Complementation markers in Early Modern Greek: A corpus-based approach

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Abstract

The article focuses on the investigation of the function and distribution of certain complementation markers in Early Modern Greek. The quantitative analysis of these phenomena can indicate patterns of complement markers usage which are determined by factors such as dialectic or stylistic variation. Moreover, it is emphasized that thorough investigation within a larger corpus is decisive for the study of morphosyntactic change since this reveals minor cases of phenomena which may otherwise remain unnoticed, although they may be important to better comprehend how structures emerge, get established or become obsolete in the diachrony of a given language.

1 Introduction

Digging through corpora of older or contemporary texts is the most viable way for us linguists to understand language change. In fact, this occurs due to variation, which in turn leads to what Kroch (1989) calls “Grammars in Competition”, a state in which two systems of structures antagonistically co-exist until one replaces another entirely, as the usual course of language change is.

Corpus Linguistics is the indispensable method for observing variation. The term of variability applies either to genuinely linguistic features such as frequency and distribution of lexical types or morphosyntactic structures or to sociolinguistic factors such as registers or dialects and of course time (cf. Biber et al., 1998: 6).

In our research we present three cases regarding the usage of Complement Markers (CMs) in Early Modern Greek (EMG, 16th – 17th c.). Two of these cases, the occurrence of “pleonastic” CMs (3.1.) and the configuration of the converb of the copula verb plus complementation marker (3.2.) are structures that differentiate EMG from Standard Modern Greek (SMG). In the third case (3.3.), we trace the first indications for the rise of the Modern Greek (MG) factive complement marker (CM) *που* *pu*. In all three cases, the corpus-based approach enabled us to gain better insight into the linguistic and non-linguistic factors that determine the distribution of these structures. As it will be discussed, the study of the EMG Corpus was a necessity not only for understanding these syntactic cases but even for getting aware of these phenomena which have been passed largely unnoticed up to now.

1.1 Towards an Early Modern Greek Corpus

Given its uninterrupted and continuous documentation from the 15th c. B.C. to nowadays, the importance of Greek in diachronic linguistics is paramount (cf. Horrocks ²2010 and Tonnet ³2011 for thorough introductions to the history of the language). Due to the long tradition, philologists and linguists have been working on examining the different linguistic eras of the language. Still, the period immediately after the end of the “Medieval” linguistic phase (conventionally marked by the date of the Fall of Constantinople in 1453) and until the 18th c. has been linguistically poorly investigated. Thus, despite the emergence of numerous texts in

the vernacular, there has been a gap in the exact reconstruction of how Medieval Greek led to SMG or the various Modern Greek dialects.

The compilation then of an EMG Corpus was a desideratum that, to a certain extent, has been satisfied by recent publications or unpublished dissertations. Thanks to the work that has been done at the *Laboratory of Linguistics of Southern-Eastern Mediterranean* (Department of Mediterranean Studies, University of the Aegean), a large collection of transcribed manuscripts or older editions has been brought together and digitized. This is now for the first time available for linguistic research. Additionally, the Corpus is being steadily expanded through the addition of new texts. Out of this textual depository, in our corpus-based approach, we dealt with the following works:

a. The “Ανθολόγιο: Δημώδης πεζός λόγος του 16ου αιώνα” (*Anthology: Prose Texts in Vernacular Greek of the 16th century*, cf. Kakoulidi-Panou, Karantzola & Tiktopoulou, in press): 250 textual excerpts (c. 550 pages). This is a collection of texts of various genres and registers gleaned from different regions of the Greek-speaking world of that period (especially Crete, Ionian Islands, Constantinople and Greek mainland), featuring dialectal traces. Due to its representativeness, “Anthology” provides a unique overview of the written production, and consequently the linguistic situation, of that era.

