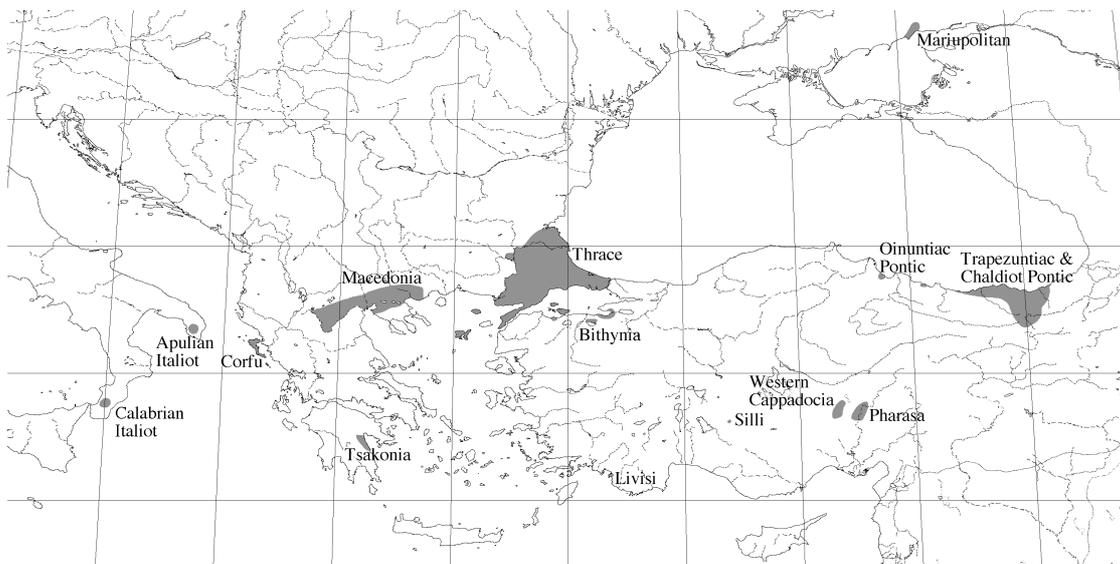


6. DIATOPY OF COMPLEMENT-*pu*

In this chapter I catalogue the dialects of Greek in which the realis complementiser system deviates in some significant way from CSMG. There are two ways this can occur: either *pu* spreads at the expense of *oti/pos*, particularly into the linguistic and cognitive weak assertive domains, or *oti/pos* spreads at the expense of *pu*, particularly into the emotive predetermined domain. Both processes are attested for Modern Greek dialects.¹

The strongest evidence for such a disruption is when weak assertives take *pu*-complements. Weak assertives are the least factive of realis predicates, and are thus the unlikeliest to take *pu*-complements in CSMG. One can also consider the use of *pu* after linguistic predicates, but this test is less reliable, since linguistic-*pu* is at least a marginal feature of CSMG. The major regions in which complementation is significantly disrupted with respect to CSMG are given in Map 1.



Map 1. Regions of deviant complementation discussed

This is a survey of realis complementation throughout Modern Greek dialects, of a kind not attempted hitherto; for a more global purview of complementation, and to place the spread of complementiser-*pu* in a diachronic context, I therefore concentrate not only on the distribution of *pu*, but also on that of other complementisers—particularly *to* in Anatolian Greek, a complementiser which

¹Other issues involving complementation—notably syntactic issues, such as which parts of speech may take complements, and whether *pu*-complements may be preposed—are addressed in §7.3.

like *pu* is of relativiser origin, but unlike *pu* is not a locative. The competition between *pu* and *to* is illuminating to the general account of *pu*, as it demonstrates that locativity is not a necessary condition for a complementiser to attain a distribution similar to *pu*.²

In addition, the survey is of a quantitative nature where sufficiently extensive corpora are available. This is necessary, as the gradations in complementiser usage between dialects are quite minute, and the fine judgements characteristic of complementiser-*pu* in CSMG (§4.3.2) are unavailable for the dialects.

6.1. Thracian

Of the Modern Greek dialects in which the distribution of realis complementisers deviates from the standard language, the best known is the dialect area referred to here as Thracian. The actual area includes Eastern Thrace, Constantinople, and Bithynia, and the islands of Samothrace and Lemnos,³ all areas closer to Constantinople than any other major regional centre. It is best known because it turns up in the language of influential literary figures who used Constantinopolitan—most notably Jean Psichari and Constantine Cavafy. In this region, *pu* is no longer a marked complementiser: it is unmarked to the extent that it appears routinely after weak assertive predicates:

- (1) (1931)
 Σαν νόμιζε που λίγο/ είχ' αποκοιμηθεί, έπεφτεν ός αλλόφρων/ στις κλίνης μου το
 άκρον.
 san **nomize pu** liyo/ ix apokimiθi, epeften os alofron/ stis klinis mu to akron.
*And when he'd **think**/ ∅ I'd fallen asleep, he'd collapse at the edge of my bed/
 as though out of his mind. (Cav 300)*

In many ways Constantinopolitan is more akin to CSMG than the surrounding Thracian dialects.⁴ In particular, unlike Northern Greek, it does not have a reduced unstressed vowel system; so it is typically excluded from any dialectological investigation of the area (Andriotis 1942–3). Constantinopolitan, however, is not identical to CSMG; and one of the three ways in which it differs from CSMG is that it uses *pu* as an unmarked realis complementiser—in common with the area surrounding Thrace.⁵

The geographical extent of *pu* used after weak assertives and linguistic predicates in Thrace, Bithynia, and the North-East Aegean is shown in Map 2, and representative examples are given below.

²Further discussion about the light *to* can shed on *pu* is given in §B.1, §B.2.

³It probably also includes the islands of Imbros (Imroz/Gökçeada) and Tenedos (Bozcaada), although I do not have data from those islands.

⁴It is widely believed that Constantinople was the locus of an Early Modern koine (e.g. Browning 1983:82).

⁵The two other salient ways in which Constantinopolitan differs from CSMG are both characteristic of far northern Greek dialects (Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Aegean): it uses the accusative rather than the genitive for clitic indirect objects (see Map 12), and its perfective stem of 'see' is *δjo* instead of CSMG *δο* (Contossopoulos 1994:110).

WEAK ASSERTIVES:

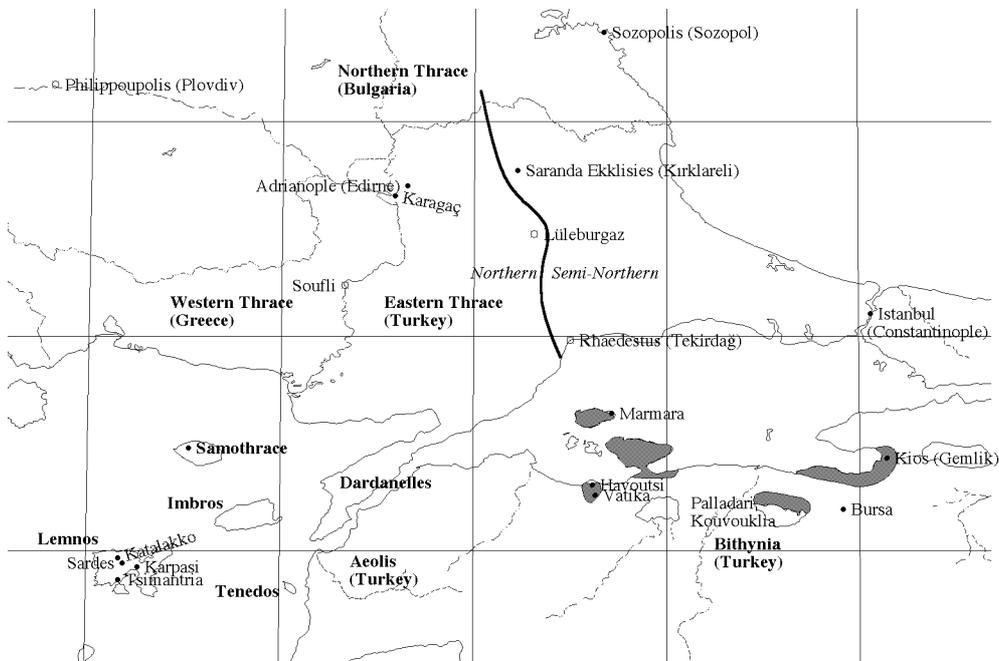
- (2a) Βρωμάει η κούκος, *νομίζει που* βρωμά η φωλιά του
vromai i kukos, *nomizi pu* vroma i folia du
The cuckoo stinks, he **thinks that** it's his nest that stinks (HDMS 1065:145; Palladari, Bursa)
- (2b) Καλόγερος *θάρρεψενα π'*ήδανα διάβολος κι' απ' μέσα έδωχνενα κι' έλεγενα: «Φύγε, διάβολο, φύγε».
kalogeros tharepsena p idana diavolos ki ap mesa edoxnenna ki eleyena: “fiye, diavolo, fiye”
The monk **thought** she was the devil and bade her leave from inside, saying “Be gone, devil, be gone.” (Deligiannis 1940:341; Kouvouklia, Bursa)
- (2c) όλους κόσμους τουν πηγιαλούσαν κι *θαρούσαν που* είναι χαζός
olus kosmus tun pirgialusan ki *tharusan pu* ini xazos
Everybody made fun of him and **thought that** he was stupid (CPMS 7188:3; Karagaç)
- (2d) Σαράνδη, ε Σαράνδη, ε Φωτούλα. Δε ξερ'ς τίποτα; Με *φαίνεται που* είμ'—
αγαστρωμέν'.
sarandi, e sarandi, e fotula. δε ksers tipota? me *fenete pu* im—agastromej.
—Sarandis! Sarandis!—What, Fotoula?—You know what? **It seems** to me **that** I'm pregnant. (HDMS 756:120; Marmara)
- (2e) Τόαι *θαρώ ταρ πι* τ'αίνι το συσκρινέ το στερ', πι τ'α βγαίντα τα μεσάνυχτα
tce *tharo tar pi* tapi to siskrine to ster, pi ta vyenda ta mesanixta
And he **thought that** it was the morning star, which comes out at midnight (HDMS 754:140; Havoutsi, Propontis Tsakonian)
- (2f) Α! συ είσαι που τρώεις τα φαειτά και γω *νομίζω που* τα τρώνε οι δούλες!
a! si ise pu trois ta feita ke go *nomizo pu* ta trone i dules!
Oh! It's you that has been eating the food, and here I was **thinking that** the maids were eating it! (Prodromou 1915:155; Sozopolis, Eastern Rumelia)
- (2g) Ιγάους δουν γείδι απ' γείχι στου στόμα τ' ανοιχτό, κι *θαίψι απ'* γιούσι
i gaus dun giði ap giçi stu stoma t anixto, ki *thaipsi ap* giusi
Der andere sah, daß er seinen Mund offen hatte, und glaubte, daß er lache
The other saw that he had his mouth open, and **thought that** he was laughing (Heisenberg 67; Samothrace)
- (2h) Ου Κούμαρους τ' άκσιν που 'χιν μαγαζί, *νόμζιν που* είχι μιγάλου μαγαζί (χα χα)
u kumarus t aksin pu xin mayazi, *nomzin pu* ixi miyalu mayazi (xa xa)
Koumaros heard that he had a shop, and he thought **that** he had a large shop (LAUGHS). (Kontonatsiou 228; Karpasi, Lemnos, Northern Aegean)

None of these examples would be acceptable in CSMG; indeed, in many instances the *pu*-complement is not only not presupposed, but actually false (2a, 2b, 2f, 2g, 2h); in (2f), it is even known to be false by the subject of the matrix.

Similarly, the linguistic examples are of interest because *pu* is used even when the complement is false (3a, 3c, 3e, 3f); so *pu* cannot indicate the givenness of the complement, as it does in CSMG.

LINGUISTIC:

- (3a) «Ε! να τον **βης** άλλ. φορά, σα σε γηύρη», το λέγ. η μάμμα τ', «**που** το στόχ,σες να με το πης.»
 “e! na ton **bis** al fora, sa se yivri”, to ley i mana t, “**pu** to stoxses na me to pis.”
 “Well! Next time he finds you, **tell** him”, her mother told her, “**that** you forgot to tell me.” (Psaltis 1905:213; Saranda Ekklisies (Kırklareli))
- (3b) Θα σε **πούμε που** είσαι έμορφος
 tha se **pume pu** ise emorfos
 We will **tell** you **that** you are beautiful (HDMS 699:83; Kios (Gemlik))
- (3c) Και σένα άντζα σε **πη** κανέννας **π'** θανεύρης μέσα σ' γούφα κανένα γυαλικό γερό, μη do πιστεύγεις: γούλα άλας και νερό γένγκανα.
 ke sena andza se **pi** kanenas **p** than evris mesa s gufa kanena yialiko yero, mi do pistevyis; yula alas ke nero yerkana.
 And if anyone **tells** you **that** you'll find a glass unbroken in the chest, don't you believe it; they've all been smashed to smithereens. (Deligiannis 1940:347; Kouvouklia, Bursa)



Map 2. Weak Assertive and Linguistic *pu* in Thrace, Bithynia, and the North-Eastern Aegean. The shaded areas are the formerly Greek-speaking regions of Bithynia. The line in Eastern Thrace represents the linguistic boundary between Northern and Semi-Northern Greek (Andriotis 1942–3). * marks towns where the phenomenon is not attested.

- (3d) Να μη **λες που** ήρθις.
 na mi **les pu** irthis.
 Don't **say that** you've arrived (HDMS 1083:48; Sinapli, Eastern Rumelia)
- (3e) Μισεύω καλέ μάτια μου και δος με την ευχή σου/ και **πες που** δεν μ' εγέννησες ούτε μ' είχες παιδί σου
 misevo kale matia mu ke dos me tin efxi su/ ke **pes, pu** den m eyenises ute m ixes pedi su
 I'm going away, dear one; give me your blessing, and **say that** you never gave birth to me nor had me as your child (HDMS 1065:21; Palladari, Bursa)

- (3f) Τῶαι λέντε τάνι οι μιτσοί: *πέκατε* ναμ' *ψέματα* πηθελα περάμ' το γιαλέ με το πόε
 tce lende tani i mitsi: *pekate* nam *psemata pi* theta peram to yiale me to p^hoe
 And the little ones would say: You *lied* to us *that* we were going to cross the
 sea on foot (HDMS 754:34; Havoutsī, Propontis Tsakonian)
- (3g) Πε τότε *λένε, που*, σ' όποιο σπίτι πάρουνε 'π' όξω πε δη ζυμότρια ζουμάρι και το
 ρίζουνε μέσα, κείν' το σπίτι δε ποτάζει ψωμί.
 pe tote *lene, pu*, s opio spiti parune p okso pe di zimotria zumari ke to riksune
 mesa, kin to spiti de potazi psomi.
 From then on *they say that*, in whatever house they take dough out of the
 kneading basin and throw it inside, that house will never gain any bread.
 (Vafiadou 1979–81:399; Sozopolis, Eastern Rumelia)
- (3h) Αλλα μ' *ήλιγι π'* θα τα θυμούμι τα θκα τ τα λόγια.
 ala m *iliyi p* θα τα thmumi ta thka t ta loyia.
 But he would *tell me that* I would remember his words. (Kontonatsiou 189;
 Sardes, Lemnos, Northern Aegean)

Although I have little data from Northern and Western Thrace available to me, the evidence from HDMS 252 (1919) is that the Greek of Philippoupolis (Plovdiv) had the same complementation system as CSMG.

- (4) Εγώ *θάρισα πως* συλλογέσαι πως θα μι παδρέψης κι συ για πόλεμου μι χορατέβεις;
 ego *tharisa pos* silojese pos tha mi padrepsis ki si ja polemu mi xoratevis?
 I *thought that* you were considering marrying me off—and you're speaking to
 me about war? (HDMS 252:20; Philippoupolis, Eastern Rumelia)⁶

The same seems to be the case for Western Thrace, though the material on the region (mainly HDMS 714 and 971, from Soufli) is scarce.

Because of the paucity of data, it is difficult to determine the geographical factors constraining this expansion of *pu*. Almost all Eastern and Northern Thracian instances belong to Semi-Northern regions—where unstressed mid vowels are not raised, unlike Northern Greek (which includes Philippoupolis, Adrianople, and Western Thrace.) The linguistic boundary between the two is well-defined, and has both physical and ethnographic geographical correlates (solid Bulgarian- and Turkish-speaking zones, the Stranca mountains north of Saranda Ekklisies) (Andriotis 1942–3:145–146). Thus, one would associate the limits of Thracian complementation with this linguistic boundary.

But (2c) shows that Thracian complementation extended beyond this boundary, to the major regional centre of Adrianople—although, it would seem, not much further. It may be that the distribution of *pu* represents a radial spread from Constantinople, and those areas dependent on other regional centres—say, Philippoupolis or Salonica—did not follow suit. This would also explain the distribution of *pu* in Samothrace, and Bithynia; Costakis (pers. comm.) explicitly associates Propontis Tsakonian complementation in Bithynia (§6.2)

⁶One may be tempted to attribute the Philippoupolitan complementation system to the influence of standard Greek, since there was a high level of Greek schooling in the city (N. Contosopoulos, pers. comm.) The examples, however, seem to be genuine Thracian. For instance, this example features not only Northern Greek vocalism, but also the Thracian use of *xoratevo* to mean 'speak' instead of its usual meaning in Greek, 'joke'.

with visiting Thracian shepherds, and one can invoke the same factor with Kios and the Greek villages west of Bursa (Palladari, Kouvouklia). As for Lemnos, there is a significant Thracian element in the local dialect, and the locals believe Lemnos to have been colonised from Thrace and Thessaly (Contossopoulos 1985b:72). So a radial influence from Constantinople can account for the diffusion of the phenomenon throughout the region.⁷

The antiquity of Thracian complementation is difficult to deduce from the dialectal picture. Thrace has had a continuous Greek presence since Roman times. On the other hand, Bithynia was settled relatively recently: Kios has Southern Greek vocalism, and the Pistikohoria villages west of Bursa (including Palladari) are known to have been settled around 1500 from Greece (Contossopoulos 1994:115). Kios and the Bursa villages would have acquired Thracian complementation after they were colonised, but before they became linguistically cut off from each other—if they were ever cut off. But this does not help us date the phenomenon in Thracian itself.

Although *pu* is the main complementiser of Thracian, *pos* is still in place as a competitor, as the ensuing complementation counts show—drawn from both literary Constantinopolitan (Psichari, Cavafy) and folk texts. The picture that emerges from those counts is one of heterogeneity, and this is a significant result to include in any account of *pu*.

6.1.1. Psichari

Literary Constantinopolitan texts are far more extensive than folk Thracian texts; so any investigation of Thracian complementation needs to start from these. In his “first piece of Romaic”,⁸ as he described it, his talk *Historical and Linguistic Questions* (1886), Psichari displays a much broader usage of complementiser-*pu* than in his subsequent work.

Complement	228
CSMG-Obligatory	11
PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS	3/0 (100%)
PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH APPRAISALS	8/0 (100%)
CSMG-Optional	105
PERCEPTION	46/2 (96%)
PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE	53/2 (96%)
STATIC	31/0 (100%)
KNOWLEDGE ACQUISITION	22/2 (92%)
SUBJECT	6/0 (100%)
CSMG-Unacceptable	112
PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE PHYSICAL	2/0 (100%)
STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC	52/4 (93%)
STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE	21/1 (95%)
WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE	34/9 (79%)

⁷One might also look at the neighbouring Dardanelles (and the islands of Imbros and Tenedos), on which we have insufficient information to tell whether they had Thracian complementation or not.

⁸‘Romaic’ is the old name for Modern Greek.

Complement	447
CSMG-Obligatory	46
PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS	28/0 (100%)
PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH APPRAISALS	18/0 (100%)
CSMG-Optional	162
PREDETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC	1/0 (100%)
PERCEPTION	85/7 (92%)
PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE	76/5 (94%)
STATIC	51/0 (100%)
KNOWLEDGE ACQUISITION	25/5 (83%)
CSMG-Unacceptable	239
PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE PHYSICAL	5/0 (100%)
NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED ACTION LINGUISTIC	0/4 (0%)
STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC	120/19 (86%)
STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE	24/5 (83%)
WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE	87/75 (53%)
NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE	1/0 (100%)
STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE REACTION	1/0 (100%)
UNDETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE REACTION	1/0 (100%)

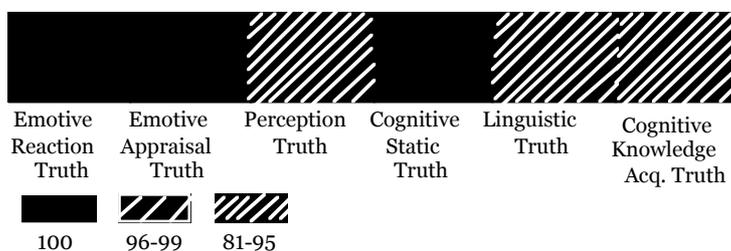


Figure 21a. Complementiser-*pu* in *My Voyage* (1888): CSMG *pu*-grid⁹

Even in this work, *pu* never drops below 53%, in classes where it is proscribed in CSMG. It is worth comparing this picture with the second edition of *My Voyage* (1905), by which time Psichari had consciously abjured his Thracian complementation system (“that insufferable *pu*”)—although he exaggerates in saying he had already abjured it by 1888:

As I have noted below, this study of mine [*Historical and Linguistic Questions*] was written in August 1886; so it is the very first piece of Modern Greek I ever wrote, not only before I wrote *My Voyage*, but even before I made the voyage itself, which gave my book its title... I ask the reader not to forget that this is my first, and that I myself do not think too highly about this essay; he will see several usages in there which are no longer my custom. Back then I used to say *pu*, that insufferable *pu*, where subsequently, and in *My Voyage* itself, I used *pos* [...] There are a few Constantinopolitanisms there too, like the accusative *me lete* (‘you tell me’) etc., which I later made genitive as is the custom in Athens: *mu lete* etc. (Psichari 1975 [1901]:53–55)¹⁰

⁹Consistent with other instances of this diagram, predetermined and strong determined linguistic truth predicates are conflated, giving a count of 117/19 (86%).

¹⁰Mackridge (1988:42) says of Psichari’s complementation that “these syntactic forms alternate with their common Greek equivalents without a steady rule.” Yet the counts show that this is not the case for his usage of *pu*; there are definite, semantically-motivated tendencies in place. Psichari’s Constantinopolitan complementation had certainly not gone unnoticed in Athens:

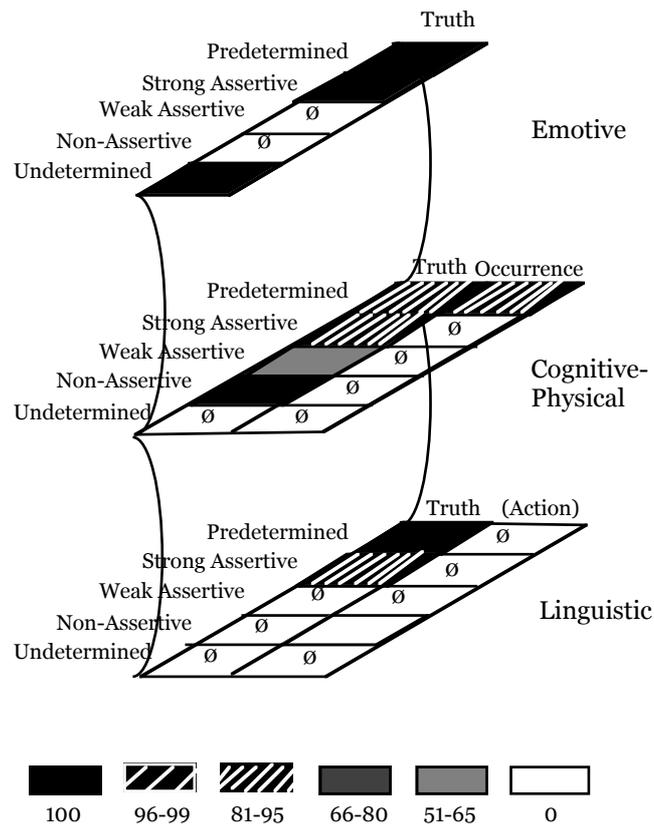


Figure 21b. Complementiser-*pu* in *My Voyage* (1888): All realis

The text counts for the second edition are as follows:

Complement	79
CSMG-Obligatory	47
PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS	29/0 (100%)
PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH APPRAISALS	18/0 (100%)
CSMG-Optional	19
PREDETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC	0/1 (0%)
PERCEPTION	9/77 (10%)
PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE	10/70 (12%)
STATIC	9/41 (18%)
KNOWLEDGE ACQUISITION	1/29 (3%)
CSMG-Unacceptable	13
PREDETERMINED OCCURENCE PHYSICAL	4/0 (100%)
NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED ACTION LINGUISTIC	0/4 (0%)
STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC	7/133 (5%)
STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE	2/24 (7%)
WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE	0/157 (0%)
NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE	0/1 (0%)
STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE REACTION	0/1 (0%)
UNDETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE REACTION	0/1 (0%)

As for the language of Mr Psichari, everyone who has checked or satirised it agrees that it is not Greek, since with the exception of Mr Psichari alone no Greek in any region speaks it, and noone can spontaneously imitate it; rather, such a task would need special preparation. In this respect, for example, no Greek makes Mr Psichari's mistakes, e.g. using *pu* instead of *pos*. (Dr Karl Foy, *Ephemeris* 1888–9–11; cited in Psichari (1987 [1888]:258).)

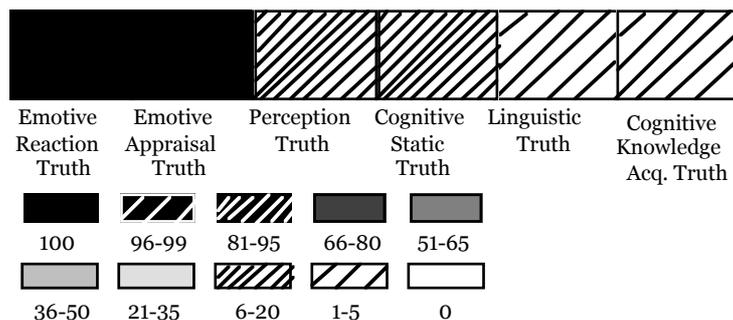


Figure 22. Complementiser-*pu* in *My Voyage* (1905): CSMG *pu*-grid

What has taken place in Psichari's text is a thorough-going purge.¹¹ This leaves just three clear instances of violation, which may be attributed to mere oversight.¹²

The conditioning factor for *pos* in Psichari is tied to the evaluation modality: the stronger an assertion, the less likely *pos* will be used. We have what amounts to an explicit statement of this in Meyer's¹³ grammatical observations, in his edition of Portius' grammar (Portius 1889 [1638]). Meyer claims that (to use modern terminology) *pu* is unmarked as a complementiser, and *pos* is marked for doubt (namely, lower epistemic modality) or syntactic nesting:

pos and *pu* are the two conjunctions used to analyse the ancient infinitival clause. This is the nuance distinguishing them: *pos* bears a notion of doubt and is preferred in subordinate clauses themselves dependent on a subordinate clause; *pu* indicates simple affirmation. This is a completely psychological nuance, and consequently is often imperceptible. Compare, to take an example, the two expressions *les pos erxete* (never *pu* in the interrogative) with the nuance 'do you think he may come?' or to say simply 'one would think that he will come') and *les pu erxete* 'you say that he will come'. (Portius 1889 [1638]:237)

¹¹Even amongst the remaining instances of *pu* in the text unacceptable in CSMG, the linguistic instances are ambiguous with relativisations (*grafo* 'write') or emotives (*paraponiume* 'complain'), and the three Physical instances with *loyos* 'reason' are nominal and thus acceptable in CSMG.

¹²There are instances where Psichari replaces *pu* in the first edition with *ke* in the second. This indicates that Psichari's emendation of his complementation system was not always a mechanical replacement of *pu* by *pos*.

(5a) Θαρρείς **που** βρίσκεσαι σε κούνια, που τ'αγέρι σε γλυκονανουρίζει και φυσά.
 tharis **pu** vriskese se kunia, pu t'ayeri se glykonanurizi ke fisa.
 You think \emptyset you're in a cradle, in which the wind lulls you and blows (PsichV¹ 70)

(5b) Θαρρείς **και** βρίσκεσαι σε κούνια, ενώ τ'αγέρι σε γλυκονανουρίζει και φυσά.
 tharis **ke** vriskese se kunia, eno t'ayeri se glykonanurizi ke fisa.
 You think \emptyset you're in a cradle, while the wind lulls you and blows (PsichV² 86)

In this instance, the motivation cannot have been the retention of factivity associated with both *pu* and *ke*, since the predicate is weak assertive and the complement false. Rather, Psichari has correctly identified that while normally-factive *ke* is allowed with weak assertives in CSMG, *pu* is not.

