather than historical phonetic accuracy. For vowels whose length was not orthographically indicated (*α, ι, υ*), the vowel is given as long only where this is immediately obvious—when the vowel has a circumflex accent and is not part of a diphthong. Vernacular texts from after 1100 AD are transliterated as if they were CSMG (Contemporary Standard Modern Greek)—e.g. without gemination; the cut-off point is necessarily arbitrary. Both transliterations use the IPA, and are detailed in Table 1. The unmarked allophone is listed first in the Modern phonetics value(s) column, and is always used in transliteration. Modern proper names are transliterated in a more conventional manner, also given in Table 1.

Greek grapheme	Ancient phonetic value(s)	Modern phonetic value(s)	Proper Name translit'n	Greek grapheme	Ancient phonetic value(s)	Modern phonetic value(s)	Proper Name translit'n
α	a, a:	a	a	αι	ai	e	e
β	b	v	v	ει	ei	i	i
γ	g	ɣ [j, j̥]	g	οι	oi	i	i
γι	gi	ɣi [j̥]	y	υι	ui	i	i
δ	d	ð	d	α:	a:i	a	a
ε	e	e	e	η	e:i	i	i
ζ	zd	z	z	ω	ɔ:i	o	o
η	e:	i	i	αυ	au	af, av ²	af, av
θ	t ^h	θ	th	ευ	eu	ef, ev	ef, ev
ι	i	i [j, ø]	i	ηυ	e:u	if, iv	if, iv
κ	k	k [c]	k	ου	ou	u	ou
λ	l	l, [χ]	l	μπ	mp	b [mb, mp]	mb, b, mp

¹Thus, no distinction is made between vowel /i/ and glide /j/; nasal sandhi and velar/ palatal allophony are not indicated. In the controversy of the phonemic status of [j], I have abided with the historical and orthographical rendering /yi/. For simplicity's sake, I have chosen to omit prenasalisation for voiced stops (see Arvaniti (1994) for the current sociolinguistic standing of prenasalisation.)

²/af/ obtains before voiceless consonants, while /av/ obtains before voiced consonants and vowels; the same holds for /ef, ev/ and /if, iv/.

μ	m	m	m	ντ	nt	d [nd, nt]	nd, d, nt
ν	n	n [n, η, m]	n	γγ	ŋg	g [ŋg, ɲg,	ng
ξ	ks	ks	x	γκ	ŋk	g [ŋg, ɲg,	ng
						ɲj, j, ɲj]	
ο	o	o	o	γξ	ŋhs	ŋks	nx
π	p	p	p	γχ	ŋk ^h	ŋx	nh
ρ	r	r	r	τσ	ts	ts	ts
σ, ξ	s	s [z]	s	τζ	zd	dz	tz
σχ	sk ^h	sx	sch	ρ̄	ř	r	r
τ	t	t	t	‘	h	ø	—
υ	u	i	y	’	ø	ø	—
φ	p ^h	f	f	~	^	‘	—
χ	k ^h	x [ç]	h	’	‘	‘	—
ψ	ps	ps	ps	`	‘	‘	—
ω	o:	o	o				

Table 1. Greek phonetics and transliterations³

Traditionally, Greek is written in the polytonic system—marking stress with the three distinct pitch accents of Ancient Greek, and using the rough and smooth breathing marks to indicate the presence or absence of /h/ word-initially. The distinctions made in the polytonic system are not pertinent in Modern Greek, and in the last two decades the monotonic system has become widely adopted, using only the acute to mark stress, and dispensing with breathing marks. The monotonic system is being increasingly used for Early Modern Greek works as well (notably in the *Dictionary of Mediaeval Greek Vernacular Writing*—though not without controversy), and I use it for all vernacular text extracts dating from after 1100 AD, while retaining polytonic stress for archaic texts.

