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MORPHOLOGICAL SPECIALIZATION IN THE VERBAL DOMAIN AS A RESULT OF GRAMMATICALIZATION IN MODERN GREEK AND ROMANCE: THE CASE OF PIJENO/PAO⁴

Besides their original meaning of motion, motion verbs express a plethora of other lexical and grammatical meanings. Cross-linguistically, the semantic integration and grammatical interdependence between motion verbs and verbs of lexical meaning in motion verb constructions (MVC) may lead to the emergence of parallel morphological forms, including the original one which retains the motion lexical meaning of the verb, and a second one, showing different degrees of (phono-)morphological specialization and grammaticalization. This paper deals with the use of the parallel forms *pijeno* and *pao* ‘go’ in Standard Modern Greek (SMG). Expanding cross-linguistic evidence from Romance, we present different morphological and semantic properties of motion verbs in MVCs and we argue that the verb *pao* in SMG has attained a semi-grammatical status. We argue in favor of the relatively advanced grammaticalization status of the form *pao* in Greek dialectal data, based on the results of a preliminary study conducted with 26 dialectal speakers from the island of Corfu.

Keywords: grammaticalization, motion verbs, verb *pijeno/pao*, parallel paradigms

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1. INTRODUCTION

It is routinely observed in relevant research that, cross-linguistically, motion verbs may display many more semantic properties besides denoting their original meaning of motion (Talmy 1975; Bybee et al. 1991; Hopper & Traugott 1997). In various languages, such as Romance (Ledgeway 2011, 2012, 2017), grammaticalization has led to the morphological specialization and ultimately to the emergence of two parallel forms of the same verb – a full form which preserves the original lexical meaning and a phonologically reduced form which acquires more grammatical properties – that coexist and are juxtaposed (Hopper 1991). In Standard Modern Greek (SMG), the verb *pijeno* ‘go’ and its parallel form *pao* ‘go’ may have the same meaning (normally the basic one) in a plethora of semantic contexts like in the example below:

- (1) **Πηγαίν-ω / Πά-ω** στα μαγαζιά.
 go.IPF-PRS.1SG / go-PRS.1SG PREP.DEF.NEUT.PL shop-NEUT.PL
 ‘I go shopping.’
 (Utilitarian Dictionary of Modern Greek, Academy of Athens)
 (https://christikolexiko.academyofathens.gr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2&catid=2, retrieved 21/05/2024)

At the same time, in certain constructions and semantic contexts, the two forms may display different properties, the former retaining its lexical meaning ‘go’ and the latter being preferred to encode additional functional (grammatical) properties as in (2):

- (2) **Πα-ς** να με τρελάν-εις.
 go-2SG PRT PRO.OBJ.1SG madden.PFV-2SG
 ‘You intend to drive me crazy (You will drive me crazy).’
 (Utilitarian Dictionary of Modern Greek, Academy of Athens)
 (https://christikolexiko.academyofathens.gr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2&catid=2, retrieved 21/05/2024)

In this paper, we aim firstly to examine patterns of use of the motion verb *pijeno* and its parallel shortened form *pao*, and we present some of their respective grammatical and lexical properties. Secondly, we bring further cross-linguistic evidence from two Romance languages, namely Catalan and Marsalese, to illuminate cross-linguistic similarities and differences. Finally, a rather advanced level of grammaticalization for the shortened form *pao* within the linguistic repertoire of Modern Greek dialects when compared to that of SMG will be argued for in specific contexts. This conclusion is drawn from our remarks

on preliminary data obtained from dialectal Greek speakers of Corfu, an island in the northwestern Ionian Sea. More precisely, we conducted a survey on the use of the verbs *pijeno* and *pao* with the participation of 26 speakers who answered an online questionnaire on Google Forms. The answers reflect linguistic data of participants coming from Corfu town as well as villages of the island,⁵ thus pointing to relative diatopic variation.

