

APPENDIX B. OTHER WORDS

In mainstream Greek, the reign of *pu* is absolute; no other particle competes with it as a relativiser, and it is the only particle of its kind to extend into the complement and adjunct sphere, as a factive element. In peripheral dialects of Greek, however, there are words with equivalent functions which are of different origin. In order to establish how unique the developments of *pu* have been—particularly as a factive—it is useful to see the extent to which they have been duplicated by non-*pu* relativisers. There are two such relativisers considered here: *to/tu/ndo* in Cappadocian and Pontic, and Italiot *ti*.¹

At the end of the chapter, those allolexes of *pu* in Greek dialects whose relation to *pu* is not in dispute are also discussed; this is not directly relevant to the semantics-oriented investigation attempted in this thesis, but it is an opportune survey of the various realisations of the lexeme, which has not been hitherto attempted.

B.1. Cappadocian

Cappadocian stands out as a variant of Greek in which *pu* is mostly absent; however, there are tantalising traces of *hórou* in the dialect.

In Western Cappadocia, the normal relativiser is the neuter definite article and EMG relativiser *to*, inflecting for number. In Pharasa, the relativiser is *tu*, the masculine/neuter genitive singular of *to*; it does not inflect for number. In Silli, the relativiser is *kjat*, with variants *tffat* and *kat*.

In none of these dialects is a reflex of *hórou* prominent as a relativiser. The *xiii* AD Greek verses of the Turco-Persian Sufi poets Mevlânâ Jalâl ed-din Rumi and Sultan Veled, written in Konya near Silli, are thus perplexing. These isolated verses and poems are written in vernacular Greek (slightly obscured by the vocalism of the Arabic alphabet, and faulty textual transmission), and it is fair to conclude (Burguière & Mantran 1952:80), that they reflect proto-Cappadocian. Yet these texts feature abundant evidence of *pu* as a relativiser, both headless and headed:

(1a)

پو زيسه بني پو پوني لالي
pw dipsah biniy, *puw* puwny laliy.
Που διψά πίνει, που πονεί λαλεί.

(*xiii* AD)

¹There is also the issue of the provenance of two relativisers very similar to *pu*: Tsakonian *p^{hi}* and Pontic *pi*. A detailed discussion of these is beyond the scope of this work; my conclusion from the data available to me is that the traditional derivation of Tsakonian *p^{hi}* from the Classical locative *pê:i* is correct, making *p^{hi}* a near-cognate of *pu* (Nicholas 1998f). On the other hand, Pontic *pi* is likely to be a portmanteau of *pu* and the free relative *pios* (Nicholas 1998d).

pu ḏipsa pini, *pu* poni lali.

Celui qui a soif boit, **celui qui** suffre parle.

Who thirsts, drinks; **who** aches, speaks out. (Rumi F^o 173v)

(1b)

(xiii AD)

اكينون بو مسس ايسى نميسو | اكينون بو تو نيلس نيمى فيلو

°kynwn *pw* mss °ysy nmysy/ °kynwn *pw* tw šyls nymy fylw.

Εκείνον *που* μισείς εσύ, να μισώ. Εκείνον *που* το θέλεις, να μη φιλώ.

ekinon *pu* misis esi, na miso. ekinon *pu* to thelis, na mi filo.

Celui que tu hais, **il faut que** je hâisse; **celui que** tu veux pour toi, je ne dois point l'embrasser.

Him **whom** you hate, I should hate. Him **whom** you desire, I should not love. (Valed Gazal 885)

There are two possible explanations here:

- The Greek spoken in xiii AD in Konya was still in sufficient contact with the outside Greek world that the use of *pu* as a relativiser was present there, but did not become transmitted to the Cappadocian hinterland. The problem with this is that Silli is just 10 km from Konya, but its modern dialect does not use *pu* as a relativiser at all. Its relativiser *kjat* is however an innovation restricted to that town.
- *pu* was part of Cappadocian as a relativiser, but was subsequently displaced by *to*.

The second alternative is likeliest, and the evidence from Cappadocian proper supports it.

In Silli, there are only two survivals of *opu* in the dialect. The first is the collocation *ospu* ‘until’, which occurs four times in Dawkins’ corpus, and two more in Arhelaos’ (Nicholas 1998b). The extensive presence of this form in these texts indicates either surreptitious influence from Standard Greek—which is not impossible, but needs special pleading—or an early extensive grammaticalisation of *pu*, in line with the rest of Greek, which progressed no further in the dialect. The Sufi Greek verses seem to confirm the latter alternative. The other trace of *pu*, the pseudo-relative *eki pu*, turns up in texts collected by Costakis in 1968, and is suspect, as Dawkins records the Silliot form of ‘there’ as *ki*, not *eki*.² So outside *ospu*, all usages of *pu* seem to have been displaced by *kjat*.

²*kjat* took over not only the relativiser function of *pu*, but possibly also adjuncts, such as the following temporal example:

(2) Σὺ **κίατ** να ὄης ζεγγίν’ ης, μη πης ὄχι, ‘κο μου νε,’ μα, ‘κο μας ινου,’ πε, κι Σεός σε σου τα αφήση.

ši **kjat** na jis zengijnis, mi pis otši, ‘ko mu ne,’ ma, ‘ko mas inu,’ pe, ki seos se su ta afiši.

When you become rich say not, ‘It is my own’, but say, ‘They are our own’, and God will leave it to you. (Dawk 292)

There is some difficulty with this example, as Costakis (1968:168) records *kja*, *kjan* as meaning ‘when’ in Silliot—a word unrecorded by Dawkins. Dawkins may have misheard *kja* as *kjat*; alternatively, this may be the relic of a native pseudo-relative (*kja* t_{REL}; cf. CSMG *eki pu*), *kja* being an alternative form of *ki* ‘there’. In that case, *kja t* ‘those that’ and *kja t* ‘there that’ would have undergone merger. So the relativiser is not the only possible origin for temporal *kjat*.

In Western Cappadocia, the Silliot survivals of *opu* are absent: there are no instances of *ospu*, and the unique pseudo-relatives *eðo pu* ‘here, where’ in Silata and *eki pu* ‘there, where’ in Delmeso are hardly evidence of a productive pseudo-relative class, since *pu* can be considered locative here rather than a distinct pseudo-relative (§7.2.2).³ However, Western Cappadocian has extensive survivals of *opu* and *pu* as relativisers and adjunct connectives.

The most prominent of these in textual frequency is the use of *op* to introduce adjuncts—primarily temporals; there are 51 instances of this *op* in the corpus. All these instances originate in a single village, Ulagaç. This means that the textual frequency of this *op*, distributed amongst some 9,000 words, is around 6‰—a count exceeding by far even the Tsakonian count of 1.8‰ for temporal *p^{hi}* (§7.4.6), itself extreme by the standards of CSMG.

There are four things one can say about Ulagaç *op*:

- 1 Its phonetic shape (*op* rather than *pu*, in a dialect where unstressed initial vowels drop out just as in CSMG) suggests strongly that it is derived from *'opu*, rather than *pu*; that is, it reflects the Ancient Greek transition of the locative *hórou* to a temporal, rather than the Modern transition of a relativiser to a temporal (although one cannot rule out a Cappadocian *'opu* relativiser—see below). The development seems to have been anticipated in the Turco-Persian poets, though in the form *pu* rather than *opu*:

(3)

(xiii AD)

تى ير يفيس آپوماس پو ماس كلِس

tiy yryfayis °āpwm°as **pw** m°as k°alis?

Τι γυρεύεις από μας, **που** μας καλείς;

ti yirevis apo mas, **pu** mas kalis?

*que cherches-tu de nous, **toi qui** nous appelles?*

What you do want from us, **you who** call us?/**when** you call us? (Valed Rebâbnâme)

- 2 *op* is a grammaticalisation which has proceeded much further in temporal specialisation than anywhere else in Greek: there is no question that *op* is the dominant Ulagaç temporal connective.
- 3 *op* is an highly restricted grammaticalisation areally.⁴ This is characteristic of Cappadocian: the dialect presents a prodigious array of temporal expres-

³Costakis (1964:58) records *eki pu* for Anakou with the same temporal meaning as in CSMG; this may be simply a loan from CSMG.

⁴There is a temporal instance of *pu* recorded for Misti:

- (4) 'Ακουσα ίνα, ξέβαλαν ένα ψόφος απ' μορμόρ', έτρωγέν δου. **Που** του τρώει, π α
ράν'σα, ένα ψόφος.
akusa ina, ksevalan ena psofos ap mormor, etroien du. **pu** tu troi, pia ransa, ena
psofus.
'Ακουσα μιαν ύαινα, έβγαλε ένα πτόμα τούρκου από το μνήμα και το 'τρωγε. **Εκει**
που το 'τρωγε—πήγα και εκοίταξα—ήταν ένα τούρκικο πτόμα.
akusa mian iena, ebγαλε ena ptoma turku apo to mnima ke to troye. **eki pu** to
troye—piγα ki ekitaksa—itan ena turkiko ptoma.
I heard a hyena, it had dug up the corpse of a Turk from its grave and was

sions, of which the only one universally used in the region was *os*, used in the meaning ‘when’ as well as its Standard Greek meaning ‘until’ (< *héos*:s). The twenty-six temporal forms attested for Western Cappadocian can be grouped under eight etyma⁵—and this from a sample of fourteen villages, and a population in 1923 of 37,650 (Anastasiadis 1976:19). So *op* is only one of a wide range of grammaticalisations conscripted in Western Cappadocian to express the temporal connective.

- 4 There is some generalisation of temporal *op* to other domains in Ulagaç, just as with Ancient *hórou* and Modern *pu*; aside from temporal adjuncts (5a), *op* introduces causals (5b—the example is still close to a temporal) and contrasts/circumstances (5c).

- (5a) “Λακ,” *op* λε, διν do κιριάς; “Λάκ,” *op* λε, διν do λερό.
 “lak,” *op* le, din do kirjas; “luk,” *op* le, din do lero.
When she says, “Lak!” he gives her meat; when she says, “Luk!” he gives her water. (Dawk 372)
- (5b) *Itó do φῶαχ έδεκεν do να δουλεύῃ το ῥαπκαλάε. Op den do μάχε το ῥαπκαλάε, ρτε πίσω.*
ito do fʃax edeken do na duleʃ to ʃapqaluq. op den do maxe to ʃapqaluq, irte piso.
He put the boy to work at hat-making. Since he failed to learn hat-making, he came back. (Dawk 364)
- (5c) *μεράμ ον do γαβανί op’ ήτομαι έκρεψες με, να σε πάρω.*
meram on do javani op itome ekrepse me, na se paro.
Since, though I was a wild-man/wild-man that I was, you asked for me, I will marry you. (Ulagaç 142)

These usages are not alien to CSMG; unlike CSMG, however, *op* has spread even further: it can also introduce manner adjuncts (5d), and conditionals (5e); and introducing a negated clause, it can indicate anteriority (5f).

- (5d) *ένα ῥεί op’ de λαλσε do κορίτῶ, έπεσε do στρώσι τ’ κοιμή.*
ena ʃei op de lalse do koritʃ, epese do stroʃi t kimie.
Without saying a word to the girl (‘when he didn’t say a thing to the girl’), he lay on his bed and went to sleep. (Ulagaç 136)
- (5e) *Καλά op den da μετράς, με μης.*
kala op den da metras, me mis.
If you do not count them exactly, do not go in. (Dawk 364)
- (5f) *op’ den do έπε.*
op den do epe.
Before he said it (‘When/While he didn’t say it’) (Ulagaç 92)

eating it. *As* it was eating it—I went and looked—the corpse of a Turk. (HDMS 887:141)

The late date of the example (1967) makes it suspect as a CSMG loan; then again, Misti was one of the villages with the least access to the outside world according to Dawkins, and it is also the village immediately to the north of Ulagaç. So (4) is probably another instance of Ulagaç *op*.

