

MARKED POLAR QUESTIONS IN CAPPADOCIAN SYNCHRONY, DIACHRONY (AND MICRO-VARIATION)*

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Q(uestion)-marker in Cappadocian Greek is investigated as a copied syntactic element. It is argued that in present-day Cappadocian, i.e. *Misthiotica*, the Q-marker, being a functional head, projects its own functional projection in the CP-domain, while the Q-marker is a vP-domain particle in the source language, Turkish—an assertion maintained largely following Kamali (2011). Further diachronic investigation suggests a restructuring in the default position of the Q-marker in Cappadocian from low-IP area, more specifically from VP-left periphery to CP layer. It also reveals a micro-variation among the subsets of the Cappadocian dialect chain. The discussion bears implications for the Cappadocian left periphery, as well as presenting a case of syntactic change under language contact.

1 The Phenomenon

While in Modern Greek no special syntactic device exists for marking yes/no questions, intonation being the only element distinguishing between a declarative and an interrogative sentence, the Cappadocian dialect chain and Pontic Greek varieties have been reported to mark this kind of interrogative with a particle, *mi*, (henceforth Q-marker) which is copied from Turkish (Dawkins, 1910: 127, 287, 1916: 624; Janse, to appear for Cappadocian and Papadopoulos, 1955: 172, 1961: 45; Tobaidis, 1988: 67 for Pontic, and Anastasiadis, 1976: 256 for an overview). Consider the examples in (1)–(3) from Cappadocian Greek (Ulaghatsh dialect), Pontic Greek and Turkish respectively:¹

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¹ Abbreviations used in the glosses are as follows: ACC=accusative, AOR=aoist, cl=(object) clitic, COM=comitative, DAT=dative, EV=evidential, LOC=locative, NEG=negation, part=particle, PAST=past tense, pl=plural, POSS=possessive, PROG=progressive, Q=question (marker), sg=singular. Focused constituents are in small capitals in glosses. Cappadocian examples are phonetically simplified for coherence reasons, as data are gathered from different source texts in which different writing conventions are employed.

- (1) ...to jilari t den do dinis mi
 the bridle his not it give.2sg Q
 ‘...his bridle, will you not give it?’ [Ulaghatsh, Dawkins, 1916: 368,16]
- (2) esi tidhen ki kserts mi na les?
 you nothing not know.2sg Q part say.2sg
 ‘Don’t you know anything to say?’ [Pontic Greek, Tobaidis, 1988: 67]
- (3) Irmak bugün okul-a gel-di-Ø mi?
 Irmak today school-DAT come-PAST-3sg Q
 ‘Did Irmak come to school today?’ [Turkish]

The Q-marker in Cappadocian persists today in Misthiotica dialect—the surviving representative of the Cappadocian dialect chain (cf. Janse and Papazachariou, 2005) from which synchronic data are readily available. Michelioudakis and Sitaridou (to appear) informs that the Q-marker is completely absent from Pontic Greek spoken today in Northern Greece and survives only in the Romeyka variety of Of, (spoken in Trabzon, Turkey) as an optional marker.

This paper is restricted only to the case of Cappadocian (1). It aims at giving a functional and structural account of the Q-marker in present-day Cappadocian, Misthiotica. Adopting the cartographic framework (Rizzi, 1997 and subsequent work), it argues that the Q-marker is a functional head in the left periphery of Misthiotica projecting its maximal projection. More specifically, the Q-marker occupies the head position of IntP and the proposition, the FinP, is attracted to its Spec position to check [interrogative] feature. Structural comparison of the Q-marker in Misthiotica to its counterpart in the source language, Turkish, reveals that, although both are functional heads, the Q-markers in the respective languages are associated with distinct functional fields: While it is situated in the CP-layer in Misthiotica, its default position is in VP-left periphery in Turkish—an assertion which I adopt following Kamali (2011). Further diachronic investigation of the Q-marker in the overall Cappadocian dialect chain signals a restructuring in which functional field the Q-marker is associated with; from VP-left periphery to CP-layer. This restructuring is attributed to the growing influence of Standard Modern Greek on present-day Cappadocian, i.e. Misthiotica. The diachronic change is witnessed by the reduced functions of the Q-marker in Misthiotica.

The outline of the paper is as follows: section 2 presents the Q-markers in Mishiotica and in Turkish. More specifically, in section 2.1, the Q-marker in Misthiotica is presented, and a structural account of it is proposed. In section 2.2, the Q-marker in Turkish is presented with its structure, and the mismatch between Turkish and Misthiotica in terms of the structure of the Q-marker is recapitulated. Section 3 is the diachronic account of the Q-marker in Cappadocian. More precisely, section 3.1 presents cases in Cappadocian older texts which suggest a reduction in the range of functions of the Q-marker in Misthiotica. Section 3.2 presents further cases, which support that the change has taken place not only in the range of functions of the Q-marker, but in its structural make-up as well, whereby its default position is restructured from being in the VP-left periphery to IP-left periphery. The section closes with a suggestion on the conditioning factor on this restructuring. Section 4 concludes.