2. THE VERB *pijeno/pao*

2.1. Literature review on the dual form *pijeno/pao*

Even though the parallel forms *pijeno/pao* have co-existed for a long time in the history of oral and written Greek (Holton et al. 2019), diachronic and synchronic research about their morphosyntactic and semantic properties remains limited to a narrow corner of monographs on the history of the Greek language, historical grammars, and few other relevant publications. In fact, besides the almost completely unexplored morphosyntactic variation between the two forms, even primary research about the very frequent verb *pijeno* remains quite restricted.

Regarding the main verb *pijeno* and its morphophonological development, Jannaris (1897) notes that the Medieval form *υπάγω*, deriving from the ancient Greek verb *υπαγάγω*, produces eventually the new verb *παγαίνω* and its variant form *πηγαίνω*. Hatzidakis (1905) also focuses on the morphophonetic changes of the verb explaining how the form *pijeno* replaced *υπάγω* after the loss of the ancient aorist *ήγαγον*. Horrocks (2010: 237) puts forward a more elaborated explication about the phonological evolution of the form *pijeno* from ancient to SMG.

Concerning the parallel form *pao* and based on an important variety of examples, Konta (2002) examines the use of the SMG construction *pao + na-subjunctive*, but without mentioning new semantic properties that seem to have emerged, like the avertive (cf. 2.2). Moreover, Grammenidis (1993) discusses various sociolinguistic contexts of the parallel form *pao*, still without further investigating morphological, syntactic and semantic properties of the verb. Recently, Holton et al. (2019) and Trigka (2021) treated the special case of the shortened form *pa*⁶ of the verb *pao*. More precisely, Holton et al. (2019) show its etymological complexities – among which the variety of stems attested from Ancient Greek to Medieval Greek – and underline the emergence of the grammatical meaning of proximate future, but crucially only for the construction *pa + na-subjunctive*, without considering other grammatical meanings of the

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⁶ After the loss of [o], the invariable shortened form *pa* emerged, its use being limited to the 3SG in the present (Trigka 2021: 1294).

verb. Finally, regarding the diachronic developments of *pao* in MVCs, Trigka (2021) observes some relevant examples in texts of the Cretan Renaissance (16th-17th c.) focusing particularly on the syntactic and semantic evolution of the form *pa + (na)-subjunctive*.

2.2. Grammatical polysemy of the verb *pao*

While the parallel and shortened form *pao* preserves the prototypical meaning of motion, as shown in (1), it also serves more grammatical meanings as a result of its semi-grammaticalized status. In SMG, the different grammatical meanings which we have managed to retrieve are the following:

a) Proximate future

- (3) H κατάστασ-η **πά-ει** να ξεφύγ-ει.
 DEF.SG.F.NOM situation-SG go-3SG PRT escape.PFV-3SG
 ‘The situation is almost out of control.’ (Trigka 2021)

In this example, the construction *pao + na-subjunctive* is clearly used as a future-reference marker. The action described will take place very soon, in the very near future. This tendency of using motion verbs – especially those showing high frequency in the lexicon, such as ‘go’ – as future-reference markers is well-attested in other languages e.g., English *be going to* (Hopper & Traugott 1997); French *aller + infinitive*⁷ (Marchello-Nizia 2006) etc.

On the other hand, when *pao* is marked for the past perfective, then another meaning is triggered, as shown in example (4):

b) Avertive

- (4) Πήγ-ε να χτυπήσ-ει με το μπαλάκ-ι
 go.PFV.PST-3SG PRT hit.PFV-3SG PREP DEF.NEUT.SG ball-SG

τον Κύργι-ο.

DEF.SG.ACC Kyrgios-ACC

‘He almost hit Kyrgios with the tennis ball.’

(<https://www.sport-fm.gr/article/sports/tennis/tsitsipas-pige-na-xtupisei-me-to-mpalaki-ton-kurgio/4309774>, retrieved 24/07/22)

Here, a new semantic function has emerged, in which an action came

⁷ A typical example for English is given by Hopper and Traugott (1997: 1):

a. Bill **is** **go-ing to** go to college after all.

In French, Marchello-Nizia (2006: 44) identifies the future property of the verb *aller* as follows:

b. Je **vais** **all-er** au cinéma.

PRO.1SG go.PRS.1SG go.INF PREP.DEF.M cinema.

