

TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF RELATIVE CLAUSES IN MODERN GREEK DIALECTS*

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This is an initial attempt at a typological grouping of Modern Greek dialects by means of a comparative study of relative clauses. The dialects are divided into groups based on two criteria. The first involves the markers which introduce relative clauses, which may continue an inherited relative element or interrogative pronoun, or be of mixed origin, resulting from processes of reanalysis, reinforcement, hybridization etc. The second criterion examines the processes of relativization based on the Accessibility Hierarchy of relative clauses (Keenan and Comrie 1977). The aim is to determine the distribution of the relativizing elements chosen by each dialect in the syntactic roles which are relativized. The emphasis is on the dialects of Asia Minor, Southern Italian and Tsakonian, mainly because their peculiarities support the working hypothesis that they possess means of relativization which differ from those of SMG.

1 Introduction

Discussion of the typology of relative clauses in the Modern Greek dialects assumes that they differ amongst themselves in at least some of the following areas:

- a) The way in which they are linked to the main clause (e.g. by an uninflected complementizer, by an inflected pronoun, without any linking word, by nominalization of the relative clause etc.).
- b) The way that the syntactic role of the head noun is marked (e.g. by the case of the relative pronoun, by the use of a co-relative clitic, by an empty syntactic position, by repetition of the head noun etc.).
- c) The positioning of the head noun in relation to the relative clause (e.g. preceding it, following it, inside it, in both the main clause and the relative clause etc.).

SMG makes use of only a small part of the wide spectrum of choices available, but in the dialects, especially those which for historical reasons have found themselves on the periphery of

*We are grateful to Prof. Christos Tzitzilis for helping us to prepare this paper with valuable comments and suggestions. Of course, all responsibilities rest solely with us.

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the Greek-speaking world and have been influenced by contact with other languages (e.g. Southern Italian and Asia Minor dialects) or have followed their own unique course of development (e.g. Tsakonian), we find considerable variety in terms of both morphological and syntactic characteristics. Here we present an examination of these dialects, emphasizing on the first two issues.

2 Typology of relativizers

Tzitzilis (to appear), in the context of the historical typology of relativizers in the Modern Greek dialects, proposes, regardless of the presence or absence of the head noun, a general schema (see figure 1 below) which is initially based on a binary division between those which originated as inflected pronouns and those which originated as uninflected words (i.e. adverbs of place). The inflected relativizers in their turn may be divided into two groups: simple relativizers, which are derived from a demonstrative or interrogative pronoun, and complex relativizers, which are composed of a relativizing element and an interrogative pronoun.

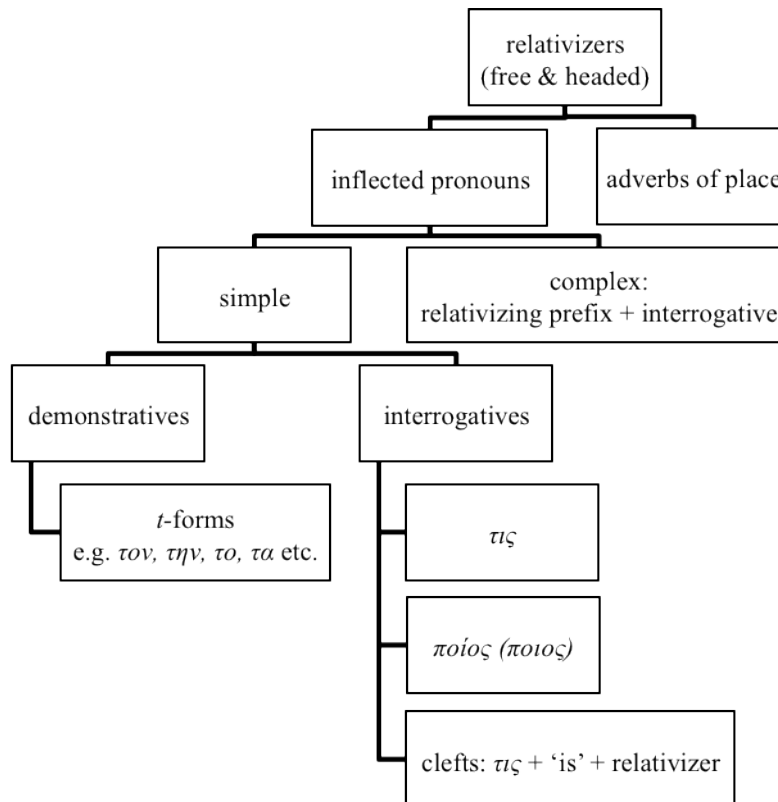


Figure 1. Typological schema of relativizers in MGD (Tzitzilis, to appear)

2.1 Simple relativizers from demonstratives

The only relativizer of demonstrative origin in free and non-free relative clauses is that which is to be identified with the forms of the definite article beginning with τ -. There are many examples in Hellenistic Koine and Medieval Greek, e.g.:

- (1) τὸν χόρτον τὸν λαμβάνετε παρὰ Ἀπειτοῦ
 the grass.M REL.ACC.M.SG you.receive.PL from Apis
 ‘the grass you receive from Apis’
 (P.Oxy. 14, 1678, 15; 3rd c. CE)

- (2) οἱ καβαλλάριδες τοὺς ἐκράτησεν
 the knights REL.ACC.M.PL he.kept
 ‘the knights he took’
 (*Machairas*, 54.37; 15th c. CE)

But, as has often been noted in the literature (e.g. Dieterich, 1970:199, Bakker 1974:96, Manolessou 2004, among others), this form has left few traces in the Modern Greek dialects. Manolessou (2004) claims that this relativizer, as an alternative to an inflected pronoun, disappeared (except in Pontic) because it could not be used for relativization of the subject (masculine and feminine) or in non-restrictive relative clauses, and because it became phonetically and syntactically indistinguishable from the (now preposed) 3rd person clitic pronouns. This view is not adequately supported by the data from the dialects examined here. For example, the demonstrative relativizer has almost disappeared from Tsakonian too, even though this is one of the dialects in which clitic object pronouns remain in postverbal position, in addition to being phonetically and etymologically distinct from the relativizer in question. There are very few examples of this type of relativizer in this dialect, consisting solely of stereotyped free relative clauses, e.g.:

- (3) τὰ ὅμε ζέροντε ὅμε αὐόντε σι¹
 REL not.we.are knowing not.we.are saying them.N
 ‘that which we don’t know we don’t say’
 (Costakis 1987, 3:206)

Furthermore, the demonstrative relativizer is widely used not only in Pontic but also in the Cappadocian and Crimean-Azov dialects (cf. also Nicholas 1998:346, 506-521, who reaches the same conclusion). In all the examples in 4 the markers $\tau\omicron$ and $\tau\alpha$ relativize subjects of both masculine and feminine grammatical gender, in 5 the relative clause is non-restrictive and in 6 both the clauses are free. In both 5 and 6a the two relativizers have the role of masculine and feminine subjects respectively:

- (4) a. εγεῖ τὰ φυλάγνουν γιασαχτζήδε λένε
 there REL they.guard guardians they.say
 ‘those guards who are guarding say’
 (Cappadocian; Dawkins, 1916:424)

¹ Note the etymological difference between the relativizer $\tau\alpha$ and the co-referent personal pronoun $\sigma\iota$.

