Counterfactuality in the Tsakonian dialect:
## a contribution to the history of *ήθελα* and *ήμουν*

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This article is concerned with some of the periphrastic conditional structures and wishes used by speakers of the Tsakonian dialect to express, as observed by Ferguson et alia (1986:3) describing these types of structures from a cross-linguistic perspective, conclusions based on inadequate information, imagined possible or alternative states of affairs, to understand the world when the relationships between things change.

According to Comrie (1986:88-9), on a continuum of hypotheticality, the lower the probability of realisation, the higher the degree of hypotheticality, and from this point of view, counterfactuals are located at one extreme of this continuum, having the highest possible degree of hypotheticality:

The continuum of hypotheticality

probability   counterfactuality

reality   unreality
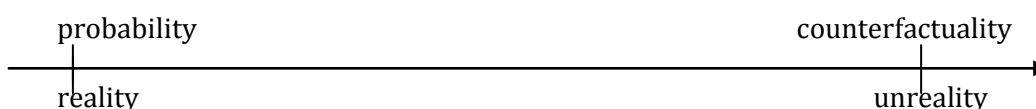
So, the unrealized and unrealizable conditionals and wishes, or, as Palmer (2001:207) puts it, those where the speaker shows some sort of negative attitude, are discussed here.

Traugott (1985· see also Lehmann 1974), in an attempt to define the universal markers of conditionals, identifies a very small number of types of non-conditional origin: a) modals of probability, doubt, wishing b) interrogatives c) copulas, usually of existential type d) topic markers and demonstratives e) temporals. Tsakonian makes use of the first and third options, as we shall see below. In this way the dialect differs from SMG (which uses the first option), not of course as regards the prototypical semantics of conditionality or the crosslinguistically established typology of conditionals, but rather as regards the lexical and morphological means chosen to express counterfactuality, and the morphosyntactic relationships established between these elements within the framework of grammaticalization theory.

For Lehmann (2002:29-30, 117-8), in periphrases which, as is usually the case with counterfactuals, are made up of two verbal elements, one of which is an auxiliary, in the first stages of grammaticalization the auxiliary governs, while, when its integrity has been eroded (for example with the loss of marking of certain verbal characteristics), it is the verb with lexical meaning which governs. This interpretation, seen from a comparative point of view, provides a useful typological schema for all varieties of Modern Greek based on two criteria proposed by Τζιτζιλής (forthcoming (a)):

a) The first criterion is modal past marking. The various varieties of Modern Greek may be divided into two groups: those with counterfactuals where the auxiliary is still marked for modal past, such as for example the dialects of Mykonos (Μάνεσης, 1997:348), e.g.

      (1) /iθele na su δόsi mila/ 'he would have given you apples'

of Chios (Pernot, 1946:289), e.g.
      (2) /iθela γini foniko/ 'someone would have been murdered'

and of Avlonari (Φάβης, 1911:56), e.g.
      (3) /iθela páis/ 'you would have gone',

and those with counterfactuals where the past is marked on the main verb, in other words where the counterfactual marker has undergone such a degree of phonetic reduction that it now coincides with the future marker; these varieties include, for example, SMG, the dialect of Corfu (Χυτήρης, 1992:233), e.g.

      (4) /as ixa lefta ce θa m éγlepes eména/ 'If I had had any money, you would have seen me'

and again Avlonari (Φάβης, 1911:56), e.g.
      (5) /θela pijéname/ 'we would have gone'
etc.

The case of Avlonari is actually rather enlightening: given the fact that this dialect possesses the homophonous future marker /θela/, as seen in the future utterance (Φάβης, 1911:55)

      (6) /θela γrápso/ 'I will write',

the reading of utterance (5) / θela pijéname/ as a counterfactual is secure, according to Τσολακίδης (2009:417), based only on the obligatory past tense of the main verb. In fact, as he observes, the crosslinguistic study by Bybbe, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994:515-6) has proved that in cases where the main verb is in the past, the counterfactual marker is the product of grammaticalization of the modal imperfect of the auxiliary (here /iθela/) rather than of the future marker (here /θelo/).

