Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference of Modern Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory
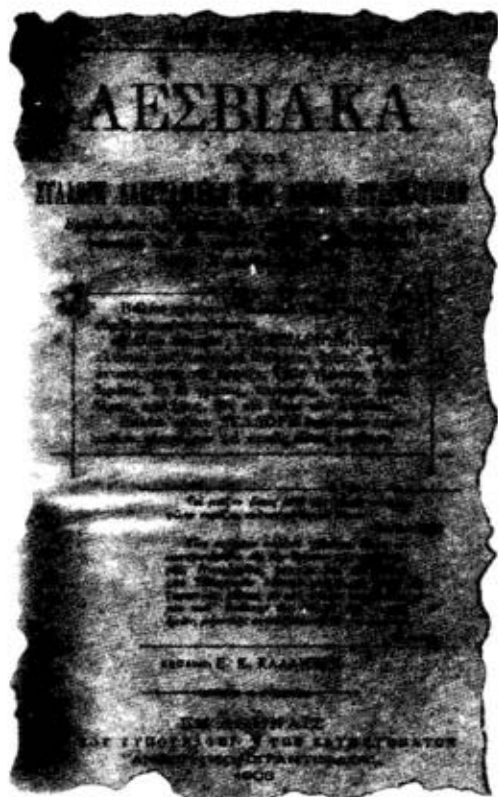
Mytilene, Greece
30 September - 3 October 2004

Edited by:
Mark Janse (Middelburg)
Brian D. Joseph (Columbus, Ohio)
Angela Ralli (Patras)

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Ο τόμος αφιερώνεται στους

Αγγελική Μαλικούτη-Drachman και
Παναγιώτη Κοντό

για την πολύτιμη προσφορά τους στην
Ελληνική Γλωσσολογία και
Διαλεκτολογία

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Preface

The *Second International Conference on Modern Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory* was held at the Archaeological Museum of Mytilene, Greece (Sept. 30 – Oct. 3, 2004). It was hosted by the Prefecture of Lesvos, and chaired by Mark Janse (Roosevelt Academy), Brian D. Joseph (Ohio State University), and Angela Ralli (University of Patras).

The conference brought together experts working on both linguistics and the dialects of Modern Greek, in a variety of topics and orientations. It was held in honour of **Angeliki Malikouti-Drachman** (University of Salzburg) and **Panayotis Kontos** (University of Athens) for their substantial contribution to Greek linguistics and dialectology.

The Scientific Committee wishes to express its gratitude to the invited speakers who so promptly responded to its call, namely, Cleo Condoravdi, Eric Hamp, Angeliki Malikouti-Drachman, Paul Kiparsky, and Panayotis Kontos. It would also like to thank the other speakers for their participation, and understanding to the editorial requirements.

The Scientific Committee is particularly grateful to the members of the Organizing Committee, Clairie Frangoulaki, Athanassia Karra, Maria Mantamadiotou and Dimitra Melissaropoulou, for their most valuable help before and during the conference. A special 'thank you' is due to Dimitra Melissaropoulou for her significant support to the preparation of this volume.

Last, but not least, the Scientific Committee wishes to extend its sincerest thanks to the Sponsors, whose generous financial support made both the Conference and the publication of this volume possible:

- Ministry of Culture
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The Permanent Scientific Committee

Χαιρετισμός του Νομάρχη Λέσβου,
κ. Παύλου Βογιατζή

Κυρίες και κύριοι,

Αποτελεί ιδιαίτερη τιμή και χαρά για εμένα η παρουσία μου στο *2ο* *Διεθνές Συνέδριο Νεοελληνικών Διαλέκτων και Γλωσσολογικής Θεωρίας*. Αισθάνομαι την υποχρέωση να συγχαρώ θερμά τους διοργανωτές και να καλωσορίσω στον όμορφο τόπο μας τους διακεκριμένους Έλληνες και ξένους γλωσσολόγους που συμμετέχουν σ' αυτό. Θα παρακολουθήσω με μεγάλη προσοχή τις εξαιρετικά ενδιαφέρουσες εισηγήσεις τους.

Η γλώσσα, βασικό χαρακτηριστικό του ανθρώπου, αποτελεί κύριο όργανο επικοινωνίας, η ανάπτυξη του οποίου άλλαξε την πορεία του ανθρώπου μέσα στον κόσμο και επέτρεψε την ύπαρξη κοινωνίας και πολιτισμού. Εξίσου σημαντική είναι και η ύπαρξη τοπικών διαλέκτων. Στον ελλαδικό χώρο η Ελληνική γλώσσα, αν και παρέμεινε ενιαία από την αρχαιότητα, ποτέ δεν μιλήθηκε ενιαία διαμορφώνοντας ποικίλες παραλλαγές, διαλέκτους και ιδιώματα. Παρά την ιδιαίτερή τους σημασία, οι τοπικές διαφοροποιήσεις της Ελληνικής γλώσσας τείνουν να εξαλειφθούν, να αλλοιωθούν ή να αφομοιωθούν από την Κοινή Νέα Ελληνική. Δεδομένης της τεράστιας πολιτιστικής τους αξίας, οι διάλεκτοι αξίζουν όχι μόνο να τύχουν της μελέτης και προσοχής των γλωσσολόγων και των άλλων ειδικευμένων επιστημόνων, αλλά και ειδικών προσπαθειών διάσωσης από τους ιθύνοντες με σκοπό τη διάδοσή τους στις επόμενες γενιές. Με αυτές τις διαπιστώσεις, θα ήθελα να σας ευχηθώ «καλή επιτυχία» και να σας συγχαρώ για την πρωτοβουλία να πραγματοποιήσετε το σημαντικό αυτό συνέδριο με τους τόσους εξαίρετους ομιλητές στην πρωτεύουσα του Νομού Λέσβου, τη Μυτιλήνη.

Χαιρετισμός κ. Αγγελικής Ράλλη στην τιμητική εκδήλωση για τους καθηγητές γλωσσολογίας
κ. Αγγελική Μαλικούτη-Drachman και κ. Παναγιώτη Κοντό

Πέμπτη, 30 Σεπτεμβρίου, Νέο Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο

Κυρίες και κύριοι,

Η επιστημονική Επιτροπή του Συνεδρίου θεωρεί τιμή και καθήκον να τιμήσει δύο συναδέλφους, δύο γλωσσολόγους, που η προσφορά τους στο χώρο της ελληνικής γλωσσολογίας είναι εξαιρετικά σημαντική. Πρόκειται για την κυρία Αγγελική Μαλικούτη-Drachman του Πανεπιστημίου του Σάλτσμπουργκ και τον κύριο Παναγιώτη Κοντό, αναπληρωτή καθηγητή γλωσσολογίας και γενικό γραμματέα του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών. Επιστημονικά, αυτό που τους ενώνει είναι η διαλεκτολογία αφού έχουν σημαντικό έργο στο χώρο των νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων, αν και τα πιο πρόσφατα επιστημονικά τους ενδιαφέροντα εντάσσονται στο χώρο της φωνολογίας, για την κυρία Μαλικούτη-Drachman, και στο χώρο της διδασκαλίας της ελληνικής ως ξένης γλώσσας για τον κύριο Κοντό. Τους ενώνει όμως και κάτι άλλο ιδιαίτερα σημαντικό, ένα γνώρισμα που σπανίζει σήμερα στον ακαδημαϊκό χώρο: Το πνεύμα αυταπάρνησης και ανιδιοτέλειας, αφού πολλές φορές προτίμησαν να θυσιάσουν προσωπικές φιλοδοξίες προκειμένου να αγωνιστούν για την καθιέρωση και προώθηση της ελληνικής γλώσσας και γλωσσολογίας.

Παναγιώτης Κοντός

Ο κ. Παναγιώτης Κοντός είναι πτυχιούχος της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών. Έκανε Μεταπτυχιακές Σπουδές Γλωσσολογίας στο Ohio State University και εκπόνησε τη διδακτορική του διατριβή στο Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών.

Επαγγελματικά ασχολείται με τη γλωσσολογία από το 1966, όταν διορίστηκε ως βοηθός στο Σπουδαστήριο Γλωσσολογίας του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών, ενώ το 1991 εντάχθηκε ως μέλος Δ.Ε.Π. στον Τομέα Γλωσσολογίας του Τμήματος Φιλολογίας.

Έχει εξαίρετη διδακτική δραστηριότητα σε προπτυχιακό και μεταπτυχιακό επίπεδο όχι μόνο στη Φιλοσοφική σχολή του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών αλλά και στα Τμήματα *Επικοινωνίας και Μέσων Μαζικής Ενημέρωσης, Μεθοδολογίας, Ιστορίας και Θεωρίας της Επιστήμης,* και στο *Διδασκαλείο Ξένων Γλωσσών* .

Ερευνητικά ασχολείται με το χώρο της διαλεκτολογίας καθώς και με αυτόν της διδασκαλίας της Ελληνικής ως ξένης γλώσσας.

Η ενασχόλησή του με τα θέματα της ελληνικής διαλεκτολογίας αποδεικνύεται από τη διδακτορική του διατριβή, από τα δημοσιεύματά του, από τα μαθήματα που έχει διδάξει καθώς και από το μεγάλο αριθμό προπτυχιακών και μεταπτυχιακών διπλωματικών εργασιών αλλά και διδακτορικών που έχει επιβλέψει. Οι εργασίες αναφέρονται σε διάφορα νεοελληνικά ιδιώματα και όλες μαζί αποτελούν ένα εκπληκτικό αρχειακό υλικό δεδομένων και γλωσσολογικών αναλύσεων. Συγκεκριμένα υπό την επίβλεψή του έχουν εκπονηθεί εργασίες για τα Τσακώνικα, και για τις διαλέκτους και τα ιδιώματα της Κύπρου, της Κρήτης, της Λέσβου, της Κέρκυρας, της Κεφαλονιάς, της Ιθάκης, της Ίμβρου, της Ναυπακτίας, του Σουφλίου, της Σίφνου, των Μεγάρων, της Νάξου, της Ηλείας, της Καρδίτσας, της Μάκρης και του Λιβισίου.

Οφείλω να τονίσω ότι ο κ. Κοντός έχει επιτελέσει εθνικό έργο αφού έχει συμβάλει όσο κανείς άλλος στην προώθηση της διδασκαλίας της Ελληνικής ως ξένης γλώσσας. Οι συνεχείς προσπάθειές του για τη στήριξη μιας σειράς προγραμμάτων και δραστηριοτήτων για τη διδασκαλία της Νέας Ελληνικής είναι ενδεικτικές της διορατικής σκέψης του σε ένα χώρο που τα τελευταία χρόνια για διάφορους λόγους, επιστημονικούς, ιστορικούς, κοινωνικούς και εκπαιδευτικούς, βρίσκεται στο επίκεντρο του ενδιαφέροντος πολλών φορέων και ατόμων εδώ και στο εξωτερικό.

Συγκεκριμένα ο Παναγιώτης Κοντός έχει την κύρια οργανωτική και επιστημονική ευθύνη του προγράμματος των Θερινών Υποτροφιών Ελληνικών Σπουδών του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών, το οποίο έχουν παρακολουθήσει 2.500 διδάσκοντες και φοιτητές 120 πανεπιστημίων από 65 διαφορετικές χώρες. Έχει αφιερώσει ένα σημαντικότατο μέρος των προσπαθειών του για την όσο καλύτερη λειτουργία του Διδασκαλείου Ξένων Γλωσσών και του

Μεταπτυχιακού Προγράμματος Διδασκαλίας της Ελληνικής ως Δεύτερης ή Ξένης Γλώσσας, το πρώτο στην Ελλάδα. Είναι επιστημονικός υπεύθυνος των προγραμμάτων ελληνικής γλώσσας και πολιτισμού του Ιδρύματος Κρατικών Υποτροφιών, στα οποία έχουν επιμορφωθεί 460 περίπου πτυχιούχοι διαφόρων ειδικοτήτων προερχόμενοι από 23 χώρες της Ανατολικής Ευρώπης. Από το 1999 είναι επιστημονικός υπεύθυνος ενός Ειδικού Προγράμματος Διδασκαλίας της Νέας Ελληνικής για ομογενείς φοιτητές, το οποίο έχει δεχτεί 61 φοιτητές από πέντε πανεπιστήμια της Αυστραλίας.

Οι δημοσιεύσεις του Παναγιώτη Κοντού είναι ανάλογες των επιστημονικών του ενδιαφερόντων και χαρακτηρίζονται από υψηλή επιστημονική στάθμη, ποιότητα και πυκνότητα λόγου. Οι περισσότερες από αυτές εντάσσονται είτε στο χώρο της διαλεκτολογίας είτε σε αυτόν της διδασκαλίας της Ελληνικής ως ξένης γλώσσας. Ας μας επιτραπεί να σημειώσουμε τις ακόλουθες: α. Τη διατριβή με τίτλο *Φωνολογική Ανάλυση του Αιτωλικού Ιδιώματος. Συμβολή στη Νεοελληνική Διαλεκτολογία*, η οποία αποτελεί μια άκρως σοβαρή και υποδειγματική προσέγγιση ενός αντιπροσωπευτικού δείγματος των βορείων ελληνικών ιδιωμάτων και έχει πάρει τη θέση που της αξίζει στην όχι και τόσο εύρωστη σύγχρονη σχετική βιβλιογραφία. β. Τη συγγραφική συμβολή στα αναλυτικά προγράμματα για τη διδασκαλία της Ελληνικής ως ξένης γλώσσας σε ενηλίκες (επίπεδο εισαγωγικό, βασικό και επάρκειας), η οποία αποτελεί καρπό επίμοχθης προσπάθειας πολλών ετών και προϊόν μακράς διδακτικής πείρας. Γ. Τις εργασίες για τη γλώσσα και τον κυπριακό ελληνισμό, στις οποίες με ωριμότητα και επιστημονική ευαισθησία αντιμετωπίζει τη γλωσσική κατάσταση στην Κύπρο, όπου συνυπάρχουν η διάλεκτος, η Κοινή Νεοελληνική και η Αγγλική.

Παναγιώτη σ'ευχαριστούμε για την ανεκτίμητη προσφορά σου στην επιστημονική μας κοινότητα. Θα θέλαμε να ξέρεις ότι έχεις κατακτήσει δίκαια την εμπιστοσύνη, την εκτίμηση, και την αγάπη των φοιτητών, των συναδέλφων σου και όλου του γλωσσολογικού κόσμου.

Ομιλία κ. Παναγιώτη Ι. Κοντού
Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών

Ομοιομορφία - πολυμορφία στη γλώσσα. Η περίπτωση της Ελληνικής*

Είναι γενικώς παραδεκτό ότι η γλώσσα περισσότερο από οποιοδήποτε άλλο δημιούργημα του ανθρώπου απεικονίζει κατά τρόπο μοναδικό τη διαχρονική πορεία ενός λαού, την πολιτισμική του φυσιογνωμία και την ιστορική του ταυτότητα. Η παραδοχή αυτή είναι ιδιαίτερα σημαντική σήμερα όπου στο πλαίσιο της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης με βασικά χαρακτηριστικά την γλωσσική και πολιτισμική πολυμορφία, το μέλλον της κάθε γλώσσας, άρα και της Ελληνικής, επηρεάζεται και εξαρτάται εντονότερα από ποικίλους γλωσσικούς και εξωγλωσσικούς παράγοντες. Το ίδιο ισχύει, τηρουμένων βέβαια των αναλογιών, σε παγκόσμιο επίπεδο όπου με την αλματώδη εξέλιξη της σχετικής τεχνολογίας και την άμβλυνση των συνοριακών φραγμών, το παρόν και το μέλλον των γλωσσών και μάλιστα των λιγότερο ομιλούμενων υπόκειται στους ίδιους περιορισμούς και αντιμετωπίζει τους ίδιους κινδύνους.

Στο παγκόσμιο γλωσσικό πανόραμα η συρρίκνωση της χρήσης των περισσότερων γλωσσών που για ορισμένες οδηγεί στη βαθμιαία εξαφάνισή τους αποτελεί αναμφισβήτητη πραγματικότητα. Το φαινόμενο αυτό έχει επισημανθεί από γλωσσολόγους, ανθρωπολόγους, κοινωνιολόγους και άλλους επιστήμονες, αλλά πέρα από κάποιες συγκεκριμένες θεσμικές ρυθμίσεις που έχουν αποφασισθεί στο πλαίσιο της Ε.Ε. οι οποίες όμως δεν εφαρμόζονται στην πράξη, μέχρι στιγμής δεν έχουν ληφθεί συγκεκριμένα μέτρα. Η θέση της Ελληνικής που συγκαταλέγεται στις λιγότερο ομιλούμενες γλώσσες, είναι ισχυρότερη από άλλες για ειδικούς λόγους (γλωσσικούς, πολιτικούς, πολιτισμικούς, ιστορικούς), ωστόσο τα προβλήματα που αντιμετωπίζει η παρουσία και η χρήση της στο ευρωπαϊκό και στο παγκόσμιο επικοινωνιακό γίγνεσθαι είναι πολύ σοβαρά.

Η πάλη ανάμεσα στην γλωσσική ομοιομορφία και την γλωσσική πολυμορφία επηρεάζεται, όπως ήδη αναφέρθηκε, από ποικίλους γλωσσικούς και εξωγλωσσικούς παράγοντες: Πολιτικούς, πολιτισμικούς, οικονομικούς, ιστορικούς. Η ηγεμονική π.χ. παρουσία κάποιων γλωσσών, κυρίως της Αγγλικής, οφείλεται στην προέχουσα θέση των φορέων της στην επιστήμη, την πολιτική, την οικονομία, τον πολιτισμό και τα μέσα επικοινωνίας που ολοένα αυξάνεται ο ρόλος τους στην επιβολή της μονογλωσσίας. Στην επιβολή της γλωσσικής ομοιομορφίας συμβάλλουν και στενά οικονομικοί λόγοι, ή τουλάχιστον τους επικαλούνται οι υποστηρικτές της, υποστηρίζοντες ότι το κόστος της γλωσσικής πολυμορφίας είναι δυσβάστακτο. Το αυτονόητο ανθρώπινο και ηθικό δικαίωμα των μελών της κάθε γλωσσικής κοινότητας να επικοινωνούν και να δημιουργούν πολιτισμό μέσω της μητρικής τους γλώσσας

δεν είναι σεβαστό από τους μηχανισμούς, θεσμικούς και κυρίως εξωθεσμικούς, που επικαθορίζουν τη λειτουργία της επικοινωνιακής διαδικασίας.

Έκρινα ότι έπρεπε να παρουσιάσω εισαγωγικά, με τη μεγαλύτερη δυνατή συντομία, το πλαίσιο, τις αρχές και τους κανόνες που διέπουν τη λειτουργία του γλωσσικού φαινομένου στον ευρύτερο χώρο της παγκοσμιοποιημένης εποχής μας γιατί η Ελληνική ως μητρική αλλά και ως ξένη χρησιμοποιείται με τους ίδιους όρους που επικρατούν σε παγκόσμιο επίπεδο.

Στην Ελληνική Γλώσσα, όπως είναι γνωστό, για είκοσι περίπου αιώνες συνυπήρχαν οι δύο γλωσσικές παραδόσεις, η δημώδης και η λόγια. Τυπική κατάσταση γλωσσικής διμορφίας, όπου η μια μορφή επικρατεί και χρησιμοποιείται στον προφορικό κυρίως λόγο και η άλλη στον γραπτό. Η πρώτη, γνωστή ως δημοτική, απετέλεσε την εξέλιξη προηγούμενης μορφής της γλώσσας μας ενώ η δεύτερη, επινόηση και δημιούργημα γραμματικών – λογίων, αποτελεί την πρώτη ίσως προσπάθεια επιβολής γλωσσικού προγραμματισμού στη γλώσσα και είναι γνωστή ως καθαρεύουσα. Η πολυαίωνη λειτουργική συνύπαρξη των δύο γλωσσικών παραλλαγών ή μορφών που ούτε «ειρηνική» ούτε ομαλή υπήρξε, υπέστη τις συνέπειες των ιστορικών περιπετειών του Έθνους μας και συνιστά το λεγόμενο γλωσσικό ζήτημα.

Το γλωσσικό ζήτημα στις διαδοχικές του φάσεις σφράγισε την πνευματική και πολιτιστική πορεία των Ελλήνων και απορρόφησε σε μεγάλο βαθμό το ενδιαφέρον των παλαιότερων γλωσσολόγων. Το ζήτημα έκλεισε τυπικά το 1976 με την επιβεβλημένη και πάντως ώριμη απόφαση της τότε κυβερνήσεως, η οποία άνοιξε τον δρόμο για την άρση των συνεπειών του γλωσσικού διχασμού κυρίως στην εκπαίδευση, την επιστήμη, τη διοίκηση και τα μέσα ενημέρωσης. Σήμερα παρά τα προβλήματα που ανέκυψαν μπορεί βάσιμα να υποστηριχθεί ότι η μεταρρύθμιση του 1976 δεν ήταν πράξη βίαιης επιβολής μιας ορισμένης γλωσσικής μορφής αλλά αποκατάστασης των συνθηκών για τη χρήση χωρίς περιορισμούς και αποκλεισμούς ενός γλωσσικού οργάνου που με επάρκεια, ακρίβεια, καθαρότητα, πληρότητα, ευκρίνεια και αισθητική ποιότητα θα ανταποκρινόταν στις σύγχρονες αυξημένες επικοινωνιακές ανάγκες της ελληνικής κοινωνίας.

Παράλληλα με τη γλωσσική μορφή, που επικράτησε με τη μεταρρύθμιση του 1976 και που είναι εύχρηστη και κατανοητή από τη συντριπτική πλειονότητα των μελών της γλωσσικής μας κοινότητας υπάρχουν οι νεοελληνικές διάλεκτοι και τα ιδιώματα που αποτελούν μια άλλη διάσταση ή καλύτερα μια άλλη συνιστώσα της γλωσσικής μας πραγματικότητας. Δεν θα μας απασχολήσει εδώ το πρόβλημα της γένεσης των νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων και ιδιωμάτων, του χρόνου δηλαδή της διάσχισης της γλώσσας μας σε γεωγραφικά προσδιορισμένες ποικιλίες.

Σήμερα παρά τις πελώριες, βίαιες μετακινήσεις πληθυσμών που σημειώθηκαν μετά την καταστροφή του 1922 και την εσωτερική μετανάστευση κυρίως μετά τον Β΄ παγκόσμιο πόλεμο και όσα επακολούθησαν καθώς και την

τεράστια ενοποιητική δύναμη της εκπαίδευσης και των Μέσων Μαζικής Ενημέρωσης, οι διάλεκτοι και τα ιδιώματα της Ελληνικής εξακολουθούν να χρησιμοποιούνται με σημαντική όμως διαφοροποίηση ανάμεσα στις διάφορες ηλικίες. Η συχνότητα και η έκταση χρήσης των διαλέκτων και των ιδιωμάτων της Ελληνικής ακολουθεί ασφαλώς φθίνουσα πορεία που επιταχύνθηκε, για τους λόγους που αναφέρθηκαν ήδη αλλά και υπό την επίδραση μιας απαξιωτικής αντιμετώπισης στο όνομα της «γλωσσικής ορθότητας» που συνδεόταν με την επίσημα ή και ανεπίσημα, αλλά πάντως ευρύτερα χρησιμοποιούμενη γλωσσική μορφή. Η πορεία των διαλέκτων και των ιδιωμάτων της Ελληνικής δεν ήταν δυνατόν να είναι διαφορετική από την μοίρα της γλωσσικής ποικιλίας αυτού του είδους στις λοιπές ευρωπαϊκές γλώσσες όπου για μια σειρά λόγων (πολιτικών, οικονομικών, εκπαιδευτικών κ.ά) η δημιουργία των εθνικών κρατών επέβαλε τη γλωσσική ομοιομορφία.

Παρά το γεγονός ότι τα όρια μεταξύ διαλέκτων και ιδιωμάτων είναι πολλές φορές ρευστά και δυσδιάκριτα δεχόμαστε ότι ως διάλεκτοι της Ελληνικής μπορούν να θεωρηθούν η Τσακωνική, η Ποντιακή, η Κατωιταλική, η Καππαδοκική (σχεδόν κρεολική μορφή, καρπός συνάντησης Ελληνικής και Τουρκικής) και ενδεχομένως η Κυπριακή και τα Ελληνικά της Κριμαίας. Οι υπόλοιπες μορφές γλωσσικής ποικιλίας που προσδιορίζονται γεωγραφικά θεωρούνται ως ιδιώματα με βάση πάντοτε τον βαθμό εγγύτητας ή απόκλισης από την κοινή.

Το πρόβλημα της διαλεκτικής διαφοροποίησης της ΝΕ καθώς και του καθορισμού σταθερών κριτηρίων κατάταξης των επιμέρους ιδιωμάτων της προσείλκυσε ενωρίς το ενδιαφέρον των ερευνητών, προτάθηκαν δε κατά καιρούς διάφοροι τρόποι κατάταξης των νεοελληνικών ιδιωμάτων σε μεγαλύτερες ενότητες (Τριανταφυλλίδης 1938: 62 κεξ.) Οι δυνατότητες πολλαπλής κατάταξης των νεοελληνικών ιδιωμάτων οφείλονται αφενός μεν στην ανυπαρξία σταθερών διαχωριστικών ορίων μεταξύ τους –λόγω των ποικίλων αναμείξεων από τις αλλεπάλληλες εσωτερικές μεταναστεύσεις και μετακινήσεις των ελληνικών πληθυσμών– αφετέρου δε στην έλλειψη συστηματικής επιστημονικής περιγραφής όλων των ιδιωμάτων. Πρέπει επίσης να σημειωθεί ότι η έλλειψη γλωσσογεωγραφικού άτλαντος, στον οποίον αποτυπώνεται η κατά τόπους κατανομή των ποικίλων διαλεκτικών φαινομένων, καθιστά ακόμη δυσχερέστερη την κατάταξή τους.

Παρατίθενται στη συνέχεια τα κυριότερα κριτήρια ή ισόγλωσσα (φωνητικά, μορφολογικά, συντακτικά) στα οποία έχει βασισθεί ως τώρα η ταξινόμηση των διαλέκτων και των ιδιωμάτων της γλώσσας μας καθώς και η ευρύτερη κατηγοριοποίησή τους (Κοντός 1997: 22-26).

(α) Ο τσιτακισμός, η τροπή δηλαδή των /k/, /x/ πριν από πρόσθιο φωνήεν [e] και [i] σε [tʃ], [ʃ]: cerós → tʃerós <καιρός>, tréxi → tréʃi <τρέχει> κλπ. Το φαινόμενο αυτό απαντά στα ιδιώματα της

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Δωδεκανήσου, Κρήτης, Κύπρου, Μ. Ασίας και νησιών του Αιγαίου όπως η Χίος και η Νάξος.

(β) Η ανάπτυξη του «αλόγου» γ (irrational spinant) μεταξύ του ηχηρού διαρκούς χειλικού ν και του φωνήεντος που ακολουθεί: paraskevjí < Παρασκευή> duléngo «δουλεύω», redéngo <παιδεύω>, kóngo «κόβω» κλπ. Το φαινόμενο αυτό, του οποίου τα πρώτα ίχνη ανήγαγε ο Krumbacher (1886) στις αρχές του 9ου αιώνα μ.Χ. και το οποίο κατά τον Kretschmer (1905: 194) πρέπει να αναχθεί σε ακόμη παλαιότερους χρόνους, απαντά κανονικά στα νησιά του Αιγαίου, από τη Λέσβο ως την Κρήτη και τις Ν. Σποράδες, στην Κύπρο και στο παλαιότερο αθηναϊκό ιδίωμα (Αναγνωστόπουλος 1924: 100 Newton 1972a: 17).

(γ) Το ασυνίζητο των φωνηεντικών συμπλεγμάτων –έα, -ία : miléa, milá «μηλιά», kambanaría, kambanarja <καμπαναριά> κ.λπ. Το φαινόμενο αυτό απαντά στα ιδιώματα της Αίγινας, των Μεγάρων, της Κύμης Ευβοίας, στο παλαιότερο αθηναϊκό και στα ιδιώματα των Κυθήρων, Μάνης, Καρπάθου, Ικαρίας, Δ. Κρήτης, Λέσβου, Πόντου, Χειμάρας και Επτανήσου.

(δ) Η διαφοροποίηση κατά την προφορά της αρχαίας διφθόγγου οι και του φωνήεντος υ από το i με το οποίο οι δύο αυτοί φθόγγοι έχουν συμπέσει στην ΝΕ και στα περισσότερα νεοελληνικά ιδιώματα. Οι φθόγγοι διαφοροποιούνται στα ιδιώματα της Αίγινας, των Μεγάρων, της Κύμης, το παλαιότερο των Αθηνών και της Μάνης. Έτσι λέγεται μεν στα ιδιώματα αυτά jínete «γίνεται», αλλά tsulía, (αρχ. Κοιλία) çúros <χοίρος>, junéka <γυναίκα>, ksúlo <ξύλο> (Αναγνωστόπουλος 1924: 100-101).

(ε) Η διατήρηση του τελικού n <-ν > στα ονόματα. Το φαινόμενο απαντά στα ιδιώματα της Χίου, Δωδεκανήσου (Καλύμνου, Κώ, Αστυπάλαιας, Σύμης, Καρπάθου, Ρόδου) και της Κύπρου π.χ. από την Κυπριακή ravdín, ravdí «ραβδί».

(στ) Η σύνταξη με αιτιατική (εμμέσου αντικειμένου) διπτώτων ρημάτων όπως δίνω, φέρνω, κάνω αντί γενικής που χαρακτηρίζει την ΝΕ: «σε φέρνω ένα δώρο», αντί «σου φέρνω ....» Mirambel 1963: 105-11). Η σύνταξη αυτή απαντά στα ιδιώματα της ΒΑ περιοχής της ηπειρωτικής (από Θεσσαλίας μέχρι Θράκης) και νησιωτικής Ελλάδας (νησιά Βορείου Αιγαίου), την Τσακωνική και τα ιδιώματα της Μικράς Ασίας και της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.

Επικρατέστερη μπορεί να θεωρηθεί η διαίρεση που προτάθηκε από τον Γ. Χατζιδάκι (1892: 343-53 και 1905: 251 κεξ.) βάσει της οποίας τα νεοελληνικά ιδιώματα διαιρούνται σε: βόρεια και νότια. Η διάκριση αυτή και ταξινόμηση στηρίζεται στην διαφορετική αντιπροσώπευση των ατόνων φωνηέντων /i/, /e/, /o/, /u/. Κατά τον Χατζιδάκι (1905: 251) στα βόρεια ιδιώματα τα άτονα /i/ και /u/ αποβάλλονται (πρβλ. pulári → plár <πουλάρι>,

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tiráo → tráu <τηράω>, ενώ τα άτονα /e/, /o/ τρέπονται, κατά κανόνα, σε /i/ και /u/ αντιστοίχως (πρβλ. ρεδένο ρίδένυ <παιδεύω>. Αντιθέτως στα νότια ιδιώματα τα φωνήεντα αυτά παραμένουν απαθή.

Δεν είναι εύκολο να υπάρξει ακριβής και πλήρης διαχωρισμός μεταξύ των δύο τούτων διαλεκτικών ομάδων για τους λόγους που επισημάναμε ανωτέρω, επιχειρώντας να καθορίσουμε κριτήρια κατάταξης των νεοελληνικών ιδιωμάτων. Κατά τον Χατζιδάκι, μπορούμε να χαράξουμε τα όρια στην 38^η παράλληλο βορείου πλάτους (1905:250). Έτσι, στην ομάδα των νοτίων ιδιωμάτων ανήκουν τα ιδιώματα της Πελοποννήσου, των Κυκλάδων, των Ιονίων, της Κρήτης, της Δωδεκανήσου, της Κύπρου κλπ. Ενώ στα βόρεια ανήκουν τα ιδιώματα της Στερεάς Ελλάδας, της Θεσσαλίας, της Ηπείρου (εκτός Χειμάρας και μερικών άλλων περιφερειών), της Μακεδονίας, της Θράκης, των Β. Σποράδων, της Β. Εύβοιας, της Λήμνου, της Ίμβρου, της Θάσου, της Σαμοθράκης, της Λέσβου και της Σάμου.

Η παρατηρούμενη κατά περιοχές ή ακόμη και στην ίδια περιοχή διαφορετική αντιμετώπιση των δύο φωνητικών φαινομένων οδήγησε τον Χατζιδάκι στην διαπίστωση ότι

«τα φαινόμενα ταύτα δεν έχουν αναπτυχθεί εξίσου εις όλα τα μέρη.
Ούτω, π.χ. χώραι τινες φαίνονται υστερούσαι πως εν τη αναπτύξει,
Άλλαι δε μάλλον προκεχωρηκυίαν» (1905:260).

Συστηματικότερη όμως εξέταση των βορείων ιδιωμάτων επέτρεψε τον καθορισμό διαλεκτικής ζώνης στην οποία απαντά το ένα μόνον από τα δύο χαρακτηριστικά του βορείου φωνηεντισμού, ήτοι η αποβολή των ατόνων /i/, και /u/ όχι όμως και η μεταβολή των /e/ και /o/ σε [i] και [u] αντιστοίχως. Στην διαλεκτική αυτή ομάδα, η οποία είναι γνωστή με τον όρο ημιβόρεια ιδιώματα, υπάγονται το ιδίωμα της Σκύρου, ορισμένων περιοχών του Πόντου, της Ηπείρου (περιοχή Γράμμου), Ανατ. Θράκης κ.λπ.

Συγκρίνοντας την κατάταξη των νεοελληνικών ιδιωμάτων με βάση τον τρόπο διαθέσεως των ατόνων φωνηέντων /i/, /e/, /o/, /u/ προς την διάταξή τους βάσει των λοιπών ισογλώσσων, για τα οποία έγινε λόγος ανωτέρω, διαπιστώνουμε την ιδιάζουσα σημασία που έχει το ισόγλωσσο της διαθέσεως των ατόνων φωνηέντων. Και τούτο, γιατί τα γνωρίσματα του βορείου φωνηεντισμού εκτείνονται σε μεγαλύτερη γεωγραφική ζώνη και παρουσιάζουν συνοχή που δεν διαθέτουν τα άλλα ισόγλωσσα. Εξάλλου, είναι τέτοιες οι μεταβολές που προκαλούν οι αποβολές των ατόνων φωνηέντων /i/ και /u/ ώστε ο φωνηεντισμός των βορείων ιδιωμάτων να διαφοροποιείται πλήρως από τον αντίστοιχο του νοτίου τμήματος – πράγμα για το οποίο έχουν συνείδηση και οι ομιλούντες – η δε μορφή που προσλαμβάνουν οι λέξεις είναι τελείως διαφορετική της μορφής των ίδιων λέξεων στη ΝΕ και στα λοιπά ιδιώματα.

Επέμεινα περισσότερο σε θέματα γλωσσικής ποικιλίας που προσδιορίζεται γεωγραφικά με έμφαση στα κριτήρια κατάταξης των ΝΕ διαλέκτων και ιδιωμάτων συνεπής προς τους στόχους του Συνεδρίου αλλά και

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για έναν ακόμη λόγο. Θεωρώ τον χώρο αυτό παραμελημένο στο πλαίσιο της σύγχρονης γλωσσικής θεωρίας μολονότι τις δύο τελευταίες δεκαετίες παρατηρείται αισθητή στροφή του ενδιαφέροντος των γλωσσολόγων.

Η μελέτη της διαλεκτικής ποικιλίας της Ελληνικής δεν αποτέλεσε κύριο ερευνητικό στόχο για τους περισσότερους πανεπιστημιακούς γλωσσολόγους. Η ενασχόληση με το γλωσσικό ζήτημα παλαιότερα αλλά και η εύλογη στροφή προς τις νέες γλωσσικές θεωρίες προσανατόλισαν σε άλλες κατευθύνσεις το ερευνητικό ενδιαφέρον των νεότερων γλωσσολόγων, με άμεση επίπτωση και στην διδασκαλία, όπου τα αυστηρώς διαλεκτολογικά αντικείμενα ήταν και εξακολουθούν να είναι περιορισμένα.

Θεωρώ όμως σκόπιμο να αναφέρω ότι το Κέντρο Σύνταξης του Ιστορικού Λεξικού της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας όπως ονομάζεται σήμερα και το οποίο ιδρύθηκε το 1908 ως «Επιτροπεία προς σύνταξιν και έκδοσιν Ιστορικού Λεξικού της Ελληνικής Γλώσσης» έχει πραγματοποιήσει πολύ σημαντικό συλλεκτικό αλλά και καθαρά ερευνητικό έργο. Στο Αρχείο του Κέντρου που όπως είναι γνωστό υπάγεται στην Ακαδημία Αθηνών απόκεινται 7.000.000 δελτία που προέρχονται από 1.450 χ.φ. από τον ελληνόφωνο κόσμο μέσα και έξω από τα όρια του σημερινού ελληνικού κράτους.

Επισημαίνω ακόμη ότι η μελέτη των διαλέκτων και ιδιωμάτων της Ελληνικής δεν καλύπτει με την ίδια περιγραφική εγκυρότητα, και στην ίδια έκταση και με την ίδια ερευνητική διεισδυτικότητα ολόκληρο τον ελληνόφωνο χώρο. Οφείλεται αυτό στις ιστορικές περιπέτειες των φορέων τους και σε άλλους λόγους που ήδη αναφέρθηκαν, αλλά και στην άνιση προσφορά συλλογέων – ερευνητών για τις διάφορες διαλεκτικές περιοχές και ακόμη στον κίνδυνο επικείμενης απώλειας των διαλεκτικών ιχνών.

Η κατάσταση αυτή και η διαπίστωση της αναπότρεπτης φθοράς και εξαφάνισης των διαλέκτων και ιδιωμάτων της γλώσσας μας επιβάλλει τη συστηματική αποτύπωσή τους και την εξίσου συστηματική μελέτη τους.

Οι διάλεκτοι και τα ιδιώματα αποτελούν εξάλλου βασική πηγή του γλωσσικού μας θησαυρού που φωτίζει και εμπλουτίζει τη γνώμη για το ιστορικό γίγνεσθαι. Η σημασία της μελέτης τους δεν είναι γλωσσική και ιστορική αλλά και λαογραφική και κοινωνιολογική. Η ύπαρξη διαλεκτικών θυλάκων ανάμεσα σε διαφορετικές διαλεκτικές ζώνες οφείλεται προφανώς σε μετακινήσεις πληθυσμών, ενώ ο διαλεκτικός λόγος αναδεικνύει έκτυπα τη νοοτροπία αλλά και την ηθοτροπία των μελών της κάθε διαλεκτικής ενότητας.

Στην ανάπτυξη των διαλεκτολογικών ερευνών μπορεί να συμβάλει σημαντικά η σύγχρονη τεχνολογία. Η αξιοποίηση των δυνατοτήτων της σύγχρονης τεχνολογίας μπορεί να αποβεί ιδιαίτερα χρήσιμη στην ακρίβεια την ταχύτητα και την εγκυρότητα των ερευνών.

Βρισκόμαστε σ' έναν κατεξοχήν διαλεκτικό τόπο, που πάντοτε προσελκύει το ενδιαφέρον των ερευνητών, στο πλαίσιο του 2^{ου} Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου για τις Νεοελληνικές Διαλέκτους και τη Γλωσσολογική θεωρία, στο

οποίο προσδίδει ιδιαίτερη αίγλη και επιστημονικό κύρος η παρουσία τόσων διακεκριμένων συναδέλφων γλωσσολόγων. Κλείνοντας θεωρώ ότι δικαιούμαι να προτείνω πέρα από τις οποιεσδήποτε προσπάθειες και πρωτοβουλίες για τη συστηματικότερη καταγραφή και μελέτη των νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων και ιδιωμάτων, να καθιερωθεί η διδασκαλία ορισμένων διαλεκτικών στοιχείων στα σχολεία της Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης των αντίστοιχων περιοχών.

*   Επιθυμώ να εκφράσω εγκάρδιες ευχαριστίες και ειλικρινή συγχαρητήρια προς την οργανωτική επιτροπή και ιδιαίτερα προς την Πρόεδρο, διακεκριμένη συνάδελφο, καθηγήτρια γλωσσολογίας στο Τμήμα Φιλολογίας του Πανεπιστημίου Πατρών Αγγελική Ράλλη για την θερμή φιλοξενία και την άψογη οργάνωση του 2ου Διεθνούς γλωσσολογικού συνεδρίου για τις *Νεοελληνικές Διαλέκτους και τη Γλωσσολογική Θεωρία*. Επιθυμώ ακόμη να ευχαριστήσω θερμά για την μεγάλη τιμή που μου έγινε από το συνέδριο που πιστεύω ότι οφείλεται περισσότερο στα φιλικά αισθήματα όλων και να ευχηθώ στην φίλη Αγγελική Ράλλη να συνεχίσει με τον ίδιο ζήλο και την ίδια επιτυχία την έρευνα των νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων και ιδιωμάτων στο πλαίσιο της σύγχρονης γλωσσικής θεωρίας.

Επιθυμώ, τέλος, να ευχαριστήσω και από τη θέση αυτή την εκλεκτή συνάδελφο κ. Ελευθερία Γιακουμάκη, Διευθύντρια του Κέντρου Σύνταξης του Ιστορικού Λεξικού της Ελληνικής, της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών για τα στοιχεία που με προθυμία μου προσέφερε για τη σύνταξη της εισήγησης αυτής.

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Αγγελική Μαλικούτη-Drachman

Η κ. Μαλικούτη-Drachman είναι πτυχιούχος της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών. Έκανε συστηματικές μεταπτυχιακές σπουδές στο Παρίσι (με το διάσημο γλωσσολόγο André Martinet) καθώς και στην Αμερική, στα πανεπιστήμια του Chicago και του Columbus (Ohio State University). Έχει ειδικευθεί στη φωνολογία και στη μορφολογία ενώ παράλληλα έχει ασχοληθεί με τη μελέτη των διαλέκτων της αρχαίας και της νέας ελληνικής.

Επαγγελματικά ξεκίνησε ως βοηθός του Σπουδαστηρίου Γλωσσολογίας της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών κατά τη δεκαετία του '50, όπου εργάστηκε σκληρά για την προώθηση της σύγχρονης γλωσσολογίας.

Μετά την ειδίκευσή της στην Αμερική δίδαξε φωνολογία και μορφολογία στο αμερικανικό Πανεπιστήμιο Ohio State University, ενώ από τη δεκαετία του '80 υπηρετεί στο Πανεπιστήμιο του Salzburg. Από τα μέσα της δεκαετίας του '90 επανέρχεται διδακτικά στον ελληνικό χώρο και διδάσκει φωνολογία και διαλεκτολογία στο Μεταπτυχιακό Πρόγραμμα του Τομέα Γλωσσολογίας του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών. Την ίδια εποχή συνεργάζεται σε προγράμματα Erasmus ανταλλαγής φοιτητών μεταξύ του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών και του Πανεπιστημίου του Salzburg.

Η διδακτορική διατριβή της Αγγελικής Μαλικούτη-Drachman (του 1970) αφορά τη μορφολογία του νεοελληνικού ονόματος. Πρόκειται για την πρώτη σοβαρή προσπάθεια ανάλυσης αυτού του αντικειμένου σύμφωνα με τις τότε σύγχρονες γλωσσολογικές προσεγγίσεις, η οποία έχει διαχρονική αξία και αποτελεί σημείο αναφοράς μέχρι σήμερα. Έκτοτε διάφορα μορφολογικά ζητήματα βρίσκονται στο επίκεντρο του ενδιαφέροντός της. Έχει ασχοληθεί κατά καιρούς με το θέμα της ρηματικής αύξησης (1992, 93, 94, 2000, 01), με τα προσφύματα (1994, 95, 97), με τη δομή των συνθέτων (1989, 94, 96, 97), με το θέμα της αλλομορφίας (1997), με τα κλιτικά (1988, 92). Δεν είναι όμως υπερβολικό να υποστηρίξει κανείς ότι, παρόλο το ενδιαφέρον της για τη μορφολογία, την Αγγελική Μαλικούτη-Drachman κέρδισε η φωνολογία αφού θεωρείται η κυριότερη εκπρόσωπος της φωνολογικής θεωρίας σε σχέση με την ελληνική γλώσσα. Ιδιαίτερα από τη δεκαετία του '80 ασχολείται ερευνητικά με διάφορα φωνολογικά θέματα και δημοσιεύει μεγάλο αριθμό εργασιών, είτε μόνη της είτε σε συνεργασία με το σύζυγό της Gaberell Drachman, εκ των οποίων αξίζει να αναφέρω σειρά εργασιών για τον τονισμό, το ρυθμό και τη συλλαβική δομή. Η στέρεα γλωσσολογική της υποδομή και το ανήσυχο ερευνητικό πνεύμα την κάνουν να μην ικανοποιείται με εύκολες λύσεις, ούτε καν με αυτές που προτείνει η ίδια. Προσεγγίζει το ίδιο θέμα ξανά και ξανά με σκοπό να αγγίξει την τελειότητα. Επίσης δεν περιορίζεται μόνο στα γλωσσολογικά προβλήματα της κοινής νεοελληνικής, αλλά διερευνά και την ύπαρξη διαλεκτικών τύπων, για παράδειγμα, στα βόρεια ιδιώματα, στα

Ποντιακά και στα Χιώτικα, ενώ η πρόσφατη ενασχόλησή της με την Κυπριακή είναι ιδιαίτερα αξιόλογη.

Το έργο της Αγγελικής Μαλικούτη-Drachman έχει συμβάλει σημαντικά στην εξέλιξη της γλωσσολογικής επιστήμης και στην επιστημονική ανάλυση της ελληνικής. Χαρακτηρίζεται από υψηλότατη επιστημονική στάθμη, ποιότητα, πυκνότητα λόγου και άρτια βιβλιογραφική ενημέρωση Συχνά δε αποτελεί σημείο αναφοράς για μεταγενέστερες εργασίες. Οι γνώσεις της Αγγελικής Μαλικούτη-Drachman και η εργατικότητά της είναι παροιμιώδεις. Δουλεύει ακούραστα όχι μόνο για την πρόοδο της επιστήμης αλλά με μεράκι επιμονή και υπομονή φροντίζει να μεταλαμπαδεύσει τις γνώσεις της σε νεώτερους γλωσσολόγους. Και αυτοί οι κόποι της απέδωσαν καρπούς αφού φοιτητές της έχουν σήμερα πανεπιστημιακές έδρες στην Ελλάδα και στο εξωτερικό.

Αγγελική σ'ευχαριστούμε για την ανεκτίμητη συμβολή σου στο χώρο της θεωρητικής γλωσσολογικής έρευνας. Οι νεότεροι γλωσσολόγοι και εμείς προσωπικά σε ευγνωμονούμε για την προσφορά σου.

Angeliki Malikouti-Drachman
University of Salzburg

This paper is the account of a pilgrimage, a quest for explanations, starting in Metsovo and Katara with my fellow pilgrim, τον συνοδοιπόρο και άντρα μου Gabriel Drachman. Let it be for him as well!

0. Introduction

The aim of the present paper is to show that in M.Greek manner dissimilation is controlled by phonological strength, which we see as a relation between positional faithfulness and markedness. On this point we reconsider an account of dissimilation of manner of articulation in Drachman & Malikouti- Drachman (1997) taking account of Morelli's (1998,1999) analysis of M.Greek.

It is proposed that to account for changes of the S(top) F(ricative) pattern of S(tandard) M(odern) G(reek) to the corresponding FS and SS pattern for the same data in Cypriot and other SE dialects a further constraint is required. This constraint is ONSET PROMINENCE, a sonority driven hierarchical constraint, based on the PROMINENCE ALIGNMENT of Prince & Smolensky (1993).

1.Manner dissimilation in SMG

1.1 The data

In the case of a cluster of two non-strident obstruents with voiceless C2 the output must be a Fricative + Stop voiceless cluster (FS). Therefore - depending on the input - the consonant which dissimilates can be the first one in a two-Stop cluster (SS) as in a) below, the second in a two Fricative cluster (FF) as in b) below, or both members simultaneously in a Stop +Fricative (SF) one as in c) below.

a) S+S >FS : plek-tó> plex-tó (cp. also plek-tó below)
b) F+F >FS : ríx-θike> ríxtike cp. líθike
c) S+F > FS : plek-θike > pléx-tike, vláp-θik-e > vláftike

1.2 Preliminary analysis

These data are accounted for by Manner dissimilation, especially robust at morphological boundaries, as with the passive aorist morpheme –θ- ιk- ~ -t-ik- in the above examples. On the other hand, when the strident *s* is involved in the cluster of two obstruents, it is the non- strident member which undergoes repair - either by dissimilating its continuancy or by C-loss - depending on its place of ariculation (PoA), but independent of its sequential order. Thus when C2 is a strident, C1 dissimilates whether it is a labial or velar. The dental is lost, cp. évix-se> évikse, éγraf-se> éγrapse, but: eplaθ-se> éplase [1]. But when C1 is a strident, it is C2 that dissimilates- as expected - and what is more only if it is a voiceless dental continuant (θ), or a velar (x) (diachronically only), but not a labial (f) : cp. optionally word internal: asθenís ~astenís, ásximos ~ áskimos, obligatorily at a morpheme boundary: jelás-θιke> jelástike, but sféra and not *spéra with a labial (cp. however spéra in dialects, e.g. Póntos)

Apart from lexical, non-systematic exceptions, as in FF: áfθonos, fθónos or SS ptísi, períptero, or with SS~FS alternations: ktíma~ xtíma, plektó~plextó there are two systematic exceptions to the above generalizations.
a) Manner dissimilation does not apply in the case of a cluster of voiced continuants, surfacing as FF: vδéla, γδíno. b) It also fails to apply in a C+j cluster, surfacing either as two continuants FF: kaláθ+ja> kaláθx´a, láδ-ja> láδja or as a stop+ continuant SF : mát+ja> mátx´a.

2.Manner dissimilation in Optimality theory

2.1 OCP as a Coda-Onset Asymmetry

In Drachman & Malikouti-Drachman (1997) manner dissimilation was formalized in an OT framework as an effect of an OCP constraint, by which adjacent segments with the same value of continuancy are disallowed, and IDENTITY Faithfulness constraints, which impose preservation of input features.

The domain of OCP is seen as consonants in a heterosyllabic coda-onset relation, with this positional asymmetry explaining the direction of dissimilation by weakening the coda- consonant´: plek.tó> plex.tó, and strengthening (occlusivising) the one in the prominent position of an onset: ríx.θike> ríx.tike; also accounting for the exchange of continuanty of a stop +fricative (SF) cluster to a fricative+stop (FS): plek.θike > pléx.tike- not handled by the OCP constraint itself. This coda- onset asymmetry also accounted for the regressive application of voice assimilation: aníγ-o, aniγ- tó > anix.tó.

In Malikouti- Drachman (2001) in order for the above prosodic account to apply not only word internally, but also in word initial position, it is further modified to a demand for a STRONG ONSET constraint in an obstruent cluster prevocalically (cp. further below). On the other hand, the asymmetrical results in the case where the second member of the cluster is a sibilant fs, xs > ps, ks but θs> Os - were accounted for by an IDENTITY constraint for a sibilant, of course dominating the OCP constraint.

The systematic exceptions to Manner dissimilation in the case of voiced obstruent clusters are accounted for by IDENTITY of the feature continuant of the input, which dominates the OCP constraint. On the other hand, the systematic exceptions in the case of Cj sequences, where not only does the OCP constraint not hold, but also the voice assimilation is progressive: matx´a , póδja, is seen as due to the difference in the syllabic status of this cluster. Both segments are under onset, and thus there is no coda-onset asymmetry and the relevant constraints - OCP and regressive voice assimilation- are inapplicable. Instead, IDENTITY and progressive assimilation of the privileged onset consonant are in action.

2.2 Present Revisions

There are two points we would like now to come back to. In the SE dialects Manner dissimilation also affects a Cj cluster, to be discussed further below. However, in the dialect of N. Rodos (Newton 1072b: 167) - in contrast to Cypriot where all Cj clusters are affected- dissimilation applies only when both members of this cluster are continuants, turning the second continuant to a stop FF>FS: kaláθ-ja > kaláθk´a cp. SMG kaláθ-ja> kaláθx´a. But when the first consonant is a stop and the second a continuant, i.e. an SF cluster, there is no switch of the feature continuant: mát-ja > mátx´a as in SMG. Cp. the case of an SF >FS in voiceless stops, as in plék-θuke> pléxtike above. Such data show that the prosodic approach for heterosyllabicity vs. tautosyllabicity (Drachman & Malikouti-Drachman 1997) is not enough to account for the above cases and must be revised on two points: 1) the direction of voice assimilation and 2) the addition of a further constraint demanding a Strong Onset.

Take first the direction of voice assimilation. According to Lombardi (1999), the direction of voice assimilation is normally regressive and only a higher phonological or morphological constraint imposes progressive directionality (as in the English plural formation). In our earlier account the difference in the direction of assimilation has been accounted for by a prosodic constraint; heterosyllabicity for regressive vs. tautosyllabicity for progressive assimilation, as we saw above.

However, the case of N.Rodos shows that the progressive voice assimilation must be imposed by the final segment of the stem: mat+ya> mátx´a,

kaláθ-ja> kaláθk´a, but láδ-ja > láδg´a, and not by tautosyllabicity, since a Cj cluster in this dialect- as in the other SE dialects- is heterosyllabic (cp. below 4.1 and note 6). The difference in the directionality of voice assimilation being now morphological and not prosodic, what we need is a constraint like IDENT(root) (voice) (Mc Carthy & Prince 1995) imposing preservation of the voice feature of the final segment of the stem at the expense of the consonant of the suffix. In other words in contrast to the regressive assimilation of the passive aorist suffix –θ-ik, or the adjectival –to/i-, which results in stem- allomorphy: aníy-o but: aníx-θik´e aníx-tó, in the present case of progressive assimilation allomorphy obtains in the suffix –i ~ja, the stem remaining anti-allomorphic 2 (cp. Uniformity in Drachman 1999).

We turn now to the STRONG ONSET constraint.

The anomaly of an onset -a prominent position- being unfaithful to its feature of continuancy and being replaced by a stop as in the cases discussed, cannot be accounted for simply by heterosyllabicity. It must be seen as the satisfaction of a higher overriding constraint demanding stronger features in onset.This constraint could be the STRONG ONSET constraint proposed in Malikouti- Drachman (2001), which demands in a cluster of two obstruents that the immediately prevocalic one be stronger.

Our proposal now is that apart from OCP there is such a further constraint. This would also cover cases of word initial obstruent clusters and justify a scale of different degrees of onset strengthening, necessary for Cypriot and other SE dialects, as we will see below, where it will be reformulated as an ONSET PROMINENCE constraint.

A similar constraint for a STRONG ONSET is also proposed in Bacovič for Spanish (1995: 8) and "demands syllable initial closure by the insertion of closure breath- group- internally" with reference to Steriade (1992, 1993) for phonetic justification [3]. However, this constraint in Spanish applies also word- initial, whereas for Cypriot Greek it is confined to an obstruent as the second member of a cluster.

A further motivation for reconsidering the facts, discussed above, is Morelli's (1998, 1999) proposal for a global account of continuancy dissimilation in a large number of languages including M. Greek, as below.

3. OCP as a set of Universal constraints

3.1 Morelli's Theory

Morelli's proposal is based on generalizations over two obstruent clusters in onset position along the dimension continuant in 30 languages. The coda-

position is excluded since "a preliminary investigation of obstruent clusters ... in coda position has shown that this is indeed not as simple a task as for obstruents occurring in onset position (1999: 31).

Morelli assumes that whereas clusters with a resonant obey the sonority hierarchy, obstruent clusters do not (1999: 124). There are four logically possible ways in which fricatives (F) and stops (S) can cluster in the different languages wrt continuancy- that is FS, FF, SF and SS. The FS pattern is the unmarked one. The other pattens are illegal and may be repaired to the unmarked FS pattern by three Markedness constraints interacting with Faithfulness constraints

The markedness constraints are two OCP constraints in which the two values(+/-) of the feature [continuant] are formulated separately (whereas these were stated as a unique OCP constraint in Drachman & Malikouti-Drachman 1997), and a further one, the *SO negative constraint, which disallows tautosyllabic sequences of a stop followed by any obstruent, consequently any stop +fricative or stop+ stop cluster.

3.2 Morelli's Analysis of M.Greek

Morelli's analysis of M.Greek is based on two assumptions. First that clusters of two obstruent form a tautosyllabic onset – not only word initial but also word medially, provided that such an onset is an acceptable word initial cluster, thus following the Onset Maximization Principle (as in Setatos 1974, Joseph and Philippaki Warburton 1987). However, although she points out the possibility of a medial cluster in morphological cases like affixation to be ambiguously syllabified, for simplicity she generalizes tautosyllabicity to all cases (1999:79). This, then, indicates that what is important in the analysis is a cluster of two obstruents, the second of which (C_2) is prevocalic, thus in onset position, ignoring the tautosyllabic or heterosyllabic status of C_1. Her second assumption is the well known fact that the Greek lexicon has a two layer stratification, Katharevousa and Demotic.

As a result of the above assumptions in Morelli's analysis, M. Greek exemplifies lexicon stratification. It is an example of a harmonically complete system with the grammar of a type 1 language, in which only FS clusters surface. It justifies the need for the *SO constraint for repairing ill-formed clusters. Cases of surface clusters of a stop+fricative (SF) as in ks, ps, are accounted for as due to the dominance of a higher constraint of stridency over the *SO constraint (on this point see also Drachman & Malikouti-Drachman 1997, above 2.1). On the other hand, other offending patterns are repaired either by the *SO constraint in Demotic –as in an FF pattern repaired to an FS plexθike> pléxtike- or they belong to the Katharevousa Lexicon and not to the Demotic one. Thus, a cluster of voiced fricatives, vδ/vγ: ενδομάδα- vδομάδα, avγό, vγάzo, vγ΄éno,

γδίνο. (1999: 80,3) - for which, however, FF is the only permissible pattern in M.Greek Demotic- for Morelli belongs to Katharevousa (1999 : 80,3), and is thus excluded from her analysis altogether. Furthermore, the word -initial as well as medial SF and FF patterns, which are the output of a Cj cluster: px´ato, θx´áfi or kupx´á, mátx´a kaláθx´a, are also ignored.

It seems, then, that in contrast to Morelli's claim 1) M.Greek is not an example of a harmonically complete system of a type 1 language, where only FS patterns surface. Other patterns of an FF as well as of an SF type are well integrated in the system indicating a language of type 4, and thus there is no need for an appeal to lexicon stratification for such data [4].

Further –since for word medial clusters in M. Greek tautosyllabicity is accepted only for reasons of simplicity, Morelli's consraints could also be tested in the case of heterosyllabic obstruent clusters, despite her reservations (1999:48). This is not unexpected, since the*SO Markedness constraint, which disallows a cluster of obstruents consisting of a stop followed by another stop or a fricative, is in a way reminiscent of the relation of two heterosyllabic consonant in a coda - onset position. On the other hand, however, it will be shown that when we extend the *SO constraint to Cypriot (below 4.2) it must be modified. Alternatively, a further constraint must be added such as the one for a strong onset that we proposed above. Finally, although for the cases examined there is no special demand to split the OCP constraint into OCP (-cont) and OCP (+cont), we adopt the split version here.

4. Manner Dissimilation in Cypriot Greek

4.1 The data

The repair of ill-formed obstruent clusters of an FF or SF pattern to the FS one when their second member is a voiceless consonant, is pangreek: thus for Cypriot cp. FF> FS esfáx-θin> esfáxtin, SF> FS eplék-θin>epléxtin, as well as ésfax-sen > ésfaksen, exorís-θin> exorístin as in SMG above.

However, in Cypriot and some other SE dialects- such as Xios, Rodos, Kos and Kálymnos (Newton 1972 b : 109) – even the pattern of voiced consonants clusters FF: avγó, is repaired to an FS pattern: avgón etc. A cluster of r+ voiceless/voiced fricative: rθ, rx, rδ, rγ is also repaired, a fact which indicates the fricativity of the r in these dialects: e.g. írten, skórdos ~skórtos, for SMG irθe, skórδo. An exception to this last case are clusters with a labial as C2 :rf/rv: a(δ) érfin *a(δ)érpin for aδel/rfós (a further indication of markedness of labiality).

In the cases above there are no synchronic alternations, but as a result of this larger application of onset "strengthening", obstruent clusters in these dialects have mostly a stop (voiceless or voiced) as a second member, and thus

an FS pattern. Exceptions are: a) an SF pattern of a velar/labial + s: ks/ps , b) an FF patern of sibilant + labial eg. sf, zv. or c) an SS pattern of a labial + palatal stop: pk´ as discussed below. The FF or SF patterns of the Cj clusters in SMG : peðjá , mátx´a etc., are also repaired to an FS pattern in the case of a labial f,v or a dental t,θ,δ, and r + j. Velars undergo a palatalisation process, and are excluded: xoráf-ja> xoráfk´a, karáv-ja >karáfk´a, lá δ-ja >láθk´a, xérja> šérka. However, cases with a labial stop p+j surface as pk´: kup-já >kupk´a, with preservation of the input stop and an SS pattern. The present cases have clear synchronic alternations, seen in the plural formation of neuter nouns in –i, or in passive verbal forms: patjéme> paθk´éme, but aγap-jéme>aγapk´éme.

From the above cases clusters of r+ stop or fricative clearly exhibit heterosyllabicity even under the Onset Maximization Principle. Such a cluster is not found word initially, although the other clusters discussed may. However for all these clusters we assume heterosyllabicity (for more on syllables in Cypriort see Drachman & Malikouti-Drachman1997, Malikouti-Drachman 2001)
[5].

4.2 Repairs and a Problem

Although Morelli's proposal aims at tautosyllabic clusters (but cp. 3.2 above), her proposal still applies to Cypriot repairs sucessfully. However, cases of a stop labial+ j cluster, as seen below, are problematic.

Take first neutralisation of an FF pattern to FS. In the FF pattern of voiced continuants the IDENT (cont) constraint dominates the OCP (+cont) constraint, which militates against an FF cluster, so that an FF input surfaces (cp. Morelli 1999: 63,85, 1998:10). Thus for /avγó/ surfacing as avγó in SMG the ranking is:

OCP (-cont), *SO >> IDENT (cont) >> OCP(+cont)

Assuming that the same lexical input holds between SMG and Cypriot, the different pattern of these two systems is obtained by reranking of the IDENTITY (cont) constraint and the OCP (+cont) constraint in Cypriot, thus the ranking of the unmarked FS pattern, as in SMG, is obtained: OCP(+cont), OCP (-cont), *SO>> IDENT(cont)

Now consider the second case of a Cj cluster with neutralisation a) of an FF or b) an SF pattern to an FS one.

a) FF >FS kaláθ-j- a> kaláθ k´a, peðjá> peðg´á. For the FF pattern the repair is as above.

b) SF>FS: mmátin – mmátja> máθ k´a, but: kupín-kupjá> kupk´á.

An SF pattern has the ranking:

OCP(+cont), OCP (-cont) >> IDENT(cont)>>*SO (cp. Morelli 1999:50).

For this pattern to be repaired to an FS one, the constraint *SO must now dominate the IDENT (cont) constraint, so that the ranking of the unmarked FS pattern is obtained, as in the tableau below. The added constraint AGREE (voice) demands that obstruent clusters should agree in voicing (Lombardi, 1999:272).

/mmát-ja/	AGREE,	OCP(+cont),	*SO,	OCP (-cont) >>	IDENT (cont)
1.mmát-ja	*!	√	*	√	√
2.mmát-x´a	√	√	*	√	√
3.mmát-k´a	√	√	*	*	*
☞4.mmáθ-k´a	√	√	√	√	*
5. mmáθ-x´a	√	*	√	√	*

The optimal output is the form 4) mmáθk´a which violates only the lower ranked fathfulness constraint IDENT (cont).

However, in the case of a cluster of a labial stop +j the input pattern SF surfaces as SS as in kup-já > kupk´á and not as FS. For this exception first a faithfulness constraint like IDENT [p] is required dominating both constraints, *SO and OCP (-cont), to assure that the last segment of the stem - p- will surface as a stop and not as a continuant, which an FS pattern demands [7]. But still a problem remains. It seems that the constraints OCP (-cont), OCP (+cont) and *SO, as formulated, cannot distinguish between the two candidates: the wrong form for Cypriot kupx´á and the correct form kupk´á. Cp. the tableau:

/kup-já/	AGREE,	IDENT [p],	OCP,	*SO,	OCP >>	IDENT (cont)
			(+cont)		(-cont)	
1.kupjá	*!	√	√	*	√	√
☞ *2.kupx´á	√	√	√	*	√	√
3.kupk´á	√	√	√	*	*	*
4.kufk´á	√	*	√	√	√	*

Even by reranking the constraints the form 3) kupk´á is less harmonic than the form 2) kupx´á, , since the form 3) kupk´á , apart from IDENT (cont) also violates the OCP(-cont), in contrast to the wrong form kupx´á.

A way out it would be for the *SO constraint to forbid only a fricative as a second member of the cluster. In Morelli's proposal, the *SO constraint covers both cases of obstruents, either a stop or a fricative, and is grounded "both phonetically and phonologically. Phonetically, it reflects the preference for stops to be released into more sonorous segments. Phonologically it allows us to assign SS clusters a proper superset of the marks assigned to SF clusters

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and thus derive the ordering SF> SS" (1999: 48, with reference to Steriade 1994). However, if a modification of this constraint so that it applies only to fricatives is not possible, a way out for Cypriot and other paralllel dialects could be to admit a further constraint demanding the "STRONG ONSET", proposed above (2.2), dominating the *SO and the OCP(-cont) constraint. Thus, evaluating only the crucial forms with the relevant constraints:

/kup-j-á/ IDENT [p], OCP, STR.ONS>> *SO, OCP>> IDENT (cont)

		(+cont)			(-cont)	
1.kupx´á	√	√	*	*	√	√
☞3.kupk´á	√	√	√	*	*	*
4.kufk´á	*!	√	√	√	√	*

Now form 3) kupk´á is more harmonic than form 4) kupx´á, since form 4) violates a higher constraint. The constraint STRONG ONSET we have proposed, can be properly formulated in the constraints frame-work inside the theory of Prominence Alignment of Prince & Smolensky (1993: 129, also in McCarthy 2004, 45)

5. Prominence Alignmenτ

5.1 ONSET PROMINENCE

Prominence alignment (Prince & Smolensky 1993: 129), is a general operation "in which scales of prominence along two phonological dimensions are harmonically aligned". The two scales are aligned as a set of anti-association negative constraints - from worst to best- so that the less harmonic candidat is marked before the more harmonic one and thus loses in the competition. In Prince & Smolensky's approach there is a fixed ranking and each constraint may refer to a step of the scale [8]. In this theory, "each step in the scale is a separate constraint, which can be evaluated in a binary yes /no fashion. More importantly, other constraints can be interleaved within the sonority hierarchy" (Kenstowicz 1996 in Mc Carthy, 2004: 192 and ROA 33).

Our proposal is to extend this theory to the SE dialects so that the two scales of prominence to be aligned are the prosodic dimension, which concerns prominence of the structural position Onset (O) > Coda (C) taken together with the dimension concerning inherent prominence of the segments as registered by their values on the Sonority hierarchy 8. The two dimensions of prominence are:

i. Onset> coda

ii. a> i,.... v, δ, j, γ > f, θ, x >b, d, g> p, t, k

We thus have for Cypriot the folowing constraints, extracting this part of the Sonority scale, which concerns non-strident stops and fricative obstruents.

*O(NSET) * O/ v,δ, j, γ >>*O/ f,θ, x >>*O/b,d,g>>*O /p,t,k

*C(ODA) * C/ p, t, k>>*C/ b,d,g>> *C/ f,θ,x >>*C/ v,δ,j,γ

Evaluating now the two competitor forms kupx´á vs. kupk´á under the two crucial constraints we obtain the proper output.:

/kupja/ OCP *O/v,δ,j,γ >>*O/f,θ,x>>*O/b,d,g>>*O/p,t,k >> *SO, OCP>> IDENT(cont)

	(+cont)					(-cont)		
1. kupx´á	√	√	*	√	√	*	√	√
☞2. kupk´á	√	√	√	√	*	*	*	*

Form 1) is less harmonic than form 2), since it violates a higher constraint. Optimal is the form 2) with the SS pattern surfacing. The *SO constraint loses its importance. The Prominence alignment approach that we propose, allows us to account for further characteristics of Cypriot and related dialects by dividing or interleaving other constraints between the steps of the ONSET PROMINENCE hierarchy. That is the different degrees of onset occlusivisation as well as the asymmetry between prominence of the two prosodic positions coda –onset and place of articulation, which however we will treat in another place.

5.2 Degrees of ONSET PROMINENCE

In the SE dialects the output of OCP and ONSET PROMINENCE in the case of the voiced continuant clusters vδ /γδ, vγ, rδ/ rγ, as well as vj / δj clusters, discussed above, can be either a voiced or a voiceless cluster. Voice variation is not reported for the corresponding voiceless clusters or clusters with voiceless C_1. Thus, in Xíos the voice distinction of the FS clusters is kept distinct: e.g.
pj> pk´, fj> fk´ but vj> vg´, δj > δg´, rj> rg/rg´correspondingly.

Notice the relation between the voice distinction of the cluster and the voiceless – voiced type of C_1, which is also the final segment of the stem. In Kos, the voice distinction is also kept, but a cluster tj -with unmarked dental-has the voiced output δg´ (Newton 1972b: 167), whereas the corresponding marked labial p segment is spared: pj> pk´, a topic to be discussed elsewhere. In Cyprus, the output of all these voiceless as well as voiced clusters is a voiceless cluster, thus not only pj> pk´, fj> fk´ but also vj> fk´, δj > θk´, rj> rk/rk´ correspondingly: xoráfin-xoráfk´a vs. kará (v)in –karáfka. The voiceless forms are characteristic of central Cyprus, and it seems that they are taken over in today's Cypriot Koiné. However, in central Pafos- there is an alternation between voiceless and voiced obstruent clusters (Newton 1972a 100,192), as in the dialects of Xios and Kos above: avgón ~ afkón, ravdín ~ raftín, evdomá(δ)a ~eftomá(δ)a, as well as v+j, δ+j: vúδg´a ~vúθk´a, póδg´a~póθk´a, peδg´á ~peθk´á. From this area also clusters with mixed voiced consonants are reported like vk´, δk´. (Cp. also the variants máδg´a – máδja Newton 1972b:165).