- b. *του (< το) πέρασιν μήνας*
REL it.passed month
'the month that passed'
(Crimean-Azov; Tzitzilis & Zuravliova, to appear)
- c. *σο κεφάλι του τα ήρτανε τα δουλείες*
on.the head his REL they.came the works
'[he told them] the works that came upon his head' (= 'his sufferings')
(Pontic; *Archeion Pontou (AP)*1:186)
- (5) *εκείν' αελφή τ', το εν σο σανδέχν εμέση τ', baghēρσε*
that sister his REL is in.the box middle of.it she.shouted
'his sister, who was inside the box, shouted'
(Cappadocian; Dawkins, 1916:392)
- (6) a. *στα δεκξιά το βαίν λιαρό έρεται*
to.the right REL he.goes alife he.comes
'whoever goes to the right comes back alive'
(Cappadocian; Dawkins, 1916:414)
- b. *το φτύσω 'κε γλύφω το*
REL I.spit not lick it
'that which I spit I don't lick'
(Pontic; Oikonomidis, 1958:244)
- These data can be interpreted as follows: in reality all that remains of the inflected demonstrative pronoun is the uninflected grammaticalized form *το* (originally neuter singular) or *τα* (originally neuter plural) which is the equivalent of SMG *που*, i.e. it has acquired the status of a "general relative marker" (for the term see Tzitzilis, to appear). Only in two or three fossilized examples, which are very similar to one another and come from metrical texts, do we find preserved in Pontic and Crimean-Azov the accusative feminine form *την*, e.g.:
- (7) a. *εμάεψαν την αγαπό*
they.bewitched REL.ACC.F.SG I.love
'they cast a spell upon the one I love'
(Pontic; Papadopoulos, 1955:67)
- b. *βρε ήρτα να δου την 'γω αγαπού*
hey I.came to see.SBJV REL.ACC.F.SG I love
'I came to see the one I love'
(Crimean-Azov; Černyšova, 1958:48)

Naturally then, *το* and *τα* show a strong tendency to become interchangeable, i.e. there can be no number distinction, as shown by the examples given below: in 8 *τα* relativizes the singular *ψωμιού* and in 9 *το* relativizes the plurals *τα σταφύλια* and *τα μεσέλια* respectively:

- (8) *σερέψανε τα έφαγαν ψωμιού τα πσία*
 they.gathered REL they.ate of.bread the crumbs
 ‘they collected the crumbs of the bread they had eaten’
 (Cappadocian; Dawkins, 1916:400)

- (9) a. *το διλκίς, το δε šυφτάν’ να φάj’ τα σταφύλια,*
 the fox REL not it.gets to eat the grapes

ζάš’ τα αβρίρες
 it.makes them sour.grapes
 ‘the fox, the grapes that he can’t manage to eat, pretends they are sour grapes’
 (Cappadocian; Fosteris & Kesisoglou, 1960:90)

- b. *πε μας τα μεσέlä το εξέρτζ*
 tell.IMP.2SG us the tales REL you.know
 ‘tell us the tales you know’
 (Pontic; Oikonomidis, 1958:246)

A characteristic indicating that the demonstrative relativizer’s lack of the nominative forms *ο, η, οι* has left its mark in these dialects too is the fact that based on our data from Pontic and Crimean-Azov Greek, *το/τα* is not used to relativize [+human] masculines and feminines (as subjects or objects), e.g.:

- (10) **το έρθε / είδα η γαρή*
 REL she.came / I.saw the woman
 ‘the woman who came / who I saw’

Instead, it is used to relativize [–human] nouns of all grammatical genders (see also above, examples 4b and 4c), e.g.:

- (11) a. SUBJ *’ς έναν μαχαλάν τ’ έτον σουμά*
in a neighbourhood REL it.was near
 ‘in a neighbourhood that was nearby’
 (AP 45:99)

as well as [+human] neuters, e.g.:

- (12) a. SUBJ *το παιδίν (ν)το εγλύτωσέν μας*
 the child REL it.saved us
 ‘the child who saved us’
 (AP 7:105)

b. OBJ *το* *κορίτσι* *τ'* *εγάπανεν*
 the girl REL he.loved
 ‘the girl he loved’

(AP 41:56)

This is probably connected to the fact that in Pontic the neuter article has been extended to the nominative case of [–human] masculines and feminines (although only in the plural), e.g. *τα δουλείες* ‘the jobs’, *τα γάμους* ‘the weddings’.

In Pontic, *το* appears even in positions that are low on the accessibility hierarchy of Keenan and Comrie, as shown in the next example, where it relativizes the oblique case:

(13) OBL: *με* *το* *ῥκοινίν* *τ'* *έδεσαν* *εμέν*
 with the rope REL they.tied me
 ‘with the rope that they tied me with’

(AP 15:160)

Similarly, the ability of *το/τα* in Cappadocian to relativize [+human] subjects is not unconnected with the fact that homonymous forms of the nominative case of the definite article may be used for masculine and feminine [+human] nouns in this dialect, e.g. *το γιασαχτή* - *τα γιασαχτήδε* ‘the guard - the guards’ (see also Nicholas 1998:512, who links the prevalence of *το* in Cappadocian with the nominal participle of Turkish, and Janse 1999:460, who considers it a nominalizer that renders the Turkish relative participle).

In this dialect too it is able to relativize roles that are low on the hierarchy (i.e. indirect object, oblique case etc.), e.g.:

(14) a. I.OBJ: *έρεται* *ς* *το* *δώκεν* *τα* *πρόβατα* *το* *πιττικό*
 he.comes to REL he.gave the sheep the shepard
 ‘he comes to the shepherd who (=to whom) he gave the sheep’

(Mavrohalividis & Kesisoglou, 1960:204)

b. OBL: *εκού* *δο* *λούστα* *δο* *λερό*
 there REL I.bathed the water
 ‘that water which I washed with’

(Kesisoglou, 1951:158)

The conclusion reached through the examination of *το/τα* is that the demonstrative relativizer remains in use in the Asia Minor dialects, but only as an uninflected form; in Cappadocian it has been generalized as the only, uninflected option (except for in Northern Cappadocian, where we mainly find *(ο)που* (see section 2.3)), while in Pontic it appears to have survived alongside its competitor *που* because in this dialect it was used for marking animacy, i.e. [–human] [± neuter] or [+neuter] [±human] nouns.

