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ON THE IMPERATIVE MOOD IN THE HISTORY OF GREEK AND ITS DIALECTS²

The imperative in Greek is an inflectional category of the verb for the expression of commands. Its history and typology show that paradigmatic representation of imperative forms is defective: central to the system has always been the opposition between the 2SG and 2PL forms. There is a tendency for cyclical renewal of the 2nd person singular: it can be formed with a null morpheme which is then reanalyzed as an overt ending before being dropped again through phonological or morphological processes. Furthermore, the emergence of prototypical endings for this person (-ε, -α) is observed: these endings are analogically extended to categories of aspect, voice, and conjugation much more widely than their original allocation. The Modern Greek dialects are divided into two groups according to the distribution of the 2SG endings -ε and -ο(ν) and the degree of participation of the perfective passive stem in the formation of mediopassive imperatives. This situation has largely been established since the Medieval period.

Keywords: imperative, Modern Greek Dialects, zero morphology, apocope, subtraction

1. INTRODUCTION

The *imperative* in Greek is a grammatical mood and specifically an inflectional feature of the verb which allows the speaker to issue a direct command (either positive or negative) or address a request, as shown in (1):

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- (1) *Στέλλα, φύγ-ε!*
 Stella leave-IMP.2SG
 ‘Stella, leave!’

The above definition leads to the following observations:

(a) the imperative intertwines with personal deixis: it encodes in the language the prototypical deontic role of the addressee(s), namely the role that must be assumed by a second person singular or plural to satisfy the speaker’s volition. This is why the imperative is sometimes classified among speaker-oriented modalities (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 176; for more information on its semantic and morphosyntactic properties see Aikhenvald 2010; Isac 2015, among others).

(b) related modalities such as 1st and 3rd person hortatives and jussives, as in examples (2) and (3) below, belong to the periphery of the imperative system (cf. Ammann & van de Auwera 2004: 296–297; also cf. Mastop 2005: 83–93 on the semantics of hortatives as indirect imperatives) either because they are speaker-inclusive (1st person plural cohortative forms and constructions) or addressed exclusively to the speaker himself (1st person singular hortatives), or because they are non-deictic (Lyons 1977: 638), i.e. they refer to a person (or persons) outside the conversational event (3rd person jussives):

- (2) *Να (ας) φύγ-ω / -ουμ-*
 SUBJ leave-1SG / -1PL
 ‘I should / Let’s leave!’

- (3) *Να (ας) φύγ-ει η Στέλλα!*
 SUBJ leave-3SG the Stella
 ‘Stella should leave!’ / ‘Let Stella leave!’

Such surrogate structures as in examples (2) and (3) replenish in traditional Greek grammars the “missing” persons of the imperative but they do not have specific inflectional endings, i.e. endings that exclusively and unambiguously mark the verb forms as imperatives: they are expressed by means of the subjunctive.³

A similar situation obtains in Ancient Greek. For example, the Ancient Greek cohortative form *φύγ-ωμεν* (leave-SUBJ.1PL), which is the semantic equivalent of the Modern and Medieval Greek *να (ας) φύγουμε*, also uses the ending of the

³ And as one anonymous reviewer aptly observes, the use of the subjunctive in the morphological paradigm of the imperative is not a Greek innovation but rather a fairly common practice at the cross-linguistic and Balkan level, cf., for example, Velea 2013 for similar “suppletive” subjunctives in Romanian.

subjunctive mood. However, in Ancient Greek a dedicated ending was indeed available for the third person singular and plural, e.g., *δεικνύ-τω* / *-τωσαν* (show-IMP.3SG /-IMP.3PL). It originated as a deictic particle with temporal meaning (PIE **tōd* ‘from then onwards’; Chantraine 1990: 318; Beekes 1995: 248; Melazzo 2014), which is to be expected based on the inherently future reference of the imperative at a cross-linguistic level (cf. Mastop 2005: 70–83; Roberts 2015). Nevertheless, these peculiar monolectic forms and their dedicated third person endings were abandoned relatively early in the history of the language (Chatzidakis 1892: 218; Jannaris 1897: 205; Holton et al. 2019: 1762, among others), and this strongly suggests that the core, two-membered distinction between 2nd singular and 2nd plural which persisted in the paradigm of this mood over time was indeed fundamental in Greek.

In such a bipolar system, the principle of iconicity in language compels us to accept that the second person singular has cognitive priority over the second person plural, in the sense that the former is conceptually less complex than the latter, a fact that is formally encoded at a cross-linguistic level: a common typological finding that goes back to Greenberg (1966: 47) is that second person singular imperatives often have zero morphological expression. This means two things: firstly, they can take the shape of a bare root or stem and, secondly, they do not arise from other categories or functions, as Bybee (1994) points out. On the contrary, the second person plural is typically a form with overt (non-zero) morphological expression, which emerges, in order of frequency, from a predictive future, optative or hortative modality, or perfective/imperfective aspect (cf. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 210–212).