⁵*ho:s*, *hóte* ‘when’, *metà tó* ‘with NOM’, *hórou* ‘where’, *póte* ‘when?’, *tó* ‘REL’, *háma* (?) *hóte* ‘simultaneous when’, *hóson* ‘as much’, and *on* (unknown etymology).

These developments are the clearest indication that Ulagaç *op* has evolved independently of CSMG *pu*: the factive restriction has been broken, and the manner interpretation latent in (5d), while reminiscent of the ancient participle, is likewise alien to CSMG *pu*. In fact, the conditional reading is reminiscent of the development of Ancient Cretan *hópai*, another locative which came to carry irrealis meanings such as the purposive (§5.1.4). The reanalysis involved, TEMPORAL SEQUENCE > CONDITIONAL CONTINGENCY, has not developed in CSMG *pu*; it is nonetheless a cross-linguistic commonplace (cf. e.g. German *wenn*).

This development strengthens the hypothesis that *op* is derived from temporal *hópou* rather than a relativiser; factivity is more strongly entrenched in relativisation than in the locative, which can introduce an irrealis without *na* ('wherever'; Classical *hópou (án)* + subjunctive, Modern ¹*opu dis* (PERFS), vs. *pu na dis*).⁶ The data from Misti, however (4), which features *pu*, contradicts such a conclusion, as does the Sufi data. Since Misti and Ulagaç are adjacent, it is likeliest that Ulagaç *op* was reanalysed in Misti as *pu*.

The other adjunct class introduced by a cognate of *pu* in Cappadocian are optative clauses. There are two types here: *ep na* is attested for Delmeso (6a), and *op na* for Aravani (6b):

- (6a) *Επ να λέξι μάνα μας και βαβά μας.*
ep na lekʃi mana mas ke vava mas.
May our mother and father howl like dogs (if we will endure this!) (Dawk 318)

- (6b) *Το 'μο 'ναί, οπ' να μη έν-νε.*
to mo ne, op na mi en:e.
 It's mine—**would that** it were not! (AravanFK 116)

In (6b), as with the CSMG *pu na* optative, the *op na*-clause predicate echoes its matrix (§7.7.4). Now, the Delmeso texts are greatly affected by Constantinopolitan, and the Aravani instances were collected in the '50s; Aravani was also subject to Standard Greek education before the population exchanges. Nevertheless, these expressions do not look like Standard Greek of recent importation into Cappadocian: the optative marker appears as *op*⁷ rather than *pu*, although the expression is derived from an optative relativiser, and is not in any way locative. So *op na* cannot be derived from either SMG ¹*opu* (which is only locative), or the SMG optative marker *pu na*.

This means that, at some time in the past, Cappadocian must have had a relativiser ¹*opu*, widespread enough to have become lexicalised in optative expressions. This relativiser may have been distinct from the locative ¹*opu* which gave

⁶However, there are occasional instances in mainstream Greek dialects of irrealis *pu* (§7.6.4).

⁷The *ep* of Delmeso is not a regular development from *pu*; it probably reflects a univerbation of a preceding interjection like *e* or *ei* onto the (*o*)*pu na* collocation. *e* survives in Pharasa as an interjection preceding *xajde* (CSMG *ade*), 'go on!' This development, again independent of SMG, confirms that *ep na* is not a recent importation from Standard Greek—although it must be said that *e pu na* is a quite frequent collocation in mainstream Greek dialects.

rise to the Ulagaç connectives, as the latter do not display the factivity characteristic of the relativiser.

There are traces in recorded Cappadocian of such a relativiser, which cannot be attributed to Constantinopolitan influence. The corpus has ten instances of *'opu* as a general or intensional (*'opu na*) relativiser, three instances of *pu* as a relativiser, and two of *'opu* and one of *pu* as a headless relativiser. The instances of *pu* occur in Malakopi, whose inhabitants travelled often to Constantinople, and which had a flourishing Greek school; Phloita, the village immediately to its west; and Sinasos, the main town of the area, whose dialect was being fast displaced by Constantinopolitan. So its presence might be attributed to Constantinopolitan influence, even if the *pu*-clause is quite Cappadocian in preceding its referent:

- (7a) *Που είπα σι τα λόγια, βοίκις τα μί;*
pu ipa si ta loja, bikis ta mi?
 The words **that** I have told you, have you done them?
Have you done as I told you? (Dawk 404; Malakopi)

- (7b) *που οικονομησα τ' αλεύρ', ως το καλοκαίρ' πέρασα*
pu ikonomisa t' alevr, os to kaloker perasa
 with the flour **that** I had saved up, I made it until summer (HDMS 812:134;
 Phloita)

The instances of *'opu*, on the other hand, point to an indigenous relativiser. *'opu* seems not to have been used as a relativiser in Modern Greek at all; *opu*_{REL} is unstressed throughout EMG, and indeed some of the first instances of *pu*, with the initial vowel dropped, occur in proto-Silliot, the Turco-Persian Sufi verses. In Late Modern Greek, unstressed *opu* itself is archaic, and seems to be confined to metrical and written Greek, and a few dialects like Heptanesian (§B.4.3). So the use of *'opu* in instances like (7c) (if we can rely on the linguists' use of accentuation) does not point back to Standard Greek.

- (7c) *Ετό το κορίτς ένα φοράς άσομ βαπά τ κάρεψεν ένα φιστάν, όπου να έkh βούλα τα άστρα στον ουρανόν όπου είνδαι, και ένα άλο φιστάν, όπου να έkh ση θάλασσα όπου είνδαι ούλα τα ψάρια.*
 eto to koritʃ ena foras asom bapa t kurepsen ena fistan, *'opu* na ex vula ta astra son uranon *'opu* inde, ke ena alo fistan, *'opu* na ex si thalasa *'opu* inde ula ta psarja.
This girl once asked her father for a skirt, which should have on it all the stars which are in the sky, and another skirt which should have all the fish that are in the sea. (Dawk 444; Silata)

The crucial piece of evidence comes in (7d), the headless use of *'opu* in Anakou.

- (7d) *'Οπου είδεν τα άντρε τουνε εκεί, πούλησαν τα.*
'opu iʃen ta andre tune eki, pulisan ta.
Ceux qui avaient leurs hommes, ceux—là ont vendu (leurs biens).
Whoever had their husbands there (in Constantinople), they sold their animals there. (Anakou 84)

The text was collected in 1964, and by that stage the speakers had undergone significant exposure to CSMG. Yet all evidence indicates that (*o*)*pu* had died out as a productive free relative in SMG by *xvii* AD, and in most dialects (Pontic being the salient exception) is no longer used outside proverbs (§7.2.3). So there is no way (7d) could be anything but genuine Cappadocian.⁸ According to Mavrohalyvidis & Kesisoglou (1960:57), *op* is also used as a headless relativiser in Axo; and there are a couple of instances from Misti, and Delmeso:

- (7e) *Που* το είχεν κοντό, πεγάζ τ παπά, διεβάζ το
pu to ixen kondo, peγaz t papa, ðievaz to
αυτός που τον είχε πρόσφατα—πεθαμένον—πηγαίνει τον παπά και τον διαβάζει (τον
νεκρόν στο μνήμα)
aftos pu ton ixē profata—peθamenon—piγeni ton papa kai ton diavazei (ton
 nekron sto mnima)
Whoever had (their relative) recently (dead) would take the priest to read him
 (a blessing at his grave). (HDMS 887:196; Misti)
- (7f) *οπού* μένει σου Χάρου το παγτζέ άλλο βγαλσίδι δεν έχει.
opu meni su xaru to paydze alo vγalsidi ðen exi.
He who stays in Death's garden can no longer find an exit. (Lagarde 17;
 Delmeso)

Just as with temporals, the use of '*opu* as a relativiser is areally restricted: it is only attested in Dawkins, in Silata and Potamia. Malakopi, where *pu* was attested, and Anakou are in the same general region. That region, Northwest Cappadocia, is the area subject to the least Turkish influence according to Dawkins (1916:209), and likeliest to reflect older Cappadocian better; the villages of Axo and Misti (where headless *op* is attested) are on the border of Northwest Cappadocia and the more strongly Turkicised Southwest Cappadocia, which includes the villages of Ulagaç and Aravani.⁹

The fact that '*opu* is present in a cogent, conservative linguistic area seems to confirm that '*opu* was formerly in extensive use as a relativiser, and became displaced, particularly in the Turkicised Southwest, by *to*—an extant alternative to *opu* in EMG, given the advantage over '*opu* by its affinity to the Turkish personal participle (§6.3).

⁸It must be said that '*opu* is not used much as a free relative in these texts (it is absent in Dawkins' corpus, though present in his glossary, notwithstanding that Costakis (1964:44) describes its use in Anakou as "frequent"); the usual Cappadocian free relative is *otis*.

⁹Of the Cappadocian villages, Dawkins believes Delmeso reflects old Cappadocian best, notwithstanding that it lies in Southwest Cappadocia; its conservatism groups it with the Northwest. (Delmeso was relatively isolated, and had a minimal Turkish population. Amongst the villages to its north, Potamia was subject too strongly to Constantinopolitan influence to represent Old Cappadocian according to Dawkins, and Silata, Malakopi and Anakou were too Turkicised.) No available prose texts from Delmeso feature '*opu* as a relativiser; but we do not have any published texts collected from refugees from Delmeso in Greek (unlike the other Cappadocian villages), so our data sample is reduced, and we do have instances of *opu* in folk-songs collected from the village:

- (7g) *έπλυναν τα σπαθίτζα των οπού σαν φαρμακωμένα.*
 eplinan ta sprathidza ton *opu* san farmakomena.
 They washed their swords **which** were envenomed. (Lagarde 17)

The data from Pharasa broadly corroborates the results from Western Cappadocia. *'opu* is used once in the corpus as a headless relative (Dawk 534); and corresponding to *Ulağaç op*, *a'pu*¹⁰ is in wide use as a temporal connective. One difference is that, unlike Western Cappadocian, Pharasiot does not seem to use a *pu na*-optative at all—even when it is preceded by a nominal referent, which in mainstream Greek would call for an optative relative clause:

- (7h) από πάλι, **να** 'ινή του δεβόβου, έφτασεν εν στέρου, τζ' έφαγα εν στέρου μειβάδε.
 ato pali, **na** ini tu ðevonu, eftasen en steru, dz efaya en steru meivade.
 μα κι αυτή, **που να** πάη στο διάβολο, ωρίμασε πιο ύστερα, κι έφαγα πιο στερνά
 καρπούς.
 ma ki afti, **pu na** pai sto ðiavolo, orimase pio istera, ki efaya pio sterna karpus.
 But it (the cornel bush)—**may** it be the devil's—ripened later, and I ate its fruits
 later. (TheodA 248)¹¹

Another way in which Pharasa differs from Western Cappadocian is that *tu* does more *pu*-like work than Western Cappadocian *to*: it is used in locatives, pseudo-relatives, and collocations. All these are consistent with *tu* being a relativiser, and need not be explained through an especial appeal to *pu*.

