Ancient Greek Blends

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Direct and indirect discourse. It is traditionally assumed that there are two fundamentally distinct ways of reporting someone else's words: direct discourse, where we echo the other's words verbatim, and indirect discourse, where we communicate the content of the earlier speech act in our own words. There are a number of linguistic characteristics that supposedly tease these two modes apart. For instance, in indirect speech we *adjust* indexicals (*I, you, yesterday*) to fit the reporting context, while in direct speech we simply copy the originals, cf. (1).

But not all reported speech is straightforwardly classifiable as either direct or indirect. In languages so diverse as Amharic and Catalan Sign Language, for instance, we find reports where some indexicals are interpreted as in direct speech and other as in indirect speech. In this paper I show that Ancient Greek is another case in point.

In formal semantics, the received view is that such phenomena are due to a so-called 'monster', a context shifting operator, hidden in the syntax, that switches the perspective from the reporter's context to the reported context (cf. Schlenker 2003, and, for Ancient Greek, Bary and Maier 2003). On the basis of the Greek data below, I argue against this approach. Instead of clinging to the classical direct–indirect dichotomy and introducing *ad hoc* adjustments to the semantics of reported speech, I propose to give up this all too rigid distinction. In its place I put a more flexible quotation mechanism by which we can analyze all the cases discussed as true blends of direct and indirect discourse, which is evidently more in line with the remarks in the philological literature from which the examples are drawn.

Reported speech in Ancient Greek. In Greek texts we find plenty of direct and indirect discourse. Direct discourse is very common, especially in Homeric epic, where about half the text is direct quotation. Note that, although the Greek has no quotation marks, modern printers have conveniently added some typographical direct speech marking, like a colon to mark a quotation's starting point.

Indirect speech comes in different varieties. The earliest form appears to involve a verb of saying and a finite clause introduced by a complementizer ὅτι or ὡς ('that'). This is essentially the construction we use in English, except that Greek does not have sequence-of-tense, i.e. it leaves all verb tenses as if they were direct speech, rather than adjust them to the current utterance situation. The finite embedded clause can be either indicative or, later, optative mood. Alternatively, indirect reporting is often achieved with the *accusativus cum infinitivo* (AcI), in which there is no complementizer but the subject of the embedded clause gets accusative case and the verb is in the infinitive.

Two types of blends: There are two distinct phenomena that may be characterized as blends of direct and indirect discourse in Ancient (and Koinè) Greek. The first involves clear indirect reports that change into direct mode, and/or, less commonly, the other way around. The Greek of the New Testament provides some very clear examples: In (2) en (3), listed by Cadbury (1929), an indirect reported speech in AcI changes into the direct mode, as shown by the shifted indexical second and first person elements. I include an Attic example in (4), and a more subtle two-way mix in (5).

A second type of construction that may be described as a middle way between direct and indirect reporting, involves the so-called recitative ὅτι (Cadbury 1929): a full direct discourse quotation, with all indexicals, speech acts, exclamatives and other discourse markers quoted verbatim, but introduced by the complementizer ὅτι of indirect discourse, cf. (6) and (7).

The recitative use is typically described as an additional meaning of ὅτι, distinct from its use in indirect speech. But it cannot be just a lexical accident. For one thing, it's not just ὅτι; the other complementizer of indirect speech, ὡς, can be used in the same way (Spieker 1884). In fact, Cadbury (1929) even describes recitative uses of the indirect question particle εἰ ('whether'). I propose to analyze these elements unambiguously as markers of indirect speech, but with complements that quickly switch to direct speech, more or less as the switches discussed above. Note that mixes involving an entire clause in direct discourse introduced by an indirect discourse complementizer are actually quite common in modern, written English, cf. (8).

Mixed quotation. Recent advances in the semantics of so-called mixed quotation, an overtly marked mix of direct and indirect speech especially characteristic of newspaper (and scientific) reporting exemplified in (9), have made it possible to entertain a non-monstrous analysis of the above data. The idea is that the Greek allows unmarked mixed quotation within indirect discourse complements.

More specifically, I propose that the logical form of, say, (3) is (10): a proper subpart of the complement, covering at least the two shifted indexical elements (2nd person inflection on ἐνεφάνισας and 1st person ἐμέ), is mix-quoted. Following the presuppositional semantics of Geurts and Maier (2005)/Maier (2010) this would yield the meaning paraphrased in (11). Note that in all examples below, the given English translation already involve overt mixed quotations of the kinds I would assign to the Greek.