2 Synchronic Account

2.1 Q-Marker in Present-day Cappadocian: Misthiotica

In present-day Misthiotica dialect, spoken by descendants of refugees from the village of Misti (modern day Konaklı, Niğde, Turkey) in various villages of Northern Greece, wide-focus yes/no questions² are optionally marked with the Q-marker, *mi*, which occurs in sentence-final position (Fates 2012):

- (4) a. Ghurghoris sorupsi apija (mi)?
 Gregory collected.3sg pear.pl Q
 ‘Did Gregory collect pears?’ [Misthiotica]
- b. Nikolas na zandos’ tira (mi)?
 Nicholas part close.3sg door Q
 ‘Will Nicholas close the door?’ [Misthiotica]

Similar to the case of Turkish, the Q-marker in Misthiotica occurs only in yes/no questions and not in Wh-questions.

When the Q-marker in Misthiotica is overt, the maximal projection immediately preceding it is contrastively focused (examples in (5) are from Fates 2012: 123):

- (5) a. Elena na gözlaiš DA FŠAXA mi
 Helen part wait.3sg the chil.pl Q
 ‘Is it the children for whom Elena will wait?’ (as opposed to somebody else)
- b. Da fšaxa na da gözlaiš ELENA mi
 The child.pl part them wait.3sg Helen Q
 ‘Is it Helen who will wait for the children?’ (as opposed to George, Maria... etc)
- c. Elena da fšaxa na da GÖZLAIŠ mi
 Helen the child.pl part them wait.3sg Q
 ‘Will Helen wait for the children?’ (or will he go?)

The immediate conclusion that can be drawn from the examples (4)–(5) is that *mi* can be analyzed as a focus particle, while the whole clause is typed as a yes/no question by some other functional projection (possibly, only by Force adopting the cartographic framework of Rizzi, 1997, 2004 and subsequent work). However, the fact that *mi* occurs after focused constituents only in yes/no questions renders this argument unsupported. There is no focus particle, neither *mi*, after focused constituents in declarative sentences in Misthiotica. Therefore I maintain that the Q-marker cannot be a focus particle.

It has often been assumed that yes/no questions relate to a functional head that encodes the feature [interrogative] within the complementizer system following Cheng’s (1991) Clause Typing Hypothesis:

² Wide-focus yes/no questions are those that can readily follow a ‘what happened?’ question.

(6) “Clause Typing Hypothesis” (Cheng, 1991: 30)

Every clause needs to be typed. In the case of typing a wh-question, either a wh-particle in C^0 is used or else fronting of a wh-word to the Spec of C^0 is used, thereby typing a clause through C^0 by Spec-head agreement.”

(6) captures that Wh-questions and yes/no questions are uniformly typed in the C-structure (cf. Aboh and Pfau, 2011). Recent studies, within the cartographic framework establish that Q-markers realize the head of a functional projection, IntP, in the left periphery (Rizzi 2004), whereas Wh-phrases (in Wh-ex-situ languages) move overtly to the Specifier of a focus projection in matrix questions (Rizzi 2004, Aboh, 2004a, but see Shlonsky and Soare, 2011 for a refinement). In the light of this, (6) is decomposed into two distinct positions involving clause typing, FocP and IntP (see Aboh and Pfau, 2011 for a criticism).

Keeping the discussion within the boundaries of the cartographic framework, I argue that the Q-marker in *Misthiotica* can be analyzed as a functional head in the left periphery of the clause projecting its own maximal projection. We do not presently know the exact nature and the inventory of the left-periphery of *Misthiotica*; therefore, for the time being, I adopt the following structure proposed by Rizzi (1997, 2004 and subsequent work based on cross-linguistic data especially on Modern Greek by Roussou, 2000 and Roussou and Tsanglaidis, 2010):

(7) Force (Top*) Int (Top*) Foc (Top*) Fin IP (Rizzi, 2004: 289 [=10])

The schema in (7) is subject to further refinements in the face of cross-linguistic data (for Modern Greek, see especially Roussou, 2000, where a tripartite C structure is proposed). However, for the purpose of the current paper, suffice it to observe that IntP occurs somewhere in the middle, above FocP. As such, examples in (4) are easily accounted for: the FinP is attracted to Spec, Int where they check the [interrogative] feature under Int. This is exemplified with (4b):

(4b) [_{ForceP} [_{TopP} [_{IntP} [*Nikolas na zandos tira*] [_{Int} (*mi*) [_{TopP} [_{FinP} *t_i*]]]]]]]

Note that *mi* is optional in wide focus yes/no questions, which is often substituted by a rising intonation in the clause-final position, similar to Modern Greek (see section 3.2).