Since a voiceless stop is considered to be the best onset, we would expect in these SE dialects, where the ONSET PROMINENCE constraint is active, to have only a voiceless stop as an onset. And this is what we find for a voiceless input for which the only possible degree of strengthening is the maximal occlusivisation to a voiceless stop. On the other hand, the voiced fricatives seems to be strengthened either to the corresponding voiced stops b-d-g or to the voiceless stops p-t-k , thus obtaining a maximal occlusivisation as well. These alternations may be due to the intervention of other constraints. This accounts for the fact that variation is shown only in the case of voiced clusters, where blocking of ONSET PROMINENCE is possible. We formalize these facts by reranking two constraints: the morphological constraint we saw for N. Rodos (2.2 above), the $IDENT_{root}(voi)$ constraint demanding Faithfulness to the voice of the final segment of the stem and the ONSET PROMINENCE constraint. By intersecting and reranking the $IDENT_{root}(voi)$ constraint between the two micro-constraints consisting of the two steps of the ONSET PROMINENCE hierarchical constraint - that is the voiced and voiceless stops - we may account for the proper output. Thus taking only the relevant constraints:

/peδjá/	AGREE,	OCP (+cont),	$IDENT_{root}(voi)$ >>	*O/b,d,g >>	*O/p,t,k
1.peδ já	√	*	√	√	√
☞2.pe δg´á	√	√	√	*	√
3.pe δk´á	*	√	*	√	*
4.pe θk´á	√	√	*	√	*

The form 2) peðg´á is the winner, since it satisfies the higher IDENT$_{root}$(voi) constraint, while form 4) peθk´á violates it and thus loses the competition.The other forms 1) and 3) violate higher constraints and are thus excluded.

To account for the variant peθk´á the IDENT$_{root}$(voi) constraint is ranked lower, after the *O/b,d,g constraint so that the form peðg´á is not protected and the competitor 4) peθk´á wins. Cp. the tableau below with relevant constraints.

/peðjá/	AGREE,	OCP(+cont)	>> *O/b,d,g>>	IDENT$_{root}$(voice),	*O/p,t,k
1.peð já	√	*	√	√	√
2.pe ðg´á	√	√	*	√	√
3.pe ðk´á	*!	√	√	*	*
☞4.pe θk´á	√	√	√	*	*

In this tableau the winner is now form 4) peθk´á. Form 2) violates a higher constraint. The ranking between the IDENT$_{root}$(voi) and the *O/p,t,k is indiferent, since both are violated by the form 4).

For the voiceless clusters of these dialects, since STEM IDENT(voi) does not conflict with the voiceless output, the ranking of both tableaux above may hold. On the other hand for Cypriot, with no voice-variation at all, the ranking is like the one of the last tableau above, with unvoicing of the input voiced segments [9], so that the optimal onset with a voiceless stop is obtained. In both cases further variants with changes in voicing and continuancy are due to further intervention of the above or other relevant constraints. As an example for the forms with mixed voice clusters: vk´,ðk´ both constraints IDENT$_{root}$(voi) and AGREE are ranked below the ONSET PROMINENCE constraint, with IDENT$_{root}$(voice) dominating the AGREE(voice) constraint, so that the adequate form with a mixed–voice cluster surfaces.

6. Conclusions

In order to account for manner dissimilation in a group of SE dialects we proposed the addition of a hierarchical sonority driven constraint. It remains to be seen how far such a constraint can account for data from other Greek dialects as well.

7. Notes

1. The dental loss before a strident indicates an OCP on coronality.

2. We thus accept here an allomorphy i ~ j, e.g. neuters: sg.-i ~pl. j-a, avoiding a more abstract derivational account of an unspecified segment followed by

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semivocalisation and consonantalisation (cp. earlier accounts in Malikouti-Drachman & Drachman 1990, Malikouti- Drachman 2001). Since an OT approach avoids derivations by looking directly at the output, the allomorphy i~j is preferred. Of course as a consequence the segments /i/: /j/ must be opposed in the lexicon noting that stem forms like px´ós, djó do not show alternation, and thus do not contradict this proposal.

3. See also an analysis of consonant "strength" in terms of an acoustic salience in Jun (1995).

4. It seems, then, that Kappa's conclusion – based, of course, on Morelli's classification- that the W.Cretan dialect is more marked that M. Greek, is not correct. If the W.Cretan dialect got rid of the SF pattern of SMG, it moved not to a more marked pattern, but to a less marked one (On this point see also Malikouti-Drachman 2001, based however on a syllabic account).

5. An argument for the tautosyllabicity of Cy cluster in SMG as against the heterosyllabicity of this cluster in other dialects, such as the SE dialects, is that in cases of a triconsonantal cluster like C1C2+j: xartí - xartx´a all three segments surface in SMG, whereas in SE dialects like Cypriot one consonant (the second one here) is lost. C1C2+j: xartí - xark´a. This is due to two constraints in Greek: *COMPLEX CODA: a complex coda is not allowed, and ONSET COND: no more than two consonants are allowed under onset.

6. A similar faithfull constraint is required for the W. Cretan dialect in Kappa 2001.

7. A variant approach is the Stringency Hierarchy theory as in de Lacy (2002, 2004).

8. Alignment of the structural positions Onset and Coda with the Sonority Hierarchy is also used in Gnanadesikan (2004) to account for language acquisition. Gouskova (2004) extends the same type of Alignment not simply to penalize occurences of particular onsets and codas, but to account for relation-constraints between Coda and Onset in Syllable Contact.

9. Notice that a constraint like * LAR: do not have Laryngeal features (Lombardi, 1999:271) or AVOID VOICED OBSTRUENTS (Lombardi, 1995) can also account for the lack of voice distinction in Cypriot, provided that it is constrained to stops, since continuants do have distinctive voice. Cp. the parallel phonotactic condition for stops in Cypriot given in Newton (1972a), which we adopted in Drachman &Malikouti-Drachman (1997).

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9. Περίληψη

Ο στόχος της παρούσας ανακοίνωσης είναι να δείξει ότι στην Ν.Ε η αφομοίωση του τρόπου (άρθρωσης) ρυθμίζεται από το φωνολογικό βάρος, το οποίο αντιμετωπίζουμε ως μια σχέση περιορισμών πιστότητας και μαρκαρίσματος.. Αναθεωρείται η ερμηνεία της αφομοίωσης του τρόπου άρθρωσης πού είχε προταθεί από τους Drachman & Malikouti-Drachman (1997) καθώς λαμβάνεται υπόψη η ανάλυση του Morelli (1998, 1999) για τα Ελληνικά. Προτείνεται ότι προκειμένου να ερμηνευθούν οι αλλαγές του σχήματος (Κ)λειστό (Τ)ριβόμενο στην ΚΝΕ στο αντίστοιχο σχήμα ΤΚ και ΚΚ στα Κυπριακά και σε άλλες ελληνικές διαλέκτους, είναι απαραίτητος άλλος ένας περιορισμός. Αυτός είναι η «Υπεροχή της συλλαβικής έμβασης» ("ONSET PROMINENCE") ένας ιεραρχικός περιορισμός ηχηρότητας που βασίζεται στην «Ευθυγράμμιση με το εξέχον στοιχείο» ("PROMINENCE ALIGNMENT") των Prince & Smolensky (1993).

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The Perfect Category: A Comparison of Standard Greek and Cypriot Greek [2]

Yoryia Agouraki
University of Cyprus

The paper looks at the readings attributed to the perfect in Standard Greek and Cypriot Greek. In contrast to Standard Greek, Cypriot Greek lacks Present Perfect A'. It is examined (a) whether the existential reading and the result reading are distinct readings, and (b) which readings are expressed by Present Perfect A' and Present Perfect B' in Standard Greek, and by Present Perfect B' and Past Tense in Cypriot Greek. It is argued that the existential reading and the result reading are two distinct readings. It is also demonstrated that the existential reading and the result reading exist independently of the perfect morphology. In Cypriot Greek, in particular, the existential reading is only realized by means of past tense morphology. As for the result reading, it is realized by means of perfect morphology (cf. Present Perfect B') or past tense morphology.

Keywords: Present Perfect A', Present Perfect B', existential reading, result reading, target state.

1. Introduction

I will start with a pretheoretic description of the data. Standard Greek (SG) has Present Perfect A' (*eho* 'have' + perfective participle) and Present Perfect B' (*eho* 'have' + adjectival participle (for transitive verbs) and *ime* 'be' + adjectival participle (for intransitive verbs)). Attention must be drawn to two facts. (a) In contrast to Present Perfect A', Present Perfect B' is not compatible with all verbs[3]. And (b) The initial hypothesis that the *ime* 'be' + adjectival participle Present Perfect B' obtains with intransitive verbs turns out to be descriptively inadequate. If we go through the list of verbs that form the *ime* 'be' + adjectival participle Present Perfect B', we see that it obtains with a subclass of intransitive verbs. Points (a) and (b) are in fact related. The set of verbs which cannot form Present Perfect B' is the same as the set of intransitive verbs which cannot form the *ime* 'be' + adjectival participle Present Perfect B'. Concerning Cypriot Greek (CG), on the other hand, Menardos (1969) observes that it has Present Perfect B', but no Present Perfect A' and uses Past Tense instead. In addition, earlier point (b) is also valid for CG. Not all intransitive

verbs can form the *ime* 'be' + adjectival participle Present Perfect B'.

Going back to SG, even though the majority of verbs (that is to the exception of a subclass of intransitive verbs, which cannot form Present Perfect B') can form either Present Perfect A' or Present Perfect B', it is not always possible to substitute one form for the other, as there can be a difference in interpretation between Present Perfect A' and Present Perfect B'. Which minimally suggests that Present Perfect A' and Present Perfect B' share one reading and that Present Perfect A' has at least one more reading. It needs to be investigated what these readings are.

Section 2 presents two of the readings associated with the perfect morphology crosslinguistically, namely the existential reading and the result reading; and Kratzer's (2003) theory, according to which the distinction between these two readings is a semantic one. Before assigning readings to Present Perfect A', Present Perfect B' and Past Tense in SG, and Present Perfect B' and Past Tense in CG, Section 3 presents a number of arguments for the claim that the existential reading and the result reading are in fact distinct readings. In the frame of the proposed semantic distinction between the existential reading and the result reading, we develop an understanding of a number of points in our pretheoretic description of the data. In particular, the subclass of intransitive verbs that can form Present Perfect B' turns out to be the unaccusative class. Those verbs which cannot form Present Perfect B' are the same intransitive verbs which cannot form the *ime* 'be' + adjectival participle Present Perfect B', namely the class of unergative verbs. Next, in Sections 4 and 5 the paper addresses the question how the existential and the result readings pattern with SG and CG tenses. The claims advanced appear in (1) and (2).

(1)   Standard Greek
a.   Present Perfect A' is ambiguous between the existential reading and the result reading.
b.   Present Perfect B' can only have the result reading.
c.   Past Tense is three-way ambiguous between the 'definite' reading, the existential reading and the result reading.
(2)   Cypriot Greek
a.   Present Perfect B' can only have the result reading.
b.   Past Tense is three-way ambiguous between the 'definite' reading, the existential reading and the result reading.

2. Uses of the Present Perfect

1.1 The Existential/Result Distinction

The meaning of the perfect requires an interval, the perfect time span (cf. Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou and Izvorski 2001). The left boundary (LB) of this time span is set by the argument of the *since* -adverbial. The right boundary (RB) is set by tense on the perfect auxiliary. In the Present Perfect the RB is the utterance time. I will only look at the existential perfect and the perfect of result, and will not discuss the universal perfect or the perfect of recent past.

The existential perfect asserts that within the perfect time span there is some (at least one) interval in which an (un)bounded eventuality occurs. The unbounded versus bounded eventuality distinction was proposed by Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou and Izvorski (2001:191): "An eventuality is described as unbounded when it is ongoing at an interval (and is therefore not asserted to have reached an endpoint - achievement of the goal, in the case of telics; termination for atelics.) An eventuality is described as bounded when it is contained in an interval (i.e., when it is asserted to have completed/ terminated).". Examples (3) and (4) involve a bounded and an unbounded eventuality, respectively. According to Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou and Izvorski (2001), a proper inclusion requirement holds for the existential reading; namely, the boundaries of the perfect time span cannot be part of the eventuality.

(3) Existential reading, bounded eventuality
     eho psifisi   dhio fores   apo to 1994
     have-I voted   twice   since the 1994
     "I have voted twice since 1994."
(4) Existential reading, unbounded eventuality
     eho ZISI[4]   sti Lefkosia   apo to 1994
     have-I LIVED in Nicosia   since the 1994
     "Since 1994 there has been a period during which I have lived in Nicosia."

The perfect of result is taken to be possible only with telic predicates and only for so long as the effect of the underlying eventuality holds. Example (5) can be a result perfect only if said while my arm is still broken. As soon as my arm heals, (5) can only be said as an existential perfect.

(5) eho spasi   to heri mu
     have-I broken   the arm-ACC my
     "I have broken my arm."

The general tendency is to assume that the perfect of result is not an independent category but a subcase of the existential perfect. A couple of researchers have argued otherwise (cf. Brugger 1997 and Kratzer 2003).

1.2 Kratzer's (2003) proposal for the result reading

Before defining the result reading, we need to look at Parsons' (1990) analysis of an event's "target state". Parsons argues that the perfect is a construction that produces a state description from an event (or state) description. For every event e that culminates, there is a corresponding state that holds forever after. This is the state of e's having culminated, which Parsons calls the "resultant state of e". Notably, the resultant state of an event is distinguished from its target state. Parsons (1990:235) illustrates the two notions with the following example: "If I throw a ball onto the roof, the target state of this event is the ball's being on the roof, a state that may or may not last for a long time. ... the Resultant-state is different; it is the state of my having thrown the ball onto the roof, and it is a state that cannot cease holding at some later time.".

Kratzer (2003) builds a semantic analysis of the perfect of result on Parsons' "target state". In particular, she claims that as a semantic category the perfect of result is encoded in the meaning of the adjectival suffix in adjectival participles. She shows that the verbs that can form adjectival participles are precisely those that comfortably allow the perfect of result in that they are easily conceptualized as having target states.

Prima facie, Present Perfect B' data in SG and CG seem to confirm Kratzer's theory. As shown in Sections 4 and 5 for SG and CG, respectively, Present Perfect B', which is formed with the adjectival participle, can only have the result reading. And if we attempt to identify the class of predicates that can form adjectival participles, we find out that it is the same class of predicates that can form (a) adjectival participles and (b) Present Perfect B'. However, a closer examination of SG and CG data suggests we should take into account the following facts. In SG, besides Present Perfect B', Present Perfect A' can also express the result reading. Crucially, Present Perfect A' is formed with an invariable perfective participle of the lexical verb, which is not an adjectival participle. In the case of SG, it is, therefore, not possible to claim that the result reading resides in the meaning of the adjectival suffix of the adjectival participle. For this reason I will adopt the 'smaller' hypothesis that the class of predicates that can form adjectival participles is compatible with the result reading. In the case of CG as well, Kratzer's stronger hypothesis is not confirmed, as Past Tense can also have the result reading.

3. The Existential/Result Distinction is Semantic

So far the only diagnostic test we have for the existential reading is the availability of eventuality-level adverbials. Next, I will present nine arguments for the claim that the existential/result distinction is a semantic one. For arguments 6(a)-(g) I am only looking at Present Perfect A' forms. Arguments

6(h)-(i) are built on Present Perfect B'. Arguments 6(a)-(g) can be used as diagnostic tests for distinguishing between the existential and the result reading.

(6) Diagnostic tests for distinguishing between the existential reading and the result reading:
   a. Possible vagueness w.r.t. the number of events.
   b. Focal stress on the lexical verb.
   c. Temporal placement of the event.
   d. Availability of the *poson kero? / posi ora?* 'how long for?' question.
   e. Availability/ interpretation of the adverbial *idhi* 'already, as early as'.
   f. Temporal interpretation of clauses embedded under present perfect predicates.
   g. Interpretation of the prefix *ksana* – 'again'.
   h. The single reading of Present Perfect B' versus the ambiguous reading of Present Perfect A'.
   i. The unavailability of Present Perfect B' with unergative predicates.

a. Possible vagueness with respect to the number of events.
In their discussion of the existential reading, Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou and Izvorski (2001:200) make the point that "When there is no overt eventuality-level adverbial, the context (possibly as a default mechanism along the lines of existential closure (Heim 1982) provides one with roughly the meaning '(at least) once' (henceforth, *ONCE*)". Consider (7), where the subject may have gone to the States more than once. While with the result reading only one eventuality can be involved (cf. 8(b)).

(7) Existential reading
    ehi PAI   stin ameriki ke   kseri   pos   ine
    has-he GONE to the States and knows-he how is-it
    "He has been to the States and he knows how it is."

(8) Result reading
   a. Pu   ine o Tasos   ?
      where is   the Tasos-NOM. ?
      "Where is Tasos?"
   b. ehi pai   stin ameriki
      has-he gone to the States-ACC.
      "He has gone to the States."

b. Focal stress on the lexical verb
This is a phonological test to distinguish between the existential reading and the result reading. In particular, a sentence with an existential perfect places focal stress on the overt eventuality-level adverbial or equivalent expression[5], as in

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(9). In the absence of an overt eventuality-level adverbial in the sentence, the existential reading seems to require focal stress on the lexical verb (cf. (10)). The result reading, in contrast, requires no focal stress, as illustrated in example (11), and normally places default stress on the final content word of the sentence.

(9) Existential reading
ehi alaksi   dhio FORES ghrafio   apo ton oktovrio
has-he moved   TWICE   office-ACC. since the october-ACC.
"He has moved office twice since last October."
  (10) Existential reading
        ehi ALAKSI   ghrafio   apo ton oktovrio
        has-he MOVED office-ACC. since the october-ACC.
"He has moved office (at least once) since last October."
  (11) Result reading
        ehi alaksi   ghrafio   apo ton OKTOVRIO
        has-he moved office-ACC. since the OCTOBER-ACC.
        "He has been in a different office since last October."

The question arises about the role played by the focal stress on the verb in the case of the existential reading. It is relevant at this point to remember Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou and Izvorski's (2001) assumption that in the absence of an overt eventuality-level adverbial, the context, as a default mechanism along the lines of existential closure, provides an eventuality-level adverbial with the meaning 'at least once'. It could be argued that the role of the focal stress on the lexical verb is to trigger this default mechanism.

c. Temporal placement of the event
In line with Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou and Izvorski (2001), I have assumed that the LB of the perfect time span is set by the argument of *apo* 'since', while its RB is the utterance time. If we go back to the existential reading in earlier example (10), the eventuality of moving office could have taken place at any interval between last October and the utterance time. As argued by Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou and Izvorski (2001), the eventuality cannot be placed at either the LB or the RB of the perfect time span. Interestingly, in the perfect of result the eventuality is obligatorily placed at the LB of the perfect time span. Thus, in (11) the eventuality of moving office can only have taken place last October.

d. Availability of the *poson kero? / posi ora?* 'how long?' question.
With the result reading (cf. (12)), but not with the existential reading (cf. (13)), it is possible to formulate the question *poson kero? / posi ora?* 'how long?' to enquire about the interval that has elapsed since the eventuality was completed

and up to the utterance time.

(12) Result reading
a.   eho mayiremena
    have-I cooked
    "I have cooked."

b.   posi ora   ?
    how much hour ?
    "Since when?"

(13) Existential reading
a.   ehi htenisi   ti Madonna
    has-he done the hair   the Madonna-ACC.
    "He has done Madonna's hair."

b.   *poson kero   ?
    how much time   ?

e. Availability and interpretation of the adverbial *idhi* 'already, as early as'.
The adverbial *idhi* is compatible with both the existential and the result readings. Example (14) below is ambiguous between an existential and a result reading. Note that example (14) does not contain a *since* –adverbial.

(14) ehi   idhi   alaksi ghrafio
    has-he already moved office-ACC.
    "He has already moved office."

Next, I am going to take former examples (10) and (11), which contain a *since* – adverbial, and check whether *idhi* is still possible in both the existential and the result reading (cf. (15) and (16), respectively). The examples are ungrammatical, despite the grammaticality of (14). Which suggests that *idhi* is in complementary distribution with *since* -adverbials in both the existential and the result reading. The interpretation of *idhi* so far has been that of 'already'.

(15) *ehi   idhi   ALAKSI ghrafio   apo ton oktovrio
    has-he already MOVED office-ACC. since the october-ACC.

(16) *ehi idhi   alaksi ghrafio   apo ton OKTOVRIO
    has-he already moved office-ACC. since the OCTOBER-ACC.

Finally, it is examined whether *idhi* can modify the *since* –adverbial in either the existential or the result reading. We see that when *idhi* modifies the *since* - adverbial, it is only compatible with the result reading (cf. (18)); hence the ungrammaticality of (17) in the existential reading. The reading of *idhi*

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modifying the *since* –adverbial is 'as early as'.

(17) Existential reading
    *ehi ALAKSI   ghrafio   idhi   apo ton oktovrio
    has-he MOVED office-ACC. as early as since the october-ACC.

(18) Result reading
    ehi alaksi   ghrafio   idhi   apo ton OKTOVRIO
    has-he moved office-ACC. as early as since the OCTOBER-ACC.
    "He has been in a different office since as early as last October."

f. Temporal interpretation of clauses embedded under present perfect predicates. Brugger (1997) has shown that in English the existential present perfect allows both the simultaneous and the shifted interpretation for embedded past tense clauses. The same appears to be the case in SG. Thus, (19) allows for the simultaneous interpretation and the shifted interpretation. In contrast with the existential perfect, the result perfect only allows the shifted reading (cf. (20)).

(19) Existential reading
    tu   eho pi   oti   imun arosti
    him have-I told that was-I ill-FEM.
    "I have told him that I was ill."

(20) Result reading
    ton eho enimerosi   oti imun arosti
    him have-I informed that was-I ill-FEM.
    "I have informed him that I was ill."

g. Interpretation of the prefix *ksana* – 'again'.
I owe this argument to Clio Condoravdi. The existential reading and the result reading pattern differently with respect to the interpretation of the verbal prefix *ksana* – 'again'. In the existential perfect (cf. (21)) the prefix *ksana* - marks that there has been at least one other occurrence of the eventuality. While in the result perfect (cf. (22)) the prefix *ksana* - is interpreted as 'before'.

(21) Existential reading
    to 2001 emina   egios   sti Maria
    the 2001 became-I pregnant-NOM. with the Mary-ACC.
    apo tote   eho ksana-MINI   egios
    since then have-I again-BECOME pregnant-NOM.
    "In 2001 I became pregnant with Mary. Since then I have become pregnant again (at least once)."

(22) Result reading
    eho ksana-MINI   egios

have-I again-BECOME pregnant-NOM.
"I have been pregnant before."

h. The single reading of Present Perfect B' versus the ambiguous reading of Present Perfect A'.

If we apply arguments (a)-(g) to Present Perfect B' forms we see that, in contrast to Present Perfect A', which is ambiguous between an existential and a result reading (cf. 23)), Present Perfect B' only has a result reading. Ungrammatical (24) involves a clash between the presence of the eventuality-level adverbial *pote* 'ever', a marker of the existential reading, and the form of Present Perfect B', which can only have the result reading.

(23) ehis dhiavasi Monti   ?
     have-you read Montis-ACC. ?
     "Have you read Montis"

(24) *ehis dhiavasmeno pote Monti   ?
     have-you read   ever Montis-ACC. ?

In (24) the ungrammaticality of Present Perfect B' in the existential reading supports the hypothesis that the result reading and the existential reading are distinct readings. If the result reading were a subcase of the existential reading, then, given the appropriate context, it should be possible to obtain the existential reading with Present Perfect B', as well. But it is not.

i. The unavailability of Present Perfect B' with unergative predicates.

A closer look at the classes of predicates which can form Present Perfect B' supplies additional evidence for the proposed distinction between the existential reading and the result reading. Although it is possible to have Present Perfect B' with three-place predicates (Agent, Theme, Goal), two-place predicates (Agent, Theme) and a subclass of one-place predicates, namely unaccusative predicates, it is not possible to have Present Perfect B' with the other subclass of one-place predicates, namely unergative predicates (cf. ungrammatical (25)).

(25) *ime tilefonimenos
     am-I phoned-MASC.-SING.
     "I have phoned."

What the unavailability of Present Perfect B' with unergative predicates reduces to is the incompatibility between the result reading and unergative predicates. If there is, in fact, this strong correspondence between a syntactic typology of predicates and the result reading, this could be taken as a strong argument for

the semantic basis of the distinction between the existential reading and the result reading. And that is not something you can manipulate through context.

4. Standard Greek

On the basis of SG data, I have presented nine arguments for the claim that the result reading is distinct from the existential reading and I have argued (a) that Present Perfect A' is ambiguous between the existential reading and the result reading, and (b) that Present Perfect B' only has the result reading. Arguments 6(a)-(g) may function as diagnostic tests. The context can also determine which reading a particular utterance has. Sometimes, the context does more than that. I will next present a case where the context could 'override' the outcome of a particular diagnostic test, namely the 'focal stress on the lexical verb' test. Earlier examples (10) and (11), repeated below, are contrasted.

(10) Existential reading
ehi ALAKSI   ghrafio   apo ton oktovrio
has-he MOVED office-ACC. since the october-ACC.
"He has moved office (at least once) since last October."

(11) Result reading
ehi alaksi   ghrafio   apo ton OKTOVRIO
has-he moved   office-ACC. since the OCTOBER-ACC.
"He has been in a different office since last October."

According to this test, obligatory focal stress on the lexical verb marks the existential reading. In this case focal stress on the lexical verb (cf. (10)) is not interpreted as semantic focus; its function is to trigger the default mechanism which provides an eventuality-level adverbial with the meaning 'at least once'. But at the same time focal stress on the verb can alternatively be interpreted as contrastive focus on the verb or the verb phrase. Could (10) be ambiguous between an existential reading with no semantic focus on the verb and a result reading with contrastive focus on the verb? It turns out it could, as long as we had a context that favors a 'contrastive verb focus' reading (cf. (26) next).

(26)   Result reading, with contrastive focus on the verb.
pistepse   me ehi ALAKSI   ghrafio apo ton oktovri
believe-IMP.-you me has-he MOVED office   since october-ACC.
"Believe me. He did move office last October."

Example (26) does not show that the 'focal stress on the lexical verb' test does not always hold. Rather, that it must be accompanied with absence of a focal interpretation.

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At this point I would like to raise two questions. First, whether the result reading of Present Perfect B' is accounted for in terms of the elements present in its morphosyntactic representation. And second, whether the existential reading and the result reading are exclusively associated with the perfect. To address the morphosyntactic representation of Present Perfect B' first, I would like to bring attention to the following three points: (a) the choice between the auxiliary *eho* 'have' and the auxiliary *ime* 'be', (b) the unavailability of ergative predicates in Present Perfect B', and (c) the -*menos* adjectival participle. Points (b) and (c) are, in fact, related. Only unaccusative predicates can form -*menos* adjectival participles. However, according to (b), it is not just unaccusative predicates that can form Present Perfect B'; two-place predicates and three-place predicates can, too. Properties (b) and (c) are reconciled, if we assume that two-place and three-place predicates, in having a Theme in their theta-grid, can, and indeed trigger an unaccusative component as part of their lexical meaning in the result reading of the perfect. Why can't unergative predicates form Present Perfect B'? Allegedly, because the precondition of assigning a Theme is not satisfied. I am not claiming that unaccusative predicates cannot have the existential reading. The existential reading makes sense for all kinds of eventualities. On the other hand, the result reading is not compatible with all eventualities. The morphosyntax of Present Perfect B' excludes the possibility of it expressing the existential reading.

Finally, the second of the two questions raised earlier. Namely, whether the existential and the result readings are exclusively associated with the perfect. It does not seem so. The existential reading and the result reading exist independently of the perfect morphology. In particular, in SG the existential and the result reading can also obtain with past tense morphology, as long as there are overt or covert adverbials to set the LB and the RB of a time span within which there is some (at least one) interval in which the subject has a certain experience (in the case of existential reading); alternatively (in the case of the result reading), the *since* -adverbial sets the LB of a time span, at which LB the subject has an experience, the effect of which still holds. Example (27), where the verb is in the past tense has the same interpretation as earlier example (3).

(27) psifisa   dhio fores   apo to 1994
     voted-I   twice   since the 1994
     "I have voted twice since 1994."

We have seen that the LB of the perfect time span is set by the argument of *apo* 'since' and the RB is set by the present tense of the perfect auxiliary. We could assume that, if not by the present tense on the perfect auxiliary, in the case of past tense having an existential reading the RB is alternatively set by an overt or covert adverbial *mehri simera* 'up to today' or *mehri tora* 'up to now'.

Obviously, one of the two, i.e. present tense on the perfect auxiliary or an overt/covert adverbial, would suffice to set the RB. In principle, it should then be possible to set a time span without the perfect morphology. And it seems that this is optionally the case in SG. To sum up, a description of the state of affairs in SG appears in (1), repeated below.

(1)   Standard Greek
a.   Present Perfect A' is ambiguous between the existential reading and the result reading.
b.   Present Perfect B' can only have the result reading.
c.   Past Tense is three-way ambiguous between the 'definite' reading, the existential reading and the result reading.

5. Cypriot Greek

As already pointed out, Cypriot Greek is characterized by lack of Present Perfect A'. A description of the state of affairs in CG appears in (2), repeated below.

(2)   Cypriot Greek
a.   Present Perfect B' can only have the result reading.
b.   Past Tense is three-way ambiguous between the 'definite' reading, the existential reading and the result reading.

5.1 Result reading

In Cypriot Greek, the result reading may be realized by means of Present Perfect B', as seen in (28). The eventuality is placed at the left boundary of the perfect time span, i.e. this morning at ten o'clock.

(28) eho   ta   mairemena ta faya   pu tis dheka
     have-I   them cooked   the dishes-ACC.   since the ten (o'clock)
     "As early as ten o'clock (this morning) I finished cooking a number of dishes. (They are ready for us.)"

Alternatively, the result reading is realized by means of Past Tense (cf. (29)).

(29) alaksen   ghrafion   pu ton oktovrin
     moved-he   office-ACC.   since the October-ACC.
     "He has been in another office since last October."

If, as claimed in 2(b), Past Tense in Cypriot Greek is three-way ambiguous between the 'definite' reading, the existential reading and the result reading, how can we tell the past tense in (29) has the result reading. The clue is generally provided by the context. The context for (29) is the following: A is looking for B, goes to the office where B used to work, A does not find B there, and the people who currently work in that office utter (29). In a different context, the sentence would have an existential reading. The *since* –adverbial blocks the 'definite' reading for (29). In addition to the context specification for (29), the diagnostic tests for distinguishing between the existential and the result reading can be applied to (29). Thus, in the context described above, there should be a ban on "at least once" reading. Moreover, the default stress should not fall on the lexical verb, unless the latter is focused. Also, the eventuality of moving office should be obligatorily placed last October. There is actually a version of the *since* –adverbial that is only compatible with the result reading, i.e. *eshi pu ... pu* 'it is since ... that', in contrast to the 'simple' form of the *since* – adverbial, which is compatible with either the result or the existential reading (cf. (30).

(30) eshi pu ton oktovrin   pu   alaksen   ghrafion
     it is   since the October-ACC.   that   moved-he office-ACC.
     "He has been in another office since last October."

Moreover, it should be possible to form the question *poson keron/ posin oran eshi pu ...* 'how long is it that ...?', to enquire about the interval that has elapsed since the eventuality was completed and up to the utterance time. The adverbial *idhi* 'as early as' must be able to modify the *since* –adverbial. The simultaneous interpretation should not be available for a clause embedded under a 'result' past tense. The prefix *ksana* – should be interpreted as 'before', rather than 'again'. The prefix *ksana* – interpreted as 'before' is actually one of the markers for the result reading (cf. (31) from Karyolemou 1995).

(31)   eksanapires   etsi tsighara   ?
       took-you before   such cigarettes   ?
       "Have you tried this make of cigarettes before?"

5.2 Existential reading

As for the existential reading, this is realized in CG by means of past tense morphology (cf. (32)). In addition to the context and the diagnostic tests, there are a number of markers for the existential reading. These include *potte* 'ever' (cf. (32)), *kammia fora* 'any time', *sti zoi mu* 'in my life', *os tora* 'up to now' and overt eventuality-level adverbials.

(32) epies   potte stin amerikin   ?
     went-you ever   to the States-ACC. ?
     "Have you ever gone to the States?"

33(a) below is the context for 33(b) and 33(c). 33(b) shows that past tense can express the existential reading. The ungrammaticality of 33(c), on the other hand, shows that Present Perfect B' cannot express the existential reading.

(33)
a.   en   mairefki potte
     not   cooks   ever
     "He never cooks."
b.   yati lalis   psemata ? emairepsa   poles fores
     why tell-you lies-ACC. ? cooked-Past-I many times
     "Why do you lie? I have cooked many times."
c.   yati lalis   psemata ? *eho mairemena   poles fores
     why tell-you lies-ACC. ? have-I cooked-Pr.PerfB' many times

Cypriot Greek has both Past Perfect A' and Past Perfect B' (cf. (34) and (35), respectively, from Karyolemou 1995).

(34) iha   tus   milisi   ya tuton to thema
     had-I to-them talked   about this the subject-ACC.
     "I had talked to them about this subject"
(35) ihamen kalesmenus ton Spiron   ton Nikon   aftus ulus
     had-we invited   the Spiros-ACC. the Nikos-ACC. them all-ACC
     "We had invited Spiros, Nicos, the whole lot."

The question arises whether it is expected for a dialect to have Past Perfect A', when it does not have Present Perfect A'. According to Nikolaos Pantelidis (p.c.), this patterning is representative of Greek dialects in general. Brian Joseph informs me that the formation of (compositional) Past Perfect A' takes place in the 13th century, as a loan from the Romance languages, while the formation of (compositional) Present Perfect A' takes place in the 17th century. We assume that Cypriot Greek, like other Greek dialects, never adopted Present Perfect A'.

6. Conclusions

I have argued that the existential reading and the result reading are two distinct readings. I have also demonstrated, through empirical facts from Standard Greek and Cypriot Greek, that the existential reading and the result reading exist independently of the perfect morphology. In Cypriot Greek, in particular, the existential reading is only realized by means of past tense morphology. As for the result reading, it is realized by means of perfect morphology (cf. Present Perfect B') or past tense morphology.

7. Notes

[3] The reason for that is not morphological. The problem seems to be that the lexical reading of some verbs is not compatible with the reading of Present Perfect B'.

[4] Capital letters mark obligatory stress on the lexical verb. Why this is so is addressed in Section 3, and in particular in the discussion of *focal stress on the lexical verb* .

[5] In example (1) below, I take the linguistic expression *ke sto parelthon* 'in the past, too' to be an expression equivalent to an eventuality-level adverbial because it entails the eventuality-level adverbial 'at least once'.

(1)   Existential reading
       ehi alaksi   ghrafio   ke sto parelthon
       has-he moved   office-ACC.   and in the past-ACC.
       "He has moved office in the past, too."

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9. Περίληψη

Το άρθρο ασχολείται με τις σημασίες που αποδίδονται στον παρακείμενο στην Κοινή και
την Κυπριακή. Σε αντίθεση με την Κοινή, η Κυπριακή έχει μόνο Παρακείμενο Β', και
δεν έχει Παρακείμενο Α'. Συγκεκριμένα εξετάζεται (α) Εάν η υπαρκτική σημασία και η
σημασία του αποτελέσματος είναι διακριτές σημασίες και (β) Ποιες σημασίες εκφράζει ο
Παρακείμενος Α' και ο Παρακείμενος Β' στην Κοινή, και ο Παρακείμενος Β' και ο
Αόριστος στην Κυπριακή.

De la chaîne phonique au mot :
structures syllabiques et formes lexicales du grec pontique.

Georges Drettas
C.N.R.S. – Paris

The work of A. Malikouti is till now focused on syllabic structures as core objects of descriptive and theoretical phonology. Some contemporary practices try to give to syllable a mere theoretical status, either in the frame of post-prague school structuralism, or of post-generativist phonologies. What is common to the different trends is the idea that syllabic reality do act as an *interface* between phonology and morphology. We try to describe the phonotactic structures of pontic greek, first from the point of view of the lexical whole, giving the way to the definition of the phonological word. We look then at the actual phonic strings which show the basic syllabic patterns. By the mean of the rythm concept we explain the intermixing of phonotactic strings with moods of marking pragmatic features.

Mots-clés : grec pontique, grec oriental, structures syllabiques, typologie, rythme, phonotactique.

1. Introduction

1.1. On peut définir la langue naturelle comme un système dyna-mique composé de deux mécanismes qui fonctionnent dans une interaction : c'est d'un côté la grammaire et de l'autre côté le lexique ou thesaurus. Le thesaurus contient tous les "mots" possibles de langue, c'est-à-dire que tant qu'une langue est vivantes, son lexique est théoriquement infini.

1.2. La composante phonologique de la langue contient des éléments de base, les phonèmes et les traits phonologiques ainsi que des règles phonotactiques qui définissent les combinaisons des éléments phoniques.

1.3. Il est clair que la totalité des règles phonotactiques constitue un *interface*, au sens propre de ce terme, entre la phonologie et la morpho-logie de la langue.

L'existence de règles morpho-phonologiques spéci-fiques dépend du type d'interface présent dans une langue donnée.

On remarquera que les procédures de l'analyse phonologique classique (École de Prague, distributionnalisme américain, etc.) applique au lexique le modèle des axes paradigmatique et syntagma-tique dont le croisement permet d'établir les positions de pertinence.

C'est la notion, au demeurant fort ancienne, de la *syllabe* qui constitue l'élément fondamental de l'interface que nous évoquions. L'importance de l'objet "syllabe" a été souligné par tous les grands phonologues structuralistes (N.S. Trubeckoj, R. Jakobson, Ch. Hockett, A. Martinet, A.G. Haudricourt, etc.) sans que son statut théorique ait été véritablement établi.

Dans les phonologies post-génératives, la syllabe est reconnue à la fois comme un lieu de contraintes liées à la *linéarité*, propriété universelle des chaînes phoniques, et comme trait, la *syllabicité+* qui permet à un élément d'assumer la fonction de *noyau*. Celui-ci reflète une propriété phonétique universelle : le noyau syllabique doit posséder un degré fort de sonorité par contraste avec les éléments de la chaîne qui occurrent à gauche ou à droite. La recherche d'une détermination physique et physiologique aux contraintes du système phonique a produit la représentation en arbre de la syllabe théorique.

1.4. La syllabe (σ) apparaît composée de deux éléments fondamen-taux, l'*attaque* (en anglais *onset*) et la *rime* (en anglais *rhyme*). La rime est elle-même composée du *noyau*, porteur du degré maximal de sonorité, et la fin de syllabe ou *coda*, littéralement queue. Cette syllabe prototypique correspond à la suite CVC et sera représentée comme suit :
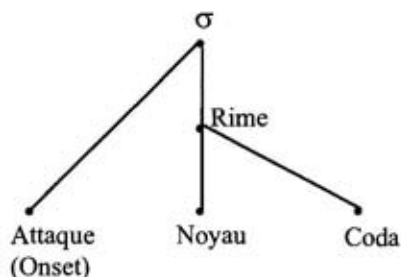
La suite VC correspond à une attaque zéro. La suite CV corres-pond à une coda nulle ; c'est ce que l'on appelait traditionnellement une *syllabe ouverte*.

La comparaison des inventaires phonématiques dans les trois positions ainsi définies permet de définir des types syllabiques (G. Drettas, 2001).

On constate que, dans l'ensemble grec, les dialectes se rangent dans les trois types syllabique suivants :

I. CVC, où C^2 = [s, n, s]. C'est la formule de la langue officielle actuelle (ou koinhv neoellhnikhv) qui n'est pas très différente de ce que l'on avait en grec ancien (voir Christidis [ed.], 2001).

II. CV ou, à l'inverse, VC. Il s'agit d'une formule phonotactique présente dans des dialectes qui peuvent paraître résiduels mais dont l'importance historique ne peut être minimisée. Ainsi, en gréco-calabrais, le dialecte de Roghudi-Ghorio ne possède que des syllabes ouvertes, c'est-à-dire des coda zéro. Ces dialectes, qui ont été appelés géminants, présentent la particularité de dévelop-per des attaques (onset) fortes.

III. CVC, où C1 = C2. Il s'agit du grec nordique (Macédoine, Épire, Thessalie, Lesvos, etc.) et de l'ensemble oriental (gréco-criméen, pontique, Cappadoce). Sans entrer dans les détails, nous dirons que ces dialectes présentent des inventaires similaires en position d'attaque et en coda.

Cette dernière position est très riche en pontique qui connaît de nombreuses séquences –VCC# mais également des suites tri-consonnantiques –VCCC#, où, il est ,vrai, le C3 est le plus souvent un élément sonore, un /r/ p.ex. (voir G. Drettas, 1997).

Dans l'espace dialectal grec, les coda consonantiques les plus complexes se trouvent dans certaines variétés nordiques (voir M. Ronka, 1985 ; G. Drettas, 2001).

2. Représentation du *mot phonologique.*

2.1. L'intérêt heuristique de l'arbre syllabique est indéniable. Cela dit, ce mode de représentation a été délaissé, pour des raisons qui ne sont pas toujours fondées en théorie (voir J.P. Angoujard, 1997). Dans des textes rédigés dans la même période, nous voyons A. Malikouti-Drachman faire usage de l'image de l'arbre dans sa contribution à l'*Histoire de la Langue grecque*, puis nous la voyons utiliser un autre mode de présentation dans sa contribution au colloque de Chypre, en1999 (v. A. Malikouti-Drachman, 2001).

Outre les effets d'une évolution théorique que nous n'examinerons pas ici, l'image de l'arbre présente des inconvénients certains d'ordre pratique dans les langues dont les *mots phonologiques* corrects peuvent être constitués de plus de deux syllabes.

2.2. Le grec est aujourd'hui une langue agglutinante que l'on peut décrire ainsi : les lexèmes, verbaux ou nominaux, assument la fonction de tête de syntagme.

Chaque lexème est gouverné par une syllabe tonique. La place de cette syllabe donnée dans le thesaurus. Les éléments divers qui constituent un syntagme complexe et bien formé, se préfixent ou se suffixent à la forme de base. Deux brefs exemples de représentation par arbre suffiront à évoquer des inconvénients potentiels :
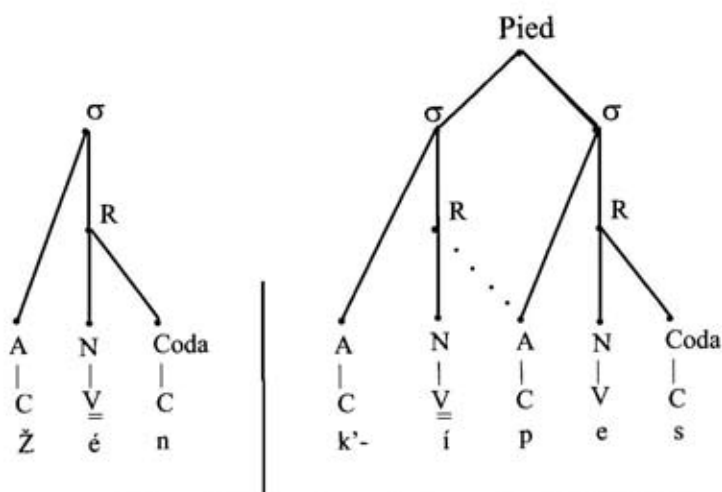
a) V. pontique /nenkázo/ "je fatigue qqn", moyen /nenkáskume/ "je me fatigue, on me fatigue, je suis fatigué". L'injonctif singulier du V moyen revêt la forme /nenkást/ "sois fatigué !" ; la formule syllabique correspondante #CVCCVCC# peut être représentée par l'arbre :
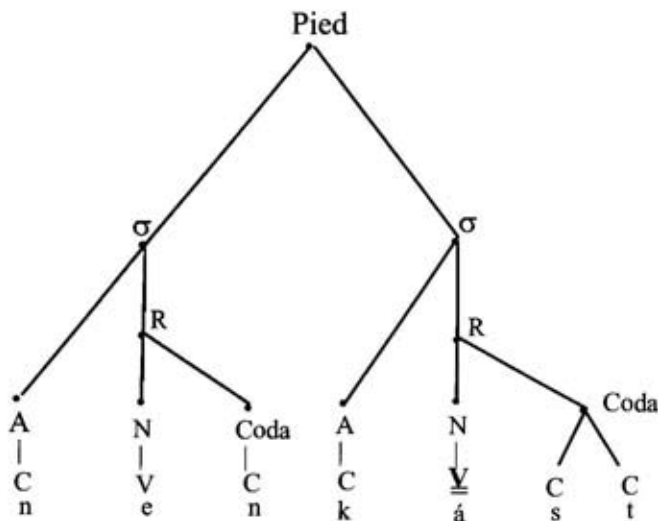
Si nous avons un pied de plus de deux syllabes, ce qui est assez fréquent, la lisibilité devient très problématique. Cette critique ne doit pas faire oublier le fait que l'arbre syllabique permet une visualisation intéressante de la jonction entre coda et attaque, dans le système pontique, par exemple.

b) Énoncé pontique # ∂ é n kʰí p e s # "tu n'as rien dit".

Suite syllabique : c v c   c v c v c .

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Pied

σ   σ   σ

  R   R   R

A   N   Coda   A   N   A   N   Coda

C   V̲   C   C   V̲   C   V   C

Ž   é   n   k'- í   p   e   s

L'image montre clairement l'interaction entre les codas et les attaques, dans la chaîne. On sait que, dans le diasystème, la position intervocalique est celle où peut occurrer l'inventaire consonantique maximal. L'arbre, toutefois, est un dispositif trop lourd pour repré-senter économiquement le rapport entre la syllabe forte, porteuse de l'accent, et les syllabes atones qu'elle domine en assurant l'identité du "mot phonologique".

Une métaphore d'origine musicale et destinée, au début, à traiter des problèmes accentuels et tonaux, a produit une représentation en deux lignes qui sépare la "mélodie", c'est-à-dire les voyelles (vocoïdes, sonores syllabiques, etc.) du squelette consonantique (J.P. Angoujard, 1997). Dans cette notation, la suite CVCCV sera représentée comme suit :

$$\text{mélodie :} \quad x \qquad x$$
$$\text{squelette :} \quad \bullet \mid \bullet \bullet \mid$$
$$\text{chaîne :} \quad C V C C V$$

2.3. On peut évidemment simplifier cette notation en reportant la mélodie et le squelette sur la même ligne. Si l'on veut noter une suite contenant une syllabe tonique et une syllabe atone, on écrira :

$$C V̲ C V \quad = \quad \bullet \overset{x}{x} \bullet x$$

On constate que chaque lexème, nominal ou verbal, possède une syllabe tonique qui domine les autres. La dominance s'effectue de droite à gauche (G. Drettas, 2004). Exemples :

a) /enixtóθa/, V moyen "prendre nuit" 1p. sing. aor. = "j'ai été pris par la nuit".

$$x \cdot x \cdot \cdot \overset{x}{x} \cdot x$$
$$V\,C\,V\,C\,C\,\underset{=}{V}\,C\,V$$

/ e n i x t ó θ a /

Remarque : De nombreux dialectes grecs, dont la dhimotikí, limitent la place de la syllabe tonique à la troisième position à droite de la fin du mot phonologique. C'est ce que l'on appelle traditionnellement la "loi des trois syllabes" (νόμος της τρισυλλαβίας). Dans les dialectes qui l'appliquent, elle détermine les modes de jointure des clitiques. La loi des trois syllabes limite, par exemple, la suffixation d'éléments à droite de la tête syntagmatique. Cette loi syllabique n'existe pas dans plusieurs dialectes, dont le pontique, le chypriote, etc.

b) /érθamen/, V "venir" 1p. plur. aor. = "nous sommes venus, nous étions venus".

$$\overset{x}{x} \cdot \cdot x \cdot x \cdot$$
$$\underset{\cdot}{V}\,C\,C\,V\,C\,V\,C$$

/ é r θ a m e n /

2.4. Cet exemple nous permet de souligner l'importance de la dominance qui s'établit en rapport avec la fin du mot phonologique ; la limite à droite sera définie comme le lieu où peut intervenir une chute tonale ou "pause forte".
Dans la réalité lexicale, la langue utilise des suites où se mani-feste le rôle fondamental de la dichotomie tonique/atone, en tant que base rythmique caractérisant chaque item du thesaurus (G. Drettas, 2004).

L'ensemble lexical fait apparaître des éléments monosyllabiques toniques, lexèmes ou particules énonciatives : /pón/ "poulailler" ; /já/ part. assertive finale. Les autres éléments sont polysyllabiques.
Il y a une syllabe tonique par suite. Cette syllabe, que nous note-rons désormais X, cimente le mot phonologique. Les éléments atones sont des clitiques qui s'agglutinent à gauche ou à droite du noyau syntagmatique. La règle de limitation à droite, par rapport à la fin du mot, s'énonce comme suit :
– Une syllabe tonique peut être finale. En théorie, il n'y a pas de limitation à gauche. Remarquons qu'il s'agit là d'un trait diasys-témique.

– La syllabe tonique peut occuper jusqu'à la sixième position à gauche. Il s'agit là d'une particularité remarquable du pontique. Certes, avec la suffixation des indices possessifs, les SN peuvent proposer des quatrième position tonique comme, par exemple :

/to- pón/ "le poulailler", neut. sing. ;
/ta- pón.æ/ "les poulaillers", plur. ;
/ta- pónæmune/ "nos poulaillers".

Remarque : Il y a, dans le lexique pontique, un grand nombre de lexèmes nominaux (SN) qui sont soit monosyllabiques, au singulier, soit accentués sur la finale, position favorisée par les nombreux emprunts au turc.
Les SV présentent le plus grand nombre de cinquième, voire de sixième, positions. Les exemples sont légions (v. G. Drettas, 1997) et nous n'en présenterons ici qu'un, tout à fait typique de la morphologie verbale la plus courante :

    V "je nourris" /θréfo/ ∅ aor. /éθrepsa/ "j'ai nourri", plur.
/éθrepsamen/, suite représentée comme suit :
    X • • x • • x • x •

Si l'on ajoute un indice objectal, la 3p. masc. sing., par exemple, on obtient le syntagme /éθrepsamen.aton/ "nous l'avons nourri", dont la formule syllabique est :

        X • • x • • x • x • x • x •

Les SV que nous avons définis comme des éléments prédicatifs primaires sont également des segments rhématiques. Or, lorsqu'ils sont en position finale, devant une pause forte, la prothèse du /e/ est possible. On remarque qu'elle est fréquente à la fin d'une phase narrative. Par exemple : /eksénkanaten/ "ils l'avaient fait sortir", soit la formule :   x • • X • • x • x • x •
En position finale d'énoncé, elle devient:
/ eksénkanatene /, soit : x • • X • • x • x • x • x ‖

La prothèse a pour effet de déplacer la syllabe tonique de la quatrième à la cinquième position. Associée à l'exemple précédent, la prothèse, théoriquement possible, produirait une suite où la syllabe tonique serait en septième position :

/éθrepsamenaton/ ∅ /éθrepsamenatone /, soit :
        X • • x • • x • x • x • x • x ‖

Dans ce cas, la syllabe tonique doit être réalisée avec une force articulatoire importante, mais surtout se situer à un haut niveau tonal (en anglais : high pitch). Nous constatons une congruence entre le statut et la configura-tion syntagmatique avec la structure énonciative. En l'occurrence, il s'agit d'une portion rhématique qui est soulignée par une courbe intonative spécifique.

3. La réalité des chaînes phoniques et le rythme.

3.1. Dans une étude précédente, j'avais proposé un premier inventaire des formules syllabiques effectivement réalisées dans la langue. En effet, les éléments du thesaurus sont destinés à fonctionner dans des énoncés réels, soit des échanges dialogiques, soit des narrations. Dans l'étude précitée, j'illustrais la réalité énonciative par quelques exemples extraits de mon corpus (G. Drettas, 2004, p. 168). On s'apercevait, en effet, que la combinatoire des syllabes toniques et des syllabes atones était limitée, entre deux sommets intonatifs. Reprenons quelques exemples qui illustrent ce fait :

1) # atós / ekanóntsenatine #
formule : x • X • | x • x • X • • x • x • x • x ‖
　　　　"lui, il la régula (= il lui régla son compte)".

2) # an kʰ-epínan ekín-to-malín/kʰ-étroɣane #
formule : x • • x • X • x • x • X • • x • • x • X • | X • • x • x • x ‖
　　　　"si elles ne faisaient pas cette laine-là, elles ne mangeaient pas".

3) # epéθanan / epéθanane #
formule : x • X • x • x • | x • X • x • x • x ‖
　　　　"ils mouraient, ils mouraient".

4) # i-xulævra érθen k-entóken k-eθanátosemase #
formule : x • x • X • x X • • x • • x • • X • x • • x • x • X • x • x • x • x ‖
　　　　"le choléra est venu et il a frappé et il nous a fait mourir".

5) # pós kʰ-entókanatone !? #
formule : • X • • x • • X • x • x • x • x ‖
　　　　litt. "comment qu'ils ne l'ont pas battu !? ".

Dans cet énoncé interrogatif-exclamatif, qui renvoie à une assertion renforcée du fait "ils l'ont bien roué de coups", la courbe intonative commence par deux niveaux hauts (*high pitch*) séparés par une seule syllabe atone, puis la courbe redescend sur quatre temps faibles.

3.2. Sur la foi de ces données on a pu établir une liste des rythmes récurrents de la langue, c'est-à-dire des syllabes atones présentes entre deux syllabes toniques :

- X   x   X - (ou ‖, fin d'énoncé, finale absolue).
- X x x X -
- X x x x X -
- X x x x x X -

À cet inventaire des rythmes de base il faut rajouter la formule à intonation finale, qui implique un arrêt total du flux discursif :

- X x x x x x (x) ‖

Mais il convient aussi de compléter l'inventaire par la formule de deux temps forts correspondant à ce que l'on peut appeler une *attaque rhématique*, utilisée dans les dialogues, souvent en fonction phatique, ou même dans les chants populaires: *Formule* : - X X -

Exemples :

1) /ðén kʰ-ípes/
   "tu n'as rien dit (i.e. tu viens de dire une énormité)".

2) /ntævftáj ?!/ (< /ntó a-eftáj ?!/).
   "que va-t-il (ou que peut-il) bien faire ?".

3) /éj peðía ntó léten / páme si- xameléten/
   "Oh, les gars, qu'est-ce que vous en dites / allons donc au moulin /.../"
   (début d'une chanson bien connue).

   Du point de vue formel, cette suite représente en quelque sorte le contraire de la suite finale à six éléments.

3.3. Nous retiendrons de ce bref examen, que les formules rythmi-ques, qui ne sont pas distribuées au hasard, jouent un rôle essentiel, comme une sorte de "ciment" dans la morphologie syntagmatique. Celle-ci s'inscrit bien dans le cadre du diasystème oriental qui met en jeu un principe d'agglutination produisant le schème CVC soit à partir de VC, soit à partir de CV.

Nous constatons une interaction des courbes intonationnelles et des schèmes rythmiques qui les déterminent. Nous observons également une association entre les rythmes syntagmatiques, le niveau morphologique et des formules énonciatives ou pragmatiques. Il semble bien que cette association des rythmes, soit 4+2, à la stratégie énonciative-pragmatique (opposition

thème/rhème, question, interro-négation, etc.) constitue, dans les formes qu'elle revêt, une originalité du pontique au sein de l'ensemble grec.

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7.Περίληψη

Στην παρούσα ανακοίνωση γίνεται μια προσπάθεια περιγραφής της φωνοτακτικής δομής των ποντιακών, προς την κατεύθυνση του ορισμού της φωνολογικής λέξης. Εξετάζονται φωνολογικές ακολουθίες οι οποίες αποκαλύπτουν τα βασικά συλλαβικά σχήματα. Η ανάμειξη των φωνοτακτικών ακολουθιών με τη διάθεση μαρκαρίσματος πραγματολογικών χαρακτηριστικών ερμηνεύεται με βάση την έννοια του ρυθμού.

Dialectological research and linguistic theory: the case of compounding[1]

Giannoula Giannoulopoulou

Department of Italian Language and Literature, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

This paper examines Modern Greek dialects as far as their morphological structure is concerned. More specifically, compounding in Southern and Northern dialects is examined. I argue that although compounding is an active process in all dialects in Southern dialects more synthetic structures appear than in the Northern ones.

Keywords: Modern Greek dialects, analyticity, syntheticity, the hidden factor.

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to examine compounding in Modern Greek dialects. The paper specifically examines whether i) the dialects are differentiated according to the monomorphemic or polymorphemic structure of their words (according to the data presented in the studies), ii) the process of compounding appears in the same way in all dialects and iii) compounding process has the same frequency in all dialects.

2. The study of morphology in Modern Greek dialects

According to Tzitzilis (2000: 17-18) the studies of Modern Greek dialects can be classified into the following categories: a) the diachronic studies that start around the middle of the 19th century and form the largest part of the studies in question, b) the studies of the 1980s which are developed in the context of structural dialectology and c) the studies which are represented by the seminal work of Newton (1972) and follow the framework of generativist dialectology.

The above studies examine the morphological structure of the dialects to some extent although they do not focus on morphology. In the "Introduction in the Modern Greek Grammar" (1938) Triandafyllidis has already included in the seven main features according to which he classifies dialects the following morphological features: a. "the maintenance of the syllabic or tense augment" e.g. εδένετε [eδ'enete] v.s δένετε [δ'enete] 'you tied', b. the different "derivative endings", e.g. –ούδι ['uδi] appears in Thrace, Macedonia and Cyprus,

-έλι ['eli] Mytilene and Aivali, -πουλος [pulos] in Peloponnese and in the last names of the Northern dialects (op. cit., 70). However, Triandafyllidis concludes (op. cit., 72) that "the morphological variations are not many".

Considerable contributions in the morphological analysis are found in recent studies (cfr. Koutita-Kaimaki 2000, Drachman & Malikouti-Drachman 2001, Joseph 2001, Pantelidis 2001, Gafos & Ralli 2001).

3. Compounding in Modern Greek dialects

The theoretical framework of the present study is that of the theory of Grammaticalization, according to which compounding is a process of "lexicalization", and has different –and probably contrastive– features from the process of lexicalization, although both lexicalization and grammaticalization occure in language change.

More specifically, according to Cabrera (1998: 218) lexicalization: "a. is a lexicotelic process (it goes from syntax to the lexicon), b. affects syntactically-determined words and phrases or sentences (it is a syntactogenetic process), c. abides by the metonymical Concretion Hierarchy, d. feeds the lexicon and bleeds the syntax."

The issue that the present study addresses is if the dialects are differentiated according to the monomorphemic or polymorphemic stucture of their words. This issue can be related to the analyticity or syntheticity of the dialects. Part of this general issue is the way that compounding appears in the dialects.

Lexical units from eleven (11) glossaries of Modern Greek dialects, which represent the distribution in Northern and Southern dialects are examined in the present study.

A data-base of 3,304 compound words is created from the total of 36,340 words of the glossaries (9.09%).

There are two methodological problems in collecting the compound words of the dialects' glossaries: a. the first one concerns the decision of the composer of the glossary to include a compound word. As in the general vocabularies too, the composers do not include compound words if they include the free words from the stems of which the compound is composed.

b. The second problem concerns some compounds of the Standard Modern Greek which are included in the dialects' glossaries because of their different pronunciation in the dialect (e.g. χασουμιρώ [xasumi'ro] 'to retard') or because of the dialect's specific meaning.

Due to the fact that most of the glossaries' composers adopt the same attitude towards the selection of such lexical items, the comparison between the dialects was not difficult.

In the final selection of the entries I did not include compound words of the Standard Modern Greek. Opaque compound words as far as their internal structure is concerned in which compounding is traced as a historical process (e.g. νοικοκυρά [nico'cira] 'housewife') were also not included. On the other hand, I gathered the words in which compounding is synchronically traced, that is, the compounds the stems of which appear in simple lexical units in the synchrony of the dialect or the Standard language.

I would like to mention some cases of opaque compounds which the speakers reanalyze and by assigning them new meanings, they make them new compounds,

e.g. the Cretan εφτακράτορας [efta'kratoras] for αυτοκράτορας [afto'kratoras] 'emperor', where [efta] means 'seven',

βραδυόφωνο [vraδj'ofono] for ραδιόφωνο [raδj'ofono] 'radio', where [vraδj] means 'evening'.

Compound words in which the second element does not appear as an autonomous stem in the synchrony (e.g. those with –βολώ [vo'lo], -κοπώ [ko'po], -κόπος ['kopos]), as well as the compounds with prepositions of older periods of Greek were also excluded from the data-base, because they belong to the study of prefixation. Although borderline cases exist between the above mentioned categories and although the opacity / non-opacity of the compound lexical units is a gradient phenomenon, I choose to restrict my study in compounds *vera e propria* in order to investigate more easily the fundamental question about the syntheticity / analyticity of the dialects. The number of words as well as the numbers of the compounds and the compound verbs and participles examined in the present study are presented in Table 1:

DIALECT	Total of words	Total of compounds	Percentage of compounds	Total of compound verbs and participles	Percentage of compound verbs and participles
Veria	2,552	70	2.7%	4	5.7%
Siatista	3,202	112	3.4%	5	4.4%
Litochoro	980	35	3.5%	1	2.8%
Helia (Peloponnese)	891	79	8.8%	8	10.1%
Sarakatsanika	487	43	8.8%	1	2.3%
Pelion	5,500	471	8.5%	21	4.4%

Zante	1,716	128	7.4%	12	9.3%
Agiasos (Mytilene)	2,700	255	9.4%	32	12.5%
Roumeli	6,500	611	9.4%	90	14.7%
Chios	2,232	232	10.3%	27	11.6%
Crete	9,580	1,268	13.2%	247	19.4%
TOTAL	36,340	3,304			

4. Types of compounds in Modern Greek dialects

The compounds of the dialects can belong to every category of the typologies
of Ralli (1992) and Anastasiadi-Symeonidi (1996).
Examples:
N + N → N
τρυγ-ο-κάλαθο [tri'γokalaθo]
vine-harvest + basket
'vine-harvest basket' (Zante)

A + N → N,
αγουρ-ου-βότανου [aγuru'votano]
unripe+ herb
'unripe herb' (Pelion)

Adv + N → N,
πισωστρούγκι [piso'struʝi]
back+fold
'back fold' (Roumeli)

A + A → A,
λειαν-ό-μακρος [ʎa'nomakros]
thin+long
'thin and long' (Crete)

Adv + A → A

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πολυπαθομένος [polipaθo'menos]
much+suffer (passive participle)
'someone experienced many troubles' (Crete)

N + A → A
αλλαξ-ο-φορεμένος [alaksofore'menos]
a suit of clothes+wear 1s-passive
'someone who has changed clothes' (Roumeli)

N + V → V,
παλαμ-ου-δέρνω [palamu'ðerno]
palm+beat 1s
'to have pain in the palms' (Siatista)

V + V → V
δερν-ο-κοπανίζομαι [ðernokopani'zome]
beat-1s+bumb-1s-passive
'to hit one's self' (Crete)

Adv + V → V
ταχινοσηκώνομαι [taçinosi'konome]
early + weak up 1s.passive
'to wake up early' (Crete)

Adv + Adv → Adv σιακεί [ʃa'ci]
straight+there
'straight there' (Pelion)

Compounding between a verb stem and an adverb is also found, e.g.
βλεποφάνερα [vlepo'fanera]
see (stem)+obviously
'obviously'.

5. Compound verbs

In order to investigate better the question of analyticity / syntheticity, I will focus on compound verbs. Here follow some examples of such compound verbs and their thematic relations according to the typology of Ralli (1989):
I. *coordinative compound verbs:*
According to Ralli (1989, 207-08) this type of compounds is rare in Common Greek. However, they are not so rare in the dialects:
Examples:

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ζυμ-ο-μαγειρεύω [zimomaji'revo]
knead (stem)+cook 1s-active
'to knead and cook, to be occupied with cooking' (Roumeli)

βρεχ-ο-λιάζει [vrexo'ʎazi]
rain (stem)+have sun 3s. active
'to rain and have sun' (Crete)

γελ-ο-χαχανίζω [jeloxaxa'nizo]
laugh (stem)+laugh loudly 1s.active
'to laugh loudly' (Crete)

μερ-ο-φιλώ [merofi'lo]
tame (stem)+make friends 1s-active
'to reconcile' (Crete)

τσακ-ο-πετεινίζομαι [tsakopeti'nizome]
quarrel (stem)+act like a cock 1s-passive
'to quarrel like a cock' (Crete)

χαφτ-ο-πίνω [xafto'pino]
swallow (stem)+drink 1s.active
'to drink and eat hastily' (Crete)

II. *compound verbs with dependence relation between their elements:*
IIa. *compound verbs with "determinante – determinato" relationship between
their elements:*
Examples:
αδικ-ο-θανατίζω [aðikoθana'tizo]
unjustly+die 1s-active
'to die unjustly' (Roumeli)

λειψ-ο-τρώγω [lipso'troγo]
incompletely+eat 1s-active
'to eat incompletely' (Roumeli)

χαϊδαναστένω [xaiðana'steno]
caresses+bring up a child 1s-active
'to bring up a child with affection an caresses' (Roumeli).

IIb. *Compound verbs with relationship between their elements which corresponds to the relationship of an attributive to its arguments*:
a.*argument that grammatically corresponds to the object of a verb and usually expresses the theme*:
Examples:
φυτρ-ο-ποτίζω [fitropo'tizo]
seed bud+water 1s-active
'to water the seed bud' (Roumeli)

στειρ-ο-χωρίζω [stiroxo'rizo]
sterile+separate 1s-active
'to separate the sterile from the fertile sheeps' (Roumeli)

καρπαλωνεύγω [karpalo'nevyo]
fruit+thresh 1s-active
'to thresh the fruits' (Crete).

b. *argument that grammatically corresponds to the complement which is accompanied by από* [apo] 'by' *and it semantically represents the Agent*:
Examples:
νεραϊδ-ο-κρουσμένος [neraiδokruz'menos]
fairy+strike (passive participle)
'someone under the influence of fairies' (Roumeli)

αγερ-ο-κρούγομαι [ajero'kruome]
wind+bit 1s-passive
'to be bitted by a bad spirit' (Roumeli).

c. *argument that grammatically corresponds to a prepositional phrase*:
Examples:
ματζουκ-ο-καρτερώ [matzukokarte'ro]
stick+wait for 1s-active
'to set up a trap to somebody' (Crete)

βατ-ο-κρυμμένος [vatokri'menos]
briar+hidden (passive participle)
'afraid, unsociable' (Roumeli).

6. The hidden factor

Apart from the compounds in which the meaning is the product of the syntactic relation between their elements, in the following I will focus on the cases of compounds in which the syntactic relationship cannot explain their meaning. In other words, for the interpretation of these compounds semantics and pragmatics should be taken into account.

I focus on the "hidden factor" (Wamelink-van Lint 1994, 2: 657), that is, the relationship between the compounds constituents from a semantic and pragmatic point of view (cfr. Giannoulopoulou 2001: 103-111):

Examples:

1. σταφιδ-ο-μαραίνομαι [stafiðoma'renome]
   grape+wither 1s-passive
   'to get older as a grape that withers' (Crete)

2. κρεμμυδ-ο-τρώγω [kremiðo'troγo]
   onion+eat 1s-active
   'to live on onions' (Roumeli)

3. κουβαρ-ο-μαζωμένος [kuvaromazo'menos]
   ball of thread+gather (passive participle)
   'shy' (Roumeli)

4. ξυλ-ο-κουβεντιάζω [ksilokuve'djazo]
   wood+talk 1s-active
   'to talk incoherently' (Roumeli)

5. ξεν-ο-φωνάω [ksenofo'nao]
   foreign+speak 1s-active
   'to speak my first words as a baby' (Roumeli)

6. τυφλ-ου-πανιάζω [tiflupa'ɲazo]
   blind+piece of cloth 1s-active
   'to deceive' (Pelion)

7. κλειδ-ου-στουμιάζω [kliðustu'mjazo]
   key+mouth 1s-active
   'to have no appetite' (Siatista)

8. αληυρ-ου-διμουνίζου [alivruðimu'nizu]
   flour+infuriate 1s-active
   'to hit someone and metaph. to attract sexually somebody' (Agiasos).

The compounds in the above examples "are usable only in the presence of substantial contextual support" (Downing 1977: 822).

For some of them, knowing pragmatic conditions makes their interpretation easier. In 1 we notice the metaphor of the man who gets older as a grape that withers, in 2 the common knowledge of the speakers about the exclusive living on onions as a sign of extreme poverty is actualized, in 3 a shy man is compared to a ball of thread, in 6 the meaning of 'deceive' is given by a game, during which the players close their eyes with a cloth, in 7 there is a metaphor of locking one's mouth to give the meaning 'lack of appetite'. In 4, 5, 8 it is opaque –at least for me– which is the semantic process that gives rise to such meanings. According to Downing (1977: 839) "speakers code what is salient to them within a given context". If we don't share the context, we cannot understand the new meaning of the compound. Of course etymology can solve the problem for the specialist, but the speaker seems to lose the game.

Two points have to be stressed here: a) the process of metaphor in the above mentioned compounds is actualized contemporarily with the process of compounding, that is, these compounds did not have from the beginning a literal meaning which is shifted to a metaphorical one, but the metaphorical meanings of the compound constituents are actualized at the same time with the realization of compounding.

b) the "hidden factor" has to be recalled even in compounds that are not metaphorical. Even in compounds with literal meaning it seems that the syntactic relationship between the compound constituents does not play a crucial role; instead it seems that the semantic load of the two lexical morphemes take part and every semantic relationship between them is recalled. In cases such as χατζημπερδεμένος [xatziberðe'menos] 'someone involved in a difficult situation' (Agiasos), αντρειοκαλειούμαι [andrika'ljume] 'to pretend the brave man' (Crete), αμουχλοκαίγομαι [amuxlo'ceyome] 'to be burnt slowly' (Crete), I think that a possible paraphrase would need the whole phrase –or better the whole utterance– in order to convey the meaning. As Wamelink-van Lint mentions (op.cit., 658) "A number of linguists are, in fact, opposed to the postulation of a fixed set of possible relations. They argue that, since research has shown that many more relations are possible, the relation slot must be capable of being assigned any appropriate contents. The process of deciding on these contents is then guided by the meaning and function of the compound elements".

7. Are there differences between the dialects as far as compounding is concerned?

In this study they were examined through information of the following dialects' glossaries:

Northern:

the dialect of Agiasos (Mytilene), Siatista, Veria, Litochoro, Pelion.

Southern:

The dialect of Helia (Peloponnese), Zante, Roumeli, the Cretan dialect and the Southeastern dialect of Pyrgi (Chios). According to Triandafyllidis (1938: 244): "the dialects of Roumeli and Epirus share with the Peloponnesian and the other Southern dialects the syntactic use of the indirect genitive, while they share the Northern vowel status with the dialects of Thessaly and Macedonia". According to Triandafyllidis, Sarakatsanika too are similar to the dialects of Epirus and Etolia.

Statistical observations can only be indicative for two reasons: first, glossaries are usually non-scientific studies; second, the glossaries include lexical items that do not exclusively belong to the dialect. Yet, when a significant divergence in the percentage of the compounds in the total of the dialectal words is observed, this is a strong indication for the different status of compounding in the Northern and the Southern dialects.

