Introduction

A Modern Greek syntactic peculiarity

The book in hand deals with the phenomenon of *subjunctive complementation* in Modern Greek (MG). In comparison to most major (West-) European languages, MG exhibits a syntactic peculiarity, namely the absence of infinitives as predicate complements. The complete absence of infinitival (and, in general, of non-finite) complementation seems to be odd, if one is acquainted with the Ancient Greek (AG) language, in which the infinitival (and in general the non-finite) complementation was preponderant[1]. Since MG does not make use of infinitives in complementation, it has developed a system of finite complementation. Part of this system is the so-called *subjunctive* mood.

The MG subjunctive mood is formed by the preverbal mood particle *na* (να) plus an aspectually marked verbal form. This verbal form does not exhibit morphological mood endings and for this reason it is highly controversial whether the particle + verbal form configuration is a genuine mood[2]. In this book, I argue that there is evidence which indicates that MG has an *analytical* subjunctive mood at its disposal, in contrast to other European languages in which the subjunctive mood is synthetic, instantiated by a verbal paradigm with distinct subjunctive suffixes. Interestingly, the same syntactic pattern is attested in other Balkan languages as well and therefore the finite complementation is seen as a fundamental characteristic of the so-called Balkansprachbund.

The loss of the AG infinitival complementation and the subsequent absence of non-finite complement clauses in MG are syntactic phenomena which several linguistic scholars have already examined. Descriptive grammars of MG[3] as well as synchronic treatises thereon[4] have been trying to account for the semantic content of the MG subjunctive mood as well as for the factors that regulate its distribution. In the history of the Greek language, written by Geoffrey Horrocks[5], the rise of the finite complementation (at the expense of the non-finite one) is discussed in many passages and is seen as one of the most notable changes that the Greek language has undergone. In the domain of derivational diachronic syntax, the MG subjunctive complementation structure is frequently treated accordingly since its development involves a number of syntactic operations and noteworthy phenomena such as reanalysis, grammaticalization and morphophonological changes[6]. The relevant literature concerning analyses with regard to the generative grammar framework is similarly extensive since there is no consensus about the exact syntactic nature of the configuration *mood particle + verbal form*[7]. The cornerstone for the research of the MG (and Balkan) finite

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[1] Cf. e.g. JANNARIS 1897: 480ff, SCHWYZER & DEBRUNNER 1950: 357ff.

[2] Cf. TSANGALIDIS 1999: 197f.

[3] Cf. e.g. MACKRIDGE 1985: 285ff.

[4] Cf. e.g. HESSE ²2003: 12 and 70ff.

[5] G. HORROCKS: "Greek: A History of the language and its people" (first edition: 1997, revised edition: 2010).

[6] Cf. e.g. LIGHTFOOT 1979: 282ff, ROBERTS & ROUSSOU 2003: 74ff.

[7] An analysis concerning the syntactic structure of the MG subjunctive complementation clauses is presented in Chapter 7. In general, there are numerous papers and essays dealing with MG and

complementation was set by JOSEPH (1983). In his influential work entitled "The synchrony and diachrony of the Balkan infinitive", Joseph provided a detailed account about finite complementation from a diachronic, synchronic and typological perspective. Although some aspects of his argumentation are sometimes out-of-date, Joseph's opus still remains a *sine qua non* work for everyone who wants to delve into this topic.

Obviously, the subjunctive complement clauses do not constitute a terra incognita for the linguistic research and the list of relevant books or essays is much longer, as we will see in this book. Nevertheless, there are two major problems concerning the phenomenon: the first one is that the scholars have not reached a degree of consensus about the exact semantic and the syntactic features of this structure, while the second problem is associated with the fact that the various treatments of the issue shed light only on a certain aspect thereof without taking into consideration other approaches, e.g. syntactic approaches may ignore semantic ones or synchronic analyses fail to account for diachronic change phenomena etc. In addition, it is still not clear how the loss of the non-finite complementation occurred in the history of the Greek language.