2.1 Simple relativizers from interrogatives

As already mentioned, the simple inflected relative pronouns also have their origins in interrogative pronouns, in this case *τις* and *ποιος*. Also to be included in this category are the products of the grammaticalization of cleft constructions with the interrogative pronoun *τις*, the

copula, and one of the relatives *το* or *που*, e.g. *τι είναι το* > Pont. *ντο*, *τις είναι που* > Pont. (Oinoe) *τῆμου* etc. Schematically:

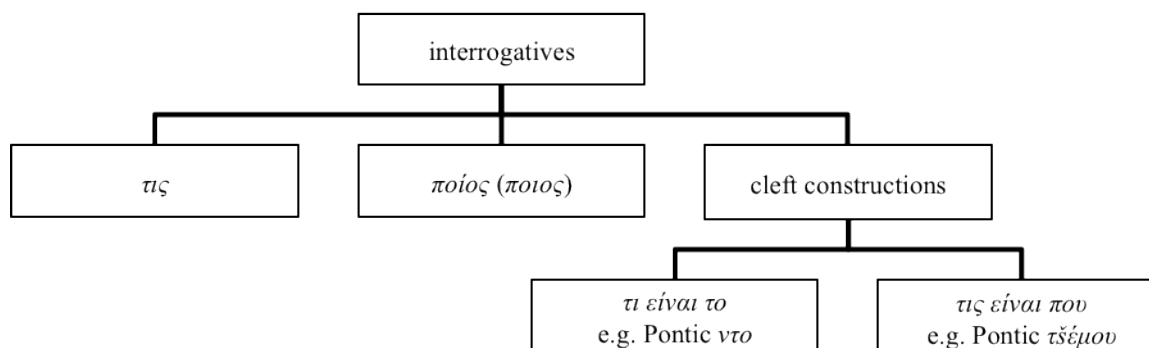


Figure 2. Typological schema of relatives from interrogatives

We will not discuss clefts further, except to observe that *ντο* has merged with *το* (see, for example 12a; cf. Drettas 1997:351 and Nicholas 1998:514, note 13) and, with the same constraints discussed above with regard to *το* (i.e. subjects must be animate neuters, as in 15a below, or inanimate nouns of all genders), it extends even to syntactic roles that are very low on the Keenan-Comrie scale (i.e. genitive possessives, as in 15b), e.g.:

- (15) a. SUBJ: *το μωρό ντ' ούκ εδόκε τ' άλλο φαεί*
 the child REL not it.gave the other food
 'the child that didn't give food to the other one'

(AP 3:102)

- b.GEN: *το κορίτσο' (ν)το έχη' απάν' ση τῆξμέ τον κάντρον αθε*
 the girl that it.has up in.the fountain the picture her
 'the girl whose picture is above the spring'

(AP 3:89)

2.1.1 The case of *τις*

Τις is not used at all in Tsakonian, Cappadocian or Pharasiot. In Pontic, by contrast, it is used even in restrictive relative clauses as a manifestation of the strategy of using an inflected pronoun as opposed to the uninflected relativizers *που* and *το*, and indeed extends to positions that are very low on the accessibility hierarchy:

- (16) a. SUBJ: *τσι δουλεύ' άρθωπον πάντα κερδεμένος εν*
 REL.NOM he.works man always won.PTCP he.is
 'the person who works always wins'

(Oikonomidis, 1958:247)

- b.OBJ: *τινάν κατηγορείς τσοι νυφάδες*
 REL.ACC you.blame the daughters.in.law
 'the daughters-in-law you blame'

(Oikonomidis, 1958:244)

c) I.OBJ: *η βροθάκα τίναν εδώκαμε τη θάγατέραν εμουν*
 the frog REL.ACC we.gave the daughter ours
 ‘the frog to which we gave our daughter’

(AP 16:105)

d) GEN: *ετοπλάεμεν τ’ αγούρτζ τινός έχτισεν τ’ οσπίτᾱ*
 he.gathered the young.men REL.GEN built the houses
 ‘he gathered together the men whose houses he had built’

(AP 7:246)

As can be seen from the examples in (16), the types *τσι*, *τινάν* (*τίναν*), *τινός* are used exclusively for [+animate] nouns (see also Drettas, 1997:359-360, 364) and have become neutralized with regard to number and gender. This shows that the pronoun in question is in the process of developing into an uninflected relativizer. This cannot be the neuter form, as seen previously in the case of *το/τα*, because it would not agree with the characteristic of animacy that is relativized by this particular pronoun. Therefore, the prevailing form, and the best choice for becoming a general relative marker, would be the masculine / feminine accusative *τινάν* (*τίναν*) as shown in the following example, where it relativizes the head *χῆρον* as a subject:

(17) *να δίν’νεν ατην είναν χῆρον τινάν εθέλνεν ατέ*
 to he.was.giving her a widower.ACC REL he.was.wanting her
 ‘[her father] would give her to a widower who wanted her’

(AP 45:96)

The uninflected relative marker *τινάν* (*τίναν*) in (17) is rare in Pontic, but, according to Tzitzilis and Zuravliova (to appear), it is usual in the Crimean-Azov dialect (apart from the Urzufe-Yalta subdialect), where it is used for all syntactic roles as a relativizer for [+animate] heads:

(18) SUBJ: *ας τα θιγούς τίνα κάθανταν απάς του Ολύμπ*
 from the gods REL they.were.sitting on of.the Olympus
 ‘from the gods who sat on Mount Olympus’

(Tzitzilis and Zuravliova, to appear)

In this dialect, the only trace that remains of the earlier situation is the rare use of the nominative *τις* as a relativizer for [+animate] subjects:

(19) *ένα παιδίτς τις πράτζιν όνιμα Γιούρα*
 a little-child REL he.was.carrying name Yura
 ‘a little child who bore the name Yura’

(Tzitzilis and Zuravliova, to appear)

It is evident that in Pontic and in the Urzuf-Yalta subdialect of Crimean-Azof Greek the uninflected *τινάβ* (*τίνα(ν)*) did not become established due to the generalization of the competing form *που* (see 2.3 below).

Let us now examine the corresponding paradigms from the Southern Italian Greek dialect of Calabria, based on the examples in Rohlf's (1950:120):

- (20) a. SUBJ: *o ándra ti írte*
the man REL he.came
‘the man who came’
- b.OBJ: *o ándra ti ívra*
the man REL I.found
‘the man I found’
- c. I.OBJ: *o áθrepo ti tu éδika tin éga*
the man REL RESCL I.gave the goat
‘the man I gave the goat to’
(RESCL = resumptive clitic: ‘to him’)
- d. OBL: *ta peδía me tíno eplátezze*
the children with REL.ACC he.talked
‘the children he talked to’
- e. GEN: *o ándra ti tu xórasa to spíti*
the man REL RESCL I.bought the house
‘the man whose house I bought’

The marker *τι* which relativizes all the above syntactic functions (subject, object (direct and indirect), genitive possessive) is, most probably, not derived from the relativizer *ό,τι* of the Hellenistic Koine, as proposed by Pernot (1946, 2:231) and accepted by Taibbi and Caracausi (1959:1xxvii), Rohlf's (1964:372), and Nicholas (1998:524), but rather from the interrogative *τις*, as proposed by Kapsomenos (1953:334). This interpretation is confirmed by evidence from medieval Southern Italian Greek, as shown by Katsogiannou & Tzitzilis (to appear), where *τις* is indeed attested as a relativizer:

- (21) *της μεγάλης εκκλησίας του Σωτήρος τις ανοικοδομήθη*
of.the big church of.the Saviour REL was.built
‘of the big church of the Saviour which was built [...]’

(Cusa, 618· 1146 CE).

