Late Medieval Greek πάλιν: A Discourse Marker Signalling Topic Switch

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DisCOURSE MARKERS (DMs) have in recent years received much attention. The class of DMs covers syntactically diverse and multifunctional elements that have procedural rather than lexical meaning. DMs typically occur in spoken language: they are “predominantly a feature of oral rather than of written discourse.”¹ It should thus not come as a surprise that the study of DMs in so-called ‘dead’ languages is still in its infancy.

This is also the case for Late Medieval Greek (LMG: twelfth to sixteenth centuries). In this article I will demonstrate that the adverb πάλιν (lexical basic meaning: ‘again’) is able to function as a discourse marker in the LMG πολιτικὸς στίχος poetry, which is assumed to deliberately adopt an oral discourse. The interpretation of πάλιν in terms of a DM is based on arguments of a semantic (e.g. difficult to translate), syntactic (e.g. frequent), and prosodic (e.g. unstressed) nature. More specifically, I will argue that non-initial πάλιν can be considered a topic switch marker, as it tends to follow topicalized, i.e. known or at least derivable, information, such as pronouns, demonstrative adverbs and adjectives like ἄλλος (‘another’). Comparative evidence from some Modern Greek dialects will strengthen this view: especially in Pontic, the existence of a suffix pa(l), etymologically derived from πάλιν and functioning as a “particule de thématisation forte,”² is widely recognized.

¹ L. J. Brinton, Pragmatic Markers in English: Grammaticalization and Discourse Functions (Berlin 1996) 33.
² G. Drettas, Aspects pontiques (Paris 1997) 434.
This article is structured as follows: in section one, the class of DMs is defined in general terms. Section two deals with the (few) studies on DMs in LMG. After providing in the third section some information on my corpus, seven substantial πολιτικὸς στίχος romances, I argue in the fourth section for an analysis of πάλιν as a DM signalling a topic switch. In the fifth section I discuss the existence of a comparable topic marker in some Modern Greek dialects. In the last section my conclusions are formulated.

1. Discourse markers: general definition

Although the term ‘discourse marker’ and its abbreviation ‘DM’ are now widely established, several synonyms still exist: pragmatic marker, connective, discourse particle, etc. Besides this lack of uniformity in terminology, the field is also characterized by conceptual confusion: “there is no generally agreed upon definition of the term ‘discourse marker.’” However, the various definitions generally point to two established functions of DMs: a textual and an interpersonal function.

In the interpersonal function, DMs clarify the relation between the speaker and the hearer: DMs “help the speaker divide his message into chunks of information and hence they also help the listener in the process of decoding these information units.” The textual function of DMs points to the fact that they can operate as conduits between different segments of a text (scenes, paragraphs, sentences…): DMs “relate the message to prior discourse” or, somewhat differently, “signal sequential discourse relationships.” As such, DMs can be said to

3 Cf. Brinton, Pragmatic Markers 29.
5 Cf. Brinton, Pragmatic Markers 38 ff.
6 Brinton, Pragmatic Markers 31. This interpersonal level can be further divided into speaker-oriented DMs and hearer-oriented DMs, cf. Brinton 271.
have procedural rather than lexical meaning: they are “usually lexical expressions which do not contribute to the propositional content of a sentence but signal different kinds of messages.”

The multifunctionality of the class of DMs is reflected in its syntactic diversity: it includes single-word items such as ‘so’ as well as phrases such as ‘you see’. Other frequently quoted examples of DMs are ‘after all’, ‘furthermore’, ‘moreover’ (textual), ‘you know’, and ‘I mean’ (interpersonal). As these examples suggest, most research on DMs has taken into account Modern English. Since DMs are “characteristic of speech rather than of writing,” not much attention has been paid to DMs in ‘dead’ languages. This observation also applies to LMG, as we will see in the next section.

2. Discourse markers in Late Medieval Greek

With regard to LMG, the Greek language from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, the evidence for the existence of DMs is scarce. Only two researchers have discussed the possibility of LMG DMs in depth. This is remarkable, for the period under investigation is characterized by the loss of the postpositive

12 Recently, however, Lyavdansky has analyzed several temporal adverbs as DMs in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Akkadian, and Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers*, has written a monograph on DMs—previously labelled “mystery particles”—in Old and Middle English texts which are influenced by an oral discourse.
particles that functioned as DMs in Ancient Greek. Ancient Greek was rich in such particles, following the well-known ‘Law’ of Wackernagel and so appearing in second position (P2), such as γάρ and δὲ. We might thus expect a compensation for the loss: rather than the various nuances and functions of the ancient particles simply disappearing, they were now presumably expressed by other means.

Egea was the first to identify newly formed DMs in LMG. Egea has observed that some words, whose lexical meaning was ‘bleached’, seem to have adopted the discourse functions of the older multifunctional particles: A côté d’anciennes survivances littéraires (γε, γάρ, δέ, δήτα, έι, έιθ’, οὔτως, είπερ, μέν, οὖν, τοιγαροῦ, τε, ὡς) et d’utilisations continues ou renforcées comme les citées καί et ἄλλα, nous enregistrons les mots qui assument la fonction de particules connectives ou emphatiques, comme par exemple: ἄλλα, ἄλλα, ἄλλος; ἄμε (ἄμετα), ἄμη, ἄρτι, αὐτίκα, ἐδάρτε, ἐδά, ἐδε, ἐκεῖ, ἐκ τούτου εὐθύς (ἐνθέως), καλά, καί, κάν, λοιπόν, μήτε (μουδέ), μόνον (μόνι), μά, μωρέ, νά, ὁλος, οὔτε, οὔτως, πάλιν, πάντα (πάντως), πλήν, πολλά, τότε, ὡσάν. Quelques unes d’entre elles, formées pendant la création de la koïné littéraire médiévale, expriment l’emphase (αὐτίκα, ἐδάρτε, ἐδά, ἐδε, καλά, καί, κάν, μόνον (μόνι), μά, μωρέ, ὁλος, ὡσάν) comme le faisant avant γε, δή, ἄρτι, μάλα, μήν, περ, τοι; d’autres (ἐκεῖ, ἐκ τούτου, εὐθύς (ἐνθέως), λοιπόν, οὔτως, πάλιν, τότε), utilisées clairement comme particules connectives, substituent les anciennes (δέ, τε, οὖν, δή, μέντοι, καίτοι).

Loudová, an expert on textual cohesion, also observes that new expressions gradually replace the ancient particles such as καί, δέ, γάρ, οὖν, μέν, τε, and ἄλλα: “the more frequent occurrence of expressions which newly acquire the function of discourse markers is noted, e.g. ἐκ τούτου, εὐθύς, λοιπόν,

14 Cf. A. N. Jannaris, An Historical Greek Grammar (London 1897) 400.
τότε, and these gradually replace the original discourse markers.”