It is worth-mentioned that the lowest percentage of compounds appears in the glossaries of Veria, of Siatista and of Litochoro (2.7%, 3.4% and 3.5% correspondingly), while the highest percentage of the compounds appears in the glossaries of Crete, Chios, Roumeli and Agiasos (13.2%, 10.3%, 9.4% and 9.4% correspondingly). The glossaries of Peloponnese, of Sarakatsanika, of Pelion and of Zante present significant percentage of compounds without significant differences (8.8%, 8.8%, 8.5%, 7.4% correspondingly). The above data could be interpreted as follows: in the prototypical Northern dialects compounding is restricted, in the prototypical Southern dialects compounding increases, while in the intermediate dialects (Sarakatsanika, Peloponnesian, of Pelion) a significant percentage of compounding is noticed. The whole picture is disturbed only by the dialect of Agiasos (Mytilene) which belongs to the Northern dialects but presents one of the highest percentage of compounding.

Concerning the statistics of the regional frequency of the compounds, Andriotis (1956: 22) remarks: "the frequency of the compounds with argument structure that corresponds to subject / object, as well as of the other three categories is considerably bigger in the periphery of the metropolitan Greek region, namely coast and islands (especially Crete, Karpathos, Naxos, Imvros e.t.c.) and is relatively lower in the interior of the country. This unequal distribution corresponds to the more general unequal synthetic force of the Modern Greek dialects".

The aim of the present study is to combine the percentage of the compounds with features of syntheticity / analyticity in the dialects.

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Consequently, the next step of our investigation is verbal compounds and more specifically the compounds that belong to the grammatical category of verbs or participles. It is assumed that verbal compounds of this kind condense in monomorphemic lexical units the syntactic relations that are expressed in the sentence and consequently can give strong indications for the analytic or synthetic character of a dialect.

The lowest percentage of compound verbs is observed again in Northern dialects, and in the Sarakatsanika (Sarakatsanika 2.3%, Litochoro 2.8%, Siatista 4.4%, Pelion 4.4%, Veria 5.7%), while the highest perecentage of compound verbs is observed in the Southern dialects (Crete 19.4%, Roumeli 14.7%). The rest of the dialects present strong percentage of compound verbs too.

The percentage of the compounds in the total of the glossaries' words and the percentage of compound verbs and participles in the total of compounds are given in Table 2:

TABLE 2

DIALECT	Percentage of compounds in the total of words	Percentage of compound verbs and participles in the total of compounds
Veria	2.7%	5.7%
Siatista	3.4%	4.4%
Litochoro	3.5%	2.8%
Helia (Peloponnese)	8.8%	10.1%
Sarakatsanika	8.8%	2.3%
Pelion	8.5%	4.4%
Zante	7.4%	9.3%
Agiasos (Mytilene)	9.4%	12.5%
Roumeli	9.4%	14.7%
Chios	10.3%	11.6%
Crete	13.2%	19.4%

Can the above mentioned indications (the general higher percentage of compounding in Southern dialects compared to the Northern ones and the general higher percentage of compound verbs in the total of compounds in the Southern dialects compared with to Northern ones) prove that the Southern dialects are differentiated from the Northern ones as far as syntheticity / analyticity is concerned? Obviously no, if we don't make more general accounts. On the other hand, the terms of syntheticity / analyticity are quite fuzzy and can be interpreted in several ways. It is also well-known that the course of the languages from analysis to synthesis and vice-versa is permanent.

Conclusions can be more difficult when we investigate dialects and not languages.

Following the approach of Greenberg ([1954] 1960): "Synthesis is calculated by an elegantly simple mathematical formula: total of morphemes divided by total of words (M / W) which yields the ratio of morphemes per word. This measure is called the 'synthetic index'" (Schwegler, 1993: 114). On the basis of this index the Southern dialects appear to be more synthetic.

It is worth-mentioning here a typical example of a compound word, which in the Southern dialect of Roumeli appears as a compound αλαφρογιορτή [alafrojor'ti] 'small fest without vacation', while in the Northern dialect of Siatista the same semantic collocation appears as two autonomous lexical units: αλαφρά ιουρστή [ala'fra iur'tsi].

However, in order to formulate integrated conclusions about the syntheticity / analycity of the dialects we have to examine other morphosyntactic phenomena too. E.g. the restricted use of genitive and its substitution by prepositional phrases in the Northern dialects can also advocate for the growing analyticity of the Northern dialects (Petrounias, personal communication).

8. Conclusions

The study of compounding in the Modern Greek dialects has shown that: i. compounding appears in every dialect, ii. the percentage of compounds in the total of the words of glossaries, as well as the percentage of compound verbs in the total of compounds gives some first indications that compounding appears stronger in the Southern than in the Northern dialects, iii. in order to get integrated answer to the question about the analyticity / syntheticity of the dialects we need to co-examine other phenomena of word-formation as well as morphosyntactic ones, iv. this co-examination will be useful in the study of the dialectal morphology under the point of view of reconstruction of the morphological evolution in Modern Greek.

9. Notes

[1] I would like to thank Evangelos Petrounias, Xeni Koutsilieri, Spyros Tsougos and Stavroula Stavrakaki for their helpful comments to earlier versions of the paper.

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10. Περίληψη

Στην εργασία μελετάται το φαινόμενο της σύνθεσης στις νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους. Συγκεκριμένα εξετάζονται λεξικές μονάδες από γλωσσάρια νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων, αντιπροσωπευτικών ως προς την κατανομή τους σε βόρειες και νότιες. Διαπιστώνεται αφενός ότι η σύνθεση έχει ισχυρή παρουσία σε όλες τις διαλέκτους και αφετέρου ότι η σύνθεση εμφανίζεται ισχυρότερη στις νότιες διαλέκτους συγκριτικά με τις βόρειες. Τα συμπεράσματα συσχετίζονται με τη συνθετικότητα / αναλυτικότητα των διαλέκτων.

Properties of *Wh*-Question Formation in Cypriot Greek

Kleanthes K. Grohmann[*], Phoevos Panagiotidis[†], and Stavroula Tsiplakou[*]

[*]University of Cyprus, [†]Cyprus College

This paper discusses a variant of *wh*-questions in Cypriot Greek which involves the expression *embu* 'is-that' and is at first glance suspiciously similar to the *est-ce que* 'is-it that' type of *wh*-questions in French (and a similar phenomenon in Northern Italian dialects). Our main goals are to present the properties of this intriguing pattern, which sets Cypriot apart from both Standard Greek and other Greek dialects, and to sketch an analysis that capitalizes on current advances in syntactic theory. A closer inspection of the properties of Cypriot *wh*-questions will lead to a different path of explanation from that proposed for Romance *est-ce que*-varieties for several reasons, among them the fact that *embu* sometimes surfaces as the contracted form *mbu* — which is, contrary to appearances, much more than a simple allomorph. The suggested analysis assumes sideward movement into a (cleft) small clause whose predicate is phonetically unrealized. This analysis may have interesting consequences for the derivational analysis of cleft structures in general.

Keywords: (Standard) Modern Greek, Cypriot Greek, *wh*-questions, clefts, small clauses, null predicate, sideward movement, economy, *wh*-clitic

1. Introduction

Cypriot Greek (CG) is a variety of Greek spoken by approximately 800,000 people in Cyprus and across the British Commonwealth (see Goutsos & Karyolemou 2004 for details and discussion). In a seminal study, Newton (1972) presents a number of grammatical properties of CG, primarily in morphology and phonology, but he says rather little about its syntax. One area of considerable morphosyntactic divergence between CG and Standard Modern Greek (SMG) is clitic placement, which we will not discuss here; thorough treatments of this topic can be found in e.g. Agouraki (1997), Condoravdi & Kiparsky (2002), and Petinou & Terzi (2002). As will be shown in this paper, the syntax of the CG complementizer field, the left periphery of the clause, differs significantly from that of SMG. We are concerned with the CG-variety of

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wh-question formation. After presenting the properties of this specimen, we will discuss similarities and differences with Romance varieties and sketch the beginnings of an analysis that incorporates a sideward movement analysis of (*wh*-)clefts.

In section 2 we present the most salient properties of CG *wh*-question formation involving *embu* 'is-that' and its reduced apparent variant *mbu*, and contrast it with that of SMG (which lacks the forms *embu/mbu* altogether). Section 3 discusses the similarities to *wh*-question formation in various Romance varieties involving *est-ce que* (or its counterparts). Section 4 argues against an extension of a recent (line of) analysis proposed for Romance to CG *wh*-questions and sketches an alternative approach building on the relevance of cleft structures. It closes with a discussion of some recalcitrant cases. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Properties of *Wh*-Question Formation in Cypriot Greek and Romance

2.1 Cypriot Greek *wh*-questions

The data in (1) illustrate one possible way of *wh*-question formation in CG for *wh*-subjects (1a) and *wh*-objects (1b) as well as so-called "quasi-argumental" *wh*-expressions (1c) and "true adjunct" *wh*-expressions (1d). These structures correspond to homologous structures in SMG, modulo phonological differences:[1]

(1)	a.	Pcos	efie?	c.	Pote	efies?
		who.NOM	left.3SG		when	left.2SG
		'Who went?'			'When did you leave?'	
	b.	Pcon	idhes?	d.	Jati	efies?
		who.ACC	saw.2SG		why	left.2SG
		'Who did you see?'			'Why did you leave?'	

But CG also makes available an alternative way of forming *wh*-questions, which does not exist in SMG. Compare the pattern above with the paradigm below, for *wh*-arguments, both subjects (1a, 2a) and objects (1b, 2b), and for *wh*-adjuncts, both quasi-arguments *when/where* (3) and true adjuncts *why/how* (4):[2]

(2)	a.	Pcos	embu		efie?
		who.NOM		is-that	left.3SG
		lit. 'Who is it that left?'			
	b.	Pcon		embu		idhes?

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who.ACC   is-that   saw.2SG
lit. 'Who is it that you saw?'

(3)   a.   Pote   {embu} epies?
           when   is-that went.2SG
      b.   Pu   {embu} epies?
           where   is-that went.2SG
           'When/Where did you go?'

(4) · a.   Jati   {embu} epies?
           why   is-that went.2SG
      b.   Indalos {embu}   epies?
           how   is-that went.2SG
           'Why/How did you go?'

We refer to this variety, which is the main focus of our paper, as the *embu*-strategy in CG *wh*-questions. The remainder of this section will lay out all relevant syntactic and interpretive properties of the *embu*-strategy in as far as we are able to ascertain at this point.

Informants invariably prefer a D(iscourse)-linked reading for the *wh*-element (Pesetsky 1987) when it is supported by *embu*, a reading such as "for which N out of a set of referents identified in the discourse." An added wrinkle is that *mbu* (an apparent variant of *embu*) is obligatory in *wh*-questions introduced by *inda*, when *inda* is an argument (meaning 'what'), but it is optional when *inda* is an adjunct (meaning 'why'/'what for'), as is indicated by (5) through (7).

(5)   Inda   *{mbu} ipces?
      what.ACC   is-that   drank.2SG
      'What did you drink?'

(6)   Inda   *{mbu}   se   stenoxorise?
      what.ACC   is-that   you.CL.ACC   upset.3SG
               'What upset you?'

(7)   Inda   {mbu} erkumaste   dhame?
      what   is-that come.1PL   here?
      'What do we come here for?'

Interestingly, when the *wh*-expression is complex, i.e. of the type *inda*+N, *embu* (but not *mbu*) may surface optionally:

(8)   Inda   krasin   {embu, *mbu} ipces?
      what   wine.ACC   is-that   drank.2SG

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'What wine did you drink?'

The distribution in embedded contexts is identical:

(9)a. En   iksero   inda krasin   {embu, *mbu}   ipces.
          not   know.1SG what wine.ACC is-that   drank.2SG
          'I don't know what wine you drank.'

    b. En   iksero   inda *{*embu, mbu} ipces.
          not   know.1SG what   is-that   drank.2SG
          'I don't know what you drank.'

The relevance of D-linking to the obligatoriness of *(e)mbu* might be supported when one considers "aggressively non-D-linked" *wh*-phrases (Pesetsky 1987, den Dikken & Giannakidou 2002), where *embu* (but not *mbu*) may surface:[3]

(10)   Inda   st'anatheman   {embu, *mbu} kamnete?
          what   in-the-damnation is-that   do.2PL
          'What the hell are you doing?'

In sum, the generalization concerning the presence of *embu/mbu* in CG *wh*-questions seems to be that *embu* is optional, unless the *wh*-word is bare and argumental *inda*, in which case *mbu* is obligatory.

2.2   *Wh*-questions in Romance varieties

The situation is partly reminiscent of French, where the basic restriction is that *est-ce que* 'is it that' is obligatory with inanimate subject *que* 'what' (Obenauer 1981), and partly of Northern Italian dialects (Munaro, Poletto & Pollock 2002, Munaro & Pollock 2002), as the data in (11) and (12) illustrate:

(11)   *French* (Munaro & Pollock 2002)
    a. {*Que, Qu'est-ce   qui}   tombe / surprend Marie / arrive?
        what what-is-that   what falls surprises Marie happens
        'What falls / surprises Marie / happens?'
    b. {Qui,   Qui   est-ce qui}   tombe / surprend Marie / arrive?
        who   who   is-that who   falls surprises Marie happens
        'Who falls / surprises Marie / arrives?'

(12)   *Bellunese* (Munaro & Pollock 2002)
    a. {*Che,   E-lo   che   che}   te   disturba?
        what   is-it.CL what   that   you.CL disturbs
        'What disturbs you?'

b. {*Chi,   E-lo   chi   che}   te   disturba?
    who   I   s-it.CL who   that   you.CL   disturbs
    'Who disturbs you?'

The Romance varieties display minor differences in the implementation of the *est-ce que* strategy; in French it is obligatory only with *que* subjects, while in Northern Italian dialects such as Bellunese it is obligatory across the board with bare *wh*-words. Val Camonica dialects also optionally display *wh*-doubling:

(13) *Val Camonica* (Munaro & Pollock 2002)
      {Ch'} è-l   chi   che   porta   al   pa?
      who   is-it.CL   who   that   brings   the   bread
      'Who is it that brings the bread?'

Crucially, the *est-ce que* strategy is not required when the *wh*-expression is complex, as is shown by the French and Bellunese examples in (14a) and (14b):

(14) a. Quel   autobus {est-ce qui}   a embouti   ma   voiture?
        which   bus   is-it   that   has   dented my   car
        'Which bus {is it that} has dented my car?'
    b. Che   vestito   à-la   comprà?
       what   dress   has-she.CL   bought
       'What dress has she bought?'

Again, the situation is strongly reminiscent of Cypriot Greek (cf. (8)-(9) above).

3.   The 'Romance' analysis

Pollock (2002) and Munaro & Pollock (2002) are among the few generative linguists who have paid attention to this phenomenon; they have argued in favor of two distinct types of *est-ce-que*, at least for French, and in favor of an analysis that involves the notion of *wh*-clitic and the syntactic reflex(es) of semantic notions such as D-linking. The account hinges on the following assumptions:

  (i) *Wh*-expressions project an existentially quantified operator Op1 and a "disjunctive" operator Op2; Op2 is higher in the left periphery than Op1, where Op2 merges above ForceP and OpP1 merges just below it (but above TopP). The hierarchical relation between the two types of *wh*-, as expressed in the syntactic representation, accounts for the restrictions on relative scope assignment holding between the two operators (cf. Katz & Postal 1964). A complex *wh*-expression occupies the higher Op2-position, while in the absence of one, a bare *wh*-word needs to check the uninterpretable features of both Op1

and Op2. Languages parameterize as to whether Op1 and Op2 are spelled out at PF or not.

(ii) When the *wh*-word is a clitic, e.g. French *que*, it must adjoin to IP by head movement, and remnant IP movement to the higher Op2-position must ensue; this accounts for 'stylistic inversion' (cf. Kayne & Pollock 2001):[4]

(15)   a. Qu'as-tu   dit?
         what.CL-have-you.CL   said
         'What have you said?'
        b. $[_{Op2P}$ que$_i$ $Op2^0$ $[_{ForceP}$ $[_{IP}$ t$_l$ $[_{CIP}$ t$_i$ $[$ as $]$ t$_j$ $]]_m$ Force^0 $[_{GP}$ tu$_l$ G^0 $[_{Op1P}$ OP$_k$ $Op1^0$ $[_{TopP}$ $[$ dit $[$ t$_i$, t$_k$ $]]_j$ Top^0 t$_m$ $]]]]]$

When the *wh*-clitic is a subject, however, a derivation such as (15) is banned, since it would involve rightward movement or lowering of the subject *wh*-clitic to IP prior to remnant movement of *wh*-clitic+IP to Op2. Munaro & Pollock suggest that in this case the *wh*-clitic is merged above Op1, as the predicate of a small clause consisting of *ce* and *que* embedded under the copula *est*:

(16)   a. Qu'est-ce   qui   tombe?
         what.CL-is-it   that   falls
         'What is falling?'
        b. $[_{Op2P}$ que$_i$ $Op2^0$ $[_{ForceP}$ $[_{CLP}$ t$_i$ $[_{CopP}$ est $[_{SC}$ t$_i$ ce $]]]$ Force^0 $[_{Op1P}$ OP$_i$ que $]$ $[_{IP}$ t$_i$ i $[_{vP}$ t$_i$ tombe $]]]]$

Munaro & Pollock argue further that the proposed structure is not biclausal in virtue of the fact that *est* and *ce* are 'inert' in terms of EPP, Case, and tense features and hence do not project a higher matrix IP above ForceP. The claim is that *est-ce (que)* in *bona fide* clefts is different in that the copula carries a tense feature, *est-ce* is intonationally prominent, and *est-ce* can be separated from the lower *que* by a parenthetical expression such as *donc* 'then', which does not point to a Spec-Head relation:

(17) a. Qu'est-ce   que   tu   lui   avais   promis?
        what.CL-is-it   that   you   him.CL   had.2SG promised
       'What is it that you promised him?'
     b. *Qu' était ce   donc   que   tu   lui avais   promis?
       what.CL was it then   that you him. CLhad.2SG promised
       'What was it, then, that you promised him?'
     c. Quel   livre était ce donc que tu   lui   avais   promis?
       Which book was   it then   that you him.CL had.2SG promised
       'What book was it, then, that you promised him?'

The similarity to CG immediately becomes apparent: *embu* is distinguished phonetically, morphologically, and syntactically from *mbu*, both in that *embu* appears in *wh*-structures optionally (as discussed in (2)-(4) above) and in that *embu* is inflected for tense, while *mbu* is not. This is indicated by the contrasts in (18)-(19):

(18) a.   Pcon   {itan pu}   idhes?
           who.ACC   was-that   saw.2SG
           'Who {was it that} you saw?'

     b.   Inda   krasin   {itan pu}   ipces?
           what   wine.ACC   was-that   drank.2SG
           'What wine {was it that} you drank?'

     c. *   Inda   itan pu   ipces?
           what   was-that   drank.2SG
           'What was it that you drank?'

(19)   Inda   mbu   itan pu   ipces?
           what   is-that   was-that   drank.2SG
           'What is it that it was that you drank?'

4.   A novel analysis

Turning to the *embu*-strategy in *wh*-question formation in CG again, we want to propose an analysis which incorporates some basic insights from the analysis of Romance *wh*-questions outlined above, namely the notion of *wh*-clitic and the distinction between two different types of *est-ce que*, with only one of the two, *embu*, projecting a *bona fide* cleft structure. Our analysis diverges from the one proposed for Romance, however, in that it implements theoretical developments on the specifics of displacement, in particular, the notion of sideward movement. There is thus no need to assume either null operators or remnant movement, which, following recent minimalist work, we take to be a positive consequence.

4.1   Cleft Structures in Cypriot Greek

We begin by noting that, unlike SMG, CG has *bona fide* cleft structures in lieu of syntactic focus movement:

(20) a.   En   o   Xambis   pu   efie.
           is   the.NOM Hambis.NOM   that   left.3SG
           'It is Hambis that left.'

     b.   Itan   o   Xambis   pu   efie.
           was   the.NOM Hambis.NOM   that   left.3SG

'It was Hambis that left.'

(21) * Ton   XAMBIN   idha.
         the.ACC Hambis.ACC   saw.1SG
         'HAMBIS I saw.'

Naturally, the focused constituent can also be an object or an adjunct:

(22) a.   En   ton   Xambin   pu   idha.
            is.3SG   the.ACC   Hambis.ACC   that   saw.1SG
            'It is Hambis that I saw.'
     b.   En   pses   pu idha   to   Xambin.
            is.3SG   yesterday   that saw.1SG   the.ACC   Hambis.ACC
            'It is yesterday that I saw Hambis.'

This type of cleft disallows movement of the focused expression:

(23) * O   Xambis   en   pu   efie.
          the.NOM Hambis.NOM   is   that   left.3SG
          'It is Hambis that left.'

We assume that clefts are biclausal structures of the general format in (24):[5]

(24)   [CP cleft [C C⁰ matrix]]

However, we capitalize on the fact that clefts are a focusing strategy (in the spirit of Rizzi 1997 and much subsequent work). We hence adopt a split-CP analysis where, in the cases at hand, there needs to be a focus projection (FocP) whose specifier is filled by the cleft, and a C-position, which takes the matrix as its complement (see also note 5). We can thus specify (24) further as follows:

(25)

Applying (25) to (20a) yields the structure in (26).[6]

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(26)

```
                                FocP
                   ┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
                  CP                           Foc'
            ┌──────┴──────┐            ┌─────────┴─────────┐
          Spec           C'          Foc⁰                 CPᵢ
       ┌────┴────┐                 ┌───┴───┐
      C⁰        IP              Spec      C'
           ┌────┴────┐                ┌────┴────┐
         Spec        I'              C⁰        IP
                 ┌────┴────┐         pu        △
                I⁰        SC                   ...
                en    ┌────┴────┐
                     DP        DP
                      △         △
                  o Xambis      Øᵢ
```
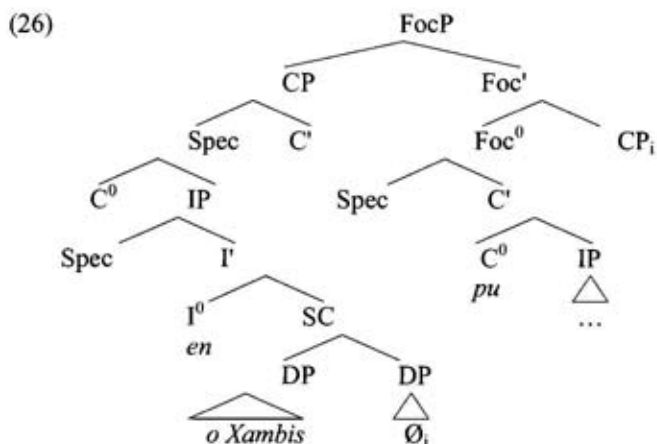
Before proceeding to present our account of the phenomenon, we will outline our background assumptions, at the same time partially explicating the phrase marker above. Starting from the bottom, we argue that there is a small clause (notated as SC, without further debate on its exact status; for suggestions, see e.g. Stowell 1981, Bowers 1993, Moro 1997) at the heart of the *embu*-structure. This is warranted because it captures the relationship of predication that holds between the focused element and the matrix clause (coindexation). The SC-predicate Ø is the covert counterpart of a clause-selecting nominal D, hardly an outlandish entity in Greek, where overt Ds, such as *to* 'the', routinely select subordinate clauses, as described in Roussou (1994). The SC-subject does not move to SpecIP. This correctly rules out (23) and has been independently argued for with respect to *all* preverbal subjects in Greek (see e.g. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998, Panagiotidis & Tsiplakou, forthcoming). In declarative clefts, the CP-domain remains empty and *pu* 'that' introduces the matrix clause; the entire structure is identified as a focus cleft (with the projection label FocP). Conversely, in *wh*-clefts, CP is filled with the *wh*-phrase and an interrogative C⁰.

Let us now suggest a way of bringing these strands together by introducing a central theoretical tool of our analysis, *sideward movement*.

4.2   Sideward movement in clefts

Our analysis of clefts incorporates insights from Nunes' (2004) etiology of displacement and technical implementations — the operation known as sideward movement. In a nutshell, we suggest that the *wh*-phrase moves sidewards in *embu*-structures. Take a typical example, such as (2a). The first process of the derivation is to form the relevant numeration N which has to be depleted in the course of the derivation (Chomsky 1995, disregarding more

recent approaches in terms of lexical sub-arrays as in Chomsky 2001 and related research). Take (27) to be the correct N (with irrelevant details omitted):

(27) $N = \{efie, v^0, pcos, I^0_{[PAST]}, pu, Foc^0, \emptyset, en, C^0_Q\}$

In the course of the derivation, N will be exhausted by successive applications of Select, Merge, and Move (Hornstein, Nunes & Grohmann 2005). Under a semi-bare phrase structure approach, the final stage of the derivation relevant here can be presented as follows (*pu* is a non-interrogative complementizer C^0_{-Q} and *en* is the present-tense inflectional head $I^0_{[PRES]}$ on a par with $I^0_{[PAST]}$ from N):

(28)

```
                          FocP
              _____/    _____
            CP                            Foc'
       ____/  \____               _____/    _____
    pcos_k      C'             Foc^0              CP_i
   [θ, θ, wh]  _/  \_         _/    \_         ___/   \___
            C^0_Q   IP      t_k      C'
             |     _/ \_   [θ,θ, wh] _/  \_
            en    SC       pu          IP
                 _/  \_              ___/  \___
                t_k    Ø          ... efie ... t_k ...
              [θ, θ, wh]           [θ, θ, wh]
```
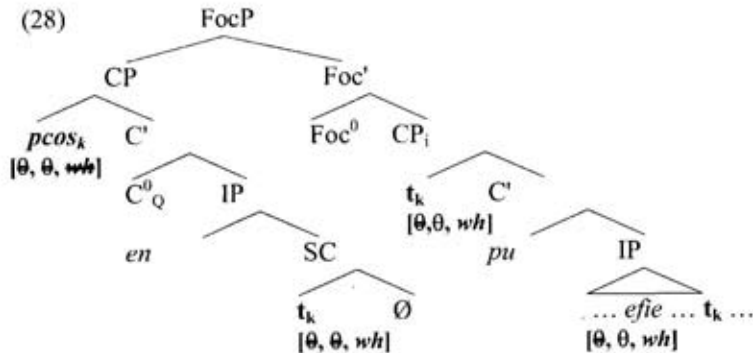
The derivation may be described as follows: *pcos* 'who' is the *wh*-subject of the matrix clause; its θ-role is assigned by *efie* 'left.3SG' (and the *wh*-feature [*wh*] is of course unchecked in base position). However, it bears an additional θ-role to be checked at a later point. This presupposes a θ-role-as-feature view of the grammar, as recently proposed by Hornstein (2001), for example, building on Bošković (1994), among others. In fact, the analysis that follows draws heavily on Hornstein's work as well as Nunes (2004); for the benefit of the reader, we will provide justification of the most important aspects of the general ideas.[7]

The first relevant step is *pcos* moving to SpecCP to check its [*wh*]. However, it cannot be checked in the specifier of the matrix CP, since this is headed by *pu* 'that' — the non-interrogative C^0_{-Q}. We thus assume, as is standard in dynamic approaches to the grammar (see the sources just cited), that *pcos* is copied and placed into the derivational workspace (i.e. put 'on hold', so to speak), pending the first possible point of re-merger.[8] In SpecCP of the matrix it is clear that *pcos* could never check both its remaining unchecked features, [*wh*] and [θ]. In fact, the latter feature could only ever be checked in the vicinity of a predicate, which is one of the reasons why sideward movement is restricted to lexical items that, once in the derivational workspace, will be merged as soon as

possible into a thematic position (cf. restrictions on parasitic gaps or adjunct control; see note 7 for references).

In parallel (see note 8), we start assembling SC, starting by Selecting the predicate (in this case, Ø). Note that once out of N, Ø is looking for an element to Merge with — and evidently, this should be a thematic element, so that it can discharge its θ-role (feature). Since N does not contain any more LIs with a θ-feature, the search for a Mergeable element finds the copy of *pcos* still hanging around for re-merger. Thus, *pcos* Merges with the SC predicate Ø, checks [θ], and eventually moves on to SpecCP of the cleft. This time it finds itself in a Spec-Head relationship with an interrogative C and thus checks [*wh*] at last.

At this stage we have a structure for *pcos en pu efie*, which is already very close to the desired outcome in (2a). Presumably due to the enclitic nature of *en*, the relevant final step (arguably at PF) is contraction of *en* and *pu* to yield *embu*.

More generally, and here we are paving the way for further speculations in the next section, we might want to connect the second θ-role that an element may bear to a (phonetically null) SC-predicate. This assumption yields the cases at hand, but it could plausibly extend to instances of adjunct relativization, for example, or other cases that Hornstein (2001) does not discuss. The null predicate of such SCs may then find a more reasonable place in the grammar. We leave this issue for future work.

4.3   Speculations on *inda*

As far as we can see, the analysis outlined above works smoothly for all cases of *wh*-dependencies involving *embu* that we catalogued in section 2.1 above. However, it cannot easily account for the fact that bare *inda*, whether argument or adjunct (i.e. complementless *what/why*), never combines with *embu* (cf. (5)-(8)). This is not predicted if the process deriving *inda*-questions follows the clefting strategy laid out in the previous section.

One might want to argue that the element *mbu* that occurs with (bare) *inda* is simply an allomorph of *embu*, contracted even further from *en+pu*. However, there is evidence that suggests that the two forms are to be kept distinct. For example, the form occurring with bare *inda* is not inflected for tense:

(29)   a.   Inda   embu   ipces?
               what.ACC   is-that   drank.2SG
               'What is it that you drank?'
       b. *   Inda   itan pu   ipces?
               what.ACC   was-that drank.2SG
               'What was it that you drank?'

(30) Inda   mbu   {itan pu}   ipces?
       what.ACC   is-it   was-that   drank.2SG
       'What {is, was} it that you drank?'

Another point is that *mbu* is an element clearly reserved for *inda*, whether it functions as argument ('what') or adjunct ('why'). This fact can be illustrated most clearly with a *wh*-word that ends in a (stressed) vowel (in this case, the plural neuter form of *pcos* 'who'): there are no obvious phonological reasons that would disallow contraction of *embu* to *mbu* in the context of (31).

(31)* Pca   mbu   idhes?
       who.ACC   is-that   saw.2SG
       'Who is it that you saw?'

In the face of this exceptionality of *mbu*, we thus have to answer the following questions:

    i.   Why doesn't *inda* allow clefting (if it really doesn't)?
    ii.   What is the syntax of *inda mbu* (if it's really different)?

We will leave these questions open. One tentative way of approaching the issue could be to assume that *inda* is in fact a *wh*-clitic, possibly even similar to the ones found in Romance varieties (see section 3). Some support for such an assumption can be adduced from examples such as (32) and (33). The ungrammaticality of (32a) indicates that *inda* is not a phonetically stand-alone item, but it needs to attach to a (tonic) morphological host:

(32)   A:... [unintelligble]
       B: a. *   Inda?
          b.   Inda   mboni?
                 what   is-it-that-is
                 'What (is it)?'
Finally, (33) shows that generally there are reduced (clitic) forms of *inda*:

(33)   {inda, 'a, 'nda}   mbu   ipces?
       what.ACC   is-that   drank.2SG
       'What is it that you drank?'

However, the same is not true for *inda* when it is used as an adjunct:

(34)   {inda, 'a, 'nda}   mbu   erkumaste   dhame?
       what.ACC   is-that   come.1PL   here

'What is it that we come here for?'

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we investigated the properties of *wh*-questions in Cypriot Greek involving the element *embu* 'is-that'. We rejected an analysis that would treat these on a par with at first sight comparable strategies found in Romance varieties. We then argued that the structure underlying the derivation is that of a cleft. The theoretical innovation in this paper is a sideward movement analysis of *wh*-clefts, which, as we tentatively suggested, might be generalized beyond the phenomenon investigated here. We identified some issues that are to be explored in subsequent work, most notably the special strategy that *inda* 'what' arguably requires.

6. Notes

[1] As mentioned above, see Newton (1972) on the phonological differences between CG and SMG. For convention, we use the following abbreviations in the interlinear glosses throughout: CL = clitic, ACC = accusative, NOM = nominative, SG = singular, PL = plural, OP = operator. Brackets indicate that realization of the set of lexical items LIs within is optional: '{LI$_1$, ..., LI$_n$}'. We provide a broad approximation of CG pronunciation, including 'dh' for the voiced fricative.

[2] Pending a dedicated study of felicitous discourse contexts and other factors, we will treat the interpretation of both *wh*-question strategies on a par and translate even *(e)mbu*-structures as simple, non-cleft questions into English in subsequent examples.

[3] However, given (8)-(9), it is not clear whether other factors account for this state of affairs independently. We will not consider the issue of D-linking any further.

[4] This might be another instance of the more general "*wh*-clitic connection" studied by Boeckx & Stjepanović (2005).

[5] The literature is split on the representation of clefts. While some researchers propose a monoclausal structure, we assume a biclausal structure. The ensuing discussion is a tentative proposal on the structure of clefts and *wh*-clefts, to be worked out in concurrent work (Grohmann, in progress), where the relevant references are provided. Note that what we call the "matrix" is often taken to be a relative clause. Pending further discussion, we do not distinguish the two further (but see note 7 for potentially interesting support for our proposal if the matrix is indeed a relative).

[6] Naturally, our analysis only concerns *embu*-structures, i.e. *embu*-less *wh*-questions in CG are presumably generated like their SMG counterparts (or any other *wh*-question that involves fronting of one *wh*-element, as in English). The fact that the CG *wh*-expression *inda* forces *(e)mbu* signals that CG does indeed have two totally different strategies —

we may speculate that one is taken over from the "standard" Greek variety, one from the "dialect." In this light it is only to be expected that *inda* does not allow "regular *wh*-movement": the CG strategy for *wh*-question formation involves clefting, so any CG question word would trigger this type of derivation.

[7] See also Grohmann (2003: 303-308) for review of, additional discussion on, and further references for the phenomena that Nunes (parasitic gaps) and Hornstein (adjunct control, relativization) were concerned with as well as others (PRO gate, ATB-constructions, and so forth).

[8] A final "disclaimer" on these background assumptions. As argued elsewhere (see note 7 above), the derivational workspace is needed independently of sideward movement. Since Merge targets by definition only two syntactic objects, every time a complex object, such as a subject or any other "left branch" (Uriagereka 1999), is Merged, it must be constructed in parallel. We refer to all the sources cited in this note and the previous one for more discussion.

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8. Περίληψη

Στην εργασία αυτή εξετάζουμε τη δομή των ερωτήσεων μερικής αγνοίας της κυπριακής διαλέκτου, ένα θέμα που ως τώρα δεν έχει μελετηθεί. Δείχνουμε ότι σε όλες τις ερωτήσεις μερικής αγνοίας, με εξαίρεση αυτές που εισάγονται με το *inda* 'τι', η ερωτηματική λέξη ή φράση μπορεί να συνοδεύεται από το *embu* 'εν που', 'είναι που', που μορφολογικά και συντακτικά μοιάζει με το *est-ce que* της γαλλικής και κάποιων ιταλικών διαλέκτων. Το *embu* είναι προαιρετικό αλλά, στις ερωτήσεις που εισάγονται με το *inda*, η πραγμάτωση *mbu* εμφανίζεται υποχρεωτικά, εκτός αν το *inda* είναι επιρρηματικό. Προτείνουμε ότι οι δομές που περιέχουν *embu* είναι δισχιδείς προτάσεις, όπως και οι δομές συντακτικής εστίασης της κυπριακής, στην οποία δεν υπάρχει συντακτική μετακίνηση για λόγους εστίασης, ενώ οι δομές με *inda mbu* πρέπει να αναλυθούν με διαφορετικό τρόπο καθώς το *inda* φαίνεται να έχει ιδιότητες κλιτικού στοιχείου.

The diachronic evolution of the Greek article: parametric hypotheses

Cristina Guardiano
Università di Modena e Reggio Emilia

This paper proposes an interpretation of the diachronic evolution of the Greek article-system according to a theoretical framework essentially based on the recent parametric descriptions of the DP-structure. It particularly focuses on the relation between the rise of the so-called indefinite article and the necessity for the definite (expletive) one to occur along with proper names, in argument position. More specifically, the distribution of the definite article, the necessity of a phonetically visible expletive with proper names in Modern Greek, and its apparent optionality in Ancient Greek, are explained as the empirical consequences of the interaction among a number of parametric properties, namely the Null Article, the Strong Reference and the availability of the Noun-raising to high positions in the DP. Such an explanation also accounts for the diachronic development of the article-system throughout the history of Greek in terms of parameter resetting.

Keywords: Ancient and Modern Greek, diachronic evolution, DP-structure, parameters, expletive article, null article, reference, N-raising.

1 Theoretical background

1.1 The DP and its internal structure

The description of nominal phrases as DPs, as proposed first in Szabolcsi (1983, 1987) and Abney (1987), and more recently in Longobardi (2001) and Bernstein (2001), suggests a crosslinguistically common DP-structure that can be represented as follows (reduced version from Guardiano 2003:6):

(1) $[_{DP}$ Spec $[_{D'}$ D $[_{NumP}$ Num $[_{H1P}$ H1 $[_{AP}$ A$_{S\text{-oriented}}$ $[_{AP}$ A$_{Manner1}$ $[_{H2P}$ H2 $[_{AP}$ A$_{Manner2}$ $[_{H3P}$ H3 $[_{AP}$ A$_{Argument}$ $[_{H4P}$ H4 $[_{NP}$ Spec $[_{N'}$ N Compl $]]]]]]]]]]]]]]$[1]

Our analysis essentially concerns a cluster of syntactic properties affecting the head of the DP (i.e. D), namely the identification[2] of the *definite* and the *count* readings of the noun, and the (overt or covert) association between D and two

other denotation properties of nominal expressions, *object-* and *kind-reference.* Such properties will be discussed along with the options of N-movement, as strictly related to a number of phenomena affecting the DP, which have been since long observed throughout the history of the Greek language. As assessed in Szabolcsi (1987) and Stowell (1989, 1991), nominal expressions in argument position are always DPs, namely they always contain a category D, and such a category may be even lexically empty (Crisma 1997; for empty categories, Rizzi 1986). Nominal expressions in non-argument positions may not contain a D head (namely, they may even be NPs): our analysis essentially concerning the realization in D of a number of properties, we focus our empirical observations only on arguments, excluding nominal expressions in predicative position, vocatives, prepositional phrases and idioms.

1.2 The head of the DP: definiteness and countability

According to Crisma (1999), if definiteness is grammaticalised in D, D must be identified with respect to such a property: if this is the case, the definite reading of nominal expressions in the DP is assigned only under specific conditions, namely if a definite determiner is visible in D, if a definiteness affix is visible on the noun, or through structural strategies, such as definiteness inheritance from a structural genitive or possessive.

(2) a. *il* ragazzo legge *il* libro   Italian
      the boy reads the book
   b. bil-*en*   Swedish[3]
      car-*the*
   c. John's book (= the book of John; *a book of John)
   d. *ha*-isha   Hebrew[4]
      the woman

The indefinite interpretation is assigned by *default* whenever such conditions are unavailable. Given this, what is commonly described as the *indefinite* article is in fact "the morphological expression of the positive value of a feature ± *count*" (Crisma 1999: 122). The identification of such a feature is related to the satisfaction of at least one of the following conditions:

(3) **I:** Strategies to assign a + value to [± count]: a. overt numeral or other designated determiner, including the so-called indefinite article. b. overt plural morphology. c. local identification by means of a genitive (inheritance of *count*)

II: Strategies to assign a – value to [+ count]: Default (plural or mass) (Crisma 1999:124)

(4) a. il ragazzo legge *un* libro   Italian
          the boy reads a book
     b. *il ragazzo legge libro
     c. il ragazzo legge libr*i*
          the boy reads book*s*

(5) a. ho mangiato *un* maiale (*singular indefinite*)
          (I) eat a pig
     b. ho mangiato maiale (default mass)
          (I) eat pork
(6) isha
     Hebrew woman (indefinite count)

Such an analysis implies that, when the feature *count* is not grammaticalised, D can be left empty with all nominal expressions, namely the lexically empty D can freely select count singular nouns as arguments (6): languages which do not grammaticalise *count* in D allow the *null* determiner to encode both the marked and the unmarked values of such a feature.

(7) The *null article* is an empty D which selects the value *+count*

Four types of languages[5] can be in principle distinguished with respect to the identification of the two properties; Table 1 shows a tentative parametrization.

(8) Table 1

		(I)	(II)	(III)	(IV)[6]
1.	± gramm def in DP	+	-	+	-
2.	± gramm count (*null article*)	+	-	-	+

1.3   Structural positions in the DP: adjectives and N-movement

It has been observed since Sproat and Shih (1988, 1990), Bernstein (1993) and Crisma (1993, 1995) that adjectives are basically generated in a number of structural positions of the DP (i.e. A_{Arg}, A_{M2}, A_{M1}, A_{S-Or} in (1)); nouns are in turn generated in a lower position (N in (1)); thus, the superficial orders whit the noun preceding the adjectives are derived from the N-raising to one of the available intermediate landing sites (H4, H3, H2, H1 respectively, in (1)).

(9) a. nje **grua** tjetër e bukur (*S-or*)   Albanian
     a woman other ART-nice
   b. un altro bel vestito blu tedesco   Italian
     one other nice dress blue German
(10)   another nice blue German **dress**   English

The availability - in each single language - of a specific landing site for the N-movement has been parametrically described [7]; for the purposes of our investigation, the cluster of parametric choices can be reduced as follows:

(11) Table 3

		Albanian, Italian, Walloon...	English, German ...
4.	± N over As	+	-

1.4   Denotation properties of nouns associated to D: reference

Longobardi (2004) defines the reference as a "denotation[8] relation" only based on the lexical content of the noun; in his framework *kind-referential*[9] expressions are defined as "proper names for species", while *object-referential* expressions are intended as "proper names for objects"[10]. Languages differ in associating *object-* and *kind-referential* nouns to D, and such a distinction happens to be parametric; namely, certain languages overtly associate both *proper* and *kind* names to D, either by visible N movement to D (N-to-D chain, available only for proper names), or by an expletive article[11] (N-to-D CHAIN, in Chomsky's 1986 sense), while others associate neither. In Guardiano and Longobardi (2005) such groups are defined *Strong D* and *Weak D* languages, respectively.

(12) a.   gli elefanti bianchi sono estinti
     b.   *the white coloured elephants are extinct
     c.   *elefanti bianchi sono estinti[12]
     d.   white coloured elephants are extinct

In English, *bare nouns* (nominal expressions without any visible D) are interpretable as *kind-referential*, while in Italian such an interpretation is never available ((12)d vs. (12)c) if the nominal expression is not introduced by a lexically visible D ((12)a); thus, in Italian *kind names* need overt association to D, while in English they do not.

(13) a. Lunedì scorso è stato un giorno difficile
     b. *Monday last was a hard day
     c. *scorso lunedì è stato un giorno difficile
     d. last Monday was a hard day
     e. lo scorso lunedì è stato un giorno difficile

Italian drops the (expletive) article with proper names only when the noun raises over the adjective (13)a vs. (13)e; the ungrammaticality of (13)c shows that the raising of the noun over the adjective is needed in order to fill D in the absence of the article; (13)d, and the ungrammaticality of (13)b, show that such a movement is not needed in English. Again, an overt association between the nominal expression and D is needed in Italian, but not in English. Such examples suggest that if a language does not need any chain/CHAIN between D and *kind names*, it never needs any chain/CHAIN between D and any *object-referential* noun, and vice versa.

(14) In order for a nominal expression to have a referential reading in the DP, a visible relation between N and D (N-to-D chain/CHAIN) is needed in Italian (*Strong D*), but not in English (*Weak D*)[13].

Empirical observations on a number of languages (Guardiano and Longobardi 2005) have shown that, in spite of idiolinguistic and lexical peculiarities, such languages behave either like Italian (Romance varieties, Bulgarian, Arabic…) or English (Germanic varieties, Welsh…); therefore, the distinction in (14) can be represented as a binary, parametric, choice between the ($\pm$) values of *Strong D*.

(15) Table 2

		Italian	English
3.	+ Strong D	+	-

2   The Greek DP

As far as the lexical realization of D through visible articles is concerned, three main phases are distinguished in the history of the Greek language: the Archaic period (essentially represented by Homeric poems), the Classical and Hellenistic (and perhaps Medieval) eras, and the Modern phase. The documents belonging to the Archaic period show a system without articles, where the values of both $\pm$ *def* and $\pm$ *count* are assigned without phonetically visible material in D (type II in table 1). In this phase an element ὁ, ἡ, τό[14] is already visible, and it always acts as a demonstrative without any deictic marking (17).

(16)H, 11-12

Ἕκτωρ δὲ Ἠιονῆα βάλε ἔγχει ὀξυόεντι
αὐχένα ὑπὸ τεφάνη εὐχάλκου, λύντο δὲ γυῖα
Hector threw struck Ioneus with *(the) pointed spear*
(wounded) *(the) neck* under the bronze rim of his helmet, lost *(the) strength*

(17) τ, 382

τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς
and answering, Odysseus of many counsels spoke to her

In the so-called Classical and Hellenistic periods (Ancient Greek, AG) ὁ, ἡ, τό
acts as a definiteness marker: nominal expressions, both singular and plural,
introduced by such an article (or by some other definite determiner) have
definite reading, while nominal expressions without any visible determiner in D
are never interpreted as definite (+ *gramm def in DP*).

(18)a. Aristotle, Poetics 49 a 38 – b 1

ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία διὰ τὸ μὴ σπουδάζεθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔλαθεν
the comedy, as it was not regarded as important,
in its early stages has been beyond our control

b. Aristophanes, Clouds, 5

οἱ δὲ οἰκέται ῥέγκουσιν
while *the* slaves are snoring

(19)a. Xenophon, Anabasis I, 7

καὶ αὕτη αὖ ἄλλη πρόφασις ἦν αὐτῳ τοῦ ἀθροίζειν *στράτευμα*
and this was another reason for him to collect (an) *army* (*indef*)

b. Apology of Socrates 20 a 4

ἔτυχον γὰρ προσελθὼν *ἀνδρὶ*
I happened in fact to run into (a) *man* (*indefinite*)

c. Symposium 215 b 3

ἔνδοθεν *ἀγάλματα* ἔχοντες θεῶν
and that have *images* of gods inside of them (*indefinite*)

In this stage *null* Ds license bare singulars, without producing the *default* (mass)
reading of the noun ((19)a and b): thus, AG has *null article*. As far as the
referential interpretation of nominal expressions is concerned, the behaviour of
kind names appears crucial in order to define AG as *+Strong D*, as it behaves
exactly like Italian: nominal expressions without any visible determiner in D are
never interpreted as *kind-referential*[15].

(20)a. Cratylus 389 a 5-6

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ἐπίcκεψαι ποῖ βλέπων ὁ νομοθέτηc τὰ ὀνόματα τίθεται
see now what the lawgiver views in giving *the* names (*kind*)

b. Cratylus 393 e 2
    ὀνόματα ποιοῦντεc
    making (some) names (*indefinite*)

As it is well-known, the Modern Greek (MG) article-system is bipartite˙ o, η, το (pl. οι, οι, τα) acts as a definiteness marker, and the so-called indefinite article (ἕνα, μία, ἕνα) occurs with all singular common nouns having a count reading; bare singulars are interpreted only as mass nouns. Therefore, MG belongs to type (I) in table I (i.e. both *def* and *count* are grammaticalised in D).

(21)a. τό αγόρι ἔπαιζε με το μπαλόνι του
       the boy played with his ball
   b. *αγόρι ἔπαιζε με το μπαλόνι του
       boy played with his ball
   c. ἕνα αγόρι ἔπαιζε με το μπαλόνι του
       a boy played with his ball

(22) πίνω νεϱό
      (I) drink water (*default mass*)

As far as reference is concerned, the following examples show that the drop of the expletive is ungrammatical in MG both with *kind-* and *object-referential* nominal expressions. With respect to the *kind-referential* interpretation, MG behaves exactly like Italian: only nominal expressions with a visible determiner can be interpreted, in the appropriate contexts, as *kind-referential*[16].

(23)a. οι άcπϱοι ελέφαντεc ἔχουν εξαφανιcτεί
        the white elephants have become extinct   (*kind*)
    b. *άcπϱοι ελέφαντεc ἔχουν εξαφανιcτεί
        white elephants have become extinct

Given the ungrammaticality of the referential reading of (23)b, we conclude that even MG is *Strong D*, like Italian and AG. Yet, the behaviour of *object-referential* expressions show a number of significant differences. In MG proper names in argument position never occur without visible expletives and never precede any adjective (Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warburton 1997).

(24)a. ἔϱχεται   ο Δημήτϱηc
        is coming *the* Dimitris
    b. *ἔϱχεται Δημήτϱηc

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c. έρχεται ο καλòς Δημήτρης
    is coming *the* good Dimitris
d. *έρχεται καλòς Δημήτρης
e. *έρχεται Δημήτρης καλóς

Given the Italian data in (13), our hypothesis is that the ungrammaticality of (24) b and e is due to the unavailability in MG of N-to-D raising. The basic order of constituents in DPs containing at least one adjective suggests that the noun in MG never precedes any adjective: the ungrammaticality of (25)b and (26)b, c and d suggest that the noun do not raise overtly over As.

(25)a. το *(ένα)* καλό βιβλίο
         the (a) good book
    b. * το (ένα) βιβλίο καλό   ((Ανδρουτσοπουλου (1994:1))
(26)a. το μεγάλο γερμανικό πιάνο
         the big German piano
    b. *το μεγάλο πιάνο γερμανικό
    c. *το πιάνο μεγάλο γερμανικό
    d. *το πιάνο γερμανικό μεγάλο

(27) το πανέμορφο μικρό, σκαλιστό, δρινό, μαύρο, ιαπωνεζικό τραπέζι
      the very-nice small curved oak black Japanese table[17]

Assuming such considerations to hold generally, i.e. even when no adjectives occur, we conclude that in MG the noun never raises to structural positions higher than As. Thus, the noun being constrained into a low position, even the overt movement of proper names to D happens to be unavailable (i.e. no chain), as the ungrammaticality of (24)e shows; then, the overt association of an *object-referential* expression to D can be obtained only through a CHAIN, namely the insertion in D of a phonetically visible expletive.

(28) Table 5

		Italian	Modern Greek
1.	± gramm def in DP	+	+
2.	± gramm count (*null article*)	+	+
3.	+ Strong D	+	+
4.	+ N over As	+	-

As far as AG is concerned, the behaviour of proper names is ambiguous, in that they occur both with and without the visible expletive:

(29)a. Symposium 174 d 7 - e 1

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ἐπὶ τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ Ἀγάθωνος
at the house of Agathon
b.   Symposium 175 a 3
φάναι τὸν Ἀγάθωνα
(that) *the* Agathon said[18]

Given such data, the first hypothesis is that AG is like Italian: D is filled either
by the proper name or by the expletive. Given this, we expect structures like
(13)a. to be grammatical in AG, but in our data they are never attested: overt N-
to D movement happens to be unavailable.

(30)a.   Symposium 186 b 4
     τὸν διπλοῦν Ἔρωτα   Art A N
     the double-faced Eros
  b.   *Ἔρωτα διπλοῦν   *ø N A
  c.   * διπλοῦν Ἔρωτα   *ø A N

If the conclusions reached for MG are tenable, then we expect the unavailability
of N-to-D overt movement in AG being due to the unavailability of the
movement of any noun to high positions in the DP: the following data show that
even in AG the noun never raises over any adjective:

(31)a.   Apology of Socrates 31 d 7-8
     εἰ ἐγὼ πάλαι ἐπεχείρησα πράττειν τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγματα
     if I had long since begun to be involved in *the* political affairs
                                         Art A N
  b.   *πράττειν τὰ πράγματα πολιτικά   *Art N A

(32) Table 4[19]:

	Art A N	Art N A	A Art N	N Art A	Art N Art A	Art A Art N	TOT
Plato	88%	0%	0%	0%	11,5%	0,5%	100%
The Gospels	21,5%	0%	0%	0%	78,5%	0%	100%

Thus, when a proper name occurs without any visible expletive in argument
position, D is assumed to be empty: as such, in spite of AG being *Strong D,* the
association of *object-referential* expressions with D appears to be possible either
overtly (by means of the expletive) or covertly (leaving D empty).

2.1 Ancient Greek and the *null expletive*

The syntax of MG DPs empirically differs from AG in essentially two respects:

(33) MG needs to fill D through a visible article when a count singular nominal expression occurs in the DP, while AG allows empty determiners even with count singular nouns.

(34) MG needs to fill D through a visible expletive when an *object-referential* nominal expression occurs in the DP, while AG allows empty determiners even with *object-referential* expressions.

If our hypotheses are correct, the two languages parametrically differ in the setting of a single value, as Table 6 shows:

(35) Table 6

		Modern Greek	Ancient Greek
1.	+ gramm def in DP	+	+
2.	± gramm count (*null article*)	+	-
3.	± Strong D	+	+
4.	+ N over As	-	-

Our proposal is that such a parametric distinction is responsible for both (33) and (33), and, more precisely, that the licensing of *null* (i.e. phonetically empty) determiners with proper names (i.e. the association of *object-referential* expressions with D even in the absence of a phonetic content of D), depends on the licensing of the *null* determiner with (indefinite) singular common nouns with count reading (*null article*). In fact, if a *null* determiner is able to select a singular count reading, we expect it to do so not only when it is assigned an operator reading, i.e. the default indefinite interpretation, but even when it does not receive any such interpretation, namely when it functions as an expletive. On such grounds, we propose that, in AG, DPs containing a proper name and no visible determiner - in argument position -, such as Ἀγάθωνος in (29)a, exactly parallel MG DPs with lexical expletives and proper names such as (24)a, the only difference being that in the first case the expletive is *null*[20].

(36) If in a language the *null* determiner licenses indefinite singular common nouns without them taking the *default* mass reading (*null article*), and the language is *Strong D*, such a *null* determiner also licenses *object-referential* nominal expressions without them taking the quantificational *default* interpretation (*null expletive*).

Given the definition of the *null expletive* in (36), two empirical considerations arise from the analysis of the AG data. The examples under (30) show that *null*

expletives are not licensed when an adjective occurs along with the proper name: the identification of the *null expletive* seems to be prevented by the presence of an adjective between D and N, namely the licensing of *null expletives* happens to be possible only under adjacency conditions; such a restriction is presumably due to minimality requirements on local identification[21]. Besides, a significant asymmetry emerges between proper names and common nouns acting as *kind* names, i.e. the expletive is never *null* with *kind-referential* common nouns (20). Longobardi (2003) explains the parallel asymmetry concerning overt raising of N to D in languages like Italian, suggesting that a movement chain is functionally less economical than a derivation with a *default* (i.e. *–def*) interpreted empty D, and therefore the movement happens to be a *last resort*: as proper names are lexically unable to tolerate the quantificational interpretation imposed by *default* in the absence of a filled D[22], only the movement is available for the derivation to converge. Analogously, we suggest that an expletive-noun CHAIN is more costly than a *default* quantificational interpretation of an empty D: therefore, the *null article* with common nouns cannot escape the *default* indefinite (quantificational) reading, and only with proper names (which do not tolerate such a quantificational interpretation) it is interpretable as an expletive. Thus, common nouns must resort to an overt article in order to be interpreted as *kind* names even in languages which allow *null* ones.

2.2. Conclusion

Given the unavailability of the overt N-movement over APs in all the diachronic stages under examination, we assume that the value of the related parameter has not been reset throughout the history of the Greek language, the only parametric variation in this domain being the grammaticalization of the feature *count* in D. Then, if (36) is tenable, we expect the availability of the *null expletive* to be strictly related to that of the *null article*: when a visibly filled D becomes obligatory for the *+count* reading of the nominal expression, then a visibly filled D becomes obligatory for the *object-referential* interpretation of nominal arguments, that is, the two phenomena being structurally related, we predict them to be even chronologically related; in order to verify such a prediction, a systematic analysis of some Hellenistic and Medieval texts is up to now in progress (Guardiano, *in prep*) the first results apparently confirming such hypotheses.

3. Notes

[1] Legenda. **D**: head of the DP, position of the determiner; **Num**: base position for numerals and, in many languages, for other determiners different from the definite article (Longobardi 2001); **H1,2,3,4**: functional heads, landing sites for the noun when it moves out of NP (Longobardi 2001); $A_{S\text{-Oriented}}$: structural position for subject- or speaker-

oriented adjectives (Crisma 1993, 1995); $A_{Manner1}$, $A_{Manner2}$: structural positions for manner 1 and manner 2 adjectives, respectively (Crisma 1993, 1995); $A_{Argument}$: structural position for argument adjectives (Crisma 1993, 1995).

[2] More precisely, D *assigns* the definite/indefinite reading, and *selects* the count/mass reading (Longobardi 2001).

[3] For the description of Scandinavian nominal phrases see Delsing (1993).

[4] Longobardi (1995) has shown that in Semitic languages genitive modifiers can be realised by means of a prepositional phrase that follows the head noun (the so-called absolute state) or in the form of a structural case, which is "identified by the co-occurrence of a cluster of properties" (Longobardi 1995: 300); as far as our discussion is concerned, the most relevant are that the head noun occurs without any visible determiner and that the definiteness of the head noun depends on that of the following (genitive) complement: the construct state appears therefore to be a typical case of assignation of definite reading to a noun by means of structural strategies of definiteness inheritance.

a. beyt *ha-*iʃ
  house *the* man
  (the house of the man)

b. beyt iʃ
  house man
  (a house of a man)

[5] In the first type both features are grammaticalised: the marked values (+*def*, +*count*) are identified through a lexical D, and empty determiners have only the *default* values, unless structural strategies occur; Italian (and other Romance varieties) and English (and other Germanic varieties) among the others behave as such. In the second type (Latin, Russian and other Slavic varieties, …) neither *def* nor *count* are grammaticalised. In the third type (Old English, Bulgarian, Irish, Hebrew, Arabic, …) only *def* is grammaticalised: the null determiner licenses bare singulars as indefinites. In the fourth type only *count* is grammaticalised: +*count* needs an overt identification, while +*def* does not.

6 For a discussion on this type see Crisma (1997) and Guardiano (2003).

[7] In Albanian the noun raises over A_{S-Or}, in Italian it presumably raises over A_{M2} but not over A_{M1}, Bernstein (1993) has shown that in Walloon it raises over A_{Arg} but not over A_{M2}. The Albanian example is taken from Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998: 336).

[8] "Denotation is the relation between an argument phrase and an individual entity" (Longobardi 2004: 1).

[9] Referential expressions are constants, namely they denote one and only one fixed entity (*kind* or *object*), while quantificational expressions involve semantic variables (Longobardi 2003).

[10] i.e. they intrinsecally have singular count reading, definite specific interpretation, rigid designation (Longobardi 1994, 2003).

[11] The expletive is often lexically identical to the definite proper, the two differing in their semantic and syntactic functions: the latter is a quantificational operator, it assigns the noun a definite count interpretation; the expletive does not play any semantic function, acting as a "placeholder for the proper name in D in the absence of N-to-D raising" (Longobardi 2003: 20) and as an output of D with *kind-referential* nouns (Guardiano 2004).

[12] *Bare nouns* in Italian never refer to the kind named by the head noun; in all relevant semantic environments they behave as overt indefinites (Longobardi 2002).

[13] Adapted from Longobardi 2003.

[14] Its origins are Indo-European (*so, *sā, *tod); for its use in Homeric poems, Jannaris (1897: 317), Smyth (1920: 284-285), among the others.

[15] The data come from a systematic analysis on a corpus to the ancient (essentially Classic and Hellenistic) period, discussed in Guardiano (2003).

[16] For the interpretation of *bare nouns* crosslinguistically, Longobardi (2002), Schmitt & Munn (2002).

[17] Examples (26) from Androutsopoulou (1995: 4); from Stavrou (1999: 209). The other available strategy for adjectival modification is the so called "determiner spreading" construction (or "double definiteness", *Art N Art Adj*; *Art Adj Art N*); it is visible in both MG and AG (its properties being in some respect different), it seems unrelated to N-movement, and it won't be discussed here; for further references see Androutsopoulou (1994, 1995), Manolessou (2000), Campos & Stavrou (2001).

[18] Classical texts: 55% proper names without a visible expletive and 45% with a visible expletive; Hellenistic texts: 39% without the expletive and 61% with the expletive (data from Guardiano 2003).

[19] The noun precedes the adjective only when both occur in the "determiner spreading" construction. For a detailed description, Guardiano (2003, chapter 3).

[20] Given this, the alternation between *Null* and visible expletive with proper names in AG can be interpreted as related to syntax-independent (namely stylistic, contextual or pragmatic) strategies (see for example Jannaris 1897: 319, Eakin 1916, Smyth 1920: 289-291, Biraud 1992, Heimerdinger & Levinson 1992), like the Italian one between the proper name raised and the overt expletive (*Verdi // Il Verdi*).

[21] Bulgarian behaves like AG with this respect (Guardiano and Longobardi 2005).

[22] Proper names may lose their intrinsic *object* referentiality only in certain special and overtly marked environments, i.e. when they occur as plurals or when they are followed by a restrictive relative modification: in such cases they behave exactly as common nouns (Longobardi 1994, 2003).

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5. Περίληψη

Η παρούσα ανακοίνωση προτείνει μια ερμηνεία της διαχρονικής εξέλιξης του ελληνικού συστήματος του άρθρου με βάση τις πρόσφατες παραμετρικές περιγραφές της δομής της φράσης άρθρου. Ειδικότερα, εστιάζει στη σχέση ανάμεσα στην ανύψωση του επονομαζόμενου αόριστου άρθρου και την ανάγκη για εμφάνιση ενός οριστικού (πλεοναστικού) άρθρου στα κύρια ονόματα, σε θέση ορίσματος. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, η κατανομή του οριστικού άρθρου, η ανάγκη ύπαρξης ενός φωνητικά ορατού πλεοναστικού στοιχείου με τα κύρια ονόματα στα Νέα Ελληνικά, και η προαιρετική εμφάνισή του στα Αρχαία Ελληνικά, θεωρούνται εμπειρικές συνέπειες της αλληλεπίδρασης ενός αριθμού παραμετρικών ιδιοτήτων, του κενού άρθρου, της ισχυρής αναφοράς και της δυνατότητας ανύψωσης του Ονόματος στη Φράση Άρθρου. Μια τέτοια ερμηνεία λαμβάνει υπόψη της τη διαχρονική εξέλιξη του συστήματος του άρθρου στα Ελληνικά ως διαδικασία επαναπροσδιορισμού των σχετικών παραμέτρων.

Object position in Cappadocian and other Asia Minor Greek dialects

Mark Janse
Roosevelt Academy, Middelburg

This paper presents some preliminary observations on object position in Cappadocian and other Asia Minor Greek dialects. (S)VO order is normally used for indefinite objects presenting new (inactive) information. It is also used for definite objects presenting accessible (semiactive) information and definite objects presenting backgrounded given (active) information. The unmarked order for definite objects presenting given information is (S)OV. Such objects can also be emphatically presented as given information by placing them in sentence-initial position (O(S)V). Objects presenting given information are as a rule clitic-doubled, objects presenting accessible or new information not.

1. Introduction

In this paper I present some preliminary observations on word order and information flow in Cappadocian and other Asia Minor Greek dialects, with particular attention to the position of the direct object. The term "information flow" has been borrowed from Chafe (1994). It refers to such diverse but interrelated discourse functions as contrastiveness, referential importance, identifiability, newsworthiness, and notions such as topic-focus and given-new. Chafe (1994: 73) considers information flow in terms of "activation cost": information is either active (given), semiactive (accessible) or inactive (new) at some point in discourse. Activation cost is determined primarily by "the speaker's assessment of changing activation states in the mind of the listener" (Chafe 1994: 81). The flow of speech is to a large extent determined by the flow of information into and out of both "focal" (active) and "peripheral" (semiactive) consciousness (Chafe 1994: 30). This is particularly evident in languages with a so-called "free" word order such as Greek (in all its historical varieties), where the flow of speech generally moves from active to semi/inactive information. There are several exceptions to this general principle: active information may not be expressed at all in the case of the subject, Greek being a pro-drop language, or

by a clitic pronoun in the case of the object, which in Greek exhibits "special" syntax in the sense of Zwicky (1977: 6). Information may be also expressed contrastively, crosscutting the active-semi/inactive dimension. Last but not least, intonation may overrule the "normal" flow from active to semi/inactive information, active information being typically verbalized with a weakly stressed noun or pronoun (if at all), semi/inactive information with a strongly stressed noun or pronoun.

The following examples from Cappadocian illustrate the issues at hand:[1]

(1a)	[me	to	kamá-t]	skótosén	do$_i$
	[with	ART+	dagger-POSS.3sg]	kill.AOR.IND.3sg	CP.3sg$_i$
	[ekú	to	dev]$_i$		
	[DEM	ART+	giant]$_i$		

"with his dagger he killed that giant" (D354)

(1b)	[ekú	to	šamdán]$_i$	épirén	do$_i$
	[DEM	ART+	candlestick]	take.AOR.IND.3sg	CP.3sg$_i$
	[ap	to	cefáli-t]		
	[from	ART+	head-POSS.3sg]$_i$		

"he took that candlestick from her head" (D356)

In this pair of examples from Ulağáç, the definite direct object NPs are doubled by a postverbal clitic pronoun, whereas the word order is (X)VO in (1a) but OV(X) in (1b). In the following pair from Axó, the definite direct object NPs are doubled by a preverbal clitic pronoun, whereas the word order again varies between O(S)V in (2a) and (S)VO in (2b):[2]

(2a)	[etó	to	aslán]$_i$	tis	to$_i$	skótosen
	[DEM	ART+	lion]$_i$	who	CP.3sg	kill.AOR.IND.3sg

"who killed this lion?" (D394)

(2b)	ótis	to$_i$	skótosen	[etó	to	aslán]$_i$
	whoever	CP.3sg	kill.AOR.IND.3sg	[DEM	ART+	lion]$_i$

"whoever killed this lion" (D394)

The questions to be addressed in this paper are the following: what is the relation between word order and information flow in examples such as (1) and (2) and what is the relation between word order, clitic doubling and definiteness

in these cases?

The structure of the paper is as follows. Section 2 gives an outline of Asia Minor Greek. Section 3 briefly summarizes the distribution of clitic pronouns in Asia Minor Greek. Section 4 discusses the relation between information flow and the position of the direct object in Asia Minor Greek. Section 5 summarizes the main conclusions of the paper.

2. Asia Minor Greek dialectology

The geographical designation "Asia Minor Greek" has gained wide currency since the publication of Thomason and Kaufman's celebrated 1988 monograph on language contact.[3] It was inferred from the title of Dawkins' *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* who, however, explicitly restricted his investigation to dialects which were "native to Asia" or at least "pre-Turkish" (Dawkins 1916: 5). These include Pontic, Farasiot, Cappadocian, Silliot, Livisiot, Bithynian and the dialect of Gyölde near Kula. As a matter of fact, Dawkins' book deals only with Cappadocian, Farasiot and Silliot, so it is misleading to equate the designation Asia Minor Greek exclusively with these three dialects. Moreover, there is no special relationship between Silliot on the one hand and Cappadocian and Farasiot on the other. The relationships between the Asia Minor Greek dialects as defined by Dawkins (1916: 204ff.) can be summarized as follows (nomenclature mine):[4]

	1.	Proto-Cappadocian
	1.1.	Proto-Pontic
	1.1.1.	Pontic
	1.1.2.	Farasiot
	1.2.	Cappadocian
	2.	Silliot
	3.	Livisiot
	4.	Gyölde
	5.	Bithynian

Several dialects show contact phenomena. As Dawkins (1916: 204ff.) points out, both Farasiot and Silliot have features in common with Cappadocian even though the former is more closely related to Pontic and the latter to Livisiot.[5] What is more conspicious, however, is the degree of Turkish interference in Asia Minor Greek, especially in Cappadocian. In some Cappadocian dialects the degree of Turkish interference is such that Thomason and Kaufman conclude that they "may be close to or even over the border of nongenetic development"

(1988: 93f.). In other words, they can no longer be considered Greek *dialects* in the full genetic sense, but rather Greek-Turkish *mixed languages* (in the sense of Thomason 2001: 11).[6]

3. The distribution of clitic pronouns in Asia Minor Greek

The distribution of clitic pronouns in Asia Minor Greek is characterized by what has been called clitic "float" (Janse 1998a: 260): clitic pronouns appear in both post- and preverbal position with finite verbs (except where the imperative is used, in which case they are always postverbal). Postverbal placement is the rule, preverbal placement being governed by syntactic and, to a lesser extent, discourse constraints. Preverbal placement is obligatory in the presence of modal and negative particles, subordinating conjunctions, relative pronouns and interrogative words (Janse 1998a: 261). Examples (2a)-(2b) illustrate the last two categories, (3a)-(3c) the first ones:

(3a)	*as*	*to*	*fáyo*	*m*[7]
	MP	CP.3sg	eat.AOR.SUBJ.1sg	QP

"will I eat him?" (D336)

(3b)	*mí*	*to*	*fáyo*	*m*[7]
	NEG	CP.3sg	eat.AOR.SUBJ.1sg	QP

"will I not eat him?" (D336)

(3c)	*tón*	*do*	*éfaen*
	SUB	CP.3sg	eat.AOR.IND.3sg

"when she ate it" (D444)

Words or phrases emphatically presented as new information occasionally seem to attract clitic pronouns into preverbal position (Janse 1998a: 262). The following examples are (in)direct answers to the question put in (2a):

	eyó	*to*	*skótosa*
	I	CP.3sg	kill.AOR.IND.1sg

"*I* killed it" (D394)

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b)	eší	to	skótoses
	you	CP.3sg	kill.AOR.IND.2sg

"*you* killed it" (D394)

It may be noted that morphological distinctions of gender, case and number are often blurred or even reversed.[8] In Cappadocian, the formally neuter clitic pronoun *to* (*do*) is generally used to refer to masculine, feminine and neuter nouns alike (Janse 1998a: 259). Its plural counterpart *ta* (*da*), however, often refers to singular nouns as well, especially in Farasiot and Silliot (Janse 1998b: 539f.).

