Not in the mood: modality and negation in the history of Greek

1.1 The stages of Greek

Homeric Greek	Classical Greek	Hellenistic and Roman Koine	Modern Greek
8C BC?	5C BC - 4C BC	3C BC - 4C AD	

Rich inflection Indicative, subjunctive, optative imperative		Optative dies Phonological levelling	Subjunctive: *na* + 'dependent'

οὐ(κ) vs μή
[uː(k)] vs [mɛː]

δεn vs mi(n)

NB no simple chronological development: problem of Atticism
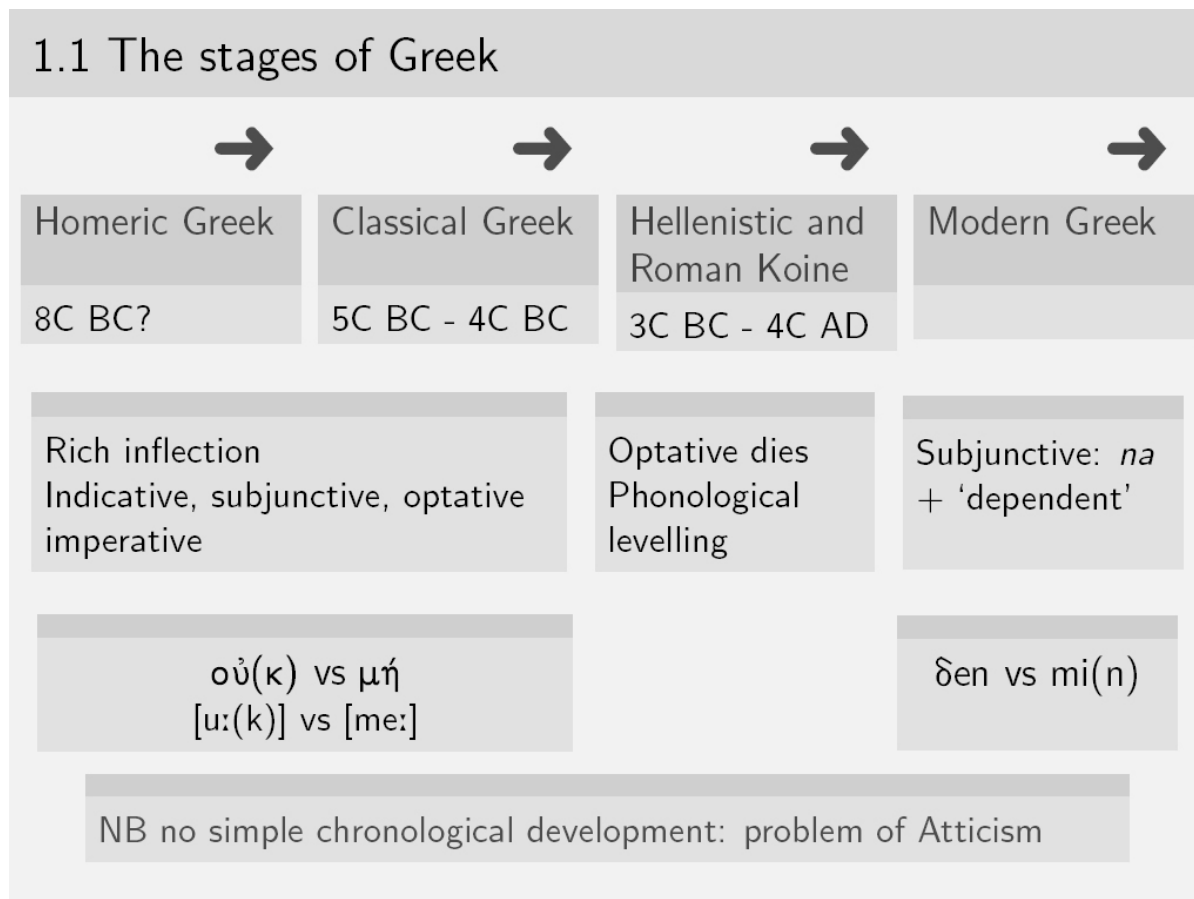
1.2 Philippaki-Warburton and Spyropoulos 2004 = PWS

- Classical Greek

  - Mood fused with person and tense and ∴ expressed in INFL
  - Negators: uː(k) = epistemic, mɛː = deontic

- Modern Greek

  - Mood is produced within a separate MOOD head
  - Epistemic/deontic distinction, now mapped on the distinction between indicative and subjunctive, is still marked by a choice of the two negators (δ*en* vs *min*)

1.3 Take-away points

1. Deontic vs epistemic is not relevant for discussions of mood or negators in Greek

2. Projection of functional categories does not depend on their morphological properties

3. Negator-choice in Homeric Greek suggests a fine-grained analysis of the functional category of modality

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2 Continuity

Theorem PWS 1: The deontic vs epistemic distinction is relevant for the system of mood and negation at all stages of Greek

- Fundamental distinction in field of modality

- Terms differentiate uses of modal verbs in English

(1) You must hand in work on time or else = Deontic

(2) They may be going to India at Easter = Epistemic

2.1 MGk subjunctive = deontic? (examples from Holton *et al.* 1997)

- Negative imperative ✓

(3) Να μην του το δώσεις
    na min tu to δ'osis
    NA MIN him.DAT it.ACC give
    'Do not give it to him'

- Complement clauses ✓

(4) Ο Γιάννης παρακαλούσε να μην τον στείλουνε στο μέτωπο
    O J'annis parakal'use na min ton st'ilune sto m'etopo
    The John pleading.PAST NA MIN him send the.ACC front
    'John was pleading not to be sent to the front'

- Imperatives with *na* ✓

(5) Να ντύνεσαι πιο ζεστά τώρα το χειμώνα
    na d'unesi pjo zest'a t'ora to xeim'ona
    NA dress more warm clothes the winter
    'You should wear warmer clothes now in winter'

- Wishes ✓

(6) Να/ας τον δω κι ας πεθάνω!
    na/as ton δo ki as peθ'ano
    NA/AS the see.SUBJ.1.SG and AS die.SUBJ.1.SG
    'May I see him and then I don't mind if I die!'

