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CAPPADOCIAN GREEK arev ‘NOW’ AND RELATED ADVERBS: THE EFFECTS OF CONFLATION, COMPOSITION, AND RESEGMENTATION

In the *Istorikovn Lexikovn th1 Neva1 Ellhnikhv1*,¹ an adverbial form *arev*, glossed as ‘*twvra*’ (‘now’), is given for the Cappadocian dialects of Modern Greek. In addition, other apparently related forms are cited, including *aresouv*, *aretsouv*, *arevtsa*, *revtsa*, among others, with a more emphatic meaning ‘*amevsw1 twvra*’ (‘right now’), all of which quite plausibly can be taken to be built from *arev* as a base, with *revtsa* suggesting the base can be more accurately indicated as (a)*rev*. All of these forms are said to be “of unknown etymology” (*agnwvstou etuvmou*).

¹Volume 3 (1942), p. 57 (published by the *Tupografeivon ÆEstivaÆ*, for the *Akadhmviva Aqhnwvn*).

Within Greek, of course, forms arev / rev, and especially the monosyllable rev, look quite familiar, as variants of the particle brev ([vré]) that Pring² glosses as “unceremonious mode of address or cry of surprise, impatience, etc.”.³ However, it is difficult to motivate a semantic or functional connection between an adverb meaning ‘now’ and this particle of address,⁴ suggesting that one should look elsewhere for the etymon of the Cappadocian adverb.

²J. Pring, *The Oxford Dictionary of Modern Greek (Greek-English)*, Oxford 1975 (p. 40, s.v.).

³While all the variant forms of brev, including arev and rev, are generally considered to derive from Ancient Greek mwrev, the vocative of mwrovı ‘dull, foolish’, a borrowing explanation for at least some of the forms cannot be entirely ruled out. See now B. Joseph, “Methodological Issues in the History of the Balkan Lexicon: The Case of Greek vré/ré and its Relatives”, to appear in *Gedenkschrift for Zbigniew Golab* (V. Friedman & M. Belyavski-Frank, eds., (1996)), for discussion (with literature) of all of the variants of brev that are found in Greek and in other Balkan languages.

⁴This is not to say that such a connection is impossible. For instance, English *now* can be used as a discourse-initiating element (as in, *Now, what are we going to do about this problem?*), and from such a function, it is not such a large step to use as a general attention-getter. However, in the Greek case, the movement would have to have been in the opposite direction, from an attention-getting function to the meaning ‘now’. Admittedly, the English use of *now* indicates that a close relation between the two functions is possible, but the direction of functional shift evident in the English is a broadening, which in this case seems

Fortunately, one does not have to look too far afield, for Greek presents another potential source for Cappadocian (a)rev, through a set of adverbs found in Medieval Greek, with continuations in some of the modern dialects, that offers a more compelling semantic basis for the connection than does the lexical family of brev. Thus in what follows, an account is developed for this new etymological proposal for (a)rev ‘now’.

The relevant Medieval Greek forms are Δedavre (accented as “edare in some sources⁵) and its apparent “plural” form Δedavrte.⁶ These forms are well attested in Medieval Greek, occurring in the poems of Theodoros

a more natural one than the reverse, for otherwise, the specialization to a present-marking temporal function seems totally unmotivated. Thus a potential link between the lexical family of Greek brev and Cappadocian (a)rev is somewhat remote and not very compelling, though not impossible.

⁵For instance, in H. Pernot *Introduction à l'étude du dialecte tsakonien*, Paris 1934, p. 62.

