Late Medieval Greek πάλιν: A Discourse Marker Signalling Topic Switch

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D ISCOURSE 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.

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[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 πο-λιτικὸς 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.[3] 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.'"[4] However, the various definitions generally point to two established functions of DMs: a textual and an interpersonal function.[5]

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."[6] 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."[7] As such, DMs can be said to

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[3] Cf. Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers* 29.

[4] A. H. Jucker and Y. Ziv (eds.), "Introduction," in *Discourse Markers: Descriptions and Theory* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia 1998) 1–12, at 1.

[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.

[7] B. Fraser, "An Approach to Discourse Markers," *Journal of Pragmatics* 14 (1990) 383–395, at 387 and 392.

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."[8]

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'.[9] Other frequently quoted examples of DMs are 'after all', 'furthermore', 'moreover' (textual), 'you know', and 'I mean' (interpersonal).[10] As these examples suggest, most research on DMs has taken into account Modern English. Since DMs are "characteristic of speech rather than of writing,"[11] not much attention has been paid to DMs in 'dead' languages.[12] 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.[13] 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

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[8] B. Fraser, "What are Discourse Markers?" *Journal of Pragmatics* 31 (1999) 931–952, at 936.

[9] Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers* 29–30.

[10] Cf. Fraser, *Journal of Pragmatics* 31 (1999) 931–952; D. Schiffrin, *Discourse Markers* (London 1987).

[11] A. Lyavdansky, "Temporal Deictic Adverbs as Discourse Markers in Hebrew, Aramaic and Akkadian," *Journal of Language Relationship* 3 (2010) 79–99, at 81.

[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.

[13] Cf. S. Wahlgren, "Particles in Byzantine Historical Texts," in A. Piltz et al. (eds.), *For Particular Reasons. Studies in Honour of Jerker Blomqvist* (Lund 2003) 333–340, at 333; K. Loudová, "Discourse Markers in Early Byzantine Narrative Prose," *Studies in Greek Linguistics* 29 (Thessaloniki 2009) 296–312.

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particles that functioned as DMs in Ancient Greek.[14] Ancient Greek was rich in such particles,[15] following the well-known 'Law' of Wackernagel and so appearing in second position (P2), such as γάρ and δέ. 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:[16]

> A côté d'anciennes survivances littéraires (γε, γάρ, δέ, δῆτα, εἰ, εἶθ', οὕτως, εἴπερ, μέν, οὖν, τοιγαροῦν, τε, ὡς) et d'utilisations continues ou renforcées comme les citées καὶ et ἀλλά, nous enregistrons les mots qui assument la fonction de particules connectives ou emphatiques, comme par exemple: ἀλλά, ἀλλέως, ἀμὲ (ἀμέτε), ἀμή, ἄρτι, αὐτίκα, ἐδάρτε, ἐδά, ἔδε, ἐκεῖ, ἐκ τούτου εὐθὺς (εὐθέως), καλά, καί, κἄν, λοιπόν, μήτε (μουδέ), μόνον (μόνι), μά, μωρέ, νά, ὅλως, οὐδέ, οὔτε, οὕτως, 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, ἔδε, καλά, καί, κἄν, μόνον (μόνι), μά, μωρέ, ὅλως, ὡσάν) comme le faisant avant γε, δή, ἦ, θην, μάλα, μήν, περ, τοι; d'autres (ἐκεῖ, ἐκ τούτου, εὐθύς (εὐθέως), λοιπόν, οὕτως, 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 ἀλλά: "the more frequent occurrence of expressions which newly acquire the function of discourse markers is noted, e.g. ἐκ τούτου, εὐθύς, λοιπόν,

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[14] Cf. A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar* (London 1897) 400.

[15] Cf. J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*² (Oxford 1950).

[16] J. M. Egea, "Les particules en grec médiéval," in N. M. Panayotakis (ed.), *Origini della letteratura neogreca* I (Venice 1993) 109–117, at 115–116.