¹³Meyer is better known as Meyer-Lübke, a renowned romanist.

The distinction between weak assertive cognitive *leo* and strong assertive linguistic *leo* Meyer cites is also present in CSMG;¹⁴ but in that variant, the complementisers used are *pos* and *na*, not *pu* and *pos*. The picture Meyer paints is not that of CSMG; but it probably is that of Psichari's idiolect, given that Psichari was Meyer's Greek teacher, and wrote the foreword to the grammar.¹⁵ Indeed, whereas the proportion of *pu* to *pos* for linguistic *leo* in PsichV¹ is 95:17, the proportion for weak assertive cognitive *leo* is 3:7. This confirms that the system Meyer describes is the one Psichari used: *pu* is likelier for strong assertives than weak assertives.

As the proportions cited illustrate, we are dealing here with tendencies, not absolute conditioning factors. This points to a degree of 'free variation', also indicated by Meyer's syntactic nesting condition: this sounds a lot like the desire to avoid the repetition of *pu*, making the factor conditioning its distribution more stylistic than grammatical. Whether Psichari's complementiser system accurately reflects that of other Constantinopolitans is hard to say; but as seen below, folk Thracian texts also use *pos*, under similarly marked distribution.

The change between *Historical & Linguistic Questions* and the first edition of *My Voyage* is difficult to explain. Between authoring the two, Psichari actually

¹⁴The linguist George Hatzidakis made a peculiar statement in 1899 in a book review of Meyer: [Meyer claims] that there is a difference in meaning between *pos* (=oti) and *pu* (=oti), which he also attempts to define; whereas, for the most part, this is nothing more than a dialectal difference, because most of us Greeks say *vlepo, ksevro pos den kanis tipote* ('I see, I know **that** you're not doing anything'), and few, very few say *ksevro pu den kanis* (so that, to us in Athens, such usage seems repulsively alien [ἀηδῆς ξενισμός]), while the Greeks in southern Italy say *ksero ti kani*. (Hatzidakis 1990 [1907]:472)

This occurs in the context of a long listing of factual errors in Meyer's commentary. It is prefaced by an unsubtle dig at Hatzidakis' nemesis, Psichari: "That those occupied with the research of Modern Greek, beyond their other education and methodology, need to be philologically well-equipped Hellenists to the fullest extent, i.e. to be familiar with the entirety, if possible, of Greek writing through the centuries, from Homer until now—this is a truth regrettably unknown in Paris, where the author was taught Greek" (Hatzidakis 1990 [1907]:465).

Meyer in his commentary describes the Constantinopolitan rather than CSMG complementation system, although he was the first linguist to correctly identify that there is a factivity distinction at work in the Greek paradigm. In seeking to correct Meyer, Hatzidakis goes to the opposite extreme, and claims *pu* is never used with cognitive and perception complements. Hatzidakis was a thorough-going linguist, and his allusion to a Modern Greek koine ('us in Athens') shows that he is taking note of his synchronic linguistic environment. In fact, most of Hatzidakis' other (extensive) criticisms of Meyer's commentary show a thorough knowledge of Greek diatopy and diachrony, and would meet with little argument today. Still, Hatzidakis' statement is clearly false, and the only way to make any sense of it is that Hatzidakis' understanding of dialectal syntax, as opposed to morpholexis, was superficial.

¹⁵Corroborating evidence is given by Meyer's discussion of the other major feature in which Constantinopolitan diverges from CSMG: the use of genitive vs. accusative for indirect objects (Portius 1889 [1638]:235). Meyer agrees with the isogloss Portius sets up between the two, but adds that "the common language, of course, knows both constructions and uses them." This does not seem to have been the case for Athenian koine, although there are indications the Constantinopolitanism made some headway in Athens last century (Triandafyllidis 1936); it is certainly not the case for CSMG, in which only the genitive is used. Meyer's understanding of 'common' Greek must reflect Psichari's at the time.

went to Greece for the first time, and his usage may well have been affected. The result was not for him to adopt CSMG complementation fully, however, but merely to attenuate his usage of *pu*—reducing it from 93% to 86% for linguistic determined predicates, from 95% to 83% for strong determined cognitive predicates, and from 79% to 53% for weak determined predicates. These changes are cosmetic; the complementation system is still identifiably Thracian, and it is only in the second edition of *My Voyage* that Psichari adopts a more standard paradigm—even then, in parts, erroneously.

The first edition probably represents conscious linguistic eclecticism. Confronted in Greece with the fact that his complementation system (presumably accurately depicted in *Historical & Linguistic Questions*) was not in common use, Psichari recognised that it needed adjustment. But rather than resign his native paradigm, he attenuated it, using *pos* slightly more often in those domains where Thracian would already use *pos*. This is consistent with Psichari's intention of himself developing a standard language, whose elements he would determine eclectically.

This is not to say that the distribution of *pos* in *Historical & Linguistic Questions* followed any more well-defined a distribution. Of the 19 *pos*-complements in the text, 6 are true; and while a dubitative construal is possible for all of them, in some instances it becomes rather tenuous:

- (6) Ένας λόγιος ή ένας γραμματολόγος να σκαλίζει και να μας λέη για μια λέξη *πως* είναι ξένη, δεν έχει να κάμη· ο λόγιος άξαφνα μας λέει *που* το σ ε ν τ ο ύ κ ι είναι ξένο, κι ωστόσο είναι γραικικό.
 enas loyios i enas gramatologos na skalizi ke na mas lei gia mia leksi *pos* ine kseni, den exi na kami; o loyios aksafna mas lei *pu* to *seduki* ine kseno, ki ostoso ine grekiko.
 A scholar or a philologist investigating and telling us about a word **that** it is foreign has not achieved all that much; the scholar might suddenly tell us **that** the word *seduki* 'chest of drawers' is foreign—and yet it is Greek. (PsichHLQ 133)

6.1.2. Cavafy

Constantine Cavafy was a well-known poet of Constantinopolitan descent, roughly contemporary with Psichari, who was born and lived most of his life in Alexandria, Egypt.

Cavafy's *Collected Poems* display the following complementiser distribution:

Complement	80
CSMG-Obligatory	18
PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS	15/0/0 ¹⁶ (100%)
PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH APPRAISALS	3/0/0 (100%)
CSMG-Optional	26
PERCEPTION	4/0/0 (100%)
PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE/PHYSICAL	19/1/3 (83%)
STATIC	14/1/1 (88%)
KNOWLEDGE ACQ'N	5/0/2 (71%)

¹⁶*pu/oti/pos*.

<i>SUBJECT</i>	3/0/0 (100%)
CSMG-Unacceptable	36
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>	6/2/9 (35%)
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	6/0/1 (86%)
<i>STRONG DETERMINED FUTURE TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	0/0/1 (0%)
<i>STRONG DETERMINED FUTURE TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>	1/0/0 (100%)
<i>WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	17/0/4 (81%)
<i>NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	2/0/2 (50%)
<i>NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>	2/0/0 (100%)
<i>NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED ACTION LINGUISTIC</i>	2/0/0 (100%)

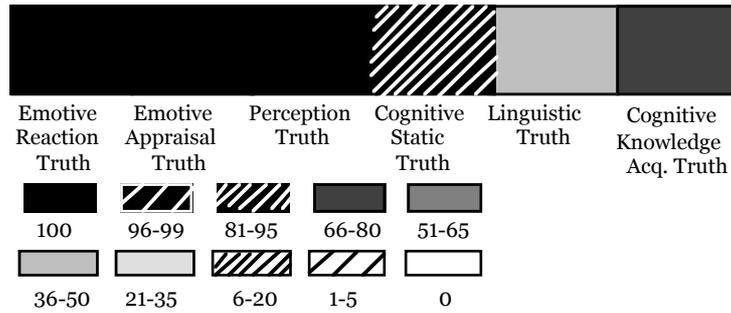


Figure 23a. Complementiser-*pu* in Cavafy: CSMG *pu*-grid

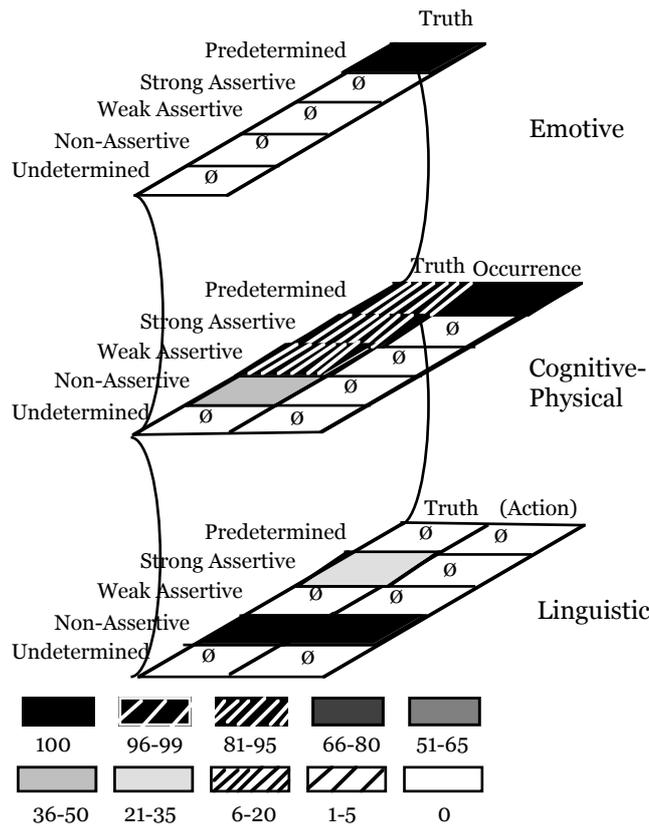


Figure 23b. Complementiser-*pu* in Cavafy: All realis

Cavafy's complementation system is the same as early Psichari's, with one important difference: Cavafy shies away from *pu* after linguistic predicates. In fact,

following the major linguistic predicate, *leo* ‘say’, the three instances of *pu* all occur in poems Cavafy did not include in his poetical canon.¹⁷

6.1.3. Folk texts

Non-literary dialect texts are not as extensive as the literary texts considered, and do not allow as detailed an appreciation of the complementation system; however, they confirm Psichari’s system as authentically Thracian, and that *pu* was the unmarked Thracian complementiser, with *pos* marked for low epistemic modality.

In Psaltes’ (1905) collection of texts from Saranda Ekklesies (Kirkklareli), there are 15 clausal realis complements, including two weak assertives and four linguistic predicates; the only instance of *pos* is after *maθeno* ‘learn’—and is ambiguous with both ‘*pos*’ ‘how’ and the Thracian use of *pos* as a causal connective:

- (8a) Και μον. όδε ξελιγοθύμ.σε της το γείπε που έν αυτός ο Κωλοπούπουλος και που της το έπαιξε αυτό το παιχνίδ για να μάθ. *πως* βγάζ, το γάθε έναννα κ’ ένα παράγωμα.
 ke mon ode kseligoθimse tis to yipe pu en aftos o kolorupulos ke pu tis to epekse afto to pexnið ja na maθ *pos* vγaz to gaθe enana k ena paragoma.
 And only when she came to did he tell her that he was Arse-Feather and that he played this trick on her to teach her **that/how/because** she made a nickname for everyone. (Psaltes 1905:220)

Of these, the last interpretation (‘teach her a lesson, **because...**’) is likeliest in context. So there are no certain instances in Psaltes’ text of *pos* as a complementiser: *pu* is used exclusively.

In the texts collected by Deliyannis for Kouvouklia, there are 21 complements, including two weak assertives and four linguistic predicates taking *pu*; the following is the only instance of *pos*:

- (8b) Σεις άμυαλ, αν έκοφτενα νους σας τίποτα θα με το έλεγετενα απ’ τα βροστά. Τώρα τ’ γαταποδνή τ’ μέρα π’ το λέτενα, θα πι *πως* ένας γέρος ζει ακόμα
 sis amiaλ, an ekofteνα nus sas tipota θα με το elegetena ap ta brosta. tora t gatapoðni t mera p to letena, θα pi *pos* enas γeros zi akoma
 You fools, if your brains were keen at all, you would have answered my riddle at the first. Since you’re answering it in this late day, it means **that** one old man is still alive (Deliyannis 1940:350)

¹⁷Nakas (1985), who discusses some of the linguistic idiosyncracies of Cavafy, has pointed out that

if someone wished to interpret certain idiomatic elements of Cavafy’s poetry as due to the influence of a particular dialect used in Constantinople or Alexandria [...] or I know not where else, it would be a mistake [...] Cavafy’s language, as we know it from his poetry, is a product of *synthesis*, a result of conscious *selection*, on which, as with the form of his poems, he could say that it is *une forme toute mienne* (a form all of my own), to recall another famous phrase (Montaigne). (Nakas 1985:57)

It is true enough that literary idiolects are eclectic—Cavafy’s particularly so, given his liking for Puristic. Yet while Cavafy’s complementation system is not pure Thracian, its deviation from CSMG does have a regional basis in Thracian. In the absence of extensive folk texts from the region, it remains a valuable witness.

The truth of this *pos*-complement is inferred by the speaker rather than known outright; but it is not clear that the sentence need be especially marked with a dubitative.

In the texts available from Sozopolis (Petrou 1913; Prodromou 1915), there are six realis complements, including two weak assertives. Four use *pu*; the two linguistic instances, however, use *pos*:

(9a) Μα δε δήνε είπε *πως* στα είκοσι τα χρόνια θα το πάρη το παιδί.
 ma δε dine ipe *pos* sta ikosi ta xronia tha to pari to pedi.
 But he didn't tell her **that** in twenty years he would take the boy away.
 (Prodromou 1915:453)

(9b) Όλοι μου λεν *πως* δε βορω, μα συ σα θες το κάνης.
 oli mu len *pos* δε boro, ma si sa thes to kanis.
 They all tell me **that** I can't do it, but if you want to, you can do it. (Petrou 1913:705)

Vafiadou's (1979–81) short Sozopolitan fairy tale has six complements, all of which take *pu*, including *leo* 'say' (3g). The same holds for her extensive description of Sozopolitan customs, in Sozopolitan (Vafiadou 1974 [1960]): of the 77 realis complements, only three are *pos*, and all of them occur in songs (which could easily have been imported from elsewhere.)¹⁸

To summarise so far:

	<i>pu</i>	<i>pos</i>
Saranda Ekklisies	14	1?
Kouvouklia	20	1
Sozopolis (old)	4	2
Sozopolis (Vafiadou 1)	6	0
Sozopolis (Vafiadou 2)	74	3

The extensive transcribed text collection we have for the Marmara refugees resettled after 1922 in Chalcidica (HDMS 756; Stavros Manesis, 1959; 43,000 words) yields the following counts:

Complement	30
CSMG-Obligatory	10
PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS	9/0/3 (75%)
PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH APPRAISALS	1/0/0 (100%)
CSMG-Optional	15
PERCEPTION	6/0/1 (86%)
PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE/PHYSICAL	9/6/3 (50%)
STATIC	9/4/2 (60%)
KNOWLEDGE ACQ'N	0/2/1 (0%)
PREDETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC	0/1/0 (0%)
CSMG-Unacceptable	6
STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC	3/16/7 (12%)
STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE	2/1/1 (50%)
WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE	1/0/2 (33%)
NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE	0/1/0 (0%)

¹⁸It is worth noting that Vafiadou was not writing *in situ*, but forty years after the population exchanges, and may have hypercorrected her complementation paradigm.

NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC 0/1/0 (0%)
 NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED ACTION LINGUISTIC 0/0/2 (0%)

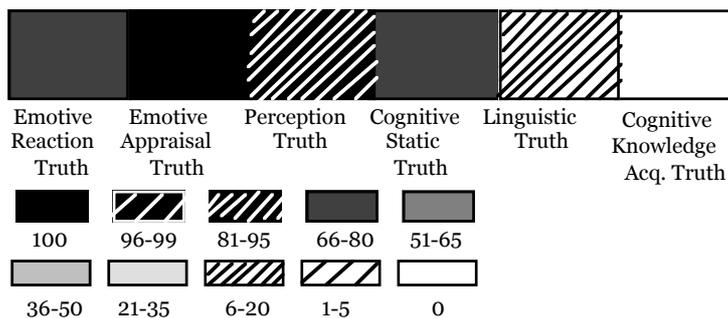


Figure 24a. Complementiser-*pu* in Marmara: CSMG *pu*-grid

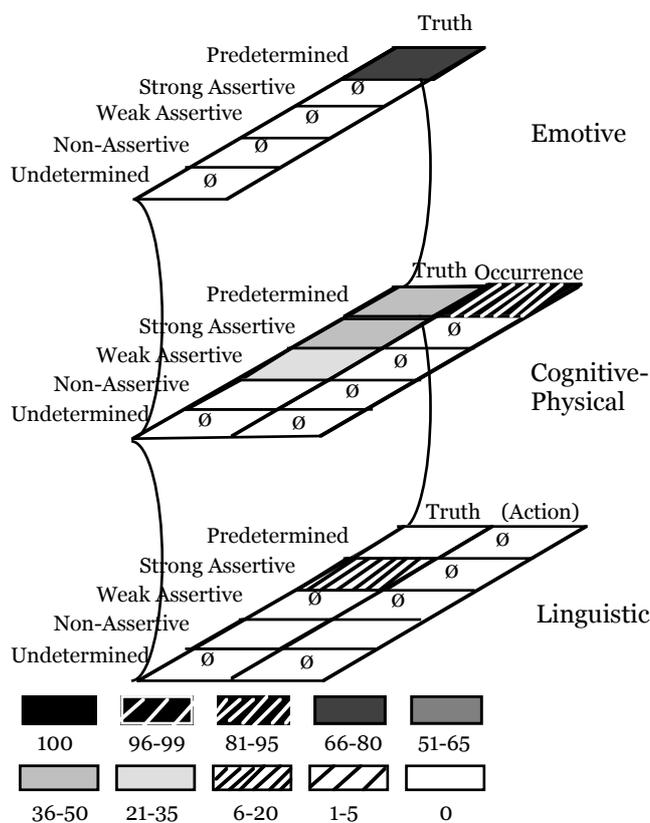


Figure 24b. Complementiser-*pu* in Marmara: All realis

The pattern here is clearly not CSMG (the overall proportions are 30:32:22); moreover, the gradiation of modality, established in other Thracian texts, also holds here.¹⁹ That the dubitative distinction between *pos* and *pu* was in force in Marmara is established by the following example:

¹⁹One oddity is that not all emotive predicates take *pu*. Of the emotive predicates taking *oti/pos*, *poliperifanevome* ‘be too proud, boast too much’ is ambiguous with a linguistic predicate, while *to xo* ‘I have it = (presumably) I have it in mind negatively that, it is my complaint that’ is a construction occurring twice in folk songs, with a given complement contrasting with a novel complement (although both are predetermined (10).)

- (11) Ἦδα ἕνας χριστιανός και λέει να πούτε *πως* πουλήσατε ρούχα, λέει, να μη βούτε *που* κατεβήκατ' απεπάνω. Λοιπό είπαμε *ότι* είχαμε μεις ρούχα και πουλήσαμε και ήρταμε. *ida enas xristjanos ke lei, na pute **pos** pulisate ruxa, lei, na mi bute **pu** katevikat apepano. lipo ipame **oti** ixame mis ruxa ke pulisame ke irtame.*
 There was a Christian there and he said, “say **that** you sold clothes [untrue], don't say **that** you came over from up there [true].” So we said **that** we had clothes which we sold to come over. (HDMS 756:281)

Notwithstanding, *pu* is very infrequent after linguistic predicates in the Marmara texts: (11) is only one of two instances in the entire collection after *leo* ‘say’. The complementiser overwhelmingly used with *leo* is *oti*—15 instances to 5 of *pos*. The use of *oti* immediately leads one to suspect Puristic influence. Still, *pu* is very infrequent with linguistic predicates, while there are clear instances of *pu* with non-predetermined cognitive predicates (*ipopsia* ‘suspicion’, *idea* ‘notion’, *istoria* ‘story’); this makes it probable that there is a difference between the way linguistic and cognitive complements behave in Marmara.

The other extensive folk text collection we have for Thracian is from Lemnos (Kontonatsiou; 43,000 words). In this text, the following complementiser counts obtain:

Complement	46
CSMG-Obligatory	5
PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS	3/0/0 (100%) ²⁰
PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH APPRAISALS	2/0/0 (100%)
CSMG-Optional	26
PERCEPTION	10/0/0 (100%)
PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE/PHYSICAL	8/7/1 (50%)
STATIC	4/5/1 (40%)
KNOWLEDGE ACQ'N	4/2/0 (67%)
CSMG-Unacceptable	15
STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC ²¹	12/13/3 (43%)
STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE	1/6/0 (14%)
WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE	2/1/4/1/3 (18%)
STRONG DETERMINED FUTURE TRUTH LINGUISTIC	0/1/0 (0%)
NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED ACTION LINGUISTIC	0/1/0 (0%)

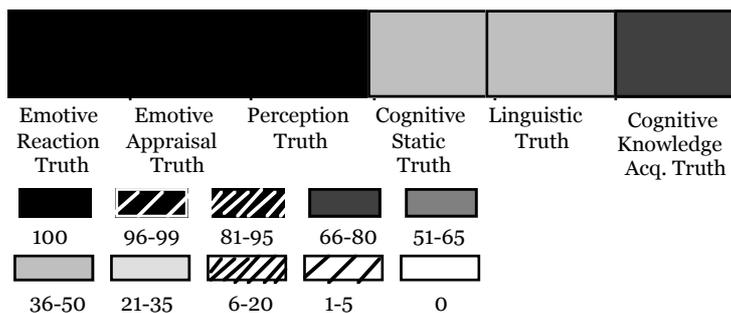
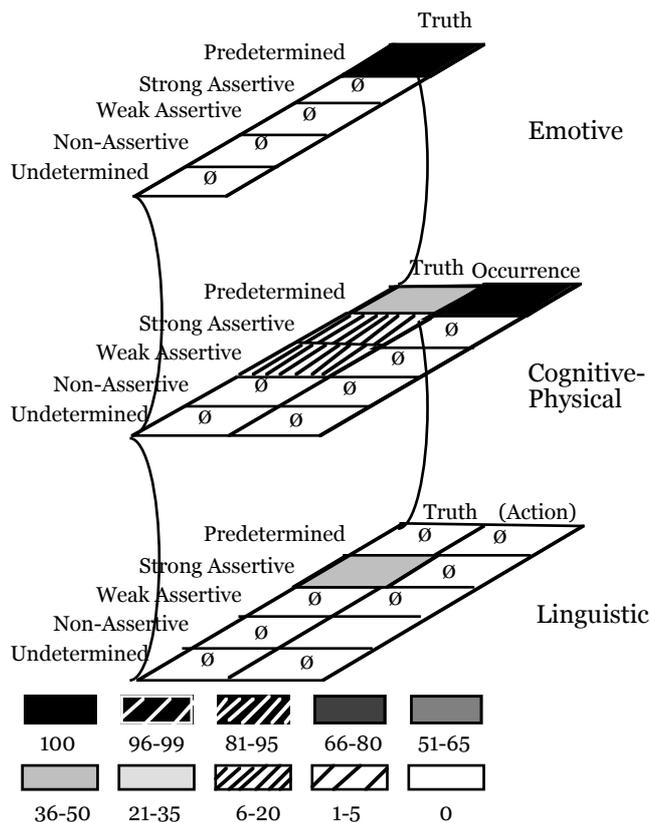
- (10) αρρώστησε, ξαρρώστησε κι άλλη γυναίκα παίρνει./ Δεν *do* *χω πως* παδρεύεται κι άλλη γυναίκα παίρνει./ μα *το χω που* με κάλεσε νουνά, να στεφανώσω.
*arostise, ksarostise ki ali yineka perni./ den **do xo pos** padrevete ki ali yineka perni./ ma **to xo pu** me kalese nuna, na stefanoso.*
 he got sick, he got well, and he's taking another woman to wife. It is not **my complaint that** he is getting married and taking another woman to wife, but it **is my complaint that** he invited me to be his matron of honour (HDMS 756:109)

It may be that in this instance, discourse givenness is explicitly signalled by complementiser choice after a true factive—something quite unusual for Greek, which generally performs such marking only after semi-factives. But in this instance, the given complement is introduced by *pos*, not *pu*.

If we accept that *pos* is generally dubitative in Thracian, then *pos* may here not be signalling that the complement is in doubt, but rather that it is not pertinent ('it's not that...') This could be an analogical development: negative cognitive matrices would be dubitative more often than positive such matrices, and this property could have been transferred to other negative matrices.

²⁰*pu/oti/pos/Ø/ke.*

²¹Excluding quotatives.

Figure 25a. Complementiser-*pu* in Lemnos: CSMG *pu*-gridFigure 25b. Complementiser-*pu* in Lemnos: All realis

The overall proportion of complementisers is 46:36:9.

In some ways, Lemnian complementation is even more strongly oriented towards *pu* than Marmaran. Unlike Marmara, *pu* is used with cognitive acquired predicates—even predicates of learned origin, where *pu* is barred in CSMG:²²

- (12a) Ου σχουριμένους ου μπαμπάζιμ πήρι πουδόλατου, πήγι τ' ανακάλυψι **που** του καθερίσαν του γουρούν' ικεί κι του πήραν. Τς έκανιν αγουγή.
 u sxurimenus u babazim piri puđolatu, piyi t anakalipsi **pu** tu kađerisan tu yuruη iki ki tu piran. ts ekanin ayuyi.
 My late father took his bike, went, and discovered **that** they had killed his pig there and taken it away. He sued them. (Kontonatsiou 272; Tsimantria, Lemnos, Northern Aegean)

²²The complement here is topicalised and given in the preceding discourse; these conditions are favourable to the use of *pu* even in CSMG.

Also, *pu* is used universally with perception predicates—including PERFP complements, which in CSMG are associated with indirect perception:

- (12b) Ὅπως στέκνταν οἱ γ'ναίκες πουλλές πέρα δικεῖ κι βλέπαν **που** ἦρνταν γοι Ἑλληγ'.
 opus stekdan i jnekis pules pera ðiki ki vlepau **pu** irdan (PERFP) gi elij.
 As the many women stood down there looking and saw **that** the Greek army
 had come. (Kontonatsiou 275; Katalakko, Lemnos, Northern Aegean)

And *pu* is frequent with linguistic predicates. The data suggests a differentiation between parts of Lemnos. In the first text of Kontonatsiou's collection, from Sardes, the complementiser proportions for *leu* 'say' are 10:0:1 for complementisers proper, and 0:4:0 for quotatives. For the piece from Katalakko, they are 0:6:0 and 0:0:0. For the rest of the texts, they are 2:4:2 and 0:12:9, respectively. One would suspect a gradation from Sardes to Katalakko as to the complementiser choice after *leu*. The problem is, Katalakko is a mere 3 km away from Sardes. Given also the marked preference in Katalakko (and to a lesser extent throughout Lemnos) for *oti*, the high register complementiser in CSMG, Katalakko probably reflects increased influence from CSMG, at least with regard to linguistic complements.

The differentiation between Sardes and Katalakko, and the results from other regions discussed, point to a split in Thracian. The texts investigated consistently have *pos* marked distributionally, where it is attested at all. The difference lies in linguistic predicates. In Psichari (a Constantinopolitan brought up in Odessa), Saranda Ekklisies, Kouvouklia, and Sardes, linguistic predicates prefer *pu*, just like cognitive predicates. In Cavafy (a Constantinopolitan brought up in Alexandria), Sozopolis, Marmara, and Katalakko, linguistic predicates avoid *pu*.

It is difficult to draw a conclusion here. First, the corpora are either much too small (ten linguistic complements in sum for Saranda Ekklisies, Kouvouklia and Sozopolis), or suspect (Psichari and Cavafy, as urban Greeks, did not speak pure Thracian; the Marmara and Lemnos texts are late, and as the strong presence of *oti* hints, may display Puristic influence on the speakers.) Second, Sozopolis and Marmara, being at opposite ends of Thracian, do not make sense as a linguistic unit—particularly since Kouvouklia, further south than Marmara, does use *pu* with linguistic predicates. Yet Saranda Ekklisies and Kouvouklia make no more sense as a unit—especially given that, according to Psaltes, the Greeks of Saranda Ekklisies are not indigenous.

Several accounts suggest themselves, but require more linguistic, historical, and sociolinguistic data than I have been able to gather.²³ Marmara and Sozopolis are both on the coast; this means that they may have had better access to the Constantinopolitan standard than the Thracian or Bithynian hinterland. So if *pu* retreated away from linguistic predicates in Constantinopolitan—possibly under external influence from other influential Greek dialects—then those two

²³Such data can probably no longer be collected, with the gradual death of Greek dialects; but there are presumably many more folk tales from the region recorded in Greece than I have had access to.

communities may have followed suit ahead of their land-locked compatriots. If on the other hand Constantinopolitan patterned with Psichari's rather than Cavafy's usage, and did use *pu* with linguistic predicates, then Sozopolis might be ruled out as peripheral to Thracian—although it is not obvious that Marmara could as well.

