

## The Development of Counterfactuals with *thélo*: 'want' in Early Modern Greek

Panayiotis Pappas

### 0. INTRODUCTION

This paper investigates the emergence of *tha*+IMPF as it is used in the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals in Modern Greek, for example in the sentence

(1) *an eixa amaksi tha pe.gaina*  
if have/1SG, IMPF car/ACC, SG go/1SG, IMPF

"If I had a car I would go"

This sentence expresses a meaning that is contrary to the real state of affairs (counterfactual), i.e. "I do not have a car, so I will not go".

*tha* is also known as the Future marker of Modern Greek as in the example

(2) *tha pao: aurio*  
FUT go/1SG, PERFVE tomorrow

"I will go tomorrow" (*tha* will be marked from now on as FUT in both cases).

in which case it developed from the construction *thelo*:+INF (e.g. *thelo: graphein*), also denoting future, via grammaticalization.

Grammaticalization is the process in which a content word (e.g. *boot*, *snow*, *play*) becomes a function word (e.g. *a*, *the*, and, *not*), according to Hopper and Traugott (1993); Bybee et al. (1994) describe it as the gradual development of grammatical morphemes out of lexical morphemes or combinations of lexical morphemes with lexical or grammatical morphemes. Thus, a content word can even become an affix through grammaticalization. It is a very common process in the world's languages. Examples can be found in Malaysian, Italian, Russian, Finnish, Inuit, Nung, Ewe etc.

This process has been arranged by most linguists on a cline, which is the succession of stages that a word goes through as it changes from a content word to an affix. Even

though there may be some disagreement about how the exact points on this cline should be named, the following cline of grammaticality is, according to Hopper and Traugott, the best compromise:

content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix

In our case the content item is *thelo*: which eventually becomes the affix *tha*. It transpires (cf. Jannaris (1968), Horrocks (1997)) that at the same time (after the 4th century C.E.)

that the present tense of the verb *thelo*: followed by the infinitive of another verb (e.g. *thelo: graphein* "I will write") was used as a future construction, the imperfect tense of the same verb (*e:thela*) followed by the infinitive of another verb (e.g. *e:thela graphein* "I would write") was used in the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals. The ways of expressing futurity and counterfactuality are then not almost identical in Modern Greek only, they also have extremely similar origins. While the development of *tha* in the future constructions has been well documented and discussed extensively in the literature, the development of the same form in the counterfactuals has not been thoroughly investigated; instead it has been generally assumed that its development has mirrored the process of the future constructions.

This paper investigates the development of *tha*+IMPF expressing counterfactuality and compares it to the development of *tha*+INFL futures<sup>1</sup>. The presentation proceeds in the following manner. First I review what is known about the development of the futures in order to give a point of comparison for the counterfactuals, and to establish what exactly this mirror-like development would entail. Then, I discuss the semantic association that exists between the futures and counterfactuals and which would lead us to believe that the two would have identical developments. Next, I present the results of a detailed analysis and a quantitative study of future and counterfactual forms found in documents spanning the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, after addressing some methodological issues concerning the documents and the various forms that were attested. I end by discussing how the results of the study lead to the conclusion that *tha*, as it is used in counterfactual constructions in Modern Greek, developed quite differently than the *tha* that is used in the future despite the strong formal and functional connection between the two; namely, *tha*+IMPF is not a direct development from *e:thela*+INF, and requires additional assumptions which are not needed in the explanation of the development of the future constructions.

## 1. HISTORY OF THE CONSTRUCTIONS

According to Browning (1983), in the later Post Classical period (ca. 300 C.E.) speakers of Greek abandoned the use of a synthetic future form (e.g. *grapso*: "I will write") began employing a periphrasis, in which the present form of the verb (*thelo*:<sup>2</sup>) in conjunction with the infinitive were used to denote the future tense:

(3)	1SG	<i>thelo:</i>	<i>graphein</i>	1PL	<i>theloume graphein</i>
		want/1SG	write/inf		
		"I will write"			

<sup>1</sup>Thus, constructions which did not play a role in the development of these two final Modern Greek forms will be mentioned, but their history will not be traced in any detail.

<sup>2</sup>As an anonymous reviewer correctly pointed out, the evidence for use of *thelo*: in this period is weak because the use of *exo*: "I have", *melo*: "I am about to", and *opheilo*: "I must" are more prevalent, and most *thelo*: examples can be interpreted as volitive (but see also Horrocks (1997:76) where *thelo*: is included in the list of future auxiliaries).

2SG	<i>theleis graphein</i>	2PL	<i>thelete graphein</i>
3SG	<i>thelei graphein</i>	3PL	<i>thelousi graphein</i>

This construction evolved further during the following centuries until reaching its present vernacular form sometime in the 19th century. The following is a schematic representation of this evolution (see Joseph (1990)):

The construction *thelo*:+INF with a regular loss of final [n] (ca. 10th c.) yielded

(4)	1SG	<i>thelo:</i>	<i>graphei</i>	1PL	<i>theloume graphei</i>
		want/1SG	write/INF		
		"I will write"			

2SG	<i>theleis graphei</i>	2PL	<i>thelete graphei</i>
3SG	<i>thelei graphei</i>	3PL	<i>thelousi graphei</i>

A reanalysis of *graphei* as a 3rd singular form of the verb and not as the infinitive (ca. 12th-14th c.) led to

(5)	1SG	<i>thelo:</i>	<i>grapho:</i>	1PL	<i>theloume graphoume</i>
		want/1SG	write/1SG		
		"I will write"			

2SG	<i>theleis grapheis</i>	2PL	<i>thelete graphete</i>
3SG	<i>thelei graphei</i>	3PL	<i>thelousi graphousi</i>

At the same time (starting around the 10th c.) due to replacement of the infinitive by finite complementation<sup>3</sup> the following construction appears:

(6)	<i>thelo:</i>	<i>hina</i>	<i>grapho:</i>
	want/1SG	that/comp	write/1SG
	"I will write"		

A further development, characterized by Joseph as "elimination of redundant person marking", took place in both of the above constructions and yielded (15th c.)

(7)	1SG	<i>thelei</i>	<i>grapho:</i>	1PL	<i>thelei graphoume</i>
		want/3SG	write/1SG		
		"I will write"			

2SG	<i>thelei grapheis</i>	2PL	<i>thelei graphete</i>
3SG	<i>thelei graphei</i>	3PL	<i>thelei graphousi</i>

which presumably coexisted with

(8) <sup>4</sup>	<i>thelei</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>grapho:</i>
	want/1SG	that/comp	write/1SG
	"I will write"		

<sup>3</sup>Although supported by Joseph (1990) and Holton (1993), the analysis whereby *thelo: hina grapho:* is a development of the *thelo*:+INF construction is not accepted by all researchers. Horrocks (1997), Jannaris (1968), and an anonymous reviewer claim that the *the+na*+INFL construction (see below) developed from the use of the subjunctive as a future, which was supplanted by the use of the *na*+indicative construction, and later 'strengthened' by the addition of *the*. Thus, the origin of *tha*+INFL future is a controversial subject. This question, however, should not affect the topic of this paper which is to compare the development of futures and counterfactuals after the 16th century, at which time, as Holton (1993:122) writes "There is no essential difference between the two future constructions *thelo*:+infinitive and *the na*+subjunctive...".

<sup>4</sup>This construction is not attested but presumed in this account as a bridge between *thelo*:+*na*+INFL and *the+na*+INFL.

(*na* developing from *hiná* by regular sound change after Ancient Greek *hína* shifted-irregularly-to *hiná*).