τότε, and these gradually replace the original discourse markers."[17]

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* (ἄρα, ἑπομένως), mais dans un sens connectif au reste, introduisant souvent un changement de points de vue."[18] I give an example from my corpus in which λοιπόν clearly functions to "refocus on the current topic";[19] 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 ἃς 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 ἐπεσώσαμεν εἰς τὸ ξενοδοχεῖον)·
   λοιπὸν καβαλικεύσετε νὰ 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."[20]

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[17] K. Loudová, "Cohesive Textual Means in Early Byzantine Chronicles as a Mirror of the Language Register," in K. Loudová and M. Žáková (eds.), *Early European Languages in the Eyes of Modern Linguistics* (Brno 2009) 189–202, at 191.

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

[19] B. Fraser, "Types of English Discourse Markers," *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 38 (1988) 19–33, at 27.

[20] A. Georgakopoulou and D. Goutsos, "Conjunctions versus Discourse Markers in Greek: The Interaction of Frequency, Position and Functions in Context," *Linguistics* 36 (1998) 887–917, at 895; cf. A. Cavallin, "(τὸ) λοιπόν. Eine bedeutungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung," *Eranos* 39 (1941) 121–144; M. Christodoulidou, "Lexical Markers within the University Lecture,"

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 Troianum* (*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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Novitas-ROYAL (Research on Youth and Language) 5 (2011) 143–160.

[21] C. A. Thoma, "Distribution and Function of Clitic Object Pronouns in Popular 16th–18th Century Greek Narratives. A Synchronic and Diachronic Perspective," in J. Rehbein et al. (eds.), *Connectivity in Grammar and Discourse* (Amsterdam 2007) 139–163, at 143–144.

[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 *par excellence* during the Middle Ages.[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."[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."[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."[27]

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

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Egea, *Historia extraordinaria de Beltandro y Crisanza* (Granada 1998); *BT*: 14,401, M. Papathomopoulos and E. M. Jeffreys, *Ο Πόλεμος της Τρωάδος* (Athens 1996); *IB*: 1166, L. Nørgaard and O. L. Smith, *A Byzantine Iliad. The Text of Par. Suppl. Gr. 926* (Copenhagen 1975); *IM*: 893, E. Kriaras, *Βυζαντινὰ Ἱπποτικὰ Μυθιστορήματα* (Athens 1955) 215–232; *LR*: 4013, T. Lendari, *Livistros and Rodamne. The Vatican Version* (Athens 2007); *PP*: 1867, F. J. O. Salas, *Florio y Platzia Flora: una novela bizantina de época paleólogica* (Madrid 1998). All these editions can be found on the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.

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

[25] J. O. Rosenqvist, *Die byzantinische Literatur* (Berlin/New York 2007) 170.

[26] G. C. Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers*[2] (London 2010) 328.

[27] D. Chila-Markopoulou (reviewing P. Pappas, *Variation and Morphosyntactic Change in Greek*), *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 5 (2004) 199–212, at 201.

[28] M. D. Lauxtermann, *The Spring of Rhythm: An Essay on the Political Verse and Other Byzantine Metres* (Vienna 1999).

stressed. The two hemistichs usually constitute two indepen-
dent syntactic sense-units and elision is avoided at the eighth
syllable.[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."[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."[31] Moreover, the
accentual pattern consists of a "natural two-beat rhythm":[32]
only the even-numbered syllables are allowed to be stressed.[33]
Therefore, its rhythm has been labelled 'iambic'.

It has been acknowledged that the πολιτικὸς στίχος poetry
deliberately adopts an oral discourse.[34] The most typical mani-
festation of this oral style is the frequent use of formulas.[35] In
addition, oral performance of the texts under scrutiny is highly

[29] P. Apostolopoulos, *La Langue du roman byzantin Callimaque et Chrysorrhoé*
(Athens 1984) 211 ff.

[30] Rosenqvist, *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 *Origini* I 158–168,
at 165.

[31] Papathomopoulos and Jeffreys, *The War* lxxxvii.

[32] P. Mackridge, "The Metrical Structure of the Oral Decapentasyllable,"
BMGS 14 (1990) 200–212, at 204 n.9.