The difference between these two groups of varieties is not, according to Τζιτζιλής, simply a difference in the phonetic material of the marker, but is also semantic and grammatical. In the first group, the retention of past marking on the auxiliary allows the main verb to express clearly the distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect, such as in the two utterances from Demirdesi (Danguitsis, 1943:99-100)

      (7) /θela γoráso/ 'I would have bought',

      (8) /θela γorázo/ 'I would have been buying'.

On the contrary, in the group which includes SMG, the utterance θα αγόραζα is ambiguous: it can have perfective or imperfective meaning, past or future reference (see also Tomić, 2006:634-5) and habitual or non-habitual usage. In other words, as noted by Χόρροκς (2006:443), such constructions are neutral as regards both tense and aspect.

It is worth noting that in some cases, as for example that of utterances (3) and (5) from Avlonari, the material at our disposal from dictionaries, grammars and articles allows us to classify some dialects as belonging to both the groups defined above; this may be because we are dealing with constructions recorded at different chronological phases in

the development of the dialect, with differences between local subdialects, or it may be that the two constructions really did coexist as alternative possibilities for a certain period of time.

There are of course cases of intermediate / mixed dialects in which the past is marked on both the auxiliary and the main verb, either because they represent a transitional stage in the grammaticalization process, or as a result of influence from other language varieties. Examples of this type of "redundant" or transitional marking may be found in the dialect of Corfu (Χυτήρης, 1992:233), e.g.

(9) /iθela na sú δina mɲa paraɉelia/ 'I would have given you an order',

and in Demirdesi (Danguitsis, 1943:100), e.g.
(10) /θela γóraza éna áloγo/ 'I would have bought a horse'.

b) The second criterion concerns the choice of auxiliary verb used in the periphrasis. The various varieties of Modern Greek select one of three auxiliaries in varying stages of grammaticalization, the most common being θέλω as in SMG, while others use έχω, e.g. Cypriot (Μενάρδος, 1925:45), e.g.

(11) /içen na γrápso/ 'I would have written',

the dialect of Kozani (Ντίνας, 2005:149), e.g.
(12) /xa na tun riksn pulés/ 'they would have bitten him a lot'

and a small number, mainly from Asia Minor, use είμαι, such as the dialect of Axos (Μαυροχαλυβίδης - Κεσίσογλου, 1960:66), e.g.
(13) /na krépʃis ton/ 'you would have searched'

and that of Silli (Κωστάκης, 1968:110), e.g.
(14) /itna su γrápsu/ 'I would have written to you'

These introductory remarks will help us to more easily describe and interpret the equivalent Tsakonian constructions. According to the material at our disposal, which covers a time period extending from the mid-19th century to the present day, the two Tsakonian subdialects of the Peloponnese present a wide variety of different constructions, which, as I have already mentioned, include as counterfactual markers imperfect forms of θέλω and/or είμαι, and may be divided into the following categories:

1a) periphrastic auxiliary verb *ήθελα* + subjunctive

-/emaθa ráu/ (< */ema θélu na ráu/ ≈ *ήμουν θέλων να οράσω) 'I would have seen'
-/esaθa ráre/ 'you would have seen'
-/eciθa rái/
-/emaiθa ráme/ etc.

A fundamental characteristic of the organisation of the Tsakonian verbal system is the periphrasticity of the present and imperfect tenses, which make use of the relevant tense of the stative auxiliary είμαι and the present participle, e.g. /emi γráfu/ (≈ *είμαι γράφων) 'I write' ~ /éma γráfu/ (≈ *ήμουν γράφων) 'I was writing'. Within this framework the imperfect of the auxiliary verb θέλω is also constructed periphrastically, /ema θé(l)u/, and is used in combination with both the perfective and imperfective subjunctive, cf. /emaθa orínu/ 'I would have been seeing'. However, the use of a periphrastic verbal form in the construction of still more extended counterfactual structures increases their syntactic

