FACTS ABOUT THE WORLD'S LANGUAGES:

An Encyclopedia of the World's Major Languages, Past and Present

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Modern Greek

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Language Name: Modern Greek (note that "Greek" by itself, without reference to time period, usually refers to ANCIENT GREEK). **Autonym:** *eliniká* (compared with the Ancient Greek autonym *hellēnikē*, the neuter plural nominative/accusative of which is the source, via sound changes, of the modern term), also *neoeliniká* (literally, 'new [that is, Modern] Greek'), and *roméika* (literally, 'Romaic', because of the affinities [Orthodox Christian] Greeks felt after the fourth century A.D. with the Eastern Roman [= Byzantine] Empire based in Constantinople).

Location: Prior to the late Hellenistic period, as noted in the article on Ancient Greek, there were Greek speakers all over the eastern Mediterranean, including southern Italy, the Black Sea coasts, Egypt, the Levant, Cyprus, and much of Asia Minor. This distribution continued throughout the Hellenistic period and on through the Byzantine and Medieval periods, and is valid even into the Modern era, although Greece and Cyprus are the main venues for the Greek language today. Most of the Greek inhabitants of Asia Minor (what is now Turkey) were removed to Greece after the population exchanges of the early 1920s that came in the aftermath of the Turkish defeat of Greece's expansionist forays. New diasporic communities arose in the 20th century, quite robustly in Australia (especially Melbourne) and in North America (especially in major cities in the United States and Canada), and to a lesser extent in parts of Europe and Central Asia, the latter in part because of emigration brought on by the Greek civil war after World War II.

Family: As a descendant of Ancient Greek, Modern Greek has the same family affiliation, namely, part of the Greek or Hellenic branch of Indo-European.

Related Languages: The linguistic affinities noted for Ancient Greek are relevant for Modern Greek, although perhaps not as obvious as for the ancient language. Depending on how one judges the difference between "dialects of a language" and "separate languages", the highly divergent modern form of Greek known as Tsakonian, spoken still in the eastern Peloponnesos in Greece, could well be considered now a separate language from the rest of Modern Greek, and the Pontic dialects once spoken in Asia Minor along the Black Sea coast and now spoken in many parts of Greece because of the 1923 population exchanges are divergent enough also to warrant consideration as a separate language from the rest of Greek now.

Dialects: The dialect complexity of Ancient Greek was to a large extent leveled out during the Hellenistic period with the emergence of the relatively unified variety of Greek known as the Koine (see Ancient Greek). While somewhat oversimplified, since there were differences in the realizations of Koine Greek in different parts of the Hellenistic world, this view is essentially accurate. The dominant basis for the Koine was the ancient Attic-Ionic dialect though there was some limited input from the other dialects. For the most part, the Hellenistic Koine, or actually the version of it that took hold in the Byzantine period, was the starting point for the modern dialects, and it is conventional to date the emergence of Modern Greek dialects to about the 10th to 12th centuries A.D. The main exception to this characterization is Tsakonian, which derives more or less directly from the ancient Doric dialect, although with an admixture of standard Modern Greek in recent years; in addition, the Greek of southern Italy, still spoken for instance in some villages in Apulia and Calabria, seems to have Doric roots. The Pontic dialects may derive more directly from the Hellenistic Koine.

The main modern dialects that derive from the later Byzantine form of the Koine are: Peloponnesian-Ionian, Northern, Cretan, Old Athenian, and Southeastern (including the islands of the Dodecanese and Cypriot Greek). The major features distinguishing these dialects include deletion of original high vowels and raising of original mid-vowels when unstressed in the Northern varieties, loss of final *-n* in all but the Southeastern varieties, palatalizations of velars in all but Peloponnesian-Ionian, use of the accusative for indirect objects in the Northern dialects instead of the genitive, among others. Peloponnesian-Ionian forms the historical basis for what has emerged in the 20th century as Standard Modern Greek, and is thus the basis for the language of modern Athens, now the main center of population, Old Athenian being the dialect of Athens before the 1821 War of Independence, still found in other parts of Greece because of various relocations.

Number of Speakers: At present, there are approximately 13 million Greek speakers, about 10 million in Greece, with about 500,000 in Cyprus, and the remainder in the modern Hellenic diaspora including over 1 million in Australia.

Origin and History

Temporally, Modern Greek has its origins in the Hellenistic Koine, since many of the changes that constitute the key differences between Ancient and Modern Greek are evident in nascent form in the Koine (although some ran to completion only later). While it is customary to divide post-Classical and post-Hellenistic Greek into the early Byzantine period (about A.D. 300 to 1000) and the later Byzantine/Medieval period (1000 to 1600), with the (truly) modern period starting after 1600, in

fact vernacular Greek of the 12th century seems quite modern in many respects.