⁶So labeled, for instance, by Pernot (loc. cit.). It is not at all clear that -te has to be treated as a “plural” marker in any sense, either historically (see below on its etymology) or synchronically; note, for instance, that -te in Δedavrte can co-occur with a singular imperative, as in (2), and is found on other adverbs in which there is no hint of a plural meaning, e.g. in tavcate ‘supposedly; as it were; I wonder’ (cited by Pernot (op. cit.: 295),

Prodromos⁷ and Michael Glykas⁸ from the middle of the 12th century, and in the early 14th century *Chronicle of Morea*,⁹ as the following examples show:

- (1) Δedavre, mivxon Ôomadoÿn ”apanta taÿ lambavnw (Prodromos II.63)
‘Now, mix together everything which I take’
- (2) Δedavrte, mavqe gravmmata kai qavrrei na prokovyhi (Glykas 204)
‘Now, study (lit.: “learn letters”) and believe you will get ahead’
- (3) a. k’ Δedavrte toÿn Δempovdise (Morea 2540H)
‘And now he restrained him’
b. Ôwsaÿn seÿ blevpw Δedavrte (Morea 4102H)
‘..... as I now see you’.

As indicated by the above translations, the meaning of Δedavre / Δedavrte is ‘now’,¹⁰ and this meaning is confirmed by various facts. For one thing, in the

and note also the more standard variant tavcatei, presumably with an adverbial ending -i, as in dialectal (e.g. Rhodian) tovtēi compared with Standard Greek tovtē).

⁷D. C. Hesseling & H. Pernot, *Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire*, Amsterdam 1910.

⁸E. Tsolavkhi, *Micahvl Glukav “Stivcoi ...”*, Qessalonivkh 1959.

⁹J. Schmitt (ed.), *The Chronicle of Morea*, London 1904.

¹⁰So E. Kriaravi, *Lexikov thi mesaiwnikhvi ellhnikhvi dhmwvdou grammateivai 1100-1669*, t. 5, Qessalonivkh 1977 (p. 299-301, s. vv.), who also gives further meanings for Δedavrte (but not for Δedavre) of ‘then’, for an example in which the adverb indicates temporal sequencing (referring to the next action taken), and ‘immediately’, which in one case is for *Morea* 2540, where the manuscript variants suggest instead ‘now’, as indicated above.

lines from the Paris (P) manuscript of the *Chronicle of Morea* that correspond to those cited in (3) from the Copenhagen (H) manuscript, the adverb *twvra* ‘now’ occurs instead of *Δedavrte*:

- (4) a. *kaiŸ twvra toŸn Δempovdise* (Morea 2540P)
 ‘And now he restrained him’
 b. *ÔwsaŸ seŸ blevpw twvra* (Morea 4102P)
 ‘..... as I now see you’.

In addition, among the modern forms directly connected with *Δedavre* / *Δedavrte* are the Pontic *adarav* and Tsakonian [éðari], both having the meaning ‘now’.¹¹

Besides this meaning, some instances of *Δedavre* / *Δedavrte* seem also to mean ‘behold!’, as in the following from different versions of the romance *Libistros and Rhodamne*, cited by Kriaras:¹²

In any case, in all these meanings, the adverb is linked to temporal immediacy. For a parallel to the apparent, but not actual, contradiction of a single element meaning both ‘now’ and ‘then’, compare the meanings of Ancient Greek *dhv* ‘at this point; at that point; now; then’, where the sense is literally “at some (close) temporal point”, and thus either ‘now’ (‘at this point’) or ‘then’ (‘at that point’).

¹¹Both forms are cited by Pernot (op. cit.: 153), who actually uses <ɹ> in the Tsakonian form as his symbol for the voiced interdental fricative noted here as [ð].

(5) a. edavrte ivde thn thn grafhn kai gnwvrixe tav pavscw (Esc. 1300)

‘Behold, see the letter and know what I suffer!’

b. edavre h bruvsii tou kalouv kai h rivza thī agavphī (Paris 1651)

‘Behold the fountain of good and the root of love!’

and indeed the examples from Prodromos and Glykas in (1) and (2) above seemingly admit a nontemporal, discourse-initiating sense of ‘now’ (see footnote 4). This sense is important, however, for it provides some insight into how *Δedavre* arose in Medieval Greek. While it is not clear if *Δedavr(t)e* ‘now’ and *Δedavr(t)e* ‘behold!’ are to be treated as a single polysemous lexical item synchronically, or instead two different but homophonous words, it is likely that they have different etymological sources. Several proposals have been advanced for the sources of these forms, as outlined below, but most are not concerned with the semantic difference between ‘now’ and ‘behold!’. It seems that some sense can be made of the various proposals and the divergent meanings, if each meaning is associated with a different etymology, and any convergence in the forms taken to be a later phenomenon.