‘I am going to go to the cinema.’

close to taking place in the past, without ever taking place. The construction consists in the verb *pijeno* / *pao* which appears only in its aoristic perfective form followed by a finite verb complex complement clause (*na* + subjunctive) and it is described in the literature as the ‘avertive’ form (Kuteva 1998). Although the verb *pijeno* / *pao* encodes this special grammatical category, it is not discussed in the extant literature. According to Kuteva et al. (2019: 866), the avertive is a verbal grammatical category that “*involves past verb situations that almost took place but did not*”. Although Kuteva (1998) seems to have officially introduced this grammatical category to denote an ‘action narrowly averted’, avertive particles had already been identified in certain descriptive grammars in the early 1960s (Whiteley 1960: 63). At a cross-linguistic level, the avertive has gained attention especially in Amazonian and African languages (Alexandrova 2016; Ziegeler 1999; Arregui et al. 2014 i.a.).

c) Possibility

(5) Πρόσεξ-ε	μην	πα	και πέσ-εις
be.careful.PFV-IMP.2SG	NEG	go.PRT	and fall.PFV-2SG
‘Be careful, you may fall.’ (Trigka 2021)			

In the example above, the original meaning of motion is most probably submerged. In (5) the meaning of ‘maybe’ and ‘by chance’ is expressed by the construction *pa kai* + *subjunctive*, especially with the use of the negation *min*; in other words, the action referred to is likely to happen. In such constructions, the shortened form *pa* which does not display any typical verb properties such as inflection, is preferred by the speakers as the most natural. This leads us to the conclusion that *pa* has lost its verb features, being rather a particle.

3. THE ROMANCE CASE

The (phono-)morphological distinction between lexical and functional uses of dual forms of motion verbs – often called mirror patterns – is a common phenomenon attested in many languages (cf. Carden & Pesetsky 1977; Jaeggli & Hyams 1993; Wiklund 1996 i.a.) such as Romance languages (Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001: 1).

We are turning our attention to two Romance languages, namely Catalan (Pérez Saldanya & Hualde 2003; Juge 2006), spoken in eastern Spain, and Marsalese (Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001), spoken in Sicily. Below, we briefly present the special morphological characteristics of the lexical and grammatical forms of the verb *go* in these two languages respectively. In Catalan, the verb *anar* has three morphological paradigms:

- (i) lexical ‘go’: *vaig, vas, va, anam, anats, van* (Catalan)

- (ii) past auxiliary: *vaig, vas, va, vam, vau, van*
 (iii) dialectal past auxiliary: *vaig, vares, va, vàrem, vàreu, varen*
 (Pérez Saldanya & Hualde 2003; Juge 2006)

(6) (jo)	vaig	cant-ar
PRO.SUBJ.1SG	go.1SG	sing-INF
{ahir / la setmana passada /	* aquest matí /	* aquesta setmana}
yesterday/ last week /	* this morning /	* this week
'I sang yesterday / last week / * this morning / * this week. ' (Perez & Hualde 2003: 47)		

In (6), the parallel auxiliary *vaig* of the Catalan motion verb denotes the past, whereas in other Romance languages it is typically found in constructions denoting the future (e.g., Fr. *je vais chanter*, Sp. *voy a cantar* 'I will sing').

On the other hand, in Marsalese, the motion verb *iri* 'go' displays an invariant form, which fills the 2SG, 3SG and the 3PL of its verb paradigm, as in (7). The invariant form *va* has been reanalyzed as a reduction of the forms *vaju*, *vai* and *vannu* and shares properties of auxiliaries (Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001), as shown in the paradigm below:

(7) a. Vaju / Va	a pigghiu	u pani.
go.1SG	to fetch.1SG	the bread
b. Vai / Va	a pigghi	u pani.
go.2SG	to fetch.2SG	the bread
c. Va	a piggh-ia	u pani.
go.3SG	to fetch.3SG	the bread
d. Vannu / Va	a pigghiamu	u pani.
go.3PL	to fetch.3PL	the bread
(Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001: 12) ⁸		

Comparing SMG and the Romance varieties presented above, very similar observations can be made for the verb *go*. Motion verbs in both language groups have parallel and reduced verb forms showing divergence regarding their grammaticalization degree. However, their semantic shift and grammaticalization are subject to cross-linguistic variation: a higher degree of grammaticalization is attested in SMG with the invariable shortened form *pa*, while in Romance some verbs are auxiliaries and some other semi-lexical.

