

*****STILL UNDER CONSTRUCTION*****

Verbal Dvandvas in Modern Greek

By Nick Nicholas (University of Melbourne) & Brian D. Joseph (Ohio State University)

Greek is known to be rich in compounds, but one familiar type from Indo-European (widely attested in Sanskrit, for instance), namely coordinative compounds meaning 'X and Y' - - also called copulative compounds or dvandvas - - is relatively rare in Ancient Greek, to the point of being essentially nonexistent. However, such compounds begin to occur in Greek in reasonable numbers within the post-Classical period and innovatively developed a fair degree of productivity by early Modern Greek (Jannaris 1897: sect. 1157). The innovative dvandvas involve nouns, such as the Modern *androjino* 'man and woman, couple' (found in Classical Greek but not as a dvandva, rather 'androgynous, effeminate'), a type well attested elsewhere among Indo-European languages, but also, interestingly, verbs, such as *anigo-klino* 'I open and close', a type that within the Indo-European family is unique to later Greek.

In this paper, we place Modern Greek verbal dvandvas in the larger context of types of clause combination in Greek that ranges from true complementation (e.g. with *pos/oti* or *na*) to serialization (quite limited, but possibly in combinations such as *ela pes mu*, or fixed expressions like *kane krati* (Joseph 1990)), and argue that these are true compounds, created in the morphological component (note, e.g. the occurrence of the connective *-o-*), with limited but real productivity.

We then examine the semantics of these dvandva compounds, noting (with Chatzidakis) that they can reflect either parataxis or subordination, often (but not always) antonymic relations, but also manner modification, and situationally close association.

=====

SOME RELEVANT MATERIAL (not particularly well organized (yet)):

A partially sorted list of Greek dvandva verbs (taken from Babiniotis' dictionary and Triantafyllidis' school grammar):

anoigokleinw

anebokatebazw

anebokatebainw

phgainoerxomai

phgainofernw (take and bring back -- e.g. ta paidia apo to sxoleio)

to phgainela (so also to apse-sbhse, to sourta-ferta, but that kind of nominalisation

isn't what we're after)
tremosbhnw
tremopaizw (same meaning)
anabosbhnw
mpainobgainw
strifogurizw
trwgopinw
souromadw (= surw + madw: to pull one's own or another's hair)

As you can see, mostly Verb+Inverse, but also occasional manner specifiers:

tremosbhnw,
strifogurizw.

Filintas' 1910 grammar (Grammatikh ths Rwmaiikhs Glwssas) has:

mpainobgainw
tremosbhnw
anoigosfalnw
trwgopinw
klwqogurizw ~ klwqogurnw
tsimpofilw
xaskogelw
geloklaiw (this I'm not familiar with, and it's not in Babiniotis)
strefogurizw
pernodibainw (pure synonym, this)
agkomaxw < ogkw + maxomai (not convinced here)
passaleifw (passw + aleifw? but isn't the first formant a noun?)
paizogelw (not familiar to me, but it is in Babiniotis)
sournoskotizoumai (not in Babiniotis)
souromallizw (Babiniotis souromalliazw, but I'd think this is surw + mallia + izw, not surw + malliazw)

He goes on:

"Ama to prwto rhma einai makri apokobei sullabes kai kontainei gia efkoloprofora, l.x. anebainw + katebainw = anebo-katebainw, xorebw + phdw = xorophdw, zumwnw +ournizw > zumo-fournizw." Not convinced those last two aren't noun+verb compounds.

In a digression on Greek proverbs, Chatzidakis (Glwssologikai Ereunai I.196ff, original pub. 1906-07) lists: zumofournizw (rejecting the book he's reviewing's spelling zumwfournizw, and positing zumw- as an imperative), and then --- the deluge:

Dvandas:

alwnoqerizw
anoigokleinw

anebokatebainw
 aucomeiw (that's Puristic, obviously)
 gkremotsakizomai
 geloxaxarizw ~ geloxaxanizw
 kleidomandalwnw
 kleidamparwnomai
 lusodenw
 mpainobgainw
 paizogelw
 pernoidiabainw
 perpatogureuw
 rampokounw (Naxos: rembomai + kounw; Carapthos: "rastwnhn exw"; Crete "zw
 eleuqeriws"; Cos: "klonizomai na pesw ec adunamias")
 gennospernw (Epirus) ~ gennobolw (the latter is not a true V+V, since -bolw is quite
 productive as a semantically vacuous intensifier in verb compounds)
 rigomaxw
 rigotremw ~ rigotromazw (from Koumanoudis' list of neologisms -- so also Puristic)
 skafokladeuw
 strifogurizw
 tremosbhnw
 tremokoskinizw
 trugopatw
 xarokopotrww
 xaskogelw

V1 subordinate to V2:

klwqogurizw
 souromadizw

"Ws de ekastos blepei en tw alwnoqerizw, zumofournizw, kleidomandalwnw, gkremotsakizomai ktt. fainetai ws na apokophtai sullabh olh tou prwtou sunqetikou kai na lambanhtai en th sunqesei, meta shmasias energhtikhs h paqhtikhs, monon to upoloipon, ws to qema tou a! rhmatos gkremo- alwno- zumo- kleido- ktl."

For some of these he rejects N+V interpretations (alwnoqerizw, gkremotsakizomai), by fiat.

A Greek play on the TV just now (30 July 2006, in Melbourne) coined "den klaiw --- klausigelaw"; of course that's a comical back formation from klausigelaw, so you want to be careful about this kind of coinage.