Research Objectives

One of the main objectives of the present study is to provide a "holistic" view on the MG subjunctive complement clauses. By the term *holistic* I indicate the intention to present a single syntactic phenomenon, the MG subjunctive complementation, from various linguistic points of view, namely with respect to the synchronic, diachronic and typological aspects of the phenomenon[8], so that this is understood in its entirety. Consequently, the concrete goals that will be pursued in this thesis are divided into synchronic, diachronic and typological ones. In particular:

a. synchronically, I will address the question whether the configuration *particle + verb* constitutes a genuine mood category. In my view there are persuasive morphological and semantic reasons which suggest that this construction is indeed a mood. Morphologically, the preverbal particle *na* (να) can be analyzed as an inflectional element (and not merely as a modal particle). Semantically, I argue that the illocutionary force of this configuration derives from its mood status, as it is the case cross-linguistically. The fact that the particle *na* is deemed to be an inflectional verbal element has also immediate consequences for its syntactic analysis. On these grounds, I will try to sketch the syntactic structures of the MG subjunctive complement clauses. Along with these main objectives, I will define the exact semantic features of the MG subjunctive mood,

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Balkansprachbund finite complementation in terms of Generative Grammar. At this point, I only mention these publications that are crucial for my argumentation in Chapter 7: TERZI 1992, RIVERO 1994, PHILIPPAKI – WARBURTON 1998, ROUSSOU 2000, LANDAU 2004. It goes without saying that at this point the list is not supposed to be exhaustive.

[8]   Cf. also MILLER (2002: xv) concerning his method in his study on non-finite structures: "The approach, to borrow a term from Phil Baldi, is holistic. It combines theory and structure with functional, typological, and historical considerations. The rationale for the study is that no theory to date accounts for the crosslinguistic diversity of nonfinite data.".

which differentiate it from the other verbal categories within the MG verbal system and I will present an overview on the exact usage of the subjunctive as means of complementation.

b. Diachronically, I will pursue three topics: First, the usage of the category *subjunctive* in AG is examined. This historical retrospection is important in order to see the differences between the AG and the MG subjunctive mood but also in order to look at the semantics of this category. Second, the MG complementation system is compared with the AG one with respect to the semantic of the matrix predicates (i.e. if the volitional, aspectual or modal verbs select the subjunctive in MG, what did the semantically corresponding AG predicates select?). The aim of this contrastive presentation is, on the one hand, to detect which structures the MG subjunctive has exactly replaced in the course of the history of the Greek language and, on the other hand, to account for the reasons which enabled the MG finite system to "oust" the AG non-finite structures. Third, I will attempt to trace the changes from the one stage of non-finiteness to the modern finite constructions by examining examples from the Hellenistic (late antiquity) and the Medieval Greek. I will also lay emphasis on the text of New Testament in which certain traces of an ongoing syntactic shift can be observed.

c. Typologically, the MG finite complementation is considered in a twofold way: on the one side, with respect to the rest of the neighboring Balkansprachbund languages which exhibit the same complementation syntactic patterns as MG because of areal proximity; on the other side, with respect to other languages which exhibit similar phenomena not because of convergence and contact phenomena but owing to independent developments. In the former case we show how different languages exhibit similar syntactic patterns. Still, I will emphasize not only the syntactic affinity but also the differences in the instantiation of the finite complementation phenomenon among these adjacent languages. The goal of this exploration is to show that different languages organize the same phenomenon in a different way and that surface syntactic phenomena do not necessarily imply an identical underlying structure.

Summing up then, at the end of this study:

a. I will have provided persuasive arguments about the very existence of the mood category *subjunctive* in MG,

b. I will have proposed a structural analysis for its syntactic properties,

c. I will have sufficiently depicted its usage in MG and I will have defined its semantic features,

d. I will have described which structures the MG subjunctive had exactly replaced in the course of history and I will have made suggestions about how and why this replacement has taken place,

e. I will have investigated correlated phenomena from a cross-linguistic perspective, coming up with aspects which have not been considered in the relevant literature up to now.

Book's overview

In what follows I give a succinct description of the seven main chapters of the book.

In Chapter 1, I examine the etymology of the term Latin *subjunctive* and its Greek cognate. In both classical languages, the term indicates that this mood is the one employed in subordinated clauses. This etymological game is the "pretext" in order to discuss the role of the subjunctive in Ancient Greek and to examine the veracity of its etymology. We will see that the subjunctive was something more than a means of subordination and this is the case not only in AG but also in other Indo-European languages. Chapter 2 deals with the question about the exact semantic content of the subjunctive. Although the focus of this thesis lies primarily on the complementation function of the MG subjunctive mood, I consider it necessary to name the exact semantic features of the subjunctive both in dependent (subordinated) and non-dependent (main) clauses. From this point of view, the approach herein differs from several studies which analyse the subjunctive with regard to the matrix predicate which selects this mood. By employing the traditional terms *assertion* and *realis/irrealis* I suggest a componential semantic feature analysis for the mood system of MG.