[33] Cf. Horrocks, *Greek* 328; cf. §4.3.1 below.

[34] Cf. M. J. Jeffreys, "The Nature and Origins of the Political Verse,"
DOP 28 (1974) 141–195; G. M. Sifakis, "Looking for the Tracks of Oral
Tradition in Medieval and Early Modern Greek Poetic Works," *Journal of
the Hellenic Diaspora* 27 (2001) 61–86.

[35] Cf. M. J. Jeffreys, "Formulas in the Chronicle of the Morea," *DOP* 27
(1973) 163–195.

likely: "we might suspect that the … surviving romances existed within some sort of tradition of recited poetry."[36] 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 methodologically 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."[37]

4. *παλιν as a discourse marker*

In what follows, I will argue that in the above outlined corpus the adverb παλιν—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.[38] 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.[39] 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

[36] G. Betts, *Three Medieval Greek Romances: Velthandros and Chryzandza, Kallimachos and Chrysorroi, Livistros and Rodamni* (New York/London 1995) xxiv. The existence of variant versions of one and the same story strengthens this view: "Certainly, the fact that some romances exist in different versions corroborates the hypothesis that they were intended for recitation" (xxx).

[37] B. D. Joseph, *Morphology and Universals in Syntactic Change: Evidence from 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 '*ἐπίρρημα ξανά, ἐκ νέου/πίσω/ἐξάλλου, ἀντίθετα*'; 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., συνηθέστ. με ρ. κίνησης) πίσω, προς τα πίσω …
β) (πλεοναστικά, με ρ. 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 ρ. που ήδη περικλείουν την έννοια "ξανά") … γ) (στην αρχή αφήγησης για να εισαγάγει τη συνέχεια ενός

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[40] Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers* 33, cf. 267.

[41] Cf. Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers* 266.

[42] Egea, in *Origini* 112.

[43] E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό της Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής Δημώδους Γραμματείας 1100–1669* XIV (Thessaloniki 1997) 243–244, as updated at www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/medieval_greek/kriaras/index.html.

κεφαλαίου η εξιστόρηση του οποίου είχε διακοπεί) … φρ. *αλλάττω (ή αλλάσσω) πάλιν τον λόγον (μου)* …

δ) (σε ιδιάζ. χρ., για να δώσει έμφαση) … (στο τέλος μιας μεγάλης αφήγησης) …

3) (Με αντιθετική σημασ.)

α) (μόνο του ή έπειτα από ονόματα προσώπων και προσωπ. αντων.) εξάλλου, από το άλλο μέρος, όμως …

β) (συνοδευόμενο από το σύνδ. *και* σε υποθ. πρόταση που αποτελεί αντίθεση προς μια προηγ. υποθ. πρόταση) αν όμως …

γ) (μόνο του ή συνηθέστ. με το *και* ή το *μα* σε πρόταση που εκφράζει ισχυρή αντίθεση προς μια άλλη προηγ. πρόταση) μολαταύτα, εντούτοις, παρόλ' αυτά …

4) (Για να δηλωθεί αμοιβαιότητα, διαδοχή, χρονική ακολουθία) με τη σειρά, στη συνέχεια, έπειτα …

5) (Με προσθετική σημασ.) ακόμη, επίσης, επιπλέον … (σε προ-εξαγγελτική παράθεση) … (για να εισαγάγει 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 gram-maticalization.*"[44]

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.[45] 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

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[44] Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers* 65.

[45] Cf. Schiffrin, *Discourse Markers* 328; Fraser, *Journal of Pragmatics* 31 (1999) 931.

use as a DM, as in "*continuing*, it would be futile for him to try," where 'continuing' refers to the speaker pursuing his story.[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 ('Χρον.': 'again').[47] The remaining meanings ('on the other hand', 'in turn', 'moreover') rather point to a procedural meaning, as their English equivalents suggest.[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."[49] The fact that we are dealing with dead languages makes it even more en-tangling, as Lyavdansky states: "I am trying to understand to what extent it is possible to distinguish between adverbial and non-adverbial uses for dead languages."[50]

4.1.3 *Difficult to translate*

"*They are difficult to translate into other languages.*"[51]

Naturally, this characteristic of DMs is inextricably con-nected 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.[52] A random check suggests that these translators often

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[46] Cf. Fraser, *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 38 (1988) 24.