In particular, the ‘now’ word can be taken to derive from a combination of temporal adverbials, specifically the Medieval Greek adverb *evda* (from Ancient Greek “*hdh* ‘already; immediately; now’ or *dhv* ‘at this point; at that point;

¹²Loc. cit., s.vv. “Esc.” and “Paris” refer to different manuscript versions (“Esc.” for Escorial).

now; then’) and “arti ‘just now; presently’,¹³ and indeed, the form edavrti, meaning ‘already’, which is a more transparent compound with “arti,¹⁴ is attested in Medieval Greek.¹⁵ The ‘behold’ form, on the other hand, can be taken to derive¹⁶ from evde (also edev), itself from idev ‘see!’, plus avre, from the imperative of aivrw ‘take, which when combined together provide a good basis for the ‘behold’ meaning.

It is likely therefore that for the temporal meaning, the form with -t-, Δedavrte, is basic, while for the ‘behold’ meaning, the form without -t-, Δedavre, is basic. The apparent “plural”, Δedavrte, in the meaning ‘now’, most likely

¹³So Kriaravı (loc. cit., s.v.), following Andriotis. Both possible sources for evda require some special assumptions about the development into evda; for instance, to account for the initial e-, a dialectal development of h to e (regular in Pontic but not the rest of the dialects, though the change is more widespread in some phonetic environments) might be assumed or else, especially if dhv is the source, prothesis of e, perhaps as in etouvtoı (where the e is analogical based on another deictic, ekeivnoı). Similarly, the final -a seems to be an analogical replacement for -h, based on other adverbials with that ending.

¹⁴So S. Lambros, *Collection de romans grecs en langue vulgaire et en vers*, Paris 1880 (p. 336), though note that Pernot (op. cit., 63) feels that the -i is an analogical replacement for the -e of Δedavrte.

¹⁵For example, in *Libistros and Rhodamne* (N) 1598, as cited by Kriaravı (loc. cit.), and in *Callimachus and Chrysorrhoe* 1191 (Lambros op. cit.).

¹⁶So Kriaravı (loc. cit., s.v.), following Pernot.

shows remodeling of the vocalism of the ending based on another temporal adverb, such as *tovte* ‘then’ or *povte* ‘when?’, and thus is not a plural in any real sense; Δ edavrte ‘behold’, however, could be a true plural in origin at least, since a -te plural ending on an imperative is unexceptional, especially if, as seems likely, edar- had been reinterpreted as a unit.

Still unaccounted for at this point is the form Δ edavre, without -t- but with the meaning ‘now’. It could well be a conflation or crossing of Δ edavrte ‘now’ (from Δ edavrti with -e from *tovte* or the like) with Δ edavre / Δ edavrte ‘behold’. That is, based on an etymologically erroneous linking of the ‘now’ and the ‘behold’ lexemes — and one can point to typological parallels such as the juxtaposition of English attention-getting forms as in *Now, hold on there just a minute!* to give some plausibility to such an identification of the two etymologically distinct words — speakers could easily have created a form Δ edavre ‘now’ to provide a counterpart to original Δ edavrte, so that it would parallel, from a formal standpoint, the pair Δ edavre / Δ edavrte ‘behold’.

As far as etymology of Cappadocian arev is concerned, all that matters is having Δ edavre with the meaning ‘now’ available. Due to the existence of the independent form *evde*, Δ edavre would be readily segmentable, with the result that via a resegmentation and clipping, arev could arise, a part of a word carrying the meaning of the whole word, just as English *cab* with the meaning

‘taxicab’ appears to be a clipping from *taxicab*.¹⁷ Support for this account comes from the existence of the widely attested form $\Delta\epsilon\delta\alpha$ in Medieval Greek, which has the meaning ‘now’,¹⁸ for it appears to be a clipping (shortening) of the readily segmentable $\Delta\epsilon\delta\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ ‘now’, with the first part carrying the meaning of the whole source form, just as *taxicab* in English has also spawned the clipping *taxi* with the meaning of the whole source form. This account could also be used to provide a straightforward reason for the appearance of the variant base *re-* for Cappadocian *arev*, as indicated by the related form *revtsa*; that is, *rev-* need not be a phonological apheresis but rather one result left over from the resegmentation imposed on $\Delta\epsilon\delta\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon$.