b. The “Παλαιά τε και Νέα Διαθήκη” (Paleá te ke néa Dhiathíki, cf. Kakoulidi- Panou (ed.): 2000) of the Corfiot Ioannikios Kartanos (Venice 1536, c. 145,000 words), the first rendition of excerpts of the Bible in vernacular Greek, which was composed a century before the “official” translation of Maximos Kallipolitis (1638).

c. The “Κλίνη Σολομώντος” (Klíni Solomóntos, cf. Kakoulidi-Panou, Karantzola & Chalvatzidakí, (eds.). 2007) of the Cretan Ioannis Morezinos (1598, c. 82,000 words), a narration of sixty miracles of the Virgin Mary, with Cretan dialectal features (ms Xiropotamou, 1602).

d. The unpublished dissertation composed by An. Papaioannou (2016): Prose texts in vernacular Greek, of writers of the 16th and 17th c., according to autograph manuscripts [in Greek]. University of the Aegean, Rhodes.

The annotation of texts and a detailed description of this linguistic period in the light of the Corpus will be the next steps in our research.

2 SMG complementation and EMG complement markers

One of the major characteristics that differentiate most varieties of MG from older stages of the language is the overall absence of non-finite complementation structures¹, a phenomenon that has been systematically discussed in Joseph (1983). Hence, with the exception of certain control structures in Pontic Greek² and the Southern Italian Greek dialects³, SMG and most MG dialects make use of a system of dependent complement clauses introduced by CMs that are followed by a finite verbal form. The loss of the infinitive was gradual, but it was undoubtedly complete during the period we examine (cf. also Horrocks ²2010: 296f). Actually, the recession of the infinitive can be observed many centuries before the EMG period. For example, in an excerpt of *Leimón* (Spiritual Meadow) composed by Ioannes Moschos (c.550 – 619), the complement

¹ In MG there are two non-finite verbal forms, a converb (in the sense of Haspelmath 1995, also often called a “gerund”, cf. e.g. Holton et al. ²2012: 306f.) and an infinitive-like component of the analytic perfect tenses that is marked with perfective aspect, e.g. *μιλήσει* *milísi* from verb *μιλάω* *miláo* ‘I speak’ in *θα έχω μιλήσει* *tha ékho ghrápsi* ‘I will have spoken’ (cf. Joseph 1983: 69f.). Both forms, which are utterly productive in the colloquial language, do not serve as means of predicate complementation.

² Cf. Sitaridou 2014.

³ Cf. Rohlfs 1960.

of a predicate expressing knowledge is introduced by the CM *hópōs* whereas the Classical language would use an infinitive instead in this case:

(1)

...ἐπιστάμενος ὅπως ἦσαν ἐν πλούτῳ, ἠθέλησεν ἐλεῆσαι αὐτὸν (*epistámenos hópōs ēsan en ploutōi ēthélēsen eleēsai autòn*: *being.aware-how-were.3PL-in-wealth, (he).wanted-help.AOR.INF. him*), “...being aware of the fact that they were wealthy, he wanted to assist him”.

This sort of cases is frequent and shows that even in a time in which infinitive was still in use, dependent clauses have been gradually preferred. So, in the texts of the 15th c. onwards, infinitive is just a relic which means that EMG does not differ from SMG in that complementation system is characterized by finite complement structures and even the CMs that are preponderantly found in SMG are the ones that are basically used in EMG as well. What is different in EMG is the distribution of these complement markers, their semantics as well as the fact that the system had not been standardized as it is the case in SMG.

Complementation in SMG is realized then by means of CMs that introduce finite phrases. The system in standard language is tripartite:

a. The indicative / declarative / realis CMs *óti* and the slightly more colloquial *pos* selected by verbs of saying, thinking, believing and the like, e.g. (2) πιστεύω πως θα έρθει αύριο (*pistévo pos tha érthi ávrio*: *believe.1SG. that FUT come.3SG.+perf.⁴ tomorrow* “I believe (s)he will come tomorrow”).