[47] Interestingly, among the commonest sources of DMs are adverbs, especially temporal ones: cf. Lyavdansky, *Journal of Language Relationship* 3 (2010) 79; Fraser, *Journal of Pragmatics* 31 (1999) 943.

[48] Cf. V. Rouchota, "Procedural Meaning and Parenthetical Discourse Markers," in Jucker and Ziv, *Discourse Markers* 97–126.

[49] Loudová, in *Early European Languages* 194.

[50] Lyavdansky, *Journal of Language Relationship* 3 (2010) 80.

[51] Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers* 34.

[52] Betts, *Three Medieval Greek Romances*; Egea, *Historia extraordinaria*; C. Cu-

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 # ἀντέφησε τοιάδε
   Egea 106: "Y ella le contestó palabras tales"

5. *LR* 2956 Ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν τὴν βουλὴν # ἔμαθα τοῦ πατρός μου
   Betts 160: "But I learnt of my father's plan"

6. *LR* 2960 Ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν δουλικῶς # ἀνταποκρίνομαί τον
   Betts 161: "I dutifully replied to him"

7. *BC* 342 ἄλλον πάλιν ὡς ἄνανδρον # ποδοσιδηρωμένον
   Betts 11: "Another was of a man with his feet in irons"
   Cupane 249: "un altro rapppresentava 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.*"[53]

This statement points to two characteristics of DMs: their frequency and their preference for oral discourse.[54] 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-

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pane, *Romanzi cavallereschi bizantini* (Turin 1995).

[53] Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers* 33.

[54] Cf. Jucker and Ziv, in *Discourse Markers* (Amsterdam 1998) 3; Lyavdansky, *Journal of Language Relationship* 3 (2010) 81; K. Aijmer and A. M. Simon-Vandenbergen, "Pragmatic Markers," in J. Zienkowski et al. (eds.), *Discursive Pragmatics* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2011) 223–247, at 224.

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.[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.*"[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 ὕψος
κ' ἔπεσεν μὲ τὸ ταίριν <του> # καὶ εὑρέθην φονεμένον.
Καὶ εἶδα καὶ ἐξενίσθην το # καὶ μέριμνα μὲ ἐσέβην·

The language of my corpus, like all oral and quasi-oral narrative, is characterized by parataxis.[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:

[55] Cf. Joseph, *Morphology and Universals* 5 ff; cf. §3.

[56] Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers* 33.

[57] Cf. Horrocks, *Greek* 345. Usually, the particle καί establishes the paratactic coordination. Therefore καί has been labelled an "Auftaktpartikel für eine rhythmische Phrase": H. Eideneier, "Καί als Auftakt zur (rhythmischen) Phrase. Zur verbalisierten Pausenmarkierung im Mittel- und Neugriechischen," *JÖByz* 39 (1989) 179–200.

Total		773
Hemistich-initial	Verse-initial	110
	Verse-initial after καί	144
	Postcaesural	132
	Postcaesural after καί	36
Hemistich-interrupting		351

TABLE 1: Position of πάλιν

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."[58] 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.[59] To this well-known inventory of so-called 'preferential words', Morin provides a supplement and adds πάλιν.[60] 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, # ὀλιγωρᾷ καὶ πίπτει·
   πάλιν συμφέρει, ἐγέρνεται, # 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"

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[58] G. Horrocks, "Clitics in Greek: a Diachronic Review," in M. Roussou and S. Panteli (eds.), *Greek outside Greece* II (Athens 1990) 35–52, at 41.

[59] K. J. Dover, *Greek Word Order* (Cambridge 1960) 20 ff.

[60] P. Morin, "Preferential Treatment of Words in the Greek Clause," *TAPA* 92 (1961) 358–371, at 359.