Chapter 3 explores the morphological properties of the MG subjunctive. I argue that the particle *na* is an inflectional verbal element (and not merely a modal particle) which bears the mood features of the MG subjunctive. In addition, a semantic overview of the various MG verbal categories is sketched, and the role of the MG subjunctive is delineated within the overall MG verbal system. Chapter 4 provides a detailed list of predicate categories that select the subjunctive mood as a complement. Along with the presentation of the synchronic function of the subjunctive complementation, the MG examples are contrasted with AG equivalents. In particular, I examine what complementation structures were selected by AG predicates with semantic content that is germane to the one of MG predicates which select the subjunctive. This method, which I call the "Predicate Method of Diachronic Comparison" (PMDC), establishes a basis of comparison between two synchronic systems without considering the intermediate stages of diachronic change. In so doing, one can study and compare syntactic structures and semantic functions within the history of one language by having the current situation as its starting point and not vice versa (i.e. by investigating every historical stage of a language and examining the history of a morphological category without having defined what syntactic phenomenon one is looking for). The asset of the proposed approach is that it can better correlate the modern subjunctive to the corresponding categories in the ancient language, without overlooking certain AG complementation means, as it is the case in the relevant literature. Furthermore, I argue that the MG subjunctive mood could take over the functions of the AG corresponding complement categories because they shared the same bundle of semantic features. Thus, I propose that the syntactic change of complementation systems is semantically conditioned.

Chapter 5 presents the phenomenon of finite subjunctive complementation in Greek from a diachronic viewpoint. Following relevant literature, I trace the very first cases that indicate the demise of the non-finite in Ancient Greek and I deal with some structures that are attested in Hellenistic and Medieval/Byzantine Greek. What is more, I present a quantitative approach to the New Testament text, which suggests that the finite

complementation played a significant role in the colloquial speech of Koinē. Chapter 6 in turn constitutes a cross-linguistic typological approach. The first part of the chapter refers to the Balkansprachbund languages which exhibit finite complementation as well. Through numerous examples I underscore not only the similarities but also the differences among these languages as well as the variation phenomena in the way each language "organises" its finite complementation structures. The second part of the chapter refers to languages which do not have an areal affiliation with MG and other Balkan languages, and which exhibit finite complementation. The desideratum of this research is to detect certain common properties in all these languages which may enable finite complementation to rise within the syntactic systems of distinct languages. A tentative proposal is put forward.

A syntactic analysis for the MG subjunctive complements along the lines of derivational/generative grammar is discussed in Chapter 7. Initially, I present and analyze some essays which tackle the problem of the MG subjunctive structure and I argue why I consider these analyses to be inadequate or erroneous. Consequently, I present my own structural proposals for the complement subjunctive clauses.

Chapter 8 summarizes the results of this work and illustrates new issues and further questions that the present analysis elicits.
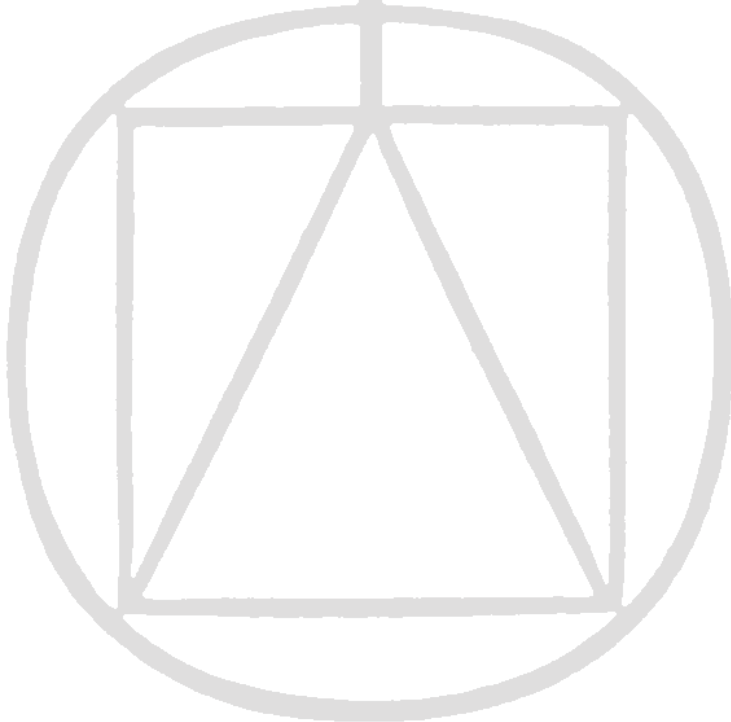
Chapter 1: *Égklisis Hypotaktikḗ*:
The Subjunctive in Ancient Greek