4. Information flow and the position of the object

Since information flow is determined by activation cost, it will be useful to start with some brief remarks about the expression of definiteness. In Cappadocian, indefinite animate objects are expressed by the nominative (Janse 2004: 7ff.):

(5a)	[to	peðí]	θorí
	[ART+	boy.NOM./ACC.sg]	see.PRES.IND.3sg
	[ena	devréšis]	
	[ART-	dervish.NOM./ACC-.sg]	

"the boy sees a dervish" (D414)

(5b)	[to	devréš]$_i$	léx	to$_i$
	[ART+	dervish.ACC+.sg]$_i$	say.PRES.IND.3sg	CP.3sg$_i$

"he says to the dervish" (D414)

(5c)	devréšis	léx	[to	peðí]
	dervish.NOM./ACC-.sg	say.PRES.IND.3sg	[ART+	boy.NOM./ACC.sg]

"the dervish says to the boy" (D414)

(5d)	devréšis	psófsen
	dervish.NOM./ACC-.sg	die.AOR.IND.3sg

"the dervish died" (D414)

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(5e)	[to	peðí]	šíkosén	do$_i$
	[ART+	boy.NOM./ACC.sg]	lift-AOR.IND.3sg	CP.3sg$_i$
	[to	devréš]$_i$		
	[ART+	dervish.ACC+.sg]$_i$		

"the boy took up the dervish" (D414)

The nominative *devréšis* is used for both subjects (5c)-(5d) and indefinite objects (5a), on the analogy of the Turkish absolutive, which is also used to mark both subjects and indefinite or, more precisely, nonspecific objects (Kornfilt 1997: 214). The accusative *devréš* is used only for definite objects, either direct (5e) or indirect (5b). Because of the association of the nominative with indefiniteness, both specific and nonspecific (Janse 2004: 8), the definite article is not used to mark definite animate subjects (Janse 2004: 13), as in (5c)-(5d).

This phenomenon is called "differential object marking" (DOM) by Aissen (2003), after Bossong (1985), i.e. the tendency to mark objects that are high in animacy and/or definiteness and, conversely, not to mark objects that are low in animacy and/or definiteness (Janse 2004: 4). DOM also explains why indefinite inanimate objects are not marked differentially in Cappadocian and why definite inanimate subjects take the definite article (Janse 2004: 13), as in (5a) and (5e). A similar situation obtains in Farasiot, where indefinite animate objects are also marked by the nominative (6b), but in this dialect the definite article is used to mark both definite subjects (6c) and objects (Janse 2004: 13f.):

(6a)	ítune	[am	babás]
	be.IPF.3sg	[ART-	priest. NOM./ACC-.sg]

"there was a priest" (D550)

(6b)	ívre	[lém	babás]
	find.AOR.IND.3sg	[another	priest. NOM./ACC-.sg]

"he found another priest" (D414)

(6c)	ípen	di^9	ci^{10}	[o	babás]
	say.AOR.IND.3sg	PRT	PRT	[ART+.NOM.m.sg	priest.NOM./ACC-.sg]

"the priest said: [...]" (D414)

The use of the indefinite accusative, whether or not accompanied by the indefinite article, signals new (inactive) information and indefinite objects

typically occur in postverbal position, as in (5a) and (6b). If subject and object are both indefinite, the normal order is SVO in Cappadocian:

(7)	[ena	xerifos]	éjišge
	[ART-	man.NOM./ACC-.sg]	have.IPF.IND.3sg
	[ena	fšáx]	
	[ART-	child.NOM./ACC.sg]	

"a man had a son" (D364)

(8a)	[ena	áθropos]	iferén	me
	[ART-	man.NOM./ACC-.sg]	bring.aor.ind.3sg	CP.1sg
	[ena	partšalanmïš	áθropos]	
	[ART-	mangled	man.NOM./ACC-.sg]	

"a man brought me a mangled man" (D448)

Indefinite objects can also be presented as accessible information, in which case they are placed in preverbal position. This is particularly evident in the case of contrastive objects. The following example is from the same text as (8a):

(8b)	kótša	[ena	áθropos]ᵢ	érapsá	toᵢ
	lately	[ART-	man.NOM./ACC-.sg]ᵢ	sew.AOR.IND.3sg	CP.3sgᵢ
	[etá	to	kundúra]ᵢ	na	mí	toᵢ
	[that	ART+	boot-NOM./ACC.sg]ᵢ	MP	NEG	CP.3sgᵢ
	rápso				
	sew.AOR.SUBJ.1sg				

"lately I sewed up a man and I couldn't sew up that boot?" (D448)

Note that the postverbal indefinite objects in (7)-(8a) are not clitic-doubled, contrary to the preverbal indefinite object in (8b).

Definite objects present either given (active) or accessible (semiactive) information. Where they occur in preverbal position, they always present given information and are always clitic-doubled, as in (8c). If the subject is also expressed, the normal order is SOV, which is also the unmarked order in Turkish (Kornfilt 1997: 91):

(9a)	*patišáxïs*		[*tši*	*néka-t*]$_i$
	king.NOM./ACC-.sg		[ART+.ACC.f.sg	wife-POSS.3sg]$_i$
	píren		*do$_i$*	—
	take.AOR.IND.3sg		CP.3sg$_i$	

"the king took his wife" (D316)

(9b)	*xerifos*		[*ta*	*fšáxa*]$_i$
	man.NOM./ACC-.sg		[ART+	child-NOM./ACC.pl]$_i$
	píren		*da$_i$*	
	take.AOR.IND.3sg		CP.3pl$_i$	

"the man took the children" (D318)

(10a)	*ablá-t*		[*do*	*döšéi-t*]$_i$
	elder sister.NOM.sg		[ART+	bed-POSS.3sg]$_i$
	píren		*do$_i$*	
	take.AOR.IND.3sg		CP.3sg$_i$	

"his elder sister took his bed" (D370)

(10b)	[*do*	*fšáx*]	[*do*	*döšéi-t*]$_i$
	[ART+	child-NOM./ACC.sg]	[ART+	bed-POSS.3sg]$_i$
	távrisén		*do$_i$*	
	pull.AOR.IND.3sg		CP.3pl$_i$	

"the boy pulled the bed" (D370)

(11)	[*do*	*pei*]	[*do*	*cirjás*]$_i$
	[ART+	boy.NOM./ACC.sg]	[ART+	meat-NOM./ACC.sg]$_i$
	ésecén		*do$_i$*	
	put.AOR.IND.3sg		CP.3pl$_i$	
	[*do*	*kaná-t*]	[*do*	*leró*]$_i$
	[ART+	wing-POSS.3sg]	[ART+	water-NOM./ACC.sg]$_i$
	ésecén		*do$_i$*	
	put.AOR.IND.3sg		CP.3pl$_i$	
	[*d*	*álo-t*]	*to*	*kaná-t*]
	[ART+	other-POSS.3sg]	ART+	wing- POSS.3sg]
	"the boy put the meat on her wing,			
	the water he put on her other wing" (D372)			

(12)	[to	peði]		[ta	aráp]ᵢ
	[ART+	boy.NOM./ACC.sg]		[ART+	negro-NOM./ACC.pl]ᵢ
	dayïdá			daᵢ	
	dismiss.PRES.IND.3sg			CP.3plᵢ	

"the boy dismisses the negroes" (D416)

Definite objects can also be emphatically presented as given information, in which case they are placed in sentence-initial position as left-dislocated constituents. If the subject is also expressed, it presents contrastive or new information. Kesisoglou (1951: 49) discusses the following minimal pair from Ulağáç:

(13a)	[do	pei]	[do	vavá-t]ᵢ
	[ART+	boy.NOM./ACC.sg]	[ART+	father.ACC.sg]ᵢ
	çórsen	doᵢ		
	see.AOR.IND.3sg	CP.3sgᵢ		

"the boy saw his father"

(13b)	[do	pei]ᵢ	vavá-t	çórsen	doᵢ
	[ART+	ᵢ	father.NOM.sg	see.AOR.IND.3sg	CP.3sgᵢ

"as for the boy, *it was his father* who saw him"

The following example from Silliot has two left-dislocated clitic-doubled definite objects and an indefinite subject emphatically presented as new information as a result of which it has attracted the doubling clitics into preverbal position, as in (4a)-(4b):

(14)	ménaᵢ	[túta	úla]ⱼ	[is	çizúris]
	meᵢ	[DEM	all.NOM./ACC.pl]ⱼ	[ART-	holy man.NOM.sg]
	muᵢ	taⱼ	róki		
	CP.1sgᵢ	CP.3sgⱼ	give.AOR.IND.3sg		

"as for me, all these things, *it was a holy man* who gave them to me" (D290)

If definite objects occur in postverbal position, they either present given or accessible information. Postverbal position in combination with clitic-doubling signals given information, but the information is as it were "backgrounded", though not necessarily right-dislocated, as in Turkish (Kornfilt

1997: 206). Examples are (1a), (2b) and (5e), where the referents of the postverbal definite objects are all active. Other examples include the following:

(15)	[to	peðí]	piren	da$_i$
	[ART+	boy.NOM./ACC.sg]	take.AOR.IND.3sg	CP.3pl$_i$
	[ecí	ta	kaidúra]$_i$	
	[DEM	ART+	ass-NOM./ACC.pl]$_i$	

"that boy took those asses" (D418)

(16)	ascér		pónesan	do$_i$
	soldier-NOM./ACC.pl		be sorry.AOR.IND.3pl	CP.3sg$_i$
	[to		peðí]$_i$	
	[ART+		boy.NOM./ACC.sg]$_i$	

"the soldiers were sorry for the boy" (D464)

Postverbal definite objects which are not clitic-doubled generally present accessible information. The following trio is from the same text as (9a)-(9b). The story begins with three sisters who dream of marrying the king's son. Although neither the king nor his son have been mentioned, they are still presented as accessible information, the king being part of the setting of many Cappadocian stories. (17a) is the lament of the eldest, (17b) the middle sister's and (17c) the self-confident reaction of the youngest:

(17a)	na	pira		[patišáxu	to	peðí]
	MP	take.AOR.IND.1sg		[king.GEN.sg	ART+	boy.NOM./ACC.sg]

"I would marry the king's son [...]" (D316)

(17b)	na	pira		γó	[patišáxu	to	peðí]
	MP	take.AOR.IND.1sg		I	[king.GEN.sg	ART+	boy.NOM./ACC.sg]

"*I* would marry the king's son [...]" (D316)

(17c)	[patišáxu	to	peðí]$_i$	eγó	na	to$_i$
	[king.GEN.sg	ART+	boy.NOM./ACC.sg]$_i$	I	MP	CP.3sg$_i$
	pira					
	take.AOR.IND.1sg					

"the king's son, *I* would marry him [...]" (D316)

The difference between these three utterances is that the referent of *patišáxu to*

pedí is presented as accessible information in (17a)-(17b), whereas it is emphatically presented as given information in (17c), as in (2a) and (13b).

Cases of contrastiveness are generally independent of activation cost (Chafe 1994: 77). In Cappadocian, double contrastiveness normally entails SVO word order and the absence of clitic-doubling, even if the referents of subject and object are active:

(18)

vasiléas		*piren*	[*to*	*ascéri-t*]
king.NOM.sg		take.AOR.IND.3sg	[ART+	army-POSS.3sg]
[*to*	*pedí*]	*piren*	[*to*	*yutšá-t*]
[ART+	boy.NOM./ACC.sg]	take.AOR.IND.3sg	[ART+	napkin-POSS.3sg]

"the king took his army, the boy took his napkin" (D460)

(19)

eɣó	*as*	*páro*	[*to*	*koritš*]
I	MP	take.AOR.SUBJ.1sg	[ART+	girl.NOM./ACC.sg]
eši	*épar*		[*to*	*peí*]
you	take. AOR.IMP.2sg		[ART+	boy.NOM./ACC.sg]

"I will take the girl, you take the boy" (D378)

I conclude with some examples from a Cappadocian version of little Snow-White. The opening is characteristic for this type of story: two indefinite NPs presenting new information in the same order as in (7):

(20a)

| | [*ena* | *vasiléas*] | *ixa*[11] | [*ena* | *néka*] |
| | [ART- | king.NOM./ACC-.sg] | have.IPF.IND.3sg | [ART- | wife.NOM./ACC.sg] |

"a king had a wife" (D440)

The referent of the postverbal indefinite object NP *ena néka* is now activated and expressed by the preverbal definite subject *nekát* in the next sentence, where a new referent is introduced by another postverbal indefinite object NP:

(20b)

| | *néka-t* | *jénsen* | [*ena* | *koritš*] |
| | wife.NOM.sg-POSS.3sg | give birth.AOR.IND.3sg | [ART- | girl.NOM./ACC.sg] |

"his wife gave birth to a daughter" (D440)

The referent of the preverbal indefinite subject NP *ena vasiléas* is activated as well and the same structure appears in the following sentence:

(20c)	vasiléas	píren	[ena	álo	néka]	
	king.NOM.sg	take.AOR.IND.3sg	[ART-	other	wife.NOM. /ACC.sg]	

"the king took another wife" (D440)

In these three sentences the order is SVO, the flow of speech moving from inactive to inactive information in (20a) and from active to inactive information in (20b)-(20c). In the next sentence, the referents of the postverbal indefinite objects NPs *ena korítš* (20b) and *ena álo néka* (20c) are activated and both appear as preverbal definite NPs, the object NP being clitic-doubled:

(20d) [etó   néka]   [etó   to   korítš]ᵢ
        [DEM   wife.NOM.sg]   [DEM   ART+   girl.NOM./ACC.sg]ᵢ

        ðén   doᵢ   θéliksen
        NEG   CP.3sgᵢ   want.IPF.IND.3sg

"this wife didn't like this daughter" (D440)

The same SOV structure is used further on, when the girl refuses to open the door to her evil stepmother for the third time:

(20e) [etó   to   korítš]   [ti   θíra]ᵢ
        [DEM   ART+   girl.NOM./ACC.sg]   [ART+   door.ACC.sg]ᵢ

        ðén   doᵢ   ániksen
        NEG   CP.3sgᵢ   open.AOR.IND.3sg

"this girl didn't open the door" (D442)

5. Conclusion

The position of the direct object in Cappadocian and other Asia Minor Greek dialects is clearly relation to information flow, which generally moves from active (given) to semi/inactive (accessible/new) information. Indefinite objects presenting new information and definite objects expressing accessible information are usually placed in postverbal position. Definite objects presenting given information are usually placed in preverbal position, but they can also be

backgrounded in which case they occur in postverbal position. Objects presenting given information are as a rule clitic-doubled, whereas objects presenting new or accessible information are not.

If both subject and object are definite and present given information, the unmarked order is SOV, at least in Cappadocian (and probably also in Silliot). The order of subject and object can be reversed if the object is left-dislocated and emphatically presented as given information and the subject presents contrastive or new information. If both subject and object are contrastive, the normal order is SVO. In this case, the object is not clitic-doubled, even if it presents given information.

The frequency of SOV word order is due to Turkish interference, and probably also the occurrence and particular interpretation of OSV structures. Detailed analyses of information flow in complete texts, with due attention to constituents other than subject, object and verb, are needed to corroborate and complete the picture sketched in this paper. As far as Cappadocian is concerned, such analyses will probably reveal dialectal differences in the frequency of the various word orders, in particular the ones which have been identified as Turkish. The study of Cappadocian word order is thus an important contribution to the identification of its dialects as either Greek *dialects* or Greek-Turkish *mixed languages*.

6. Notes

[1]. Abbreviations: ABS = absolutive, ACC = accusative, ACC+ = definite accusative, ACC- = indefinite accusative, AOR = aorist, ART+ = definite article, ART- = indefinite article, CP = clitic pronoun, D = Dawkins 1916, F = feminine, GEN = genitive, IMP. = imperative, IND = indicative, IPF = imperfect, M = masculine, MP = modal particle, N = neuter, NEG = negative particle, NOM. = nominative, NP = noun phrase, O = object, 1pl = first person plural (etc.), PRES = present, PRT = particle, QP = question particle, S = subject, 1sg = first person singular (etc.), SUB = subordinating conjunction, SUBJ = subjunctive, V = verb, VP = verb phrase, X = any phrase. A hyphen - marks the attachment of suffixes.

[2] Note that S is not an NP but a pronoun in both (2a) and (2b), cf. §3.

[3]. See especially Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 215ff.).

[4]. I use the term Proto-Cappadocian, because the geographical designation Cappadocia used to include Pontus in Antiquity (Strabo, *Geography* 12.1.1). Condoravdi and Kiparsky use the term Proto-Pontic in an entirely different interpretation, viz. "Later Classical Greek" (2001: 31).

[5]. Apart from these "native" dialects, there are many more non-native ones, i.e. dialects of populations which had been settled in Asia Minor in post-Turkish times before the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in the 1920s. Of these three deserve special mention: Propontis Tsakonian, Smyrniot and the dialect of Aivali Moschonisi.

[6]. Dawkins seems to think of Asia Minor Greek in terms of languages rather than dialects as well: "These Asiatic dialects have been separated so long from the rest of the Greek world that they require a quite separate treatment; almost as the Romance languages have to be studied separately, and find a connexion only in their common parent" (1916: vii). Drettas (1997: 19) takes a similar view of Pontic (cf. Janse 2002: 226).

[7]. The enclitic particle *m* is the Turkish interrogative particle *mi* (Kornfilt 1997: 5; Lewis 2000: 103), with apocopated unstressed final /i/.

[8]. Detailed discussion in Janse (forthcoming a; b). For the Pontic personal suffixes see Drettas (1997: 250).

[9]. The enclitic particle *di* is used to introduce reported speech. It probably derives from *óti* (Dawkins 1916: 654).

[10]. The enclitic particle *ki* is from Turkish *ki* (Lewis 2000: 210ff.) and used to introduce reported speech, always in combination with *di* (Dawkins 1916: 685).

[11]. Note the ending *-a* instead of *-e* in *íxa* to maintain the velar pronunciation of the /x/ (Dawkins 1916: 71).

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7. Περίληψη

Στην εργασία παρουσιάζονται τα αποτελέσματα μιας προκαταρκτικής εξέτασης της θέσης του αντικειμένου στην Καππαδοκική και σε άλλες μικρασιατικές διαλέκτους. Η σειρά (Υ)ΡΑ χρησιμοποιείται για αόριστα αντικείμενα που αποτελούν νέα ("μη ενεργητική") πληροφορία, για οριστικά αντικείμενα μη προσβάσιμης ("ημιενεργητικής") πληροφορίας και για οριστικά αντικείμενα δεδομένης ("ενεργής") πληροφορίας. Η αμαρκάριστη σειρά για τα οριστικά αντικείμενα δεδομένης πληροφορίας είναι (Υ)ΑΡ. Αυτά τα αντικείμενα μπορούν να παρουσιάζονται και για λόγους έμφασης και τίθενται σε αρχική θέση στην πρόταση, δηλαδή (Α(Υ)Ρ).

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On Continuity and Change in the Dialects of Lesbos and Related Areas – Multilingualism and Polydialectalism over the Millennia

Brian D. Joseph
The Ohio State University

Throughout the history of Greek, there has been a tension between and among different geographic dialects and different stylistic registers of usage, a situation with both purely linguistic and decidedly sociolinguistic dimensions. In this presentation, along with some discussion of the general evidence bearing on this tension from various stages of Greek, I survey some of the particular evidence concerning the involvement of Lesbos and related dialect areas in this intriguing linguistic and sociolinguistic situation, drawing on material from ancient usage as well as modern.

Key words: history of Greek language, ancient and modern Greek dialects, sociolinguistics, language contact.

1. Introduction

For literally millennia, the island of Lesbos, together with the particular variety of Greek spoken there, has been of considerable importance and interest within the larger Greek picture. To be sure, at different stages within the history of Greek the dialect has had a different status — and indeed a different form — vis-à-vis other varieties of Greek, but nonetheless, one can discern some continuity in Lesbos amidst the changes, and at the same time witness how the local dialect, of whatever form, has participated in interactions with other varieties and has reacted to tensions among different varieties, involving both competition but also more "peaceful" co-existence.

First a bit of information about the oldest form of Greek on Lesbos is in order. Virtually nothing is known about Lesbos Greek in the Bronze Age, that is during the period of the earliest documented Greek as found in the Mycenaean Greek ("Linear B") tablets from (approximately) the 14th century BC. Interestingly, however, there are certain features of Mycenaean Greek that are reminiscent of features attested in Classical times in the dialect of Lesbos, e.g. the vowel *o* occupring in the outcome of earlier syllabic resonants (cf. Mycenaean < pe-mo > 'seed' representing /spermo/ (as if σπέρμο in "alphabetic" Greek) and thus with a final vowel (from earlier syllabic nasal, in this case *-n)

that is like the vocalism found in Lesbian δέκοτος 'tenth' with the medial *o* from an earlier syllabic nasal, in this case *-m-). Similarities like these have led some scholars to posit a special link between Mycenaean Greek and the later Greek of Lesbos and closely related varieties (on which see below).[1] Such claims, however, are inconclusive and their assessment is hindered by the absence of clear evidence of the extent of variation found in Mycenaean Greek times and the rather limited geographic range of the Linear B evidence (found at a few spots on the Greek mainland, most notably Pylos, and on a few of the islands, most notably Crete). In the case of < pe-mo >, it is noteworthy that another form < pe-ma >, with a different final vocalism from < pe-mo >, is also attested in Mycenaean, but the exact interpretation of the source of this variation is somewhat uncertain. The coexistence of these two forms in the overall Mycenaean corpus might reflect an original geographic variation, especially since < pe-mo > is found only at Pylos whereas < pe-ma > is found at Knossos (on Crete); interestingly, though, < pe-ma > is also found at Pylos, so the variation there may well reflect dialect borrowing, that is, the introduction into one dialect of a form proper to another dialect through interactions between speakers of the two dialects, or some other causal factor. Alternatively, the *a*-form could represent the "true" Mycenaean outcome and the *o*-form a deviation from that. As a result, it is not entirely clear what the status is of *o*-vocalism as the possible outcome of syllabic resonants in Mycenaean, so that the relationship between Mycenaean Greek and other Greek dialects based on a feature like this is less than secure; thus, any light such features might shed on the Bronze Age form of Lesbos Greek and its relatives may have to remain the province of speculation.

References here to relatives of Lesbos Greek need some explication. In post-Bronze Age Greek, and in particular in Ancient Greek of the first millennium B.C., several distinct speech-forms, what can readily be called dialects or sub-dialects, are to be recognized. These include Attic, Ionic, Arcadian, Cyprian, Doric and Northwest Greek. These are conventionally grouped, based in part on the degree of similarity they show to one another internally,[2] into an Attic-Ionic dialect, an Arcado-Cyprian dialect, and a West Greek dialect. In addition, the dialect of the island of Lesbos, together with Boeotian and Thessalian on the Greek mainland, make up another dialect group distinct from these others, one referred to Aeolic. The sub-dialects in this group are known from inscriptions on Lesbos and on the mainland, but also most significantly, in the case of Lesbos, from the poetry of Sappho and Alcaeus from the 7th and 6th centuries.[3] These distinct dialects and sub-dialects are generally to be identified with geographic regions, e.g. Attica for Attic, many of the Aegean islands for Ionic, the Peloponnesos and Central and Northwest Greek for Doric, Boeotia, Thessaly, and Lesbos for Aeolic, and so on; moreover, to some extent, it has been conjectured that these distinct dialects correspond (roughly)

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to major tribal divisions in the early waves of Greeks entering Greece in the late third or early second millennium BC.

The Greek of present-day Lesbos is not directly descended from ancient Aeolic, but rather, like all of the Modern Greek dialects,[4] it derives from the Hellenistic Koine, the common language over much of the Greek-speaking world in post-Classical times that derives largely from ancient Attic-Ionic. Still, present-day Lesbos Greek shows continuity with ancient Greek as the natural development, in that region, of Classical Greek as it was transformed into the Koine and from that into modern forms. That is, one can trace a direct path from Ancient Greek to any modern dialect, including the modern Lesbos dialect, as long as the leveling influence of the Koine is taken into account. The matter of continuity is taken up again in section 4 below, with discussion of some specific instances.

With regard to what the ancient form of Lesbos speech looked like, it clearly is different from ancient Attic and the other dialects, with differences showing up in matters of pronunciation, accent, grammar, and vocabulary. Some of the differences appear to be profound, and a glimpse at some of the lower numbers reveals this quite dramatically: where for 'four' and 'five' Aeolic has πέσ(σ)υρες and πέμπε, respectively, whereas Attic has τέτταρες and πέντε.

2. Dialect Differences and Dialect Mixing in Ancient Greek

It was noted above in connection with Mycenaean *pe-mo/pe-ma* that dialect mixing might be the cause behind the observed variation in that case. Whatever the situation there, it has long been assumed, with good reason, that dialect mixing involving Aeolic can be seen in the Greek of the Homeric epics, In particular, one finds, for instance, the Aeolic infinitive ἔμμεναι 'to be' within a few lines of Attic-Ionic εἶναι (*Iliad* 1.91 and *Iliad* 1.117, respectively). Similarly, although Homeric usage quite frequently has the Ionic form for 'four', τέσσαρες, a form πίσυρες also occurs, presumably Aeolic (as πέσ(σ)υρες cited above suggests). Similarly, a past tense form ἤμβροτον (from ἁμαρτάνω 'miss, fail to hit') occurs, with the Aeolic-looking *o*-vocalism from an earlier syllabic resonant (as above, but in this case *r), alongside the more frequent ἤμαρτον.

This mixing of dialects and borrowing between them continued in Classical times, where at least occasionally one can find inscriptions with Attic forms mixed in with forms that reflect the local dialect. An example involving Aeolic is the mid-4th century Boeotian inscription (IG VII.2418, cited as #40 in Buck 1968: 229) from Thebes, with an Attic genitive singular in –ου in a proper name (e.g. Ἀλεξάνδρου) alongside native Boeotian genitives in –ω (e.g. Ἀγεισινίκω).

In the case of Aeolic elements in Homeric Greek, the motivation for the intrusion of extra-dialectal forms into another linguistic variety may be a matter of the history of the development of epic diction, with forms from an older layer of composition retained for poetic reasons. In the case of Attic forms intruding into a properly Aeolic (Boeotian) inscription, the motivation may have in part to do with the usual forms the individuals named in the inscription gave to inflected forms of their names, but one cannot discount likely influence from the positive social valuation accorded to the Attic dialect, as the dialect associated with the political, economic, and cultural center of Athens. This latter sort of motivation is a theme that runs through much of the history of Greek dialect interactions.

These examples mentioned so far have been traditional geographically based linguistic differences (or presumably so, in the case of Mycenaean *pe-mo*/*pe-ma*) with mixing of dialects through borrowing being a fairly natural and expected outcome of interaction among speakers of different dialects. Geography is clearly a key dimension to variation in Ancient Greece (as in any speech community that covers a large territory). However, it is important to note that there is evidence for linguistic differences in Ancient Greek that are not based on geography –in the *Cratylus* (418B/418C) of Plato, Socrates comments on male/female linguistic differences in the following passage:

οἶσθα ὅτι οἱ παλαῖοι οἱ ἡμέτεροι τῶι ἰῶτα καὶ τῶι δέλτα εὖ
μάλα ἐχρῶντο, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα αἱ γυναῖκες, αἵπερ μάλιστα τὴν
ἀρχαῖαν φωνὴν σωίζουσι. νῦν δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἰῶτα ἢ εἰ ἢ ητα μεταστρέφουσιν
ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ δέλτα ζῆτα, ὡς δὴ μεγαλοπρεπέστερα
ὄντα ... οἷον οἱ μὲν ἀρχαιότατοι ἱμέραν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάλουν,
οἱ δὲ ἐμέραν, οἱ δὲ νῦν ἡμέραν

'You know that our ancestors made good use of the sounds of iota and delta and that is especially true of the women, who are most addicted to preserving old forms of speech. But nowadays people change iota to eta or epsilon and delta to zeta, thinking they have a grander sound. ... For instance, in the earliest times they called day *himéra*, others said *heméra*, and now they say *hēméra*.'

Variation of this sort between the genders is found in many, maybe even all speech communities. Thus it is fair to assume that male-female linguistic variation of a similar type, though not necessarily involving the same sounds, was to be found in Lesbos in ancient times, even if there is no direct evidence of it. It would be an interesting exercise to examine the language of Sappho's poetry, as the record of the usage of one particular woman, and compare it with that of Alcaeus's works, as the record of the usage of one particular man, and see if there are any differences in usage evident that could be attributed to male

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versus female speech patterns; such a study, however, needs to be left for a future investigation.

Moreover, the Ancient Greeks themselves were aware of dialect differences, and we know this from evidence that goes beyond Socrates's keen observations about male and female speech. The very occasional and indeed quite rare writing of the same inscription in two dialects, seen in an early 6th century inscription (GDI 5531, cited as #1 in Buck 1973: 184), with both an original East Ionic version and a later-added Attic version, attests to such an awareness, even if a very marginal practice at best.[5]

More productively, there is other relevant evidence of a lexical nature, in that there were specific words that the ancient Greeks themselves used to refer to different kinds of Greek speech. These terms are largely based on geography but to the extent that geography correlated with ancient dialect divisions, the terms also provide labels for the ancient dialects as the ancients perceived them. Thus verbs in -ίζω occur that refer to doing some activity in a way associated with some particular group, and speaking is one of those activities the verb can refer to. Attested examples include Ἀττικίζω 'side with the Athenians; speak Attic Greek', Δωρίζω 'imitate the Dorians in life, dialect, etc.; speak Doric Greek', and Ἰάζω / Ἰωνίζω 'speak Ionian Greek'; in terms of what such forms might say about the dialect of Lesbos, it is interesting that among these dialect-identifying -ίζω verbs is Αἰολίζω 'speak Aeolic Greek' (also, and primarily, 'compose (music) in the Aeolian mode'). Similarly, there is an adverbial formation in -στί[6] reserved specifically for 'speaking in a particular language form', where the language-forms in question sometimes are clearly for different languages (e.g. Σκυθιστί 'in the Scythian (language)') but sometimes seem to be purely geographic in nature (e.g. Πελοποννασιστί 'in Peloponnesian(-style speech)'); of interest here is that the apparent dialect divisions recognized by the -ίζω verbs show up here in these adverbs: not only does one find Δωριστί 'in Doric (speech)' and Ἰαστί 'in Ionian (speech)', but also, significantly for the view being developed here of Lesbos linguistically in ancient times, Αἰολιστί 'in the Aeolic dialect'. Thus these vocabulary items make it clear that Aeolic was recognized in ancient times as a separate and distinct variety of speech within the larger Greek context.

3. Ancient Dialect Clashes involving Lesbos

When speakers of different dialects come into contact with one another, so that their dialects might be said to "clash", there can be several possible outcomes. As seen in the case of Attic forms in the Boeotian in inscriptional example above, there can be the intrusion of forms from one dialect into the other. Somewhat more interesting is the emergence of what might be referred to as

"compromise" forms, forms that are neither properly part of one dialect nor of the other but are mixed forms that are induced by dialect contact. In some instances, such forms might actually represent movement away from historically attested forms, and can be called "hypercorrection", recognizing that speakers of the one dialect often try to approximate a form in the other dialect that is perceived as prestigious, but they can get it wrong, as it were, over-correcting for the difference between their dialect and the other one. An example involving the northern dialects of Modern Greek, the dialect group that includes Lesbos Greek, hinges on the fact that these dialects typically lose high vowels that are present in other (especially southern) dialects. By way of trying to emulate the more prestigious southern forms, northern speakers occasionally add high vowels in places where they did not occur historically and do not even occur in the south, giving a compromise, as it were, between the local vowel-less forms and the perception that other, generally more prestigious, dialects often have vowels where the local dialect lacks them. For instance, the northern dialect of Zagori (in Epirus, cited in Newton 1972: 188) has καπινίζω 'I smoke' for historically expected (and attested southern) καπνίζω, as if southern καπνίζω instead had a vowel separating π and ν in this word. A likely example from Lesbos is the third person plural form έχιν 'they have' (and other forms like it), corresponding to standard (and historically prior) έχουν. The regular loss of the unstressed high vowel ου gave εχν, which could then be "restored", in a historically incorrect way, as having lost the high vowel ι not ου. Contact with and awareness of the southern dialects would have made such northern speakers sensitive to differences between their dialect and other dialects, and the resulting forms like καπινίζω and έχιν attest to such a sensitivity (and feelings of "incorrectness")

A third outcome is local resistance and a maintenance of a native form in the face of "pressure" from a prestigious and sometimes dominant and prevailing other dialect. Ancient Lesbos usage offers a possible example of this sort, in the usage of a single speaker. The relevant background is that there is a small class of Ancient Greek nouns that show an "intrusive –τ-" in some case forms and derivatives,[7] e.g. ACC.SG χρό-α vs. χρῶ-τ-α. An important fact about these forms is that they are widespread in ancient Greek dialects, but do not occur uniformly in all such nouns and all case forms of these nouns, nor in all dialects. For the most part, the intrusive –τ- is found in Attic Greek, so that Attic is at the forefront of this innovative occurrence of a new noun stem. Still, even in Attic intrusive –τ- is realized somewhat sporadically; it is found to some extent in other dialects, and Lesbos Greek (Aeolic) actually leads the way with intrusive –τ- in *some* words, ahead of Attic, but not in others; for instance, the first intrusive –τ- form of έρως 'love' occurs in Sappho, in the genitive έρωτος. A certain ancient writer, Hellanicus (5th century), writes in the Attic dialect, but interestingly, even though Attic has an intrusive –t- in the derivative 'αγήρατο-

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'ageless' (from γῆρας, mirroring intrusive –τ- in Attic (Isocrates, mid-5th century) versus τ-less forms in early Attic and in other dialects, Hellanicus has τ-less 'αγήραο-. Since Hellanicus is from Mytilene, one possible explanation for his failure to follow strict Attic usage is that for this word, his usage shows the persistence of traits of his native Lesbos dialect, with its overall more restricted intrusive –τ-, against pervasive influence of Attic. Without direct evidence of Lesbos usage for this particular word, this account cannot be proven to be the right one; however, given what is known in general (though not in ἐρωτος, of course) about intrusive –τ- in Lesbos as opposed to Attic, it is a reasonable explanation to advance here,

4. Continuity from Ancient Greek into Modern Lesbos Usage Revisited

As noted above in section 1, there is continuity between dialects of Modern Greek and the ancient language, even though many changes and alterations of Classical Greek are evident and even though the modern dialects are not the direct descendants of the ancient dialects of their respective regions. For instance, details of linguistic form may differ, but the general "cut" of the language is the same, and reveals the ancient basis in such overarching features as noun declension (e.g., the use of case forms to express grammatical relations within a sentence) or verb conjugation (e.g., with many of the ancient categories of person and number and tense preserved, even if not wholly intact). Such continuity of a general sort represents the ways in which the dialect reveals itself to be part of the larger Greek diasystem, even in the face of details that differentiate it from other members of the overall system.

At the same time, though, there are some particular features, most notably lexical items, that continue Ancient Greek words and are found only in various regional dialects but not in the standard language. Such archaisms provide direct links between Ancient Greek and the modern regional dialects, although not, as emphasized already, with the particular local variety of Ancient Greek. Two key works that examine this subject of lexical archaisms in the modern dialects are Andriotis 1974 and Shipp 1979. A look through these volumes reveals several lexical items found in the modern-day Lesbos dialect -- and other regional dialects as well -- but not in the standard language. Among them are the following: ανθρωπίζω 'act like a man' (item 680 in Andriotis), attested in Lesbos as ανθρουπίζου (with similar forms in but absent from or at best rare in standard Modern Greek;[8] χιμαίρα 'goat' (item 6519 in Andriotis), attested in Lesbos as χ̃ιμαίρα and elsewhere, but absent from standard Modern Greek in this particular meaning.[9]

These words are not exclusive to present-day Lesbos, inasmuch as they are attested in other regional dialects (e.g. ανθρωπίζω is found in Kefallonia and

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Pontic, according to Andriotis) but at least a couple of forms in these compendia are found only in Lesbos, as lexical archaisms continuing an ancient form. This form is επιδώμιον (item 2435 in Andriotis) 'ledge of a roof', a noun presumed for ancient Greek based on the Ancient Greek verb →πιδωμώ 'build upon' and found only in modern Lesbos as πιδώμ'; neither the verb nor the noun seems to have survived into Modern Greek anywhere except for this form in Lesbos, so that it provides a telling link between ancient and modern Greek through Lesbos. Another such case is κατατάκω (Shipp, p. 308) 'melt, thaw', an ancient verb that seems only to have survived in modern Lesbos κατατάζ' 'putrefy'.

There is also one other interesting ancient-modern linkage through Lesbos that deserves mention. Kretschmer (1905: 65) notes that modern Lesbos attests the form [jlu] for the name of a particular female demon that chokes young children, and a comparable form is found in various dialects, including medieval Cypriot (in the *Chronicle of Makhairas*) and Chios. The link to ancient Lesbos usage is that the word occurs in Ancient Greek, as Γελλώ 'a goblin supposed to carry off young children', but it is most prominently attested in Sappho's poem 47. In fact, Kretschmer believes that the modern Lesbos form, which presupposes a high vowel initial syllable in earlier times, i.e. Γιλλού, may be the original form, with the ancient Γελλώ showing the effects of influence from the verb γελῶ 'laugh' (presumably through a connection to sinister laughter on the part of the goblin).

Examples like these give some concrete and highly specific evidence of continuity in the Greek language in various parts of the Greek-speaking world, over several millennia. Evidence of continuity can be deceptive, though, and one has to judge each example carefully, as there are instances of false continuity, which while interesting in their own right do not show anything about the way different stages of the language are connected to one another. For instance, within a multi-millennial span of Greek, starting from the prehistoric period before attested Greek and into the present, the historical stages of development of so-called "contract" verbs have been recreated; the first wave was between early pre-Greek to Classical Greek, where, for instance, *τιμά-ει 'he honors' became Ancient Greek τιμᾶ (with earlier –αει contracted to –α); the persistence of the base τιμα- allowed for the innovative creation (innovative from the modern point of view) of forms such as 3SG τιμά-ει, with the regular ending –ει from verbs like κάν-ει, βλέπ-ει, etc. added onto the contracted form. In this case, the events leading to the modern forms that re-create the prehistoric uncontracted forms are temporally too separated -- being nearly 3000 years apart -- for them to somehow be the same phenomenon; instead, this is simply the accidental re-creation of earlier forms. One such case of false continuity involving the modern Lesbos dialect is that one can find nouns with an extra and unexpected -τ- in the plural of some neuter nouns; e.g. in Aivali for the plural of λάθος 'mistake' one finds not a form derived from earlier λάθη (e.g. λάθ' or the

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like) but rather a form with an inserted -τ- before the neuter plural ending, namely λάθη-τ-α. This modern "intrusive -τ-" is reminiscent of the Ancient Greek intrusive –τ- discussed above, where it is clear that ancient Lesbos showed some interesting relevant developments, but the two phenomena are totally unrelated to one another; the modern Aivali form most likely represents a -τ- taken over from neuter nouns like όνομα 'name', where there has been a -τ- in the forms outside of the nominative/accusative singular throughout all of the Greek-speaking world since prehistoric times, whereas the ancient "intrusive -τ-" is not restricted to neuter nouns (as with έρως, cited above) and seems to be rather restricted in its appearance.

5. Conclusion: Dialect Clashes Once Again

As a final perspective on modern dialect contact involving Lesbos, there is suggestive evidence of a rather unusual kind that may point to the intrusion of the standard dialect in the modern era into Lesbos usage as early as 1901. This evidence comes from Kretschmer's 1901 expedition to Lesbos, during which he made recordings, using a large and heavy phonograph that was the latest in recording technology at the time, of Greek folk songs. Kretschmer's recordings (Schüller 1999) may well be the earliest audio-recorded Greek (thus the earliest nonwritten record of Greek), or at least close to the earliest, and thus provides direct insight into pronunciation in ways that go well beyond any inferences one might draw from contemporaneous orthographic representations. Caution is in order, though, as the three available songs are sung by a (Pontic) Greek from Samsun living in Mitilini; admittedly, then, his dialect may not be representative of Mitilini but the songs and the pronunciations employed are not Pontic either; in this way, then, they may offer some insight into Mitilini usage, even if not "pure" Lesbos usage.

From the point of view of dialect awareness, dialect clash, and speaker attitudes about what to do regarding a tension between different dialects, it is noteworthy that the songs show non-Lesbos phonological features. For instance, in the modern Lesbos dialect, historical nasal-plus-stop clusters, as in κοντά 'near', are pronounced without nasality (e.g. [koda] for 'near'; see, e.g., Newton 1972: 208) but in the 1901 songs these clusters come out with a clear nasal, a characteristic associated with Standard Greek of the time. This fact provides direct evidence that at least (some) speakers in Lesbos were bi-dialectal and aware of the standard language at that time, and one can surmise that the formal register of Greek (i.e., the standard language) was deemed more appropriate than the local speech form in the quasi-formal context of being recorded.

What all the foregoing in part suggests is the not too surprising observation that Greeks show now -- and have shown for centuries -- a

remarkable sensitivity about language and about dialects, perhaps the result of practical experience with multiple dialects from ancient times. Lesbos, like most of Greece, has been and continues to be a focal point in the twin issues in the Greek-speaking world of linguistic contact and linguistic continuity.

6. Notes

[1] See Sihler (1995: 10), for instance, in his overview of the scholarly consensus on Greek dialects.

[2] Actually, what is more important for measuring dialect relationships is shared innovations they show away from the "proto-Greek" starting point, but for our purposes here it is sufficient to think in terms of degree of similarity.

[3] Note also that the poetry of Corinna (6th century B.C.), though a fairly small corpus, gives evidence of literary Boeotian.

[4] Except for Tsakonian, which is generally held to derive (more or less) directly from an ancient Doric dialect.

[5] The circumstances surrounding this unusual dual-dialect inscription are that it is on a pillar marking a gift from a certain Phanodicus of Proconnesus to the pryteaneum at Sigeum. It was composed in East Ionic, apparently Phanodicus's native dialect, and then produced again in Attic at Sigeum, a city held by Athenians. I would like to thank my colleague Dr. Fritz Graf of the Department of Greek and Latin for very enlightening discussion about this particular inscription and its (nearly) unique use of two dialects.

[6] See now Anghelina 2004 for a discussion of these adverbs, in the overall context of ancient Greek derivational patterns involving a -t- extension.

[7] These forms are collected and discussed most recently in Anghelina 2004, from which the information presented here derives.

[8] To judge from the lack of an entry for the word in Babiniotis 1998; Delijanis et al. 1998 has an entry for this verb but it is rather brief and seems to be there mainly to refer to the more usual form, ανθρωπεύω, suggesting that the –ίζω form is a variant of restricted occurrence (e.g. regional only).

[9] It survives of course in the meaning 'chimera' (referring to the ancient mythical beast or to a 'pipedream')

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8. Περίληψη

Κατά τη διάρκεια της ιστορίας της ελληνικής γλώσσας, υπάρχει μια τάση και μεταξύ διαφορετικών γεωγραφικών διαλέκτων και μεταξύ διαφορετικών υψών. Μέσα σε μια τέτοια κατάσταση, υπάρχουν εντελώς γλωσσολογικές καθώς και κάπως κοινονιογλωσσολογικές προεκτάσεις. Σ' αυτή τη μελέτη, προφέρω μια συζήτηση των γενικών δεδομένων γύρω από αυτή τη τάση σε διάφορα επίπεδα στην ιστορία της γλώσσας και ιδιαίτερα παρουσιάζω τα στοιχεία σχετικά με τη Μυτιλήνη και κοντινά μέρη, από την αρχαία και τη σύγχρονη γλώσσα.

Loanword Adaptation in the Cretan Dialect

Ioanna Kappa
University of Crete

The study examines the phonological adaptation of Turkish loanwords in the dialect of west Crete, i.e. how these loanwords are repaired according to the Greek phonological system and how they are incorporated in the native vocabulary of the dialect. It is shown that the CC- sequences from the source language (Turkish), that are ill-formed according the phonotactics of the recipient language (Dialect) are repaired minimally via epenthesis and the segmental information contained in the loanwords is preserved. The epenthetic vowel bears the feature [+high], but it is unspecified for the feature [±back]. It receives its [±back] value as a result of vowel harmony, harmonizing with the [±back] value of the following stressed vowel, i.e. the epenthetic vowel is realized as [i] or [u]. This is a dialect-specific vowel harmony pattern (stress dependent backness harmony). The harmony is blocked if between the epenthetic and the stressed vowel intervenes a consonant bearing the same feature for backness as the stressed vowel.

Keywords: Cretan dialect, loanword adaptation, vowel harmony.

1. Introduction

The present study examines the adaptation of loanwords from Turkish in the vocabulary of the (west) Cretan dialect. The corpus of loanwords is based on data from informants, as well as on data from Kondosopoulos (1969), Ksanthinakis (2002) and Pagalos (1955). We will show that often, loanwords enter the Cretan dialect with structures (i.e. segments or sequences) that are *ill-formed* -according the phonological system or the phonotactics of the dialect- therefore they have to be repaired, e.g. the round front segments [ö], [ü] or the CC-sequences [tk], [tm], [lk], [mk] etc. from the source language (Turkish). The questions that arise are the following: How are these loanwords incorporated in the native vocabulary? Are the repairs guided only by constraints from the Greek phonological system or the speakers still respect constraints from the source grammar?

We will show that the ill-formed structures are repaired minimally by the constraints of Greek. When a repair must be made, then it will be chosen for

'substitution' a sound that most closely resembles the original due to *auditory salience and similarity* (cf. Steriade 2001, Kenstowicz, 2003).

The front rounded vowels [ö] and [ü] from Turkish realize in the Cretan dialect only their [+round] value i.e. the feature [-back] is lost, because the dialect does not allow any [-back, +round] vowels in the native phonological system. The CC-sequences [tk], [tm], [lk], [mk] etc. from the source language are repaired minimally via epenthesis and the segmental information contained in the loanwords is preserved, a result of the Preservation Principle (cf. Paradis & LaCharité, 1997). As an epenthetic vowel is chosen a vowel specified for the feature [+high], but unspecified for the feature [±back] (as in the source grammar). It receives its [±back] value as a result of vowel harmony, harmonizing with the [±back] value of the following stressed vowel, i.e. the epenthetic vowel is realized as [i] or [u]. This kind of harmony is a phonologically driven dialect-specific pattern (stress dependent backness harmony). The harmony is blocked if between the epenthetic and the stressed vowel intervenes a consonant bearing the same feature for backness as the stressed vowel.

The paper is organized as follows: In §2 we will sketch the syllabic structure and vowel system of the Cretan Dialect. In §3 we will briefly present the vowel system and harmony principles of Turkish. In §4 we will offer an analysis of the loanword adaptation in the dialect of West Crete and we will conclude in §5.

2. Cretan Dialect: Brief presentation of the syllabic structure and the vowel system

In this section we sketch the possible Onset types and the Coda condition for the dialect of west Crete (WC) (see Kappa, 2001, for a detailed analysis)

1) *Single Onsets:* Any consonant may occur syllable-initially as a single onset.

2) *2-member Onsets*: Onsets consisting of [Obstruent + Nasal] or [Obstruent + Liquid] may be realised in the dialect in syllable-initial position. The homorganic sequences do not surface in the dialect, i.e. *[pm], *[tl], *[tn], *[sl], *[sr] etc. (OCP$_{PLACE}$.)

Clusters consisting of [Obstruent + Obstruent] also surface:

- Fricative + Stop [ft, xt, fk, st, sk,sf]
- Fricative + Fricative [θX, fX, xs]
- Stop + Fricative [pX], but *[tX, kX]

3) *3-member Onsets*:Clusters consisting of [Fricative + Stop + Nasal] or [Fricative + Stop + Liquid] surface in onset position. The clusters [xtr, xpl, ftr, stm, skn, skr] occur word- medial, and the clusters [skn, skr] word-initial.

Clusters of [Fricative + Fricative + Fricative] occur also:
[fθX],   [sθX]:
afθXa (ears),   anosθXa (tastlessness)

Clusters of [Stop + Fricative + Fricative] occur also
[psX]:   [ksX]:
anipsXa (nephews)   ksXa su (do as you please !)

4) *4-member Onsets*: The dialect does not allow onsets consisting of 4 members:
[-fstr] → [-Østr], [-fspl] → [-Øspl]

Modern Greek	WC Dialect	Gloss
[afstria]	[astria]	(Austria)

5) *Codas*
The WC dialect shows preference for open syllables. Nasals are not permitted in Coda position, either syllable-final or word-final. Syllable-final are deleted, word-final are either deleted or occurs epenthesis of [e] (see examples in (7)). The lateral [l] is often replaced by [r] in coda position. [s] occurs word-final as morphological marker (but sometimes is [s] deleted, exhibiting the tendency of the dialect for open syllables).

(6)   Coda Condition: *C]$_\sigma$ (Kappa, 2001)
                                 Nasal, Lateral
                                 Obstruents

(7) Deletion of [n], or **CV** syllable (via epenthesis)

	Modern Greek	WC Dialect	Gloss
• word final:	kaTíkon	[kaTíko]	(duty),
	tón	[tóne]	(Art. Gen.PL)
• syllable final:	án. Tos	[á. Tos]	(flower)
• [r] occurs syllable-final	el. píΔa	[er. píΔa]	(hope)

• [s]: word-final as part of the morphological marker ([s] is sometimes deleted).

Supporting evidence for the operation of Coda-Condition are the loanwords from Turkish, which are incorporated in the Cretan vocabulary. The examples in

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(8) show that if an obstruent, lateral or nasal occurs in Coda position, then the dialect repairs it via epenthesis of the vowels [i] or [u] and an open syllable surfaces (for a detailed discussion, see §4)

(8)   Turkish Adapted Loanword   Gloss
       damlás   damulás   stroke/apoplexy
       halk   halikútis   frowzy
       katmér   katiméri   a species of flower

(9)   Minimal specification for Greek vowels

	i	e	a	o	u
high	+				+
low			+		
back				+	+

10) The [±high, +back] vowels are underspecified for Roundness, i.e. they receive their [+round] value by a redundancy rule.

1) [+low]   ⇒   [-high]   [a]
2) [+high]   ⇒   [-low]   [i, u]
3) [-back]   ⇒   [-low]   [i, e]
4) [+back, -low]   ⇒   [+round]   [u, o]
5) [-back]   ⇒   [-round]   [i e]
6) [-back]   ⇒   [-round, -low]   [i,e] combination of rules (3), (5)
7) [+low]   ⇒   [+back, -round] [a]

(11) Epenthetic vowel in Standard Greek:

♦ The default epenthetic vowel is /e/, i.e. the vowel to be totally unspecified for properties other than vocalicity (Drachman, & Malikouti-Drachman, 1988).

(12) Epenthetic vowels in the native vocabulary of the Cretan dialect:

♦ [e] and [a] are the epenthetic vowels in the native vocabulary ([a] occurs in the vast majority of cases in the dialect of East Crete, cf. Kondosopoulos, 1969).

3. Turkish: Brief presentation of the vowel system and harmony principles

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The vowel system in Turkish is completely symmetric in that every vowel has a counterpart with the opposite backness or roundness specification. Even though phonetically, the low vowels are not all of the same height, the system is assumed to have only a twofold height distinction by most authors. In (1) we posit the feature [-high] instead of the feature [+low], because in the Turkish phonological system the feature [±low] is entirely redundant, as one of its values [-low], does not appear to be used at all.

(1)

	FRONT	BACK
+high, -round	i	ɔ
+high, +round	y (ü)	u
-high, -round	e	a (a)
-high, +round	O (ö)	o

(i, e, a, o, u = unmarked vowels)
(ü, ö, ɔ = marked vowels)

(2) Vowel Harmony in Turkish

In the following paragraph we posit the generalizations for the phenomenon of vowel harmony in Turkish. These generalizations are based on the behaviour of vowels in the suffixes (from Clements & Sezer, 1982).

- The Turkish harmony is root controlled
- All vowels in the word agree with respect to Backness (as in 2a)
- Roundness harmony is restricted in that it is fully operative only among high vowels[1] (as in 2b).

(2a) Backness harmony	(2b) Roundness harmony
	+high
V C$_o$V (and mirror image)	V C$_o$V (and mirror image)
α back	α round

(3) Domain of harmony

The harmony affects all affixes, but also postclitics, which are outside the domain of stress assignment. Vowel harmony refers not to any prosodic domain (Kabak & Vogel, 2001). *'Harmony is not restricted to a particular domain but rather all vowels agree with the vowel to their left apart from vowels which are root-initial'* (Krämer, 2003:130)

(4) Disharmony   (cf. Clements & Sezer, 1982; Kirchner, 1993).)

- ◆ The lexical stem itself is not governed by the harmony principles in (2).
- ◆ Any of the vowels from the unmarked set [i, e, a, o, u] may co-occur within a stem, i.e. vowels from two harmonic classes, e.g. [a...i], [o...i], [i...u] etc. may be combined within the lexical stems/roots
- ◆ The set of marked vowels [ü, ö, ∝] may not freely appear within the lexical stems/roots; they appear only if they are 'harmonic' with respect to the backness harmony principle.

(5) Epenthetic vowels in Turkish

- ◆ The epenthetic vowels are lexically marked as [+high] and they receive rounding and backness from adjacent vowels according to the harmony principles (see above in 2).

4. Loanword adaptation in the dialect of West Crete

The analysis of loanword adaptation will provided along the lines of the constraint-based framework of Optimality Theory (Smolensky, 1993; Prince & Smolensky, 1993; McCarthy & Prince, 1995 'Correspondence Theory'), which give us the tools for a principled and formal account of the markedness relations observed in the data.

In the case of (west) Cretan dialect, there are quite a lot of loanwords adapted from Turkish. These loanwords are repaired and incorporated in the native vocabulary. In the example in (1) the Turkish front rounded vowel [ü] realizes in the Cretan dialect only its [+round] value, namely the feature [-back] (or [+front]) is lost, because the dialect does not allow any *[-back, +round] vowels in the native phonological system. This restriction can be expressed with a conjoined constraint against such vowels (as in 2)

(1)   Turkish   west Cretan dialect   Gloss
         müsterí   musterís   customer

(2) LOCAL CONJUNCTION: two simple constraints (in our case *[-back] and *[+round]) are conjoined as a single composite constraint [C_1 & C_2]$_\delta$ which is violated if and only if both of its components are violated within some domain δ (domain=segment, morpheme, etc.). For a violation of [C_1 & C_2]$_\delta$ to occur, both separate violations must arise within a single domain (Smolensky, 1993).

A conjoined constraint does not replace its components, but it is separately ranked. It is generally assumed that a conjoined constraint is universally ranked above the component constraints, as in (3). The conjoined constraint is undominated in the dialect and the domain is the segment.

(3) Universal ranking schema: [C_1 & C_2]$_\delta$ >> C_1, C_2

In the tableaux in (4), if the lower constraints *[-back] and *[+round] are unranked with respect to one another, then both candidates (b, c) are optimal outputs, i.e. possible adaptations.

(4) [*[-back] & *[+round]]$_{segment}$ >> *[-back], *[+round]

/ü/	[*[-back]&*[+round]]$_{segment}$	*[-back]	*[+round]
a. ü	*!		
b. ☞ i		*!	
c. ☞ u			*

In the tableaux in (5), if the lower constraints *[-back] and *[+round] are ranked with respect to one another, and *[-back] dominates *[+round], then candidate (c) is the optimal output.

(5) [*[-back] & *[+round]]$_{segment}$ >> *[-back] >> *[+round]

/ü/	[*[-back]&*[+round]]$_{segment}$	*[-back]	*[+round]
a. ü	*!		
b. i		*!	
c. ☞ u			*

In the dialect of west Crete vowel epenthesis occurs in order to repair ill-formed CC medial sequences, which are unsyllabifiable within the phonology of the dialect, that is, these CC medial sequences cannot form either a well-formed tautosyllabic onset cluster or they are not permitted as a Coda-Onset sequence (medial codas are in generally avoided). In (6), an epenthetic high vowel [i] or [u] is realized. Both epenthetic vowels are inserted in word internal position, in

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order to create an open syllable, because nasal and stops are not allowed as medial codas (Kappa, 2001).

(6)

Turkish	West Cretan dialect	Gloss
katmér	katiméri	a species of flower
düsmán	dusumánis	enemy
kapatmá	kapatumá	mistress
damlá	damulás	stroke/apoplexy
yumrúk	yumurúki	tax/fine

Epenthesis is triggered by a high ranking constraint of Coda-Condition. Epenthesis also violates the anti-epenthesis DEP-IO constraint

(7) CODA-CONDITION: No laterals, nasals and obstruents as Codas
(8) DEP-IO: Output segments must have input correspondents (no epenthesis)
(9) CODA-COND >> DEP-IO

Epenthesis makes the lefthand consonant in the medial CC sequence in (10) to syllabify as an onset, rather as a coda. As an onset, this consonant can maintain its place features without violating the CODA-condition, while at the same time satisfying Ident-IO(Place) ('Correspondent Input-Output segments have identical values for the [Place] feature'). These benefits come at a cost: a violation of the anti-epenthesis DEP-IO (11).

(10) ...CVCCV... → ...CV.CV.CV... EPENTHESIS

(11) CODA-COND, IDENT-IO(Place) >> DEP-IO

(12) Vowel epenthesis to resolve violation of the coda condition

kapatmá	CODA-COND	IDENT-IO(Place)	Dep-IO
a. kapat.má	*!		
b. ☞ kapa.tu.má			•

Assumptions for the quality of the epenthetic vowel in the adapted loanwords:

♦ It is unspecified for the feature [±back], it is only specified for the feature [+high] (as in the source language in section 3).
♦ It receives its [±back] value as a result of vowel–harmony (as in the source language).

♦ It is harmonizing with the [± back] value of the following stressed vowel, i.e. this is a stress-dependent[2] backness harmony. This kind of harmony constitutes a dialect-specific pattern (see 13).

$$[+\text{high}]$$

(13)   ... C v C v′....

[αback]
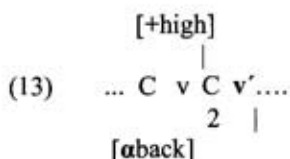
The spreading of feature [± back] is due to AGREEMENT (cf. Baković, 2000; 'harmony is best analysed as an instance of Agreement'). Assimilation is thus driven by AGREE constraints (14).

(14) AGREE-F[±back]:   A vowel must have the same specification   for the feature [± back] with the following stressed vowel

In order for AGREE [± back] to systematically compel assimilation, it must dominate the faithfulness constraint on Input specifications for the stressed vowel, i.e. the constraint IDENT[± back] which demands that 'Correspondent segments have identical values for the [±back] feature' (15).

(15) AGREE-F[±back] >> IDENT-S[±back]

The epenthetic vowel lacks an input correspondent, therefore it can change its value in order to accommodate the phonotactics without violating the above identity constraint (cf. below, candidate outputs 16b, 16c).

(16)

kapatmá	CODA-COND	IDENT-IO(Place)	Dep-	Agree- [+BACK	IDENT-S [+back]
a. kapat.má	*!				
b. kapa.ti.má			*	*!	
c. ☞ kapa.tu.má			*		

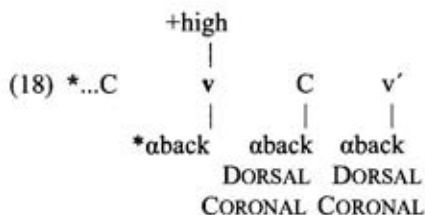(17) Blocking of harmony (Disharmony)

The harmony is blocked, if the intervening consonant is specified with the same value for the feature [back], as the (following) stressed vowel, i.e.disharmony occurs due to the action of OCP constraint ('No adjacent instances for particular features', e.g. [*αPlace, αPlace], cf. McCarthy 1986; Yip, 1988).

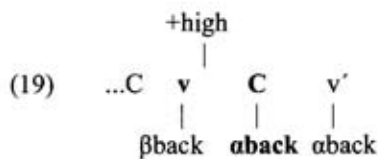| Turkish	west Cretan dialect	Gloss
matkáp	matikápi	drill
halk	halikútis	frowzy

i) If the [+back] stressed vowel is preceded by a dorsal ([+back]) consonant then the consonant acts as a barrier and the epenthetic high vowel takes the [-back] value.

kam . čí   ka . mu . čí   horsewhip

ii) If the [-back] stressed vowel is preceded by a coronal ([-back]) consonant, then the consonant acts as a barrier and the epenthetic high vowel takes the [+back] value.

```
                +high
                  |
(18) *...C      v       C     v´
                |       |     |
             *αback   αback  αback
                     DORSAL DORSAL        *[matukápi]
                     CORONAL CORONAL      *[kamičí]
```

```
                +high
                  |
(19)    ...C    v    C    v´
                |    |    |
             βback  αback αback          [matikápi], [kamučí]
```
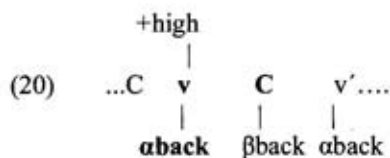
```
               +high
                 |
(20)    ...C    v    C    v´....
                |    |    |
             αback  βback αback          [katiméri], [kapatumá]
```

- The [+back] harmony rule applies across nondorsal consonants

- The [-back] harmony rule applies across noncoronal consonants

The ranking of the markedness constraint *[+back] above the constraint AGREE-F[+back] rules out an output which would violate OCP (i.e. the output 21.b)

(21)

/matkáp/	CODA-COND	IDENT-IO (Place)	Dep-IO	*[+back]	Agree-F [+back]	IDENT-S [+back]
a. matkáp	**!					
b. ma.tu.ká.pi			**	*!		
c. ☞ ma.ti.ká.pi			**		*	

5. Conclusion

It is shown that the loanwords from Turkish are repaired minimally by the constraints of the Cretan dialect. This produces the sounds adaptations in loanwords that we observe on the surface, e.g. the [+high, -back, +round] vowel [ü] of Turkish is realized in the Cretan dialect as [u]: [+high, +round], due to the undominated markedness constraint *[-back, +round] that generally excludes such marked vowels from the Greek phonological system.

The speaker will tend to preserve features whose absence would be most noticeable; and when a repair must be made, then it will be chosen for 'substitution' a sound that most closely resembles the original (auditory salience and similarity).

Our data support the view of Paradis & LaCharité (1997) that the segmental information contained in the loanwords is maximally preserved, as a result of the Preservation Principle and that 'the loanword input to phonology of the recipient language (L1) is immediately interpreted as a phonological representation of L1 and handled by its constraint set'.

The epenthetic vowel attested in the loanwords 'behaves' mostly as in Turkish: It is unspecified for the feature [±back], it is only specified for the feature [+high]. It receives its [±back] value as a result of vowel–harmony.
The Cretan data exhibit a dialect-specific pattern of vowel harmony, namely a phonologically driven *stress-dependent backness harmony*. The epenthetic vowel is harmonizing with the [±back] value of the following stressed vowel.

The harmony effect is blocked if the stressed vowel and the preceding consonant bear the same feature for backness.

Acknowledgements

6. Notes

[1] This restriction that 'Roundness harmony is fully operative only among high vowels' has been described by Kirchner (1993) as an effect of a Markedness constraint which prohibits roundness on non-high vowels, i.e. the constraint *[-high, +round]. Since the epenthetic vowel in Turkish is high and the language has only 2 levels in the height dimension, Krämer (2003) favours the assumption that the marked height is low, and the 'whole height distinction is encoded by the phonological feature [± low]', therefore he argues that the active Markedness constraint should be *[+low, +round] (*LoRo).

[2] One more type of harmony is the stress dependent harmony, e.g. in the spanish dialect Pasiego Montañes, *height harmony* is triggered by the stressed vowel in the word. All vowels within a word must be either high or mid. The low vowel is neutral (McCarthy, 1984:294 ff).

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8. Περίληψη

Στην παρούσα εργασία εξετάζουμε τη φωνολογική προσαρμογή των δανείων λέξεων από την Τουρκική στη διάλεκτο της δυτικής Κρήτης. Αυτές οι δάνειες λέξεις ενσωματώνονται στο λεξιλόγιο της διαλέκτου, αφού υποστούν, όταν χρειάζεται, ορισμένες φωνολογικές προσαρμογές, έτσι ώστε η φωνητική τους πραγμάτωση να συνάδει με τις φωνοτακτικές αρχές που διέπουν το φωνολογικό σύστημα της Ελληνικής, π.χ. τα φωνήεντα της Τουρκικής με τα Δ.Χ. [+πρόσθιο, +στρογγυλό] πραγματώνονται στην Κρητική διάλεκτο μόνο το Δ.Χ [+στρογγυλό], διότι το φωνολογικό σύστημα της διαλέκτου (και της Νέας Ελληνικής γενικότερα) δεν επιτρέπει φωνήεντα που φέρουν τα συνδυασμένα Δ.Χ. [+πρόσθιο, +στρογγυλό]. Στα δεδομένα παρατηρήσαμε, ότι όταν οι δάνειες λέξεις έχουν ακολουθίες συμφώνων που δεν είναι δυνατόν να συλλαβοποιηθούν σύμφωνα με το φωνοτακτικό σύστημα της Ελληνικής, τότε πραγματώνεται σε εσωτερική

θέση ένα επενθετικό φωνήεν προσδιορισμένο ως προς το Δ.Χ. [+υψηλό], κατά περίπτωση το [i] ή το [u]. Το ερώτημα που τίθεται σε αυτή τη μελέτη είναι το εξής: Τα επενθετικά φωνήεντα [i] και [u] που προσαρμόζουν φωνολογικά τις τούρκικες δάνειες λέξεις λαμβάνουν το Δ.Χ. [±οπίσθιο] ως απόρροια μιας φωνηεντικής αρμονίας ή λόγω του είδους των συμφώνων που τα περιβάλλουν; Η ανάλυση των δεδομένων δείχνει ότι το [+υψηλό] επενθετικό φωνήεν εναρμονίζεται ως προς το Δ.Χ. [±οπίσθιο] που φέρει το τονισμένο φωνήεν της επόμενης συλλαβής. Η αρμονία παρεμποδίζεται όταν ανάμεσα στο επενθετικό και στο ακόλουθο τονισμένο φωνήεν μεσολαβεί ένα σύμφωνο που είναι λεξικά προσδιορισμένο με την ίδια αξία ως προς το Δ.Χ. [οπίσθιο] που είναι προσδιορισμένο και το τονισμένο φωνήεν (εμφάνιση δυσαρμονίας).

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Διδιαλεκτικές κοινότητες και γλωσσικό συνεχές: η περίπτωση της κυπριακής

Μαριάννα Κατσογιάννου, Ανδρέας Παπαπαύλου, Παύλος Παύλου, Σταυρούλα Τσιπλάκου
Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου

This paper constitutes an effort to elucidate some phenomena that seem to affect the contemporary Cypriot Greek dialect. On one hand, a restructuring of the classic diglossic pattern as described by Ferguson, and on the other hand a transformation of the (regional) dialect continuum to a stylistic continuum are witnessed. A preliminary division into registers within the Greek Cypriot dialect continuum is proposed and the theoretical considerations that need to be taken into account when attempting to distinguish among the various levels are mentioned. A number of theoretical and methodological issues that future experimental and longitudinal research will have to deal with are discussed. Finally, the parameter of the acquisition/learning of the High variety is being introduced as a criterion for both the delineation of the various levels of the continuum and as a criterion for the establishment of the linguistic profile of the bidialectal speaker.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: διαλεκτικό συνεχές, διδιαλεκτικός ομιλητής, κοινωνική διγλωσσία, κυπριακή διάλεκτος

1. Το πλαίσιο της έρευνας

Από την εποχή που η γλωσσική διαφοροποίηση μεταξύ καθαρεύουσας και δημοτικής (ή, σύμφωνα με την ορολογία που θα ακολουθήσουμε στη συνέχεια, μεταξύ υπερκείμενης και υποκείμενης ποικιλίας της ελληνικής) κατατάχτηκε ανάμεσα στα πρωτοτυπικά παραδείγματα του φαινόμενου της κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας (*diglossia*), οι σχέσεις μεταξύ δημοτικής και καθαρεύουσας εξελίχθηκαν σύμφωνα με τις προβλέψεις του Ferguson (1959), ακολούθησε δηλαδή η αναμενόμενη λειτουργική σύγκλιση των δύο ποικιλιών, και τελικά ως επίσημη γλώσσα του ελληνικού κράτους καθιερώθηκε η γλωσσική μορφή που σήμερα συνήθως αποκαλείται κοινή νέα ελληνική (ΚΝΕ), ή, αλλιώς, *λόγια ή αστική δημοτική* (βλ. Τριανταφυλλίδης 1938, Horrocks 1997), ένας κώδικας βασισμένος στον προφορικό λόγο, με μορφολογικές, συντακτικές και, κυρίως, λεξιλογικές προσμίξεις από την καθαρεύουσα.

Μια από τις πιο ενδιαφέρουσες παραμέτρους αυτής της εξέλιξης είναι ότι η μορφή της γλώσσας που τελικά επικράτησε ανέλαβε και πάλι το ρόλο της υπερκείμενης ποικιλίας (*H*, σύμφωνα με την ορολογία του Ferguson), συνεχίζοντας έτσι την παράδοση της διγλωσσίας με νέους όρους. Παρόλο που η κατάσταση βρίσκεται υπό διαμόρφωση και η σχετική βιβλιογραφία δεν είναι ιδιαίτερα πλούσια, μπορούμε να υποστηρίξουμε ότι η ΚΝΕ είναι σήμερα σε θέση να παίζει απέναντι στις τοπικές ποικιλίες της ελληνικής ένα ρόλο ανάλογο με αυτόν που έπαιξε παλιότερα η καθαρεύουσα απέναντι στη δημοτική (Σετάτος 1973, Μοσχονάς 2002) Ο ρόλος αυτός ισχυροποιείται συνεχώς, κυρίως χάρη στην υιοθέτηση της ΚΝΕ από την εκπαίδευση και τα μέσα μαζικής ενημέρωσης, γεγονός που συμβάλλει σε σημαντικό βαθμό στην εξομοίωση (*levelling·* βλ. Kerswill & Williams 2000, Kerswill 2003) των νεοελληνικών διαλεκτικών ποικιλιών. Η ενεργοποίηση του νέου αυτού διγλωσσικού σχήματος, με την κοινή στο ρόλο της υπερκείμενης ποικιλίας, θεωρήθηκε ως τώρα δεδομένη στην περίπτωση της Κύπρου.

Παρόλα αυτά, η περιγραφή της κοινωνιογλωσσολογικής κατάστασης της Κύπρου με τους όρους του κλασικού αυτού σχήματος, δεν επαρκεί για να συμπεριλάβει όλες τις πλευρές του φαινομένου που μας ενδιαφέρει. Τα σημαντικότερα σημεία διαφοροποίησης είναι η διάκριση ανάμεσα στην υπερκείμενη και στην υποκείμενη ποικιλία και η χρήση καθεμίας από αυτές. Πράγματι, ο όρος κοινωνική διγλωσσία αναφέρεται σε δύο γλωσσικούς κώδικες που (i) διακρίνονται με βάση σαφή κριτήρια σε όλα τα επίπεδα γλωσσικής ανάλυσης και (ii) χρησιμοποιούνται συστηματικά και με συνέπεια σε συγκεκριμένες περιστάσεις επικοινωνίας. Στην περίπτωσή μας, δεν ισχύει κανένας από τους δύο αυτούς όρους, τουλάχιστον όχι με τον κλασικό «στεγανοποιημένο» τρόπο διαχωρισμού που περιγράφει ο Ferguson. Το ζήτημα αυτό εντάσσεται στον ευρύτερο προβληματισμό της κοινωνιογλωσσολογίας, όπως αυτός διαμορφώθηκε από το Fishman μέχρι το Halliday, έτσι ώστε να λαμβάνεται υπόψη η έννοια της επικοινωνιακής περίστασης που καθορίζει τις επιλογές των ομιλητών και τις γλωσσικές πραγματώσεις που προκύπτουν από αυτές. Έτσι, έχει συχνά υποστηριχθεί ότι η κλασική διμερής διάκριση είναι υπερβολικά σχηματική και ότι ο ορισμός του Ferguson καλύπτει μέρος μόνο των πιθανών τύπων λειτουργικής εξειδίκευσης δύο γλωσσικών ποικιλιών (βλ. Gumperz 1981, Fishman 1980).