- After bori/isos = possibility ✗

(7) Μπορεί να βρέξει αύριο αλλά μπορεί και να μη βρέξει
    bor'i na vr'eksi 'avrio all'a bor'i ki na mi vr'eksi
    may.3.SG NA rain.3.SG tomorrow but may.3.SG also NA MIN rain.3.SG
    'Maybe it will rain tomorrow but maybe it will not rain'

(8) Ίσως (να) βρέξει αύριο
    'isos na vr'eksi 'avrio
    perhaps NA rain.FUT.3.SG tomorrow
    'Perhaps it will rain tomorrow'

- Complement of verbs taking *na* or *oti* ✗

(9) Δε νομίζω   να μας   καλέσει
     δe nom'izo   na mas   kal'esi
     δE think.1.SG NA us.ACC invite.FUT.3.SG
     'I don't think that he will invite us'

(10) Νομίζω   ότι δε θα μας καλέσει
     nom'izo   'oti δe θa   mas kal'esi
     think.1.SG OTI δE FUT us call.FUT.3.SG
     'I think that he will not invite us'

- Complement of perception verbs ✗

(11) Βλέπω   το Γιάννη   να σου   χαμογελά
     vl'epo   to J'anni   na su   xamojel'a
     see.1.SG the John.ACC NA you.DAT smiling.ACC
     'I see John smiling at you'

- Main clauses - two readings ✗

(12) na egrapse   to grama
     NA wrote.3.SG the letter
     'Is it possible/could it be the case that he wrote the letter?'
     (= epistemic?)
     'I wish he had written the letter.' (= deontic?)

Roberts & Roussou 2003, 75

Summary: MGk subjunctive (PWS theorem = deontic)

Negative imperatives	deontic	✓
Most complement clauses after *na*	deontic	✓
Imperatives after *na*	deontic	✓
Wishes with *as*	deontic	✓
Possibility after *mpori*	epistemic	✗
Some complement clauses after *na*	? subjective	✗
Complement after verbs of perception	?	✗
Main clauses	deontic or epistemic	✗

2.2 ClGk moods

- Jussive subjunctive - - deontic?

(13) ἀλλ᾽ ἴωμεν
    all   io:men
    but   go.SUBJ.1.SG
    'but let's go'

                                          Plato *Protagoras* 311 a 2

- Prohibitive subjunctive - - deontic?

(14) μὴ περὶ τοῖς   φιλτάτοις   κυβεύῃς   τε καὶ κινδυνεύῃς
    e: peri tois   pʰiltatois   kubeue:s   te kai kinduneue:s
    Mε: about the.DAT.PL most-dear.DAT.PL throw-dice.SUBJ.2.SG PTCL and take-risks.SUBJ.2.SG
    'Don't throw dice about the most important things and take risks'

                                            Plato *Protagoras* 314 a 1

- Wish optative - - deontic?

(15) Εἰ γάρ, ἦ δ᾽ ὅς, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, ἐν τούτῳ   εἴη·
    e: gar e: d hos o: Sdeu kai tʰeoi, en tuto: eie:
    if PTCL said PTCL he, by Zeus and gods, in that.DAT.SG be.OPT.3.SG
    'if only, he said, by Zeus and the gods, it could be like that'

                                            Plato *Protagoras* 310 d 9

- Subjunctive in conditional clauses - - epistemic?

(16) ἄν αὐτῷ   διδῷς   ἀργύριον καὶ πείθῃς   ἐκεῖνον, ποιήσει
    an auto: dido:s   argurion kai peitʰe:s   ekeinon, poie:sei
    if him.DAT.3.SG give.SUBJ.2.SG silver   and persuade.SUBJ.2.SG him,   make.FUT.3.SG
    καὶ σέ σοφόν
    kai se sopʰon
    also you wise
    'If you give him money and persuade him, he will make you wise too'

                                            Plato *Protagoras* 310 d 8

- Optative in conditional clauses - - epistemic?

(17) ὡς οὔτ᾽ ἄν τῶν   ἐμῶν ἐπιλίποιμι οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν
    ho:s ut   an to:n   emo:n epilipoimi uden ute to:n
    thus neither PTCL the.GEN.PL my.GEN.PL spare.OPT.1.SG nothing neither the.GEN.PL
    φίλων·
    pʰilo:n
    friends.GEN.PL
    'In that case, I would not spare any of my own possessions, nor any belonging to my friends'

                                            Plato *Protagoras* 310 e 1

Summary: ClGk moods

Jussive subjunctive	deontic?
Prohibitive subjunctive	deontic?
Wish optative	deontic?
Subjunctive in conditional clauses	epistemic?
Optative in conditional clauses	epistemic?

Continuity Moods Conclusion

- Classical Greek

  - All 'deontic' uses are 'performative'
    * Status of performative/illocutionary uses controversial
    * Certainly different from deontic uses of modal verbs in English
  - Most 'epistemic' uses are in conditional clauses - not clear that this is epistemic modality (see Willmott 2008)

    (18)   ?If Fran may be leaving , she will miss the talk.

  Deontic vs epistemic distinction does not in fact appear useful for distinguishing the uses of the moods in Classical Greek (for more detail see Willmott 2007)

- Modern Greek

  Subjunctive vs indicative ≠ deontic vs epistemic

2.3   MGk Negators (PWS theorem: min = deontic, δen = epistemic)

- min: in *na* clauses and in negative imperatives

- δen: elsewhere

Problems

1. *na* clauses not all 'deontic'

2. δen in conditional clauses - not 'epistemic'

3. min in gerunds - not 'deontic'

(19)   μιν γνορίζοντας το πρόβλημα, αποφάσισε   να μείνει
      min γnorizondas to provlima   apofasise   na mini
      not knowing   the problem,   decided.3.SG NA stay.3.SG
      'Ignorant of the problem, she decided to stay'

2.4   ClGk Negators (PWS theorem: me: = deontic, u:(k) = epistemic)

- me: in purpose clause ✓

(20)   πολλάκις ἡ   γυνὴ   ἀπήῄει κάτω καθευδήσουσα ὡς   το παιδίον, ῾/ινα   τὸν τιτθὸν
       pollakis   he: gune: ape:ei kato: katʰeude:susa ho:s to paidion, hina   ton titʰon
       often   the wife went   down to-sleep   with the child,   so-that the breast

       αὐτῷ   διδῷ   καὶ μὴ βοᾷ
       auto: dido: kai me: boa
       it.DAT.3.SG give.SUBJ.3.SG and ME: shout.SUBJ.3.SG

       'Often my wife would go downstairs to sleep with the child, so that she could feed it,
       and so that it wouldn't cry'

<div align="right">Lysias On the murder of Eratosthenes 10</div>

- *u:(k)* in indirect speech ✓

(21)   οὐκ ἄρα ἐκεῖνό γε   ἀμφισβητοῦσιν, ὡς   οὐ τὸν ἀδικοῦντα δεῖ   διδόναι δίκην
       uk ara ekeinp ge   ampʰisbe:tusin ho:s u ton adikuntan dei   didonai dike:n
       U:K PTCL this   PTCL dispute.3.PL,   that OU the unjust   must.3.SG give.INF penalty

       'They do not dispute that the unjust must not pay the penalty'