We have already stated that in cases in which the Q-marker, *mi*, is overt, the immediately preceding constituent is contrastively focused, bearing contrastive (focus) accent. In particular, when the Focus field is activated, the interrogative force must assume scope over it. This forces the activation of a higher projection in the C-domain that is connected with questioning, namely IntP. Contrastive focus is usually associated with the left periphery (Rizzi, 1997, Belletti, 2004, but see Roussou and Tsimpli, 2006 for Modern Greek as well). Yet, then how do the structures in (5) obtain in the face of (7)? To answer this, I argue, following partly Aboh (2004a,b) and Aboh and Pfau (2011), that the inverse order of Int—Foc results from the movement of the focused phrase to SpecFocP, followed by the remnant-movement of FinP to TopP, which is followed by the movement of TopP to Spec, IntP.³ Consider the example (5a), whose structure is given in (8):

³ No Relativized Minimality effect arises as Topic and Focus belongs to distinct feature classes.

- (5a) Elena na gözläiř DA FřAXA mi
 Helen part wait.3sg the child.pl Q
 ‘Will Helen wait for the children?’ (as opposed to somebody else)

- (8) [_{ForceP} [_{TopP} [_{IntP} [_{TopP} [*Elena na gözläiř*]_j [_{FocP} [*da fřaxa*]_i [_{FinP} *t_j t_i*]]]_k [_{Int} *mi*] *t_k*]]]]]

Note that the availability of more than one TopP (higher in the structure) accounts for structures in which Clitic Left Dislocation is observed (5b–c).

2.2 Q-Marker in Turkish

Unlike Misthiothica, Turkish yes/no questions are invariantly marked with the Q-marker, *mi*.⁴ It is often cited that when the whole proposition is questioned, the Q-marker is encliticized onto the predicate of the sentence (cf. Göksel and Kerslake, 2005: 251). As in a non-scrambled, canonical sentence in Turkish, the word-order is SOV, Q-marker in these sentences occurs in sentence-final position (unless there are overt subject agreement markers which are enclitic on the Q-marker). This is perhaps the very reason that Turkish Q-particle has been cited to be sentence-final, on a par with e.g. that of Japanese (cf. Ultan, 1978, Cheng, 1997, Bencini, 2003; Dryer, 2013 among others). However, *mi* is—at least superficially—a floating clitic, which can occur in various positions in a sentence, in some cases, even inside phrases. In the simplest terms, it occurs after the focused constituent of the sentence. Consider the examples below:

- (9) a. Hasan at-lar-ı kasaba-da SAT-Tı-Ø mi?
 Hasan horse-pl-ACC town-LOC sell-PAST-3sg Q
 ‘Did Hasan sell the horses in the town?’ [Turkish]
- b. Hasan at-lar-ı KASABA-DA mi sat-tı-Ø?
 Hasan horse-pl-ACC town-LOC Q sell-PAST-3sg
 ‘Is it in the town where Hasan sold the horses?’ [Turkish]
- c. Hasan AT-LAR-ı mi kasaba-da sat-tı-Ø?
 Hasan horse-pl-ACC Q town-LOC sell-PAST-3sg
 ‘Is it the horses that Hasan sold in the town?’ [Turkish]
- d. HASAN mi at-lar-ı kasaba-da sat-tı-Ø?
 Hasan Q horse-pl-ACC town-LOC sell-PAST-3sg
 ‘Is it Hasan who sold the horses in the town?’ [Turkish]

All the examples in (9) bear contrastive focus on the constituent immediately preceding the Q-marker. Therefore, possible answers to the questions in (9) can be as follows:

⁴ The vowel in capital indicates an archiphoneme, a phoneme whose feature is determined by vowel harmony. It may occur as <i> [ɯ], <i> [i], <u> [u] or <ü> [y] depending on the [±front, ±round] features of the preceding vowel.

- (9') a. Hayır, sat-ma-dı-Ø, #(hediyе et-ti- Ø)
 no sell-NEG-PAST-3sg gift make-PAST-3sg
 'No, he did not sell (them), (he gave them as a gift)' [Turkish]
- b. Hayır, köy-de
 no village-LOC
 'No, (he sold them) in the village' [Turkish]
- c. Hayır, koyun-lar-ı
 no sheep-pl-ACC
 'No, (he sold) the sheep' [Turkish]
- d. Hayır, Kenan
 no Kenan
 'No, Kenan (sold them)' [Turkish]

Only in (9a), the reading can be twofold. The heavy accent on the verb means that the verb is contrastively focused and the answer in this case is incomplete with the constituent in parenthesis in (9'a). If, on the other hand, the verb does not carry contrastive focus accent, the whole proposition is questioned, and the constituent in parenthesis in (9'a) becomes irrelevant.