b. The irrealis / mood / “subjunctive” particle *na* after future-referring verbs of will, effort, desire, wishing or polarity items such as negated predicates: (3) προσπαθούν να μάθουν αραβικά (*prospathún na máthun araviká*: *try M.PRT. learn.+perf. Arabic* “they are trying to learn Arabic”).

c. The factivity CM *pu* occurs after predicates that presuppose the validity of a statement. After certain verbs, e.g. verbs of perception, *pu* stands in complementary distribution with *óti/pos* or *na* in order to express a. that an event did take place, b. aspectuality (similar to English gerund like in “I saw her running”), e.g. (4) λυπηθήκαμε που έφυγες νωρίς (*lipithíkame pu éfighes norís*: *be.sad.1PL.AOR. that leave.2SG.AOR. early*) “We were sad that you left early”.

Along with these CMs, we could refer to the subordinating particles *αν an* ‘if’ / ‘whether’ and *μη/μήπως mi/mípos* ‘lest’ which however retain their original adverbial meaning as well, so the clauses that these introduce oscillate between complement and adverbial subordination. For a more detailed account on SMG complementation system, cf. Roussou (2006) and Holton et al. ²2012: 543ff.

3 Three corpus-based investigations to EMG complementation phenomena

As already mentioned, the EMG complementation is similar to the SMG, insofar as to show absence of non-finite complements and the systematic usage of the dichotomy between realis and irrealis CMs (*óti/pos*⁵ vs. *na*). As we will see in 3.3., in EMG *pu* is still very rare as a marker of factivity and mainly occurs in its initial meaning as a *relativum generale*.

⁴ Verbs in the future tense and the subjunctive mood are marked with +/- perf(ective) aspect values.

⁵ In texts of EMG, *óti* and *pos* are not used in free variation, at least the way they are in SMG. Dialectic factors would play a role in their distribution, for ex. the Cretan author Morezinos whose work we used in our research barely uses *óti* (31x) while *pos* appears several hundred times (835x along with its original function as an interrogative particle meaning ‘how’). According to Jannaris (1897: 413f.), *óti* was largely

What we briefly examine from a semantic, syntactic and statistical point of view in the following three sections of this chapter are cases, in which EMG differs from SMG. The cases are the following ones:

- “Pleonastic” usage of the CMs *óti*, *pos* and *na*. In SMG *óti* and *pos* are in free distribution and both of them are in complementary distribution with *na* or *pu*. This means that these four CMs cannot co-occur in a sentence. On the contrary, as we see in 3.1 in EMG the configurations *óti+na*, *pos+na* and *óti+pos* were possible.
- The combination of the converb *έσ(τ)οντας ές(t)ondas* of the copular verb *ίμε είμαι* ‘I am’ with several CMs. These configurations serve in turn as means of subordination, also conveying several adverbial meanings. This construction is absent in SMG.
- The rise of *pu* as a CM of factivity. As it is suggested, a meticulous view on the texts reveals that it is exactly during the EMG period that this usage of *pu* emerges.

3.1 Case 1: “Pleonastic” complement markers in Early Modern Greek (16th c.)

In our EMG Corpus there are numerous attestations of the configurations *óti+na*, *pos+na* and *óti+pos*. According to the prescriptive MG Grammar these combinations are all ungrammatical in SMG. Although this is basically true, as we will see there are nevertheless some cases in today’s language that speakers may utter the combination *óti+na*. Although this usage is rarely written down, it exists and can be traced in certain colloquial texts especially on Internet posts. On the other hand, the *óti+pos* configuration sounds “more” ungrammatical and unacceptable to a speaker of MG. This is expected, given that syntactically the two elements are in free variation and thus they both occur in the same “syntactic slot”, while *na* appears in a structural position closer connected with the finite verb⁶.

While in SMG these combinations then are either totally ungrammatical or extremely rare, in EMG they are attested in a certain frequency. In our Corpus we have the following distribution:

Table 1: “Pleonastic” complement markers in *Anthology*

displaced by *pos*, at least in colloquial usage, however *óti* was reintroduced in the language due to the linguistics conservatism of many authors. This seems to be true, at least for many MG dialects, although further investigation is needed on this topic.