⁸ First and second plural are not mentioned here because they are ungrammatical in Marsalese, according to Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001).

4. SEMANTIC SPECIALIZATION AND GRAMMATICALIZATION OF THE VERB *PAO* IN MODERN GREEK DIALECTAL DATA: EVIDENCE FROM CORFIOT GREEK

Further evidence for the extended use of the verb *pao* compared to that of *pijeno* in MVCs comes from contemporary Modern Greek dialectal data. We hereby present preliminary results of a small-scale survey on the use of *pijeno* and *pao* in MVCs compared to that of plain lexical verbs in Greek spoken in Corfu. The survey was conducted with the participation of 26 speakers of Corfiot origin, who were asked to fill an online questionnaire on Google Forms. We aimed at showing what the eventual preference of *pao* over *pijeno* in motion verb constructions can tell us about their semantic specialization as well as their grammaticalization status, when compared to plain verbs denoting equivalent lexical meaning.

All participants were born and raised in Corfu until the age of 12 years old, while today they live in Corfu or elsewhere. The participants were asked to carry out two types of tasks: a) answer a number of multiple-choice questions, for which they had to choose one among three answers that they would most preferably and most spontaneously use in the relevant given context; b) assess the acceptability of a given utterance as the most usual and spontaneous regarding a specific context in a discussion with people from their own area on a 1-7 Lickert scale. The lexical verbs selected for this study were *fevgo* 'leave' and *pijeno* / *pao* 'go', considering the significantly frequent use of the MVC *pao na figo* (8) 'I am about to leave' by the locals. Additionally, based on SMG, we advanced the hypothesis that a MVC where the form *pao* is followed by a variant form of the same lexical verb *pao* as in (11) would be assessed by the speakers as relatively unacceptable. The survey focused on the use of the verb *pao* as opposed to that of *pijeno* in patterns where the two verbs present distinct morphological variants, such as the present imperfective forms *pijeno* vs *pao* and the imperative form *pijen-e* vs *pane* 'go!'. Moreover, further patterns of the MVC were investigated. We set out to verify the acceptability of future and past tense marking of *pijeno* / *pao*, as well as forms marked for mood, including different variants of the imperative. We aimed to clarify the degree of grammaticalization of motion verbs in the constructions in question in comparison to SMG as well as to identify potential competition in their semantic interpretation. A few observations regarding the latter's analysis will be provided below.

To begin with, we advanced the hypothesis on the frequent use of the verb *fevgo* in the MVC with *pao* as the most spontaneous answer to describe a situation in which the speakers are announcing their leaving to a company of friends. This option was confirmed by 14/26 speakers (54%), who preferred the MVC *pao na figo*, shown in (8), over the present form of the lexical verb *fevg-o* 'I leave/I am leaving and the perfective past form *e-fig-a* 'I left':

- (8) Πά-ω να φύγ-ω.
 go-1SG PRT go.PFV-1SG
 ‘I am going to leave (I am leaving / I am about to leave).’

The results from the acceptability judgement task show that 23 out of 26 participants (88.5%) rated the same example as significantly likely to be used (scoring 5, 6, or 7 on a 1-7 scale) in a similar context (9):

- (9) Πά-ω να φύγ-ω, πάω να βρ-ω τα παιδι-ά.
 go-1SG PRT go.PFV-1SG go-1SG PRT find-1SG DEF-NEUT.PL child-NEUT.
 PL
 ‘I am going to leave (I am leaving).’