Among these newly formed DMs, λοιπόν (‘hereafter’) constitutes the clearest example. From the LMG period on, this temporal adverb can be used to effect the cohesion between two discourse segments and thus operates at the textual level: “Λοιπόν: Non pas dans le sens de par conséquent ((milliseconds, επο-μένως), mais dans un sens connectif au reste, introduisant souvent un changement de points de vue.” I give an example from my corpus in which λοιπόν clearly functions to “refocus on the current topic”; concluding the ἔκφρασις of the beauty of the girl, we return to the narrative:

1. **LR** 2245–6 κάλλια οὐκ εὑρίσκετον εἰς ἡλικίαν, εἰς κάλλος!
   λοιπὸν πρὸς τὴν διήγησιν ἢς ἔλθω τῶν πραγμάτων.

The next example is similar. After a short digression between brackets, we restart with the facts:

2. **LR** 3568–9 (βραδὺν γὰρ ἐπεσώμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρα, ἑπομένῳ)
   λοιπὸν καβαλικεύστε ἐπάρωμεν τὴν στράταν

It is interesting to note that λοιπόν has preserved this procedural meaning in Standard Modern Greek, especially in spoken discourse: Modern Greek λοιπόν is a “prominent discourse marker in spoken discourse.”

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18 Egea, in *Origini* 116. On the other hand, τὸ λοιπὸν generally functions as a real temporal adverb: K. Loudová (personal communication, 17/08/2011).


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In a completely different context, Thoma also touches upon LMG DMs. In her extensive study on the distribution of weak object pronouns in LMG prose, she distinguishes between truly lexical (temporal) adverbs and adverbs functioning as DMs:21

A point that needs to be discussed, albeit briefly, is Mackridge’s claim that there is variation in the placement of the pronoun after temporal adverbs … In narrative and especially oral narrative research, one-word temporal adverbials, such as τότε (tote) ‘then’, ευθύς/παρευθύς (efthis/parefthis) ‘immediately/then’ etc., are termed ‘discourse markers’ … Their function is very different to that of long temporal fronted adverbials which give a clear temporal line to the text. These one-word temporal discourse markers show continuity in the same sense that the additive marker και (ke) ‘and’ does: they add similar, non-exceptional information … Temporal discourse markers were therefore not accounted for in our counting of fronted adverbs.

The adverb πάλιν, with which the rest of this paper will deal, has not been subject to a thorough investigation.22 Before turning to my analysis, however, it is necessary to provide some information on my corpus.

3. Corpus

I have studied the distribution and the function of πάλιν in a corpus of seven texts composed in the πολιτικὸς στίχος, totalling about 25,000 verses: Achilleis Byzantina (AB), Belthandrus & Chrysandza (BC), Bellum Trojanum (BT), Ilias Byzantina (IB), Imperius & Margarona (IM), Livistros & Rodamne (LR), and Phlorius & Platzia-Phlora (PP).23 These seven texts present a coherent whole

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22 Note, however, that it is found on Egea’s list of newly formed DMs (393 above).

23 To be precise, 25,616 verses: AB: 1926 verses, ed. P. A. Agapitos et al., The Byzantine Achilleid. The Naples Version (Vienna 1999); BC: 1350, J.
and might be called representative: all date from the fourteenth or fifteenth century, the heyday of the LMG vernacular, and all can be labelled ‘romances’, the genre \textit{par excellence} during the Middle Ages.\textsuperscript{24}

From the twelfth century on, the Greeks started to write literature in an idiom close to the vernacular: “Die Verfasser haben jetzt das rhetorische, archaisierende Griechisch aufgegeben und sind dazu übergegangen, in der Volkssprache zu schreiben.”\textsuperscript{25} This use of the ‘vernacular’ is inextricably connected with the fifteen-syllabic πολιτικὸς στίχος, “the standard accentual metre of … medieval and early modern vernacular poetry.”\textsuperscript{26} Thus, if one attempts to examine thoroughly the LMG vernacular, he/she is almost forced to include πολιτικὸς στίχος texts: it is “the usual practice for compiling the corpus for this period, as the poetic vernacular texts are the most numerous.”\textsuperscript{27}

A fixed caesura (\#) divides each verse into two hemistichs of respectively eight and seven syllables.\textsuperscript{28} Occasionally, the first syllable of each hemistich, i.e. the first and the ninth, are also

\textsuperscript{24} Cf. R. Beaton, \textit{The Medieval Greek Romance}\textsuperscript{2} (Cambridge 1996). In the West too, the genre of the romance prospers in this period; \textit{BT}, \textit{IM}, and \textit{PP} are in fact adaptations of western models.

\textsuperscript{25} J. O. Rosenqvist, \textit{Die byzantinische Literatur} (Berlin/New York 2007) 170.


\textsuperscript{28} M. D. Lauxtermann, \textit{The Spring of Rhythm: An Essay on the Political Verse and Other Byzantine Metres} (Vienna 1999).
stressed. The two hemistichs usually constitute two independent syntactic sense-units and elision is avoided at the eighth syllable.\textsuperscript{29}

Despite its metrical and poetic character, however, the language of these texts feels quite natural, for the πολιτικὸς στίχος is a flexible metre with a fluent rhythm: it constitutes “einem Versmaß, welches der natürlichen Aussprache und dem natürlichen Rhythmus der Volkssprache gut angepasst ist.”\textsuperscript{30} Indeed, the Greeks were here no longer writing in artificial archaizing metres based on the long-since disappeared difference between long and short syllables but were taking into account the actually pronounced word accent: “the political verse is a metre of the ear and not of the eye.”\textsuperscript{31} Moreover, the accentual pattern consists of a “natural two-beat rhythm”:\textsuperscript{32} only the even-numbered syllables are allowed to be stressed.\textsuperscript{33} Therefore, its rhythm has been labelled ‘iambic’.

It has been acknowledged that the πολιτικὸς στίχος poetry deliberately adopts an oral discourse.\textsuperscript{34} The most typical manifestation of this oral style is the frequent use of formulas.\textsuperscript{35} In addition, oral performance of the texts under scrutiny is highly

\textsuperscript{29} P. Apostolopoulos, \textit{La Langue du roman byzantin Callimaque et Chrysorrhoé} (Athens 1984) 211 ff.