SILLI	NORTHWEST CAPPADOCIA	SOUTHWEST CAPPADOCIA	PHARASA
<i>kjat</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>tu</i>
	relativiser; headless relativiser	<i>Ulağaç</i> temporal causal circumstance manner conditional	temporal headless rel.
	optative <i>ep na</i>	optative <i>op na</i>	
<i>ospu</i> 'until'			
pseudo-rel.?	pseudo-rel.		pseudo-rel.

Figure 29. Cappadocian paradigms

Indeed, in place of Silliot *ospu* 'until', which seemed to point back to an EMG survival, Pharasiot uses *s os tu na* 'to until NOM FUT' and *s (t)u na* 'to NOM FUT', of which the latter seems to be a local innovation,¹² while the former may be a

¹⁰Presumably unstressed *apu*, given the conventions of Greek orthography.

¹¹However, Anastasiadis (1976:252) does give instances of Pharasiot optative relative clauses, with the echoic structure characteristic of CSMG *pu na*-optatives: *tu na mi irt^hen, irt^hen pali* 'would that he hadn't, he's come again'.

¹²Anastasiadis (1976:244) derives *su na* from *os na* 'until IRR'; this is implausible, first because it does not account for those instances where the expression appears in its full form *s tu na*, and second because of the form *s os tu na*, which survives in frequent use, and which preserves *os* intact. Phonologically, Anastasiadis' derivation is also weak.

calque of *ospu* (*s os* corresponds to prepositional ‘until’). It seems that in Pharasa, *tu* has gone slightly further in functionally displacing *pu* than in Western Cappadocian.

One can conclude that *opu* was extant in Old Cappadocian; all that remain of it are relic forms, and an infrequent productive relativiser in the more conservative Northwest Cappadocian. *opu* has been displaced by *kjat* in Silli, and *to/tu* in Western Cappadocia and Pharasa.

To some extent, *kjat* and *tu* do work associated with *pu* outside its relativiser function; this proves that these functions are not particularly bound to the form *pu*, but are universally subject to expression by relativisers. This point is made more convincingly with Pontic *ndo*.

B.2. Pontic: *ndo*

The most frequently used relativiser in Pontic is based on the EMG relativiser *to/ndo*,¹³ also present in Cappadocian.¹⁴ The career of *ndo* in Pontic, a relativiser of non-locative origin, is quite similar to that of *pu*, and is an important counterexample to the localist view that the semantics of *pu* inheres in its locativity.

In Western Cappadocian, and even in Phrasiot, *to/tu* does not make substantial steps beyond being a relativiser and complementiser; it enters into only a few collocations, and does not introduce adjuncts other than in calques of the Turkish personal participle. Pontic *ndo* is much more prominent as a connective. The collocations *as ndo* ‘from that = because, after, when’ and *amon ndo* ‘like that = like, when’, which are probably Turkisms, are discussed in more detail in §6.4.

Other such collocations include many of the discourse collocations associated with *pu* in CSMG. The *pu*-collocations are not discussed here (Nicholas 1998b); but they are the exclusive domain of *pu* in most Greek dialects, and their use with *ndo* in Pontic is of interest. The list includes:

- *to leune* = CSMG *pu lene* ‘as they say’ (8a).

(8a) Κουίλιουκλίν άστριος σα φαίνεται, κομήτην *το λέουνε*, πόλεμος ένι.
kuiuklin aštrjos sa fenete, komitin *to leune*, polemos eni.

When a tailed star appears, a comet **as they call it**, there will be war. (Vamvak 74; Oinoe)

¹³Pontic early on acquired a *qu'est-ce que*-collocation (Nicholas in prep.) for ‘what?’, *ndo* < *nto* / *ti eni to* ‘what is.it that’. This form underwent merger with the relativiser *to*, which as a result appears most frequently not as *to*, but as *ndo*—particularly in Eastern Pontic. (Papadopoulos (1955b:68) analyses this rather as a metanalysis of *to* (-*n to*), but admits the parallel with *'ndo* must have played a part.) Just as with *pu* vs. *'pu* in CSMG, the two forms seem to be distinguished by sentential stress, with the relativiser unstressed—as is implied in Papadopoulos’ (1938:244) orthographic guide, which uses the acute for the interrogative (ντό), but the grave for the relativiser (ντὸ) (accentuation associated in Ancient Greek with clitics.)

Synchronically, the two relativisers *to* and *ndo* are semantically equivalent, and their distribution is primarily conditioned phonologically (Drettas 1997:351).

¹⁴Pontic has a striking diversity of bounded relativisers compared to other Greek dialects (Drettas 1997:347): *pu*, *pi*, *ndo*, *to*, *pjos*, *tinan*, *tinon*.

- *o loyos ndo fer* ‘which the word brings = so to speak’ (8b; the CSMG equivalent *pu lei o loyos*, also extant in Pontic (8c), refers to proverbial wisdom).
- (8b) Αν Κατή εφέντη, *ο λόγος ντο φέρ*’ έλεγον φέρον με να κείμαι τη Κατή την γαρ ν, εσύ ντο θα εποίνες;
an kati efendi, *o loyos ndo fer* eleyon feron me na kime ti kati tin yarin, esi 'ndo θα epines?
If, my Lord Judge, I were to say, **so to speak**, ‘bring me the judge’s wife to sleep with’, what would you do? (Momogeri 57; Paipurt)
- (8c) Εκείν’ την ώραν εδέκεν και δύο σιλᾶδᾶς την γυναίκαν ατ’ π’ είχεν ατεν είκος’ χρόνα κ’ ελαλάσεν ατεν, μ’ αστράφτ’ς και βροντάς απάν’ ατ’ς *που λέει* κι *ο λόγος*.
ekin tin oran edeken ke dio silædæs tin yinekan at p ixen aten ikos xronæ k elalafeven aten, m astrafits ke vrondas apan ats *pu lej* ki *o loyos*.
At that time he also slapped twice his wife, whom he had for twenty years and carressed—‘do not cast lightning and thunder on her’ **as the saying goes**.
(KandilF 115; Chaldia)
- *ndo leyo se*= CSMG *pu su leo* ‘that I am telling you!’ (8d—the expression is preposed here, whereas in CSMG it is obligatorily postposed).
- (8d) Εγώ *ντο λέγω σε*, αγίκον νίετ είχα, αδακέσ’ ’κι θα έρχουμ’.
ego *ndo leyo se*, ayikon niet ixa, adakes ki θα erxum.
I’m telling you, I had such an intent; I was not going to come here. (FotD 252)
- *ndo les esi*= CSMG *pu les* ‘that you say’; significantly, this is not used in its CSMG meaning as a discourse transition marker (‘anyway’), but as an evidential distancer ‘so you say’, marking the sentence as desirable, but unrealised (8e, 8f).
- (8e) Ε, μαύροι παλαιοί βασιλιάδοντες π’ επέμνετε, ντ’ έγενεζνε. ’Ονταν εκείν’, ιζβινίτε ζαβιραζένια, έκλαναν, ο κόσμον όλεν ετρόμαζεν. Μέτα, ο βασιλέας *ντο λες εσύ* αίικον φόβερος θα έν’.
e, mavri palei vasiliadondes p epemnete, nd eyenezne. ondan ekin, izvinite zavirazenia, eklanan, o kosmon olen etromazen. meta, o vasileas *ndo les esi* aikon foveros θα en.
Oh, you good old-fashioned kings, where are you now, what has become of you? When they (pardon the expression) farted, the whole world trembled. Now, a king **is supposed** to be as terrible as that. (FotD 294)
- (8f) Μέτα ο δάσκαλον, *ντο λες εσύ*, έναν ξαί θα τιμούν ατον και θα σαέν’ ατον.
meta o ðæskalon, *ndo les esi*, enan ksai θα timun aton ke θα saevn aton.
Now a teacher, **supposedly**, would be honoured and respected just a little.
(FotD 276)

This meaning is impossible in CSMG with *pu les*; for this meaning CSMG instead uses the parenthetical verb *lei* ‘s/he says’ (cf. Early

Modern English *quotha*.)¹⁵ The Pontic collocation also includes the 2.SG pronoun, lending an emphasis to the interlocutor absent in CSMG *pu les*; presumably this has the effect of stressing that the 1.SG speaker is distanced from the truth of the utterance ('so *you* say').¹⁶ This distancing is even more evident in (8g), in which there is a real interlocutor the speaker dissociates himself from:

- (8g) Πόπαδια, ο ποπάς *το λες εσύ* τα εξήμνας μίαν πρέπ' ν' αλλάζ'.
 ποπαδια, ο ποπάς *to les esi* ta eks minas mian prep n alaz.
 'Priest's wife, the priest, **as YOU say**, in six months once should change.' =
 Wife, **the way you would have it**, a priest should change his clothes only
 once every six months. (Melan 232; Chaldia)

That these collocations are fixed expressions is confirmed by the fact that, unlike normal *ndo*-relative clauses, these collocations cannot be preposed before their referent (Drettas 1997:356).¹⁷ There is no reason to think that these discourse collocations were calqued into Pontic from CSMG, instead of innovated locally. Not only do they use a relativiser different from that in CSMG (with the exception of (8c)), but there are small tell-tale semantic differences between the Pontic and CSMG equivalents—particularly in the case of *ndo les esi*.

The list of *ndo*-collocations in Pontic does not end with discourse collocations. Another such collocation is *pařkim ndo* 'perhaps; is it the case that', corresponding to CSMG *mipos*; the form *pařkim* appears far more frequently in the corpus in collocation with *ndo* than alone or in the variants *pařki* and *pařkin to*. Papadopoulos (1955b:120) analyses *pařkin to* as the original variant, derived from the collocation *bas ke ine to* 'perhaps also is.it that...? = might it just be the case that...?'.¹⁸ This construction is thus parallel to the *qu'est-ce que*-collocation of *ndo < ti eni to* 'what is.it that...?'; in this case, *ndo* clearly acts as a nominaliser, introducing the clausal subject of the copula.

A similar univerbation arises in the conditional expression *an en ke to* 'if it.is (the case) also that', where *an en ke*, used in EMG, is already extant in Pontic as a conditional. Its used is exemplified by Papadopoulos (1955b:169) in utterances like *an en ke to ðis m ato* 'if you give me it', and the folk song verses in (9):¹⁹

¹⁵This may be a Turkism on the part of Pontic: the equivalent Turkish quotative *diye* (extant in Cappadocian as *deyi*) is participial, and the equivalence of *pu*-clauses and participles in calques is a frequent phenomenon in Greek.

¹⁶This also occurs with other discourse collocations based on *les*, such as *les ke* 'you say and = as if' (10a).

¹⁷Drettas explicitly says "there are fixed expressions where the preceding possibility (preposing) does not apply, as is the case when /to-/ joins the verb 'say' after a preceding nominal whose definition it stresses. e.g. e'k—'intane spi'laxanta *to-leyomen* 'there grew there cave-thorns, **as we call them**'."

¹⁸*bas ke* itself (< *min pas ke* 'don't go and') is extant in CSMG. Papadopoulos (1929:30) declines to comment on where the variant *pařkim* comes from; I suspect an analogy with its synonym *yiam < yia na mi* 'so that it may not'.

¹⁹Papadopoulos derives the construction from a reanalysis of utterances like *an en to les aliθinon* 'if is what you.say true = if what you say is true' and *an en ke les aliθina* 'if it.is and you.say truly = if you speak truly'. In its univerbated form, however, *ndo* again clearly acts as a

- (9) *ανέν' και το νικός μ' εσύ, έπαρ' την ψη μ' και δέβα./ κι ανέν' και το νικό σ' εγώ, θα παίρω και το μαύρο σ'.*
an en ke to nikas m esi, epar tin psi m ke deva./ ki an en ke to niko s ego, tha pero ke to mavro s.
if it turns out that you defeat me, take my soul and go; and **if it turns out that** I defeat you, I will take your black steed, too.