It is the correlation between the focused (accented) constituent and the position of the Q-marker in (9) that has led to the assertion that the Q-marker stresses the preceding constituent (cf. Inkelas, 1999; Aygen, 2007 among others). However, there is not always a one-to-one correspondence between the accented constituent and the position of the Q-marker. The prominent accent can fall on another constituent than onto which the Q-marker leans. Consider the example (10) below:

- (10) a. Hasan AT-LAR-ı sat-tı-Ø mı?
 Hasan horse-pl-ACC sell-PAST-3sg Q
 'Did Hasan sell the horses (as well, among other things, e.g. goats, elephants)?' [Turkish]

Therefore, in the following lines, I will abandon the assertion that the Q-marker is pre-stressing, and follow an approach where the Q-marker follows the sentence accent. However, before going into the details of the discussion, it should also be noted that the examples in (9) can be scrambled without change in their meaning. This is illustrated below as (11):

- (11) (AT-LAR-ı mı) Hasan (AT-LAR-ı mı) kasaba-da (AT-LAR-ı mı) sat-tı-Ø?

Therefore, it follows that neither the contrastive focus, nor—by transitivity—the Q-marker has a fixed position.

The scrambling case in (11) is not free though; Q-marker cannot attach to postverbal constituents:

- (12) a. *Hasan at-lar-1 sat-tı-Ø kasaba-da mı?
 Hasan horse-pl-ACC sell-PAST-3sg town-LOC Q [Turkish]
- b. *Hasan sat-tı-Ø kasaba-da at-lar-1 mı?
 Hasan sell-PAST-3sg town-LOC horse-pl-ACC Q [Turkish]
- c. *Sat-tı-Ø kasaba-da at-lar-1 Hasan mı?
 sell-PAST-3sg town-LOC horse-pl-ACC Hasan Q [Turkish]

Hence the refined version of (11):

- (13) (AT-LAR-1 mı) Hasan (AT-LAR-1 mı) kasaba-da (AT-LAR-1 mı) sat-tı-Ø (*AT-LAR-1 mı)?

The sentences in (12a–c) are grammatical when they are declarative, i.e. without the Q-marker:

- (14) a. Hasan at-lar-1 sat-tı-Ø kasaba-da
 Hasan horse-pl-ACC sell-PAST-3sg town-LOC
 ‘Hasan sold the horses in the town’ [Turkish]
- b. Hasan sat-tı-Ø kasaba-da at-lar-1
 Hasan sell-PAST-3sg town-LOC horse-pl-ACC
 ‘Hasan sold the horses in the town’ [Turkish]
- c. Sat-tı-Ø kasaba-da at-lar-1 Hasan
 sell-PAST-3sg town-LOC horse-pl-ACC Hasan
 ‘Hasan sold the horses in the town’ [Turkish]

Why then can the Q-marker not occur in sentence final position in (12)–(13)?

The answer is alluded to by Göksel and Özsoy (2000). According to their analysis, there is not one focus position in Turkish, but a focus field, whose boundaries are defined at the left edge by a focused phrase (f-phrase) or a Wh-phrase), and at the right edge by the complex V:⁵

- (15) {XP' V}
 [where XP' is the constituent that takes focal accent, M.B.]
 (Göksel and Özsoy, 2000: 223 [=15])

This is the exact domain that hosts elements designating non-recoverable information i.e. f-phrases and Wh-phrases. What is common to both is that they are the bearers of focal accent.

The detail of Göksel and Özsoy's (2000) account need not concern us here. However, their analysis reveals why (12)–(13) are ungrammatical. If we assume that the Q-marker *does not* stress the preceding constituent, but it *itself* is positioned according to the prominent accent, the account of their ungrammaticality follows: A focused constituent, which takes the prominent accent in a clause, cannot occur post-verbally (cf. (15)), and by transitivity, neither can the Q-marker.

⁵ Note that this is a prosodic account of focus and a syntactic account of it should be presented. However, see Göksel and Özsoy (2000: section 4) where they discuss that focus in Turkish is neither a feature nor a phrasal projection.

Three important and interrelated conclusions to be drawn from the examples (9)–(15) and the discussion revolving around them can be recapitulated as follows: (a) post verbal position is not a focus position, (b) judging from the fact that Q-marker cannot occur following any constituent in a post-verbal position, Q-marker is not pre-stressing, (contra Inkelas, 1999; Aygen, 2007 among others) but it simply follows the stress, and (c) sentence-final position is not the default position of the Q-marker. The question that logically follows is where the default position of the Q-marker is.