The question that arises from the above discussion is where Greek stands in relation to the contrasting typological pair *second person singular of zero expression* vs. *morphologically overt second person plural*. More specifically, it is important to try and determine whether the presence of non-second person inflected forms in the paradigm of this mood plays any role in the selection of overt morphemes for the second person singular. The following diachronic and typological analysis of the evolution of the imperative mood forms in the history of the language, aided by evidence from Modern Greek dialects, is mainly centered around this question.

2. SETTING THE STAGE: FROM MEDIEVAL TO STANDARD MODERN GREEK IMPERATIVES

Let’s first examine two comprehensive tables with the basic imperatives in Late Medieval (Table 1) and Standard Modern Greek (Table 2): in both periods the system is organized solely based on the following oppositions: aspect (perfective ~ imperfective), voice (active ~ mediopassive), and number (2nd person singular ~ 2nd person plural).

	active			
	imperfective			perfective
2SG	λύν-ε	αγάπ-α	βάρ-ει(ε), -α	λύσ-ε, -ον
2PL	λύν-ετε	αγαπ-άτε	βαρ-είτε, -άτε	λύσ-(ε/α)τε

	mediopassive			
	imperfective			perfective
2SG	λύν-ου	αγαπ-ού, βαρ-ού		λύσ-ου, λύθ-ου, λύθ-ησε
2PL	λύν-εσ(θ/τ)ε	αγαπ-άσ(θ/τ)ε	βαρ-είσ(θ/τ)ε	λυθ-ήτε

Table 1. Late Medieval Greek Imperatives (based on Holton et al. 2019: 1647–1681)

	active			mediopassive
	imperfective		perfective	perfective
2SG	λύν-ε	αγάπ-α	λύσ-ε	λύσ-ου
2PL	λύν-ετε	αγαπ-άτε	λύσ-(ε)τε	λυθ-είτε

Table 2. Standard Modern Greek Imperatives
(based on Holton et al. 2012: 143–144, 148, 153, 157, 160)

Even a cursory look at the two tables reveals two key points:

a) Paradigmatic representation of imperatives is being progressively reduced as we transition from Medieval to Modern Greek, i.e. the available forms become fewer and fewer and the oppositions referred to above become less and less diagnostic: next to the loss of the 3rd person imperatives which, as mentioned in Section 1, had been completed long before the Late Middle Ages, the old E-stems of the *βάρειε* type drop their specific endings and after a period of experimentation and instability they finally identify with the A-stems of the *αγάπα* type (thus, *βάρειε* → *βάρα*), a development which, of course, is not limited to the imperative (for more on this topic see, e.g., Horrocks 2010: 313–316 and Holton et al. 2019: 1269–1270, 1298–1299). Most importantly, the imperfective mediopassive forms of the *λύνου* (*αγαπού*) type are today obsolete, although according to Holton et al. (2019: 1658) they were in use at least until the Early Modern period. Therefore, this is a very recent development that can explain why such forms still appear in many Modern Greek dialects (see, for example, Papadopoulos 1926: 93, for their presence in various northern dialects). Furthermore, 2nd person allomorphy in the perfective forms (*λύσ-ε* / *λύσ-ον* and *λύσ-ου* / *λύθ-ου* / *λύθ-ησε*) is currently regulated in SMG in favor of *λύσε* and *λύσου* respectively. This last development is also of typological interest since

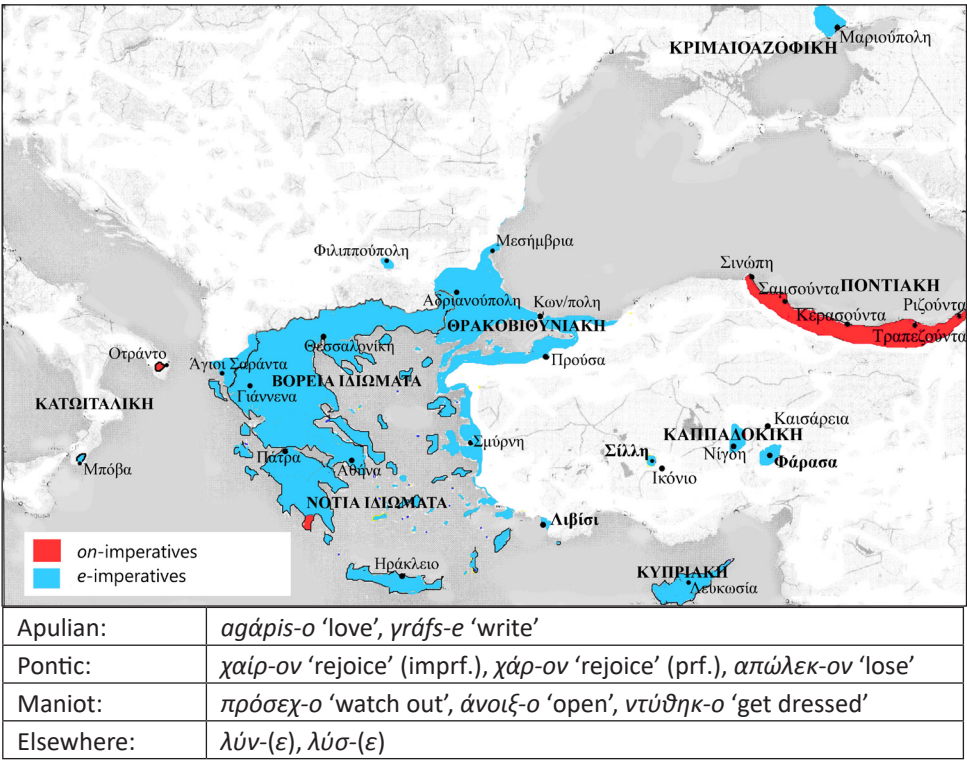
the situation pertaining to these endings is very different in some Modern Greek dialects, as shown in the following section.