⁶ In terms of Generative Grammar, *óti* and *pos* are the heads of a Complementizer Phrase (CP), whereas *na* could be analyzed as the head of a Functional Phrase (FP) above the Verb Phrase (in this case some approaches label the FP hosting *na* as a “Mood Phrase”). Cf. Sampanis 2012.

In table 1 Distribution in *Anthology*'s texts: *óti* + *na*: 59x; *pos* + *na*: 4x; *óti* + *pos*: 12x. Obviously, *óti* + *na* is the preponderant “pleonastic” structure. However, this distribution is not similar in all texts of the Corpus. If we combine the text collection of *Anthology* with Kartanos’ and Morezinos’ texts (Table 2), we observe that in Morezinos the *óti* + *na* configuration is absent. The exact numbers are the following: In Kartanos: *óti* + *na*: 283x; *pos* + *na*: 4x; *óti* + *pos*: 20x, Morezinos *óti* + *na*: 0x; *pos* + *na*: 14x; *óti* + *pos*: 9x respectively.

Table 2: “Pleonastic” complement markers in three texts of the Corpus.

These findings confirm the impression that *pos* was the main declarative CM in several MG dialects and *óti* was an archaic element, probably obsolete in colloquial registers. More research on this field concerning the *óti* vs. *pos* usage at that period should be done, given that the “survival” and revival of *óti* in SMG is apparently associated with linguistic conservatism. This issue has still not been clarified by the researchers working on the diachrony of sentential complementation in Greek.

Now, in turn, we can have a closer look at the distribution and semantics of the *óti* + *na*. These topics have been discussed in detail in Karantzola and Sampanis 2016⁷ and will be presented here in a nutshell.

Firstly, the *óti* + *na* combination could also introduce an adverbial subordinated clause, namely a final one. This is illustrated in the distribution of *óti* + *na* in two texts of the Corpus with respect to the parameter Complement Clauses vs Adverbial Clauses (Table 3 & 4 respectively):

Table 3: Distribution of the *óti* + *na* clauses (Complement Clauses vs Adverbial Clauses) in *Anthology*.

⁷ Available on:

https://www.academia.edu/30158152/On_the_Pleonastic_Usage_of_Complement_Markers_in_Early_Modern_Greek, retrieved 20.05.2018

ÓTI + NA CLAUSES IN KARTANOS: 283X

Table 4: Distribution of the *óti* + *na* clauses (Complement Clauses vs Adverbial Clauses) in Kartanos

The question that arose after the examination of the distribution of the *óti* + *na* clauses is if their distribution is idiosyncratic or if they occur in accordance with a pattern. Karantzola and Sampanis (ib.) notice that *óti* + *na* clauses are chiefly selected by particular categories of predicates, mainly from commissive, directive, causative, desiderative and modal ones. The rationale behind this usage is then the expression of directionality, in which a X person says or orders a Y person to do something, therefore these constructions are largely connected with subject obviation and embedded imperatives or subjunctives in indirect speech. Consider (5): *Ημεῖς θέλομεν να σταυρωθεῖ* (*imís thélomen na stavrothí*: *we want M.PRT. be.crucified.3SG.+perf.* “We want him to be crucified”, Kartanos, Testament 272). Also impersonal constructions favour an *óti* + *na* complement clause, as in (6): *πρέπει και εμάς ότι να έχομεν πολλήν αγάπην* (*prépi ki emás óti ékhomen polín aghápin*: *be.necessary.IMPER. and us that M.PRT. have.1PL.PRES. much love*) “We should also have much love...” (Anthology: 49). In this case directionality emerges not from a person addressing another one but because of the deontic modality of the impersonal predicate which is associated with directionality (“It is necessary for Y to do sth”), therefore *óti* + *na* is similarly an option in these cases.