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 οἱ πάντες νὰ ἐγνωρίσετε # 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:

Total	351
Subject	115
Modifier	88
Remainder (vocative, parenthetical, conjunction)	61
Predicate	52
Object	35

TABLE 2: Grammatical role of the word before non-initial πάλιν

406 LATE MEDIEVAL GREEK ΠΑΛΙΝ

Total	351
Pronoun	88
Noun	74
Adverb	64
Verb	52
Adjective	41
Conjunction[61]	31
Preposition	1

TABLE 3: Lexical word class 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.[62] 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.'"[63] As such, pronouns are prototypical topics: "Topics

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[61] I have also reckoned the particle νά in this category.

[62] Cf. J. K. Gundel, N. Hedberg, and R. Zacharski, "Cognitive Status and the Form of Referring Expressions in Discourse," *Language* 69 (1993) 274–307, at 278.

[63] N. Hedberg and L. Fadden, "The Information Structure of It-clefts, Wh-clefts and Reverse Wh-clefts in English," in N. Hedberg and R. Zacharski (eds.), *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-

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are typically expressed by means of … anaphoric pronouns."[64] The observation that πάλιν tends to occur after pronouns thus suggests that it prefers to follow topicalized information, for instance:

11. *BT* 12077 Τοσαῦτα πάλιν λέγοντα # εὐθειάνουν τὰ καράβια

12. *LR* 3041 Καὶ ἐμέναν πάλιν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ # ἐπαίρνει νὰ ὑπαγαίνη

13. *LR* 841 Ἀπ᾽ αὕτην πάλιν ἔστεκεν # ἡ Ταπεινοφροσύνη

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. *BT* 9131 ὅλον νὰ ἔχῃ ἀπὸ ἐμέν, # καὶ ἐγὼ πάλε ἀπ᾽ ἐκεῖνον

15. *IM* 742 οὐδὲ ἐκείνη πάλι αὐτὸν # διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειάν του

16. *BC* 754 Ἐκεῖνος πάλιν σύντομα # τὸν ῥήγα κατελάλει[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

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logical Correlates of Information Structural Notions," in C. Féry et al. [eds.], *The Notions of Information Structure* [Potsdam 2006] 1–21, at 4). In practice, however, the two notions often coincide: "There is, however, a good deal of empirical evidence for an independent connection between topic and some degree of referential givenness" (J. K. Gundel and T. Fretheim, "Topic and Focus," in L. Horn and G. Ward [eds.], *The Handbook of Pragmatics* [Oxford 2004] 175–196, at 179).

[64] S. R. Slings, "Written and Spoken Language: An Exercise in the Pragmatics of the Greek Sentence," *CP* 87 (1992) 95–109, at 99.

[65] Cf. Betts's translation of this verse: "He in turn briefly addresses the prince."

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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 Ἐδῶθεν πάλε ὁ Τρώϊλος # μὲ τὸ καλὸν ἀλλάγιν

18. *BT* 3975 Ἐδάρτε πάλιν εἴχασιν # οἱ Τρῶες γὰρ τὸ κάλλιον

19. *BC* 730 ἐκεῖσε πάλιν ἔστρεψεν # ἔνθα τὸ πρῶτον εἶδε

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 ἤκουεν # ἡ μία, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη πάλιν

21. *AB* 868 ἄλλοτε πάλιν ἔπλεκαν # οἱ Ἔρωτες τὰ ἄνθη

22. *BT* 4701 καὶ ἄλλοι πάλιν βασιλεῖς # ἐξήκοντα 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, # Ῥουβροὺμ 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, # ἐπαρηγόρει τούτους

25. *BT* 11874 Ἀλλ' οὗτος πάλιν ἤξευρε # τόσα νὰ τὸν συντύχῃ

26. *LR* 2767 Καὶ ἐγὼ πάλιν, παιδία μου, # ὅσο μπορῶ, νὰ πράττω

It has been established that a dislocated position is a typical

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[66] Other examples include ἀπαύτου, ἀπέδω, ἀπεκεῖ, ἐδά, ἐδῶ, ἐκεῖ, ἐνταῦτα, ἐξοπίσω, ἐπάνωθεν, ἔσωθεν, νῦν, τότε, τώρα.

position for topicalized information.[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.[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."[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. *AB* 973–4 οἱ Ἔρωτες μὲ ἐφόνευσαν # καὶ κατετρώσασίν με.
     Ἐγὼ πάλιν τοὺς Ἔρωτας # 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

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[67] Cf. K. Lambrecht, "Dislocation," in M. Haspelmath et al. (eds.), *Language Typology and Language Universals* II (Berlin 2001) 1050–1078.

