
[konstantinos.sampanis@yahoo.com]

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1. Introduction

The Modern Greek (MG) subjunctive (or ‘subjunctive’ for certain scholars\(^1\)) complement clauses do not constitute a terra incognita, as the linguistic research dealing with this topic is extensive, as is the list of books and essays on it.\(^2\) Nevertheless, there are two major problems concerning the phenomenon: the first is that the scholars have not reached a degree of consensus about the exact semantic and the syntactic features of this structure, while the second is associated with the fact that the various treatments of the issue shed light only on a certain aspect thereof without taking into consideration other approaches. For instance, syntactic approaches may ignore semantic ones or synchronic analyses may fail to account for diachronic phenomena involving change in the subjunctive. In addition, it is still not entirely clear what the means are by which the loss of nonfinite complementation occurred in the history of the Greek language and what effects that loss had on the subjunctive.\(^3\)

One of the main objectives of my dissertation is to provide a “holistic” view of the MG subjunctive complement clauses. My use of the term *holistic* is meant to imply that the intention of this thesis is to examine a single syntactic phenomenon, MG subjunctive complementation, from various linguistic points of view, namely with respect to the synchronic, diachronic and typological aspects involved,\(^4\) so that it thereby is thoroughly understood.

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\(^{1}\) On a descriptive account that totally rejects the existence of a subjunctive in MG cf. Hesse 2003\(^2\): 12 and 70 ff. Cf. also the discussion in Roussou 2009: 1813 ff.

\(^{2}\) Cf., e.g., Roberts and Roussou 2003 with numerous further references, though mainly focusing on the syntactic properties of the MG subjunctive.

\(^{3}\) Regarding the loss of the non-finite complementation in the history of Greek, Joseph 1983 is a keystone within this research field. Still, a more systematic investigation, analogous to the one of Markopoulos 2009 on the category Future in Greek, remains a need.

\(^{4}\) Cf. also Miller 2002: xv concerning his method in his study on non-finite structures: “The approach, to borrow a term from Phil Baldi, is holistic. It combines theory and structure with functional, typological, and historical considerations. The rationale for the study is that no theory to date accounts for the crosslinguistic diversity of nonfinite data.”
2. Basic Claims and Results

A principal suggestion of my dissertation is that the configuration consisting of the preverbal “mood particle” *na* + verbal form constitutes a genuine mood category within the verbal system of MG. It is argued that there are certain reasons that indicate that MG has an *analytical* subjunctive mood at its disposal, in contrast to other European languages in which the subjunctive mood is *synthetic*, instantiated by a verbal paradigm with distinct subjunctive suffixes. Along with particular arguments which are often put forth in favour of a mood analysis of this MG structure, such as the occurrence of perfective verbal forms only in certain environments, preponderantly after the subjunctive marker *na* and the adhortative *as*, and the use of two different “mood-sensitive” negators (cf. Veloudis and Philippaki-Warburton 1984)—arguments which I re-examine, not only synchronically but also in thorough comparison to other languages of the Balkan Sprachbund and in conjunction with findings of Indo-European linguistics—I also make two additional suggestions: a) the particle *na* is not merely a “mood” particle\(^5\) (according to Zwicky 1985: 290, the term *particle* is “an ubiquitous notion in syntax”) but an affix-like element\(^6\) and thus part of MG verbal inflection; b. the subjunctive bears a bundle of distinctive semantic features –assertion, –realis (while the present indicative is valued with the features +assertion, +realis and the future indicative with the features +assertion, –realis). This analysis, based on the componential tradition of lexical semantics, has the advantage of utilizing some lucid traditional semantic distinctions that are still used in the relevant literature\(^7\) but in a more articulated way. What is more, it captures not only the semantic differentiation between the indicative and the subjunctive (+/–assertion respectively) but also the affinity between the future tense and the subjunctive mood (both –realis as opposed to the +realis feature of the present indicative) and thus it can account for phenomena such as the future reading of the subjunctive mood in Homeric Greek\(^8\) and the modal origin of the future tense in English.

On the basis of this analysis, I propose that the particle *na* is the head of a Mood Phrase to which the finite verbal form is adjoined after moving out from the head of the Verb Phrase. This obligatory movement explains the formation

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\(^5\) Cf. Quer 2006 on different types of subjunctive. In my dissertation and in Sampanis 2012 I argued against the existence of a subjunctive mood in Russian, since the mood particle *by* does not belong to the verbal paradigm of this language and therefore it differs from the MG case.

\(^6\) Cf. also Joseph 2003.

\(^7\) Cf. for example Palmer 2001.

\(^8\) Cf. Goodwin 1889: 97 ff.