Interestingly, the investigation of these structures, which had been largely understudied up to now, enabled a contrastive comparison with similar phenomena in other languages. Sampanis, Karantzola and Fykias (2016)⁸ discuss cases in Albanian in which a complement subordinator appears jointly with the Mood Particle, as it is the case in Greek as well, cf. (7): *Çfarë doni që të bëj për ju?* (*what want.2PL.PRES. that M.PRT. do.1SG. for you*) “What do you want me to do for you?”. Also in Farsi, the parallel occurrence of a CM and a Mood Particle can be found (8): *mikhâham (ke) (to) barâyaš yek e-mail beferesti* (*want.1SG. (that) (you) to-her one e-mail M.Prt.+send.2SG.*) “I want you to send her an e-mail”.

As discussed above, in SMG the *óti* + *na* clauses are considered ungrammatical, e.g. example (9) would be characterized as unacceptable by almost all MG native speakers: **πρέπει ότι να διαβάσω* (*prépi óti na diaváso*: *be.necessary.IMPER. that M.PRT. read.1SG., +perf.*) “I have to read”.

Still, there seem to be some cases in which acceptability of these constructions increases, especially after verbs of saying or ordering, for example (10): *και η μαμά μου είπε ότι να μη φοβάμαι καθόλου* (*ke i mamá mu ípe óti na min fováme kathólu*: *and the-mother me told.3SG.*

⁸ Accessible on:

https://www.academia.edu/28321330/Complementiser_plus_mood_particle_constructions_in_Modern_Albanian_and_Early_Modern_Greek_A_contrastive_approach, retrieved 20.05.2018.

⁹ The mood particle here is the prefix *be-*. Thanks are due to Feryal Honarmand, native speaker and language instructor of Farsi, for the example.

that M.PRT. *not be.afraid*.1SG.-PERF. *at.all*.) “My mum told me I should not be afraid at all”. Sentences of that kind are attested in Internet texts and in a few cases the structure found its way to official documents, as you can see in (11): η οποία ορίζει ότι: Να εξαιρεθούν (από την καταγραφή των μικρών νησιωτικών υδροτόπων) (*i-opía orízi óti: na exerethún...*: *which*.NOM.SG.F. *ordain*.3SG. M.PRT. *be excluded*.3PL.+perf.) “...(the decision) which sets out that: (the listing of small island lakes) should be excluded....”.

The case in (11) emerges as a result of two stylistic banalities of the bureaucratic language: a. the (slightly archaic) verb *orízi* should select *óti*, while what follows is an embedded subjunctive serving as a speech act of ordering. In this usage, *óti* serves as sort of “quotation marks” losing its strictly realis reading. This is the function we examined above in the Albanian example (7), which is also reminiscent of how the predecessor of *óti* (< *hóti*) could introduce direct speech in Koine Greek (the so-called *hoti-recitativum*, cf. Blass, Debrunner & Funk 1961 §470, and Levinsohn 1999).

Summing up this section, we observed that the EMG corpus allows us to gain insights into phenomena that are revealing not only for the history of the language but also for the syntactic and semantic properties of the elements we discussed as well as for the understanding of analogous phenomena in either languages.

3.2 Case 2: The copular verb’s converb *és(t)ondas* + complement markers

The second case we are going to examine pertains to a construction that is not attested in SMG as well. The types *έστοντας* (*éstondas*) *έσονται* (*ésondas*) and (less frequent) *έσοντα* (*ésonda*) or *εσόντα* (*esónda*) are associated with the MG non-finite verbal category of *gerunds* (cf. e.g. Holton et al. 2012: 306f.) or *adverbial participles*. The designation we will select herein is the term ‘converb’ in the sense of Haspelmath 1995. MG converbs have been evolved out of the Ancient Greek participles of present active verbs cf. Manolissou 2005a.