complexity and constitutes a further source of pressure which encourages the operation of grammaticalization mechanisms, particularly those which lead to phonetic reduction of the material. These structures could be described as embedding periphrases (for the term see also Λιόσης, forthcoming), meaning that one periphrasis (here the imperfect) is incorporated as the first component, namely in a more grammatical position of a new periphrasis (here a counterfactual). Symmetrical with this and constructed in an equivalent manner is the future periphrasis of the type /emiθa ráu/ (= *είμαι θέλων να οράσω) 'I will see' (Λιόσης, forthcoming). In both cases the presence of the element /-θa/ could be considered the result of:

a) a process of grammaticalization of the periphrastic θέλω which leaves the initial component, the inflected /éma/ (or /émi/ in the case of the future), unaffected, namely the deictic characteristics of tense, person and number (which are also "redundantly" marked on the lexical verb), but "erodes" the verb θέλω and the complementizer να, ultimately resulting in their coalescence (for the term see Lehmann, 2002:132): /θa/ (< /θa na/ < /θe na/ < /θeu na/), or

b) the influence of the marker θα of SMG or neighbouring varieties which replaced the construction /θélu na/ following reanalysis and isolation of /ema/ as an autonomous element (for a more detailed discussion of this process, which also affects the future, see Λιόσης, forthcoming).

The structural model for the use of the inflected imperfect of θέλω together with the subjunctive may be traced back to the late mediaeval period. Markopoulos (2005:212) records a fairly large number of instances of the future-in-the-past from as early as the 15th century, such as the example (15) given below from Mahairas:

(15) *Είδα τον παπάν όπου εθέλα να κουρέψουν* 'I saw the priest that they were about to consecrate'.

However, he emphasises the fact that until the 16th century, counterfactuals and conditionals occur exclusively with an infinitive complement, because evidently their grammatical context was particularly resistant to the syntactic development whereby the infinitive was replaced by complement clauses (see also Markopoulos, 2009:209-24).

Kostakis observes in addition the sporadic presence of other counterfactual markers deriving from the verb θέλω and να, which always appear in combination with the subjunctive (utterance 16 is from Southern Peloponnesian Tsakonian, 17-19 from the dialect of the Propontis):

a) /θala/ (1986 Α΄:324):

(16) /θala záu ts ezú/ 'I would have gone there, too',

(17) /opsá na ta kanó, θala mi vrés/ 'If he had come yesterday, he would have found me'.

b) /θela/ (1986 Α΄:324, 327):

(18) /δé θela éxoi ksíla na ksalíts[h]oi/ 'they wouldn't have any wood left to burn'.

He observes that the particle also exists in Northern Tsakonian, but since he does not give examples it remains uncertain whether he is referring here to the future or to the counterfactual marker.

c) /θena/ (1986 Α΄:324):

(19) /θe na spásoi ta kurbáɲa/ 'they were sacrificing'.

Kostakis considers that this particle too is also to be found in Northern Tsakonian, but since he does not provide us with examples it is again uncertain whether he is referring to the future or to the counterfactual marker.
d) /θewa/ (1956:125):

(20) /t abrésta θewa nápsoi ta tseria/ 'before that they were lighting candles'.

Utterances (19) and (20) are examples of the generic reading taken by counterfactuals with the subjunctive in past narratives (see also utterance (32), below). It is most likely that the form *θέουα* given by Kostakis in utterance (20) simply represents a phonetic variant of the type /θela/ showing the stage where intervocal /l/ was converted to a semi-vowel before its eventual deletion. If, however, we take the view that this form represents an earlier stage af grammaticalization (/θelu na/ > /θeu na/ > /θeu a/), we would be forced to accept the conclusion, improbable both from a theoretical point of view and with regard to the rules of this dialect, that at the initial stage of grammaticalization the masculine form of the participle (≈ *θέλων) is selected instead of the expected neuter (cf. 3rd person singular neuter participle in impersonal expressions such as /eni prépunda na záre ecu/ 'you (yourself) must go'). In any case, the first interpretation is also supported by the form /θea/ from example (30) below, which represents the final stage of the deletion of intervocal -l-.