This chapter provides a succinct overview concerning the Ancient Greek (AG) subjunctive mood. Our starting point is the etymological origin of the AG term for this mood; we shall examine whether the Greek term and its Latin cognate do match with the usages of the subjunctive in these classical languages. The observations of this "etymological game" provide a first basis for our reflection on the semantic and functional content of the subjunctive mood category. What is more, the presentation of the AG subjunctive in this chapter is informative with respect to the diachrony of the Greek complementation system, as demonstrated in the following chapters.

1.1. The term *subjunctive* in the AG grammatical tradition

The term *subjunctive* (and its etymologically correlated versions in most west European languages) traditionally corresponds to the term ὑποτακτική (scil. ἔγκλισις 'mood', literally *inclination, modus* in the Latin grammar, *mood* in the English grammatical terminology, *Modi* or *Aussageformen* in German[9]), a compound form comprising the preposition ὑπό 'under' and the verbal adjective τακτικός which is derived from the verb τάσσω 'to order, to arrange', actually meaning "the subordinated (mood)". The oldest attestation of the term is found in the *Ars Grammatica* (Τέχνη Γραμματική –Tékhnē Grammatikḗ: §13), a work usually[10] ascribed to the Alexandrian scholar Dionysius Thrax (c. 160-170 – 85-90 a.C.)[11]. Dionysius Thrax altogether distinguished five ἐγκλίσεις: ὁριστική (lat. *indicativus*), προστακτική (lat. *imperativus*), εὐκτική (lat. *optativus*), ὑποτακτική (lat. *subiunctivus* or *coniunctivus*) and ἀπαρέμφατος (*infinitivus*)[12].

1.2. The AG subjunctive mood in dependent clauses: purpose clauses

In that time of "empirical" simplicity, the ancient grammarian offered us a definition of what he may have considered to be the most conspicuous (and therefore "prototypical") characteristic property of the subjunctive mood: its usage in subordinated (subjugated)

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[9]   KÜHNER & GERTH 1898³: §390,1.

[10]   It is in dispute whether the authorship of the Τέχνη Γραμματική should be ascribed to Dionysius Thrax (cf. KEMP 1996: 307ff - "The emergence of autonomous Greek Grammar" in SCHMITTER (ed.): 1996. Irrespective of the person who coined the term, we assume that Τέχνη Γραμματική contains the very first attestation of the mood terminology which is still in use in Greek philology and linguistics.

[11]   Cf. ALLAN 2007: 81ff for an outline of the *Tékhnē* with respect to the overall linguistic thought of that period as well as its subsequent impact.

[12]   Participles could be also regarded as a Mood category, since they are employed as complements or are modified by the modal particle ἄν (án) (cf. also SCHWYZER & DEBRUNNER 1950: 302). Obviously, the ancient Grammarian favored a nominal interpretation of the participles, despite their syntactic resemblance to the infinitives.

clauses. Indeed, the subjunctive was employed in the classical, late classical and Hellenistic Greek in many dependent syntactic environments. Excepting some older usages of the subjunctive and all marginal or sporadic exceptions[13], this is a list of the dependent clauses in which the subjunctive mood mainly (but not exclusively) occurred:

a. Clauses after verbs of fearing (e.g. φοβοῦμαι *phoboûmai* "to fear, to be alarmed", δέδοικα *dédoika* "to fear", κίνδυνος/δεινόν ἐστί *kíndunos/deinón esti* "there is danger that", φυλάττομαι/ σκοπῶ / ὁρῶ *phuláttomai/skopõ/horõ* "take care lest") introduced by the conjunction *mḗ* (μή) "lest":

(1.1.)