A reduction of the verb *thelei* (only when used as a future marker) led to

- (9a) *the* *grapho:*  
FUT write/1SG  
"I will write"

- and (9b) *thè na grapho:* (12th-14th c.)  
FUT that write/1SG  
"I will write"

This last construction through assimilation and elision also yielded

- (10) *tha na grapho: (tha n grapho:)* (16th c.)  
*tha grapho:* (Standard Modern Greek)

On the other hand, the inflected imperfect of the same verb (*e:thelon*/1SG, or *e:thela*/1SG<sup>5</sup>) followed by the infinitival form of the verb, is heavily used in the Post Classical period as a counterfactual construction. The constructions that we are going to focus on appear in the second clause, the apodosis of the conditional. In Ancient Greek this meaning was expressed by the use of the potential indicative<sup>6</sup> of a historic (i.e. imperfect, past, or pluperfect) tense as can be seen in the following example from Plato's Apology:

- (11) *ei touto eleges 7he.martanes an*  
if this/ACC say/2SG, IMPF err/2SG, IMPF potential PRT  
"if you said this you would be mistaken" (but you did not say it, consequently you have not made a mistake) (Plato, Apology: 20.b).

According to Jannaris (1968), this construction was still available in the Post-classical period (300 C.E.), but thereafter it was replaced, since *e:thelon* (past of *thelo:*) replaces *an*<sup>8</sup>. Thus he contrasts the following sentences:

- (12) *halkeus ei e:me:n e: tekto:n*  
blacksmith/NOM if be/1SG-IMP or mason/NOM  
*ouk an me emime:sasthe*  
not PART I/ACC imitate/2PL-AOR

"If I were a blacksmith or a mason you would not have imitated me" (Callinicus<sup>9</sup>, Vita S. Hypatii:57, 6, ca. 450 C.E.).

vs.

- (13) *ei me: iako:v prose:uksato e:thelen*  
if not Jacob/NOM pray/3SG-AOR want/3SG-IMP

<sup>5</sup>The latter form is the result of the analogical spreading of the Aorist endings to the Imperfect.

<sup>6</sup>The "potential indicative" is an indicative followed by the particle *an*.

<sup>7</sup>The rough breathing mark will transliterated for Ancient Greek and archaic usage only.

<sup>8</sup>As Horrocks (1997:175) notes, a bare imperfect is used in the Vita Hypatii as well, and in the later Medieval period this alternative was strengthened by the use of *na*. It is unlikely, however, that this construction played an important role in the development of *tha*+IMP counterfactual, because both *the+na*+INFL and *tha+na*+IMP are not attested. Thus, it is not directly relevant to our topic of investigation which is to focus on the development of *tha*+IMP counterfactuals only.

<sup>9</sup>As I note later on, we cannot be certain that forms attested in texts of the 5th to the 10th century are truly representative of the spoken language; for the case of Callinicus, however, we do know that his education was not so great (cf. Bartelink's introduction to *Vie d' Hypatios* -1971)

*kurios anelein me*  
 lord/NOM destroy/INF I/ACC, SG

“if Jacob had not prayed the lord would have destroyed me” (Testaments of the twelve patriarchs, I:7, ca. 12th century C.E.).

What Jannaris fails to realize in this case is that not only is *an* replaced by *ethelon* but also the indicative is replaced by the infinitive.

By the 19th century the construction *tha+INFL, IMPF* of the verb is used in the apodosis of counterfactual sentences:

- (14) *ean omo:s e:ton mera*  
 if but be/3SG, IMPF day/NOM  
*polla oligoi tha eglito:nan*  
 many/ADV few/NOM,PL FUT escape/3rdPL, IMPF  
 “But if it were day, very few (of them) would have survived” (Anthology, v.I:476)

Not much is known about the intermediate stages of the counterfactual construction but it is generally assumed (Joseph 1990) that it mirrored the development of the future. If we were to take this statement in its strongest form then we would expect the following constructions to exist for the counterfactual as well:

<u>Counterfactuals</u>	<u>Futures</u>	
<i>e:thela graphein</i>	<i>thelo: graphein</i>	[1] <sup>10</sup>
<i>e:thela grapho:</i>	<i>thelo: grapho:</i>	[2]
<i>e:thela (hi)na grapho:*</i>	<i>thelo: (hi)na grapho:*</i>	[3] (fossilized)
<i>e:thele grapho:</i>	<i>thelei grapho:</i>	[4]
<i>e:thele na grapho:*</i>	<i>thelei na grapho:*</i>	[5]

at this point however, the development in the counterfactuals becomes slightly more complicated. In order to reach the pre-Modern form, the precursor to *tha egrapha*, the complement of *e:thela* (e.g. *graphein*) has still to acquire not only the person marking (*grapho:*), but also the tense marking (*egrapha*). There are two stages where this could happen, before or after the change from *e:thela* to *e:thele*. Thus

<i>e:thela egrapha*</i> or <i>e:thele egrapha</i>	[6]
<i>e:thela</i> (or <i>e:thele</i> ) <i>na egrapha*</i>	[7]

are also required stages in the grammaticalization process of the counterfactuals.

Then we should have

<i>the egrapha*</i>	<i>the grapho:*</i>	[8]
<i>the na egrapha*</i>	<i>the na grapho:</i>	[9]
<i>tha na egrapha*</i>	<i>tha na grapho:</i>	[10]

and finally the Modern Greek form

<i>tha egrapha</i>	<i>tha grapho:</i>	[11]
--------------------	--------------------	------

The implicit assumption in this proposal is that *thelo:+INF* and *e:thela:+INF* are, for all intents and purposes the same construction, and thus followed the same development. Such a position, however, seems problematic to begin with because both *e:thela egrapha* and *e:thele egrapha* cannot be the result of reanalysis as *thelo: grapho:* was, as there is no way to reanalyze the infinitive as identical with any of the forms of the imperfect tense. Moreover, the detailed analysis that was conducted in this study shows

<sup>10</sup>The numbers in bold will serve as codes for these constructions, especially in the statistical charts in section F. \* indicates forms that are not attested in the texts used in this study.

that the development of the counterfactuals was more complicated than this proposal would have it.

## 2. THE CONNECTION BETWEEN FUTURITY AND COUNTERFACTUALITY

The expectation that the forms that denote counterfactuality would be similar to future-denoting forms is not unreasonable. As a matter of fact, the use of a construction similar to that of the future in the counterfactual is not as surprising as it may first seem. In order to understand this we must first recognize that the future can be thought of as a mood as well as a tense. The future as a mood denotes non-factivity (i.e. it makes no statement about the reality of the event described) because we cannot be certain of what will actually happen in the future. Even a statement like "as soon as I complete this sentence I will tap my foot" can have no certainty to it, even though it discusses the very near future. Lyons (1977:818) provides a good summary of the diachronic and synchronic considerations that would lead us to think of the future as a mood, and that show its connection to the counterfactuals. Among other things he states that in many languages, including English, the grammatical category of past tense is regularly used to convert a non-factive utterance into a counterfactual one. For example he says that "...the subjunctive was the mood of non-factivity..." and that

... in Latin, which, unlike [Ancient] Greek and Sanskrit, did not preserve a distinctive mood of contra-factivity and remote possibility (the optative), the past tense of the subjunctive could be employed in contrast with the present tense of the subjunctive to distinguish between non-factive and contra-factive statements.