However, the same results were not obtained for the use of the 1PL *pame na figume* ‘let’s leave, we are leaving’ and the 3PL form *pane na figun* ‘they are leaving’ in the same pragmatic context, where only 7/26 (27%) speakers chose the MVC over the respective options *fevg-ume* ‘we are leaving’ and *φύγαμε* ‘we are leaving’ (lit. ‘we left’). Low results were also obtained for the use of the lexical verb *pijeno / pao* both for the 1SG and the 1PL. Such a difference should be probably attributed to the semantics of the subjectification of the event as expressing the deliberate movement away from the deictic center, i.e., the speaker, to carry out an intended action. Hence, we observe that despite the limited number of selected verbs used in the survey, there are factors which seem to contribute to the conventionalization of the constructions, and which support the possible expansion of the syntagmatic relations of motion verbs with other lexical verbs in MVC. Interestingly, the only speakers who preferred the MVC *pao na pao sto spiti* ‘I am going to / I am going home’ over the forms *pigeno sto spiti* and *pao sto spiti* ‘I am going home’ come from Southern Corfu (Kanalía, Lefkimmi). In addition, the relative high acceptability (5 in the 1-7 scale) of the respective 1PL form *pa(me) na pame sto spiti* ‘we are going home’ from two informants of the same area suggest relative diatopic variation in the degree of grammaticalization of *pao* among speakers of different locations on the island of Corfu.

We interpret the relatively high use of *pao* followed by a verb form in a MVC within the previously mentioned contexts as a significant preliminary indication of its ongoing desementicization. Additionally, the semantic drift of the lexical meaning of *pao* denotes motion towards a purposive meaning (cf. Schmidtke-Bode & Diessel 2019). Further and clearer evidence for the desementicization and therefore grammaticalization of the SVC *pa(o) na figo* is observed in the cases where it is marked by the future particle *tha*, rather than the future forms of the lexical verb, namely *tha figo* ‘I will leave’. The example is found in a context

where the informants supposedly find themselves irritated by their interlocutor and threaten them to leave unless s/he does not stop repeating what s/he says: 15/26 (57%) informants prefer to use *tha pao na figo* 'I am going to leave' to the future form of the lexical verb *tha figo*, as exemplified in (10):

- (10) Σταμάτ-α τώρα γιατί **θα πα να** **φύγ-ω!**
 Stop.IMP-2SG now because FUT go PRT leave.PFV-1SG
 'Stop now because I am going to leave!'

The example shows the effect of the functional shift of the verb *pao* following its desemanticization and phonological erosion, and its reanalysis as a proclitic morpheme interpolating between the future marker *tha* and the verb. The future form *tha pao* followed by *pao* is also accepted with a high preference by two informants coming from the areas of Kotselas and Viros (rated with 5 and 6 in the 1-7 scale respectively) within a context similar to that in (10), as shown in (11):⁹

- (11) Με κούρασ-ες **θα πά-ω** **να πά-ω.**
 1SG.ACC tire.PFV-2SG FUT go-1SG PRT go-1SG
 'I am tired of hearing you, I am going to go.'

5. CONCLUSIONS AND ISSUES TO EXPLORE

To conclude, morphological specialization gives rise to dual verbal paradigms of motion verbs with parallel reduced and inflected forms cross-linguistically. According to the Greek and Romance data examined above, we argue that the verb *pao* and its morphologically reduced forms have attained a relatively higher degree of grammaticalization compared to the form *pijeno* in SMG. This observation led us to a first attempt to identify differences in the lexical vs grammatical properties of the pair *pijeno* / *pao* in MVCs in Greek dialectal data. Our results on the use and acceptability of the form *pao* followed by the verb *fevgo* and *pijeno* / *pao* in MVCs with respect to SMG point to the grammaticalization of *pa(o)* in the dialectal data in question, at least regarding the given contexts.

We suggest that the present findings be extended to the analysis of similar grammaticalization patterns of the reduced form *pao* compared to *pijeno* in other Greek varieties.

⁹ The example (11) where *pao* appears with its lexical meaning following the verb form *pao* in the MVC is ungrammatical in SMG.

