Parallel and "Antagonistic" Complementation Structures in the History of the Greek Language.

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"Μἡ κρίνετε, ἵνα μἡ κριθῆτε"

Judge not that ye be not judged (Mat. 7:1)

Abstract

Zielsetzung des vorliegenden Aufsatzes ist: a.) eine bündige Skizzierung des graduellen Verlusts des Infinitivs in der Geschichte des Griechischen anhand von Belegen aus der späteren klassischen Antike bis zur späteren byzantinischen und frühen neugriechischen Sprachperiode vorzunehmen und b.) die syntaktischen "Parallelismen", die vornehmlich im Koine-Griechisch bzw. im Neuen Testament auftreten, zu untersuchen. Außerdem wird eine genauere Untersuchung des Neuen Testaments durchgeführt, um Ausbreitung von finiten Satzkomplementen auf Kosten von die Infinitivkonstruktionen festzustellen. Zu diesem Zweck wird ein statistischer Ansatz in Bezug auf bestimmte Autoren des Neuen Testaments angewandt. Je nach "Übereinstimmung" oder "Abweichung" hinsichtlich der Norm der klassischen "Standardsprache" im Sprachstil dieser Autoren werden wir versuchen, den Sprachwandel in der Umgangssprache dieser Periode darzustellen und etliche kontextuelle Parameter, die zur frequenteren Verwendung von finiten Komplementen im Griechischen beitrugen, ausfindig zu machen.

1. Preliminary remarks

One of the most striking syntactic characteristics of Modern Greek (MG) is the restricted employment of non-finite verbal forms and the total loss of infinitival complementation. This phenomenon is quite remarkable if we take into consideration that Ancient Greek (AG) made extensive use of infinitives as a means of complementation not only after control verbs (i.e. predicates whose complement verbs have co-referent to the matrix verb subjects) but even after verba dicendi, verba sentiendi etc., in cases in which the modern Romance and Germanic languages may select a complement clause. From this point of view, AG syntax is quite similar to the Latin syntactic structure.

The vast corpus of the Greek language, which extends over more than three thousand years, provides us the opportunity to detect the changes that the language has undergone diachronically in a rather detailed way. Therefore Greek is an excellent case for observing syntactic change phenomena and of course the gradual loss of the infinitives is one of them. However, there are several obstacles in this examination, the most important of which is, in the case of the Greek language, the linguistic purism that arose in the Hellenistic period, when the Greek language became the lingua franca in the east Mediterranean region and consequently was spoken by non-natives. This expansion of the boundaries of Greek brought about linguistic innovations or changes which were considered to be deviations (and "decadence") from "pure" Greek which is identified with the older (Homeric/poetic and chiefly the classical) period of the language. In turn, this phenomenon (which bears some similarity to the expansion of English nowadays and its inevitable simplification in its usage by the most non-natives) gave rise to a movement (whose impact had also influenced the MG language, up to some decades ago¹), which campaigned for the preservation of the linguistic purity of Greek. This effort, undertaken² by numerous erudite authors and scholars of that time, resulted in a dichotomy between the written and the oral language and consequently caused insecurity about what was indeed grammatical and actual in every linguistic period and what not.

The New Testament text is an interesting case: written from different authors of various educational backgrounds, it constitutes a compilation of texts which display a wide variety of linguistic styles and thus it somehow facilitates the

¹ Since 1830, (date of the declaration of the independent Greek state) and until 1975, the official language of the state and of the education had been the so-called *kathareuousa* "the pure/purified language" as opposed to *dēmotikē* "people's speech > colloquial" (politically also marked as conservative or progressive). *Kathareuousa* was the repercussion of centuries of linguistic purism in the written language. It was not a standardized and uniform language: its "quality" would be evaluated according to the degree of compliance with the ideal of the classical language. On the *diglossia* phenomenon, in the sense of Ferguson (1959), and its consequences for the Greek language and education cf. Mackridge 2009. About *diglossia* in the byzantine and later byzantine texts (as a background situation of the more recent one) cf. Browning (1983) and Toufexis (2008).

