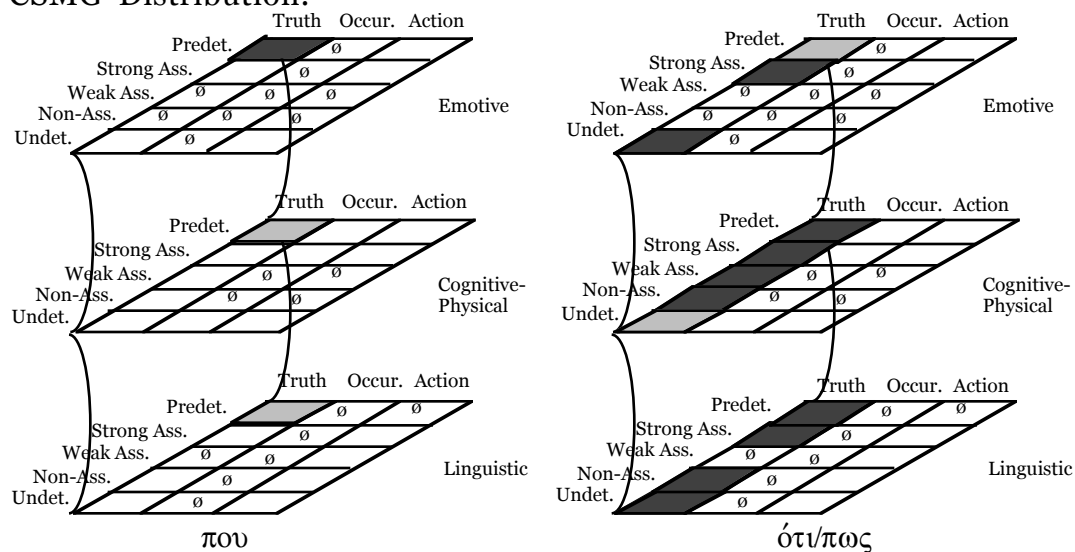


Semantic Factor Analysis

Need to posit vector space classifying complement-taking predicates, to allow distribution of $\pi\upsilon\upsilon$ to be classified objectively. Scheme after Ransom (1986).

SEMANTIC CLASS:	Emotive	e.g. χαίρομαι 'glad'
	Physical/Cognitive	e.g. ξέρω 'know' e.g. βλέπω 'see'
	Linguistic	e.g. λέω 'say'
EVALUATION MODALITY:	Predetermined	e.g. ξέρω 'know'
	Determined: Strongly Asserted	e.g. βέβαιος 'certain'
	Determined: Weakly Asserted	e.g. νομίζω 'think'
	Undetermined: Indeterminate:	e.g. ελπίζω 'hope' e.g. απορώ 'wonder'
INFORMATION MODALITY:	Truth	e.g. ξέρω 'know'
	Future Truth	e.g. προβλέπω 'predict'
	Occurrence	e.g. βλέπω 'see'
	Action	e.g. αρχίζω 'begin'

CSMG Distribution:

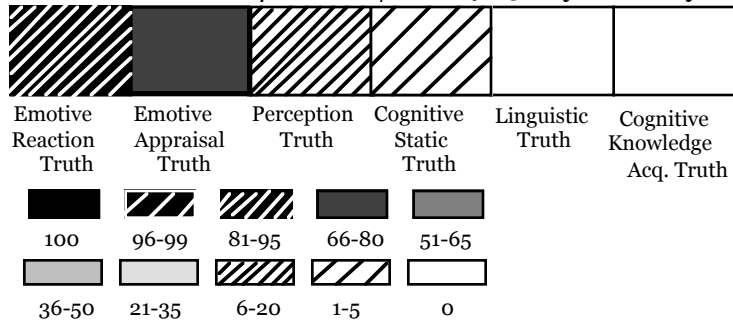


$\pi\upsilon\upsilon$ near-obligatory for emotive predetermined truth (true factives)—though less so for subject complements (appraisals) than object complements (reactions);

- marked for cognitive/physical predetermined truth (semi-factives);
- marginal for linguistic predetermined truth;

- disallowed for any other evaluation or information modality.

Counts from *To Trίto Stefáni* (1963) by Κώστας Ταχτσής:



Dialect Survey



Spread in Evaluation Modality

Weak assertive που (e.g. νομίζω που...) present in:

- Thracian, Western Macedonian, Corfiot, Livisiot, Italiot (1 instance)

Semi-Factive που used in broader contexts (e.g. with false complements) in:

- Tsakonian, Thracian, Western Macedonian, Corfiot, Livisiot, Italiot

Spread in Semantic Class

Linguistic που (e.g. λέω που) present in:

- Thracian, Western Macedonian, Corfiot, Livisiot, Italiot (1 instance), (Tsakonian?)

Not restricted to given, topicalised contexts; appears with false complements

Proportion of Linguistic που varies greatly even within Thracian:

- 100% in Kouvouklia (Bithynia), Saranda Ekklesies (corpus of 4!)

