

## APPENDIX C. TEXT COUNTS

### C.1. *Makriyannis corpus (1829–1851)*

There are 143,000 words in *Makriyannis' Memoirs*.

<i>Function</i>	<i>Memoirs, First period (1829–1840?)</i>	<i>Memoirs, Second Period (1844–1851)</i>	<i>Total</i>
<b>Locative</b>	<b>92 (0.9)</b>	<b>26 (0.6)</b>	<b>118 (0.8)</b>
Indefinite locative	6	2	8
Definite locative	86	24	110
<b>Relativiser (including temporal and manner)</b>	<b>683 (6.8)</b>	<b>358 (8.6)</b>	<b>1041 (7.3)</b>
<b>Generalising relative</b>	<b>1 (0.0)</b>	<b>1 (0.0)</b>	<b>2 (0.0)</b>
<b>Pseudo-relative</b>	<b>75 (0.7)</b>	<b>28 (0.7)</b>	<b>103 (0.7)</b>
<i>eki</i> ‘there; just as’	48	11	59
<i>tora</i> ‘now’	13	11	24
<i>edo</i> ‘here’	7	1	8
<i>tote</i> ‘then’	5	4	9
<i>aftu</i> ‘there’	1	0	1
<i>epses</i> ‘last night’	1	0	1
<i>tiutos</i> ‘in this way’	0	1	1
<b>Cleft</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Complement</b>	<b>51 (0.5)</b>	<b>21 (0.5)</b>	<b>72 (0.5)</b>
<b>CSMG-Obligatory</b>	<b>18 (0.2)</b>	<b>9 (0.2)</b>	<b>27 (0.2)</b>
<i>PREDETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE REACTIONS</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>16/10/0 (62%)</i>	<i>7/7/1 (47%)</i>	<i>23/17/1 (56%)</i>
<i>milo apelpismena</i> ‘speak—despairing that...’	0/0/0	0/0/1	0/0/1
<i>pareksiyo</i> ‘be offended’	0/0/0	0/1/0	0/0/0
<i>exo doksa</i> ‘have glory’	0/0/0	0/1/0	0/1/0
<i>efkaristirion</i> ‘vote of thanks’	0/0/0	0/1/0	0/1/0
<i>adiko</i> ‘blame; do an injustice’	0/0/0	0/1/0	0/1/0
<i>anapavome</i> ‘rest; be content’	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/1/0
<i>kleo</i> ‘cry’	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/1/0
<i>anaθemato</i> ‘curse’	0/2/0	0/0/0	0/2/0
<i>xerome</i> ‘be happy’	0/2/0	0/0/0	0/2/0
<i>pikrenome</i> ‘be embittered’	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/1/0
<i>pariyorieme</i> ‘be consoled’	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/1/0
<i>exo yinati</i> ‘bear a grudge’	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/1/0
<i>evye</i> ‘bravo’	1/0/0	0/0/0	1/0/0
<i>siyxoro</i> ‘forgive’	4/0/0	0/0/0	4/0/0
<i>ðoksazo ton θeon</i> ‘thank God’	1/0/0	4/0/0	5/0/0
<i>ayanakto</i> ‘become indignant’	1/0/0	0/1/0	1/1/0
<i>tixeros</i> ‘lucky’	1/0/0	0/0/0	1/0/0
<i>katalipume</i> ‘be very sorry’	0/1/0	0/1/0	0/2/0
<i>lipume</i> ‘be sorry’	2/0/0	0/1/0	2/1/0

<sup>1</sup>*pu* counts are followed by counts for *oti* and *pos*.

<i>efxaristo</i> ‘thank’	1/0/0	0/0/0	1/0/0
<i>keyete i psixi mu</i> ‘my soul burns; I am despondent’	1/0/0	0/0/0	1/0/0
<i>tiro</i> ‘care’	1/0/0	0/0/0	1/0/0
<i>exo dikion</i> ‘be right’	1/0/0	0/0/0	1/0/0
<i>perno efxaristisin</i> ‘take pleasure’	1/0/0	0/0/0	1/0/0
<i>perifanevome</i> ‘take pride’	1/0/0	0/0/0	1/0/0
<i>kano siyri</i> ‘be annoyed’	0/0/0	1/0/0	1/0/0
<i>siyxerome</i> ‘congratulate’	0/0/0	1/0/0	1/0/0
<i>efxaristieme</i> ‘be pleased’	0/0/0	1/0/0	1/0/0
<b>PREDETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE</b>	<b>2/2/0 (50%)</b>	<b>2/2/0 (50%)</b>	<b>4/4/0 (50%)</b>
<b>APPRAISALS</b>			
<i>meli</i> ‘be of concern’	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/1/0
<i>ine distixia</i> ‘be a misfortune’	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/0/0
<i>krima</i> ‘be a pity’	1/0/0	0/0/0	1/0/0
<i>kakofenete</i> ‘displease’	1/0/0	0/0/0	1/0/0
<i>to kako ine</i> ‘the bad thing is’	0/0/0	0/1/0	0/1/0
<i>to kalo ine</i> ‘the good thing is’	0/0/0	1/0/0	1/0/0
<i>i sotiria ine</i> ‘the salvation is’	0/0/0	1/1/0	1/1/0
<b>CSMG-Optional</b>	<b>28 (0.3)</b>	<b>9 (0.2)</b>	<b>37 (0.3)</b>
<b>PREDETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</b>	<b>0/1/0 (0%)</b>	<b>0/0/0 (0%)</b>	<b>0/1/0 (0%)</b>
<i>omoloyo</i> ‘admit’	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/1/0
<b>PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE COGNITIVE</b>	<b>15/18/1 (44%)</b>	<b>6/13/0 (31%)</b>	<b>21/31/1 (40%)</b>
<i>ðixno</i> ‘show’	0/2/0	0/1/0	0/3/0
<i>akuo</i> ‘hear’	0/1/1	0/0/0	0/1/1
<i>vlepo</i> ‘see’	15/15/0	6/12/0	21/27/0
<b>PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE/PHYSICAL</b>	<b>13/61/2 (17%)</b>	<b>3/22/1 (11%)</b>	<b>16/83/3 (16%)</b>
<b>STATIC</b>			
<i>diadinete</i> ‘be rumoured’	0/0/0	0/1/0	0/1/0
<i>exo proterima</i> ‘have an advantage’	0/0/0	0/1/0	0/1/0
<i>ine aliθino</i> ‘be true’	1/1/0	0/1/0	1/2/0
<i>ine ynosto</i> ‘it is known’	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/1/0
<i>ksero</i> ‘know’	3/8/1	2/3/0	5/11/1
<i>ynorizo</i> ‘know’	1/1/0	0/1/0	1/2/0
<i>θimume</i> ‘remember’	1/1/0	0/3/0	1/4/0
<b>KNOWLEDGE ACQ`N</b>	<b>7/49/1 (12%)</b>	<b>1/12/1 (7%)</b>	<b>8/61/2 (11%)</b>
<i>vrisko</i> ‘find’	1/0/0	0/0/1	1/0/1
<i>apodixno</i> ‘prove’	0/1/0	0/3/0	0/4/0
<i>katalaveno</i> ‘understand’	0/3/0	0/1/0	0/4/0
<i>maθeno</i> ‘learn; be informed’	6/45/1	1/8/0	7/53/1
<b>PREDETERMINED PHYSICAL OCCURRENCE NOMINAL</b>	<b>0/0/0 (0%)</b>	<b>1/0/0 (100%)</b>	<b>1/0/0 (100%)</b>
<i>etio</i> ‘cause’	0/0/0	1/0/0	1/0/0
<b>CSMG-Unacceptable</b>	<b>5 (0.1)</b>	<b>3 (0.1)</b>	<b>8 (0.1)</b>
<b>DETERMINED ACTION LINGUISTIC</b>	<b>0/3/0 (0%)</b>	<b>0/4/0 (0%)</b>	<b>0/7/0 (0%)</b>
<i>ðino iposxesi</i> ‘make a promise’	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/1/0
<i>ipoxome</i> ‘promise’	0/2/0	0/4/0	0/6/0
<b>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</b>	<b>5/147/8 (3%)</b>	<b>1/80/3 (1%)</b>	<b>6/227/11 (2%)</b>
<i>ksiyume</i> ‘explain’	0/0/1	0/0/0	0/0/1
<i>omilies</i> ‘speeches; negotiations’	0/0/0	0/0/1	0/0/1
<i>piano</i> ‘start [discussing]’	0/0/1	0/0/0	0/0/1
<i>reθizo</i> ‘provoke by saying’	0/0/0	0/1/0	0/1/0
<i>katiyoro</i> ‘accuse’	0/0/0	0/1/0	0/1/0
<i>protino</i> ‘propose’	0/0/0	0/1/0	0/1/0

<i>ferno loyo</i> 'discuss'	0/0/0	0/1/0	0/1/0
<i>yrama</i> 'a letter'	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/1/0
<i>stelno</i> 'send [word]'	0/1/0	0/1/0	0/2/0
<i>anafero</i> 'report'	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/1/0
<i>vyazo</i> 'reveal; let it be known; allege'	0/3/0	0/0/0	0/3/0
<i>đino to loyo tis timis mu</i> 'give my word of honour'	0/0/0	0/1/0	0/1/0
<i>đino eygiisi</i> 'give a guarantee'	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/1/0
<i>đino eyyrafos</i> 'put in writing'	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/0/0
<i>kuvediazo</i> 'talk; chatter'	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/1/0
<i>malono</i> 'berate; scold'	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/1/0
<i>paraponieme</i> 'complain'	0/2/0	0/0/0	0/2/0
<i>erxete idisi</i> 'news comes'	0/2/0	0/0/0	0/2/0
<i>sxedio</i> 'a plan'	0/1/0	0/1/0	0/2/0
<i>điatayi</i> 'an order'	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/1/0
<i>paragelno</i> 'send word; order'	0/5/0	0/2/0	0/7/0
<i>kano orko</i> 'make an oath; vow'	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/1/0
<i>orkizome</i> 'vow; swear'	0/3/1	0/2/0	0/5/1
<i>simfonia</i> 'agreement'	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/1/0
<i>yrafo</i> 'write'	0/9/0	0/2/0	0/11/0
<i>apado</i> 'answer'	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/0/0
<i>ine apadisi</i> 'be the answer'	0/0/0	0/1/0	0/1/0
<i>akuyete</i> 'it is heard; it is rumoured'	0/0/0	0/2/0	0/2/0
<i>vazo ston tipo</i> 'put in the press; publish'	0/0/0	0/3/0	0/3/0
<i>apokrinome</i> 'answer; respond'	0/4/0	0/1/0	0/5/0
<i>milo</i> 'speak'	1/3/0	0/2/0	1/5/0
<i>leyo</i> 'say'	4/104/5	1/58/2	5/162/7
<b>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</b>	0/10/0 (0%)	0/5/1 (0%)	0/15/1 (0%)
<i>θeoro</i> 'consider'	0/0/0	0/0/1	0/0/1
<i>apofasizo</i> 'decide'	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/1/0
<i>ipopsiazome</i> 'suspect'	0/2/0	0/0/0	0/2/0
<i>padixeno</i> 'suspect'	0/4/0	0/1/0	0/5/0
<i>ipopsia</i> 'suspicion'	0/3/0	0/2/0	0/5/0
<i>siloyizome</i> 'figure; think'	0/0/0	0/2/0	0/2/0
<b>WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</b>	0/5/0 (0%)	1/11/0 (8%)	1/16/0 (6%)
<i>fenete</i> 'seem; be apparent'	0/4/0	0/4/0	0/8/0
<i>stoxazome</i> 'ponder; think'	0/1/0	0/5/0	0/6/0
<i>fadazome</i> 'imagine'	0/0/0	1/2/0	1/2/0
<b>NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</b>	0/9/0 (0%)	0/6/0 (0%)	0/15/0 (0%)
<i>θeatrizo</i> 'accuse theatrically'	0/0/0	0/1/0	0/1/0
<i>kano</i> 'pretend'	0/2/0	0/3/0	0/5/0
<i>yelo</i> 'deceive; trick into believing'	0/1/0	0/1/0	0/2/0
<i>episorevo katiyories</i> 'heap accusations on'	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/1/0
<i>kakosideno</i> 'badmouth'	0/0/0	0/1/0	0/1/0
<i>sikofado</i> 'calumny'	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/1/0
<i>leo psema</i> 'tell lies; lie'	0/2/0	0/0/0	0/2/0
<i>profasi</i> 'an excuse'	0/2/0	0/0/0	0/2/0
<b>NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</b>	0/0/0 (0%)	0/2/0 (0%)	0/2/0 (0%)
<i>vlepo is ton ipno mu</i> 'dream'	0/0/0	0/2/0	0/2/0
<b>UNDETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE REACTION</b>	0/8/0 (0%)	1/2/0 (33%)	1/10/0 (9%)
<i>elpizo</i> 'hope'	0/8/0	1/2/0	1/10/0

<b>Adjunct</b>	<b>117 (1.2)</b>	<b>51 (1.2)</b>	<b>168 (1.2)</b>
Temporal	12	16	28
Causal	48	13	61
Contrast	20	9	29
Result	9	6	15
Circumstance	25	7	32
Conditional	1	0	1
Exclamatory	2	0	2
<b>Discoursal Collocations</b>	<b>0 (0.0)</b>	<b>0 (0.0)</b>	<b>0 (0.0)</b>
<b>Collocations</b>	<b>35 (0.3)</b>	<b>21 (0.5)</b>	<b>56 (0.4)</b>
<i>oriste</i> 'there you go'	1	0	1
<i>kata</i> 'according to'	4	1	5
<i>san</i> 'like the... [that]'	2	0	2
<i>oxi</i> 'not that'	1	0	1
<i>istera</i> 'after'	2	1	3
<i>eftis</i> 'immediately'	8	1	9
<i>eks etias</i> 'because'	2	0	2
<i>kaθos</i> 'as, according to how'	0	1	1
<i>apanu</i> 'above; just as'	3	0	3
<i>m olon</i> 'with all; although'	4	10	14
<i>oso</i> 'until'	8	7	15
<b><i>pu + na</i></b>	<b>8 (0.0)</b>	<b>2 (0.0)</b>	<b>10 (0.0)</b>
Optatives	2	0	2
Other <i>pu na</i> constructions	6	2	8
<b>'Shit on it' construction</b>	<b>1 (0.0)</b>	<b>0 (0.0)</b>	<b>1 (0.0)</b>
<b>Ambiguous</b>	<b>23 (0.2)</b>	<b>7 (0.2)</b>	<b>30 (0.2)</b>
Locative/Adjunct	1	3	4
Complement/Adjunct	3	0	3
Locative/Relative	2	0	2
Adjunct/Adjunct	1	0	1
Adjunct/Relative	13	2	15
Complement/Relative	3	2	5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1092 (10.8)</b>	<b>518 (12.3)</b>	<b>1610 (11.3)</b>

## C.2. *Tahtsis*: The Third Wedding (1963)

*The Third Wedding* is approximately 118,000 words long.