The afore-mentioned types derive from the verb *είμαι* *íme* ‘I am’¹⁰ and can be translated as ‘being’. The ordinary “process” of deriving converbs in SMG is by combining the non-perfective stem of an active verb with the ending *-óndas* (written *-οντας* or *-ώντας*, depending on how the word is accentuated), e.g. *τρώγοντας* *tróghondas* “(while) eating”. In SMG the converb of the copular verb *íme* is *όντας* *óndas*, a form that has equally been developed by the AG participle.

Although *és(t)ondas* belongs to the category of converbs, it barely occurs independently of a CM. In our Corpus¹¹, *és(t)ondas* is followed by the Mood Particle *na*, the Declarative Subordinator *óti* or *pos*, the Local/ Relative pronoun *opú* as well as the Coordinator *ke* ‘and’ which also encodes subordinating meanings in certain cases. Joint usage of these CMs is also possible after the copular converb, as we will see below.

The combination of *és(t)ondas* + CMs expresses a number of adverbial meanings, such as temporal (12), causal (13) and in some cases adversative/ concessive (14):

(12) *έστοντας και απέθανε, τον εθάψασι* (*éstondas ke apéthane, ton ethápsasi*: *being and die*.3SG.AOR., *him bury*.3PL.) “When he died, they buried him” (Chartofylax: Jew.Ant. 119)

¹⁰ MG has no infinitive so verb types are given in the first person singular.

¹¹ In this section, we have also included an EMG rendition of texts of Titus Flavius Josephus, cf. Chalvatzidaki 2013.

(13) ἔστοντα οπου ἦτον ἔρημος ἀπὸ παιδία, εἶχε μεγάλην ἐννοιαν (*éstonda ópu íton érimos apó pedhía, íkhe meghálin énian*: *being that(<where>be.3SG.IMP. alone from children, have.3SG.IMP. great concern*) “Being deprived of children, he had great distress.” (Anth.: 82)

(14) ἔστοντας καὶ ἦσαν ἀποκλεισμένοι ἀπὸ τόσα μεγάλα φουσάτα, ὅμως ἐβαστάξασιν (*éstonda ke ísan apoklisméni apó tósa meghála fusáta, ómos evastáksasin*: *being and be.3PL.IMP. surrounded.PRC.NOM.PL.M from so big troops, but endure.3PL.AOR.*) “Although they were surrounded by so strong troops, they kept their positions” (Pol.:35).

However, in most cases the constructions’ meaning oscillates between causality and temporality. In terms of Cognitive Grammar, the *és(t)ondas* + Complement Marker configuration functions as a *setting* within which the described events of the clause take place, as adverbial expressions with scope on an entire clause do¹². What is more, in the various configurations with a CM, *és(t)ondas* drops its lexical meaning and tends to become more grammaticalized. This is indicated not only semantically but also by the fact that the combination of the copular converb and the CM can be followed itself by a finite copular verb as in (15) below. The finite copular verb then performs the lexical semantic function (as part of the predicate) in this case, while *és(t)ondas* tends to form a complex subordinator with the CM.

(15) ἔστοντα νὰ ‘με εἰς ἀδυναμίαν (*éstonda na ‘me eis adhinamían*: *being M.PRT. be.1SG.PRES. in weakness*) “Being in weakness...” (Grigoropoulos: doc. 140).

Concerning now the distribution of the CMs after *és(t)ondas*, it is uncertain whether choosing one CM over another after the copular converb played a distinctive role in the semantic interpretation of the whole configuration. What appears to be significant in selecting a CM is the stylistic or dialectic properties of each text and author. As it is obvious in the tables below for example, certain authors employ particular *és(t)ondas* + CM constructions while within the whole EMG Corpus there is no uniformity of how the construction is used. For example, the Cretan Morezinos exclusively combines *és(t)ondas* with *ke+na*, while Chartofylax preference lies in *és(t)ondas* + *ke*, in a way that outnumbers any other construction in the most conspicuous way¹³. The statistics suggest that there were many varieties of this construction which did not necessarily differ from each other in terms of semantics.