For the following reasons the markers /θela/ (/θewa/, /θea/) ~ /θala/ ~ /θe na/ should in all probability be considered loans from the neighbouring Peloponnesian (see Pantelidis, forthcoming) or Bithynian dialects (see Τζιτζιλής, forthcoming (b)) and not as inherited Tsakonian:
a) They replace the marker /ca/, which based on what we shall see represents the central element for the production of counterfactual structures in this dialect
b) They lack the basic syntactic characteristic of periphrasticity, i.e. they are derived from a monolectic form of θέλω
c) With regard to Propontis and Southern Tsakonian, with the exception of /θe(w)a/ they contravene the basic phonetic law of intervocal /l/-deletion, even if we accept that in the Propontis it is not applied as consistently as in Southern Tsakonian.

1b) periphrastic impersonal auxiliary verb *ήθελε* + subjunctive

-/(e)ciθa ráu/ (< */eci θelu(nda) na rau/· ≈ *ήταν θέλ(ω/ο)ν να οράσω) 'I would have seen'
-/(e)ciθa ráre/ 'You would have seen'
-/(e)ciθa rái/
-/(e)ciθa ráme/ etc.

We find the impersonal form of the auxiliary, /eciθa/, sporadically, most frequently in the northern Peloponnesian dialect, e.g.

(21) /eɣlitutse o papu o kakómere, pʰi ciθa i zemacisoi/ 'the poor old man was saved, or else they would have burned him'

(Λιόσης, 2007:452-3· for examples from the northern dialect see Κωστάκης, 1951:102). Such structures with the 3rd person form of the auxiliary which evidently constitute the starting point of the process of grammaticalization, as is generally considered to be the case also in SMG (see, for example, Χόρροκς, 2006:440-2), also correspond to similar structures found in the late mediaeval language and in other Modern Greek dialects which present a fossilized *ηθελε να* or *ηθελα < ηθελε να*, e.g.

(22) *ανέν και ηθελα λήπεις τότε* 'if you would be away at that time'

(Markopoulos, 2009:220· from the notary texts of Maras),

(23) /a δen eruvárizes, iθele na peθáno/ 'If you hadn't come, I would have died'
(Mykonos· Μάνεσης, 1997:348),

(24) /as iθela me vuiθísis/ 'I wish you had helped me'
(Eastern Crete· Πάγκαλος, 1955:329).

1c) periphrastic auxiliary verb *ήθελα* + marker-*είμαι* + subjunctive

-/emaθaca ráu/ (< */ema θelu na éci na rau/· ≈ *ήμουν θέλων να ήταν να οράσω) 'I would have seen'
-/esaθaca ráre/ 'you would have seen'
-/eciθaca rái/
-/emaiθaca ráme/ etc.

The syntactic length of the periphrasis increases still further with the presence next to the inflected θέλω of the marker /ca/, which is in its turn the product of the grammaticalization of the 3rd person form /eci/ 'was' and the marker /na/: /eci na/ > */ci na/ > */ci a/ > /ca/. The most characteristic point is the presence in the same construction of both auxiliaries, at different stages of grammaticalization. We will return to this.

1d) marker-*θέλω* + marker-*είμαι* + subjunctive

-/(e)θaca ráu/ (< */ema θelu na eci na rau/· ≈ *ήμουν θέλων να ήταν να οράσω) 'I would have seen'
-/(e)θaca ráre/ 'you would have seen'
-/(e)θaca rái/
-/(e)θaca ráme/ etc..

This option involves the phonetic reduction of the auxiliary /emi θélu/, or rather of the impersonal form /eci θa/: > /ei̯ θa/ > /e θa/ (and > /θa/ as a result either of further phonetic reduction or of influence from SMG). The structure in question is reminiscent of the future periphrasis /(e)θa ráu/ (< */eni θélu na ráu/) 'I will see', where the future marker has undergone the same degree of phonetic reduction; see Λιόσης, forthcoming. It is worth noting the existence of the rare form /θeca/ of the counterfactual marker along with /θaca/, e.g.