<i>Function</i>	<i>Total</i>
<b>Locative</b>	<b>21 (0.2)</b>
Indefinite locative ' <i>opu</i>	12
Definite locative <i>pu</i>	9
<b>Relativiser (including temporal and manner)</b>	<b>833 (7.1)</b>
<b>Generalising relative</b>	<b>2 (0.0)</b>
<b>Pseudo-relative</b>	<b>32 (0.3)</b>
<i>eki</i> 'there; just as'	13
<i>tora</i> 'now'	15
<i>simera</i> 'today'	1
<i>tote</i> 'then'	1
<i>kapu</i> 'somewhere'	1
<i>proxtes</i> 'the other day'	1
<b>Cleft</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Complement</b>	<b>80 (0.7)</b>
<b>CSMG-Obligatory</b>	<b>72 (0.6)</b>
PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS	51/2/2 (93%) <sup>2</sup>
<i>ayonia</i> 'anxiety'	0/0/1

<sup>2</sup>*pu* counts are followed by counts for *oti* and *pos*.

<i>exo tin ikanopiisi</i> ‘have the satisfaction’	0/1/0
<i>fteo</i> ‘be responsible; be X’s fault’	4/0/0
<i>ðoksazo to ðeo</i> ‘thank God’	6/0/0
<i>siyxoro</i> ‘forgive’	4/0/0
<i>memfome</i> ‘reproach’	0/1/0
<i>enθusiasmeni</i> ‘enthused’	1/0/0
<i>metaniono</i> ‘regret’	3/0/0
<i>to exo paraponο</i> ‘have a bone to pick with X; be annoyed’	2/0/0
<i>drepome</i> ‘be ashamed’	1/0/0
<i>lisazo</i> ‘be enraged’	1/0/0
<i>xerome/exo xara</i> ‘be happy’	5/0/0
<i>yelo</i> ‘laugh’	2/0/0
<i>ase</i> ‘never mind; let alone’	6/0/0
<i>pikrenome</i> ‘be embittered’	1/0/0
<i>furkizome</i> ‘be vexed’	1/0/0
<i>fero vareos/krato kakia/mnisikakia</i> ‘bear a grudge’	3/0/0
<i>kleo</i> ‘cry’	1/0/0
<i>apariyoritos</i> ‘unconsolable’	1/0/0
<i>exo ðikio</i> ‘be right’	1/0/1
<i>esθanome/exo tipsis</i> ‘feel guilty’	2/0/0
<i>esθanome enoxos</i> ‘feel guilty’	1/0/0
<i>aporo</i> ‘wonder; be perplexed’	1/0/0
<i>efxaristimeni</i> ‘pleased’	1/0/0
<i>ime θimomeni</i> ‘be angry’	1/0/0
<i>efxaristo</i> ‘thank’	1/0/0
<i>prosvalome</i> ‘be insulted’	1/0/0
<i>evloyo</i> ‘bless’	1/0/0
<b>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH APPRAISALS</b>	<b>20/7/2 (69%)</b>
<i>iparxi elpida</i> ‘there is hope’	0/0/1
<i>ine paradokso</i> ‘be odd’	0/1/0
<i>ine komikotaton</i> ‘it is most amusing’	0/1/0
<i>to xirotero ine</i> ‘the worst part was’	0/4/1
<i>ine kaimos</i> ‘be a sorrow’	1/0/0
<i>adiko</i> ‘unfair’	1/0/0
<i>ine astio</i> ‘it’s funny’	1/0/0
<i>fiani</i> ‘it’s enough’	3/0/0
<i>ofeli</i> ‘be useful; be of benefit’	2/0/0
<i>kani kaki ediposi</i> ‘make a bad impression’	1/0/0
<i>ine krima</i> ‘be a pity’	1/0/0
<i>kala/kalitera/pali kala</i> ‘just as well’	3/0/0
<i>eftixos</i> ‘fortunately’	1/0/0
<i>enoxli</i> ‘disturb’	1/0/0
<i>ine efxis eryo</i> ‘be a blessing’	2/0/0
<i>ine eftixima</i> ‘be a good fortune’	1/0/0
<i>kani kalo</i> ‘do one good’	1/0/0
<i>stixizi</i> ‘cost’	1/0/0
<i>pefti poli</i> ‘be a bit too much for someone’	0/1/0
<b>CSMG-Optional</b>	<b>8 (0.1)</b>
<b>PREDETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</b>	<b>0/2/5 (0%)</b>
<i>martiro</i> ‘confess; betray; give away’	0/0/1
<i>paradexome</i> ‘admit’	0/2/4
<b>PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE COGNITIVE</b>	<b>4/27/28 (7%)</b>
<i>ðixno</i> ‘show’	0/2/1
<i>vlepo</i> ‘see’	2/21/23
<i>akuo</i> ‘hear’	2/4/4
<b>PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE/PHYSICAL</b>	<b>4/140/102 (1.6%)</b>
<b>STATIC</b>	<b>4/99/61 (2.4%)</b>
<i>simfono/simfonos</i> ‘agree/be in agreement’	0/5/0

<i>enoite</i> ‘it goes without saying’	0/3/0
<i>ine sfalma</i> ‘be an error’	0/1/0
<i>ine elatoma</i> ‘be a fault’	0/1/0
<i>exo tis plates</i> ‘have someone’s back (= support)’	0/1/0
<i>exo to kako</i> ‘have a fault’	0/1/0
<i>exo pleonektima</i> ‘have an advantage’	0/1/0
<i>ine ebodio</i> ‘be an impediment’	0/1/0
<i>ine to apotelesma</i> ‘be the result’	0/1/0
<i>ine xarakteristiko</i> ‘be typical of’	0/1/0
<i>ine yeyonos</i> ‘be a fact’	0/2/0
<i>ine veveo</i> ‘be certain’ (appraisal)	0/1/0
<i>ine aliθia</i> ‘be true’	0/10/3
<i>yiynosko</i> ‘know’	0/1/0
<i>ynorizo</i> ‘know’	0/1/0
<i>ksero</i> ‘know’	0/60/52
<i>θimame</i> ‘remember’	3/1/1
<i>ksexno</i> ‘forget’	1/3/3
<i>siyuri</i> ‘be sure’ (reaction)	0/0/1
<i>vevei</i> ‘be certain’ (reaction)	0/4/1
<i>KNOWLEDGE ACQUISITION</i>	0 /41/41 (0%)
<i>apodiksi/apodikniete</i> ‘proof/is proven’	0/0/3
<i>perno xabari</i> ‘realise; get wind that’	0/1/1
<i>maθeno</i> ‘learn; be informed’	0/12/7
<i>xonevo</i> ‘realise; digest’	0/0/5
<i>katalaveno</i> ‘understand’	0/20/20
<i>vrisko</i> ‘find’	0/0/4
<i>anaynorizo</i> ‘recognise’	0/3/1
<i>apokripto</i> ‘reveal’	0/1/0
<i>anakalipto</i> ‘discover’	0/4/0
<i>PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE PHYSICAL NOMINAL</i>	(0/4/0) (0%)
<i>loyos</i> ‘reason that’	0/4/0
<b>CSMG-Unacceptable</b>	<b>0 (0.0)</b>
<i>PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE PHYSICAL VERBAL</i>	0/5/0 (0%)
<i>kano</i> ‘cause’ (appraisal)	0/4/0
<i>petixeno</i> ‘succeed’ (appraisal)	0/1/0
<i>DETERMINED ACTION LINGUISTIC</i>	0/3/5 (0%)
<i>ipoxome</i> ‘promise’	0/2/1
<i>apilo</i> ‘threaten’	0/1/4
<i>NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED ACTION LINGUISTIC</i>	0/0/21 (0%)
<i>prospiume</i> ‘pretend’	0/0/1
<i>kano</i> ‘pretend’ (reaction)	0/0/20
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>	0/79/113 (0%)
<i>eγγιome</i> ‘guarantee’	0/0/1
<i>kokorevome</i> ‘gloat’	0/0/1
<i>kano noima</i> ‘gesture; beckon’	0/0/1
<i>veveono</i> ‘assure’	0/1/2
<i>piθo</i> ‘convince’	0/1/0
<i>kiriyma</i> ‘sermon; moralising’	0/0/2
<i>arxizo ti fayura</i> ‘start whining’	0/0/1
<i>paraponume</i> ‘complain’	0/0/3
<i>yrafo</i> ‘write’	0/0/2
<i>eno</i> ‘I mean’	0/0/2
<i>ðikeoloyia</i> ‘excuse’	0/0/1
<i>profasi</i> ‘excuse’	0/0/1
<i>kovo to kefali mu</i> ‘guarantee; [lit.] I’ll [even] cut my head off’	0/0/1
<i>anaygelo</i> ‘announce’	0/1/0
<i>ðino to loyo mu</i> ‘give my word’	0/1/0
<i>apado</i> ‘respond, answer’	0/2/0

<i>tonizo</i> ‘stress, emphasise’	0/1/0
<i>ipenisome</i> ‘insinuate’	0/1/0
<i>koroidevo</i> ‘mock; cheat’	0/1/0
<i>orkizome</i> ‘swear; vow’	0/2/7
<i>eksiyo</i> ‘explain’	0/1/1
<i>apofenome</i> ‘assert’	0/1/0
<i>kataθeto/kataθesi</i> ‘testify/testimony’	0/2/0
<i>katiyoria/katiyoro</i> ‘accusation/accuse’	0/5/0
<i>diadiðo</i> ‘spread a rumour’	0/1/0
<i>epimeno</i> ‘insist’	0/1/1
<i>griniazō</i> ‘grumble’	0/3/3
<i>leo</i> ‘say’	0/54/83
<b>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</b>	<b>0/21/16 (0%)</b>
<i>mirizome</i> ‘smell; suspect’	0/0/1
<i>siloyizome</i> ‘ponder; consider’	0/1/1
<i>piθome</i> ‘be convinced’	0/0/1
<i>esθanome</i> ‘feel’	0/0/1
<i>leo mesa mu</i> ‘say to myself’	0/0/1
<i>exo to loyo su</i> ‘I have your word’	0/0/1
<i>vyazo apo to mialo</i> ‘get it out of my mind’	0/0/1
<i>simeni</i> ‘means’	0/0/2
<i>θa pi</i> ‘means’	0/1/2
<i>θeoro</i> ‘consider’	0/3/0
<i>veveonome</i> ‘make sure’	0/1/0
<i>efxaristo sinesθima</i> ‘pleasant feeling’	0/1/0
<i>siberasma</i> ‘conclusion’	0/2/0
<i>enðiksi</i> ‘indication, clue’	0/1/0
<i>adilipsi</i> ‘perception, notion’	0/1/0
<i>sinesθima</i> ‘emotion, notion’	0/1/1
<i>skepsi</i> ‘thought’	0/2/2
<i>idea</i> ‘idea’	0/7/2
<b>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE</b>	<b>0/4/2 (0%)</b>
<i>fovame</i> ‘be afraid; fear’	0/4/2
<b>WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</b>	<b>0/54/90 (0%)</b>
<i>ime tis ynomis/exo ynomi</i> ‘be of the opinion that’	0/2/3
<i>pernai apo to mialo</i> ‘to occur to one’	0/2/1
<i>ime me/exo tin ediposi</i> ‘to have the impression that’	0/5/6
<i>fenete</i> ‘seems; appears’	0/5/21
<i>loyariazo</i> ‘figure, reckon; estimate’	0/1/0
<i>fadazome</i> ‘imagine’	0/5/6
<i>θaro</i> ‘think, reckon’	0/0/1
<i>nomizo</i> ‘think’	0/14/38
<i>skeftome</i> ‘think’	0/14/13
<i>ipotheto</i> ‘suppose’	0/3/3
<i>pistevo</i> ‘believe’	0/3/7
<b>NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</b>	<b>0/3/0 (0%)</b>
<i>leo psemata</i> ‘lie’	0/1/0
<i>leo... taxa</i> ‘say (untruthfully)’	0/1/0
<i>arnume</i> ‘deny’	0/1/0
<b>NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</b>	<b>0/4/3 (0%)</b>
<i>psevðesθisi</i> ‘illusion’	0/0/2
<i>exo esfalmeni ediposi</i> ‘have a mistaken impression’	0/1/0
<i>ðen exo idea</i> ‘have no idea’	0/3/1
<b>UNDETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE REACTION</b>	<b>0/4/6 (0%)</b>
<i>elpizo</i> ‘hope’	0/4/6
<b>PREDETERMINED FUTURE TRUTH COGNITIVE</b>	<b>0/0/4 (0%)</b>
<i>ðiesθanome</i> ‘feel’	0/0/1
<i>proiðopio</i> ‘forewarn’	0/0/1

<i>provlepo</i> ‘predict’	0/0/2
<i>STRONG DETERMINED FUTURE TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	0/3/0 (0%)
<i>perimeno</i> ‘expect’	0/2/0
<i>exo proesθima</i> ‘have a presentiment’	0/1/0
<b>Adjunct</b>	<b>66 (0.6)</b>
Temporal	2
Causal	8
Contrast	1
Result Realis	26
Circumstance	15
Bare Exclamatory	3
ade Exclamaory	1
Cleft Exclamatory	12
<b>Discoursal collocations</b>	<b>19 (0.2)</b>
<i>pu lei o loyos</i> ‘as the saying goes’	8
<i>pu les</i> ‘anyway’	6
<i>pu lene</i> ‘as they say’	1
<i>eðo pu ta leme</i> ‘admittedly’	4
<b>Collocations</b>	<b>44 (0.4)</b>
<i>‘opu na ne</i> ‘any time now’	4
<i>mono pu</i> ‘only’	4
<i>mono X pu ðen Y</i> ‘the only thing he/she/it didn’t Y is X’	1
<i>m olo</i> ‘although’	22
<i>par olo</i> ‘despite’	9
<i>apano</i> ‘just as’	2
<i>san</i> ‘like the X s/he is’	2
<b><i>pu + na</i></b>	<b>21 (0.2)</b>
Optative	20
Other <i>pu na</i> constructions	1
<b>‘Shit on it’ construction</b>	<b>0 (0.0)</b>
<b>Ambiguous</b>	<b>28 (0.2)</b>
Adjunct/Relative	26
Complement/Relative	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1147 (9.7)</b>