(1) a. Otto said, "I'm going there tomorrow"
   b. Otto said that he was coming here today

(2) καὶ αὐτὸς <u>παρήγγειλεν</u> αὐτῷ μηδενὶ <u>εἰπεῖν</u>, ἀλλὰ ἀπελθὼν <u>δεῖξον</u> <u>σεαυτὸν</u> τῷ ἱερεῖ, καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ <u>σου</u> καθὼς προσέταξεν Μωυσῆς εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς.
   He <u>charged</u> him to <u>tell.inf</u> no one, but "go your way, and <u>show.2sg.imp</u> <u>yourself.2sg</u> to the priest, and offer for <u>your.2sg</u> cleansing according to what Moses commanded, for a testimony to them."
   [Luke 5.14; Cadbury 1929]

(3) ὁ μὲν οὖν χιλίαρχος ἀπέλυσε τὸν νεανίσκον <u>παραγγείλας</u> μηδενὶ <u>ἐκλαλῆσαι</u> ὅτι ταῦτα <u>ἐνεφάνισας</u> πρὸς <u>ἐμέ</u>.
   So the commanding officer let the young man go, <u>charging</u> him <u>to tell</u> no one "that <u>you have told</u> these things to <u>me</u>." [Acts 23.22; Cadbury 1929]

(4) ἐπιδεικνὺς δὲ ὡς εὔηθες εἴη ἡγεμόνα <u>αἰτεῖν</u> παρὰ τούτου ᾧ λυμαινόμεθα τὴν πρᾶξιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνι <u>πιστεύσομεν</u> ὃν ἂν Κῦρος διδῷ, τί κωλύει καὶ τὰ ἄκρα <u>ἡμῖν</u> κελεύειν Κῦρον προκαταλαβεῖν·
   and to point out also <u>how foolish it was.opt</u> to <u>ask.inf</u> for a guide "from this man whose enterprise <u>we are ruining.1pl</u>. Indeed, if <u>we propose.1pl</u> to trust the guide that Cyrus gives us, what is to hinder <u>us</u> from directing Cyrus also to occupy the heights for us in advance?" [Xen. Anab. 1.3.16; Spieker 1884]

(5) κἄπειθ' ὁ πατὴρ [. . .] <u>ἀντιβολεῖ</u> <u>με</u> [. . .] τῆς εὐθύνης <u>ἀπολῦσαι</u>: εἰ μὲν <u>χαίρεις</u> ἀρνὸς φωνῇ, παιδὸς φωνὴν <u>ἐλεῆσαι</u>[1]: εἰ δ' αὖ τοῖς χοιριδίοις <u>χαίρω</u>, θυγατρὸς φωνῇ <u>με</u> <u>πιθέσθαι</u>.
   'and then the father <u>beseeches</u> <u>me.acc</u> not to <u>condemn.inf</u> him: [and] to, "if <u>you love.2sg</u> the voice of the lamb", <u>have pity.inf</u> on his sons; and that, if I love the little sows, <u>I.acc</u> <u>must yield.inf</u> to his daughter's prayers. [Aristoph. Wasps 570-3; Platnauer 1949]

(6) λόγον τόνδε ἐκφαίνει ὁ Πρωτεύς, λέγων <u>ὅτι</u> <u>ἐγὼ</u> εἰ μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγεύμην μηδένα ξείνων κτείνειν, ὅσοι ὑπ' ἀνέμων ἤδη ἀπολαμφθέντες ἦλθον ἐς χώρην τὴν ἐμήν , <u>ἐγὼ</u> ἄν <u>σε</u> ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἕλληνος ἐτισάμην
   Proteus declared the following judgment to them, <u>saying</u> (<u>that</u>) "If <u>I</u> did not make it a point never to kill a stranger who has been caught by the wind and driven to my coasts, <u>I</u> would have punished <u>you</u> on behalf of the Greek" [Hdt.2.115.4; Spieker 1884]

(7) ἐγὼ δ' εἶπον <u>ὅτι</u> οὐκ <u>ἐγώ</u> <u>σε</u> ἀποκτενῶ,
   I said (<u>that</u>) "<u>I</u> am not going to kill <u>you</u>," [Lys.1.26; Spieker 1884]

(8) He said that "I will supply all your needs according to My riches and glory" [`http://www.fccministry.com/Matthews_Corner.php`]

(9) Quine says that quotation "has a certain anomalous feature" [Davidson 1979]

(10) . . . <u>παραγγείλας</u> μηδενὶ <u>ἐκλαλῆσαι</u> "<u>ὅτι ταῦτα ἐνεφάνισας πρὸς ἐμέ</u>"
    . . . <u>charging</u> [him] <u>to tell</u> no one "that <u>you have told</u> these things to <u>me</u>." [cf. (3)]

(11) ⟦(10)⟧ ≈ charging him to tell no one the proposition he expressed with the words *that you have told these things to me*

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[1]There is some discussion about this word. Platnauer (1949) notes that most editors read it as the infinitive ἐλεῆσαι (though he himself has a different reading, seemingly because he doesn't like the strange mix of direct and indirect discourse it engenders).