Kamali (2011) proposes that the default Q-marker placement in Turkish parallels sentential accent exactly because it relies on the same syntactic configuration spelling out the sentence stress. Below are the details of her proposal along with empirical evidence. First of all, when the Q-marker follows the predicate, which—in a canonical SOV sentence—occurs sentence finally, either the object is given or the predicate focus is involved:

- (16) a. Anne-n yemeğ-i yak-tı-Ø mı?
 mother-POSS.2sg food-ACC burn-PAST-3sg Q
 i. *Verum focus*: ‘did your mum burn the food, as she had previously said/promised?’
 ii. *Predicate focus*: ‘Did your mum BURN the food (this time)?’ [Turkish]
- b. Sevim gofret çal-dı-Ø mı?
 Sevim waffle steal-past-3sg Q
 i. *Verum focus*: ‘Did Sevim steal waffle(s) as discussed before/promised?’
 ii. *Predicate focus*: ‘Did Sevim STEAL waffle(s)?’ [Turkish]

In a wide-focus Yes/No question, it is the object to which the Q-marker is attached:

- (17) a. Anne-n yemeğ-i mi yak-tı-Ø?
 mother-POSS.2sg food-ACC Q burn-PAST-3sg Q
 ‘Did your mum burn the food?’ [Turkish]
- b. Sevim gofret mi çal-dı-Ø?
 Sevim waffle Q steal-PAST-3sg
 ‘Did Sevim steal waffle(s)?’ [Turkish]

Secondly, idiom chunks (18) are broken off by the Q-marker (19a) in a wide-focus yes/no question. No such wide-scope idiomatic reading arises in (19b):

- (18) Ali Ayşe-yle kafa bul-uyor-Ø
 Ali Ayşe-COM head find-PROG-3sg
 ‘Ali is pulling Ayşe’s leg’
- (19) a. Ali Ayşe-yle kafa mı bul-uyor-Ø?
 Ali Ayşe-COM head Q find-PROG-3sg
 ‘Is Ali pulling Ayşe’s leg?’

- b. Ali Ayşe-yle kafa bul-uyor-Ø mu?
 Ali Ayşe-COM head find-PROG-3sg Q
 ??/* ‘Is Ali pulling Ayşe’s leg?’

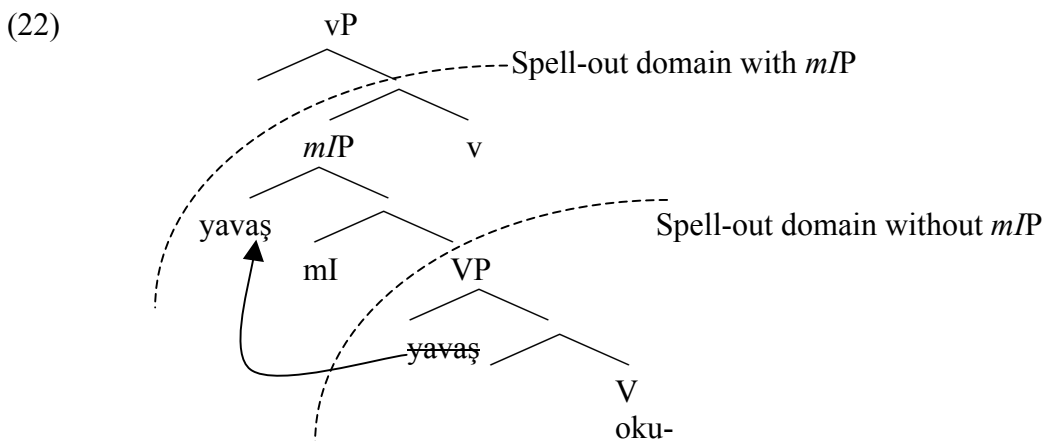
Thirdly, low adverbs (non-derived adverbs) (cf. Erguvanlı-Taylan, 1984) which receive sentence accent (Üntak-Tarhan, 2006) are also default Q-marker hosts (Kamali, 2011: 2) This is witnessed by the wide focus reading present in (20a) but not in (20b):

- (20) a. Seda yavaş mı ok-ur- Ø?
 Seda slow(ly) Q read-AOR-3sg
 ‘Does Seda read slowly?’
- b. Seda yavaş ok-ur- Ø mu?
 Seda slow(ly) read-AOR-3sg Q
 ‘Does Seda read slowly (as mentioned/expected)?’

Finally, subjects of unaccusatives, which receive sentential accent (Kamali 2011: 3) are also the unmarked hosts for the Q-marker:

- (21) a. Van-da deprem mi ol-uyor-Ø?
 Van-LOC earthquake Q happen-PROG-3sg
 ‘Do(es) earthquake(s) hit Van?’
- b. Van-da deprem ol-uyor-Ø mu?
 Van-LOC earthquake happen-PROG-3sg Q
 ‘Do(es) earthquake(s) hit Van (as expected/mentioned)?’