### C.3. Constantinopolitan corpus

#### C.3.1. Psychari: *My Voyage* (1888)

The work contains about 65,000 words. *pu* occurs 1390 times. The counts are as follows:

<i>Function</i>	<i>Total (1888)</i>	<i>Total (1905)</i>
<b>Locative</b>		
Indefinite locative ( <i>‘opu</i> )		
Definite locative ( <i>pu</i> )	39	
<b>Relativiser</b>	<b>717 (11.1)</b>	
Relativiser (including temporal and manner)	695	
Cleft relativiser	22	
<b>Pseudo-relative</b>	<b>46 (0.7)</b>	
<i>eki</i> ‘there; just as’	20	
<i>tora</i> ‘now’	22	
<i>etsi</i> ‘thus’	1	
<i>simera</i> ‘today’	1	
<i>totes</i> ‘then’	1	
<i>eðo</i> ‘here’	1	



<b>Complement</b>	<b>447 (6.8)</b>	<b>79 (1.2)</b>
<b>CSMG-Obligatory</b>	<b>46 (0.7)</b>	<b>47 (0.7)</b>
<i>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS</i> <sup>3</sup>	28/0 (100%)	29/0 (100%)
<i>fuskono</i> 'be puffed'	1/0	1/0
<i>xerome</i> 'be happy'	8/0	8/0
<i>lipume</i> 'be sad'	1/0	1/0
<i>katafrono</i> 'treat with contempt'	1/0	1/0
<i>evye</i> 'bravo!'	1/0	1/0
<i>ðoksa si o theos</i> 'thank God'	1/0	1/0
<i>ðakrizun ta matia</i> 'shed tears'	1/0	1/0
<i>xara</i> 'joy'	2/0	2/0
<i>kolakevome</i> 'be flattered'	2/0	1/0
<i>perifanevome</i> 'be proud'	3/0	3/0
<i>θimono</i> 'get angry'	1/0	1/0
<i>kleo</i> 'cry'	2/0	2/0
<i>fteo</i> 'be responsible; be X's fault'	1/0	1/0
<i>exo ðikio</i> 'be justified to'	1/0	1/0
<i>anoitos</i> 'foolish'	1/0	1/0
<i>aporo</i> 'be surprised'	1/0	1/0
<i>perifrono</i> 'disparage'		2/0
<i>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH APPRAISALS</i>	18/0 (100%)	18/0 (100%)
<i>ofelo</i> 'be useful; be of benefit'	1/0	1/0
<i>krimas</i> 'pity!'	4/0	4/0
<i>kala</i> 'just as well'	5/0	5/0
<i>ine perieryo</i> 'be peculiar'	1/0	1/0
<i>ine to kako</i> 'be the problem; be the bad point'	3/0	3/0
<i>ine nostimo</i> 'be cute; be noteworthy'	1/0	1/0
<i>meli</i> 'care; be of interest'	1/0	1/0
<i>ftani</i> 'it's enough'	1/0	1/0
<i>ine timoria</i> 'be a punishment'	1/0	1/0
<b>CSMG-Optional</b>	<b>166 (2.5)</b>	<b>22 (0.3)</b>
<i>PREDETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>	1/0 (100%)	0/1 (100%)
<i>paradoxome</i> 'admit'	1/0	0/1
<i>PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE COGNITIVE</i>	85/7 (92%)	9/77 (10%)
<i>ðixno</i> 'show'	23/3	0/22
<i>vlepo</i> 'see'	53/3	8/46
<i>prosexo</i> 'notice'	1/0	1/0
<i>exo akusta</i> 'heard of'	5/0	0/4
<i>akuo</i> 'hear'	0/1	0/2
<i>paratiro</i> 'notice'	3/0	0/3
<i>PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE/PHYSICAL</i>	76/5 (94%)	10/70 (12%)
<i>STATIC</i>	51/0 (100%)	9/41 (18%)
<i>ksero</i> 'know'	24/0	0/22
<i>ksexno</i> 'forget'	10/0	0/11
<i>ine i aliθia</i> 'be the truth'	4/0	3/1
<i>θimume</i> 'remember'	5/0	1/4
<i>ine ðiafora</i> 'be the difference'	2/0	2/0
<i>veveo</i> 'certain'	1/0	0/1
<i>vevea</i> 'certainly'	1/0	0/1
<i>enoite</i> 'it is obvious'	1/0	1/0
<i>enoo</i> 'I mean'	1/0	0/1
<i>vale</i> 'also consider that...'	2/0	2/0
<i>KNOWLEDGE ACQ'N</i>	25/5 (83%)	1/29 (3%)
<i>katalaveno</i> 'understand; realise'	16/3	0/19
<i>maθeno</i> 'learn; be informed'	6/1	0/7
<i>vyeni</i> 'the conclusion is; (lit.) it emerges'	1/0	1/0

<sup>3</sup>Psichari eschews *oti* in his text.

<i>apodixno</i> 'prove'	2/1	0/3
<i>PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE PHYSICAL</i>	4/0 (100%)	3/0 (100%)
<i>NOMINAL</i>		
<i>ine loyos</i> 'be the reason that'	1/0	1/0
<i>loyos</i> 'reason'	3/0	2/0
<b>CSMG-Unacceptable</b>	<b>235 (3.6)</b>	<b>10 (0.2)</b>
<i>PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE PHYSICAL VERBAL</i>	1/0 (100%)	1/0 (100%)
<i>katorthono</i> 'manage to bring about; accomplish'	1/0	1/0
<i>NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED ACTION</i>	0/4 (0%)	0/4 (0%)
<i>LINGUISTIC</i>		
<i>kano</i> 'pretend'	0/3	0/3
<i>kamonome</i> 'pretend'	0/1	0/1
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>	120/19 (86%)	7/133 (5%)
<i>leo</i> 'say'	95/17	0/117
<i>katapiθo</i> 'convince'	1/0	0/1
<i>fonazo</i> 'shout'	12/1	0/9
<i>yrafo</i> 'write'	5/0	4/1
<i>paraponieme</i> 'complain'	3/0	3/0
<i>orkos</i> 'oath'	1/0	0/1
<i>diθasko</i> 'teach'	1/1	0/2
<i>veveono</i> 'assure'	2/0	0/2
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	24/5 (83%)	2/24 (7%)
<i>siloyiume/siloyizome</i> 'ponder'	4/2	0/6
<i>diavazo</i> 'read'	1/0	
<i>mu erxete</i> 'occur to me'	0/1	
<i>perna apo to mialo</i> 'occur to me'	0/1	0/1
<i>simeni</i> 'means'	2/0	1/1
<i>θa pi/pai na pi/θelo na po</i> 'means'	10/0	1/8
<i>exo ipopsia</i> 'have a suspicion'	1/0	0/1
<i>ine ynosto</i> 'be well-known that'	1/0	0/1
<i>sibereno</i> 'conclude'	1/0	0/1
<i>apofasizo</i> 'decide'	2/1	0/3
<i>mirizome</i> 'suspect; (lit.) smell'	1/0	0/1
<i>ksetazo</i> 'investigate; consider'	1/0	0/1
<i>WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	87/75 (53%)	0/157 (0%)
<i>fenete</i> 'seems; appears'	21/22	0/42
<i>nomizo</i> 'think'	26/24	0/50
<i>pistevo</i> 'believe'	12/2	0/14
<i>nioθo</i> 'feel'	4/3	0/7
<i>θaro</i> 'reckon'	9/10	0/17
<i>ipoθeto</i> 'suspect'	1/0	0/1
<i>leo</i> 'think'	3/7	0/8
<i>miazi</i> 'looks like; seems'	1/2	0/3
<i>loyariazo</i> 'consider'	5/2	0/7
<i>fadazome</i> 'imagine'	5/3	0/8
<i>NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED TRUTH</i>	1/0 (100%)	0/1 (0%)
<i>COGNITIVE</i>		
<i>sofizome</i> 'come up with the theory that (negative characterisation)'	1/0	0/1
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE</i>	1/0 (100%)	0/1 (0%)
<i>REACTION</i>		
<i>fovos</i> 'fear'	1/0	0/1
<i>UNDETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE REACTION</i>	1/0 (100%)	0/1 (0%)
<i>elpizo</i> 'hope'	1/0	0/1
<b>Adjunct</b>	<b>44 (0.6)</b>	
Temporal	4	
Result	15 (10 with correl.)	
Circumstance	4	

Causal ( <i>ine pu</i> 'it's because')	2
Cleft Exclamatory	19
<b>Discoursal collocations</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Collocations</b>	<b>75 (1.2)</b>
<i>ti</i> 'what' (indirect question)	16
<i>san pu</i> 'just as'	38
<i>san _ pu</i> 'like the X s/he is'	1
[ <i>ospu</i> 'until']	14]
' <i>na</i> 'behold!'	10
<i>ela</i> 'yet (concessive)'	1
<i>ama</i> 'when'	2
<i>isia isia</i> 'on the contrary'	2
[ <i>m olon oti</i>	3]
<i>mono</i> 'only because'	4
<i>para</i> 'rather than'	1
<i>pu + na</i>	0 (0)
<b>Ambiguous</b>	<b>22 (0.4)</b>
Adjunct/Relative	14
Complement/Relative	8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1390 (21.3)</b>

### C.3.2. *Psichari: Historical & Linguistic Questions (1886)*

There are approximately 25,000 words in *Historical & Linguistic Questions*.

<i>Function</i>	<i>Total</i>
<b>Locative</b>	<b>10</b>
Indefinite locative ( <i>'opu</i> )	4
Definite locative ( <i>pu</i> )	6
<b>Relativiser</b>	<b>270</b>
<i>pu</i>	254
<i>pu na</i> (Intensional)	16
<b>Pseudo-relative</b>	<b>20</b>
<i>eki</i> 'there; just as'	14
<i>tora</i> 'now'	4
<i>simera</i> 'today'	2
<b>Cleft</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Complement</b>	<b>228</b>
<b>CSMG-Obligatory</b>	<b>11</b>
<i>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS</i>	<i>3/0 (100%)</i>
<i>perifanevome</i> 'be proud'	1/0
<i>lipume</i> 'be sad'	2/0
<i>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH APPRAISALS</i>	<i>8/0 (100%)</i>
<i>timi</i> 'honour'	1/0
<i>fiani</i> 'be enough'	3/0
<i>perieryo</i> 'peculiar'	2/0
<i>exi na kami</i> 'has to do = matter'	1/0
<i>exi na pi</i> 'has to say = matter'	1/0
<b>CSMG-Optional</b>	<b>107</b>
<i>PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE COGNITIVE</i>	<i>46/2 (96%)</i>
<i>ðixno</i> 'show'	7/1
<i>paratiro</i> 'observe'	7/0
<i>vlepo</i> 'see'	31/0
<i>kito</i> 'look'	1/0
<i>akuo</i> 'hear'	0/1
<i>PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE/PHYSICAL</i>	<i>53/2 (96%)</i>
<i>STATIC</i>	<i>31/0 (100%)</i>
<i>ksero</i> 'know'	16/0

<i>ksexno</i> 'forget'	6/0
<i>θimume</i> 'remember'	2/0
<i>veveo</i> 'certain' (inanimate)	2/0
<i>aliθia</i> 'true'	4/0
<i>ynosto</i> 'known'	1/0
<b>KNOWLEDGE ACQ'N</b>	<b>22/2 (92%)</b>
<i>apoθixno</i> 'prove'	3/1
<i>maθeno</i> 'learn, find out'	4/0
<i>katalaveno</i> 'understand, realise'	9/1
<b>PREDETERMINED OCCURRENCE PHYSICAL NOMINAL</b>	<b>2/0 (100%)</b>
<i>loyos</i> 'reason'	2/0
<b>SUBJECT</b>	<b>6/0 (100%)</b>
<b>CSMG-Unacceptable</b>	<b>110</b>
<b>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</b>	<b>52/4 (93%)</b>
<i>loyos</i> 'discussion'	1/0
<i>leo</i> 'say'	45/4
<i>maθeno</i> 'teach'	2/0
<i>θiθasko</i> 'teach'	1/0
<i>ypafo</i> 'write'	1/0
<i>veveono</i> 'assure'	1/0
<i>katiyoro</i> 'accuse'	1/0
<b>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</b>	<b>21/1 (95%)</b>
<i>sibereno</i> 'conclude'	3/0
<i>siloyizome</i> 'ponder'	2/0
<i>simfono</i> 'agree'	2/0
<i>stoxazome</i> 'cogitate'	1/0
<i>veveos</i> 'certain' (animate)	5/0
<i>veveonome</i> 'be assured'	1/0
<i>simeni</i> 'means'	1/0
<i>θa pi</i> 'means'	6/1
<b>WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</b>	<b>34/9 (79%)</b>
<i>θaro</i> 'reckon'	5/2
<i>pistevo</i> 'believe'	6/3
<i>leo</i> 'think'	1/0
<i>fenome</i> 'seem'	6/0
<i>ipoθeto</i> 'suppose'	1/0
<i>nomizo</i> 'think'	11/4
<i>fadazome</i> 'imagine'	4/0
<b>UNDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</b>	<b>1/0 (100%)</b>
<i>piθano</i> 'possible'	1/0
<b>UNDETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE</b>	<b>2/0 (100%)</b>
<i>elpiða</i> 'hope (n.)'	1/0
<i>elpizo</i> 'hope (v.)'	1/0
<b>Adjunct</b>	<b>8</b>
Result: Realis	6
Causal ( <i>mono pu</i> 'only that')	1
Cleft Exclamatory	1
<b>Collocations</b>	<b>42</b>
<i>para</i> 'than'	4
<i>san pu</i> 'just as'	28
<i>mia fora pu</i> 'once'	1
<i>vale</i> 'consider also'	1
<i>ospu</i> 'until'	5
' <i>na</i> 'behold!'	2
<i>pu lene</i> 'as they say'	1
( <i>molonoti</i> 'although')	7
<b>Ambiguous</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>589 (24)</b>