The problem with the typology of Southern Italian Greek relatives concerns the oblique case *με τίνο* (20d), inasmuch as this represents a change of strategy with the use of an inflected pronoun: *τίνο* is the accusative form for both singular and plural and for all genders, cf. Pontic and Crimean-Azof *τίνα*. Although this strategy is justified crosslinguistically for positions that are low on the accessibility hierarchy (see e.g. Maxwell, 1982; Manolessou, 2004), it is

unexpected from a theoretical point of view that in this position we should find an interruption in the strategy of using an uninflected relativizer + resumptive clitic, which is used for the relativization of indirect objects (20c), and is subsequently resumed for the relativization of genitive possessives (20e). But of course this inconsistency could be the result of insufficient available material.

The use of the inflected *τις* in free relative clauses is also widespread in the dialects examined here (examples 22-24 below), although in Pontic the nominative form (*τις*) is rare and the genitive non-existent, e.g.:

(22) Pontic:

- a. *τις* *εχωρεί*
REL.NOM he.proceeds
'whoever proceeds'

(Oikonomidis, 1958:247)

- b. *τίναν* *πουλείς* *με* *το* *δουκάλ'* *μη* *δίδς* *ατον*
REL.ACC you.sell me the bridle don't give to.him
'whoever you sell me to don't give him the bridle'

(Oikonomidis, 1958:247)

- c. *ο* *χορτλάγιν* *φάνθετ'* *σην* *ανθρώπς* *και* *ίλλε*
the vampire he.appears to.the men and especially

σίναν (< *εις τίναν*) *φοβάτεν*
to.REL.ACC is.afraid
'the vampire appears to people, and especially to whoever is afraid'

(AP 26:258)

(23) Crimean-Azov Greek:

- a. *ατός* *η* *dunja* *μαθέν* *τυς* *pulá* *μαθέν*
he the world he.learns REL.NOM many he.learns
'whoever learns a lot, gets to know the world'

(Πιρνέξου Αστρου, 3)

- b. *gharípka* *astu* *zísu* *an* *týna* *aghapí*
in.poverty let I.live with REL.ACC I.love
'let me live in poverty with the one I love'

(Πιρνέξου Αστρου, 3)

(24) Southern Italian:

- a. *τις* *πάει* *ασσ'* *αδεία* *πάει* *καλά*
REL.NOM he.goes from slowly he.goes well
'whoever goes slowly goes well'

(Karanastasis, 1992, 5:151)

- b. *agápa tíno ttéli*
 love.IMP REL.ACC you.want
 ‘love whoever you want’

(Rohlf, 1950:121)

- c. *ímme lárge ázze tínon garáo*
 I.am far from REL.ACC I.love
 ‘I am far from the one I love’

(Rohlf, 1950:121)

2.1.2 The case of *ποιός*

An examination of the relativizer *ποιός* (*ποιος*) leads us to similar conclusions to those presented above in the case of *τις*: it is inflected as a free relativizer but uninflected as a bound relativizer and, in the Asia Minor dialects, is involved in the marking of animacy. In the examples in 25 and 26 below, *ποιός* (*ποιος*) is inflected and non-headed:

(25) Pontic:

- a. *ποιός θέλ’ έρται μετ’ εμέν*
 REL.NOM he.wants he.comes with me
 ‘whoever wants to comes with me’

(Oikonomidis, 1958:244)

- b. *ποιός τον θώρησε λέγινε ατός Χριστός ένι*
 REL.NOM him he.saw was.saying he Christ he.is
 ‘whoever saw him said “he is like Christ”’

(AP 1:188)

(26) Southern Italian:

- a. *ποίο σε κανουνάει τον γαιρό χχάνει*
 REL.NOM you he.looks the time he.wastes
 ‘whoever looks at you is wasting his time’

(Karanastasis, 1991, 4:237)

- b. *επιάνναϊ αῤῥε ποία εθέλαι*
 they.were.catching from REL.ACC.PL they.wanted
 ‘they were taking from whichever one they wanted’

(Karanastasis, 1991, 4:237)

It should be noted that based on the material we have examined we have not been able to confirm the presence in Pontic of forms other than the nominative *ποιός* (*ποιος*), although such forms are given in the grammars of Papadopoulos (1955:68) and Oikonomidis (1958:244). This pronoun also appears to be completely absent from Crimean-Azov Greek in the role of a free relativizer.

The same marginal functionality applies to Pontic headed *ποιος*, which relativizes only pronominal subjects; in the whole sample we found only the three examples given below:

- (27) a. *εκείν' ποιος* *είπαν* *ατο*
 those REL.NOM they.said it
 'those who said it'
 (Oikonomidis, 1958:244)
- b. *όλ' ποιος* *είν'* *σιμά, θα* *αχουλλανεύνε*
 all REL.NOM they.are near will they.be.advised
 'all those who are close by will start to think sensibly'
 (Oikonomidis, 1958:244)
- c. *όλ' ποιος* *έκουαν* *ατο* *έτρεχαν* *εκεί*
 all REL.NOM they.were.hearing it they.were.running there
 'all those who heard it ran there'
 (AP 16:98)

Like *τις*, Pontic *ποιος* is associated with [+animate] referents, which might be the reason why its use has not prevailed: it was redundant. Interestingly, the form *ποιος* in (27), although originally a nominative singular, has become neutralized with regard to number and, probably, gender. In other words it shows all the signs of an ongoing process of demorphologization in a way comparable with the headed accusative *τινάν* in the same dialect (cf. examples 16 b and c above).

In contrast, in Crimean-Azov Greek, this pronoun, grammaticalized in the form *πούγιο* (neuter sg.) and *πούγια* (neuter pl.), is said by Tzitzilis and Zouravliova (to appear) to have taken on the relativization of syntactic roles for [–animate] heads in bound relative clauses, e.g.:

- (28) a. *τουν πάτου πούγιου* *δώκαν* *του* *μας* *Ρουσς*
 the land REL.SG they.gave it to.us Russians
 'the land which the Russians gave us'
 (Tzitzilis & Zuravliova, to appear)
- b. *αγόραζιν* *εφimeridis* *πίγια* *sorívinda* *pes* *δάνtut tu vivlioθίki*
 he.was.buying newspapers REL.PL were inside this the library
 'he was buying the newspapers which were in this library'
 (Πιρνέξου Αστρου, 3)

The markers *πούγιο* and *πούγια* are in opposition to *τις*, which is [+animate] and [±bound], and for this reason their usage has become established here but not in Pontic.

In Southern Italian Greek, *ποίο*, within the framework of the same inflected pronoun strategy that we find in the case of *τις* (cf. example 20d), appears only in positions very low on the accessibility hierarchy (i.e. relativizing the role of genitive possessives) and evidently constitutes a calque of the Italian *il quale*, as Rohlfs correctly observes:

- (29) GEN: *i jinéka ázze* *πία* *ivra* *tom bátre*
 the woman from REL.ACC.FEM.SG I.found the father
 'the woman whose father I met'
 (Rohlfs, 1950:120)

2.2 Relativizers of mixed origin

The richest category in our sample is that of inflected relativizers that originate from the combination of a relativizing morpheme and the interrogative pronoun *τις* or *ποιός*.