<div align="right">Plato Euthyphro 8d4</div>

- me: in directives ✓

(22)   μὴ περὶ τοῖς   φιλτάτοις   κυβεύῃς   τε   καὶ κινδυνεύῃς
       me: peri tois   pʰiltatois   kubeue:s   te   kai kinduneue:s
       ME: about the.DAT.PL most-dear.DAT.PL throw-dice.SUBJ.2.SG PTCL and take-risks.SUBJ.2.SG

       'Don't throw dice about the most important things and take risks'

<div align="right">Plato Protagoras 314 a 1</div>

- me: in wishes ✓

(23)   σιγᾶν   ἄμεινον τὰ᾿σχρά,   μηδὲ μοῦσά μοι
       sigan   ameinon taskʰra,   me:de musa moi
       be-silent.INFIN better shameful.NEUT.PL, ME: muse for-me

       γένοιτ᾽   ἀοιδὸς ἥτις ὑμνήσει   κακά
       genoit   aoidos he:tis humne:sei   kaka
       become.OPT.3.SG bard   who sing.FUT.3.SG evils

       'It is better to be silent about shameful things. May no muse make me a bard to sing
       evils'

<div align="right">Euripides Trojan Women 384</div>

- *u:(k)* in assertions ✓

(24)   οὐκ ἠμφεσβήτει,   ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ᾽ ὡμολόγει   ἀδικεῖν
       u:k e:mpʰesbetei   o: andres, all o:mologei   adikein
       U:K deny.PAST.3.SG o jurors   but agree.PAST.3.SG do-wrong.INFIN

       'He did not deny it, gentlemen, but agreed that he had done wrong'

<div align="right">Lysias On the murder of Eratosthenes 29</div>

- *me:* in conditional antecedents ✗

(25)   Ἔχε: τοσοῦτον   ἴσθ᾽   ὅτι
        Ekʰe,   tosu:ton   istʰ'   hoti
        hold.IMP so-much.ACC know.IMP COMP

        εἰ μή μ᾽   ἐάσεις   ἐπιτροπεύειν, ἕτερος   αὖ
        ei me: m'   easeis   epitropeuein, heteros   au
        IF NEG me.ACC allow.FUT.2.SG serve.INFIN,   other.NOM.SG. again

        ἐμοῦ   πανουργότερός τις   ἀναφανήσεται
        emu: panu:rgoteros   tis   anapʰane:setai
        me.GEN bad.COMP   INDEF appear.FUT.3.SG

        'Hang on, you should know something: if you don't let me serve you, then someone else will turn up worse than me.'

                                                        Aristophanes *Knights* 949

- *me:* with conditional participles ✗

(26)   ἐπεὶ οἴει σύ, ἔφη,   Ἄλκησιν ὑπὲρ Ἀδμήτου ἀποθανεῖν ἄν,   ... μὴ οἰομένυ:ς
        epei oiei su, epʰe:,   Alke:sin huper Adme:tu: apotʰanein an,   ... me: oiomenu:s
        since think you, he-said, Alcestis for   Admetus died   PART, ... NEG thinking
        ἀθάνατον μνήμην   ἀρετῆς   πέρι ἑαυτῶν   ἔσεσθαι
        atʰanaton mne:me:n arete:s   peri heauto:n   esestʰai
        deathless memory   valour.GEN for   themselves to-be
        'Do you suppose, she asked, that Alcestis would have died for Admetus, ... if they had not expected that there would be an undying memory of their valour about them?'

                                                        Plato *Symposium* 208d

- *me:* as complement ✗

(27)   ὄμνυσιν   τὸν   Διόνυσον
        omnusin   ton   Dionuson
        swear.3.SG the.ACC Dionysus.ACC

        μὴ   πώποτ᾽ ἀμείνον᾽ ἔπη   τούτων κωμῳδικὰ μηδέν᾽ ἀκοῦσαι.
        me: po:pote ameinon epe: tu:to:n ko:m:odika me:den aku:sai
        NEG ever   better   stories of-them comic   NEG   hear.INFIN

        'he swears by Bacchus, that none ever heard better comic verses.'

                                                        Aristophanes *Wasps* 1047

Summary: ClGk negators (PWS theorem: meː= deontic, uː(k) = epistemic)

meː		uː(k)	
Purpose clauses	✓	Indirect speech	✓
Directives and wishes	✓	Assertions	✓
meː in conditional sentences	✗		
meː with conditional participles	✗		
meː in certain complements	✗		

Continuity conclusion

> **Theorem PWS 1: The deontic vs epistemic distinction is relevant for the system of mood and negation at all stages of Greek**
>
> - Arguments against theorem PWS 1
>
> 1. The uses of the subjunctive in MGk are not all 'deontic'
>
> 2. The uses of the moods in ClGk may not be divided in this way
>
> 3. The uses of the negators in MGk do not correspond
>
> 4. The uses of the negators in ClGk do not correspond
>
> 5. No explanation of how this connection operates
>
> **Conclusion 1: The theorem does not stand**

3 Change: the WYSIWYG approach

- Mirror principle (based on Baker 1985): "syntactic structure reveals the morphological structure and vice versa"

- "fused morphology reveals fused/syncretic functional categories and simultaneous checking" (Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos 2004, 794)