A key feature in the development of the modern language is the fact that throughout the history of post-Classical Greek, the language and its speakers could never really escape the influence of the Classical Greek language and Classical Greece itself. The important position that Classical Greece held culturally throughout the Mediterranean, the Balkans, parts of the Middle East, and even parts of western and Central Europe, in the post-Classical period and on into the Middle Ages, meant that Greek speakers bore a constant reminder of the language and linguistic "monuments" of their ancestors. Classical Greek thus formed the prescriptive norm against which speakers of later stages of Greek generally measured themselves. This situation led to a "two-track system" for the language, in which a high-style consciously archaizing variety that speakers and writers modeled on Classical Greek was set against a vernacular innovative variety. While in the Medieval period this distinction was more a matter of a learned variety reserved for official (usually church-related) and many literary uses opposed to a colloquial variety that only occasionally found its way into literary expression, after the War of Independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1821, Greeks, confronted with the creation of a new nation-state of Greece, sought to codify and establish a national language as part of the nation-building process. At this point, the distinction became politicized, and the distinction arose between what came to be known as *katharevousa* ('Puristic', literally '[the] purifying [language]') as the high-style variety associated with official functions suc as those pertaining to government, education, religion, an such, and *dimotiki* ('Demotic', literally '[the] popular [lar guage']) as the language of the people in ordinary, day-tc day, mundane affairs. This sociolinguistic state of affairs wa one of the paradigm cases that Ferguson (1959) used in devel oping the notion of diglossia, and the struggle between propo nents of each variety, representing as well various concomi tant social attitudes and political positions, continued into th latter half of the 20th century. Currently, by various acts anc actions of the government in 1976, *dimotiki* is now the officia language, and the diglossic situation is resolved, at least offi- cially. Throughout the periods of diglossia, official and unof- ficial usage was actually somewhat mixed, with speakers of- ten borrowing from one variety and, for instance, incorporat- ing Puristic forms into Demotic usage, and the present state of Demotic what has emerged as "Standard Modern Greek" (the Greek of everyday life in the largest city and capital of Greece, Athens) reflects a number of such borrowings from *katharevousa*, involving both grammar (morphology and syntax) and pronunciation, as well as the lexicon.

Orthography and Basic Phonology

Throughout post-Classical Greek and on into the Modern era, the Greek alphabet has been the primary medium for writing Greek, although in the Medieval period, the ARABIC and HEBREW alphabets were occasionally used in certain communities, for

Table 1: Modern Greek Alphabet

Greek (Capital/Small)	Modern Phonetics	Transliteration
Α α	[a]	a
Β β	[v]	v
Γ γ	[j] before i/e	y, j
	[ɣ]before o/a/u	ɣ, g, gh
γ before γ κ χ ξ	[ŋ]	n
Δ δ	[ð]	dh, th, d, ð
Ε ε	[ɛ]	e
Ζ ζ	[z]	z
Η η	[i]	i
Θ θ	[θ]	th, θ
Ι ι	[i]	i
Κ κ	[k]	k
Λ λ	[l]	l
Μ μ	[m]	m
Ν ν	[n]	n
Ξ ξ	[ks]	x, ks
Ο ο	[o]	o
Π π	[p]	p
Ρ ρ	[r]	r
Σ σ	[s]	s
Τ τ	[t]	t
Υ υ	[i]	i, y, u
Φ φ	[f]	f
Χ χ	[x]	h, x
Ψ ψ	[ps]	ps
Ω ω	[o]	o

Table 2: Modern Greek Diagraphs

Consonant Combination	Phonetics	Transliteration
γγ	[ŋg, ᵑg, g]	ng, g
γκ	[ŋg, ᵑg, g] (medially)	ng, g
	[g, ᵑg] (initially)	g
γξ	[ŋks]	nks, nx
γχ	[ŋx]	nx, nh
μπ	[mb, ᵐb, b] (medially)	mb, b, mp
	[b,ᵐb] (initially)	b, mb, mp
ντ	[nd, ⁿd, d] (medially)	nd, d, nt
	[d,ⁿd] (initially)	d, nd, nt
τσ	[ts, tˢ]	ts
τζ	[dz, dᶻ]	dz, tz
ει	[i]	i, ei
οι	[i]	i, oi
υι	[i]	i, yi
αι	[ɛ]	e, ai
ου	[u]	u, ou
αυ	[af] before voiceless sounds	af, au
	[av] before voiced sounds	av, au
ευ	[ɛf] before voiceless sounds	ef, eu
	[ɛv] before voiced sounds	ev, eu
ηυ (rare)	[if] before voiceless sounds	if, eu
	[iv] before voiced sounds	iv, eu

example, Hebrew by the Jewish community of Constantinople. The form of the alphabet is essentially that of the ancient Ionian alphabet (see Ancient Greek), with some additional letter combinations not found in ancient times, and moreover, the value of some of the letters and letter combinations is different because of sound changes. An official orthographic reform in 1982 by the government of Greece eliminated the ancient breathing marks and the grave and circumflex accents; thus, only the acute accent is used now, and only, for the most part, in polysyllabic words. Some variation is evident in the spelling of some words whose sounds have more than one representation, such as κοιταζω versus κυτταζω 'look at' ([kitázo]), αβγο versus αυγο 'egg' ([avγó]).