Based, on the argument that objects of transitives, subjects of unaccusatives and low adverbs occur at the left edge of the VP, Kamali (2011) asserts that *mI* is a second position clitic in the vP domain, which is merged after VP, and since it is a clitic, it requires a specifier to lean onto. It attracts the closest element to this position due to the Minimal Link Condition. Below is an illustration of Kamali’s argument adapted to the example (20a):⁶



⁶ According to her analysis, accented case-marked objects (17a) move through an AspP in between VP and *mIP*.

In Minimalist terms, the highest in the spell-out domain is spec, *mIP*, therefore in a question it surfaces as the accent bearer.⁷

The discussion above reveals a mismatch between the structural make-up of the Q-markers in Turkish and Mishtiotica. More specifically, while its occurrence is obligatory in yes/no questions in Turkish, it is only optionally present in Misthiotica. I attribute the optionality of the latter to the growing influence of Standard Modern Greek on Misthiotica spoken in mainland Greece since 1924 (see section 3.2 for details). Moreover, the domains where the default position of the Q-marker is differ between the two languages. While in Turkish it is the low IP-area, and more specifically, the VP-periphery that can be proposed as the default position of *mI*, in Misthiotica it is in the CP-layer of the matrix clause, and more specifically higher in the structure than FocP. It is actually the default position of *mI/mi* in the respective languages which makes it clause-final in Misthiotica and a floating clitic in Turkish.⁸

In the next section, I will present data from older texts⁹ from the overall members of the Cappadocian dialect chain. The data reveals micro-variation inside the dialect chain in terms of the occurrence of Q-marker, and in turn, suggests a diachronic change in the structural make-up of the Q-marker, possibly (initiated and) reinforced by ongoing contact with Modern Greek.

3 Diachrony and Micro-Variation

3.1 Micro-Variation

As the data collected from the texts dating prior to the population exchange (1924) and in the years immediately following the exchange show, there is a variation in the (degree of) occurrence of the Q-marker inside the Cappadocian dialect chain. Dawkins (1910) does not clearly state whether the marking is obligatory in Cappadocian, although he mentions its occurrence therein (with the exclusion of Northeastern Cappadocian, Sinasos, cf. Dawkins, 1910: 83, see also Archelaos, 1899). Among the Southern Cappadocian dialects, it is reported to be obligatory only in that of Ulaghatsh (Kesisoglu, 1951: 63), an assertion which is also supported by its invariant occurrence in the respective texts. It occurs in all examples in the texts from Aravan (cf. Fosteris and Kesisoglu, 1950), which renders considerable an interpretation on Q-marker being obligatory in the respective dialect. It also occurs often in other Southern dialects, i.e. that of Ghourzono, Fertek and Semendere. In Central Cappadocian dialects, i.e. Axo and Misti, its optional nature is clearly observed (cf. Mavrochalividis and Kesisoglou, 1960: 92, where Q-marker is stated to occur ‘very often’). In the Northwestern Cappadocian range—in the villages of Phloita and Malakopi—it occurs only sporadically, while in Anaku it is never attested. It is also never attested in Northeastern Cappadocian dialects, i.e. Sinasos and Delmeso.¹⁰ The (frequency of) occurrence of the Q-marker among the Cappadocian dialect chain also parallels the general conclusion on the Turkish influence on each sub-variety: The most

⁷ In Minimalist terms, sentence accent is a consequence of cyclic spell-out and the highest in the complement domain of vP carries the sentence accent. See Kamali (2011) and references cited there for the details.

⁸ Note that Kamali (2011) implies that *mI* can also be base generated when narrow-focus is present.

⁹ With the term ‘older texts’, I refer to the texts collected before 1924, i.e. the population exchange, and the texts collected until 1960s from first generation refugees (Kesisoglou, 1951; Mavrochalividis and Kesisoglou, 1950; Fosteris and Kesisoglou, 1960).

¹⁰ See Dawkins (1916: 211): “Delmeso, like Sinasos and its neighbours, has been, though for very different reasons, preserved from any very strong Turkish influence.”

influenced dialects are those of Southern Cappadocian, and the degree of influence is relatively less in Central Cappadocian and it is rather low in Northern Cappadocian dialects, which, even before 1910, were highly influenced by the Standard Modern Greek.¹¹

It is in the Southern Cappadocian, and more specifically in Ulaghatsh and Aravan, that Q-marker exhibits features closer to that of the source language, Turkish. First of all, it is—as stated above—obligatory in Ulaghatsh, similar to the case in the source language, Turkish. Secondly, the Q-marker is subject to partial vowel harmony, where [±front] feature of the preceding vowel defines whether the vowel in Q-marker is [i] or [u] (Kesisoglu, 1951: 13, 63):