It is worth bearing in mind that Sozopolis, unlike the other, semi-Northern-speaking coastal towns of Northern Thrace, Anchialos (Ahtopol) and Mesembria (Nesebur), had southern Greek vocalism—just like Constantinople: extensive contact with Constantinople is not out of the question. This would suggest that Sozopolis shares a Constantinopolitan innovation in using *pos* with linguistic predicates. In the absence of more information about the history of Greek settlement in the area, not much more can be said on the subject—although the Lemnian split does testify a good deal of fluidity in the use of *pos*.

Samothrace has been left until last in this discussion. The case of Samothrace is *sui generis*.²⁴ A paucity of texts has meant that the expansion of complementiser-*pu* in Samothrace has not been remarked upon in HDIC data; there is only one complementiser noted in that corpus for the island—an emotive *pu*. The evidence considered here are the Samothracian texts in Heisenberg.

There are only seven realis complements in the text, and four are unremarkable: two weak assertives with *pos*, one perception with *ke*, one perception with *pos*. The surprises lie in the final text of the collection: one weak assertive *pu* (2g), one direct perception *pu* with a stative complement (2g), and one cognitive acquired *pu* (13).

- (2g) *Ι γάους δουν γείδι απ' γείχι στου στόμα τ' ανοιχτό, κι θάϊψι απ' γιούσι*
i γaus dun γιδι ap γixi stu stoma t anixto, ki θαϊpsi ap γiusi
Der andere sah, daß er seinen Mund offen hatte, und glaubte, daß er lache
The other saw that he had his mouth open, and thought that he was laughing
 (Heisenberg 67; Samothrace)
- (13) *Σαν απάντιξι κανέ δυο ούις κι κατάαβι απ' γείχι ξιπσχ'ήσ' ι σόδουφους τ', πάι κι αυτός*
dh staatouigiá ap' tou samái, d ébani 'ts pásatis t' k' éφ'γι για του χουιό.
san apandiksi kane dio uis ki kataavi ap γixi ksipšcis i šidufus t, pai c aftos di
staatuiyia ap tu samai, d evani s ts paatis t k efγi ja tu xujo.
Als er etwa zwei Stunden gewartet und begriffen hatte, daß sein Gefährte
gestorben war, nahm er seinerseits die Satteldecke vom Sattel, legte sie auf
seine Schultern und ging nach dem Dorfe zu weg.
When he had waited for about two hours and realised that his companion had
died, he too took the saddlecloth from his saddle, put it on his shoulders, and
left for the village. (Heisenberg 67; Samothrace)

Samothracian complementation is certainly not CSMG; the above examples are not acceptable in CSMG. Yet they are not Eastern Thracian or Bithynian either; *pos* is too firmly entrenched even in this small sample size. The relatively low proportion of weak assertive *pu* is reminiscent of Marmara; yet unlike Marmara,

²⁴Much like the phonology of the dialect, which—unusually for a Northern Greek dialect—is not mutually intelligible with CSMG.

pu is also used with cognitive predetermined acquired predicates. It may be that the Thracian propensity towards *pu* is a relatively recent importation to the island, and has not yet displaced *pos*.

Such heterogeneity in the distribution of complementiser-*pu* in overall Thracian indicates that the diffusion of novel complementisers can occur piecemeal, and spread to different parts of the paradigm in different regions. There is no other explanation for the patchwork distribution of complementiser-*pu*, on even as small a corpus as that considered above. This appears to be a result of the lexical diffusion account of complementiser spread appealed to in §4; diffusion from major class to major class of predicate has proceeded at different rates in different instances of Thracian.

6.2. Tsakonian

Tsakonian is the most deviant dialect of Modern Greek; by any linguistic rather than cultural criteria, it is a distinct language. It is now accepted that Tsakonian is a continuation of the ancient Doric dialect, and is thus not directly descended from Hellenistic Koine, like all other modern dialects.²⁵ Yet Tsakonian has been in extensive contact with standard Greek for a long time, and the influence of the standard language on the dialect is accelerating now that the dialect is moribund.²⁶

One of the immediately obvious differences between Tsakonian and standard Greek complementation is the role of the participle, which has a discernible, though decreasing presence in Tsakonian.²⁷ Outside the supplementary partic-

²⁵Still, yet to be convincingly addressed is Hesseling's case for Tsakonian being an old creole with the Turkic language of Avar invaders (Pernot 1914:168) (Hesseling was a pioneer creolist as well as a neohellenist), a view Pernot was in sympathy with. This reluctance on the part of subsequent scholars to address the issue properly is understandable given Greeks' anxiety to retain the antiquarian prestige of Tsakonian. Although Tsakonian morphology is indeed eccentric enough to suggest a past linguistic catastrophe, no such testimony arises in the lexicon.

²⁶Thus, the texts Costakis gave Pernot (1934) as a native language consultant in 1930 sound odd when literally glossed into CSMG, as there are inconsistencies between the two in phraseology, syntax and morphology. By contrast, the bilingual texts Houpis has produced in the '90s are equivalent almost word-for-word.

²⁷The participle is only relevant in this account as an ancient equivalent of the *pu*-complement; its use in Tsakonian, however, deserves some comment. CSMG has only three productive participles, (adjectival perfect passive, adverbial present active, and arguably adjectival present passive) (Rydå 1988). The adjectival participles are used as relativiser equivalents (attributive), and the adverbial as sentential adjuncts (circumstantial), although much less than in Classical Greek. Participles are not used as predicate complements (supplementary), with the exception of perception complements, where the adjectival participles behave as adjectives (e.g. *ton iða kurasmeno* 'I saw him **tired**'); this is a straightforward reanalysis of adjectives to predicative complements, and has no global implications for the status of participles.

In Tsakonian, by contrast, there are productive adjectival participles in both past and present tense (Propontis Tsakonian also has a distinct perfect participle), in both active and passive. Participles are prominent in Tsakonian texts, as auxiliary formations using participles have supplanted the Tsakonian indicative present and imperfective; in fact, the citation form for Tsakonian verbs is the present active participle. These participles were used not only as attributives, but also as verb complements, in ways without equivalent in CSMG. For instance, Costakis produced in 1930 texts using participial complements of the phasal verb *arxijizu* 'begin'; the lit-

iple, Tsakonian has two realis complementisers. The first is *otsi*, a reflex of *oti*; the second is *p^{hi}*. A reflex of *pos* is entirely absent.²⁸

p^{hi} is functionally equivalent in its other usages to CSMG *pu*, and probably cognate to it (Nicholas 1998f). Indeed, Pernot (1934:370) explicitly accounts for the semantics of *p^{hi}* as a calque of *pu*. However, *p^{hi}* is clearly more widely distributed as a complementiser than CSMG *pu*, as the following counts on my corpus show:²⁹

	<i>Peloponn.</i>	<i>Propontis</i>
Complement	51	53
CSMG-Obligatory	6	6
PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS	5/0 (100%)	5/0 (100%)

eral Standard Greek gloss provided for (14) would make sense only with *γavvizodas* ‘barking’ interpreted as a sentential adjunct (“started, barking”), and does not correspond to what is going on in the Tsakonian:

- (14) *ekatsatše thom bore ts areinje khaundu san doñ gue.*
 ekatsatše t^hom bore tç *arxiñie k^haundu* san doñ gue.
 Έκατσε στην πόρτα κι άρχισε γavvizodas σαν το σκύλλο.
 ekatse stin porta ki *arxise yavvizodas* san to skilo.
Il s’assit près de la porte et commença à aboyer comme un chien.
 He sat by the door and **started barking** like a dog. (Pernot 24.27)

Pernot (1934:238) reports abundant instances of participial complements in Deffner’s (1923) dictionary, and clear instances also turn up in Ikonomou’s poems, published in 1870. The matrices Pernot reports for participial complements, other than *arxiñiu*, are perception predicates (*oru* ‘see’, *erexu* ‘find’, *ñiu* ‘hear’); in my Tsakonian corpus, there is also *thoro* ‘see’ for Propontis Tsakonian (CostD §11c).

Costakis (1951:137) lists the verbs taking participial complements as *akistenumene* ‘be tired’, *andamuk^hu* ‘meet’, *apoau* ‘be exhausted’, *arxiñindu* ‘begin’, *erexu* ‘find’, *kofumene* ‘cut oneself = expend great effort doing something’, *k^hrandu* ‘burst = do something strenuously’, *ñiu* ‘hear’, *oru* ‘see’, and *pziñgumene* ‘drown, choke’. Of these, *akistenumene*, *apoau*, *kofumene*, *k^hrandu*, and presumably *pziñgumene* are predicates of effort, which also took participial complements in Classical Greek (cf. English *try doing*). The other verbs have already been discussed with regard to Ancient Greek (§5.3.4): all their ancient equivalents took participial complements, and there is no need to dispute that Tsakonian along with Italiot continue the ancient usage, which has dropped out from the other modern dialects.

The past active participle was already receding in Tsakonian in the early part of the century, as both Lekos (1984 [1920]:58) and Pernot (1934:241) observed; and the perfect participle is restricted in Peloponnesian Tsakonian to two verbs (Costakis 1951:182). The retreat of the supplementary participle has continued since, under the influence of CSMG; it is infrequent in the texts Costakis has collected (1940s–1980s), and seems to be entirely absent in Houpis’ texts (1990s).

²⁸Deffner’s (1923) dictionary of Tsakonian gives a complementiser definition for *p^{hu}*, Tsakonian for ‘how?’, and Deffner himself used *p^{hu}* abundantly in the Tsakonian prose he authored as a second-language speaker. Pernot, however, dismisses this usage as “a standard Greek construction, which has entered the language rather recently” (Pernot 1934:370). Deffner’s dictionary was compromised by its use of educated informants (A. Costakis, pers. comm.), and the similarity between *p^{hi}* and *p^{hu}* may have also been a factor. Indeed, the only instance of complementiser-*p^{hu}* I have found outside Deffner is in a translation of a gospel excerpt by the Kastanitsa parish priest (Houpis 1983:220–1); as becomes obvious in the text, the priest conflates *p^{hi}* and *p^{hu}* as *pu*. So complementiser-*p^{hu}* is not an indigenous feature of Tsakonian; it is not even a calque that has taken root amongst rural Tsakonian-speakers.

²⁹My primary corpus includes only folk texts elicited by linguists, rather than literary texts written by Tsakonians (let alone non-Tsakonians like Deffner): namely, CostD, CostF, CostG, CostO, CostS, Har, Pernot, Makris, and Scutt.

<i>PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH APPRAISALS</i>	1/0 (100%)	1/0 (100%)
CSMG-Optional	11	31
<i>PERCEPTION</i>	7/3 (70%)	20/1 (95%)
<i>PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE/PHYSICAL</i>	4/5 (44%)	11/1 (92%)
<i>STATIC</i>	4/0 (100%)	6/1 (86%)
<i>KNOWLEDGE ACQ'N</i>	0/5 (0%)	5/0 (100%)
CSMG-Unacceptable	1	12
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC</i>	1/21 (5%)	6/2 (75%)
<i>STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	0/1 (0%)	0/0
<i>WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE</i>	0/5 (0%)	6/0 (100%)

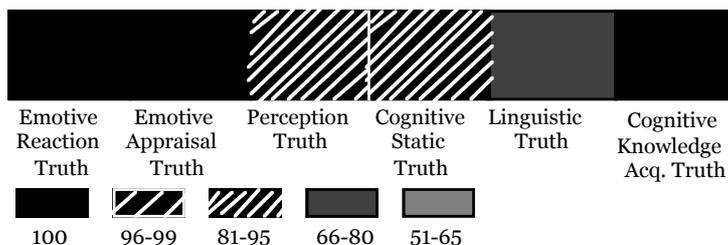


Figure 26a. Propontis Tsakonian complementation: CSMG *pu*-grid

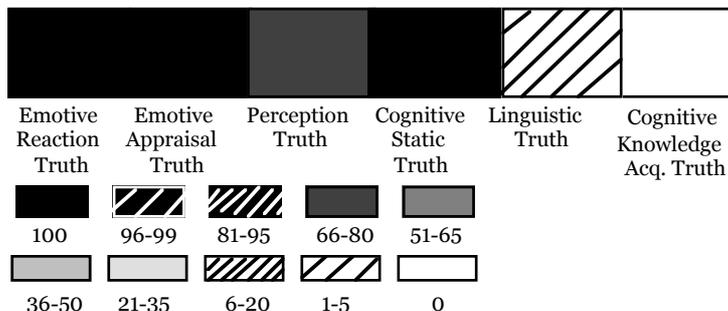


Figure 26b. Peloponnesian Tsakonian complementation: CSMG *pu*-grid

The results for Propontis Tsakonian, in which *p^{hi}* is easily the default complementiser (53 instances, against 4 of *otsi*), and is even used with weak assertives, can be readily explained through its intense contact with Thracian. But there is also deviation from CSMG complementation in Peloponnesian Tsakonian. This deviation does not extend to weak assertives;³⁰ yet there are several indications of a real expansion of complementiser-*p^{hi}* in the dialect:

- 1 *p^{hi}* combines with *taxa* ‘supposedly’, an anti-factive particle, which in CSMG would only combine with *pos*. *p^{hi}* also combines (at least according to Deffner’s dictionary) with *piu* ‘do; pretend’—a calque of CSMG *kano pos* ‘do that’, and an anti-factive predicate:³¹

(15a) Ἄντζε τα γυνεκά σι τῆι ν’ αποσούτδε σε άλλιου μέρι, *τάχα π^h* ἐκι απόκαλε.
 andze ta yuneka si tci n aposutce se alu meri, *taxa p^h* eki apok^hale.

³⁰When in 1995 I asked Thanasis Costakis (the native-language linguist who has worked most on Tsakonian) about the acceptability of a sentence like *epi nomizu p^{hi} n oraka* ‘I think \emptyset I saw it’, he first expressed surprise, and then assured me that the extension of *p^{hi}* was a Thracianism restricted to Propontis Tsakonian, and that Peloponnesian Tsakonian complementation was identical to CSMG.

³¹Since Deffner’s Tsakonian tends to err in the direction of CSMG, this is a valuable witness.

Πήρε τη γυναίκα του και την πήγε σε άλλο μέρος, *τάχα πως* ήταν έγκυος.
 pire ti yineka tu ke tin piye se alo meros, *taxa pos* itan egios.

He took his wife and took her to another place, **supposedly because** she was pregnant. (CostD §8a; Prastos, Southern Tsakonia)

- (15b) Έσσι *ποίου π'* ώσσι νοιούκου
 esi *piu p^h* osi nuk^hu
κάνεις πως δεν καταλαβαίνεις
kanis pos den katalavenis
 You're **pretending** not **to** understand (Deffner 1923:ποίου)

2 The non-emotive predicates taking *p^hi* do not follow the restrictions of their *pu*-equivalents in CSMG. The perception predicates taking *p^hi* include indirect perception (16a); the static knowledge complements are not necessarily given (16b); and the linguistic complements may in fact be false (16c):

- (16a) Από του Πέτσε, ενοιάκα, επέρυ/ *πη* θα μι μόλη τα φτωχά.
 apo tu petse, enaka, eperi/ *pi* tha mi moli ta ftoxa.
Απο τις Σπέτσες άκουσα χτες/ πως θα μου έλθη της φτωχής.
 apo tis spetses akusa xtes,/ *pos* tha mu elthi tis ftoxis.
 From Spetses I heard yesterday **that** he will come to me, poor woman that I am. (Stratigis)
- (16b) —Κια να μόλου; Εμπλέα μ' ένα κουμπάρε τσ' ένι οπά στανου με τα χκινά. Αλλά όκι ξέρου *π'* έκι ο διάβολε.
 “kia na molu? emblea m ena kumbare tç epi opa stanu me ta xkina.” ala *oki kseru p^h* eki o diavole.
 —Πού να ρθο; Έμπλεξα μ' έναν κουμπάρο και είμαι εκεί πάνω με τα γίδια. Αλλά δεν ήξερε *πως* ήταν ο διάβολος.
 “pu na rtho? ebleksa m enan kubaro ke ime eki pano me ta yidia.” ala den iksero *pos* itan o diavolos.
 “How could I have gotten away? I got caught up in some business with an in-law and I am staying up there with the goats.” But he did not know **that** he (his in-law) was the devil.³² (CostS §12; Melana, Southern Tsakonia)
- (16c) Καλά, εκιού έσα αούα *π'* όσα έχα παράδε, κια σ' ερέτσερε του παράδε τσι σ' άντζερε ένταϊ όα;
 kala, ekiu esa aua *p^h* osa exa paraðe, kia s eretçere tu paraðe tçi s andzere endai oa?
Καλά, εσύ έλεγες πως δεν έχεις χρήματα, πού τα βρήκες τα χρήματα και τα πήρες αυτά όλα;
 kala, esi eleyes *pos* den ixes xrimata, pu ta vrikes ta xrimata kai ta pires afta ola?
 Now, you were saying **that** you didn't have any money; where did you find the money to buy all this? (CostS §11; Melana, Southern Tsakonia)

- 3 As the CSMG glosses given already show, Tsakonians consistently gloss these non-emotive instances of *p^hi* as *pos*, rather than *pu*; this is the case for Costakis, Stratigis, and Houpis. This means that, to those Tsakonians, complementiser-*p^hi* does not correspond to CSMG complementiser-*pu*.
- 4 Tsakonian dictionaries illustrate complementiser-*p^hi* with linguistic predicates (something highly marked for CSMG *pu*), glossing it as *pos*:

³²The reader does know this fact; but as the gloss shows, CSMG would not use *pu* here—unless the complement were topicalised.

- (17a) εκιού μ' επέτζερε, *p^h* όνι τσίπτα
 ecu m epetçere, *p^h* oni tsipta
 εσύ μου είπες, πως δεν είνε τίποτε
 esi mu ipes, *pos* den ine tipote
 You told me **that** it was nothing (Deffner 1923:π'η)
- (17b) έκι αού *πη*θάκια ζάει
 eki au *p^hi* θakia zai
 έλεγε πως θα πάει, ότι θα πήγαίνε
 eleve *pos* θα pai, *oti* θα piçene
 he said **that** he will go/**that** he was going to go (Melana, Southern Tsakonia)
 (Costakis 1986:πη)

In both these examples, the truth of the complement is cast in doubt—in a context which would not welcome *pu* in CSMG. So even though the corpus examined displays minimal extension of *p^hi* to linguistic predicates, the dictionary examples hint that such an extension had indeed taken place.³³

The remaining question is whether this spread in the use of *p^hi* could be attributed to a loan from another dialect, as Pernot (1934) hypothesised, alluding to Constantinopolitan and Corfiot usage. The obvious candidate origin of such a loan would be the Peloponnesian spoken in the areas surrounding Tsakonia. While Peloponnesian has been investigated minimally by linguists, because of its close relation to CSMG (see Contossopoulos (1976 [1975]) for discussion), I have not become aware in my researches of anything peculiar about Peloponnesian complementation; so Peloponnesian is probably not responsible. It has been speculated (e.g. Niehoff-Panagiotidis 1994:348) that modern Peloponnesian is a late mediaeval transplantation of Constantinopolitan into the region, and that the indigenous dialect looked more like Maniot and Tsakonian. But I am not aware of anything noteworthy in Maniot complementation either—apart from the fact that, like Tsakonian, it hangs on to the older complementiser *oti* (in Maniot *ti*), instead of the newer *pos*.

Turning to non-Hellenic influences, one possibility is Arvanitika, spoken to the north and east of Tsakonia, involving a generalisation of either of its two complementisers *çë* or *se*.³⁴ Contact between the two languages seems to have been superficial;³⁵ and Albanian has not been suggested in the literature as a likely source of any of the peculiarities of Tsakonian. Before the Albanian settle-

³³Tsakonian uses *otsi* as a quotative introducing indirect questions, but there are no instances of *p^hi* in this function:

(17c) τς' ήγκι αούντε *όσι πούρ* ονομάστε Βρασιέ.
 tç ingi aunde *otsi p^hur* onomaste vrasie.
 And they were saying [**that**] **how** it got to be called Vrasies. (CostD §8a;
 Prastos, Southern Tsakonia)

This seems to confirm what one would already suspect: that *otsi* is older in Tsakonian as a complementiser than *pu*. Quotative *hóti* in particular has long been a feature of Greek.

³⁴It must be said that modern Arvanitika keeps fairly close to CSMG complementiser distribution, with the relativiser *çë* corresponding to *pu*, and *se* to *pos* (Nicholas 1998a). So Arvanitika looks no more promising a source than Peloponnesian Greek.

³⁵As Costakis (pers. comm.) has put it to me, language contact stopped at the shepherd's hut door—Albanian terms turn up only in pastoralist semantic fields.

ment of the Peloponnese, there had been Slavic incursions, which cut off Maniot and Tsakonian from the rest of the peninsula; we know that Slavonic was spoken to the north of Mani as late as *xiv* AD. But the Old Church Slavonic realis complementiser was *jako*, originally ‘as’, which if anything should have led to Tsakonian taking up *pos/p^hur*; the appearance in Slavonic languages like Serbo-Croat, Macedonian Slavonic, and Russian of a relativiser as a complementiser is a late innovation—no earlier than *xv* AD. One could turn to the Turkic Avar of the *vi* AD invasions—but not enough would be known of the language, and this seems an unnecessary long shot; at any rate, Turkic complementation is radically different to Indo-European patterns, as discussed in §6.3.

It seems, therefore, that the spread of *p^hi* is a phenomenon either innovated by Peloponnesian Tsakonian, or surviving from an earlier version of Greek. It would be tempting to presume an archaism on the part of Tsakonian, given its overall archaic character and its retention of supplementary participles. But the picture drawn in this chapter is that, wherever else *hórou* has expanded in Greek, it is as a late rather than early phenomenon. The development thus seems to be an independent innovation, and one rather more tentative than that in Corfiot or Constantinople, as it has largely been confined to semi-factives.

6.3. Cappadocian

The complementation system of Cappadocian has been greatly disrupted relative to mainstream Greek. To a large extent, this has been because of the extensive contact Cappadocian has undergone with Turkish; however, the use of a relativiser other than *pu* as a complementiser in this dialect is of some interest.

There are six realis complementiser classes in Cappadocian:

- zero,
- the Turco-Persian complementiser *ki*,³⁶
- the Turkish quotative *de(y)i* < Turkish *diye*,
- *ke* ‘and’ in Western Cappadocian,
- the relativisers *tu* (Pharasa) and *to* (Western Cappadocian) (Anastasiadis 1976:216),
- cognates of *oti*: *otfi* in Silli, and the lexicalised particle *di* in Pharasa (Anastasiadis 1976:217).

There is no cognate of *pos* attested in Cappadocian, which confirms that it is a recent innovation in Greek.

Although there may seem to be a wealth of complementisers in Cappadocian, they are largely disused. Linguistic complements in particular appear overwhelmingly in direct rather than indirect speech, so that *di* and *di... ki* are almost always quotative. Of some 600 instances in Dawkins’ Phrasiot texts of complements of *leo* ‘say’ introduced by *di* and *di... ki*, only three involve indirect

³⁶Anastasiadis (1976:219) treats *ki* not as a complementiser, but as a (quotative?) ‘particle’ preceding null complementisers. Although *ki* does on occasion turn up preceding non-clausal complements, there seems to be no good syntactic reason—certainly none presented by Anastasiadis—not to call *ki* a complementiser.

speech; in Theodoridou's Pharasiot texts, this proportion is 9 out of 297. The same results obtain elsewhere: of the 43 instances of *otfi* in Dawkins' Silliot texts, only one is not quotative (although 4 of 10 are not in Arhelaos' text sample), and only 2 out of 173 instances of *ki* and *deyi* in Dawkins' Western Cappadocian texts. Although Dawkins' texts are narratives, this aversion to indirect speech extends even to proverbs:

- (18a) Τῶσαι να δεις, πε 'τι τζού 'δα· τῶσαι να 'κούσεις πε 'τι τζού 'κσα.
 tʃe na ðis, pe *ti* dʒu *ða*; tʃe na kʊsɪs pe *ti* dʒu *kʂa*.
 Even if you see, say *I* didn't **see**'; even if you hear, say *I* didn't **hear**'.
 (LoucLouc §102; Pharasa)

The quotative function of *di* is so pervasive in Pharasiot, that syntactically it no longer behaves as a complementiser, but has grammaticalised into a clitic to the linguistic verb, allowing the Turco-Persian complementiser *ki* to act as the actual quotative:

- (18b) Είπεν *d'* ο βασιλός κρυφά *κι*, "Αδέ το φσόκκο α ινή βασιλός,
 ipen *d* o vasilos krifa *ki*, "ade to fʃoko a ini vasilos,
 said *di* the king secretly QUOT
 του γενήθη το μαχτσούμι."
 tu yenithi to maxtsumi."
The king said secretly, "This little boy will become king, the baby who has been born." (Dawk 492)

If one excludes quotatives, there are 3 realis complements per thousand words for both Pharasiot and Western Cappadocian for the corpus considered; this contrasts with a count of 7.12‰ for *The Third Wedding*.

Eliminating quotatives, one can proceed with an analysis of complementation in the three variants of Cappadocian. In Silli, all 31 non-quotative realis complementisers in the corpus are *otfi*; as these include emotive complements (19), it is clear that Silli has no counterpart to the CSMG *pu/pos* distinction.

- (19) Qουγιουμής σεβινδά πολ'ύ, **ό**τσι qαζάνησι πολ'ύ παρά.
 qujumdʒis sevinda poli, **otfi** qazandzisi poli para.
*The goldsmith is very much pleased **that** he has gained much money.* (Dawk 298)

This is a significant result, which can be interpreted in one of two ways: either Silliot *otfi* expanded at the expense of *pu*, displacing it as an emotive complementiser; or more plausibly, Silli was cut off from the mainstream of Modern Greek before *pu* started being used as a complementiser. This is an issue I return to below.

The picture is somewhat more complicated for the distribution in Western Cappadocian and Pharasiot of *to/tu*—an instance, like *pu*, of a relativiser turned complementiser. The corpus yields the following counts for the sundry non-quotative realis complementisers in the two regions:

	<i>to</i>	<i>ke</i>	∅	<i>ki</i>	<i>dei</i>	<i>'opu</i>	<i>na</i>
EMOTIVE	1	1					
PERCEPTION	3	20	44	16 ³⁷	1		
COGNITIVE FACTIVE STATIC	4	1					
COGNITIVE FACTIVE ACQUIRED	12	1		2		1	
LINGUISTIC	3	1	4	2			
COGNITIVE STRONG ASSERTIVE							
COGNITIVE WEAK ASSERTIVE			4		2	3	2

Table 20a. Western Cappadocian complementisers

	<i>tu</i>	∅	<i>ki</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>di... ki</i>
EMOTIVE	2		2		
PERCEPTION	2	12	29	34	13
COGNITIVE FACTIVE STATIC	4	1			
COGNITIVE FACTIVE ACQUIRED	3		2		
LINGUISTIC	2	5	2	13	5
COGNITIVE STRONG ASSERTIVE			1		
COGNITIVE WEAK ASSERTIVE		1	1		

Table 20b. Phrasiot complementisers

The widespread distribution of *to/tu* after cognitive factive predicates, whether they represent static or acquired knowledge, shows that *to/tu* is not marked after such predicates, unlike CSMG *pu*.³⁸ Furthermore, *to/tu* is not restricted to direct perception (21a, 21b); so another characteristic of CSMG *pu* is absent for *to/tu*:

- (21a) Τοβραύ ήρτε γαρδάξ τ', ότλαα χιώρσε do κορίτσ' **do** δε 'ναι, έκλαψε.
 tovrαι irte gardaxu t, otlaa çorse do koritř' **do** de ne, eklapse.
 Το βράδυ ήρθε ο αδερφός της, μόλις είδε **ότι** το κορίτσι δεν είναι, έκλαψε.
 to vradι irthe o aderfos tis, molis ide **oti** to koritsi den ine, eklapse.
 At evening her brother came; when he saw **that** she was not there, he wept.
 (Ulagas 152)
- (21b) σήμερο φά' την ταή σου, μούγκρισε, πέττα πανουφόρου, 'άχτη μο τα πίσου σου τα ποράδä, χτάρακ' μο τα 'μπρο σου, φοβέρικ' μο τα δζέρατά σου, μαρουδζιέστου, να σε ιδή αφτέν' μας **του** αρρώθης
 simero fa tin tai su, mugrise, peta panuforu, axti mo ta pisu su ta poradæ, xtarak mo ta bro su, foverik mo ta dzerata su, marudzjestu, na se idi afthen mas **tu** aroθis
 (The donkey says to the ox:) Today eat your food, bellow, leap up, kick with your hind legs, dig with your front legs, threaten with your horns, chew, so the master can see **that** you have become healthy again (TheodB 294; Pharasa)

On the other hand, *to/tu* does not turn up with non-factive predicates; all instances with linguistic predicates are factive.³⁹ Although cognitive non-factive

³⁷These instances of perception-*ki* are restricted to the villages of Ulagas and Malakopi. The language of Ulagas was heavily Turkicised, although Malakopi (not adjacent to Ulagas) is not one of the villages in which Dawkins (1916:209) discerns appreciable Turkish influence.