(25) /θeca ipoférume to molevó moré/ 'We would have suffered on Malevos, dear'

(Λιόσης, 2007:808), which is reminiscent of equivalent dialect alternations θελα / θαλα or θενα / θανα (Peloponnesian· see Pantelidis, forthcoming). It is certainly the case that the presence of the element /θe-/ makes it more probable that the volitional itself (and not just its auxiliary) has passed through all the stages of grammaticalization, rather than being borrowed from SMG θα.

In addition, the use of the modal periphrastic imperfect in the formation of counterfactual structures, despite the fact that it invalidates the capacity of Tsakonian for distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect in the manner described above (cf. /θaca ráu/ 'I would have seen' ~ /θaca orínu/ 'I would have been seeing'), creates two new syntactic options:

2a) marker-*θέλω* + imperfect

-/θa ema orú/ (≈ *θα ήμουν ορών) 'I would have seen'
-/θa esa orú/ 'you would have seen'
-/θa eci orú/
-/θa emai orúnde/ etc.

This is a direct reflection of the usual SMG structure θα + imperfect, and is in all probability a case of borrowing of the SMG syntactic prototype.

2b) marker-*θέλω* + marker-*είμαι* + imperfect

-/θa ca ema orú/ (≈ *θα ήταν να ήμουν ορών) 'I would have seen'
-/θa ca esa orú/ 'you would have seen'
-/θa ca eci orú/
-/θa ca emai orúnde/ κλπ.

This must be considered a hybrid form, since it appears to be a combination of the periphrases previously mentioned. The result is at first glance rather surprising, combining three modal markers, /θa/, /ca/ and the modal imperfect. It appears that these types of combinations are not exclusive to Tsakonian. In the dialect of Grevena we have the marker /xala/, which according to Τζιτζιλής and Μαργαρίτη-Ρόγκα (forthcoming· see also Τσολακίδης, 2009:418-9) resulted from the amalgamation of the auxiliaries /xana/ < /íxa na/ and /θala/, as in the utterance

(26) /an íksira xala páu ci iɣú/ 'If I knew, I would have gone, too'

(Αναστασιάδης, 1998:17), while even closer to the Tsakonian pattern are mixed periphrases such as

(27) iʃna (< íçe na) ta páru ítu/ 'I would have taken them'

from the dialect of Silli (Κωστάκης, 1968:110), where the lexical verb is preceded by the 3rd person singular of έχω and followed by the 3rd person singular imperfect of είμαι.

3) marker-*είμαι* + subjunctive

-/ca ráu/ (= *ήταν να οράσω) 'I would have seen'
-/ca ráre/ 'you would have seen'
-/ca rái/
-/ca ráme/ κλπ.

The simplest but rarest form combines the indeclinable existential marker /ca/ with the subjunctive as in the following examples (both from Λιόσης, 2007:444):

(28) /an éma kondá ta kʰára, ca ʃoɲistú/ 'If I had been near the fire, I would have been warmed'

(29) /iɲɟaị kxérunde otsʰi ca móʎi o tsʰepéla/ 'they knew that Tsepela was about to come' (future-in-the-past)

This kind of periphrasis, however, is what links the two Peloponnesian subdialects with the Tsakonian subdialect of the Propontis: in the example

(30) /áma δé isa etu, θea πεθάν. o jéro δé <u>ta borés</u> na ftäs tiptaga/ 'If you hadn't been here (If it were not for you), I would have died; the old man could have done nothing'

(Κωστάκης 1986, Γ΄:423), the second counterfactual apodosis of the conditional is expressed with the use of the marker /ta/ (< /éta/ 'was' + /na/ 'to') and the subjunctive. Unfortunately, the fact that the main verb is in the 3rd person singular does not allow us to decide whether /ta/ remains inflected, but another example from Kostakis (1986, A΄:192)

(31) /ná tai voleté, <u>ma borés</u> na paén/ 'If it had been convenient, I would have been able to go'

shows, although there is some doubt regarding the meaning, that this interpretation is indeed possible: /ma borés/ < /éma na borés/ (≈ * *ήμουν να μπορέσω*).
    Moreover, the use of the structure /ta/ + subjunctive in narrative, where apparently conveys a generic meaning is very characteristic:

(32) /O káθe spitonikots^h ur <u>ta pár</u> éna petiné tse <u>ta paén</u> [...]. Tan tzefáa <u>ta</u> ni <u>afis</u>
tsa   péra tse <u>ta pár</u> ton petiné [...] tse tan áwa méra <u>ta paénoi</u> ston áje. [...] <u>ta paén</u> sto
spiti s tse <u>ta kasits</u> na fái [...]./ 'Every house owner was taking a rooster and was going [...].
He   was leaving the head there and was taking the rooster [...] and the next day they
were   going to church. [...] he was going home and was sitting down to eat.' (Κωστάκης,
1957:124·for equivalent generic uses of the structure θελα + subjunctive in Peloponnesian
see Παντελίδης, forthcoming).

    The presence of the marker of existential origin in the dialects of Asia Minor, among them the Tsakonian subdialect of the Propontis, could be interpreted as influence from Turkish, especially in dialects such as that of Axos (see utterance 13), where it follows the main verb. On the other hand, the choice of the same auxiliary for the formation of counterfactual periphrases in the dialect of Silli (see utterance 14) in all probability constitutes an isogloss linking this dialect with Tsakonian, lending support to the theory proposing a Tsakonian substrate in this region (for a more extensive discussion of the links between these dialects see Τζιτζιλής, forthcoming (c) and Τζιτζιλής, forthcoming (d)).
    Whatever the case, the tendency to form future and consequentially counterfactual structures with verbs which mean 'be, become', which according to Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:258-64) have their semantic starting point with meanings of obligation or predestination, is not found only in such exotic language varieties as Kui, Baluchi and Slave (258) to which the three authors refer. There is also a Balkan dimension to this phenomenon. In the western dialects of Slavic Macedonian, conditionals periphrases may be formed with the marker *bi*, which is derived from the Old Church Slavonic aorist *byti* 'I was', e.g.

(33) Ako <u>bi</u> da mu potrebvet pari (= If + <u>would</u> + Subj. Mark.) 'If he happens to
    need money'

(Tomić, 2006:423, 444-5 and footnotes 64, 66). Similar structures are also found in SMG, e.g.

(34) *Είναι να πάω στο γιατρό / Ήταν να πάω στο γιατρό*

and can have readings which range from obligation to scheduled future, although they do not necessarily fulfil all the basic criteria to be considered periphrases (for these criteria see Aerts, 1965:3· Haspelmath, 2000:654-5).
    In Lehmann's terminology (2002:120-1), the two counterfactual markers used in Peloponnesian Tsakonian show the highest degree of paradigmatic integration, given that

they even combine with perfect tenses. These structures are of three types (Λιόσης, 2007:443):

4a) per. aux. verb *ήθελα* + present perfect subj.	4b) marker-θα + marker-ca + present perfect subj.	5) marker-θα + past perfect
-/emaθa exu orate/ (≈ *ήθελα να έχω ορατό) 'I would have seen' -/esaθa eçere orate/ 'you would have seen' etc.	-/θa ca exu orate/ (≈ *θα ήταν να έχω ορατό) 'I would have seen' -/θa ca eçere orate/ 'you would have seen' etc.	-/θa ema exu orate/ (≈ *θα ήμουν έχων ορατό) 'I would have seen' -/θa esa exu orate/ 'you would have seen' etc.

In utterances of type 4a, as well as utterances such as the following from other dialects, e.g.

(35) /θelana ts éxum mazuménis tsi ʎes/ 'we would have gathered the olives'

(Σαμοθράκη· Τσολάκη, 2009:425),

(36) /iθena tó xo νγáli/ 'I would have removed it'

(Κίμωλος· Βογιατζίδης 1925:157),

(37) /an <u>ienná çis féri</u> tok K, ienná rti c o A/ 'If you had brought K., A. would have come, too'