Table 5: *és(t)ondas* + CMs in Anthology

¹² Cf. e.g. Langacker 2008: 358.

¹³ For further information on the topic, cf.

https://www.academia.edu/36499069/On_the_%CE%AD_%CF%83_%CF%84%CE%BF%CE%BD%CF%84%CE%B1%CF%82_Syntactic_Constructions_and_Semantic_Functions_in_Early_Modern_Greek.

Table 6: *és(t)ondas* + CMs in Kartanos and Morezinos

Table 7: *és(t)ondas* + CMs in Papaioannou 2016

Table 8: *és(t)ondas* + CMs in Manouel Chartofylax (mid 16th c.)

Concerning now the etymology of the *és(t)ondas* forms, it has been suggested that these types stem from the AG imperative *ἔστω έστῶ* (3.Sg. Pres.) with the corresponding converbal ending. Nevertheless, such an interpretation is rather vague since no other MG converb is formed on the morphological basis of an imperative. We suggest, following alternative

etymological attempts¹⁴, that *és(t)ondas* emerged under the influence of the Italian *essendo che*, nowadays a rather archaic construction in this language¹⁵. The association of *és(t)ondas* + CM with *essendo che* is corroborated by the fact that translations from Italian notary texts into Greek render *essendo che* of the original text as *és(t)ondas* + CM¹⁶. This etymology proposal is reasonable and provides an explanation about the morphological peculiarity of *és(t)ondas*. While the copular verb converb in SMG is *óndas* which is a regular form, *és(t)ondas* has emerged under the influence of *essendo*, and this how the stem of the converb is explained: a form with an initial *e* was preferred in order to provide a degree of similar iconicity to the Italian form. What is more, the adjusted subordinator, *che* which can select indicative or subjunctive in Italian, may have led to the connection of the Greek converb with both *ke* and *na* initially (and consequently with the rest of CMs). Although *ke* is a coordinator, it sounded like the Italian *che* and since this element can also be found as a subordinator, it could occur as a CM. In turn, *na* or *óti* may have been occur in more precise translations.

In SMG the construction is completely unknown, although it is actually frequent in certain texts of EMG, as the research through the Corpus affirms. A factor for its becoming obsolete may have been the great variety of types and constructions. The absence of a more standardized usage may have led to a certain uncertainty concerning what is right or wrong. Nevertheless, for the time being this is a working hypothesis. Moreover, a more diachronic approach is needed in order to understand the rise and fall of *és(t)ondas* + CM. Both research questions are currently being investigated by the authors of this paper.

3.3 The rise of the factive complementiser *pu*

As we mentioned in chapter 2, MG expresses factivity through clauses introduced by the CM *pu*. The *pu* element is selected by verbs expressing an emotional state (emotives) like the example we saw in (4) or by verbs of perception. In the latter case, *pu*-clauses resemble the English gerund after semantically analogous verbs. For example (16): *την άκουσα που τραγουδούσε στο μπάνιο* (*tin ákusa pu traghudúse sto bánío*: *her hear.1SG.AOR. that (<where) sing.3SG.IMP. in bathroom*) “I heard her singing in the bathroom”.

The factive complementiser derives from the AG locative relative *όπου hópu* ‘where’ and the interrogative *ποῦ pû* ‘where?’. Through a shift of the accent, and the parallel loss of the initial aspiration, *hópu* became *opú* and then *pu*, probably under the influence of the monosyllabic interrogative form. In EMG Corpus, both *opú* and *pu* introduce relative clauses, although *opú* is far more frequent. In SMG *pu* is the only form that occurs as *relativum generale*, along with the more archaic *ο οποίος, η οποία, το οποίο ο οποίος, ι οποία, το οποίο* ‘who’. The latter elements are declinable whereas *pu* has no nominal declination and can replace *ο οποίος* etc. in all contexts except when the relative pronouns refer to a genitive (“whose”).