Για περιπτώσεις όπως αυτή της Κύπρου, όπου η γενετική συγγένεια σε συνδυασμό με τη δυναμική αλληλεπίδραση δύο γλωσσικών ποικιλιών αποκλείει τον αυστηρό καθορισμό καθεμίας από αυτές ως ανεξάρτητου συστήματος, είναι πλέον αποδεκτό ότι χρειάζεται ένας χαλαρότερος ορισμός της κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας. Παράλληλα όμως, η επαφή μεταξύ συστημάτων που συνδέονται και γενετικά, δυσχεραίνει την ακριβή περιγραφή της λειτουργικής διαφοροποίησής τους· στην πράξη, οι δύο ποικιλίες διαπλέκονται με τρόπο που αφενός οδηγεί στην εμφάνιση μεικτών πραγματώσεων και αφετέρου επηρεάζει

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το λειτουργικό διαχωρισμό τους. Τα παραπάνω αποτελούν το γενικό πλαίσιο σε σχέση με το οποίο ορίζεται ο στόχος της παρούσας μελέτης, ο οποίος είναι διττός: (i) να εντοπιστούν οι γλωσσικές και κοινωνιογλωσσολογικές παράμετροι που καθορίζουν τη διαμόρφωση της σύγχρονης κυπριακής και (ii) να οριστεί το γλωσσικό προφίλ του διδιαλεκτικού ομιλητή.

2. Διαλεκτικό συνεχές ή υφολογική διαφοροποίηση;

Η σύγχρονη κυπριακή μπορεί να χαρακτηριστεί ως ένα σύνθετο, δυναμικό σύστημα αποτελούμενο από ένα σύνολο ποικιλιών που δεν βρίσκονται σε μία απλή σχέση αθροιστικού τύπου, όπως αυτή που προτείνει η κλασική προσέγγιση των διαλέκτων ως συνόλων τοπικών υποποικιλιών ή «ιδιωμάτων» εκ των οποίων το κεντρικό ή μητροπολιτικό ορίζεται επίσης γεωγραφικά (βλ. Newton 1972). Σύμφωνα με την μεταφεργκιουσονιανή κοινωνιογλωσσολογική προσέγγιση (βλ., για παράδειγμα, Bickerton 1973, DeCamp 1971, Chambers & Trudgill 1998), ένα τέτοιο σύνολο περιγράφεται επαρκέστερα ως διαλεκτικό συνεχές (dialect continuum), στους δύο πόλους του οποίου βρίσκονται ένα ιδίωμα ή ένα σύνολο τοπικών ιδιωμάτων που ονομάζονται βασίλεκτοι (basilects) και μία πιο επίσημη ποικιλία που αναγνωρίζεται ως υψηλότερη, κοινή ή κυρίαρχη και στην οποία έχουν πρόσβαση, σε μεγαλύτερο ή μικρότερο βαθμό, όλοι οι ομιλητές· η ποικιλία αυτή ονομάζεται ακρόλεκτος (acrolect).

Η θεωρία του συνεχούς προβλέπει ότι δεν υπάρχουν στεγανές και απόλυτες διαφοροποιήσεις μεταξύ βασιλέκτων και ακρολέκτου, τόσο ως προς την κατάκτηση όσο και ως προς τη χρήση της γλώσσας. Στην πράξη, αυτό σημαίνει ότι ο ομιλητής έχει στο (ενεργό) του ρεπερτόριο και μέρος (κάποιας) βασιλέκτου και μέρος της ακρολέκτου, με αποτέλεσμα η γλωσσική του παραγωγή να μην είναι αμιγής. Αν η ποσοτική ανάλυση καταδείξει ότι υπάρχουν τάσεις συνεμφάνισης συγκεκριμένων γλωσσικών χαρακτηριστικών τα οποία σχηματίζουν «νέφη» σε ορισμένες περιοχές του συνεχούς, τότε μπορούμε να μιλήσουμε για επίπεδα, τα οποία, χωρίς να ταυτίζονται με τα επίπεδα ύφους (registers), παρουσιάζουν σημαντικές αναλογίες με αυτά.

Στην περίπτωση της Κύπρου, ακρόλεκτος δεν μπορεί να θεωρηθεί η ΚΝΕ με τη μορφή που έχει στην Ελλάδα. Υπάρχουν όμως δύο απόψεις, σύμφωνα με τις οποίες η ακρόλεκτος είναι:

(i) Η κυπριακή μορφή της ΚΝΕ, η οποία διαφέρει *συστηματικά* και σε όλα τα επίπεδα ανάλυσης από αυτήν που μιλιέται στην Ελλάδα (βλ. και Arvaniti 2002, Papapavlou 2004). Οι αποκλίσεις από *την* ΚΝΕ (παραδείγματα: χρήση του ρήματος *αφυπηρετώ* αντί του *συνταξιο-δοτούμαι*, χρήση του επιρρήματος *ψες* με σημασία «χθες το βράδυ»), των οποίων οι ομιλητές δεν έχουν επίγνωση, καθιστούν την ποικιλία

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αυτή αναγνωρίσιμη, ενώ παράλληλα επιτρέπουν σε ορισμένους ερευνητές να την χαρακτηρίζουν ως «επαρχιακή νόρμα» (Karyolemou 2000).

(ii) Η κυπριακή κοινή, που μπορεί να οριστεί ως ένα μεικτό υπερσύστημα με πολλές προσμείξεις από την ΚΝΕ και να χαρακτηριστεί ως η «αστική» ποικιλία της γλώσσας (Terkourafi 2004).

Οι δύο αυτές προτάσεις διαφοροποιούνται σημαντικά μεταξύ τους, κυρίως γιατί χρησιμοποιούν διαφορετικά κριτήρια προσδιορισμού της ακρολέκτου. Είναι φανερό ότι η πρώτη πρόταση δεν λαμβάνει υπόψιν το κριτήριο της κατάκτησης αλλά αποκλειστικά αυτό της συστηματικής χρήσης και της λειτουργικής διαφοροποίησης, με βάση το οποίο τοποθετεί μια κατά τεκμήριον μη φυσικά κατακτημένη ποικιλία εντός του διαλεκτικού συνεχούς. Αντίθετα, η δεύτερη πρόταση ορίζει ως ακρόλεκτο ένα μέρος του φυσικά κατακτημένου γλωσσικού συστήματος, και έτσι εγείρει το θεωρητικό ερώτημα του τι καθιστά το σύστημα μεικτό και αν και σε ποιο βαθμό ένα μεικτό σύστημα κατακτάται φυσικά και υπό ποιες προϋποθέσεις.

Ένα εξίσου καίριο θεωρητικό ερώτημα αναδύεται αν λάβουμε υπόψη τη σαφή πλέον τάση εξομοίωσης των τοπικών κυπριακών ιδιωμάτων και την επικράτηση της κυπριακής κοινής, φαινόμενο το οποίο συνδέεται κυρίως με τις δημογραφικές αλλαγές που επήλθαν μετά την τουρκική εισβολή του 1974. Αν και η σχετική βιβλιογραφία είναι εκ των πραγμάτων περιορισμένη (Karyolemou & Pavlou 2001), φαίνεται ότι οι νεότεροι ομιλητές αγνοούν, ή απλώς κατανοούν αλλά δεν χρησιμοποιούν, χαρακτηριστικά από τις γεωγραφικές βασιλέκτους των περιοχών από όπου κατάγονται. Ωστόσο, οι ίδιοι ομιλητές φαίνεται να είναι πεπεισμένοι ότι το ρεπερτόριό τους περιλαμβάνει τοπικά στοιχεία, τα οποία δηλώνουν ότι χρησιμοποιούν σποραδικά, όταν συνομιλούν με μεγαλύτερους ομιλητές, ή στην ανεπίσημη επικοινωνία μεταξύ συνομηλίκων, στην περίπτωση αυτή με παιγνιώδη, κυρίως, λειτουργία (για το στοιχείο του υπερδιαλεκτισμού στη νεανική κυπριακή *argot* βλ. Tsiplakou forth.). Τα δεδομένα αυτά οδηγούν στο ερώτημα αν και κατά πόσο είναι σκόπιμο στην περίπτωση της σύγχρονης κυπριακής, και ιδιαίτερα όταν πρόκειται για τον πληθυσμό των νεότερων και πιο μορφωμένων ομιλητών, να μετατοπιστεί η έμφαση από την έννοια του γεωγραφικού διαλεκτικού συνεχούς στην έννοια του κοινωνιογλωσσολογικού/υφολογικού συνεχούς, όπου οι δύο πόλοι αντιμετωπίζονται πλέον όχι ως τοπικά ιδιώματα (βασίλεκτοι) και ακρόλεκτος αλλά ως τα δύο ακραία επίπεδα ύφους.

3. **Επίπεδα χρήσης της γλώσσας**
3.1. Κριτήρια καθορισμού των επιπέδων

Τα πρώτα στοιχεία της απάντησης στο πιο πάνω τέτοιο ερώτημα προέρχονται από τους ίδιους τους ομιλητές, που αναγνωρίζουν ότι υπάρχουν πολλά επίπεδα, πολλές μορφές της κυπριακής τα οποία οι ίδιοι διακρίνουν, κατονομάζουν και σχολιάζουν με ποικίλους τρόπους. Αυτή η κατηγοριοποίηση σε επίπεδα βασίζεται αφενός στο βαθμό σύγκλισης (ή απόκλισης) που θεωρούν οι ομιλητές ότι παρουσιάζει η εκάστοτε γλωσσική παραγωγή με την ΚΝΕ και αφετέρου στην προσπάθεια που χρειάζεται από τους ίδιους για να επιτευχθεί μία τέτοια σύγκλιση. Οι ονομασίες που χρησιμοποιούνται για τις διάφορες αυτές μορφές της γλώσσας είναι αποκαλυπτικές, τόσο ως προς τα κριτήρια διάκρισης, όσο και ως προς τον αριθμό των επιπέδων. Στο ένα άκρο της κλίμακας έχουμε τα «βαρετά» κυπριακά που χαρακτηρίζονται από απλώς «χωρκάτικα» έως «πολλά» ή «τέλεια» χωρκάτικα και αντιπροσωπεύουν τον κώδικα προς αποφυγή, σε αντίθεση με τα «σωστά», «σισταρισμένα» ή «περιποιημένα» κυπριακά, που είναι σαφώς προτιμότερα. Όταν, επιπλέον, αυτά τα «σωστά» κυπριακά χρωματίζονται από την προσπάθεια φωνητικής και μορφολογικής προσαρμογής τους στην κοινή, ονομάζονται «ευγενικά», κάτι το οποίο δεν είναι απαραίτητα κολακευτικό («γιατί μιλάς ευγενικά;» δεν είναι πραγματολογικά απίθανη ερώτηση). Τα «καλαμαρίστικα»[1], τέλος, δεν είναι μόνο η ειρωνική ονομασία της κοινής αλλά και ο χαρακτηρισμός της κοντινότερης σε αυτήν μορφής της κυπριακής, η οποία, απαλλαγμένη από συγκεκριμένα τοπικά γνωρίσματα, χρησιμοποιείται σε πιο επίσημες περιστάσεις επικοινωνίας· είναι δηλαδή το υψηλότερο επίπεδο της κυπριακής, το οποίο έχει ως πρότυπο την κοινή. Το επίπεδο αυτό, που επιλέγεται σε συγκεκριμένες επικοινωνιακές περιστάσεις, είναι πάντα αναγνωρίσιμο από τους φυσικούς ομιλητές.

Η εικόνα συμπληρώνεται με την εμφάνιση αρνητικών στερεοτύπων που στιγματίζουν συγκεκριμένες μορφές της γλώσσας, όπως τα «τέλεια χωρκάτικα». Από τέτοιες γλωσσικές συμπεριφορές επίσης διαφαίνεται και το γεγονός ότι αυτό που οι ομιλητές αντιλαμβάνονται ως (κοινή) κυπριακή δεν ταυτίζεται με το ακραιφνώς διαλεκτικό μέρος του διαλεκτικού συνεχούς, αλλά με κάποιο ενδιάμεσο επίπεδό του σε σχέση με το οποίο άλλωστε αξιολογούνται οι διάφορες υποποικιλίες (ή *μεσόλεκτοι*). Έτσι, ένας τοπικός τύπος όπως *χέλω* (αντί *θέλω*) στιγματίζεται εξίσου με έναν τοπικό τύπο όπως *έχει* (αντί *έσιει*), ο οποίος συμπίπτει μεν με τον τύπο της ΚΝΕ, αποκλίνει όμως από την κυπριακή κοινή.

Πέρα όμως από τις απόψεις των ομιλητών, το ζητούμενο της παρούσας μελέτης είναι να απαντήσουμε στην ερώτηση «πότε θεωρούμε ότι ο ίδιος ομιλητής χρησιμοποιεί μία άλλη ποικιλία;» με γλωσσολογικά κριτήρια, διερευνώντας παράλληλα αν υπάρχουν τομές ανάμεσα στην επιστημονική προσέγγιση και στο γλωσσικό αίσθημα των ομιλητών όπως το περιγράψαμε παραπάνω. Ο καθορισμός τέτοιων κριτηρίων αντιπροσωπεύει ένα ιδιαίτερα ενδιαφέρον, αλλά και δυσεπίλυτο, θεωρητικό και μεθοδολογικό πρόβλημα. Όπως προαναφέραμε, μπορούμε να θεωρήσουμε ότι πρόκειται για ερώτημα της ίδιας τάξεως με αυτό του καθορισμού διακριτών επιπέδων ύφους (*registers*) σε

μια μονόγλωσση κοινότητα. Στην περίπτωση των διδιαλεκτικών κοινοτήτων το πρόβλημα περιπλέκεται εξαιτίας του γεγονότος ότι τα όρια μεταξύ των διαφόρων ειδών λόγου και των επιπέδων ύφους είναι ρευστά, ιδιαίτερα στη μη προσχεδιασμένη, φυσική προφορική επικοινωνία, όπως ακριβώς είναι ρευστά και τα όρια μεταξύ διακριτών επικοινωνιακών καταστάσεων.

Η θεωρητική μας πρόταση στηρίζεται στην ιδέα ότι όταν ο διδιαλεκτισμός που επικρατεί σε μία γλωσσική κοινότητα θέτει στη διάθεση των ομιλητών τύπους φωνολογικά, συντακτικά και/ή σημασιολογικά ισοδύναμους –ή σχεδόν ισοδύναμους–, η επιλογή καθενός από αυτούς μπορεί να συνδέεται με διαφορετικό επίπεδο γλώσσας ή γλωσσικής χρήσης. Έτσι, οι ισοδύναμες δομές μπορούν να μελετηθούν ως μεταβλητές (*variables*) με την σημασία που έχει ο όρος στην κοινωνιογλωσσολογία, όπου μεταβλητή είναι ένα γλωσσικό στοιχείο που μπορεί να πραγματώνεται με διάφορες μορφές, ανάλογα με το κοινωνιογλωσσολογικό προφίλ του ομιλητή και το επίπεδο χρήσης (Labov 1980). Η πρόταση αυτή ενέχει το βασικό πρόβλημα ότι μπορεί μεν η κοινωνιογλωσσολογικές συνθήκες να θέτουν στη διάθεση των ομιλητών μια πληθώρα ισοδύναμων τύπων, αυτό όμως δεν σημαίνει ότι οι ομιλητές έχουν όλες τις δυνατές επιλογές στο ενεργητικό τους ρεπερτόριο. Για να αντιμετωπιστεί ένα τέτοιο πρόβλημα, περιορίζουμε τη σύγκριση σε σύνολα ισοδύναμων τύπων τα οποία συγκεκριμένες ομάδες ομιλητών κατέχουν εξίσου καλά, έτσι ώστε η διάκριση των επιπέδων να γίνεται με βάση τις μεταβλητές που περιέχονται σε αυτά.

Με τον τρόπο αυτό αντιμετωπίζουμε μία σειρά από μεθοδολογικά προβλήματα που συνδέονται αφενός με τον καθορισμό των προς εξέταση μεταβλητών[2] και αφετέρου με τον εντοπισμό των στοιχείων που δεν μπορούν να θεωρηθούν μεταβλητές και πρέπει να εξαιρεθούν από τη μελέτη των επιπέδων χρήσης της γλώσσας. Αυτά τα τελευταία είναι κυρίως λεξιλογικά στοιχεία που προέρχονται από την ΚΝΕ και μπορούν να χαρακτηριστούν ως εσωτερικά δάνεια. Για παράδειγμα, λέξεις όπως *διοίκηση*, *πρόσφυγας*, *πανεπιστήμιο* χρησιμοποιούνται στην κυπριακή χωρίς να θεωρείται ότι χαρακτηρίζουν το λόγο του ομιλητή, με κριτήριο το γεγονός ότι δεν αποτελούν αντικείμενο επιλογής του σε σχέση με άλλες, διαλεκτικές λέξεις· έτσι, η παρουσία τους θεωρείται ουδέτερη, με την έννοια ότι στην περίπτωσή τους ο διδιαλεκτικός ομιλητής χρησιμοποιεί στοιχεία της κοινής αφενός αναγκαστικά και αφετέρου με τρόπο τον οποίο ο ίδιος αντιλαμβάνεται ως ουδέτερο ή ακόμη και φυσικό[3]. Η αβίαστη ενσωμάτωση τέτοιων στοιχείων στο σύστημα της κυπριακής εκφράζεται και από το γεγονός ότι η παρουσία τους αποτελεί μία γενική συνθήκη που κατά κάποιον τρόπο διατρέχει όλα τα επίπεδα χρήσης της γλώσσας.

Στη συνέχεια θα παρουσιάσουμε μία πρώτη προσέγγιση των προβλημάτων της γλωσσικής ανάλυσης που αναφύονται κατά την προσπάθεια εφαρμογής μίας

τέτοιας πρότασης. Στόχος είναι, αφενός να καταλήξουμε στην ακριβέστερη δυνατή περιγραφή της διάκρισης σε επίπεδα όπως αυτή λειτουργεί στη συγχρονική μορφή της κυπριακής και αφετέρου να θεωρητικοποιήσουμε την περιγραφή μας καθορίζοντας μία σειρά από κριτήρια που θα μπορούμε να χρησιμοποιήσουμε σαν σταθερούς δείκτες αναγνώρισης κάθε επιπέδου.

3.2. Εντοπισμός μεταβλητών και διάκριση επιπέδων

Ο εντοπισμός φωνητικών και φωνολογικών μεταβλητών είναι ένα αρκετά σύνθετο πρόβλημα, καθώς η ισοδυναμία δεν έχει πάντοτε την ίδια σημασία στο πλαίσιο του γλωσσικού συστήματος, αλλά εκφράζεται και πραγματώνεται με διαφορετικούς τρόπους. Σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις βρίσκουμε πραγματικές κοινωνιογλωσσολογικές μεταβλητές, δηλαδή στοιχεία με πολλαπλές ισοδύναμες πραγματώσεις των οποίων η επιλογή είναι «ελεύθερη» – με την έννοια ότι δεν υπαγορεύεται από αναγκαιότητες του γραμματικού συστήματος. Στις περιπτώσεις αυτές, οι ομιλητές επιλέγουν την πραγμάτωση που θα χρησιμοποιήσουν με βάση το επίπεδο στο οποίο θέλουν να τοποθετήσουν την ομιλία τους.

Για παράδειγμα, θεωρείται δεδομένο ότι ο τσιτακισμός αποτελεί χαρακτηριστικό διαλεκτικό γνώρισμα και ότι το φώνημα /k/ πραγματώνεται ως [k] πριν από [a], [ɔ], [u] και ως [tʃ] πριν από [i] και [e]. Παράλληλα όμως, η πραγμάτωση [c] αντί [tʃ] είναι αποδεκτή σε αυτό το περιβάλλον για ένα μεγάλο μέρος του λεξιλογίου, π.χ. [tʃe] ή [ce] και, με αποτέλεσμα τα [tʃ] και [c] να εμφανίζονται ως αλλόφωνα σε σχέση ελεύθερης εναλλαγής, με άλλα λόγια ως πραγματώσεις μιας κοινωνιογλωσσολογικής μεταβλητής. Μπορούμε λοιπόν να θεωρήσουμε ότι με την επιλογή του αλλοφώνου [c] ενεργοποιείται η δυνατότητα σηματοδότησης ενός επιπέδου ύφους διαφορετικού από τα «χωρκάτικα». Το ίδιο ισχύει και για τα αλλόφωνα [ç] και [ʃ] του φωνήματος /x/ τα οποία εμφανίζονται πριν από τα φωνήεντα [i] και [e], π.χ. ['eçi] και ['eʃi] έχει.

Σε άλλες περιπτώσεις όμως, η επιλογή ενός αλλοφώνου που φαινομενικά βρίσκεται σε σχέση ελεύθερης εναλλαγής με κάποιο άλλο, υπόκειται σε συστηματικούς περιορισμούς. Αυτό ισχύει, για παράδειγμα, για το φθόγγο [ʃ] ο οποίος δεν είναι αλλόφωνο μόνον του φωνήματος /x/, αλλά και του /s/: σε συλλαβή /siΦ/ (δηλαδή αποτελούμενη από /s/ + άτονο /i/ + φωνήεν), το /s/ πραγματώνεται ως [ʃ], π.χ. / tetra'kɔsia / [tetra'kɔʃa] τετρακόσια. Έτσι, οι πραγματώσεις [tra'kɔʃa], [tetra'kɔʃa] κλπ. εμφανίζονται ανεξάρτητα από το υφολογικό επίπεδο των υπολοίπων στοιχείων μίας πρότασης. Αυτό συμβαίνει ακόμα και σε συνθήκες που απαιτούν να «καλαμαρίσει» ο ομιλητής, γιατί οι περιορισμοί προέρχονται από το ίδιο το σύστημα. Με άλλα λόγια, η δυνατότητα εναλλαγής μεταξύ [s] και [ʃ] δεν ισχύει στο πλαίσιο του διαλεκτικού συνεχούς: η εμφάνιση της πραγμάτωσης [tetra'kɔça] της ΚΝΕ στο λόγο κάποιου ομιλητή δεν αποτελεί αλλαγή επιπέδου χρήσης της γλώσσας, αλλά σηματοδοτεί τη

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μετάβαση έξω από τα όρια του συνεχούς – κάτι που δεν ισχύει για τα παραδείγματα της προηγούμενης κατηγορίας όπως π.χ. η επιλογή του ['eçi] αντί ['eʃi].

Ως προς τη μορφολογία και τη σύνταξη είναι, φαινομενικά τουλάχιστον, ευκολότερο να εντοπίσουμε επιλογές που συνδέονται με την αλλαγή γλωσσικού επιπέδου, δεδομένου ότι, αντίθετα από τη φωνητική και τη φωνολογία, η μορφολογία και η σύνταξη της ΚΝΕ διδάσκονται στο σχολείο και ο μέσος μορφωμένος ομιλητής έχει στη διάθεσή του μία μεγάλη σειρά από διακρίσεις που μπορεί να χρησιμοποιήσει ως μεταβλητές των οποίων η συνδυαστική (και στατιστικά σημαντική) χρήση αντιστοιχίζεται με διάφορα επίπεδα χρήσης της γλώσσας.

Για να δώσουμε ένα απλό παράδειγμα από το χώρο της μορφολογίας, οι διαλεκτικοί τύποι των αρνητικών μορίων *δεν* και *μην* είναι, αντίστοιχα, *εν* και *μεν* και οι εναλλαγές *δεν/εν* και *μην/μεν* εξαρτώνται από το επίπεδο στο οποίο στοχεύει ο ομιλητής. Με τέτοια δεδομένα, μπορούμε να θεωρήσουμε ότι τα δύο άκρα του συνεχούς ορίζονται από την αποκλειστική χρήση της μίας ή της άλλης κατηγορίας και να καθορίσουμε τα ενδιάμεσα επίπεδα με ποσοτικά κριτήρια, ανάλογα δηλαδή με τη συχνότητα εμφάνισης κάθε τύπου, η οποία «χρωματίζει» σε μικρότερο ή μεγαλύτερο βαθμό τη γλωσσική παραγωγή του ομιλητή.

Σε άλλες περιπτώσεις, έχουμε γλωσσικά στοιχεία που διαθέτουν όχι μόνο δύο, αλλά και τρεις, ακόμη και τέσσερις διαφορετικές πραγματώσεις. Έτσι, μπορούμε να ιεραρχήσουμε π.χ. σειρές από συντακτικά και σημασιολογικά ισοδύναμους τύπους όπως:

1. *επήα – επήγα – πήγα*
2. *εκάμασιν – εκάμα(ν) – έκαμαν – έκαναν*

των οποίων η επιλογή υποδηλώνει διαφορετικά, ιεραρχημένα επίπεδα χρήσης της γλώσσας. Άλλα παραδείγματα τέτοιων μορφολογικών μεταβλητών είναι:

- οι συνηρημένες ή ασυναίρετες ενεστωτικές ρηματικές καταλήξεις, π.χ. *πεινώ* και *πεινάω*,
- οι καταλήξεις του τρίτου πληθυντικού του ενεστώτα, π.χ. *πεινούν* και *πεινούσιν*,
- η παρουσία ή απουσία αύξησης στους παρελθοντικούς χρόνους, π.χ. *πείνασα* και *επείνασα*,
- ο σχηματισμός της γενικής πληθυντικού με μορφολογία αιτιατικής, π.χ. *το στρατόπεδο τους Εγγλέζους* και *το στρατόπεδο των Εγγλέζων* ή *τα κονδύλια τους ερευνητές* και *τα κονδύλια των ερευνητών* κλπ.

Με τον ίδιο τρόπο εντοπίζουμε και τις μεταβλητές στο συντακτικό επίπεδο. Χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα ισοδυναμίας μπορούμε να θεωρήσουμε εδώ την εναλλαγή πρόκλισης/έγκλισης, η οποία μπορεί να εμφανίζεται ακόμη και

συνεχόμενα στο λόγο, όταν έχουμε επανάληψη, όπως στην πρόταση που ακολουθεί:

3. *Δουλεύκει τωρά στην τράπεζα τζιαι αρέσκει της, της αρέσει πολύ.*

Κοινωνιογλωσσολογική μεταβλητή μπορεί να θεωρηθεί επίσης ο σχηματισμός των ερωτήσεων μερικής αγνοίας, οι οποίες στην διαλεκτική τους μορφή εμφανίζονται ως δισχιδείς προτάσεις (*clefts*), με αποτέλεσμα να έχουμε εναλλακτικές πραγματώσεις όπως:

4. *πκοιος έμπου ήρτε(ν); ή πκοιος ήρτε(ν);*

Στην ίδια κατηγορία ανήκει και η επιλογή που ενεργοποιείται για τη συντακτική δήλωση της εστίασης, η οποία μπορεί να πραγματωθεί είτε με δισχιδή πρόταση, π.χ. *εν ο Γιαννής που ήρτε(ν)*, είτε με απλή μετακίνηση του στοιχείου στο οποίο αφορά η εστίαση, π.χ. *ο Γιαννής ήρτε(ν)*, κατά το πρότυπο της ΚΝΕ.

Για να δώσουμε μία πληρέστερη εικόνα του θέματος, πρέπει να υπογραμμίσουμε το γεγονός ότι οι πραγματώσεις που μπορούμε να καταγράψουμε πολλαπλασιάζονται, γιατί οι (περισσότερες από μία) τιμές της κάθε μεταβλητής συνυπάρχουν και συνεμφανίζονται στο λόγο με τις (περισσότερες από μία) τιμές άλλων μεταβλητών. Για παράδειγμα, καθένα από τα στοιχεία μίας πρότασης όπως *πκοιος ήρτε(ν);* διαθέτει και άλλες πραγματώσεις (*ποιος, ήρθε(ν)*), των οποίων ο συνδυασμός μπορεί να δώσει μία σειρά από διαφορετικές προτάσεις, που δεν είναι ισοδύναμες ως προς τη διάκριση των επιπέδων. Αυτό συμβαίνει, όπως δείξαμε και πιο πάνω, γιατί κάθε πραγμάτωση αφενός μπορεί να εξαρτάται (ή όχι) από το σύστημα και αφετέρου μπορεί να είναι (ή όχι) αντιληπτή και αναγνωρίσιμη από τους ομιλητές ως στοιχείο που χαρακτηρίζει ένα συγκεκριμένο επίπεδο της γλώσσας.

Με βάση όλα τα παραπάνω, μπορούμε να καθορίσουμε σύνολα ισοδύναμων τύπων με στόχο να εξετάσουμε κατά πόσον κάθε τέτοιο σύνολο είναι εσωτερικά ιεραρχημένο με τρόπο που να παραπέμπει σε διαφορετικό, διακριτό επίπεδο γλωσσικής χρήσης. Ακολουθώντας την πρόταση του Papapavlou (2004), μπορούμε να προτείνουμε πέντε τουλάχιστον επίπεδα, τα οποία παρουσιάζουμε με βάση τα πιο κάτω παραδείγματα:

5.	[endʒe'iatɔn]	*Εν τζιαι εία τον.*
	[puɛmbuɛ'pies?	*Πού έμπου επήες;*
6.	[endʒe'iδaton]	*Εν τζιαι είδα τον.*
	[puɛmbuɛ'pijes?]	*Πού έμπου επήγες;*
7.	[endɔn'iδa]	*Εν τον είδα.*
	[puɛ'pijes?]	*Πού επήγες;*
8.	[δendɔn'iδa]	*Δεν τον είδα.*
	[puɛ'pijes?]	*Πού επήγες;*
9.	[δendɔn'εχɔδi]	*Δεν τον έχω δει.*
	[pu'pijes?]	*Πού πήγες;*

Στο πλαίσιο της επικοινωνιακής πράξης, τα επίπεδα αυτά συνυπάρχουν με την μορφή της ΚΝΕ για την οποία αναφέραμε πιο πάνω ότι, ως «επαρχιακή νόρμα» της ελληνικής γλώσσας, δεν αποτελεί μέρος του διαλεκτικού συνεχούς[4].

Ακόμη όμως και με αυτό τον περιορισμό, ο διαχωρισμός σε επίπεδα χρήσης δεν είναι τόσο απλή υπόθεση: στην πράξη, οι περιπτώσεις όπου οι πραγματώσεις μιας μεταβλητής παρουσιάζουν αντιστοιχία ένα προς ένα με τα επίπεδα χρήσης/ύφους είναι πολύ σπάνιες. Επιπλέον, συχνά είναι δύσκολο για τους ομιλητές να αναγνωρίσουν ποια πραγμάτωση αντιστοιχεί σε ποιο επίπεδο, πράγμα που ισχύει ιδιαίτερα για τα ενδιάμεσα επίπεδα. Και, το κυριότερο, συχνά οι διακρίσεις είναι καθαρά ποσοτικές, εφόσον μπορούμε να υποστηρίξουμε ότι σε όλα τα επίπεδα εμφανίζονται όλα τα χαρακτηριστικά που ανήκουν στο σύστημα της γλώσσας. Έτσι, δεχόμαστε ότι η διαφοροποίηση είναι ποσοτική γιατί αυτό που αλλάζει είναι η συχνότητα εμφάνισης κάθε χαρακτηριστικού, η ακόμα και ο στατιστικός συσχετισμός της εμφάνισης κάποιου χαρακτηριστικού με κάποιο άλλο. Τέλος, δυνατό να έχουμε, στην ίδια πρόταση, συνδυασμό στοιχείων που καταλαμβάνουν διαφορετικές θέσεις στο συνεχές, ακόμη και αν το καθένα από αυτά διαθέτει μόνο δύο τύπους. Για να δώσουμε ένα παράδειγμα, οι συνδυασμοί που μπορούν να γίνουν ανάμεσα στα ισοδύναμα *δεν/εν, μένω/μηνίσκω, σπίτι μου/έσσω μου*, δεν περιορίζονται στις δομές *δεν μένω σπίτι μου* και *εν μηνίσκω έσσω μου*, που αντιστοιχούν στα δύο άκρα του συνεχούς, αλλά παράγουν και μία σειρά από ενδιάμεσες προτάσεις:

10.		[ɛmmi'niskɔ'spitimu]	*Εν μηνίσκω σπίτι μου.*
11.		[δ ɛmmi'niskɔ'ɛs:ɔmu]	*Δεν μηνίσκω έσσω μου.*
12.		[δɛmmi'niskɔ'spitimu]	*Δεν μηνίσκω σπίτι μου.*
13.	??	[ɛm'mɛnɔ'ɛs:ɔmu]	*Εν μένω έσσω μου.*
14.	??	[ɛm'mɛnɔ'spitimu]	*Εν μένω σπίτι μου.*
15.	??	[δɛm'mɛnɔ'ɛs:ɔmu]	*Δεν μένω έσσω μου.*

από τις οποίες άλλες είναι αποδεκτές από τους ομιλητές και άλλες (αυτές που σημειώνονται με ??) είναι λιγότερο ή περισσότερο αμφισβητήσιμες.

Επομένως, το βασικότερο ερώτημα φαίνεται να είναι αν και κατά πόσον οι ποσοτικοί συσχετισμοί των μεταβλητών (που θα μπορούσαν να μελετηθούν με στατιστική επεξεργασία και να χρησιμοποιηθούν για να διαφοροποιήσουμε με σαφήνεια τα γλωσσικά επίπεδα), ανταποκρίνονται στο (κοινωνιο)γλωσσικό αισθητήριο των ομιλητών. Είναι άγνωστο αν και κατά πόσο οι ομιλητές διαφοροποιούν νοητικά τα επίπεδα χρήσης με βάση τέτοιους συσχετισμούς (κάτι που θεωρητικά θα μεταφραζόταν ως αποδοχή μίας υπόθεσης περί νοητικής καταγραφής/επίγνωσης ποσοτικών διαφορών) ή αν τα κριτήριά τους είναι ποιοτικά, με την έννοια ότι, για παράδειγμα, μια «εμβληματική» χρήση του [tʃ] θα ήταν αρκετή για να χαρακτηρίσει ένα επίπεδο ως «χωρκάτικα» παρά τη συχνή εμφάνιση πραγματώσεων που ανήκουν σε άλλα επίπεδα.

Οι δυσκολίες που προκύπτουν για τη γλωσσολογική ανάλυση επικεντρώνονται σε τρία κυρίως σημεία: (i) για να επιλέξει μία πρόταση ο ομιλητής πρέπει να γνωρίζει όλες τις (αποδεκτές) δυνατότητες, κάτι το οποίο ασφαλώς δεν ισχύει στην πράξη· όπως είπαμε και παραπάνω η συνύπαρξη όλων των επιπέδων στο ενεργητικό ρεπερτόριο του ίδιου ομιλητή δεν είναι δυνατή (ii) ένας συνδυασμός μπορεί να θεωρηθεί αντιπροσωπευτικός για ένα επίπεδο χρήσης, είδαμε όμως ότι υπάρχουν και μη επιτρεπτοί ή προβληματικοί συνδυασμοί· εκτός όμως από τη γλωσσικό αίσθημα των ομιλητών, δεν έχουμε, τουλάχιστον προς το παρόν, κανόνες για τον ορθό σχηματισμό των δυνατών προτάσεων (iii) τέλος, και σε συνάρτηση με το (ii), τίθεται το ζήτημα της ίδιας της ιεράρχησης των επιπέδων: στον παρόν στάδιο δεν έχουμε τη δυνατότητα να καθορίσουμε τα κριτήρια με τα οποία καθεμία από τις (αποδεκτές) προτάσεις θα θεωρηθεί ότι βρίσκεται πλησιέστερα σε ένα από τα δύο άκρα του γλωσσικού συνεχούς.

4.   Ποιος είναι ο διδιαλεκτικός ομιλητής;

Η συμμετοχική παρατήρηση της γλωσσικής κοινότητας από την οποία προέρχονται τα δεδομένα που παρουσιάσαμε, συμπίπτει με την πεποίθηση των μελών της κατά την οποία οι ομιλητές περνούν σχετικά αβίαστα από τη μια επιλογή στην άλλη, και αυτό σε ανεπίσημες, οικείες περιστάσεις επικοινωνίας. Είναι γνωστό ότι η εναλλαγή αυτή στις επιλογές μπορεί να χρησιμοποιείται κοινωνιογλωσσολογικά για να δηλώσει αυξημένη ή μειωμένη οικειότητα ή αλληλεγγύη, να εξαρτάται από το θέμα της συνομιλίας, από την προσπάθεια απόδοσης έμφασης ή εγκυρότητας στα λεγόμενα κτλ. Η πρόταση που παρουσιάζουμε εδώ για επαναπροσδιορισμό του διαλεκτικού συνεχούς ως υφολογικού συναρτάται άμεσα με αυτού του είδους την εθνογραφική προσέγγιση στην εναλλαγή των επιλογών.

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Ωστόσο, τα παραδείγματα μορφολογικών και συντακτικών ισοδυναμιών που παρουσιάσαμε, καθίστανται ιδιαίτερα προβληματικά για μια προσέγγιση που οριοθετεί το διαλεκτικό και/ή υφολογικό συνεχές με κριτήριο τη φυσική κατάκτηση (*acquisition*) της γλώσσας. Το θεωρητικό ερώτημα που προκύπτει τη μελέτη των παραδειγμάτων, μπορεί να διατυπωθεί ως εξής: θα πρέπει να θεωρήσουμε ότι έχουμε επιλογή και εναλλακτική χρήση τύπων που ανήκουν στο φυσικό ρεπερτόριο των ομιλητών, ή ότι έχουμε εναλλαγή κωδίκων (*code-switching*) και μετάβαση από ένα φυσικά κατακτημένο σύστημα, αυτό της κυπριακής, σε ένα μη φυσικά κατακτημένο, αυτό της ΚΝΕ; Αν υιοθετήσουμε την πρώτη προσέγγιση, τότε πρακτικά τοποθετούμε την ΚΝΕ στον ακρολεκτικό πόλο του συνεχούς, ή δεχόμαστε ότι το συνεχές περιλαμβάνει και μεγάλο μέρος της μορφολογίας και της σύνταξης της κοινής. Αν υιοθετήσουμε τη δεύτερη προσέγγιση, τότε δεχόμαστε ότι παρόλο που η κοινή δεν ανήκει στο συνεχές και δεν είναι φυσικά κατακτημένη ποικιλία, ένα μεγάλο μέρος της μπορεί να χρησιμοποιείται αβίαστα και εν πολλοίς ορθά για να σηματοδοτήσει συγκεκριμένες επικοινωνιακές ή υφολογικές λειτουργίες. Στην τελευταία αυτή περίπτωση όμως, από κοινωνιογλωσσολογική άποψη, η χρήση στοιχείων της ΚΝΕ δεν συνδέεται αναγκαστικά με τη μετάβαση σε άλλον κώδικα.

Η προκαταρκτική απάντηση που μπορούμε να δώσουμε αυτή τη στιγμή είναι ότι η αβίαστη χρήση μορφοσυντακτικών στοιχείων της ΚΝΕ σε ανεπίσημο λόγο, μεταξύ οικείων, μπορεί να σηματοδοτεί μια αναδιάρθρωση του φεργκιουσονιανού μοντέλου της κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας χωρίς αναγκαστικά να συνεπάγεται φυσική κατάκτηση της υπερκείμενης ποικιλίας. Η έρευνα της εναλλαγής και της μίξης κωδίκων εξάλλου έχει καταδείξει πρόκειται για ένα κοινωνιογλωσσολογικό φαινόμενο που δεν συνδέεται απαραίτητα με τη διπλογλωσσία (*bilingualism*) με την στενή έννοια του όρου· αυτό που έχει σημασία σε τέτοιες περιπτώσεις είναι ότι η αυξημένη γλωσσική ικανότητα σε δύο διαφορετικά συστήματα συναρτάται με μεγαλύτερο βαθμό και διαφορετικούς τύπους εναλλαγής και μίξης κωδίκων (Fishman 1967, 1980, Poplack 1980).

Είναι πολύ πιθανό ότι η συστηματική εναλλαγή και μίξη μεταξύ δύο συγγενών γλωσσικών ποικιλιών μπορεί να οδηγήσει στη δημιουργία ενός πραγματικά μικτού συστήματος, που θα γίνει αντικείμενο φυσικής κατάκτησης από τους νεότερους ομιλητές. Η σύγχρονη κυπριακή παρέχει τέτοια δείγματα, για παράδειγμα στο μορφοσυντακτικό επίπεδο όπου ο ρηματικός τύπος που χρησιμοποιείται για τη δήλωση του μη πραγματικού είναι *εν νά'ρκουμουν* για τους (σχετικά) νεότερους ομιλητές, ενώ παλιότερα η πρόταση αυτή θα πραγματωνόταν ως *ήταν να 'ρτω* ή *είσιεν να 'ρτω*. Ο νεότερος τύπος είναι μεν κυπριακός από μορφοφωνολογική άποψη, μορφοσυντακτικά όμως ακολουθεί τον αντίστοιχο τύπο *θα ερχόμουν* της κοινής. Από κοινωνιογλωσσολογική άποψη, γίνεται αντιληπτός από τους ομιλητές όχι μόνο ως νεότερος, αλλά και ως λιγότερο «βαρετός» τύπος της κυπριακής.

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5. Ανακεφαλαίωση

Στην εργασία αυτή προσπαθήσαμε να δείξουμε ότι στη σύγχρονη κυπριακή παρατηρείται αφενός μια αναδιάρθρωση του κλασσικού διγλωσσικού σχήματος του Ferguson, και αφετέρου ένας μετασχηματισμός του γεωγραφικού διαλεκτικού συνεχούς σε υφολογικό συνεχές. Προτείναμε μια προκαταρκτική διάκριση σε επίπεδα ύφους εντός του συνεχούς της κυπριακής επισημαίνοντας ταυτόχρονα μια σειρά από θεωρητικές και μεθοδολογικές δυσκολίες που θα πρέπει να αντιμετωπίσει η οποιαδήποτε μελλοντική πειραματική ή διαχρονική έρευνα που θα επιχειρήσει να καθορίσει τα κριτήρια διάκρισης των επιπέδων αυτών με τα δεδομένα της γλωσσικής κοινότητας που μας ενδιαφέρει. Τέλος, θέσαμε το ζήτημα της φυσικής κατάκτησης (μέρους) της υπερκείμενης ποικιλίας αφενός ως κριτηρίου για τον ακριβή καθορισμό του διαλεκτικού συνεχούς και αφετέρου για την περιγραφή του γλωσσικού προφίλ του διδιαλεκτικού ομιλητή.

6. Σημειώσεις τέλους

[1] Στην κυπριακή «καλαμαράς» σημαίνει «ελλαδίτης», Έλληνας από την Ελλάδα, ενώ η λέξη «καλαμαρίστικα» έχει δύο σημασίες: α) η γλώσσα των καλαμαράδων, β) η μορφή της κυπριακής που έχει ως πρότυπο την κοινή. Το επίπεδο αυτό της κυπριακής επιλέγεται σε συγκεκριμένες επικοινωνιακές περιστάσεις, είναι πάντα αναγνωρίσιμο από τους φυσικούς ομιλητές και μπορεί να εκληφθεί ως απόπειρα μίμησης της κοινής (και επομένως ιδεολογικής ταύτισης με άλλη γλωσσική κοινότητα)· στην τελευταία αυτή περίπτωση, ο χαρακτηρισμός «καλαμαρίστικα» μπορεί να χρησιμοποιηθεί και ειρωνικά. Αντίστοιχα, το ρήμα «καλαμαρίζω» σημαίνει μιλώ τα καλαμαρίστικα, είτε με την πρώτη, είτε με τη δεύτερη σημασία της λέξης, προσπαθώντας δηλαδή να μιμηθώ τους καλαμαράδες με στόχο την προβολή συγκεκριμένης κοινωνιογλωσσολογικής ταυτότητας· η αξιολόγηση της συμπεριφοράς αυτής μπορεί να είναι θετική ή αρνητική, ανάλογα με την επικοινωνιακή περίσταση.

[2] Για παράδειγμα, το γεγονός ότι η ισοδυναμία είναι μία δυναμική σχέση και μπορεί να εξελίσσεται με αποτέλεσμα δύο καταρχήν ισοδύναμα στοιχεία, π.χ. δύο συνώνυμα όπως *στετέ* = *γιαγιά*, να καταλήγουν σε μία νέα διάκριση (σημασιολογική στην περίπτωση του ζεύγους *στετέ* = *γιαγιά*, το οποίο κατέληξε στη διάκριση *γιαγιά* = *γιαγιά* και *στετέ* = *προγιαγιά*), η οποία δεν ισχύει για όλους τους ομιλητές σε μία δεδομένη στιγμή της ιστορίας της γλώσσας.

[3] Για την κοινωνιογλωσσολογική ανάλυση αυτή η στάση είναι το *συγχρονικό προϊόν μίας ιεραρχημένης διαχρονικής συμβίωσης των δύο ποικιλιών.*

[4] Η μορφή αυτή της γλώσσας εμφανίζεται όταν ένας ομιλητής αποφασίζει να χρησιμο-ποιήσει την ΚΝΕ, χωρίς το αποτέλεσμα να είναι απαραίτητα επιτυχές, γιατί είναι πιθανόν

να υπάρχουν ιδιομορφίες και παρεμβολές από την κυπριακή που δεν είναι συνειδητές, είναι όμως αναγνωρίσιμες από τους ομιλητές της ΚΝΕ.

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8. Περίληψη

Αφετηρία της εργασίας αυτής είναι η γενική διαπίστωση ότι στη σύγχρονη κυπριακή διάλεκτο εμφανίζονται φαινόμενα που ενδεχομένως αποτελούν ενδείξεις ότι η ως τώρα ακραιφνής κοινωνική διγλωσσία τείνει να υποχωρήσει, ή, καλύτερα, ότι η τα όρια μεταξύ κοινής νέας ελληνικής και κυπριακής συγχέονται με την εμφάνιση της μικτής η αστικής κυπριακής, που χαρακτηρίζεται αφενός από εναλλαγή και μίξη των δύο ποικιλιών και από νέους, υβριδικούς τύπους και δομές και αφετέρου από την ύπαρξη πολλών επιπέδων ανάμεσα στα οποία κινείται κάθε ομιλητής. Η διαπίστωση αυτή εγείρει δύο ενδιαφέροντα θεωρητικά ερωτήματα: πρώτο, ποια είναι τα γλωσσικά και/ή

κοινωνιογλωσσολογικά κριτήρια που επιτρέπουν τον θεωρητικά επαρκή ορισμό των διαφόρων επιπέδων μιας διαλέκτου και δεύτερο σε καταστάσεις κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας υπό εξέλιξη, όπως αυτή της Κύπρου, είναι θεμιτό να μιλάμε για διδιαλεκτικούς ομιλητές, και αν ναι, με βάση το κριτήριο της φυσικής κατάκτησης ή αυτό του βαθμού και της έκτασης της χρήσης των δύο ποικιλιών; Η εργασία αυτή αποτελεί μία πρώτη καταγραφή των θεωρητικών και μεθοδολογικών προβλημάτων που προκύπτουν από το πρώτο ερώτημα, αλλά και να δείξει ότι η απάντηση στο δεύτερο ερώτημα συναρτάται με αυτήν που δίνεται στο πρώτο.

Tracking Jespersen's Cycle

Paul Kiparsky and Cleo Condoravdi
Stanford University, and PARC and Stanford University

We describe four successive rounds of Jespersen's cycle in Greek and analyze the process as the iteration of a semantically driven chain shift. The contrast between plain and emphatic negation is an easily lost yet necessary part of language, hence subject to repeated renewal by morphosyntactic and/or lexical means.

1. Trajectories of negation

1.1 Structural invariance and lexical variation

Certain structural properties of negation in Greek have been stable over three millennia. All dialects at all stages distinguish two types of negation, EMPHATIC and PLAIN. Emphatic negation is always a bipartite structure (possibly discontinuous) that consists of a negative head plus an additional focused indefinite NP or adverb. But in their lexical form the negative expressions vary widely, especially their focused indefinite component. (1) illustrates this paradoxical combination of structural stability and constant lexical innovation. It displays the plain and emphatic versions of 'nothing', 'not any' of the modern Cretan dialect and three of its antecedent stages.

(1)

		PLAIN	EMPHATIC
(I)	Ancient Greek	οὖ...τι	οὖ-δε...ἑν
(II)	Early Medieval Greek	(οὐ)δεν...τι	δέν..τί-ποτε
(III)	Greek dialects	δέν..τίποτε	δεν...κάν τίποτε
		δεν...πρᾶμα	...
(IV)	Cretan	δεν...πρᾶμα	δεν...δροσά
			δεν ἀπαντοχή
			...

The negation system of other stages and dialects of the language is built the same way. What accounts for this ubiquitous pairing of negators? What causes the high rate of lexical replacement in this domain? And how can the two be reconciled? The answer to all these questions, which lies in the semantic grounding of the process known as JESPERSEN'S CYCLE. A first clue to the answer comes from the nature of the synchronic and diachronic relations between the two types of negation.

1.2 The typology of negative expressions

Emphatic negation always contains a focused indefinite expression which is drawn from a relatively small stock of items with a characteristic range of meanings. It is either a MINIMIZER (Horn 1989:452, Krifka 1995) or a GENERALIZER; each can be either nominal or adverbial.

A nominal minimizer denotes a negligible number, amount, or part of something, e.g. Classical Greek οὐ δε ἓν "not even one", Modern Greek dialectal (δέ...) δροσ(ι)ά "(not even) a dewdrop", γουλιά "a sip", τριχάρι "a hair", ρουθούνι "a nostril", κλωνί "a twig". It strengthens the force of the negation QUANTITATIVELY by making it stricter. In stating "I did not drink (even) a drop", "I did not find (so much as) a twig" a speaker extends the negation even to the most insignificant amounts, which on the ordinary lenient interpretation of a negation might be exempt from it. Correspondingly, an adverbial minimizer is a degree adverb meaning "not even to the smallest degree", e.g. *the slightest bit*. It likewise strengthens the force of negation quantitatively by making it stricter.

A nominal generalizer denotes a maximally general type or class, and strengthens the negation QUALITATIVELY, by extending its scope to include everything in that maximal sortal domain ("nothing of any kind", "nobody whatsoever", "not in a million years", "not ever"). Typical examples are Medieval Greek δέν ...τι-ποτε "nothing whatever" and Modern Greek dialectal δε ... πρᾶμα "not a thing". An adverbial generalizer is normally a manner adverb meaning "in any way whatsoever".

Quantitative and qualitative strengthening can even be combined, as in the Pontic/Cappadocian type *(Neg)* ...*ena še* 'not one thing', i.e. 'not even one item [the least number — quantitative strengthening] of any sort whatsoever [quantitative strengthening]'.

A nominal minimizer can be extended to a wider sortal domain; at the maximal extension it can become a degree adverb. The semantic development is "minimal piece" > "minimal quantity" > "minimal degree". This development has made adverbs out of English *a bit* and their Greek counterparts such as κλωνὶ 'twig' and ψίχαλο 'crumb'.

(2)   Nominal minimizer generalized
    a. δεν ἔχουμε κλωνὶ νερό
        not have   a twig water
        'we don't have a drop of water'   (literally, 'a twig of water')
                                                                    (Kea, Salvanos 1918)

    b. δεν ἔχουμε κλωνὶ (ψωμί)
        not have   a twig bread
        'we don't have a crumb of bread'   (literally, 'a twig of bread')
                                                                    (Kerkya, *ibid.*)

(3)   Final stage: nominal minimizer turned into degree adverb

    a. δὲν κοιμᾶται κλωνί
        not sleeps   twig
        'he doesn't sleep a wink'   (literally, 'a twig') (Kerkyra, *ibid.*)

    b. δε πονώ ψίχαλο
        not hurt   crumb
        'I don't feel pain at all'   (literally, 'a crumb')
                                                    (Macedonia, Hatzidakis 1917)

While emphatic negation may be synchronically formed by the addition of an
ποτέ expression such as κάν 'even' or 'ever' to an indefinite construed with
plain negation, the converse relation does not occur: plain negation is never built
from emphatic negation by the addition of some de-emphasizing element. In this
precise sense, plain negation is formally UNMARKED and emphatic negation is
formally MARKED.

    Diachronically, on the other hand, plain negation is usually derived
from emphatic negation. Inspection of nothing shows that each plain negation in
this particular trajectory is etymologically identical with the emphatic negation
of the preceding stage. Indeed, every plain negation of Greek was once an
emphatic negation, at least in so far as its origin can be determined.[1]

    The generalizations just formulated — that emphatic negation is
formed compositionally with a minimizer or generalizer, and never conversely,
and that plain negation is diachronically derived from emphatic negation — hold
widely for other languages as well. There are numerous examples of emphatic
negations changing "by themselves" into plain negations. Whenever we can
trace the origin of plain negations in Indo-European, they turn out to be
etymologically identical to earlier emphatic ones. This is true of English *not*, *no*,
and *nothing*, French *ne* and *non*, Latin *nōn* and *nihil*. The generalization holds
not only for clausal negation, but for independent negation as well. *Yes* and *no*

were originally reserved for emphatic assertion and denial, and supplanted their plain counterparts *yea* and *nay* in Middle English. Instances of plain negations conversely developing emphatic meanings do not seem to be attested.

1.3 The cycle

Observation of such patterns of change in Germanic and Romance negation led Jespersen (1917) to posit a historical process of repeated weakening and reinforcement now known as JESPERSEN'S CYCLE, which he summarized as follows:
...the original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in the course of time be subject to the same development as the original word. (Jespersen 1917:4)

For Jespersen, then, the weakening of the negation is a matter of phonetic reduction, and its strengthening by additional words is motivated partly by the need to maintain the distinction between negation and affirmation, and partly to make the negation more vivid. He suggests that negation tends to be weakly stressed "because some other word in the same sentence receives the strong stress of contrast" and as a result becomes a clitic. The contrast between affirmative and negative sentences being notionally important, when the phonetic attrition of negation causes it to be felt as insufficient, it is reinforced by an added word in order to restore the threatened contrast. Such reinforcement also serves "to increase the phonetic bulk" of the negative (p. 14), and "to make the negative more impressive as being more vivid or picturesque, generally through an exaggeration, as when substantives meaning something very small are used as subjuncts" (p. 15).

The role of phonetic weakening in this hypothetical scenario, however plausible it might seem, is not backed up any data as far as we know. Our analysis of Greek turned up no support for Jespersen's assumption that phonological weakening triggers the strengthening of negation. There are also some general reasons to doubt it. For one thing, phonetic weakening is too general a phenomenon to explain the specific properties of this unusual pattern of change. It is a ubiquitous sound change, but it rarely trigger morphosyntactic change directly, let alone cyclic trajectories, which (as Jespersen 1917:4 himself noted) are specially characteristic of negation. And one would like more convincing parallels of phonological weakening processes directly triggering syntactic reanalysis. In attested changes of negative expressions, the causation usually goes in the other direction: phonological reduction of plain negatives may be morphosyntactically conditioned, and, in particular, contingent on their semantic weakening. Negations are commonly observed to split on the basis of

differences in function. In English, the clausal negative head *not* and the argument *naught* are etymologically the same, and have diverged according to their morphophonological function, no doubt as a result of associated differences in stress. The same goes for French *ne* 'not' and *non* 'no', both from *nōn* (< *ne ūnum*). A similar case from Greek is the phonological split of οὐδέν into δέ(n) 'not' and uδέ 'no' (= SG ὄχι) in Bova (Calabria) (Taibbi & Caracausi 478). Bova also provides an illustration of a phonological reduction of a negative polarity item in its modifier function, leading to a split between κανένα, Fem. καμμία 'someone, anyone' versus κάνα, Fem. Καμμά 'some, any' (Rohlfs 1949:122).

Therefore we will assume that the reinforcement of negation by a postverbal indefinite (the "strengthening") is *not* a response to the phonetic weakening of the head. Instead, we will follow more recent analyses of Jespersen's cycle in seeking the driving force of the cycle in pragmatics and semantics.

Emphatic negation tends to increase in frequency due to pragmatically motivated overuse which is characteristic of *inherently bounded evaluative scales*. This rise in frequency at the expense of plain negation has an "inflationary" effect, well attested also in politeness systems, hypocoristics, pejoratives, and scalar adjectives of all kinds (Dahl 2001).[2] Uncontroversially, an obligatory element cannot be emphatic, for to emphasizing everything is to emphasize nothing. Therefore, when emphatic negation rises in frequency to the point where it approaches obligatoriness, it necessarily weakens to regular negation.

The virtue of this account is that it explains the observed directionality of change, for it allows no mechanism by which plain negations could mutate into emphatic negations through normal usage. However, it is still insufficient, for the typological observations of the preceding section imply that some of the changes must be interconnected: they must constitute a CHAIN SHIFT. This is indeed how Jespersen depicts the cycle. He imagines it happening in two phases. The first, which can constitute an iterable chain shift on its own, involves a weakening of the negation plus a compensatory strengthening by means of some added word. The second consists of a reanalysis of the strengthener as the primary exponent of negation (that is, as the negative head).

Let us therefore marry the Jespersenian chain shift idea to the pragmatic/semantic mechanism proposed by Dahl and others. We end up with the following view of its nature and motivation. The contrast that the chain shift maintains is not that between affirmation and negation, as Jespersen assumes, but *the contrast between plain and emphatic negation*. And the weakening that undermines the contrast is not phonetic weakening of plain negation, but *semantic weakening of emphatic negation*.

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The idea that the first phase of the cycle is a chain shift involving plain and emphatic negation provides the beginning of an answer to the diachronic part of our puzzle. If weakening and strengthening always go hand in hand, then it follows that the contrast between plain and emphatic negation will be maintained at each stage of the language.

In the next section we examine the mechanism behind the change more closely, and address the question how, unlike more familiar chain shifts mechanisms, it generates a circular trajectory. Our answer is based on an analysis of the pragmatics and semantics of emphatic negation, outlined here informally and to be elaborated in another paper.

1.4 An interpretation of Jespersen's cycle

To model a chain shift we need at least two things: a principle that requires the maintenance of some contrast, and a process that disrupts the contrast by causing one of the elements to lose its distinctiveness. The requirement that the contrast be maintained entails that any neutralization in the relevant domain will be accompanied by some other change that preserves the contrast, or immediately followed by some other change that restores it. Such a sequence of changes constitutes a chain shift.

Chain shifts are usually invoked in phonology, where their status is largely unquestioned (but in reality quite problematic, Gordon 2002). But if chain shifts exist at all, then on general grounds it ought to be possible to make a stronger case for them in morphosyntax, especially in core morphosyntactic categories such as negation. The reason is that many such categories are universal, and their formal expression is highly constrained by principles of grammar. When such a category is lost, it *must* be regenerated, and there are a limited number of possible ways in which it *can* be regenerated.

Another way to put this point is as follows. The principle of contrast maintenance can either require that a particular grammatical or lexical distinction be preserved, or that a particular phonological or grammatical device (say, a given phonemic or featural opposition) should bear some functional load. The changes driven by these two types of contrast maintenence are known as "push-chains" and "drag-chains", respectively. Jespersen's cycle (at least as we understand it) is both, since the contrast it maintains is both functionally determined and highly constrained in its formal expression.

We have seen that emphatic negations are built morphosyntactically from plain negations, and weaken back to plain negations. This implies two processes.

(4)   a. *Morphological/syntactic strengthening*: A plain negation is emphasized with a focused indefinite.

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b. *Semantic weakening*: The emphatic negation becomes noncompositional, loses its "even" meaning, and becomes a plain negative polarity item.

These processes interact to generate the complex of changes known as Jespersen's cycle.

Strengthening and weakening are functionally antagonistic, in that one adds an expressive resource to the language, while the other eliminates it. Therefore their etiology necessarily differs, and they are also formally quite distinct. Yet, as we shall see, both are grounded in the normal use of scalar evaluative expressions.

Our proposal partly returns to the traditional view that the cycle is driven by the expressive use of language. In contrast to traditional phonology-driven accounts and recent syntax-centered accounts, we treat the cycle as fundamentally a process of semantic change, to be sure with phonological and syntactic consequences.

The Greek data provide an immediate empirical reason for pursuing this approach. The evolution of negation from medieval Greek to the modern dialects involves several rounds of the cycle *with no accompanying syntactic change whatsoever*, and for that matter with no relevant phonological change either. What does characterize all the changes, however, is an invariant pattern of semantic shifts.

This is of course not to say that the cycle never has syntactic repercussions. The weakening phase of the semantic shift can actually be associated with two kinds of syntactic reanalysis. The focused indefinite, once it becomes a negative polarity item, can become a negation head of its own — the familiar case — or undergo another development which is described here for the first time: it can become a noun or indefinite pronoun acceptable in positive contexts. This happened in four separate Greek dialects (section 3.2). So the syntactic aspect of Jespersen's cycle is quite complex.[3]

Also, the weakening may, but need not, lead to phonological reduction of one or both of its parts, as a result of which it can eventually become monomorphemic again.

In addition to the inflationary mechanism invoked above, the causal explanation of Jespersen's cycle requires a second assumption, which concerns negation systems, and is also independently motivated. This is that any language has the resources to express both both plain and emphatic negation. This is certainly true for Greek: as already noted, all dialects at all times distinguish formally between the two types of negation. Analyses that postulate emphatic negation only for intermediate stages in the trajectory reduce this to a mere accident. As far as they are concerned, the language may or may not have emphatic negation in its repertoire before the change is initiated, and again after it is completed. If a strengthener must always available, then it follows

necessarily that weakening and strengthening must go hand in hand. As soon as a negation is lost, it is renewed by another round of strengthening.

Why might languages "need" both plain and emphatic negation? Probably to serve the very same rhetorical functions that cause it to be overused. At least three main functions of emphatic negation can be identified. The first function of emphatic negation is to mark contradiction of a (possibly implicit) assertion.

(5)   A: Obviously he ate the porridge.
        B: No, he didn't eat the porridge *at all*.

A second function of emphatic negation is to deny a presumption or an expectation.

(6)   A: What did it cost you?
        B: I didn't cost me *a thing*.

Hence it can also convey an implicit expectation; for example, (6) could be used in a context where the cost of the item has not come up in order to convey the idea that the item could have cost something.

Third, emphatic negation strengthens the negative assertion by lifting contextual restrictions on it. A clear instance of this function of emphatic negation is aspectual disambiguation, and specifically distinguishing telic and atelic readings of predicates. For example, porra is ambiguous between a telic reading and an atelic reading

(7)   I haven't eaten the porridge.

• Telic reading: 'I haven't eaten any of the porridge.'

• Atelic reading: 'I haven't eaten all the porridge.'

['...though I might have eaten some of it.']

Adverbial emphatic negation disambiguates the sentence in favor of the telic reading.

(8)   I haven't eaten the porridge at all.

We assume that these functions are so basic that any language must have the means to express them.

Supposing that a language must have some means of distinguishing plain and emphatic negation, and that emphatic negative elements may become weakened through normal usage, it follows directly that negation must be

subject to the characteristic cyclic course of change that Meillet and Jespersen identified.

We are now in a position to solve another puzzle. Jespersen's cycle counts as a classic instance of grammaticalization. Grammaticalization is considered to be UNIDIRECTIONAL grammatical change (whether trivially by definition, or in a consequence of some deeper principles, Kiparsky MS). How, then, can a CYCLIC trajectory of change be an instance of grammaticalization?

Given what we have said, one answer might be that only one phase of the cycle, the weakening phase, instantiates grammaticalization. It consists of the "bleaching" of an emphatic negative into a plain negative, with loss of compositionality, and typically with phonological reduction as well. In the strengthening phase, the lost expressive resource is formally renewed. But (in terms of the traditional typology of change) this is not grammaticalization but ordinary analogical change. A new emphatic negative is built compositionally in accord with the language's morphological and syntactic rules. *The iteration of reductive grammaticalization and constructive analogy yields a cyclic trajectory.*

Self-evidently, *all* so-called 'unidirectional' changes must be part of such cyclic trajectories, though possibly of extremely long duration. For, if the inputs of unidirectional change were not renewable, they would no longer exist anywhere, because the change would have taken its course everywhere. Moreover, because of the uniformitarian principle it would be puzzling how they ever could have arisen in any language at any stage.

2. Jespersen's cycle in Greek

2.1 Descriptive summary of the trajectories

The documented history of Greek has three completed rounds of the cycle, plus a fourth which is underway in a number of dialects. All consist of a mutually linked semantic strengthening and weakening process; the weakening phase of cycle I is also associated with a syntactic argument-to-head reanalysis. The diachrony of the negation systems in (1) is shown in (9). The first column of arrows in the chart represent the morphosyntactic strengthening by the addition of a focused indefinite, and the second column of arrows represent the corresponding "inflationary" weakenings of the negation's force. Keep in mind that the weakenings are purely diachronic reanalyses, whereas the strengthenings, in addition to being diachronic innovations, form a synchronic opposition between emphatic negation and plain negation in the grammar.

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(9)　　plain　　　　　　　　　strengthening　　　　　weakening

　(I)　οὔ ... τι-　　→　　οὐ δε ἐν　　→　　οὐδέν

　(II)　(οὐ)δέν ... τι-　→　　δέν ... τί-ποτε　→　　δέν ... τίποτε

　(III)　δέν ... τίποτε　→　　δέν ... πρᾶμα　→　　δέν ... πρᾶμα

　(IV)　δέν ... πρᾶμα　→

At stage I, the plain, non-emphatic negation οὔ(κ) strengthened to οὐ-δε (οὐδείς) 'not even one', and οὐδείς in turn lost its emphatic meaning and became a plain negative 'no-one'. The corresponding neuter οὐδέν came to serve as a clausal negation, at first emphatic ('not at all'), later simply meaning 'not', and becoming phonologically reduced to d'en (see Roberts and Roussou 2003:157-160 for an analysis of this change in the context of their approach to grammaticalization based on minimalist syntax). This cycle was completed by the early medieval period.

At stage II, the plain indefinite τι- is strengthened in negative contexts with ποτέ 'ever' in the neuter. In the masculine and feminine, its emphatic counterpart is καί ἄν ἕνας, και ἄν μία 'even one'. Viz. δέν ... τί 'not anything, nothing' → οὐδέν ... τίποτε 'nothing at all', δέν ... τίς/τινάς 'not anybody, nobody' → καί ἄν ἕνας 'nobody at all'. The resulting τίποτε and κανένας are then in turn weakened to plain negative indefinites, in fact, to negative polarity items. This development was completed in the medieval period.[4]

As emphatic negatives are weakened, new ones are again formed to replace them (stage III). Depending on the dialect, this is done in one of two ways. The negation can be reinforced by the addition of a strengthener such as κάν 'even one', either bare or added to an indefinite (including τίποτε and κανένας):

(10) Stage III: Strengthening by κάν
　　　a. δέν ἔχω κάν　(ψωμί)
　　　　　not　have at all (bread)
　　　　　'I don't have any (bread) at all'　　　　　　　(Mani, Blanken 160)

　　　b. δέ　με　πονεῖ　κἄ
　　　　　not me hurts　at all

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'I don't feel pain at all'   (Mani, Georgacas 106)
c. κάγγανενας 'no-one at all, not a soul'   (Cappadocian, Danguitsis 1943)
d. κάγκανας (<κάν κανένας) 'no-one at all'
                                        (Macedonian, Kretschmer 273,   Höeg 201)
e. κάντίπουτας = 'τίποτα άπολύτως' (Naousa, Kontosopoulos 181)
f. καδίβουδα = 'τίποτα έντελῶς' (Samothraki, Kontosopoulos 188)

In Pontic, the renewal of emphasis is achieved just by *ínas* 'one'. The result is
an interesting reversal where *kanis*, etymologically 'even one', is used for plain
negation and the bare *ínas* 'one' is used for emphatic negation.

(11) a. kanis k^h érθen 'nobody came'
     b. *ínas* k^h érθen 'not even one person came'
                                        (emphatic negation, Drettas 281)

The second source of new emphatic negatives at stage III is strengthening by
lexical indefinites such as πρᾶμα 'a thing'.

(12) βρίσκει μιὰν κοπέλλα .... ποὺ δὲν ἤξερε πρᾶμα.
     finds   a   girl   who not knew thing
     'finds a girl who has no clue' (Thera, Kontosopoulos 166)

     In yet a fourth cycle, some of these emphatic indefinites lose their
emphatic character and become weak negative polarity items. The emphatic
negation is then renewed by other lexical items. In the Cretan dialect, πρᾶμα
'anything, something', which was introduced at stage III, becomes a weak
polarity item (capable of appearing in questions, see dewdrop), and is replaced
in its emphatic function by words such as δροσ(ι)ά 'dewdrop'. These examples
are from the copious inventory of minimizers from every stage and dialect of
Greek compiled by Andriotis 1940 (pp. 86-87).

(13) a. Ἐδώκασί σου   πρᾶμα; — Ἀπαντοχή!
        give-3Pl you-Dat thing   hope
        'Did they give you anything? Nothing!' ('Not a hope!')

     b. Ἔφαες   πρᾶμα; — Δροσά!
        eat-2Sg thing   dewdrop
        'Did you eat anything? Nothing!' ('Not a dewdrop!')

     c. Ἔχετε να φάμε   τίβοτες; — Δῶρος!
        'eat-2Pl to eat-1Pl anything   present!'

'Do you have anything for us to eat? Nothing!' ('Not even for free!')

3. Strengthening by κάν- 'even' and -ποτε 'ever'
3.1 Medieval Greek κανένας and τίποτε

In Medieval Greek, the inherited plain indefinite τίς, τινάς, originally 'someone', 'anyone', begins to be displaced in reference to humans by the new emphatic κανένας '(not) even one' (from και ἄν ἔνας). In modern Greek κανένας has taken over, but reflexes of τίς, τινάς survive dialectally. In this section we document a previously unnoticed intermediate stage of the trajectory in Late Medieval Greek texts. In the following section we examine the survivals of indefinite τίς in Calabrian Greek and the remarkable reflexes of καν- 'even'.

    At the stage of medieval Greek represented by such texts as *Makhairas*, the emphatic force of κανένας has been attenuated but not yet wholly lost. Its meaning '(not) even one' has acquired a partitive component and normally refers to some contextually salient group. The translation '(not) even one of them' (German 'keiner'), is usually appropriate (and indeed that is how Dawkins sometimes renders it). In virtue of this more specialized meaning it contrasts with the more nondescript τινάς '(not) anyone, no-one' (German 'niemand'). The examples in (14)-(15) illustrate the contrast.