³⁸There is a complementiser in Cappadocian restricted to emotive predicates; it is the causal connective *as to* (*ap to*) 'from the fact that', and has nothing to do with CSMG *pu*:

(20) Χαираζουμαι πολü **as to** είστε εθείτ καλά και ακούμ' **as to** μαραινίθκουν καλά τα φθέγια μας.
 xerazume poli **as to** iste efit kala ke akum' **as to** mareniθkun kala ta fθeyia mas.

predicates are rather infrequent in the texts, in this regard Cappadocian *to/tu* does pattern with CSMG *pu*: both are factive complementisers. This result need not imply that there is any relation between the development of *pu*_{COMP} and *to/tu*_{COMP}. Indeed, the failure of *to/tu* to emulate the further constraints on the distribution of *pu* strongly suggests there is no such relation. This can be explained as an independent development, with the retention of the factivity of the relativiser a characteristic of grammaticalisation, rather than a genetic similarity.

A parallel with Turkish suggests a good independent motivation for the spread of *to/tu* as a relativiser and complementiser at the expense of *pu*. Silli, as seen, preserves an archaic state of affairs, in which *otfi* was the sole complementiser; there is a clear remnant of this complementiser in the Phrasiot clitic *di*, used primarily as a quotative, but also present after predicates of perception. The spread of the current complementisers, *ki* and *to/tu*, occurred at the expense of *otfi*, and seems unrelated to the parallel development of *pu*, which is largely absent in the dialect. Now, *ki* is a loan from Ottoman Turkish, and is ultimately of Persian origin. The native Turkish complementation strategy is one of nominalisation: the complement clause is rendered as a participle with a possessive ending (personal participle), the possessor being the subject. For instance, ‘everyone knows that I do the job’ is in Turkish *işi yaptığımı herkes bilir* ‘the.job.ACC doing.my everybody knows’.

Since the minor Turkish complementation strategy is borrowed into Cappadocian as *ki*, it would be surprising if the major complementation strategy, nominalisation, were not also present in the dialect. That *to/tu* is a counterpart of the Turkish personal participle is indicated by the following:

- The Turkish personal participle is used for both relativisation and complementation (e.g. *gördüğüm oğlan*, ‘the boy that I saw’, literally ‘seeing.my boy’); *to/tu* is both a relativiser and a complementiser.
- *to/tu* is homonymous with the definite article, strongly associated with noun phrases. The correspondence between determiners and complementisers has already been remarked upon (§3.9), and would readily have suggested itself in this context.
- *to/tu*-clauses, whether relative or complement, follow Turkish SOV word order, rather than Modern Greek SVO: the clause dependents precede the predicate, and the *to/tu*-clause typically precedes its nominal or verbal matrix (Dawkins 1916:201). Anastasiadis (1976:216) gives as an complementiser example *o tata su sis kores*

I am very glad **that** you are well and also **that** our children are learning well at school. (AravanF 156)

³⁹Mavrohalividis & Kesisoglou (1960:85) give as an example of complementiser-*to* the sentence *to na yazanduso outfa pola den d omza* ‘I did not hope **it that** I would win so much’. The implication is nonetheless that this complement is still presupposed, an implication strengthened by the retention of the topicalising clitic in the CSMG gloss, *oti tha kerðiza tosa pola den to elpiza*.

tu tu a ipa katexo ta ‘the father your to.the daughters his **that** FUT he.goes I.know it = I know **that** your father will go to his daughters’. For relativiser examples, see the following:

- (22a) Και το έπκε do ιφτιρά λάλσεν do
 ke to epke do iftira lalsen do
 and REL he.said the calumny she.spoke it
*And she told the calumny **which** he had uttered* (Dawk 362; Ulagaç, Western Cappadocia)

- (22b) Τους τα κατέδει του είδε ο βασιλός τον ύπνο;
 tus ta katefi tu ide o vasilos ton ipno?
 how does he know it REL saw the king the dream
*How does he know the dream **which** the king saw?* (Dawk 542; Pharasa)

This also holds for the Silli relativiser, *kjat*: ‘the boy that I saw’ is in Silli *kjat ira peri* ‘REL I.saw boy’, as opposed to CSMG *to ayori pu ida* ‘the boy REL I.saw’.

- Other Turkish expressions involving the personal participle are calqued into Cappadocian with *to*-expressions. For example, *instead of* in Turkish is rendered three ways: by the future personal participle, followed by *yerde*, the locative of *yer* ‘place’; the future personal participle followed by the dative form *yerine* ‘to its place’; or the dative of the future personal participle itself. In Cappadocian, *instead of* is rendered as a *to*-clause in the future tense, followed by *son topo* ‘at.the place’ (23a) or *to ndopo* ‘the place (ACC)’ (23b) (Dawkins 1916 §381) (the accusative can express indirect objects in Cappadocian); in Pharasa, it is rendered as *su na* ‘to.tu FUT’ (23c). These forms are all direct equivalents to the Turkish constructions:

- (23a) Και όσον κ’ είδεν το παιδί, το να το φούζ σον δόπο,
 ke oson k’ iden to pedi, to na to fuj’ son doro,
 NOM FUT spit on.her at.the place
 χεμ δέκεν do κ’ έφαγεν, χεμ φίλσεν jηη
 xem deken do k’ efayen, xem filsen dzin
*And as soon as the boy saw her, **instead of spitting at her**, he both gave her food and she ate, and kissed her.* (Dawk 324; Delmeso)

- (23b) και το καμήλ’, το να περάν’ το νλόπο, άρχεψε να böjdyš’.
 ke to kamil, to na peran’ to ndopo, arxepse na böjdyš’.
 And the camel, **instead of dying**, started growing. (AravanFK 100)

- (23c) Ημα σου, σου να ’εννάσκε σένα, να ’ένντσε α θάλι ήτουν γαό!
 i ma su, su na enanke sena, na entse a thali itun gao!
Instead of giving birth to you, it would have been better if you mother had given birth to a rock! (LoucLouc §143; Pharasa)

Another such calque is *ap to* (‘from the fact that = because’), a calque of the Turkish ablative present personal participle, which serves in that language as a causal expression. Compare *poli qodza*

of Silata. In those texts, *'opu* is used—surprisingly, from the viewpoint of CSMG—with weak assertives, and with a complement known to be false (Snow White was not killed by the Evil Stepmother’s ruses):

- (25a) Ἀς το αἶνά μέσα θώρινεν το κορίτς, και δεν ινάνδανεν *όπου* το σκότωσαν.
 as to aina mesa θorinen to koritʃ, ke ðen inandanen *'opu* to skotosan.
*In the looking-glass she saw the girl, and did not believe **that** they had killed her.* (Dawk 440)

This can be explained as a Constantinopolitanism: at Silata, Dawkins only had the opportunity to elicit texts from schoolchildren, and a perusal of the texts shows that there is significant influence from Standard Greek—or rather, what counted as Standard Greek in Asia Minor: Constantinopolitan.⁴¹ The absence of *'opu* as a complementiser in any other published Cappadocian texts would seem to confirm this.⁴²

In the texts recorded from refugees from Delmeso by Costakis in 1967, an instance is given of *pu* associated with an emotive predicate:

- (25b) Κούπωναμ' τα μάτια, αν ήταν ανοιχτά, μόλις πέθαινε. *Που* απόμ'ναν ανοιχτά, καλό δεν ήτον, κατόπ'σα τ' πεγάζ' κανένα.
 kuponam ta matia, an itan anixta, molis peþene. *pu* apomnan anixta, kalo ðen iton, katopsa t peγaz kanena.
 We closed his eyes, if they were open, as soon as he died. *That/When* they stayed open, it was not good, he would later take someone else with him (to the Underworld). (HDMS 887:190)

This is not a real problem for our account, for two reasons. First, the text is clearly greatly influenced from Standard Greek: such CSMG words are used as *matia* ‘eyes’ rather than the Delmeso form *matʃja* recorded by Dawkins, CSMG *itan* ‘were’ instead of *isan*, and the CSMG word *molis* ‘as soon as’ instead of a form like *mi to*. So this use of *pu* could quite easily be contamination from CSMG. Second, as the gloss shows, *pu* here is actually ambiguous with a temporal connective—although temporal *pu* is not otherwise attested for Delmeso, and is in fact quite rare in Cappadocian. A similar ambiguity obtains in the other putative instance from the same manuscript:

- (25c) Μάννα μ' συγγενή ήτον, άντρα ήτον, κάτσειν σο πέντζερε απάνω τη νύχτα, και *που* άνοιξεν ουρανός, είδεν το.
 mana m sigeni iton, adra iton, katsen so p^hendzere apano ti nixta, ke *pu* aniksen uranos, iðen to.
 It was a relative of my mother’s, a man; he was sitting at the roof window at night, and *when/that* the heavens opened up, he saw it. (HDMS 887:210)

⁴¹Perhaps the most amusing instance of this is when a Silata narrator misconstrues the Puristic word *politelia* ‘luxury’, rendering it as *pola telja* and *telja pola* ‘many wires’ (Dawkins 1916:450).

⁴²The archaic stress in *'opu* is a problem, since it does not correspond to Modern *opu/pu* when used as a complementiser. I suggest the Constantinopolitan complementiser was conflated with the relativiser *'opu*—attested for Silata (§B.1).

One can derive the following conclusions from the Cappadocian data. *pu* has made no inroads into Cappadocian as a complementiser; indeed, as discussed in §B.1, it is barely present in Cappadocian at all. Cappadocian displays an archaic complementation system, one in which neither *pu* nor *pos* are present. There are two stages of the complementiser paradigm in place. In the first, attested in Silli (and arguably, as discussed below, Mariupolitan), a reflex of *hóti* is the only realis complementiser. In the second, characteristic of Western Cappadocia and Pharasa, the *hóti* reflex is displaced by *ki*, a direct loan from Ottoman Turkish, and *to/tu*.

to/tu displays interesting parallels with the development of *pu*, being a relativiser in origin; ultimately, however, it is more useful to look at it as a calque of the Turkish personal participle. The distribution of *to/tu* displays only faint parallels with CSMG *pu*, such as may be expected of a complementiser which is a factive relativiser in origin—but nothing so close as to be compelling.

6.4. Pontic

The account of Pontic complementation is given in the light of the results obtained for Cappadocian. Two complementation strategies prominent from Cappadocian reappear in this neighbouring dialect: the relativiser *to/ndo*, and zero complementation. The third strategy is absent from Cappadocian, and shows that Pontic was cut off from mainstream Greek later than Cappadocian: this is the use of *pos*. These three complementisers account for 835 out of the 883 realis complementisers in the Pontic corpus (94.6%). The overall counts for Pontic are given below:

	<i>ndo</i>	<i>pos</i>	∅	<i>pu</i>	<i>ke/ki</i>	<i>(pos) oti</i>	<i>na</i>
EMOTIVE REACTION	27	20	0	9			
EMOTIVE APPRAISAL	19	2	0	1			
PERCEPTION	16	49	207	1	10		
COGNITIVE FACTIVE STATIC	42	18	5	1			
COGNITIVE FACTIVE ACQUIRED	52	37	18	1	1	1	
SUBJECT/NOMINALISATION	4	0	0				
DETERMINED LINGUISTIC TRUTH	12	41	29	1	1	2	
COGNITIVE STRONG ASSERTIVE	4	4	13		1	1	1
COGNITIVE WEAK ASSERTIVE	6	19	142	1	10	1	1
NON-ASS. TRUTH COGNITIVE	3	2	0				
DETERMINED LING. FUT. TRUTH	6	6	1				
PREDETERMINED ACTION PHYSICAL	1	0	0	1			
NON-ASS. ACTION LINGUISTIC	1	1	0			2	
DETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE	0	1	15				
UNDETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE	0	1	1				

Table 21. Pontic complementisers

One of the most striking differences between Pontic and Cappadocian complementation is the scarcity of *ki* as a complementiser: *ke* ‘and’ and *ki* combined are 44 of the 128 realis complementisers (34%) in the Western Cappadocian corpus, and *ki* and *di... ki* are 55 of the 129 realis complementisers (43%) in the

Pharasiot corpus, but *ke/ki* give only 23 out of 883 (2.6%) in Pontic.⁴³ Compared with Cappadocian, then, Pontic has not been affected by this particular Turkism.⁴⁴

There is variation in complementiser usage between the various semantic predicate classes, and between regions of the Pontus. There are only a few overriding tendencies. Zero-complementation is preferred for perception and weak assertives, but is not used at all with true factives. This does not mean that zero-complementation is a non-factive strategy: direct perception and cognitive factive predicates both feature it. But it does show that the distribution of zero-complementation comes close to being the inverse of the distribution of CSMG-*pu*: absent in true factives, marked with semi-factives, near-obligatory with weak assertives (although its use with direct perception follows CSMG-*pu*, rather than being its inverse.)

The problem is, there is no figure in Pontic to complement the ground of zero-complementation: there is no complementiser with the semantic restrictions of CSMG-*pu*. Just as for Cappadocian, *ndo* is not restricted to factive contexts, despite its relativiser origins—although it is infrequent with non-factives (60% of all emotives (26a) against 3% of all weak assertives (26b, 26c)):⁴⁵

(26a) Ο Κυρλοβίτ'ς πα αμόν ντ' επήεν η γαρή ατ' να ψαλαφά το λανάρ' επουσιμάνεψεν ντο
έστειλεν ατεν.
o kirlovits pa amon nd epien i γari at na psalafa to lanar epufimanepsen *ndo* estilen
aten.
When his wife went to find the wool card, Kyrlovitis regretted sending *ing* her.
(FostA 201; Imera)

(26b) ξάι'κ' ινάνεψεν ντο θ' αποθάν', εθάρεσεν ∅ παίζ' ατόν.
ksaj k inænepsen *ndo* θ' apoθan, eθaresen ∅ pez æton.
He didn't believe *that* she would die at all; he thought *that* she was fooling
him (FostC 135; Imera)

⁴³It is difficult to distinguish between *ke/ki* 'and' and *ki* 'Turco-Persian complementiser'; but both perception and weak assertive complements are expressed with paratactic strategies in mainstream Greek, so 'and' is probably involved here.

⁴⁴The data from Nikopolis is of interest. Minimal work has been done on the region's dialect; almost all we know about it from Dawkins and Papadopoulos, the major linguists to have worked on Pontic, is that it was intermediate between Pontic and Cappadocian. Our complementation counts are consistent with this: the four realis complementisers in Hatziliadis (1954), recorded from refugees from Galatsougou, are all *ki*, and account for over a fifth of all instances of *ke/ki*-complementisers in my Pontic corpus, although the text constitutes a fiftieth of the entire corpus. This indicates that at least in the village of Galatsougou of Nikopolis the Turkish pattern had made a significant incursion, as it had in Cappadocian, which the Pontus proper resisted. (However, as is obvious in the other major text collection from the region, Nikop, complementation in the other Nikopolitan villages does not seem to have deviated markedly from the general pattern of Pontic.)

⁴⁵There are complications for five of the six instances of Pontic weak assertive *ndo*: three have negative matrices and introduce true complements (so they may be presupposed); one may be a perception complement ('be seen' as opposed to 'seem'); and the gloss of the final (*parerxete*) is not certain. The only unproblematic instance, where the complement turns out to be false and thus cannot be presupposed, is (26c).

- (26c) Πολλά 'κ' εδέβεν ήκ'σα κατ' αμούν γογγύσματα. 'Αρτουκ επίστεψα χορτλάχ'ς τ' έτον.
 pola k edeven iksa kat amun γογγύσματα. artuk epistepsa xortlaxs **t** eton.
 After a short while I heard something like moaning. So I believed **that** it was a
 ghost. (Nikop; Balcana, Nikopolis)

Just as Pontic *ndo* does not follow the same restrictions as CSMG *pu*, Pontic *pos* does not follow the same restrictions as CMSG *pos*. In particular, *pos* is widely used in Pontic with emotive reactions (though not with appraisals).⁴⁶ Also in contrast to Cappadocian, *pu* is present as a complementiser in Pontic. But its presence is vestigial: there are only 16 instances amongst 865 complementisers, and the majority of them look like incidental reanalyses of relativisations, rather than autonomous complementisers. Thus, although (28a) is undoubtedly a *pu*-complement of an emotive, a more typical instance of complementiser-*pu* in Pontic is (28b), in which *pu* is ambiguous with the relativiser.⁴⁷ Furthermore, in Pontic it is not unknown for *pu* to introduce non-factive complements (28c). And even in the domain where *pu* is most used, emotive reactions, it is still outnumbered by instances of *pos* (20:9).

- (28a) «Και πασκέιντο εστάθεν ολίγον 'ς την ξενιτείαν;» έλεεν κ' η νύφε, «καλά που
 ενθυμάτ' ατα κι ατόσον!»
 “ke paʃkindo estaθen oliyon s sin ksenitian?” eleen k i nife, “kala **pu** enθimat aeta
 ki atoson!”
 “It’s not like he has spent just a little time in exile,” the wife said to herself; “it’s
 just as well **that** he remembers this much!” (Papad 179; Stavrin)

⁴⁶There is a complication in that, as in CSMG, *pos* (or rather '*pos*') is also the manner adverb 'how', and furthermore there are indications that '*pos*' is also used as a causal connective (27a). This allows *pos* to be ambiguous between complementiser and adjunct usages more than in CSMG.

- (27a) Φοβήθε βασιλέας ας το παιδί του πάς εκώλυσέν τονε.
 foniθe vasileas as to peði tu '**pos** ekolisen tone.
 The king grew fearsome of his son, **because** he (the king) had driven him
 away. (Valavanis 1928:189; Upper Amisos)

Thus in (27b), *pos* clearly introduces a manner adjunct, rather than a complement (the king is not worried that he (the king) will take the lad's money; he is wondering *how* to do so). In (27c), on the other hand, there is little question that *pos* introduces an emotive complement.

- (27b) Ο βασιλέας εφουρκίεν ας την στενοχωρίαν ατ' πάς θα επορή να παίρ' και τ' εκεινού
 την παράν
 o vasileas efurkien as sin stenoxorian at '**pos** θα epori na per ke t ekinu tin paran
 The king choked on his worry, **how** he would be able to take his money too
 (KandilF 114; Chaldia)
- (27c) Εκείνα τα ημέρας η μάλιστα θα εγυναίκιζεν το Μελαζίρ' και ετυραρνίουτου πάς' κ'
 επόρεσεν ακόμαν να χάν' τη δούλαν.
 ekina ta imeras i maisa θα eyinekizen to melæzir ke etiræniutun '**pos** k eporesen
 akoman na xan ti ðulan.
 At that time the witch was going to marry Melaziris off, and she was troubled
that she had not yet been able to kill her slave. (Parh 108; Trebizond)

⁴⁷The same kind of ambiguity with a *pu*-complement can be seen with (28d), which Drettas analyses as more akin to a temporal adjunct:

- (28d) a'tora 'liete i-ka'rðias **p**-e'leps tin-θaya'teras | 'lej | 'stek atu'kjan
 Maintenant, dit-il, ton coeur languit **de** voir que ta fille est là
 Now, he says, your heart breaks **to** see that your daughter is there (Drettas
 1997:349)

- (28b) Αρ' εχάρεν ο πλούσιον, που θ' εποίνεν αίκον γαμπρόν,
 ar exaren o plusion, **pu** θ erinen aikon γambron,
 so rejoiced the rich.man that would make such a son-in-law
 κ' εδέκεν το κορίτζ'ν ατ'
 k edeken to koridzn at
 So the rich man rejoiced **that** he would make such a son-in-law/ So the rich man, **who** would make such a son-in-law, rejoiced, and gave him his daughter (KandilF 112; Chaldia)
- (28c) Ο μαύρον, αμόν τ' εποίνεν εκείνος, ας τ' έρχουντουν ο σύντεκνος ατ', εθάρνεν ατός π' αέτς' θα 'φτάη, με τα εφτά καρδιάς θ' ανοί' την πόρταν και παίρ' ατον απέσ'. Έι κ' εκομπώθεν!
 o mavron, amon t epinnen ekinos, as t erxundun o sindeknoς at, eθarnen atos **p**
 aets θα ftaj, me ta epta kardias θ ani tin portan ke per æton apes. ei k ekombothen!
 (A hospitable man comes visiting his compadre, who has previously left his wife instructions not to receive him.) The poor man, just the way he acted, when his compadre came visiting, so he thought **that** he (his compadre) would do—he would open his door with seven hearts (= with good-will) and let him in. Oh how he was deceived! (Tsaousis 1946:210; Hopsha)

The fact that clear factivity restrictions are not in place for *pu* seems to confirm it has been incidentally reanalysed—a contingent rather than entrenched complementiser in the system. This does not explain (28c), which shows *pu* to be unambiguously a weak assertive complementiser; then again, (28c) is a one-off in my Pontic corpus, and may simply represent a nonce reanalysis of *pu* as equivalent to *ndo*, which is attested (albeit infrequently) as a weak assertive complementiser. If that is so, then *pu* here is ultimately (at a remove of two transfers) a Turkish calque.

The following conclusions arise from the data:

- As in Cappadocian, the relativiser *ndo* developed as a complementiser independently of CSMG-*pu*: it is not restricted to factive contexts, and is neither predominant with emotive complements, nor particularly widespread with perception complements.
- Pontic *pos* has a significant presence amongst emotive complements. Since *pos* has largely supplanted *oti* in Pontic (201:7), and since archaic Anatolian complementation as preserved in Silli employed *oti* with emotive complements, it appears that *pos* as a realis complementiser predates *pu* as a marked realis complementiser. This agrees with the conclusion I have arrived at independently on the basis of diachronic data (Nicholas 1996): complementiser-*pos* dates from around *viAD*, at which time *hórou* had just become a generic relativiser, and long before *pu* became a complementiser.⁴⁸

⁴⁸*oti* has become quite widespread in contemporary Pontic, and Drettas (1997:370) has no doubt that this is due to CSMG influence. Drettas (1997:375) believes the same to be the case for complementiser-*pos*, but *pos* is used rather too frequently in the corpus to be a recent loan, and it turns up in contexts—such as emotives—which owe nothing to CSMG.

- That conclusion is further supported by the status of complementiser-*pu* in Pontic: it is very infrequent, restricted regionally (only one of the 14 instances is not Chaldiot, although only two thirds of the corpus are in that variant) and stylistically (4 of the 8 emotive instances are in Fotadis' plays, which constitute a quarter of the Chaldiot corpus), and it does not behave in a way consistent with its CSMG counterpart.

The picture for complementation in both Cappadocian and Pontic is layered. As argued for Cappadocian, a Turkish-calqued *to/tu*-layer replaced an earlier *oti*-layer, preserved in Silli; to this layer was added a further Turkish element, *ki*. Pontic did without *ki*, and though it (largely) lacks *oti*, it supplants it with *pos*, just like CSMG.⁴⁹ With the vestigial presence of complementiser-*pu*, that makes three diachronically distinct layers of complementation strategy.⁵⁰

Positing these diachronic layers illuminates the synchronic distribution of the complementisers. In both CSMG and Pontic, *pu* is the latest addition to the complementiser paradigm; but unlike CSMG, *pu* in Pontic has not taken root, and can be conceived of as a much thinner layer. The reason why, following Drettas (1997:354), appears to be that *ndo* in Pontic tends to have clausal referents much more than *pu*, which has primarily animate reference; this is a consequence of the EMG division of labour between *pu* and *to* as relativisers (§7.2.1). So *pu* has not been able to block *pos* taking hold in the emotive domain in

⁴⁹There is evidence to suggest that, just as in Cappadocian, Pontic complementiser-*to/ndo* is a Turkism—although the evidence is less abundant than in Cappadocian, consistent with the lesser extent of Turkicisation in Pontic:

(i) like the Turkish personal participle, *to/ndo* is both a relativiser and a complementiser;
(ii) *to* is homonymous with the definite article—although *ndo* is instead homonymous with 'ndo' 'what?', with which it has undergone merger;
(iii) *ndo*-relative clauses follow Turkish syntax on occasion in preceding their referent—although not as frequently as in Cappadocian (64 out of 458 instances (14%) in Pontic, against 32:94 for Western Cappadocian (34%), and 47:186 for Pharsiot (25%) in their respective corpora);
(iv) there are some constructions which seem to calque the Turkish personal participle with *ndo*—most notably *as ndo* 'from the fact that', used as both a causal and temporal (the ablative Turkish personal participle is causal, although it is the locative personal participle that is temporal); *ndo θa* 'instead of', using the nominaliser and the future tense to calque the personal future participle (cf. Cappadocian *to na*) (Ikonomidis 1958 [1940]:246); and *amon ndo* 'as the fact that', used as both the connective 'like' and as a temporal (the Turkish postposition *üzere* 'on' is both spatial and temporal, and following a personal participle, it means 'as'; but cf. CSMG *san* 'like', also used as a temporal);
(v) *ndo*-complements frequently follow Turkish word-order, which led Papadopoulos (1955b: 173) to characterise *ndo*-complementation explicitly as a Turkism, pointing out the syntagmatic equivalence of such sentences as *aikon ðulian to θa epinen k eksera* 'such work **that** FUT he.would.do NEG I.knew' with *boyle iş yapacağını bilmiordum* 'such work doing.FUT.3SG I.knew.NEG' 'I did not know he would do such a thing', and *i ðulia ndo k en kalon eyriksen* 'the work **that** NEG is good he.realised' with *iş eyi olmadığını anladı* 'work good being.NEG. PRES.3SG he.realised' 'he realised that the work was not good'. (Cf. Papadopoulos' CSMG glosses, *ðen iksera pos θa ekamne tetia ðulia* 'NEG I.knew **that** FUT he.would.do such work', and *katalave pos i ðulia ðen pai kala* 'he.realised **that** the work NEG goes well'.)

⁵⁰The extremely frequent use of zero-complementation compared to CSMG has been compared to the more frequent use of zero-complementation in EMG (Andriotis 1948:51), and so may represent a fourth diachronic layer.

Pontic, as well as the cognitive and linguistic; and it does not have a well-defined semantic domain of its own.

Pontic plays a complementary part to dialects like Thracian in sketching the diatopic bifurcation of complementiser-*pu*. As Thracian, Tsakonian, and (below) Livisiot and Corfiot show, it was possible for the role of *pu* in the complementiser paradigm to spread further than it did in CSMG. As Pontic shows, it was also possible for *pu* to spread less in the paradigm than it did in CSMG; and this cannot be attributed to the prehistory of Pontic *pu*, which is derived from *hópou* just as CSMG *pu*, and is a relativiser in the dialect just as in CSMG. Once more, the distribution of CSMG-*pu* is seen to be historically contingent, rather than inevitable.