Table 3: Modern Greek Diacritics*

Type	Mark	Phonetics	Transliteration
Breathings (on initial vowels):			
rough	# ‘	Ø	h or nothing
smooth	# ’	Ø	nothing
Accent (on vowels):			
acute	´	main stress	´
grave	`	Ø	` or ´
circumflex	^ or ~	main stress	^ or ~ or ´

*For pre-1982 texts; post-1982, only the acute accent is used.

As noted earlier, the Classical Attic phonological system began to undergo several changes in the post-Classical period that ultimately characterize the differences between Ancient Greek and Modern Greek. These included, for the consonants, the fricativization of earlier *b d g* to *βðγ* (with *β* later becoming *v*) and of *p^h t^h k^h* to *fθx*, the loss of *h*, and the reduction of the *zd* cluster (represented orthographically by <ζ> [zeta]) to *z*, which then took on phonemic status. New instances of the voiced stops *b*, *d*, and *g* were provided by loanwords and possibly also as variants of voiceless *p*, *t*, and *k* after nasals.

Table 4: Consonants of Koine Greek

		Labial	Dental	Velar
Stops	Voiceless, unaspirated	p	t	k
	Voiced[1]	b	d	g
Fricatives	Voiceless	f	θ s	χ
	Voiced	v	ð z	γ
Nasals		m	n	(ŋ)[2]
Liquids	Trill		r	
	Lateral		l	

[1]These sounds were quite possibly not distinctive, but rather interpreted as positional variants of the voiceless stops.

[2]This sound was an allophone of /n/ before velars.

Not all of these changes were completed within the Hellenistic Koine period; the conservative pronunciation [p^h t^h k^h] for the Classical Greek voiceless aspirated stops, for instance, was maintained as a sociolinguistically conservative high-prestige pronunciation in the Byzantine scholastic tradition into the 10th century. Moreover, even though all members of whole classes of consonants eventually were affected by these changes, each sound in a class seems to have undergone the change at a different time, for example, in the Egyptian variety of the Koine, *g* > *γ* was completed by the 1st century B.C., *b* > (*β* >) *v* by the 3rd century A.D., and *d* > *ð* by the 7th century A.D.

The consonantal inventory of the late Koine is given in Table 4 below.

Several further changes took place in the consonants to give the inventory found in Standard Modern Greek, and all of these changes were such that they have led to analytic ambiguities for the resulting segments in the modern language. Their controversial status for the Modern Greek, where a full range of data is available, means that status of these new sounds cannot be adequately resolved for earlier stages.

From around the 10th to 12th centuries, affricate(-like) sounds *ts* and *dz* began to emerge as distinctive elements, partly in loanwords from neighboring languages, partly as a regular sound change of *k* and/or *t* before front vowels in some dialects, and partly as a sporadic outcome (possibly lexically induced or because of dialect borrowings) of *s*, *θ*, *z*, *ks*, *ps*, and other sounds in various contexts. The Medieval Greek spelling for these sounds is consistently with <τ ζ>, which is used in Modern Greek just for the voiced [dz]; the modern outcomes, however, suggest that it stood for [ts] as well as [dz] in Medieval Greek. Their status as unit affricates as opposed to clusters is controversial.

Similarly, in the post-Koine period, pure voiced stops continued to establish themselves in the language, through loanwords and through sound changes, not just post-nasal voicing of *p*, *t*, and *k*, but that together with the loss of unstressed initial vowels and nasality in complex syllable onsets, creating contrasts such as Ancient *en-trépomai* 'be ashamed' > *endrépome* > *ndrépome* > Modern *drépome*, with initial [dr-] opposed to *#ðr* (as in *ðrepáni* 'sickle') and *#tr* (as in *trépo* 'turn'); still, some modern speakers lightly nasalize even initial voiced stops (medially nasalization is more variable although apparently on the wane for younger speakers) and even loanwords show some variability, so that the status of *b*, *d*, and *g* in contemporary Greek is controversial, with some analysts arguing for underlying nasal + stop clusters even word-initially.