- (23) patisaə m ena metel as se pu mə , krees mi
 sultan my a story part you tell.1sg Q want.2sg Q
 ‘My Sultan, shall I tell you a story? Do you want?’ [Ulaghatsh, Kesisoglu 1951: 144,17]

It is a clitic in Turkish, and thus, forms a phonological unit with the constituent onto which it leans, and thus, it is subject to vowel harmony (see footnote 4):

- (24) a. Zeynep evlen-di-Ø mi?
 Zeynep get.married-PAST-3sg Q
 ‘Did Zeynep get married?’ [Turkish]
- b. San-a ver-diğ-im dergi-yi oku-du-n mu?
 you-DAT give-DIK-1sg magazine-ACC read-PAST-2sg Q
 ‘Did you read the magazine that I gave you?’ [Turkish]

Thirdly, in Ulaghatsh, Q-marker can appear as half of an indefinite formed on a Wh-word meaning “one or other” (Kesisoglu 1951: 64):

- (25) Irte mi ti?
 came.3sg Q what
 ‘Did he come or something?’
 lit: ‘did he really come?’ [Ulaghatsh, Kesisoglu 1951: 64]

This is also the case in Turkish:

- (26) a. Kedi mi ne al-mış-Ø
 cat Q what buy-EV-3sg
 ‘S/he bought a cat or something’
- b. Yemek-te nane mi ne var-dı-Ø
 food-LOC mint Q what exist-PAST-3sg
 ‘There was mint or something in the food’ (Aygen, 2007: 5 [=10,11])

¹¹ Dawkins (1916: 211): “[...] the idiom of Potamia and still more that of Sinasos is in its present condition too much infected by the common Greek, and the dialect of Silata, Malakop and Phloita are equally disqualified by their Turkised condition.”

Finally, there are at least some sporadic examples which indicate that the Q-marker has a disjunctive function in Cappadocian:

- (27) a. In ne mi tzin ne mi?¹²
 in is Q genie is Q
 ‘Is he a human or is he a genie?’ [Axo, Mavrochalividis and Kesisoglou, 1960: 190,14]
- b. Psemata mi na pum joksa alisja mi
 lie.pl Q part tell.1pl or truth Q
 ‘Are we to speak lies or truth?’ [Silli, Dawkins, 1910: 128, §37,8]

The examples (23), (25) and (27) clearly suggest that the Q-marker had a wider range of functions, especially in the Southern and Central Cappadocian. It should be noted that these functions are absent in present day Misthiotica, Q-marker in this dialect being confined to the domain of yes/no questions (where it is even optional in wide focus yes/no questions). A formal account of the examples (23), (25) and (27) is beyond the scope of the current paper; however, they suggest a grammatical change of Q-marker (and its relation to other constituents) roughly in the last half century. In the next sub-section, I will assess this observation, only in the domain of Q-marker as a yes/no question marker.

3.2 Diachrony

It has become evident in sections 2.1 and 2.2, that the domains which Q-marker associates with are different in Misthiotica and in Turkish: While it is associated with the CP-layer in Misthiotica, it is associated with the low IP-area in Turkish, and more specifically with the vP domain.

The study of older texts in Cappadocian reveals that the Q-marker was not always rigidly enclitic to the verb, not at least immediately, in a wide focus yes/no question (contra Janse, to appear). Consider the following examples where the Q-marker occurs following the clitics:

- (28) a. Da koričja pulses da mi
 the girl.pl sold.2sg cl Q
 ‘The girls, did you sell them?’ [Ulaghatsh, Dawkins, 1916: 78,24]
- b. kseris to m či leo
 know.2sg cl Q what say.1sg
 ‘Do you know what I say?’ [Aravan, Fosteris and Kesisoglou, 1950: 112,11]

¹² The example is clearly a calque from Turkish, cf (i):

- (i) İn mi-sin, cin mi-sin?
 human Q-2sg genie Q-2sg
 ‘are you human or are you a genie?’ [Turkish]

İn is the truncated form of *insan* ‘human’ in Turkish.

- c. to kamil to ghamburi t xiori to m
 the camel the hump its see.2sg cl Q
 ‘Does the camel see its hump?’ [Aravan, Fosteris and Kesisoglou, 1950: 91,154]
- d. ...bikis ta mi
 did.2sg it Q
 ‘Did you do it?’ [Malakopi, Dawkins, 1916: 404,17]

Assume that, following Condoravdi and Kiparsky (2001), clitics adjoin to IP¹³ (their TnsP) across all Greek dialects—including the Cappadocian dialect chain. When there is no non-adjoined constituent to the left of the clitic, prosodic inversion (Halpern, 1995) takes place, leaving the clitic in post-verbal position. If the assumption that clitics occur immediately preceding the IP is maintained, it follows that the Q-marker, which follows the clitic in (28) does not project in the CP-layer. Where, then, is its default position?