² Purist movement in Greek as well as the later usage of Latin in the overall scientific/philosophical literature led to the formation of the prescriptive grammars, i.e. of grammars which rather say how one should speak or write than describe how one really speaks (cf. Allan 2007: 78). This has been of course the very beginning of a very long and (partly still) persistent tradition in the history of the grammatical treatises.

attempt to examine what is the high and what is the low variety in the colloquial language of that time and of the particular non-native authors.

The goal of the following paper is two-fold: a.) to provide a succinct outline of the gradual loss of the infinitive in the history of the Greek language through attestations from the late classic times till the late Byzantine and early Modern Greek linguistic period and to examine the syntactic parallelisms mainly occurring in *Koine* Greek texts as well as in New Testament. What is more, a closer examination of the New Testament text will be carried out in order to trace the extent of the employment of the finite-complementation at the expense of the non-finite one. In particular, a statistical approach will be applied with regard to certain New Testament writers. According to their alleged compliance or deviation to the classic "standard" language of the antiquity, we will try to demonstrate what changed in the vernacular language of that period and to locate some particular contextual parameters which established finite complements in the Greek language.

2. The development of the MG subjunctive

As we mentioned above, MG does not make use of non-finite complementation. Instead of infinitives, MG employs, after certain categories of verbs (e.g. aspectual, modal or volitional), a syntactic configuration consisting of a Mood Particle³ (M.Prt.) + (mood negator)⁴ + (clitics) + a finite bound verbal form (marked for Aspect: +/- progressive and Tense: +/- past):

(1)
Thelo na sou to dhoso
Want.1Sg.Pres. M.Prt. you.Gen.Sg. it.Acc.Sg.n. give. 1Sg.(- progr./+past)
"I want to give it to you"

³ It is a matter of dispute within the framework of Generative Grammar whether *na* – particle should be treated as a conjunction (merging in the head position of a Complementiser Phrase) or a Mood Particle, merging in the head of a Mood Phrase (the subordinated alternative of the Tense Phrase) and sharing the mood properties which are otherwise "encoded" in the endings of the verbal conjunction. Since this is not a central issue in our paper, we will not discuss it any further; however we side with the latter approach.

⁴ There are two negators to be found in Greek: an "indicative" one *dhen* ($\delta\epsilon\nu$) and a second one, *min* ($\mu\eta\nu$), occurring before an imperative or subjunctive verbal form.

(2)
 mbori na chorepsa methismenos (MG)
 may.3Sg. (Impers.) M.Prt. dance.1Sg. (- progr./+past) drunk.Nom.Sg.m.
 "it might have been the case that I danced while drunk"

(Joseph 1983: pg. 43)

The *na* (va) particle derives from a morphosyntactical reanalysis of the AG final conjunction *hina* (ĭva) which has been phonologically reduced: *hína* (final conjunction) + subjunctive/ oblique optative > ína > iná > na (Mood Particle) + finite Verb⁵. In classical AG, the final clauses introduced by *hina* had exclusively an adverbial flavour and only in the late Hellenistic time started being employed as complements⁶.

However this has been a result caused by a gradual "weakening" of the infinitival complementation which can already be observed in the late classical AG texts, when, for instance, at some point the authors started making wider use of the so-called articular infinitive (infinitive following the neuter article) not only in its abstract nominal meaning (usually after the nominative or the accusative neuter article) but also as a construction indicating cause, purpose, motive (3) or instead of a simple infinitive or other non-finite verbal complement (4) (after the genitive neuter article):

(3)

ksunanepeithe de kai ho Hermokratēs oukh join-in-persuading.3Sg.Imp. but and the.Hermokrates.Nom. not tais nausi mē hekista athumein tou least the.Gen.Sg.n. the.ships.Dat.f. not lack-confidence.Inf. pros tous Athēnaious. the.Athenians.Acc. against

"But even Hermokrates joined especially in persuading (them) not to be without confidence at sea against the Athenians" Thuc. 7.21.3 (Joseph 1983: pg. 50)

⁵ Robert – Roussou 2003: 82.

⁶ Horrocks 1997: 45f.