(Κάρπαθος· Μηνάς, 1970:109),

the ambiguity between the past and future readings is resolved in favour of the former with the combination of the modal past of the auxiliary and the perfect aspect of the lexical verb. Conversely, in 5, which, like the structure with the main verb in the imperfect (see 2a and 2b), must be considered a loan from SMG, the grammaticalization of the auxiliary to the point where its past tense origin is obscured, creates a need for double marking of the main verb as regards time reference: 'once for the past, once for unreality', as Palmer characteristically observes regarding equivalent structures in English such as the protasis in the utterance 'If John had come, Bill would have left' (2001:208; note the equivalence between the material used to form the apodosis in the English utterance, 4a, and the utterances from Samothrace, Kimolos and Karpathos); the only "doubly" past tense is of course the past perfect, described by Tomić (2006:633) in combination with θα as "future past-perfect-in-the-past". In Tsakonian, however, we also find the option 4b: the marker /ca/ is retained only when there is no past marking on any of the other components of the periphrasis, and the same applies in the case of the utterances /θaca ráu/ ~ /θaca orínu/ (see above). In other words, it is the marker /ca/ which prevents synonymy with the futures /θa éxu oraté/ 'I will have seen', /θa ráu/ 'I will see' and /θa orinu/ 'I will be seeing' respectively.

If we attempt a relative chronology of the two markers, we may conclude that /ca/ is older based on the following observations:

a) Unlike θέλω, which can be inflected, είμαι always appears completely grammaticalized, which allows us to suppose that it has been in use as a counterfactual marker for a longer period of time.

b) It has a «harmonic» presence (for the Harmony principle, see Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca, 1994:214-225) in the protasis of conditional structures, which, «being just as modal» as the apodosis, as noted by Horrocks (2006:439) «eventually make use of the same forms», e.g.

(38) /naca mólere, θaca nd oráu/ 'If you had come I would have seen you'

(Κωστάκης, 1986 Β΄:291), while it also appears frequently in negation environments:

(39) /óca (< /ú éci na/ 'not was to') bret^{h}ú/ 'I would not have been wet'

(Λιόσης, 2007:445). Its presence therefore in such syntactic environments, which are either conservative, such as negation (see Givon, 1979a [in: Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca, 1994:237] and Givon, 1994 as well, for the conservative nature of negation), or non-assertive, such as subordinate clauses, may be taken as proof that it is old; note the equivalent "old" structure, which is in fact also formed using the existential verb, in the protasis of the following conditional from western Crete:

(40) /ná tone ná xo, iθela su δóso/ 'If I had had (it) I would have given (it) to you'

(Πάγκαλος, 1955:330); cf. Τσολακίδης (2009:423) and Τσολακίδης (forthcoming) for the relative chronology of the auxiliary έχω.
c) Its syntactic position is always closer to the lexical verb than that of θέλω, namely it constitutes the nucleus of the tripartite periphrasis.

Finally, mention must be made of another periphrasis which can be compared to structure 1d) above, and which is more common in Northern than in Southern Tsakonian:

6) marker-*θέλω* + marker-*είμαι* + "bare" subjunctive

-/θaci ráu/ (< */ema θelu na eci rau/· ≈ *ήμουν θέλων να ήταν οράσω) 'I would have seen'
-/θaci ráre/ 'you would have seen'
-/θaci rái/
-/θaci ráme/ etc.

Kostakis, in his grammar of the Northern subdialect (1951:102) includes the declensional paradigm:

(41) /θa ci fténu/, /θa ci fténere/ etc. 'I would have baked, you would... etc.'

and utterances such as:

(42) /θa ci s plerúi/ 'he would have paid for them' etc.

In his dictionary (1986, A΄:286) he gives a further example, this time from Southern Tsakonian:

(43) /eréste a elía purtése aiδé θa ci zái t^{h}o gatáva/ 'The olive tree happened to be in his way, otherwise he would have gone down (fallen off the cliff)'