The redundant collocation *oson ndo* ‘how.much that’ is parallel to the *oso pu* collocation found in various mainstream Greek dialects, and is discussed further in Nicholas (1998b). *ndo* is also used redundantly in collocation with *manaxon* ‘only’ (10a; cf. CSMG *mono pu*, and counterexample (10b), where *ndo* is absent); *andzak* ‘only’ < Turkish *ancak* [andzak] ‘but, only, however’ (10c); and after the demonstrative particle *xa* ‘behold!’ (10d; cf. CSMG *'na pu*).

- (10a) *Εκείνε πα άμον' κοδέσπανα ετολάνευεν τ' οσπίτ'ν ατ', λες εσύ και πάντα μετ' εκείνον έτον, μαναχόν ντου' κ' εκαλάτζεβεν.*
ekine pa amon kodespna etolaneven t ospitn at, les esi ke panda met ekinon eton, manaxon ndu k ekaladzeven.
 And she wandered around his house like the house mistress, as if she had always been with him; **the only thing was**, she would not speak. (FostB 181; Imera)
- (10b) *Ο γέρον ατότες' κ' επέταξεν μανάχονας σην χαράν ατ'.*
o yeron atotes k epetaksen manaxon as sin xaran at.
 Then the old man **all but** jumped for joy. (Akoglous 1953:287; Kotyora)
 (CSMG: *o yeros tote mono pu den petakse ap ti xara tu.*)
- (10c) *Άντζακ ντ' εξέρ'νε ντό έν' ζιάλοπνας να ευτάγ'νε.*
andzak nd ekserne 'ndo en zialopnas na eftayne.
 They **only** know how to act jealous. (FotD 269)
- (10d) *Χα ντο έρθες και 'ς σ' οσπίτ'ν εμουν.*
xa ndo erthes ke s s ospitn emun.
Νά, που ήρθες και στο σπίτι μας.
'na, pu irthes ke sto spiti mas.
See, you have finally come to our house. (FotM 479)

Finally, *ndo* is used in prepositional collocations: *ekson ndo* ‘outside that = except that, besides’ (11a; cf. SMG *ekson pu*), *anava ndo* ‘without that = except that, besides’ (11b; CSMG has no comparable **xoris pu*, but it does have *xoria pu* ‘apart that = besides’), *as so < as to* ‘from that = because (causal, temporal)’ (11c), and *yia to* ‘for that = because’ (11d, with *yia to* in apposition with the prepositional phrase *yia tin emorfadan ats* ‘for her beauty’; 11e, where *yia to* is on its own) (no parallel in CSMG, although EMG does have the equivalent *diato*.)

- (11a) *Ατός' νοματοί έρθαν κ' εδέβαν κ' εξόν ντο' κι άφτ'νε με κερίν, υβρίζ'νε με κέλα*
atos nomati erthan k edevan k ekson ndo ki aftne me kerin, ivrizne me kela
 So many people have come and gone, and **besides** not lighting a candle for me, they also curse me (Nymf 173; Santa)

nominaliser, and does not have its own external nominal referent; the analogy with *pa/kim ndo* is obvious.

- (11b) Ο γέρον, *άνανα ντο* 'κ' είδεν καλόν ας ση νύφεν ατ', έκουεν και τη κοσμί' τα λόγια και εφοάτον να καλατζεύ' ατεν.
 o yeron, *anava ndo* k iden kalon as si nifen at, ekuen ke ti kosmi ta loγia ke efoaton na kaladzēv æten.
Apart from not seeing any good come of his daughter-in-law, the old man also heard people gossiping, and he was afraid to talk to her. (Papad 171; Stavrin)
- (11c) *aso-k^h-e'poresen na-εγα'nturevenaten | a'tos e'peren to-fe'rul ke ana'xapara 'esiren ta-γα'nataē*
N'ayant pas pu (litt.: du moment qu'il n'a pas pu) la convaincre, il saisit la poignée, lui, et il tira subitement le soufflet.
Since he was not able to convince her, he took the handle and suddenly pulled the bellows. (Papad 171; Stavrin)
- (11d) Τα κορίτ'ζα τη χωρί' εκείνου επαχουλεύταν ατεν για την εμορφάδαν ατ'ς και τα προκομμένα τα δουλείας ατ'ς και *για το* 'κ' επέρην άντρας ατ'ς γυναίκαν αποπέσ' ας σο χωρίον ερχίνεσαν πάντα να κατηγορούν ατεν.
 ta koridzæ ti xori ekinu epaxuleftan aten για tin emorfadān ats ke ta prokomena ta ðulias ats ke *για to* k eperen andras ats yinekan apopes as so xorion erxinesan panda na katiyorun aten.
 The girls of that village envied her for her beauty and her orderly housework, and **because** ('for the fact that') her husband did not marry a woman from the village, they started continually badmouthing her. (KandilF 125; Chaldia)
- (11e) Η Σοφία ελάγγεψεν ας σο παραθύρ... *για... το...* επολέμεσεν ο Λαζάραγας... (Σιωπ)
 i sofia elāngēpsen as so paraθir... *για... το...* epolemesen o lazaragas... (siopi)
 Sophia jumped out the window... **because...** Lazaragas attempted to... (*Silence*) (FotD 327)

All these collocations display the Pontic equivalent of the Greek tendency to affix *pu* to as many connectives as possible. This is a native phenomenon independent of Turkicisation: it occurs to Turkish loans like *andzæk*, although there is no obvious motivation in Turkish to explain the insertion of the nominaliser. Pontic also adjoins *pu* to its connectives, but much more infrequently: outside pseudo-relatives (in which *ndo* does not feature), there are just a couple of prepositional collocations, which are discussed with other dialect forms under the appropriate rubrics in Nicholas (1998b).

ndo and *pu* also compete in introducing adjuncts on their own. Neither particle is particularly widespread in Pontic in this function; yet *pu* by no means enjoys a monopoly, and *ndo* can be found introducing:

- concessives; the clitic *pa* 'also' is equivalent in function to CSMG *ke* 'and, also' in marking the *ndo*-clause as concessive (cf. CSMG *ke pu*—§7.4.5);
- (12a) Ας τ' επάτεσαν ποδάρ' ολίγον, *το* 'κ' εθέλ'νεν ατέ *πα*, εσεέγκεν κα το κιφάλ' κ'
 ερχίνεσεν
 as t epatesan poðar oliyon, *to* k eθel'nen ate *πα*, esēgen ka to kifal k erxinesen
 When they put their foot down, **though** he didn't want to, he bowed his head and started his story (Akoglous 1950:202; Kotyora)
- exclamatory cleft sentences; all instances in the Pontic corpus, like (12b) and (12c), have nominal heads, follow deprecatory expres-

sions, and have the predicate ‘that you have become’—constituting thus a much more restricted genre of exclamatories than in CSMG; the productive exclamatory in Pontic, as discussed in §7.7.5, is not cleft;

- (12b) Στραμπίγ’ απαδακέσ’, είδωλον τ’ ένουσ’νε, είπεν ατον, ας έτρωγαν α τα φορθάκας και μ’ εύρηκες α!
strambiy apadakes, idolon *t enusne*, ipen aton, as etroyan a ta forthakas ke m evrikes a!
“Get the hell out of here, fool **that you have become**,” he said to him, “would that the frogs did eat him and that you hadn’t found him!” (Akoglous 1954:287; Kotyora)
- (12c) Σκυλλία, πεινασμέν’, κλέφτ’, πασιάκ ντ’ εγένεσνε!
skilia, pinasmen, kleft, rafiak *nd eyenesne!*
Curs, starving wretches, thieves, vagabonds **that you have become!** (FotD 308)
- normal cleft sentences;
- (12d) Πού θα πάω ’κ’ εξέρω και ντό έν’ ντο θα φέρω ’κ’ εξέρω, αίκον δουλείαν πα γίνεται!
'pu tha pao k eksero ke 'ndo en *ndo* tha fero k eksero, aikon duliaan pa ginete!
Where I will go I do not know, and what it is **that** I will bring back I do not know—can such a deed be done? (Kandile 100; Chaldia)
- temporal adjuncts—although *ndo* in (12e) can also be analysed as a nominaliser, ‘the event that I kiss’;
- (12e) Δεσπότη, είπεν ο ποπάς, μίαν ντο φιλό την ποπαδίαν ’κι αλλάζ’ ατο ’ς σ’ εσόν την επαρχίαν.
despoti, ipen o popas, mian *ndo* filo tin popadian c alaz ato s s eson tin eparxian.
“Bishop,” the priest said, “I would not change one [time] **when** I kiss my wife for your whole see.” (Kandile 120; Chaldia)
- (12f) Ή ση χαμαιλέτεν ντο επάτεσεν και άρκον έρπαξεν έφαεν ατεν.
s si xameleuten *ndo* epatesen ke arkon erpaksen efaen aten.
As soon as she stepped into the mill, the bear seized her and ate her.
(Athnasiadis 1949:199; Santa)
- circumstantial adjuncts;
- (12g) Έγροικώ ντό κερδίζετεν ντο τυράννίζετε με;
k egriko 'ndo kerðizeten *ndo* tirænizete me?
I do not understand what you gain **by** tormenting me. (FotD 326)
- causal adjuncts;
- (12h) Άσκεμον σειράν εκρεμίεν, ο καϊμένον! Κι όλον, ντο έτον το χέρ’ν ατ’ ανοιχτόν κ’ εβοήθανεν τον έναν και τον άλλον!
afkemon siran ekremien, o kaimenon! ki olon, *ndo* eton to fern at anixton k evoiθanen ton enan ke ton alon!
He is quite fallen in his standing, the poor man! And it’s all **because** his hand was open and he would help one person after another! (FotM 457)

A note should also be made of the collocation *ndo X ke ndo Y enan eton* ‘that X and that Y were one = X and Y happened (almost) simultaneously’, which relies on the capacity of *ndo* to nominalise (‘the event that X and the event that Y were one’):

- (12i) ἄγουρον ἔχω ἕσ’ οσπίτ’, να μονάζω σε ἔκ’ επορώ, τ’ εἶπεν και τ’ εσέβεν απέσ’ και τ’ εσπάλτσεν απάν’ ατ’ την πόρταν ἐναν ἐτον.
 aγυρον k exo s s ospit, na monazo se k eporo, t ipen ke t eseven apes ke t espaltsen
 apan at tin portan **enan eton**.
 ‘I don’t have a boy in the house; I cannot lodge you’; in a thrice she said this, went inside, and locked the door behind her (**that** she spoke and **that** she went inside and **that** she locked the door behind her **were one**). (Tsaousis 1946:210; Hopsha)

The range of functions of *ndo* overlaps substantially with that of CSMG *pu*; it certainly outstrips the range for Pontic *pu*, used in temporals, circumstances, contrasts, and clefts, but not (from the available evidence) in causals, exclamatories, concessives, and only in a limited way in prepositional and discourse collocations. This highlights another point made repeatedly in this research: CSMG *pu* and Pontic *ndo* have attained their current functional range by virtue not of their etymology, but of their core function as relativisers—the only feature the two have in common.

