

LOAN SUFFIXATION IN MODERN GREEK DIALECTS: THE SUFFIX -ÓZOS

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This paper provides a morphological analysis of the borrowed derivational suffix *-ózos* (*-όζος*), used in a number of Modern Greek (MGr) dialects, as well in Common Modern Greek. Drawing on an extensive corpus, we examine the suffix from both a synchronic and a diachronic perspective. Our diachronic analysis places particular emphasis on the geographical distribution, the etymological provenance of the suffix and the loan accommodation strategies employed in the various MGr dialects, providing very interesting etymological findings for the lexical stock of Modern Greek (Common and dialects). Our synchronic analysis focuses on the stem categories with which the suffix combines, accounting for the phonological, morphological and syntactic constraints found to be operative in the derivational process.

1 Introduction

This paper provides a morphological analysis of the borrowed derivational suffix *-ózos* (*-όζος*), which until now has not been systematically investigated. The suffix is used in a number of Modern Greek (MGr) dialects to form mainly adjectives, as shown in (1):

- (1) a. *σωματ-όζος* (Myconos, Paros, Zakynthos)
stout- NOM.SG
'stout'
- b. *αιματ-όζος* (Kythira)
scarlet-NOM.SG
'scarlet'

Drawing on an extensive corpus built mainly from the unpublished archives of the Research Centre for Modern Greek Dialects (KENDI-ILNE) as well as a variety of published dialect glossaries, we examine the suffix from both a synchronic and a diachronic perspective. Our diachronic analysis focuses on the geographical distribution and the etymological provenance of

the suffix *-ózos*, placing particular emphasis on the loan accommodation strategies employed in the various MGr dialects within the theoretical framework of Haspelmath (2008) and Anastasiadi-Symeonidi (1994). Our synchronic analysis sheds light on the stem categories with which the suffix combines, accounting for the phonological, morphological and syntactic constraints that are found to be operative in the derivational process (see Ralli, 2005: 154-157).

The paper showcases an excellent example of modern research on the etymology of the lexical stock of the MGr dialects, while at the same time offering valuable insights into the theory and practice of dialectal lexicography and addressing theoretical issues in the study of language contact and linguistic change.

2 Lexical Borrowing and Loan Suffixation

According to Haugen (1950: 224) all linguistic items¹ are potentially borrowable, but appear to be subject to a scale of adoptability that is correlated to structural organization.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 74-75) have expressed the relationship between structures and borrowability hierarchically, taking into account the duration and intensity of contact between the donor and the recipient language. Linguistic items borrowed in the early stages of contact are primarily content words and subsequently function words and so on. If contact between the donor language and the recipient language is especially intense, then significant typological disruption and phonetic changes in the donor language are observed. Their proposed borrowing scale is as follows:

Casual contact		Category 1	content words
		Category 2	function words, minor phonological features, lexical semantic features
		Category 3	adpositions, derivational suffixes, phonemes
		Category 4	word order, distinctive features in phonology, inflectional morphology
Intense contact		Category 5	significant typological disruption, phonetic changes

Table 1. Thomason and Kaufman's borrowing scale

A similar hierarchical scheme of borrowability² is proposed by Moravcsik (1978: 112) and Field (2002: 38), according to whom nouns are borrowed easier than function words, free morphemes than bound morphemes, derivational morphology more than inflectional morphology and finally agglutinating affixes more than fusional affixes.

From Whitney (1881) up to modern scholars (indicatively, Moravcsik, 1978; Myers-Scotton, 2002: 240; Field, 2002: 38; Haspelmath, 2008: 7; Matras, 2010: 78, 2011: 208-209) and the proposed scales of borrowability, it is obvious that lexical items tend to be borrowed more than grammatical ones, a fact that can be sufficiently justified. According to Myers-Scotton (2002),

¹ For grammatical features that can be borrowed, see Aikhenvald (2007: 35).

² See also Matras (2011: 208), who notes that the above hierarchy is confirmed also by his samples.

the incorporation of nouns from a donor language into a recipient one does not disrupt the structure of the recipient language's system, as the loanwords just receive thematic roles. In addition, Moravcsik (1978), Field (2002: 38) and Johanson (2002) argue that borrowing is facilitated by transparency, structural autonomy and the existence of a consistent relationship between form and meaning, properties that nouns have more than other linguistic forms (see also Aikhenvald, 2007: 33).