(14) κανένας 'anyone (of some group)', '(nicht) einer/keiner'
    a. καί δὲν ἐγλύτωσε κανένας
       and not escaped   anyone
       'and not one of them escaped' (Makhairas 16.15, tr. Dawkins)
    b. να . . . μὲν ἐλεμονηθ-ῆς κανέναν
       that   not pity-2Sg   anyone
       'that you have mercy on no-one of them' (Makhairas 16.1)
    c. καὶ ἀνίσως . . . αφήσῃς ζωντανόν κανέναν
       and if   leave   alive   anyone
       'and if you leave any one of them alive' (Makhairas 16.5)
    d. οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐσίγησαν· κανείς λόγον οὐ δίδει
       the lords   fell-silent no-one speech not give
       'the lords fell silent; no-one utters a word.' (Belisarios 153)

(15) τινάς '(not) anyone', '(nicht) jemand / niemand'

    a. δεν ἀφῆκεν τινάν να πάγῃ εἰς τὸν σουλτάνον
       not allowed anyone to go to the sultan
       'would allow no one to go to the sultan' (Makhairas 126.4)

b. τὸ κοῦρσος δὲν εἶναι τινὸς διάφορος παρὰ τοῦ φουσάτου
   the pillaging not is to anyone advantageous except to the army
   'pillaging is of advantage to no one except to the army' (160.36)

c. μηδὲν ἔχη τινὰς φωτίαν
   that-not have anyone torch
   'that no one should have a torch' (362.11)

d. καὶ δὲν ἐγλύτωσεν τινὰς
   and not escaped anyone
   'and no one at all escaped' (546.4)

e. νὰ μὴ το βαρεθῆ τινὰς, ἀμμὴ ὁλωνῶν ν' ἀρέση
   so-that not it is-bored-with anyone but to-all pleases
   'so that no-one gets bored with it but everyone likes it' (Threnos 11)

f. δὲν πρέπει ἄνθρωπος τινας να σε κατηγορήσει
   not should person any to you accuse
   'No person should accuse you' (Threnos 165)

g. τινὰς ἀγάπην μετ' αὐτόν μὴ βουληθῆ ποιήση
   anyone love with him not want do
   'so that no-one would make peace with him' (Threnos 459)

h. καὶ να κρατοῦν τὸ δίκαιον , τινάς μὴ ἀδικήται
   and keep-3Pl the just no-one not is-done-injustice-to
   'and they should keep justice so that no-one gets unfairly treated'
                                        (Belisarios 384)

Similar semantic contrasts can be found in the indefinites of other languages, e.g. German *niemand* and *kein, keiner*. These are nominal and adjectival, respectively, and the partitive reading of the adjectival kein, keiner is presumably due to an implicit complement that denotes the group. It is likely that a similar syntactic distinction is responsible for the difference in meaning between τινάς and κανένας.

The contrast applies also to interrogatives such as English *which (of them)* vs. *who*, or German welcher versus wer, and to regular indefinites, where it seems to correspond to the well-known the contrast between 'specific' and 'nonspecific' indefinites. It is therefore interesting that Medieval Greek expressed the contrast formally in all three of these pronoun series, that the distinction was lost in all of them in Modern Greek, and that in each case it was the more specific indefinite that took over.

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(16)   The intermediate LMG system

Indefinite	Interrogative	article
κανένας 'anyone (of a group)' τινάς 'anyone (at all)"	Ποιός 'which' τὶς 'who'	ἕνας (specific) Ø (non specific)

In Modern Greek, the originally specific indefinites κανένας, ποιός, and (in most uses) ἕνας have displaced the indifferently specific or nonspecific τινάς, interrogative τὶς, and the null indefinite article.

3.2 The liberation of κανένας: from 'nothing' to 'something'

In the familiar scenario, when negative polarity items lose the requirement that they must be in the scope of negation, they become negators in their own right. This is the path by which, for example, French *personne* changed from 'a person' to 'no-one'. Greek also offers a few cases of this type, which we discuss in section (3.4) below.

More interestingly, however, the "liberation" of negative polarity items can have another outcome, which to our knowlege has not been described before: they can turn into regular indefinites or nouns. This has happened in four widely separated peripheral dialects of Greek. In Cappadocian, κανένας functions simply as a noun meaning 'person', the reverse of the development undergone by πρᾶμα.

(17) α. ἰτό πατιδάχ σάλσε   δ' ἀσκέρια τ, να ἤβρουν δεκεινό δο κανείς
         this king   sent-3Sg the soldiers his to find-3Pl that   the person
         'The king sent his soldiers to find that man.' (Ulagatsh, Dawkins 384)

      b. ἦρτε ἕνα κανείς
         came one person
         'there came a person' (Ulagatsh, Dawkins 366:2)

      c. ἦτον ἄλλ' να κάνεις
         was other one person
         'there was someone else' (Ulagatsh, Kesisoglu 1951, cited from
                                   Athanasiadis 1976:164)

      d. ἐτά κανείς
         that person

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'αὐτός ὁ ἄνθρωπος' (Axos, Mavroxalividis & Kesisoglu 94)

e. πολὺ ὀρτο κανείζ 'ναι
   very sincere person is
   'πολὺ εἰλικρινὴς ἄνθρωπος εἶναι' (Axos, M&K 114)

In at least some of these Cappadocian dialects, it continues to occur under negation as well.

(18)   τ' ὄργο μ' 'ς κανείνα δέν δό χαιρινίϭκω
          the work mine to no-one not it entrust
          'I entrust my work to no-one.' (Axos, M&K 182)

     In Ukraine and Calabria, κανένας is a non-polarity indefinite, either 'someone', or more particularly 'someone specific (but not necessarily known)', 'a particular person'. In view of the specific reading of κανένας in Medieval Greek documented in the preceding section, it is tempting to see it as an archaism preserved on the margins of the Greek-speaking territory, rather than an innovation which just happened to take place four separate times.
     In the Tauro-Romeic dialect of Mariupol (Ukraine), *kanís* is apparently both a specific indefinite in affirmative contexts, and a weak polarity items under negation. At any rate, Sergievskij (1934: 562) glosses *kanís* as (a) Russian 'КТО-ТО' 'someone (specific but not necessarily known)', as opposed to 'КТО-НИБУЬ' and (b) 'НеКТО' '(not) anyone' in the scope of overt or implied negation, and cites the examples:

(18) a. *kanís írtin* 'someone has come' ('КТО-ТО ПРИШЁЛ')
     b. *δen fénit bδina-pa kanís* 'there doesn't seem to be anyone around anywhere' ('ИВДГДЕ НИКОГО НЕ ВИДНО')

     The uses of κανένας in Calabrian, judging from the examples cited below, are also compatible with the meaning 'someone specific (but not necessarily known)'.

(20) α. *kanéna mu ipe* 'someone told me'
     b. *írte kammía* 'some one (fem.) came'
     c. *jiréguo kanèna* 'I'm looking for someone' (Rohlfs 1949:122)

     In Cretan, κανένας may be a simple positive indefinite (Pitikakis s.a.).
(21) a. Κιανένας περαστικός δά πέρασε κι ἤκοψε τά πορτοκάλια
        some   passerby here passed-by and cut   the oranges

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'Some passerby must have passed by and cut the oranges.'(Cretan, Pitikakis)

b. ὁ βασιλιάς κατάλαβε ὅτι ὑπάρχει κανείς γέρων
   the king   understood that exists   some old-man
'The king understood that there was some old man.' (ibid. 412)

c. ἐάν δὲ μοῦ εἴπετε ποιος ἔχει χωσμένον κανένα γέροντα
   if not me tell-2Pl who has hidden   some   old-man
'if you don't tell who (among you) has some old man in hiding' (ibid. 412)

Let us mention in this connection that Cretan also has positive πρᾶμα 'something' (Pagkalos 1983, 420-1).

(22) Και τρῶνε πρᾶμα
     and eat-3Pl something
     'and they eat something'

It is hard to say whether positive κανένας in these dialects derives from the medieval specific indefinite κανένας discussed in the preceding section, or developed from the ordinary modern negative polarity stage. In a language with negative concord such as Greek, the distinction between indefinites of the 'some' type and indefinites of the 'no/any'-type is neutralized in the scope of negation. So a 'no/any' indefinite that passes through a negative polarity phase could change to a 'some' indefinite.

3.3 Continuation of τίς, τινάς 'someone'

The conservative Italiot dialect of Bova in Calabria has tíspo (< τίσποτε) '(not) anybody', 'nobody'. Even a reflex of the bare unsuffixed pronoun is preserved in the Accusative tinó (Rohlfs 1949:123).

(23) dópu ti egó e xxoró tinó odóssu
     since that I not see anyone inside
     'since I don't see anyone inside' (Taibbi & Caracausi 411)

In Bova, tíspo alternates with kanéna, as seen in these two parallel versions of a proverbial saying:

(24) a. me   pórta će poránda mi   vali kanéna ta δástila
        between door and jamb not-should put anyone the fingers
        'nobody should stick his fingers between door and jamb' (T&C 374)
        ['Tra imposta e stipite non metta alcuno le dita.']

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b. me	pórta će	poránda, tíspo	mi	vali	ta	δástila
between door and jamb	anyone not-should put	the	fingers-his
'nobody should stick his fingers between door and jamb' (T&C 374)
['Tra imposta e stipite non metta nessuno le proprie dita.']

However, there is a syntactic difference between them. In the texts, *kanéna* occurs only under negation, whereas *tíspo* is often found as an independent negation.[5] Thus, the syntax of *tíspo* in Bova differs markedly from that of other negations elsewhere in modern Greek. It is, in fact, essentially that of Classical Greek. When tspo precedes the finite verb, no other negation is required:

(25) a. tíspo	pái sto	Parádiso me	tin garróttsa
no-one goes to the Paradise with the carriage
'nobody enters Paradise in a carriage' (Taibbi & Caracausi 1959:384)

b. ma tíspo efáni	na mu ta	ttsiporéi dyamerísi
but no-one appeared to me them knew	interpret
'but there was nobody who knew how to interpret them to me' (T&C 444)

c. Esú tísp'	áḍḍo ka	emména gapái
You no-one other than me	love
'You don't love anyone else than me' (T&C 345)

When it follows, the finite verb requires an additional overt negation such as *e(n)*.

(26)	a. e	sse	passéǧǧi tíspo
not you-Acc surpass	anyone
'and nobody will overcome you' (T&C 1959:406)

b. ton ǧeró	en do xxorí tíspo
the weather not it sees	anyone
'no-one sees the weather' (T&C 385)

c. séntsa na ton ívvri tíspo
without that him found anyone
'without anybody finding him' (T&C 410)

The rule seems to be that a negative argument that follows a negative head 'reinforces' it (negative concord), while a negative argument that follows a

negative argument is independent. The pattern in (25)-(26) is familiar from Classical Greek:

(27) a. οὐκ εἶδεν οὐδείς 'no-one knows' (Aesch. Ag. 632)
      b. οὐδείς οὐκ εἶδε 'no-one doesn't know, everyone knows'
      c. οὐδείς εἶδε 'no-one knows'

Could this peripheral dialect have preserved a feature of Classical Greek? More likely the syntax of *tíspo* is simply calqued on that of Italian *nessuno*.

(28) a. nessuno mi piace 'I don't like anyone'
      b. nessuno non mi piace 'I like everyone'
      c. non amo nessuno 'I don't love anyone' (*amo nessuno).

Although the Italian editors don't make this point explicit, they surely noticed it because they regularly translate kanéna with alcuno and *tíspo* with nessuno (as in 24 above). These Italian counerparts form a similar syntactic pair: *Chi hai visto*? 'Who have you seen?' *Nessuno/*Alcuno*. 'Nobody'.

3.4 κά(ν) as a new strengthener, and as a head

In Mani, Macedonia, and Thrace, κά(ν) (< καί ἄν) 'even', 'at least' serves as a general strengthener (Blanken 160, Georgacas 106, Andriotis 88).

(29) a. δὲν ἔχω (ψωμί)
         not have bread
         'I don't have any (bread)' (Blanken 160)

      b. δὲν ἔχω κά(ν) (ψωμί)
         not have at all (bread)
         'I don't have any (bread) at all' (Blanken 160, Georgacas 106)

      c. δὲ με πονεῖ κά
         not me hurts at all
         'I don't feel pain at all' (Georgakas 106)

      d. δὲν τόν ἀφήκασι νὰ πάρει τὸν ἀνασασμό του κά
         not him let to take-3Pl the breath his at all
         'they didn't even give him a chance to catch his breath'
                                          (Mani, Kontosopoulos 173)

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e. κἄνε γνώση   δὲν ἔχει
at all understanding not has
'he has no brains at all' (Selybria, Andriotis 88)

Related emphatic indefinite NPIs include N. W. Peloponnese κιᾶς (Kalavrita etc., Georgacas 107), and the Southern island type (σ)κιᾶ(ς) (Crete and Karpathos, Georgacas 106-7, Kontosopoulos 32).[6]
Northern Greek κά(ν) is itself in turn combined with other indefinites to form compound emphatic negative polarity items.

(30)   a. κάντίπουτας = 't'ipota >apol'utwc' (Naousa, Kontosopoulos 181)
       b. κadíbouda = 't'ipota >entelc' (Samothraki, Kontosopoulos 188)
       c. κανέμου 'toul'aqiston' (Alonistaina, Kontosopoulos 172)
       d. κάγγανενας 'personne!, pas une βme' (Demirdesi, Danguitsis 1943)
       e. κάγκανας < και αν κάνας (Macedonian, from k'anac < ka'enac < kan'enac, Kretschmer 273, Ηφεg 201)
       f. κανιῶ 'nothing' (Aenos, Thrace, Andriotis 88)

This cycle has gone to completion in the Corsican Maniot of Cargèse. Here κά has become a particle which normally accompanies δέ(ν), without emphasis ("sans qu'il subsiste la moindre idιe d'un renforcement de la négation", Blanken 159-161). In short sentences, such as (a), it is nearly obligatory for most speakers; the emphatic negation is καθόλου as in (b). (Examples from Blanken 159).

(31)   a. δὲν ἔχω   κά
          not have-1Sg κά
          'I don't have any' (je n'en ai pas')

       b. ἔχω   καθόλου ἔαιρό
          not have-1Sg at all time
          'I have no time at all' (emphatic)

       c. ἡ γλῶσσα δὲν ἐχάνετου κὰ
          'the language not get-lost κὰ
          'la langue ne serait pas perdue'

       d. δὲ gάν'ει   κά πολ'υ κρύο
          not make-3Sg κά very cold
          'il ne fait pas très froid'

       e. δὲν εἶναι κὰ κακός ἄθρωπος

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not is-3Sg κὰ bad   person
'ce n'est pas un mauvais type'

f. κά χρεία 'pas besoin'

g. ξέρω λιγάϊ, μὰ κὰ πολ'ύ 'j'en sais un petit peu, mais pas beaucoup'

In the place of κὰ this dialect also uses ἄρα 'τίποτα' 'nothing' (from ἄραγε?).

(32)   a. δέν ἔχω   ἄρα
        not have-1Sg anything
        'I don't have anything' (Blanken 109)
        b. Η γυναίκα όπου δεν έθει άρα   να κάνη παέι στο   περίπατο
        the woman who not has anything to do   goes to the walk
        'A woman who has nothing else to do goes for a stroll'
                    (Academy of Athens field notes, cited from Nicholas 534)

The Cargèse use of κά may be a French calque. But Blanken 160 notes that the same use has developed independently for the cognate *maká* in Otranto Greek, which has been subject only to Italian influence:[7]

(33) e plónno maká
    not sleep maká
    'I'm not sleeping' ('je ne dors pas')

A parallel would be the dialect of Thasos off the coast of Thrace, where κά(ν) can function as a one-word emphatic negation 'not at all, not in the least' (Panagiotis Pappas, *voce*).

4. Lexical renewal of emphatic negation
4.1 Replacement of τίπος, τίποτε

The replacement of τίποτε and its cognates by other lexical items is a characteristic of Eastern Greek. Τίπο(ς) survives in Farasa, Amisos, and in the Pontic dialects of Of and Sourmena (Oikonomidis 252, Athanasiadis 167).

(34)a. τίπος τζό ποίκα σε 'I didn't do anything to you' (Farasa)
b. δουλ εες 'κε θέ να ποίσης τίπος 'You are not going to do any of the chores' (Amisos)
c. ἡ κατά τίπο 'κί ἐξέρ' 'the cat knows nothing' (Surmena)

Elsewhere in Eastern Greek it is ousted by a variery of other expressions. Pontic dialects have δεν, τιδέν 'anything' (Nikopolis κεᾰκι, Papadopoulos 121) instead of τίποτε as an "anaphore vidée" (Drettas).

(35) a. ἐγώ δὲν   ἄλλο 'κὶ ψαλαφῶ σε
       nothing else not request you (Argyroupolis, Balabanis 1937:102)
     b. Ἐγνέφ'σεν ὁ ράφτες καὶ ὄντες τερεῖ νὲ   χαλίν νὲ δὲν   ἄλλο
        waved   the tailor and then sees neither carpet nor nothing other
        'The tailor waved and at that point sees neither carpet nor anything else'
                                  (Divan Kerasounda, Balabanis 1937:108)

Other lexical strengtheners include (36) *ksáj* 'at all', (37) *xič*, *xits* 'nothing', 'at all', 'zilch', 'never' (< Turkish *hič* < Persian *heč*), (38) *dip*, *jip* 'totally', and (39) *éna šé* (< Turkish *şey* < Arabic *šayʔ* '(any)thing'), *skrap* (Sarakatsan, Ηφεg 278), σκράου (Maced. Vlasti, Andriotis 89), and a host of minimizer-derived expressions such as ἕνα číj', ἕνα κοκκί, ἕνα νύj, ἕνα κουρτjά, ἕνα τζίγκρα, ἕνα κουτσούj', ἕνα κριζί, ἕνα σταλιά (Axos, Mavroxalividis & Kesisoglu 78).

(36)   a. *ksáj kʰ-enenkásta* 'I'm not tired at all'
        b. *parádas ksáj kʰ-exo* 'I have no money at all'
        c. *ksáj epíes sin-arδéan* 'have you ever been to Ardhea?'

(37) *xič, xits* 'nothing', 'at all', 'zilch', 'never' (< Turkish *hiç* < Persian *heč*)

      a. τρῖζ μέρες χίč χιζüρίς   ρέν γαλάjέγι
         three days zilch holy-man not says
         'for three days the holy man says nothing' (Silli, Dawkins 288)
      b. χῑč ρέ σκώ'νιτι
         at all not rises
         'he does not rise at all' (Silli, 300)
      c. χῑč   να φάγου ψωμί ρέν έχου, να φορώσου ρούχα ρέν έχου
         at all to eat   bread not I have, to wear   clothes not I have
         'I have not a piece of bread to eat, I have no clothes to wear'
                                                      (Silli, 290)
      d. σοy γόζμο χῑč δέν γέλανε
         in the world zilch not made-laugh
         'nothing in the world made her laugh'(Slata, 452)

      e. ἤδουνε ἀν gρύo, χίč πού 'δε jούδούνε
         was if cold never that not was-before

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'it was cold, such as never was'
(Dawkins 557, cf. Demirdesi, Danguitsis 1943:119)
f. χίč kʰ- eγrkà
zilch not-understands
'il ne comprend absolument pas' (Pontic, Drettas 402)

Although dp 'totally' is not a negative polarity item, it functions to strengthen negation in virtue of having wide scope over it.

(38)   a. *aftós ine díp ftoxós* 'totally poor'
        b. *díp filótimo den éxi epáno tu* 'completely lacks filotimo'
                        (Babiniotis 181, cf. Sarakatsan, Høeg 278)
        c. δίπ-τίπουτας (Kozani, Kontosopoulos 182)

As mentioned before, we analyze the type *éna sĕ* to be a combination of a minimizer and a generalizer:

(39)   a. ἕνα ŏε μέ λαλής
           one thing not say-2Sg
           'don't say a thing' (Ulagatsh, Dawkins 376)
        b. ἕνα ŏεj δέμ bόριζε   να boιк'
           one thing not could-3Sg to do
           'there was nothing he could do' (Axos, M&K 216)

5. Conclusion

Jespersen's cycle is due to the interleaving of two processes: the strengthening of negation by morphosyntactic means, and its loss of compositionality and weakening (grammaticalization, bleaching). Although they have functionally opposite results, they are not formal converses of each other. One is paradigmatic, the other syntagmatic. An emphatic negative always weakens by itself (it is "bleached"), never in virtue of being combined with some other element. On the other hand, negation is strengthened *only* by combining a simple negative with an indefinite. A simple negative, or a simple indefinite, never becomes an emphatic negative on its own.

Both the weakening and strengthening phases of the change are grounded in the rhetorical function of bounded scalar evaluative expressions. But they have different causes. The weakening of the expressive negation to an ordinary negation goes hand in hand with, and is caused by, increased frequency of use. Its end result is the loss of a necessary expressive resource in the language. The strengthening that renews it is a consequence of the need for this expressive resource in a language. Such alternation between weakening and strengthening

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processes is an instance of the larger dialectic of production and perception in the economy of language.

6. Notes

[1] That would include οὔ(κ), if the identification of -κι in Homeric οὔκι with the Indo-European indefinite -kʷi- is correct.

[2] As Dahl points out, not every frequent word (and not even every scalar predicate) is prone to undergo "bleaching", and not all "bleaching" is due to this kind of inflationary effect. We think that some types of semantic weakening are really automatic results of loss of lexical or morphological items in a semantic field (deblocking). For example, where did not acquire its new directional meaning through "bleaching" from frequent use, but simply because it automatically took over the meaning of *whither* when that word was lost.

[3] On the issue of unidirectionality in general, see Kiparsky MS.

[4] It may have been a two-stage process from a strong negative polarity item (an indefinite acceptable only in negative contexts) to a weak negative polarity item (acceptable in other licensing environments, such as antecedents of conditionals).

[5] Other than this syntactic property, *kanéna* and *tíspo* appear to be equivalent. At least we can detect no difference in meaning between them in the texts.

[6] Cretan (σ)κιᾰ is further strengthened to (σ)κιαοιλιάς, μιαουλιά (< κιᾰ γουλεά) '(not) even (one) sip' (Georgakas 109-110). Cypriot Greek has bare ἕν τζαὶ (< δὲν καὶ). Blanken 161 and Kontosopoulos 1994:24 gloss it as a neutral negation: > ἕν τζαὶ δίνει μου = δὲν μοῦ δίνει, > ἕν τζαὶ εἶδα τον = δὲν τὸν εἶδα. However, our Cretan friends tell us that it retains its status as an emphatic negation.

[7] Rohlfs (1930:845) terms μακά a "Füllwort der Negation."

7. References

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8. Περίληψη

Η παρούσα ανακοίνωση περιγράφει τέσσερα διαδοχικά στάδια του κύκλου του Jespersen στα Ελληνικά και αναλύει την διαδικασία ως επανάληψη μιας σημασιολογικά καθοδηγούμενης αλυσίδας αλλαγής. Η αντίθεση ανάμεσα στην απλή και την εμφατική άρνηση είναι ένα απαραίτητο κομμάτι του γλωσσικού συστήματος το οποίο όμως χάνεται με ευκολία. Ως εκ τούτου, υπόκειται σε ανανέωση μέσω μορφοσυντακτικών ή/και λεξικών στοιχείων.

A sociolinguistic study of evaluation criteria of Modern Greek dialects and regional accents

question. We insist on recording the socio-professional identity of each informant for the needs of the research. Due to these criteria, which we consider as "identity criteria", we recorded the sex, the age, the place of origin, the place of permanent residence, the level of education, and the profession.

The informants are distinguished into six age groups. These are:

a. from 15 to 20 years old
b. from 21 to 30 years old
c. from 31 to 40 years old
d. from 41 to 50 years old
e. from 51 to 60 years old
f. from 61 years old and above

As far as the level of education is concerned, we distinguished three levels:

a. Primary education (graduates of primary school)
b. Secondary education (graduates of gymnasium and lyceum)
c. Higher education (graduates of universities and technical colleges)

With reference to the profession, we had the following professional categories:

a. farmers, stockbreeders, fishermen
b. workers, craftsmen
c. private employees
d. public servants
e. merchants, businessmen
f. liberal professions
g. housewives
h. students
i. pensioners
j. unemployed

2.2. The sample of the research

The sample of the research is composed of 600 informants who come from six Greek cities. These cities are Thessaloniki, Serres, Drama, Kavala, Larissa and Volos. From each city we chose 100 informants. The choice of the informants

questions, constituting thus a common database for further statistical analysis, and helping in the comparison of questions[1]. The researcher records the answers and the questionnaire is not left to be filled in personally by the interviewee, which avoids interruption of the flow of the discussion and gives the researcher a better opportunity to use "verbal maneuvers" to achieve the best possible result. Furthermore, the interview takes place in the form of a discussion and is being recorded by the researcher with an obvious recording machine. While every attempt to maintain the naturalness of speakers' discourse (Samarin 1967:80), the interviewee is informed for ethical reasons, firstly, that their discussion is being recorded, and secondly, that the elements of the recording will be used only for research purposes.

The answers of the informers were analyzed using the statistic program SPSS 12, searching statistic tables that presented *statistic significance*. From the study of those tables we arrived at sociolonguistic results.

2.2. The aim of the questionnaire

This questionnaire that was worked out for informants does not aim at extracting particular linguistic opinions that in any case the informants do not have because they are not linguists. Instead we are interested in the informants as "observers" of information on the way in which they deal ideologically with the dialect systems of Modern Greek. The questions asked to the informants record, through their glosso-geography knowledge, the criteria with which the informants evaluate Modern Greek language systems. This in turn leads to the configuration of language attitudes.

2.3. Criteria for selection of informants

The research occurred in the first semester of 2004. The following qualitative and quantitative characteristics led to the selection of informants (Filias 1993 : 294):

a) *Sex*: We selected 96 individuals, 48 men and 48 women, which is a sample size that can be considered representative (Sankoff 1974:22).

b) *Place of origin*: The informants come from the regions of Thessalonica, Larissa, Athens and Patras. The informants that were selected are natives or have resided in their region for at least the past 5 years, a period that helps in their integration into the urban way of life and its variety of stimuli.   The regions that were selected constitute an imaginary line that covers the more important urban centers of continental Greece and represent a particularly vast number of Greeks. More specifically, Athens and Thessalonica were selected as *composite cities*, where dialects have disappeared or been replaced by the

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standard or a variety of the standard. On the contrary, Larissa and Patras were selected as *cities with a dialect core* that is supplied demographically by the also dialect speech suburban interior part (Tzitzilis 2000: 88, Papazahariou 2004:1).

   c) *Age*: The speakers were separated into two age groups. The first includes people from 20 to 40 years old, and the second, people from 40 years old and over. We believe that speakers under 20 years have not shaped an opinion of the Modern Greek language systems, so they were excluded.

   d) *Education level*: The informants constituting our sample are primary, secondary and tertiary education graduates. In choosing the sample, we attempted to correlate the education level of the informants with their social class (working, upper-middle and upper class respectively).

3. Criteria for evaluation of Modern Greek language systems

From the research that we conducted, we realized that the criteria with which informants evaluate the Modern Greek language systems have to do with the *aesthetics* of the language system (47,9%), with its *comprehension* by all Greeks (17,8%), with the *history* and the *tradition* with which it is connected (8,3%), with how *"brogue"* (strong) these language systems are (7,3%), with the *origin* of the informants themselves which influences the evaluation sentimentally (6,3%), with the *purism* of the language system from foreign loans (5,2%) and with the sentiment associated with the *contact* that they had with the language system (1,0%). A small percentage of the informants (4,2%) declare that they do not have any criteria with which to approach it. The *criterion of comprehension* of language systems by all Greeks constitutes the second more important criterion, after *the criterion of aesthetics*. It is expressed in different ways (comprehensible dialect, "heavy" dialect or accent, no "proper"/standard Greek language), but it is categorized in the criterion of divergence from the standard language (Modern Greek).

3.1. Results of research with statistical significance

Based on this research, we realized the significance only in the case of correlation of the informant's sex with the criteria for evaluation of Modern Greek dialects and regional accents. Indeed, in this case (table 1), we can see that of the informants who answered that their attitude towards a Modern Greek dialect or accent is influenced by the aesthetics of the language system, that is to say, how pleasant the dialects or accents sounds to them, women are in the majority (60,9%). In contrast, men (58,8%) outnumber women among informants who approach the language systems on the basis of how

comprehensible it is. Moreover, only the men reported other factors that can influence their attitudes towards the language systems, such as the "purism" of the dialect system, its divergence from the standard language, and the contact that they had with it. We observe, in other words, that the women are influenced more in their attitude by aesthetic factors, such as the aesthetics of the system, while the men present themselves as more practical and analytical in their approach. It is known from social practices that women are interested more than men in the expression of aesthetics in all forms of human activity. Similar attitudes were reported for women in previous research, where it appeared that the insular and, in general, not the continental systems, are considered by women to sound more pleasant and are evaluated more highly and more positively than the rest of the language systems of the Hellenic area (Kourdis, 2003:186).

	SEX		
CRITERIA	**Men**	**Women**	**Total**
Aesthetics of the dialects or regional accents	39,1% 18 37,5%	60,9% 28 58,3%	100,0% 46 47,9%
Comprehension of the dialects or regional accents	58,9% 10 20,8%	41,1% 7 16,7%	100,0% 17 17,8%
"Brogue" (strong) dialects or regional accents	57,1% 4 8,3%	42,9% 3 6,3%	100,0% 7 7,3%
Origin of the informant	50,0% 3 6,3%	50,0% 3 6,3%	100,0% 6 6,3%
Sentimental reasons		100,0% 1 2,1%	100,0% 1 1,0%
History, tradition	50,0% 4 8,3%	50,0% 4 8,3%	100,0% 8 8,3%
Language purism	100,0% 5 10,4%		100,0% 5 5,2%

			Total
Divergence from the Modern Greek	100,0% 1 2,1%		100,0% 1 1,0%
Contact with the dialects or regional accents	100,0% 1 2,1%		100,0% 1 1,0%
Do not Know	50,0% 2 4,2%	50,0% 2 4,2%	100,0% 4 4,2%
Total	50,0% 48 100,0%	50,0% 48 100,0%	100,0% 96 100,0%

Table 1: correlation of the informant's sex with the criteria for evaluation of Modern Greek language systems

3.2. Results of research without statistical significance

Apart from the results with statistical significance, some results without statistical significance should also be reported, as these have some importance since they record the tendency that exists in our statistical sample of informants. Thus, we observe that informants in the younger age group of 20-40 years are slightly more sensitive to the criterion of aesthetics of Modern Greek dialects and regional accents: pleasant sounding language system (52,2%), "brogue"(strong) language system (71,4%). On the other hand, the older age group, the group of 40 years old and over, are more favorable towards the criterion of origin (66,7%) and tradition (62,2%). More generally, we would say that the approach of the younger age group is more surface, more romantic, while the older age group is more sentimental and based on experience.

Approaching the criteria of evaluation by the education level of the informants, we can see that informants who have received primary education give more attention to the criterion of comprehension of Modern Greek language systems and their successful communication with the dialect speakers (47,0%) compared to the informants who have received secondary education (29,4%) and tertiary education (23,6%). It is also very interesting that special attention is paid to the criterion of history and tradition by informants of tertiary education (62,5%); even if we weighed the data for that, these informants would have for this criterion a more sentimental and scientific approach.

Also of interest is the geographical distribution of criteria for evaluating the Modern Greek dialects and regional accents. Thus, informants from Athens (32,6%) and Larissa (32,6%) outnumber others by far in the criterion of

aesthetics of Modern Greek varieties compared with those from Patras (19,6%) and Thessalonica (15,2%). That is to say, the criterion of aesthetics is least important at the two poles of the imaginary line that divides Greece and which supported the geographical choice of our sample, while it is more powerful in the center of the line. At the same time, the subject of comprehensibility and successful communication is slightly more important for Athens, which belongs to the composite cities, and Patras, which belongs to the cities with a dialect speech core. It is, however, these regions that are geographically more distant from the regions of Central and Northern Greece, Larissa and Thessalonica, where the northern group of dialects dominate. This, we believe, is the reason why for informants that focused on the criterion of purism, 60,0% is from Larissa, 20,0% from Thessalonica, 20,0% from Athens and none from Patras.

4. Remarks

When Giles (1970) asked English informants to approach and evaluate the dialect varieties in the English territory he took into consideration three dimensions: a) *the aesthetics* of the dialect, that is to say how pleasant or unpleasant informants find the language, b) *the social status* of the dialect, that is to say, how much social prestige attaches to the linguistic system, and c) *the communicative dimension*, that is to say, how comfortable informants feel when they come in contact with the variety (psychological criterion). Trudgill (1983:216), when researching the Cretan dialect and the Modern Greek (Athenian) with English informants, gave once again a triple dimension in the criteria of approach and evaluation of Greek language systems with the difference that he replaced the criterion of communicative dimension with the criterion of "refined" language system.

In the present research, we realize that our informants not only covered the previously mentioned criteria, but also pointed out others, namely the origin of the informants themselves, the history and the tradition with which the dialect or regional accent is interwoven, its purism, the personal contact that they have had with it and the divergence that they perceive from the standard language. Despite the variety, however, for almost half of the informants, the criterion of aesthetics constitutes the most important of all, with the women and youngest in age more positively oriented towards this criterion.   It should be marked, also, that the Greek informants, contrary to the English, reported this criterion exclusively in terms of pleasant sounding (melodious dialects). That is to say, the criterion of aesthetics of dialects is classified by its pleasant acoustics, while its unpleasant acoustics constitute a separate criterion and is reported as a "heavy" [2] dialect or regional accent.

It is also impressive that the informants do not refer to the criterion of

geographical region, that is to say, they do not evaluate the dialect systems with the basis of the regions where they are used[3]. Also, differences are not reported in the criterion for the written and oral forms, if, that is, the dialect systems have written tradition. Consequently, we cannot speak for a scientific or philological type of evaluation of Modern Greek dialects and regional accents, but more for their sentimental-experience and communication difficulty for modern Greeks. This last criterion is stressed particularly by the South Greek pole of our research (Athens, Patras), which implies that the characteristic of difficult reciprocal communication with the residents of Southern Greece is still charged to the Northern Greek dialects.

5. Notes

1. See Filias (1993:129). It is of course for places that are disputed by Briggs (1987).

2. For the "heavy accent", Samarin and Kalmar (1979:184) report three gradations in the accent: *strong, medium* and *light*. Other researchers, such as Urciuoli (1998:123-125) discuss *heavy coloration* (accent), and because this term has prevailed also the daily practice of Greek provinces (Plavdi 2001:624) it was also adopted in the present research. With the term heavy "accent" in the study we refer to the first gradation of Samarin and Kalmar.

3. On the contrary, the geographic determinations dominate in the question "what is proper Greek language" where the language of Athens is stressed particularly.

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7. Περίληψη

Η παρούσα έρευνα αποτελεί μια κοινωνιογλωσσολογική μελέτη των κριτηρίων με τα οποία οι σύγχρονοι Έλληνες προσεγγίζουν και αξιολογούν τις σύγχρονες νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους και τα ιδιώματα. Μέσα από μια επιλογή πληροφορητών με βάση γεωγραφικά και κοινωνιολογικά κριτήρια, γίνεται μια προσπάθεια καταγραφής της γλωσσικής τους συμπεριφοράς στοχεύοντας στην ερμηνεία των αξιολογικών τους στάσεων απέναντι στη γλωσσική ποικιλία.

Not only cherubs: lexicon of Hebrew and Aramaic origin in Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and Modern Greek dialects

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Julia G. Krivoruchko
University of Haifa

Until recently, the study of Hebrew and Aramaic borrowings into the Greek lexicon was limited to learned and ecclesiastical loans of earlier periods, while later evidence was ignored or misinterpreted. Little attention was given to the forms of Jewish-Greek coexistence and language contacts resulting from it. This paper argues that the lexical influence of Jewish languages and of Judeo-Greek in particular can be traced in numerous Greek dialects of modern period. A number of loans, usually credited to Turkish, has also entered SMG. The classification of Hebrew and Aramaic borrowings based on semantic criteria is proposed and examples of each category adduced.

Keywords: lexical borrowing, Greek dialects, Jewish languages.

An extensive description of the Hebrew and/or Aramaic (HA) loanwords is an ambitious task that cannot be ventured at the present stage of research. Our paper will (1) address the way these loanwords are presented in lexicological studies and major MG dictionaries, (2) suggest a theoretical framework for studying these loanwords and (3) adduce examples for the major groups of loanwords.

Almost every monograph on history or lexicography of the Greek language readily recognizes the lexical influx from Hebrew and Aramaic in the Hellenistic period. E.g., N. Andriotis wrote «Από την Αγία Γραφή εισάγονται λέξεις εβραϊκές, όπως αλληλούια, αμήν, βάιον, Βεελζεβούλ, γεέννα, Ιεχωβάς, μαμωνάς, μάννα, μεσσίας, Πάσχα, Σαβαώθ, Σάββατον, Σατανάς, Σεραφείμ, Χερουβείμ, ωσαννά, και ονόματα, καθώς Γαβριήλ, Ιάκωβος, Ιωάννης, Μάρθα, Μαρία, Ματθαίος, Μιχαήλ, Συμεών... και από σημιτικές γλώσσες ο αββάς, η νάρδος κ.ά.» (1995: 55). It is clear from the above passage that Hebraisms are seen as a kind of terminology resultant from a learned loaning process: lexemes are acquired from books and not from actual speakers. Note also that N. Andriotis is cautious, defining the source of αββάς through a vague "Semitic languages", rather than through the more specific "Aramaic".

The European tradition of Greek linguistics holds much similar views: «Ο Ιουδαϊσμός και ο Χριστιανισμός εισήγαγαν λέξεις σημιτικές, αραμαϊκές ή εβραϊκές, προσαρμόζοντάς τες στην Ελληνική: Σάββατον, σατανάς, Πάσχα, Μεσσίας» (Tonnet 1995: 52). Here loanwords are perceived as expressions of religious influence in general, rather than terms from a particular book, and there

is an allusion to the process of adaptation. Still, the loaning process is detached from its participants, i.e. Greek-speaking Jews, proselytes, Judaizing sects, etc.

M. Triandaphyllidis in his classic monograph on the loanwords of the medieval period, adduced the already mentioned *Πάσχα, σατανάς* and *αββάς* (the latter as Syriac) (1909: 147), a number of derivatives from previously assimilated proper names, such as *ιωσηφιακός, λαζαρώνω, μανοηλάτον* (ibid.: 149) and a single new Hebrew loan *μάζα < mazal* "luck, happiness" with its derivative *κακομάζαλος* "unglücklich" (ibid.: 146). However, Chadzidakis believed that the latter lexeme should be derived from *μάζαλη*. Generally, Hebrew etymologies did not look particularly convincing in the beginning of twentieth century, since very little was known about the extent and forms of Jewish-Greek coexistence. Even the lexicon of E. Kriaras adds to the already presented list but a few lexemes: *έζωπο «ύσσωπος»* (Kriaras 1968: v. 5, 305), *ζέρι «βάλσαμο»* (Kriaras 1968: v. 7, 13).[1]

To our knowledge, the HA loans during the modern period have not been considered in any specialized monograph. Even terms with apparently Jewish reference, such as *χαχάμης* with its derivatives or *χάβρα*, do not appear in the dictionaries as direct borrowings from Jewish languages, but from Turkish:

> *χαχάμης* ο ιερουργός των Εβραίων που προέρχονται από την Ισπανία[2]
> ΣΥΝ. ραβίνος [ETYM. < τουρκ. *haham*] (Babiniotis 1998: 1966); *χαχάμης* (παρωχ.) ο ραβίνος των Εβραίων της Ανατολής, που κατάγονται από την Ισπανία [τουρκ. *haham* (από τα εβρ.) -*ης*] (LKNE 1995: 1468); *χαχαμίκος* (μειωτ.- σκωπτ.) ο Εβραίος που προέρχεται από την Ισπανία [ETYM. < *χαχάμης*] (Babiniotis 1998: 1966);[3]

> *χάβρα* 1. η συναγωγή των Εβραίων 2. θορυβώδης συγκέντρωση [ETYM. η λέξη ανάγεται στο εβρ. *hevra* «συνάθροιση, κοινωνία, παρέα»] (Babiniotis 1998: 1946); *χάβρα* (οικ.) [τουρκ. *havra*] (LKNE 1995: 1456), etc.

In reality, the first word is derived from Heb. *h0akam* "wise", and the second from Aram. *h0avra* "synagogue".[4] Still, it should be noted that the differentiation between Turkish and HA loanwords is by no means easy, since the Arabic lexemes incorporated into the Turkish lexicon are often phonetically quite similar to the synonymous Hebrew or Aramaic, and their adaptation into Greek may show identical results.[5] A systematic study of phonetics and morphology of JG dialects and the loans from them would facilitate the correct attribution.

In such recent lexicographical source as LKNE, one finds twenty lemmata with an Aramaic source and eighty with Hebrew. If we eliminate phonetic (*Βεελζεβούλ - Βελζεβούλ*) and gender (*Εβραίος - Εβραία*) variants,

names of letters (βήτα, γάμα) and semantic calques (διάολος, άγγελος), there will be about sixty loanwords, half of which are personal names. Thus, we are left with approximately thirty common names, which include the abovementioned Biblicisms and a handful of Semitic-based loans from European languages: ιερεμιάδα, καβαλιστικός, σιωνισμός, σημιτικός (characterized as "from French"), χετιτικός, ιαπετικός ("from German"), αμπρα κατάμπρα ("from Italian"). Interestingly, Ταλμούδ is believed to originate from Eng. *Talmud*.[6]

Apparently, if the authors of these etymologies had been consistent in indicating only the direct source of the loan (LKNE 1995: κβ΄), we would have been left with one single loanword from Hebrew into Modern Greek, namely κιμπούτς < *kibuz*.[7] The sociolinguistic situation implied by such explanations is that of absence of any direct contact between Greek and Jewish languages from post-Hellenistic period until the creation of the state of Israel – something very far from historical reality. Only a few recent publications acknowledge the lexical impact of other Jewish languages besides Hebrew.[8]

The incongruity between the current state of knowledge on the history of Greek Jewish communities on the one hand, and the meager linguistic extrapolation from these historical data, on the other, is blatant. Unlike linguists, scholars dealing with the history of Greece of any period, be it Hellenistic, Byzantine, Venetian, Ottoman or Modern, are well aware of the presence of the Jewish minority both in Greece proper and among the Greek-speaking diaspora.[9] This minority was never numerous, and even then its numbers varied substantially, but it was continuously present on Greek-speaking territory for more than two thousand years. Since there is no reason to postulate substantial breaks in Jewish presence on Greek territory, there are also no grounds to postulate a break in the process of mutual language influence between the two groups. Therefore, one should hypothesize the existence of loans from Jewish languages during all periods of Greek: ancient, medieval and modern.

What Jewish languages should be considered as potential loan sources? First and foremost, Jews who dwelled in Greece from the Hellenistic period onwards, so called Romaniotes, are known to have spoken the language of their environment, i.e. Greek, but their sociolect must have accommodated lexical items relevant for Jewish lifestyle, e.g. religious vocabulary, terms of community organization, etc. Such lexemes were inherited from Hebrew as the sacred language, as well as from Aramaic as the main spoken Jewish language of the first centuries of common era. An estimate of the materials that we have analyzed to date suggests that Aramaic was by no means a negligible source of borrowing. Another important detail that one should keep in mind is that the so called "inherited Hebrew" on Greek territory might well have been represented not only by its mainstream phonetic realization, but by a Samaritan one, since Greece was rich in Samaritan communities.[10] This increases the number of

potential etymologies and makes the differentiation between Turkish and HA loanwords still more difficult.[11]

Jews who came to Greece later spoke different languages, from Judeo-Aramaic and Judeo-Arabic to Judeo-Italian, Yiddish and Judeo-Spanish.[12] The Hebrew and Aramaic lexemes, which these groups brought with them, were not necessarily identical with those already existing in Judeo-Greek. Insofar as the newcomers assimilated into the Romaniote communities, this lexical stock might have also become part of Judeo-Greek. In places where the Jewish communities were numerous enough to influence their language environment, the loans from Jewish languages, including Hebraisms and Aramaisms, drifted into the surrounding dialects. Some of them further reached the commonly understood mainstream Greek.

The routes through which the Hebraisms and Aramaisms reached MG dialects and standard MG are summarized in **Figure 1**.

Fig. 1. Historical roots of Hebraisms and Aramaisms in MG dialects and Standard MG. (Lines show already discovered examples of lexical borrowing;
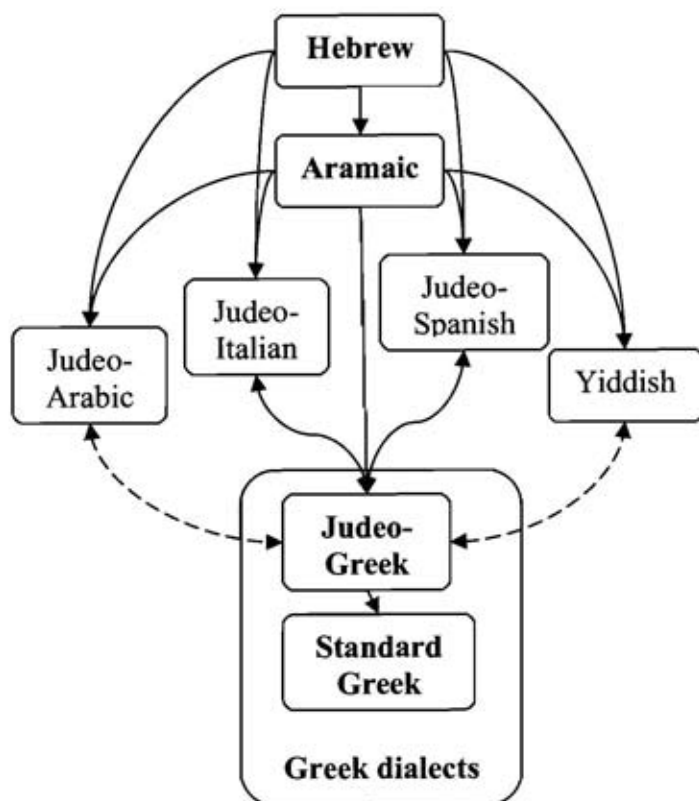
dashes denote possible routes of lexical enrichment).

Historical data help us to single out the geographical areas where one may expect to discover Hebrew-Aramaic loans. These are regions with strong Jewish presence, i.e. urban centers of Epirus, Aetolo-Acarnania and the adjacent part of Northern Peloponnese, major Ionian Islands, Chalkida, Crete, Cyprus and major Aegean islands, urban centers of Thrace, Macedonia and Thessaly. As we shall see, borrowed lexemes may be retained even in the regions where the communities themselves have disappeared.

What kind of vocabulary should one expect to be borrowed from Jewish languages? From the sociolinguistic viewpoint, Jews were a marginal group of low social standing, and as such they could not provide a stylistically

elevated vocabulary; therefore the loans from Jewish languages should be looked for in low colloquial registers.

Semantically these loans seem to fall into the following categories: first, religious expressions and cult *realia* that Jews brought with them. Term of this group may either retain their Jewish character and become specialized designations of Judaic *realia* or spread into the Christian usage. (Naturally, further on they may acquire new, often mainly pejorative, meanings). A case of specialized Judaic loanword is the already quoted χάβρα (semantic development: "gathering" > "place of gathering" > "place of gathering for Judaic worship"). As an example of possible borrowing of second kind we would suggest the lexeme

> κιβούρι, το 1. το φέρετρο, το κυρ. ξύλινο κιβώτιο, στο οποίο κατά παράδοση τοποθετείται το σώμα του νεκρού για την ταφή 2. ο τάφος, το άνοιγμα γης, στο οποίο τοποθετείται ο νεκρός, καθώς και η ταφόπλακα: *τρία πουλάκια κάθονταν στου Διάκου το κιβούρι* [ΕΤΥΜ. < μεσν. κιβούριον < μτγν. κιβώριον, δάνειο πιθ. αιγυπτιακής προελ., όπως επιμαρτυρείται και από την ερμηνεία της λ. από τον Ησύχιο: «*Αιγύπτιον όνομα επί ποτηρίου*»] (Babiniotis 1998: 893).

Since the semantic connection between "glass, bowl" and "grave" is not an optimal one, an etymology from the Semitic root *qbr* is to be preferred. Hebr. *qever*, Aram. *qivra* and Syr. *qavra* all mean "grave, tomb" (Klein 1987: 561). The specific source and period of borrowing are still to be specified, but the Semitic hypothesis seems to provide a much better solution both phonetically and semantically.

It remains to be verified whether and to what extent Jewish religious *realia* may lose their Jewish or/and religious connotations as a result of reinterpretation of certain rites or conventions by Christian population. E.g., a common Hebrew word *kasher* has been traced by lexicographers in the Ioannina region: κασέρ (το) «καθαρό. Λέξη Εβραϊκή την οποίαν χρησιμοποιούν μόνο οι Εβραίοι για να δηλώνουν ότι το κρέας έχει διαβαστεί από τον χαχάμη ή ήτο καθαρό» (ILEG Ηπ. Ιωανν. χ. 659: 79).[13] Naturally, this record reflects a rather imperfect understanding, since according to the Jewish law it is not the cleanness *per se* and not a rabbi's prayer that make the meat kosher. A similar expression was also recorded for Rhodos: κασέρι των Εβραίων "το κατάλληλο κρέας θρησκευτικής για τη χρήσι των Εβραίων (sic!)" (ILEG Ροδ. χ. 534: 130). It is notable that in Rhodos one finds also such expressions as κάμνω κασέρι «σχίζω»: Έκαμα τα ρούχα μου κασέρι and γίνομαι κασέρι «σχίζομαι», echoed by Cypriote έβκαλεν το κασέρι «το έσχισε»: έβκαλεν το βρατσίν του κασέριν (ILEG Κυπρ. χ. 227: 18). In our opinion, these lexemes might not originate from Fr. *casser*, as a lexicographer of ILEG has suggested, but rather from Turkish *kesir*

"dissection, partition, fraction", cf. *kesmek* "cut, cut out, stab" (TRS 1931: 570), while their vocalism was influenced or/and reinforced by the semantically similar Judeo-Greek form.[14]

Another important group of loanwords stems from professional terminology in the widest sense of the word, i.e. from the characteristic vocabulary of the spheres in which Jews were traditionally active. In this category we would include trade terms, together with so called "secret languages" of the tradesmen, names of typical articles sold by Jewish merchants, medical and magic vocabulary, and perhaps also terminology of various crafts, although so far we have no convincing examples of the latter.

It can be shown that the designation of the popular cheese *κασέρι* is a Jewish loanword, *pace* its treatment in major dictionaries:

> ημίσκληρο και κίτρινο τυρί που παρασκευάζεται από ανάμικτο γάλα προβάτου και αγελάδας ΣΥΝ. κασκαβάλι [ΕΤΥΜ. < Turk. kaşer] (Babiniotis 1998: 850);

> είδος σκληρού κίτρινου τυριού από πρόβειο γάλα, λιγότερο σκληρό και αλμυρό από κεφαλοτύρι < Turk. kaşer -ı (LKNE 1995: 672).[15]

The alleged Turkish provenance of this lexeme looks unconvincing in light of Turkish lexicography where this noun is given also with the meaning "kosher for Jews": *kaşar* 1. a type of cheese produced in the vilayet of Edirne; 2. kosher (TRS 1931: 546).

Because of Talmudic dietary prohibitions and their rabbinical interpretations (cf. S<ulhᐤan Aruḵ, Yore De'a 115, 2 et al.), a number of Jewish communities refrained from eating cheese of gentile provenance. In order to be kosher, the cheese had to be prepared from milk that has been milked in the presence of a Jew, curdled with help of exclusively vegetarian coagulants and pressed afterwards by Jewish hands. Naturally, these restrictions complicated the production process and increased the price of the final product. Yet constant demand for it created an entire network spreading through the Mediterranean from Sicily to Egypt and from Crete to Constantinople.[16] The sources referring to the particular sort of cheese (*judiscu, caseum judaicum*) also as *caciocavallo* (Bresc 2002), point to it as a precursor of our *κασέρι*. The cooperation between Christians and Jews in making and trading this cheese caused the spread of the Jewish dietary term into universal usage.

A magic term of Jewish provenance might be have been *σαμιαμίθι*, inasmuch as popular beliefs attribute to this harmless lizard various effects on animals and humans:[17]

σαμιαμίδι κ. σαμιαμίθι (λαϊκ.) 1. μικρή ευκίνητη σαύρα ... 2. (μτφ.-σκωπτ.) νεαρό άτομο μικρόσωμο και ευκίνητο [ΕΤΥΜ. < μσν. σαμαμίθιον, λ. σημιτ. αρχής. Δεν φαίνεται πειστική η αναγωγή στο αρχ. σαυρίδιον, με μεσν. τροπή σε *σαμνίδιον (πβ. xaυпoj - aκaмпoɟ) και, εν συνεχεία, με αναδιπλασιασμό της πρώτης συλλ. σαμ-(ι)αμ-ίδι/-ίθι] (Babiniotis 1998: 1584); cf. μεσαιωνικό και ίσως σημ. αρχής (ibid.: 1592);

σαμιαμίθι 1. είδος πολύ μικρής σαύρας ... 2. (ειρ.) χαρακτηρισμός για άνθρωπο μικρού αναστήματος [-ιθι: μσν. *σαμιαμίθιον (πρβ. μσν. σαμιαμίθιον) υποκορ. του σαμιάμινθ(ος) -ιον (απο τα εβρ.) με αφομ. [νθ > θθ] και απλοπ. του διπλού συμφ. [θθ > θ] -ίδι: προσαρμ. στο επίθημα   -ίδι] (LKNE 1995: 1194).

G. Babiniotis correctly rejects the Greek etymology in favor of a Semitic one.[18] The exact source is difficult to establish because both Biblical hapax s/amamit (Pr. 30:28) and its collateral form in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and Syriac samamit would give the same reflection in Greek, namely σαμαμίθιον.[19]

Unlike these widely known examples, which have entered standard Greek, the sub-standard language and particularly its dialectal forms have absorbed a much greater number of Hebrew and Aramaic lexemes that originate from Jewish peddlers and merchants jargon. Of course, the Semitic vocabulary in Greek jargons never reached the proportion it had in Polish, Ukrainian or Russian with large Jewish groups residing on their territory. To give but a few illustrations from Ianniote dialect: κάπαρλαβανόθ (sic, with two accents!) "«τέλος πάντων» - η φράση μεταξύ πωλητού και αγοραστού που δηλοί την συγκατάθεση ... σε συμφέρουσα τιμή" (Bongas 1964: 458) from Heb. kapara le 'awonot "[let it serve as] an expiatory victim for [our] sins; εμέθ «εντάξει» (Petropoulos 1991: 174) from Heb. emet "true!" with its antonym σέκερ, το «ψέμα» (ibid.) from Heb. sheker "lie".

A good example of an adapted loanword is τζες, pl. τζέδες from Heb. ze "this",[20] via JG pronoun τζες "he", used also in the meaning «ο τάδε, άπαυτος» and applied to Turkish soldiers and other undesirable persons. Following the JG semantics, in the clandestine language of Καταφυγιανοί it means «κατάσκοπος» (Vogiatzidis 1921: 156). In common modern Ianniote it seems to mean generally «ο τύπος (περιπαιχτικά)». As a noun, it entered the common Greek vocabulary of the underworld, see e.g. the song

Κούνα μπέμπη τον κεφτέ σου
Να φχαριστηθεί ο τζες σου (Butterworth 1975: 143),

where it is usually glossed as «εραστής, λεγάμενος, ενδιαφερόμενος» (Petropoulos 1991: 125).

The last, but not the least, group of loans is the so-called emotional lexicon, represented mainly by abusive words. No particular reasons for borrowing from Hebrew or Aramaic should be looked for here, since this a constantly renewing part of the vocabulary of every language. As emotional words and expressions with time loose part of their emotional force, they require replacement by stronger synonyms, often of foreign origin. To start with a positive example, I. Vilaras uses the expression *στη ζωή μου! «έτσι να έχω καλό»* (Vilaras 1995: 578), which is a literal translation of Hebr. *be hθayay!*, a shortened version of the oath "[I swear by] my life!" [Even-Shoshan 1993: v 1, 687].

Ianniote dialect is particularly rich in HA derogatory lexicon, e.g. *καμτσάμ'* (< *καμτσάμι), το «ο φιλάργυρος Εβραιος»*, συνθημ. απο Γιανν. (Bongas 1964: 152) – from Heb. *qamẕan; πασλάς, ο «ο σαχλός άνδρας, ο λεγάμενος»* (Petropoulos 1991: 174), *πασλάτος «χαζογόμενος»* (ibid.), both eventually from *pasul* "despiseable, unapplicable, useless"; *τάχας, ο «κώλος»* (ibid.) from Heb. *tahθat* "the same"; *χαμόρ «χαζός άνθρωπος, κουτός»* (ibid.) from Heb. *hθamor* "donkey".

In fact, the abovementioned *χαχάμης* is also used in many dialects as a derogatory term, e.g. «άσχημος» (ILEG Ευβ. Βρυσ. χ. 657: 129); «χαζός» (ILEG Σαμ. 875ᵃ/ 65); «χαζογελαστός» (ILEG Μακεδ. Ερατυρ. χ. 1116: 70); «τιποτένιος, αποβλακωμένος» (ILEG Μακεδ. Δεσκατ. χ. 1124: 74; χ. 942: 37); «αβάφτιστο βρέφος» (ILEG Μακεδ. Αρδομερ. 1197/25; Προδρομος Βεροιας χ. Σταμ.; Μακεδ. Γιδ. χ. 920: 91, κ. α.), etc.

Several *maledicta* of HA origin acquired nation-wide status:

σαχλός, -η, -ο: για κτ. που το χαρακτηρίζει έλλειψη σοβαρότητας και περιεχομένου, ανόητος: *σαχλό βιβλίο* ‖ άνθρωπος ελαφρός που λέγει ή κάνει ανοησίες, που η συμπεριφορά του είναι σαχλή, ανόητη: *σαχλοί νεαροί* [μσν. *σαχλός* ίσως < ελνστ. *σαχνός* 'μαλακός (για κρέας)'] (LKNE 1995: 1198);

σαχλός 1. αυτός που λέγει ή κάνει ανοησίες... ; 2. (ειδικότ.) αυτός που λέγει άνοστα αστεία... ; 3. πολύ απλοϊκός, ανούσιος [ΕΤΥΜ. μεσν., αβέβ. ετύμου, πιθ. < μτγν. *σαχνός* «τρυφερός, αδύναμος»... ή, κατ' άλλη άποψη, < *σαφλός* (Ποντ.) < παλαιότ. *σαθλός*, άλλος τ. του αρχ. *σαθρός*. Καμία από τις δύο απόψεις δεν ερμηνεύει ικανοποιητικά τη σημασιολ. εξέλιξη] (Babiniotis 1998: 1593).

More than a dozen nominal and verbal derivatives demonstrate the popularity of the expression: *σάχλα, η :* η σαχλαμάρα (εκφρ.) ~ *μπάχλα / σάχλες μπούχλες,* για

ανόητα λόγια [σαχλ(ός) -α (αναδρ. σχημ.)....], σαχλαμάρα η, σαχλαμαρίτσα η, σαχλαμαράκιας, σαχλαμάρας, σαχλαμαρίζω, σάχλας, ο: ο σαχλαμάρας [σάχλ(α) - ας], σαχλαμπούχλας, ο; σαχλαμπούχλα, η (LKNE: ibid., also in Babiniotis: ibid.), σαχλίτσα η, σαχλοκούδουνο, το; σαχλάς ο [χωρ. πληθ.] (λαϊκ.) αυτος που ειναι σαχλός (only in LKNE).

In our opinion, this word could be explained much easier from Heb. *sakal* "stupid, foolish", while the dialect forms, such as *σιάχλας* (ILEG Μακεδ. Καστορ. χ. 1003: 66; Στερελλ. Σπαρτ(όν) (Αμφιλοχία Ακαρνανίας) χ. 1057: 199, 202; Ηπ. Κουκουλ. χ. 1023: 672; Στερελλ. Ναυπακτ. χ. 1058: 39) might be also based on the corresponding Aramaic prototype.

Finally, such current colloquial term as

μπάχαλο {χωρίς πληθ.} κατάσταση μεγάλης σύγχυσης, ανακατωσούρα: *άρχισαν να φωνάζουν όλοι μαζί κι έγινε ~ ...* [ΕΤΥΜ. ηχομιμητική λέξη με σχηματισμό κατ' αναλογίαν προς το *κρόταλο, ρόπαλο, θρύψαλο*] (Babiniotis 1998: 1146)

seems to originate finally from Heb. *behala* «fright, dismay, terror, confusion» (Klein 1987: 65), cf. Aram. *bahal* "to be frightened, excited" (Sokoloff 2002: 86). Interestingly, this word was also borrowed into German: *einen Bachel machen* (Kreuzer 2001: 112). However, an unexpected reflection of *hei* as χ shows the possibility of indirect borrowing or, perhaps, the elusiveness of our knowledge of Judeo-Greek phonetics.

Further research in HA loanwords in MG should address primarily the phonetics and morphology of Judeo-Greek dialects, morphological adaptation of the loans (see Krivoruchko 2002), as well as the language contacts between Greek and other Jewish languages.

Notes

[1] The data of E. Kriaras and LKNE were searched with the help of the electronic versions under

[2] The claim that *χαχάμης* refers only to Sephardic rabbis is widespread in historical literature (e.g., Levy 1994: 43) and seems to be based mainly on the terminology of rabbinical *responsa*. Still, *αχάμης* (ILEG Ioann.) and *αχάμ* (Dalven 1995: 154) were terms for "rabbi" in Ioannina community.

[3] This lexeme looks more like Judeo-Spanish *hahamiko* (Bunis 1993: 215; 2003: 222) that was adapted to Greek declination in -ος, than a proper Greek formation *χαχάμης* + -*ίκος*.

[4] Hebrew and Aramaic lexemes are transliterated according to the system of the Academy of Hebrew Language (basic version).

[5] See below on *κασέρι*. Such examples are numerous, e.g. West Cretan *ναντίρι* "rare" (Ksanthinakis 2001: 344), viewed on formal linguistic grounds, may be considered as resulting from either Turkish *nadir* or Hebrew *nadir*.

[6] We are not going to discuss these and other similar attributions here. Still, one should be aware that many Semitic etymologies of LKNE are imprecise.

[7] Cf. Xadzisavvidis 1999: 617-618.

[8] E.g., Papakyriakou 1997: 16.

[9] See Bowman 1985; De Lange 1996; Levy 1994. Starr 1939, 1949, etc.

[10] See van der Horst 1998, 2001. A recent dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic by A. Tal (2000) is a valuable addition to the lexicography of the region.

[11] In Samaritan pronunciation *s⊲ureq-qibbus◊* and *h◊olem* are merged into one phoneme (Morag 1971: 1142), which makes such etyma as e.g. *kurban* and *korban* undistinguishable.

[12] The list is by no means exhaustive.

[13] The ILEG archive materials are quoted by region, manuscript and page. Abbreviations may be consulted in the first volumes of the dictionary.

[14] It is unclear, whether such meaning of *το κασέρι* as "πορτοκάλλι μέτριου μεγέθους που έχει στην κορυφή του υπό τον φλοιόν και ένα μικροσκοπικό πορτοκαλλάκι" (ILEG Ναξ. χ. 232: 32) should finally be reduced to a Jewish or a Turkish etymon.

[15] Cf. Papakyriakou 1997: 160.

[16] See Bowman 1985: 114, Jacoby 1997: 526-9 (Crete); Bresc 2002: 118-121 (Sicily).

[17] In Aramaic, the word is associated with *samam* "to be medically dangerous" (Sokoloff 2002: 382). E.g. *σαμ(ι)αμιθάβγουλο* "πολύ μικρό και χωρίς κρόκο αβγό κότας που (κατά τη λαϊκή πίστη) έχει φάει «σαμ(ι)άμιθο»" (Ksantinakis 2001: 457).

[18] Needless to say that the acceptance of Semitic etymology cannot go in hand with postulating an original form with nasal insertion. Other variants (*σαμιαμίδι, σαλαμίδι, σαμιομίδι*, see Babiniotis 1998: 1592) and dialect forms with palatalization effects, such as Cret. θ(ι)αμάμιθος (Ksantinakis 2001: 457), may be easily explained from *σαμαμίθιον*.

[19] As is proven by *masora*, until late Middle Ages *schwa* had no phonemic status and its pronunciation was similar to that of the adjacent vowels (cf. *s/lomo > Σολομών*).

[20] [dz] is a standard realization of Heb. [z] in Greek communities, see Matsa 1971: 243, Drettas 2003: 338.

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Περίληψη

Στο άρθρο εξετάζονται οι δάνειες λέξεις της ΚΝΕ και των ΝΕ διαλέκτων από την Αρχαία Εβραϊκή και την Αραμαϊκή. Υποστηρίζεται πως οι γλώσσες των Εβραίων υπήρξαν πηγές τέτοιων δανείων και προτείνεται η ταξινόμηση των δανείων με βάση σημασιολογικά κριτήρια. Εξακριβώνονται οι παλαιές και προτάσσονται οι καινούργιες ετυμολογίες για τις λέξεις *χαχάμης, χάβρα, κασέρι, κιβούρι, σαχλός, μπάχαλο* κ.ά.

Syntactic Isoglosses In Modern Greek Dialects:
The Case Of The Indirect Object

Io Manolessou – Stamatis Beis
Academy of Athens

The paper examines a major syntactic isogloss in Modern Greek (MG) dialectology: the case realisation of the indirect object. It traces the isogloss line dividing MG dialects into genitive-IO and accusative-IO, and focuses in those areas where the realisation is the reverse of the expected one (i.e. genitive instead of accusative and accusative instead of genitive).

Keywords: dialect syntax, isogloss, indirect object

0. Introduction

It has been 40 years since A. Mirambel's seminal survey of MG dialectal syntax (Mirambel 1963), and most of his claims still hold: 1) although the picture is changing, syntax is the least investigated area of dialectal grammar[1] and 2) although there is interesting comparative work done in dialect syntax, there have been no systematic attempts to use it for the classification of MG dialects, which remains based mainly on phonological criteria (cf. Trudgill 2003). The main cause of this, apart from the general orientation of dialectological research in the past (cf. Tzitzilis 2000a), is the nature of the data: whereas for phonological, morphological and lexical differentiation a few forms from each area are sufficient to identify a feature, syntactic analysis requires a running text of some length, as well as grammaticality judgements from native speakers - something not so readily available.

The present paper, then, is more programmatic than interpretative in nature: it attempts to show what could be done in the way of MG comparative dialectal syntax. This is in the spirit of a recent upsurge of interest in dialectal syntax in Europe, where several "Syntactic Atlas" projects are in progress in the Netherlands, Italy, England and German-speaking Switzerland.[2]

The feature we investigate is one of the two major syntactic characteristics differentiating MG dialects (the other being verbal clitic positioning): the realisation of the indirect object, which appears in the genitive case in Standard MG and in southern varieties but in the accusative in northern dialects and in Asia Minor. Most of the data discussed here are not

mentioned in standard accounts, and rely on primary research, from the dialectal archive of the Historical Dictionary of the Academy of Athens (referred to here with manuscript (ms.) number, date and page).

1. The Indirect Object Isogloss

The Ancient Greek dative case, the original expression of the indirect object, was progressively lost as a morphological category, and its functions, both adverbial and grammatical, were transferred to the accusative or genitive and to various prepositional constructions (Horrocks 1997: 216). The final disappearance of the dative from the spoken vernacular can be dated around the 10th c. AD (Humbert 19301930). It was replaced, by the accusative in the northermost and easternmost Greek-speaking areas, and by the genitive in the southern and western areas. It is very difficult to date the final choice between the genitive or the accusative variant in each area, since medieval texts show a surprising fluctuation, with genitive and accusative realisations or even genitive, dative and accusative, side by side - cf. (1a, b)[3].

(1) (a) παρακαλεῖ καὶ λέγει τον ἄλογα να τοῦ δώσῃ
*He begs and tells **him**-ACC to give **him**-GEN horses.*
Chronicle of the Morea, version H, v. 2293

(b) "Λέγε μοι, ξενοδόχισσα, λέγε με νὰ σοῦ λέγω".
*Tell **me**-DAT, lady innkeeper, tell **me**-ACC so that I tell **you**-GEN*
Livistros & Rodamni, version N, v.2864

Standard Modern Greek has genitive IOs, but the dating of this option is also questionable; thus, dialectal variation in IO realisation is a crucial factor for evaluating the linguistic processes that led to the genesis of Standard MG.[4]

The syncretism of genitive and dative is a key convergence feature of the Balkan Sprachbund (Sandfeld 1930: 185), occurring in all the relevant languages (Greek, Albanian, Romanian, Aromanian, Bulgarian and Macedonian)[5]. Since the phenomenon appears in Greek already in the first centuries AD (Dieterich 1898, Humbert 1930), much earlier than the first attestations of most Balkan languages, it has been claimed that genitive / dative syncretism is a feature that spread from Greek (Sandfeld, 1930: 187). However, the Greek dialects that were in immediate contact with other Balkan languages (i.e. the Greek dialects of Macedonia and Thrace, and the dialect of Constantinople), a contact seen as the source of several balkanisms[6] in fact display indirect objects in the accusative. This is an important issue concerning the birth and spread of the Balkan Sprachbund, which, to our knowledge, has not been investigated (this point is also made in Tzitzilis

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2000b: 259). In detail, the genitive – accusative indirect object isogloss can be described as follows:

I. Mainland Greece & Ionian Sea: According to standard handbooks (Triantafyllidis 1938: 66-8, Kontossopoulos 2001: 101), the southern limits of accusative indirect object usage in mainland Greece are geographical features, i.e. the mountain ranges of Pindus and Othrys. Within these limits are encompassed the areas of Thessaly, Macedonia and Thrace. Therefore the IO isogloss does NOT bundle with the main phonological characteristic of the northern dialects, the raising of unstressed mid-vowels and loss of unstressed high vowels. Thus, although the dialects of Epirus and Sterea Ellada have a stable "northern" vowel system, they display genitive indirect objects. The commonly accepted "ancestors" of Standard MG, the Peloponnesian and Heptanesian varieties, are both Genitive IO dialects.

II. Aegean islands: The line falls somewhere between Lemnos and Lesbos, leaving the northernmost islands (Thasos, Samothrace, Imbros etc.) and the Northern Sporades in the accusative area, while the Cyclades, the Dodecanese and Cyprus have genitive IO dialects.