It is crucial to note here that at the time that the forms under consideration were emerging (300 C.E.), Greek had effectively lost the category of the subjunctive which was phonetically merged with the indicative around 200 C.E. (see Jannaris 1968:§779, Horrocks 1997:75). Thus the future may have been the only clear expression of non-factivity, and that is why speakers used the format of the future-denoting constructions in conjunction with the past tense to express counterfactuality. This hypothesis seems all the more probable when we consider the following. Jannaris (1968:§553) reports that "Especially regular and common appears the use of the present for a less assertive future in the case of such verbs as included in themselves the inception of future.", *thelo*: being one of them (others are *mello*:, "I am about to", *o:pheilo*:, "I must", *prepei*, "it is necessary", etc. Later he states that "it is obvious that the imperfect of the above verbs in G-B<sup>11</sup> perform the office of the potential indicative" (see also Horrocks 1997:76) i.e. were employed in the apodosis of counterfactuals. This demonstrates that the formal connection between *thelo*: and *e:thela* is not due to chance and that there is also some functional connection that supports it.

Finally this connection exists in other language as well. Bybee et al. (1994:233) state that in Armenian,

...the old Imperfect is used with the future prefix [*k'*] to form what is termed the Past Future by Fairbanks and Stevick (1958: 132). This form which is like English *would* in both form and function, is used in the apodoses of hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals and in phrases such as 'I would like...'

<sup>11</sup>G-B' stands for Graeco-Roman to Byzantine, roughly from the 2nd to the 7th c. CE.



- (16) *kai ei hoi hemeteroi ouk ape:lthon*  
 and if the our/NOM, PL NEG go/3PL, AOR  
*emeinen an gumnos tes arhiero:suñe:s*  
 remain/3SG, AOR PRT naked/NOM, SG the priesthood/GEN, SG  
 "and if our (people) had not gone (away), he would have remained  
 bereaved of the high-priesthood"-Josephus Methonensis Episcopus  
 (Patrologiae Graeca:985, D) :

Thus the variation present in the Medieval texts examined here cannot be ascribed to influence by the diglossia present in Greek linguistic culture.

Another important point concerning the textual evidence is that the data from these three different sources were examined separately instead of as a whole. This was done for the following reasons. First, the Cretan plays could not be considered with the other two documents because they are poetry. Greek poetry of this era, which is best represented by the Cretan plays of the early 17th century, was written with strict metrical and rhyming requirements. Since many of the forms mentioned above differ in their number of syllables and in the position of the inflected word (which is very useful in rhyming) it was decided that the patterns of variation in poetry would be potentially influenced by the metrical and rhyming requirements and that it would be impossible to sort out this influence. The second consideration was the fact that in the anthology writers (and thus different styles and dialects) are represented by short samples, always under ten pages. If the other documents were examined together with the anthology, this would have biased the results of the statistical analysis in favor of the forms used by Sofianos and Chortatzes, whose texts are much longer.

### 3.2. Use of the Quantificational Analysis

It has always been said of historical linguistics that it is the science of making the best out of imperfect data. Often the facts that the historical linguists have at their availability are very limited in number, and one or even two forms get to play a special role in the assessment of a language's development. Fortunately the records for Greek are copious, even though the period investigated in this paper has produced the smallest amount of documents since the 5th century B.C. Thus we are given the opportunity to evaluate the data quantitatively, that is we have been able to subject it to statistical analyses (as these are used in quantitative sociolinguistics) in order to determine whether the amount of variation observed is significant. This does not mean however, that this research is constrained by the methods of Quantitative Sociolinguistics as research from present day data would be. I still acknowledge the fact that I am working with historical material and that sometimes a single instance of a form may prove to be significant for reasons other than statistical ones.

### 3.3. Accountability

A brief discussion of the principle of 'accountability' is required here, for as Winford (1990:227) states "... it is perhaps the single most important methodological maxim for studies of variability". What this principle amounts to is that the researcher must be true to his or her data set, should include all variants of a variable, and when excluding a variant must make this information explicit and give a reason for the exclusion. Thus, future researchers should be able get the same results if they follow the steps of a previous study. In the next few pages I provide an explicit account of which types of constructions were included in order to uphold the maxim of 'accountability'.

#### 3.3.1. Examples of types of constructions included in the data set:



For the future one finds:

*thelo*: (INFL)+INF [1]

- (17) *thelete* *evrei* *ek* *merous*  
 want/2PL, PRES find/INF from part/GEN, SG  
*mou* *time*:  
 me/GEN, SG honor/ACC, SG  
 “you will find from my part honor” (Anthology v.1:298)

*thelo*: (INFL)+INFL (AGR) [2]

- (18) *katho:stheleis* *mou*  
 as want/2SG, PRES me/GEN, SG  
*akouseis*  
 hear/2SG, PRES-PERFVE  
 “as you will hear from me” (Anthology v.1:253)

*thelei*+INFL [4]

- (19) *kataramenos thelei eisai*  
 curse/PART-PASS FUT be/2SG, PRES  
*eis te: xo:ra*  
 in the/ACC, SG land/ACC, SG  
 “cursed will you be in the land” (Anthology v.1:314)

*the+na*+INFL [9]

- (20) *kai su the na exeis*  
 and you/NOM, SG FUT PRT have/2SG, PRES  
*kinduno*  
 danger/ACC, SG  
 “and you will be in danger” (Anthology v.1:387)

*tha+na*+INFL [10]

- (21) *tha na kle:ronome:sou*  
 FUT PART inherit/3PL, PRES-PERFVE  
 “they will inherit” (Ero:phile: V, 626)

*tha*+INFL [11]

- (22) *to spiti tou tha kapsete*  
 the house/ACC, SG his FUT burn/2PL, PRES-PERF  
 “will you burn his house?” (Anthology v.1:278)

For the counterfactuals the attested constructions are:

*thelo*: (IMPf, INFL)+INF [1]

- (23) *oute kai auto to e:thelan pathenei,*  
 neither and this/ACC, SG it/ACC, SG want/3PL,IMPf suffer/INF  
*an den e:thelan kai atoi tous*  
 if NEG want/3PL,IMPf and the selves/NOM,PL they/GEN,PL  
 “and they would not even have suffered this, if they did not want it  
 themselves” (Anthology v.1:153)

*thelo*: (IMPf, INFL)+PRES, INFL [2]

- (24) *an den me to elege,*  
 if NEG I/ACC,SG it/ACC, SG say/3SG, IMPf  
*e:thela eimai eis to skotos*  
 want/1SG, IMPf be/1SG, PRES in the darkness/ACC, SG  
 “if he had not told me I would be in the dark” (Anthology v.1:464).

*e:thele*+IMPF, INFL [4]

- (25) *an den eudokimouse to karavi*  
 if NEG prosper/3SG, IMPF the/NOM, SG ship/NOM, SG  
*e:thele eipoun*  
 want/3SG, IMPF say/3PL, PERF  
 "if the ship had not fared well they would have said" (Anthology v.1: 502)

*tha*+IMPF, INFL [11]

- (26) *ean omo:s e:ton mera*  
 if but be/3SG, IMPF day/NOM  
*polla oligoi tha eglito:nan*  
 many/ADV few/NOM,PL FUT escape/3rdPL,IMPF  
 "but if it were day, very few (of them) would have survived" (Anthology v.1:476)

### 3.3.2.1. Regarding both the *thelo*:+INF and the *e:thela*+INF constructions.

There were several types and tokens of constructions that were excluded from the data set. First of all, we must note that there is in the corpus another variant of the future construction number [5]-*thelei* + *na* plus an inflected form of the verb (cf. section 1). This variant was excluded because it only appears four times, three of which are tokens of the type "the world will come apart" *thelei na xalasei o kosmos*, which suggests that it may be simply a fossilized expression.