- ClGk: mood is expressed inflectionally

- MGk: mood is expressed syntactically, by the modal particle *na*

- **Theorem PWS 2: The two stages of the language must have a radically different syntactic structure**
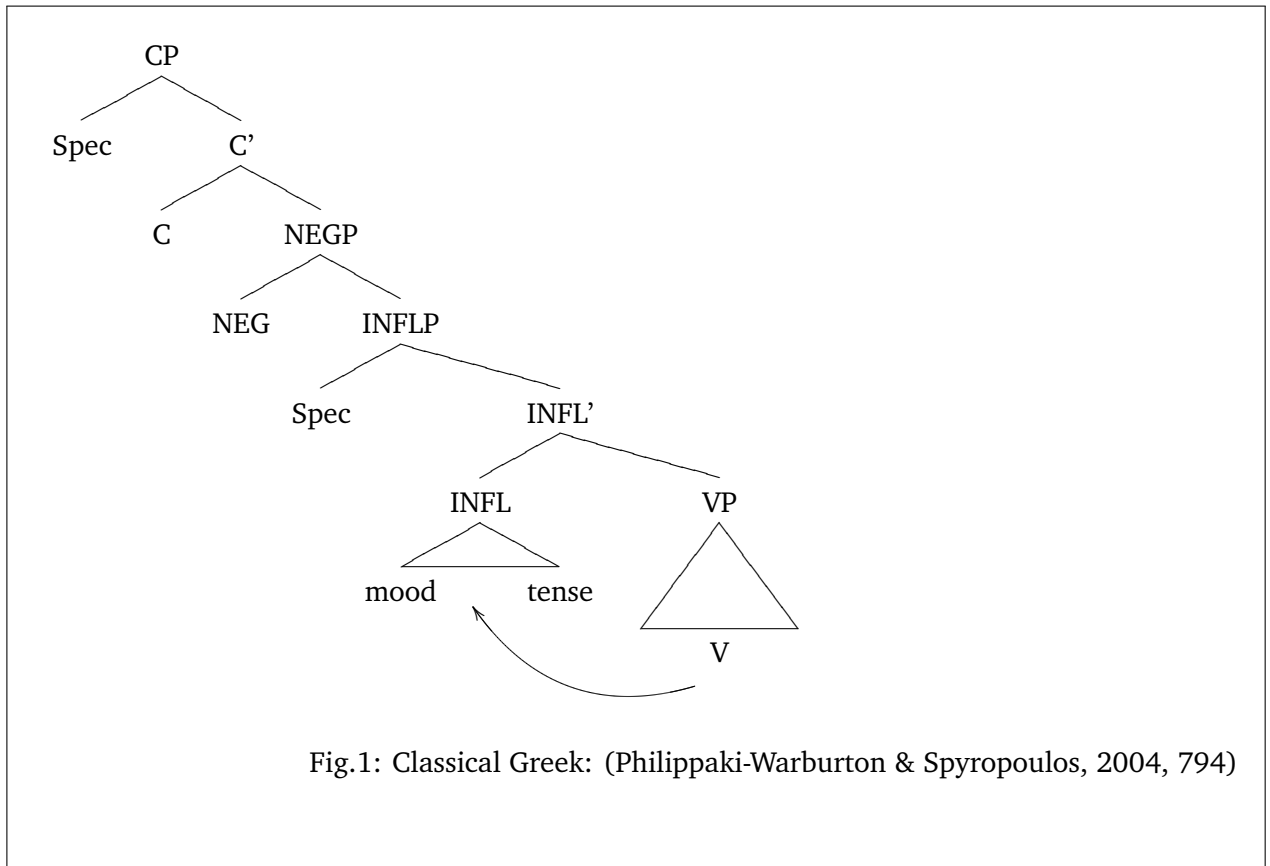
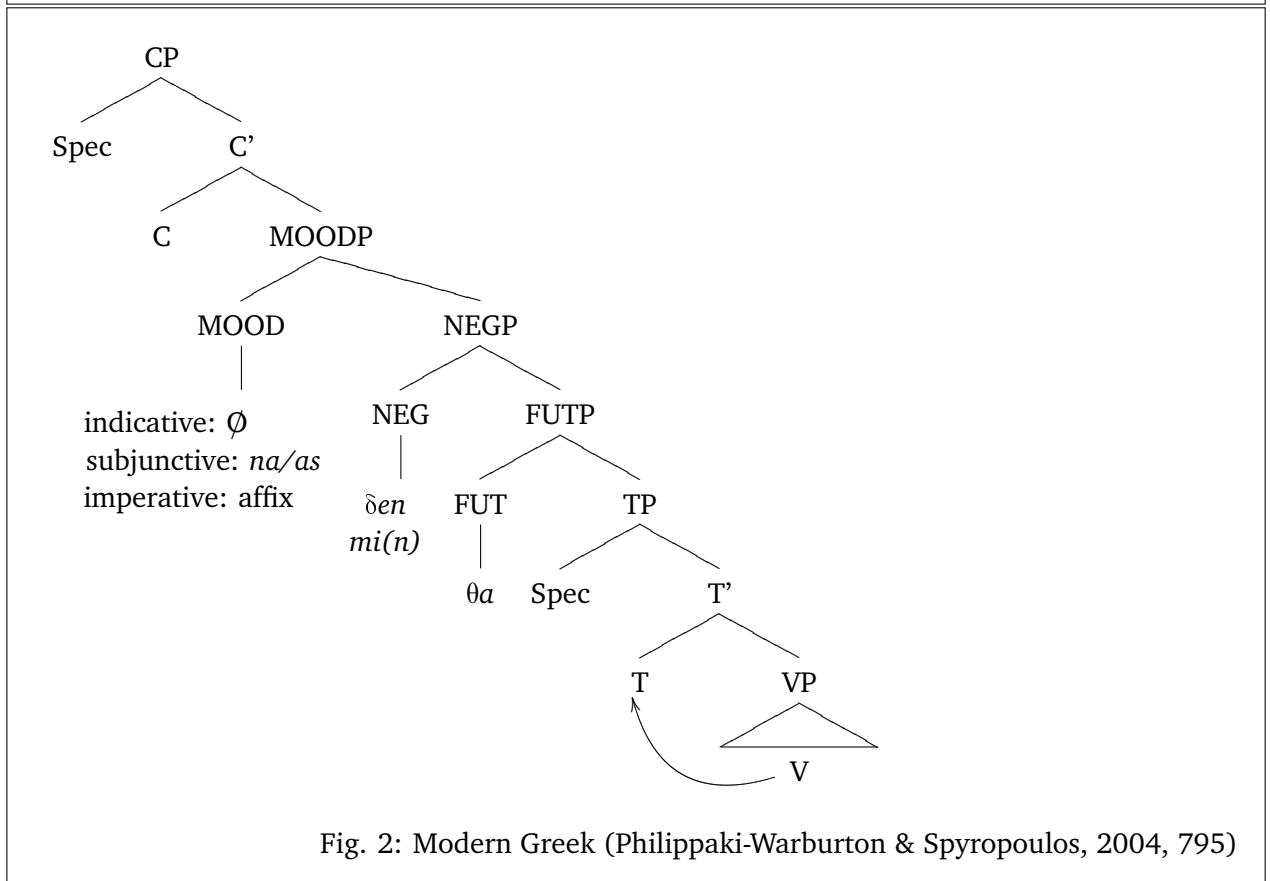Fig.1: Classical Greek: (Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos, 2004, 794)

Fig. 2: Modern Greek (Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos, 2004, 795)

- Maps of syntactic structure are not uncontroversial (cf Roussou 2000; Giannakidou 2008)

- Problem: if systems of Classical and Modern Greek are so radically different, at which stage, and under what circumstances did that structure change?

- This suggests "functional heads do not project universally; instead their projection depends on their morphological properties" (Roberts & Roussou 2003, 84) - justified?