In addition, the palatal semivowel [j] arose in the post-Koine period, and this segment too offers analytic ambiguities. Its two historical sources, [*γ*] before front vowels and unstressed [i] before a vowel, are synchronically recoverable in some modern words because of morphophonemic alternations, for example, *spíti-Ø* 'house' / *spítj-a* 'houses'; *aníγ-o* 'I open' / *anítj-i* 's/he opens'.

With regard to vowels, in the Koine period, earlier [o:] raised to [u:], distinctive vowel length was lost, and the movement of several vowels to [i] was underway; in addition, the long palatal diphthongs lost their offglide, the labial offglide *w* became

[v] or [f] depending on the voicing of the following sound, and each of the other diphthongs merged with some short monophthong. The ultimate result in late Koine is the vowel system, considerably simplified from Classical Greek, given in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Late Hellenistic Vowel System

i	y	u
ɛ		ɔ
	a	

The main additional change that took place to give the system found in Standard Modern Greek was the unrounding of *y* to *i* after the 10th century, although in certain environments such as around labials and/or velars and in some dialects *y* yielded *u*. Note also the loss of unstressed initial vowels mentioned above.

The final noteworthy phonological development was one that was clearly underway in the Hellenistic Koine, namely a change in the accent to a stress accent, as opposed to the pitch accent of Classical Greek; the main stress in Modern Greek words falls on the syllable that in earlier stages had the high pitch (acute or circumflex). Modern Greek still observes a restriction of the main stress to one of the last three syllables in the word (the modern realization of the Classical moraically based restriction), but accent placement is distinctive (compare *nómos* 'law' versus *nomós* 'prefecture'), being predictable only with regard to certain morphological classes and grammatical categories, such as recessive in *-ma(t)*-stem neuter nouns and end stressed in neuter *i*-stem genitive singulars in *-u*.

Many of the same phonological generalizations and processes discussed in the chapter on Ancient Greek apply as well to later stages of Greek, although with some alterations because of sound changes, borrowings, and such. The restriction on possible word-final consonants (only *-s*, *-n*, and *-r* permitted) held during the Koine and Middle Greek periods, though the loss of final *-n* via a regular sound change and the gradual restructuring of the nominal system away from consonant stems to vowel stems, for example, earlier *patér-* 'father' becoming *patéra-*, *léont-* 'lion' becoming *léonda-*, removed most word-final instances of *-r*, *-n*, and potential clusters; moreover, it is still valid today really just for native Greek vocabulary, for modern loans have brought in many words, relatively unaltered, with other final consonants, for example, *tsek* 'check', *mats* '(football) match', and *básket* 'basketball'.

The survival of groups of related words from Ancient Greek has led to the survival of various morphophonemic alternations in later stages, although in some instances in a somewhat different form because of sound changes, such as (unaltered) *t* ~ *s* before *i* (as in *plút-os* 'wealth' / *plús-ios* 'wealthy'), (altered) fortition of fricatives (from earlier aspirated stops) to stops before *s*, as in *é-γraf-e* '(s)he was writing' / *é-γrap-s-e* '(s)he wrote'), among others.

A post-Classical innovation that has led to significant morphophonemic alternations involves the voicing of voiceless stops after a nasal, word internally but also in article plus noun combinations and weak pronoun plus verb combinations. Thus, just as earlier *pénte* 'five' and *lámpō* 'shine' have yielded to later *pénde*, *lámbo* (with variants *pénde* / *péde*, *lámbo* / *lá* found as well in the modern standard language), so too *t* *tónon* 'the tone/ACC', *(au)tòn etáraksa* 'him I-disturbed' ha yielded *to(n) dóno* (with loss of word-final *-n* as well), *to* *dáraksa* (with loss of the unstressed initial vowel), and, w place assimilation of the nasal, *ton pónon* 'the pain/ACC', *(au)t* *epeísamen* 'him we-persuaded' have yielded *to(m) bóno*, *to(* *bísame*.

The weak pronominal forms, including direct and indire object forms as well as possessives, provoke accentual rea justments when attached after their host noun (the usual pos tion for possessives) or host verb (the usual position for obje pronominals with nonfinite [imperatival and participial] forms In particular, as a (transformed) continuation of accentual e fects shown by Ancient Greek enclitic elements, effects th are evident in much of post-Classical Greek but in flux durin the Medieval period, the weak pronominals trigger the addi tion of an accent, which for many speakers becomes the pri mary accent, on the syllable just before the pronominal whe the host is otherwise accented on the antepenult, for example *ónoma* 'name' / *ònomá mu* 'my name', *kítakse* 'look!' / *kìtakse tus* 'look at them!'.

Basic Morphology

Like its ancient ancestor, Modern Greek is basically a fusional inflecting language morphologically, with relevant grammatical information generally being indicated through the endings of inflected words, i.e., nouns, pronouns, adjectives, articles, and verbs. Each ending typically encoded values for several categories simultaneously.