III. Asia Minor: All local dialects, including Pontus, Bithynia, Ionia, Cappadocia, as well as Constantinople itself, have accusative IOs. A systematic preference for the accusative is well attested in medieval documents from Constantinople already from the 5th – 6th c. AD, and medieval literary texts of Constantinopolitan provenance show no fluctuation between the genitive and accusative variants, in contrast to the bulk of medieval literature (Lendari & Manolessou 2003). It is thus quite possible that the accusative variant may have spread from Constantinople, the major cultural center of the Byzantine Empire, towards the more distant areas of mainland Greece.

IV. S. Italy: Both Greek dialects of this peripheral area, Apulian and Calabrian, have genitive indirect objects.

2. Discussion

The first problem with this classification is the chronological incompatibility of the data: for some areas, the differentiation is a real one, involving current variation. For other areas, mainly Asia Minor and Thrace, the situation described reflects the dialectal status before the 1922 events. This is a methodological problem already recognized in Trudgill (2000) when discussing the classification of MG dialects, but in our case it is not possible to restrict the description to an "idealised" 19th c. situation: several of the problems involved in the genitive / accusative IO alternation are due to sociolinguistic concerns such as the influence and spread of Standard MG. With this *caveat* in mind, let us take a closer look at the areas delimited by the

traditional classification, paying particular attention to areas where the IO surfaces in a case different from the expected one:

2.1 Accusative instead of genitive IO
2.1.1 Tsakonian

Tsakonia is an isolated area in southern Peloponnese, one of the strongholds of the genitive realisation. The standard descriptions of Tsakonian, however, agree that the indirect object appears in the accusative, cf. Pernot (1934), Kostakis (1951: 136), Mirambel (1963). Examples (2a, b):

(2) (a) Νιάν αμέρα εμπαΐτόε, ΰ' επέτόε τον όνε.

One day he went out and said to-the donkey-ACC

(Kostakis 1987 §4. α, Melana, 1972, p.398)

(b) Λέω τον άλλε το σύντροφό σ'

I say to your other companion-ACC

(Kostakis 1987, §12. a, Havoutsi, 1960, p.421)

Kostakis (1951: 136) claims that genitive IOs appear occasionally, as an influence from SMG. And indeed, they are present even in the earliest written monuments of the dialect, though, interestingly, only in the Peloponnesian variety. (3a, b) :

(3) (a) Απολύκαμέ ντι τδαι κάμποσε λέξε... να σι δείρε του γέρου 'Κονόμου
        We also sent you a few words... to give them to old Mr. Oikonomos-GEN

(Kostakis 1987, §1. α, 1833, p.391)

(b) Α βασίλισσα σ' έδωτζε του μαγέρου να σ' ακίσιτζε
        The queen gave them to-the cook-GEN to spice them
(ms. 243, 1920, p. 17)

Tsakonian has a history which is wholly different from that of other Greek dialects: it is not descended from the Koine, but from a variety of ancient Laconian. It is thus considered a conservative dialect, preserving a large number of phonological, morphological and syntactic archaisms. In this context therefore, the accusative realisation of the IO could be considered an archaic retention. Alternatively, the accusative in Tsakonian could be seen as an independent evolution, diverging from Koine Greek, which, in this area, seemed to favour the genitive. However, the fact that the case system of

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Tsakonian is a very reduced one (there are no case distinctions in oblique personal pronouns and very little in nouns, only in the singular of the definite article) renders the traditional description of Tsakonian syntax problematic, and thus more fieldwork is required in order to settle the status of IO realisation in this dialect.

2.1.2 Mani

Mani presents a unique situation, in that accusative IO objects appear only with 1st and 2nd person clitic pronouns (4a, b), but not with 3rd person pronouns or with full lexical phrases (4c, d) (Bassea to appear b)[7]. This happens only in the speech of western Inner Mani (Mesa Mani)[8], one of the two sub-dialects of Maniot.

(4)   (a) Θα με δώκεις λιγάι ψωμί
       You will give me-ACC some bread

       (b) Δε ζε τό 'πα
       I didn't tell you-ACC

       (c) Φαΐ δεν είχα να δουν αφήκου
       I didn't have any food to leave them-GEN

       (d) Τα φέρνανε του δασκάλωνε
       They brought them to the teachers-GEN
                                        (Bassea-Bezantakou to appear a)

The supposition that the phenomenon might have been more widespread in Mani in the past is not supported by earlier documents[9] (5)- only Inner Mani presents it.

(5)   (a) ἔδωσέ μου το δικό του να το ὁρίζω
       He gave me-GEN his [field] to own
                                        (Skopeteas 1950, XII, 1677)

       (b) νὰ μοῦ δίδου τὴν ἀποκοπή μου
       That they give me-GEN my share
                                        (Skopeteas 1950, XXVI, 1733)

The appearance of accusative IOs in a second Peloponnesian dialect, which, moreover, is generally considered a conservative and isolated one, raises even more questions concerning the realisation of the indirect object in earlier

Greek in the Peloponnese. As already discussed in Lendari & Manolessou (2003) there is a discrepancy between the main literary source from the period, the *Chronicle of the Morea*, which, like most vernacular medieval texts (cf. Trapp 1965) shows fluctuation between genitive and accusative[10], and the few non-literary documents (Kleinchroniken, wills, private letters) of Peloponnesian origin, which exhibit the genitive exclusively.

2.1.3 Standard Modern Greek in general

Accusative IOs may appear (albeit rarely) in Peloponnesian dialectal speech even nowadays (Pantelidis p.c.), and they occasionally crop up in 18th c. documents (6a,b). On the contrary, earlier documents from the area show only genitive, as was established through additional research in 17th c. monastery archives (7a, b)[11].

(6) (a) ἀπὸ τὸ ποτιστικὸν μερίδιον τοῦ Νικολοῦ, ὁποῦ τὸν λείπει, ὁποῦ δὲν
        εἶχεν ὁ Θανάσης νὰ τοῦ τὸ σώσῃ
        (Giannaropoulou 1970, 50, 1792)
        From the irrigation share of Nikolos, which is lacking him-ACC, which
        Thanasis did not have to give him-GEN

    (b) μὲ ἔδωσαν ἓν κομμάτι χωράφι κείμενον εἰς τὴν θέσιν λεγομένην
        Ὕλην... Ὅθεν... ζητῶ νὰ μοῦ παραχωριστῇ
        (Giannaropoulou 1970, 56, 1835)
        They gave me a plot of land in the area called Ili... which I ask that it
        be delivered to me-GEN

(7) (a) γιὰ νὰ μὴν ἔχωμε ἄσπρα νὰ τοῦ δώσωμε τοῦ ἐπουλήσαμε τὸ χωράφι
        (Gritsopoulos 1950, 6, 1645)
    Since we did not have money to give him-GEN we sold him-GEN the field

    (b) μοῦ ἔδωσαν οἱ πατέρες τοῦ μοναστηρίου

        (Gritsopoulos 1958, II.B.33, 1694)
        The fathers of the monastery gave me-GEN

In order to interpret this discrepancy both with the standard view that the Peloponnese is an invariably genitive IO area and with the evidence of earlier documents which do show it to be so, one has to go back to the formation of Standard MG. In an article written in 1936, Manolis Triantafyllidis, one of its main researchers and normalisers, claims that even in Athens it was possible to

hear accusative IOs from older speakers and that this usage was widespread in newspapers and literary writings of various provenance and must be consciously eradicated:

Ἀκόμη καὶ ὡς τὶς μέρες μας ἄκουε κανεὶς καὶ ἀκούει ἀκόμη καὶ σήμερα - ὄχι μόνο ἀπὸ νεόφερτους βόρειους ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ ἐγκατεστημένους ἀπὸ τρεῖς γενεὲς στὴν Ἀθήνα- νὰ μεταχειρίζωνται τὴν αἰτιατική... Ὅπως καὶ νὰ εἶναι, σωστὸ εἶναι οἱ σημερινοὶ λογοτέχνες νὰ παύσουν νὰ μεταχειρίζωνται τὴν ἔμμεση αἰτιατική. Θὰ ἔπρεπε γι' αὐτὸ νὰ ἔγραφαν κάπως προσεχτικότερα τὴν κοινή μας στὸ γραμματικὸ τύπο που διαμορφώθηκε μὲ τὴν καλλιέργειά της ἀπὸ γενεὲς λογίων τῆς παλιᾶς Ἑλλάδας.

(Triantafyllidis 1936: 204-5)

It has long been accepted that Peloponnesian and Heptanesian have formed the basis of the MG Koine. However, this has been contested in recent years[12], one of the arguments being that many characteristic features of the Peloponnesian dialect do not appear in SMG. It would be perhaps more natural to assume that SMG in its first stages was rather more heavily based on the the dialect of Constantinople, which was for more than a millennium the center of Greek civilisation, and which was much more important, culturally and politically, than the newly-founded capital, Athens, or the rural Peloponnese. Some early demotic writers of the 18th c. enlightenment state explicitly that their basis is the dialect of Constantinople[13]. Furthermore, the sociopolitical elite of the new Greek state, and thus the first models of written language, were of Constantiopolitan origin- the so-called "Fanariotes".

Constantinopolitan, crucially, has accusative IOs, and it is this usage that must have affected dialectal Peloponnesian and even Athenian written demotic, something that Triantafyllidis (1936) openly admits[14]. One should bear in mind that most representatives of the Enlightenment, e.g. Korais (9), also use the accusative, and, more importantly, that several 19th c. grammars of MG state that both realisations, genitive and accusative, are equally possible, cf. Pernot (1907: 6-7), Legrand (1878: 136-7), Chryssovergis (1839: 32), Talbert (1874: 10), David (1827: 79)[15].

(9) Δὲν μὲ λέγεις, ἂν ἔστειλες τὴν πρὸς τὴν Βουλὴν ἐπιστολήν.
(A. Korais, in Prassakakis 1885, p. 18)
You don't say to me-ACC whether you have sent the letter to the Parliament

It is thus important to distinguish phases in the establishment of SMG, at least with respect to specific linguistic features. In the 18th and early 19th c. the

model towards which the language verged may have been one of accusative realisation, and the reasons behind the change of orientation (perhaps even a conscious political decision of distancing / differentiation of the new free lands from the old capital?), should be investigated in detail. Similar attention should be paid to the the pattern of change as reflected in written demotic of the 19th and early 20th c. This change of model should also be taken into account when attempting to interpret dialectal fluctuation.

2.1.4 Rhodes and Dodecanese

Rhodian is a classic Dodecanesian dialect, presenting all the typical phonological and syntactic features associated with this area (geminate consonants, retention of final –n, clitic postposition etc.). However, it is divided by an syntactic isogloss line: the northeastern part of the island has accusative indirect objects, nowadays in free variation with the genitive (cf. 11a, b).

(11) (a) πρέπει να μου κάνει, λέει, κλικ. Λέω τον άντρα μου, Γιώργο, εσύ μ' αυτό το κλικ τι εννοείς; ... Εγώ δεν την δίνω άντρα με το ζόρι.
[discussing a potential husband] : *he must, she says, click to me-GEN. I tell my husband-ACC, Giorgo, what do you understand by this "click"?...I'm not giving her-ACC a husband by force.*

(b) της λέω Σοφία, αυτό είναι τ' αφ-φαλάτσι το δικό σου... και τη λέω, Ροδούλα, αυτό είναι το δικό σου.
I tell her-GEN Sophia, this is your little navel... and I tell her-ACC, Rodoula, this is yours.
(ms. 1406, Rhodes, Koskinou, 1999, p. 56, 72)

Tsopanakis (1940) explains this as a result of migrations from Constantinople after its fall in 1453. Nevertheless, it is much more likely that the accusative is the result of the much more contiguous (and continuous) influence of the neighbouring dialects of Asia Minor, and esp. Makri, the port of Livissi. Further investigation is required in order to establish whether these accusative indirect objects appear in other Dodecanesian islands as well[16]. For example, although this is not mentioned in the standard literature, the accusative is the regular realization of the IO also in the island of Kastellorizo (cf. 12a, b).

(12) (a) Στειλείσκει λοιπόν το παιδάτσιν της εις τογ καφετσή για να τομ πει ότις είναι μεάλη ανάντζη να τοδ-δει. Ε καφετσής ως ήρτεν, ε γυναίκα λέει τον.

So she sends her child to the inkeeper to tell him-ACC that it is necessary to see him. The inkeeper, when he came, the woman tells him-ACC.

(b) Τις λίρες έ'ωτσέμ-**με** τας ιμιά αρκοντοπούλλα. Είπεμ-**με** να **τημ** πάω αύριον τσ' άλλα ψάρια
This money was given to me-ACC by a lady. She told me-ACC to take more fish to her-ACC tomorrow.

<div align="right">(ms. 1390, Kastellorizo, 1998, p. 185, 202)</div>

A different case is presented by Chios. According to Kontossopoulos (2001), there are instances of accusative IO realisation on the eastern side of the island (Kardamyla). However, earlier documents from this area and 19th c. samples of dialectal speech show little evidence of such usage [17]. If Kontossopoulos' observation is true, the accusative realisations are probably due to the recent influx of refugees from Asia Minor.

2.2. Genitive instead of accusative IO

Since Standard MG has genitive IOs, a variation between genitive and accusative is natural and expected in all areas north of the isogloss; this variation should be interpreted as a result of syntactic borrowing from the higher variety of Standard MG. The strong influence of SMG affects all dialects through education, the mass media and literature and leads to their gradual obsolescence (cf. Malikouti 2000). The factors influencing the choice of the accusative vs. the genitive variant deserve detailed sociolinguistic investigation which has not, to our knowledge, been carried through yet. Parameters such as specific linguistic context, emotive content of the utterance, situation, register etc. need to be evaluated. In the present paper, we shall not discuss this issue; instead, we shall concentrate on other, less obvious, factors that complicate the picture presented by the isogloss map. What also deserves systematic/ statistical investigation is a whether the variation is more frequent a) in urban centres as opposed to rural areas b) in some geographical regions rather in others.

2.2.1 Smyrna and Tsesmes

The language of Smyrna (13a, b) and of nearby Tsesmes/Krini (14a, b) constitutes the unique exception among the dialects of Asia Minor, in that it has exclusively genitive indirect objects, without any signs of variation.

(13) (a) Ούλα τα φουρνιμέντα τση είναι κρουσταλένια και φαρφουρένια. Τση τα φέρανε απόξω...

All her ornaments are made of crystal and porcelain. They have been brought to her-GEN from abroad.

(ms. 745, Smyrna, 1959, p.21)

(b) Ένα ζαχαρωτό μού 'δωκε η καρσινή και το πιπιλάω, δεν έχω άλλο να σου δώκω
The neighbour has given me-GEN just one sweet and I'm sucking it, I don't have another one to give you-GEN

(ms. 798, Smyrna, 1961, p. 95)

(14) (a) τως ηζητήσενε σαράντα γρόσα... και τού 'πανε πως θα του τα δώκουνε
He asked them-GEN for 40 grossia... and they told him-GEN that they'd give them to him-GEN

(b) το κασαπάκι λέει του βασιλέ: να τσης πω καλησπέρα
The butcher's boy says to the king-GEN: I want to tell her-GEN good evening

(ms. 248, Tsesmes/Krini, 1885, pp. 172, 188)

This is explicitly mentioned in descriptions of the dialect (Kontossopoulos 2001: 120) and appears clearly in the primary sources (Giakoumaki 2003). The explanation may lie in the cosmopolitan character of this area and the subsequent long-term presence of immigrants from Southern Greece and the nearby islands of the Aegean.

2.2.2 Thessaly

Standard accounts disagree on the precise southern limits of the IO isogloss. Thus, Kontossopoulos (2001) claims that genitive IOs appear as far north as the shores of the Pineios river, while Triantafyllidis (1938: 67) places it more to the south, in Mt. Othrys. Fieldwork undertaken for the purposes of this paper indicates that Triantafyllidis' account is the correct one: Thessalian speech belongs to the accusative area, even in its southernmost reaches. A characteristic proof is provided by the local dialect of the district of Domokos, part of the Region of Continental Greece (Sterea Ellada), according to the modern administrative division, which has accusative IOs. Interestingly, according to the older administrative divisions, Domokos was formerly a part of Thessaly, and became a part of the Greek State only in 1881, along with the rest of Thessaly. Thus, for the purposes of tracing the exact limits of an isogloss, knowledge of local history is necessary.

Of course, the statement that Thessaly has accusative IOs needs to be qualified: while the older generations have the unmixed accusative variant, the younger ones, esp. in urban centres, present the expected variation between genitive and accusative due to the influence of SMG.

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2.2.3 Macedonia

A major exception in the accusative realisation of northern dialects are the areas inhabited by former Slav-Macedonian speakers (Florina, Edessa, Veroia, Kastoria), cf. (15a, b). Since these speakers acquired Greek as a second language through the medium of compulsory school education, the form of Greek they speak is very close to the Standard and thus displays genitive IOs.

(15) (a) την φωνάξανε και δεν της είπανε τίποτα
They called her and didn't tell her-GEN anything

(b) της λέω «Παντρέψου τώρα»
I said to her-GEN "marry now"
(ms. 1325, Akritas – Florina, 1992, pp. 163, 168)

A different case is constituted by Siatista, a town in the Prefecture of Kozani. Older research (Tsopanakis 1950: 298) as well as current fieldwork Tsouknidas 2004, p.c.) indicate that the Siatista area is an island of genitive usage in an area far to the north of the accusative isogloss limit (cf 16a vs. b, c).

(16) (a) λέει ου ένας τουν άλλουν
one says to the other-ACC

(b) κι τούπιν τα τρίτα
and he said to him-GEN for the third time

(c) ου άντρας τς λέει τς 'υναίκας
The husband says to the wife-GEN
(ms. 395, Siatista, 1923, pp. 178, 179, 180)

Furthermore, it is a town without important refugee settlements, and without native Slav speakers. A possible explanation could lie in Vlach origin of the settlement (Wace & Thompson, 1914: 211) and thus the potential substratum influence of Aromanian, which, like most Balkan languages, has genitive IOs.

3. Conclusions

Summing up, we hope to have shown that there is considerable primary research, both synchronic and diachronic, to be done even on such

comparatively well-known dialectal syntactic features as the genitive/ accusative IO variation. The precise geography of the isogloss can only be traced through contemporary fieldwork, especially the boundaries within mainland Greece. The traditional descriptions such as Mirambel (1963) – our point of origin for this discussion- are no longer sufficient. "Problem" areas and potential factors of influence have been identified, and some tentative solutions proposed. The closer investigation of this issue will have crucial bearing both on the classification of MG dialects and the research on the origins and establishment of Standard MG.

4. Notes

[1] Cf. the survey of dialectal work in Tzitzilis (2000a), and the paucity of syntactic information in Kontossopoulos (2001). However, Greek is not unique in this, as a comparison with English dialectal research shows (Kortmann 2002: 2): "The study of dialect grammar, especially of the syntax of regional varieties, neither plays nor ever has played a major role in English dialectology".

[2] Cf. the Dialect Syntax archive at the homepage of the Meertens Institute,

[3] The whole issue is discussed in detail in Lendari & Manolessou (2003), on the basis of a large corpus of literary and non-literary texts.

[4] The dialectal provenance of Standard MG features has not been examined in detail. Discussion on the genesis of the MG Koine are usually limited to ideological issues such as diglossia, katharevousa vs. dimotiki etc. (cf. Delveroudi 2000).

[5] In the case of Bulgarian, a caseless language, the syncretism of genitive and dative consists in the use of the same preposition "na" for the expression of possession and the indirect object (Sandfeld 1930: 85).

[6] See cf. Joseph's (1983) illuminating discussion of the spread of infinitive loss as a "central Balkan feature" where each of the neighbouring languages influences the others.

[7] Thus the description in Kontossopoulos (2001: 79), according to whom Maniot has accusative IOs "with certain verbs", without distinction of person, is incorrect.

[8] And in a small area in E.Mani, Kolokynthion. Such forms are attested at least since the 19th c., e.g. μὲ ἀποκρίθη ἐνγράφως νὰ μοῦ ξεμπερδέψῃ τὸ νιτερέσιο, ὅπου μὲ χρεωστεῖ, Skopeteas (1955, β΄, 1829).

[9] Cf. the evidence from 16th-19th c. documents in Bassea-Bezantakou (to appear b).

[10] In point of fact the fluctuation is not random: there is a distinct preference for the genitive in full lexical noun phrases and for the accusative in 1st and 2nd person clitics-similar to the Maniot situation.

[11] Gritsopoulos (1950, 1958), Tselikas (1985-86). We thank N. Pantelidis for these references.

[12] Cf. Pantelidis (2001), Niehoff-Panagiotidis (1994: 344).

[13] For example, Dimitrios Katartzis explicitly claimed to be writing in the language of the national capital, which he proposed as a model in his MG grammar of 1790 « ἀκολουθήσαμεν τὸν ἰδιωτισμὸν τῆς μητρόπολης του ἔθνους... δὲν εἶν᾽ ἱκανὸς λόγος νὰ προτιμηθῇ αὗτ᾽ ἢ ἐκείνη ἡ ἐπαρχία, κι ὄχι ἡ μητρόπολι ὀλωνῶν, μάλιστα εὐλογώτερον κρίνεται νὰ τὴν ἀκολουθοῦν αὐτήνα ὅλαις᾽᾽᾽. Dimaras 1957. We are indebted to Prof. P. Mackridge for this reference. Cf. also Delveroudi (2000: 51).

[14] In fact, his article was a response to complaints that the written demotic language was "infested" with accusatives. Triantafyllidis refers to Thumb's description of MG, according to which several MG writers such as Psycharis, Rhigas Feraios, Zalokostas and Soutsos employ the accusative, influenced by their native local dialect (Thumb 1910: 36).

[15] We thank N. Pantelidis for the last two references.

[16] Triantafyllidis (1936: 1469) notes some instances of accusative realisation in demotic songs from Nisyros, which he initially rejects, but subsequently reconsiders in view of the Rhodian evidence.

[17] As recorded in Vios (1920) and Kanellakis (1890). There is none in the first, and three dubious examples in the second: Furthermore, the early grammars of Germano (1622) and Portius (1638), which are based on the dialect of Chios state that the indirect object is expressed in the genitive, although this is not so in other areas: Pernot (1907: 103-4).

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6. Περίληψη

Το παρόν άρθρο εξετάζει μια βασική συντακτική ισόγλωσσο της νεοελληνικής διαλεκτολογίας: την πραγμάτωση του έμμεσου αντικειμένου (γενική έναντι αιτιατικής). Χαράσσει την ισόγλωσσο και επικεντρώνεται στις περιοχές όπου η πραγμάτωση είναι αντίθετη της αναμενόμενης: αιτιατική έναντι γενικής στα Δωδεκάνησα, την Πελοπόννησο και την κοινή νέα ελληνική, και γενική έναντι αιτιατικής στη Μικρασία, τη Θεσσαλία και τη Μακεδονία.

The development of future / modality markers: Evidence from Modern Greek dialects[*]

Theodore Markopoulos
University of Cambridge

This paper investigates the semantic / syntactic properties of various constructions occurring in the Modern Greek dialects that are formed on the basis of the future-referring / modal 'periphrasis' 'tha + finite form' and its numerous variants (e.g. 'the na + finite form'). It highlights the wide dialectal variation exhibited with respect to the syntactic and semantic uses of 'tha', a phenomenon that had not been properly investigated. Moreover, this paper demonstrates the various semantic / syntactic 'paths', which a linguistic element such as 'tha' can follow in its development; these paths are shown to constitute a challenge not only for a theoretical account of language change in general (due to their complexity), but also –and more specifically- for generative syntax, mainly because of the variation observed even in the same dialect. Finally, the adequacy of the traditional criteria of dialectal differentiation is questioned, since it is argued that the inclusion of syntactic isoglosses would alter rather emphatically the borderlines between the Modern Greek dialects.

0. Introduction

The Standard Modern Greek (SMG) future / modality marker 'tha' has been recently the focus of attention of many scholars, in reference both to its synchronic properties (cf. e.g. Tsangalidis, 1999 among others) as well as its diachronic development from the rather controversial Medieval Greek periphrasis involving 'thelo' (cf. e.g. Joseph & Pappas, 2002 and Markopoulos, forthcoming). The interest in the diachrony of 'thelo' does not extend though to all stages of its development: on the contrary, it is mainly concentrated on the exact linguistic origin of the form, i.e. it covers the period up to its initial appearance in the texts of the 'Cretan Renaissance' (16th – 17th c.). The thorny issues associated with the developments of this period constitutes the main reason why little attention has been paid to subsequent developments regarding 'tha', that is *after* its appearance. Apparently, it has been tacitly assumed –but

not explicitly stated- that all major properties of the SMG 'tha' should presumably exist from its very first attestations.

This tacit assumption had not been put to the test of the data of the Modern Greek dialects, which could constitute the link bridging the 'Cretan Renaissance' and the SMG period. No comprehensive account has been given concerning the semantic and syntactic properties of 'tha' in the Modern Greek dialects, or even its morphological variants, for that matter. Only isolated comments in descriptions of specific dialects can be found (e.g. Pangalos, 1955), and these mainly refer to its morpho-phonological properties.

This paper aims to cover this 'gap' in the linguistic research of the future-referring periphrasis based on 'thelo / tha'. Its goal is three-fold:

i) To highlight the extensive variation associated with the semantic and syntactic properties of this construction in the Modern Greek dialects

ii) To investigate whether this variation can provide us with novel insights concerning the possible development of futurity / modality markers in general and

iii) To discuss the possibility of syntactic isoglosses and their implications on constructing a plausible dialectal map.

Unless otherwise stated, all the data of this paper come from the Archive of the Academy of Athens. This database essentially constitutes the only source for oral material of dialectal origin, the philological descriptions aside. Obviously, it is not devoid of problems of various kinds: the material was collected at different periods of the 20th c., with the rare exception of some documents dating from the 19th c., and, consequently, is considerably distant from the late 'Cretan Renaissance' texts. Moreover, it does not allow for any quantitative analysis, as the abundance of relevant attestations is entirely dependent on extra-linguistic factors (e.g. the duration of the specific research trip, the number of speakers in certain areas etc.). Despite all these problems, it still represents as closely as possible the oral speech of various dialectal areas and constitutes the main source for our investigation.

Before proceeding, a comment on the term 'marker' is in place. In the relevant literature, the term 'grammatical marker' usually -albeit not necessarily- refers to a phonologically reduced element marking a grammatical notion / category (tense, aspect, modality, case etc.). As is evident, this definition has a distinct functional 'flavour', without saying much with regard to the morpho-syntactic status of such linguistic elements. From a morpho-syntactic point of view, 'markers' are considered clitics, affixes or often 'particles', a term as problematic as 'marker' itself (cf. Zwicky, 1985). For the purposes of this paper, I will use the term 'marker' rather loosely referring to its functional definition.

The paper is structured as follows: section 1 illustrates various uses of the 'thelo / tha' construction, in section 2 I focus on a number of these uses which are of theoretical interest, and in section 3 I discuss the importance of the

distribution of such constructions in the various dialectal areas, and their implications for the dialectal map of Greece.

1. Variation at a glance

Although the future / modality marker 'tha' is found in almost every Modern Greek dialect, there is extensive variation concerning its morphological form: its SMG form ('tha') is attested in almost every single dialectal area, even though it is impossible to tell from the existing material whether this should be attributed to the influence of SMG. Apart from this form, 'tha' is manifested in eight other variants, as illustrated below:

a. θα (tha): Almost everywhere
b. δα (da): Crete, Macedonia, Thrace, Lemnos, Paros...
c. χα (ha): Rhodes, Macedonia, Cyprus...
d. α (a): Crete, Symi, Rhodes, Chios, Kalymnos, Nisyros...
e. άα (aa): Samothraki
f. θθα (ththa): Chios, Kos
g. τθα (ttha): Astypalaia
h. σα (sa): Symi
i. θι (thi): Lesbos, Tsakonia

The list is not exhaustive, as the morphological variation does not fall into my main focus of attention. It is worth noting, however, that more than one variant are attested in the same area: for instance, in Symi both 'α' ('a') and 'σα' ('sa') are attested, and in Rhodes both 'χα' ('ha') and 'α' ('a'). We will get back to this point in the discussion of the isoglosses and the dialectal map of Greece (section 3).

Our main interest, as already mentioned, lies in the semantic / syntactic properties of the constructions involving the 'thelo / tha' periphrasis occurring in the Modern Greek dialects. I have excluded from my investigation constructions attested in the most 'deviant' dialects, i.e. the dialects of South Italy, Pontos, Cyprus and Tsakonia, since the speakers of these dialects had minimum contact with other Greek-speaking populations, and therefore they represent an altogether different linguistic and extra-linguistic situation from the speakers of the majority of the Modern Greek dialects. Even by excluding these 'deviant' dialects, the interesting constructions involving 'thelo / tha' are numerous, the most prominent of which are exemplified below:

i. Negation + 'tha'
(1) Dostona more pedi m' to gadro, **da** ton fag' gia! (Thrace)
    Give-him   kid mine the donkey, will-not.prt him eat..!
    'My kid, give him the donkey, he won't eat it!

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(2) Ane kami mia nerouxa sia ti brothesini,   **da min** afisi mia elia!
(Crete)

If makes one storm like the day-before-yesterday, will not spare one olive-tree

"If it rains like it did the day before yesterday, all olive-trees will be destroyed"

ii. Combination 'na – tha'
(3) Ma ontas dis   kati goulia sto piato   **na   tha**   tim piaso,
(Cr.)

But when see-2nd sing. some beetroot in-the plate that-subj. will-prt. it catch-1st s.

"But when you see in the plate some beetroots that I'm about to catch (?)…"

iii. Combination 'tha – thelo / prepei (= must)'
(4) A   **pao   thelei**   (Nisyros)
will-prt. go   will-3rd sing.
"I will go"

(5) **Tha   na   stathike prepei** i nikokera … (Crete)
will-prt. that-subj. stopped   must the housewife
" The housewife must have stopped…"

iv. Combination 'tha – thanna'
(6) **Tha   tin edakasseth-thanna**   (Symi)
Will-prt. her   bit-must (?)prt.
"(She) must have bitten her …"

v. 'Tha' as a conjunction
(7) **Tha   buresu,   than   ertu**   (Imbros)
If   can-1st sing., will-prt. come-1st sing.
"If I will be able to, I will come"

vi. Epistemic 'thelei'
(8) Den ipige **thelei** (Kythera)
Not went must
"He probably has not gone…"

vii. Deontic 'thelo / thelei (impers.)'
(9) T' apogioma **thelis   na   potisis**   to horafi (Peloponnese)
The afternoon should-2nd sing. that-subj. water -2nd sing. the field

"You must water the field in the afternoon"

viii. Wishes

(10) **Nathele**   **se**   **skotosoune** (Crete)
    wish-prt. you-acc. kill-3rd pl.
    "I wish they would kill you"

(11) **Makari**   **as**   **the bao** (Sifnos)
    wish-prt. wish-prt. prt. go
    "I wish I went..."

The constructions in (1-11) are representative of the wide variation of uses that the 'thelo / tha' periphrasis had acquired in various dialectal areas. This exemplification does not contain similar constructions involving the past form of 'thelo', namely 'ithela' (in its various morphological forms), which followed a different path of development and will not be discussed here.

A full account of all uses in the above list cannot be provided, as it lies well beyond the scope of this paper. Instead, in the next section, I will concentrate on the constructions (i-v) that arguably constitute the most interesting and also to an extent challenging uses of the 'thelo / tha' periphrasis.

2. A closer look

2.1 *'Tha' and other particles*

2.1.1 The combination of 'na-tha'

The relation between the SMG 'subjunctive' marker 'na' and the futurity / modality marker 'tha' has been extensively studied (cf. Roussou, 2000 for a recent syntactic analysis and an overview of previous analyses). What has mainly sparkled this interest is the well-known fact that the two markers cannot co-occur in the same clause: in other words, even though 'tha' can follow various complementizers (such as 'oti'), the combination '*na tha ertho....' is ungrammatical. It has remained hitherto unnoticed though that the Cretan dialect depicts a different picture with regard to this combination. The example (3) in section 1 (repeated here as 12 for convenience) illustrates convincingly that such a co-occurrence is *grammatical* in the Cretan dialect:

(12) Ma ontas dis   kati goulia sto piato   **na**   **tha** tim piaso
(Cr.)

But when see-2nd sing. some beetroot in-the plate that-subj. will-prt. it catch-1st s.

"But when you see in the plate some beetroots that I'm about to catch (?)…"

The considerable problems associated with the existing material (cf. Introduction), as well as the fact that the above example constitutes the only instance of this construction, could lead us to assume that this construction is not 'authentic', in the sense that it does not represent a feature of the actual spoken language of the area, but rather possibly a 'performance' error. Tempting as this conclusion might be, it is not correct, since similar instances are found in *Fortounatos*, a Cretan comedy of the 17th c., as shown in (13):

(13) Apokoto …tuti ti komodia mou … **na** **tha** kathieroso
    dare-1st s. this the comedy mine … that-subj. will-ptr. dedicate-1st sing.
    "I dare….this comedy of mine… to dedicate…"

                                      (Fortounatos, dedic., 35-37)

The importance of such examples in this specific text is two-fold: firstly, this text was written in Crete, a fact suggestive of a diachronic continuation of such a pattern in the very same area, if we take the evidence in (12) into account; and secondly, the authenticity of the instances found in *Fortounatos* cannot be disputed, because we are lucky enough to possess a copy of this text written by the hand of its author, Foskolos (Vincent, 1980).

    An issue immediately arises: what is the historical origin of this pattern and what can it tell us with regard to the diachronic development of the two markers? Regarding the former, suffice to say that the 'na tha' co-occurrence is not a novel formation of the 17th c., but merely a continuation of a wider pattern, already attested in the 6th c. (cf. Markopoulos, forthcoming), according to which future-referring periphrastic forms appear in contexts where the morphological Subjunctive would be expected[1], one of them being in complement clauses, as in (13). This pattern affected the 'eho + Infinitive' periphrasis as well as the 'thelo' periphrasis, and as a result instances involving 'na the na…', i.e. the immediate predecessor of 'tha', are found as early as the 15th c., in the writings of Falieros (Markopoulos, forthcoming). Obviously, such attestations constitute the origin of the pattern found in (13).

    In these cases, the marker 'na' arguably functions exclusively as a complementizer, that is it does not convey any modal meanings which are provided by 'tha' (or 'the na' for earlier stages). This is more evident in (12), where the most natural interpretation is 'na tha tim piaso = oti tha tim piaso' and where SMG would indeed require 'oti' instead of the Cretan 'na'.

    If this assumption is correct, then the difference between SMG and the Cretan dialect could be captured as a difference in the semantic features of 'na':

in the latter, 'na' can occasionally appear without any –apparently- modal features, functioning as a complementizer, similarly to 'oti', while in SMG, this cannot occur, as 'na' has always a two-fold role in such contexts, i.e. complementizer and modal marker, hence the controversy regarding its exact status.

The previously unknown Cretan evidence challenges the account of the story of 'na' in the generative framework provided in Roberts & Roussou (2003), according to which 'na' was grammaticalized as features associated with it moved ever higher in the syntactic tree. Apparently, this account should be modified to capture the Cretan facts, which imply that 'na' could sometimes function solely as a complementizer or, in Roberts & Roussou's terms, could merge high in the domain of the left periphery at an earlier stage of its development, a possibility that was subsequently lost. A possible solution would be to postulate two different lexical entries for 'na' associated with partially different feature specification, even though such solutions de-associate the various historically related functions of one form. This issue is obviously linked with the development of the whole system of complementation of Greek, which can be partially clarified by the dialectal evidence, as manifested above.

2.1.2 'Tha' and negation

SMG has developed a straightforward pattern of negation with regard to 'tha' as opposed to 'na', according to which 'tha' is associated with the negative marker 'den', while 'na' is associated with the marker 'min', or schematically 'den tha' vs. 'na min'. This opposition has been considered central for the different status of these two particles, and for the syntax of SMG in general. In various Modern Greek dialects, though, different patterns of negation can be observed, offering us a 'glimpse' into possibly different 'grammars'. In what follows, I will present two such patterns and I will discuss their origin and significance.

i) 'da = den tha' (Macedonia + Thrace)
In the northern dialects, the negative marker 'den' can be incorporated with 'tha', giving the form 'da', as in (1), repeated here as (14):

(14) Dostona more pedi m' to gadro,   **da**   ton fag' gia! (Thrace)
    Give-him   kid   mine the donkey, will-not.prt him eat..!
    'My kid, give him the donkey, he won't eat it!'

This incorporation could constitute the subsequent stage of development of the SMG situation, but is still unattested. Despite the well-known fact that these markers cluster together in SMG and do not allow any element to appear

between them, they have not yet showed any signs of incorporation. The phenomenon exemplified in (14) has no close parallel in the other dialects, and thus could be considered as a distinctive feature of the Northern dialects. However, parallels involving other constructions are attested, not only in the Cretan dialect (15), but also in Southern Italian dialects (16):

(15) thoris to ipokimeno **pa** drapo ti muri tu?
    See-2nd sg. the scoundrel, that-will be-ashamed the face his?
    "He is such a scoundrel that I will not be ashamed in front of him..."

(16) Stativi   attenti nommu caditi
    Be-2nd sg. careful not-part. fall-2nd sg.
    "Be careful not to fall"   (Roberts & Roussou, 2003: 90)

In (15), the form 'pa' stands for the combination of the complementizer 'pou' and the marker 'tha'. A different incorporation, but apparently the same mechanism that yielded 'da' in (14) is at work here. The Cretan example corroborates the validity of the evidence from the Northern dialects, because it suggests that a mechanism of incorporation affected 'tha' in different contexts, but resulted in similar forms. More evidence is needed in order to determine whether the fact that SMG lacks these forms provides any insights concerning either its syntactic or its phonological properties.

    The example in (16) displays an almost identical development attested in the Southern Italian dialects: the marker 'mu', close equivalent to SMG 'na', can be incorporated not only with the negative marker 'non', as in the above example, but also with other elements (cf. Roberts & Roussou, 2003: 90-91). This cross-linguistic evidence implies quite straightforwardly that such incorporations are not peculiar to Greek, but should be probably considered as a development affecting futurity / modality markers as a class, if indeed these markers in Italian and Greek are representative of the same class of elements, an assumption far from self-evident, but plausible.

ii) 'da / tha min = den tha' (Crete, Asia Minor)
    A more interesting pattern is occasionally found in Crete (2, repeated here as 17) and also Asia Minor (18), whereby 'tha' 'selects' / is followed by the negative marker 'min', a combination clearly ungrammatical in SMG:

(17) Ane kami mia nerouxa sia ti brothesini,   **da min** afisi mia elia!
(Crete)
    If makes one storm like the day0before-yesterday, will not spare one olive-tree

"If it rains like it did the day before yesterday, all olive-trees will be destroyed"

(18) I Olga **tha min** erth (Asia Minor)
The Olga will-prt. not come
"Olga will not come"

This pattern has been noticed before, in relation only to the Cretan dialect, and two explanations have been already suggested: Kapsomenos (1958) argues that this construction originates from the Ancient Greek negation 'oudami', while Pangalos (1955) proposes that it comes from the 'mixing' of the negative patterns for 'tha / da' and 'na', i.e. from the mixing of 'den da / tha' and 'na min', without indicating though how and why this 'mixing' could have taken place. With regard to the former, it constitutes a rather over-simplifying account, linking an Ancient Greek negative marker with developments centuries after the specific linguistic element was productive. Pangalos' approach is not very detailed, but there is some evidence that it might actually be partially correct: from a morphological point of view, 'na' and 'tha' could both surface as 'a' in certain dialectal areas (cf. Kontosopoulos, 2001 for evidence on 'na' and section 1 for 'tha'). Their morphological overlap might have even been further facilitated by their semantic similarity, since 'na' could be used as a futurity marker from the Medieval period (cf. Horrocks, 1997), and continued to do so in some dialects as well, and certainly in some areas of Crete (Pangalos, 1955).

Although Pangalos' explanation seems plausible on the light of the facts discussed, it could be hard pressed to account for the example in (18), where no phonological overlap between the two markers is apparent. I would like to suggest that two factors are significant for the emergence of this pattern: first, as is very well-known, 'tha' is itself the outcome of an incorporation process affecting 'the na', which would expectedly be negated by 'min', due to the presence of 'na'. Therefore, the pattern 'tha min' could be simply seen as a residue of this historical development. And secondly, the close semantic affinity between 'tha' and 'na' must have facilitated the continuous existence of such a construction.

In any case, this negation pattern bears evidence in favour of a stage prior to that attested in SMG, whereby the different negation marking of 'tha' and 'na' is not yet consolidated and there exists variation between 'den tha' and 'tha min'. In other words, it suggests a grammar in which the two markers had more in common than they have today in SMG. Even though further evidence is needed to support this view, it raises interesting issues with regard to the syntactic / semantic properties of 'tha' (and 'na') in previous stages or in certain dialects or both: did it have more modal ('irrealis') features, hence its 'selection' of 'min' and its ability, in syntactic terms, to merge higher in the tree, similarly

to 'na' in SMG? Why should this be and how could it be proved? And how and when did the situation in SMG emerge? These questions suggest possible subsequent stages of this research.

On the whole, the dialectal evidence reveals various stages of development that 'tha' (and very possibly 'na' too) passed through before reaching the stage attested in SMG, both in relation to the other modal marker 'na' and to the negative markers. Alternatively, one could argue that the dialects depict space-restricted developments that never gained ground in SMG and disappeared; under this view, the importance of the dialectal evidence lies solely in the documentation of possible developments for markers such as 'tha'. And while some more evidence will be discussed in the following sections, further research is needed to determine which one of the views corresponds more closely to the actual facts.

2.2 'Tha' + 'thelo': a challenging co-occurrence

As is well-known, the future-referring construction 'thelo / thelei (impersonal) na + Subj.', presumably the origin of the formation of 'tha', is still attested in various dialects (cf. Kontosopoulos, 2001 and Komninos, 1970, among others). On the other hand, it has remained hitherto unknown that a very similar construction, involving 'tha' (instead of 'na') and both the personal 'thelo' and the impersonal 'thelei' can be found, as illustrated in (20, 21) respectively:

(20) A   **pao**   **thelo**   (Kastelorizo)
    will-prt. go   will-1st sing.
    "I will go"

(21) Da   **su to xrosto thelei**   ke sto bzefti kosmo ke   sto badotino
(Crete)
    will-prt. you it owe   will-imp. and in-the fake   world and in-the eternal
    "I will be grateful to you both in this fake world and in the eternal one"

Importantly, this is not an isolated development, since it is attested in various areas: Crete, Paros, Naxos, Chios, Nisyros, Symi, Shinussa, Kastelorizo and Asia Minor. All these islands, together with the coast of Asia Minor, are situated in the South of the Aegean. It could be argued therefore that the construction illustrated above constitutes a spatially restricted feature, hence its absence from the Northern dialects.

As can be seen from the example in (20), it is occasionally quite difficult to determine whether the specific construction involves 'na' or 'tha', since both could surface as 'a'. The presence of 'tha' in this construction cannot

be questioned by virtue of examples such as (22), where both 'na' and 'tha' in their full forms are used side by side:

(22) Martis in', th'   alaxi   the,   na   kalokeresi the (Chios)
     March is, will-prt. change will-prt, that-subj. become-better will-prt
     "It is March, so [the weather] will change, it will become better"

The construction with 'na', as already mentioned, is to be expected, as it continues the development that resulted in the formation of 'tha'. The simultaneous use of a construction in two (or more) stages of its development is not surprising, since this situation is found in many instances of grammaticalization (Hopper & Traugott, 2003). On the other hand, the appearance of 'tha' is both surprising and interesting, in the sense that it realizes the following pattern:

(23) Marker + Finite verb + Auxiliary (Marker^2)

Apart from the apparent double marking of a specific grammatical category, such as futurity, (23) is exceptional as both the marker and the auxiliary come from the very same verb (namely, 'thelo'). What could be the reason for the appearance of 'tha' in such a context?

Obviously, an immediate answer would be to attribute (23) to the semantic, syntactic and phonological overlap manifested between 'tha' and 'na' (cf. also section 2.1.2). In other words, the fact that these two markers are semantically related and that both could surface as 'a' might have led speakers to re-analyse 'a' which originally constituted a truncated form of 'na' as 'tha', since the whole construction had a future-referring meaning.

Plausible as it might be, this account is only partially satisfactory. On the one hand, it is not exactly clear if it would predict that in all areas where this pattern is attested the form of 'tha' should be 'a'. If so, then we lack the necessary data to support or discard this claim. On the other hand, there is evidence suggesting that the 'overlap' account is over-simplifying. Consider (24):

(24) **Tha**   na   stathike prepei i nikokera ... (Crete)
     will-prt. that-subj. stopped   must the housewife
     " The housewife must have stopped..."

In this example, a similar construction is attested, but in the place of 'thelo / thelei' occurs 'prepei' (must), and instead of 'tha' its predecessor 'tha na' is found. This example implies that, firstly, the pattern was wider including other modal meanings expressed by other modal verbs (such as 'prepei') and secondly,

that the phonological overlap cannot be the only reason for the emergence of the pattern, since it is attested with a form of the first marker that must have given no ground to phonological confusion ('tha na'). This conclusion is further corroborated by a similar construction involving two markers (instead of a marker and an Auxiliary), which will be discussed in the next section.

It has been established that phonological considerations alone cannot account for the emergence of the pattern in (23). A plausible alternative would be to postulate a disambiguation mechanism as its origin, according to which the 'Auxiliary' following the verb disambiguates the construction, since the marker in pre-verbal position, namely 'tha', can be ambiguous between a modal (epistemic) and a future interpretation. The ambiguity of 'tha' in SMG is well-known and is usually resolved by the precise form of the verb following, i.e. its tense and grammatical aspect (cf. Tsangalidis, 1999). Even though conclusive evidence is lacking, there is no reason to doubt that a similar ambiguity existed in the Modern Greek dialects, as suggested by the examples in (20-24). Unfortunately, no work has been done on the verbal forms following 'tha' depending on its interpretation, as far as the dialects are concerned, and as a consequence, there is no way to determine whether the SMG pattern of disambiguation was possible or there existed inherent ambiguity in the utterances involving 'tha', solved purely —or at least mainly- by contextual means.

An example of such a disambiguation mechanism is found in a completely unrelated language: Babungo, a language spoken in Cameroon, has two 'future' markers that can co-occur, since the first is ambiguous between a tense and a modal interpretation (Schaub, 1985). Obviously, an explanation along these lines is mostly relevant for the emergence of the pattern in the Modern Greek dialects, since after its proliferation it might have generalized to constructions and dialects where no communicative reason of a similar kind would exist.

Apart from its controversial origin, this pattern is rather challenging from a purely syntactic point of view, basically because the Auxiliary is always found immediately after the verb: in all the relevant examples in my corpus, there is not a single attestation of the Auxiliary preceding the 'tha + verb' combination, and all grammars that mention this construction (e.g. Pangalos, 1955 for the Cretan dialect) agree on this point. The exceptionalless rigid word-order clearly implies a syntactic constraint, and although not much is known with regard to the syntax of the Modern Greek dialects, I will attempt to highlight at least what challenges this mechanism suggests for the current generative framework.

My main assumption will be that the construction exemplified in (20-24) is monoclausal. This is by no means uncontroversial, since the opposite view, i.e. that constructions involving complex tenses are bi-clausal has been put

forward (cf. Alexiadou, 1997 and Julien, 2001, among others), albeit not for the kind of constructions discussed above. On the other hand, Tomic (2004) provides examples quite similar to the Modern Greek dialectal data from the Slavic languages and argues for a monoclausal analysis. Without supporting the type of analysis that she suggests, I follow her assumptions concerning the monoclausal character of such constructions, as the data rather confirm to this hypothesis, as will be illustrated in the following example:

(25) **A   su   oko   thelo   mia kopana... (Crete)**
Will-prt. you give-1st sing. will-1st sing. one   blow...
"I will give you such a blow..."

In this example, the 'Auxiliary' 'thelo' surfaces between the verb 'oko' and its object 'mia kopana'. This word-order provides almost insurmountable problems for a bi-clausal analysis, which would have to include numerous movements of dubious plausibility (and triggering) in order to achieve the necessary result. Moreover, semantically there is no basis for assuming two propositions, since 'a....thelo' should be analysed as one discontinuous morpheme with a common set of semantic features. In the opposite case, 'a su oko' should be regarded as a complement of 'thelo' (similarly to the situation occurring with the volitional 'thelo'); but there is no semantic evidence to support this analysis. For these reasons, I will assume a monoclausal analysis for this construction.

This does not solve the problems, however. The main problematic aspect is related to the order Marker - Verb – Auxiliary, and especially the relative order of the Verb and the Auxiliary. Following the assumption of Cinque (1999) that a clause can contain at least two TPs for different temporal interpretation, we can postulate that 'thelo' surfaces in the TP$_{FUT}$ (cf. schema 1). Even so, the question remains: how is the Verb spelled-out above the Auxiliary?

Schema (1)
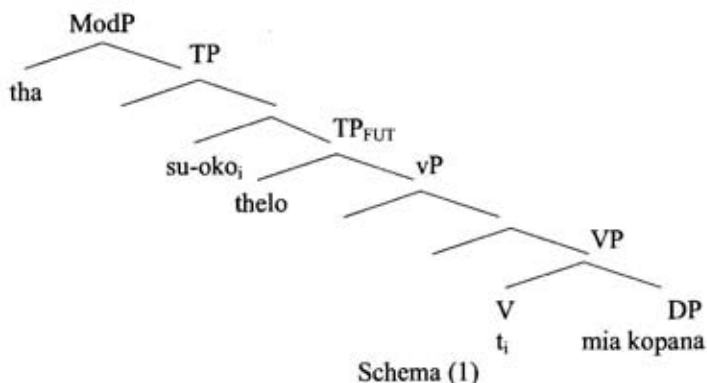
Two solutions have been proposed in the literature for this problem: According to the first (Roberts, 1992 and Rivero, 1994), the Verb moves to T skipping the Auxiliary. This type of movement, usually referred to as 'long head-movement', has been criticized, since it violates cyclicity, one (perhaps the only) of the basic constraints on movement that have remained hitherto rather unchallenged in the Minimalist program. In his account of similar phenomena in the Slavic languages, Boskovic (1997) repeats the above criticism against 'long head-movement' and argues instead for head-adjunction, either left or right. Boskovic's account is not devoid of problems either, since the mechanism of adjunction constitutes a long-standing problem in the syntactic literature, especially in relation to adverbial adjuncts (cf. Alexiadou, 2002). In order to apply this account to the data of the Modern Greek dialects, we need to assume that 'auxiliaries' can be adjuncts (a highly controversial issue), and that adjuncts can participate in syntactic operations such as Agree, since 'thelo' obviously manifests agreement with the verb, except when it is used as an impersonal. Without a comprehensive theory of adjunction, these assumptions remain controversial, to say the least.

There is not conclusive evidence in favour of either of these two analyses, and the solution is far from clear. It is evident though that the Modern Greek dialects pose important challenges to the current generative framework, and therefore a thorough research into the syntax of these dialects is needed, which offers a rather strikingly different picture from SMG.

2.3 *Other grammatical uses*

The data from the Modern Greek dialects contain also instances of other grammatical uses of 'tha' and its variants, which are not attested in SMG, and are therefore worth mentioning. The first of them constitutes a pattern rather similar to the one discussed in the previous section, while the remaining refer to uses of 'tha' outside the strictly verbal domain.

2.3.1 'tha + thanna': 'double' marking again

In the corpus of the island of Symi are found three attestations of a pattern exemplified in (26):

(26) **Tha   tin edakasseth-thanna**   (Symi)
    Will-prt. her   bit-must (?)prt.
    "(She) must have bitten her ..."

This phenomenon, apparently of a local character as there are no attestations from any other dialect, bears close resemblance to the one discussed in section 2.2, whereby 'tha' was followed by a Verb and an Auxiliary. Despite the

obvious similarities, which suggest that (26) be seen as a sub-case of this pattern, the construction from Symi is different in two respects, semantically and morphologically. First, it always conveys an epistemic meaning, and is therefore more restricted semantically than the pattern in (23), which as already mentioned could occur both with a future-referring and an epistemic meaning (even though with different Auxiliary in each case). Secondly, instead of an Auxiliary another 'marker' occurs, namely 'thanna', which constitutes a predecessor of 'tha'; more interestingly though, 'thanna' might have been able to attach more closely to the verb, as in all the relevant examples in the corpus the verb is written with a 'th' in the end, possibly indicating its close union with the following 'thanna'.[3] Due to lack of further evidence, it is almost impossible to tell if this is the case and if 'thanna' constitutes a verbal clitic or an inflectional affix (for this notorious problem, cf. Halpern, 1998). In any case, the pattern initially mentioned in (23) can be further elaborated as in (27):

(27) Marker + Verb + Auxiliary / Marker

The epistemic modality in the local variety of Symi could also be expressed by a variant construction, exemplified in (28):

(28) Annuli, i ornithes sas   kakrakitzun, **egenisath-thanna**
     Ann, the hens yours   shout,   laid eggs-must.prt
     "Ann, your hens are shouting, they must have laid eggs"

In this example, the first marker 'tha' is absent, while the order of the verb and the second marker remains unchanged. The earlier emergence of 'thanna' as opposed to 'tha' implies that (28) represents a previous stage than (26) does, even though the evidence is too scarce for any solid conclusions. Once again, the amount of variation associated with markers such as 'tha' is remarkable, since there are two variant constructions for the expression of one meaning just in a local dialect (Symi)!

2.3.2 'Complementizers / Adverbials'

i) 'Tha' = if?
     There is some, although dubious, evidence that 'tha' could be also used in conditionals, as shown in (29):

(29) **Tha** buresu,   than   ertu (Imbros)
     If can-1st sing., will-prt. come-1st sing.
     "If I will be able to, I will come"

Unfortunately, this is the only example of this kind, and therefore no firm conclusions can be drawn. The co-occurrence of the two markers might entail that (29) should be best analysed as a case of 'asyndeton', whereby the conditional interpretation is derived from the specific context and is not a property of 'tha' itself. Similar cases exist in SMG, but they crucially involve 'na' and convey a specific conditional interpretation, usually doubt or threat (cf. Christidis & Nikiforidou, 1994). Furthermore, in the dialect of Samothraki, an island in the same area of the Aegean, the form 'aa' is the equivalent of both 'an =if' and 'tha'; still, this might be entirely attributed to phonological developments of the specific dialect and not to any semantic / syntactic properties. Since (29) is not very illuminating by itself and possible parallels from other varieties of Greek are difficult to establish, I will remain sceptical as to the exact meaning of this example.

ii) Epistemic adverbial: 'thagi'

From the same island of Imbros comes another obscure example, involving an adverbial possibly based on 'tha':

(30) **Thagi** den eh da tiputa   to pidi   (Imbros)
      Adv. not has   nothing the kid
      "Probably the kid has nothing"

According to the scholars that noted down this example, the adverbial 'thagi' comes from the combination of 'tha' with the conjunction 'kai'. However, it is unclear how this incorporation took place, and in what contexts, since 'tha' could hardly be expected to be immediately followed by a conjunction. A possible parallel to such a development is attested in the various official documents of the Venetian-ruled parts of Greece (e.g. Crete, Corfu etc.), where conjunctions such as 'estontas kai = because' and 'anisos(tas) kai = in case that' are highly productive. Still, not one of these conjunctions involves 'tha' or any of its variants. On the whole, more data is needed in order to determine the origin of this development as well as the authenticity of the specific example.

3. Conclusions: Syntactic variation and isoglosses

The Modern Greek dialects exhibit extensive variation with regard to the future-referring constructions involving 'tha' and its variants. This was observed with relation to the co-occurrence of 'tha' with other linguistic elements, such as the particle 'na' and the negation markers 'den' and 'min' (cf. section 2.1), as well as to its co-occurrence with another future-referring Auxiliary or marker of the same etymological origin (cf. 2.2-2.3)! To the extent that the Modern Greek dialects display patterns not attested in SMG, their

investigation can shed light to the exact path of developments that resulted in the contemporary linguistic situation or, alternatively, to possible developments of such futurity / modality markers that did not proliferate in SMG. Moreover, it has been shown that the dialectal data provide considerable challenges for the current generative syntactic framework, and therefore their investigation is interesting even from a purely theoretical point of view. Further material is needed not only from the contemporary dialects, but also from the 17th-19th centuries, in order to determine the sequence of developments that led to the picture observed today, both in dialects and in SMG.

The data discussed in the previous sections also pose interesting questions with regard to the drawing of a possible dialectal map of Greece. Trudgill (2003) has recently suggested such a map, based as he himself admits mainly on 6 phonological isoglosses. According to Trudgill's proposal, Greece could be divided into 15 dialectal areas. This picture is only partially in accordance to the evidence concerning the futurity / modality markers. On a morphological level, the distribution of the various forms of 'tha' is indicative: for instance, if we follow Trudgill's classification, the form 'da' is attested in three different dialectal areas, namely Northern Greece, the Cyclades and Crete, which are not traditionally related as parts of a wider dialectal continuum. It could be argued that this fact could simply be attributed to independent morpho-phonological developments, and cannot be considered a plausible feature of dialectal differentiation. However, the very same argument can be said for many of the 'traditional' criteria used, which almost exclusively make reference to phonological patterns.

Even more importantly, perhaps, syntactic phenomena illustrated in this paper cast some doubt to the validity of this division. The 'double marking' construction, discussed in section 2.2, is attested in five different dialectal areas of Trudgill's map, namely in Crete, North and South Cyclades, Chios and the Dodekanese. Obviously, this distributional pattern is different than the one mentioned regarding the form 'da'. And such differentiated distribution could be repeated for each one of the phenomena discussed in this paper. This only illustrates the complexity of such categorisations, and how conflicting evidence must be somehow made to fit into an overall picture. A dialectal map is by necessity the product of generalizations. The question is, why these generalizations should be based on phonological features and not on syntactic constructions and phenomena, and what should be done in case those two levels of grammar provide contradictory evidence.

Trudgill himself knows and explicitly states that more work should be carried out in order to include 'grammatical' features in the dialectal map (2003: 61). This paper has arguably proven that the wide variety of syntactic constructions associated with the futurity / modality markers is challenging both for theoretical accounts but also for the 'traditional' ways of constructing

dialectal areas in Greece. The systematic and thorough investigation of the dialectal evidence at hand, as far as syntax / semantics is concerned, appears as a pre-requisite in order to better understand the grammar of the various Modern Greek dialects and their relationship with SMG.

4. Notes

[1] This is not a phenomenon peculiar to Greek: in Old English, the 'modal verbs' apparently had similar uses (cf. e.g. Warner, 1993). Perhaps the gradual 'weakening' of the Subjunctive as a morphological category, attested in both languages, is the main reason for the emergence of such a pattern, even though the matter needs further research.

[2] The status of 'thelo' cannot be discussed in detail here. Suffice to say that although 'thelo' in (20) bears many characteristics of a typical Auxiliary, the form 'the' in (22) is more difficult to classify, and could even be argued to constitute a marker similarly to 'tha'. Cf. also section 2.3.

[3] On the contrary, 'the' in example (22) does not seem to have any phonological effect on the preceding verb. Moreover, there is historical evidence (Markopoulos, forthcoming) that this form is not opaque, and certainly not as opaque as 'thanna' must have been. This is the reason why I have included the example in (22) in the pattern 'Marker + Verb + Auxiliary'.

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6. Περίληψη

Η παρούσα μελέτη εξετάζει τις σημασιο-συντακτικές ιδιότητες των διαφόρων δομών που εμφανίζονται στις Νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους και έχουν ως βάση την μελλοντική / τροπική 'περίφραση' 'θα + παρεμφατικός τύπος', με επιμέρους παραλλαγές (π.χ. 'θε να + παρεμφατικός τύπος'). Η μελέτη αναδεικνύει την ευρύτατη διαλεκτική ποικιλία στις συντακτικές και σημασιολογικές χρήσεις του 'θα', γεγονός που μάλλον δεν είχε

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επισημανθεί ιδιαίτερα από την σχετική γλωσσολογική έρευνα. Επιπλέον, φανερώνει τους διάφορους σημασιο-συντακτικούς 'δρόμους' που μπορεί να ακολουθήσει ένα γλωσσικό στοιχείο όπως το 'θα' στην εξέλιξή του, οι οποίοι συχνότατα αποτελούν 'προκλήσεις' όχι μόνο για την θεωρητική προσέγγιση της γλωσσικής αλλαγής (λόγω της πολυπλοκότητάς τους), αλλά και για το γενετικό συντακτικό μοντέλο, κυρίως λόγω της ποικιλίας που παρατηρείται ακόμα και στην ίδια διάλεκτο. Τέλος, διερευνάται κατά πόσον μία πιθανή ενσωμάτωση συντακτικών 'ισογλώσσων' θα διαφοροποιούσε την παραδεδομένη εικόνα για τα γεωγραφικά όρια των Νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων, αλλά και για τον καθορισμό των διαλέκτων γενικότερα.

Η μείωση της πολυτυπίας των κλιτικών τάξεων στο ονοματικό παράδειγμα της διαλέκτου των Κυδωνιών και των Μοσχονησίων: η περίπτωση των ονομάτων σε -'aris και -'anis[1]

Melissaropoulou Dimitra
University of Patras

This paper analyses data from the plural nominal paradigm of the Greek Asia-Minor dialect of Kydonies (Aivali) and Moschonisia. Following earlier work by Ralli, Melissaropoulou and Tsiamas (2003), I assume that masculine nouns show a strong tendency for uniformity in the plural, across paradigms. Although it is argued that masculine nouns displaying allomorphic stem variation resist paradigmatic restructuring, a group of nouns ending in –ari(s) and –ani(s) show an alternation between allomorphic and non-allomorphic plural forms. Examining the nature of these nouns, which consist partly of Turkish adapted loans and partly of Greek derivatives, two hypotheses arise. The first hypothesis is that Turkish loans in -i (originated from words marked by a definitive case) are adapted in the dialect as plural forms in -ĭ. According to the second hypothesis, which is also the main claim of the paper, the alternation between the two forms is due to morpho-phonological and semantic operations within the dialect, and conforms to the general tendency for paradigmatic uniformity.

Keywords: Greek dialects, loans, inflectional / derivational suffixes, paradigm uniformity, morphophonological operations.

1. Εισαγωγή

Η ελληνική διάλεκτος των Κυδωνιών και Μοσχονησίων ανήκει στην ομάδα των βορειοελληνικών διαλέκτων και παρουσιάζει τα δύο κύρια χαρακτηριστικά του βόρειου φωνηεντισμού. Δηλαδή, την αποβολή των άτονων /i/ /u/, (1) και τη μετατροπή των άτονων μέσων φωνηέντων /e/ και /o/ στα υψηλά /i/ και /u/ αντίστοιχα (2):

(1)	Διάλεκτος	KNE
	mlar	mu'lari
	voð	'voði

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(2)   xu'raf   xo'rafi
            pit'nos   peti'nos

Παράλληλα με αυτές τις αποκλίσεις, η διάλεκτος εμφανίζει σημαντικές διαφοροποιήσεις και στη μορφολογία και πιο συγκεκριμένα στην ονοματική κλίση. Ειδικότερα, σύμφωνα με τη Ράλλη (2000), τα αρσενικά ουσιαστικά, που θα μας απασχολήσουν εδώ, κλίνονται στην Κοινή Νέα Ελληνική (στο εξής ΚΝΕ), στο πρότυπο δύο κλιτικών τάξεων. Βασικό κριτήριο για τη διάκριση των δύο είναι η ύπαρξη αλλομορφίας[2]. Η πρώτη κλιτική τάξη, στην ΚΝΕ περιλαμβάνει ονόματα σε –ος, που δεν έχουν αλλόμορφα, ενώ η δεύτερη ονόματα σε –ας, –ης, -ους, -ες, με ένα φωνηεντικό αλλόμορφο στον ενικό και ένα συμφωνικό αλλόμορφο στον πληθυντικό. Σχηματικά:

(3)   ΚΝΕ
Κλιτική τάξη 1. Ονόματα σε –ος. π.χ. 'anθrop-(ος) ~ 'anθrop-(οι)
Κλιτική τάξη 2.Ονόματα σε –ας, –ης, -ους, -ες. π.χ.
                    'koraka-(s) ~ 'korak-(es)   ba'kali-(s) ~ ba'kaliδ(es)
                    ka'fe-(s) ~ ka'feδ-(es)   pa'pu(s) ~ pa'puδ(es)

Στη διάλεκτο, όπως έχουν δείξει οι Ράλλη, Μελισσαροπούλου & Τσιάμας (2004), τα ίδια ουσιαστικά, έχουν υποστεί μείωση της πολυτυπίας των κλιτικών τάξεων στον πληθυντικό αριθμό, σύμφωνα με την οποία η διαφοροποίηση ανάμεσα στις δύο κλιτικές τάξεις μειώνεται προς όφελος της πρώτης. Ουσιαστικά δηλαδή της δεύτερης κλιτικής τάξης όπως τα 'korakas και 'arxudas στη διάλεκτο περνούν στην πρώτη κλιτική τάξη ακολουθώντας το κλιτικό πρότυπο του ουσιαστικού 'aθripus :

(4)   Διάλεκτος Αϊβαλιού και Μοσχονησιού
Κλιτική τάξη 1. 'aθrip-(us) ~ a'θrop(i)[3] '   koraka-(s) ~ ku'rac(i)
                'saλaga-(s) ~ sa'λaʒ[4]/g'(i)   'arxuda-(s) ~ ar'xod(i)
                'σαλιγκάρι'

Ορισμένα ουσιαστικά, σύμφωνα με τους Ράλλη, Μελισσαροπούλου & Τσιάμα (2004), αντιστέκονται στην τάση της διαλέκτου για μείωση της πολυτυπίας των κλιτικών τάξεων. Αυτά είναι τα ουσιαστικά που σχηματίζουν αλλόμορφο για τον πληθυντικό αριθμό με το σχηματιστικό στοιχείο -δ-:

(5) ba'kaλ-(s) ~ ba'kaλδ(is)   ka'fe-(s) ~ ka'feδ-(is)   pa'pu(s) ~ pa'puδ(is)

Η αλλομορφία που αντιστέκεται στην τάση μείωσης της πολυτυπίας ερμηνεύεται από τους ίδιους ως ενίσχυση της διατήρησης της δομής των

θεμάτων, δομής δηλαδή λεξικού περιεχομένου. Εξίσου ενισχυτικός της δομής είναι ο ρόλος της αλλομορφίας και στα ονόματα με παραγωγικό επίθημα, (6), τα οποία κατά κανόνα δεν υπόκεινται στη μείωση της πολυτυπίας των κλιτικών τάξεων. Η διατήρηση δηλαδή της αλλομορφίας, (6.δ), ή η δημιουργία νέας στη διάλεκτο, (6.α, β και γ), συμβάλλει στη διατήρηση της δομής αλλά και στη διακριτότητα των παραγωγικών επιθημάτων[5]:

(6)   Παράγωγα ουσιαστικά
α. σε –tis :   rafts   'raftðis / ra'ftaδις   και όχι   'raftis
β. σε -'otis: ɲ'sots   ɲ'sotðis   και όχι   ɲ'sotis
γ. σε –tis: vuti'xtis   vuti'xtaðis   και όχι   vuti'xtes
δ. σε –dzis: kudraba'dzis kudraba'dziðis   και όχι   *kudraba'dzis
                                                                   'λαθρέμπορος'

2. Τα δεδομένα

Ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει το γεγονός ότι ενώ τα παράγωγα ουσιαστικά αντιστέκονται στην τάση μείωσης της πολυτυπίας των κλιτικών τάξεων, διατηρώντας την αλλομορφία τους ή δημιουργώντας νέα στη διάλεκτο, μια μόνο κατηγορία παραγώγων, τα σε –'aris, εμφανίζουν εναλλαγή στο σχηματισμό του πληθυντικού (7). Δημιουργούν δηλαδή δύο μορφές: μια με αλλόμορφο σε –δ-, ~ariδ-, και κλιτικό επίθημα –es, στο πρότυπο της δεύτερης κλιτικής τάξης, και μια χωρίς αλλόμορφο, με κλιτικό επίθημα –i, στο πρότυπο της πρώτης κλιτικής τάξης :

(7)   Ενικός   Πληθυντικός
        xti'kiars   xti'kiarðis   /   xtikia'ri
        psu'rjars   psu'rjarðis   /   psurja'ri
        tsi'bljars   tsi'bljarðis /   tsiblja'ri

Περαιτέρω έρευνα στο διαλεκτικό υλικό έδειξε ότι την ίδια εναλλαγή παρουσιάζουν και τα μη παράγωγα ουσιαστικά που επίσης λήγουν σε - 'aris και - anis:

(8) Ενικός   Πληθυντικός
α. σε –aris
bi'kiars   bikia'ri   /   bi'kiarðis   'εργένης'
mu'rdars   murda'ri   /   mu'rdarðis   'βρομιάρης'
mam'dzars / dzam'dzars   mamdza'ri   /   mamdzarðis 'απατεώνας'
β. σε –anis
baxtsa'vaɲs   baxtsava'ɲi / baxtsa'vaɲðis 'μανάβης'

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| bixʎi'vaɲs | bixʎi'vaɲðis / bixʎi'vaɲðis | 'παλαιστής' |
| dzu'baɲs | dzuba'ɲi / dzubana'ri / dzu'baɲðis | 'τσοπάνης' |

Διερευνώντας τη φύση των παραπάνω ουσιαστικών, διαπιστώνουμε ότι τα ουσιαστικά των δύο ομάδων διέπονται από ένα κοινό χαρακτηριστικό. Αποτελούν στην πλειοψηφία τους προσαρμοσμένα δάνεια από την τουρκική γλώσσα. Ενδεικτικά:

(9) | Διαλεκτική μορφή | Τουρκική ρίζα | Ερμηνεία |
|---|---|---|
| bi'kiars | bekâr | 'άγαμος' |
| mu'rdars | murdar | 'βρώμικος' |
| mam'dzars / dzam'dzars | mazhar | 'ευνοημένος' |

Διαπιστώνουμε δηλαδή, σε σχέση με το –aris, ότι το λεξικό στοιχείο –ar-, δεν είναι το γνωστό λατινογενές επίθημα το οποίο προσαρμόζει δάνεια στην ΚΝΕ. Αντίθετα, θεωρείται μέρος της τουρκικής ρίζας.

3. Δύο υποθέσεις εργασίας

Εξετάζοντας λοιπόν το σύνολο των ονομάτων που παρουσιάζουν εναλλαγή στο κλιτικό παράδειγμα του πληθυντικού, και τα οποία αποτελούνται εν μέρει από παράγωγα σε -aris και εν μέρει από προσαρμοσμένα τουρκικά δάνεια σε –anis και –aris, δύο διαφορετικές υποθέσεις εργασίας ανακύπτουν για την ερμηνεία του φαινομένου.