(4) Epeskhomen⁷ tou dakruein
cease.1.Pl.Aor. the.Gen.Sg.n. weep.Inf.
"we ceased to weep" Plat.Phaed.117 e (Goodwin §798)

The articular infinitive may not be a verb complement itself (in the narrow sense of the term)⁸ but still reveals gradual demise of the bare infinitive in favour of more analytical structures⁹.

The breakdown of the infinitival complementation in the vernacular *Post-classical* and *Koine* varieties has been instantiated in several interesting ways, e.g.:

a. Final conjunctions normally introducing finite clauses may occur with infinitives¹⁰, like in the following example $(5)^{11}$:

ēitēsenmoipraksaiautēask.3Sg.Aor.me.Dat.do.Inf.this.Acc.Sg.f.<u>hina</u>pempsaiautousduoneōteron....conj.send.Inf.them.Acc.Sg.m. twonewer. Acc.Sg.m.(!)"He asked me to make her (so as to) send them two younger ones"

(Joseph 1983: 50)

- a. Er hat zu singen angefangen/ aufgehört
- b. Er hod zum Šinga oog'fangt/aafg'head
- he has to sing started/stopped

"he started/stopped singing"

(Bayer: 1993)

On the diachronic development of the articular infinitive in Greek, s.a. Horrocks 1997: 46-47, 98-99, 180, 192-193, 228.

¹⁰ Cf. Mandilaras 1973: §775.

 $^{^{7}}$ *Epekhō* could also assign Genitive to its object, when meaning "to stop, to cease"; this facilitates a nominal complementation with propositional content, such as an articulate infinitive.

⁸ In papyri attestations, genitive article *tou* appears after the verb *thelo* in a rather pleonastic and unusual use (*thelo* could not assign genitive), while a bare infinitive would usually occur, cf, Mandilaras 1973: §822.

⁹ Some southern German dialects tend to replace the infinitival clauses with articular infinitives, e.g. Standard German(a.) has a zu (infinitival marker - as well as a preposition selecting dative) + *infinitive* construction (correspondent to the english to + *infinitive*), while the Bavarian equivalent (b.) employs the form zum, which is contracted from the marker zu + -m, the reduced form of the dative neuter article *dem*:

¹¹ Cf. "infinitival" particles in the most European languages, e.g. *to* in English, *zu* in German etc. if these attestation are to be taken into serious consideration, similar constructions may have been introduced in some Greek varieties/dialects (if not mistakes from foreign speakers of Koine) but they were not established. The difference between the above case and the English counter-example is that *hina* introduced exclusively final adverbial sentences, while *to* had a different syntactic status (on the syntactic development of the English *to* s. Robert – Roussou 2003: p. 103ff.)

b. Another striking syntactic instability was the articular subjunctive, namely a syntactic configuration of preposition + plus neuter definite article + finite verb in subjunctive mood in place of the "standard" infinitival type¹²:

(6) ek tēs sēs *boē*[*thei*]*as* to pros the - your - help.Gen.Sg.f. the.n. from to d[u]nēthōmen ... ektelein (P. Lond. III 924) can.1Pl.Subj. *finish*.Inf.

"In order that we might be able to finish (it) through your help" (Joseph 1983: 51)

c. In Koine, however, the decisive development has been the growing use of *hina* (introducing final adverbial sentences) and *hoti* (introducing declarative sentences) occurring even in contexts where the standard classical language would exclusively make use of infinitival complementation. In New Testament (NT) the phenomenon is well established and actually the finite-complementation emerges antagonistically and in parallel use with the infinitives, with the exception of some control verbs (s. below). Compare the following examples: In two different extracts from the NT (7a / 7b) the same predicate, namely the predicative adjective + the copula *aksios eimi* " I am worthy", occurs with both finite and non-finite complementation:

(7a)
ouk eimi aksios to hupodēma
not am worthy.Nom.m. the - sandal.Acc.n.
tōn podōn lusai
the - feet.Gen.m loosen.Inf. (Acts 13:25)
"I am not worthy to loosen the sandal of (his) feet"

(Joseph 2002: 2)

¹² One has to take into account that these syntactic deviations are probably performance errors, found sporadically their way into the nonliterary papyri. Nevertheless, as Joseph (1983: p.51) points out, these erred structures "are undoubtedly to be considered "performance" errors, especially since they are sporadic even in the non-literary papyri. Still, they are indicative of what may be termed "popular confusion", and as such, attest to the demise of the infinitive as a living and productive verbal category."