6.5. Livisi

We have seen that three Greek dialects indigenous to present-day Turkey—Thracian/Bithynian, Cappadocian, and Pontic—all display features in their complementation paradigms distinct from CSMG. Although it has not been remarked on in the literature, the same holds for the fourth Greek dialect indigenous to the region—that of Livisi, in South-Western Turkey. The following complementiser counts, from Mouseou-Bouyoukou's folk tale collection (MousT), leave no doubt that Livisi complementation deviates from that of CSMG:

Complement	121
CSMG-Obligatory	28
PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS	28/0/0 (100%)
CSMG-Optional	69
PREDETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC	1/0/1 (50%)
PERCEPTION	38/3/4 (84%)
PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE/PHYSICAL	29/10/4 (67%)
STATIC	17/0/1 (94%)
KNOWLEDGE ACQ'N	13/10/3 (50%)
CSMG-Unacceptable	24
PREDETERMINED OCCURRENCE PHYSICAL	3/0/0 (100%)
STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC	14/16/29 (24%)
STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE	1/0/1 (50%)
WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE	3/2/7/6 (25%)
STRONG DETERMINED FUTURE TRUTH LINGUISTIC	2/2/1 (40%)
NON-ASSERTIVE DETERMINED ACTION LINGUISTIC	0/0/2 (0%)
STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE	1/1/0 (50%)

The deviation from CSMG is not as noticeable as in Thracian; but it is there. Also, the semantic distinctions between *pu* and *oti/pos* valid for CSMG do not hold in Livisi. Thus, perception *pu*-complements need not be stative (29a) or direct (29b); linguistic *pu*-complements need not even be true (29c); and whereas CSMG distinguishes between presupposed and determined complements of predicates of fearing (*fovame pu*: be afraid as a reaction to...; *fovame oti*: fear that...), Livisiot uses *pu* to introduce a determined complement of *fuame* 'fear' (29d):

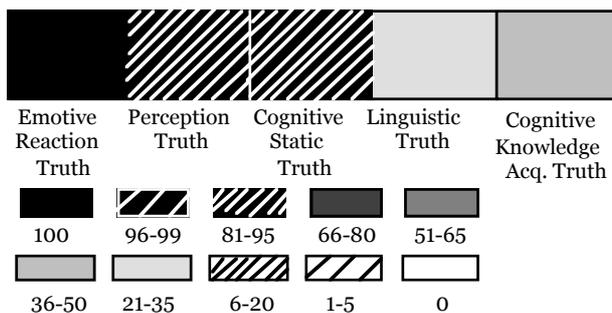


Figure 27a. Livisi complementation: CSMG *pu*-grid

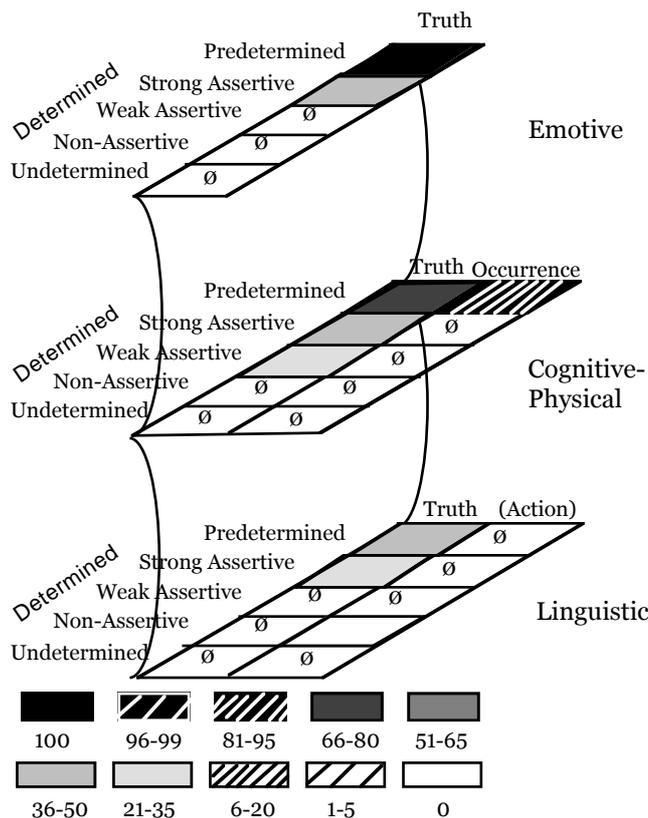


Figure 27b. Livisi complementation: All realis

- (29a) Κάτσι, κάτσι αραθύμησιν, επήϊν να πιάσει ξύλα να βάλει στηφ φουτιάν γι είδιν να στέκτι ένας άνθρωπος. Γιανάστησιν κι είδιν **bu** 'ταν ξύλουν βλικημένουν
 katʃi, katʃi araθimisin, epiin na pʃasi ksila na vali stif futjan gi iθin na stekiti enas aθropus. janastisin ki iθin **bu** tan ksilun blikimenun
 Κάθου, κάθου, βαρέθηκε, πήγε να πιάσει ξύλα να βάλει στη φωτιά και είδε να στέκεται ένας άνθρωπος. Πλησίασε και είδε **πως** ήταν ξύλο πελεκημένο
 kaθu, kaθu, vareθike, piɣe na piasi ksila na vali sti fotia ke iθe na stekete enas aθropos. plisiase ke iθe **pos** itan ksilo pelekimeno
 Sitting, sitting, he got bored; he went to fetch wood to place onto the fire, and he saw a person standing there. He approached and saw **that** it was carved wood (MousT 156)
- (29b) Έκουσαμ **bu** χοιρόσβαξαν, κι ιπήρασ σούβλις κι έτρεξαν.
 ekusam **bu** xirosvaksan, ki ipiras suvlis ki etreksan.
 They heard **that** they'd slaughtered pigs, and they took spits and ran (MousP §1125)

- (29c) Είπαν, λέ', την γάργαν, *πούνιν* η καρκαδιά γιατρικόγ για τα μμάτια, κι κείνη, τόμους τ'όκουσιν, ιπήαιγγιν εις του πέλαους κι την έφηγγιν.
 ipan, le, tin garyan, *pu* nin i karkađja jatrikōj ja ta m:atja, ki ikini, tomus to kusin, ipienin is tu pelaus ki tin efin:in.
 They say they told the jackdaw **that** her droppings were an eye-cure, and as soon as she heard it, she went and dropped it in the sea (out of spite). (MousP §592)
- (29d) κι του κουρίν' εν μαρτυρά τίποτα γιατί φοβάτι *που* θα την ι-σκουτώσει
 ki tu kurin en martira tipota jati fuati *pu* tha tin iskutosi
 And the girl does not tell, because she is afraid **that** she will kill her (MousT 78)

Now Livisi is a semi-northern dialect: it raises its unstressed mid vowels. In addition, the dialect places its indirect objects in the accusative rather than the genitive, just like far northern Greek (including Thracian). Because of this, earlier Greek linguists like Hatzidakis were convinced that Livisi was a northern Greek colony (Andriotis 1961:11). In light of that, it would be tempting to attribute the character of Livisi complementation to a transplantation from Thracian.

The problem is, that in all other features, Livisi patterns either with South-Eastern Greek (Cypriot, Dodecanesian), or with Pontic and Cappadocian.⁵¹ Even the two northernisms of Livisi are not necessarily proof of migration. Silli and the Cappadocian villages of Malakopi, Misti, Axos and Aravani feature semi-northern vocalism;⁵² indeed, while Pharasa itself has southern vowels, the surrounding Pharasiot colonies of Afshar-köy, Çiska and Çuhuri are semi-northern. This indicates that unstressed mid vowels can be raised in Modern Greek without a necessary historical connection to Northern Greek, as indeed Dawkins (1916:193) concluded about Cappadocian. As for the accusative indirect objects, they are as much a feature of Pontic and Cappadocian as they are of Thracian; they are thus a general Anatolian Greek feature.

It seems then that Livisi is an indigenous dialect. Dawkins (1916:204–5) groups it with Silli, in that both are much closer to standard Greek than the other Asia Minor dialects, incorporating the Modern innovations of the possessive pronoun *δίκος* and the PERFP Passive ending *-ka*, absent in the others.⁵³

⁵¹For example, Livisi has gemination (both etymologically motivated and innovatively in the context /n#C/), which occurs only in South-Eastern Greek and Pontic. It preserves and extends ancient word-final *n*—again, a characteristic of South-Eastern Greek. It fails to palatalise alveolar liquids before *i*—like Pontic and Cappadocian. It has aspirated consonants—again, like Pontic and Cappadocian. And (although this is a common archaism rather than innovation) Livisi, along with Pontic, Cappadocian, and Cypriot, preserves the Ancient word for 'louse' (a Swadesh-100 word), *p^héir*, as its regular reflex *ftira*, whereas the rest of Greek changes it to *psira* by analogy with *psilos* 'flea'. (For a more complete listing of phenomena Livisi has in common with South-Eastern Greek and with Pontic and Cappadocian, see Andriotis (1961:12–13).) One final way Livisi patterns with South-Eastern Greek, of relevance to *pu*, is in its use of a *qu'est-ce que*—collocation with *ti* and *pu* (Nicholas in prep.)

⁵²The villages form a contiguous zone in the middle of Western Cappadocia.

⁵³Andriotis (1961) finds that Dawkins does not emphasise strongly enough the connection to Dodecanesian in his claim that it "has no resemblance to that of the neighbouring islands" (Dawkins 1916:38). For all that, Dawkins (1921) did identify affinities between Livisi, Cypriot,

If Livisi complementation is an importation, we would have to postulate a Thracian migration—whose effect on Livisi vocalism has been cast in doubt, and whose morphosyntactic effect has been negligible—or Cappadocian influence. The latter would mean that Cappadocian *to* was calqued into Livisiot *pu* (even though Cappadocian has a extant ' *opu*-relativiser (§B.1), and Livisi has a *to*-relativiser surviving at least in proverbs (§7.2.1.)) Since Cappadocian complementiser-*to* seems to have ultimately been a Turkism, this would have happened reasonably late—after Livisi would have already been cut off from Cappadocian. So Cappadocian may be ruled out as a source. Once western Asia Minor became Turkish-speaking, the only dialectal influence Livisi was subject to was through the sea—i.e. South-Eastern Greek. Yet there is nothing in South-Eastern Greek that looks like the Livisi complementation paradigm, apart from a slight extension in the use of *pu* with perception predicates (§6.10.4). The necessary conclusion is that the Livisi use of *pu* as a complementiser is an independent local innovation.

6.6. Mariupolitan

Mariupolitan was formerly spoken in the Crimea, and has been spoken in the southern Ukraine, around the town of Mariupol (formerly Zhdanov) since 1778. The dialect had coexisted for a long time in the Crimea with Tatar, a Turkic language—indeed, a sizeable proportion of the Crimean Greeks relocated to the Ukraine, the Urums, spoke (and speak) Tatar instead of Greek.

Greek linguists have taken little interest in this dialect of Greek. As a result, there is a minimal amount of text available to me; although Mariupolitan was used as a literary language in the 1930s, I have not been able to obtain any of the texts published under those circumstances, and the most extensive text I do have access to, AbrM, is a folk poem of 108 verses, with 11 realis complementisers. This sample is enough, however, to demonstrate a significant fact about Mariupolitan: it does not use *pu* as a complementiser, even after emotive predicates. Of the 11 instances (with textual variation amongst the poem versions included), nine use *ot* < *oti*, including an emotive reaction (30a) and an emotive appraisal (30b):⁵⁴

and Cappadocian (the *qu'est-ce que*-collocation (Nicholas in prep.) is one such affinity); he further notes (Dawkins 1921: Addenda) that “much might be added as to the links between this Greek of Asia Minor and Cyprus and the dialects of the Southern Sporades [= Dodecanese], of Lower Italy and els[e]where and their common medieval character”, and speculates that these affinities point back to an Eastern variant of Koine Greek (Dawkins 1916: 214).

⁵⁴Other fragments of Mariupolitan available to me confirm this finding about Mariupolitan emotive complements:

- (31a) Σις έξσιτ μέγα βαχτ, **στ'** ίζετς γιάςς ατόρα./ Δεν κςέρετε εςίς το εμπριζνό γιαςςλίχ!
 sis efit mega vaxt, **ot** isets γιαf atora./ den kserete esis to ebrizno γιαflix!
 You have a great *vaxt* (?), **that** you are of the current age; you do not know of the erstwhile age! (KostLH 163)

- (30a) *Limbizmen ot' perasan n' dunja liyus piđija.*
 limbizmen *ot* perasan n dunja liyus piđija.
 Regretting **that** they had traversed life without children. (AbrM 4)
- (30b) *Tušnimen imas ot erasam, ki den exum piđija.*
 tušnimen imas *ot* erasam, ki den exum piđija.
 It worries us **that** we have grown old, and we do not have children. (AbrM^{Sa} 19)

The remaining two realis complementisers are *tu*, corresponding to the relativiser *to* (*tu* after vowel raising) already seen at work in Cappadocia and the Pontus. In one instance (32a), *tu* occurs as a textual variant of *ot* in (30a); in the other (32b), *tu* acts as a nominaliser, converting the verb *kles* ‘you cry’ into the event *tu kles* ‘crying’—something more apparent in the textual variant (32c):

- (32a) *Ke limbizmen tu perasan pes tu pula m' plušija.*
 ke limbizmen *tu* perasan pes tu pula m plušija.
 Regretting **that** they had traversed in plenty with riches. (AbrM^S 4)
- (32b) *Sara, ksapela-tu tu kles, tun Isak si ortun.*
 sara, ksapela tu *tu kles*, tun isak si ortun.
 Sarah, stop **crying** (‘stop it; that; you cry’) and awaken Isaac. (AbrM 69)
- (32c) *Ksapela Sara, son' tu kles, ortun Isak, 's ynefisi.*
 ksapela sara, son *tu kles*, ortun isak, s ynefisi.
 Stop, Sarah, enough of **your crying** (‘that you.cry is.enough’), wake Isaac up,
 let him awake. (AbrM^{Sar} 69)

In Cappadocian and Pontic, I have dismissed complementiser-*to* as a Turkism, and not an echo of complementiser-*pu* in any way. There is no reason to challenge this conclusion for Mariupolitan, given its long coexistence with Turkic Tatar. That *tu* is limited in our sample to two factive contexts is not proof of any connection with *pu*.

The interpretation of this data depends on how we relate Mariupolitan to the other Greek dialects. On the basis of phonological investigation—including the fact that Mariupolitan has Northern Greek vocalism—Pappou-Zhuravliova (1995:50) stresses the connection of Mariupolitan to Northern Greek. Not having seen an extensive presentation of Zhuravliova’s position, I cannot evaluate her arguments; but the texts make clear that, in both lexicon and morphology, Mariupolitan cannot have much to do with Northern Greek; Mariupolitan is much too archaic and idiosyncratic to be related to a dialect which is essentially mainstream Greek with minor phonological differences.⁵⁵

-
- (31b) *Кала экама от теграпса заявления на металаксу т дьулья-м.*
 kala ekama *ot* t eyrapsa zajavlenija na metalaksu t đulija m.
 I did well **to** write him a statement for me to change my job. (Kiryakov
 1989:253)

⁵⁵A more plausible picture of what mainstream Greek might look like after being cut off for five centuries from Greece is given by Bithynian—agreed to have been transplanted from Greece at around 1500.

The obvious dialect to relate Mariupolitan to is Pontic.⁵⁶ There are good reasons to do so. First, the Greek Pontus is geographically the likeliest region to have colonised Crimea (if we accept that Mariupolitan is the result of mediaeval colonisation, subsequent to the formation of Modern Greek dialects, and not a direct descendant of the Greek spoken there in antiquity). In the Late Middle Ages, the Southern Crimea, known as *Perateia* ('Land Beyond') was administered by the Pontic Empire of Trebizond, whose emperors styled themselves "of all Anatolia, Iberia [Georgia], and Perateia" (Dawkins 1937:17).

Furthermore, there are definite linguistic affinities with Pontic. Dawkins (1937:22) names as a "curious resemblance" the fact that Turkic verbs in Pontic and Mariupolitan end in *-evu/evo*, rather than *-dizo/do*, as in Cappadocian and Standard Greek. To this, one can add the form of 'from' (Mariupolitan *ax* and (Karakuba sub-dialect) *as*, Pontic and Pharasa *as*, Cappadocian *ap(o)*, Silli *op*, CSMG *apo*; the Pontic form appears to be a reflex of Ancient *eks*, rather than *apó*);⁵⁷ the use of *pa* 'also' < *palin* 'again' as an enclitic discourse connective (otherwise attested only in Pontic and Pharasa); and several lexical parallels, which have not been systematically studied yet. Pointing out elements of Pontic which are "attested sometimes obviously, and sometimes less clearly," Černyšova (cited in Karpozilos 1985:110), one of the Ukrainian linguists who has worked extensively on Mariupolitan, concludes that Greeks may have come to the Crimea from western Asia Minor and the Pontus after the fall of Trebizond, in 1461.

Weighing against a Pontic affiliation of Mariupolitan is the judgement of Dawkins, the linguist who surveyed Silliot and Cappadocian *in situ*, and also worked extensively on Pontic. In his survey article on Pontic, Dawkins (1937:21) states that "this Mariupol Greek hardly concerns the present paper, for the first and most notable point about it is that it is not a Pontic dialect." There are several characteristic archaisms and innovations of Pontic which Mariupolitan does not share.⁵⁸

⁵⁶Indeed, Contossopoulos (1994:11) calls Mariupolitan "Pontic of Crimea–Mariupol" without further discussion.

⁵⁷Papadopoulos (1961) gives the following derivations: *eks* > *aks* > *as* (Kapsomenos); *ap tó* > *af to* > *aθ to* > *as to* (Ikonomidis 1958 [1940]); analogy of *is ton* 'to the' against *ap ton* 'from the' (Pernot). Of these hypotheses, Ikonomidis' *f* > *θ* is rare, and his one precedent for *θ* > *s* is highly speculative; so his derivation is implausible. Whether *as* < *apó* by analogy with *is*, or *as* < *eks*, at any rate, Mariupolitan clearly groups with Pontic rather than Cappadocian.

⁵⁸The particularities of Pontic Dawkins points out which are absent from Mariupolitan include both archaisms—the *-on* imperative, the archaic possessive pronouns, the obligatory postposition of clitic objects, and *e:* > *e*—and innovations—the second declension MASC.GEN.SG ending *-onos*, the plural *-andi* ending, the 2.PL pronoun *esit*, and the absence of a PERFS form. Furthermore, while Pontic does not have the Modern realis negator *den*, but retains archaic *ki* < *oukí*, Mariupolitan has both *den* and *t'i* < *ki*.

While both Mariupolitan and Pontic partially displace the Greek gender system in favour of an animacy-based system (a typological shift with no motivation from Turkish), they do so differently: in Mariupolitan inanimate nouns are neuter, while in Pontic animacy affects only determiners and adjectives, and Mariupolitan merges the feminine gender with the neuter, while Pontic merges it with the masculine. As Dawkins (1937:22–23) comments,

The question is, if Mariupolitan is not most closely related to Pontic, what is it related to? The answer, Dawkins feels, is Silliot—although the list of features they have in common is not impressive,⁵⁹ particularly as all but the Turkic numerals are also characteristic of Western Cappadocian. Identifying Silli against Western Cappadocia, however, is not as important as Dawkins' (1937:23) speculation that “we seem to be faced with a kind of Greek intermediate between the language of Pontos and that of the western part of the Greek world.” In other words, Mariupolitan and Silliot are remnants of an Old Western/Central Anatolian Greek, reflecting an erstwhile linguistic reality disrupted by Turkish invasions, but distinct from Old Northern Anatolian Greek—i.e. Pontic.

Dawkins' surmise on Silli matches very well a fact emerging from this diatopic study: Mariupolitan and Silliot are the only two dialects of Modern Greek in which *oti* is used regularly with emotive predicates. This would indicate that the two dialects preserve an archaic state of affairs—matching that of Middle Greek, where *oti* was the only realis complementiser (possibly together with the supplementary participle), and before *pu* spread to emotive complements. That Cappadocian does not pattern with Mariupolitan and Silliot is not a problem, if we accept that complementiser-*to* is a Turkism, which in league with *ki* displaced any traces of older complementation strategies. The same holds for Pharasa, in which *oti* survives only as a verbal clitic.

As to the use of *tu* as a complementiser, this is already familiar from Pontic and Cappadocian, and there is no reason to doubt that it arose by the same calquing of a Turkic personal participle. The use of *tu* in (32b) as an explicit nominaliser reinforces this derivation, and underlines the derivation of *tu* ‘clausal determiner’ from *tu* ‘nominal determiner’.

6.7. *Italiot*

The developments investigated up to this point all occurred in dialects on the Eastern periphery of Greek (but for Tsakonian), and all involved an expansion of *pu* down the Evaluation modality axis. On the opposite side of the Greek periphery, the developments in Italiot involve a much lesser presence of *pu* (reminiscent of Pontic); but unlike the foregoing dialects, the expansion has also taken place along the Information modality axis, and is independent of anything taking place elsewhere in Greek.

The dominant complementiser in both Apulian and Calabrian Italiot is *ti* (Rohlf's 1950:225), for which I accept here the derivation from *hóti* (§B.3). This

In these breakings down of the old system of gender and declension the Pontic and Mariupol dialects have clearly something in common, but the lines along which the development has gone are so very different that any relation between the two dialects must be regarded as extremely remote.

⁵⁹The list includes disuse of nominative masculine and feminine articles, possessee–possessor ordering, Turkic numbers borrowed for ‘eighty’ and ‘ninety’, and clitic postposition in all affirmative matrix clauses, but not in negative or subordinate clauses. As to number borrowing, Ulagaç texts use a Turkish word for ‘one hundred’ (Dawkins 1916:117), and Mariupolitan also borrows a Turkic form for ‘seventy’.

complementiser is used throughout the realis complement paradigm, including emotives:

- (33a) *Egò ringrazièò ton Christò, ti asc'ettùna den èfaga.*
 ego ringratsieo ton xristo, **ti** aʃ et:una den efaga.
Io ringrazio il Signore, che di queste cose non ho mangiato.
 I thank God **that** I did not eat any of those things. (DGC 30; Chorio di Rochudi, Calabria)
- (33b) *jati, cí pu xerèamo/ 'ti s'ixa sto grattài,/ fariamo 'ti mu fènato/ 'ti, nà, toso mmu pai'.*
 jati, tʃi pu xereamo/ **ti** s ixa sto grat:ai,/ fariamo ti mu fenato/ ti, 'na, tos:o m:u pai.
perchè, nel mentre godevo/ che ti avevo nel lettuccio,/ temevo, perchè mi sembrava/ che tu, ecco, d'un tratto mi sfuggissi.
 for just as I was glad **that** I had you in my little bed, I was fearful, because it seemed to me that, lo!, just like that you could leave me. (Palumbo 56; Calimera, Apulia)

The presence of other complementisers in the paradigm—*ka*, *tʃe*, and *pos*—is vestigial.⁶⁰

⁶⁰Apulian Italiot has imported *ka*, the usual realis complementiser throughout Southern Italian (Rohlf's 1949–1954:III 76). Just like *ti*, *ka* is used throughout the realis complement paradigm, including emotives:

- (34) *ime kuintento ka irte*
ich freue mich, daß du gekommen bist
 I'm happy **that** you came (Rohlf's 1950:225; Apulia)
- Rohlf's (1964:örti 'daß') believes *ka* is well on the way to displacing *ti* in Apulia. This is reflected in my admittedly small corpus, where the proportion of *ti* to *ka* outside Palumbo is 9:9. (In Palumbo, the proportion is 147:1; but one should recall that Palumbo's text is old (turn of the century), and that, as someone using the dialect for literary purposes and familiar with Standard Modern Greek, Palumbo may have been puristic in his approach to complementation, deliberately avoiding the Italian form.) Similarly, Italiot uses *tʃe* 'and' (Rohlf's 1977:209) as a complementiser, following other Greek dialects in paratactic complementation; unlike other dialects, however, this is not a salient feature of Italiot.
- The extent to which *pos* is present in Italiot is enigmatic. Throughout his career, Rohlf's (1950; 1964) was adamant that *pos* was not in use in Italiot as a complementiser. Latterly, he revised this judgement (Rohlf's 1977:205), in the light of (35a). As it turns out, there are only two instances of complementiser-*pos* in my Apulian corpus—one from Palumbo (35a) and one from a song recorded by Lampikis (35b); for Calabrian, there is only (35c).
- (35a) *Çe leo pos isela n'in apantiso,/ lio mmanexi—tti na tis miliso*
 tʃe leo **pos** isela n in apantiso,/ lio m:anexi—ti na tis miliso
E dico che vorrei incontrarla,/ un po' sola sola per parlare
 And I say **that** I would like to meet her, a little while on her own, so I could speak to her (Palumbo 16; Calimera, Apulia)
- (35b) *'Οντοι για σε μου λέουν/ πως είσαι μια τυατέρα/ όρημα τσαι κακιά.*
 oŋi gia se mu leun/ **pos** ise mia tiatera/ oria ma tse kakia.
 They all tell me about you **that** you are a beautiful but cruel maiden. (Lampikis 47; Sternatia, Apulia)
- (35c) *άρτε χωρείτε/ πο καμ-μάν ημέρα/ τελειών-νει ούλ-λοι ο κόσμος/ για ετ-τούνδοι κάβουροι στημένοι.*
 arte xorite/ **po** kam:an imera/ teljon:i uli o kozmo/ gia et:undi kavuri stimeni.
τόρα θα ιδήτε/ ότι καμμιάν ημέρα/ τελειώνει όλος ο κόσμος/ εξ αιτίας αυτών των ψημμένων καβουριών.
 tora tha idite/ **oti** kamian imera/ telioni olos o kosmos/ eks etias afton ton psimenon kavurion.

Somewhat less infrequent in Italiot is *pu*. There are 16 instances of its use in my Apulian corpus (0.62‰ of all words; cf. 0.61‰ for *The Third Wedding*), and at least 25 instances in my Calabrian corpus (0.24‰); to these should be added three Apulian instances recorded in HDMS 828 and 836. Its scarcity as a complementiser is attested by the fact that as thorough-going a field linguist as Rohlfs (1950:120) found no instances of its use as either a complementiser or a relativiser in Calabria.⁶¹ Nor is the complementiser listed as a function of *pu* in Karanastasis' (1991) dictionary of Italiot.

Of these 44 instances of complementiser-*pu*, nine involve perception predicates, and 14 involve emotive predicates. The perception complements are all direct; six of them even include a distinct nominal object of perception. These instances are thus unremarkable from a CSMG viewpoint—although a stative complement as in (36a) would not be acceptable in CSMG (cf. English **when she saw them being so nice and white.*)

- (36a) *Pos tes ivre i principissa pu issa tósso máñese ásprese, évale mía sto stóma ée addivéntegwe gaðára.*
 pos tes ivre i printʃipis:a **pu** is:a tos:o mañese asprese, evale mia sto stoma tʃe ad:iventegwe gaðara.
Quando le vide la principessa che erano tanto belle bianche, ne mise una nella bocca e diventava asina.
 When the princess saw **that** they were so nice and white, she put one in her mouth and turned into a donkey. (TNC 251.36; Roccaforte, Calabria)⁶²

For a further five instances, *pu* occurs with cognitive predetermined truth predicates. This much is unsurprising from a CSMG point of view; but *pu* appears in

Now you will see **that** one day the whole world will end because of these roasted crabs (=astronauts). (HDMS 924:70; Galliciano, Calabria)

(While *pu* does have an allomorph *po* in Italiot (as elsewhere in Greek: §B.4.1), one may rule it out in (35c): *po* is conditioned by /u#e/ > /o/, and *kam:a* 'some' does not have a variant **ekam:a* attested. Although normally *pos* going to *po* forces the following consonant to geminate in compensation (*po kam:a*), as becomes clear in TNC, the simplest explanation here is that this is an instance of complementiser-*pos*, with /s/ irregularly dropping off.)

To say that *pos* has a vestigial presence in Italiot is thus an understatement; this is all the more noteworthy, since Mediaeval Italiot arguably used *pos* as a complementiser:

- (35d) (1042)

και πάλιν ο άγιος ρηξ επερότησεν τον επίσκοπον και η εκκλησία έχει σιγίλλιον είτε σύστασιν ετέραν εκ την διακράτησιν αυτής; ο δε επίσκοπος είπεν έχει η εκκλησία και σιγίλλιον και σίστασι **το πως** επικρατεί

ke palin o agios riks eperotisen ton episkopon ke i eklisia exi siyilion ite sistasin eteran ek tin diakratisin aftis? o ðe episkopos ipen exi i eklisia ke siyilion ke sistasi **to pos** epikrati

And once more the holy king asked the bishop: "And does the church have either another seal or another letter on its dominion?" And the bishop said: "The church has both a seal and a letter [indicating] **that** (how? to what extent?) it has dominion" (Cusa: *Diplomi della chiesa di Monreale* vii)

⁶¹Taibbi & Caracausi, who worked on older printed Calabrian Italiot texts, describe it as "nonetheless less frequent [than *ti*]" (Taibbi & Caracausi 1959:lxviii).

⁶²My thanks to Dr John Hajek for checking my translations from the Italian in this and the following chapters.

apposition with the noun *fat:o* ‘fact’ (36b), something which never occurs in CSMG (**to γεγονος pu*).