Still, compared to Ancient Greek, post-Classical Greek, from the Koine through to the modern language, shows a greater number and use of analytic structures, supplanting some of the earlier synthetic ones in Middle Greek. This trend is found to some extent in nominal morphology but is especially robust in the verb.

Interestingly, many of these changes in the direction of analytic structures, for example, with adjectival degree, indirect object marking, periphrastic futures (especially based on the verb 'want'), and finite replacements for the infinitive, are found in several of the Balkan languages that are neighbors to Greek, including ALBANIAN, BULGARIAN, MACEDONIAN, and ROMANIAN. While the relationship between the emergence of these changes in Greek and similar developments in these other languages is controversial—many of these changes were underway relatively early in post-Classical Greek and their spread may have been facilitated by contact with speakers of these other languages not caused by the contact (and in some instances, Greek may have been the source of these features in the other language)—no history of the development of Modern Greek can ignore the larger Balkan context for these changes.

The nominal forms and categories discussed in the chapter on Ancient Greek are valid as well into the Koine period, though the dative case and all dual-number forms begin to fall into disuse during that time, and are completely absent from colloquial Modern Greek. In addition, starting in the Koine period and continuing on into the Medieval period, most noun paradigms came to be restructured, with the basis for their organi-

zation becoming gender (masculine, feminine, and neuter) rather than the formal stem classes (*i*-stem, consonant-stem, *o*-stem, etc.) of Ancient Greek. The resulting division, for the most part, has most masculine nouns with a nominative singular in *-V-s* opposed to an accusative and genitive in *-V-Ø*, and most feminine nouns with a nominative and accusative singular in *-V-Ø* opposed to a genitive in *-V-s*; the neuters are rather diverse but, as in Ancient Greek, the nominative and accusative are always identical.

As in Ancient Greek, there is agreement in gender, number, and case within noun phrases between adjectives and head nouns, and definiteness is marked by the presence of an article as the first element in the noun phrase. The sample paradigms given in the Ancient Greek article are valid for the Koine nominal declension, except that the dative and the dual are moribund; some examples of article-adjective-noun combinations for Modern Greek are given in Table 6.

Table 6: Examples of Nominal Inflection

'the good father' (MASCULINE)
NOM SG o kalós patéras
ACC SG ton kaló patéra
GEN SG tu kalú patéra
VOC SG kalé patéra
NOM/VOC.PL i kalí patéres
ACC.PL tus kalús patéres
GEN.PL ton kalón patéron

'the good mother' (FEMININE)
NOM SG i kalí mitéra
ACC SG tin kalí mitéra
GEN SG tis kalís mitéras
VOC SG kalí mitéra
NOM/VOC.PL i kalés mitéres
ACC.PL tis kalés mitéres
GEN.PL ton kalón mitéron

'the good baby' (NEUTER)
NOM SG to kaló moró
ACC SG to kaló moró
GEN SG tu kalú morú
VOC SG kaló moró
NOM/VOC.PL ta kalá morá
ACC.PL ta kalá morá
GEN.PL ton kalón morón

As in Ancient Greek, the personal pronouns in Koine, Medieval, and Modern Greek have special forms, while demonstrative and other pronouns generally followed some other nominal declensional pattern. Adjectives show comparative and superlative degree forms, which, by Medieval Greek and on into the modern language, are generally formed analytically (comparative via *pjo* + adjective, superlative via definite article + pjo + adjective), although the synthetic adjectival inflections of Ancient Greek are still used, particularly with a few especially common adjectives.

As with the noun, the categories and forms of the verbal system of Ancient Greek are generally valid for the Koine, although with some changes, and even, to some extent, for Medieval and Modern Greek as well. As with the nouns, all verbal dual forms go out of use. Future periphrases begin to arise in the Koine in place of the earlier synthetic future, and by Medieval Greek one based on the use of the verb *thélō* 'want' as an auxiliary holds sway as the primary type, ultimately resulting in the Modern Greek future marker *θa* (from earlier third person singular *thélei* with the subjunctive marker *na*). In the early Koine, the perfect is on the wane and eventually disappears altogether as a category in the late Koine, only to be reconstituted as a category several centuries later in Medieval Greek through a periphrastic construction with "have" as an auxiliary together with the sole productive remnant of the earlier infinitive. Also, as noted in the previous section, the infinitive in the Koine period begins to retreat, being replaced by finite periphrases with subordinating conjunctions; the infinitive continued as a marginal category into the Middle Greek period (about the 15th century), and in Modern Greek now, all functions that might be thought of as typical for infinitivals in various languages, such as complementation, nominalization, purpose clauses, and control structures are expressed with fully finite (indicative or subjunctive) clauses. Similarly, the numerous participles of Ancient Greek diminish considerably in use, and although they were more prevalent in the Koine and Medieval Greek, there are now in Standard Modern Greek just two participial forms, an active and a medio-passive imperfective.