[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: *BT* 12772 Ὁ Αἴας πάλιν, ἤξευρε, # τόσα ἦτον χολιασμένος; *BT* 2064 Ἡ Ἑλένη πάλιν, λέγω σας, # ἡ τούτων αὐταδέλφη.

[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."[70]

Often, another pronominal subject is found in the immediate context:[71]

28. *LR* 3182–3 καὶ ἐγὼ πολλὰ ἐξέταξα # καὶ ἀνερώτησά τον
    καὶ ἐκεῖνος πάλιν εἶπε με # μέρος διὰ τοῦ Λιβίστρου

29. *BT* 864–5 ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Τελαμώνιος # μὲ τὸν λαόν μας ὅλον
    ἐμπρὸς ἂς ὑπαγαίνωμεν• # καὶ σὺ πάλε ἐξοπίσω

30. *BT* 11309 Ἐγὼ πατήρ σου εὑρίσκομαι, # ἐσὺ δὲ πάλιν υἱός 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.[72] In Ancient Greek δέ could be used as an adversative particle.[73] 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 ἔκραξα # τοὺς πρώτους τῶν δαιμόνων

32. *LR* 478 Νῦν δὲ πάλιν ὁρίζουσιν: # "Νὰ σέβης 'ς ἄλλον σπίτιν

33. *BT* 586 Τὴν τρίχαν μόνον ἔπαρε, # αὐτὸν δὲ πάλιν ἄφες

34. *BC* 361 ἄλλην δὲ πάλιν ἔγραψεν # ἀρχόντισ<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:

[70] P. Pappas, "Weak Object Pronoun Placement in Later Medieval Greek: Intralinguistic Parameters Affecting Variation," *Ohio State Univ. Working Papers in Linguistics* 56 (2001) 79–106, at 84.

[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 οὐκ ἐγίνετον # εἰς φρόνεσιν, εἰς
                                                                γνῶσιν.

   Καὶ αὐτοὶ πάλιν παρακαλοῦν # τὸν Πρίαμον γνησίως (p.612)
36. *BT* 13557–8 βασιλέα τὸν ἔστεψεν # ὁ καλὸς Μενεστέας.
   Καὶ τότε πάλιν ἄκουσε # ξενοχάραγον θαῦμα· (p.676)
37. *BT* 14090–1 καὶ εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἄπαντα # ἔλεγαν ἀπ’ ἐκεῖνον.
   Ἐδὰ πάλιν ἐξόπισθεν # ἃς εἴπωμεν τὸν τρόπον (p.698)

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

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[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.

syllables."[76] 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 mé-trique."[77] Apostolopoulos includes in his class of "mots syn-nomes" conjunctions, prepositions, definite articles, and the weak pronouns.[78] 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.[79] 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 τοὺς Ἔρωτας # νὰ τοὺς παρακαλέσω

39. *LR* 3054 πεζεύουν, προσκυνοῦσιν τον # καὶ 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."[80] The unstressed character of πάλιν has already been suggested by Egea: "peut-être pourrait-on entendre une accentuation οὐδέ παλιν νὰ βλέπω."[81]

[76] A. Parides, *The Fifteen-Syllable Verse of Kostis Palamas's 'The King's Flute'* (M.Phil. thesis Birmingham 2009) 20.

[77] Apostolopoulos, *La Langue* 213.

[78] Cf. Apostolopoulos, *La Langue* 37; Jeffreys, *DOP* 28 (1974) 148 n.11.

[79] Cf. J. Wackernagel, "Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wort-stellung," *IF* 1 (1892) 333–446, at 377.