No mention in Debrunner's 1917 monograph Griechische Wortbildungslehre of verb dvandvas, just nouns. Nothing in Psaltes' grammar of the Byzantine chronicles, either.

Jannaris (section 1157) notes verb dvandva as a Modern Greek innovation (and that

dvandva in general becomes common in Greek from the Hellenistic on); his exx, including Early Modern Greek, are:

pernw-diabainw
anebw-katebainw
phgainwerxomai (Chron. Mor. 3741 upegenoerxeton)
phainw-giagernw (Erotokritos B 348; giagernw is Cretan for gurizw)
anoigw-sfalizw ~ anoigw-sfalw
strifw-gurizw
klwqw-gurizw
paizw-gelw
pass-aleifw.

auksomeiwnw is older than these Modern Greek coinages; I have one TLG instances from the Almegist, and 42 f the noun AUKSOMEI/WSIS, so I suspect the noun motivates the verb, and this could be a "klausigelaw" instance.

== = = = = = = = =

A somewhat more elaborated and historically focused version of a relevant abstract:

Coordinative Verbal Compounds in Modern Greek

(to be presented at 8th International Conference on Greek Linguistics, Ioannina (30 August 2007))

Greek is known to be rich in compounds, but one familiar type from Indo-European (widely attested in Sanskrit, for instance), namely coordinative compounds meaning 'X and Y' - - also called copulative compounds or dvandvas - - is relatively rare in Ancient Greek, to the point of being essentially nonexistent (some forms have been analyzed as meristic dvandvas, e.g. ἀ'νδρα'ποδα, but this is controversial, and may be a severely restricted archaism). However, such compounds begin to occur in Greek in reasonable numbers within the post-Classical period and innovatively developed a fair degree of productivity by early Modern Greek (Jannaris 1897: §1157). The innovative dvandvas involve nouns, such as the Modern ἀνδρο'γυνο 'man and woman, couple' (found in Classical Greek but not as a dvandva, rather 'androgynous, effeminate'), a type well attested elsewhere among Indo-European languages, but also, interestingly, verbs, such as ανοιγο-κλει'νω 'I open and close', a type that within the Indo-European family is unique to later Greek.

In this paper, we offer both synchronic analysis of Modern Greek verbal dvandvas and a diachronic account. We show that they are indeed compounds (e.g. single accent, linking -o-) and distinguish them from serial verbs (Joseph 1991); we then give a detailed classification of the various semantic types found in these V-V combinations, and use this classification and the early textual record of occurrence as a basis for a hypothesis about their diachronic development.

We start with an enumeration of attested verbal dvandvas. From various published

discussions and collections in the literature (Jannaris 1897, Chatzidakis 1906-7, Filintas 1910, Babinotis 1998) we list 49 instances, from Hellenistic and Medieval Greek as well the modern language. ranging from the very common $\pi\gamma\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\epsilon\acute{\rho}\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ and $\alpha\nu\omicron\iota\gamma\omicron\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ to the dialectally restricted (Naxos) $\rho\alpha\mu\beta\omicron\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu\omega\acute{\iota}$. Two broad types can be identified (as noted already by Chatzidakis 1906-7): antonym- pairs for repeated, iterative activity (e.g. 'go and come') and compounds where the first member (V1) denotes the manner of the second (V2), e.g. $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\phi\omicron\gamma\upsilon\rho\iota\acute{\zeta}\omega$. For Chatzidakis, moreover, the V1-V2 relationship reflected either parataxis or subordination.

Closer examination, however, reveals that Chatzidakis's division can be amplified upon. There are some verbal dvandvas, for instance, where the verbs are not antonyms but rather are situationally closely associated, such as $\tau\omicron\omega\gamma\omicron\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$. And this subtype lends itself to interpretation as the temporal overlapping of the activities, and even subordination (e.g. Chatzidakis's manner interpretation, as with $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\tau\omicron\omega\acute{\gamma}\omega$ 'eating while celebrating', i.e. 'eating in a celebratory manner'). Furthermore, there are some V-V combinations that involve essentially synonymous verbs, e.g. $\pi\epsilon\rho\nu\omicron\delta\iota\alpha\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$, where the effect is indeed iteration but more one of emphasis and frequent repetition of V1 itself. Finally, some of Chatzidakis's V-V dvandvas are better analyzed as Noun+Verb, e.g., $\alpha\lambda\omega\nu\omicron\theta\epsilon\rho\iota\acute{\zeta}\omega$ could be $\theta\epsilon\rho\iota\acute{\zeta}\omega$ για το $\alpha\lambda\omega\acute{\nu}\iota$ rather than $\alpha\lambda\omega\nu\iota\acute{\zeta}\omega$ και $\theta\epsilon\rho\iota\acute{\zeta}\omega$.

The N-V/V-V ambiguity is revealing, as it suggests that the types of dvandva arose via reanalysis, with subsequent analogical generalisation. We take the sparsely attested (Hellenistic) $\alpha\upsilon\chi\omicron-\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\acute{\omega}$ as the starting point for the verbal type, arguing that it is a backformation from the better attested dvandva noun $\alpha\upsilon\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\iota\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota\varsigma$, and thus originally a N-V compound that was then reanalyzed as V-V.

The semantics of subsequent polysemous V-V formations can be taken as a clue to how paratactic coordination could lead to subordination interpretations, as with $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\tau\omicron\omega\acute{\gamma}\omega$. The ultimate outcome of a reasonably productive but cross-linguistically unusual V-V compounding type attests not only to the power of reanalysis in shaping the rules and patterns of a language but also to its ability to forge novel patterns that can be at odds with existing possibilities, thus allowing for significant changes in the 'cut' of the language typologically.