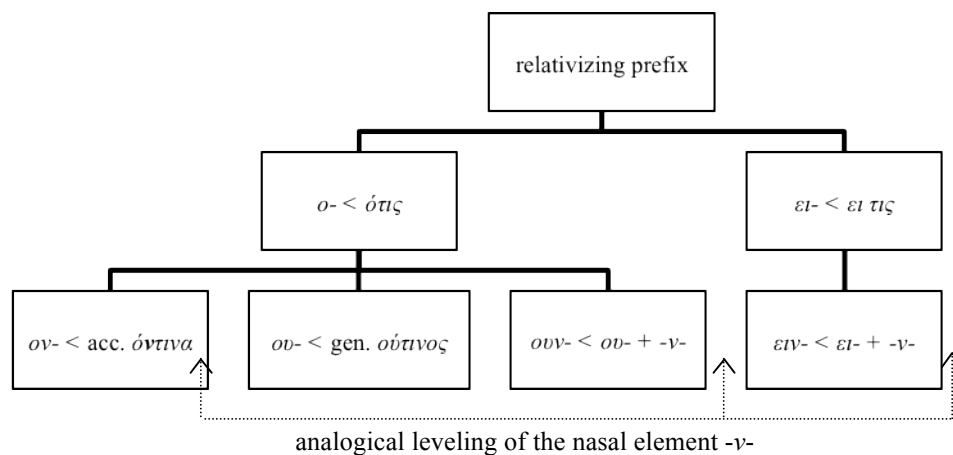


Figure 3. Typological schema of complex relativizers

As shown in figure 3, these relativizing morphemes are, according to Tzitzilis (to appear):

a) the *ο-* of the relative pronoun *ότις*, which also has the allomorphs *ον-* < acc. *όντινα*, *ου-* < gen. *ούτινος*, and *ουυ-*, showing generalization of the nasal element, cf. medieval Greek (Cypriot) *μποίος* (*Machairas*, 114.21). These elements were fossilized, became independent and were generalized when the first part of the complex pronoun ceased to be inflected.

b) *ει-*, deriving from the conditional conjunction *εί*, which was already being used in the Hellenistic Koine to form the indefinite relative pronoun *είτις* (Ljungvik, 1932:10), e.g. *ει τις έχει ώτα ακούειν, ακουέτω* ‘whoever has ears to hear, let them hear’. There is also the form *είν-*, showing, again, generalization of the nasal element.

As shown in table 1 below, this typology is exemplified most fully in Pontic and in the Asia Minor dialects more generally. In Tsakonian there are quite a few examples, while in Southern Italian and Crimean-Azov Greek the complex pronouns, including the very common *όποιος*, are completely absent.

	<i>τις</i>	<i>ποιος</i>	Pontic		Cappadocian		Pharasiot		Tsakonian	
I	<i>ο-τις</i>	<i>ο-ποιος</i>	√	√	√	√	√	–	√	√
II	* <i>ον-τις</i>	<i>ο-μποιος</i>	–	√	–	–	√	–	–	√
III	<i>ου-τις</i>	<i>ου-ποιος</i>	√	√	–	–	–	–	–	–
IV	<i>ουυ-τις</i>	<i>ουμ-ποιος</i>	√	√	–	–	–	–	–	–
V	<i>ει-τις</i>	<i>ει-ποιος</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
VI	<i>ειυ-τις</i>	<i>ειμ-ποιος</i>	√	√	–	–	–	–	–	–

Table 1. Distribution of complex pronouns

In 30 we have listed the examples of the various forms of the complex pronouns presented in the table:

(30) I. *ο-τις, ο-ποιος*

a. Pontic:

- i. *ό-τζ να παίρ'*
REL-REL.NOM to take
'whoever will take'

(Oikonomidis, 1958:246)

- ii. *'ς ό-τινος κιφάλ' επέγιναν*
to REL-REL.GEN head fell.on
'whoever's head they fell on'

(Oikonomidis, 1958:246)

- iii. *ό-σουνους² τα κορίτς' θωρήτε σ' όρωμά σας*
REL-to.REL.GEN the girls you.see to.the dream yours
'whoever's daughters you see in your dream'

(AP 1:185)

- iv. *ό-τινα ρούζ' ας εν τ' εκεινού*
REL-REL.ACC falls let it.be of.the his
'whoever it falls to, let it be his'

(AP, 3:86)

- v. *ό-ποιος θέλ' ας έρται*
REL-REL.NOM he.wants let come
'whoever wants to, let him come'

(Oikonomidis, 1958:245)

- vi. *ό-ποιονος θέλτς ας έν*
REL-REL.GEN you.want let be
'let it be whoever's you want'

(Oikonomidis, 1958:245)

- vii. *ό-ποιωनों αρνίων το μαλλίν εν καλόν κράτῆτο*
REL-REL.GEN.PL lambs.GEN the wool is good keep.IMP.it
'whichever lambs' wool is good, keep it'

(Oikonomidis, 1958:245)

² *εις τίνος > στίνος > ό-στινος > όσουνους, with prefixing of reinforcing relative marker *ο-* and normal change *st* > *s*.

b. Cappadocian:

- i. *ό-τσι* κ' έρχ / ό-τις έρεται
 REL-REL.NOM and come / REL-REL.NOM he.comes
 'whoever comes'

(Dawkins, 1916:304 / 354)

- ii. *ό-σ-τινος³* κιφάλ κόνδανεν,
 REL-to-REL.GEN head was.doing.droppings
 'whoever's head it did its droppings on'

(Dawkins, 1916:424)

- iii. *ό-τσινα* να πιάσουμ'
 REL-REL.ACC to we.catch
 'whoever we catch, we will find him a bride'

(Fosteris and Kesisoglou, 1960:102)

- iv. *ό-ποιος* το παίρ, εκείνο είναι εκουής
 REL-REL.NOM it take he is ox.driver
 'whoever takes it, he is the ox-driver'

(Dawkins, 1916:424)

- v. *ό-πσο* ξέρ' να ξκώσεις
 REL-REL.ACC stone to you.lift
 'whichever stone you lift, you find him underneath'

(Mavrohalividis and Kesisoglou, 1960:174)

c) Pharasiot:

- ό-τις* πίνει βερσεέ κρασί, μεθά δύο φορέδες
 REL-REL.NOM he.drinks on.credit wine gets.drunk two times
 'whoever drinks wine on credit gets drunk twice'

(Loukopoulos and Loukatos, 1951:18)

d) Tsakonian:

- i. *ό-τσ^hιρε (<ό-τις)* μούου 'ταν στο χωρίο, θωρώ 'τα σ'
 REL-REL.NOM coming was to.the village seeing was them
 'whoever came to the village saw them'

(Costakis, 1986 2:371)

- ii. *ό-τσ^hουνε (<ό-τινος)* ένι α τσ^hία
 REL-REL.GEN is the pickaxe
 'whoever's pickaxe this is, let him come and get it'

(Costakis, 1999:87)

³ *εις τίνος > στίνος > ό-στινος, with prefixing of reinforcing relative marker *ο-*.