- 93% in Psichari (1886)
- 35% in Cavafy
- 43% in Lemnos
- 12% in Marmara

Inhomogeneity suggests lexical diffusion as underlying distribution; lexical diffusion then smoothed over in most dialects through analogical levelling.

Spread in Information Modality

Action που (e.g. καταφέρνω που) present in:

- Italiot (14 instances), (Corfiot?)
(Calque of Italian participle? *sta mangiando* > *steo pu troo*)

Seems: EVALUATION MODALITY > SEMANTIC CLASS > INFORMATION MODALITY

Corroboration: the divide between πως and να primarily expresses Information Modality (fact vs. event), and is remarkably consistent in Modern Greek

Conversely:

που wholly absent in:

- Silliot, Mariupolitan
(e.g. *Qouγγουμής σεβνδά πολ'ύ, όχι φαζάνησι πολ'ύ παρά 'The goldsmith is very much pleased **that** he has gained much money'; Limbizmen **ot'** perasan n' dunja liγus pidiija 'Regretting **that** they had traversed life without children'*)
- Cappadocian (but for Constantinopolitanisms in Delmeso schoolkids)

The relativiser που itself is marginal in Silli and Cappadocia

The relativiser το/του is prominent as a complementiser, but better explained as a Turcism

που vestigial in Pontic (possibly contingent reanalysis from ντο as relativiser/complementiser). 17% use in emotives—against 38% for πως!

Independent:

- Tsakonia from others
- Italiot from others
- Livisiot from others
- Corfu from others
- Thracian (including Bithynian) and Western Macedonian
NOT contiguous

Dependent:

- Mariupolitan & Silliot may represent Old Western Anatolian
- Pontic & Cappadocian represent Old (Eastern) Anatolian

External Influence:

- Can explain Western Macedonian (< Macedonian Slavonic дека)
- Probably doesn't explain Thracian (no comparable complementiser in Bulgarian)
- Explains Anatolian usage of ντο as nominaliser (circumstantial evidence that it calques Turkish personal participle)
- Explains Italic usage of *ca*, but not *pu*
- Not a useful explanation elsewhere

(Absence of Anatolian που indicative of relative antiquity; ditto for absence of complementiser-πως in Cappadocian/Mariupolitan)

Extensions

Frequent expansion of που at least into non-factivity (mirroring development of Hebrew *asher*: Givón 1991)

Reflective of general fractiousness of που in Eastern Greek dialects—much less consistently factive than Western Greek (including CSMG)

Behaviour of που across dialects (particularly Pontic) shows semantics inhere not in etymology, but paradigmatic opposition

Possibly indicates stronger analogical levelling in Western Greek under pressure of language contact (cf. Contossopoulos on verbal morphonology)

References

- Christidis, A.-P. 1981. *ότι/πως-που*: Επιλογή δεικτών συμπληρωμάτων στα νέα ελληνικά (*oti/pos-pu*: The choice of subordinators in Modern Greek). *Studies in Greek Linguistics* 2. 113–177.
- Christidis, A.-P. 1986. Το μόρφημα «που» σαν αναφορικός δείκτης (The morpheme *pu* as a definite clause nominaliser). *Studies in Greek Linguistics* 7. 135–148.
- Delveroudi, R., Tsamadou, I. & Vassilaki, S. 1994 [1993]. Mood and Modality in Modern Greek: The Particle *Να*. In Philippaki-Warbuton, I., Nicolaidis, K. & Sifianou, M. (eds), *Themes in Greek Linguistics: Papers from the First International Conference on Greek Linguistics, Reading, September 1993*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 185–192.
- Ginzburg, J. & Kolliakou, D. 1997 [1995]. Events and Facts: a Semantics of *pu* and *oti* Clauses. In Drachman, G., Malikouti-Drachman, A., Fykias, J. & Klidi, C. (eds), *Greek Linguistics '95: Proceedings of the 2nd International Congress on Greek Linguistics*. Graz: W. Neugebauer. II:459–470.
- Givón, T. 1991. The Evolution of Dependent Clause Morpho-syntax in Biblical Hebrew. In Traugott, E.C. & Heine, B. (eds), *Approaches to Grammaticalization*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. II:257–310.
- Kakouriotis, A. 1982. *Complementation in Modern Greek and English*. Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics 14. 99–127.
- Kiparsky, P. & Kiparsky, C. 1971. Fact. In Steinberg, D. D. & Jakobovits, L. A. (eds), *Semantics: An Interdisciplinary Reader in Philosophy, Linguistics and Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 345–369.
- Papadopoulou, I. 1994. *The Grammaticalization of the Modern Greek Sentential Complementation System*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Essex.
- Nicholas, N. 1998. *The story of pu: the grammaticalisation in space and time of a Modern Greek complementiser*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Melbourne.

- Ransom, E.N. 1986. *Complementation: Its Meanings and Forms*. (Typological Studies in Language 10) Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Svalberg, A. 1992. Functions and Encodings of Complements in Modern Greek from a Crosslinguistic Perspective. *Studies in Greek Linguistics* **13**. 295–309.
- Tahtsis, K. 1971 [1963]. *To Τρίτο Στεφάνι (The Third Wedding)*. 2nd ed. Athens: Ερμής.