Another problem concerning the variants is caused by the syncretism of the infinitive with the 3rd active present singular of the verb, plus the fact that the impersonal form *thelei* (or *e:thele* in the counterfactuals) is identical with the 3rd present singular of *thelo*: (*e:thela*) (cf. the full paradigms in section 1). Thus, the 3rd person singular forms for *thelo*:+INF, *thelo*:+INFL, and *thelei*+INFL are identical. The way around this problem was to determine what the most prevalent type of construction was within a passage and then classify any 3rd person singular tokens of that type. In most passages the use of one of these types is categorical so making a decision was not very problematic. In the end, no more than 5 tokens of 3rd person singular were placed using such subjective criteria.

Finally, tokens of a particular writer, Korais, were excluded because we know that he was a language former. As a leading intellectual at the time of the Greek revolution, Korais took an active part in the language debate and had formed a model of what he felt the national language should be like, mixing Ancient Greek and Demotic Greek forms (Browning, 1983). Indeed, his language formed the basis for the development of the 'katharevousa' later on in the 19th century. Also, tokens appearing in a formal oath for induction to the 'Philike: Btaireia' ("Society of Friends", a secretive society that organized the Greek revolution of 1821) were left out, because of the obvious stylistic influence-oaths and prayers usually tend to be in more archaic language.

### 3.3.2.2. Regarding the *e:thela*+INF constructions only.

#### 3.3.2.2.1. Tokens excluded because they denote a different meaning.

Regarding the use of the *e:thela*+INF constructions, except for the problem of the syncretism between the third person and the impersonal form, there are other problematic cases as well. These problematic cases stem from the fact that this construction (along with some of its variants) is used not only to express counterfactuality, but other

meanings as well. Since the focus of the quantitative method of investigation is examining the different ways (phonetic, phonological, morphological, or syntactical) in which a unique meaning can be expressed (in this case counterfactuality), it is important to give a list of all the types of constructions which were excluded because they do not denote counterfactuality.

'Hypothetical Future'

One of these different meanings that can be expressed by the *e:thela*+INF constructions is a 'hypothetical future' a statement about the future that has even less certainty than an ordinary one. The first such case were constructions that look like the counterfactual constructions but are not true counterfactuals. For example, Sofianos frequently uses:

- (27) *e:thela*                      *eipei*  
 want/1SG, IMPF              say/INF  
 "I would say" (Ploutarxou Paidago:gos:4)

This does not mean, of course, that he is not saying what he is saying; it is simply a device to weaken the strength of his statement, to be more polite.

A second instance of this meaning is when in a conditional whose apodosis is the *e:thela*+INF construction, the hypothesis uses the present-perfective stem of the verb instead of the imperfect tense. Thus we get the contrast between

- (28) *an*      *genei*                                      *touto* ...  
 if              becomes/3SG, PRES-PERFVE              this/NOM, SG  
*e:thelan*                      *luthro:thei*  
 want/3PL, IMPF              save/INF  
 "if this happens ... they would be saved" (Ploutarxou Paidago:gos: 2)

where this is not a true counterfactual, but simply denotes a remote possibility, with

- (29) *ean*      *e:ton*                                      *dunato*  
 if              be/3SG, IMPF possible/NOM, SG  
*e:thele*                      *anevei*  
 want/3SG, IMPF              climb/INF  
 "if it were possible ... he would have climbed" (Ploutarxou Paidago:gos:9)

which is a true counterfactual.

A third instance in which the *e:thela*+INF construction can be used to express "hypothetical future" is when it occurs after the following conjunctions: (*op*)*otan* ("when", "whenever")

- (30) *otan*      *e:thele*                      *gurisei*                      *graios*  
 when              want/3rd, SG, IMPF              turn/INF                      southeastern wind/NOM, SG  
 "when it would turn into a southeastern wind" (Anthology v.1:129)

*na* (when an attainable wish is expressed)

- (31) *na*      *e:thela*                                      *sou*                                      *griko:*  
 PART want/1st, SG, IMPF              you/GEN, SG              hear/1st, SG, PRES  
 "if only I could hear from you" (Anthology, v.1:255)

*me:po:s* ("in case")

- (32) *me:po:s*                      *tous*                                      *e:thele*                      *phoneusei*  
 in case                      they/ACC, PL              want/3rd, SG, IMPF              kill/INF  
 "in case he would kill them" (Anthology v.1:135)

*opou* (*na*) ("that")

- (33) *opou* *ta*                                      *e:thelan*                                      *erme:neusei*

that they/ACC, PL want/3rd, PL, IMPF instruct/INF  
 "that they would instruct them" (Ploutarxou Paidago:gos:8)

*o:sa na* ("as if")

- (34) *o:sa na e:thela daneisthei*  
 as-if PART want/3SG, IMPF borrow/INF  
 "as if he had borrowed" (Anthology v.1:274)

#### 'Inferred Certainty'

Some variants of the *e:thela*+INF construction express 'inferred certainty' (from Bybee et al., 1994:44). In the Cretan plays, and in the early period in the Anthology (1600-1771), this is expressed by the construction *the+na*+INFL. This construction carries only the meaning of 'inferred certainty', and is never used to denote counterfactuality, a fact that simply has not been noticed in the literature.

- (35) *the na e:tan paignidi*  
 FUT PART be/3SG, IMPF game/NOM, SG  
 "that must have been a game" (a joke) (Anthology v.1:279)
- (36) *to mantato to priku*  
 the message/ACC, SG the bitter/ACC, SG  
*the na xei mathe:méno*  
 FUT PART have/3SG, PRES learn/PCPL  
 'he must have learned the bitter news' (Ero:phile: I, 45)

In the late period in the Anthology (1821-1880) we find that *tha*+AOR can express 'inferred certainty':

- (37) *tha ekatalavan*  
 FUT understand/3PL, AOR  
 "they must have understood" (Anthology v.1:481)

#### 'Future in the Past'

There are also constructions in which *e:thela*+INF is used to denote 'future in the past':

- (38) *thoukudide:s ... eksistorise ton polemo...*  
 Thucydides... recount/3SG, AOR the war/ACC, SG  
*kai thareuontas oti e:thela apovei*  
 and assume/PRCL that want/3SG, IMPF turn-out/INF  
 'Thucydides... recounted the war, ... and assuming that it would turn out...' (Anthology v.1:408).

There are instances where one cannot tell if the intended meaning is a counterfactual or a 'future in the past'. Ben-Mayor (1980:88) reports that speakers of Modern Greek cannot always make the distinction between the two; this confusion is limited to cases of future in the past that may be interpreted as counterfactuals, not vice versa—true cases of counterfactuals are not mistaken for future in the past constructions. This is not surprising as we have seen that a future in itself cannot declare anything with certainty (cf. section 2). Perhaps the formal connection between the future in the past and the counterfactual construction adds to the hearer's confusion—especially when in the present he or she knows that the prediction made in the past was not borne out. Even though these tokens were not numerous, I decided not to take them into account, neither as counterfactuals nor as futures, in order not to bias the statistical analysis.

#### 3.3.2.2.2. Tokens excluded because they belong to a different set of variants.

Finally one more set of the *e:thela*+INF construction occurrences was excluded from the data set. This set is composed of instances of the construction which appear in the hypothesis of a conditional clause which expresses counterfactuality, e.g.

- (39) *an den e:thele prophthasei* ...  
 if NEG want/3SG, IMPF arrive-on-time/INF  
*e:thele thanato:sei*  
 want/3SG, IMPF kill/INF  
 "if (the message) had not arrived on time he would have killed" (Anthology v.2:82).