b) There is a strong tendency for the emergence of characteristic, prototypical, endings in the second person singular based on voice (-ε or -α for active, -ου for mediopassive) and regardless of aspect, which seems to be exclusively expressed by the stem, or not at all (cf. Bakker 1965; Setatos 1998) The most pervasive marker is -ε: in some cases, it is even found in the mediopassive voice (see below, section 4).

3. THE STORY OF -E

The tendency for analogical expansion of -ε has a long history in Greek: in classical Attic, many verbs of the athematic conjugation typically formed the second person singular of the imperative with a zero morpheme, but formations with a long final -α such as *κατάβα* ‘descend’, *προσίστα* ‘come close’ etc., or even forms like *τίθει* ‘put’, *ἔει* ‘let’, *δίδου* ‘give’ etc., were the result of contraction of the root vowel with a final -ε, which originated from the 2nd person singular of thematic verbs, such as *λύ-ε* ‘loose, unbind’ (Chantraine 1990: 317; cf. Kühner & Blass 1892: II: 45). In the Late Koiné -ε already alternates with -ον, the old 2sg ending of perfective imperatives, the weak point of which was that it contained a vowel that did not match the characteristic vocalism -α- of the aorist in general or of the other persons in the same paradigm of perfective imperatives. Interestingly, -ον did not give up without a fight: the forms in -εν that often appear in Greco-Roman papyri are considered a blend of -ε and -ον (Mandilaras 1973: 289, 293; Gignac 1981: 331, 349–352),⁴ and -ον itself is attested throughout the Medieval period (Holton et al. 2019: 1662). According to Chatzidakis (1892: 187) it is still preserved in Asia Minor and Southern Italy. In more detail, -ε is found everywhere except for Pontus, Mani, and Apulia, where -ον was preserved, as seen on Map 1.

⁴ One of the anonymous reviewers wonders if phonology (e.g., special pronunciation of vowels in Egyptian Greek) might have played a role here. However, any alternations of [e] with [o] in this environment (before [n], unstressed final position) are practically unattested in the papyri of the period, and only [e] instead of [o] before [s] appears with some rudimentary regularity, e.g., *σφραγίδες* (gen.) instead of *σφραγίδος* ‘seal’ (Gignac 1976: 289).



Map 1. Distribution of -ε / -ον 2SG imperatives

In Apulia there is some sort of parameterization in the distribution of the two endings, based on the number of syllables and the position of the accent: only perfective forms are attested, and of those only proparoxytones typically select -o, e.g. *agápis-o* vs. *gráfs-e* (Rohlf s 1950: 130–131). In Mani -o has been extended to the imperfective active, e.g. *πρόσεχ-ο* ‘watch out’, as well as the perfective mediopassive, e.g. *ντύθηκ-ο* (Mirambel 1929: 220). For the Pontic imperatives referred to in the map legend, see Oikonomidis 1958: 264–265.

The pervasiveness of -ε is also evident:

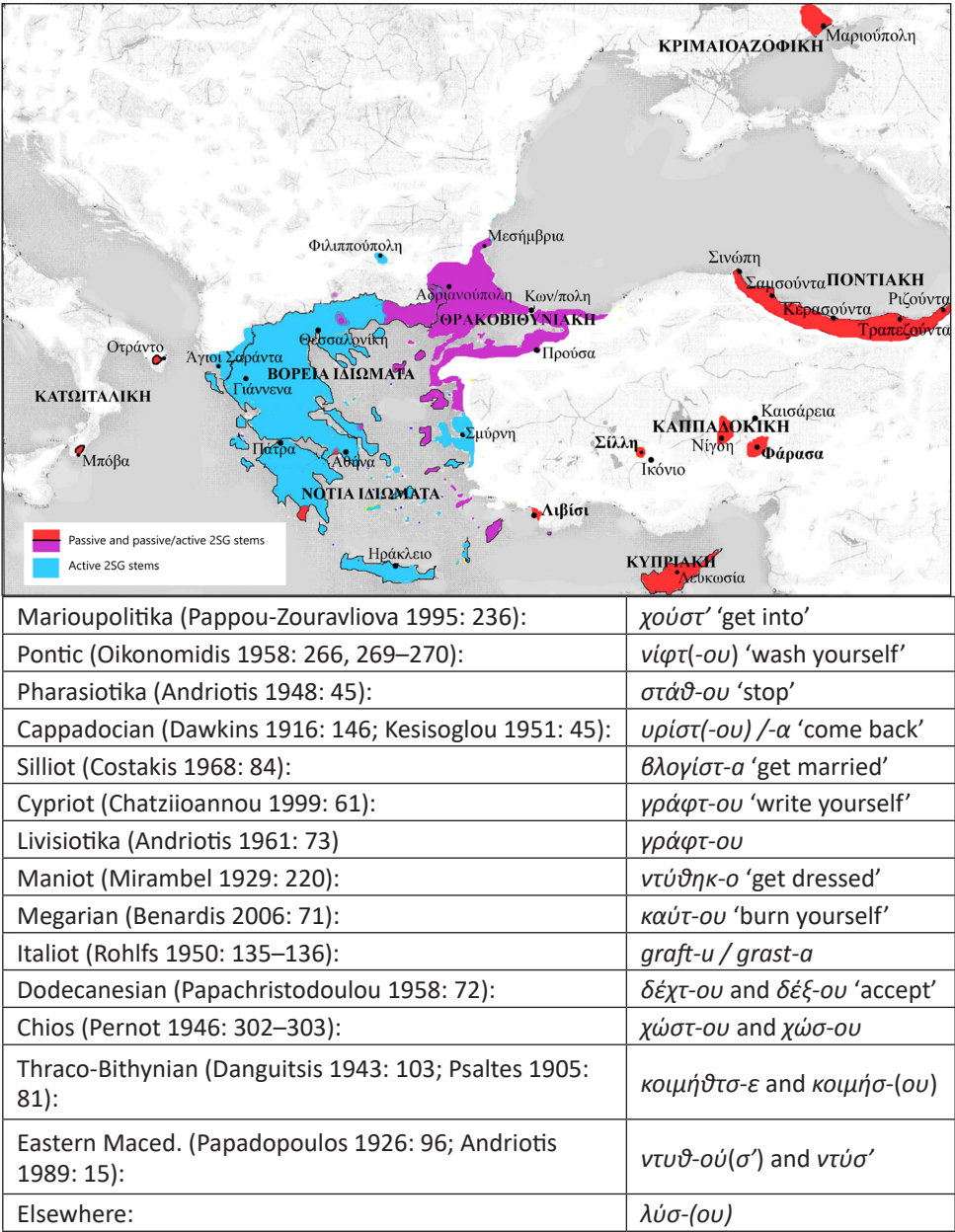
- (a) in the formative -α(γ)ε [aɣe] (< -a + -ε) of oxytone A-stems, which is found today in various southern dialects, e.g. Megarian *τρούπαε* ‘poke a hole’ (Benardis 2006: 75), and in SMG as a “more transparent” way of expressing imperfective aspect (Koutsoukos & Pantelidis 2019: 66–67): for example, *πέρνα* may have both an imperfective and a perfective reading but *πέρναγε* is exclusively imperfective.

- (b) in the formative *-ειε* [ie] (< *-ει* + *-ε*) of oxytone E-stems, e.g. *θάρειε*, already attested in Medieval Greek from at least the 14th c. (Holton et al. 2019: 1653, 1655), and surviving in many MG dialects but not in SMG (cf. Chatzidakis 1905: 44–46),
- (c) in the perfective mediopassive ending *-ησ-ε* [ise] which Chatzidakis (1905: 81) interprets as a case of analogy, as shown in (4) below:

$$\begin{array}{rclcl}
 (4) & \lambdaύσε & : & \lambdaύσετε & \\
 & x & : & \lambdaύθητε & \rightarrow \quad x = \lambdaύθησε \text{ (for } \lambdaύσου)
 \end{array}$$

The problem with this interpretation is that the old proparoxytone forms in *-ητε* (*λύθητε*) had already become obsolete and were replaced by paroxytone subjunctives in *-ήτε* (*λυθήτε*) (cf. Holton et al 2019: 1670–1671) before the appearance of *-ησε*. In all probability, *-ησε* derives from a perfective passive indicative stem in *-σ-*: this stem is not well attested (with the exception, of course, of the old 3rd person plural forms in *-ησαν* [*ελύθησαν*], from which it must have extended to 3sg [cf. Holton et al. 2019: 1629, 1637, where the form *εσέβησε* ‘he entered’ is cited]) neither in Medieval Greek nor in the dialects where such imperatives appear today (see, for example, Tsopanakis (1953: 291–292) for their presence in the modern dialect of Siatista, Macedonia). But imperatives in *-ηκε* (*λύθηκε*) –widespread today in the dialects around the Marmara Sea and in the islands of Northeast Aegean (cf. Papadopoulos 1926: 96; Danguitsis 1943: 103 [for Demirdesi in Bithynia]; Psaltes 1905: 81 [for Saranta Ekklesies in Eastern Thrace]; Kretschmer 1905: 319 [for Lesbos] etc.)– and *-ηκο* (*λύθηκο*) in Mani (Mirambel 1929: 220), obviously derive from the stem of the passive aorist (*ελύθηκα*) and demonstrate that the same interpretation applies to the imperatives in *-ησε* (← **ελύθησα*).