With regards to bound morphemes, scholars, from Sapir (1921: 206) and so forth, argue that derivational morphemes are more likely to be borrowed than inflectional ones (see also the Table 1). According to Thomason (2001: 69), this can be also justified as the former are not organized into sets of forms in the same way as inflectional morphemes. They are therefore thought to exist by themselves. Additionally, autonomy and the consistent relationship between form and meaning have once more a very significant role: Ralli (to appear) argues that derivational morphemes are monofunctional and more autonomous than inflectional ones, which are very difficult to be separated due to their fusional character (cf. Aikhenvald, 2007: 33)

In general, the factors permitting or impeding the borrowing process can be divided into language external and language internal ones (Haspelmath, 2008: 10-11. See also Anastasiadi-Symeonidi, 1994: 99-105; Aikhenvald, 2007: 26-36; Matras, 2010: 78; Anastasiadi-Simeonidi and Chatzopoulou 2012: 509). The more important of them are the following:

A. Language external factors

- a) Intensity of contact: according to Thomason and Kaufman's scale (1988) (see Table 1) loanwords of the non-basic vocabulary can be found in a recipient language only from the 3rd degree and above.
- b) Prestige: the recipient language inserts loanwords easier if the donor language is a prestigious one.
- c) Structural incompatibility³ blocks grammatical borrowing. On the contrary, typological similarity facilitates the borrowing process, as some features of the donor language can insert easier into the system of the recipient language (see Meillet 1921: 82).
- d) Genealogical relatedness: genealogically related languages tend to borrow from each other more easily (see also McMahon 1994: 204)

B. Language internal factors

Structural properties of both the donor and the recipient language are very important for the selection for the borrowing strategy (Symeonidi, 1994; Ralli. 2011: 191; cf. Ralli, to appear).⁴

3 The Italian suffix -oso

The Italian suffix *-oso* derives from the Latin *-ōsus*. Both the Latin and the Italian suffixes are very productive, forming a wide list of adjectives, as we can see in Ernout's monography (1949).

³ There are scholars who criticized the structural incompatibility as a factor of resistance of borrowing (Thomason & Kaufman 1988).

⁴ Ralli (2011: 186, 193) gives a very good example: the phonological similarity of the stem-final vowel of the Turkish and the Greek verbal stems [+ Past tense] was very important for the adequate choice of the loan accommodation.

A main syntactic constraint is that, prototypically, the Latin, as well as the Italian suffix, is added to nominal stems (Magni, 2001: 4-5), i.e.

- (2) glori-ōsus (Lat.) < [[glori(a)_{NOUN} ‘glory’] -ōsus]_{ADJ}
 ‘glorius’

- (3) premur-oso (17th c.) < [[premur(a)_{NOUN} ‘rush’] -oso]_{ADJ}
 ‘who is in a great rush’

However, Montermini (2001) notes that verbal derivatives in -oso are also attested, which, according to Ernout (1949: 77) are rare later formations. For example:

- (4) pens-oso < [[pens(are)_{VERB} ‘to worry’] -oso]_{ADJ}
 ‘who worries a lot’

More specifically, the nominal stems on which the suffixes -ōsus/ -oso are added, belong to common nouns – concrete or abstract – and inanimate ones (Scalise 1994: 99), although there are new formations based on the stem of animate nouns (Magni, 2001: 4- 6)⁵, i.e.

- (5) serp-oso < [[serp(e)_{NOUN-ANIM} ‘serpent’] -oso]_{ADJ}
 ‘full of serpents’

So, the properties of the nominal stems can be described as follows:

- (6) [[]_{NOUN}] -ōsus/-oso]_{ADJ}
 [+ com.]
 [± abstr.]
 [± anim.]

According to the study of Magni (2001: 12-13), adjectives formed with -ōsus/-oso have the meaning ‘who/ that has/ presents a quantity of quality X’, when X is what the nominal stem expresses (see also Rohlfs, 1969: 441; Lehmann, 1977: 231; Tekavčić, 1980: 77). Apart from the prototypical meaning “full of X”, the suffix has also some more peripheral meanings such as ‘who does the X’, ‘who/ that is characterized by X’, ‘who/ that is similar to X’ (Magni, 2001: 8).

Latin and Italian suffixed adjectives have positive and pejorative connotations. Another very interesting observation is that both the Latin and the Italian suffix can have both passive and active meaning. As an example, the Latin *invidiōsus* has two interpretations (Magni, 2001: 17):

- (7) a. *invidi-ōsus_{ACT}*
 ‘who has jealousy’

or

- b. *invidi-ōsus_{PASS}*
 ‘who is inviable’

⁵ Magni (2001: 4) observed that the suffix -ōsus/ -oso is not added to nominal stems of color and proper names. There are not formations as **verd-oso* (< *verde* ‘green’) or *Giann-oso* (< *Gianni* ‘proper name’).