Even though these instances of *e:thela*+INF do denote counterfactuality-the meaning in the sentence above is that the message did arrive on time-they were not included in the data set, because this environment involves different variants. Instead of finding *e:thele*+INFL or *tha*+IMPF, in the hypothesis of these conditionals we find the IMPF as can be seen from the following example

- (40) *an den eudokimouse t o karavi*  
 if NEG prosper/3SG, IMPF the/NOM, SG ship/NOM, SG  
*e:thele eipoun*  
 want/3SG, IMPF say/3PL, PERF  
 "if the ship had not fared well they would have said" (Anthology v.1:502)

The instances of *e:thela*+INF or any of its variants in the apodosis were, of course included in the data set.

#### 4. ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

##### 4.1. Ploutarxou Paidago:gos (ca. 1544)

In Ploutarxou Paidago:gos we find that the construction for the future is exclusively of type[1]: Inflected form of *thelo*: followed by the infinitival form of the verb (*thelo*:+INF)

- (41) *kai me perissotere: epimeleian*  
 and with much/ACC, SG care/ACC, SG  
*thelousi ta anathrepsei*  
 want/3PL, PRES they/ACC, PL raise/INF  
 "and they will raise them with more care" (Ploutarxou Paidago:gos:6)

and only one token of the inverse order, i.e. INF+*thelo*:

- (42) *parado:sei thelo: ton logon ...*  
 deliver/INF want/2SG, IMPF the reason/ACC, SG  
 "I will deliver the reason ..." (Ploutarxou Paidago:gos:18)

The same two patterns exist for the counterfactuals as well:

a) inflected form of the imperfect of *thelo*: plus the infinitive of the verb (*e:thela*+INF)

- (43) *ean e:ton dunato*  
 if be/3SG, IMPF possible/NOM, SG  
*e:thele anevei*  
 want/3PL, IMPF climb/INF  
 "if it were possible ... he would have climbed" (Ploutarxou Paidago:gos:9)

b) infinitive of the verb followed by the imperfect of *thelo*: (INF+*e:thela*)

- (44) *klausein e:theles ean o:rgizomoun*  
 cry/INF want/2SG, IMPF if become angry/1SG, IMPF

"You would have cried ... if I had become angry" (Ploutarxou Paidago:gos:25)

However, the inverse order is more numerous in the counterfactual construction where the infinitive precedes the *thelo*: form in 7 out of 23 tokens instead of 1 out of 24 as we observe in the future constructions. The fact that the order in the counterfactual is freer than the order in the future indicates that the counterfactual construction has a greater degree of independence and that *e:thela* has not advanced along the grammaticalization cline as much as *thelo*: has.

4.2. The Cretan Plays (Katzourmos and Ero:phile:, ca. 1600)

In the Cretan plays of the early 17th century the future constructions are

*thelo*:+INF (66 tokens)

- (45) *o:s thelte dei*  
 as want/2PL, PRES see/INF  
 "as you will see" (Ero:phile: I, 101)

*thelo*: (INFL)+INFL (AGR) (7 tokens)

- (46) *kai thes ts eipeis*  
 and want/2SG, PRES she/ACC, SG say/2SG, PRES-PRFVE  
 "and you will tell her" (Ero:phile: IV, 95)

*the+na*+INFL (43 tokens)

- (47) *the na malo:so:*  
 FUT PART fight/1SG, PRES-PERFVE  
 "I will fight" (Katzourmos:II, 5)

*tha+na*+INFL (1 token)

- (48) *tha na kle:ronome:sou*  
 FUT PART inherit/3PL, PRES-PERFVE  
 "they will inherit" (Ero:phile: V, 626)

*tha*+INFL (67 tokens)

- (49) *tha piaso:*  
 FUT grab/1SG, PRES-PERFVE  
 "I will grab" (Katzourmos:II, 121)

However, in the counterfactual construction only the following variants are available:

*thelo*: (IMPF, INFL)+INF (10 tokens)

- (50) *po:s e:thelame paxunei*  
 how want/1SG, PL fatten/INF  
 "how we would get fat" (after contemplating the possibility of eating 1,000 lambs-Katzourmos:III, 135)

*thelo*: (IMPF, INFL)+INFL (3 tokens)

- (51) *aniso:ski ekoudounize ...*  
 if and ring/3SG, IMPF  
*deis e:theles*  
 see/2SG, PRES-PERF want/2SG, IMPF  
 "if he were to ring ... you would see" (Katzourmos:I, 197)

The absence of *tha*+IMPF for this construction should be especially noted here, since it clearly shows that *thelo*: has moved to *tha* in the future construction before it has moved to *tha* in the counterfactual construction.

The data from Ploutarxou Paidago:gos and the Cretan Plays already show that the development of the future and counterfactual construction are not mirror images of each other. In the next section a quantificational analysis of the much larger corpus from the Anthology of Demotic Greek provides us with a clear picture of the ways in which these constructions differ.

#### 4.3. Anthology of Demotic Greek (1550-1880)

In the anthology of Demotic Greek we find the following constructions for the future:

*thelo*: (INFL)+INF

- (52) *thelete eurai ek merous*  
 want/2PL, PRES find/INF from part/GEN, SG  
*mou time*  
 me/GEN, SG honor/ACC, SG  
 "you will find from my part honor" (Anthology v.1:298)

*thelo*: (INFL)+INFL (AGR)

- (53) *katho:s theleis mou*  
 as want/2SG, PRES me/GEN, SG  
*akouseis*  
 hear/2SG, PRES-PERFVE  
 "as you will hear from me" (Anthology v.1:253)

*thelei*+INFL

- (54) *kataramenos thelei eisai*  
 curse/PART-PASS FUT be/2SG, PRES  
*eis te: xo:ra*  
 in the/ACC, SG land/ACC, SG  
 "cursed will you be in the land" (Anthology v.1:314)

*the+na*+INFL

- (55) *kai su the na exeis*  
 and you/NOM, SG FUT PRT have/2SG, PRES  
*kinduno*  
 danger/ACC, SG  
 "and you will be in danger" (Anthology v.1:387)

*tha*+INFL

- (56) *to spiti tou tha kapsete*  
 the house/ACC, SG his FUT burn/2PL, PRES-PERF  
 "will you burn his house?" (Anthology v.1:278)

For the counterfactuals the following constructions are witnessed:

*thelo*: (IMPF, INFL)-INF

- (57) *oute kai auto to e:thelan pathenei,*  
 neither and this/ACC, SG it/ACC, SG want/3PL,IMPF suffer/INF  
*an den e:thelan kai atoi tous*  
 if NEG want/3PL,IMPF and the selves/NOM,PL they/GEN,PL  
 "and they would not even have suffered this, if they did not want it themselves" (Anthology v.1:153)

*thelo*: (IMPF, INFL)+PRES, INFL [2]

- (58) *an den me to elege,*  
 if NEG I/ACC,SG it/ACC, SG say/3SG, IMPF

*e:thela*                      *eimai*              *eis*              *to*              *skotos*  
 want/1SG, IMPF      be/1SG, PRES in      the      darkness/ACC, SG  
 "if he had not told me I would be in the dark" (Anthology v.1:464)

*e:thele*+IMPF, INFL [4]

(59) *an*      *den*              *eudokimouse*      *to*                                      *karavi*  
 if      NEG      prosper/3SG, IMPF      the/NOM, SG      ship/NOM, SG  
*e:thele*                                      *eipoun*  
 want/3SG, IMPF                      say/3PL, PERF

"if the ship had not fared well they would have said" (Anthology v.1: 502)

*tha*+IMPF, INFL [11]

(60) *ean*      *omo:s*      *e:tón*                                      *mera*  
 if      but      be/3SG, IMPF                      day/NOM  
*polla*              *oligoi*              *tha*                                      *eglito:nan*  
 many/ADV      few/NOM, PL      FUT                      escape/3rdPL, IMPF  
 "but if it were day, very few (of them) would have survived" (Anthology v.1:476)

#### 4.3.1. The quantitative analysis

The comparison between the grammaticalization of *thelo*: in the constructions denoting futurity and the grammaticalization of *e:thela* in the constructions denoting counterfactuality is based on a preliminary study of the variation in the constructions denoting futurity in early Modern Greek. In this paper I simply present the factors that proved to be significant in the variation of the future and then test the variation in the *e:thela*+INF constructions and compare them with the results for the future.