The use of the passive stem for the formation of the 2nd person singular (instead of the active stem as in SMG *λύσ-ου*) takes us to another point of cross-dialectal interest: the diffusion of forms such as *λύσ-ου* (active stem) on the one hand and *λύθ-ου* or *λύθ-ησε* (passive stem) on the other is already geographically parameterized in Medieval Greek: Holton et al. (2019: 1666) state that in Cyprus, Asia Minor, and the northern mainland, the ending *-ου* is attached to the passive stem, not the active. The distribution of the two stems in the Modern Greek dialects is almost perfectly comparable to the Medieval situation, as shown on Map 2.



Map 2. Distribution of active and passive stems

The passive stem has been generalized in both singular and plural forms throughout Eastern Greek (Pontic, Cappadocian, Marioupolitika, Cypriot, Silliot, Livisiotika). Dodecanese, Chios, Thrace, and the opposite shores of Asia Minor

together with the islands of the northeastern Aegean and a few places in eastern Macedonia (e.g. Meleniko, Serres, and elsewhere) can be considered transitional areas either because the initial Medieval variation was preserved or due to recent influence from the Western dialects and/or SMG. Archaic dialects such as Maniot and Megarian, as well as the entire Italiot dialect still maintain the passive stems for the second person singular.

4. THE STORY OF -Α

This ending has an eventful history as well. During the Middle Ages it already appears in a significant number of everyday verbs of motion such as *τρέχα* ‘run’, *διάβα* ‘pass’, *φεύγα* ‘leave’ etc., which are preserved in SMG, or *σήκα* ‘stand up’, *στράφα* ‘turn’, *σύρα* ‘drag’, *στ(έ/ά)κα* ‘stand’, which are not preserved or belong to lower registers (cf. Setatos 1998: 193). Lexical spread of -α can be wider in Modern Greek dialects, as shown in Heptanesian *πίθα* ‘sit’ (Liosis & Kriki to appear) or Tsakonian *κάτσα* ‘sit’ (Costakis 1986–7, 2: 64). The starting point of all these forms was probably the old athematic imperatives mentioned above in Section 3 with a surface -α (*κατάβα*, *ἔλα*), which passed through the Koiné (e.g. *διάβα* [P.Fay 110.15; 94 AD]) in Early Medieval Greek, e.g. *στα* ‘stop’ (Leontios *Life of Symeon* 84.24; 7th c.) (cf. Holton et al. 2019: 1650); *υπάγω*, which belongs to the same semantic field, also played a role: the perfective imperative *ύπα* appears as early as the 2nd c. AD as seen in (5) below (and cf. Holton et al. 2019: 1672):

- (5) *ύπα* *μαϊτά* *αύτῃς*
 go.IMP.2SG with her.GEN
 ‘Go with her!’
 (P.Athen. 62.11–2; 125–199 AD)

Apart from verbs of motion, there is an isolated form *γράψα* ‘write’ in the papyri (p.meyer.22, 3–4th c. AD), which can be interpreted as a shortened form on the basis of 2PL *γράψατε*, if it is not a spelling mistake, i.e. *γράψα<ι>* (where *αι* = [e]), as suggested by the editor. However, there are also Medieval experimentations such as *πία* ‘drink’ (maybe a case of height dissimilation [ie] > [ia]; also attested in Modern Pontic [Oikonomidis 1958: 264]) or even sporadic examples in the modern dialects such as *βλέπα* ‘look’ from Kos (Skandalidis 2006: 144–145). These seem to provide evidence of a tendency to extend outside the field of motion. Further evidence can be found in Pontic imperatives with a final open front [æ] such as [‘iðæ] (< *ίδε* + -α) ‘look’, [evræ] ‘find’ etc.