Where an individual has chosen their own transliteration for their name (e.g. *Cavafy* rather than *Kavafis*), that transliteration is followed. For place names, I have used common non-Greek variants in wide use (e.g. *Zante*, *Corfu*, *Rhodes* rather than *Zakinthos*, *Kerkira*, *Rodos*), and I have preferred Classical transliterations over transliteration directly from Modern Greek, where these are likewise well-known (e.g. *Euboea*, *Aegina*, *Elis* rather than *Evia*, *Egina*, *Ilia*.) Greek names have also been preferred for places no longer under Greek dominion, since the Greek linguistic literature uses these names (e.g. *Philippoupolis*, *Argyroupolis*, *Himara* rather than *Plovdiv*, *Gümüşhane*, *Himerë*); I append the contemporary placenames on first mention.

Dialect texts are cited in the transcription given in the source texts; this is usually the Greek alphabet with diacritics, though Italiot Greek texts use Italian

³Stress is usually not marked in transliterating Modern Greek; I have marked stress where necessary to distinguish between contrastively stressed lexemes—in particular, stressed and unstressed lexemes such as (polytonic/monotonic/transliterated) πού/που/*pu* (the particle investigated in this thesis) and ποῦ/πού/'*pu* ('where?'); πώς/πως/*pos* ('that', complementiser) and πῶς/πώς/*pos* ('how?'). I also distinguish between deictic νό/να 'behold!' and connective να/να 'subjunctive marker', although the two are not so distinguished in official modern orthography.

orthography embellished with diacritics and Greek letters. Where Greek texts are transcribed in a non-IPA roman orthography (as is regularly the case for Italiot, and in some instances Tsakonian, Mariopolitan and Cypriot), an IPA transcription is adjoined. Consistent with practice elsewhere in this work, I cite dialect texts in monotonic rather than polytonic.⁴ Allophonic variation already present in Standard Modern Greek (in particular, palatal allophones of velars and alveolars) is seldom made explicit in the transcriptions. Furthermore, while dialectologists transcribe phonetically, native speakers usually transcribe phonologically—and since few dialects differ phonologically from SMG, they employ the Greek alphabet without diacritics.⁵ The approach taken here has been to transliterate the Greek literally, even though the transliteration clearly mixes phonemic and allophonic levels.⁶

Although transcription is idiosyncratic, a de facto standard for Greek-script transcription is the system employed in the Academy of Athens' *Historical Dictionary of Modern Greek* (*Ιστορικόν Λεξικόν της Νέας Ελληνικής*).⁷ For Italiot, the system in Rohlfs' (1950) *Historische Grammatik der unteritalienischen Gräzität*, using the conventions of Italian dialectology, is widespread, though not universal. Mariopolitan in recent years is transliterated in Cyrillic. These are the transcriptions most frequently encountered, and are outlined below:

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Common variants</i>	<i>IPA</i>	<i>Comments</i>
ᾶ	ᾳ	æ	
β		b	
γ̄		j	Used where CSMG would use the allophone [y]
γ̄		g	
γ̄		ɟ	Used where CSMG would use the allophone [g]
δ		d	
đđ		ɖ	
ə		ɯ	
ζ̄	ζ̄	ʒ, ʐ	Greek dialectologists rarely distinguish between palato-alveolars (as in Cyprus) and alveopalalats (as in at least some parts of Crete); I thus transcribe this sign as ʐ, unless an explicit phonetic description indicates otherwise.
ῑ		j	

⁴One further intervention I have made in the texts is to regularise the notation of yod: ȝ, ȝ, ȝ and ȝ are all rendered as ȝ.

⁵For example, while Standard Greek realises /k/ as [c] before front vowels, Cretan realises it as [tɕ]. A dialectologist would thus transcribe Cretan /keri/ [tɕe'ri] ‘candle’ as ȝepí, while lay Cretans have no difficulty with transcribing it as κερí, though in Standard Greek this would be pronounced [ce'ri].

⁶For instance, Standard Greek κοιμήθηκε /ki'miθike/ [ci'miθike] ‘she slept’ is transliterated as *kimiθike*; the Northern Greek equivalent [c'miθci] is written by Greeks as ȝmoiθki (since /ki/ > [ci]) is assumed); this is transliterated accordingly as *cniθki*. There are instances in Greek dialects where e.g. /ki/ is realised as [ki] (for instance, Northern Karpathos); I ignore those instances here, although the unpalatalised diacritics are kept in the source text.