The system of verbal moods also underwent some changes, with the optative mood becoming moribund in the Koine period and ultimately disappearing from use altogether. Further, although the subjunctive mood has continued throughout the history of Greek, in the Koine period and on into Medieval and Modern Greek it comes to be used increasingly obligatorily with an introductory element, for example, a conjunction, of some sort; the most common of these was *hína*, originally a final conjunction ('in order that, that'), which became Medieval and Modern Greek *na* and now arguably functions solely as the marker for the subjunctive as a category (see Table 7, footnote 1).

Aspect continues to be a significant category in the Koine and on into Modern Greek, and owing to the emergence of a periphrastic future with the infinitive, a form that participated in aspectual distinctions, the aoristic/imperfective distinction is extended into the future. Moreover, with the re-emergence of the perfect in Medieval Greek, the relevant aspectual oppositions in the Modern language become imperfective, perfective (= aoristic), and perfect.

Voice too continues as an important category in the language, with essentially the same values for the forms as in Ancient Greek. One formal change is that there comes to be no distinction between passive and middle in any of the tenses.

Negation in the Koine and into Medieval Greek was marked as in Ancient Greek, that is, by syntactic means with a separate word for "not" associated with but not necessarily adjacent to the verb. Increasingly, though, the negative element came to stand obligatorily before the verb, and in Modern Greek the negators *ðe(n)* (for finite, indicative forms) and *mi(n)* (for subjunctive)—a pair that continues an Ancient Greek distinction—attach to the left of the verb and can only be separated

from it by weak pronominal forms and/or the future marker (all of which are arguably affixal in contemporary Greek). The Ancient Greek ability of imperatival forms to be negated to yield a prohibitive is lost, however, and in Modern Greek, *mi(n)* with the subjunctive (with omission of *na* possible) forms a negative command.

Finally, as in Ancient Greek, the situation is similar in later stages with regard to marking for causative, frequentative, and iterative, in that there is in general no regular inflection for these categories; in Modern Greek causatives are expressed via periphrastic constructions parallel to the use of "make" in ENGLISH.

A full synopsis of the Modern Greek verb *ɣráfo* 'write' is given in Table 7, with first person singular forms for all tense, aspect, voice, and all moods but imperative, for which second singular is used, as well as the few nonfinite participial forms.

Word-formation processes in post-Classical Greek and on into Modern Greek remain essentially the same as in Ancient Greek. Some minor changes evident in the modern language include greater numbers of coordinative compounds, such as *maxero-píruna* 'cutlery' (literally: 'knife-[and]-forks') or *aniɣo-klíno* 'open and close', and the emergence of multiply-inflected compounds, possibly through borrowing, for example, *peði-θávma* 'child prodigy' (literally 'child-wonder') with a plural *peðjá-θávmata* (literally 'children-wonders'); note the multiple accents, suggesting that the individual words in this type retain their individual integrity.

Basic Syntax

What was said about basic word order for Ancient Greek—essentially free ordering of major constituents in a clause holds for all later stages of the language as well. All permutations of ordering of subject, object, and verb can be found though Modern Greek shows a preference for SVO order in neutral contexts. Similarly, the ordering of elements within constituents, as within the noun phrase, is virtually unchanged so that the remarks in the previous section hold for later stages of Greek, too.

One main area of difference, however, is in the placement of weak pronouns, generally referred to as "clitics". In Ancient Greek, these elements, as well as various sentence connectives, were positioned in relation to the clausal unit that contained them, and they usually appeared in second position within that unit. In Modern Greek, however, their positioning is relative to the verb—before finite verbs and after nonfinite verbs (imperatives and participles) in the standard language so that weak pronouns can now occur sentence initially. The Ancient Greek positioning was valid throughout the Hellenistic period and on into Byzantine Greek, but in the Medieval period, the orientation of the weak pronouns toward the verb as opposed to the clause, began to emerge, with the modern distribution developing after the 16th century. The verbal complex that results from the combination of the verb with weak pronouns is the core of the Modern Greek clause structure since tense, mood, and negation markers also form part of the complex (see above in Basic Morphology and below regarding negation and the Example Sentences).