iii. *ό-τσ^hιρε* *να* *θωράι*
 REL-REL.ACC to they.see
 ‘whoever they see’
 (Costakis, 1951:177)

iv. *ό-per* (< *όποιος*) *aramái* *císu* *θα* *i* *θίsome*
 REL-REL.NOM gets.left behindwill her we.slaughter
 ‘whoever gets left behind, we will slaughter her’
 (Liosis, 2007)

v. *ό-κοια* (< *όποια*) *γουναίκα* *ενι* *θέλα,* *να* *μόλει*
 REL-REL.NOM.F woman is wanting to come
 ‘whichever woman wants to, let her come’
 (Costakis, 1986 2:366)

II. *ον-τις, ομ-ποιος

a) Pontic:

i. *όμ-ποιος* *λούσκειται* *δί’* *έναν* *γορόš*
 REL-REL.NOM he.washes.himself he.gives a ghrosi
 ‘whoever washes himself gives a coin’
 (Athanasiadis, 1977:52)

ii. *όμ-ποιον* *αγαπά* *ας* *παίρ’*
 REL-REL.ACC she.loves let take
 ‘let her marry whoever she loves’
 (Oikonomidis, 1958:245)

b) Pharasiot:

i. *όν-δουνους* (< *όν-τινος*) *θύρι* *’α* *δώσ’*
 REL-REL.GEN door to you.knock
 ‘whoever’s door you knock on’
 (Loukopoulos & Loukatos, 1951:62)

ii. *ον-σέ-τινα*⁴ *’α* *νοίξεις* *γυί* *’α* *νοίζουν* *τšαι το σον*
 REL-to-REL.ACC to open pit will open and the yours
 ‘whoever you dig a pit for, they will dig yours too’
 (Louk.-Louk., 1951:31)

c) Tsakonian:

όμ-ποιερ *ε* *θέου* *ύο* *ενι* *κίνου*
 REL-REL.NOM is wanting water is drinking
 ‘whoever wants water, drinks’
 (Costakis, 1986 2:366)

⁴ Cf. Pontic *όσοννους* (30, a, iii) and Cappadocian *όστινος* (30, b, ii), which are formed through the same process of affixing the preposition *εις* (> *σ(ε)*) between the two relativizing elements, *ο-* and *τις*.

III) ου-τις, ου-ποιος (cf. medieval *ούτι* (*Kriaras's Dictionary (KD)*, 5:341, entry *είτι*))

a) Pontic:

- i. *και εκεί* *ού-τσ-ου* (< *ούτις ου*⁵) *πάαινε άλλου* *'κι* *γυρίζινε*
 and there REL-REL.NOM-REL he.was.going more not was.coming
 'and whoever went there didn't come back again'
 (Athnasiadis, 1977:54)

- ii. *ού-τ'* *εποίκε* *φαιϊάν* *'κ* *εγένισε*
 REL-REL.ACC.N she.made foods not was.done
 'whatever food she made, it never cooked properly'
 (Athnasiadis, 1977:54)

No examples of *ού-ποιος*, but this form is found in Papadopoulos's (1961) dictionary, entry *όποιος*.

IV) ουν-τις, ουμ-ποιος

Pontic:

- i. *ούν-τσ-αν* (< *ούντις αν*) *εξέρει* *γράμματα,* *πάντα τιμούν ατον*
 REL-REL.NOM-MPRT he.knows letters always honour him
 'whoever knows letters, they always honour him' (MPRT = modal particle)
 (Oikonomidis, 1958:246)

- ii. *ας* *εντάμε* *ούν-τάν* (< *ουντι αν*) *λέει* *μασε*
 let we.do REL-REL.ACC.N.MPRT he.says us
 'let's do what he tells us'
 (Athnasiadis, 1977:54)

- iii. *ούμ-ποιος* *έρχουντον* *έλεγεν*
 REL-REL.NOM was.coming she.was.saying
 'whoever came, she said'
 (AP 7:231)

V) ει-τις, ει-ποιος

There are no examples in our sample, but cf. medieval *είτις* and *είτι(ν)*⁶.

VI) ειν-τις, ειμ-ποιος

Pontic:

- i. *είν-τσ-αν* (< *ειντιςαν*) *δουλεύ'*, *πεινασμένος* *'κι* *απομέν'*
 REL-REL.NOM-MPRT he.works hungry not gets.left
 'whoever works does not go hungry'
 (Oikonomidis, 1958:246)

⁵ For the uninflected relative marker *ου* see below, section 2.3.

⁶ e.g. *να* *κονταροκτυπήσουσιν* *και* *εί-τις* *να* *νικήση*
 to fight and REL-REL.NOM MPRT wins
 'let them fight a duel, and whoever wins'

(*Imperios* (Legrand, 1880), 359)

- ii. *είν-τινος* *γυναικός* *εβγαίν'* *τ'* *όνομαν*
 REL.REL.GEN woman's gets.out the name
 'whichever woman gets a bad reputation'
 (Oikonomidis, 1958:246)
- iii. *είν-τιναν* *συνό* *μ'* *ελέπς*
 REL-REL.ACC relative mine you.see
 'whichever relative of mine you see'
 (Oikonomidis, 1958:246)
- iv. *είμ-ποιος* *έν* *παλληκάρ'* *ας* *έρται* *εμπροστά*
 REL-REL.NOM is brave let he.comes forward
 'whoever is strong and brave, let him come forward'
 (Oikonomidis, 1958:245)
- v. *είμ-ποιωνών* *το* *φαείν* *εν* *ολίγον*
 REL-REL.GEN.PL the food is not.enough
 'whoever's food is not enough, let them take more'
 (Oikonomidis, 1958:245)
- vi. *έπαρ'* *είμ-ποιον* *νύφεν* *αγαπάς*
 you.take REL-REL.ACC.M bride you.love
 'take whichever bride you love'
 (Oikonomidis, 1958:245)

As can be seen from the examples, all the complex relativizers are free and remain inflected, but appear with the same form in the plural (except for the those which have the interrogative *ποιος* as their second component: cf. 30, I, a, vii and 30, VI, v), e.g.:

- (31) *είν-τσ-αν* *γυναίκ'* *είν'* *έμορφ-οι*
 REL-REL.NOM.MPRT women are beautiful-PL
 'whichever women are beautiful'
 (Pontic; Oikonomidis, 1958:246)

In Pontic the above typology also applies to spatial, quantitative, qualitative and manner relatives:

	place	quality	quantity	manner
ο-	όπου	ότιλεγος	όποσος	όπως
ον-	—	—	όμποσος	όμπως
ου-	ούπου ⁷	ούτιλογος	—	—
ουν-	ούμπου	ούντιλογος	—	—
ει-	—	—	—	—
ειν-	είμπαν (<ειν-πη αν)	είντιλεγος	—	είμπως

Table 2. Complex relatives of place, quality, quantity, and manner

In reality, all the complex relativizers are nothing other than the products of reinforcement of the relativizing force of the simple *τις* and *ποιος*, which, as we have seen, are limited in their usage as free relatives, at least in Pontic. None of the complex relativizers is used in headed restrictive relative clauses. In the whole Pontic sample there is only one example that could be considered as such:

- (32) OBL: τ' αξινάρ' με το-ποιόν επελέκανες ετσακώθεν
 the axe with REL-REL.ACC you.were.chopping broke
 'the axe that you were chopping with broke'

(Athasiasidis, 1977: 53)

Here the form *τοποιόν* (note the relativizing first component which is here to be identified with the neuter article / demonstrative relativizer *το*) relativizes the oblique case, i.e. once again it concerns a position that is very low on the accessibility hierarchy. In two further examples, the head is a demonstrative or indefinite pronoun, which makes the relative clause semantically free (cf. similar constructions with simple *ποιος* in ex. 27):

- (33) a. ας δί' ένα παρά εκείνον ό-ποιος φέρ' τη διαταγή
 let give one coin to.him REL-REL.NOM he.carries the order
 'let him give a coin to the one who brings the order'

(AP 3:120)

- b. εφίνισκανε όλους ού-τσ-ου εθέλεινανε να επάγεινανε σο σπίτινατουνα
 they.let all REL-REL.NOM-REL they.wanted to go to.the.house.their
 'they let all those who wanted go to their house'

(AP 8:208)

⁷ cf. Medieval *ουπού* (KD, 14; entry *όπου*).