- (36b) *Ma, san írte kulattsyóni, tu esinírte to fáto **pu** tos íto miryáonda to kréa eínò tos tesséro animalucúcio*
*ma, san irte kulatsjoni, tu esinirte to fat:o **pu** tos ito mirjaonda to krea etfino tos tes:ero animalut:šio*
*Ma, quando venne l’ora del pranzo, si ricordò del fatto **che** aveva diviso la carne a quei quattro animalucci*
 But when lunchtime came, he recalled the fact **that** he had shared the meat out to the four little animals (TNC 145.18; Roccaforte, Calabria)

In a further two instances, the expansion of *pu* has followed a path familiar from other dialects: it has been generalised to weak assertive (36c) and linguistic (36d) contexts:

- (36c) *San du efáni eínú **pu** ívre mian gali varvakáni áše liθárya, eyírie t’ apánu apukátu ée angrémme tim bóvero alapúda.*
*san du efani etšinu **pu** ivre mian gali varvakani aše liθarja, ejirie t’ apanu apukatu tše angrém:ie tim bovero alapuða.*
*Quando parve a lui **di** vedere un bel ponticello di pietre, girò il sopra sotto e fece precipitare la povera volpe.*
 When it seemed to him **that** he found a lovely little bridge, he turned upside down and make the poor fox fall over. (TNC 28.3; Roccaforte, Calabria)
- (36d) *E ti supe? **Pu** en érchete ja macada, ka ste ce travudí.*
*e ti su pe? **pu** en erxete dža makada, ka ste tše travudi.*
 «Και τι σοῦπε»;—«*Ὅτι δεν το κουνάει από τη θέση του, μόν’ κάθεται και τραγουδά*».
 “ke ti su pe?” “**oti** ðen to kunai apo ti thesi tu, mon kaθete ke τραyuða.”
 “And what did he tell you?” “**That** he will not move; he just sits and keeps singing.” (Dizikirikis 1968:16; Apulia)

But in the remaining 14 instances, Italiot innovates in an unprecedented manner: rather than expand down the Evaluation Modality axis, to include non-predetermined predicates, *pu* expands along the Information Modality axis, to include Predetermined complements involving Occurrence and Action rather than Truth. This is a major deviation from other Greek dialects: whereas *pu* normally competes with *pos*, Occurrence and Action are squarely the domain of *na* in mainstream Greek (but for perception complements). Thus, *pu* is used, particularly in Calabrian Italiot, to introduce the complements of ‘it happened that’-predicates.

- (37a) *Evrèsi **pu** jávike mía aleáta*
*evresi **pu** javike mia aleata*
Passò per caso una vacca
 it was found (= it happened) **that** a cow passed by (Rohlf 1950:231; Zollino, Apulia)
 (CSMG: *etixe **na** ðiaveni mia ayelada*)
- (37b) *Írte **pu** ésteče peθένonda ée o cúrise, ée tútose o cúrise íçe dío éípuse ée éna póði áše appíðya.*
*irte **pu** estece peθενonnda tše o tšurise, tše tutose o tšurise iče ðio tšipuse tše ena poði aše ap:iðja.*

*Avvenne **che** stava morendo anche il padre, e questo padre aveva due orti ed un albero di pere.*

It happened ('it came') **that** the father was also dying, and this father had two orchards and a pear tree. (TNC 23.1; Roccaforte, Calabria)

There are also a couple of instances in Palumbo's poetry where *pu* follows a Predetermined Action predicate. Whereas with Occurrence predicates English allows *that*, this is not possible for Action predicates (**I managed it **that** I brought together God's grace*); so this is an appreciable deviation from the norm.

- (37c) *oles ttes tenne kkànnonta,/ larga a'tti Kkalimèra,/ èftasa **pu** 'in essiànosa/ ti xhari ttu Teù.*
*oles ttes ten:e k'an:onta,/ larga a ti k'alimera,/ eftasa **pu** in es:ianosa/ ti x:ari t:u teu.*
*facendo tutti i mestieri/ lontano da Calimera,/ perveni **a mettere** insieme/ la grazia di Dio.*
 Doing all sorts of jobs, far from Calimera, I managed **to** bring together God's grace. (Palumbo 169; Calimera, Apulia)⁶³

While there is no precedent for such a development within the complementiser paradigm, the fact that *pu* occurs in complements presenting events ('it happened that') is reminiscent of its analysis as an [+event] complementiser in CSMG by Ginzburg & Kolliakou (1997 [1995]) (§4.4.2), and its association with events as a temporal connective. So there is autonomous justification for the expansion.

There is one last complement construction where *pu* appears unexpectedly. Apulian includes amongst its auxiliary formations the construction *steo tfe VERB* 'stand and VERB' as a progressive (Rohlf's 1950:222); for example, *steo tfe armazome* 'I stand and marry = I am getting married'. Although Pontic uses a very similar construction, there is no reason to dispute Rohlf's (1977:222) interpretation of this as a calque of the Italian dialectal construction *sta VERB_{FINITE}* 'I stand VERB_{FINITE}', with the same meaning (e.g. *sta sséntu* 'I stand I feel = I am feeling').

After describing this phenomenon, with *steo*, *pao* 'go = continue', and *piano* 'take = start', Morosi (1870:156) describes the uses of *pu* in the same context:

Sometimes in this case we find not *tfe* but *pu* with the indicative in place of *na* with the subjunctive; e.g. *steo pu klon:o* 'I am going to sleep'. But this always indicates, as should be clear, an action being carried out in the present or understood in the present.

Morosi clearly indicates that *pu* substitutes *na* and *tfe*, in introducing an action complement; the proviso of "an action being carried out in the present" prob-

⁶³The following example from Psichari involves a physical occurrence verb, but is better analysed as an instance of nominalisation in apposition:

- (37d) *Ένα μόνο κατόρθωσε, **που** όλος ο κόσμος τον έκλινε· «τον Τελαμών, του Τελαμών».*
*ena mono katorthose, **pu** olos o kosmos ton eklina: "ton telamon, tu telamon."*
 He only accomplished **one thing, that** everybody declined his name as 'Telamon (ACC), Telamon (GEN).' (PsichV¹ 84)

ably indicates that *pu* retains its Predetermined status in such cases—i.e. that the complement is still true.

The following example seems to prove such an exchange of *pu* and *tfe*:

- (37e) *ιλέανε, που στέουνε, που γλαίουνε τα παιδιά, έχουνε μέα βεσόν-νὸ ατσέ ν-νερό*
ileane, pu steune, pu gleune ta pedia, exune mea beson:ο atse n:ero
λέγουν (που) ὅτι κλαίνε τα παιδιά, έχουν μεγάλη ανάγκη από νερό
leyun (pu) oti klene ta pedia, exun megalι ananγι apo nero
 they said, when children are crying, they have great need of water (HDMS
 836:171; Corigliano, Apulia)⁶⁴

A hint at the origin of this construction is provided by its Calabrian counterpart: *steko VERB_{PART}* ‘I stand VERB-ing’ (Rohlf’s 1950:221), which corresponds exactly to the Standard Italian construction *sto VERB_{PART}*; e.g. *steko legonda* ‘I stand talking = I am talking’, corresponding to Standard Italian *sto dicendo*. The participle is in much greater use in Calabrian than in Apulian; it is still extant in supplementary use (e.g. Rohlf’s (1924:156) gives ‘started leaving’ as *embeáy fégonða* in Calabrian, but *entsiñásane na fiune* in Apulian), and is involved in other aspectual constructions (inchoative with *emben:o* ‘enter’, desiderative with *iθela* ‘want’.)

In a manner reminiscent of the borrowing of the Albanian Absolute into Greek (*me to pu < me tē + PARTICIPLE*) (Nicholas 1998b), the Apulian Italiots must have calqued the Italian (or early Italiot) participle in the *steo*-construction with a finite clause once the participle had died out, and found that *pu* was one way to match the semantics of the participle.⁶⁵ The Italian dialectal finite form *sta VERB* would no doubt have contributed to this; and there is fertile ground in Italiot for using *pu*-complements of phasal verbs; *steo* ‘stand = continue’ is just as much a Predetermined Action predicate as *eftasa* ‘managed’ in (37c). *eftasa pu* and *steo pu* may in fact be regarded as manifestations of the same phenomenon.

Italiot complementation is much like Anatolian complementation, in that it juxtaposes older and newer layers onto the paradigm. The unmarked complementiser is *ti*, and it preserves an archaic state of affairs just as *otfi* does in Silli. The survival of the supplementary participle in Calabrian has a similar role, and echoes what happens in Tsakonian. Other layers—*ka* in Apulian, *pos* and *tfe*—are imposed on top of the basic pattern, just like in Pontic and Cappadocian.

pu is present in the Italiot complementation paradigm, but its development is autonomous from what has gone on in Balkan Greek: not only has it expanded to weak assertives (to some degree), but it also takes up Occurrence and Action functions proscribed to it in CSMG; and it forms auxiliary verb formations in

⁶⁴Karanastasis’ gloss of this sentence is ‘they say that the children are crying, they have great need of water’. But this does not explain the second *pu*; and the presence of two clauses following ‘they said’ makes it likelier that the first *pu* is a temporal connective, and *steune pu gleune* ‘they stand that they cry’ is an instance of the progressive construction Morosi described.

⁶⁵The resulting construction is also reminiscent of the Lesbian *exo pu*-construction (§7.3.2), although its derivation is quite different.

the *steo pu* formation. These developments highlight once again that the development of *pu* as a complementiser is contingent on its linguistic environment, and not predetermined by its etymology.

6.8. Corfiot

Outside peripheral dialects of Greek, the extension of *pu* as a complementiser has also taken place in the mainstream dialect of Corfu. Unlike Thracian, this fact has not attracted scholarly attention. The only mention I have found is an aside in Pernot's grammar of Tsakonian:

M.D. (Michael Deffner) cites amongst his examples εκιού μ' επέτξερε π' ώγι τσίπτα (ecu m epetxere *p* oni tsipta), and translates it as εσύ μου είπες *πως* δεν είναι τίποτα (esi mu ipes *pos* den ine tipota) 'you told me **that** it was nothing'. We are probably in the presence of εσύ με είπες *που* δεν είναι τίποτα (esi me ipes *pu* den ine tipota) (Constantinople; and Corfiot as far as *pu* is concerned.) (Pernot 1934:370) (My emphases)

That is to say, Tsakonian resembles Constantinopolitan in using an accusative pronoun as an indirect object, and in using a *pu*-cognate to introduce linguistic complements; it also resembles Corfiot, in the latter aspect.⁶⁶



Map 3. Corfu and adjacent islands

⁶⁶This is the sole scholarly mention of the phenomenon I know of. The one linguistic work I am aware of specifically on Corfiot, Hitiris' (1987) vocabulary, which contains a grammatical appendix, makes no mention of it; nor does the much briefer 1916 description of Argyrades dialect by G. Salvanos, which I have inspected at the National Library of Athens.

The picture of complementation apparent from HDMS data varies regionally. There are six manuscripts held in the centre from the Diapontii Islands (HDMS 793, 805, 805A, 817, 841, 842; 1961–1964). I have gathered 75 instances of realis complements from these texts, including 17 weak assertives and 35 linguistic predicates. Only 11 complements are not introduced by *pu*: all are linguistic complements but for one weak assertive (38d). Of these, five complements are false (38a), two modal (38c, 38e—*oti na*), and one quotative (38b). Furthermore, all the non-*pu* complements are introduced by *oti* or *ti* < *oti* but for two instances of *pos* (38f, 38g):

- (38a) Εσύ, Οβραίο, γιατί είπες του αδρός της **ότι** είναι κακιά, **ότι** είναι δημόσια να πούμε...;
 esi, ovreo, jati ipes tu adros tis **oti** ine kaca, **oti** ine dimosja na pume...?
 You, Jew, why did you tell her husband **that** she was a bad woman, **that** she was a wanton, as it were? (HDMS 805A:56; Othoni)
- (38b) Και του είπε το καματερό **ότι** όποιο ζωδανό δείξω εγώ, εκείνο θα βάλης με μένα να δουλέψωμε.
 ke tu ipe to kamatero **oti** opjo zodano dikso ego, ekino tha valis me mena na dulepsome.
 And the ox told him **that** ‘whichever animal I point out to you, that animal you will put to work with me.’ (HDMS 805A:74; Othoni)
- (38c) Λέει σε μια γριγιά αυτός **ότι να** πλανέση τη γυναίκα του. Η γριγιά λέει: «Παναία, βοήθα» λέει. Αυτή σπού έφυγε ο άδρας της κ' εκουνάρισε το παιδί της και το σπούδαξε. Να πάει να τση πη, τση λέει, **ότι** ήρθε γράμμα τ' αδρός της.
 lei se mja grija aftos **oti na** planesi ti yineka tu. i grija lei: “panaia voiθα” lei. afti opu efive o adras tis k ekunarise to pedi tis ke to spuðakse. na pai na tsi pi, tsi lei, **oti** irthe yrama t adros tis.
 He says to an old woman **that** he was to trick his wife (*modal*). The old woman says: ‘Our Lady help us!’, says she. When her husband left and she both brought her child up and put it through school. She should go and tell her, says he, **that** a letter from her husband has come (*false*). (HDMS 805A:83; Othoni)
- (38d) Ο Λίζας του Νάπα από του Λούτση εγύριζε με ένα μαγιατικάκι στο χέρι και του 'καζότανε **ότι** εβάστουνε αλάκερο δράκοντα από τη χαρά του.
 o lizas tu napa apo tu lutsi eyirize me ena mayiatikaki sto xeri ke tu kazotane **oti** evastune alakero ðrakoda apo ti xara tu.
 Napas' son Lizas was coming back from Lutsis' place with a tunny fish in his hand, and he was so happy you'd think **that** he was holding an entire dragon. (HDMS 841:76; Erikoussa)
- (38e) Έπειτα ο αδερφός της τσ' είπε **ότι να** πάη να ιδή τι κάνη αυτό το κορίτσι.
 epita o aderfos tis ts ipe **oti na** pai na idi ti kani afto to koritsi.
 Then her brother told her **to** go and see what that girl was up to. (HDMS 841:242; Erikoussa)
- (38f) Πώς εσύ ήξερες **πως** το παιδί είναι χωρίς μάτια μέσα 'ς την μάννα του.
 'pos esi ikseres **pos** to pedi ine xoris matja mesa s tin mana tu.
 How did you know **that** the child had no eyes in his mother's womb? (HDMS 842:262; Othoni)
- (38g) Εγώ ήρθα να σου πω **πως** είμαι εκείνος που περιφρονούσαν...
 ego irθα na su po **pos** ime ekinos pu eperifronusan...
 I've come to tell you **that** I am the one they looked down upon... (HDMS 842:265; Othoni)

The complementiser distribution for the Diapontii Islands is thus: 100% *pu* for obligatory-*pu* and optional-*pu* categories, 94% for cognitive weak assertives, 71% for determined linguistic predicates. For the linguistic instances, there are conditioning factors at work in preventing the use of *pu*—e.g. anti-factivity (falsehood) or quotativity; but they do not apply consistently.

The spread of *pu* in the Diapontii Islands is so extensive, it is even used to introduce Determined Occurrence complements, where CSMG would use *na*:

- (39) Ακαρτέρουσα *όπου θα* μου μηνύσης να 'ρθω.
 akarterusa 'οπου θα mu minisis na rθo.
 I was waiting for you **to** send me word to come. (HDMS 842:249; Erikoussa)
 (CSMG: *perimena na mu minisis na rθo*)

A similar development has already been remarked upon for Italiot, although it does not seem to have become as entrenched here. The result has the same implications here as it does in Italiot for the general development of complementiser-*pu*.⁶⁷

On Corfu itself, the picture is less clear-cut. There are weak assertive-*pu* complements attested throughout the island—in Kassioplia, Agios Mattheos, and Hlomos. There are also linguistic-*pu* complements attested for Agios Mattheos, Hlomos, and Agros; two instances of *pu* from Agros and Agios Mattheos (1292: II 110) introduce false complements. And Sinarades has a knowledge acquisition predicate (*δixno* 'show') take a *pu*-complement. But there are also *oti*- and *pos*-complements attested for Corfu: a weak assertive *oti* in Hlomos, a weak assertive *pos* in Agios Mattheos, and a linguistic *pos* in Sinarades.⁶⁸ This means that *pos* had by no means been eliminated from the complementiser paradigm; as seems to have been the case with Thracian, *pos* was probably marked as a dubitative.

The extension of *pu* seems to also characterise Paxi, south of Corfu. In HDMS 830 (1963), there are two linguistic-*pu* complements (pp. 252, 302), although there are no cognitive weak assertives.⁶⁹ This seems to be the furthest geographical extent of Corfiot-*pu*: there is no evidence I know of such spread in Epirus, to the east of Corfu, or Lefkada, to the south of Paxi.⁷⁰

Note that the little fieldwork carried out by the Historical Dictionary on Corfu was rather late: HDMS 807 dates from 1962, HDMS 956 from 1970, and HDMS

⁶⁷This instance could also be a temporal *pu*; if so, it has the meaning 'until' for *pu*, rather than the more usual 'when'. Then again, the meaning 'since' for *pu* is attested in Othoni (§7.4.6); so arguably this is a manifestation of a semantic generalisation of temporal *pu* in the Diapontii islands.

⁶⁸Weak assertive-*pu*: Kassioplia (HDMS 807:115), Agios Mattheos (1292:II 24), Hlomos (1292:I 13, I 24). Linguistic-*pu*: Agios Mattheos (1292:II 110, 120, 121), Hlomos (1292:I 114), Agros (1292:II 174). Weak assertive *oti* in Hlomos (1292:I 13); weak assertive *pos* in Agios Mattheos (1292:II 74); linguistic *pos* in Sinarades (956:26); knowledge acquisition *pu* in Sinarades (807:290).

⁶⁹There is a semi-factive knowledge acquisition *pu*-complement after *katalaveno* 'realise' (p. 58).

⁷⁰Nikolaos Moutzouris (pers. comm.) at the Historical Dictionary Centre of the Academy of Athens believes there is similar usage in Zante; but I have found no textual evidence of this.

1292 from 1986. So the Corfiot complementation system may well have started breaking down by the time the texts were recorded; its preservation in the Diapontii Islands is consistent with their relative isolation.

The one early piece of linguistic fieldwork available to me is Salvanos' (1929 [1917]) collection of folkloric material from Argyrades, where Salvanos was the local schoolteacher. The evidence for complementiser-*pu* is tenuous: for linguistic determined predicates, the proportion of *pu* to *pos* is 1:20, while for weak assertives, it is 1:2. The text shows that the Argyrades villagers are aware of Salvanos' standing as a learned man, and speak to him deferentially; nevertheless, their speech is consistently Corfiot in all other ways, and there is a wide range of speakers consulted, so there is no reason to suppose the complementation data is 'corrected' in the direction of Standard Greek. So compared to the Diapontii Islands, *pu* is severely restricted in Argyrades, at least for linguistic predicates. We do not have enough data to tell whether this was a uniform north-south gradient, incorporating Paxi.

The best literary evidence of Corfiot complementation lies in the prose of Konstantinos Theotokis, a native of the village of Karousades, who wrote in early *xx* AD. Even in Theotokis, the evidence is not overwhelming, and is contingent on whether the narrator's voice or the characters' is used: although his narratives are written with dialectal lexis, dialectal morphology and syntax only become apparent in dialogue. So in his novella *Honour and Money*, the narrator uses *pu* as a complementiser 5 times, and *pos* 50 times, whereas dialogue uses *pu* 31 times and *pos* 12 times. In particular, the counts for *leyo* 'say' are 0:7 for the narrator, but 9:3 for dialogue. Similarly, while in narration the non-assertive linguistic action predicate *kano* 'pretend' occurs twice, with *pos*, in dialogue it occurs once, with *pu*:

- (40a) Δεν ακούς, ε! 'Η κάνεις **που** δεν ακούς. Ξύπνα, λέω, ξύπνα.
 ðen akus, e! i kanis **pu** ðen akus. ksipna, leo, ksipna.
 You can't hear me, can you! Or you're pretending not **to** hear me. Wake up, I tell you, wake up! (TheotM 10)

There are no instances of weak assertive cognitive *pu*-complements in *Honour and Money*, but there is at least one instance in his short stories (which are overall, however, less Corfiot in their complementation than *Honour and Money*):

- (40b) Της φάνηκε **που** εγώ την αντιβιάδιαζα στα κέφια της. Και τι με μέλει ποιος και ποιος τήνε μαλλάζει;
 tis fanike **pu** ego tin antivaðiaza sta kefia tis. ke ti me meli pios ke pios tine malazi?
 It seemed to her **that** I was going against her fun. But what do I care about who feels her up? (TheotC 69)

In the text of Theotokis' translation of *Hamlet*, the complementation counts are as follows:⁷¹

Complement	43
CSMG-Obligatory	17
PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH REACTIONS	16/1 (94%)
PREDETERMINED EMOTIVE TRUTH APPRAISALS	1/0 (100%)
CSMG-Optional	17
PREDETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC	1/0 (100%)
PERCEPTION	5/10 (33%)
PREDETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE/PHYSICAL	8/13 (38%)
STATIC	6/9 (40%)
KNOWLEDGE ACQ'N	2/4 (33%)
SUBJECT	3/0 (100%)
CSMG-Unacceptable	9
STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE	1/14 (7%)
WEAK DETERMINED TRUTH COGNITIVE	5/20 (20%)
STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH LINGUISTIC	2/36 (5%)
STRONG DETERMINED FUTURE TRUTH LINGUISTIC	0/3 (0%)
NON-ASSERTIVE ACTION LINGUISTIC	0/2 (0%)
STRONG DETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE	1/1 (50%)
UNDETERMINED TRUTH EMOTIVE	0/3 (0%)

The breakdown in the *pos/pu* distinction in this text is discernible, but slight. Of the five weak assertive instances of *pu*, four complements are true, while in the fifth, the complement is questioned, but still presumed true by the speaker:

- (41a) Πιστεύεις *που* ο Αλέξανδρος θα 'χε τέτοιαν ειδή μέσα στη γη;
 pistevis *pu* o aleksadros tha xe tetian idi mesa sti yi?
Dost thou think Ø Alexander looked o'this fashion i'th'earth? (TheotH 228)

This would suggest that *pu* is still associated with presupposition of some sort. On the other hand, the direct/indirect perception distinction has completely broken down:

- (41b) άφησέ τον/ για ένα ζευγάρι κάκοσμα φιλιά./ για μια χτυπιά για μέτωπο στο σβέρκο./
 να ιδεί *που* ουσιαστικά τρελός δεν είμαι/ μα από πονήρια.
 afise ton/ gia ena zevhari kakosma filia./ gia mia xtipia gia metoro sto sverko./ na
 idi *pu* usiastika trelos den ime/ ma apo poniria.
*and let him, for a pair of reechy kisses,/ or paddling in your neck with his
 damned fingers,/ make you to ravel all this matter out, (here: let him... see)/
 that I essentially am not in madness,/ but mad in craft.* (TheotH 173)

The evidence overall points to this expansion in *pu* being a strictly local phenomenon: linguistically and historically, Corfu patterns with the other Heptanesian islands in speaking a southern Greek dialect close to Peloponnesian, and not a northern Greek idiom. Furthermore, the northern Greek territory it neighbours, Epirus, is not an area where *pu* has spread in functionality. While the island was resettled a few times after being depopulated in recent history (Katsaros 1981), none of the places known to be sources of colonists suggest a

⁷¹There are no instances of *oti* as a complementiser in the text.

likely Thracian influence. And even though Albania is quite close to Corfu, and Albanians did take part in the major resettlement of Corfu in 1587 (Katsaros 1981:110), there is no evidence of Albanian linguistic influence on Corfiot. The overwhelming influence here, as with the other Heptanesa, has been Italian; but there is no evidence of Italian encroaching on anything but lexis in Corfiot.

There is only slight evidence of an extension of complementiser-*pu* elsewhere in the Heptanesa. In Minotou's extensive collection of texts from Zante (around 50,000 words), there are only a couple of instances of *pu* spreading to contexts unusual for CSMG:

- (42a) Τσ' ημέρες που κοντολόγαε να γεννήση, εμηνύσανε του βασιλιά *που* αν δεν πάη, χάνει την καλύτερή του χώρα.
 ts imeres pu kodologae na yenisi, eminisane tu vasilia *pu* an den pai, xani tin kaliteri tu xora.
 The days she was close to giving birth, they sent word to the king **that** if he did not go, he would lose his best territory. (MinA 383; Katastari, Zante—linguistic)
- (42b) Θα ιδής *που* θα 'χει κάτι φρύδια ως τα πόδια τση.
 tha idis *pu* tha xi kati friidia os ta podia tsi.
 You will see **that** she will have eyebrows reaching down to her feet. (MinA 436; Vasilikos, Zante—static perception)

This also makes it likeliest that Corfiot *pu* is a local innovation, rather than a relic from a previous stage of Greek.

6.9. Macedonian

The remaining Greek dialect in which a significant perturbation may be noted in the distribution of complementiser-*pu* is Macedonian. As the geographical distribution of this perturbation shows, external influence may be invoked as a factor here: language contact with Macedonian Slavonic, in which the locative-derived complementiser *deka* < *kade* 'where' is non-factive, and acts as the counterpart of CSMG *oti/pos* rather than *pu* (Nicholas 1998a).⁷²

There are two instances in my corpus of Macedonian of *pu* used with weak assertives—the shibboleth of expansion of complementiser-*pu*. One of them was recorded in Kastoria, on the erstwhile linguistic border between Greek and Macedonian Slavonic:

- (43a) νόμισα *που* δ̣ιεν ήσουν/ άκουσα *που* έφυγεσ
 nomisa *pu* ḍjen isun/ akusa *pu* efiyes (PERFS)
 I thought **that** you weren't/ I heard **that** you left (HDMS 537:42; collected by N. Andriotis, 1933)

This example shows not only a spread of *pu* to weak assertives, but also to indirect perception; in CSMG, verbs of direct perception usually require the presence of a nominal object and an imperfective complement. So the Kastoria usage is innovative relative to other mainstream dialects. The fact that it was

⁷²This influence went both ways, since Macedonian Slavonic employs the Greek loanword *oti* synonymously with *deka*.

spoken in an area coextensive with Macedonian Slavonic is no accident; we know that the Greek of Kastoria underwent extensive language contact with Macedonian Slavonic, at both a lexical and syntactic level (Triandafyllidis 1981 [1938]:249).



Map 4. Greek Macedonia⁷³

⁷³The preparation of any map of ethnicities or language in the Greek province of Macedonia is inevitably controversial, and the reader may excuse the following clarifications. It goes without saying that the borders on the map represent only the pre-modern linguistic affiliation of the populations, and no characterisation of concomitant ethnic or national identity is intended. Towns in Greece have been given Greek names (Florina, Kastoria, Ptolemais, Naoussa, Veria, Edessa, Yannitsa, Salonica, Kilkis) rather than Macedonian Slavonic names (Lerin, Kostur, Kajljar, Neguš, Ber, Voden, Pazar, Solun, Kukuš); likewise, Bitola has been given its Macedonian Slavonic, rather than Greek name (Monastiri).

The thin black line represents the furthest southern extent of Macedonian Slavonic, after Koneski (1983:151). The thick black line represents the furthest northern extent of Western Macedonian Greek, after Sandfeld (1930:16); in broad terms, Sandfeld's description accords with descriptions from several sources, both Greek and non-Greek. It appears from HDMS data that Greek was natively spoken further north in Imathia prefecture than the map implies (as far as Naoussa); but there is no evidence of indigenous Greek-speakers for Pella (Edessa) or Florina prefectures.

In this map, no claim is made as to the language of the towns of the region; Greeks being active as merchants, it is known that towns like Kastoria had significant Greek-speaking populations, while the surrounding countryside spoke Slavonic. Even in the countryside, bilingualism in Greek seems to have extended far north of the linguistic dividing line; but it is clear Greek there was a second, trade language, as women did not learn it.

Likewise, no claim is made as to the furthest northern extent of Eastern Macedonian Greek. (Detailed linguistic maps of the region are available in HDMS manuscripts prepared by N. Contossopoulos; that data is not available to me at this time.) Although Sandfeld delimits Greek as beginning south-east of Salonica, for example, the Greek-speaking village of Melissohori (formerly Baltzia) lies some 20 km north of Salonica. And while the prefecture of Kilkis is known to have been almost entirely non-Greek-speaking, the same claim is not warranted for the prefectures of Serres and Drama, and there is likely to have been a bilingual zone there as for Western Macedonia. On the other hand, the prefectures of Chalcidica, Kavala, Pieria, and Grevena (beginning just south of Siatista) seem to have been entirely Greek-speaking.

The other example was recorded in Epanomi, a town 22 km south of Salonica:

- (43b) Ως τιλιφταία χρόνια, ως τον βόλιμου κι ύστισρα. Μιαν απουλιάνα [η κάμπους] ήταν.
 Τι θαρρείς *που* ήταν; Ούλου καβάκια, βουτές, καλάμια.
 os tiliftea xronia, os tun bolimu ki istira. mian aruľana [i kabus] itan. ti tharis *pu*
 itan? ulu kavakia, vutes, kalamja.
Μέχρι τα τελευταία χρόνια, μέχρι λίγο μετά τον πόλεμο, ένα χέρσο χωράφι ήτο. Τι νομίζεις πως ήταν; Όλο λεύκες, ιτιές, καλάμια.
 mexri ta teleftea xronia, mexri liyo meta ton polemo, ena xerso xorafi ito. ti
 nomizis *pos* itan? olo lefkes, ities, kalamia.
 Until recent years, until after the war, it was a barren field. What do you think
 ∅ it was? Full of poplars, willows, and reeds. (HDMS 952:73)

Notionally, Epanomi is located outside the Slavonic-speaking area. However, the text collector E. Giakoumaki notes that Epanomi is almost the only indigenously Greek-speaking settlement in the Greater Salonica area, so also in this instance influence from Macedonian Slavonic is more probable than not.