Crucially, passive forms in -α found in Cappadocian, e.g. *νίφτα* (Kesisoglou 1951: 45), Silliot, e.g. *βλογίστα* ‘get married’ (Costakis 1968: 84), Asia Minor Tsakonian, e.g. *πλύστα* ‘wash up’ (Costakis 1986–7, 3: 69), and Calabrian, e.g.

prasta ‘get written’ (Rohlf 1950: 135–136), indicate that *-α* has even assumed the role of *-ου* in these dialects. This is possible because the stem is already marked for voice, so there is no need for a dedicated, passive ending. Possibly, a similar interpretation should be sought for the case of passive imperatives like *κοιμήχ’* [cimiç] found in Cappadocian dialects (e.g. Kesisoglou 1951: 44–45). In these dialects, the palatalized final [ç] (< θ) dictates the reconstruction of a front vowel, probably *-ε* (< *κοιμήθ-ε*): again, it seems that *-ε* appears in this position because the passive meaning could be conveyed solely by the stem. It is interesting that in Pharasa the dissociation of *-ου* from the passive imperative allowed its reallocation to verbs of motion, i.e., where in the other dialects and SMG only *-α* is found: *έμπου* ‘get in’, *κατέβου* ‘descend’ etc. (Andriotis 1948: 45).

5. ZERO 2SG AND MORPHOLOGICALLY OVERT 2PL: A BINARY CONTRAST?

Now we can return to the question of whether Greek makes use of the cross-linguistically widespread inflectional contrast between second person singular of zero expression and morphologically overt second person plural. It is easy to discern that second person plural imperatives have had overt morphology throughout the entire history of the language: the ending *-(V)τ(ε)* in many phonetic and morphological variants, e.g. *-ετε* / *-έτε*, *-ατε* / *-άτε*, *-ειτε* / *-είτε*, *-τε*, *-ετ’* etc. It is also known that in SMG this person originates from and is identical to the present indicative (*λύνετε* / *λύνεστε*: imperfective) or the dependent (*λύσετε* / *λυθείτε*: perfective non-past) (cf. Holton et al. 2012: 143–144, 148) and this is the reason why it can normally be negated, in contrast to the second person singular which is considered a “true imperative” and cannot take negation, e.g. *μη λύνετε* but **μη λύνε* (for a formal analysis of such imperatives see Zeijlstra 2006; especially for Greek see Rivero & Terzi 1995 and Chatzopoulou 2015). Therefore, the origin of the second plural is aspectual in character, and this is quite a common phenomenon cross-linguistically (cf., for instance, the Danish imperative, which is also identical to the present tense [Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 212]). Beekes (1995: 244) even notes that in Sanskrit, the injunctive mood, a form of the verb with secondary endings and no augment, which in Ancient Greek was identical to the indicative forms, could take on the role of the second person plural and was obligatory in the case of all prohibitions. Therefore, if we recall the typology of Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca referred to above in Section 1 (and repeated in (6) below), the second person plural belongs to the third type. (The Greek 1st and 3rd person surrogate structures [cf. examples (2) and (3) above] naturally belong to the second type since their primary reading is hortative / jussive.)

- (6) 2pl imperatives typically emerge, in order of frequency, from:
- a. predictive futures
 - b. optative or hortative modalities
 - c. perfective / imperfective aspect

On the other hand, I argue that in the second person singular, the possibility of zero morphology has been more frequently exploited in the historical and geographical varieties of Greek than previously believed. In my understanding, the phonetically and especially morphologically reduced forms for this person are nothing more than manifestations of this possibility: given that the sense of the 2nd person plural is conventionally associated with the specific, apparent marker $-(V)\tau(\epsilon)$, the only other sense available, i.e., that of the second person singular, ends up being conventionally associated with the absence of a marker. Obviously, this contrast functions well only when it is binary.

In Ancient Greek the bare stem for the second person singular was the inherited way of forming this person for all thematic and most athematic verbs, e.g. $\lambdaύε-\emptyset$, $\acute{\iota}\sigmaτη-\emptyset$, $\deltaείκνυ-\emptyset$ etc. (Beekes 1995: 248). However, the emergence of the third person endings discussed earlier (Section 1) led to the obscuring of the initial contrast with the second person plural and contributed to the reanalysis of the originally thematic vowel $-\epsilon-$ as an ending, e.g. $\lambdaύε-\emptyset \rightarrow \lambdaύε-\epsilon$ (and subsequently $\acute{\tau}\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon-\epsilon > \acute{\tau}\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\iota$, cf. the beginning of Section 3): the ensuing imperative forms were now marked not only for number but also for person, within the framework of an extended, less defective inflectional paradigm (for details on the “defective nature” of the imperative, which is paralleled by the vocative in this regard, see Winter 1969). And it is hardly a coincidence that the demise of monolectic 3rd person forms in the beginning of the Early Medieval period or even earlier (examples in non-literary papyri are vanishingly rare towards the end of the Late Koiné [cf. Mandilaras 1973: 290–302]) roughly coincides with the appearance of new shortened 2SG forms (cf., for instance, the early form $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha$ in example (5) above).