The preliminary study showed that in the variation for the future two factor groups were significant. The time period in which the constructions are used, and whether the sentence was affirmative or negative, i.e. the 'sentence polarity'. The following pages include a number of tables and charts, obtained by using the variable rule application GoldVarb, version 2.0 (Rand and Sankoff 1990), which confirm this statement. I will take a moment here to discuss how the tables can be read. There are two kinds of tables. Some simply present the raw number of occurrences of a construction type and the percentage of distribution that these occurrences amount to. Most of the charts, however, present the results of a variable rule analysis of the data, which enables us to discern whether a set of parameters (factor group) effects the distribution of the construction types. This is a list of what the column titles refer to.

Under 'Group' the factor groups are listed, and within these the individual factors that we believe influence the distribution of the data (listed under 'Factor').

'Input probability' is the probability of a particular construction occurring even if the specified factors are not present.

'Weight' is the probability of the construction occurring due to a specific factor.

'Input and Weight' is the combined effect of the last two on the probability that the construction will occur.

'Applications' is the number of occurrences of the construction under analysis.

'Expected' is the predicted number of occurrences of the construction under analysis.

'Error' is the value that indicates the discrepancy between the predictions of the model and the actual occurrences.



'Chi-square per cell' is a measure of the independence of the factors and should be less than 1.5 for the model to have a good fit.

'Log likeli-hood' is a number that gives us a way of comparing models; the greater the number (i.e. the smaller the negative number) the better the model.

'Stepwise Regression Analysis' refers to a series of tests run by the program in order to determine which factor groups effect the variation significantly .

#### 4.3.1.1. The Futures

Only one application value at a time can be tested because the Varbrule program cannot execute multinomial analyses (analyses of more than two application values at a time). Thus, in order to give an accurate depiction of how the variation of the future construction is affected five separate runs (one for each attested construction type) would be needed. However, as can be seen in the following table table (1) certain constructions are not as prominent as others.

Table (1). Distribution of constructions denoting Future according to time period

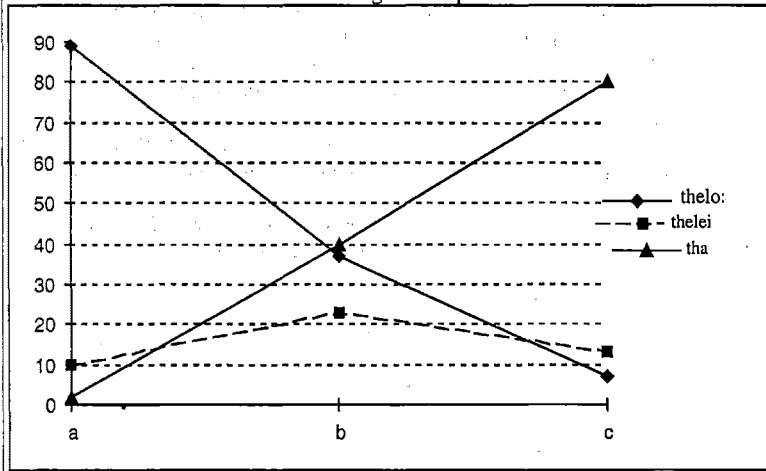
Group		1	2	4	9	11	Total	%
time period								
a	N	102	7	4	1 <sup>13</sup>	1 <sup>s</sup>	115	36
	%	89	6	3	1	1		
b	N	43	8	19	10	37	117	37
	%	37	7	16	9	32		
c	N	6	2	9	3	66	86	27
	%	7	2	10	3	77		
Total	N	151	17	32	14	104	318	
	%	47	5	10	4	33		

In order to reduce the number of knock out cells (as well as make the presentation less cumbersome ), type *thelo*:+INFL was grouped with type *thelei*:+INFL and type *the+na*:+INFL with type *tha*:+INFL. Even though this grouping was done in order to facilitate the statistical analysis it is also validated by the character of the constructions grouped. Both *thelo*:+INFL and *thelei*:+INFL have a full form of *thelo*: and an inflected form of the verb, while *the+na*:+INFL and *tha*:+INFL both have a reduced form of *thelo*:

The following chart (chart 1) shows the comparative distribution of these constructions according to time period.

<sup>13</sup>This token is not actually witnessed, but was inserted in the data set as "ghost tokens", in order for the Varbrul program to operate. Instances where "ghost tokens" are inserted will be marked ▲.

Chart I. Distribution of Futures according to time period



The general picture presented here is that in the first period type *thelo*:+INF is the dominant construction. In the second period two constructions *thelo*:+INF and *tha*+INFL are in strong competition, and type *thelei*+INFL is also involved in the competition but not as heavily. In the third period the competition is resolved in favor of type *tha*+INFL, the decline of type *thelo*:+INF use is quite radical, while for *thelei*+INFL it is more gradual.

Why should these particular subdivisions of the time period apply? Browning (1983) identifies 1821 as the starting point of the Modern period, so this would be a valid division. But he does not offer any break up of the period 1550-1821, and the period 1771-1821 seems to be a strange cut-off point mainly because it is so short. Valetas in his introduction of the anthology suggests that the period around the French Revolution (1789) brought turmoil to the Greek language, mainly by upsetting the status quo of the noble patrons of education. Clogg (1986) makes explicit mention that from the middle of the 1700s there is a boost in the establishment of Greek schools in the Ottoman empire, coupled by an extreme increase of the publication of secular books. These factors may have colluded to bring about the change we observed above at the end of the 18th century. This correspondence may be significant and should be further pursued. The fact is that this division of the time period is necessitated by the data. In the preliminary study different divisions of the time span 1550-1863 were tested but they all proved to be insignificant.

On the other hand, my choice of the factor group "sentence polarity" is based on the observation that in some texts *tha*+INFL construction is used only in affirmative sentences. For example, in the writings of Kalaras (Anth., v.1: 448-451, ca. 1815) we find *tha* constructions only in affirmative sentences:

(61)

*tha phtuso:*

FUT spit/1SG, PRES-PERFVE

"I will spit"

but *thelo*:+INF constructions in both affirmative and negative sentences

(63)

*de thelete anapneusei*

NEG want/2PL, PRES breathe/INF

"You will not breathe"

(62)

*tha planometha*

FUT wander/1PL, PRES

"We will wander"

(64)

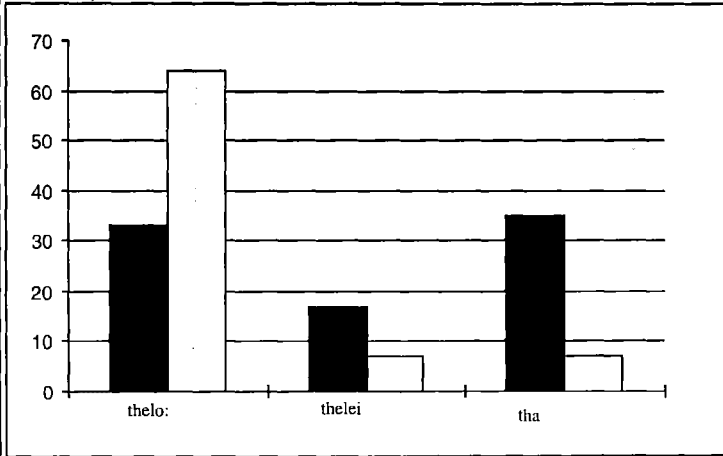
*thelousi*

want/2PL, PRES overflow/INF

"They will overflow"

As I have stated earlier, the importance of 'sentence polarity' as a factor group is restricted to the second period. Since negative future clauses disfavor the use of *tha*+INFL future, as can be seen in chart (2), we can speculate that 'sentence polarity' is the factor that brings about the competition between the three types of constructions in the second period.