3.1 HRK Greek: is it the transition period?

Fig. 3: HRK Greek (Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos 2004, 799)
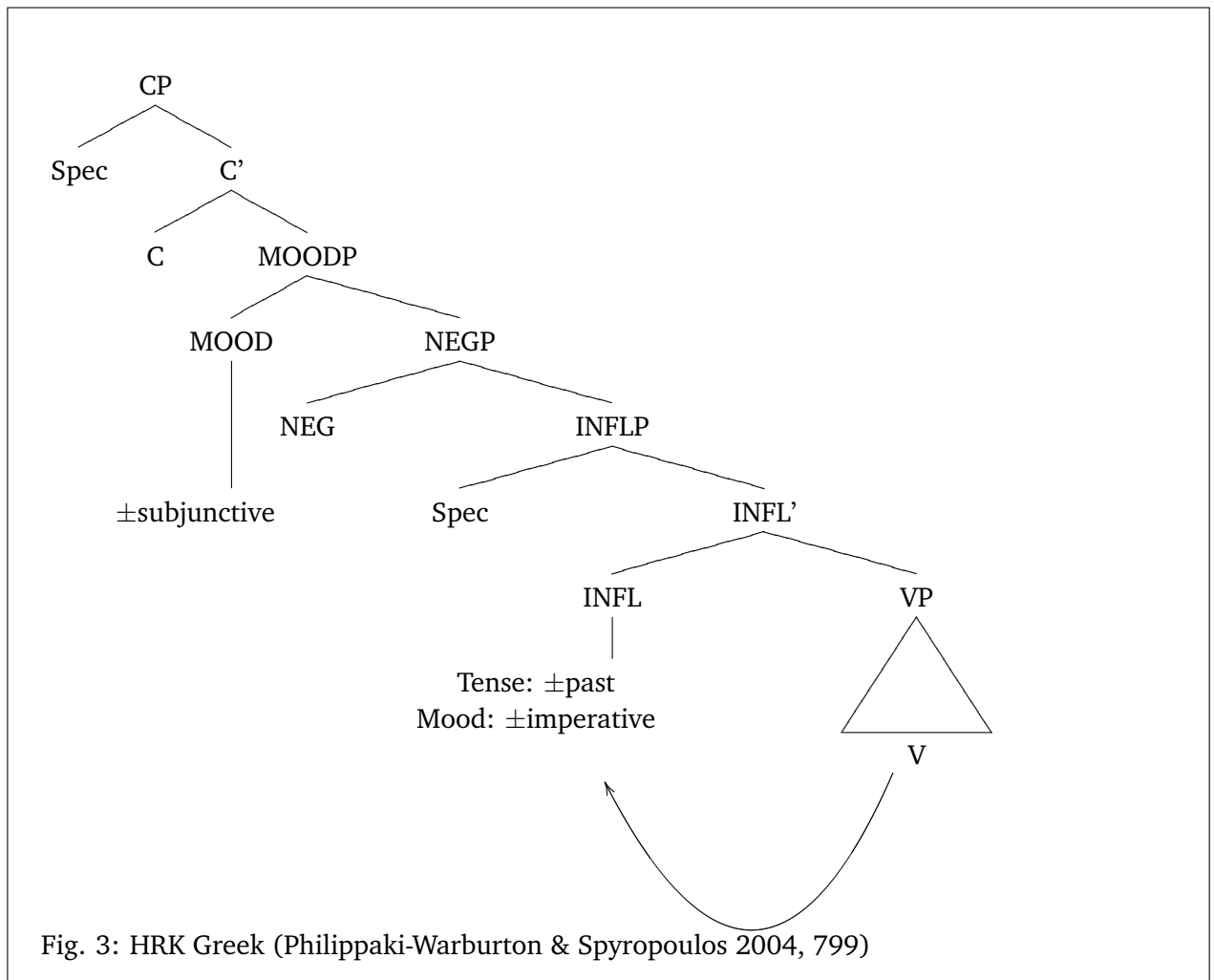
- Precursor of *na* = complementiser

(28) οὗτος ἦλθεν εἰς μαρτυρίαν, ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ φωτός, ἵνα πάντες
      'utos 'ilthen is marty'rian 'ina marty'risi pe'ri tu pho'tos, 'ina 'pandes
      This came to witness   that he-witness.SUBJ about the light,   that all-men

      πιστεύσωσιν δι'   αὐτοῦ.
      pi'stepsosin di   aφ'tu
      may-believe through him

      The same came for a witness, to bear witness of the Light, that all men through him might believe.

                                                                    John 1.1.7: Horrocks 1997, 94

- *na* = marker of future tense in medieval Greek

(29) ἐὰν   γὰρ μάθω,   ἵνα   αὐτῷ συντύξω
      eˈan   ɣar ˈmaθo,   (i)ˈna to   sinˈdixo
      if(ever) for I-learn.SUBJ, PART him   I-speak.SUBJ
      'for if I find out, I shall talk to him'.

<div align="right">Lausiac History, llB b: Horrocks 1997, 167</div>

- Distinct inflectional forms of subjunctive til 12th C

(30) Πρὸς ἄριστον, ἔφη,   το   παρὸν τραπώμεθα·
      ˈpros ˈariston, ˈefi   ˈto   paˈron traˈpomeθa
      To   lunch,   he-said, (for)the present let-us-turn.SUBJ;
      For the present let us turn to our lunch;

<div align="right">Alexiad 12.9: Horrocks 1997, 176</div>

3.2 General arguments against the claim

- Gradual change in modal system with several factors interacting

- Phonological: indicative and subjunctive become almost indistinguishable

- Onetime conjunctions take on greater role

- Semantic desire for transparency affects decline of optative?

- Change already foreshadowed in Homeric period

Change conclusion

Theorem PWS 2: The syntactic structures of ClGk and MGk are radically different

- Arguments against theorem PWS 2

1. Problem is when and how radical change takes place

2. HRK not transition period
   - *na* is still complementiser
   - *na* not only found in 'modal' contexts
   - Distinct inflections remain on the written subjunctive

3. Change is gradual not catastrophic

Conclusion 2:

- **Strict reading of the mirror principle is unsupported**

- Accounting for change between modality-poor and modality-rich model is difficult...

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4 Negators in Homeric Greek

- u:(k) in assertions (*Iliad* 24.300)

(31) ὦ γύναι οὐ μέν τοι   τόδ᾽ ἐφιεμένη   ἀπιθήσω
      o: gunai u: men toi   tod ephiemene: apithe:so:
      o lady U: PTCL you.DAT.SG this asking.DAT.SG disobey.FUT.1.SG
      'O lady, I will not disobey what you ask'

- u:(k) in complement to verbs of knowing/saying (*Iliad* 20.466)

(32) οὐδὲ   τὸ ἤδη   ὅ οὐ πείσεσθαι   ἔμελλεν
      ude   to e:de: ho u peisesthai   emellen
      NOT-PTCL that know.3.SG.IMPERF the U: perceive.INFIN.PASS intend.3.SG.IMPERF
      'And he did not know that he was not going to be listened to'

- me: in directives (*Odyssey* 11.251)

(33) νῦν δ᾽   ἔρχευ   πρὸς δῶμα, καὶ ἴσχεο   μηδ᾽ ὀνομήνῃς·
      nun d   erkheu   pros do:ma kai iskheo   me:d onome:ne:s
      now PTCL go.IMP.2.SG to   house and restrain.IMP.2.SG ME: name.SUBJ.2.SG
      'Go home now, and restrain yourself and don't name me.'