(7b) lusō ouk eimi egō aksios hina not *I.*Nom. *worthy*.Nom.m Conj. loosen.1Sg.Subj. am tou hupodēmatos. autou ton himanta his *the-strap*.Acc.m *the – sandal*.Gen.n. (Jn 1:27) "I am not worthy to loosen his sandal- strap" (literally: "I am not worthy that I loosen his sandal-strap") (Joseph 2002: 3)

In one case in the text of the NT, both means of complementation could even coordinate:

(8)

thelōde pantas humaslaleinglossaiswant.1Sg. but all.Acc. you.Acc.Pl. speak.Inf. tongues.Dat.Pl.mallon de hinaprophēteuēte(1Cor. 14:5)morebut Conj.prophesy.2Pl.Subj."I want you all to speak in tongues or rather to prophesy."(literally: I want you al to speak in tongues but even more that you prophesy.")

(Joseph 2002: 5)

In general, infinitive or *hina* complements are selected by predicates denoting (Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (BDR) § 392):

- 1. to want, to crave, to strive.
- 2. to beware, to be ashamed, to dread
- 3. to ask for, to demand
- 4. to request, to order
- 5. to induce, to cause
- 6. to let, to license

The distribution of both syntactic structures after these predicate categories is to a large extent free, although some verbs belonging to these semantic fields may favour one construction over another (s. BDR ibidem). However, some other predicates displayed greater tenaciousness in the usage of infinitives, excluding, at that point, the employment of finite-complementation. The most representatives of these predicates are the verbs *mello:* "be about to", *opheilo:* "ought", *dunamai* "can, be able", *arkhomai* "begin", all control verbs (modals or aspectuals) i.e. followed by complements with obligatorily co-referent subject. As a matter of fact, verbs with co-referent subject tended to select infinitives while obviation may have given rise to finite complements. Nevertheless, even this distribution collapsed in the later stages of Koine, e.g.:

(9) thelousin hoi Ioudaioi hina phoneuousin auton want.3Pl.Pres. the-Jews.Nom. Conj. murder.3Pl.Ind(!) him.Acc. (Acta Pilati II. 2.5) "the Jews want to murder him"

(literally: "the Jews want that (they) murder him")

Interestingly, although the use of finite complementation was over-generalized in the following centuries, the afore-mentioned control verbs have been the last stronghold of the infinitives, since these particular predicates seem to be the only ones to select infinitival clauses in late Byzantine texts¹³, e.g. from *the Chronicle of Morea*:

(10) opheiloun eistai pantakhou (Morea 2009)
 ought.3PI.Pres. be.Inf. everywhere
 "they ought to be everywhere"

(11) eis touto arksetai lalei (Morea 3824 (P), 13th c.) at that.Neut. begins.3Sg. speak.Inf.
"At that, he begins speaking"

(Joseph 1983: 58f.)

*Ne možeš go nameri not can.*2Sg. *him.*Acc.Cl. *find*.Inf. "you cannot find him"

(Tomić 2006: p. 456)

Still, all these predicates can also select a subjunctive construction.

¹³ This seems to be a general - if not universal - tendency in the languages which employ finite complementation, cf. for example the case of the Romance languages. In Bulgarian, in which the finite complementation is preponderant, there can still be found some infinitival constructions after the verbs *moga* "can", *smeja* "dare", *nedej* "do not" and the adverb *stiga* "enough", e.g.:

Still, even in these cases the finite complementation could occur in the place of infinitival clauses. As a matter of fact, we could expect that in that period infinitive has come to extinction or its use was limited in some very particular cases. A remarkable example stems again from the *Chronicle of Morea*: the 15^{th} century Paris manuscript of the text often has a finite verb (the MG *na* + *verb* subjunctive) where the 14^{th} century Copenhagen manuscript has an infinitive:

(12)	ho rēgas	arkseton	<u>lalei</u>	(Morea 7118 (H))
	the-king.Nom.	<i>began.</i> 3Sg.Aor.	<i>speak.</i> Inf.	