Chart 2. Distribution of futures according to 'sentence polarity' (black: affirmative sentences)



#### 4.3.1.2. The Counterfactuals

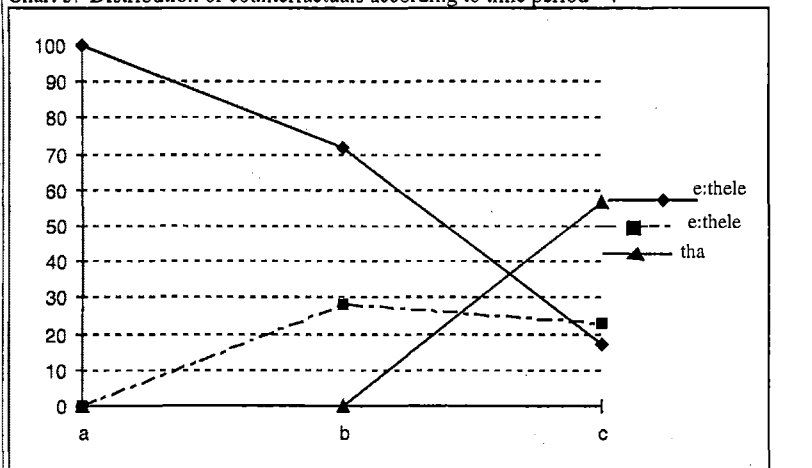
The same tests were run on the data regarding the constructions that denote counterfactuality<sup>14</sup>. The types that are witnessed are *e:thela*+INF, *e:thela*+INFL, *e:thele*+IMPF and *tha*+IMPF and in the presentation *e:thela*+INFL and *e:thele*+IMPF were merged because there were very few occurrences of the former construction, as can be seen in the following table (2).

<sup>14</sup>The time span researched in this case was expanded to 1880 in order to determine at what point the dominance *tha*+IMPF was established.

Table (2). Distribution of constructions denoting counterfactuality by time period

Group		1	2	4	11	Total	%
time period							
a	N	45	1	1 <sup>s</sup>	1 <sup>s</sup>	48	42
	%	92	2	2	2		
b	N	22	1	7	1	31	27
	%	69	3	22	3		
c	N	6	1 <sup>s</sup>	9	19	35	31
	%	17	3	25	53		
Total	N	73	3	17	21	114	
	%	62	3	15	18		

In the constructions that denote counterfactuality we see (cf. Chart 3) that while the use of type *thelo*:+INF constructions can be divided into 3 periods (1550-1770, 1771-1821, and 1821-1880), the use of the type *thelei*+INFL and type *tha*+INFL constructions can be divided into 2 periods (1550-1770, and 1771-1880, and 1550-1821, and 1821-1880, respectively). In the graph this can be seen in the fact that the distribution of *thelei*+INFL remains stable in (b) and (c) and that the distribution of *tha*+INFL remains stable between (a) and (b); in the Varbrul analysis, however this was determined by examining the statistical model that is constructed.

Chart 3. Distribution of counterfactuals according to time period<sup>15</sup>.

We notice in the model (cf. Table 3), that the probabilities between the second and third period are very similar (0.696 and 0.666). This gives us reason to think that the two periods should not be separated from each other. When factors (b) and (c) are collapsed,

<sup>15</sup>In the chart the actual percentage of *e:thele*+IMPF and *tha*+IMPF are depicted; the values in Table (2) are different because of the inserted tokens.

the probabilities of the two factors are significantly different and the log-likelihood of this new model is only slightly worse than the previous one (-44.944 vs. -44.964, cf. Table 4), a result that validates collapsing factor (b) and (c).

Table (3). Model of *e:thele*+IMPF used as Counterfactual by time period  
Input 0.129

<u>Group</u> time period	<u>Factor</u>	<u>Weight</u>	<u>App/Total</u>	<u>Input&amp;Weight</u>
	a	0.243	0.05	0.05
	b	0.692	0.25	0.25
	c	0.666	0.23	0.23
<u>Cell</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>App'ns</u>	<u>Expected</u>	<u>Error</u>
c	35	8	7.999	0.000
b	32	8	7.999	0.000
a	44	2	2.003	0.000

Total Chi-square = 0.0000  
Chi-square/cell = 0.0000  
Log likelihood = -44.944

Table (4). Model of *e:thele*+IMPF used as Counterfactual when periods (b) and (c) are collapsed into (b')  
Input 0.129

<u>Group</u> time period	<u>Factor</u>	<u>Weight</u>	<u>App/Total</u>	<u>Input&amp;Weight</u>
	a	0.243	0.05	0.05
	b'	0.678	0.24	0.24
<u>Cell</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>App'ns</u>	<u>Expected</u>	<u>Error</u>
b'	67	16	15.997	0.000
a	44	2	2.003	0.000

Total Chi-square = 0.0000  
Chi-square/cell = 0.0000  
Log likelihood = -44.964

For the construction *tha*+IMPF we notice that the probabilities of periods (a) and (b) are also very similar (0.241 and 0.308 in Table (5)).

Table (5). Model of *tha*+IMPF used as Counterfactual by time period

Input 0.131

Group	Factor	Weight	App/Total	Input&Weight
time period	a	0.241	0.05	0.05
	b	0.308	0.06	0.06
	c	0.899	0.57	0.57
<u>Cell</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>App'ns</u>	<u>Expected</u>	<u>Error</u>
c	35	20	19.994	0.000
b	32	2	2.003	0.000
a	44	2	2.006	0.000

Total Chi-square = 0.0000

Chi-square/cell = 0.0000

Log likelihood = -39.518

Once these two periods were collapsed and a new model was constructed, its log-likelihood was very slightly worse than in the previous one (-39.518 vs. -39.569 in Table 6) and the two factors (the period from 1550-1821 and the period from 1821-1880) have very different probability values. Again this is the preferred model.

Table (6). Model of *tha*+IMPF used as Counterfactual by time period when periods (a) and (b) are collapsed into one (a')

Input 0.132

Group	Factor	Weight	App/Total	Input&Weight
time period	a'	0.269	0.05	0.05
	c	0.898	0.57	0.57
<u>Cell</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>App'ns</u>	<u>Expected</u>	<u>Error</u>
c	35	20	19.994	0.000
a'	76	4	4.009	0.000

Total Chi-square = 0.0000

Chi-square/cell = 0.0000

Log likelihood = -39.569

If we compare the results of the variation analysis for the constructions that denote future with the results of the analysis for the counterfactuality denoting constructions we note the following differences:

1. The use of all future denoting constructions can be divided into three periods (1550-1770, 1771-1821, and 1821-1863) while in the constructions that denote counterfactuality only the use of type *e:thela*+INF constructions fits this division; the use of type *e:thele*+IMPF constructions is divided into two periods 1550-1770, and 1771-1880, and so is the use of type *tha*+IMPF constructions, although this is a different division: 1550-1821, and 1821-1880.

2. In the second period for the futures, the main competitor of type *thelo*:+INF constructions is type *tha*+INFL, while for the counterfactuals the main competitor of *e:thela*+INF is the type *e:thele*+IMPF.