\textsuperscript{30} Rosenqvist, \textit{Die byzantinische Literatur} 113. The πολιτικὸς στίχος has even been labeled the πεζὸς στίχος, the ‘prosaic verse’: M. Hinterberger, “Sprachliche Variationsformen in volkssprachlichen metrischen Werken der spätbyzantinischen und frühneugriechischen Zeit,” in \textit{Origini} I 158–168, at 165.

\textsuperscript{31} Papathomopoulos and Jeffreys, \textit{The War} lxxxvii.


\textsuperscript{33} Cf. Horrocks, \textit{Greek} 328; cf. §4.3.1 below.


likely: “we might suspect that the ... surviving romances
existed within some sort of tradition of recited poetry.”
Thus, they presumably reflected something like common usage at the
time. This aspect is elaborated by Joseph in order to prove that
historical syntactic studies in Late Medieval Greek are methodo-
dologically justified: “there are many Medieval works written in
an approximation of the spoken language of the period ... even
though no text reflects all the possible elements of the spoken
language.”

4. **πάλιν** as a discourse marker

In what follows, I will argue that in the above outlined
corpus the adverb **πάλιν**—if occurring non-initially—is able to
function as a DM operative at the textual level: more precisely,
as a topic switch marker. For this purpose, I discuss semantic,
syntactic, and prosodic characteristics of DMs formulated by
Brinton. In the absence of a generally approved definition,
Brinton has made a list of frequently maintained criteria to
identify an element as a DM. This summarizing list now seems
accepted as standard. As it would go beyond the scope of this
paper to list all of them, I have selected a number of criteria
which are relevant with regard to my corpus, criteria which the
nature of my corpus, purely written texts, permits to verify. A
characteristic involving pitch accent is for instance considered

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36 G. Betts, *Three Medieval Greek Romances: Velthandros and Chryzandza, Kal-
The existence of variant versions of one and the same story strengthens this
view: “Certainly, the fact that some romances exist in different versions cor-
roborates the hypothesis that they were intended for recitation” (xxx).

Medieval and Modern Greek* (London 1990) 5.

38 Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers* 33 ff.

39 It has for instance been adopted by Jucker and Ziv in their monograph
on DMs. It should be noted that the membership of the class of DMs is best
conceived as a continuum: “While many of the elements analysed in this
volume manifest a significant amount of these basic features, few, if any,
show all of them” some being “more prototypical,” some “more peripheral”
in *Discourse Markers* 2–3).
irrelevant, as it cannot be checked in a written corpus. I will first give the criterion (in italics) and then examine to what extent the criterion in question is applicable to the adverb πάλιν.

4.1 Semantics

4.1.1 Various meanings

“Pragmatic markers are considered to have little or no propositional meaning, or at least to be difficult to specify lexically.”40

Thus, DMs do not have a clearly identifiable meaning. Because it is difficult to capture the exact sense of a DM, various —unsatisfactory—meanings and nuances are suggested.41 This observation truly holds for πάλιν: many meanings of this adverb circulate. However, concise dictionaries often list only the evident—‘lexical’—ones. Egea, for instance, complains about the lacunas in lemmas of πάλιν: “De πάλιν le dictionnaire dit seulement ‘έπιρρημα ξανά, εκ νέου/πίσω/έξάλλου, αντίθετα’; ainsi il n’envisage pas ses valeurs emphatiques ou réponsives.”42 However, the dictionary of Kriaras, the most comprehensive for the period under study, is more complete: five basic meanings (‘back’, ‘again’, ‘on the other hand’, ‘in turn’, ‘moreover’) and several further nuances are distinguished:43

1) α) (Τοπ., συνηθέστερα με q. χίνησης) πίσω, προς τα πίσω …
β) (πλεοναστικά, με q. που ήδη περικλείουν την έννοια “πίσω”)
…
2) (Χρον.) ξανά, πάλι, εκ νέου, ακόμη μία φορά
α) (για να δηλωθεί επανάληψη μιας πράξης ή επιστροφή σε προηγούμενη κατάσταση) …
β) (πλεοναστικά, με q. που ήδη περικλείουν την έννοια “ξανά”) … γ) (στην αρχή αφήγησης για να εισαγάγει τη συνέχεια ενός

40 Brinton, Pragmatic Markers 33, cf. 267.
41 Cf. Brinton, Pragmatic Markers 266.
42 Egea, in Origini 112.
κεφαλαίου η εξιστόρηση του οποίου είχε διακοπεί) ... φρ. αλλάττω (ή αλλάσσω) πάλιν τον λόγον (μου) ...
δ) (σε ιδιαίτ. χρ., για να δώσει έμφαση) ... (στο τέλος μιας μεγάλης αφήγησης) ...
3) (Με αντίθετη σημασία.)
a) (μόνο του ή έπειτα από ονόματα προσώπων και προσωπ. αντων.) εξάλλου, από το άλλο μέρος, όμως ...
b) (συνοδευόμενο από το σύνδ. και σε υποθ. πρόταση που αποτελεί αντίθεση προς μια προθε. υποθ. πρόταση) αν όμως ...
c) (μόνο του ή συνηθ. με το και ή το μα σε πρόταση που εκφράζει υστερήσει αντίθεση προς μια άλλη προθε. πρόταση) μολατάντα, εντούτοις, παρέλ' αυτά ...
4) (Για να δηλωθεί αμοιβαιότητα, διαδοχή, χρονική ακολουθία) με τη σειρά, στη συνέχεια, έπειτα ...
5) (Με προσθετική σημασία.) ακόμη, επίσης, επιπλέον ... (σε προ- εξερευνητική παράθεση) ... (για να εισερχείται νέο κεφάλαιο στην αφήγηση)

4.1.2 Procedural meaning derived from lexical meaning

"The pragmatic meanings that these items acquire are derivable from their original lexical meanings by semantic processes known to underlie grammaticalization."