The essentials of case-marking remained the same in Post-Classical Greek and on into the Medieval and Modern periods as those found in Ancient Greek. Subjects are still marked with the nominative case, and accusative marks direct objects; there

Table 7: Synopsis of *ɣráfo* 'write'

	Present	Past	Future	Perfect
Active				
Indicative	ɣráfo	éɣrafa/IMPFVE éɣrapsa/AOR	θa ɣráfo/IMPFVE θa ɣrápso/AOR	éxo ɣrápsi íxa ɣrápsi/PLUPRF θa éxo ɣrápsi/FUT.PRF
Subjunctive	na ɣráfo/IMPFVE na ɣrápso/AOR	**[1] **[1]	———	na éxo ɣrápsi
Imperative	ɣráfe/IMPFVE ɣrápse/AOR	———	———	éxe ɣrápsi
Participle	ɣráfondas	———	———	éxondas ɣrápsi
Medio-Passive				
Indicative	ɣráfome	ɣrafómun/IMPFVE ɣráftika/AOR	θa ɣráfome/IMPFVE θa ɣraftó/AOR	éxo ɣraftí íxa ɣraftí/PLUPRF θa éxo ɣraftí/FUT.PRF
Subjunctive	na ɣráfome/IMPFVE na ɣraftó/AOR	**[1] **[1]	———	na éxo ɣraftí
Imperative	ɣráfu/IMPFVE ɣrápsu/AOR	———	———	éxe ɣraftí
Participle	ɣrafómenos			ɣraménos

[1]The marker *na* can combine with indicative past forms to give various subtle shades of modality, for example, *na érafa* 'I should have written'; it is not clear, though, if these constitute a legitimate category of "past subjunctive" or instead derive from the combinations of the element *na*.

is, however, no idiosyncratic marking of direct objects with other cases in Modern Greek, though some instances are to be found in the Koine period. The loss of the dative case in the Koine period has led to the marking of indirect objects by the genitive case (accusative in some dialects) and by the preposition *s(e)* (earlier *eis*). The genitive is thus used now in ways it was not in earlier stages, but some earlier uses of the genitive no longer occur; the partitive, for instance, is expressed periphrastically rather than by the genitive case. Accusative is the only case found for the object of virtually all prepositions, except that pronominal objects with some prepositions are usually in the genitive case. Compare, for example, *mazí mu* '(together) with me/GEN' with *me eména* 'with me/ACC'.

As noted above in the section on morphology, negation in Modern Greek is marked primarily by morphological means, with the two markers *ðen* and *min* forming part of the verbal complex; the free word for 'no', *óxi*, is used with constituents in elliptical negation, as in *θélo to mov óxi to ble* 'I-want the mauve-one not the blue-one'. Negation in the pre-Modern period, from the Koine up through Medieval Greek, was mixed, being transitional from the Ancient Greek purely syntactic clause-based expression of negation to the modern verb-based, essentially morphological system.

From the Koine on into Medieval Greek, complementation was increasingly with finite clauses only, in place of the earlier infinitival complementation. After the 15th century, complementation is essentially only with finite clauses headed by the subjunctive marker *na* or by indicative complementizers *óti*, *pos*, or *pu*.

Similarly, the use of participles of Ancient Greek decreased in the post-Classical period, and the one productive participle of Modern Greek, the active imperfective participle, is now used more like a clausal adjunct, its subject, when unexpressed, being interpreted as coreferent with the main clause subject.

Increasingly in the Medieval period and on into Modern Greek, relative clauses are marked with an invariant relative marker—in the modern language *pu*, homophonous with one of the indicative complementizers—with resumptive pronouns in the relative clause being fairly common. The use of inflected relative pronouns, however, has always been possible, but is restricted now mainly to higher stylistic registers.

The definite article, which in Ancient Greek, among other functions, served as a means of nominalizing virtually any part of speech, continues in that use in later stages of the language, and provides a way in Modern Greek for nominalizing clauses (see the Example Sentences).

Finally, the weak object pronouns serve important discourse functions, and frequently co-index full noun-phrase objects, among other things to signal emphasis and topicality (note their use in relative clauses mentioned above).

Contact with Other Languages

As noted in the chapter on Ancient Greek, the language absorbed many loanwords from LATIN during the Koine period, some of which have stayed in the language since, such as Latin *hospitium* 'lodgings, house'—> post-Classical Greek *hospítion*—> (via regular sound changes) Modern *spíti* 'house'. In the Byzantine period, and on through Medieval times, Latin is still a major source of loanwords, but some enter through the medium of Balkan Latin, shown by various telltale phonological characteristics, for example, *pe(n)dziménton* 'baggage' from Latin *impedimentum* with Balkan Latin affricatization. In the later Medieval period, numerous loanwords from the Venetian dialect of ITALIAN enter Greek, including the verb-forming suffix *-ar-* (compare Italian infinitival *-are*), as do various technical feudal terms from FRENCH, as *rói* 'king' (French *roi*). Moreover, as speakers of Greek came into contact in this period with Slavic, Albanian, Vlach (Aromanian), and increasingly also TURKISH speakers, loanwords from all these languages permeate the language, with Turkish, especially after the 14th century, providing the greatest number by far. Turkish loanwords range over a variety of semantic domains and lexical categories, including ordinary day-to-day life, like *jeléki* 'vest', *piláfi* 'rice', *kafés* 'coffee', *tsái* 'tea', *boyá* 'paint'; military, as *tuféki* 'rifle', *askéri* 'soldier'; arts, like *baγlamás* 'a musical instrument'; verbs, like *baildízo* 'faint', from Turkish *bayil* with a Turkish past tense suffix *-d-* and a Greek derivational suffix *-iz-*; and interjections such as *amán* 'for mercy's sake!', *de* 'marker of impatience with imperatives', among others; further, some Turkish derivational suffixes have become productive in Greek, especially the suffix *-dzis*, which forms nouns of occupation, like *taksi-dzís* 'taxi driver'.