Counts from more extensive texts confirm that there is a disruption in Macedonian complementation relative to CSMG, although nowhere else is there evidence of *pu* used with weak assertives. In the texts from Papanaoum, collected in Siatista 35 km south-east of Kastoria, there are 18 realis complements: fifteen are introduced by *pu*, and the remainder—the weak assertives of the text—by null complementisers. As it turns out, all fifteen *pu*-complements are factives; yet the total absence of *pos* is suspect, particularly when *pu* is used to introduce indirect perception and novel knowledge:

- (44a) Άκσα *ποῦ*στι μαλουμένις, μα δεν ξέρου ιασι.
 aksa *pu* sti malumenis, ma den kseru iatsi.
 I heard **that** you were not on speaking terms, but I don't know why.
 (Papanaoum 51)
- (44b) Μαρ ισεις ξέρτσι *π'* αστόησαμι τον Αναστάση τσ' Τσιάγους;
 mar isis ksertsis *p'* astoisami tun anastasi ts tsiaγus?
 Hey, do you know **that** we've forgotten Tsiago's son Anastasis? (Papanaoum 63)
- (44c) Ου Αργύρις μαθαίνει *ποῦ*ρθιν ου Μπαλαμπάντς
 u arγiris matheni *pu* rthin u balabants
 Argyris found out **that** Balabanis had arrived (Papanaoum 57)

As the map in Koneski (1983:151) shows, Siatista is at the very edge of the Slavonic-speaking area, so Macedonian Slavonic influence on the dialect of Siatista is possible.

Similar results obtain from the texts in Adamopoulos (1988), taken from Melissohori, a village 20 km north of Salonica, and thus in Slavonic linguistic territory. The following text counts obtain:

Not indicated in this map is the complex mosaic of other ethnicities and languages—Turkish, Albanian, Romany, Djudezmo, Aroumin, Megleno-Romanian—that made Macedonia so complex.

EMOTIVE	6/0/0 ⁷⁴
PERCEPTION	4/1/0
PREDETERMINED COGNITIVE STATIC	2/1/1
PREDETERMINED COGNITIVE ACQUIRED	2/2/1
LINGUISTIC	2/2/1
WEAK DETERMINED COGNITIVE	0/2/9

Although *pos* is hardly absent, *pu* obtains in the corpus in proportions far greater than typical of CSMG, particularly for Linguistic and Predetermined Cognitive Acquired predicates—notwithstanding the small overall number of complementisers involved. However, the distinguishing characteristic of expansion of *pu*, its use after weak assertives, is absent here just as in Siatista. Again, the normal complementiser used after weak assertives is zero; this is something already encountered in Cappadocian. Whether this is a development internal to Greek (such sentences are not unacceptable in CSMG), or a product of contact with Macedonian Slavonic, I am not currently in a position to judge.

So in Kastoria, Siatista, and Melissohori, there is a definite expansion in the functionality of complementiser-*pu* relative to CSMG. This contrasts with the texts in Karayannis (1986), taken from Portaria in Chalcidica, a solidly Greek-speaking prefecture:

EMOTIVE	7/0/0/0 ⁷⁵
PERCEPTION	8/3/8/2
PREDETERMINED COGNITIVE STATIC	0/1/2/1
PREDETERMINED COGNITIVE ACQUIRED	0/1/5/0
APPOSITION	1/0/0/0
STRONG DET. LINGUISTIC TRUTH	0/4/21/2
STRONG DETERMINED COGNITIVE	0/1/10/0
WEAK DETERMINED COGNITIVE	0/1/8/0
NON-ASSERTIVE LINGUISTIC TRUTH	0/0/5/0
STRONG DET. LINGUISTIC FUT. TRUTH	0/3/2/0

The distribution of *pu* here matches that in CSMG very well; *pu* is absent from not only Acquired Cognitive and Linguistic predicates, but Static Cognitive predicates as well, while *pos* is entrenched as a relativiser with Weak Assertives.⁷⁶ There are only two aspects of complementation in Portaria worth noting. First, the text uses *pu* to introduce a clause in apposition with a nominal, where CSMG would prefer *oti*. I suspect this to be a characteristic of vernacular versus

⁷⁴*pu/pos/∅*.

⁷⁵*pu/oti/pos/∅*.

⁷⁶One may retort as to the nature of the texts: while Papanauoum and Adamopoulos' collections are folkloristic reminiscences of bygone customs and events, which would have prompted linguistic conservatism, Karayannis is quite modernising as a storyteller, including such paraphernalia of modern life as newspapers and gendarmes; his vocabulary likewise does not hesitate to incorporate CSMG words of Puristic or English origin such as *apon* 'absent', *idupio* 'inform', and *sok* 'shock', alien to the dialect. Nonetheless, the texts are roughly contemporary (Adamopoulos appeared two years later than Karayannis), and it is unlikely that the syntax of Portaria could have been that thoroughly transformed, while that of Melissohori or Siatista stayed intact. Karayannis' complementation patterns are at any rate confirmed by HDMS data from Chalcidica.

written Greek, as opposed to a specific Macedonism, and (45a) is certainly not unacceptable in CSMG:

- (45a) Ήταν κι αυτό πραγματικά μια μιγάλ' αρκούδα, μι τ' διαφουρά *που* έτριχι όρθιου, όπους η άνθρουπους.
 itan ki afto praxmatika mia miyal arkuða, mi t diafura *pu* etrixi orθiu, opus i anθrupus.
 He was truly a big bear, with the difference **that** he ran upright, like a human.
 (Karayannis 1986:94)

The other distinction between Karayannis' complementation and CSMG arises with Perception predicates; *pu* is very frequent here (38%), and turns up in contexts where the perception is decidedly indirect:

- (45b) Η κυρά Μαργαρά, μόλις άκουσι *που* ήρταν τα πιδιά-τ'ς, αμέσους έκανι τ'ν άρουστ'. Έφτασαν στου σπιτ' τα πιδιά, ρότ'σαν «ισύ, μάνα, τι κάν'ς»;
 i kira margaro, molis akusi *pu* irtan ta piðia ts, amesus ekani tn arust. eftasan stu spit ta piðia, rotsan "isi, mana, ti kans?"
 As soon as Goody Margaret heard **that** her children had returned, she immediately pretended to be sick. The children arrived home and asked "Mother, how are you?" (Karayannis 1986:52)
- (45c) Οι άλνοι δυο, αφού είδαν *που* δε γύρ'σι η μιγάλους, λέει η δεύτιρους, «θα πάου κι 'γω» κι ξικίν'σι κι αυτός.
 i alni ðio, afu idan *pu* ðe γirsi i miyalus, lei i ðeftirus, "θα pau ki γo" ki ksikinsi ki aftos.
 When the other two saw **that** the eldest had not come back, the second said "I will also go," and set off. (Karayannis 1986:104)

Data from other parts of the region is not plentiful. In the strongly dialectal prose texts in LoucM (1917), taken from Grevena, the counts are as follows:

EMOTIVE	1/0 ⁷⁷
PERCEPTION	1/0
PREDETERMINED COGNITIVE ACQUIRED	1/1
LINGUISTIC	0/1

This data by itself does not show much; it does show, however, that *pos* was alive and well just south of Siatista.

The texts in Kapsalis (1917) are almost all from Veria, another town on the edge of Slavonic linguistic territory. The counts here are more cogent, and basically agree with those for CMSG:

EMOTIVE	2/0/0 ⁷⁸
PERCEPTION	1/0/1
PREDETERMINED COGNITIVE ACQUIRED	1/0/4
LINGUISTIC	0/2/2
WEAK DETERMINED COGNITIVE	0/0/1

⁷⁷*pu/pos*.

⁷⁸*pu/oti/pos*.

The one oddity arises with Predetermined Acquired Knowledge predicates, where the following examples indicate *pos* and *pu* were in free variation:

- (46a) (First son to Hajji):
 Έμαθα *που* βάνεις στοίχ'μα μι τα ψέματα.
 emaθα *pu* vanis stixma mi ta psemata.
 I have learnt **that** you place bets on lies. (Kapsalis 1917:514)
- (46b) (Same story; third son to Hajji)
 Έμαθα *πως* βάιζς στοίχ'μα μι ψέματα.
 emaθα *pos* vaizs stixma mi psemata.
 I have learnt **that** you place bets on lies. (Kapsalis 1917:515)

Here, one might again argue for Slavonic Macedonian influence. Outside this predicate class, though, there is nothing like the disruption that seems to have taken place in Siatista, although both Veria and Siatista are on the linguistic border.

A survey of HDMS data broadly corroborates the above data. There are 46 instances of Macedonian complementiser-*pu* in my HDMS database. Of these, the two weak assertive instances have already been discussed; a further 15 instances are emotive, and do not present any difficulty relative to CSMG. Fourteen instances involve perception; of these, 7 are direct, and another two are evidential ('don't you see that...'), and are thus acceptable in CSMG. Four involve indirect perception, and in light of what has been discussed, their provenance is not surprising: Siatista (967:115), Salonica (730:254), Kastoria (43a), and Arnea, Chalcidica (650:283). In one further instance, there is direct perception, but the constraints of CSMG are still violated, as the event perceived is stative:

- (47a) Αλβίς'κα να φάου τζόρτζιλου, μιτά είδα *που* 'τανι σκουλ'κιάρ'κου κι ασκάθ'κα.
 albiska na fau dzordzilu, mita iða *pu* tani skulcarku ki askaθka.
 I wanted to eat an apricot; then I saw **that** it was worm-ridden and I was too disgusted to. (HDMS 1168:289; Agia Paraskevi, Serres)

Although I do not have any extensive texts from Serres prefecture, the region around Agia Paraskevi does appear to have been bilingual—or at least, the villages where HDMS 1168 was collected (Agia Paraskevi, Terpni, and Sisamia) adjoined Slavonic-speaking villages. So Slavonic influence is likely here.

These villages are relevant in another context: there are 4 instances of linguistic *pu*-complements, including 2 from Terpni, 1 from Sisamia, and one from Salonica. All these locales are within the range of Slavonic in Greece. The instances are all the more noteworthy, in that they include future truth *pu*-complements—something that does not occur under any circumstances in CSMG:

- (47b) Ιγώ σ' είπα κορ' μάναμι, τουν αγαπό του Χρήστου μιχα κι καλή. Μ' έταξι *που* θα μι πάρ' μι στιφάν'.
 iyo s ipa kor manam, tun agapo tu xristu mja ki kali. m etaksi *pu* θα μι par mi stifan.
 I told you, mother, I love Chris and that's that. He has pledged to me **that** he will wed me. (HDMS 730:272; Salonica)

Even in the non-future truth predicates, the complement can still be situated in the future—which means it cannot be considered given, so that the linguistic *pu*-complement cannot be considered factive:

- (47c) Φανούδα είναι γαστρομεν κι βάρυνη πουλύ, μ' είπι **π**'θα γιννήσ' φτές τ'ς μέρις.
 fanuða ini gastrumen ki varini puli, m ipi **p** tha yiniš ftes ts meris.
 Fanny is pregnant and has gotten heavy; she told me **that** she was going to give birth any day now. (HDMS 1168:149; Terpni, Serres)

Of the remaining 11 *pu*-complements in the HDMS corpus, two static and two acquired predetermined cognitive predicate instances are from the broader region of Arnea; these include a complement of *ðixni* 'show':

- (47d) Η κατσούνγα δείχν' **α**πού ήρτι του προχειμ'.
 i katsunga ðixn **apu** irti tu pruxim.
 The *katsunga* (?) shows **that** autumn has arrived. (HDMS 1200:194; Stanos, Chalcidica)

One static and one acquired instance are recorded from Drymos, 3 km from Melissohori; the acquired complement is topicalised, and so probably does not violate CSMG norms:

- (47e) Δεν του πήρι χαβάρ' **πο** 'πιδι η πιάστρα μέσα στου φαί.
 ðen **tu** pir xabar **po** piši i pjastra mesa stu fai.
 She didn't realise **it that** the hairpin had fallen into the food. (HDMS 1164:202; Drymos, Salonica)

One static instance is recorded for Siatista, and one acquired instance for Grevena. Finally, a static and an acquired instance are attested for Roumlouki, a region just north of the Aliakmon river in Imathia, and thus barely within the Slavonic-speaking region. The acquired complement in this instance is not topicalised:

- (47f) ιγώ κατάλαβα **που** ήλιγιγ για τ' ισένα.
 iyo katalava **pu** iliγin γia t isena.
 I realised **that** she was talking about you. (HDMS 955:53; Roumlouki, Imathia)

The foregoing exposition is diffuse, and hampered by a lack of extensive data. The following is a summary, by prefecture, of the status of complementiser-*pu*, so far as the data allows it; the prefectures are ordered by the extent of Slavonic presence. I also count instances of *pos* versus *oti*.

Florina, Pella, Kilkis, Drama. All these prefectures were fully Slavonic-speaking (with the possible exception of Drama); I have no data from any of them.

Kastoria. *pu* used with weak assertives and (apparently) with indirect perception. Extrapolating from other regions, *pu* has probably taken over the complementiser paradigm from *pos*. Neither *oti* nor *pos* are attested in my HDMS corpus for Kastoria; then again, its coverage of Kastoria is slight.

Kozani. For Siatista, the complementiser grid seems to be split between *pu* (factive) and zero (non-factive).⁷⁹ In other parts of the prefecture, both *oti* and *pos* are attested.⁸⁰ The case of Vlasti, which uses *pos* and *oti*, is interesting, in that it is pretty much on the linguistic border north of which Greek is not spoken. If Siatista, on the southern extremity of Macedonian Slavonic, has a non-standard complementation paradigm, but Vlasti, on the northern extremity of Greek, has a standard paradigm, the only obvious explanation would be that Vlasti was relatively isolated from Slavonic-speakers, but Siatista, as a regional centre, was not.

Imathia. System seems to be essentially CSMG, but *pos* and *pu* are in free variation for cognitive acquired predicates (Veria, Roumlouki). The realis complementiser seems to be *pos* rather than *oti*.

Salonica. In Epanomi, *pu* is used with a weak assertive. This does not occur anywhere else in the data. However, *pu* is expanded relative to CSMG in indirect perception (Salonica), linguistic truth (Melissohori), linguistic future truth (Salonica), and cognitive acquired predicates (Melissohori). *pos* is well attested in Salonica (HDMS 730), including indirect perception and linguistic; only one instance of *oti*.⁸¹

Serres. Expansion of *pu* into stative direct perception (Agia Paraskevi) and linguistic predicates (Terpni, Sisamia). *oti* is well attested in the region in semi-factive and non-factive functions, including linguistic, where it seems to be more frequent than *pu* (12 instances in HDMS 1168); *pos* occurs only once, in a carol (1168:96), and is probably foreign to the region. Zero-complementiser only occurs once (1168:277).⁸²

Pieria. The only complementisers attested for Pieria in the database (1144:129—Vria; 1161:13—Moschopotamos; 1161:376—Lofos) are *pos*. Pieria being a solidly Greek-speaking region, one would expect it to conform to CSMG norms.

Chalcidica. The system appears to be underlyingly that of CSMG; there is some expansion of *pu* into indirect perception (Portaria, Arnea) and cognitive acquired (Stanos). *pos* well attested for Arnea (HDMS 650); only one instance of *oti*. In Portaria (Karayannis), the proportion of *pos* to *oti* is 14:61. In Varvara, on the other hand, the proportion of *pos* to *oti* is 0:4.

⁷⁹But zero is used with factive *maθenu* 'learn' (HDMS 967:119).

⁸⁰*oti*: 1066:51—Galatini, 8 km north of Siatista; 1081:130—Vlasti, 21 km north of Siatista; 604:3, 10, 10, 16—Ano Komi, 9 km south of Kozani; 1243:3—Metaxas, 29 km SE of Kozani; *pos*: 1081:86, 148, 149—Vlasti.

⁸¹Other proportions (*oti/pos*) Halastra (18 km west of Salonica): 1:2 (HDMS 966, 1079); Melissohori (Adamopoulos): 0:8; Pentalofos (17 km NNE of Salonica): 2:0 (HDMS 1155).

⁸²Similar results obtain elsewhere in the prefecture—Dasohori (25 km WNW of Serres): one instance of *oti* (1135:222), one null (1135:306); Mikro Souli (57 km SE of Serres): one instance of *oti* (1107:212). *pos* is only attested three times in the prefecture: Mesolakkia (1107:79; 62 km SE of Serres, 9 km from the coast); Neo Souli (964:5; 7 km east of Serres), and once in a folksong—Pentapolis (965:21; 12 km ESE of Serres).

Grevena. No reason arises from the data to doubt that the system here is that of CSMG. There is too little data to decide the preponderance of *oti* over *pos*.

Kavala. Although this prefecture seems to have been entirely Greek-speaking, I have no data available from the region; but just as with Grevena, there is no reason to doubt that it would have the same complementation system as CSMG.

So there is major disruption of the complementiser paradigm in western regions in direct contact with Slavonic (Kastoria, Siatista, some villages in Salonica), lesser disruption in the east (Serres), Imathia, and Chalcidica—the latter apparently not in direct contact with Slavonic; and no perceptible disruption in the other prefectures not in contact with Slavonic—although the lack of data forces one not to speculate too far. The locus for use of *oti*—which Greek passed on to Macedonian Slavonic—appears to be Serres, and to a lesser extent Kozani.

A final question is whether the Macedonian expansion of *pu* forms a uniform zone with Thrace. The data from Eastern Macedonia suggests not: complementation in Serres is not much different from CSMG, and certainly does not resemble the expansion in either Kastoria and Siatista, to its west, or Eastern Thrace and Bithynia, to its east. The connecting territory between Eastern Macedonia and Eastern Thrace is Western Thrace—or at least, its littoral, the hinterland apparently not Greek-speaking. We have very little information on the dialect of the region, but there is no available evidence of any expansion of *pu* there. Likewise the data collected in HDMS 252 from Philippoupolis (140 km NE of Serres) shows no trace of any such expansion. While Samothrace does display such expansion, it is too distant from Macedonia to provide a real link. It seems therefore that Macedonia and Thrace do not form a unitary linguistic zone with regard to complementation.

Whether the common contact of Greek with Macedo-Bulgarian in Thracian and Macedonian Greek caused the apparent similarity in the dialects' complementation paradigms is a question I cannot currently address, without much more information on southern Macedo-Bulgarian dialects; I suspect, however, that Aegean Macedonian Slavonic may be invoked as a contact influence much more profitably than Southern Bulgarian.

6.10. Other

There remain scattered instances of deviant complementation amongst the mainstream dialects of Greek. These instances do not form coherent overall trends; they need to be mentioned, however, for completeness.

6.10.1. Emotive *pos*

In several dialects of Greek, emotive predicates do not always take *pu* as a complementiser—unlike CSMG; they frequently take *pos* instead, although overall *pu* is still the most frequent complementiser. Since evidence indicates that *pos* became a complementiser before *pu*, this suggests an archaism in emotive *pos*; it

is certainly reminiscent of the archaic use in Silliot, Mariupolitan, and Italiot of reflexes of *hóti* with emotives—*pos* replacing *hóti* uniformly.

A closer parallel than Silliot and Italiot, however, is offered by Pontic, in which *ndo* and *pos* share nearly equal footing as emotive complementisers—as opposed to the more archaic dialects, in which *pos* has no substantial presence. This suggests that the discrepancy may not be so much in *pos* spreading at the expense of *pu*, but *pu* not spreading at the expense of *pos*—i.e. not penetrating the complementiser paradigm to the extent it has polarised it in CSMG.

Emotive-*pos*—which looks like an archaism—is for the most part attested in the more archaic Eastern Greek—including Crete (Pangalos 1955:382), the Cyclades, Cythera, South-Eastern Greek, and Old Athenian:

- (48a) Κίντα φταίω γω, παιδί μου, **πως** δεν έπαιρνες απατός σου τα γράμματα;
k ida fteo go, pedi mu, **pos** den epernes apatos su ta gramata?
And what fault is it of mine, son, **that** you would not learn to read on your own? (GrigA 15; Hania, Crete)
- (48b) μα όλος ο κόσμος εκεινού του βασιλείου ηλυπηθήκενε **πως** ηχάσανε το βασιλιάν του, δεν ήθελενε να τους κυριέψη ένας γέρος και μια γρηά.
ma olos o kosmos ekinu tu vasilii ilipiθikene **pos** ixasane to basilan tu, den iθelene na tus kiriepsi enas yeros ke mja gria.
But all the people of that kingdom were sad **that** they had lost their king; they did not want an old man and an old woman to rule them. (Analects 62; Naxos, Cyclades)
- (48c) τσειν σουρομαδεμέται, **πως** τ'ς πούσανε ευτά τα λόγια!
tsin suromaðjete, **pos** ts pusane efta ta loγia!
She was livid **that** they said those words to her! (HDMS 685:103; Mykonos, Cyclades)
- (48d) Δε λιπόμαι, φως μου, **πως** πεθαίνω./ μόνο το Γιάννη το παιδί μου που τ' αφήνω!
ðe lipome, fos mu, **pos** peθeno./ mono to γiani to pedi mu pu t afino!
I do not regret **that** I am dying, darling, but that I am leaving my child John behind! (HDMS 685:103; Cythera)
- (48e) Μα η κόρη τον εγάπησε ν-τζαι όσον επερνούσαν οι μέρες ελυπάτομ **πως** ήθεν να 'ρτουν οι σεράνδα μέρες να το σφάξη ο βασιλτσάς.
ma i kori ton eyapise ndze oson epernusan i meres elipatom **pos** iθen na rtun i seranda meres na to sfaksi o vasiltsas.
But his daughter loved him and as the days passed she was sad **that** the forty days would pass and the king would kill him. (HDMS 690A:226; Astypalaea, Dodecanese)
- (48f) Τζαι τδείνες οι φτωδες εχαρκούνταν **πως** εη για καλόν τους.
dze tñines i ftofes exarkundan **pos** eη γia kalon tus.
And those poor women were happy **that** it was for their own good. (HDMS 673A:8; Mesara, Cyprus)
- (48g) και όπως ελυπήθης δια λόγου μου **πως** δεν έγινε εκείνο οπού αγαπάς
ke opos elipiθis dia loγy mu **pos** den eyinen ekino opu ayapas
And as you were sorry on my account **that** what you desired did not happen (Kambouroglou I:178; Athens) (1655)

One of the factors that may be at work here is the use of *pos* as a causal connective in Cretan and other Greek dialects, as illustrated in (49a, 49b)—recalling that emotive complements are causal in nature:

- (49a) Κατέχεις είδα θαρώ; πως σου βγάνει τα μάθια σου κειονά το κοπέλλι *πως* διαβάζει!
 katexis ida tharo? pos su vvani ta mathia su kiona to kopeli *pos* diavazi!
 Do you know what I think? That boy makes you green with envy **because** he can read! (HDIC; from G. Marantis, *To Mιχελιό* (Athens 1921) p. 21; Crete)
- (49b) πενταμπελά δα τον εβάφτισενε *πως* είχενε πέντε ρίζες τ' αμπέλιν του
 pedabela da ton evaftisene *pos* ixene pede rizes t' abelin tu
 she called him Five-Vine **because** his vineyard had five vines (Analects 66; Naxos, Cyclades)

Emotive-*pos* extends to other parts of Greece. It is attested in the Heptanesa, including both Corfu (50a, 50b, 50c) and Zante (51a, 51b, 51c):

- (50a) «Δε φτάνει,» έλεγε μέσα του, «*πως* το σπίτι εξέπεσε τόσο;»
 “de ftani,” eleye mesa tu, “*pos* to spiti eksepese toso?”
 “Isn’t it bad enough,” he thought, “**that** our house has fallen so low?” (TheotM 18)
- (50b) Κι ο Κώστας τότες εφοβήθηκε οπίσω μην τον εκατάδινε, κ’ εμετάνοιωσε *πως* δεν τον είχε αποτελειώσει στο γιάλο.
 ki o kostas totes efoviθike opiso min ton ekataδine, k' emetaniose *pos* den ton ixε apoteliosi sto γialo.
 And then Kostas feared he might turn him in, and regretted **that** he hadn’t finished him off at the beach. (TheotC 45)
- (50c) Δεν λυπούμαι *πως* αποθαίνω, διότι βλέπω εκείνον οπού είναι αιτία να αποθάνω *πως* και αυτός σαν εμένα αποθνήσκει. (1543)
 den lipume *pos* aroθeno, dioti vleo ekinon opu ene etia na aroθano pos ke aftos san emena aroθniski.
 I am not sad **that** I am dying, for I see that he who was the cause for me dying is also dying like me. (Nouk 124)
- (51a) Δόξα σοι ο Θεός, *πως* εποροπιάσατε το σπίτι σας.
 doksa si o theos, *pos* eporopiasate to spiti sas.
 Thank God **that** you have settled your household. (MinA 444; Volimes, Zante)
- (51b) Η μάνα του το χάρηκε *πως* τρώει πολύ ο γυιός τση και του πήγαينه κάθε βράδυ τα δυο πιάτα το φαί.
 i mana tu to xarike *pos* troi poli o γios tsi ke tu piyene kaθε vradι ta dio piata to fai.
 His mother was happy **that** her son ate a lot, and took him his two plates of food every night. (MinB 421; Lykoudi, Zante)
- (51c) πάει πάλε στη λίμνη χαρούμενος *πως* τα ψάρια θα ήτουνα μεγάλα και θα θαραπευτότουνα.
 pai pale sti limni xarumenos *pos* ta psaria θα ituna meγala ke θα θarapevotuna.
 he went to the lake again, happy **that** the fish would have grown up and he would sate his hunger. (MinB 496; Lagopodo, Zante)

Barring influence from Puristic (certainly present in Noukios’ usage of *oti*, but unlikely to have extended to its vernacular synonym *pos*), Corfiot seems to have

been effacing its *pu/pos* distinction; *pos* was turning up as a marked variant of *pu* throughout the Corfiot realis complementation grid. This is the only way of dealing with the Corfiot paradox: *pu* expands at the expense of *pos* throughout the paradigm (§6.8), but retreats before *pos* in the one area it is supposed to be strongest, emotives. Such an account would not, however, explain Zante, where the complementation paradigm is not otherwise markedly different from CSMG.

The phenomenon also turns up in folksongs in the Peloponnese, in the region of Pylia near the ports of Coron and Modon (52a)—although here too emotive-*pu* is by no means absent (52b):

- (52a) Δεν κλαίνε για τον πόλεμο, δεν κλαιν *πως* πολεμάνε./ κλαίνε *πως* σώσαν το ψωμί, δεν έχουν τι να φάνε.
 ðen klene gia ton polemo, ðen klen *pos* polemane./ klene *pos* sosan to psomi, ðen exun ti na fane.
 They do not lament the war, they do not lament **that** they are fighting; they lament **that** the bread has run out, and they do not have anything to eat.
 (Tarsoulis 18)
- (52b) Ο ένας κλαίει *που* μέθυσε, και πώς θα ξεμεθύσει./ ο άλλος κλαίει *που* χήρεψε και πού θα βρει γυναίκα·
 o enas klei *pu* methise, ke 'pos tha ksemeθisi./ o alos klei *pu* xirepse ke 'pu tha vri yineka;
 One laments **that** he is drunk, and how will he sober up; the other laments **that** he is a widower, and where will he find a wife; (Tarsoulis 28)

Coron and Modon were long-time possessions of Venice, just like the Heptanesa and Crete; as also argued for the spread of the form *apu* (§B.4.2), there is a possibility of linguistic transmission from Crete or the Heptanesa to Pylia via the Venetians.

Folksong, it must be said, travels, and is thus not a reliable index of local grammatical patterns. For example, the following song excerpt from Chalcidica is almost a verbatim parallel to a song already cited from Marmara (10); it thus does not count as independent local evidence.