As regards the referent, it can be both animate and inanimate (Magni, 2001: 18). So, the referent in (8a) is animate, while the one in (8b) is inanimate:

- (8) a. paur-oso [\pm anim.]
 ‘who provokes fear’

or

- b. paur-oso [+anim.]
 ‘who has fear’

Concluding, the suffix -ōsus/-oso forms adjectives that refer to persons or objects, meaning in a positive or pejorative way ‘who/ that has/ presents a quantity of quality X’, when X is what the nominal stem expresses.

4 Loanwords in -osos/-όζος in MGr dialect

Latin words in -ōsus were borrowed into Greek language in medieval times (5/6th c. - 13th c.), as we can see in (9):

- (9) a. *κουριόσσος* Suda κ 2188 (10th c.) (cf. *κουριοσσός* V-Melan. 226 [5th c.])
 ‘officer for the invigilation of travellers’
- b. *γρατίωσος* ἐπίσκοπος Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum 1.6.15 (7th c.)
 ‘respected bishop’
- c. *τὸ ἐμπαθὲς ή τὸ βιτίοσον* Bas. B 279 1 (9-13 a. D.)⁶
 ‘passionate or defective’

Forms as *βιτίοσον*, *γρατίωσος*⁷ have not survived in MGr dialects. Additionally, the majority of the loanwords in -oso inserted in MGr dialects we will present below do not have a correspondent Latin form.

Also, we did not find the meaning of the above Latin loanwords in any of the MGr dialects. For example, the adopted loanword *κουριόσσος* ‘officer for the invigilation of travellers’ retains the core meaning of the Latin word *curiōsus* ‘who oversees something’. The type *curioso* with the meaning ‘who wants to know’ appears at the end of the 14th c. (Cortelazzo and Zolli 1999²). Therefore, *curioso* ‘curious’ was borrowed into the MGr dialects with this meaning after the 14th c. from Venetian (see the lemma *curioso* in Boerio, 1856).

⁶ For the examples 9(a), (b), (c), see Trapp (1994-).

⁷ The inserted Latin loanwords into Greek – as they were considered to be a part of the general Greek vocabulary – followed the ancient Greek accentuation rules and not the correspondent Latin ones (see Kramer 1998: 133-134). This can explain why adjectives such as *βιτίοσον*, *γρατίωσος* are stressed in the antepenult, although the vowel -o- in the Latin suffix -ōsus is a long one.

Consequently, based on morphological and semantic criteria⁸, we argue that the suffix *-oso* was borrowed into the MGr dialects not through Latin loanwords, but, as we will see below, through Venetian and Italian ones.

Greek texts documenting the first appearance of loanwords in *-ózos* are rare. We found cases such as:

- (10) a. *εἰπαν τὸν τὰ μαντάτα οἱ ἀμονροῦζες τὸν* Machairas 224²⁹ (Dawkins) (15th c.)⁹ < Prov. *amourous*
 ‘his lovers told him the news’
- b. *ἀμορόζος τῆς Πονλισένας* Katzourbos, Katal. pros. (16th c.) < Ven. / It. *amoroso*
 ‘Poulisena’s lover’
- c. *γκελόζος* Bertoldinos 97 (middle of the 17th c.) < It. *geloso*/ Ven. *zeloso*
 ‘passionate or defective’

The above loanwords dating from the 15th, 16th and 17th c. survive in MGr dialects.

4.1 The donor language

The donor language of the majority of the loanwords in *-ózos* in the MGr dialects is mainly the Venetian dialect and the Italian language. Of course they are not the only ones. For example, although the 11a and 11b were borrowed from the Italian and Venetian language, the 11c was borrowed into the Cypriot dialect through the Provencal dialect (Kriaras 1969-),

- (11) a. *αμορόζος* (Corfu, Cephalonia, Leukada, Andros, Naxos) < Ven. *amoroso*
 < It. *amoroso* (13th c.) < prob. vulgar Lat. **amorōsus*
 ‘lover’
 - b. *μορόζος* ‘lover’ (Corfu, Cephalonia, Leukada, Cythira, Messinia) < Ven. *moroso*
 (attested at the beginning of the 16th c.¹⁰)
 ‘lover’
 - c. *αμονρούζος* ‘lover’ (Cyprus) < Prov. *amourous* etc.¹¹
 ‘lover’
- (12) *γαρμπόζος* (Cephalonia, Leukada, Kos, Myconos, Naxos) / *γαρπόζος* (Cyprus)
 ‘jauny, dandy, flirtatious’

⁸ cf. Anastasiadi-Symeonidi (1994: 60) argues according to semantic criteria that the loanword *parking* was inserted in Modern Koine through French and not directly through English.

⁹ The form *αμορόζα* is found also in Cypriot manuscripts (see Kriaras, 1969-, in lemma *αμορόζος*).

¹⁰ See Cortelazzo 2007.