δέδοικα μή…. ἐπιλαθώμεθα τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ			(AG)
dédoika	*mè*	*epilathṓmetha*	
fear.1Pl.Pres./(Prf.)	*lest*	*forget*.2Pl. Aor.Subj.	
tẽs	*oíkade*	*hodoũ*	
the.Gen.Sg.f.	*home*.All.	*way*.Gen.Sg.f.	
"I fear that we may forget the way home"			(X.An. 3.2.25)[14]

b. Clauses after verbs of effort, of contriving. Verbs of contriving, "i.e. verbs expressing a state of affairs meant to reach a certain goal or to create a certain effect"[15], are, for example: ἐπιμελέομαι *epimeléomai*, φροντίζω *phrontízō* "take care that", παρασκευάζομαι *paraskeuázomai* "make preparations in order that", σκοπέω *skopéō* "see that", σπεύδω *speúdō* "strive to" etc. These clauses are introduced by the conjunction ὅπως *hópōs*:

(1.2.)

ἐπιμελητέον (ἐστὶν) …. ὅπως τρέφωνται οἱ ἵπποι		(AG)
epimelētéon (estìn)	*hópōs*	*tréphōntai*
to be attended.Ver.Adj.Nom.Sg.n. *(is)*	*that*	*be fed*.3Pl.Pres.Subj.
hoi	*híppoi*	
the.Nom.Pl.m.	*horses*.Nom.Pl.m.	
"Care should be taken that the horses are fed well" (X.Eq.Mag. 1.3.)[16]		

c. Final/Purpose Adverbial Clauses introduced by the conjunctions ἵνα *hína* (1.3)*,* ὅπως *hópōs,* ὡς *hōs* (1.4) "in order that" (poet. *óphra*):

(1.3.)[17]

κατάμενε, ἵνα καὶ περὶ σοῦ βουλευσώμεθα.				(AG)
katámene	*hína*	*kaì*	*perì*	*soũ*
stay behind.2Sg.Aor.Imp.	*in.order.that*	*and*	*about*	*you*.Gen.Sg.

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13 For a more detailed overview cf. SCHWYZER & DEBRUNNER 1950: 309ff.
14 Cf. RIJKSBARON 2006=2002³: 58.
15 RIJKSBARON 2006=2002³: 59.
16 Cf. RIJKSBARON 2006=2002³: 60.
17 RYDBERG – COX 2000: Subjunctive.

bouleusṓmetha
consider.1Pl.Aor.Subj.
"Remain behind that we may consider your case also." (X.An. 6,6,28)

(1.4.)
διανοεῖται αὐτὴν (τὴν γέφυραν) λῦσαι…ὡς μὴ διαβῆτε ἀλλ᾽ ἐν μέσῳ ἀποληφθῆτε…
                                                                    (AG)

dianoeĩtai	*autền* (scil. *tền géphuran*)	*lũsai*…
be minded.3Sg.Pres.Ind.	*her*.Acc.Sg.f. *(the bridge)*	*pull down*.Inf.
hōs *mề* *diabēte*	*all' en* *mésōi*	
Conj.Neg. *cross over*.2Pl.Aor.Subj.	*but in* *middle*.Dat.Sg.n.	
apolephthēte…		
be cut off.2Sg.Aor.Subj.		

"He intends to destroy it (the bridge)…in order that you may not cross but are cut off in the middle" (X.An. 2,4,17)[18]

The conjunction *hína* (ἵνα) is a lexical item of great importance for our analysis, because - as we shall see through on many occasions in our study - this is the "predecessor" of the Modern Greek (MG) subjunctive particle *na* (να). SMYTH (1920: §2193a) points out that *hina* "is the only purely final conjunction in that it does not limit the idea of purpose by the idea of time (like ὄφρα and ἕως), or of manner (like ὅπως and ὡς); and therefore never takes ἄν (κέν)[19], since the purpose is regarded as free from all conditions". As a matter of fact, it seems that *hína* initially had a spatial sense[20], since it occurs in Homer in the meaning "where" or "whither"[21], although it appears three times more in its function as final conjunction in Homer and is only scantily attested in later texts in this meaning. One could surmise that the final meaning arose at the expense of the local one[22] and the subjunctive should have played its role to this process[23]: in its local meaning, *hína* appears mainly[24] with Indicative (1.5) whereas the standard mood for the final *hína* is the subjunctive[25] (1.6).