The wide range of meanings of DMs can often be considered a consequence of their origin, i.e. their grammatical development. DMs usually evolve from full lexical elements to elements having procedural instead of lexical meaning: lexical expressions gradually become used as DMs. As is logical, the procedural meaning is normally closely connected with the lexical one. Moreover, even after developing a procedural meaning, the element in question does not necessarily lose its lexical meaning, so that both uses can coexist. As a consequence, it is often difficult to distinguish between the ‘normal’ lexical use and the use as a pure DM. So e.g. ‘continuing’: its use as a lexical present participle must be distinguished from its

44 Brinton, Pragmatic Markers 65.
use as a DM, as in “continuing, it would be futile for him to try,” where ‘continuing’ refers to the speaker pursuing his story.\textsuperscript{46}

Applied to πάλιν, the first two meanings which Kriaras’ dictionary has distinguished can be considered purely lexical: a spatial one (‘Τοπ.’: ‘back’) and a temporal one (‘Χρόν.’: ‘again’).\textsuperscript{47} The remaining meanings (‘on the other hand’, ‘in turn’, ‘moreover’) rather point to a procedural meaning, as their English equivalents suggest.\textsuperscript{48} However, it is sometimes difficult to draw a sharp distinction between the lexical and the procedural use: some instances of πάλιν are best situated “on the very borderline between the adverbial conceptual meaning and the function of … discourse marker.”\textsuperscript{49} The fact that we are dealing with dead languages makes it even more entangling, as Lyavdansky states: “I am trying to understand to what extent it is possible to distinguish between adverbal and non-adverbal uses for dead languages.”\textsuperscript{50}

4.1.3 \textit{Difficult to translate}

“They are difficult to translate into other languages.”\textsuperscript{51}

Naturally, this characteristic of DMs is inextricably connected with the already-mentioned characteristics of DMs. A number of romances of my corpus have been translated into another language: Betts for instance renders the stories of LR and BC into English, while Egea provides BC a Spanish line-by-line translation. Cupane has translated AB and BC into Italian.\textsuperscript{52} A random check suggests that these translators often

\textsuperscript{49} Loudová, in \textit{Early European Languages} 194.
\textsuperscript{51} Brinton, \textit{Pragmatic Markers} 34.
\textsuperscript{52} Betts, \textit{Three Medieval Greek Romances}; Egea, \textit{Historia extraordinaria}; C. Cu-

\textit{Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies} 53 (2013) 390–419
have difficulties translating πάλιν appropriately. Various translations occur, of which some certainly point to its use as DM: ‘in turn’ and ‘in reply’, but also ‘then’ is a popular English equivalent; in Italian we find ‘poi’ (‘then’) and ‘allora’ (‘then’). Most revealingly, πάλιν is sometimes left simply untranslated, for instance:

3. BC 83 {Καὶ} Τότε πάλιν τὸν Φίλαρμον, # τὸν κάλλιστον τὸν νέον
   Egea 62: “Y entonces a Filarmo, el bellísimo joven”

4. BC 856 Ἐκείνη πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν # ἄντεψε τοιάδε
   Egea 106: “Y ella le contestó palabras tales”

5. LR 2956 Ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν τὴν βουλὴν # ἐμαθα τοῦ πατρός μου
   Betts 160: “But I learnt of my father’s plan”

6. LR 2960 Ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν δούλωσις # ἀνταποκρίνομαι τὸν
   Betts 161: “I dutifully replied to him”

7. BC 342 ἄλλον πάλιν ὡς ἀνανδρὸν # ποδοσιδηρωμένον
   Betts 11: “Another was of a man with his feet in irons”
   Cupane 249: “un altro rappresentava un uomo con i ferri ai piedi”
   Egea 76: “otro, como figura de hombre, los pies encadenados”

4.2 Syntax
4.2.1 Frequent and typical of oral discourse

“Pragmatic markers appear with high frequency in oral discourse, sometimes with more than one occurring in a single sentence.”

This statement points to two characteristics of DMs: their frequency and their preference for oral discourse. With regard to my corpus, πάλιν satisfies both criteria. In a total of approximately 25,000 verses, it occurs 773 times, more than three times per hundred verses, and thus can hardly be con-
sidered a rare phenomenon. As for the preference of DMs for spoken rather than written language, it has been observed that the πολιτικὸς στίχος romances deliberately adopt an oral discourse and that they are presumably written in an approximation of the spoken language of the period.\textsuperscript{55}

4.2.2 Positional flexibility

“It is often said that pragmatic markers are restricted to sentence-initial position, or may always occur sentence initially … However, as is pointed out in general studies and shown in studies of individual markers, they frequently appear sentence medially and finally as well.”\textsuperscript{56}

When dealing with πολιτικὸς στίχος data, the concept ‘sentence’ does not make much sense. As the following passage shows, the insertion of a full stop is often an arbitrary affair (LR 145–147):

καὶ παρευθὺς ἐγύρισεν # ἀπὸ τοσοῦτον ὑψος

καὶ εἶδα καὶ ἔξενισθην το # καὶ μέριμνα μὲ ἐσέβην.

The language of my corpus, like all oral and quasi-oral narrative, is characterized by parataxis.\textsuperscript{57} Accordingly, we should define the distributional pattern of πάλιν on the basis of the verse structure. As such, two main positions are distinguished: either hemistich-initial or hemistich-‘interrupting’ (i.e. inside the hemistich). Nevertheless, for statistical accuracy, I have subdivided the former group into verse-initial and postcaesural. Since πάλιν often does not immediately open the hemistich but is preceded by ‘Auftaktpartikel’ καί, I have also distinguished these categories. The emerging picture is as follows:

\textsuperscript{55} Cf. Joseph, Morphology and Universals 5 ff; cf. §3.

\textsuperscript{56} Brinton, Pragmatic Markers 33.

The few instances of hemistich-final πάλιν are reckoned among the hemistich-interrupting class. The adverb under scrutiny thus displays much positional flexibility, yet its precise position seems linked to its meaning.

Slightly more than half of the instances occur hemistich-initially (422/773). First position (P1) is “a characteristic position for items of emphasis or contrast in Greek.” With regard to Ancient Greek, Dover has drawn up a list of words which are “disproportionally common” at initial position, since these words are emphasized “by nature,” such as emphatic personal pronouns. To this well-known inventory of so-called ‘preferential words’, Morin provides a supplement and adds πάλιν.

It seems that in this position, P1, πάλιν usually has its purely lexical, adverbial meaning: ‘back’ (spatial) or ‘again’ (temporal), for instance:

8. *IM 178* μὴ ν’ ἀνασάνω τίποτε # καὶ πάλιν νὰ γυρίσω
“so that I will find some relief and I will come back [= I will return]”

9. *PP 1751–2* Ἀκούει ταῦτα ἡ λυγερή, # ὀλιγωρά καὶ πάλιν συμφέρει, ἐγένεται, # κλαίει καὶ ἀναστενάζει
“The tender one hears these things, she becomes weak and falls; she becomes conscious again [= she regains consciousness], she cries and sighs”


[Table 1: Position of πάλιν]

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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>773</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hemistich-initial</td>
<td>110</td>
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<tr>
<td>Verse-initial</td>
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<td>Verse-initial after καὶ</td>
<td>144</td>
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<tr>
<td>Postcaesural</td>
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<td>Postcaesural after καὶ</td>
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<td></td>
<td>36</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hemistich-interrupting</td>
<td>351</td>
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The non-initial instances of πάλιν (351/773) are often more difficult to translate, which suggests that they have a more procedural meaning, like true DMs. In what follows, I will concentrate on these hemistich-interrupting examples of πάλιν.