¹¹ See lemma *αμορώζος* of Historical Dictionary of the Academy of Athens.

The (12) must have been borrowed from the Catalan dialect, as the word does not exist in Italian or in any one of the Italian varieties, but is still used in Spanish and Portugal with the meaning ‘jaunty’.

So, it happens very often to have different donor languages for related loan dialectal forms.

In many cases, it is easy to identify the Venetian dialect as the donor language, as the forms in the recipient dialects preserve the form of the Venetian word, which differs from the Italian one. For example:

- (13) *πιτιτόζος* (Corfu) < Ven. *petitoso*, when the correspondent It. form is *appetitoso*¹²
 ‘selective in food’

Unfortunately, chronological evidence concerning their appearance in the Venetian dialect is available for only some of the loanwords we found.¹³

In other cases, it is difficult to discern whether standard Italian or Venetian is the donor language as:

- a) the loanword appears in the same form in both varieties; for example,

- (14) *κοστόζος* (Naxos) < Ven./ It. *costoso* expensive
 ‘expensive’

- b) the loanword *-oso* is not attested in Venetian although the relevant noun, on the stem of which the production of the adjective was based, does exist; for example,

- (15) *αβανταγκιόζος* (Leukada) < *Ven. *avantazoso*
 ‘advantageous’

We suggest that the adjective could have existed in Venetian, as we found the existence of the noun *avantazo* ‘advantage’ in this dialect, when the correspondent forms of the Italian noun and adjective is *vantaggio* and *vantaggioso* respectively.

Of course, it must be taken under consideration that standard Italian was adopted as the official language by Venice long before the unity of Italy in the second half of the 19th century (Fanciullo 2008).

Generally, due to the lack of chronological data, the first appearance of the adjective in *-oso* in the direct – as well as in the indirect – donor language can function as a terminus post quem, after which we expect the insertion of the loanword in MGr dialects. Below, we quote the loan adjectives in *-ózos* found in MGr dialects as well as in the MGr Koine. We present every dialectal form followed by its geographic distribution. We also note the meanings of all accommodated Greek forms and, afterwards, the postulated direct – and in many cases the indirect – donor language. We have separated the data in groups according to the century of first appearance¹⁴.

¹² For all the Venetian adjectives in *-oso* see Boerio (1856).

¹³ For the attested Venetian words of the 16th c., see Cortelazzo (2007).

¹⁴ For the first appearance of the It. –or in some cases Ven.– adjectives in *-oso*, see Cortelazzo and Zolli 1999².

4.2 Presentation of the loanwords in MGr dialects

The majority of loanwords in *-όζος* attested in the MGr dialects come from adjectives in *-oso* attested in the direct or indirect donor language in the 13th and 14th c., as we see below:

Loanwords in *-oso* from the 13th c.:

- (16) see above 11a, b, c.
- (17) *γρατσιόζος* (Corfu) / *γρατζιόζος* (Cephalonia) < Ven./ It. grazioso
‘gentile, gracious’.
- (18) *κουραγιόζος* (not attested) / *κουραγιόζ-ζος* (Chios) / *κουραγκιόζος* (Cyprus) /
κουραγκιόζονς (Tinos) / *κουραιόζος* (Naxos) / *κουραγκιόζης* (Ionia, Smyrna) < It.
coraggioso
‘courageous’
- (19) a. *πρετσιόζος* (Cephalonia)/ *πρεντζιόζος* (Leukada) < It. prezioso [<> Lat. pretiōsus]
‘valuable’
- b. *πρετσούζος* (Cyprus) < Prov. precious
‘valuable’
- (20) *φαμόζος* (Cephalonia, Cyprus)/ *φαμόζονς* (Samos) < It. famoso [<> Lat. famōsus]
‘famous’
- (21) *φουριόζος* (Common MGr) / *φουριόζονς* (Tinos, Ioannina, Etoloakarnania) /
φουρζόζονς (Lemnos) < It. furioso ‘full of haste or rage’ [<> Lat. furiōsus]
‘who is in haste’

Loanwords in *-oso* of the 14th c.

- (22) *βιρτονόζος* (Common MGr and in many MGr dialects) < Ven. / It. virtuoso ‘skilfull’ [<>
Lat. virtuōsus ‘virtuous’]
‘skilful’
- (23) *βιτσιόζος* (Common MGr and in many MGr dialects) < Ven./ It. vizioso ‘vicious,
aberrant’ [<> Lat. vitiōsus ‘sly/ incorrect’].
‘aberrant’
- (24) *γολόζος* (Cephalonia, Ithaca, Kea, Crete, Myconos, Syros, Euboia, Preveza and
elsewhere) / *γ'λόζονς* (Leukada) / *γ'λονύζονς* (Kythnos) / *γονλούζης* (Megara)¹⁵ < Ven.
goloso ‘causing the appetite’ / It. goloso ‘gloutton’ [<> Lat. gulōsus]
‘glutton’

¹⁵ See lemma *γολώζος* in the Historical Dictionary of the Academy of Athens.