List of glosses

1 / 2 / 3 = 1st / 2nd / 3rd person

ACC = accusative

DEF = definite

F = feminine

FUT = future

IMP = imperative

IPF = imperfective

M = masculine

NEUT = neutral

NOM = nominative

OBJ = object

PFV = perfective

PL = plural

PNP = perfective non past

PREP = preposition

PRO = pronoun

PRT = particle

PST = past

SG = singular

SUBJ = subject

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**ΡΗΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΜΟΡΦΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΕΞΕΙΔΙΚΕΥΣΗ ΚΑΙ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΟΠΟΙΗΣΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΟΙΝΗ ΝΕΑ
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΡΟΜΑΝΙΚΗ: Η ΠΕΡΙΠΤΩΣΗ ΤΟΥ ΠΗΓΑΙΝΩ / ΠΑΩ**

Περίληψη

Όπως είναι ευρέως παραδεκτό, πέραν της βασικής λεξικής σημασίας τους, τα ρήματα κίνησης δηλώνουν άλλες, τόσο λεξικές όσο και γραμματικές σημασίες. Διαγλωσσικά, η γραμματική και σημασιολογική εξάρτηση και ενσωμάτωση των ρημάτων κίνησης με λεξικά ρήματα εντός πολυ-ρηματικών δομών που δηλώνουν κίνηση, μπορεί να οδηγήσει στο σχηματισμό παράλληλων μορφολογικών τύπων ή και διακριτών παραδειγμάτων του ίδιου ρήματος, ενός που διατηρεί τη λεξική σημασία της κίνησης κι ενός δεύτερου, μερικώς ή εντελώς διαφοροποιημένου μορφολογικά, με επιπλέον ή αμιγώς γραμματικές σημασίες. Επεκτείνοντας τη διαγλωσσική εμφάνιση παράλληλων παραδειγμάτων λεξικών και ημι-λεξικών/γραμματικοποιημένων τύπων των ρημάτων σε δύο Ρομανικές γλώσσες, την Καταλανική και την ποικιλία Marsalese της Σικελίας, η παρούσα ανακοίνωση πραγματεύεται μορφολογικές και σημασιολογικές ιδιότητες των τύπων *πηγαίνω/πάω* στην Κοινή Νέα Ελληνική (ΚΝΕ). Υποστηρίζουμε ότι σε αντίθεση με τον τύπο *πηγαίνω*, ο τύπος *πάω* είναι ημι-γραμματικός με γραμματικές σημασίες όπως α) κοντινό μέλλον, β) «το παρ' ολίγον συμβάν» (avertive) ή γ) πιθανότητα. Υψηλότερα επίπεδα γραμματικοποίησης του παράλληλου τύπου *πάω* εντός πολυ-ρηματικών δομών που δηλώνουν κίνηση σε σχέση με την ΚΝΕ εντοπίζονται και σε διαλεκτικά δεδομένα προερχόμενα από την Κέρκυρα, τα οποία παρουσιάζουμε στο πλαίσιο προκαταρκτικής έρευνας μικρής κλίμακας που διεξήγαμε με τη συμμετοχή 26 διαλεκτόφωνων ομιλητών. Τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας δείχνουν σχετικά συχνότερη χρήση και μεγαλύτερο βαθμό αποδοχής διαφορετικών μορφολογικών τύπων του *πάω* όταν αυτό εκφράζει γραμματικές ιδιότητες σε πολυ-ρηματικές δομές με τα λεξικής σημασίας *φεύγω* και *πάω*. Επιπλέον, η αποσημασιοποίηση και περαιτέρω γραμματικοποίηση του τύπου *πάω* εντός των εν λόγω πολυ-ρηματικών δομών φαίνεται μέσω της χρήσης της μορφής του *πάω* με το μελλοντικό μόριο *θα*. Επισημαίνεται ότι τα ευρήματα για τη μορφο-φωνολογική και σημασιολογική διάκριση των ρημάτων κίνησης στη συγχρονία και τη διαχρονία στην ΚΝΕ και στα παρόντα διαλεκτικά δεδομένα αξίζουν να διευρυνθούν και σε άλλες ελληνικές ποικιλίες.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: γραμματικοποίηση, ρήματα κίνησης, ρήμα *πηγαίνω/πάω*, παράλληλοι τύποι