To give a tentative answer to that, let us first consider that in these older texts, contrary to the case in *Misthiotica*, the Q-marker is not always in sentence-final position. It is illustrated by the following examples where the Q-marker occurs following the nominal predicate (29a,b) or the subject (29c):

- (29) a. Xastaz mi isu?
 ill Q are.2sg
 ‘Are you ill?’ [Silli, Dawkins, 1910: 127,§20]
- b. Sano mə se?
 crazy Q are.2sg
 ‘Are you crazy?’ [Ulaghatsh, Kesisoglou, 1951: 156,15]
- c. Sano ne mi ito do xerifos?
 crazy is Q this the man
 ‘Is this man crazy?’ [Ulaghatsh, Kesisoglou, 1951: 156,22]

There are clear indications that the subject and object are merged inside the VP in Cappadocian, VSO seeming to be the basic word order (cf. Philippaki-Warburton, 1982; Roussou and Tsimpli, 2006 for Modern Greek). If we assume that—similar to Turkish—the Q-marker is in the VP-left periphery, if a bare object is merged as nominal predicate inside the VP, we can further state that, again similar to the case in Turkish, it moves to the spec position of the functional projection headed by the Q-marker yielding to the examples in (29), which, for notational purposes, I refer to as *miP*.

Within the light of this assertion, finally, consider the examples of wide focus yes/no questions below, where the embedded CP is stranded behind the Q-marker (see also (28b) where the embedded Wh-question follows the Q-marker):

¹³ Note that this view is not congruent with the cartographic framework according to which there is no adjunction (following Kayne, 1994). However, it can equally be translated into cartographic terms positing that there is a PersonP, dominating the IP, to the Specifier position of which, (weak) clitics are attracted (see Ciucivara, 2011 for an implementation of this approach to Romanian clitic clusters).

- (30) a. Kreis mi na pas do cennet
 want.2sg Q part go.2sg the paradise
 ‘Do you want to go to Paradise?’ [Ulaghatsh, Kesisoglou, 1951: 146,20]
- b. Boriz mi na to evris eto to meros
 can.2sg Q part it find.2sg this the place
 ‘Can you find this place?’ [Aravan, Fosteris and Kesisoglou, 1950: 120,34]
- c. Den do üksez mi çi se ipa
 not it heard.2sg Q what you told.1sg
 ‘Did you not hear what I told you?’ [Aravan, Fosteris and Kesisoglou, 1950: 122,14]

In the examples in (30) the Q-marker, which projects in the VP-left periphery, attracts *only* the verb of the matrix clause to its Spec position, leaving the embedded clause behind.

The results that are drawn here are only suggestive and to confirm, develop or reject them, certainly more research is needed on the syntax of Cappadocian, and in general on all dialects of Modern Greek. Despite this (not so negligible) shortcoming, the paper indicates that the use of the Q-marker has never been *ad hoc*, and that it has changed from being a ‘floating’ clitic to a sentence-final clitic. In structural terms, I interpret it as a change in the merge position of the Q-marker from the VP-left periphery to IP-left periphery.

Yet, how has this change taken place? I only hypothesize, at this moment, that the change is driven by contact with Modern Greek. As it has been stated in the introductory lines of the paper, Modern Greek employs only rising intonation in sentence-final position to mark yes/no questions. Keeping in mind that Cappadocian has been under influence of Standard Modern Greek for over half a century, it is safe to assume that the occurrence of the sentence-final rising intonation, which can be structurally represented, served as a model for the Q-marker in Cappadocian to become a sentence final marker as well. This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that it is only optionally in use in modern-day Misthiotica, which suggests that it has been in the process of being substituted by rising-intonation alone.

2 Conclusions

The current paper has presented an account of the sentence-final optional Q-marker, *mi*, in modern day Cappadocian, i.e. Misthiotica dialect as a copied element from Turkish. I have suggested that the Q-marker in Misthiotica occupies the head position of a designated maximal projection in the CP-layer, i.e. IntP, to the spec position of which the FinP is attracted to check the [interrogative] feature. It has further revealed that the default positions of Q-markers in Misthiotica and in the source language, Turkish, do not match, whereby the Q-marker in the latter projects its own maximal projection in the VP-left periphery—an account suggested by Kamali (2011) and adopted in the current paper. Diachronic data suggested that, contrary to the case of Misthiotica, Q-marker has not always been a head associated with the CP-layer in Cappadocian. In the light of (restricted) evidence, it has been suggested that it might once have been a head associated with the left periphery of the VP in Cappadocian, similar to the case in the source language, Turkish. The Cappadocian-internal change in the structural placement of the Q-marker from VP-left periphery (inside vP) to IP-left periphery (CP) is attributed to the growing influence of Modern Greek.

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