**C.3.3. Cavafy: Collected Poems (1896–1933)**

<i>Function</i>	<i>Total</i>
<b>Locative</b>	<b>29</b>
Indefinite locative ( <i>'opu</i> )	22
Definite locative ( <i>pu</i> )	7
<b>Relativiser</b>	<b>224</b>
<i>pu</i>	218
<i>pu na</i> (Intensional)	4
<i>opu</i>	2
<b>Pseudo-relative</b>	<b>16</b>
<i>eki</i> 'there; just as'	2
<i>tora</i> 'now'	4
<i>etsi</i> 'thus'	3
<i>toso</i> 'so much'	2
<i>ðeksia</i> 'to the right'	1
<i>eðo</i> 'here'	4
<b>Complement</b>	<b>80</b>
<b>CSMG-Obligatory</b>	<b>17</b>
<i>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS</i>	<i>15/0/0 (100%)</i>
<i>epanapavome</i> 'feel at ease'	1/0/0
<i>efrenome</i> 'rejoice'	1/0/0
<i>kaimos</i> 'sorrow'	2/0/0
<i>sinxizome</i> 'be upset'	2/0/0
<i>ikanopiisi</i> 'satisfaction'	1/0/0
<i>xara</i> 'joy'	1/0/0
<i>kafxieme</i> 'boast'	3/0/0
<i>xerome</i> 'be glad'	1/0/0
<i>simfora</i> 'disaster'	1/0/0
<i>pernome</i> 'be proud'	1/0/0
<i>eksimno</i> 'sing praises'	1/0/0
<i>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH APPRAISALS</i>	<i>3/0/0 (100%)</i>
<i>teriazò</i> 'be fitting'	1/0/0
<i>ftani</i> 'be enough'	1/0/0
<i>ine usiòdes</i> 'be essential'	1/0/0
<b>CSMG-Optional</b>	<b>26</b>
<i>PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE COGNITIVE</i>	<i>4/0/0 (100%)</i>
<i>ðixno</i> 'show'	2/0/0
<i>vlepo</i> 'see'	1/0/0
<i>akuo</i> 'hear'	1/0/0
<i>PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE/PHYSICAL</i>	<i>19/1/3 (83%)</i>
<i>STATIC</i>	<i>14/1/1 (88%)</i>
<i>ksero</i> 'know'	3/1/1
<i>ksexno</i> 'forget'	3/0/0
<i>ðimame</i> 'remember'	3/0/0
<i>enoite</i> 'be obvious'	1/0/0
<i>aynoo</i> 'be unaware'	1/0/0
<i>vazo sti mnimi</i> 'place in memory'	1/0/0
<i>fanero</i> 'obvious'	1/0/0
<i>ynorizo</i> 'know'	1/0/0
<i>KNOWLEDGE ACQ'N</i>	<i>5/0/2 (71%)</i>
<i>apodiknio</i> 'prove'	0/0/1
<i>maðeno</i> 'learn, find out'	1/0/0
<i>katalaveno</i> 'understand, realise'	0/0/1
<i>adilamvanome</i> 'realise'	1/0/0
<i>SUBJECT</i>	<i>3/0/0 (100%)</i>

**CSMG-Unacceptable**

<b>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</b>	<b>36</b>
<i>apado</i> 'answer'	6/2/9 (35%)
<i>leo</i> 'say'	0/0/1
<i>ðiloo</i> 'indicate'	3/0/8
<i>piθo</i> 'convince'	1/0/0
<i>vyazo</i> 'give out [a rumour]'	1/0/0
<i>epimeno</i> 'insist'	0/0/1
<i>loyos</i> 'word'	0/1/0
<i>ðiadiðo</i> 'spread a rumour'	0/1/0
<i>ksefonizo</i> 'shout'	1/0/0
<b>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</b>	0/0/1 (86%)
<i>veveos</i> 'certain' (animate)	1/0/0
<i>miazi aliθia</i> 'seem true'	1/0/0
<i>skeptome</i> 'think about'	4/0/0
<i>frono</i> 'be of the opinion'	0/0/1
<b>STRONG ASSERTIVE FUTURE TRUTH COGNITIVE</b>	0/0/1 (0%)
<i>provlepo</i> 'foresee'	0/0/1
<b>STRONG ASSERTIVE FUTURE TRUTH LINGUISTIC</b>	1/0/0 (100%)
<i>omnio</i> 'vow'	1/0/0
<b>WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</b>	17/0/4 (81%)
<i>θaro</i> 'reckon'	1/0/2
<i>ðixno</i> 'show signs, seem'	1/0/0
<i>nioθo</i> 'feel'	5/0/1
<i>fenome</i> 'seem'	2/0/1
<i>loyariazo</i> 'reckon'	1/0/0
<i>ipopsiazome</i> 'suspect'	1/0/0
<i>nomizo</i> 'think'	3/0/0
<i>esθanome</i> 'feel'	2/0/0
<i>fadazome</i> 'imagine'	1/0/0
<b>NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</b>	2/0/2 (50%)
<i>yelieme</i> 'fool oneself'	0/0/1
<i>planome</i> 'deceive oneself'	2/0/0
<i>amfivolia</i> 'doubt'	0/0/1
<b>NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</b>	2/0/0 (100%)
<i>fliaro</i> 'babble'	1/0/0
<i>pseftia</i> 'lie'	1/0/0
<b>NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED ACTION LINGUISTIC</b>	2/0/0 (100%)
<i>kano</i> 'pretend'	1/0/0
<i>prospiume</i> 'pretend'	1/0/0
<b>Adjunct</b>	<b>11</b>
Result: Realis	6 (all with correlative)
Result: Irrealis	2
Causal ( <i>ine pu</i> 'it's because')	1
Bare Exclamatory	1
Optative	1
<b>Collocations</b>	<b>34</b>
<i>ti</i> 'what'	8
<i>san pu</i> 'just as'	2
<i>kaθos pu</i> 'just as'	3
<i>oso</i> 'as much as'	1
<i>os pu</i> 'until'	3
' <i>na</i> 'behold!'	1
<i>iðu</i> 'behold!'	1
<i>kata</i> 'according to'	2
<i>otan</i> 'when'	3
<i>oso</i> 'while'	1
<i>m olo pu</i> 'although'	7

<i>meta</i> ‘after’	2
<b>Ambiguous</b>	<b>3</b>
Adjunct/Relative	2
Complement/Relative	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>397</b>

## C.4. Corfiot corpus

### C.4.1. Theotokis: *Honour and Money*<sup>4</sup> (1912)

There are approximately 20,000 words in *Honour and Money*.

	<i>Narration</i>	<i>Dialogue</i>	<i>Total</i>
<b>Complement</b>			
<b>CSMG-Obligatory</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>12</b>
<i>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS</i>	3/0 (100%)	7/0 (100%)	10/0 (100%)
<i>efxaristieme</i> ‘be pleased’	1/0	0/0	1/0
<i>beni</i> ‘to matter’	0/0	1/0	1/0
<i>skiazome</i> ‘worry’	0/0	1/0	1/0
<i>aðiafori</i> ‘indifferent’	1/0	0/0	1/0
<i>krimas</i> ‘pity’	0/0	1/0	1/0
<i>xtipo to kefali mu</i> ‘regret; (lit.) strike my head’	0/0	1/0	1/0
<i>xerome</i> ‘be happy’	1/0	0/0	1/0
<i>fteo</i> ‘be at fault’	0/0	1/0	1/0
<i>spolaiti</i> ‘good for you!’	0/0	1/0	1/0
<i>θiamazo</i> ‘marvel’	0/0	1/0	1/0
<i>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH APPRAISALS</i>	0/0	2/1 (67%)	2/1 (67%)
<i>ftano</i> ‘be enough’	0/0	0/1	0/1
<i>kako</i> ‘bad’	0/0	1/0	1/0
<i>kala</i> ‘just as well’	0/0	1/0	1/0
<b>CSMG-Optional</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>10</b>
<i>PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE COGNITIVE</i>	1/8 (11%)	2/0 (100%)	3/8 (27%)
<i>ðixno</i> ‘show’	0/2	0/0	0/2
<i>vlepo</i> ‘see’	1/5	2/0	3/5
<i>γriko</i> ‘feel’	0/1	0/0	0/1
<i>PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE/PHYSICAL</i>	1/14 (7%)	6/2 (75%)	7/16 (30%)
<i>STATIC</i>	0/4 (0%)	4/2 (66%)	4/6 (40%)
<i>ksero</i> ‘know’	0/3	4/2	4/5
<i>ine aliθia</i> ‘be true’	0/1	0/0	0/1
<i>KNOWLEDGE ACQ’N</i>	1/10 (9%)	2/0 (100%)	3/10 (23%)
<i>katalaveno</i> ‘understand, realise’	1/8	2/0	3/8
<i>maθeno</i> ‘learn, find out’	0/2	0/0	0/2
<b>CSMG-Unacceptable</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>	0/7 (100%)	11/7 (61%)	11/14 (44%)
<i>parapono</i> ‘complaint’	0/0	0/2	0/2
<i>leo</i> ‘say’	0/7	9/3	9/10
<i>akuyete</i> ‘to be rumoured’	0/0	1/0	1/0
<i>kirixno</i> ‘preach, proclaim’	0/0	1/0	0/0
<i>milo</i> ‘speak’	0/0	0/2	0/2
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	0/6 (0%)	1/2 (33%)	1/8 (11%)
<i>iðea</i> ‘notion’	0/3	0/0	0/3
<i>siloyizome</i> ‘consider’	0/3	0/0	0/3
<i>stoxazome</i> ‘ponder’	0/0	1/0	1/0
<i>skeftome</i> ‘cogitate’	0/0	0/2	0/2
<i>WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	0/12 (0%)	0/0	0/12 (0%)
<i>fadazome</i> ‘imagine’	0/5	0/0	0/5

<sup>4</sup>There are no instances of *oti* as a complementiser in Theotokis’ texts.

<i>fenome</i> 'seem'	0/4	0/0	0/4
<i>kazome</i> 'think'	0/1	0/0	0/0
<i>nomizo</i> 'think'	0/2	0/0	0/2
NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED ACTION	0/2 (0%)	1/0 (100%)	1/2 (33%)
LINGUISTIC			
<i>kano</i> 'pretend'	0/2	1/0	1/2
UNDETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE	0/1 (0%)	0/0	0/1 (0%)
<i>elpida</i> 'hope (n.)'	0/1	0/0	0/1

#### C.4.2. Theotokis: *Hamlet* (1916)

<b>Complement</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>CSMG-Obligatory</b>	<b>17</b>
PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS	16/1 (94%)
<i>fxaristo</i> 'thank'	1/0
<i>frixto</i> 'horrific'	1/0
<i>oreo</i> 'nice'	1/0
<i>xara</i> 'joy'	3/0
<i>farmakomenos</i> 'embittered'	0/1
<i>krima</i> 'pity'	1/0
<i>fixismenos</i> 'happy'	2/0
<i>lipi</i> 'sadness'	2/0
<i>lipieme</i> 'be sad'	2/0
<i>anafti astenia</i> 'an illness breaks out'	1/0
<i>aksiokatakritos</i> 'contemptible'	1/0
<i>θiamazo</i> 'marvel'	1/0
PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH APPRAISALS	1/0 (100%)
<i>lipiro</i> 'sad'	1/0
<b>CSMG-Optional</b>	<b>17</b>
PREDETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC	1/0 (100%)
<i>omoloyo</i> 'admit'	1/0
PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE COGNITIVE	5/10 (33%)
<i>δixno</i> 'show'	0/4
<i>vlepo</i> 'see'	4/2
<i>kitazo</i> 'look'	1/0
<i>akuo</i> 'hear'	0/4
PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE/PHYSICAL	8/13 (38%)
STATIC	6/9 (40%)
<i>ksero</i> 'know'	2/8
<i>exo sto nu</i> 'bear in mind'	1/0
<i>vevea</i> 'certainly'	1/0
<i>ine aliθia</i> 'be true'	2/0
<i>γnorizo</i> 'know'	0/1
KNOWLEDGE ACQ'N	2/4 (33%)
<i>vrisko</i> 'find'	0/1
<i>apodiksi</i> 'proof'	0/1
<i>maθeno</i> 'learn, find out'	2/2
SUBJECT	3/0 (100%)
<b>CSMG-Unacceptable</b>	<b>9</b>
STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC	2/36 (5%)
<i>kinoloyite</i> 'be announced'	0/1
<i>leo</i> 'say'	2/28
<i>onidos</i> 'shame, reproach'	0/1
<i>fenome</i> 'claim'	0/1
<i>alifi</i> 'ointment'	0/1



<i>fonazo</i> ‘shout’	0/1
<i>ðiloo</i> ‘indicate’	0/1
<i>ðidasko</i> ‘teach’	0/1
<i>θelo na po</i> ‘mean to say’	0/1
<b>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</b>	<b>1/14 (7%)</b>
<i>siloyizome</i> ‘ponder’	0/1
<i>vazo sto nu</i> ‘put in mind, consider’	0/2
<i>θa pi</i> ‘means’	1/0
<i>exi na pi</i> ‘means’	0/2
<i>ipopsiazome</i> ‘suspect’	0/1
<i>veveos</i> ‘certain’ (animate)	0/1
<i>stiximatizo</i> ‘bet’	0/1
<i>stoxazome</i> ‘ponder’	0/3
<i>apadisi</i> ‘response’	0/1
<i>simfono</i> ‘agree’	0/1
<i>skeftome</i> ‘cogitate’	0/1
<b>WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</b>	<b>5/20 (20%)</b>
<i>θaro</i> ‘reckon’	0/1
<i>pistevo</i> ‘believe’	4/7
<i>leo</i> ‘think’	0/3
<i>fenome</i> ‘seem’	0/3
<i>kazome</i> ‘think’	0/1
<i>nomizo</i> ‘think’	1/5
<b>STRONG DETERMINED FUTURE TRUTH LINGUISTIC</b>	<b>0/3 (0%)</b>
<i>profitevo</i> ‘prophesy’	0/1
<i>orkizome</i> ‘swear’	0/1
<i>loyo</i> ‘promise’	0/1
<b>NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED ACTION LINGUISTIC</b>	<b>0/2 (0%)</b>
<i>kamonome</i> ‘pretend’	0/1
<i>kano</i> ‘pretend’	0/1
<b>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE</b>	<b>1/1 (50%)</b>
<i>fovos</i> ‘fear (n.)’	1/1
<b>UNDETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE</b>	<b>0/3 (0%)</b>
<i>elpida</i> ‘hope (n.)’	0/1
<i>elpizo</i> ‘hope (v.)’	0/2

### C.5. Tsakonian corpus

Forms are given by their citation form in Costakis (1986), which is usually the Propontis Tsakonian form closest to CSMG. There are about 19,000 words of Peloponnesian Tsakonian, and 12,000 of Propontis Tsakonian in the corpus of folk texts used, consisting of CostD, CostF, CostG, CostO, CostS, Har, Makris, Pernot, and Scutt.