3. In the second period, "sentence polarity" determines the use of constructions denoting futurity by favoring the use of type *thelo*:+INF against the use of type *tha*+INFL, while it is not a factor in the variation of the counterfactuals in any period.

## 5. DISCUSSION

The evidence presented in the two previous sections establishes that, contrary to the prevalent assumption, *tha*+IMPF for the counterfactual developed differently than *tha*+INFL in the future. The differences we have observed can be summarized as follows.

1. The *e:thela*+INF constructions lag behind the *thelo*:+INF in their development. In the Cretan plays this was evident in the absence of *tha*+IMPF constructions for the counterfactuals. In the anthology this is seen in the late emergence of *tha*+IMPF in the third period, whereas *tha*+INFL emerges in the second period, which gives us a time difference of about two generations.

2. The distribution of *thelo*:+INF in the second period in the anthology is constrained by 'sentence polarity', while the distribution of *e:thela*+INF is not.

Considering these differences we can say that with respect to these constructions, *thelo*: and *e:thela* cannot be considered as two different forms of the same verb anymore, they are two separate lexical items undergoing their own developments. Even though it is difficult to specify how much time must elapse between two changes in order for them to be considered separate, I assume that once they transcend a generation the changes cannot be connected in a direct fashion since the second change is implemented by an entirely new set of speakers. As Janda (1996) states:

...later speakers never have access to the grammars of preceding generations, and so they cannot know—either consciously or unconsciously—if the status that earlier speaker assigned to a particular linguistic element was lexical or grammatical, much less the precise extent to which it was either of these.

The changes however, may be connected in an indirect fashion; thus, once a change has congealed in the grammar of speakers it may influence the development of other changes. The abrupt emergence of the *e:thele*+IMPF in the second period of the anthology and of *tha*+IMPF in the third period are probably due to such an indirect change. They can be seen as forms that became variants for the counterfactual *e:thela*+INF once their future counterparts were established as viable variants for *thelo*+INF. The development of *e:thele*+IMPF and of *tha*+IMPF are probably due to some sort of analogical influence from the constructions available for the future.

When use of the *thelo*:+INF constructions in the future started to decrease in the second period, we may hypothesize that speakers felt the pressure to change the construction they used in the counterfactuals, especially as this change interacted with their use of new types for Future in the Past, and, perhaps more importantly, signaled a step away from the use of infinitival forms. The two most prominent alternatives would have been constructions of type *e:thele*+IMPF or type *tha*+IMPF. The strength of the type *thelo*:+INF constructions in the counterfactuals, however, would have equally prohibited speakers from moving too far from it, i.e. to type *tha*+IMPF. Type

*e:thele*+IMPF would serve as an excellent compromise between these two pressure points; it eliminates the use of the infinitive but, at the same time, retains *e:thele* which seems to have taken over the denotation of counterfactuality. In addition it avoids the problem presented by the fact that negative clauses in the future do not select *tha*+INFL. In the third period when the use of type *tha*+INFL constructions became categorical for the future tense, speakers would eventually use this construction in the counterfactuals as well.

What is extraordinary about this development is that despite the obvious connection between *thelo:* and *e:thela* both formally (as present and past tenses of the verb 'to want') and functionally (through the semantic association between futures and counterfactuals), this connection did not prove significant enough to keep the two constructions on a parallel track of development. In the constructions under investigation speakers treat the two forms as separate lexical items. Nevertheless, we see that later on in their development the forms denoting counterfactuality (*e:thele*+IMPF and *tha*+IMPF) are constructed on the basis of the forms that denote futurity, even though by this time the formal connection is much more obscure. In this respect the pattern that we have observed is paradoxical. Why should the development of these forms diverge when they are as close *e:thela*+INF and *thelo:*+INF are, only to be merged again at a later stage? Though this may be an intriguing question it should not be the focus of our attention. Instead we should recognize that the paradox itself is very revealing, as it is a clear indication that speakers do not make grammatical associations along the same lines that linguists or grammarians do, and that the linguistic behavior of speakers, however erratic, is what ultimately shapes language change.



## REFERENCES

- Ben-Mayor, Isaac (1980). *The semantics of some modal constructions in Modern Greek: the modal auxiliaries and the particle *tha**. (Unpublished Diss.-Oxford, 1980).
- Browning, Robert. (1983). *Medieval and Modern Greek*. London: Hutchinson & Co.
- Bybee, J., R. Perkins, and W. Pagliuca. (1994). *The evolution of grammar; tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Clogg, Richard (1986). *A short history of Modern Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holton, David (1993). The formation of the future in Modern Greek literary texts up to the 17th century. In N.M. Panayotakis (ed.) *Arxes te:s Neoelle:nike:s logototexnias*:118-28.
- Hopper, P. J. and E. C. Traugott. (1993). *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge University Press.
- Horrocks, Geoffrey C. (1997). *Greek: a history of the language and its speakers*. London: Longman Linguistics Library.
- Janda Richard, D. (1996). *The Alleged Unidirectionality of Grammaticalization vs. the Discontinuity of Language Transmission* (ms.) Paper presented at the LSA 70th Annual Meeting, San Diego, California, Jan. 4-7, 1996.
- Jannaris, Antonius N.(1968). *Historical Greek Grammar*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Joseph, Brian D. (1990). *Morphology and universals in syntactic change:evidence from Medieval and Modern Greek*. New York: Garland Publishers.
- Lyons, John. (1977). *Semantics*, v.II. Cambridge University Press.
- Rand, David and David Sankoff. (1990). *GoldVarb version 2.0, a Variable Rule Application for the Macintosh™*. Program Manual.
- Smyth, Herbert W. (1956). *Greek Grammar*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press
- Winford, Donald. (1990). Copula variability, accountability, and the concept of "Polylectal" grammars. In *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 5:2:223-252.
- Winford, Donald. (1993). Variability in the use of the perfect have in Trinidadian English: a problem of categorial and semantic mismatch. *Language variation and Change*, 5:141-187.
- Winford, Donald. (1996). The Carribean Creole TMA system and the Creole Prototype. Paper Presented at the OSU Linguistics Speakers Series, March 1 1996.

## PRIMARY SOURCES

- Anthologia te:s De:imotike:s Pezografias*, v.1, 2, G. Valetas (ed.). Athens: Petros Ranos 1949.
- Ero:phile*: N. A. Veis (ed.). Athens: Pella 1976.
- Katzourmpos*, L. Politis (ed.). Herakleion: Eteria Kritikon Meleton 1964.
- Patrologiae Cursus Completus Seu Bibliotheca Universalis*, J. P. Migne (ed.). Parisiis: apud Garnier Fratres, apud J. P. Migne, 1844-1904.
- Ploutarxou Paidago:gos*, Th. H. Papadopoulos (ed.). Athens: Kedros 1977.
- Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, M. De Jonge (ed.). Leiden: E. J. Brill 1978.
- The Apology of Plato*, J. Riddell (ed.). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1867.
- Vie d' Hypatios*, G. J. M. Bartelink (ed.). Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1971.

## APPENDIX

Table 1: abbreviations

1, 2, 3 etc.	Person Markings
ACC	Accusative
AGR	Agreement Between Forms
FUT	Future Marker
GEN	Genitive
INF	Infinitive
INFL	Inflected
NOM	Nominative
PRCL	Participle
PASS	Passive
PERFVE	Perfective Aspect
PL	Plural
PRES	Present Tense
PRT	Subordinating Particle
SG	Singular
IMPF	Imperfect

The Present and Past tense in Modern Greek can have two aspects: Perfective and Imperfective. The Perfective Past is here labeled as Aorist (AOR); the Imperfective Past as Imperfect (IMPF). The Imperfective Present is labeled Present and the Perfective Present simply Perfective Present (PRES-PERF).