Here is a typology of shortened forms in Medieval and Modern Greek. “Shortening” is used as an umbrella-term that encompasses two distinct phenomena (For a discussion on the terms that better describe the process through which these forms emerged, see Koutsoukos & Pantelidis 2019: 271–274):

a) Deletion of $-\epsilon$ (*apocope*): in SMG this occurs in specific environments, i.e., after coronals and before third-person verbal clitics or the definite article, e.g. $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\tau\omicron$ ‘bring it’ but $\ast\acute{\epsilon}\chi\tau\omicron$ ‘have it’; nasal stems show lexical variation, e.g., $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron$ ‘do it’ but $\ast\delta\acute{\iota}\nu\tau\omicron$ ‘keep giving it’ (cf. Setatos 1998: 191). In Medieval Greek apocope is more general, e.g. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\rho\prime\ \mu\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon$ (Theseid X.34.7), $\mu\epsilon$ (Rumi, Poem I.4), and cf. Holton et al. 2019: 1661–1662, from which the examples

are derived. In Modern Thraco-Bithynian and Asia Minor Greek the phenomenon seems purely morphological, namely it does not depend on the context, e.g., Thraco-Bith. *λύσ'* (Danguitsis 1943: 102), Asia Minor Tsak. *χώσ'* 'jab into' (Costakis 1986–7 2: 422), Sill. *ρήσ'* 'bind' (Costakis 1968: 84), Marioup. *βάλ'* 'put' (Pappou-Zouravliova 1995: 233) etc. In a few stems ending in a vowel, it is not easy to discern whether *-ε* has been apocopated or simply merged with the preceding vowel: for example, SMG *άκου* 'listen' may simply involve deletion of final *-ε*, but in Peloponnesian / Heptanesian *άκο* (Liosis & Kriki [to appear]) the quality of the resulting vowel suggests contraction: [u] + [e] > [o], cf. Pel. / Hept. *μου έδωσε* > ['moðose] '(s)he gave me'. Further examples may include MedG / Pontic *φά* < *φά(γ)ε* (and cf. SMG *φά'το*, *φάτε*), HG / MedG. *ύπα* < *ύπα(γ)ε* etc. Peloponnesian Tsakonian is unique in this respect, since the inherited deletion of intervocalic [s] in perfective stems naturally predates apocope of *-ε*, e.g. **θίλησε* (verb *θιλού* 'to kiss') > **θίληε* → *θίλη*, **άπρουσε* (verb *απρούκ'ου* 'to lay out') > **άπρουε* → *άπρου*. In this dialect, the distinction between perfective and imperfective imperatives is sometimes achieved through suffixes marked for imperfectivity, e.g. *θίλ-iv-ε* 'keep kissing' (Liosis 2007: 496–497).

(b) Subtraction of the type (C)Ce → ∅, and specifically in proparoxytone perfective V(k)s-stems (where V = o, a, i), e.g. (vernacular) SMG *τσάκωσε* (*τσακώνω* 'to catch') → *τσάκω*, *άρπαξε* (*αρπάζω* 'to grab') → *άρπα*. Such forms are much more systematic in dialects than in SMG (cf. Koutsoukos & Pantelidis 2019) and involve, less often, the verbalizer *-ίζω* (perfective stem in *-ισ-*), e.g. Marioup. *πότισε* (*ποτίζω* 'to water') → *πότ'* (< **πότι*) (Kisilier 2009: 326), Pont. *κοσκίνισε* (*κοσκινίζω* 'to sift') → *κοσκίν'* (Oikonomidis 1958: 265, 268).

Koutsoukos and Pantelidis (2019: 276–277) provide a mixed semantic and prosodic interpretation of subtraction: they observe that in some words the formatives *-άζω* and *-ώνω* cannot be synchronically analyzed. Thus, being semantically empty they are susceptible to deletion. This combined with the fact that the final output of subtraction is always a trochee (which is considered the "optimal prosodic pattern in Greek", cf. Malikouti-Drachman & Drachman 1989) justifies the elimination of the final syllable. Unfortunately, this interpretation does not explain why there is no subtraction in other derived verbs (e.g. verbs in *-εύω*: **παίδε* ← *παίδεψε* [*παιδεύω* 'to chastise'])), which can also be synchronically unparsable (cf. *μπερδεύω* 'to confuse').

In my opinion the subtracted forms simply satisfy the need for 2SG zero morphology: what these forms have in common –and the same applies to the apocopated imperatives– is that they "got rid" of the ending *-ε*, which, as already mentioned, is the prototypical marker for this category. As one would expect, even reduced forms with a surface element mimicking the marker *-ε*, as in **παίδε*, are unacceptable. In this context, imperative without an ending means either a bare stem (the apocopated forms) or a bare root (the subtracted forms).