- (52c) Δεν το 'χου *πως* παντρεύιτι κι παίρνει τον ιχτρό-μου/ μόν' το 'χου *πως* μι κάλισαν, να πάου να στιφανώσου.
 ðen to xu *pos* padreviti ki perni ton ixtro mu/ mon to xu *pos* mi kalisan, na pau na stifanosu.
 I am not upset **that** she is getting married and is marrying my enemy; rather, I am upset **that** they invited me to go and be the best man. (Vaglis 1986:68; Portaria, Chalcidica, Macedonia)

The following example, also from Macedonia, is likewise too close for comfort to (52a), and cannot be taken as reliable evidence:

- (52d) Ένας κλαίει *πως* γέρασι, κι άλλος *πως* δε μπορούσι./ κι άλλος *που* χάσι τα πιδγιά
 enas klei *pos* yerasi, ki alos *pos* ðe borusi./ ki alos *pu* xasi ta piðgia
 One laments **that** he is old, and another **that** he is no longer strong, and another **that** he has lost his children (LoucM 153; Hasia, Greneva, Macedonia)

The only example remaining outside Eastern Greek which does not occur in a folksong is (52e):

- (52e) *i kupéles áma ton ídan þamáksan **pos** bóresē ánhrupus zundanós k'ē katéfk'i k'i kat k'ē ðén don éfaje to þiríu|*
 Οι κουπέλλες άμα τον είδαν θάμαξαν *πως* μπόρεσε άνθρουπους ζουντανός και κατέφκι κει κατ και δεν τον έφαγε το θηρίου.
*i kupéles ama ton ídan þamaksan **pos** borese anhrupus zundanos ce katēfci ci kat ce ðen don éfaje to þiriu.*
*Wie die Mädchen ihn sahen, wunderten sie sich, **daß** ein Mensch lebend dort hätte hinuntersteigen können ohne daß ihn das Tier gefressen hätte.*
 When the maidens saw him they marvelled **that/how** a living human being was able to descend down there without being eaten by the beast. (Heisenberg 16; Zagora, Magnesia, Thessaly)

Despite the phonologically precise transcription indicating no stress on *pos*, however, it is difficult not to credit that in this instance *pos* really does correspond to 'how' ('*pos*').

The only good evidence for emotive-*pos*, then, comes from the more conservative Eastern Greek and the Heptanesa, with Venetian rule a plausible vehicle between the two—the more so as emotive-*pos* is known to be extant in works of the Cretan Renaissance:

- (52e) (~1610)
 Ως βουλήθώ του κύρη μου το δίκιο να μιλήσω,/ ο Έρωτας μανίζει μου *πως* θε να τον αφήσω
 os vuliθo tu kiri mu to dikio na miliso,/ o erotas manizi mu *pos* θε na ton afiso
 Just when I decide to tell my father what is right, Love is angered at me **that** I would leave him (Erotok I 1061)

A calque from Venetian, which like other Romance languages has a single realis complementiser for both emotives and other predicate classes, cannot be ruled out, but seems unlikely in view of how slight Venetian influence has been on Greek morphosyntax. The best way to explain the phenomenon is as a regionally diffused archaism.⁸³

6.10.2. Cognitive Predetermined *pu*

It is not unusual for cognitive acquired knowledge predicates to take *pu*-complements, even in CSMG. Usually, the complement in question is either given (53a, 53b) or topicalised (53c, 53d, 53e, 53f):

- (53a) Είχαν μάθ' *που* είχε έρθ' στο σπίτι εκείνος ο Βορδίτ'ς και νόμ'σαν *πως* τον έστ'λαν οι κλέφτες
 ixan maθ *pu* ixē erθ sto spiti ekinos o vorðits ke nomsan pos ton estlan i kleftes

⁸³Christidis' (1981:171) claim that, while some speakers he consulted had emotive *oti*-complements, they only had it with imperfective complements, is belied by the data (48b, 48c, 48g, 50a, 51a, 52d). This means that the rationale he attempted to set up for non-*pu* emotive complements (that reactions to stative events are more permanent, and thus more intellectualised, than reactions to perfective events) cannot hold for this range of data, and cannot have determined the expansion of *pos* to such complements.

They had learnt **that** that fellow Vorditis had come to the house, and they thought the robbers had sent him (HDMS 1075:21; Elliniko, Ioannina, Epirus)

- (53b) Κι' ου λαγός κατάλαβι **απου** έχ' σκουπόν τέτγιουν·
 ki u layos katalavi **apu** eç skupon tetgiun;
 And the hare realised **that** she (the fox) had such an intent. (LoucM 104; Venzi, Grevena (?), Macedonia)
- (53c) Και εκείνος **το** κατάλαβε **που** θε ναν τον χαλάσουν
 ke ekinos **to** katalave **pu** the nan ton xalasan.
 And he realised **it that** they would kill him. (Tarsoulis 57; Pylia, Messenia, Peloponnese)
- (53d) μον' θέλω να με θάψετε μ' αυτά τα ματωμένα./ για να **το** μάθ' η γειτονιά, για να **το**
 μάθ' η χώρα./ **π'** αδίκως με σκοτώσατε για 'να ζευγάρι ρόδα.
 mon thelo na me thapsete m afta ta matomena./ gia na **to** maθ i yitonia, gia na **to**
 maθ i xora./ **p** adikos me skotosate gia na zenyari roða.
 But I want you to bury me in these bloody clothes, so that the neighbourhood
 may learn **it**, and the town may learn **it, that** you killed me unjustly for a pair
 of roses. (Tarsoulis 94; Pylia, Messenia, Peloponnese)
- (53e) Σάστισε, βυθίστηκε και 'εν **το** κατάλαβεμ **που** πέρασε νη ώρα και μαρμάρωσεν πάλι
 το Τέμπλος.
 sastise, viθistike ke en **to** katalavem **pu** perase ni ora ke marmarosen pali to
 temblous.
 He was astonished, he was lost in thought, and he did not even realise **it that**
 the time passed, and the icon stand turned to stone again. (HDMS 993:27; Pyli, Kos, Dodecanese)
- (53f) 'Αμα **τό** μαθαν αλλ' φίλ' κ'νου **π** θά πιρνι τη κακούργια, τού παν να μην τμ παρ, γιατί
 θα πάη χαμένους.
 ama **to** maθan al fil' cnu **p** θa pirni τη kakuryia, tu pan na min tm par, giati θa pai
 xamenous.
 When other friends of his found **it** out **that** he was to marry the villain, they
 told him not to marry her, for he would be destroyed. (LoucA 16; Lambiri, Aetolia, Roumeli)

Cases in which the complement is neither given nor topical are quite infrequent:

- (53g) Κάβοσις βουλές του χ'νόπουρου σ'κόνουν τα πουδάρια τ'ς τα βόδια και φεύγουν.
 Καταλαβαίν'ν **απ'** θα να χ' μιγάλ' βρουχή
 kabusis vules tu çnopuru skonun ta puðarja ts ta voðja ke fevgun. katalavenn **ap** θa
 na ç miγαλ' vruxi
 Sometimes in autumn oxen lift their legs and leave. They realise **that** there will
 be heavy rain (HDMS 657:161; Katarraktis, Arta, Epirus)

So overall, mainstream Greek dialects preserve the CSMG restrictions on *pu* with cognitive acquisition: *pu* is marked for presupposition or (concomitantly) topicalisation.

The same holds for cognitive static knowledge predicates; in the following, for example, the complement is topicalised:

- (53h) να *του* 'ξερα *που* 'ναι μισμέρ'!
 na *tu* ksera *pu* ne mismer!
 If I'd only known (**it that** it's midday! (HDMS 361:198; 'Per.' (?)⁸⁴, Tinos, Cyclades)

A special case amongst cognitive static predicates is constituted by *thimame* 'remember'. Consistent with CSMG, mainstream dialects use *pu* after *thimame* only with imperfective complements, and only in introducing the recollection of a situation, rather than the propositional remembrance of specific facts:

- (54a) Θυμιούμαι *που* 'λεαν ότ' άμα πιδήξ' πιδί (του ουράνιο τόξο) γένουδαν τ'σούπρα
 thimiume *pu* lean ot ama piðiks piði (tu uranio tokso) genudan tšupra
 I remember **that** they used to say that if a child jumped (at the rainbow), it would be born a girl (HDMS 1203:175; Artopoula, Ioannina, Epirus)
- (54b) Θυμάσι *που* βλαστήμαγιζ ου λύκους να μι φάη;
 thimaši *pu* vlaštimayiš u likus na mi fai?
 Do you remember **how** you used to curse that the wolf should eat me? (HDMS 1032:234; Krini, Larisa, Thessaly)
- (54c) Θ'μούμι *πο* 'λι η πεθερά μ'
 θmumi *po* lii i peðera m
 I remember **that** my mother-in-law used to say... (HDMS 923:322; Paleokastro, Samos, Central Aegean)
- (54d) Θυμάμαι περίσου *που* 'μωνα λιτρουβιάρης στην ίδια μηχανή π' ανακατόσαμε τσ'
 elies tsi dikés sou...
 thimame perisi *pu* muna litruviaris stin idia mixani p anakatosame ts elies tsi dikes su...
 I remember last year **when** I was working at the olive mill at the same mill where we mixed in your olives... (HDMS 787:329; Ithaca, Heptanesa)

In the two following examples, the *pu*-complement is perfective; in (54e), the second, perfective *pu*-complement may be contaminated by the first, which is imperfective, and is in verse, so one cannot make too much of it.

- (54e) ΚΟΡΗ: Θυμάσαι, Φιορεδίνο μου, τσαι γιάδα δε θυμάσαι/ *Που* ήπαιρνα τα ποκάμισα τσ' ήρχουμου τσ' ήλλαξά σε;/ Θυμάσαι, δε σ' επιάσανε δεμένο οι γρουσάροι/ Στου βασιλιά σε πήανε με μια τιμή μεγάλη;
 ΦΙΟΡΕΔΙΝΟΣ: Θυμούμαι *που* με πιάσανε δεμένο οι γρουσάροι/ Στο βασιλιά με πήανε με μια τιμή μεγάλη.
kori: thimase, fjoredino mu, tse jada ðe thimase,/ *pu* iperna ta pokamisa ts irxumu ts ilaksa se?/ thimase, ðe s epjasane ðemeno i γrusari,/ stu vasiía se pianē me mja timi meγali?
fjoredinos: thimume *pu* me pjasane ðemeno i γrusari,/ sto vasiía me pianē me mja timi meγali.
 MAIDEN: Do you remember, my Fioredino—and why won't you remember—**that** I used to take the shirts and come and change you? Don't you remember that the pirates captured you and bound you, and took you to the king with great honour?
 FIOREDINO: I remember **that** the pirates captured me and bound me, and took me to the king with great honour. (Thumb 296; Ios, Cyclades)

⁸⁴No current village name on the island satisfies this abbreviation, nor is it given in the published Historical Dictionary abbreviation list.

The only example which remains problematic is (54f); even here, however, the context suggests recollection rather than remembrance—i.e. that what is being recalled is a situation rather than a specific fact; so it is not certain that (54f) is a real disruption of the paradigm.

- (54f) θ'μάμι π' μ' δάψ'σις ένα χ'λιάρ' κι δε σ' του γύρ'σα
 θmami *p* m ðapsis ena x'lar ki ðe s tu γirsa
 I remember **that** you lent me a thousand drachmas and I did not return them
 to you (HDMS 1032:37; Farsala, Larisa, Thessaly)

Overall, then, mainstream dialects fall in line with CSMG as to the conditions under which *pu*-complements may appear with semi-factive predicates.

6.10.3. Linguistic *pu*

Strictly speaking, *pu*-complements are not acceptable in CSMG. There are infrequent exceptions to this in CSMG itself, and this also turns out to be true with mainstream dialects. In (55a), for instance, the complement is topicalised, a factor favouring the use of *pu*:

- (55a) Μου το 'πι η Γιώρ'ς **από** θ'α 'ρθ'ς στου χωρ'γιό
 mu *to* pi i γiors **apu** θ'a rθs stu xurjo
 George said **it** to me **that** you were coming to the village (HDMS 925:228;
 Sykaminea, Larisa, Thessaly)

Still, in the following examples, the use of *pu* is odd by CSMG standards: the *pu*-complements are not in fact false, but nor are they particularly presupposed or given:

- (55b) Είπαν σου **που** σου όμορφη και πάνω σου το πήρες
 ipan su **pu** sun omorfi ke pano su to pires
 They told you **that** you were beautiful and you took it to heart (Yannakou 222;
 Rhodes, Dodecanese)
- (55c) άντρα είχα στην ξενιτειά, τώρα δώδεκα χρόνια./ άλλ'οι μου λεν **που** πέθανε, και άλλ'οι
 μου λεν **που** 'χάθη./—Αλήθεια, κόρη, πέθανε, κι αλήθεια, κόρη, έχ'αθη.
 adra ixa stin ksenitia, tora ðoðeka xronia./ ali mu len **pu** pethane, ke ali mu len **pu**
 xaθi./—aliθia, kori, pethane, ki aliθia, kori, exaθi.
 I had a husband who emigrated, it has been twelve years now; some tell me
that he has died, and some tell me **that** he has perished.—Truly, maiden, he
 has died, and truly, maiden, he has perished. (Tarsoulis 66; Pylia, Messenia,
 Peloponnese)
- (55d) Στα παλιά τα χρόνια μου μολόγαε ο μακαρίτης ο παππούλης μου **που** έπεσε ένας
 αητός στα Σεδαμάκια κ' επήρε στα νύχια του 'να μουσκάρι της θεια-Πολύτως.
 sta paða ta xronia mu mologae o makaritis o papulis mu **pu** epese enas ajtos sta
 šedamaca k epire sta niça tu na muskari tis θia politos.
 In times past my late grandfather used to tell me the story **that** an eagle once
 swooped at Sfindamakia and took away with its claws a calf of aunt Polytimis'.
 (HDMS 913:29; Paidemeno/Flesias, Messenia, Peloponnese)
- (55e) 'Όταν κυλιέται το σκυλί, λέμε **απ'** θ'α βρέξ'
 otan kiliete to skili, leme **ap'** θ'a vrex'

When a dog rolls around, we say **that** it will rain (HDMS 834:41; Astakos, Aetolia & Acarnania, Roumeli)

- (55f) Λέν' *που* ιφτά αστένειες γλατρεύουδι μι του τυφλουπόδ'κου
 len *pu* ifta astepes jatrevudi mi tu tiflopodku
 They say **that** seven illnesses are cured by the mole (HDMS 925:337; Kriovrisi, Larisa, Thessaly)

- (55g) (1786)
 μ' όλον οπού ημείς προς την Παναγιότητά του κοινώς εγράψαμεν μύριας φορές *οπού*
 δεν θέλομεν την πανιερότητά του δια αρχιερέα μας
 m olon opu imis pros tin panagiotita tu kinos egrapsamen miries fores *opu* den
 thelomen tin panierotita tu dia arxierea mas
 although we have collectively written thousands of times jointly to his Holiness
that we do not want his Eminence as our church leader (Kambouroglou I:312; Athens)

These examples do not point to a coherent geographical zone; if anything, with the exception of the Dodecanesian (55b), they point to the Greek mainland, and this is inconsistent with the fact that CSMG, which lacks linguistic-*pu*, is of mainland Greek provenance. We have already seen fluidity in linguistic-*pu* in Thracian, and the best that can be said here is that a similar fluidity appears to hold on the Greek mainland, though it has bypassed CSMG.

6.10.4. Perception *pu*

There is a widespread tendency to use *pu* with indirect perception, contrary to CSMG. However, one must isolate from indirect and direct perception the third class of perception predicate use, where *pu* is fully acceptable in CSMG: evidential perception. It may be argued that many of the following instances, where the perception is clearly indirect, reflect an evidential use—‘realise’ rather than ‘see’. This is clearly true of cases like (56d, 56f, 56k). For most instances, however, one cannot make this argument, and one can only say that *pu* has been generalised from direct to indirect perception—consistently, one should note, with visual perception, which already has been linked to the evidential meaning in Greek.

- (56a) Περνάν αι τρεις μέρες απόυ 'ταν να τουν ανοίξουν, κι άμα τουν ανοίξαν είδαν *απ* τα
 'χει έτμα.
 pernan e tris meres apu tan na tun aniksun, c ama tun aniksan idan *ap* ta xi etma.
Die drei Tage gingen vorbei und sie gingen und fanden das Kleid bereit.
 The three days for them to unlock him passed, and when they unlocked him
 they saw **that** he had them ready. (Heisenberg 21; Zagora, Magnesia, Thessaly)
- (56b) έδενάπ τα djó adérjja *pu* arji to próto narbí
 Έδενάπ τα δυο αδέρφια *που* αργεί το πρώτο νάρθη
 edenap ta djo aderfja *pu* arji to proto na rthi
Es sah einer von den zwei (andern) Brüdern, daß der erste
(zurück)zukommen säume
 One of the two brothers saw **that** the first brother was late coming back
 (Heisenberg 36; Elias, Skyros, Thessaly)

- (56c) *lipón o vasiljás áman íde pu élipe to tapsí | pérni ta mátja tu k'í fevgi | travá mésta románja*
 Λοιπόν ο βασιλιάς άμαν είδε **που** έλειπε το ταψί, παίρνει τα μάτια του και φεύγει τραυά μέσ' στα ρομάνια.
 lipon o vasilas aman ide **pu** elpe to tapsi, perni ta matja tu ci fevgi, trava mes sta romana.
Der König nun, wie er sah, daß die Platte weg war, geht schweren Herzens weg, er geht mitten ins Waldesdickicht.
 So when the king saw **that** the plate was missing, he went away in despair; he headed to the woods. (Heisenberg 44; Andron, Lemnos, Northern Aegean)
- (56d) Η μάνα του βλέποντας **που** δεν εμπορεί να κάμη αλλοιώς του λέει
 i mana tu vlepodas **pu** den ebori na kami alos tu lei
 His mother, seeing **that** she had no choice, said to him... (ParnassosA 46; Peloponnese)
- (56e) Σαν είδαν οι άθθρωποι του βασιλέα **που** δεν απάντησε πο την τόση βύθισι, κινήσανε και πήανε παρακοντά του.
 san idan i athropi tu vasilea **pu** den apandise po tin tosi viθisi, kinisane ke pianε parakonda tu.
When the king's men saw that from his great amazement he made them no answer, they moved forward and came up close to him. (DawkD 187; Leros, Dodecanese)
- (56f) Ο γέρος πήρε πάλι δρόμο τάμπρός και πίσω, και πάει κάμποσο ώσπου θωρεί **που** το γαδούρι του δεν εφάινετο πούγετι·
 o yeros pire pali dromo t ambros ke piso, ke pai kamboso ospu θori **pu** to γaduri tu den efeneto puyeti;
The old man again turned round and goes some way, until he is aware that his ass is not anywhere to be seen. (DawkD 319; Leros, Dodecanese)
- (56g) Πήγε ο πατέρας με τη μάνα στην κασέλλα τσαι είδανε **που** έλειπε το Κωσταντάτσι.
 piye o pateras me ti mana stin kasela tse idane **pu** elipe to kostantatsi.
 The father went with the mother to the casket, and they saw **that** little Constantine was missing. (HDMS 657:158; Vrysi, Euboea, Roumeli)
- (56h) «Τσ' εγώ σ' αγαπώ, κουμπάρε,» απάνταε ο κάβουρας, μα έλεπε **που** δεμ πήγαινε καλά
 "ts ego s agapao, kubare" apantae o kavuras, ma elepe **pu** dem piyene kala
 "I love you too, my in-law" the crab would answer, but he saw **that** he wasn't doing too well (HDIC; Λαογραφία 18 (1959):171; Megara, Old Athenian)
- (56i) Σκότωσα με το λάστιχο δυο ασπρόκολους και τους ξεπουπούλιασα κ' είδα **που** ήτανε σα λουκούμι παχειό
 skotosa me to lastixo djo asprokolous ke tus ksepupuλasa k ida **pu** itane sa lukumi paxei
 I killed two wheatears with my slingshot and I feathered them and I saw **that** they were as fat as Turkish delights (HDMS 913:3; Paidemeno/ Flesias, Messenia, Peloponnese)
- (56j) Δε γλέπου γω **που** φάσαις τς φάσις ούλις κι κάν'ς τουν κ'μάμινουν τόρα!
 de glepu yo **pu** fais ts fasis ulis ki kaps tun cmaminun tora!
 Do I not see **that** you have eaten all the wood-pigeons, and now you're pretending to be asleep! (LoucA 14; Amvrakia, Aetolia, Roumeli)
- (56k) Μία φορά άμα ιδής **που** θα σταξ' ου πόνους, να είσι βέβαιους πως θα ματασταξ'.
 mia fora ama idis **pu** θα stacs u ponous, na isi veveus pos θα matastacs.
 If you see once **that** the pain will drip away, be certain that it will drip again. (LoucM 101; Pikrivinitsa, Grevena, Macedonia)

These instances are not particularly localised. As a perusal of DawkD shows, something is certainly going on in the Dodecanese; but the examples above range from throughout Western Greek. Again, as with linguistic *pu*, there seems to be a fluidity in place in the parent dialects of CSMG which has not been transmitted onto their offspring.

6.10.5. Other classes

Outside the above semantic ranges, there are only two instances from the corpus worthy of attention. The first features a strong determined cognitive predicate:

- (57a) Σάματ' θα σκιφτή *που* ιγώ...
 samat tha skifti *pu* iyo...
 Would he even consider **that** I... (HDMS 1032:12; Farsala, Larisa, Thessaly)

This example is not good evidence of disruption, since *skeftome* ‘to think; to consider’ can be presupposed in modality—‘consider the fact that’. The second is a much more serious challenge to the complementation paradigm: *pu* is in fact used with an anti-factive predicate:

- (57b) Έκανε κενέμου η γραία *που* δε λέπει.
 ekane kenemu i yrea *pu* de lepi.
 The old woman pretended not **to** see (HDMS 867:270; Vrissi, Euboea, Roumeli)

Vrissi is some 10 km from Kymi, a town that retains Old Athenian dialect amidst the rest of Southern Euboea, which speaks Arvanitika. This is a major disruption, but whether it is a local innovation specific to Kymiot (there is no indication that other Old Athenian regions, such as Aegina, have changed their complementation so drastically), or an Albanism (something that what we know of Arvanitika, including the variant spoken in Euboea, belies), this appears to be a local phenomenon without any more global implications.

There are, however, a couple of instances from Old Athens itself pointing to disruption in the complementation paradigm:

- (58a) (1786)
 του εφάνετο *οπου* ωσαν φύγη από την Αθήνα, έχει να χάση τον παράδεισον.
 tu efeneto *opu* osan fiyi apo tin aθina, exi na xasi ton paraδison.
 it seemed to him **that** when he left Athens he would lose Paradise.
 (Kambouroglou I:304; Athens)

- (58b) να μη φαίνεται *που* είναι νέα
 na mi fenete *pu* ine nea
 so she should not seem **to** be young/so it should not be apparent **that** she is young (HDIC: Marietta Kambouroglou, *Παραμύθια* 89)

Of these, (58b) does not have enough context to make clear whether *fenome* ‘appear; seem’ is being used with its factive or non-factive sense; so it cannot count as a strong example. (58a) does correspond to ‘seem’ rather than ‘appear that’; then again, the sentence is metaphorical, and its actual meaning (‘when he

left Athens he would lose out’) is true enough. So there is enough evidence to suspect something has happened in Old Athenian, but no more; and the data from Megara and Aegina does not indicate anything relevant. If something had occurred in Athens, it would be a local innovation; the Arvanitika texts I have investigated (Nicholas 1998a) calque Standard Greek complementation (*çë/se/të ~ pu/pos/na*), even in the region around Athens, and can be ruled out as an origin of any Athenian disruption.

6.11. Conclusion

We have several results arising from the data. For one, there is a diachronic story of levels of complementisers being superimposed onto each other in the dialects:

- Initially, the archaic level of participles (surviving in Italiot and Tsakonian) and *hóti* (surviving in Silli and Mariupolitan);
- Then, loans from other languages: *ka* in Apulian Italiot, and the calque *to/tu/ndo* in Anatolian Greek;
- Then, *pos*—absent in Cappadocian, Mariupolitan, Maniot and Tsakonian, vestigial in Italiot, infrequent in Pontic, competing with *oti* in Macedonian;⁸⁵
- Finally, *pu*.

As the final addition to the dialectal picture, *pu* is missing or underdeveloped as a complementiser in Anatolian Greek (in much of which the Turkish calque *ndo* has prevailed over a *pu*-complementiser.)

We also have several dialects expanding *pu* beyond the CSMG limits, according to which *pu* is unmarked for true factives and marked for semi-factives, and denotes direct rather than indirect perception. One direction of expansion has been along the Information Modality axis, from Truth to Action; this has occurred in Greek only in Italiot, and possibly Corfiot. The major direction has been down the Evaluation Modality axis, with *pu* generalising from Presupposed Truth predicates to Strong and Weak Assertive Determined Truth predicates. This has taken place in Macedonia, and a language contact account suggests itself. But it has also taken place independently, so far as one can tell, in Thracian, Tsakonian, Livisiot, Corfiot, and Italiot.

The extent of the spread varies from place to place, consistent with this independence: the penetration of *pu* into the Weak Assertive paradigm, for instance, varies from 81% in Cavafy to 18% in Lemnos (to look only at texts in the same dialect group), and from no certain instances in Tsakonian to 94% in the Diapontii islands. The heterogeneity of Thracian is a major problem, particularly

⁸⁵Elsewhere, *pos* has turned the tables on *oti*; in Crete, for example, *pos* has displaced *oti* (E. Giakoumaki, pers. comm.) The dialectal distribution of *pos* and *oti* is a topic not hitherto explored by linguists, and nothing like a coherent picture emerges out of the HDIC data I have inspected. I am tempted to locate the innovation of *pos* in Eastern Greek, and make Macedonia the stronghold of *oti*, but the data is much too tentative for any conclusion.

with the inconsistent treatment of linguistic complements even from Constantinopolitan to Constantinopolitan.

Given the paucity of texts from the region, one is left with the nagging suspicion that the picture would clear up if more data was available. It must be taken on face value in the absence of such data, however; and what it points to is a disorderly and divergent expansion of *pu* from place to place. The same picture emerges from the minor differences between dialects covered in §6.10. This disorderly expansion, in turn, indicates not a uniform, problem-solving metaphor determining the distribution of complementisers, but a contingent lexical diffusion of *pu*, from complement class to complement class, proceeding at different rates in different locations.

We have in Greek several dialects independently pursuing an expansion in the domain of *pu* not pursued in CSMG. For a typologically likely development to occur independently in different dialects or languages is hardly surprising. To find a parallel, we need not venture beyond Greek; consider Dawkins' description of the imbalance in CSMG clusters, $st^h, sk^h, sp^h > *s\theta, *sx, *sf > st, sk, sf$:

In Modern Greek the old consonantal groups of $\sigma\theta$ [$st^h > *s\theta$] and $\sigma\chi$ [$sk^h > *sx$] have developed into $\sigma\tau$ [st] and $\sigma\kappa$ [sk]; the second spirant has become the corresponding stopped sound. But the analogous group $\sigma\phi$ [$sp^h > st$] has generally remained unchanged. [...] But again this fixity of $\sigma\phi$ is not found quite everywhere. In the island of Ikaria, in Mani, in the neighbouring island of K ythera, and in Pontos, this group has gone the same way as $\sigma\theta$ and $\sigma\chi$, and the ancient $\sigma\phi\acute{\iota}\gamma\gamma\omega$ [$sp^h\acute{i}g:o > sfigo$] has become $\sigma\pi\acute{\iota}\gamma\gamma\omega$ [$spigo$], the plant $\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha$ [$sp^h\acute{a}ka > sfaka$] is called $\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha$ [$spaka$], and so on. In all other features these three dialects differ entirely: we have therefore to deal with an independent development along a line apparently natural to the language. (Dawkins 1940:26)

Given the disarray of expanded-*pu* dialects versus the well-defined distribution of CSMG *pu*, a localist might argue that this shows CSMG to have reached a state of stable equilibrium with its *pu*, whose factivity is privileged by its etymology. The distribution of expansions beyond this, one could argue, is unstable precisely because it is discordant with this inherent factivity.

pu is indeed overwhelmingly factive in Greek, and this is a fact which needs to be explained—although as I contend throughout, it makes more sense for it to inhere in the relativiser function of *pu* than its locative antecedent. But a hypothesis that privileges the standard language over dialects is necessarily suspect, when the standard language has prevailed over other dialects for purely extralinguistic reasons. By rights, after all, Constantinopolitan rather than Peloponnesian would have been expected to form the basis of the standard language; and even though it has not, it still has exerted some influence on the formation of CSMG.

A closer look at the dialectal picture shows that these kinds of disruptions are the rule rather than the exception. The dialects which have expanded *pu* are not just outliers like Tsakonian and Italiot, but also quite mainstream dialects like Thracian and Corfiot; and even amongst dialects where *pu* has not been fully

expanded, there are still noticeable deviations—Emotive *pos* in Pontic, Eastern Greek and Heptanesian; linguistic and indirect perception *pu* throughout mainstream Greek. The bar in CSMG on *pu* with learned cognitive acquired predicates (*anakalipto* ‘discover’, *apokalipto* ‘reveal’, etc.) is also inconsistent, given how entrenched *pu* is in mainstream Greek dialects with the vernacular cognitive acquired predicates *maθeno* ‘learn’ and *katalaveno* ‘realise’; these are no different to cognitive static predicates in allowing *pu* for given or topicalised complements.

Factivity in Greek complementiser-*pu*, we may conclude, is a tendency, not a necessity; the tendency is usually adhered to, and this is a significant fact; but it does not seem to be airtight for any Greek dialect.