- me: in wishes (*Odyssey* 20.344)

(34) μὴ   τοῦτο θεὸς θελέσειεν
      me: tuto   theos theleseien
      ME: this   god   fulfil.OPT.3.SG
      'May a god not bring this to pass'

- me: in conditional antecedents (*Iliad* 1.324)

(35) εἰ δέ   κε μὴ δώῃσιν,   ἐγὼ δέ   κεν αὐτὸς ἕλωμαι
      ei de   ke me: do:e:sin,   ego: de   ken autos helo:mai
      if PTCL PTCL NEG give.3.SG.SUBJ, I   PTCL PTCL self take.1.SG.SUBJ

      ἐλθὼν σὺν πλεόνεσσι, τό οἱ   καὶ ῥίγιον ἔσται
      eltho:n sun pleonessi, to hoi   kai rhigion estai
      coming with many,   that him.DAT even worse will-be

      If he does not give (her), I myself will take (her), taking many (with me) - that will be
      even worse for him.

- me: in purpose clauses (*Odyssey* 20.267)

(36) ὑμεῖς   δέ, μνηστῆρες, ἐπίσχετε   θυμὸν ἐνιπῆς
      humeis de mne:ste:res episkhete   thumon enipe:s
      you   PTCL suitors   restrain.scimp.2.pl heart rebuke?

      καὶ χειρῶν, ἵνα   μή   τις ἔρις καὶ νεῖκος ὄρηται
      kai kheiro:n hina me: tis eris kai neikos ore:tai
      and blows   CONJ ME: a   fight and quarrel arise.SUBJ.3.SG

      'You suitors, hold back your desire for rebukes and blows, so that there will not be a
      quarrel or a fight'

4.1 MoodP in Homeric Greek?

me:	u:(k)
Directives	Assertions
Wishes	
Purpose clauses	Indirect speech
Most conditional antecedents	

- **Straw-man theorem 1: me: = +modal, u:(k) = -modal**

    - $[_{CP}$ $[_{MoodP}\pm$ modal $[_{NegP}$ *me:/u:(k)* $[_{TP}$VP...]]]]

    - cf figure 2 for MGk

- Not so worrying that negators are found with 'wrong' moods

- Future with me in purpose clauses (*Iliad* 20.301):

    (37) ἀλλ᾽ ἄγεθ᾽ ἡμεῖς πέρ μιν ὑπὲκ θανάτου ἀγάγωμεν,
    all   ageth   he:meis per   min hupek thanatou   agago:men
    but   come   we   PTCL him out   death.GEN.SG lead.SUBJ.1.PL

    μή πως καί κρονίδης κεχολώσεται,
    me: po:s kai   kronide:s kekholo:setai
    ME: PTCL even Zeus   get-angy.FUT.3.SG

    'But come, let it be us who takes him from death, lest Zeus be angry with us'

- **Future can be +modal**

- Subjunctive with u:k in main clauses (Homer *Iliad* 3.54):

    (38) οὐκ ἄν τοι χραίσμη κίθαρις τά τε δῶρ᾽// Ἀφροδίτης
    u:k an   toi khraisme: kitharis ta te   do:r aphrodite:s
    U:K PTCL PTCL help.SUBJ.3.SG lute   the PTCL gifts   Aphrodite.GEN.SG
    'Then your lute will not help you, nor the gifts of Aphrodite'

- **Subjunctive can be -modal**

- **BUT** u:k is found in +modal environments . . .

- u:(k) in conditional consequents with optative (*Iliad* 13.289)

(39) εἴ περ γάρ κε βλεῖο   πονεύμενος ἠὲ τυπείης
ei per gar ke bleio   poneumenos e:e tupeie:s
if PTCL PTCL PTCL hit.OPT.3.SG.PASS toiling   or strike.OPT.3.SG.PASS

οὐκ ἂν ἐν αὐχεν᾽ ὄπισθε πέσοι   βέλος οὐδ᾽ ἐνὶ νώτῳ
u:k an en aukʰen hopistʰe pesoi   belos u:d' eni no:to:
U:K PTCL in neck behind land.OPT.3.SG not in back

'If you were hit or struck in battle, the weapon would not land in your neck or back from behind'

- u:(k) in 'counterfactual' condititional consequent (*Iliad* 11.504)

(40) οὐδ᾽ ἂν   πω χάζοντο κελεύθου δῖοι   Ἀχαιοὶ// εἰ μὴ Ἀλέξανδρος
u:d an   pw kʰasdonto keleutʰu: dioi   Akʰaioi ei me: aleksandros
U: PTCL PTCL retreat   path   god-like Achaeans if ME: Paris

Ἑλένης πόσις   ἠ:υκόμοιο// παῦσεν ἀριστεύοντα Μαχάονα ποιμένα λαῶν
helene:s posis   e:ukomoio pausen aristeuonta Makʰaona poimena lao:n
Helen's husband fair-haired stop   beating   Machaon shepherd people

'Then god-like Achaeans would not have given ground from their course, if Paris, husband of fair-haired Helen, had not stopped Machaon, shepherd of the people, as he was in his stride'

- u:(k) with optative of 'deontic' modality (*Iliad* 14.126)

(41) τῶ   οὐκ ἂν με γένος   γε   κακὸν καὶ ἀνάλκιδα φάντες
to: u:k an me genos   ge   kakon kai analkida pʰantes
PART NEG PART me race.ACC PART bad.ACC and forceless saying.NOM.PL

μῦθον   ἀτιμήσαιτε   πεφασμένον ὅν κ᾽ εὖ εἴπω.
mutʰon atime:saite   pepʰasmenon hon k' eu eipo:
word.ACC dishonour.2.PL.OPT saying.ACC.SG which PART well speak.1.SG.SUBJ

'So you should not disregard the advice I give, which is meant well, claiming that my birth is lowly and worthless.'