(13) ho rēgas ērksen <u>na</u> <u>lalēi</u> (Morea 7118 (P))
the-king.Nom. began.3Sg.Aor. Prt. speak.3.Sg.Subj.
"the king began to speak" (Joseph 1983: 57f)

It is quite problematic to provide the precise date of the complete loss¹⁴ of the infinitive in Greek. As we have seen, infinitive can be found in the later Byzantine Greek (11th-15th AC) as a complement after some control verbs as well as after some particular verbs¹⁵ shaping an analytical future category. Nevertheless, as Browning (1989:69) notices, the changes should have taken place in the earlier period of Greek: the late Byzantine and Medieval Greek texts, which are more copious than the ones of the previous stage, albeit not imitating of the classic language, may depict a mixed linguistic register, a kind of semi-vernacular embroidered with archaic vocabulary and "poetic" syntactic constructions. In this case, the acceptance of a productive infinitival category is dependent on the interpretation of the stylistic characteristics of a text: it is either a living structure or a fossilized yet still passively accepted (so not entirely ungrammatical)

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¹⁴ A non-finite verbal form appears in MG after the verb *echo* ($\dot{\epsilon}\chi\omega$) "I have", forming the perfect tense. Since this is not a complement strictu senso but rather element of the compound tense of perfect, we make no reference here; for further argumentations cf. Joseph 1983: 77ff.

¹⁵ As a matter of fact, this has been the very last productive usage of the infinitive e.g. after the verb *thelo* "I want", cf. engl. *will* as a future modal verb. However, this constellation has altered as well toward an analytical construction with subjunctive which ended up to the formation of an invariable future particle *tha* (θa) in MG; along very general lines the development of the future particle is the following: *thelo* + Inf.> *thelo*+*na*+*verb* (aspectually marked)> *tha* (a combination of the reduced form of *thelo*>*the* with *na*). For an exhaustive search on the category Future in Ancient and Medieval Greek, cf. Markopoulos: 2009.

category. Whatever the right answer is, infinitive was extinct in the early MG period (16th AC), as it can be corroborated by the literature of this period and other sources, e.g. the oral poetry¹⁶.

3. The variety of registers in New Testament: an indication of an ongoing syntactic change.

New Testament (NT) is a text providing an important corpus for investigating the transition from infinitival to finite complements because:

i) It reflects, to a certain extent, the spoken Koine of this period, providing evidence of the vernacular language.

ii) Yet, its composers wrote in various styles (with Luke, Paul and the author of the Hebrews writing in a more "conservative" way), thus, by comparing the different registers and styles, we can likewise correlate certain syntactic phenomena with certain levels (e.g. if more colloquial styles may rather opt for finite complementation etc.)

iii) NT and Bible in general allow cross-linguistic comparative analysis. Moreover, its translations from Greek or Latin have also imposed syntactic changes in the languages in which it has been transferred (bear in mind the case of the Balkansprachbund).

With regard to the syntactical swift to more analytical complement constructions, one could point out that the NT plays a crucial role in observing this phenomenon, given that (as we mentioned above under ii.) Greek of NT is not stylistically uniform but rather a compilation of registers. cf. Horrocks (1997: 93): "...the language of the New Testament in general reflects quite closely the natural development of the language in the early centuries AD, always allowing for stylistic variation determined by the level of education of the author. Thus Hebrews and James are in some respects quite 'classical' (though far from Atticist), while Luke, Acts and the Pauline epistles are written on a higher level than Matthew, Mark and John (Luke, for example, sometimes implicitly 'corrects' the corresponding passage in Mark, cf. Browning (1983: 49)). John and

 $^{^{\}rm 16}$ Cf. Horrocks 1997: 304 & 321. On the issue of dating the loss of infinitive, cf. also Joseph 1983: 81- 84.