Regarding the rise of the factivity readings out of relative *pu* in SMG, Nicholas (1998: 460) indicates the following semantic “paths”:

a. After perception predicates relativisation and object rising is involved: So, a clause like (16) *Είδα τον Γιάννη που έτρεχε* (*ídha ton Jánni pou étrekhe*: *see.1SG.AOR. the-John.ACC. who run.3SG.IMP.*), literally “I saw John who was running” turned to (17) *είδα που έτρεχε ο Γιάννης* (*ídha pou étrekhe o Jánnis*: *see.1SG.AOR. who run.3SG.IMP. the-John.NOM.*) “I saw John running”. However, it should be considered that in SMG both (16) and (17) have a factive

¹⁴ Cretan Chronicles 28 -29: 1988.

¹⁵ Cf. <http://dizionari.repubblica.it/Italiano/E/essendoche.php>, retrieved 26/05/2018.

¹⁶ http://www.oocities.org/marin_serban/papakosta3.html, retrieved 26/05/2018.

reading, since in (16) it would be awkward to replace *pu* with *o opíos*. This implies that even in this case, *pu* is a factive CM rather than a relative one.

b. After emotives, Nicholas (ib.) suggests that “the *pu*-complement is causal in nature, and presumably resulted from a reanalysis of causal-*pu*”. Consider ex. (18): *θύμωσα που έφυγες* (*thímōsa pu éfighes*: *get-angry.1SG.AOR. that left.2SG.*) “I got mad that you left” < “I got angry because you left”.

c. After the verb *θυμάμαι* *thimáme* ‘I remember’ Nicholas (ib.) sees a temporal reading. This becomes evident if we insert temporal expressions like *τον καιρό τον keró* (*the-time.ACC.SG.M.*) as an object of the verb before *pu* or the adverb *τότε tote* ‘then, at that time’, as in (19): *θυμάσαι [τότε] που ερχόμουν κάθε καλοκαίρι;* (*thimáse [tóte] pu erkhómun káthe kalokéri?*: *remember.2SG.PRES. then that come.1SG.IMP. every summer*). “Do you remember (the time) when I used to come every single summer?”

Thus, we observe that the factivity of *pu* did not emerge independently of other semantic categories. What is still not absolutely clear is when exactly in the diachrony of Greek the relative *pu* started functioning as a factive CM.

As already mentioned, in our Corpus, both *opú* and *pu* are predominantly CMs that introduce relative clauses. Still, after a meticulous examination of numerous clauses introduced by the two CMs, it is feasible to locate a few cases in which *opú* and *pu* can be described as introducing factive clauses, as in (20): *ας έχω συγγνώμην που δεν έγγραψα καθενός χωριστά* (*as ékho sighnómin pu dhen éghrapsa kathenós khoristá*: *let have.1SG.PRES. excuse that not write.1SG.AOR. each separately*) “Let me be pardoned for not having written to each one of you separately” (Anthology: 249).

As table 9 reveals, these cases in two of the texts of our Corpus, the *Anthology* and Papaioannou’s collection of prose texts, are extremely rare. However, cases like in (20) indisputably involve factivity. On these grounds then we could put forward that it is in EMG that *pu* gradually emerges as a factive CM. This constitutes then a tentative terminus post quem for our investigation. Although further research on the topic is needed, the scarcity of the examples as well as their very occurrence is suggestive that the phenomenon was about to rise in the language.

Table 9: *opú* and *pu* as relative and factive CMs in *Anthology* and *Papaioannou*

4 Concluding remarks

In this paper we examined three cases concerning the syntactic structure and the semantics of Early Modern Greek Complement Markers. All three cases have been up to now virtually unnoticed. In fact, it was through the investigation of our Corpus that it is possible to gain subtler insights about their function and their distribution. Additionally, the fact that two of the constructions could not find their way to SMG raises the question of how elements and constructions rise or become obsolete in the diachrony of a language. Statistical approaches and observation of less frequent cases could shed light on this topic as well.

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