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[18]   Cf. RIJKSBARON 2006=2002³: 61.
[19]   Modal Particles.
[20]   It is suggested that *hína* could be derived from an old instrumental (*prosekutiver Instrumental* in SCHWYZER & DEBRUNNER 1950: 672). The etymology, however, is still opaque; cf. also Beekes 2010 s.v. *hína*.
[21]   Cf. also GOODWIN (1875: §311): "ἵνα is the only purely *final* particle, having nothing of the relative character of ὡς and ὅπως, or of the temporal character of ὄφρα. It appears in Homer as a fully developed final conjunction, and occasionally also in the sense of *where* (Od. ix. 136) and *whither* (Od. xix. 20). It is overshadowed in epic and lyric poetry by ὄφρα, and in tragedy by ὡς; but Aristophanes uses it in three-fourths of his final sentences, and in Plato and the orators it has almost exterminated the other final particles. As ἵνα is purely final, both in use and in feeling, it never takes ἄν or κέ, which are frequently found with the other final particles, especially with the relative ὡς."
[22]   As a matter of fact, the local meaning does not really fade away but rather becomes abstracter, obtaining a metaphorical nuance. For a cognitive approach on the crucial role of spatial perception in the development of abstract thought (and language), cf. also MIX, SMITH, GASSER (ed.) 2010: passim.
[23]   The subjunctive may have given a futurity/purposive flavor to the phrase, so the whole clause had not anymore a function of a local informative adverbial phrase but rather informed on the purpose of the

(1.5.)

ἐν δὲ λιμὴν εὔορμος, ἵν᾿ οὐ χρεὼ πείσματός   (AG)

en dè	*limēn*	*eúormos*	*hín’*
in but	harbor.Nom.Sg.m.	*giving-safe-anchorage*.Nom.Sg.m.	Conj.

ou	*khreṑ*	*peísmatós*	*estin*
not	*necessity*.Nom.Sg.f.	rope.Gen.Sg.n.	*is*

"And in it, too, is a harbor giving safe anchorage, where there is no need of moorings…" (Od.9.136)

(1.6.)

βασιλεὺς αἱρεῖται οὐχ ἵνα ἑαυτοῦ καλῶς ἐπιμελῆται,
ἀλλ᾿ ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἑλόμενοι δι᾿ αὐτὸν εὖ πράττωσι   (AG)

basileùs	*haireĩtai*	*oukh*	*hína*
king.Nom.Sg.m.	*is chosen*	*not*	Conj.

heautoũ	*kalõs*	*epimelētai,*
self.Gen.Sg.m.	*good*.Adv.	*take care of*.3Sg.Pres.Subj.

all’	*hína*	*kaì*	*hoi helómenoi*	*di’*	*autòn*	*eũ*
but	Conj.	*and*	*the electors*.Prt.Medium.Pres.	*through*	him.Acc.Sg.m.	*well*

práttōsi
perform.3Pl.Pres.Subj.

"Because a king is chosen, not for his own good but for the good of those who have chosen him." (Xen. Mem. 3.2.3)

All above sets of clausal categories which employ subjunctive - namely the clauses after verbs of fearing[26] and after verbs of effort, the clauses after verbs of contriving as well as the final clauses - may be regarded as setting up a group under the label *purpose* clauses, in the wider sense of what we call *purpose*. The first two clauses are frequently considered to be "object" clauses (i.e. complements to the matrix verb), while the final/purpose clauses are (at least in Classical Greek) unambiguously adverbial. Nevertheless, irrespective of whether we accept a complementation status for the first two clausal categories or not, their semantic content is still purposive: the speaker or the subject of the matrix verb believes

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subject to "move towards" the achievement of the action which is denoted by the predicate; this is, of course, the very core of the meaning of purpose.

[24]   SCHWYZER & DEBRUNNER 1950: 672.