⁷Deffner's (1923) phonetic symbols for Tsakonian, used in the Dictionary, have been widely criticised, and have been tacitly substituted by Costakis' (1986) phonemic symbols, which have prevailed since the inception of the Historical Dictionary.

C ^l	C _λ , C'	C [+pal]	Usually used to indicate that the preceding consonant is palatal rather than alveolar or velar, when the vowel conditioning the palatalisation has been dropped
κ̄		c	
κ̄̄		k ^h	Used where CSMG would use the allophone [k]
λ̄	λ̄	λ̄	Used where CSMG would use the allophone [l̄]
λ̄̄		λ̄	
ν̄	ν̄	l̄	Used where CSMG would use the allophone [l̄]
ν̄̄		n̄	Used where CSMG would use the allophone [n̄]
ξ̄		j̄	Used where CSMG would use the allophone [n̄]
ȫ	ȫ	kʃ, kç	Transcribed here as kš
π̄		ø̄	
σ̄	σ̄, χ̄	p ^h	
τ̄		ʃ, ç	Transcribed here as š
τ̄̄	τ̄̄, τ̄̄̄	t ^h	
τ̄̄̄	τ̄̄̄, ζ̄, τ̄̄̄̄	tʃ, tç	Transcribed here as tš
ϋ̄		tç	In his phonological analysis, Haralambopoulos (1980) treats this as /ts ^h /
χ̄̄		ȳ	
ψ̄	ψ̄	ç̄	Used where CSMG would use the allophone [x̄]
C-C		pʃ, pç	Transcribed here as pš
		C:	

Table 2. *Historical Dictionary of Modern Greek* transcriptions

Symbol	IPA	Symbol	IPA
đ	d̄	é	tʃ̄
θ	θ̄	ǵ	dʒ̄
ð	ð̄	χ̄	x̄
č̄	c̄	ḡ	v̄
ȝ̄	ȝ̄	χ̄̄	ç̄
ň̄	ň̄	ȳ	j̄
š̄	š̄	ł̄, l̄̄	ł̄
ž̄	ž̄		

Table 3. Rohlfs' Italiot transcriptions

Cyrillic	IPA	Cyrillic	IPA	Cyrillic	IPA	Cyrillic	IPA
а	a	з	z	о	o	х	x
б	b	и	i	п	p	ц	ts
в	v	й	j	р	r	дз	dz
г	γ	ы	i	рь	r ^j	ч	tʃ̄
кг	g	к	k	с	s	дж	dʒ̄
д	d	л	l	т	t	ш	ʃ̄
ль	d̄j	ль	λ̄	ть	t̄j	ш̄	ʃ̄tʃ̄
ль	δ̄	м	m	тъ	θ̄	я	ja
э	e	н	n	у	u	ю	ju
е	je	њ	ɲ̄	ф	f		

Table 4. Mariopolitan Cyrillic

Greek texts originating in the Internet—especially in electronic mail and news—typically appear in *ad hoc* romanisation. Such texts are quoted here in the romanisation they originally appeared in, and in typewriter font. Romanisation is inconsistent from user to user, relying on either phonetic or visual affinity; to give the most extreme examples, θ can be romanised as any one of q, 8, 9, 0,

u, c, or th, while ξ can appear as j, ʒ, x, §, or ks.⁸ Thus, such texts are still accompanied by IPA transcription, as well as Standard Greek orthography.

Consistent with the above, texts are uniformly given in their original script as well as transcription; for example, Arabic script for the proto-Cappadocian of the Sufi poets, or Linear B for Mycenaean Greek. Examples from other languages are given in the orthography/transliteration they were published in; non-Greek texts transcribed in Greek (Arvanitika, Aroumin) are also transliterated in the orthography of their corresponding literary language (Albanian, Romanian)—a practice more usual for Aroumin than Arvanitika.