In another two examples the clause is headed but non-restrictive:

- (34) a. *ο κουμπάρος ατ', το δανεικό ό-ποιος εδώκε*
 the best.man his the loan REL-REL.NOM gave
 'his best man, who had given the loan'

(AP 3:87)

- b. *τα καμήλας επέμενανε εκείνονα τον εφτωχο, ο-ποιός*
 the camels were.left that the poor REL-REL.NOM
έστεκ απάν' σο δρόμο
 stood on to road

'the camels were left to that poor man, who was standing in the road'

(AP 3:113)

2.3 Relativizers from adverbs of place

The final source of relative markers is to be found in the uninflected spatial adverbs (*ό*)*που* and (*ό*)*πη*. Tzitzilis (to appear) also includes in this category the Pharasiot and Silliot relativizer *τ(ου)*, as well as *ου*, which derives from the Ancient Greek spatial adverb *ού* and which appears in Medieval Pontic, as shown in 35:

- (35) *ακριβά πράγματα ου ου φθείρονται*
 expensive things REL not are.worn
 'expensive things which do not become worn'

(Book of the High Porte 31b, 3d:)

It is preserved as a suffix in the modern Pontic form *ούτσ-ου* (< *ούτις ου*, cf. examples 30 III, a, i, and 33b), where it plays a reinforcing role.

The Pharasiot and Silliot form *του* cannot have its origin in the relative / definite article, since the neuter article is *το*, not *τι*. Therefore, *του* derives from *ου* with the analogical addition of *τ-* (Tzitzilis, to appear), or, less likely, is the result of mixing *το* and *που*. Interestingly, there is one example from a papyrus, which is remarkably similar to the situation in Pharasiot and Silliot (cf. examples 37, II and V below), both in terms of syntax and morphology:

- (36) *πέμψω δε σοι άργύριον εάν αντιπέμψης μοι*
 I.will.sent but to.you silver if you.resend to.me
 'but I will send you some money if you send me back'

του ποιήσας μοι όθονίδι-α
 REL you.made for.me linen.cloth-N.PL
 the linen cloths you sewed for me'

(P.Oxy. 20, 2273, 15-16; 3rd c. CE; cited in Kriki, 2013:310)

The relative clause in (30) is right-headed and, as Kriki observes, there is no morphological agreement of number and gender between the head *όθονίδια* (neuter plural) and the marker *του*. This allows us to hypothesize on the adverbial nature of the latter. The early appearance of such constructions seems to undermine the prevailing view among researchers that typical Asia Minor

and especially Cappadocian and Pharasiot prenominal relative clauses are just the result of heavy structural borrowing from Turkish (e.g. Dawkins, 1916:200, Thomason and Kaufmann, 1988: 221, Thomason 2001:74, among others). As Janse (1999:457) puts it, there is a crucial difference between the Cappadocian (and Pharasiot) relative clauses, at least in the “normal” cases, and their Turkish equivalent: since the Greek verb-second order is retained inside the relative clause (cf. example 37, II, b), “Cappadocian word order is calqued on the Turkish only as far as the order of the relative [clause] and its antecedent is concerned, i.e. on the level of noun phrase”. In our view, it is likely that under the influence of the Turkish word order an already existing tendency was eventually generalized (cf. also Tzitzilis, to appear).

Also to be included in this category of adverbial relativizers is the Pharasiot *τῶπου*, which, according to Andriotis (1948:67), derives from the construction *εκεί άπου* (literally: ‘there where’). The overall picture of relativizers of adverbial origin is shown in figure 4:

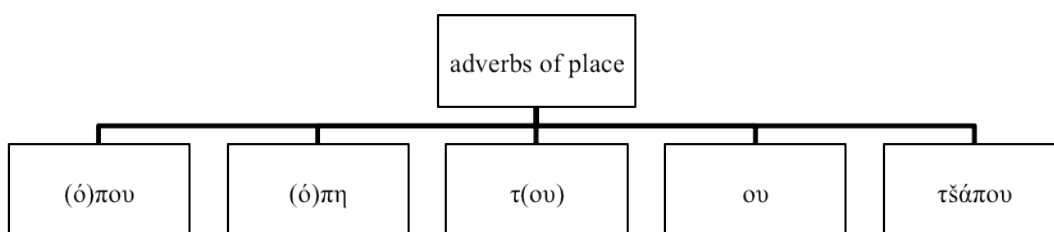


Figure 4. Typological schema of uninflected relativizers

Uninflected relativizers are widely used in the dialects we have examined for both free and headed relative clauses, restrictive and non-restrictive. As regards accessibility, they occur throughout the hierarchy, as shown in the following examples. Again, it is not always certain if the gaps in some positions are the result of insufficient available material, or of restrictions on relativization in positions low on the hierarchy:

(37) I. Pontic *που* (*πη*, *π'*):

- | | | | | |
|------|---|------------------|--|------------------------|
| SUBJ | ↗ | [+human/animate] | a. <i>η γυναίκα π' έρθεv</i>
the woman REL she.came
'the woman who came' | (Oikonomidis 1958:244) |
| | ↘ | [-human/animate] | b. <i>το ρασίv που έσ' ματέv'</i>
the mountain REL it.has mineral
'the mountain that has minerals' | (AP 15:122) |
| OBJ | ↗ | [+human/animate] | c. <i>απ' εκείvτς π' εθαρείς</i>
of those REL you.think
'of those who you think' | (AP 15:199) |
| | ↘ | [-human/animate] | d. <i>το κλαδίv π' επάτνεv</i>
the brach REL he.was.treading.on
'the branch he was treading on' | |

(AP 7:113)

- OBL e. *με τα κλαδιά που εστολίζαμε τα πόρτες*
 with the branches REL were.decorating the doors
 ‘with the branches with which we decorated the doors’
 (AP 8:208)

- GEN f. *η γαρή που 'κ' επίανεν το κερίν ατς*
 the woman REL not was.catching the candle res
 ‘the woman whose candle didn’t light’
 (AP 27:64)

II. Pharasiot *του* and *τσάπου*⁸:

- SUBJ a. *του γενήθη το μαχτσούμι*
 REL it.was.born the baby
 ‘the baby that was born’
 (Dawkins, 1916:492)