Revelation (Apocalypse), however, are almost wholly uninfluenced by the archaizing conventions of the literary and/or official traditions, and the author of the latter in particular has been seen by some as reveling in his imperfect command of Greek and deliberately adopting an 'anti-cultural' style."¹⁷

On these grounds we could put forward the following hypothesis: the frequency of the *hina*-finite complementation in NT chapters is inversely proportional to the alleged compliance of the writers to the classical language and directly proportional to the usage of colloquial varieties.

NT contains 636 *hina* – clauses (in both adverbial and complement function) and a large number of parallel interesting cases, e.g. bare subjunctives in main clauses etc. The crux in our case is to examine the distribution in these writers who are supposed to "represent" the two extreme registers of Greek within the NT. Taking into account what Horrocks and BDR consider as "the most/less colloquial" in each case, we compared Matthew and Luce from the Evangelists' gospels and the Hebrews and Apocalypse from the other parts of the NT¹⁸.

This brief analysis has yielded the following results:

(Mat 4:3) καὶ προσελθών αὐτῷ ὁ πειράζων εἶπεν· εἰ Υἰὸς εἶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰπὲ ἵνα οἱ λίθοι οὗτοι ἄρτοι γἐνωνται.

- Conj.. + Subjekt + predicate + copula Verb (sbj.)

(Luk 17:2) λυσιτελεῖ αὐτῷ εἰ λίθος μυλικὸς περίκειται περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕρριπται εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἢ ἵνα σκανδαλίσῃ ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν τοὐτων.

- complement phrase (embedded imperative) after verb λυσιτελεί (Imp.)
- Conj.. + Verb (sbj.)
- remarks: difficult construction, coordination with conditional clause!

More details about this research would hopefully be presented in our forthcoming dissertation on the diachrony and the typology of the MG subjunctive. Cf. Fykias - Sampanis (forthcoming) for relevant work on this topic.

¹⁷ Cf. BDR § 3: "Am nachlässigsten schreibt der Verfasser der Apk. (§136), am sorgfältigsten Lukas und der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes."

¹⁸ The working approach has been as follows: the first step has been to list the *hina* phrases. Afterwards, the sentences are separated in final adverbial or complement phrases. In ambiguous cases, we consulted the classic Greek syntax of the matrix predicate: if it selected a final infinitive, it means that it still demands a proposition as its complement. Given that the particle *na* and the verb form a cluster in MG, the word order has been examined as well:

⁻ complement phrase (embedded imperative) after verb λέγω

i. Matthew's Gospel (presumably more colloquial): hina complementation: 15 out of 38 *hina*-clauses (appr. 39,5%)

ii. Luke's Gospel (presumably less colloquial): hina complementation: 10complement phrases + 1 direct question (instead of subjunctive) out of 46:(appr. 23,9%)

iii. Hebrews (one of the two most archaic texts in NT): hina complementation: 0 compl. phr. out of 20!

iv. Apocalypse (the most colloquial – obscure/"sloppy" text): hina complementation: 10 complement phrases (mostly after idiosyncratic causative predicates) out of 38 (approx. 26,3%).

These results seem to verify the hypothesis we posited to a great extent: the "more colloquial" registers exhibit a higher percentage of finite complementation while a more archaizing text, like the epistle to the Hebrews does not contain any example of finite complementation! On the other hand, it is also obvious that the complementation system is in flux and that both systems are in use and occur antagonistically and in parallel.

4. Conclusions

In this paper, we presented a brief outline concerning the loss of the infinitival complementation - in the light of certain examples which illustrate this gradual process to more analytical constructions - and we underlined the very existence of parallel syntactic schemata which give evidence to an ongoing syntactic change that the language undertakes. We have also pointed out that the study of this change process has been impeded by the sharp dichotomy between oral and written language, since the latter had not reflected the spoken language but had been formed in compliance with the doctrines of linguistic purism. In conclusion, we briefly discussed the variety of registers in the texts of the New Testament and we postulated that the more colloquial ones show an inclination to finite complementation.

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Kurzbiographie

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