Function	Peloponnesian	Propontis
<b>Locative</b>		
Definite locative ( <i>p<sup>hi</sup></i> )	8	6
<b>Relativiser</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>64</b>
Relativiser <i>p<sup>hi</sup></i>	113	43
Relativiser <i>pu</i>	0	21
Relativiser <i>op<sup>hi</sup></i>	3	0
Headless relative	1	0
<b>Pseudo-relative</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>22</b>
<i>tɛia</i> ‘there’	0	12
<i>ðaða</i> ‘now’	0	1
<i>etsapera</i> ‘there’	0	3

<i>opa</i> ‘there’	27	1
<i>opapera</i> ‘there’	0	1
<i>kia</i> ‘there’	0	2
<i>opatanu</i> ‘there’	1	0
<i>trana</i> ‘thus’	0	1
<i>tote</i> ‘then’	9	1
<i>oyi</i> ‘here’	1	0
<b>Cleft</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Complement</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>CSMG-Obligatory</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>
<i>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS</i> <sup>5</sup>	4/0 (100%)	5/0 (100%)
<i>xara</i> ‘joy’	1/0	1/0
<i>efxaristo</i> ‘thank’	0/0	1/0
<i>lipomne</i> ‘be sad’	0/0	1/0
<i>ylendo</i> ‘celebrate’	1/0	0/0
<i>penevvo</i> ‘praise’	1/0	0/0
<i>ðoksa si o theos</i> ‘thank God’	0/0	2/0
<i>sevyomene</i> ‘respect’	1/0	0/0
<i>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH APPRAISALS</i>	2/0 (100%)	1/0 (100%)
<i>kakopariu</i> ‘disappoint’	1/0	0/0
<i>krimas</i> ‘pity!’	0/0	1/0
<i>eftixos</i> ‘fortunately’	1/0	0/0
<b>CSMG-Optional</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>31</b>
<i>PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE COGNITIVE</i>	7/3 (70%)	20/1 (95%)
<i>kitazo</i> ‘look’	1/0	0/0
<i>thoro</i> ‘see’	0/0	12/0
<i>vrisko</i> ‘find’	0/0	2/0
<i>oru</i> ‘see’	4/2	0/0
<i>akuo</i> ‘hear’	0/0	6/1
<i>jiu</i> ‘hear’	2/1	0/0
<i>PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE/PHYSICAL</i>	4/5 (44%)	11/1 (92%)
<i>STATIC</i>	4/0 (100%)	6/1 (86%)
<i>ksero</i> ‘know’	3/0	5/1
<i>ynorizo</i> ‘know’	1/0	1/0
<i>KNOWLEDGE ACQ`N</i>	0/5 (0%)	5/0 (100%)
<i>arikh<sup>u</sup> idisi</i> ‘realise’	0/1	0/0
<i>katalaveno</i> ‘understand; realise’	0/2	0/0
<i>aynando</i> ‘realise’	0/0	3/0
<i>maθeno</i> ‘learn; be informed’	0/1	1/0
<i>xambari</i> ‘news’	0/0	1/0
<i>idisi</i> ‘news’	0/1	0/0
<b>CSMG-Unacceptable</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>12</b>
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>	1/21 (5%)	6/2 (75%)
<i>lalo</i> ‘say’	1/19	6/1
<i>musio</i> ‘say’	0/0	0/1
<i>fonazo</i> ‘shout’	0/1	0/0
<i>tileyrafo</i> ‘telegraph’	0/1	0/0
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	0/1 (0%)	0/0
<i>siyure</i> ‘certain’	0/1	0/0
<i>WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	0/5 (0%)	6/0 (100%)
<i>nomizo</i> ‘think’	0/3	1/0
<i>pistevvo</i> ‘believe’	0/1	0/0
<i>tharo</i> ‘reckon’	0/0	3/0
<i>lalo</i> ‘think’	0/1	0/0
<i>miazo</i> ‘looks like; seems’	0/0	2/0

<sup>5</sup>Tsakonian does not have a *pos* equivalent.

<b>Adjunct</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>26</b>
Temporal	35	18
Contrast	0	2
Circumstance	11	4
Causal	3	1
Cleft Exclamatory	0	1
Optative	1	0
<b>Discoursal collocations</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>0</b>
<i>os au p<sup>hi</sup></i> ‘why don’t you say that’	1	0
<i>p<sup>h</sup> in aunde</i> ‘as they say’	2	0
<i>p<sup>h</sup> es au</i> ‘that you say’	7	0
<b>Collocations</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>9</b>
<i>to kale p<sup>hi</sup> ni m ei θeu</i> ‘for your own good’	1	0
<i>mono</i> ‘only’ (cleft)	1	0
<i>kata p<sup>hi</sup></i> ‘according to how’	0	2
<i>kaθa p<sup>hi</sup></i> ‘according to how’	0	1
<i>os p<sup>hi</sup></i> ‘until’	4	2
<i>'na</i> ‘behold!’	2	2
<i>psa p<sup>hi</sup></i> ‘where? that = where’	0	1
<i>lale</i> ‘say! that = ?’	1	0
<i>isa</i> ‘until’	0	1
<i>taxa</i> ‘supposedly’	1	0
VERB <i>p<sup>hi</sup></i> VERB	1	0
<i>san</i> ‘like’	1	0
<i>istera</i> ‘after’	1	0
<i>oka t̄e p<sup>hi</sup></i> ‘here and there’	1	0
<b>Ambiguous</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>
Adjunct/Relative	3	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>293 (15)</b>	<b>180 (15)</b>

## C.6. Cappadocian corpus

There are approximately 93,000 words of Cappadocian in the corpus of folk texts used, consisting of 6,000 words of Silliot (Arhelaos, Dawk, Silli), 45,000 words of Western Cappadocian (Anakou, AravanF, AravanFK, Arhelaos, Axos, Dawk, Lagarde, Ulağaç), and 46,000 words of Pharasiot (Dawk, DawkBoy, Grégoire, Lagarde, LoucLouc, TheodA, TheodB, TheodC). Only non-quotative complementisers are counted.

### C.6.1. Silli

<i>Function</i>	<i>Total</i>
<b>Relativiser</b>	
<i>kjat</i>	3
∅	1
<b>Free Relative</b>	
<i>to</i>	2
<b>Pseudo-relative</b>	
<i>eki pu</i> ‘there that’	2
<b>Complement<sup>6</sup></b>	
<b>CSMG-Obligatory</b>	
<i>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS</i>	3
<i>sevindo</i> ‘be pleased’	2
<i>fukurleizo</i> ‘thank’	1

<sup>6</sup>All complementisers listed are instances of *otfi*.

**CSMG-Optional**

<i>PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE COGNITIVE</i>	12
<i>jukuyu</i> ‘hear’	2
<i>θoro</i> ‘see’	8
<i>trano</i> ‘see’	2
<i>PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE/PHYSICAL</i>	5
<i>ACQUIRED</i>	5
<i>yriko</i> ‘understand’	3
<i>maseyisku</i> ‘learn’	2
<b>CSMG-Unacceptable</b>	
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>	6
<i>lalo</i> ‘say’	6
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	2
<i>irea</i> ‘notion’	2
<i>WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	3
<i>apandexo</i> ‘expect’	3
<b>Adjunct</b>	
Temporal <i>kjat</i>	1
<b>Collocations</b>	
<i>ospu</i> ‘until’	6
( <i>op t</i> ‘from the fact that = because’)	2

**C.6.2. Western Cappadocia**

<i>Function</i>	<i>Dawk</i>	<i>Other</i>
<b>Locative</b>		
<i>'opu</i>	3	8
<i>pu</i>	3	3
<b>Relativiser</b>		
<i>to</i>	28	65
∅	1	1
<i>'opu</i>	6	2
<i>pu</i>	1	2
<b>Generalising Relative</b>		
<i>to</i>		1
<i>'opu</i>	2	
<b>Free Relative</b>		
<i>to</i>	5	14
<i>'opu</i>		2
<i>pu</i>		1
<b>Pseudo-relative</b>		
<i>eki pu</i> ‘there that’		2
<i>edo pu</i> ‘here that’	1	
<b>Cleft</b>		
<i>ta</i>		1
<b>Complement<sup>7</sup></b>		
<b>CSMG-Obligatory</b>		
<i>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS</i>		
<i>qusqanizo</i> ‘be jealous’	0/1/0/0/0	
<i>xerazome</i> ‘be glad’		1/0/0/0/0
<b>CSMG-Optional</b>		
<i>PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE COGNITIVE</i>		
<i>akuyo</i> ‘hear’	0/0/1/0/0	0/2/0/1/1
<i>trano</i> ‘see’	1/13/35/8/0	0/5/4/7/0
<i>xoro</i> ‘see’	0/0/3/0/0	2/0/1/0/0

<sup>7</sup>Complementisers are counted in the following order: *to/ke/∅/ki/dei/('opu/na)*.

*PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE/PHYSICAL**STATIC*

<i>ksevro</i> 'know'	3/1/0/0/0	
<i>aquli</i> 'memory'		1/0/0/0/0

*ACQUIRED*

<i>angladizo</i> 'understand, realise'	0/0/0/2/0	5/1/0/0/0
<i>maxeno</i> 'learn'	3/0/0/0/0/1/0	2/0/0/0/0
<i>bilindizme</i> 'recognise'		1/0/0/0/0
<i>xabar</i> 'news'		1/0/0/0/0

**CSMG-Unacceptable***STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC*

<i>leyo</i> 'say'	1/0/1/2/0	2/1/3/0/0
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*WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE*

<i>sanizo</i> 'believe, suppose'	0/0/1/0/0	0/0/1/0/0
<i>θaro</i> 'think'	0/0/0/0/1	
<i>inandizo</i> 'believe'	0/0/0/0/0/3/0	0/0/0/0/0/0/1
<i>sypelendizme</i> 'suspect'		0/0/1/0/1
<i>apandexo</i> 'expect'		0/0/1/0/0/0/1

**Adjunct**

Temporal <i>op</i>	26	19
Manner <i>op</i>		1
Contrast <i>op</i>		1
Conditional <i>op</i>	2	
Causal <i>op</i>	1	
Result <i>op</i>	1	
Temporal <i>pu</i>	1	2
Optative <i>op na</i>		2
Optative <i>ep na</i>	2	

**Collocations**

( <i>to na... topo</i> 'the place that FUT = instead of')	1	5
( <i>to na</i> 'instead of')	2	1
( <i>ap to</i> 'from the fact that = because')	2	12

**C.6.3. Pharasa**

<i>Function</i>	<i>Dawk</i>	<i>Other</i>
<b>Locative</b>		
<i>a'pu</i>	1	2
<i>pu</i>	1	
<i>tu</i>	1	1
<b>Relativiser</b>		
<i>tu</i>	49	137
∅	1	2
<i>pu</i>	1	2
<b>Free Relative</b>		
<i>tu</i>	7	67
<i>ap</i>	1	
' <i>opu</i>	1	
<i>pu</i>		1
<b>Generalising relative</b>		
<i>tu na</i>		4
<b>Pseudo-relative</b>		
<i>dʒa pu</i> 'there where'	1	26
<i>dʒes tu</i> 'as that = when'		1
<i>atʃi pu</i> 'there where'		1
<i>aða tu</i> 'here where'		1

<i>atfi tu</i> ‘there where’		1
<b>Complement<sup>8</sup></b>		
<b>CSMG-Obligatory</b>		
<i>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS</i>		
<i>anapai i kardia</i> ‘one’s heart is at rest’		0/0/1/0/0
<i>yariezo</i> ‘mock’		0/0/1/0/0
<i>efksoθam to θeyo</i> ‘thank God’		1/0/0/0/0
<i>pusmani</i> ‘regret’		1/0/0/0/0
<b>CSMG-Optional</b>		
<i>PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE COGNITIVE</i>		
<i>akuyo</i> ‘hear’	0/1/1/0/0	0/0/0/1/0
<i>yrevo</i> ‘look’	0/4/17/0/3	0/4/11/0/0
<i>ida</i> ‘see’	0/0/0/0/5	2/2/0/3/1
<i>vrisko</i> ‘find’		0/0/0/0/1
<i>θoro</i> ‘see’		0/1/0/30/3
<i>PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE/PHYSICAL</i>		
<i>STATIC</i>		
<i>katexo</i> ‘know’		3/1/0/0/0
<i>ynorizo</i> ‘know’	1/0/0/0/0	
<i>ACQUIRED</i>		
<i>yriko</i> ‘understand’		3/0/1/0/0
<i>nanosti</i> ‘realise’		0/0/1/0/0
<i>SUBJECT</i>		4/0/0/0/0
<b>CSMG-Unacceptable</b>		
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>		
<i>yrafo</i> ‘write’	0/0/1/0/0	
<i>leyo</i> ‘say’	0/1/0/2/1	1/3/0/11/4
<i>STRONG DETERMINED FUTURE TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>		
<i>amasia</i> ‘oath’	1/0/0/0/0	
<i>omazo</i> ‘swear’		0/0/1/0/0
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>		
<i>s to nun pesu yrepo</i> ‘think; see in one’s mind’		0/0/1/0/0
<i>WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>		
<i>apandexo</i> ‘expect’		0/1/1/0/0
<i>NON-ASSERTIVE TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>		
<i>axili</i> ‘trick’	0/0/1/0/0	
<b>Adjunct</b>		
Temporal <i>apu</i>	19	
Temporal <i>pu</i>	1	
Circumstance <i>pu</i>		1
Temporal <i>tu</i>	2	1
<b>Discourse Collocations</b>		
<i>tu les</i> ‘anyway’		1
<b>Collocations</b>		
<i>sopu</i> ‘while, whenever’		4
( <i>sos tu na</i> ‘until; so that’)	3	23
( <i>s tu na</i> ‘until; rather than’)		32
( <i>as to</i> ‘from the fact that = because’)		8

<sup>8</sup>Complementisers are counted in the following order: *tu/∅/ki/di/di... ki*. Complementiser counts do not include instances where ∅ marks Indeterminate complements.