- u:(k) with optative of 'dynamic' modality (*Iliad* 12.448)

(42) τὸν δ᾽ οὔ κε δύ᾽   ἀνέρε δήμου ἀρίστω
ton d' u: ke du   anere de:mu: aristo:
that two PTCL men region.GEN.SG best

ῥη:ιδίως ἐπ᾽ ἄμαξαν ἀπ᾽ οὔδεος ὀχλίσσειαν,
rʰe:idio:s ep amaksan ap u:deos okʰlisseian
easily   on wagon from floor lift.OPT.3.PL

οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσ᾽
hoioi nun brotoi eis
as   now mortals are

'Two men, the best from the region, would not be able to lift it easily from the floor to the wagon, such as men now are.'

Summary: HGk negators

Directives	me:
Wishes	me:
Most conditional antecedents	me:
Purpose clauses	me:
Statements of obligation	u:(k)
Statements of ability	u:(k)
Conditional consequents	u:(k)
Assertions	u:(k)

4.2   Articulated Mood category

MoodP$_{speechact}$ > MoodP$_{evaluative}$ > MoodP$_{evidential}$ > ModP$_{epistemic}$ > TP(Past) > TP (Future) > MoodP$_{irrealis}$ > ModP$_{alethic}$ > AspP$_{habitual}$ > AspP$_{repetitive(I)}$ > AspP$_{frequentative(I)}$ > ModP$_{volitional}$ > AspP$_{celerative(I)}$ > TP (Anterior) > AspP$_{terminative}$ > AspP$_{continuative}$ > AspP$_{retrospective}$ > AspP$_{proximative}$ > AspP$_{durative}$ > AspP$_{generic/progressive}$ > AspP$_{prospective}$ > ModP$_{obligation}$ > ModP$_{permission/ability}$ > AspP$_{Completive}$ > VoiceP > AspP$_{celerative(II)}$ > AspP$_{repetitve(II)}$ > AspP$_{frequentative(II)}$

Fig. 4: Cinque 2004, 133, his (3)

(43)   a. *Francamente ho purtroppo una pessima opinione di voi*
       Frankly I have unfortunately a very bad opinion of you
       b. **Purtroppo ho francamente una pessima opinione di voi*
       Unfortunately I have frankly a very bad opinion of you

Cinque 1999, 12

- MoodP$_{speechact}$ ('francamente') > MoodP$_{evaluative}$ ('purtroppo').

(44)   a. *Gianni inevitabilmente lascerà goffamente cadere la tazza*
       G will inevitably clumsily drop the cup
       b. **Gianni goffamente lascerà inevitabilmente cadere la tazza*
       G will clumsily inevitably drop the cup

Cinque 1999, 90

- ModP$_{obligation}$ (inevitabilmente) > ModP$_{permission/ability}$ (goffamente).

(45)   a. *Gianni è forse già stato qui?*
       Has G perhaps been here before?
       b. **Gianni è probabilmente già stato qui?*
       Has Gianni probably been here before?

Cinque 1999, 88

- ModP$_{epistemic}$ (probabilmente) > MoodP$_{irrealis}$ (forse).

Summary: Negators in Homeric Greek with types of modality

Meaning	Negator	Type
Directives	*me:*	MoodP$_{speechact}$
Wishes	*me:*	MoodP$_{speechact}$
Oaths	*me:*	MoodP$_{speechact}$
Most Conditional antecedents	*me:*	MoodP$_{irrealis}$
Purpose clauses	*me:*	MoodP$_{irrealis}$
Statements of obligation	*u:(k)*	ModP$_{obligation}$
Conditional consequents	*u:(k)*	?
Assertions	*u:(k)*	VP

Fig. 5: Zanuttini (1997, 101)
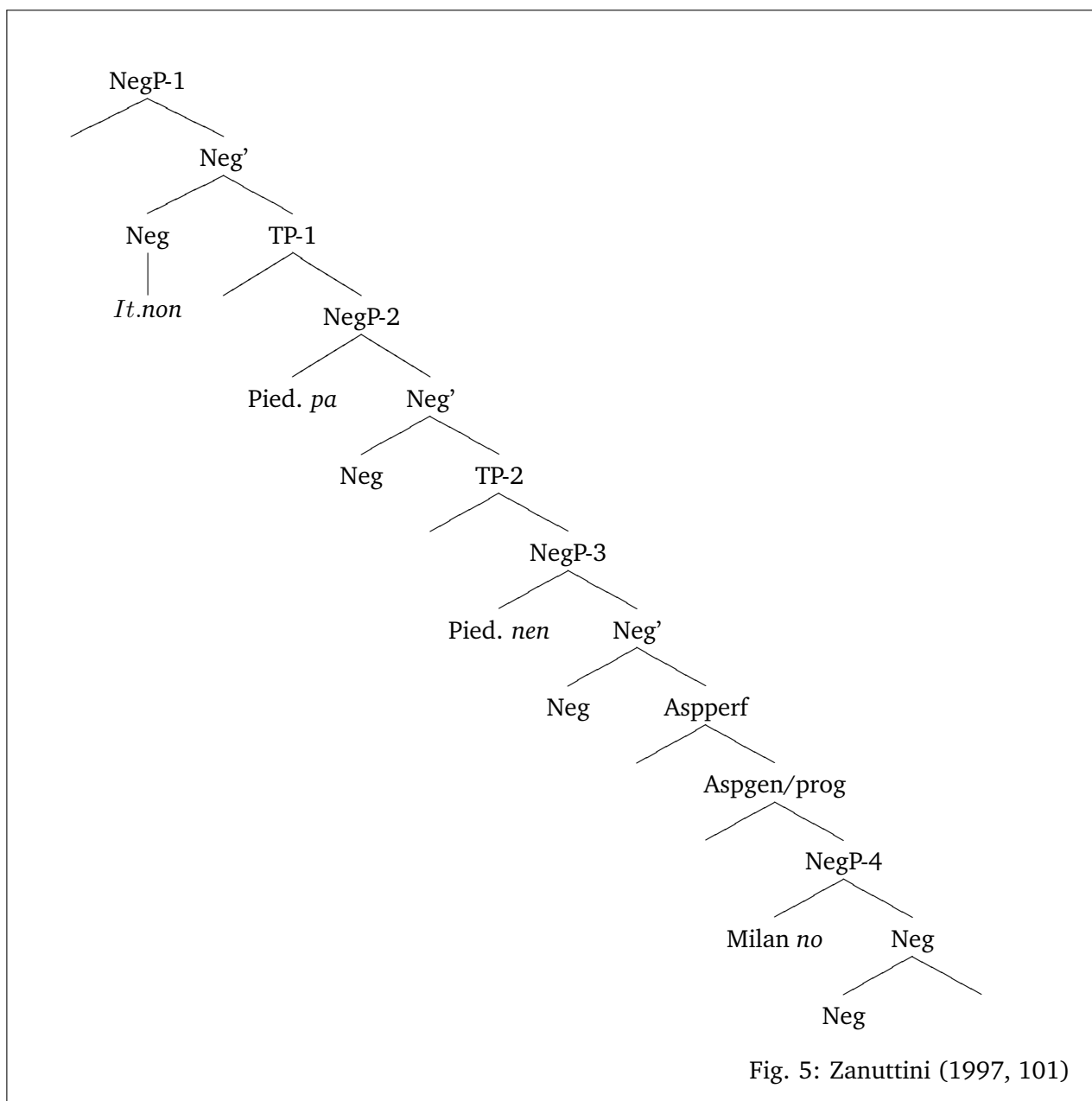
4.3   Proposal for Homeric Greek