- (25) *δισπετόζος* (Corfu) < Ven. despetoso / It. dispetoso
 ‘who makes tantrums’
- (26) *κουριόζος* (Cephalonia, Paxoi, Andros, Kythira, Mani) / *κοριόζος* (Leukada, Bithynia) /
κουριόζονς (Tinos, Samos, Chalcidice) / *κουριούζονς* (Euboea) / *κουρνόζος* (Hpeiros) /
κορνιόζος (Cyprus) / *σκοριόζος* (Propontida) < Ven./ It curioso ‘who wants to know’
 (at the end of the 14th c.) < It. curioso ‘who cares’ (13th c.) [< Lat. curiōsus]
 ‘curious’
- (27) a. *περικολόζος* (Cephalonia, Kythira) < Ven. / It. pericoloso
 ‘dangerous, full of danger’
- b. *περικουλόζος* (Cephalonia) < It. pericoloso [< Lat. periculōsus]
 ‘dangerous, full of danger’
- (28) *περνιτσιόζος* (Corfu) < It. pernicioso [< Lat. perniciōsus]
 ‘dangerous’
- (29) a. *σκαμπρόζος* (Common MGr) < It. scabroso [< late Lat. scabrōsus]
 ‘who socks in a cute way’
- b. *σκαμπρόζος* (Cephalonia)/ *σκομπρόζος* (Cephalonia, Milos) < It. scabroso [< late
 Lat. scabrōsus]
 ‘tough, difficult, irregular’¹⁶
- (30) a. *φλατόζονς* Eteloakarnania < Ven. flatoso ‘causing gases’
 ‘ill because of a chronic disease’ (cf. *φλάτος* ‘bellyache’ Kythnos)
- b. *φλατονόζος* (Byzantios Dictionary 1874³: 576) < It. flatuoso
 ‘for a food, causing gases’

Many of the above loanwords have a correspondent Latin form, see (19a), (20), (21), (22), (23), (24), (25), (26), (27b) and (29). On the contrary, all the adjectives attested in the donor language after the 15th c., which have been inserted in MGr dialects, are formations without a correspondent form in Latin (see below).

Adjectives in -oso from the 15th c.

- (31) *αερόζος* (Kythira) < It. aeroso
 ‘full of air’
- (32) *τσιριμονιόζος* (Kythira, Peridis Dictionary 1878) / *τσιρμονιόζος* (Andros) < It.
 ceremonioso
 ‘excessively kind’

¹⁶ See also the form *σκαμπονρόζικος* ‘difficult’ in Kythira.

The loanwords *φλατονόζος* (30) and *τσιριμονιόζος* (32) belong to the rare cases found to be lemmatized in dictionaries of the 19th c., for example in Byzantios Dictionary (1874³) and Peridis Dictionary (1878) respectively.

Adjectives in *-oso* from the 16th c.

- (33) *γονστόζος* (Common MGr) / *γονστόζος* (north dialects) / *'ονστόζος* (Naxos) < Ven. / It.
gusto¹⁷
'tasteful, stylish, funny'

- (34) *καπριτσιόζος* (Common MGr and in many MGr dialects) / *καπριτσόζος* (Crete) /
καπροτσόζος (W.Crete) < It. capriccioso
'who does caprices/ which is done with caprices'

- (35) *μπριόζος* (Common MGr and in many MGr dialects) < It. brioso
'cheerful'

- (36) *σπιριτόζος* (Naxos) / *σπιρτόζος* (Common MGr and MGr dialects) / *σπιρτόζους* (Alonnisos, Tinos) / *σπιρτσόζος* (Eteloacarnania) < Ven. / It. spiritoso 'which contains alcohol/ full of energy'
'clever, lively'

Adjectives in *-oso* from the 17th c.

- (37) *αβανταγκιόζος* (Leukada) < Ven. *avantazzoso < Ven avantazzo (cf. It. vantaggioso)
'advantageous'

- (38) *πρεμονρόζος* (Cephalonia, Kythira) < It. premuroso
'who is in rush/ willing'

- (39) *σκερτσόζος* (Common MGr) / *σκιρτσόζους* (Ioannina) / *σκιρτσιόζους* (Etoloacarnania) < It. scherzoso
'who frills/ frilling'

- (40) *τσαρδόζος* (Corfu) < It. azzardoso 'dangerous'
'for a woman, aggressive and sexy'

Adjectives in *-oso* from the 18th c.