4.2.3 Preference for P2

No less than 86.6% of the non-initial examples of πάλιν (304/351) occur immediately after the first word/constituent of the hemistich and are thus found at P2, which is a typical place for postpositive particles obeying the Law of Wackernagel (cf. §2). As mentioned above, the disappearance of these particles in LMG has been related to newly formed DMs. I will argue that in this position πάλιν functions as such a new DM: more precisely, it functions as a DM operative at the textual level, namely as a DM indicating a topic switch. This statement is twofold: first, I will show that πάλιν tends to mark topicalized, i.e. known or at least derivable, information (§4.2.3.1), then that it usually involves a switch (§4.2.3.2).

4.2.3.1 Topic

The question arises after which kind of elements non-initial πάλιν appears—or in other words, what is the nature of the—usually P1—words which precede πάλιν? If we are asking after the nature of words, we should make a distinction between their grammatical role and their lexical word class, for instance:

10. LR 25 οι πάντες να ἐγνωσίετε # ἄνθρωπον πάλιν νέον

In this example, πάλιν appears at P2 after the P1-word ἄνθρωπον, whose grammatical role is object, while it belongs to the nouns with respect to lexical word class. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modifier</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remainder (vocative, parenthetical, conj)</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicate</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Grammatical role of the word before non-initial πάλιν
Especially the classification according to lexical word class is revealing: more than a quarter of the words before non-initial πάλιν (88/351) are pronouns, either personal pronouns such as ἐγώ or demonstrative pronouns of an anaphoric (i.e. pointing back) nature such as ἐκεῖνος. Pronouns constitute examples of known or referentially given information, since they are only used if their referent has already been given in discourse, either in the textual context or extralinguistically. Or their referent should be at least derivable from the (extra)textual context. It has been established that there is an empirical correlation between referential givenness and topicalized information, i.e. information on what the utterance is about: topics “have to attain a certain level of referential givenness … in order to function cognitively as ‘the peg on which the message is hung.‘”\textsuperscript{63} As such, pronouns are prototypical topics: “Topics

\textsuperscript{61} I have also reckoned the particle νό in this category.


\textsuperscript{63} N. Hedberg and L. Fadden, “The Information Structure of It-clefs, Wh-clefs and Reverse Wh-clefs in English,” in N. Hedberg and R. Zacharski (eds.), \textit{The Grammar–Pragmatics Interface: Essays in Honor of Jeanette K. Gundel} (Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2007) 49–76, at 49–50. In theory, referential givenness and topicalized information are independent concepts: topicalized information does not necessarily consist of referentially given information: “The topic has often been previously introduced into the discourse, but does not have to” (C. Féry, “The Fallacy of Invariant Phono-
are typically expressed by means of ... anaphoric pronouns.\textsuperscript{64} The observation that πάλιν tends to occur after pronouns thus suggests that it prefers to follow topicalized information, for instance:

11. \textit{BT} 12077 Τοσαῦτα πάλιν λέγοντα # εὐθειάνουν τά καράβια
12. LR 3041 Καὶ ἐμέναν πάλιν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ # ἐπαίρνει νά ὑπαγαίνῃ
13. LR 841 Ἄπτ᾽ αὐτήν πάλιν ἔστεκεν # ἦ Ἱσπεινοφροσύνη

In complete accordance with the semantic characteristics of DMs, it is often difficult to translate πάλιν in these examples (cf. §4.1.3): the lexical meanings ‘again’ or ‘back’ make no sense. The more procedural meanings ‘on the other hand’ or ‘in turn’ might constitute a more appropriate translation (cf. §4.1.2). This is definitely the case when the grammatical role of the pronoun is the subject. In fact, in the majority of the examples involving a pronoun (51/88), the pronoun constitutes the subject:

14. \textit{BT} 9131 ὅλον νὰ ἐχῃ ἀπὸ ἐμὲν, # καὶ ἐγὼ πάλε ὧπτ᾽ ἐκεῖνον
15. \textit{IM} 742 οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνη πάλιν αὐτῶν # διὰ τὴν ἀσθενείαν τοῦ
16. \textit{BC} 754 Ἐκεῖνος πάλιν σύντομα # τὸν ἄγιον κατελάλει\textsuperscript{65}

Two other facts confirm the observation that πάλιν tends to follow topicalized information. If we examine the adverbs and adjectives preceding πάλιν more closely, we observe that i) the adverbs typically have a demonstrative value; ii) both the adjectives and the adverbs often involve a form of the adjective

\footnotesize

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{65} Cf. Betts’s translation of this verse: “He in turn briefly addresses the prince.”
ἄλλος (‘another’) or an ordinal number. As for the adverbs (64 in total), no less than 53 are demonstrative adverbs of a spatial (‘here’, ‘there’) or a temporal (‘now’, ‘then’) nature:66

17. BT 4402 Ἔδωθεν πάλε ὁ Τρώιλος # μὲ τὸ κάλλον ἄλλαῖν
18. BT 3975 Ἐδάρτε πάλιν εἶχασιν # οἱ Τρώες γὰρ τὸ κάλλον
19. BC 730 ἑκεῖσε πάλιν ἑσπερεψεν # ἐνθα τὸ πρῶτον εἴδε

As such, these adverbs are closely related to the above-mentioned demonstrative anaphoric pronouns and accordingly present referentially given and thus topicalized information. The same holds for the adjective ἄλλος (‘another’). It refers back to a known ‘other’ and thus implies topicalized information, as the lemma of ἄλλος in LSJ illustrates: “another, i.e. one besides what has been mentioned.” No less than 24 words (mostly adjectives, but also adverbs) preceding πάλιν contain a form of ἄλλος:

20. BT 1292 Ἀνθενωρίδα ἔκουεν # ἤ μία, καὶ ἤ ἄλλη πάλιν
21. AB 868 ἄλλοτε πάλιν ἔπλεκαν # οἱ Ἐρωτες τὰ ἀνή
22. BT 4701 καὶ ἄλλοι πάλιν βασιλεῖς # ἐξήροντα καὶ πλέον

Moreover, πάλιν is found 10 times after an ordinal number, which can be said to function in a similar way to ἄλλος, implying an already mentioned ‘former one’:

23. BT 10572-4 ἡ πρώτη Κασπιόνισσα, # ἡ δευτέρα Περσίκα,
          ἡ τρίτη πάλιν λέγεται # ἡ τῆς Τιβεριάδος,
          ἡ τετάρτη Ἀλφάτινος, # Ῥουβροῦμ ἡ πέμπτη πάλιν