Likewise, the reason *pu* has not become as widespread in Pontic as it has in CSMG lies not in any features of the word in isolation, but in how it is integrated into its paradigm. *pu* happens to be a less successful relativiser in Pontic than *ndo*; it follows that it would also be a less successful connective and collocation formant. Why *pu* should be less successful is not as obvious; in his analysis, Drettas (1997:354) finds that *pu* is more frequently used with animate referents, while *ndo* is more frequently used with inanimates, and clausal referents in particular. This distinction (which in EMG certainly held for free relatives) would make *ndo* more successful in the types of usage considered here, as its reference is clausal and abstract rather than nominal and animate.²⁰

The status of Mariupolitan, a dialect related to Pontic, should also be outlined. In Mariupolitan, both *tu* < *to* and *pu* are in productive use, as both bounded and free relatives. Although the text sample is much too small for significant statistical results, AbrM uses one instance each of *tu* (13a) and *pu* (13b) as free relatives (although this example may instead represent a causal *pu*), and four in-

²⁰A note should also be made on Pontic locative adverbs. In contrast to other Modern Greek dialects, there is a proliferation of these. Besides *'opu* and its variant *'upu*, there is *othen* ‘where’ < *hót^hen* ‘whence’ (‘whence’ is now expressed by prefixing *apo* ‘from’: *apothen*), *pothen* (from the interrogative correlative of *hót^hen*), *umban* < *hópou án* ‘wherever’, *umbu* (portmanteau of *umban* and *opu*), and *imban*, formed by analogy with *indan* ‘whatever’ (Papadopoulos 1955b:103–4). (This is not to consider the plethora of directional and spatial affixes used to form Pontic locative adverbs.) But this proliferation has not affected the subsequent development of *pu* in Pontic, and none of these locatives have undergone functional spread to any other paradigms of Pontic, unlike *ndo*. This is yet another argument against a narrowly localist view of such developments: a locative like *umban* is not especially privileged to develop further as a connective.

stances of *tu* (13c) as bounded relatives against one of *pu* (13d—which might reflect a locative instead). In the cleft construction, AbrM uses only *tu*, three times (13e).

- (13a) *Tmazum tu troyum tu mismer ti peftit kana ora*
 tmazum **tu** troyum ti mismer ti peftit kana ora
We prepare to eat ('what we eat') at noon and you may rest for an hour
 (AbrM 11)
- (13b) *Na vals futija, na tun kaps, pu itun styšimenu.*
 na vals futija, na tun kaps, **pu** itun styšimenu.
To make a fire, to burn him, the pledged one ('who was pledged/because he was pledged'). (AbrM 32)
- (13c) *Ato tu styšsis tu xurban, na tu pajs indun ora.*
 ato **tu** styšsis tu xurban, na tu pajs indun ora.
The burnt offering Ø you agreed upon, it is time to carry it out. (AbrM 30)
- (13d) *Tu džinem kako fuviro, pu vraz apso silitra*
 tu džinem kako fuviro, **pu** vraz apso silitra
Hell is an evil, terrible place, which boils hot [as pitch] (?where it boils)
 (AbrM 61)
- (13e) *Vaj, ty orima en tu dranu, θelu na tu aksisu.*
 vaj, ti orima en **tu** dranu, θelu na tu aksisu.
Alas, what a vision do I see ('what vision is it that I see'), I [do not] want to acknowledge it. (AbrM 37)

So the evidence that *pu* is used in Mariupolitan as a relativiser is weak; even if it is, it clearly has not displaced *tu* as the main relativiser.

B.3. Italiot

In Apulian Italiot, which is generally closer to mainstream Greek than Calabrian, *pu* is the only form used as the relativiser.²¹ In the majority of Greek dialects, any competition played out between relativisers involves *pu* and *to*. Although *to* is used as a relativiser in Mediaeval Italiot (Nicholas 1998e), there is no discernible trace of it in the modern dialect. The indigenous competition to *pu* in Calabrian Italiot is instead given by *ti*.

As Rohlfs (1950:120) states, *ti* as a relativiser is unknown in Apulia; this finding is borne out by the corpus. There are seeming exceptions in (14a) and (14b), but these could well be resultatives instead. Rather than *ti*, Apulian uses the Southern Italian relativiser and complementiser *ka* (14c):²²

- (14a) *Emirizi eci t'ariani/ mi mmentascini chlori/ ti se kani olo na iani/ ce su nifti ti fsichi.*
 emirizi etʃi t ariani/ mi m:etaʃini xlori/ **ti** se kani olo na iani/ tʃe su nifti ti fsixi.
Là olezza l'origano/ insieme col verde mentastro/ che tutto ti risana/ e ti ripare il cuore.

²¹Cassoni (1990 [1937]:64) says explicitly that the relativiser “is always expressed by *pu*.”

²²The usual Salentine relativiser is in fact *ci*; but *ca*, which is etymologically causal (> *quia*), is also in use as a relativiser throughout southern Italy (Rohlfs 1949–1954:II 233–234).

There the oregano smells, together with the green mint, **that** (so that they?) make you healthy all over, and open up your soul. (Lefons 1959:4; Calimera, Apulia)

- (14b) Ὁρηα γεννημένη σαν τσεράσι/ **τι** σου γκυαλίζει ο μούσο σαν ασήμι.
 oria gen:imeni san tserasi/ **ti** su gializi o muso san asimi.
 Beauty born like a cherry, **whose** (such that your?) face shines like silver.
 (Lampikis 32; Calimera, Apulia)
- (14c) *to spidi* **ca** epúlisa
 to spidi **ka** epulisa
 das Haus, **welches** ich verkauft habe
 the house **that** I have sold (Rohlf's 1950:120; Martano, Apulia)

There are even instances where, consistent with the propensity of Greek towards double-barrelled complementisers, *ka* is adjoined to *pu* redundantly:

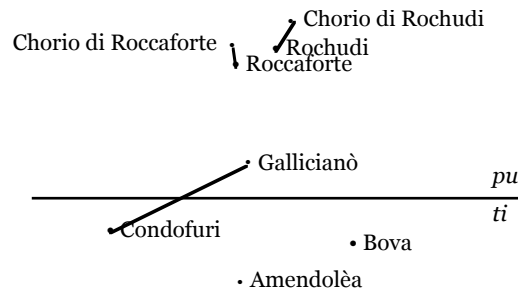
- (14d) *mu sózune jelási ecíni pu en eψérune ti έχω sti cardíamu ce possi lúmera esú móvale cíttin eméra* **pu ca** ecanonistísomma.
 mu sozune jelasi etʃini pu en epsérune ti exo sti kardia mu tʃe posi: lumera esu mo vale tʃi tin emera **pu ka** ekanonistisom:a.
 ήθελα με γελάσει εκείνοι που δεν ηξέρουνε, τι έχω στην καρδιά μου και πόση φωτιά εσύ μ'όβαλες εκείνη την ημέρα **που** ανταμωθήκαμε.
 iθela me gelasi ekini pu den ikserune, ti exo stin kardia mu ke posi fotia esi mo vales ekini tin imera **pu** adamothikame.
 I could be deceived by those who know not what I have in my heart and how much fire you placed in it the day **that** we met. (Thumb 286; Calimera, Apulia)

The domain of relativiser-*ti* is Calabrian. The relativiser is widely used; indeed, Rohlf's (1950:120) did not record *pu* at all for Calabrian Italiot. Although he acknowledges that *pu* is present in texts recorded by Morosi (1870) in Roccaforte and Rochudi, Rohlf's states that he has not himself observed such usage (“nicht bestätigt”). Rohlf's (1977:97) revised this judgement in the light of Taibbi & Caracausi (1959:lxxvi); from the data they collected, these scholars restrict the relativiser *ti* to the region of Bova, *ti* being “secondary and relatively rare” (p. lxxviii) in the dialects of Rochudi and Condofuri. Rohlf's' (1950:15) schedule of visits to the region shows that Rohlf's spent most of his time in Bova and its colony, Bova Marina; so it is no surprise that he did not observe *pu* in Calabria.

This result—that Bova uses *ti* as a relativiser, and the other Calabrian villages use *pu*—is confirmed by the other corpora used. For example, the first of the four DGC conversations, in which all the native Italiot participants are from Chorio di Rochudi, features *pu* 75 times in the relativiser role, and *ti* 17. The fourth conversation, by contrast, takes place in Bova Marina, and the primary subject of the interview is from Bova. In this dialogue, *ti* occurs as a relativiser 55 times, while *pu* occurs just 6 times—none of which is uttered by a native of Bova. Similarly, in the TNC corpus, there are no instances of *ti* as a relativiser recorded at all for Roccaforte (Vuni) (texts from which constitute half the entire corpus)—although conversely, *pu* is recorded for Bova. The following additional text counts (proportions of *pu* to *ti* as relativisers) can be provided:

Chorio di Rochudi	(HDMS 924)	5:0
Rochudi	(HDMS 924)	0:10
Rochudi	(TNC)	21:6
Gallicianò	(HDMS 924)	3:2
Gallicianò	(Falcone)	15:0
Condofuri	(TNC)	2:12

As may be seen from Map 13, *ti* occupies the southern part of the region, while the villages north of Bova–Condofuri use *pu*.²³



Map 13. Calabrian Italiot villages. Lines indicate civic dependency.

Bova was the regional capital, and until 1940 the seat of the local bishopric; therefore if *ti* was an innovation, it would be well-positioned to radiate outwards from there, and this would explain why Rochudi might have picked up the form (if HDMS 924 can be trusted), through contact with the prestigious centre. Somewhat puzzling is why Gallicianò resisted the importation—particularly since it is a hamlet of Condofuri, which has *ti*. As Falcone (p. 152) reports, there is a lively local rivalry between Gallicianò and Condofuri, with the *Gaddhicianoti* adamant that Gallicianò was settled by the Greeks before Condofuri—much to the amusement of the *Kondohurioti*. Gallicianò may thus have resisted the importation as a conscious differentiation from their neighbour.

So a story can be constructed explaining *ti* as the relative newcomer. If on the other hand *ti* is an archaism, it is hard to see why *pu* would not have made inroads in Bova, when the form would have been imported to the region through its Byzantine contacts (an independent innovation is unlikely), and given that Bova as the capital would have been a natural dissemination point. That *pu* is likely to be the older form is also corroborated by the data from Trinchera's collection of Mediaeval Southern Italian texts: *pu* is present in these texts as a relativiser (Nicholas 1998e), but *ti* is not. So the evidence suggests *ti* as a relativiser is an innovation.

²³Karanastasis' result from Rochudi (HDMS 924) seems to have been an aberration, contradicted by the data from both TNC and the adjoining hamlet of Chorio di Rochudi. Karanastasis elicited only one text at Rochudi, so his data may be idiolectal.

Data from Amendolèa, further south than Bova, would have been helpful in establishing a geographically cogent picture here; regrettably, as Rohlf's reports (1950:13), the village was depopulated in the early part of the century. It is similarly regrettable that we have no data from those villages to the west and north of the contemporary region, where Italiot died out between *xvi* AD and *xix* AD.

In this light, one can consider the etymology of *ti*. The relativiser has three possible etyma, discussed in Rohlfs (1964:ὄτι (als Relativpronomen)). It could be (a) a reflex of *hóti*, particularly as a relativiser (neuter of *hóstis*); (b) a reflex of the ancient interrogative *tís* ‘who?’, used sporadically in Middle Greek as a relativiser (so Kapsomenos (1953:334); his etymology is more plausible than Rohlfs’ (1950:119) indeclinable *tí* ‘what?’); or (c) a calque of Calabrese *ca* (both *ca* and *ti* mean ‘what’; implicit in Rohlfs’ 1950 proposal is such a calque).