- (41) *λονσόζος* (Corfu, Cephalonia, Paxoi-Antipaxoi, Messinia) < It. lussuoso
'luxurious, sprangly, dandy'

- (42) *ποντιλιόζος* (Cephalonia, Corfu, Leukada, Paxoi) / *ποντιγιόζος* (Corfu), / *πουντιλιόζος* (Hpeiros) / *ποντ'λιόζος* (Leukada) < Ven. pontiglioso (cf. It. puntiglioso)
'stubborn, nippy'

¹⁷ Both Ven. and It. forms are attested in the 16th c.

Adjectives in *-oso* from the 19th c.

- (43) *σπετακολόζος* (Cephalonia) < Ven. / It. spetacoloso ‘spectacular’
‘imposing’

- (44) *μαφιόζος* (Common MGr) < It. mafioso
‘member of the mafia, mafioso’

We must note that the recipient dialects are spoken in regions where language contact with Venetian and Italian was intense due to a) historical and b) geographic reasons having to do mainly with the Venetian domination, which in many areas lasted more than three centuries, and with the proximity to the Italian peninsula. The Ionian islands (and West Greece), Kythira and the Cyclades have adopted most of the above loanwords.

With regards to the accommodation strategy, Anastasiadi-Symenodi (1994: 195) notes that, in the stage of the secondary morphological adoption, the stem’s final item and the stress position play a determinant role in the accommodation of a loan noun or adjective in an inflectional paradigm of the recipient language. The phonological similarity of the final vowel between the loanwords in *-oso* with the Greek nominal stems in *-o* facilitates their accommodation: they are formed according the model of the adjectives *-ος*, *-α*, *-ο*, i.e. *γρατσιόζος*, *-α*, *-ο*¹⁸ // *ωραιός*, *-α*, *-ο*.

All loanwords function as adjectives in the recipient language, except for the noun *αμορόζος* and *μαφιόζος* that had already been substantivised in Italian and Venetian.

In later stages, the adopted loanwords were combined with Greek suffixes, such as *-ικος*, *-οσύνη*, *-ιά*, *-ιάρης*, *-λογώ*, *-εύομαι* etc. and produced some loanblends such as:

- (45) a. *κουριόζ-ικος* (Kythira)
‘courageous’
- b. *αμουρούζ-εύομαι* (Syros) / *αμουρούζ-εύγομαι* (Naxos)
‘be in love’
- c. *γολοζ-ιά* (Arcadia)
‘gluttony’
- d. *γολοζ-ιάρης* (Arcadia)
‘glutton’
- e. *μουρ'ζο-λο'ώ* (< **αμοροζολογώ*) (Myconos)
‘be in love’
- f. *αμουρονζ-οσύνη* (Naxos)
‘courtship’

¹⁸ It must be noted that in many dialectal varieties the neuter gender is formed in *-óz-o* and not in *-óz-iko*. In Common MGr the prevail of the suffix *-óz-iko* can be justified because of the higher frequency of the later formed adjectives in *-óz-ikos*, *-óz-ici*, *-óz-iko* than the correspondent forms in *-ózos*, *-óza*, *-ózo*.

As far as semantics is concerned, recipient varieties seem to have preserved one of the meanings of the donor language, maintaining the same connotations. It is worth pointing out that in some cases the referent [-inanimate] of the donor language has changed to [+animate] in the recipient varieties. For example, the Ven. *petitoso* ‘causing appetite’ was adopted in Corfu (see 13) with the meaning ‘person selective in food’

5 New formations in MGr dialects

In our corpus we found some new dialectal forms in *-ózos*. Meyer is the first who in 1895 noted the productivity of the suffix *-ózos* in MGr dialects. 1895 can therefore be used – due, of course, to the lack of other chronological evidence – as a terminus ante quem for the first appearance of the above words.

A part of them gives the impression that we are dealing with Venetian or Italian loanwords, but in fact corresponding forms are not found in the supposed donor languages. Such formations are:

- (46) *μετζοσταγκιόζος* (Paxoi) < *μετζοσταγκι(όν)* ‘intermidiate sistuation’ (Leucada) + *-ózos*
‘of an intermediate situation’
- (47) *φασαριόζος* (Common MGr and in many MGr dialects) < *φασαρί(α)* ‘fuss’ (< Ven.
*fesaria < It. fesseria) + *-ózos*
‘noisy’
- (48) *φατσόζος* (Cephalonia) < *φάτσ(α)* ‘face, appearance’ + *-ózos*
‘presentable’

In this group of new formations we have to include also the adjective *μπονγιόζος* ‘bulky, impressive’. The adjective derives from the loanword *μπούγιο* [bújo]. According to Babiniotis Dictionary (2012⁴) and Triantafyllidis Dictionary (2007⁷)¹⁹ *μπούγιο* derives from the It. *buio* ‘darkness’. This etymology does not satisfy the semantic criterion. On the contrary, according to our research, the word must come from the Ven. noun *bogio* (Boerio, 1856)/ *bojo* (Pizzati, 2007) [bójo], meaning ‘boiling, puff’ (cf. also ven. *boger/ bogir/ bugir* ‘to boil’ and *bujio* ‘boiled’). The loanword was adopted in MGr dialects as a neuter noun under the form *μπούγιο*, meaning ‘inflation, bulk’ (Ithaca, Kythira, Leukada, Paxoi).