I have made another observation which points to the topicalized nature of the word before πάλιν. In a few cases, πάλιν and the preceding (P1-)word are detached from the rest of the utterance by a parenthetical (verb and/or vocative):

24. BT 5345 Τοῦτο δὲ πάλιν, λέγω σας, # ἔπαρηγόρει τούτους
25. BT 11874 Ἀλλ’, οὕτος πάλιν ἡξενεῖ # τόσα νὰ τὸν συντύχῃ
26. LR 2767 Καὶ ἐγὼ πάλιν, παιδία μου, # δὸς μπορώ, νὰ πράττω

It has been established that a dislocated position is a typical

66 Other examples include ἀπαύτου, ἀπέδω, ἀπεκεῖ, ἐδά, ἐδῶ, ἐκεῖ, ἐνταῦτα, ἐξοπίσω, ἐπάνωθεν, ἐσώθεν, νῦν, τότε, τόρα.

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position for topicalized information.\textsuperscript{67}

In sum, pronouns, demonstrative adverbs, and ἄλλος and the like are all truly indicative of referentially given and thus topicalized information. Revealingly, these words constitute almost half of the total of words preceding non-initial πάλιν (175 \([88+53+34]/351\)). In what follows, I will take only these truly topicalized words into account, although the thesis that πάλιν constitutes a topic switch marker might also be valid with regard to the other non-initial examples of πάλιν.\textsuperscript{68}

4.2.3.2 Switch

I have now sufficiently illustrated the first part of my claim, that πάλιν marks topicalized information. This section demonstrates the second part: πάλιν involves a shift in topic. Topic switch markers are a recognized subcategory of the class of DMs: DMs might signal a “shift in topic or character” or an “interruption or resumption of topic.”\textsuperscript{69} Especially with regard to pronouns exercising the grammatical role of subject, i.e. pronominal subjects, the switch is obvious, as the previous verse often contains another subject, for instance:

27. \textit{AB} 973–4 οἱ Ἐρωτεῖς μὲ ἐφόνευσαν # καὶ κατετρώσασίν με.

Edward Πάλιν τοὺς Ἐρωτας # νὰ τοὺς παρακαλέσω

It is instructive to note that it is not necessary to express the pronominal subject of the first or second person from a grammatical point of view. Syntactically speaking, ἐγώ is thus superfluous in the above example. Indeed, in Greek, being a so-called ‘pro-drop’ language, the subject is perfectly derivable from the verb morphology, παρακαλέσω in this case. Consequently, the presence of the pronoun must be pragmatically


\textsuperscript{68} The detachment of πάλιν + preceding word by a parenthetical for instance is also found in examples involving a noun; two examples with a proper name: \textit{BT} 12772 Ο Αίας πάλιν, ἥξευε, # τόσα ἦτον γομισμένος; \textit{BT} 2064 Ἡ Ἑλένη πάλιν, λέγο σας, # ἡ τούτων αὐταδέλφη.

\textsuperscript{69} Brinton, Pragmatic Markers 268.
motivated: the speaker clearly wants to emphasize the (shift in) subject: “as in any (so-called) ‘empty subject’ or ‘pro-drop’ language, full pronoun subjects in Later Medieval Greek should be an indication that there is emphasis placed on the subject.”

Often, another pronominal subject is found in the immediate context:

28. *LR* 3182–3 καὶ ἐγὼ πολλά ἔξεταξα # καὶ ἀνεφώτησα τὸν καὶ ἐκεῖνος πάλιν εἴπε με # μέρος διὰ τοῦ Λιβίστου
29. *BT* 864–5 ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Τελαμώνιος μὲ τὸν λαὸν μας ὄλον ἐμπροσ τὸς ἐπιπεραινόμεν* # καὶ σὺ πάλιν ἕξοπισω
30. *BT* 11309 Ἐγὼ πατήρ σου εὑρίσκω, # ἐσὺ δὲ πάλιν νίκος μου

As our last example indicates, the distribution of the particle δέ is interesting. As is the case for all P2-particles, the use of this postpositive has been strongly diminished in LMG. In Ancient Greek δέ could be used as an adversative particle. The fact that non-initial πάλιν is in more than 10% of the cases (37/351) accompanied by δέ strengthens the view that πάλιν involves a topic switch:

31. *LR* 2611 Ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν ἔξαραξα # τοὺς πρῶτους τῶν δαίμονων
32. *LR* 478 Νῦν δὲ πάλιν ὄριζουσιν: # “Νά σέβης ἓ ὁλον σπίτιν
33. *BT* 586 Τὴν τρίχαν μόνον ἔπαρε, # αὐτὸν δὲ πάλιν ἄφες
34. *BC* 361 ἄλλην δὲ πάλιν ἔγραψε # ἄχροντιο<σ>αν γυναῖκα

Interestingly, an example given by Kriaras under 3α contains both a shift in pronominal subject (from εκείνοι to ημείς) and a particle δέ (cf. §4.1.1). As such, it provides a genuine example of πάλιν as a topic switch marker:

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71 In these examples, we might even argue that πάλιν functions as a contrastive topic marker.

72 Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar* 400; cf. §2.

73 Denniston, *The Greek Particles* 165 ff.
εκείνοι τα λαβράκια … ημείς δε πάλιν τρώγομεν αυτό το πώς το λέγουν (Prodromos Ptochodrom. 4.409–412).

Furthermore, the lay-out of editions might also be suggestive with regard to an interpretation in terms of a switch. Especially in the extensive edition of BT carried out by Papathomopoulos and Jeffreys, it strikes the eye that of the 261 verses containing a non-initial instance of πάλ(ιν), no less than 34 (13%) are right-indented and thus start a new paragraph:

35. BT 12020–1 καλλιώτερη οὐχ ἐγίνετον # εἰς φρόνειν, εἰς γνῶσιν.

36. BT 13557–8 βασιλέα τὸν ἔστεψεν # ὁ καλὸς Μενέστεας.

37. BT 14090–1 καὶ εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἀπαντα ἐλέγαν ὧτε ἐκεῖνον.

Although this editorial practice does not reflect a feature of the manuscripts, it does signal that the editors intuitively feel that these verses involve a shift in discourse.\(^{74}\)

4.3 Prosody

My interpretation of non-initial πάλιν as a DM is also supported by prosodic arguments. At first sight this might be surprising given the nature of my corpus. However, thanks to their metrical nature the texts under investigation are not completely without prosodic information (cf. §3).