Although *ti* is for the most part indeclinable (15a), just like *pu*, there is one instance where an allomorph appears: after the preposition *ma* ‘with’, *ti* appears as *tino* (15b). Since *tínos*, *tína* are the genitive and accusative of *tís* (and *tinós* the only allomorph of *tís* that survives in CSMG), this makes the *tís* etymology likely—at least for the relativiser function.

(15a) *o andra ti ivra*
o andra ti ivra
 der Mann **welchen** ich gesehen habe
 the man **whom** I saw (Rohlfs 1950:120; Bova, Calabria)

(15b) *o ándra me tino eplátetze*
o andra me tino eplatets:e
 der Mann, **mit dem** du gesprochen hast
 the man **with whom** you spoke (Rohlfs 1950:120; Bova, Calabria)

On the other hand, *ti* is also used as a complementiser in both Apulian and Calabrian Italiot; in that function, there is little doubt it is derived from *hóti*. So it seems *oti* and *tis* have undergone merger in Calabrian Italiot, forming *ti*; this seems more reasonable than Taibbi & Caracausi’s (1959:lxxvii–lxxviii) claim that the complementiser and causal usages of *ti* rule out *ti* < *tís*.

A *tís* etymology would support *ti* being the older form, and *pu* the innovation. If we trust its geographical diffusion, and reject *ti* being older, the likeliest explanation would then be that relativiser-*ti* is indeed a calque from Italian, as Rohlfs originally posited, with the *tino* form a transferral from the interrogative ‘what?’—for which the accusative *tino* is still extant (Rohlfs 1950:118). A borrowing from Italian is just as likely to diffuse outwards from the regional centre, where contact with Italian speakers was more intense.²⁴

Taibbi & Caracausi (1959:lxxvii) conclude that the two relativisers *ti* and *pu* are in free variation in Calabrian Italiot, since they alternate in song variants. This is certainly true of those villages where both *ti* and *pu* are in use—all the villages, it would seem, but Roccaforte. This point is illustrated in the following example:

(15c) CARMELA: *Ecini pu ichai, ecànnai te massariè, ca po den ichai*
 SALVINO: *Ce ecini ti den ichai?*
 CARMELA: *Cini pu den ichan, itan giardinàri*

²⁴The use of a single form for both relativiser and complementiser is also characteristic of Calabrese *ca*; the merger between *ti_{REL}* and *ti_{COMP}*, however, is held to be accidental in the literature (Rohlfs 1964:ὄτι (als Relativpronomen)), and not an imitation of *ca*.

karmela: etʃini **pu** ixai, ekan:ai te mas:arie, ka po den ixai
salvino: tʃe etʃini **ti** den ixai?
karmela: tʃini **pu** den ixan, itan dʒardinari
CARMELA: *Quelli **che** ne avevano, facevano raccolta di grano, come non ne avevano?*
SALVINO: *E quelli **che** non ne avevano?*
CARMELA: *Quelli **che** non ne avevano, erano coloni*
CARMELA: Those **who** owned property harvested wheat; how would they not own it?
SALVINO: And those **who** didn't own any?
CARMELA: Those **who** didn't own any were tenant farmers. (DGC 18; Chorio di Rochudi, Calabria)

As a relativiser, it is to be expected that *ti* undergoes expansion to other functions in the footsteps of *pu*. This occurs not only in Southern Calabrian, but Northern Calabrian, even though the main relativiser there is *pu*. For instance, following its relativiser use, *ti* is also used as a locative relativiser instead of *pu*, in Rochudi:²⁵

- (15d) Τες άφηκα και κονδόφερα 'ς τε σχολε, **τι** ειχε εκεινοι, τι ησ-σα φ-φύγονδα αν δα σπιτια
 tes afika tʃe kondofera s te sxole, **ti** ixhe etʃini, ti is:a fiyonda an da spitja
 Τες αφησα κ' εγυρισα στα σχολεια, **οπυ** ησαν εκεινοι, που ειχαν φυγει απο τα σπιτια
 tes afisa k eyirisa sta sxolia, '**opu** isan ekini, pu ixan fiyi apo ta spitia
 I left them and returned to the schools, **where** there were those who had fled their houses (HDMS 924:56; Rochudi, Calabria)

ti also features in pseudo-relatives:

- (15e) *den ito scundu **ode ti** arte echome tossa pramata*
 den ito skundu **ode ti** arte exome tos:a pramata
*non era come **qui che** adesso abbiamo tante cose*
 It wasn't like **here where** we now have so many things (DGC 218; Bova, Calabria)

The forms *pu* and *ti* also compete in forming collocations in Italiot. This includes Apulia, in which *ti* is only extant as a complementiser. There does not seem to be any complementary distribution involved: both are used after the same formant in forming temporals (*dopu ti/pu* 'after', calquing Italian *dopo che*; *apoi ti/pu* 'after' (cf. Italian *poiché* 'since' < *poi* 'after' + *ché* 'that'); *sat:i/sambu* 'when' < *san+ ti/pu*), and sundry other collocations (e.g. '*na pu* 'behold that' in Apulia, but *ekro ti* in Calabria (DGC 40).) However, *ti* but not *pu* turns up in the concessive *me olo ti* (or *me olo ka*) 'with all that = although' (cf. CSMG *me olo pu, molonoti*) (Rohlf's 1977:208).

There is also competition for adjuncts: *ti* as well as *pu* is resultative, although it is less frequent in that function (Taibbi & Caracausi 1959:lxxxvi):

- (16a) *Će, san espendettse olo, mia megali karistia irte s' ecindo paisi; toosso **ti** ecino*
aħħeroe na'ħi bisoño.
 tʃe, san espendet:se olo, mia megali karistia irte s etʃindo paisi; tos:o **ti** etʃino

²⁵The transition RELATIVISER > LOCATIVE for *ti* is, of course, the reverse of LOCATIVE > RELATIVISER for *pu*.

aç:eroe na çi bisoño.

*E, dopo ch'egli ebbe speso ogni cosa, una grave carestia venne in quel paese; tal **ch'**egli cominciò ad aver bisogno.*

And after he spent everything, a great famine befell that country; so much so, **that** he found himself needy. (TNC 429.3; Bova, Calabria)

- (16b) *Çe çino pai çe bègliase/ ridze 's pa mmerèa/ toso **'ti** vo 'i kkardia-mmu/ oli rridze vastò.*
 tʃe tʃino pai tʃe beʎiase/ ridze s pa m:erea/ tos:o **ti** vo i k:ardia m:u/ oli ridze vasto.
*E quello buttò/ radici in ogni parte/ tanto **che** io il mio cuore/ lo porto tutto radici.*
 And it went and sprouted roots in all directions, so much so **that** I bear my heart full of roots. (Palumbo 48; Calimera, Apulia)

And *ti* is used as a causal connective in Italiot (Rohlf's 1964:ὅτι 'weil') (17a), as well as introducing contrasts (17b), circumstances (17c), and concessives (17d).

- (17a) *Evó, ipe Cigala, en ércome ja macada, **ti** stéο ce travudó, c' embeló travúdia.*
 evo, ipe tʃigala, en erkome dʒa makada, **ti** steo tʃe travudo, tʃ embelo travudia.
 «Εγώ,» εἶπε το Τζιτζίκι, «δεν το κουνάω από δω, **γιατί** κάθομαι και τραγουδώ, και σκορπάω τραγούδια».
 "evo," ipe to dzidziki, "ðen to kunao apo ðo, **yati** kaðome ke trayuðo, ke skorpaο trayuðia."
 "I," said the cicada, "am not moving from here, **because** I keep singing and scattering songs." (Dizikirikis 15; Apulia)
- (17b) *Oi **'ti** kui Vlora, Vrizia oi Vlogìa, / evò to nòma-tti 'e tte' nna po.*
 oi **ti** kui vlora, vrizia oi vlogìa, / evo to noma ti e te n:ia po.
*O **si** chiama Vlora o Vrizia o Vlogìa, / io il suo nome non voglio dire.*
 O **what though** her name is Vlora or Vrizia or Vlogìa, I do not want to reveal her name. (Palumbo 17; Calimera, Apulia)
- (17c) *ehórtasa? to paççali pu isso! **ti** me eðe s tin galámitt'a!*
 ehortasa? to paççali pu is:o! **ti** me eðe s tin galamit:^{ha}.
*Mi son saziata? Il babbione che sei, **ché** mi legò alla nepitella!*
 Me, full? What a fool you are! **For** she tied me to the calamint shrub. (Falcone 162; Gallicianò, Calabria)
- (17d) *Ma to crea ciòla, eeh, ciòla na pethènaine; na spàsciun ena, en to spàzai, **ciòla** **ti** epethènai*
 ma to krea tʃiòla, e, tʃiòla na peθenaine; na spaʃun ena, en to spatsai, **tʃiòla ti** epeθenai
*Ma la carne anche, eh, anche se morivano; ad ammazzare un animale, non lo ammazzavano **neanche se** morivano*
 But they also had meat, eh, if it died; butcher an animal they would not, **even though** it was dying. (DGC 34; Chorio di Rochudi, Calabria)

The Apulian data is of interest here: it has nothing much to do with *ti* as a relativiser (*ti* not being a relativiser in Apulian at any stage, as far as we know), but everything to do with what *hóti* was already doing in EMG—acting as a causal and circumstance connective. So the Calabrian data does not prove that the relativiser *ti* underlies these functions: it could have been independently inherited from *hóti*.

The competition in Calabrian Italiot between *ti* and *pu* is remarked upon by Taibbi & Caracausi (1959:lxxvii):

The hypothesis that the definite relative pronoun *ti* had the same origin as the complementiser *ti*, namely *hóti*, and was a competitor form to *pu*, is confirmed by the study of subordination syntax. As will be seen, complementisers *pu* and *ti*, alone or in combination, introduce declarative, causal, consecutive and temporal propositions, often alternating in use without any difference either in function or in meaning.

Indeed, *ti* and *pu* compete—in both Apulian and Calabrian, as it turns out, although more intensely in the latter. And it is also true that there is often no discernible difference between the two; a good example of this are the redundant lexicalisations of Apulian, *sat:ti pu < san ti pu* ‘when’ and *sambu ti < san pu ti* ‘when’ (Nicholas 1998b). However, *hóti* is a potential etymology for *ti*, and much of the functionality of *ti* can be explained in terms of *hóti* rather than in terms of the relativiser *ti*. (The exception lies only in straightforward reanalyses such as locative *ti* (15d).) This means that, in arguing that the functional spread of *pu* inheres in it being a relativiser rather than a locative, Italiot *ti* is not as instructive as Pontic *ndo*.

B.4. Allomorphs of *pu*

A note should also be made about the phonological realisation of *pu* in dialects. One allomorph of *pu* is *p*; this is seen in Northern Greek, where unstressed high vowels are deleted. This development is entirely predictable, and need not detain us any further. The other three allomorphs discussed here are *po*, *ap(u)*, and *(')opu*.

B.4.1. *po*

The most frequently seen allomorph of *pu* across dialects is *po* (Andriotis 1951). This involves the phonological process /u#e/ > /o/, which affects only clitics—namely, the clitic pronouns *mu*, *su*, *tu*, and *pu*.