[25]   The case of the local *hína* bears, mutatis mutandis, a degree of resemblance to the English to-infinitive which initially has been a purposive Phrasal Phrase headed by a *to*-preposition: "The most likely origin of the *to*-infinitive is what I have called the purposive *to*-PP, to be distinguished from the spatial *to*-PP. Purposive *to*-PPs do not express a goal in space, but in time, i.e. a future, or at least non-actuated, event. The noun that expresses an event is usually a nominalization of verb." (LOS: 2005: 298; ibidem: passim for an exhaustive survey on the rise and the initial distribution of the English to-infinitive).

[26]   Also called *avertive* clauses.

that something should be done or should not be done[27] or desires something to be done or not to be done etc.; therefore (s)he acts, adopts an attitude or takes up a certain stance for pursuing this purpose, e.g. the matrix verbs of fearing select a clause indicating what should not be done and the very feeling of fear manifests the opposition and the precaution of the subject or the speaker.

My opinion is that these predicates "select" an adverbial purposive sentence because their meaning is thereby better illustrated. Besides, if we consider these clauses to be complementation structures, we encounter a rather anomalous distribution within AG, where only a particular set of verbs, namely verbs of fearing, may have a dependent clause with subjunctive as complements, whereas similar clauses have obviously adverbial sense. I think that it is methodologically preferable to avoid such a distribution. On these grounds, I will not interpret these clauses as complement clauses but rather as adverbial ones.

1.3. The AG subjunctive mood in dependent clauses: conditionality

The second "super-group" consists of subjunctive-selecting clauses which share the feature of *conditionality*: In these clauses, the subjunctive was selected after a conjunction combined with the conditional particle *án* (ἄν or Homeric/dialectal κέν)[28] either contracting a single lexical item or occurring closely to it. In this case, the subjunctive is found in the *protasis* (i.e. the clause which contains the condition in a conditional sentence, cf. fn. 20).

a. The most representative clause of this category is self-evidently the "main" conditional clauses introduced by *eán* (ἐάν)[29], *én* (ἤν), *án* (ἄν) which denote either a *prospective* condition (1.7.) - which means that the speaker "considers fulfillment of condition very well possible"[30] in the future (in *apodosis*, i.e. the main clause of a conditional sentence, there is

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[27]   Cf. SCHMIDTKE – BODE 2009: 129: "According to our initial definition…a semantic relation of purpose holds between two situations, one of which is performed with the intention of bringing about the other. While this suggests that the result state is inherently desirable from the point of view of the intender, the purpose of an action sometimes also consists in preventing an undesirable event from happening. In such cases, the matrix clause typically encodes that precautions are taken so as to avoid an 'apprehension- causing' situation in the subordinate clause (LICHTENBERK 1995: 298)".

[28]   The particle *án/ke(n)* has a twofold function depending on the verbal mood with which it is combined: In its first function, *án* is mainly found in the *apodosis* of conditional clauses with indicative of secondary (i.e. past) tenses and with optative (as well as with infinitives and participles, the tense of which is dependent on the main verb). In this use, *án* lends a meaning of counterfactuality/uncertainty or potentiality. In its second function, *án* is found in the *protasis* of conditional clauses or combined, as we will see, with relatives pronouns, temporal and final conjunctions, lending a conditional meaning of eventuality to the clause or simply assigning in each case a conditional nuance to it; cf. GOODWIN (1875) §192: "The adverb ἄν (with the epic κέν, Doric κά) has two uses, which must be distinguished. In one use, it denotes that the action of the verb to which it is joined is dependent upon some condition, expressed or implied. This is its force with the secondary tenses of the indicative, and with the optative, infinitive and participle: with these it belongs strictly to the verb, to which it gives a potential force, like our *would*. In its other use, it is joined regularly to εἰ, *if*, to relative and temporal words, and sometimes to the final ὡς, ὅπως, and ὄφρα, when any of these are followed by the subjunctive. Here, although as an adverb it qualifies the verb, it is so closely connected with the relative or particle, that it often coalesces with it, forming ἐάν, ἤν, ἄν, ὅταν, ὁπόταν, ἐπάν ἐπήν (ἐπεάν)."

[29]   Attic *eán* < conditional conjunction *ē* (found in other Greek dialects) plus particle *án*. The other two forms are obviously contracted forms of *eán*. Cf. SCHWYZER & DEBRUNNER 1950: 685, Fn. 1.

[30]   Cf. RIJKSBARON 2006=2002³: 69