¹⁷I interpret the origin of *cab* in this way, even though most sources (e.g. *The American Heritage Dictionary*³, Boston 1992 (s.v.)) treat it as a shortening just of *cabriolet*, a word for a type of carriage. *Cabriolet*, when compounded with *taximeter* (from *taxameter*, thus a meter for measuring the tax or charge on something) formed the basis, *taximeter cabriolet*, from which *taxicab* derived. What is telling here, though, is that while *cab* can have the meaning of ‘driver’s compartment within a vehicle’, and in that sense may well be a shortening just of *cabriolet*, to get the meaning ‘taxicab’, one would have to, it seems, go to the form *taxicab* itself for the shortening. Thus, *cab* in the meaning ‘taxicab’ would have to derive from *taxicab* itself, and therefore be a one-time part of a whole that came to take on the meaning of the whole itself.

¹⁸Kriaravı (op. cit., 298).

One potential problem with this proposed etymology concerns the attested accent on the final syllable in the Cappadocian form, but this need not be a serious obstacle. For one thing, the evidence of Pontic *adarav* and Tsakonian [éʒ̥ari] cited above, along with Medieval Greek *Δedavre*, suggest that accent for this form was variable; indeed, if the clipping occurred on the form underlying the Tsakonian form, then an accentless [are] might have resulted, either syllable of which could thus end up stressed in accent-bearing positions in a sentence or phrase. It is possible as well that there is some influence from Turkish here, for it not only has stress regularly on the final syllable in a word, but also shows a word which could have provided a direct point of departure for end-stress on the Cappadocian form: *ará* ‘interval’, when it occurs in a doubled form, *ará ará*, has an overtly temporal sense ‘from time to time’, which would thus be semantically, as well as phonologically, close, to *arev* ‘now’.

Thus overall the derivation of *arev* from *Δedavre* provides a solid basis for the meaning and form found for this Cappadocian adverb,¹⁹ requiring only that

¹⁹It is possible that the Pontic form [har] ‘now’ found in the Ophis region of the Pontic dialect, cited by P. Mackridge (p. 133) in “Greek-Speaking Moslems of North-East Turkey: Prolegomena to a Study of the Ophitic Sub-Dialect of Pontic”, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 11 (1987), 115-137, and the similar form [ar] found in other subdialects (Mackridge, p.c. 20/1/95), belong etymologically with the Cappadocian *arev* under discussion here. A. Papadopoulos (*Istorikovn lexikovn thī pontikhvī dialevktou*, Athens 1958-61, s.v.) derives these Pontic forms in general from Ancient Greek *ajvra*, with the initial [h-] of the Ophis

one allow for the effects of resegmentation, some analogically induced reshaping, and clipping, the assumption of which, as well-attested processes of morphological change all, is not at all problematic.²⁰

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form being from the Turkish deictic particle *ha*, found elsewhere in Ophis. The semantics of Papadopoulos' suggested etymology leave something to be desired, compared with the straightforward semantics of the connection with *ejdavre*. I am grateful to Peter Mackridge of the University of Oxford for help concerning the Pontic forms.

²⁰It is possible also that the same processes, and even some of the same lexemes, are responsible for the ultimate derivation of Modern Greek *edwv* 'here' from Ancient Greek »wde, if, as noted by N. Andriwvthi (Etumologikov lexikov thī koinhvī neoellhnikhvī, Qessalonivkh 1983, s.v.), following Pernot and others, the deictic *evde* was somehow involved in the creation of *edwv*. That is, one can suppose that a combination of *evde* and »wde, giving **edwvde*, could easily have been resegmented to **edwv-de*, with the second syllable understood as a reinforcing deictic particle, and clipped to give *edwv*, a series of processes similar to what is posited here for *edavre* leading to *arev*.