When the date of a textual example is pertinent, the date is given in the right margin, as follows:

- (1) (1886)
- Μπορεί να με γέλασαν τα μάτια μου, μα σαν μπήκα στο παλιό μας το σπίτι,
θαρρούσα πον με γλυκοκοίταζαν οι τοίχοι.
bori na me yelasan ta matia mu, ma san bika sto palio mas spiti, θarusa **pu** me
ylikokitazan i tixi.
[Psichari expresses his joy at returning to Istanbul.] My eyes may have deceived
me, but when I entered our old house, I thought [**that**] the walls were sweetly
gazing at me. (PsichHLQ:83)

For some texts, a printed translation is available in English. In such cases, I note the translation in the list of texts (Appendix D); otherwise, translations are my own. On occasion, I give both a printed translation and my own for clarification. I distinguish my translations of the Greek from others' by placing the latter in italics, as below:

- (2) (1829)
- Ποτέ δεν μολύνθηκαν τ' αρχεία της πατρίδος μου· ούτε εις την κυβέρνησιν, ούτε εις
επαρχίες, ούτε εις άτομα, οπού αγωνιστήκαμε εις την Ρούμελη, Πελοπόννησον και
νησιά και Σπάρτη, δεν είναι πουθενά κατηγορία παραμικρή δια εμάς.
pote ðen molinθikan t arxia tis patriðos mu; ute is tin kivernisin, ute is eparxies,
ute is atoma, **oru** ayonistikame is tin rumeli, peloponison ke nisia ke sparti, ðen
ine puθena katiyorria paramikri ðia emas.
The archives of my country were never sullied; neither in the government, nor
in the districts, nor in individuals, **when** we fought in Roumeli, the
Peloponnese and the islands and Sparta, nowhere is there the slightest accusa-
tion against us.
*And we have never befouled the pages of our country's history. In our conduct
to the Government, to the provinces, to individuals, **when** we fought in
Roumeli and the Peloponnese and the islands and Sparta, not the slightest ac-
cusation can be made against us.* (MakM 7)

⁸There is often no one predominant romanisation used. For instance, for θ, ο is used 34% of the time, 8 26% of the time, and both th and q 16%. Similarly, for ξ, ʒ is used only 65% of the time. (Counts done on *Hellas-L* archives, with probe words θα and ξέρω.) Peoples' romanisations are not necessarily even internally consistent; one will see words like χεχασα ξέχασα 'I forgot', where x transliterates both ξ /ks/ and χ /x/. This means that reading Internet-romanised Greek is impossible for someone who does not already know Greek.

Standard Greek glosses of dialect texts given in the sources, and cited here for contrastive illustration, are also italicised. Citations from non-English-language scholarship are consistently given in my own translation.

The term *Macedonian* is used in this work to refer to both the northern Greek dialect and the Slavonic language spoken to its north; where confusion might result, the terms *Macedonian Greek* and *Macedonian Slavonic* are employed.

The following abbreviations are used in the text; for abbreviations used to refer to texts, see Appendix D.

ea.	early	la.	late
ACC	Accusative	ACT	Active
CSMG	Contemporary Standard Modern Greek	EMG	Early Modern Greek
FEM	Feminine	GEN	Genitive
HDMS	Historical Dictionary Centre Manuscript	IMPERI	Imperative Imperfective
IMPERP	Imperative Perfective	IMPFP	Imperfective Past
IMPFS	Imperfective Simplex	INF	Infinitive
MASC	Masculine	N/AP	Not marked for Aspect, Past
N/AS	Not marked for Aspect, Simplex	NEUT	Neuter
NOM	Nominative	PART	Participle
PASS	Passive	PERFP	Perfective Past
PERFS	Perfective Simplex	PL	Plural
PLUP	Pluperfect	SMG	Standard Modern Greek
SG	Singular	VOC	Vocative
+>	Conversational Implicature	>>	Presupposes
▷	Does not presuppose	†	Semantically entails
%o	per thousand		

Table 5. Abbreviations used