[80] Parides, *The Fifteen-Syllable Verse* 20 n.57.

[81] Egea, in *Origini* 112.

4.3.2 *Shortness and reduction*

"*Pragmatic markers are 'short' items … often phonologically reduced (Schiffrin 1987: 328).*"[82]

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᾽ ἐμὲν # ἔχω 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."[83] 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 (πάλ'):

41. *BT* 5479 Ἡμεῖς πάλε ὀρεγόμεθεν # ἀνάπαυσιν τοῦ κόπου

42. *BT* 7422 ἀπ᾽ αὕτους εἶχα τὴν τιμήν, # αὐτοὶ πάλε ἐξ ἐμένα

43. *BT* 9642 Καὶ τότε πάλ᾽ ἐστάθηκεν # ἡ τροπὴ τοῦ φουσσάτου

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.[84] In Pontic, a "suffixed particle" *pa(l)* exists which is "etymologically related to the Ancient Greek adverb *palin.*"[85] Interestingly, it is called a "particule de théma-

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[82] Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers* 33.

[83] R. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek*[2] (Cambridge 1999) 81.

[84] By Roumeic I mean Mariupol Greek. The three belong to the same dialect group from a diachronic point of view, "a typical dialect group of eastern Greek": G. Drettas, "The Greek-Pontic Dialect Group," in A. F. Christidis (ed.), *Dialect Enclaves of the Greek Language* (Athens 1999) 91–100, at 91.

[85] M. Kaltsa and I. Sitaridou, "Topicalisation in Pontic Greek," in A. Ralli et al. (eds.), *Online Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference of Modern Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory* (Patras 2010: lmgd.philology.upatras.gr/en/research/downloads/MGDLT4_Proceedings.pdf) 259–275, at 261; cf. A. Papadopoulos, *Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς Ποντικῆς Διαλέκτου* II (Athens 1961) 138; Drettas, *Aspects pontiques* 435; M. Janse, "Aspects of Pontic Grammar," *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 3 (2002) 203–231, at 225–226.

tisation forte":[86] "It has already been noted in the literature that the use of the particle *pa* is an extremely frequent topicalisation strategy."[87] More precisely, *pa(l)* constitutes a "postposition atone qui se joint au dernier élément ou à l'élément unique d'un segment thématique."[88] As such, it has been related to the Ancient Greek postpositive particles: "Ancient Greek, like most Wackernagel languages, was rich in different sentential enclitics like μέν (but), δέ (but), γάρ (for) etc. A dialectal trace of such elements, in the form of *pa*, is found in Pontic."[89]

These definitions are inevitably reminiscent of the use of non-initial πάλιν in LMG. Moreover, the examples which Drettas, an expert on Pontic, discusses show striking resemblances to my examples of non-initial πάλιν, as most involve a pronoun:[90]

27. enkálesanaten son-vasiléan
    ekínos-pa antónios étone ton-ker¡on ekínon
    "On la convoqua devant le roi.
    Celui-là–c'était Antonius, à cette époque là–" (ex. 93)

28. i-θαγatérat ekíne-pa ekíne kjá énton kaloγréa
    ekíne-pa kʰ-eséven so-manastír
    "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. emís érθam asi-xu ilín ason-pontón
    ekín-pa érθan asin-rusían
    "Nous, nous sommes venus de Xušilí, du Pont.
    Quant à eux, ils sont venus de Russie" (ex. 95)

30. e'γo-pa 'leγose 'leγose mi-ka'pnijs |
    "Et moi, je te dis, je te dis ne fume pas" (ex. 111)

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[86] Drettas, *Aspects pontiques* 434.

[87] Kaltsa and Sitaridou, in *Online Proceedings* 263.

[88] Drettas, *Aspects pontiques* 434.

[89] A. Ralli, "Syntactic and Morphosyntactic Phenomena in Modern Greek Dialects: The State of Art," *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 7 (2006) 121–159, at 131–132.

[90] Drettas, *Aspects pontiques* 436 ff.