The distribution of this phenomenon presents quite a conundrum; Andriotis’ list of where it is attested is so extensive, it would be easier to list the places where it is *not* attested. In addition, the extent of the spread of the phenomenon—the number of words ending in *-u* it affects—varies from place to place. Andriotis’ results, to which I add my own findings from HDMS data, may be summarised as follows:

- **Universal, including word-internally:** Early Modern Greek, which attests such forms as *akue > ako* ‘heard, was called’ and *luese > lose* ‘you bathe’ (Andriotis 1951:3). No modern dialect has followed suit with such developments.
- **Universal across word boundaries:** Apiranthos, Naxos. The dialect of this West Cretan colony in the Cyclades is highly idiosyncratic, and in the three centuries it has been cut off from Crete, it has undertaken several autonomous developments. This is the case with /u#e/ > /o/: while the process is extant in West Cretan, Apiranthos has generalised it to all contexts, whether

they involve function or content words; e.g. /*mia kilia tu vuðiu epirame*/ ‘we took an ox belly’ > *mia kilia tu vuðiopirame*.

- *u* ‘not’: Tsakonian: **u eni* ‘NEG is’ > *oji*.
- *mu, su, tu, pu, 'pu*: Macedonia: Meleniko; Chios.
- *mu, su, tu, pu*:
 - Italiot* (in which the form *gote* < *akuete* ‘you.PL hear’ points to the generalisation noted for EMG).
 - Maniot and Corsican Maniot*.
 - Northern Greek*.²⁶
 - Heptanesa*: Ithaca.
 - Peloponnese*: Arcadia, Messenia, Achaea (Kalavrita, HDMS 900:313), Elis (Andritsena, HDIC—“Λ.Α.Χ. 1546:1” (?), Marathea, HDMS 997:223).
 - Eastern Greek*: Cyclades: Kimolos, Tinos (HDMS 361:193); Cyprus, Lesbos and Lemnos, Chios (Λαογραφία 17:29), Dodecanese: Castellorizo, Rhodes; Crete: Sfakia (southwestern Crete), Arhanes (central Crete: HDMS 850:22).

The regions where the process *doesn't* seem to take place are: Eastern Crete, at least some of the Heptanesa and the Dodecanese, Thrace, and the outliers Pontus and Cappadocia. This is a rather small number of places, particularly given that the process is also absent in CSMG. Certainly in many of the places cited, the process is not obligatorily realised (as Andriotis commented); but a resolution of the problem raised here is beyond the scope of this research, and would require considerable textual resources.

At any rate, the process occurs in regions whose Greek is *grosso modo* archaic (Italiot, South-Eastern Greek, Tsakonian, Maniot), and this fits with the extensive presence of the process in EMG: older dialects made the innovation, which seems to have been undone (an easy reanalysis) in the more innovative mainland and Eastern Crete—including those dialects on which CSMG is based: at least some Peloponnesian dialects, Heptanesian, and Constantinopolitan.

The process is interesting in that it classes *pu* as a clitic, together with clitic pronouns. Yet being a phonological clitic in Greek confers no special status: any unstressed function word is a candidate for being a clitic, and the word involved need not even be monosyllabic (unstressed *opo* < *opu* and *apo* < *apu* appears in texts alongside *po* < *pu*).

There are some dialects in which *pu* is realised as *po*, without the following word having an initial *e*, overt or underlying (as with the dropped unstressed

²⁶Epirus, Thessaly, Samos, Skopelos, Roumeli (Phthiotis, HDMS 1088:162; Aetolia & Acarnania, HDMS 792:50, 1244:52), Macedonia (Chalcidica, HDMS 1200:289; Kozani, HDMS 1087:51; Grevena, HDMS 1082:184; Salonica, HDMS 1164: 202; Serres, HDMS 1168:103; Imathia, HDMS 955: 53), Eastern Rumelia (Sozopolis, HDMS 725B:200; Kavakli, HDMS 960:381; Kozaka, Varna, HDMS 952: 67); Bithynia (Moudiana, HDMS 725A:57).

augment.)²⁷ Of the eight HDMS examples, one is attested in Macedonia, one in Eastern Thrace, one in Eastern Rumelia, one in Bithynia, two in Apiranthos, one in Andros in the Cyclades, and one in the Peloponnese (Karya, Corinthia).²⁸ Certainly in Apiranthos, and quite possibly in the other regions as well, the /u#e/ > /o/ process holds, and this may be a local reanalysis of /pu/ [po] to /po/—particularly in Apiranthos, where /u#e/ is so pervasive. Macedonia, Thrace, Eastern Roumelia, Bithynia and Andros all speak Northern Greek, and a hypercorrection of *pu* to *po* is also not out of the question,²⁹ particularly since the examples from Andros, Bithynia, and Thrace have southern vocalism, so that the speakers are trying to speak standard Greek. As for Karya, the presence there of *apu* (19a) demonstrates contact with adjacent Northern Greek-speaking Roumeli; *po* there may be a borrowed hypercorrection.

²⁷To explain: past tenses in Greek of verbs whose stem starts with a consonant are preceded by the augment *e-*. In EMG, this *e* was dropped if unstressed; so *p^hilō*: ~ *fi'lo* 'I kiss' has the past tense *ep^hile:son* in Classical Greek, and *e'filisa* in EMG, but *'filisa* in CSMG. In some dialects, the surface form is *filisa*, but underlyingly the form is still *efilisa*, so that relativisations like *po filisa* < *pu (e)filisa* turn up.

²⁸The process is very peculiar, and may not attract attention when the relevant entry for *pu* is eventually compiled in the Historical Dictionary; so I give the examples below:

- (18a) κι' αμ' **πο** λες
ki am **po** les
so, **anyway** (HDMS 1140:42; Doxato, Drama, Macedonia)
- (18b) Του βασιλέ το παιδί τα 'χασε **πο** την είδε, από κερι άνθρωπος
tu vasile to pedi ta xase po tin ide, apo keri anthropos
The king's son was stunned **to** see her, turned from wax into a human (HDMS 725A:218; Metres, Eastern Thrace)
- (18c) 'Κει στα κίόσκια 'πο κοιμάμι και κανέναν δε φουβάμι
ki sta cosca **po** kimami ke kanenan de fuvami
Down at the pavillons **where** I sleep and fear nobody (HDMS 960:381; Kavakli, Eastern Rumelia)
- (18d) Αφέντη μου 'Αη Γιάννη Προσόδρομε/ συ 'σαι **πο** βαφτίζεις τον Κύριόν μας
afedi mu ai yiani prosodrome/ si se **po** vaftizis ton kirjon mas
My Lord Saint John the Forerunner, 'tis you **that** baptises Our Lord. (HDIC: *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά* 6:217; Pistikohoria, Bithynia)
- (18e) και **πον** ήσου θιατέρα/ να πετώ με τον αέρα
ke **po** n isu thiatera/ na peto me ton aera
and would **that** you were a daughter, I would fly with the wind (HDMS 508:158; Apiranthos, Naxos, Cyclades)
- (18f) Ω Παναγιά μου, και **πο** μ' έπαρνες!
o panagia mu, ke **po** m epernes!
Oh Our Lady, **would that** you would take me away! (HDMS 571:410; Apiranthos, Naxos, Cyclades)
- (18g) έσπασε η σωλήνα **πο** πάει ο ατμός
espase i solina **po** pai o atmos
the pipe **that** the steam goes through has broken (HDMS 870:44; Korthi, Andros, Cyclades)
- (18h) Στη στρούγκα **πο** αρμέγανε, αρμέγανε τα γίδια
sti struga **po** armegane, armegane ta gidia
In the pen **where** they milked, they milked the goats (HDMS 420: Karya, Corinthia, Peloponnese)

²⁹In Northern Greek, unstressed *o* goes to *u*, so the hypercorrection of (CSMG) unstressed *u* to *o* is not unheard of.

B.4.2. *apu*

pu also has the variant *apu* or *ap* (Northern Greek) in many dialects of Greek. The development has been discussed in some detail by Tzartanos with respect to Thessalian:

apu, ap. The word *pu* ('*opu, opu*), which in the vernacular serves as a relative pronoun or as a temporal connective or in similar such functions, is pronounced *apu* or *ap* (and *pu*), and never as *opu* or '*opu*. [...] The word has thus coincided phonetically with the preposition *apu, ap* 'from'.³⁰ [...] This coinciding and the development of *a* before *pu* ('*opu, opu*) was motivated, we believe, by the preposition *a'po*. Being preclitic, and thus mostly unstressed [...], *a'po* became *apu*,³¹ and undergoing aphaeresis of the initial *a*, especially whenever preceded by another *a*, it then became '*pu* [...]. And since that *pu* also has the forms *apu* and *pu*, these were also taken on by *pu* (= '*opu, opu*). (Tzartanos 1989 [1909]:59–60)

So in short, *apo* 'from' developed synchronic variants, one of which was *[pu] and the other [apu]; these variants came to be used for both *apo* and *pu*. The argument is tempting, particularly since something similar took place in South-Eastern Greek (where the form *pu* 'from', hypothetical for Thessalian, is extant.) And as a perusal of HDIC data shows, this ambiguity of [pu] 'from' and [pu] 'REL' can trap the unwary; there are no less than 11 instances amongst the 819 indexcards for *pu* which are actually instances of 'from', collected from Macedonia, Thessaly, Cretan, and South-Eastern Greek.³² But the difference in syntactic scope of *apo* and *pu* is considerable, so that the two are impossible to conflate in general. So while it is possible that *opu* > *apu* by analogy with *apo* in Northern Greek, and *apo* > *pu* by analogy with *opu* in South-Eastern Greek, the conflation Tzartanos speaks of is not a plausible manner for this to have taken place.

The number of dialects *apu* is attested for is, as with *po*, so large that it is easier to describe where it is not attested. Based on HDIC data, *apu* is attested throughout the northern mainland—Roumeli (including Euboea), Thessaly (including the adjoining Northern Sporades islands—Skiathos, Skopelos, and Alonnisos—but excluding Skyros), Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace (including all of Western Thrace, Samothrace, Eastern Thrace, and Eastern Rumelia). It is also attested in the broader region of Crete: Crete itself, the southern Cyclades islands of Kimolos (not in HDIC—HDMS 829:13) and Anaphe, and the neighbouring islands of Cythera and Anticythera. And it is attested throughout South-Eastern Greek: Cyprus, Icaria, Chios, and the Dodecanesian islands of Karpathos and Kasos—near Crete—and Kos).

³⁰This did not happen in Cretan (where 'from' is *apo*), but it did happen in South-Eastern Greek, where 'from' is *pu* < *apo*.

³¹Recall that *o* > *u* is regular for unstressed *o* in Northern Greek.

³²All of these instances are dissimilar enough from CSMG that the confusion is understandable; for example, the Macedonian use of *pu ti* 'from what = why' (HDMS 1154:58), or the Karpathos clause *pu pot eksenitefθi* 'since [the time] when he migrated' (HDMS 286:26), which—confusingly for a CSMG-speaker—uses the interrogative *pote* instead of the connective *otan* for a temporal adjunct.

Where *apu* is not attested is: the outlier dialects of Greek—proving it to be a recent innovation; the Heptanesa; the northern Aegean islands of Lesbos, Lemnos, Skyros, and Samos (which was colonised by Northern Greek speakers some 500 years ago); most of the Cyclades and at least some of the Dodecanese; and most of the Peloponnese. The northern Aegean islands and the Cyclades are a geographically cogent region, but they do not have much in common historically. The Dodecanese seem to have been caught in a tussle between the newer form *apu* and the older *opu*, attested not only in Nisyros, but Kos, which also features *apu*; an unnumbered Constantinopolitan Philological Society manuscript cited in HDIC states explicitly that the island of Tilos has “*apu* and more rarely *opu*”. The Peloponnese and Heptanesa, finally, do group together linguistically, and are in the same dialect group as CSMG; this is why *apu* is absent in CSMG.