### C.7. *Livisi corpus*

The following are complementation counts for MousT (about 56,000 words).

<b>Complement<sup>9</sup></b>	<b>121</b>
<b>CSMG-Obligatory</b>	<b>28</b>
<i>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS</i>	28/0/0/0/0 (100%)
<i>kleu</i> ‘cry’	3/0/0/0/0
<i>drepumi</i> ‘be ashamed’	1/0/0/0/0
<i>furkizumi</i> ‘be annoyed’	1/0/0/0/0
<i>kamarono</i> ‘admire’	2/0/0/0/0
<i>fteu</i> ‘be at fault’	1/0/0/0/0
<i>lipami</i> ‘be sad’	2/0/0/0/0
<i>xuli</i> ‘sadness’	3/0/0/0/0
<i>kamos</i> ‘sorrow’	2/0/0/0/0
<i>aresu</i> ‘like’	1/0/0/0/0
<i>ifkaristimenos</i> ‘pleased’	1/0/0/0/0
<i>ifxaristo</i> ‘thank’	1/0/0/0/0
<i>xara</i> ‘joy’	2/0/0/0/0
<i>xerumi</i> ‘be glad’	1/0/0/0/0
<i>θamazu</i> ‘marvel’	1/0/0/0/0
<i>ðoksazu duθ θion</i> ‘thank God’	1/0/0/0/0
<i>vazu tis fones</i> ‘start shouting; be enraged’	1/0/0/0/0
<i>paraksinevyumi</i> ‘be bemused’	1/0/0/0/0
<i>θimos</i> ‘anger’	1/0/0/0/0
<i>ixtipjumi</i> ‘hit oneself; be angry at oneself’	1/0/0/0/0
<i>xuljume</i> ‘be sad’	1/0/0/0/0
<b>CSMG-Optional</b>	<b>72</b>
<i>PREDETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>	1/0/1/0/0 (50%)
<i>kjumuloxyumi</i> ‘confess’	1/0/0/0/0
<i>moluo</i> ‘admit’	0/0/1/0/0
<i>PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE COGNITIVE</i>	38/3/4/52/0 (84%)
<i>θuro</i> ‘see’ <sup>10</sup>	28/3/2/31/0
<i>vlepu</i> ‘see’	0/0/0/6/0
<i>kitazu</i> ‘look’	0/0/0/3/0
<i>trano</i> ‘look’	0/0/0/3/0
<i>vrisku</i> ‘find’	0/0/0/6/0
<i>akuu</i> ‘hear’	10/0/2/3/0
<i>PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE/PHYSICAL</i>	29/10/4/0/0 (67%)
<i>STATIC</i>	17/0/1/0/0 (94%)
<i>kseru</i> ‘know’	10/0/0/0/0
<i>erxete is ton nun</i> ‘come to mind; recall’	3/0/0/0/0
<i>fenumi</i> ‘be apparent’	1/0/1/0/0
<i>aθ:imami</i> ‘remember’	2/0/0/0/0
<i>ynurizu</i> ‘know’	1/0/0/0/0
<i>KNOWLEDGE ACQ’N</i>	13/10/3/0/0 (50%)
<i>katalavenu</i> ‘realise, understand’	7/8/2/0/0
<i>ynurizumi</i> ‘recognise’	2/0/0/0/0
<i>iparusiazumi</i> ‘appear’	1/0/0/0/0
<i>faneronu</i> ‘reveal’	2/0/0/0/0
<i>maθenu</i> ‘learn, find out’	1/2/1/0/0

<sup>9</sup>Complementisers are ordered as *pu/oti/pos/ke/∅/(na)*. Since *ke* appears in complementary distribution with *na* rather than *pu* or *oti/pos* in Modern Greek, the percentages of *pu* for each complement category are calculated with respect to *oti/pos* alone.

<sup>10</sup>The perfect morpheme *iða/ðo* has been counted with *θoro* rather than *vlepo*. Quotative *oti* has been excluded.

<i>PREDETERMINED OCCURRENCE PHYSICAL</i>	3/0/0/0/0 (100%)
<i>etia</i> 'cause'	3/0/0/0/0
<b>CSMG-Unacceptable</b>	<b>21</b>
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>	14/16/29/1/2 (24%)
<i>kiundizu</i> 'tell a story'	0/1/0/0/0
<i>leu</i> 'say'	14/12/29/0/2
<i>eniron</i> 'dream'	0/1/0/0/0
<i>yrafu</i> 'write'	0/1/0/0/0
<i>fanenu</i> s'hout'	0/0/0/1/0
<i>iksakuiti</i> 'be heard, be rumoured'	0/1/0/0/0
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	1/0/1/1/0 (50%)
<i>skevɣumi</i> 'ponder'	1/0/0/0/0
<i>ðialuizumi</i> 'consider'	0/0/0/1/0
<i>simaði</i> 'sign'	0/0/1/0/0
<i>WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	3/2/7/6/0/1 (25%)
<i>θaro</i> 'reckon'	1/1/1/5/0
<i>pistevu</i> 'believe'	1/1/1/0/0/1
<i>nioθu</i> 'feel'	1/0/2/0/0
<i>leu</i> 'think'	0/0/1/0/0
<i>istimaru</i> 'reckon'	0/0/0/1/0
<i>nomizu</i> 'think'	0/0/2/0/0
<i>STRONG DETERMINED FUTURE TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>	2/2/1/0/0 (40%)
<i>fuirizu</i> 'threaten'	0/1/0/0/0
<i>mon:u</i> 'swear'	1/1/1/0/0
<i>orkos</i> 'oath'	1/0/0/0/0
<i>NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED ACTION LINGUISTIC</i>	0/0/2/0/0 (0%)
<i>plano</i> 'deceive'	0/0/1/0/0
<i>kanu</i> 'pretend'	0/0/1/0/0
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE</i>	1/1/0/0/0 (50%)
<i>fivami</i> 'fear (v.)'	1/1/0/0/0

### C.8. Pontic corpus

The following texts were used as samples of Pontic; they are outlined according to regional provenance, along with approximate word counts in thousands of words. The folk text corpus includes all Pontic prose published in the first twenty issues (1928–1955) of the journal *Αρχαίον Πόντου* (*Archeion Pontou*).

- Literary Pontic (Chalriot): FotD (16), FotM (16). Although Fotiadis wrote his plays in Akhaltsikhe in Southern Georgia, and spent some time in Athens, I group his language with Chalriot (Fotiadis was born in Kromni of Chaldia).
- Miscellaneous Pontic (no regional attribution given): Parot (16).
- Oinuntiac (21): *Amisos* (6: Valav 1; Valavanis (1928) 2; Valavanis (1934) 3); *Inepolis* (1: Ikonomidis (1958 [1940]) 0.4; Alexiadis (1949) 0.5); *Oinoe* (14: Siviridis (1938) 3; Vamvak 9; Vamvakidis (1939) 2).
- Trapezuntiac (14): *Kerasunta* (3: Papadopoulos (1955) 1; Valav 2); *Trebizond* (10: Ikonomidis (1958 [1940]) 0.2; Ioannidis (1949) 0.3; Ioanndis (1951) 0.7; Parh 9); *Tripolis* (1: Ikonomidis 1958 [1940]) 0.3; Akoglous (1951) 1).
- Ophitic (13): *Rizeon* (Ikonomidis (1958 [1940]) 0.4); *Sourmena* (DawkSO 7); *Ophis* (DawkSO 5; Parh 0.3).
- Nikopolis (4): Ikonomidis (1958 [1940]) 0.1; Hatziliadis (1954) 1.5; Ioakimidis (1958) 0.2; Lagarde 0.2; Nikop 2.5.



- Chaldiot (100): *Unspecified* (29: Ikonomidis (1958 [1940]) 0.5; KandilA 0.1; KandilB 2; KandilC 0.3; KandilE 10; KandilF 6; Melan 9; Melanofrydis (1938) 1); *Ak Dağ Maden* (Momogeri 0.5); *Argyroupolis* (8: Ikonomidis (1923) 0.1; KandilD 0.7; Valav 7) *Buğa Madeni* (Fosteris (1959) 2); *Hopsha* (6: Tsaousis (1946) 2; Tsaousis (1950) 4); *Imera* (15: Dawkins (1923) 0.4; FostA 6; FostB 4; FostC 5); *Kotyora* (14: Ikonomidis (1958 [1940]) 0.5; Akoglous (1950) 3; Akoglous (1951) 1; Akoglous (1952) 3; Akoglous (1953) 3; Akoglous (1954) 2.5); *Kromni* (Parh 0.7); *Matsouka* (Momogeri 0.5); *Paipurt* (Momogeri 1); *Santa* (14: Athanasiadis (1928) 1.5; Athanasiadis (1948) 2; Athanasiadis (1949) 1; Nymf 7; Nymfopoulos (1949) 1; Nymfopoulos (1951) 1); *Stavrin* (11: Momogeri 0.5; Papad 8; Papadopoulos (1949) 1; Papadopoulos (1951) 2).

There are thus 200,000 words of Pontic in the corpus, of which 132,000 are Chaldiot. The attestation of the other variants of Pontic is far lesser.

	<i>Oinuntiac</i>	<i>Trapezunt.</i>	<i>Ophitic</i>
<b>Locative</b>			
<i>pu</i>	3	1	
<b>Relativiser</b>			
<i>ndo</i>	37	15	28
<i>p</i> ( <i>pu</i> or <i>pi</i> )	1	4	
<i>pu</i>	30	2	1
<i>op</i>			5
<b>Free Relative</b>			
<i>ndo</i>	3	6	5
<i>p</i>		1	
<i>pu</i>	12		
<b>Generalising Relative</b>			
<i>pu na</i>	3		
<b>Cleft</b>			
<i>ndo</i>		1	
<b>Pseudo-Relative</b>			
<i>eki pu</i> 'there'	1		
<b>Complement<sup>11</sup></b>			
<b>CSMG-Obligatory</b>			
<i>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS</i>	1/0/0	0/5/0	4/0/0
<i>pusmanevo</i> 'regret'			1/0/0
<i>pusmani</i> 'regret'	1/0/0		
<i>kiskanæn</i> 'envy'		0/1/0	
<i>xara</i> 'joy'		0/1/0	
<i>safevo</i> 'be stunned'		0/2/0	
<i>tiraniume</i> 'be sad'		0/1/0	
<i>krima</i> 'a pity'			1/0/0
<i>ðoksazo to theo</i> 'thank God'			1/0/0
<i>efxaristo</i> 'thank'			1/0/0
<b>CSMG-Optional</b>			
<i>PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE COGNITIVE</i>	2/13/18	0/15/16	3/2/14
<i>trano</i> 'see'	1/0/11	0/0/2	
<i>tero</i> 'see'		0/7/8	1/0/11
<i>akuo</i> 'hear'	1/2/0		0/1/1
<i>akusta</i> 'heard of'	0/1/0		

<sup>11</sup>Complementisers are counted in the following order: *ndo/pos/∅/pu/ke/oti/pos oti/na*.

<i>θoro</i> 'see'	0/6/4		
<i>vlepo</i> 'see'	0/4/2	0/8/5	2/1/2/0/2
<i>vrisko</i> 'find'	0/0/1	0/0/1	
<b>PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE/PHYSICAL</b>	1/6/0	1/18/0	10/0/5
<b>STATIC</b>	0/3/0	1/1/0	4/0/0
<i>eksero</i> 'know'	0/3/0	1/1/0	1/0/0
<i>eθimume</i> 'remember'			1/0/0
<i>ynorizo</i> 'know'			2/0/0
<b>KNOWLEDGE ACQ'N</b>	1/3/0	0/17/0	6/0/5
<i>ynorizo</i> 'recognise'		0/3/0	
<i>γriko</i> 'understand, realise'	1/1/0	0/10/0	3/0/4
<i>maθeno</i> 'learn, find out'		0/4/0	2/0/1/1
<i>noo</i> 'realise'			1/0/0
<i>eynaevo</i> 'realise'	0/2/0		
<b>CSMG-Unacceptable</b>			
<b>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</b>	0/6/2	0/10/0	0/0/1
<i>leyo</i> 'say'	0/6/2/0/0/	0/9/0	0/0/1
	1/1		
<i>ekseygo telal</i> 'send a town crier out'		0/1/0	
<b>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</b>	0/0/0	0/2/0	1/0/0
<i>perno miroθia</i> 'get wind that'		0/0/0/0/0/1	
<i>θido son nun</i> 'occur to one'			1/0/0
<i>noo</i> 'cogitate'		0/2/0	
<b>WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</b>	0/1/5	0/2/3	0/0/6
<i>θaro</i> 'think'	0/1/5	0/2/3	0/0/6
<b>DETERMINED FUTURE TRUTH LINGUISTIC</b>	2/1/0	0/1/0	0/0/0
<i>orkizome</i> 'swear'		0/1/0	
<i>orkos</i> 'oath'	0/1/0		
<i>omnasma</i> 'oath'	2/0/0		
<b>NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED ACTION</b>	0/0/0	0/0/0	0/0/0
<b>LINGUISTIC</b>			
<i>pio</i> 'pretend'		0/0/0/0/0/1	
<b>DETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE</b>	0/0/1	0/1/0	0/0/2
<i>fovume</i> 'fear'	0/0/1	0/1/0	0/0/2
<b>Adjuncts</b>			
Temporal <i>pu</i>	1		
Resultative <i>pu</i>	1		
<b>Collocations</b>			
<i>san pu</i> 'like'	1		
<i>isame pu na</i> 'until'	1		
<i>kata pu</i> 'according to how'		1	
<i>ospota</i> 'until'			1
	<i>Unspecified</i>	<i>Fotiadis.</i>	<i>Chald.Misc</i>
<b>Locative</b>			
<i>pu</i>			14
<i>pu</i> (headless)		1	1
<b>Relativiser</b>			
<i>ndo</i>	61	70	122
<i>p</i> ( <i>pu</i> or <i>pi</i> )		2	66
<i>pi</i>	20		16
<i>pu</i>	2	28	39
<b>Free Relative</b>			
<i>ndo</i>	66	40	33
<i>p</i> ( <i>pu</i> or <i>pi</i> )		4	7
<i>pi</i>	137		8
<i>pu</i>	1	16	3

**Generalising Relative***pu na***Cleft***ndo*

1

1

5

*p*

1

*pi*

1

*pu*

3

3

**Pseudo-Relative***atora* ‘now’

2

*eki pi* ‘there; when’

1

*eki pu* ‘there; when’

2

6

*epeki pu* ‘just there’

1

*(e)keka pu* ‘down there’

2

**Complement****CSMG-Obligatory***PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS* 0/0/0

2/3/0

12/8/0

*palalos* ‘mad’

0/0/0/1

*exparame* ‘be surprised’

0/1/0

*xolæfkome* ‘be angry’

0/1/0

*θamazo* ‘marvel’

1/4/0

*tiræniume* ‘be sad’

2/0/0

*xerome* ‘be glad’

1/0/0

4/0/0/1

*pufmanevo* ‘regret’

1/0/0

*krima* ‘a pity’

0/2/0

*pona i kardia mu* ‘my heart aches’

0/1/0

*efxaristieme* ‘be pleased’

2/0/0

*stenoxorian* ‘sadness’

0/1/0

*puyalevome* ‘be bored’

1/0/0

*pikræskume* ‘be bitter’

2/0/0

*spazo* ‘be livid’

0/1/0

*fteo* ‘be at fault’

0/0/0/1

*anaθeman* ‘damn!’