The absence of the perfective marker (-σ-) from the latter should be ascribed to the broader tendency for aspect neutralization in this mood (cf. Thumb 1912: 128, 155; Bakker 1965). The opposite result observed in various MG dialects, namely the intrusion of -σ- in aspectually bleached 2PL imperatives such as *ελάστε* ‘come’ (already attested in the Medieval period [Holton 2019: 1382]), *εμπάστε* ‘enter’, *κάμεστε* ‘do’ (*κάμνω*) etc. in Rhodes (Papachristodoulou 1958: 67) and elsewhere, reveals the same tendency. Finally, in Pontic, it appears that a separate ending -α has emerged (possibly through a process comparable to the way the ending -ε originated in Ancient Greek, as mentioned earlier) which is attached to subtracted imperatives regardless of the suffix used in the citation form, e.g. *σκότα*, *τελεία* ‘finish’ etc. (Oikonomidis 1958: 268), and cf. the already Medieval active and passive imperative *σήκα* ‘lift, get up’ cited in Holton et al. 2019: 1673, 1674.

All the above observations confirm that a central distinction in the Greek imperative system is *imperatives with -ε* versus *imperatives without it*, which largely reflects the distinction between overt and zero morphology.

6. CONCLUSION

The historical and cross-dialectal study of the Greek imperative forms reveals its innovative character, which is largely determined by analogical processes and, to a lesser extent, by phonological changes. I argued for a unified approach to phonological (apocope) and morphological (subtraction) reduction of the second person singular. The interpretational framework of this approach is cognitive and contextual: the conceptually available features of the imperative in a conversational event are:

- (a) a directive to one addressee or
- (b) a directive to more than one addressee.

If the ending -τε (and its variants) is conventionally associated with feature (b), then the ending -ε, the prototypical marker for feature (a), becomes pragmatically redundant and can be contextually elicited. In practice this means that -ε may either be dropped or replaced by a surface α or ο in new reductive forms. A prosodic requirement dictates that these forms must be non-proparoxytones.

There is a diachronic oscillation in the history of the language between reduced and full forms for the second person singular, which seems to be largely determined by the presence or absence of other persons in the paradigm of the imperative. In this context, the existence of phonologically or morphologically reduced forms for the second person plural is secondary, resulting from the analogical extension of the second person singular and the generalization of a common stem in the paradigm of the mood, e.g. SMG *φέρ' το* → *φέρτε*,

Peloponnesian *σκότω* → *σκοτώτε* (Koutsoukos & Pantelidis 2019: 270), Pontic [*iðæ*] → [*iðæte*] (Oikonomidis 1958: 267) etc.

The atemporal nature of the imperative, in the sense that it has obligatory future reference, makes tense non-diagnostic. However, there is also an observed increased mobility of *-ε*, *-α*, *-ο* (and even *-ου*) as 2SG endings, regardless of aspect and voice. This is to be expected since these categories are usually expressed only by the stem, and especially aspect distinctions are often attenuated or neutralized.

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ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΚΤΙΚΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ

Περίληψη

Η προστακτική έγκλιση είναι στην ελληνική γλώσσα μια κλιτική κατηγορία του ρήματος για την έκφραση προσαγών και απαγορεύσεων. Η ιστορία της από την αρχαιότητα ως σήμερα και η τυπολογία της, όπως προκύπτει από την αντιπαραθετική εξέταση της εξέλιξής της στις νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους και στην κοινή νεοελληνική, δείχνουν ότι η παραδειγματική αντιπροσώπευση των προστακτικών μορφών είναι ελλειπτική αλλά ότι κεντρική στο σύστημα υπήρξε διαχρονικά η αντίθεση μεταξύ του β' ενικού και β' πληθυντικού προσώπου. Στο πλαίσιο του διμελούς αυτού συστήματος παρατηρείται η τάση για κυκλική ανανέωση του β' ενικού: για πραγματολογικούς λόγους, μπορεί να σχηματίζεται με ένα μηδενικό μόρφημα που στη συνέχεια επαναναλύεται ως φανερή κατάληξη προτού αποβληθεί εκ νέου μέσω φωνολογικών (αποκοπή) και μορφολογικών (σύντμηση) μηχανισμών. Παράλληλα, παρακολουθείται η ανάδυση πρωτοτυπικών καταλήξεων για το πρόσωπο αυτό, κυρίως του -ε και σε μικρότερο βαθμό του -α, που ανάλογα με την εποχή και τη διάλεκτο, επεκτείνονται αναλογικά σε σημασιολογικά πεδία και κατηγορίες όψης, φωνής και συζυγίας πολύ ευρύτερα από την αρχική τους κατανομή. Τέλος, δείχνεται ότι με τυπολογικούς όρους οι νεοελληνικές διάλεκτοι διακρίνονται σε δύο ομάδες ανάλογα με την κατανομή των καταλήξεων -ε και -ο του β' ενικού και ανάλογα με το βαθμό συμμετοχής του παθητικού θέματος στο σχηματισμό της συνοπτικής μεσοπαθητικής προστακτικής. Η κατάσταση αυτή έχει εν πολλοίς διαμορφωθεί ήδη από τη μεσαιωνική περίοδο.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: προστακτική, νεοελληνικές διάλεκτοι, αποκοπή, σύντμηση