4.3.1 Unstressed

“Pragmatic markers are … often unstressed.”\(^{75}\)

The πολιτικὸς στίχος is an accentual metre with an iambic pattern, which means that in principle only the even syllables—and the first syllable of each hemistich—can be stressed (cf. §3): “Another feature rarely found in the traditional fifteen-syllable verse of folk poetry are wrenched accents on odd-numbered

\(^{74}\) E. Jeffreys in personal communication (19/11/12): “The word πάλιν seems to me to have several usages in the War of Troy, though I have never set them out systematically; discourse marking may well be one of them.”

\(^{75}\) Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers* 33.
However, not all accents underlie a prosodic reality. It has been acknowledged that the accents on some words have no true prosodic and thus no metrical value, “l’accent des mots ‘synnomes’ n’ayant aucune valeur métrique.” Apostolopoulos includes in his class of “mots synnomes” conjunctions, prepositions, definite articles, and the weak pronouns. As for P2-particles, it has long since been established that their accents are of an artificial nature: it is a mere orthographic convention to accentuate them. As such, the accented syllables of these words can appear at uneven positions without any problem, i.e. without interrupting the iambic rhythm of the πολιτικὸς στίχος.

Interestingly, the accented syllable of non-initial πάλιν is sometimes found at odd-numbered syllables. This points to the unstressed character of πάλιν. In the next two examples πά- appears respectively at the third and at the eleventh syllable:

38. AB 974 Ἐγὼ πάλιν τούς Ἐρωτας # νά τούς παρακαλέω
39. LR 3054 πεζεύουν, προσκυνοῦσιν τον # και ἐμὲν πάλιν ὁμοίως

It is natural that the accent on πά- is weak in these examples: according to the rules of Greek prosody, “when there are two adjacent stressed syllables in a line, the stress of the one syllable is lost or weakened to such a degree that it is no longer counted. The lost stress depends on the metre of the whole line: if the line is iambic then the stress of the odd syllable is lost.”

The unstressed character of πάλιν has already been suggested by Egea: “peut-être pourrait-on entendre une accentuation οὐδέ πάλιν νά βλέπω.”

77 Apostolopoulos, *La Langue* 213.
80 Parides, *The Fifteen-Syllable Verse* 20 n.57.
81 Egea, in *Origin* 112.

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4.3.2 Shortness and reduction

“Pragmatic markers are ‘short’ items ... often phonologically reduced (Schiffrin 1987: 328).”

πάλιν also satisfies this criterion: it contains only two syllables. Moreover, it can be phonologically reduced to πάλι or πάλε, for instance:

40. LR 3816 καὶ τώρα πάλε μετ’ ἔμεν # ἐχω τὴν ἀθλιψίαν

However, it should be noted that the loss of the final -ν is a regular sound change in Late Medieval Greek: “final -ν was labile.”

In any case, if one of these two shorter alternative forms is followed by a vowel-initial word, it usually undergoes elision. Hence, it becomes monosyllabic (πάλι):

41. BT 5479 Ἡμεῖς πάλε ὄρεγόμεθεν # ἀνάπαυσιν τοῦ κόπου
42. BT 7422 ἀκ’ αὐτοὺς εἶχα τὴν τιμήν, # αὐτοὶ πάλε εξ ἔμενα
43. BT 9642 Καὶ τότε πάλ’ ἐστάθηκεν # ἡ τροπή τοῦ φονοούσιον

5. Modern Greek dialects: pa(l)

In some Modern Greek dialects, namely Pontic, Cappadocian, and Roumeic, the DM πάλιν seems to live on in an even more reduced form. In Pontic, a “suffixed particle” pa(l) exists which is “etymologically related to the Ancient Greek adverb palin.”

Interestingly, it is called a “particule de théma-

82 Brinton, Pragmatic Markers 33.
83 R. Browning, Medieval and Modern Greek (Cambridge 1999) 81.
tisation forte".\textsuperscript{86} "It has already been noted in the literature that the use of the particle \textit{pa} is an extremely frequent top-

icalisation strategy."\textsuperscript{87} More precisely, \textit{pa(l)} constitutes a "post-

osition atone qui se joint au dernier élément ou à l’élément unique d’un segment thématique."\textsuperscript{88} As such, it has been re-

lated to the Ancient Greek postpositive particles: "Ancient

Greek, like most Wackernagel languages, was rich in different

sentential enclitics like \textit{µέν} (but), \textit{δέ} (but), \textit{γάρ} (for) etc. A dia-

tectal trace of such elements, in the form of \textit{pa}, is found in

Pontic."\textsuperscript{89}

These definitions are inevitably reminiscent of the use of

non-initial \textit{πάλιν} in LMG. Moreover, the examples which

Drettas, an expert on Pontic, discusses show striking resem-

blances to my examples of non-initial \textit{πάλιν}, as most involve a

pronoun:\textsuperscript{90}

27. \textit{enkálesanaten} son-vasiléan

\textit{ekinos-pa} antónios étone ton-keríon ekínon

"On la convoqua devant le roi.

Celui-là–c’était Antonius, à cette époque là—" (ex. 93)

28. \textit{i-thatóyèrèt} ekíne-pa ekíne kjà ènton kaloy rèa

\textit{ekíne-pa} kà-eséven so-manastir

"Sa fille … ben, celle-là … et bien elle est devenue religieuse,

celle-là, (mais) elle n’alla pas au couvent, celle-là" (ex. 94)

29. \textit{emis érθam} asi-xuílin ason-pontón

\textit{ekíne-pa} érθan asin-rusian

"Nous, nous sommes venus de Xuštíli, du Pont. \n
Quant à eux, ils sont venus de Russie" (ex. 95)

30. \textit{e’yo-pa }\textit{leýose} leýose mi-ka’pnijs |

"Et moi, je te dis, je te dis ne fume pas" (ex. 111)

\textsuperscript{86} Drettas, \textit{Aspects pontiques} 434.

\textsuperscript{87} Kaltsa and Sitaridou, in \textit{Online Proceedings} 263.

\textsuperscript{88} Drettas, \textit{Aspects pontiques} 434.

\textsuperscript{89} A. Ralli, “Syntactic and Morphosyntactic Phenomena in Modern


159, at 131–132.

\textsuperscript{90} Drettas, \textit{Aspects pontiques} 436 ff.