0/0/0/1

0/0/0/1

*nasan* ‘bravo!’

0/0/0/2

*pika* ‘sadness’

0/0/0/1

*PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH APPRAISALS* 1/0/0

12/0/0

3/2/0

*aksizo* ‘be worthwhile’

1/0/0

*ftano* ‘be enough’

7/0/0

*kanite* ‘be enough’

2/0/0

2/0/0

*kala* ‘just as well’

1/0/0

1/0/0

*kalion* ‘better’

1/0/0

*erxete varin* ‘be resented; (lit.) comes heavy’

0/1/0

*amartia* ‘be a sin’

1/0/0

*aynon* ‘strange’

0/1/0

**CSMG-Optional***PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE COGNITIVE* 0/0/0

2/2/13

6/9/72

*tero* ‘see’

1/0/8

0/3/57

*vlepo* ‘see’

0/2/1

5/5/14/0/1

*akuo* ‘hear’

1/0/4

1/1/1/0/1

*PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE/PHYSICAL* 0/1/0

14/10/7

24/7/7

**STATIC**

0/0/0

9/8/3

13/3/2

*ynorizo* ‘know’

2/0/0

*eksero* ‘know’

8/8/3

10/3/2/1

*exo xambar* ‘be aware’

1/0/0

*anaspalo* ‘forget’

1/0/0

**KNOWLEDGE ACQ'N**

0/1/0

5/2/4

11/4/5

*fanerizo* ‘reveal’

1/0/0

*ynorizome* ‘recognise’

1/0/0

*yriko* ‘understand, realise’

0/1/0

2/2/2

6/2/5/0/0/1

<i>maθeno</i> 'learn, find out'		3/0/2	3/2/0
<i>SUBJECT/NOMINALISATION</i>		2/0/0	
<i>PREDETERMINED PHYSICAL OCCURRENCE</i>	0/0/0	0/0/0	0/0/0
<i>etios</i> 'culprit'		0/0/0/1	
<b>CSMG-Unacceptable</b>			
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>	0/0/1	7/3/16	2/9/4
<i>katiyoro</i> 'accuse'			0/0/0/1
<i>leyo</i> 'say'	0/0/1	5/3/16	2/8/4/0/1
<i>diu ka</i> 'protest'			0/1/0
<i>paraponiume</i> 'complain'		1/0/0	
<i>kurfeskume</i> 'boast'		1/0/0	
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	0/0/0	2/1/8	0/1/1
<i>erxete son nun</i> 'come to mind'			0/1/0
<i>loyariazo</i> 'consider'		1/0/1	
<i>oroma</i> 'dream'		1/0/0	
<i>pai na ipi</i> 'means'		0/0/6	
<i>numizo</i> 'cogitate, consider'		0/1/1/0/1	0/0/1
<i>WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	1/2/13	2/1/43	1/10/19
<i>emevo</i> 'believe'		1/0/1	
<i>pistevo</i> 'believe'	1/0/0		0/1/0
<i>fenome</i> 'appear'		1/0/0	
<i>fenete</i> 'seem'			0/0/1
<i>parerxete</i> 'seem'			1/0/0
<i>saevo</i> 'reckon'			0/0/1
<i>leyo</i> 'think'		0/0/1	
<i>nomizo</i> 'think'		0/0/0/0/0/1	
<i>θaro</i> 'think'	0/2/13	0/1/41/0/2	0/9/17/1/4
<i>NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	0/0/0	1/0/0	0/0/0
<i>fufian</i> 'doubt'		1/0/0	
<i>DETERMINED FUTURE TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>	0/0/0	1/0/0	0/0/1
<i>orkiskume</i> 'swear'		1/0/0	0/0/1
<i>NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED ACTION LINGUISTIC</i>	0/0/0	1/1/0	0/0/0
<i>profasizome</i> 'make an excuse'		1/0/0	
<i>ftano</i> 'pretend'		0/1/0	
<i>kombono</i> 'deceive'			0/0/0/0/0/1
<i>DETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE</i>	0/0/0	0/0/10	0/0/2
<i>foyume</i> 'fear'	0/0/0/1	0/0/10	0/0/2
<b>Adjuncts</b>			
Circumstance <i>pu</i>		1	4
Contrast <i>pu</i>		1	
Temporal <i>pu (na)/pi</i>	1		2
Circumstance <i>ndo</i>		2	
Temporal <i>ndo</i>			1
Exclamatory <i>ndo</i>		5	
Causal <i>ndo</i>		2	1
<b>Discourse Collocations</b>			
<i>pu lei o loyos</i> 'as the saying goes'			1
<i>ndo les esi</i> 'supposedly'		2	1
<i>ndo leyo se</i> 'I'm telling you'		1	
<i>ndo fer o loyos</i> 'so to speak'			3
<b>Collocations</b>			
<i>pun ke na</i> (optative)		3	
<i>ospu</i> 'until'		3	
<b>Irrealis <i>pu</i> (?)</b>		1	1

	<i>Imera</i>	<i>Kotyora.</i>	<i>Santa</i>
<b>Locative</b>			
<i>pu</i>	1		
<b>Relativiser</b>			
<i>ndo</i>	38	26	17
<i>p (pu or pi)</i>	8	9	13
<i>pi</i>			1
<i>pu</i>	8	1	11
<b>Free Relative</b>			
<i>ndo</i>	23	6	3
<i>p (pu or pi)</i>	3	1	1
<i>pi</i>		2	
<i>pu</i>	7		1
<b>Pseudo-Relative</b>			
<i>eki pu</i> 'there; just as'	2		1
<b>Cleft</b>			
<i>ndo</i>	1		
<b>Complement</b>			
<b>CSMG-Obligatory</b>			
<i>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS</i>	3/1/0	0/1/0	2/2/0
<i>ðoksazo to ðeo</i> 'thank God'			0/0/0/1
<i>fliome</i> 'be sad'			0/1/0
<i>kleo</i> 'weep'	1/0/0		
<i>pufimanevo</i> 'regret'	1/0/0		
<i>ðamazo</i> 'marvel'		0/1/0	0/1/0
<i>tiranieme</i> 'be sad'			2/0/0
<i>to kako mu</i> 'resentment'	0/1/0		
<i>xerome</i> 'be glad'	1/0/0		
<i>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH APPRAISALS</i>	0/0/0	1/0/0	1/0/0
<i>kanite</i> 'be enough'		1/0/0	
<i>kriman</i> 'a pity'			1/0/0
<b>CSMG-Optional</b>			
<i>PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE COGNITIVE</i>	1/13/27	1/0/23	1/3/8
<i>tero</i> 'see'	1/7/26/0/1	0/0/18	1/0/7/0/1
<i>akuo</i> 'hear'	0/1/0		0/0/0/0/1
<i>vlepo</i> 'see'	0/5/1	1/0/4	0/3/1/1
<i>dio son otin</i> 'be heard; (lit.) strike one's ear'		0/0/1	
<i>PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE/PHYSICAL</i>	13/9/2	14/0/1	13/1/0
<i>STATIC</i>	4/3/0	6/0/0	5/0/0
<i>afino</i> 'let alone'			1/0/0
<i>anaspalo</i> 'forget'		1/0/0	1/0/0
<i>ɣnorizo</i> 'know'		1/0/0	
<i>eksero</i> 'know'	4/3/0	2/0/0	3/0/0
<i>fenome</i> 'be obvious'		2/0/0	
<i>KNOWLEDGE ACQ'N</i>	9/6/2	8/0/1	8/1/0
<i>aynaevo</i> 'realise'		4/0/0	
<i>ɣriko</i> 'understand, realise'	8/6/2		8/1/0
<i>ðiðo ɣnorimian</i> 'reveal'		1/0/0	
<i>xapar</i> 'news; realisation'		2/0/0	
<i>vyeno so meitan</i> 'become public knowledge'		1/0/0	
<i>maθeno</i> 'learn, find out'		0/0/1	
<i>maθenome</i> 'to be found out about'	1/0/0		
<i>SUBJECT</i>		2/0/0	
<i>PREDETERMINED OCCURRENCE PHYSICAL</i>	1/0/0	0/0/0	0/0/0
<i>etia</i> 'cause'	1/0/0		
<b>CSMG-Unacceptable</b>			
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>	2/8/1	1/0/0	0/1/1
<i>katiyoro</i> 'accuse'	0/1/0		

<i>leyo</i> 'say'	2/7/1	1/0/0	0/0/1
<i>ipopsiazome</i> 'suspect'			0/1/0
<b>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</b>	0/0/1	0/0/2	1/0/1
<i>nun</i> 'opinion'	0/0/1		
<i>dio son nu</i> 'come to mind'		0/0/1	
<i>ðavæn son nun</i> 'occur to one'			1/0/1
<i>nunizo</i> 'cogitate'		0/0/1	
<b>WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</b>	1/1/29	0/0/4	0/1/7
<i>pistevo</i> 'believe'		0/0/0/0/0/0/0/1	
<i>inanevo</i> 'believe'	1/0/0		
<i>fenome</i> 'seem'	0/1/0		
<i>leyo</i> 'think'	0/0/1/0/3		
<i>θaro</i> 'think'	0/0/28	0/0/4/0/1	0/1/7
<b>DETERMINED FUTURE TRUTH LINGUISTIC</b>	0/4/0	3/0/0	0/0/0
<i>omnio</i> 'swear'	0/1/0	1/0/0	
<i>orkon</i> 'oath'		1/0/0	
<i>ðido to loyo mu</i> 'promise'	0/1/0	1/0/0	
<i>foverizo</i> 'threaten'	0/2/0		
<b>NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED ACTION LINGUISTIC</b>	1/2/0	1/0/0	0/0/0
<i>ɣrafo psemata</i> 'write lies'	0/1/0		
<i>pio</i> 'pretend'	1/1/0	1/0/0	
<b>DETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE</b>	0/0/10	0/0/0	0/0/0
<i>foame</i> 'fear'	0/0/10		
<b>Adjuncts</b>			
Concessive <i>ndo</i>		1	
Temporal <i>ndo</i>			1
Exclamatory <i>ndo</i>		1	
<b>Collocations</b>			
<i>ospī</i> 'until'	1		
<i>ospota</i> 'until'		3	
		<i>Staurin</i>	<i>Nikopolis</i>
<b>Relativiser</b>			
<i>ndo</i>	28	8	
<i>p</i> ( <i>pu</i> or <i>pi</i> )		2	
<i>pu</i>	16		
<b>Free Relative</b>			
<i>ndo</i>	4	6	
<i>pi</i>		1	
<i>pu</i>	1		
<b>Pseudo-Relative</b>			
<i>eki pu</i> 'there; just as'	1		
<b>Complement</b>			
<b>CSMG-Obligatory</b>			
<b>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS</b>	2/0/0		
<i>tiranieme</i> 'be sad'	1/0/0		
<i>piɣmanevo</i> 'regret'			1/0/0
<i>metanoo</i> 'regret'	1/0/0		
<b>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH APPRAISALS</b>	1/0/0		
<i>fenete varin</i> 'be resented; (lit.) seem heavy'	1/0/0		
<i>kala</i> 'just as well'	0/0/0/1		
<b>CSMG-Optional</b>			
<b>PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE COGNITIVE</b>	0/2/11		
<i>tero</i> 'see'	0/0/10	0/0/4/0/2	
<i>vlepo</i> 'see'	0/1/1	0/0/1/0/1	
<i>akuo</i> 'hear'	0/1/0		

<i>PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	3/4/0	
<i>KNOWLEDGE ACQ'N</i>	3/4/0	
<i>γriko</i> 'understand, realise'	0/1/0	1/0/1/0/1
<i>maθeno</i> 'learn, find out'	2/3/0	
<b>CSMG-Unacceptable</b>		
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>	0/4/1	
<i>veveono</i> 'assure'	0/1/0	
<i>leyo</i> 'say'	0/2/1	0/0/3
<i>γomizo son kosmon</i> 'rumour'	0/1/0	
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	0/0/0	
<i>ipopsia</i> 'suspicion'	0/0/0/0/0/0	
	/0/1	
<i>WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	0/1/7	
<i>pstevo</i> 'believe'		1/0/0
<i>loyariazo</i> 'reckon'	0/0/1	
<i>fenome</i> 'seem'	0/0/1	
<i>leyo</i> 'think'	0/1/0	0/0/3
<i>θaro</i> 'think'	0/0/5	0/0/3
<i>UNDETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE</i>	0/1/0	
<i>elpiða</i> 'hope (n.)'	0/1/0	
<b>Collocations</b>		
<i>ospu</i> 'until'	1	

### C.9. Italiot corpus

The following texts were used as corpora for Italiot:

- *Apulian*: Dizikirikis (0.5), HellSI (1), HDMS 924 (1), RohlfsGRU (1), Lampikis (2), Lefons (1959; 0.4), Palumbo (20; Palumbo's translations into Italiot were not included.)
- *Calabrian*: DGC (23), Falcone (2), HDMS 924 (2), HellSI (0.2), RohlfsGRU (1), TNC (76).