- OBJ b. *αΐνιο του ἔνσε ο βασιλός σο μαχτσούμι το γαλίϛ*
 that REL he.stuck the king in.the baby the knife
 ‘that knife that the king stuck into the baby’
 (Dawkins, 1916:494)

- OBL c. *τσάπουμε 'πίταξεσ το φσαχόκ-κο ήφαρα τα*
 REL me you.sent the little.lad I.brought it
 ‘I have brought the little lad you sent me to’
 (Anastasiadis, 1976:177)

III. (Northern) Cappadocian (*ό*)*που*:

- SUBJ a. *του ανθρώπ' όπου πήγεν να πανδρεφτή*
 of.the man's REL he.went to get.married
 ‘of the person who went to get married’
 (Dawkins, 1916:456)

- OBJ b. *το παλάτ' που είδε στ' όρμα τ'*
 the palace REL he.saw in.the dream his
 ‘the palace he saw in his dream’
 (Sarantidis Archelaos, 1899:208)

IV. Crimean-Azov (Urzuf-Yalta) *που*⁹:

- SUBJ a. *as me kljé kuríts jasútsku pu jen dódeka xurn-i*
 let me cry girl young REL is twelve year-NOM.F
 ‘let the young girl who is twelve years old cry for me’

⁸ *τσάπου* relativizes only syntactic roles that are low on the Hierarchy, cf. example c.

⁹ Relativization of the object (animate or not) probably requires the obligatory use of the resumptive pronoun, as in examples b and c.

(Kozmuku Pigaδ, 1994:19)

- OBJ
- [+human/animate]
- b. είδα του νέου που 'ν αγαπήσω
I.saw the young REL RESCL I.love
'I saw the young man who I love'
(Ashla, 1999:40)
- [-human/animate]
- c. τουν λόγου που τουν είπ' συ
the word REL RESCL said you
'the thing you told'
(Ashla, 1999:43)

V. Silliot (κεια) τ(ου):

- SUBJ a. τούτους κα-τ' (< εκειά του) ζέβκι, ρεν του ζέρου
he there-REL he.came.out not him I.know
'the one who came out, I don't know him'
(Costakis, 1968:75)
- OBJ b. αυτό τ' σωρείτ' τ' παιρί
this REL you.see the child
'this child that you see'
(Costakis, 1968:75)
- OBL c. ήβρι τα σεράια κεια-του επί χιζύρης
he.found the palaces there-REL he.said holy.man
'he found the palaces of which the holy man had told him'
(Dawkins, 1916:288)

VI. Southern Italian (Puglia) που¹⁰ (Rohlf's, 1950:120):

- SUBJ a. to šiddí pu aliftái
the dog REL barks
'the dog that barks'
- OBJ b. to spíti pu afórasa
the house REL I.bought
'the house I bought'
- I.OBJ c. o ántrepo pu tu púlisa tin ízza
the man REL RESCL I.sold the goat
'the person I sold the goat to'
- GEN d. cíni pu tos afórasa to spíti
those REL RESCL I.bought the house
'those people whose house I bought'

¹⁰ Obligatory use of the resumptive pronoun for positions lower than the direct object, cf. examples c and d.

- VII. Tsakonian (ό)π^h(η):
- SUBJ a. ο άθρωπο π^h, εκάνε
 the man REL he.came
 ‘the man who came’
 (Liosis, 2007:540)
- OBJ b. έκι π^hη ντ’ επέκα
 that REL you I.told
 ‘the thing I told you’
 (Liosis, 2007:540)
- I.OBJ c. α γυναίκα π^hη νι επέκα
 the woman REL RESCL I.said
 ‘the woman to whom I said’
 (Liosis, 2007:540)
- OBL d. το καμπζί π^h, έκι απόκ^hαλε
 the child REL she.was pregnant
 ‘the child she was pregnant with’
 (Costakis, 1987 3:409)
- GEN e. ο κοντοπίθουλε οπ^hη έκη κιοφτά α Πεντάμορφο τ^hο στρούμα σι
 the dwarf REL she.was slept the Beauty in.the.mattress RESCL
 ‘the dwarf on whose mattress Beauty had slept’
 (Liosis, 2007:540)

2.4 Combined relativizers

One final observation: the complex relativizers are not the only possible means of reinforcing relativization. In the course of our research we have encountered almost every possible combination of simple, complex and uninflected relativizers. In addition to the cases we have already examined (e.g. *ούτσου*, cf. examples 25 III, a, i, and 27b), here we give a few representative examples that show the rich variety of constructions for introducing relative clauses that are available in the Modern Greek dialects:

(38) I) complex + simple relativizer:

- a. όν-δινα-ποίον
 REL-REL.ACC-REL.ACC
 ‘whoever’

(Pharasiot, Andriotis, 1948:58-9),

- b. ότ-τις (< ότι τις)
 REL.N-REL.NOM
 ‘whoever’

(Crimean-Azov, Tzitzilis & Zouravliova (to appear))

II) complex + uninflected:

το-ποιέ πράμα π^h, όνι αναχάρασσούντα
 REL-REL.NOM animal REL not.is chewing
 ‘whichever animal doesn’t chew the cud’

(Tsakonian; Costakis, 1987 3:72)

III) simple + uninflected:

a. *tis-pu* (< *τις + που*) *πάι* *assadía* *επάι* *καλά*
 REL.NOM-REL goes slowly goes well
 ‘whoever goes slowly goes well’

(S. Italian; Rohlfs, 1950:21),

b. *τῆισ-κάν-τ* (< *τις καν του*) *ένι*
 REL.NOM-MPRT-REL he.is
 ‘whoever it may be’

(Silliot; Costakis 1968: 75),

IV) simple + simple:

του ψάρ’ *τουτι* (< *το + τι*) *πιάκα*
 the fish REL-REL.ACC.N I.cought
 ‘the fish that I caught’

(Crimean-Azov; Tzitzilis and Zouravliova (to appear))

V) relativizing prefix + complex:

μ’ *ον-δα-ποίο* (< *ον- + ταποίο*) *μαῖαιρ*’α *φσάκ*’
 with REL-REL-REL.ACC knife to you.slaughter
 ‘with whichever knife you slaughter with’

(Pharasiot; Loukopoulos and Loukatos, 1951:95)

3 Conclusions

This brief examination of the peripheral dialects has demonstrated that they present major differences from SMG. The general rule is that free relatives, except for those that are derived from uninflected forms, remain inflected. In contrast, headed relatives, even those that were originally inflected, generally end up as uninflected forms. Only Pontic and to a certain extent Southern Italian have developed a strategy involving an inflected headed relativizer, which is, however, based on the inflection of *τις*, rather than that of *ο σποίος* as found in SMG. A second point is that animacy has important consequences for the relativization strategies of the Asia Minor dialects, and cannot be ignored in any attempt at a typological categorization of these dialects. Finally, the historical development of the relativizers involves cycles of weakening and reinforcement, which is to be expected from a crosslinguistic and theoretical point of view. However, each dialect has chosen its own materials and mechanisms for the reinforcement of relativization.

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