Map 14. Distribution of *apu*. Dark grey are regions where *apu* is not attested; light grey are regions in parts of which *apu* is attested.

In fact, *apu* is attested for three places in the Peloponnese:

- (19a) ἄλλοι τοῦ *από* δεν ἔχει ἀνύχια νὰ ξυστή!
 ali tu *apu* ðen exi anixia na ksisti!
 Woe to **him who** has no nails to scratch himself with! (HDMS 429:14; Karya, Corinthia)

- (19b) *Απού* λες ἐπήγαμε ἔς τα πρόβατα καὶ τ' ἀρμέξαμε
apu les epigame s ta provata ke t armeksame
So, we went to the sheep and milked them (HDMS 587:116; Pappoulia, Messenia)
- (19c) Ὁ Τζαβελιολιάς γνωρίζει οὐλα τα σύρματα *απού* κατεβαίνουν οἱ λαγοί σα βγαίνουν
 ὅτη βοσκή καὶ δε τοῦ ξεφεύγει οὔτε ἓνας
 o dzaveliolas gnorizi ula ta s^hirmata *apu* katevenun i layi sa vyenun s^hti voški ke
 de tu ks^hefevyi ute enas
 Tzaveliolias knows all the paths hares come down on as they go out to pasture,
 and not one gets away from him (HDMS 622:1; Pylia, Messenia)

Of these, (19b) and (19c) are both from the region of Pylia, in the mountains a few kilometres inland from the Mycenaean coastal town of Pylos. More significantly, Pylos in turn is a few kilometres north of the Venetian ports of Modon (Methoni) and Coron (Koroni); Pappoulia is 21 km NNE of Modon. In contrast to the rest of the Peloponnese, which came under French rule before being re-taken by the Byzantines, and was Turkish from xv AD, Coron and Modon remained under Venetian rule until the Ottoman conquest in xvi AD. One would expect therefore that the inhabitants of the region around Coron and Modon kept contact with the inhabitants of the other Venetian dependencies—including the Heptanesa and Crete. Evidence of such contact is given by the use in Paide-meno/Flesias (11 km north of Pappoulia) of the GEN.FEM.SG article *tsi* (HDMS 1017:24)—associated with the Venetian possessions of the Heptanesa and Crete, but not with the Peloponnese. So *apu* is another word that could have travelled with the Venetians to Pylia.³³

As for (19a), Karya is 13 km inland from the northern Peloponnesian coast, across from the Roumeliot port of Galaxidi; so an importation from Roumeli is likeliest here. So the presence of *apu* in the Peloponnese is only marginal.

B.4.3. *'opu/opu*

The final allomorphs are the original forms of the word, *'opu* and unstressed *opu*. *opu* is widespread in Greek in proverbs and folksongs as a free relative—consistent with it being an archaism. It also turns up in much earlier vernacular writing, possibly as a ‘correction’; in Markiyannis’ *Memoirs*, for instance, *pu* accounts for a mere 14 out of the 1610 instances of *'opu/opu/pu*.

opu is occasionally found in productive use—particularly in Epirus, the Heptanesa, and Thrace. These are areas on the geographical periphery of Greece, and the retention of *opu* may correlate with a tendency not to drop initial unstressed vowels in general—an innovation which took place in EMG. I do not currently have the resources to explore this possibility.

Infrequently, *pu* materialises in its original, locative form, *'opu*. Many of these instances are either in proverbs (20a) or folksong (20b)—or both, proverbs

³³Nicholas Contossopoulos (pers. comm.) has discerned Heptanesian influence on the dialects of both Messenia and Elis to its north, although I have not found any mention of this in his published works.

being frequently metrical (20c). They can thus be dismissed as fossilised forms, or metrical conveniences.

- (20a) Ὅπου δε φάει θεριό, δε θεριέβγει
 'opu ðe fai ðerio, ðe ðerievgi
Whoever does not eat a monster, does not become a monster himself (HDMS 1184:26; Nisyros, Dodecanese)
- (20b) Αγάλια, τρέλλη, το παιί ν-να μη ντο ρίξης όξω/ και κείνος όπου το 'καμε δε 'νείναι σα 'νεσένα
 aɣala, tre:li, to pein na mi ndo riksis okso/ tše tšinos 'opu to kame ðe nine sa nesena
 Go slowly, you madwoman, with the child, watch you don't throw it out; and the one **who** made it is not like you (HDMS 1054:17; Kefalos, Kos, Dodecanese)
- (20c) Ὅπου πεινά ψωμιά θωρεί κι όπου διψά πηγάδια
 'opu pina psomia ðori ki 'opu ðipsa piɣadia
Whoever is hungry sees loaves of bread, and **whoever** is thirsty—wells (HDMS 1187:20; Meligalas, Messenia, Peloponnese)

In a few instances, 'opu is a relativiser in productive use. The following are isolated instances in their respective regions, and should be regarded as flukes—if not mistranscriptions:

- (21a) είναι άνθρωποι όπου δεθ θα φάνε σταφύλι καθόλου!
 ine anθropi 'opu ðeθ ða fane stafili kaθolu!
 There are people **who** will not eat any grapes at all! (HDMS 340:276; Kimolos, Cyclades)
- (21b) Ὅπου πάρ' κι φύγ' η σκύλλα, ικείνο, θα γέβ' πιο καλό.
 'opu par ki fiž i skila, ikino, ða ɣeβ' pjo kalo.
Whichever one the bitch takes and leaves will turn out to be the best. (HDMS 925:194; Sykaminea, Larisa, Thessaly)
- (21c) Εφάα μας τηφ φραζ-ζόλα, όπου να φάσι τη σπαγιά
 efaa mas tif fraz:ola, 'opu na fasi ti spaja
 They ate our loaf of bread—**may** they eat their entrails! (HDMS 1224:57: Profitis Ilias, Icaria, Central Aegean)
- (21d) οπούδε πως ήπιασε το μάρμαρον όπου ρίχναν οι πιο μπροστά δυο του σύντροφοι με δύναμίν τος πολλήν.
 opu ðe pos ipjase to marmaron 'opu rixnan i pjo mbrosta ðjo tu sindrofi me ðinamin tos polin.
*for he had seen how he had caught the marble slab **which** the two foremost of his comrades were using all their strength to pitch.* (DawkD 138; Asfendiou, Kos, Dodecanese)
- (21e) Σύρ' να φέρ'ς τα γκιούμια να πάρ'ς το γάλα. Ὅπου έφvue αυτός, εγώ τα ίδια κείνο το βράδ' δε ντα πήγα.
 sir na fers ta jumja na pars to ɣala. 'opu efie aftos, eɣo ta iðja kino to vrað ðe nta piɣa.
 “Go get the skins so you can pick up the milk.” **After** he left, that evening I did not take the goats over. (HDMS 756:7; Marmara)

Outside these, there are two places where *'opu* seems to be extant as a productive relativiser. One is Corfu—including the Diapontii Islands (Othoni, Erikoussa, Mathraki) to its northwest:

- (22a) Αυτό *κάθε όπου* τ' αρμέμε το πλένομε καλά με αφρί από γάλα και με λάδι με χαμομήλι
 afto *kaθe 'opu* t armeme to plenome kala me afri apo gala ke me laði me xamomili
Every time we milk it, we wash it well with milk foam and camomile oil
 (HDMS 806:241; Afioni, Corfu)
- (22b) πετυχαίνουνε και κάτι κοτσάρες που *όπου* τσι φάει δε τ'ς αλησιμονάει
 petixenune ke kati kotsares pu *'opu* tsi fai ðe ts alismonai
 and they find some flatfish that **whoever** eats them will never forget them
 (HDMS 841:121; Erikoussa)
- (22c) Όταν μάθανε οι ἄδερφές της *όπου* επροβάτουνε το βασιλόπουλο, τη βάλανε οι ἄδερφές της αυκάτου από το γουλοκόγινο
 otan maθane i ž aderfes tis *'opu* eprovatune to vasilopulo, ti valane i ž aderfes tis aukatu apo to yulokoyino
 When her sisters found out **that** the prince was walking, they put her underneath the stone basket (HDMS 805A:77; Othoni)

Corfu, and the Diapontii islands in particular, are on the northwest edge of the Greek-speaking world, although since their dialect is unexceptional by Heptanesian standards, this archaism is somewhat surprising. The other such region is the recently extinct dialect of the Maniot colony in Corsica (Blanken 1951: 165), where *'opu* appears to have been in free variation with *pu*; Blanken's observation is confirmed by (22d), collected in 1965.

- (22d) Η γυναίκα *όπου* δεν έχει άρα να κάνει πάει στο περίπατο
 i žineka *'opu* ðen eši ara na kani pai sto peripato
 A woman **who** has nothing else to do goes for a stroll (HDMS 861:132; Cargese, Corsica)

The colony was founded in late *xvii* AD. Because of a lack of data (notwithstanding an entire grammar (Mirambel 1929) being written on the dialect!), I cannot tell whether the Maniot colonists left behind has *'opu*; but Mani is known to be a linguistically conservative area—retaining *inter alia* *u* < Ancient *y*, which in most modern dialects has gone to *i* instead. So such an archaism in Maniot is not surprising; it is certainly less surprising here than in Corfu.

B.5. Conclusion

Amongst Greek dialects, *pu* has undergone competition with *to* in Anatolian Greek, and *ti* in Italiot. In both instances, the competitors have made significant inroads against *pu*; in Cappadocian in particular, *pu* is marginalised in the northwest, and almost entirely absent in the southwest, but for the idiosyncratic development of Ulagaç *op*.

The success of *to* in Anatolian Greek, and *ti* in Calabrian Italiot, seems to be a language contact phenomenon. Although *to* is a native Greek relativisation strategy, it also acts as a calque of the Turkish personal participle, being more

strongly a nominalisation than *pu*. Similarly, although *ti* in Italiot has a good Hellenic pedigree in *hóti*, its particular success in Calabrian, and around the capital of Bova in particular, points to a calque from Calabrese *ca*. Since *pu* is so universal in use amongst Greek dialects, it is not surprising that any exceptions to this universality necessitate intensive external language contact, such as has taken place in both Italy and Asia Minor.

Apart from explaining the failure of *pu* to take over its paradigm in these regions, the foregoing account has also contributed a potent counterargument to a localist account of *pu*. These calqued forms have native Greek antecedents, which have nothing to do with locality. Being both calques and non-locatives, therefore, they have nothing to do with *pu* in their development. Yet particularly in Pontic, they recapitulate the functional expansion of *pu*. This shows that the functional range of *pu* need not be explained by localist etymology, if these non-locatives attain the same distribution. The similarity of their functional range is to be sought in their original functional similarity—which is relativisation. It is the fact that *pu* is primarily a relativiser, rather than originally a locative, which explains its present distribution.

I have also surveyed the realisation of *pu* in the various dialects of Greek. The distribution of *po* and *apu* is so wide that their absence in CSMG is puzzling. Both are absent in the more innovatory dialects on which CSMG is based—Peloponnesian (at least Eastern Peloponnesian for *po*, and all but Venetian Pylia for *apu*), and Heptanesian. Both are present in the more archaic mainstream Greek dialects. This suggests that in both cases, the alternative form was removed as a linguistic simplification—potentially such was characteristic of Western Greek in general.

The archaic allomorphs *opu*/*opu*, finally, survive in fossilised expressions throughout Greek, and in geographically marginal dialects: Epirus, Thrace, Corfu, Corsica. The geographically marginal status of these dialects is consistent with them retaining the archaic form.