This period of contact with neighboring Balkan languages also played a critical role in the ultimate shaping of Greek structurally, in that, as noted above, many of the structural features that characterize Modern Greek and distinguish it from Ancient Greek are shared by the other languages of the Balkans, including the formation of the future tense, the use of finite complementation, the merger of the genitive and dative cases, and analytic expression of adjectival comparison. Even if the appearance of these features in Greek was not caused directly by contact—and while the chronology might speak against that for some of them, for others it is still an open question—it may be that their presence in languages Greek speakers were in contact with facilitated their spread within Greek. And, at the very least, the lexical and phrasal parallels among all these languages, including Greek, are striking and speak to a period of intense and intimate contact among their speakers.

Finally, in the 20th century, French—especially in the first half of the century—and English—especially in the latter half—provided an abundance of loanwords, for example, from French *asensér(i)* 'elevator', *betón* 'concrete', *ble* 'blue', *kombinezón* 'petticoat', *majó* 'bathing suit'; and from English *fútbol* 'football', *gol* 'goal', *mats* '(football) match', *víntsi* 'winch', and *yot* 'yacht', among numerous others.

Common Words

Nouns are cited in the nominative singular form, adjectives in nominative singular masculine; all forms listed here are from Standard Modern Greek:

man:	á(n)dras (i.e., male person); ánθropos (i.e., human being)
woman:	jinéka
water:	neró
sun:	ílios

three:	tris
fish:	psári
big:	meɣálos
long:	makrós
small:	mikrós
yes:	ne; málista
no:	óxi
good:	kalós
bird:	pulí
dog:	skilí
tree:	ðéndro

Example Sentences

Inasmuch as Koine syntax did not differ appreciably from Classical Greek syntax in kind, but rather more in the extent of use of certain forms, the examples in the Ancient Greek entry give an idea of the essentials of Koine syntax. Thus a few sample sentences are given here from Medieval Greek, following Ancient Greek transliteration to allow for recovery of the orthography, and Modern Greek to illustrate some of the characteristics discussed above (the Medieval periphrastic future; the Modern verbal complex with weak pronouns, future marker, and negation; relativization; co-indexing of objects with weak pronouns; finite complementation and nominalization of clausal complements in both periods with the definite article, etc.):

(1) kaì tóte thélō nà idō
and then want:1SG.PRES that see:1SG.AOR.SUBJ

tò pōs tòn théleis
the:NTR.SG.ACC how him:MASC.SG.ACC.WEAK will:2SG

súrein.
drag:INF
'And then I want to see how you will drag him.' (Literally: 'And then I-want that I-see the how him you-will drag.')

(2) ðen θa tis to
NEG FUT her:GEN.SG.WEAK it:NTR.SG.ACC.WEAK

púme to jatí borésame
say:1PL.AOR. the:NTR.SG.ACC why could:1PL.AOR.INDIC

na tin afísume s tin
that her:ACC.SG.WEAK leave:1SG.SUBJ.AOR at the

paralía xorís leftá ke paréa.
beach:ACC without money and company:ACC
'We won't tell her why we could have left her at the beach without money or friends.' (Literally: 'We won't tell her it the why we-could that we-leave her ...')

(3) o meɣálos ánθropos pu xθes
the big man:NOM.SG.MASC that:COMP yesterday

to vraði milúsame me
the evening:ACC spoke:1PL.IMPFVE with

aftón íxe érθi s to
him:ACC.SG.STRONG had:3SG come:AOR to the

maɣazí mas na mas
store:NTR.SG.ACC our:GEN that us:ACC.WEAK

rotísi an tin
ask:3SG.AOR.SUBJ if her:ACC.SG.WEAK

ɣnorísame tin kiría Moraíti.
knew:1PL.ACT.INDIC.AOR the lady Moraitis:ACC.SG.FEM
'The big man that yesterday in the evening we were talking with had come to our store to ask us if we knew Mrs. Moraitis.' (Literally: 'The big man that yesterday the evening we-were talking with him had come to the store of-ours that he-might-ask us if we-knew her the Mrs. Moraitis.')

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