5.1 Loanwords in *-ózos* from Greek nominal stems

Apart from the above examples, we found new loanblends derived by the addition of the suffix *-ózos* on Greek nominal stems of feminine nouns in *-a* or *-i*:

- (49) *ευλαβιόζος* (Naxos) < *ευλάβει(α)* ‘devoutness’ + *-ózos*
‘devout’

¹⁹ The adjectives *μπονγιόζος* and *μπονγιόζικος* are not lemmatized in none of the above dictionaries.

(50) *τσινιόζος* (Cephalonia) < *τσίνι(α)* ‘obstinacy’ + -ózos
‘willful’

(51) *μυταρόζος* (Othonoi, Korinthos) / *μ'ταρόζονς* (Focida) < *μυτάρ(α)* ‘big nose’ + -ózos
‘who has a big nose’

Some of the new formations are based on the stem of masculine nouns in -os, as:

(52) *τροπόζος* (Syros) < *τρόπ(oς)* ‘manners’ + -ózos
‘who has very good manners’

(53) *θνυόζος* (Kythira) < *θνυμ(ός)* ‘anger’ + -ózos
‘very angry’

Some others are based on the stem of neuter nouns in -i or -ma:

(54) *χατιρόζος* (Kythira) < *χατίρ(i)* ‘sake’ (< Turk. hatır) + -ózos
‘who does many favors’

(55) *τσαλιμόζος* (Paxoi) < *τσαλίμ(i)* ‘air and graces’ (< Turk. çalım) + -ózos
‘who does airs and graces or what is done by airs and graces’

(56) *αιματόζος* (Kythira) / *ματόζος* (Leukada) < *αίματ(oς)GEN* ‘blood’ + -ózos
‘full of blood, carmine’

The new formations are found mostly in the varieties of Ionian islands, Kythira and Cyclades, where the criterion of Thomason and Kaufmann’s scale (1988) is valid. In these varieties, the degree of exposure to the source language and the intensity of the language contact were especially high.

The morphological reanalysis of the Italian/ Venetian loanwords, which gave birth to the above new formations, was triggered by:

a) the large number of loanwords in -oso and the existence of certain pairs of loanwords with and without the morpheme (Weinreich, 1953 [1968²]: 31- 37; see also Anastasiadi-Symenonidi, 1994: 69-70). For example, *τσιριμόνια* ‘excessive politeness’ and *τσιριμονιόζος* ‘excessively polite’ coexist in Kythira,

These pairs help the speaker to identify a morpheme into the loanwords, to reanalyze it and later on, when the morpheme becomes productive, to use it in new word formation (cf. Capuz Juan Gómez, 1997: 85)²⁰,

b) the semantic autonomy, which according to Moravcsik (1978), Field (2002) and Johanson (2002) facilitates the borrowing process. By the reanalysis of the loanwords into stems, it was easy for the speakers to extract the core meaning of the suffix ‘who/that has/presents a quantity or quality X’, when X is what the nominal stem expresses’,

²⁰ See also Anastasiadi-Symenonidi (1985: 91) about the productivity of the derivational loan suffix -e and Ralli (to appear) about the productivity of the loan suffix -aro. Both researchers argue that the coexistence of the suffixes with other etymological relative loanwords in the recipient language triggered the reanalysis of the loanwords into stems.

c) finally we argue that the reanalysis was induced by a main intra-linguistic factor, the property of Greek morphology to be stem based in that words consist of a bound element (cf. Ralli, to appear).

5.2 Constrains at the derivation of the new formations in -όζος

It is worth pointing out that the suffix *-oso* in the examples in all the above new formations is added to nominal stems²¹. Based on this, we disagree with Meyer (1895: 100) who etymologizes *εὐλαβιόζος* from the adjective *εὐλαβής* ‘devout’. In any case, this etymological proposal cannot explain the presence of [i] before the suffix. On the contrary we argue that it derives from the noun *εὐλάβεια* ‘devoutness’. The orthographic simplification can be explained analogically to other loanwords in -i-osos (**εὐλαβειόζος* > *εὐλαβιόζος* // *ποντιλιόζος*, *τσινιόζος*, *τσιριμονιόζος* etc.).