There are thus in all some 26,000 words of Apulian Italiot in the corpus, and some 104,000 words in the Calabrian corpus. For the TNC counts, I have relied on the published concordance, which however does not exhaustively list instances; this is why counts for TNC are frequently given 'at least'-values.

	<i>Palumbo</i>	<i>Other Apulian</i>
<b>Locative</b>		
<i>pu</i> (headless)	5	5
<i>epu</i> (headless)	1	
<i>pu</i> (headed)	3	3
<b>Relativiser</b>		
<i>pu</i>	190	68
<i>ti</i>		2
<i>ka</i>		7
<b>Generalising Relativiser</b>		
<i>pu na</i>	2	
<b>Free Relative</b>		
<i>pu</i> ( <i>exi pu...</i> 'there are those who...')	2	
<b>Pseudo-Relative</b>		
<i>tote pu</i> 'then that'		1
<i>tora pu</i> 'now that'		1
<i>arte pu</i> 'now that'	11	2
<i>eki pu</i> 'there; just as; whereas'	20	8

**Cleft**

<i>pu</i>	10	
<b>Complement<sup>12</sup></b>		
<b>CSMG-Obligatory</b>		
<i>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS</i>		
<i>xerome</i> 'be glad'	2/3	
<i>ntrepome</i> 'be ashamed'	0/1	
<i>lipi mu</i> 'my sorrow! = how sorry I am!'		1/0
<i>fin:o</i> 'leave alone'	0/1	
<i>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH APPRAISALS</i>		
<i>kano kala</i> 'do well'		1/0
<i>kalob:ie</i> 'be pleasing'	2/0	
<i>fela</i> 'be of benefit'	0/1	
<i>gwen:i</i> 'be important'	0/3	
<i>etf:itei</i> 'be important'	0/3	
<i>kani</i> 'be enough'	0/3	
<i>aresi</i> 'like'		1/0
<i>vari</i> 'vex'	0/1	
<b>CSMG-Optional</b>		
<i>PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE COGNITIVE</i>		
<i>vlepo</i> 'see'		1/0/1/0/0/1
<i>ig:wona</i> 'sense'	1/0	
<i>toro</i> 'see'	0/7	0/1
<i>vrisko</i> 'find'	0/1	
<i>akuo</i> 'hear'	0/2	0/0/1
<i>PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>		
<i>STATIC</i>		
<i>ine alitia</i> 'be true'		1/0/2
<i>g:wad̥i a ti t̥:ofali</i> 'get it out of one's head'	0/1	
<i>n:orizo</i> 'know'	0/2	
<i>fsero</i> 'know'	0/5	0/1
<i>KNOWLEDGE ACQ'N</i>		
<i>n:oo</i> 'realise'	0/3	
<i>difto</i> 'show'	0/2	
<i>klino</i> 'hide'	0/1	
<i>maseno</i> 'learn, find out'	0/0/1	
<i>PREDETERMINED OCCURRENCE PHYSICAL NOMINAL</i>		
<i>dij:io</i> 'reason'	0/1	
<b>CSMG-Unacceptable</b>		
<i>PREDETERMINED ACTION PHYSICAL</i>		
<i>ftano</i> 'manage'	2/0	
<i>PREDETERMINED OCCURRENCE PHYSICAL VERBAL</i>		
<i>ves:i</i> 'happen'	1/0	
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>		
<i>jestimao</i> 'curse'	0/1	
<i>grafo</i> 'write'	0/1	
<i>leo</i> 'say'	0/46/0/1	1/6/5/1
<i>kamo simai</i> 'give a sign'	0/1	
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>		
<i>vazo sti t̥:fefali</i> 'get it in one's head'	0/2	
<i>meleto</i> 'consider'	0/1	
<i>WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>		
<i>penseo</i> 'think'	0/2	
<i>krato</i> 'believe'	0/13	
<i>fenome</i> 'seem'	0/15	
<i>leo</i> 'think'	0/1	

<sup>12</sup>Counts are given as *pu/ti/ka/pos/na/ke*.



<i>pisteo</i> 'believe'	0/13/0/0/1	
<i>NON-ASSERTIVE TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>		
<i>kamo</i> 'pretend'	0/3	0/1
<i>DETERMINED FUTURE TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>		
<i>dino lo</i> 'promise'	0/1	
<i>DETERMINED FUTURE TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>		
<i>meno</i> 'expect'	0/2	
<i>DETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE</i>		
<i>fiarizome</i> 'fear (v.)'	0/1	
<i>foo</i> 'fear (n.)'	0/3	
<b>Adjunct</b>		
Causal <i>pu</i>		2
Circumstance <i>pu</i>	2	1
Resultative <i>pu</i> (with correlative)	9	
Resultative <i>pu</i> (without correlative)	7	
Optative <i>pu na</i>	2	1
Exclamatory <i>pu</i>	1	5
Exclamatory without <i>pu</i>	4	3
Temporal <i>pu</i>	8	3
Temporal <i>pu</i> ( <i>exi... pu</i> 'it has been... since')	1	3
<b>Discourse Collocations</b>		
<i>pu lei</i> 'as is said'	1	
<b>Collocations</b>		
' <i>na pu</i> 'behold! that'	2	
' <i>na X pu</i> 'behold X that'	1	
<i>otikane pu</i> 'whoever'	1	
<i>sambu</i> 'when'		5
<i>sa pu</i> 'as if'	5	
<i>sati pu</i> 'when'	27	
<i>moti pu</i> 'when'	1	
<i>tapu</i> 'when'	19	6
<i>(se)kundu pu</i> 'according to, as'	9 <sup>13</sup>	1
<i>tos:o pu</i> 'when'		1
<i>osa pu</i> 'however many'		1
<i>s: o pu</i> 'until'	1	
<i>ospu</i> 'until'		3
<i>ros (o)pu</i> 'until; so that'	1	1
	<i>TNC</i> <sup>14</sup>	<i>DGC 1</i> <sup>15</sup>
<b>Locative</b>		
<i>pu</i> (headless)	7	9
<i>pu</i> (headed)		3
<b>Relativiser</b>		
<i>pu</i>		75
<i>ti</i>		17
<b>Free Relative</b>		
<i>pu</i> ( <i>exi pu...</i> 'there are those who...')		3
<i>ti</i>		5
<b>Pseudo-Relative</b>		
<i>tote pu</i> 'then that'		1
<i>exte pu</i> 'yesterday that'		1
<i>simero pu</i> 'today that'		2

<sup>13</sup>Cf. 22 instances with *(se)kundu* alone introducing a clause.

<sup>14</sup>Detailed counts are available only for non-relativiser usages of *pu* from this corpus' concordance.

<sup>15</sup>Detailed counts have only been prepared for the first dialogue (pp. 14–60; 5)

<i>arte ti</i> ‘now that’		1
<i>arte pu</i> ‘now that’	1	
<i>ekiapanu pu</i> ‘up there where’		1
<i>abukatu pu</i> ‘down there where’		1
<i>(eki)abukatu ti</i> ‘down there where’		1
<i>eki pu</i> ‘there; just as; whereas’	> 1	8
<b>Cleft</b>		
<i>pu</i>		4
<i>ti</i>		2
<b>Complement<sup>16</sup></b>		
<b>CSMG-Obligatory</b>		
<i>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS</i>		
<i>kamonda</i> ‘laugh’		1/0
<i>ringratsio</i> ‘thank’		0/2
<i>invidia</i> ‘envy’		1/0
<i>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH APPRAISALS</i>		
<i>kani kalo</i> ‘do well’	1	
<i>kani meravila</i> ‘do marvellously well’	1	
<b>CSMG-Optional</b>		
<i>PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE COGNITIVE</i>		
<i>vrisko</i> ‘see’	3	0/4
<i>kanuno</i> ‘look’	1	
<i>θoro</i> ‘see’	1	0/2
<i>PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>		
<i>STATIC</i>		
<i>bertu</i> ‘virtue’ (apposition)	2	
<i>fat:o</i> ‘fact’	2	
<i>prama</i> ‘fact’		0/1
<i>sinerkete</i> ‘remember’		0/1
<i>tfero</i> ‘certainly’		0/1
<i>tfero</i> ‘know’		0/2
<i>KNOWLEDGE ACQ’N</i>		
<i>kapitev:io</i> ‘realise’		0/3
<b>CSMG-Unacceptable</b>		
<i>PREDETERMINED OCCURRENCE PHYSICAL VERBAL</i>		
<i>ine to solito</i> ‘be usual’	1	
<i>sufsedo</i> ‘happen’		0/1
<i>irte</i> ‘it came = it happened’	> 7	
<i>kapitev:io</i> ‘happen’		1/0
<i>stathi</i> ‘happen’		1/0
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>		
<i>leo</i> ‘say’		0/13
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>		
<i>tfero</i> ‘certain’		0/0/1
<i>WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>		
<i>etsepeame</i> ‘believe’		0/1
<i>fenome</i> ‘seem’	1	0/1
<i>pisteo</i> ‘believe’		0/1
<i>NON-ASSERTIVE TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>		
<i>ene spemata</i> ‘be untrue’		0/1
<i>NON-ASSERTIVE TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>		
<i>kano finta</i> ‘pretend’		0/1
<i>DETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE</i>		
<i>efiats:omo</i> ‘fear (v.)’		0/1
<b>Adjunct</b>		
Causal <i>pu</i>	> 4	1

<sup>16</sup>Counts are given as *pu/ti/ka/pos/na/ke*.

Circumstance <i>pu</i>	> 3	
Contrast <i>pu</i>	3	
Concessive <i>pu</i>	1	
Resultative <i>pu</i> (with correlative)	> 11	1
Resultative <i>pu na</i> (with correlative)	4	
Resultative <i>pu</i> (without correlative)	> 15	
Resultative <i>pu na</i> (without correlative)	2	
Optative <i>pu na</i>	11	
Optative <i>pu</i> (+ PERFS)	1	
Exclamatory <i>pu</i>	4	
Temporal <i>pu</i>	10	1
Temporal <i>pu</i> ( <i>exi... pu</i> 'it has been... since')	1	1
<b>Collocations</b>		
<i>eko pu</i> 'behold! that'	1	
<i>sirma pu</i> 'as soon as'	1	
<i>an e pu</i> 'if it is that = if'	1	
<i>san e/ito pu</i> 'when it is/was that'	> 5	7
<i>al:ura pu</i> 'when'	1	
<i>sekundu pu</i> 'as, according to what'	2	
<i>armenu pu</i> 'at least'	1	
<i>dop:u pu</i> 'after'	> 6	
<i>mentre pu</i> 'while'	1	1
<i>imbetsi pu</i> 'while'	1	
<i>pos:o pu</i> 'until'	1	
<i>tos:o pu</i> 'until'	1	
<i>prita pu na</i> 'before'	2	1
<i>sino pu</i> 'until'	1	
<i>fino pu</i> 'until'	> 11	7
<b>'Difficult'</b>	5	

*Other Calabrian***Locative***pu* (headless)

7

*pu* (headed)

5

**Relativiser***pu*

24

*ti*

13

**Free Relative***pi na*

3

*ti na*

1

**Pseudo-Relative***arte ti* 'now that'

1

**Complement****CSMG-Obligatory****CSMG-Optional***PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE COGNITIVE**vrisko* 'see'

0/1

*kano* 'look'

0/1

*xoro* 'see'

1/4/0/1

*akuo* 'hear'

0/1

*PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE**STATIC**tfero* 'know'

0/1

**CSMG-Unacceptable***STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC**martiria* 'testimony'

0/1

*leo* 'say'

0/7

*kamo simai* 'give a sign'

<i>WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	
<i>penseo</i> 'think'	0/1
<i>pisteg:o</i> 'believe'	0/1
<i>NON-ASSERTIVE TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>	
<i>kano</i> 'pretend'	0/1
<i>DETERMINED FUTURE TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>	
<i>mon:o</i> 'swear'	0/1
<i>DETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE</i>	
<i>f:astizo</i> 'fear (v.)'	0/1
<b>Adjunct</b>	
Resultative <i>pu</i> (with correlative)	2
Exclamatory <i>pu</i>	4
Temporal <i>pu</i> ( <i>exi... pu</i> 'it has been... since')	1
<b>Collocations</b>	
<i>pukja ti</i> 'since'	1

## APPENDIX D. TEXTS

The following texts have been cited in this work, with abbreviations as given. For Ancient and Middle Greek, the standard abbreviations are used, according to Liddell–Scott–Jones (1940) (Classical canon) and Lampe (1961) (Patristic/Early Byzantine); where the two conflict, LSJ is given priority. Exceptionally, Aeschylus, Euripides and Sophocles are given as *Aesch*, *Dem*, *Eur* and *Soph*, rather than *A*, *D*, *E* and *S*. The New Testament is cited with the NT prefix, but with Lampe’s abbreviations of individual books rather than Liddell–Scott–Jones’. The abbreviations for Early Modern and Modern Greek works are my own; I have resisted the temptation to follow Psichari and Jannaris in adopting Latinate abbreviations for the EMG canon.

Where the texts appear in the bibliography of Kriaras’ (1969–1993), the bibliographic number given there is quoted after the reference as *Knnnn*; the reader is referred to that work for further bibliographic details. The datings of the Byzantine and early Renaissance texts are taken from Beck (1988 [1971]). Manuscripts are named according to the practice established in the critical edition of the work in question, and denoted by superscript: thus, *Mor<sup>H</sup>* is manuscript H (*Havniensis*—Copenhagen) of the Chronicle of Morea, and *Mor<sup>P</sup>* is manuscript P (*Parisianus*—Paris) of the same work. Different editions of a work are distinguished by subscript; subscript is also used to denote the manuscript’s original reading, where it differs from the critical edition. Thus, *Ptoch<sub>H-P</sub>* refers to the Hesseling-Pernot edition of the Ptochoprodromos poems, while *Ptoch<sub>E</sub>* refers to the Eideneier edition; *Dig<sub>A</sub><sup>E</sup>* refers to the Alexiou edition/ emendation of the Escorial manuscript of Digenis, while *Dig<sub>MS</sub><sup>E</sup>* refers to the original manuscript reading of the Escorial.

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## APPENDIX E. MAPS



Map 15. North-Eastern Greece



Map 16. South-Western Greece



Map 17. South-Eastern Greece



Map 18. North-Western Greece

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