Here we have a combination of impersonal /eci/ with a verb in the subjunctive without the presence of the complementizer /na/, i.e. the clausal complement is replaced by the "bare" subjunctive. Such constructions are not unknown in the history of the Greek language. Markopoulos (2009) refers to the existence of future and counterfactual structures with θέλω + subjunctive without να in the late mediaeval period (166-7 and 220), stating emphatically that since these types of structures also occur with έχω (71-2) and μέλλω (128-9), the other two auxiliaries that historically have given future and counterfactual structures, it is impossible that the model they represent could have developed from periphrases with θέλω + infinitive, as they were until now believed to have done (see, for example, Joseph & Pappas, 2002· Χόρροκς, 2006:440-1). The examples

from Tsakonian are particularly helpful with regard to this matter: they show that structures with the bare subjunctive are also found using the fourth auxiliary, είμαι, thus completing the picture and supporting Markopoulos's argument. If we accept that this syntactic phenomenon is very old, dating back as far as Ancient Greek (Markopoulos, 2009:38-9), we have yet another argument indicating that the use of είμαι predates that of θέλω in the formation of modal periphrases in Tsakonian. More generally, it may be concluded that the study of the Modern Greek dialects can be extremely useful in determining the correct chronological, geographical and theoretical basis for the discussion of such issues. For example, the presence of the same type of perfect structures in the dialect of Corfu, e.g.

(44) /éxo fáo, éçis fáis, éçi fái, éxume fáme/ etc. 'I have eaten, you...etc.'

(Κρίκη & Λιόσης, forthcoming) shows that the issue at hand in fact affects the whole system of moods, tenses and aspects in Greek.

Conclusions

The coexistence of the two markers in counterfactual periphrases should certainly not be considered a case of unmotivated accumulation. The most probable interpretation is that extensions of the use of /ca/ gradually obscured its function as a counterfactual marker. This function was reinforced by the addition of the imperfect of θέλω, which was grammaticalized in its turn. This cycle of feedback between the introduction of past tense elements and their subsequent grammaticalization was completed with the introduction of a third past marker, the modal imperfect of the main verb. That the successive modal markers were introduced in this particular order (rather than for example an earlier use of the imperfect) is confirmed by the complete absence of structures combining /ca/ by itself with the imperfect, e.g. */ca ema oru/ (=*ήταν να ήμουν ορών). That counterfactual markers are often subject to this kind of reinforcement is nothing new in the bibliography: Dahl (1997:109) observes that the need for emphasis plays an important role: "Markers of hypotheticality might originate with locutions that are used to underscore the falsehood of an assumption and are later subject to extensions in their use and simultaneous weakening of their force. This in its turn may lead to the rise of new markers, and another round in the cycle." It is simply that in Tsakonian, the appearance of each new marker was not necessarily accompanied by the loss of its predecessor (cf. the English future, which today may be formed with *will*, *shall* or *be going to* (Bybee, Perkins, Pagliuca, 1994:21).

The reasonable hypothesis that sometime in the near past the choice between the two markers lead to distinctions of semantics, style or pragmatics (e.g. distinctions on the continuum of conditionality or of time reference in relation to the moment of utterance) remains unconfirmed, given that today the two elements, even when they are not used in the same periphrasis, are equivalent in meaning and distribution, and may even be found in the same utterance, e.g.

(45) /θa ca móli tatsip[h] éri to kabzì, θa émai̯ aúde re jórγo/ 'the child would have come the day before yesterday, we would have talked with him, George'

(Λιόσης, 2007:808-9).

Τζιτζιλής (forthcoming (a)), however, observes that dialects which preserve synchronically different degrees of grammaticalization of the auxiliary (or of different auxiliaries) are able, by changing or specializing their meaning, to express detailed distinctions on the continuum of hypotheticality for example *potentialis* between *realis* and *irrealis*. Whether or not dialects possess the capacity to do this could be used as a third criterion for grouping them.

The above analysis reveals that, according to the model discussed at the beginning of the paper, Tsakonian presents a mixed typology as regards the distribution of modal past

marking and as regards the choice of auxiliary. Two counterfactual markers showing a greater or lesser degree of grammaticalization, functionally interchangeable, which may coexist in the same periphrasis and, being hypercharacterized in comparison with SMG, may combine with three aspects (perfective, imperfective, perfect) and two past tenses (imperfect, past perfect), certainly could not be called a prototypical case, and this demonstrates once again the unique character of this dialect.

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