Observing the examples (1) and (56), it is obvious that the new formations obey one main morphological constraint of the recipient language: the suffix *-όζος* is added only to the augmented allomorph of nouns in -ma. So we find *σωματ-όζος* and not **σωμ-όζος*.

Another significant observation is that the certain suffixation in MGr does not obey the constraint of the distinguishing lexical features of the stems: the suffix *-oso* shows preference for both stems of foreign origin (Italian, Venetian, Turkish) (see examples 50, 54, 55) and stems of Greek origin (see examples 49, 51, 52, 53, 56).

Further, in an effort to explain why this suffixation became productive in the MGr dialects, one may appeal to the fact that the suffixes *-ώδης* or *-ης*:

- a) are [+ learnt] ones and
- b) are characterized by morphological problems in the formation of certain cases of the singular and plural (for example, **εὐλαβή ἀτομο_{NOM.SG}* instead of *εὐλαβές ἀτομο_{NOM.SG}*, **σωματώδη ἄντρα ἀτομο_{GEN.SG}* instead of *σωματώδους ἄντρα_{GEN.SG}*) and by the lack of discrimination between the masculine and feminine forms (cf. Anastasiadi-Symeonidi, 1985: 100-101)²².

Consequently, the significance of the above suffixed new formation is not expressed by other already existing words of the recipient language and so the suffixation does not function against Aronoff’s blocking constraint (1976: 43-44).

We finally observe that the core significance of the loan suffix is maintained. The new formations express in a positive or pejorative way that somebody or something has the quality or quantity of the basis. The new formations have also active (see example 53) and passive readings (see example 55), while the referent is mostly an animate one but also an inanimate one (see example 56).

6 The suffix -όζος in Common Modern Greek

Adjectives in -όζος in Common Modern Greek are very few. Their group consists of just very few members (*βιτσιόζος*, *γουστόζος*, *καπριτσιόζος*²³, *κομπλιμεντόζος*²⁴, *μπριόζος*, *σπιρτόζος*,

²¹ About the constraints in the derivation, see Ralli (2005: 154: 157).

²² Anastasiadi-Symeonidi (1985: 100-101) argues at the same way, explaining the establishment of the suffix *-e* in Koine Greek.

²³ This adjective is not lemmatized in Babiniotis Dictionary.

²⁴ This adjective is not lemmatized in Triantafyllidis Dictionary,

σκαμπρόζος, *φουριόζος* and *φασαριόζος*²⁵) and one noun (*μαφιόζος*), which is used both as an adjective and as a noun in the donor language. All the adjectives and the one noun in -όζος introduced in Common MGr refer mainly to animate referents. Note also that all of them form secondary adjectives in -ikos, such as *γονστόζικος*, *φουριόζικος*, *φασαριόζικος*, *μαφιόζικος*, which refer also to inanimate referents.

7 Conclusions-Further hypotheses

The suffix -όζος was inserted in Greek through Venetian and Italian loanwords. Their insertion must have occurred after the 13th c. and their accommodation depended on the properties of the recipient language. We found examples in many regions all over Greece, but mostly in the Ionian islands, Kythira and the Cyclades, where language contact with the donor languages was very intense. In these varieties, the loan suffix proved to be quite productive, as a significant number of new adjectives – positive or pejorative – was found. The loanblends are derived only from nominal stems from both foreign and native origin, maintaining the core meaning of the loan suffix.

Apart from the examination of this suffix, we believe that this paper opens new avenues for further research on lexical borrowing, loan suffixation and language change in general. It will be particularly interesting, for example, to compare the productivity of the loanwords in -όζος and -άτος, both forming adjectives, in order to check whether they both form compounds and derivatives and whether they can be both combined with the same derivational suffixes. For example, we find that both can be secondarily combined with the nominal suffix -ia and the verbal -evo (i.e. *αμορονζιά* ‘love’, *αμορονζένομαι* ‘feel love’ and *βαρβατιά* ‘the goat’s bad odor due to orgasm’, *βαρβατεύω* ‘for animal, feel libido’). Note, however, that while compounds can be formed using adjectives in -άτος (*αφρατολέμουνο* ‘a kind of lemon with fluffy skin’ < *αφράτος* ‘fluffy’, *βαρβατότραγος* ‘a stallion goat’ < *βαρβάτος* ‘not gelded animal’), the same does not hold with -όζος.

Consequently, this paper not only showcases an excellent example of modern research on the etymology of MGr dialects, but can also offer valuable insights into the theory of language contact and language change, testing many further theoretical issues and hypotheses.

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²⁵ This adjective is not lemmatized in Triantafyllidis Dictionary.

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