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However, “la thématisation forte d’un circonstant,” either of a spatial or of a temporal nature, is also possible, which in turn constitutes a clear parallel with my examples of πάλιν after demonstrative adverbs.\textsuperscript{91} In Papadopoulos’ Pontic text fragments, I have also found examples of \textit{pa(l)} after a form of ἄλλος, for instance:\textsuperscript{92}

31. καὶ γὰρ τ’ ἄλλο πα ἐπαν (p.206)

Moreover, it has been noted that \textit{pa(l)} often causes translational problems, as does πάλιν (cf. §4.1.3.): “les quelques ponticophones qui ont écrit sur leur dialecte, ont eu beaucoup de difficulté à présenter le fonctionnement du -\textit{pa}/ de façon claire et, surtout, à le traduire en dhimotiki ou en katharevousa.”\textsuperscript{93}

In his Pontic grammar, Papadopoulos provides some Pontic text fragments with a literal Standard Modern Greek translation.\textsuperscript{94} He always translates \textit{pa(l)} with καί, except once. As a matter of fact, in his Pontic lexicon he suggests the equivalence of \textit{pa(l)} and καί: “3) Ὑς σύνδ. ἐπιδοτικὸς ἰσον μὲ τὸ καί τίθεται μετά τὴν λέξιν καὶ ἐγκλίνεται: Ἐγὼ παλ’ θέλω. Ἐκεῖνος παλ’ εἶδεν ἀτο. Ἀμον ντὸ εἶπα σε ἐγὼ, ἐσύ πα αέτσ’ σοίσον.”\textsuperscript{95} As these examples show, pronouns are very popular candidates for \textit{pa(l)} to attach to in his corpus; some other examples include:

32. Ἐκεῖνη πα εἶπε ἐμένα (p.184)
33. Ἐγὼ πα αέτο’ θὰ ἐποιν’να (p.198)

Revealingly, in the isolated instance in which Papadopoulos does not translate \textit{pa(l)} with καί, he gives the DM λοιπόν as its Standard Modern Greek equivalent.\textsuperscript{96}

So far, it may seem that \textit{pa(l)} is a uniquely Pontic phenomen-
enon, i.e. the result of an idiosyncratic internal evolution within this dialect, as Joseph suggests: “Pontic presents a ‘particule de thématisation forte’, i.e. a topic marker, pa, which does not have a ready counterpart in other dialects.”

Nevertheless, the phenomenon is more widespread. Cappadocian uses the particle pal(i) with a similar purpose: we observe “the use of πάλιν to introduce a fresh fact in the narrative, which is very characteristic of Pontic.”

I give two examples taken from Dawkins in which this use is very clear. The first involves a pronominal subject of the first person (cf. ‘for my/our part’), the second a demonstrative adverb of space:

34. xás ta maðìsi i xóra
   “let the stranger reap”
   γó páli a ipáu s’ istšáði
   “I for my part will go into the shade” …
   ’s pái i xóra, maðìsi son temísi
   “let the strange woman go reap in the heat”
   mís páli a kâtsümí s’ istšáðt
   “we for our part will sit in the shade” (pp.566–567)

35. írtami si férka
   “we came to Férka” …
   abidží írtam so kséni ti
   “from there we came to Xéniti”
   abidží páli írtam so xoríu, sin, kíška
   “from there we came back to the village, to Kíška” (568–569)

Interestingly, in his discussion of the distribution of weak object pronouns in Cappadocian, Barri distinguishes between a stressed form of pal(i) and an unstressed one, saying that the pronouns are preverbal if preceded by pal(i) “de nouveau,” “mais seulement quand il est fortement accentué.”

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tion between the truly lexical and stressed adverb (preverbal pronouns?) and the adverb functioning as a DM (postverbal pronouns?) could indeed be revealing.100

Moreover, Roumeic as well has a particle pa(l). Kisilier, to my knowledge the only one who has studied it in depth, also tentatively compares Roumeic pa with the ancient postpositive particles.101 According to Kisilier, Roumeic pa functions as an “emphatic marker.” However, it is not entirely clear to me how he conceives the concept of emphasis. Relying on the examples he cites, I consider it plausible that he actually describes a phenomenon of the same kind as pa(l)(i) in Pontic and Cappadocian. Again, pronouns are likely candidates to precede pa:

36. Ἀτός δὴ ἀρτα μακρά, γό παν νά πάγυ
   “he’s gone a long time ago [or far away], and I have to go as well”102

Moreover, some demonstrative adverbs of space and time, such as adó (‘here’), are also often followed by pa.103 Interestingly, Kisilier points to the semantic shallowness of the particle: “It is not easy to find an appropriate equivalent to translate it.”104

Unfortunately, not much has been written about pa(l)(i) in the Modern Greek dialects. Further dialectal research on it is thus highly desired, as Ralli observes with regard to Roumeic:

103 Kisilier, in Proceedings 2.
104 Kisilier, in Proceedings 2; cf. §4.1.3.
“The presence or absence of pa in the Roumeic dialect requires a thorough investigation.” Nonetheless, the available data strongly suggest that my interpretation of LMG πάλιν as a topic switch marker is justified. The use of pa(l)(i) in Roumeic, Cappadocian, and especially Pontic is certainly comparable to the functioning of non-initial πάλιν in LMG. It looks as if the origin of pa(l)(i) in the different contemporary dialects can be traced back to LMG πάλιν, as the following quotation suggests: “The use of pa as a discourse marker seems to be a clear case of grammaticalisation from an adverb (lexical) to a topic marker.”

6. Conclusion

In this article I have argued that the adverb πάλιν is able to function as a DM operative at the textual level in LMG. More specifically, if occurring non-initially, πάλιν constitutes a topic switch marker: non-initial πάλιν tends to occur at P2 following pronouns, demonstrative adverbs, and forms of ἄλλος and the like. These words typically represent referentially given and thus topicalized information. Moreover, πάλιν usually involves a shift in topic. In this function, it is found in large numbers, is often difficult to translate (‘in turn’?), and might be prosodically unstressed (weak accent on πά) and even phonologically reduced (πάλ’), which are all acknowledged characteristics of DMs. Furthermore, dialectal evidence from Pontic, Cappadocian, and Roumeic strengthens the interpretation of πάλιν in terms of a topic switch marker. Further research on dialectal pa(l)(i) is called for, as it could shed light on the diachronic evolution of πάλιν.

On occasion, a comparison was drawn between the distribution and functioning of πάλιν and the ancient P2-particles. This parallel is not far-fetched: the disappearance of the post-positive particles has already been related to the use of newly formed DMs in LMG. Indeed, it would be awkward if the

106 Kaltsa and Sitaridou, in *Online Proceedings* 263 n.3.
various nuances which these particles express all suddenly became lost. It is much more likely that their procedural meanings have been transposed to other elements. Thus, DMs deserve more attention in LMG and especially in πολιτικὸς στίχος poetry, since this kind of poetry deliberately adopts an oral discourse, i.e. the type of discourse in which DMs typically occur.107

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