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.[91] In Papadopoulos' Pontic text fragments, I have also found examples of *pa(l)* after a form of ἄλλος, for instance:[92]

  31. καὶ γιὰ τ'ἄλλο πα εἶπαν (p.206)

Moreover, it has been noted that *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 /-pa/ de façon claire et, surtout, à le traduire en *dhimotiki* ou en *katharévusa*."[93] In his Pontic grammar, Papadopoulos provides some Pontic text fragments with a literal Standard Modern Greek translation.[94] He always translates *pa(l)* with καί, except once. As a matter of fact, in his Pontic lexicon he suggests the equivalence of *pa(l)* and καί: "3) Ὡς σύνδ. ἐπιδοτικὸς ἴσον μὲ τὸ *καὶ* τίθεται μετὰ τὴν λέξιν καὶ ἐγκλίνεται: Ἐγώ παλ' θέλω. Ἐκεῖνος παλ' εἶδεν ἀτο. Ἄμον ντὸ εἶπα σε ἐγώ, ἐσύ πα ἀέτσ' ποῖσον."[95] As these examples show, pronouns are very popular candidates for *pa(l)* to attach to in his corpus; some other examples include:

  32. Ἐκείνη πα εἶπε ἐμένα (p.184)
  33. ἐγώ πα ἀέτσ' θὰ ἐποιν'να (p.198)

Revealingly, in the isolated instance in which Papadopoulos does not translate *pa(l)* with καί, he gives the DM λοιπόν as its Standard Modern Greek equivalent.[96]

So far, it may seem that *pa(l)* is a uniquely Pontic phenom-

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[91] Drettas, *Aspects pontiques* 442; cf. §4.2.3.1.

[92] A. Papadopoulos, *Ἱστορικὴ Γραμματικὴ τῆς Ποντικῆς Διαλέκτου* (Athens 1955).

[93] Drettas, *Aspects pontiques* 435.

[94] Papadopoulos, *Ἱστορικὴ Γραμματική* 182–240.

[95] Papadopoulos, *Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικόν* 138.

[96] Papadopoulos, *Ἱστορικὴ Γραμματική* 219; cf. §2.

enon, i.e. the result of a 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."[97] 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."[98] 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 maδísi i xóra
      "let the stranger reap"
      γó páli a ipáu s' istšáiδi
      "I for my part will go into the shade" …
      's pái i xóra, maδísi son temísi
      "let the strange woman go reap in the heat"
      mís páli a kátsumi s' istšáiδι
      "we for our part will sit in the shade" (pp.566–567)

35. írtami si férka
      "we came to Férka" …
      abidží írtam so kséniti
      "from there we came to Xéniti"
      abidží páli írtam so xoríu, sin ̩ kíska
      "from there we came back to the village, to Kíska" (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."[99] A distinc-

[97] B. D. Joseph, review of Drettas: *Mediterranean Language Review* 10 (1998) 211.

[98] R. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 1916) 631; cf. Janse, *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 3 (2002) 225.

[99] N. Barri, *Essai de syntaxe structurale du dialecte neo-grec de Cappadoce* (diss. Paris 1971) 293.

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. Atós ðjáv' árta makrá, γó pa na páγu
    "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 aðó ('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:

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[100] Cf. §2. "We would be surprised if a more fine-grained investigation of LMG adverbs, based on a syntactically adequate classification, did not reveal different preferences with respect to topicalization and focusing, correlating with differences in the clitic placement they induce": C. Condoravdi and P. Kiparsky, "Clitics and Clause Structure: The Late Medieval Greek System," *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 5 (2004) 159–183, at 169.

[101] M. Kisilier, "Ένα ελληνικό ιδίωμα στην Ανατολική Ουκρανία (περιοχή Μαριούπολης)," *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana* 4 (2009) 156–166, at 160.

[102] M. Kisilier, "On the Greek Dialect of Marioupolis," in *Proceedings, 6th Organization for the Internationalization of Greek Language Conference* (forthcoming) 2.

[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."[105] 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."[106]

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 postpositive particles has already been related to the use of newly formed DMs in LMG. Indeed, it would be awkward if the

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[105] Ralli, *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 7 (2006) 132.

[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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