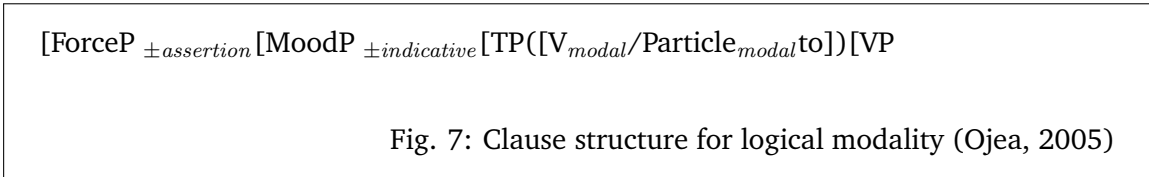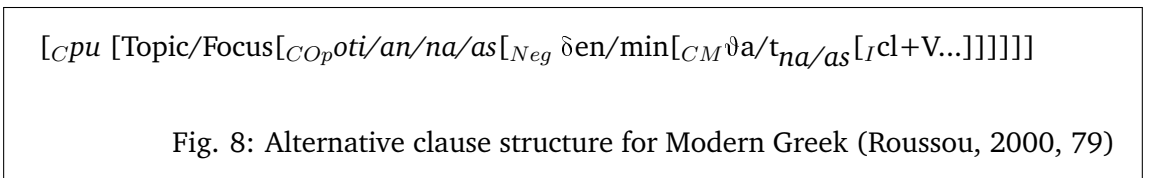Fig. 6: Willmott Homeric Greek proposal
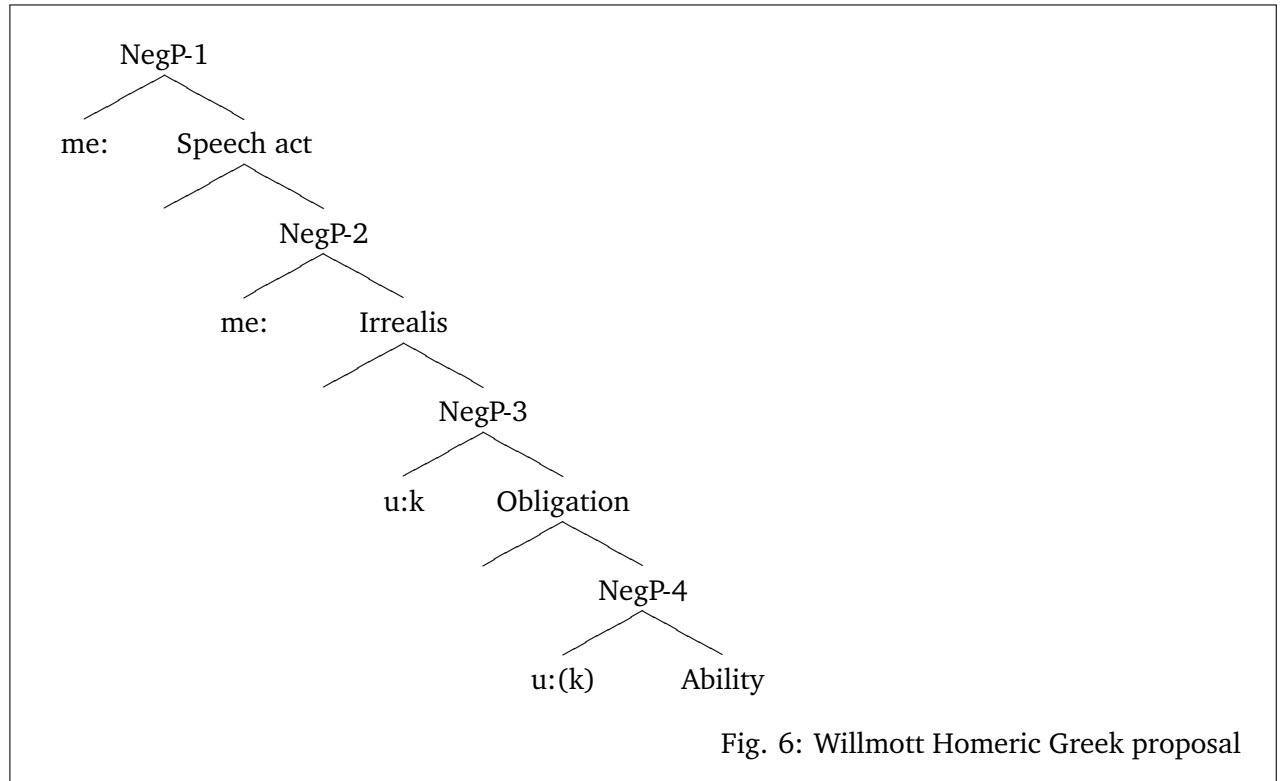
Discussion

- Number of NegP positions

- Position of negative wrt speech act

- Variance of negator in conditional antecedents

- Accounting for the modality of conditional consequents

- Where does the 'modal particle' fit in?

- Relative position of this structure within clause structure

    - Compare:

    $[\text{ForceP}_{\pm assertion}[\text{MoodP}_{\pm indicative}[\text{TP}([\text{V}_{modal}/\text{Particle}_{modal}\text{to}])[\text{VP}$

    Fig. 7: Clause structure for logical modality (Ojea, 2005)

    - And:

    $[_{CP}u\ [\text{Topic/Focus}[_{COp}oti/an/na/as[_{Neg}\ \delta en/min[_{CM}\vartheta a/t_{na/as}[_{I}cl+V...]]]]]]$

    Fig. 8: Alternative clause structure for Modern Greek (Rousshou, 2000, 79)

Conclusions

- Systems of modality and negation are interestingly intertwined in the history of Greek

- Deontic vs epistemic is not relevant distinction for discussions of mood or negators or their interrelations in Greek

- Projection of functional categories does not depend on their morphological properties: we may not use the WYSIWYG approach to work out the syntactic structure of a language

- Negator-choice in Homeric Greek suggests a fine-grained analysis of the functional category of modality similar to Cinque's model

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