3.1 Επιρροή από την τουρκική γλώσσα

Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη το γεγονός ότι ένας σημαντικός αριθμός ουσιαστικών από το υπό εξέταση γλωσσικό υλικό αποτελεί προσαρμοσμένα δάνεια από την τουρκική γλώσσα, θα άξιζε τον κόπο να διερευνηθεί το ενδεχόμενο μια πιθανή ερμηνεία του φαινομένου, να οφείλεται σε γλωσσική επαφή ανάμεσα στη διάλεκτο και την τουρκική γλώσσα, και πιο συγκεκριμένα, στους μηχανισμούς του γλωσσικού δανεισμού.

Προκειμένου να καταστεί κατανοητό πώς τα τουρκικά θα μπορούσαν να επηρεάσουν το κλιτικό παράδειγμα της διαλέκτου, θα ήταν καλό να λάβουμε υπόψη κάποια βασικά χαρακτηριστικά του τουρκικού γλωσσικού συστήματος. Το πρώτο στοιχείο αφορά το υπερτεμαχιακό χαρακτηριστικό του τόνου. Στα τουρκικά, η συντριπτική πλειοψηφία των λέξεων τονίζεται στην τελευταία συλλαβή. Το δεύτερο στοιχείο αφορά τα τουρκικά κλιτικά επιθήματα στο βαθμό που αυτά μεταφέρονται στη δανειζόμενη γλώσσα. Στην τουρκική γλώσσα

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γίνεται διάκριση ανάμεσα σε ρίζες, θέματα (ρίζα + παραγωγικό επίθημα) και λέξεις. Για τα ουσιαστικά που μας απασχολούν εδώ,

α) η ονομαστική πτώση είναι ακατάληκτη, συμπίπτει δηλαδή με τη ρίζα.

β) το κλιτικό επίθημα της οριστικής πτώσης που συνήθως βρίσκεται σε θέση αντικειμένου είναι –i. Μπορεί να πάρει τη μορφή –ι, -u ή –ü με βάση τους νόμους της φωνηεντικής αρμονίας που διέπουν τα τουρκικά, όπως φαίνεται στα παραδείγματα που ακολουθούν (τα φωνήεντα μιας λέξης ευθυγραμμίζονται ως προς το χαρακτηριστικό [+ εμπρόσθιο] και [+ οπίσθιο]).

(10) Ρίζα   Οριστική πτώση   Ερμηνεία
      ev   ev-i   'σπίτι'
      oda   odası   'δωμάτιο'
      okul   okul-u   'σχολείο'
      göz   gözü   'μάτι'

Ο Κυρανούδης στη διατριβή του (2001:178) για την προσαρμογή των τουρκικών δανείων στην ελληνική, παραπέμποντας και στην Αναστασιάδη – Συμεωνίδη (1992) για την προσαρμογή των αγγλοαμερικανικών και γαλλικών δανείων, αναφέρει ότι ο δανεισμός και η προσαρμογή των δανείων, κατά τη διάρκεια /εξαιτίας γλωσσικής επαφής, δεν λαμβάνει πάντα χώρα στην ονομαστική πτώση του ενικού αριθμού, αλλά κατά προτίμηση στη μορφή που παρουσιάζει την υψηλότερη συχνότητα στη γλώσσα παραγωγής. Δεν είναι σπάνιο φαινόμενο δάνειες λέξεις να εισέρχονται στη δανειζόμενη γλώσσα στον ενικό αριθμό και να προσαρμόζονται ως μορφές του πληθυντικού ή το αντίθετο εξαιτίας κοινής φωνητικής μορφής ανάμεσα στην κατάληξη του δανείου και κάποιο κλιτικό επίθημα της δανειζόμενης γλώσσας.

Στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση, θα μπορούσαμε να υποθέσουμε ότι δάνεια ονόματα από την τουρκική, όπως αυτά στο παράδειγμα (11), όλα [+ανθρώπινα, + αρσενικά +συμφωνόληκτα] μπήκαν στο σύστημα της διαλέκτου όχι με τη μορφή της ρίζας, (ακατάληκτα), αλλά με το κλιτικό επίθημα της οριστικής πτώσης. Στη συνέχεια το κλιτικό –i, εξαιτίας κοινής φωνολογικής μορφής με το κλιτικό επίθημα του πληθυντικού των αρσενικών ουσιαστικών της διαλέκτου επαναλύθηκε ως τέτοιο. Ενισχυτική προς αυτή την κατεύθυνση θα μπορούσε να θεωρηθεί και η ισχυρή τάση της διαλέκτου για μείωση της πολυτυπίας των κλιτικών τάξεων, η οποία όπως ήδη αναφέραμε τείνει να ενοποιήσει το κλιτικό παράδειγμα του πληθυντικού για τα αρσενικά στο μονότυπο -i.

(11)   Ρίζα   + κλ. επίθημα
bica'ri   < bekâr   + i[6] 'άγαμος, εργένης'
baxtsava'ni < bahçivan + i   'μανάβης, καλλιεργητής οπωροκηπευτικών '

Στη συνέχεια, θα μπορούσαμε να υποθέσουμε ότι αυτή η μορφή επεκτάθηκε αναλογικά και στα μη δάνεια ουσιαστικά σε –aris, λόγω φωνητικής ομοιότητας / ταύτισης του ληκτικού τους μέρους δίνοντας παράλληλα με τους τύπους του πληθυντικού σε –ðis, που προϋπήρχαν, και αυτούς σε -i.

(12) xti'cars   xti'carðis / xtica'ri, psu'rjars   psu'rjarðis / psurja'ri

Αυτή η υπόθεση όμως όσο ελκυστική και αν φαίνεται, αποδεικνύεται μάλλον ανεπαρκής, καθώς εγείρονται μια σειρά από ερωτήματα τα οποία υπό το πρίσμα αυτής της ανάλυσης δεν βρίσκουν, κατά τη γνώμη μας, μια ικανοποιητική ερμηνεία.

Το πρώτο πρόβλημα που εμφανίζεται, σχετίζεται με την προσαρμογή άλλων τουρκικών δανείων με κοινά χαρακτηριστικά. Τα ονόματα που ακολουθούν στο παράδειγμα (13), αποτελούν και αυτά τουρκικά δάνεια, που δηλώνουν χαρακτηριστικό [+αρσενικό] και των οποίων η ρίζα λήγει σε σύμφωνο. Παρόλα αυτά, δε φαίνεται να υπακούν στο παραπάνω σχήμα προσαρμογής.

(13)   Ενικός   Τουρκ. ρίζα   Πληθυντικός
        ðer'vis   dervis   ðer'visðis   και όχι   *ðervi'si
        fa'kirs   fakir   fa'kirðis   και όχι   *faki'ri
        ba'kaʎs   bakal   ba'kaʎðis   και όχι   *baka'ʎi

Δεν εμφανίζουν δηλαδή στον πληθυντικό μορφή χωρίς αλλόμορφο με κλιτικό επίθημα –i. Μελετώντας τα, παρατηρούμε ότι δεν υφίστανται φωνολογικοί λόγοι, τουλάχιστον διακριτοί σε μας, οι οποίοι να είναι σε θέση να εξηγήσουν γιατί στη διάλεκτο κάποια ονοματικά τουρκικά συμφωνόληκτα δάνεια ακολουθούν διαφορετικό σχήμα προσαρμογής από κάποια άλλα. Το σύμφωνο της ρίζας είναι υγρό ή έρρινο, /n/ και /r/ αντίστοιχα στην πρώτη ομάδα και υγρό, /r/ και /l/, ή συριστικό /s/ στη δεύτερη, ενώ ο τόνος βρίσκεται σταθερά στην τελευταία συλλαβή. Δεν δικαιολογείται το γιατί δηλαδή κάποια ουσιαστικά εισέρχονται στο σύστημα της διαλέκτου με τη μορφή της ρίζας, ενώ κάποια άλλα, με κοινά χαρακτηριστικά, με το κλιτικό επίθημα που δηλώνει οριστική πτώση. Κατά συνέπεια, η συμπεριφορά αυτής της ομάδας δανείων ονομάτων αποδυναμώνει, την ισχύ του υποτιθέμενου σχήματος προσαρμογής.

Το δεύτερο πρόβλημα που εμφανίζεται, σχετίζεται με την εναλλαγή των δύο κλιτικών μορφών. Το προτεινόμενο σχήμα προσαρμογής των τουρκικών δανείων δικαιολογεί και επιτάσσει το σχηματισμό του πληθυντικού χωρίς αλλόμορφο στο πρότυπο της πρώτης κλιτικής τάξης η οποία στη διάλεκτο εμφανίζεται ιδιαίτερα ισχυρή καθώς είναι αυτή που ασκεί πιέσεις για παραδειγματική ομοιομορφία. Στη βάση αυτού του συλλογισμού, δεν προβλέπεται εναλλαγή ανάμεσα στις δύο κλιτικές τάξεις ούτε φυσικά είναι σε

θέση να ερμηνευθεί γιατί σε κάποια ουσιαστικά επιτρέπεται η εναλλαγή ενώ σε άλλα όχι.

Η υπόθεση που κάναμε παραπάνω για αναλογική επέκταση της μορφής σε –i, από τα δάνεια σε -ar στα παράγωγα σε –aris, θα μπορούσε να λειτουργήσει και αντίστροφα. Να υποθέσουμε δηλαδή ότι επεκτείνεται αναλογικά η μορφή σε –dis από τα παράγωγα στα δάνεια. Ένας τέτοιος συλλογισμός όμως δικαιολογεί την εναλλαγή στην κλιτική συμπεριφορά μόνο των δανείων σε –ar, αφήνει όμως ανερμήνευτα αυτά σε –an, τα οποία εμφανίζουν επίσης εναλλαγή στο κλιτικό παράδειγμα του πληθυντικού.

Τέλος, θα πρέπει να σημειώσουμε ότι όντως δεν είναι σπάνιες οι περιπτώσεις κατά τις οποίες δάνεια από τη γλώσσα παραγωγής που βρίσκονται στον τύπο του ενικού να θεωρούνται κατά την προσαρμογή τους στη γλώσσα δέκτη τύποι πληθυντικού επειδή το τελικό τμήμα τους ταυτίζεται φωνητικά με κάποιο από τα μορφήματα του πληθυντικού της γλώσσας δανεισμού. Εντούτοις, η φωνητική σύμπτωση δεν είναι πάντοτε επαρκής αιτία. Χρειάζεται και η συνδρομή σημασιολογικών παραγόντων. Θα πρέπει δηλαδή και η σημασία της λέξης να ενισχύει τη σύνδεσή της με τον πληθυντικό αριθμό (συνήθως μικρά αντικείμενα που απαντούν σε ποσότητα, λέξεις με συχνή χρήση στον πληθυντικό για να δηλώσουν την περιληπτική έννοια).[7] Στην περίπτωση όμως που μας απασχολεί δεν συντρέχουν οι παραπάνω παράγοντες, καθώς πρόκειται για [+ ανθρώπινα] ουσιαστικά, τα οποία αποτελούν διακριτές μονάδες.

Κατά συνέπεια, θα πρέπει να σκεφτούμε ότι, αν δεν ενεργοποιείται κάποιος ισχυρός γλωσσικός μηχανισμός της διαλέκτου, που να πιέζει προς αυτή την κατεύθυνση, της σύμπτωσης δηλαδή των μορφών, και να εμφανίζει συστηματικότητα, το συγκεκριμένο σχήμα προσαρμογής φαίνεται αντιοικονομικό καθώς παρουσιάζει υψηλό βαθμό μαρκαρίσματος και δεν εφαρμόζεται στο σύνολο των δανείων από την τουρκική.

3.2 Μορφοφωνολογικές διαδικασίες μέσα στη διάλεκτο

Σύμφωνα με τη δεύτερη υπόθεση εργασίας, η οποία αποτελεί και την κεντρική ιδέα αυτής της ανακοίνωσης, η προσαρμογή των [+ ανθρώπινων], συμφωνόληκτων τουρκικών δανείων στη διάλεκτο λαμβάνει δηλαδή χώρα στον ενικό αριθμό ενώ η εναλλαγή ανάμεσα στις δύο μορφές του πληθυντικού οφείλεται σε μορφοφωνολογικές διαδικασίες και "συντάσσεται" με τη γενικότερη τάση για παραδειγματική ομοιομορφία.

3.2.1 Προσαρμογή των [+ ανθρώπινων], συμφωνόληκτων τουρκικών δανείων

Σύμφωνα με τη Ράλλη (2002), τα καθοριστικά χαρακτηριστικά για την απόδοση του γραμματικού γένους στα ουσιαστικά είναι το [+ανθρώπινο] και το [φύλο]. Όσα ονόματα δηλαδή έχουν ως αντικείμενο αναφοράς πρόσωπο καθορισμένου

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φύλου, αρσενικού ή θηλυκού, αποκτούν το γραμματικό τους γένος στη βάση του φύλου. Κατά συνέπεια, τα [+ ανθρώπινα], αρσενικά δάνεια της τουρκικής[8] που εισέρχονται στα ελληνικά "θα πρέπει" να επιλέξουν μια από τις βασικές καταλήξεις των αρσενικών για την προσαρμογή τους στο σύστημα. Οι τρεις βασικές καταλήξεις των αρσενικών είναι οι εξής : -ης, -ας και –ος[9].

Η επιλογή της μιας από τις τρεις καταλήξεις γίνεται με βάση το χαρακτηριστικό του τόνου. Οι Μαλικούτη – Drachman & Drachman (1989), επιχειρώντας μια ανάλυση του τονισμού της ΚΝΕ, υποστηρίζουν ότι τα ονόματα σε –ος (άνθρωπος) δείχνουν ισχυρή προτίμηση στον προπαροξύτονο τονισμό, ενώ τα ονόματα σε –ας (ταμίας) και –ης (στρατιώτης) στον παροξύτονο. Τα [+ ανθρώπινα] συμφωνόληκτα δάνεια από την τουρκική, είναι οξύτονα στο σύνολό τους. Εφόσον λοιπόν, σύμφωνα και με τον Κυρανούδη (2001), κατά την προσαρμογή τους στο σύστημα της ελληνικής δέχονται κάποια κατάληξη και γίνονται παροξύτονα, είναι αναμενόμενο να δεχθούν την πιο τυπική - παραγωγική κατάληξη για τα παροξύτονα αρσενικά, αυτήν σε –ης.

Στην περίπτωση των ονομάτων που μας απασχολεί, η κοινή μορφή με το παραγωγικό επίθημα –aris, που δημιουργεί [+ανθρώπινα] ονόματα, θεωρούμε ότι λειτούργησε ενισχυτικά προς αυτή την κατεύθυνση. Κατά συνέπεια, υποθέτουμε ότι η μορφολογική προσαρμογή των ονοματικών τουρκικών δανείων στη διάλεκτο λαμβάνει χώρα κανονικά, με τη μορφή της ρίζας και υιοθετεί το κλιτικό παράδειγμα της δεύτερης κλιτικής τάξης που περιλαμβάνει τα αρσενικά ουσιαστικά με κλιτικό επίθημα –ς με την παρουσία της αλλομορφίας Χ ~ Χδ:

(14)   mu'rdars mu'rdarδis, biχλί'vaɲs biχλί'vaɲδis

3.2.2 Η εναλλαγή των –i και –δis

Η προσαρμογή των δανείων στο μορφολογικό σύστημα της ελληνικής αλά και της διαλέκτου, όπως περιγράφηκε αμέσως παραπάνω, ερμηνεύει την προσθήκη του κλιτικού επιθήματος –is στον πληθυντικό και την παρουσία θεματικών αλλομόρφων με το σχηματιστικό –δ-. Παραμένει όμως ανερμήνευτη η παρουσία των εναλλακτικών κλιτών μορφών σε –i στο πρότυπο της πρώτης κλιτικής τάξης.

Επιχειρώντας να δώσουμε μια ερμηνεία που να παρακολουθεί τις εξελίξεις, τόσο στην ΚΝΕ όσο και στα βόρεια ιδιώματα, ανατρέξαμε στα αντίστοιχα ουσιαστικά σε –is, εξετάζοντας αν εμφανίζεται και εκεί εναλλαγή στα κλιτικά επιθήματα. Πράγματι, στο Αντίστροφο Λεξικό της ΚΝΕ του Ευάγγελου Μπαλαφούτη (1996) σε αρκετά ουσιαστικά σε –is, εμφανίζεται εναλλαγή στην μορφή του πληθυντικού. Παράλληλα με τις μορφές σε –δis, στο πρότυπο της πρώτης κλιτικής τάξης, δίνονται εναλλακτικές σε -'ei. Ενδεικτικά δίνονται κάποια παραδείγματα[10]:

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(15)   'furnaris   fur'nariðes   /   furna'rei
       kuðu'ɲaris   kuðu'ɲariðes /   kuðuɲa'rei
       musa'firis   musafiriðes   /   musafi'rei

Στη δεύτερη όμως από τις εναλλακτικές μορφές που απαντώνται στην KNE, αναγνωρίζεται όχι μόνο το κλιτικό επίθημα της πρώτης τάξης αλλά και ένα παραγωγικό επίθημα, το -'ei[11] ('-αίοι'). Η χρήση του επιθήματος προήλθε από εθνικά ονόματα, τα οποία πολύ συχνά εκλαμβάνονται και ως οικογενειακά (si ɣnei, koro'hei, mitili'hei). Έτσι λοιπόν επεκτάθηκε για τη δήλωση γενών, (οικογενειών) και επαγγελμάτων και κατόπιν για τον πληθυντικό γενικά. Σημασιολογικά δηλαδή, η χρήση του παραγωγικού -'ei για τα προσηγορικά ονόματα συμπίπτει με τη λειτουργία του πληθυντικού αριθμού.

Όπως είδαμε σε προηγούμενη παράγραφο, η υπόθεση για πιθανό επηρεασμό της διαλέκτου από τη μορφολογία της τουρκικής δεν φαίνεται ιδιαίτερα επαρκής και οικονομική. Στη συνέχεια και σε συνδυασμό με την υπάρχουσα βιβλιογραφία δείξαμε ότι η προσαρμογή των τουρκικών δανείων στη διάλεκτο γίνεται ομαλά, όμοια με την KNE. Αυτά τα δεδομένα σε συνδυασμό με την εναλλακτική παρουσία του παραγωγικού – 'ei, σε σημαντικό αριθμό [+ ανθρώπινων] προσηγορικών ουσιαστικών, μας οδήγησε στο συλλογισμό ότι η εναλλακτική μορφή σε –i που εμφανίζεται σε ουσιαστικά της διαλέκτου (δάνεια και μη) πιθανότατα προέρχεται από το ίδιο παραγωγικό επίθημα -'ei το οποίο όμως, για λόγους που θα συζητήσουμε αμέσως παρακάτω, στη διάλεκτο παίρνει τη μορφή –i. Η σύνδεση του εναλλακτικού επιθήματος –i, που συμπίπτει με αυτό της πρώτης κλιτικής τάξης, με το παραγωγικό -'ei προτείνεται για τους εξής λόγους[12]:

α) Ο πρώτος λόγος σχετίζεται με τη σημασία που φέρει το επίθημα (δηλώνει ένα σύνολο ανθρώπων με την ίδια ιδιότητα) η οποία ταυτίζεται με τη λειτουργία του πληθυντικού. Οι μορφές σε –i, όπως bica'ri, έχουν την ίδια δηλωτική σημασία με τις αντίστοιχες σε –ðis, bi'carðis.

β) Ο δεύτερος λόγος αφορά στην προαιρετική παρουσία του επιθήματος σε λεξικές μονάδες με κοινά χαρακτηριστικά. Η συσχέτιση του παραγωγικού επιθήματος – 'ei με τη μορφή των ουσιαστικών σε –i στη διάλεκτο, είναι σε θέση να ερμηνεύσει γιατί η εναλλαγή ανάμεσα στις δύο μορφές δεν είναι παρούσα σε όλα τα [+ ανθρώπινα] συμφωνόληκτα ουσιαστικά της διαλέκτου. Όπως και στην KNE, έτσι και στη διάλεκτο η χρήση του από τη δήλωση γενών, επεκτείνεται και ταυτίζεται με τον πληθυντικό των ουσιαστικών, οπότε η παρουσία του, όπως και στην KNE, γίνεται προαιρετική.

γ) Ο τρίτος λόγος σχετίζεται με την κατανομή του παραγωγικού -'ei στην KNE και του -ɨ στη διάλεκτο, η οποία εμφανίζεται να είναι κοινή. Και τα δύο επιθήματα συνδέονται με [+ανθρώπινα] ουσιαστικά που δηλώνουν επάγγελμα

ή ιδιότητα και τα οποία και στην ΚΝΕ και στη διάλεκτο, μπορεί να είναι απλά, δάνεια ή μη, ή παράγωγα σε – '*aris* μόνο.

4. Το επίθημα – '*ei* στη διάλεκτο

Η ερμηνεία του εναλλακτικού –i στον πληθυντικό των υπό εξέταση ουσιαστικών της διαλέκτου στη βάση του παραγωγικού επιθήματος – '*ei*, θεωρούμε ότι είναι επαρκέστερη καθώς είναι σε θέση να εξηγήσει τον προαιρετικό χαρακτήρα του επιθήματος (δεν εμφανίζεται δηλαδή σε όλα τα [+ ανθρώπινα] αρσενικά που δηλώνουν επάγγελμα ή ιδιότητα) καθώς και την ελεύθερη εναλλαγή του με τη μορφή σε –*dis*. Εξακολουθεί όμως να παραμένει ανερμήνευτη η μορφή του στη διάλεκτο.

4.1 Φωνολογικές διεργασίες της διαλέκτου

Καθώς οι διάλεκτοι γενικά, προκύπτουν από μια περισσότερο ή λιγότερο ομοιογενή γλωσσική μορφή, η γλωσσική ποικιλία μπορεί να εισάγεται μέσα από γλωσσικές διεργασίες (φωνολογικές, μορφολογικές ή σημασιολογικές). Στην υπό εξέταση διάλεκτο, οι ακολουθίες φωνηέντων (primary hiatus) είναι πολύ σπάνιες. Σ' αυτήν την περίπτωση, όπως άλλωστε και στην ΚΝΕ, η διάλεκτος ενεργοποιεί κάποιους μηχανισμούς, με σκοπό να απλοποιήσει τις μαρκαρισμένες δομές του συστήματος και να δημιουργήσει ιδανικές συλλαβικές δομές, του τύπου σύμφωνο – φωνήεν (CV). Οι δύο κύριες φωνολογικές στρατηγικές αποκατάστασης της επιθυμητής συλλαβικής δομής που ενεργοποιούν οι διάλεκτοι είναι η αποβολή και η επένθεση φωνήματος.

  Η έρευνα έχει δείξει (βλ. ερευνητικό πρόγραμμα Ράλλη (προσεχώς) αλλά και τον Newton (1972:42)) ότι οι ακολουθίες διαφορετικών φωνηέντων μέσα στη λέξη συνήθως προτιμούν την στρατηγική αποκατάστασης της επιθυμητής συλλαβικής δομής που σχετίζεται με τη δημιουργία ημιφώνου και την συνακόλουθη συμφωνοποίησή του. Πράγματι, στη διάλεκτο το φαινόμενο επένθεσης φωνήματος μέσα στη λέξη είναι ιδιαίτερα παραγωγικό. Σε περιβάλλον μεταξύ δύο φωνηέντων, εκ των οποίων το ένα είναι πρόσθιο, παρεμβάλλεται το ημίφωνο /j/ το οποίο συμφωνοποιείται σε /j/, αποκτά δηλαδή τα χαρακτηριστικά ουρανικού συμφώνου[13]. Ενδεικτικά:

(16) vu'ji < vo'i επένθεση /j/ στο εσωτερικό θέματος.
      'ðakrija < 'ðakria επένθεση /j/ στα όρια μορφημάτων.

Παρολαυτά, ούτε αυτή η κοινότατη στρατηγική φαίνεται να ενεργοποιείται στην περίπτωση που μας απασχολεί. Ακολουθίες δηλαδή όπως αυτές στο (17) δεν απαντώνται και κρίνονται αντιγραμματικές.

(17)   *xticar(i)'ji *bicar(i)'ji *dzuban(i)'ji *baxtsavan(i)'ji

4.1.2 Μορφολογική - μορφοφωνολογική ερμηνεία του φαινομένου

Τίθεται ως εκ τούτου το ερώτημα μήπως μορφολογικοί μηχανισμοί ή συνδυασμός μορφοφωνολογικών παραγόντων, ενεργοποιούνται στη διάλεκτο για να δώσουν την τελική επιφανειακή μορφή σε -'i. Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη όλα τα παραπάνω, θεωρούμε ότι μια πιθανή ερμηνεία του φαινομένου θα μπορούσε ίσως να δοθεί μέσα από τη μορφολογία της διαλέκτου. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, η μορφή σε –i θα μπορούσε να θεωρηθεί ότι προέρχεται από το παραγωγικό -'ei, όχι μέσω της ενεργοποίησης κάποιου φωνολογικού φαινομένου, αλλά μέσω της μορφολογικής διαδικασίας αντικατάστασης επιθήματος. Η ερμηνεία αυτή βρίσκει ερείσματα στα ιδιαίτερα χαρακτηριστικά του επιθήματος αυτού, καθώς και στην ισχυρή τάση για ενοποίηση των κλιτικών παραδειγμάτων που διέπει την ονοματική κλίση της διαλέκτου.

        Η αντικατάσταση του -'ei υποστηρίζεται και στη βάση κοινών σημασιολογικών χαρακτηριστικών. Το –'ei συγχρονικά έχει χάσει τον παραγωγικό του χαρακτήρα. Και οι δύο μορφές λοιπόν, -'ei και –i επιτελούν την ίδια λειτουργία, και οι δύο δηλαδή δηλώνουν ένα πλήθος ανθρώπων με κοινά χαρακτηριστικά. Η σύμπτωση της λειτουργίας τους αντιβαίνει στην αρχή της οικονομίας της γλώσσας. Υπό τη γενικότερη πίεση που ασκείται στη διάλεκτο για μείωση της πολυτυπίας των κλιτικών τάξεων, θα μπορούσαμε να υποστηρίξουμε ότι το΄–ei αντικαθίσταται από το πιο ανταγωνιστικό και πλέον παραγωγικό –i. Η ενεργοποίηση του συγκεκριμένου μηχανισμού υποβοηθείται στην περίπτωσή μας από ένα πολύ ισχυρό φωνολογικό νόμο της διαλέκτου ο οποίος, όπως προαναφέραμε, απαγορεύει την ακολουθία δύο φωνηέντων μέσα στα όρια της λέξης. Κατ' αυτό τον τρόπο θα μπορούσαμε να υποθέσουμε ότι το –'ei παίρνει στη διάλεκτο τη μορφή -i.

        Μια εναλλακτική ερμηνεία θα μπορούσε να δοθεί ως απόρροια συνδυασμού μορφολογικών και φωνολογικών διεργασιών στη διάλεκτο. Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τα βασικά χαρακτηριστικά της διαλέκτου τα οποία αναλύθηκαν παραπάνω, μπορούμε να υποθέσουμε ότι στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση δεν ενεργοποιείται η μορφολογική διαδικασία αντικατάστασης επιθήματος αλλά το φωνολογικό φαινόμενο της απλοποίησης.

        Ειδικότερα, εφόσον η ακολουθία δύο φωνηέντων στη διάλεκτο δεν είναι αποδεκτή και το φωνολογικό φαινόμενο της επένθεσης δεν ενεργοποιείται εδώ, υποθέτουμε ότι η μορφή σε –i θα μπορούσε να προέλθει από το -'ei μέσω της διαδικασίας της απλοποίησης. Ο συγκεκριμένος ισχυρισμός υποστηρίζεται από το γεγονός ότι η διάλεκτος εμφανίζει παραδείγματα εθνικών και οικογενειακών ονομάτων σε -'ei στα οποία η ακολουθία παίρνει τη μορφή –i. Στο (19) παρατίθενται παραδείγματα ουσιαστικών με χαρακτήρα έρρινο, -n-:

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(19)   li'mɲi < li'mnei,   koro'ɲi < koro'nei,   si'fɲi < si'fnei

Αντίστοιχα οικογενειακά ονόματα με χαρακτήρα υγρό, -r-, -l-, τα οποία επιβεβαιώνουν τον ισχυρισμό ότι μορφές με το παραγωγικό επίθημα -'ei παίρνουν τη μορφή –i, φαίνονται στο (20) :

(20)   aʎka'ri < aʎka'rei, kripidi'ri < kripidi'rei, katsiba'ʎi < katsiba'lei

Στη βάση αυτών των παραδειγμάτων, θα μπορούσαμε να υποθέσουμε ότι και τα προσηγορικά ουσιαστικά της διαλέκτου παίρνουν τη μορφή -i αντί για -'ei.
        Η δεύτερη ερμηνεία που σχετίζεται με την απλοποίηση, μας φαίνεται πιο φυσική, λόγω όμως του ιδιαίτερου χαρακτήρα της διαλέκτου -δε διαθέτει πλούσιες γραπτές πηγές και τελεί υπό εξαφάνιση- είναι μέσα στις προθέσεις μας να ανατρέξουμε για περαιτέρω ενίσχυση στα ομιλούμενα λεσβιακά ιδιώματα με τα οποία το πρώτο βρίσκεται σε καθεστώς γλωσσικής επαφής.
        Από τη μέχρι τώρα μελέτη μας πάντως διαφαίνεται ότι κοινοί και στις δύο περιπτώσεις (απλοποίηση – αντικατάσταση) παράγοντες επηρεάζουν υπέρ της διαμόρφωσης του πληθυντικού των υπό εξέταση ουσιαστικών σε -i. Αυτοί είναι: α) Η αντιγραμματικότητα της ακολουθίας δύο φωνηέντων στη διάλεκτο β) η απώλεια του παραγωγικού χαρακτήρα του επιθήματος -'ei και η ταύτισή του με τη λειτουργία του πληθυντικού και γ) Η ισχυρή τάση για μείωση της πολυτυπίας των κλιτικών τάξεων.

5. Συμπεράσματα

Συνοψίζοντας, στην παρούσα ανακοίνωση το ενδιαφέρον μας επικεντρώθηκε σε μια κατηγορία δάνειων και παράγωγων ουσιαστικών, σε –'anis και –'aris, τα οποία εμφανίζουν εναλλαγή στην κλιτικό παράδειγμα του πληθυντικού, εμφανίζοντας μια μορφή σε –i, στο πρότυπο και της πρώτης κλιτικής τάξης και μια σε –dis στο πρότυπο της δεύτερης. Εξετάσθηκε η πιθανότητα επιρροής από την τουρκική γλώσσα, καθώς ένας σημαντικός αριθμός ουσιαστικών με εναλλαγή στο κλιτικό επίθημα αποτελούν προσαρμοσμένα τουρκικά δάνεια, η οποία όμως κρίθηκε ανεπαρκής καθώς δεν επιβεβαιώνεται από το σύνολο των τουρκικών δανείων αλλά και επειδή δεν είναι σε θέση να ερμηνεύσει την εναλλαγή στα δυο επιθήματα. Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τις παράλληλες εξελίξεις στην ΚΝΕ και στα βόρεια ιδιώματα, η ερμηνεία της εναλλαγής αναζητήθηκε σε μορφοφωνολογικές διαδικασίες της διαλέκτου. Η μορφή των ουσιαστικών σε – dis, ανταποκρίνεται στο κλιτικό σχήμα των ουσιαστικών με αλλομορφία, ενώ η εναλλακτική σε –i συνδέθηκε με το παραγωγικό επίθημα -'ei. Αυτό έχοντας χάσει τον παραγωγικό του χαρακτήρα στη διάλεκτο, μεταβάλλεται / αντικαθίσταται από το κλιτικό –i. Η μεταβολή αυτή έγινε προσπάθεια να

ερμηνευθεί στη βάση φωνολογικών περιορισμών της διαλέκτου αλλά και σημασιολογικών χαρακτηριστικών που διέπουν τα δύο επιθήματα. Γεγονός είναι πάντως πως στη βάση κοινών χαρακτηριστικών, η ισχυρή τάση για μείωση της πολυτυπίας των κλιτικών τάξεων γενικεύεται στη διάλεκτο, οδηγώντας σε σύμπτωση μορφών και επηρεάζοντας και τα ουσιαστικά με αλλομορφία τα οποία δρουν ανταγωνιστικά.

6. Σημειώσεις Τέλους

[1] Η παρούσα ανακοίνωση αποτελεί μέρος του προγράμματος «ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ: ΥΠΟΤΡΟΦΙΕΣ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ ΜΕ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΑΙΟΤΗΤΑ ΣΤΗ ΒΑΣΙΚΗ ΕΡΕΥΝΑ» με τίτλο «Το Μικρασιατικό ιδίωμα της περιοχής Κυδωνιών και Μοσχονησίων: μορφολογική περιγραφή και ανάλυση». Ευχαριστούμε το Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινωνικό Ταμείο (ESF), το πρόγραμμα Εκπαίδευσης και Επαγγελματικής Κατάρτισης (ΕΠΕΑΕΚ ΙΙ) και ιδιαιτέρως το πρόγραμμα Ηράκλειτος, για την οικονομική ενίσχυση της διδακτορικής αυτής διατριβής.

[2] Με τον όρο 'αλλομορφία- αλλόμορφα' εννοούμε τις διαφορές μορφές – πραγματώσεις του ίδιου θέματος, που δεν προκύπτουν συγχρονικά από την εφαρμογή κάποιου φωνολογικού κανόνα και βρίσκονται σε συμπληρωματική κατανομή μεταξύ τους.

[3] Το κλιτικό επίθημα –i, είναι υποκείμενη μορφή που δεν πραγματώνεται λόγω της εφαρμογής των νόμων του βόρειου φωνηεντισμού.

[4] Το υπερωικό /g/ λόγω της γειτνίασης με το εμπρόσθιο /i/, υφίσταται ουρανικοποίηση και τρέπεται στον αντίστοιχο ουρανικό ήχο που συμβολίζεται με το /ʒ/.

[5] Τα παραγωγικά επιθήματα είναι φορείς λεξικών πληροφοριών σε αντίθεση με τα κλιτικά που έχουν λειτουργικό χαρακτήρα.

[6] Η διάκριση ανάμεσα στα /i/ και /ɯ/ της τουρκικής δεν είναι αντιληπτή από τους φυσικούς ομιλητές της διαλέκτου ή της ΚΝΕ. Και οι δύο ταυτίζονται με το [+ υψηλό, + εμπρόσθιο] φωνηεντικό /i/ της ΚΝΕ.

[7] Για περισσότερες λεπτομέρειες σχετικά βλ. Petrounias, "Prestiti nominali" (χφφ).

[8] Για περισσότερες λεπτομέρειες σχετικά με την απόδοση του γραμματικού γένους στα δάνεια βλ. μεταξύ άλλων Αναστασιάδη – Συμεωνίδη (1994:191) Κυρανούδη (2001: 98).

[9] Οι καταλήξεις των αρσενικών είναι πέντε στο σύνολό τους αλλά οι –ες (kanaɟes) και – ούς (paɟus) δε θεωρούνται ανταγωνιστικές, καθώς περιλαμβάνουν σχεδόν αποκλειστικά οξύτονα ουσιαστικά. Εκτός αυτού, η πρώτη δημιουργήθηκε από τουρκικά οξύτονα ουσιαστικά σε –é.

[10] Η εναλλαγή στα ουσιαστικά της ΚΝΕ απαντάται σε λέξεις δάνειες και μη απλές, σύνθετες και παράγωγες .

[11] Ο Χατζιδάκις (1905), στα *Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Ελληνικά,* τόμος Β' σημειώνει ότι εμφανίζεται σχεδόν σε όλα τα οικογενειακά ονόματα (α) και σε κάποια προσηγορικά (β):

Οικογενειακά ονόματα   Προσηγορικά ονόματα

(α) Γριβαίοι   (β) βαρκαραίοι

Τζαβελαίοι   καρβουνιαραίοι

Η νέα χρήση της κατάληξης αυτής πρωτομαρτυρείται σε κείμενα του 15^{ου} και 16^{ου} αιώνα. (Βελισσάριος, Γεωργιλλάς : καβαλλαραίοι κλπ.). Ο Τριανταφυλλίδης στη Νεοελληνική Γραμματική της Δημοτικής (1996) αναφέρει ότι η κατάληξη *-έi* συμμετέχει με άλλα επιθήματα στη διαδικασία σχηματισμού των οικογενειακών ονομάτων, όμως σημειώνει ότι είναι για μερικούς τύπους ονομάτων, λαϊκή και σε πολλές επαρχίες άγνωστη.

[12] Σε διαλεκτικό επίπεδο, η υπόθεση επιβεβαιώνεται, τουλάχιστον για τα ουσιαστικά σε -'aris, από τον Παπαδόπουλο, ο οποίος στη *Γραμματική των Βορείων Ιδιωμάτων της Νεοελληνικής Γλώσσης* (1927) αναφέρει ότι «τα λήξαντα εις –'aris αλλαχού μεν τράπηκαν εις -a'rei, αλλαχού μεν εις -a'ri παράλληλα με το -'arides.

7.1 Βιβλιογραφία

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8. Περίληψη

Η παρούσα ανακοίνωση επεξεργάζεται δεδομένα από τον πληθυντικό αριθμό του ονοματικού κλιτικού παραδείγματος της διαλέκτου των Κυδωνιών (Αϊβαλί) και Μοσχονησίων. Ακολουθώντας προηγούμενη εργασία των Ράλλη, Μελισσαροπούλου και Τσιάμα (2003), θεωρούμε ότι τα αρσενικά ονόματα παρουσιάζουν μια ισχυρή τάση για αναδιάρθρωση της κλίσης και ενοποίηση των κλιτικών τάξεων στον πληθυντικό αριθμό. Μολονότι υποστηρίζεται ότι τα αρσενικά ονόματα που διαθέτουν θεματικό αλλόμορφο αντιστέκονται στην αναδιάρθρωση, μια ομάδα ονομάτων σε –ari(s) και –ani(s) εμφανίζουν εναλλαγή ανάμεσα στις μορφές με και χωρίς αλλόμορφο. Εξετάζοντας τη φύση αυτών των ονομάτων, τα οποία αποτελούνται εν μέρει από προσαρμοσμένα δάνεια από την τουρκική και εν μέρει από παράγωγα, δύο υποθέσεις ανακύπτουν. Η πρώτη υπόθεση είναι ότι τουρκικά δάνεια σε – (τα οποία προέρχονται από κλιτές μορφές της τουρκικής σε οριστική πτώση) προσαρμόζονται στη διάλεκτο ως μορφές του πληθυντικού σε - ẑ. Το συγκεκριμένο σχήμα προσαρμογής επεκτείνεται και επηρεάζει και το κλιτικό παράδειγμα των παραγώγων. Σύμφωνα με τη δεύτερη υπόθεση, η οποία αποτελεί και το βασικό ισχυρισμό της ανακοίνωσης, η εναλλαγή ανάμεσα στις δύο μορφές πληθυντικού οφείλεται σε μορφοφωνολογικές και σημασιολογικές διαδικασίες της διαλέκτου και συνάδει με τη γενική τάση για παραδειγματική ομοιομορφία.

When Zeroes Count for Nothing: The (Mythical) Origins of Nasal Deletion in Greek

Julián Méndez Dosuna
University of Salamanca

Complete assimilation and deletion of nasals before voiced stops (πέντε [pédde] or [péde]) are widely attested in modern Greek dialects. Recent sociolinguistic surveys indicate that the pronunciation [péde] has gained increasing acceptance in Athens itself in recent years, and is now fairly general in the speech of people under 50 in all social classes. It is generally believed that this phenomenon can be traced back to Ancient Greek. Preconsonantal nasals are sporadically omitted in inscriptions, especially in painted vases, in curse tablets and in magical papyri: e.g. νύφαι for νύμφαι, πέτε for πέντε, etc. Allegedly, this attests to the weakness of preconsonantal nasals in vulgar speech, but, on closer inspection, the would-be ancestor of present-day nasal loss dissolves into nothing.

Keywords: Ancient Greek, Modern Greek, nasal weakening, slips of the pen

> *Illusion never changed*
> *Into something real*
>
> Natalie Imbruglia, «Torn», *Left of the Middle*

1. Introduction

There can be little doubt that Modern Greek dialects may provide important clues for the reconstruction of Ancient Greek since phonetic changes tend to recur in different varieties and at different periods along the history of Greek:

- σθ > στ in ancient NW dialects (Méndez Dosuna 1985) and in modern Greek: Elean λυσάστō (= Att. λυσάσθω) and AGk ἠκούσθην > MGk ἀκούστηκα
- 'Raising' of prevocalic /e/ in ancient and modern dialects (Méndez Dosuna 1993a, 2002): Boeot. εννια (= Att. ἐννέα) and AGk ἐννέα > MGK ἐννιά [eɲá]
- Consonant gemination induced by a yod in ancient Thessalian and in the modern dialect spoken in the Terra d'Otranto (Méndez Dosuna 1993b): Thess. πολλιος (= Att. πόλεως), προξεννια (= Att. προξενία), ιδδια (= Att. ἰδία) and Terra d'Otranto [íʎo] (< ἥλιος), [veláɲɲa] (< βαλάνια), [rúddja] (< ῥοίδια)

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- /o/ > /e/ in word-final syllables after dentals and palatals in ancient Histiaeotis (Thessaly) and in modern Tsakonian (Méndez Dosuna, in press): Hist. Thess. δικαστειρρεις (= Att. δικαστηρίοις), χρόνεν (Att. χρόνον), ἔτες (= Att. ἔτος), and Tsak. [curé] (< τυρός), [miné] (< μηνός), [ithé] (< ἱστός).

Quite a different problem is the real or, more often than not, imagined persistence of ancient dialectal features in modern dialects (see, for instance, Hodot 2000). In this paper I will analyse an instance of this second type: the occasional omission of nasals before stops in ancient inscriptions. According to prevalent opinion, this omission reflects a phonetic process that anticipates the loss of nasals before voiced stops attested in modern dialects, but, as I will try to show, this conclusion may be hasty.

2. Misspellings

Admittedly, misspellings in written records provide first-hand evidence for sound changes in languages spoken in the past. At the risk of oversimplifying, the standard protocole in the interpretation of orthographic evidence of this kind consists of the following steps:

(a) A deviation from the orthographical norm is detected. In order to be significant, misspellings must recur several times in the documents. When the data are scanty, which is often the case in Ancient Greek, their significance is difficult to judge.
(b) The context(s) where misspellings occur are identified. In some cases the change in question may be —or appear to be— context-free.
(c) A phonetic process is posited which may be capable of accounting for the deviation. This process must be phonetically plausible and, preferably, have parallels in living languages.
(d) The change posited must be consistent with evidence found at later periods.

If the hypothesis fails to comply with any of these requirements, the odds are that we are dealing with a mere 'slip of the pen' irrelevant to phonological analysis.

Since the data at our disposal are relatively scanty and philologists are eager to find new evidence of sound changes, they tend to overinterpret their data and indulge themselves with bizarre explanations. Wachter (2001) provides us with an illustrative instance of overinterpretation. On a Corinthian pinax (COP 36, 6th c.), the painter wrote ΑΔΕΘΕΚΕ with a *delta* for expected ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ (*sc.* ἀνέθηκε). According to Wachter, "the painter may have had a bad cold". He imagines him speaking aloud when writing, and transcribing his own pronunciation. His alternative explanation ("some kind of dissimilation of the nasal component of the sound") fares no better.

3. Preconsonantal nasals in Ancient Greek

We are now in the position to address our issue: What was the status of nasals before stops in the ancient dialects, and more specifically in Attic? Is the dropping of nasals in Ancient Greek the prologue to the dropping of preconsonantal nasals in Modern Greek?

Here follows a brief summary of the evolution of syllable-final nasals in Greek:

As is known, NR clusters were eliminated trough epenthesis (*anrós > ἀνδρός) or through assimilation in internal sandhi (*συνρέω > συρρέω)

Except for a few dialects (Thessalian, Arcadian, Argive, Cretan), -Ns-clusters had been also eliminated: πάνσανς > πάσας, *συνσημαίνω > συσσημαίνω, *σαλπίνζω > σαλπίζω, * σύνζυγος > σύζυγος (ζ = [zd]). Later on, -ns- clusters were reintroduced through the combined effect of analogy (e.g., θέρμανσις after θερμαίνω) and borrowing from other languages, especially Latin (Lat. *Censorinus* > Gk. Κηνσορεῖνος). It is quite likely that the nasal was imperfectly articulated with a reduced oral occlusion.

The spirantisation of aspirates created new inputs for nasal loss: νύμφη, πενθερός, συγχαρίκια > νύφη, πεθερός, συχαρίκια. ΝΘ sequences were reintroduced through borrowings from the written language (e.g. συμφέρει, ἄνθρωπος, συγχαρητήρια) and from other languages (Fr. *confort* > κομφόρ, It. *conserva* > κονσέρβα). Needless to say, except in hyperarticulated formal speech, in Modern Greek the nasal is weakly articulated with a concomitant light nasalisation of the preceding vowel.

Conversely, the spirantisation of voiced stops was inhibited by a preceding nasal. ND clusters merged with NT clusters, which underwent voicing: γαμβρός, δένδρον, φεγγάριον > γαμβρός, δέντρο, φεγγάρι and ἀμπέλιον, πέντε, ἀγκῶν > ἀμπέλιον, πέντε, ἀγκώνας.

The main source for ΝΔ fricative sequences in Modern Greek is spelling pronunciation in loans from the written language: *συ[ɲj]υρίζω (with [j] after γυρίζω), *σύ[ŋɣ]αμβρός (with [ɣ] after γαμβρός) > σύγαμβρος [síɣambros], συγιρίζω [sijirízo]. As in the case of ΝΘ clusters, nasals in ΝΔ clusters are fully articulated only in formal speech: γαμβρός, δένδρο, συγγραφέας; cf. also It. *bomba* > βόμβα, Fr. *ingénu* > ενζενί. Nasal deletion operates in external sandhi in closely related sequences of words: το δάσκαλο, το θάλαμο vs. τον τομέα. Of course, levelled variants like τον δάσκαλο, τον θάλαμο with an -ν written and even pronounced are far from infrequent.

4. Where nasals before stops weak in Ancient Greek?

According to the norm, in Standard Modern Greek the spelling ντ may have three different pronunciations (the same holds for μπ and γκ):

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(a) [nd] in word-internal position in inherited words (πέντε), and in loanwords with [nd] in the donor language: βενδέτα (< It. *vendetta*).

(b) [d] in word-initial position in inherited words as a consequence of vowel aphaeresis: ντύνομαι (< ἐνδύομαι); in loanwords with [d] in the donor language both word-initially and in word-internal position: νταντά (< T. *dada*), βενδέτα (< It. *vedetta*).

(c) [nt] is prescribed for recent non-assimilated loanwords with [nt] in the donor language: αντένα (< It. *antenna*).

However, except for a minority of language-conscious speakers, this distribution is purely theoretical. The pronunciation [nt] is rare. In initial position [d] is almost regular, but in word-internal position speakers have [nd] or [d] irrespective of etymology.

In some 'radical' dialects nasal loss has been generalised to ND clusters (Newton 1972) so that πέντε is pronounced [pédde] (Simi, Kalimnos) or [péde] (Crete, Mani, Aegina, Megara, Kephalonia. Ithaki, Zakinthos, Thrace, E Macedonia, Thasos, Samothraki, Lesbos, Skiros, Samos, N Euboea).

In standard Modern Greek the pronunciation [péde] used to be stigmatised as a sign of slovenly speech, but recent sociolinguistic surveys indicate that nasal loss in word-internal position is now quite general in the speech of people under 50 of all social classes (Mikros 1995, Arvaniti & Joseph 2000).

This stage had already been reached in ancient Pamphylian, where preconsonantal nasals are systematically omitted in inscriptions: e.g. πέδε (= πέντε) cf. also the gloss ἀδρί· ἀνδρί. Παμφύλιοι attested by Hesychius (5th c. A.D.).

Brixhe (1986) suggests that the non-writing of ν in Pamphylian may indicate a pronunciation with a weakened nasal and a nasalised vowel: π□δε [pẽ^{n}de]. This explanation has been repeatedly suggested for the omission of nasals in other dialects. But this is quite counter-intuitive. As far as I know, adult speakers of present-day languages having phonological (or nearly phonological) nasal vowels like French or southern varieties of American English do not indicate vowel nasalisation by not writing nasal consonants. How could an orthographic zero represent something? Interestingly, Paradis and Prunet (2000) claim that nasal vowels must be conceived of as biphonemic, i.e. they behave virtually like vN sequences. Consequently, Pamph. π□δε must be taken at face value with the omission of ν reflecting a phonetic zero. An orthographical zero must correspond to a phonetic zero.

Preconsonantal nasals are usually ignored in Cyprian syllabic inscriptions as well: *ta-e-pi-o-ta pa-ta* τὰ ἐπιό(ν)τα πά(ν)τα, *nu-pa-i* Νύ(μ)φαι. It is however open to dispute whether the non-expression of nasals reflects a real phonetic process of articulatory weakening with nasalisation being ignored in spelling or

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the practice is merely a spelling convention comparable to the omission of syllable-final /m, n, l, r, s/ in Linear B: Myc. *e-ko* ἔγχος, *pa-te* πάντες.

Nasals before stops are sporadically omitted in other dialects: Ὀλυπιόν[ι]κος for Ὀλυμπιόνικος, θανότι for θανόντι, Ἀταλάτε for Ἀταλάντη, Παφίλου for Παμφίλου, πέτε for πέντε, κατοικούτων for κατοικούντων, etc. The omission of nasals is extremely rare in engraved official documents, but more frequent in painted vase inscriptions, in curse tablets and in the oracular *lamellae* of Dodona which were written on lead sheets, and in magical and documentary papyri. There is universal consensus that the data at issue reflect a process of preconsonantal nasal weakening, presumably a feature of vulgar speech (Kretschmer 1894: 164-165; Buck 1955: 63; Lejeune 1972: 146-147; Teodorsson 1974: 240; Gignac 1976: 119; Threatte 1980: 485, 589; Brixhe 1987: 36; Wachter 1991: 103, 2001; Horrocks 1997: 113).

The sporadic omission of nasals in the inscriptions of Pompei (before A.D. 79) has been also considered to provide evidence for nasal weakness in Vulgar Latin: Pompei *nuc* for *nunc*, *pricipis* for *principis*, *quodam* for *quondam*, *Nuphe* for *Nymphe*, etc. A similar explanation has been put forward for the misspellings attested in Latin inscriptions on Visigothic slate tablets found in Spain (6th-8th c. A.D.): *seper* for *semper*, *uc* for *hunc*, *ciqe* for *quinque*. Strangely enough, this hypothetical sound change has left no trace whatsoever in modern Spanish, where nasal before stops are fully pronounced in most dialectal varieties.

In a similar vein, Thumb (1898) cites spellings like ἀπέλι for ἀμπέλι, νετιώνω for νεντιώνω (AGk ἐναντιοῦμαι) in texts from Amorgos written in Modern Greek [8d]. According to Thumb, the spellings π and τ are intended to represent [b], [d] (< [mb], [nd]) [8d].

I. Manolessou (p.c.) informs me that this is also the standard explanation for the omission of nasals in medieval manuscripts.

5. The spelling of nasals before non-dental stops

According to some scholars, the articulatory weakness of preconsonantal nasals in Ancient Greek is confirmed by another argument. Allegedly, the use of ‹ΝΠ, ΝΦ, ΝΒ› for ‹ΜΠ, ΜΦ, ΜΒ› and ‹ΝΚ, ΝΧ, ΝΓ› for ‹ΓΚ, ΓΧ, ΓΓ› is indicative of the difficulty speakers experienced in identifying the point of articulation of weakened nasals: e.g. ἐλάνβανον vs. ἐλάμβανον, πονπή vs. πομπή, Ἀνφικτύων vs. Ἀμφικτύων, ἐνγραφή vs. ἐγγραφή, ἔνκλημα vs. ἔγκλημα, τυνχάνει vs. τυγχάνει.

In point of fact, such spellings have nothing to do with the hypothetical weakness of nasals. The spellings ἐλάμβανον and ἐλάνβανον correspond to two different pronunciations. The spelling ἐλάμβανον reflects the subphonemic output of nasal assimilation in normal speech: [elámbanon]. Conversely, the spelling ἐλάνβανον corresponds to a slower, more deliberate speech style with

artificial pauses at syllable breaks where the assimilation rule could be ignored: [e. lán. ba. non]. This is similar to dictation style except for the fact that dictation favours hyperarticulation based on spelling: [e. lám. ba. non]. Crucially, /n/ was the only nasal permitted before a pause in Ancient Greek. cf. *sem >ἕν.

For similar reasons in Spanish we find misspellings like *onbre* (standard *hombre* 'man'). Cf. also Lat. *quem* > Sp. *quien* 'who', *Adam* > *Adán*, and the modern loanword *album* usually pronounced ['alβun] (cf. substandard pl. *álbunes* for prescriptive *álbumes*).

6. Appearances may prove deceptive

At first glance the case of preconsonantal nasals is open-and-shut. We have a recurrent misspelling in what seems to be a well-defined phonetic context. Of course, nasal deletion via nasalisation is a natural process attested in many languages. Finally, this natural process can boast a would-be descendant in Modern Greek: πέντε [péde].

Still, in my opinion, such an interpretation is almost certainly to be rejected. To begin with, postnasal voicing and preconsonantal weakening of nasals normally apply in feeding order: πέντε [pénte] > [pénde] > [pé(d)de]. An early weakening of nasals should have yielded an outcome *[péte] since there is no documentary evidence for voicing after nasals in the classical period.

Preconsonantal weakening and spirantization of voiced stops apply in counter-feeding order: δένδρον [déndron] > [δéndron] > [δé(d)dro]. The early weakening of nasals should have yielded an outcome *[δéδro].[1] According to the standard point of view (Allen 1987: 32), β, δ, γ, were still voiced stops in classical times.[2]

Scholars try to circumvent these difficulties by admitting implicitely that nasal weakening was just a persistent tendency that failed to catch on immediately.

On the other hand, the phenomenon is surprisingly uncommon in the texts. The fact that omitted nasals are rare in official documents and relatively frequent in more informal text is not directly relevant either to phonology or to sociolinguistics. The execution of official texts carved on stone is a time-consuming task requiring considerable preparation and care. Conversely, painting with a brush or scribbling on a soft metal like lead and writing on a papyrus produce a faster script. This results in a higher frequency of purely mechanical errors: 'slips of the pen'. Consequently, the evidence must not be interpreted in terms of a sociolinguistic variation, but in terms of a socio(ortho)graphic variation.

I have noticed that syllable-final nasals —in fact, syllable-final consonants— are frequently omitted in Spanish texts (e.g. in graffiti): QUITOS

for QUINTOS 'recruits', SORPREDENTES for SORPRENDENTES 'surprising', FRACIA for FRANCIA 'France'. Most revealing is the text written on a cardboard box cover that I found in front of my garage. The text is an inventory of the stock of shirts for girls and gentlemen of two brands, in different sizes and colours. It must have been written by someone from a nearby shop where cheap rip-offs of expensive name-brand clothing are sold.

The writer has an imperfect command of standard orthography. (S)he combines lower-case *u* and *l* with capital letters and occasionally fails to separate words. (S)he dispenses with initial *h-* which is silent: OMBRE for *hombre*. Understandably, (s)he has great difficulty with the foreign names *Ralph Lauren* (RALAREN) and *Burberry's* (BUZBERRI, BUZBERI). But, for our purposes, the interesting thing is that in three out of four instances the letter N is omitted in the Spanish adjective BLANCO / BLANCA 'white masc. / fem.'

Similar mistakes are reported in studies on the acquisition of writing by Spanish-speaking children. At the age of 5-6 my son Nicolás used to drop syllable-final nasals in writing: *papá setóto = papá es tonto* 'daddy is silly', *la castañera vede (= vende) castañas* 'the chestnut seller (fem.) sells chestnuts'].

Miller (1994: 101) reports that English-speaking children go through a stage leaving out nasal consonants: *bup* for *bump*, *tet* for *tent*, *thik* for *think*. He is of the opinion that these spellings reflect tremendous phonetic accuracy since many speakers actually delete the nasal consonant. This is, however, doubtful since the resulting nasalisation of the vowel should have to be indicated in writing. As indicated above, an orthographic zero can hardly represent something.

Whatever it may be, the explanation is not valid for Castilian Spanish, where nasals before stops are stable and fully articulated. Consequently, their omission in writing cannot be the reflex of an inexistent articulatory weakening. It is obvious that the instances at issue are 'slips of the pen' with no bearing on phonology.

By the same token, it is quite clear that, contrary to Thumb's (1898) opinion, π and τ in contemporary Amorgos are mere errors rather than spellings consciously designed as a means of representing [b]   and [d]. In fact, any reader would routinely read the spellings ἀπέλι and νετιώνω as [apéli], [netjóno].[3]

Coming back to Ancient Greek, the writer of a curse tablet of the early 4th c. recently published drops almost consistently word-final -ν: τὸ χλακέα   for τὸν χαλκέα   (l. 1), Σωσία for Σωσίαν   (l. 4), ἐργασία   for ἐργασίαν   (l. 5), Ἁγῆσι τὴν Βοιωτία for Ἁγῆσιν τὴν Βοιωτίαν (l. 7). He has also some trouble with liquids: Ἀρίσταιχομν   for Ἀρίσταιχμον   (l. 1), χλακέα   for χαλκέα   (l. 1), Πρυρίαν for Πυρρίαν (l. 1). The editors (Curbera & Jordan 1998) take this as evidence that the writer «slurred liquids and nasals in pronunciation».

To my mind, these mistakes reveal nothing of the writer's pronunciation. In addition to the arguments stated above, we may note that a metathesis Ἀρίσταιχμον > Ἀρίσταιχομν would yield a cluster not allowed in word-final position: slips of the tongue —unlike slips of the pen— usually respect surface phonotactic constraints. Πρυρίαν for Πυρρίαν is another implausible sound change. Unlike heterogeneous clusters, which allow for metathesis, geminates tend to behave like a single phonological unit. Accordingly, they cannot split.

7. Conclusion

The omissions of letters and 'slips of the pen' in general are extremely interesting from the point of view of psycholinguistics as prima facie evidence for the neuromotor organisation of speech. Generally speaking, omission of letters in syllable codas is much more frequent than in syllable onsets (note the misspelling *azu* for *azul* 'blue' in the Spanish inventory of shirts). Onsets are cognitively more salient than codas. This cognitive saliency is consistent with the fact that they are more resistant to phonetic erosion than are codas. The omission of letters proves that the weakness of codas is not just articulatory. But the omission of a letter must not be automatically interpreted in terms of a phonetic change. Zeroes in spelling do not always reflect phonetic zeroes.

What is more, the omission of a letter cannot be interpreted as a conscious device for representing phonetic substance. In other words, the omission of nasals cannot be interpreted as a device for representing nasalisation.

By way of conclusion, contrary to prevalent opinion, the omission of preconsonantal nasals in ancient inscriptions does not attest to their weakening and loss in pronunciation.

8. Notes

1. Needless to say, the pronunciation [δέδρο] does exist in Modern Greek, but only as a phonetic variant of [δένδρο] (δένδρο), a loan from the written language.

2. In point of fact, it is quite feasible that /b d g/ may have been pronounced as fricative [β δ γ] in intervocalic position at an early date. For instance, the /d/ of Greek loanwords has different spellings in word-initial and in word-internal (intervocalic) position (Bryce 1986): cf. *Ñtemuχlida* = Att. Δημοκλείδη. In Greek these predictable allophonic variants were not indicated in spelling. Cf. Sp. *un dedo* [ún dédo] 'a finger', *¿a dónde?* [aδónde] 'where to?' with allophonic spirantization blocked by a preceding nasal.

3. Of course, this explanation can be valid for the omission of nasal in Cypriot manuscripts (see Marina Terkourafi's contribution, this volume) where /nt/ is adapted as /tt/ in loanwords: It. *panteloni* > Cypr. [pattelóni]. The same would hold for Karpathos where την κόρη is pronounced [tikkóri] (Newton 1972: 98).

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10. Περίληψη

Τα φαινόμενα της ολικής αφομοίωσης και της απαλοιφής των έρρινων πριν από ηχηρά κλειστά (PENTE ['pedde] ή ['pede]) απαντώνται ευρέως στις νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους. Πρόσφατες ψυχογλωσσολογικές έρευνες έδειξαν ότι η πραγμάτωση ['pede] είναι αυξανόμενης αποδεκτότητας τα τελευταία χρόνια. Είναι καθολικά αποδεκτό ότι αυτό το φαινόμενο ανάγεται στα αρχαία ελληνικά. Τα προσυμφωνικά έρρινα παραλείπονται σποραδικά σε επιγραφές, ιδιαίτερα σε ζωγραφισμένα βάζα, σε αναθηματικές πλάκες και σε μαγικούς παπύρους: π.χ. NUFAI αντί NUMFAI, PETE αντί για PENT. Υποθέτει λοιπόν κανείς, ότι αυτή η απουσία αποτελεί μαρτυρία της αδυναμίας των προσυμφωνικών έρρινων στην καθομιλουμένη. Εντούτοις, μια προσεκτικότερη εξέταση των δεδομένων δείχνει ότι ο εν λόγω ισχυρισμός είναι λανθασμένος. Ο πιθανός πρόγονος της συγχρονικής απώλειας των έρρινων αποδεικνύεται μηδενικός.

Reanalysis in Inflectional Morphology: Evidence from Modern Greek Dialects

Nikolaos Pantelidis
School of Greek Literature, Democritus University of Thrace

The Modern Greek varieties provide interesting evidence of reanalysis in inflectional morphology, examples of which are presented in this paper. The paper discusses the circumstances under which reanalysis took place in these examples and the models that may have triggered it, as well as its consequences for the morphological system of the language which among others include the creation of new stem allomorphs and, more generally, the emergence of allomorphy out of a previous state of absence of allomorphy.

Keywords: Modern Greek varieties, morphological change, reanalysis, pleonastic affixation, leveling, allomorphy, shift of boundary, loss of boundary, creation of boundary, agglutination, suppletion.

1. Introduction

Reanalysis is a mechanism of morphological change which involves "moving of a historical morpheme boundary to a different location, or the insertion of a morpheme boundary not formerly present, in order to extract a word or morpheme not present in the original formation" (Trask 2000:274). According to Koch (1996:237f) cases of "loss of morpheme boundary" should also be considered as instantiations of the phenomenon of reanalysis in the sense that the "erasure" of boundaries is also an act of alternative analysis of the structure of word forms from the speakers' side.

Reanalysis (in the sense of inserting or shifting boundaries) is a form of analogy which is based on surface similarities of semantically related forms and typically sets analogical processes in motion. It is through these processes that reanalysis becomes "visible". In other words it is only when the new morphological structure imposed by speakers on a word form or a whole set of semantically related forms starts spreading to other paradigmatically related word forms that the change itself involving reanalysis can be said to be already

completed: The new structure has established itself and serves as the model of the reshaping of other word forms[1]. The surface similarities may arise through phonological changes or changes of other kinds as we will see (§2.3). As for the cases of boundary loss they can form the basis of the so-called "pleonastic affixation" (Haspelmath 1993:297-303) or "doubling of morphemes" (Koch 1996:246) (see also §2.4).

One of the most prominent cases of reanalysis in Greek linguistic history is the one that affected 3.PL imperfect forms of oxytone verbs, such as *parekalúsan*. Such forms were created in Koine times through substitution of *–n* by the ending *–san* common (originally only in the Ionic-Attic and Arkadian dialect groups) in 3.PL past forms of original athematic verbs e.g. *ē-san > í-san* 'they were' –1.SG present *ē-mi-*, *e-ti-the-san* 'they put/were putting' (*e-*: augment, *ti-*: present reduplication) –1.SG present *ti-t^{h}ē-mi-*, 3.PL perfective past (aorist) without reduplication: *é-t^{h}e-san* (Doric *ét^{h}en<*é-t^{h}ent*, comp. Old Indic *á-dhan* < Indoeuropean *é-d^{h}H$_1$-ent*). Forms in *–san* contributed to a clear distinction of the forms of the 3.PL from the originally homophonous 1.SG forms (both *parekálun< parekálōn* the latter contracted from older *parekále-on*). Analogous forms are attested in Koine texts also for barytone verbs (the traditional 1st Conjugation): *e-légosan* instead of original *élegon* 'they said/were saying' etc. Descendants of such forms of barytone verbs are to my knowledge not attested in Modern Greek (with the exception of some Dodecanesian varieties, Tsopanakis 1948)[2]. They became obsolete since the original endings have as a whole been replaced by the new set of past endings (markers of tense+person+number]) *–a –es –e –amen –ete/-ate –an(e)* which contributed to a clear distinction of the 1.SG and the 3.PL. Forms such as *parekalú-san* were reanalyzed as *parekalús-an* creating in the imperfect a new stem allomorph *parekalús-* which in parts of the Greek-speaking world was extended to the rest of the paradigm of the imperfect giving rise to an imperfect formation which also became part of the linguistic norm of the (written) Modern Greek standard language (*–ús-a, -ús-es, -ús-e, -ús-ame, -ús-ete/ate, -ús-an(e)*). In some of the varieties displaying this formation the latter did not extend beyond the plural (Hatzidakis 1905:43, Pantelidis 2003:34; see also §2.4 in the present paper). Such imperfect paradigms are common in many insular varieties (parts of Crete, Kýthira, Sérifos, Kímolos, Sými, Nísyros, Hálki, Rhodes etc.). E.g. islands of Rhodes and Halki (Tsopanakis 1948:23, 1949:57), and of Kýthira (Kontosopoulos 1982:135): *jeló* 'laugh', *miló* 'speak, talk':
Rhodes:
Type A: *e-jélun, e-jéla-s, e-jéla-(n), e-jelús-amen, e-jelús-ete, e-jelús-a(si)n*
Type B: *e-milun, e-milj-es, e-milj-e, e-milús-ámen, e-milús-ete, e-milús-a(si)n*
Kýthira: *e-milu < e-milun, e-milj-es, e-milj-e, e-milús-ame, e-milús-ate, e-milús-ane*

In other varieties, such as Maniot, reanalysis did not take place at all (the form of the 3.PL is the only one displaying -*(u)s*-). Let us now take a closer look at some more known and some less known instances of reanalysis in inflectional morphology from various Modern Greek varieties.

2. "Shift of boundaries": Evidence from Modern Greek Varieties.

2.1. Pontic.

The paradigm of the mediopassive perfective past (aorist): E.g. *e-xá-θ-a* 'I got/was lost' (-*θ*- can be said to synchronically represent the marker of mediopassive perfective): *e-xá-θ-a, -θ-es, -θ-e, -θ-ame(n), -θ-ete, -θ-an* (Oikonomides 1958:282-284, Babiniotis 1972:215). The original (i.e. Ancient Greek) paradigm was (-*tʰē*- : mediopassive aorist marker): -*tʰē-n*, -*tʰē-s*, -*tʰē-*, -*tʰē-men*, -*tʰē-te*, -*tʰē-san*. Two phonological changes of the Koine period, namely /tʰ/>/θ/ and the abandonment of the distinction between short and long vowels (plus the retention of the original vowel quality of long /e/ in Pontic) formed the following possible "pre-Pontic" paradigm: *-θe-n, *-θe-s, *-θe-, *-θe-men, *-θe-te, *-θe-san*. The forms of the 2. and 3.SG and 2.PL were reanalyzed as containing the past endings –*es* –*e* and –*ete* respectively. The new structure was then extended to the rest of the paradigm.

2.2. Maniot.

A probably analogous case is evidenced in Maniot (data from Bassea (forthc.)): Verb *θé-u / θé-o* 'want'. The verb is synchronically a vocalic verb such as e.g. *lé-o aɣapá-o* etc.: *θé-u/ θé-o* (depending on the region), *θé-is, θé-i, θé-me, θé-te, θé-si/ θé-ne* (depending on the region).

Table 1.
The paradigm of the imperfect:

"Inner" Mani + former Municipality of Kolokýthi	*i-θ-a*	*i-θ-es*	*i-θ-e*	*i-θ-ame*	*i-θ-ate*	*i-θ-asi*

The expected paradigm is *í-θe-a *í-θe-es *í-θe-e *i-θé-ame *i-θé-ate *i-θé-asi. The attested imperfect paradigm probably resulted as follows: Original 2-3.SG.-forms *í-θe-es > i-θes and *í-θe-e > i-θe, which were reanalyzed as í-θ-es í-θ-e. The pattern was extended to the rest of the paradigm of the imperfect replacing the expected forms *í-θe-a *i-θé-ame *i-θé-ate *i-θé-asi. In the plural stress followed the general antepenult pattern of accentuation of Modern Greek active past barytone verbal forms. The change introduced thus a new grammatically determined stem allomorphy θe- ~ θ-. The present θé-u/θé-o did not serve as a

model for preventing the change but both categories followed different courses a fact which could be connected to the high frequency of this verbal lexeme (see also Bybee 1985:85) which renders its forms highly autonomous and prone to various phonological reduction phenomena. Note that this verb is anyway phonologically reduced also in the present in Maniot itself, in many dialects and in the spoken Modern Greek Koine as well: θélis > θes, dialectal (and in some Modern Greek Koine registers also) plural θé-me θé-te θé-ne, vs. standard θélume θélete θélun(e)). It is interesting to note that the imperfect of other verbs of similar phonological structure, such as lé-u/lé-o 'say, tell' did not undergo the same change. The imperfect of the latter is e.g. 1.SG é-le-a 3.SG é-le-e 3.PL e-lé-asi. No trace of an imperfect *é-l-a *é-l-e *é-l-asi is attested at all.

　　Both this and the previous example can be considered as typical examples of phonological processes creating the basis for reanalysis.

3.3. Lakonian-Maniot.

In a considerable part of Lakonia and parts of the adjacent region of Mani (former municipalities of Malévri and Karyoúpolis, see Vayakakos 1972:15, Bassea (forthc.), Pantelidis (forthc.)[3]) the following imperfect paradigm of the verb éxo 'I have' is attested: íxen-a íxen-es íxen-e (i)xén-ame (i)xén-ate ixen-an/(i)xén-ane[4]. The stem-initial unstressed /i/ in the plural often drops. The standard Modern Greek paradigm displays an allomorphy /ex-/ ~ /ix-/ between the present and the imperfect which goes back to Ancient Greek /ekʰ-/ : /ēkʰ-/ (εχ- : ειχ-), the latter being the result of contraction of the augment e- and the stem initial vowel /e/ after the loss (via /h/) of original stem initial */s/ intervocalically: *e-segʰ- > *e-sekʰ- > *e-hekʰ- > e-ekʰ- (e-: augment). The (synchronic) allomorphy /ex-/ ~ /ix-/ in Standard Modern Greek (and most of its varieties of course) is rather marginal in the Modern Greek verbal system since the imperfective stem of barytone verbs is unspecified for tense in most Modern Greek varieties[5] and represents a relic.

　　In many Modern Greek varieties a syllable –ne is added to forms of the 3.SG imperfect (in some varieties also to forms of other persons), especially of the verb 'have'. Thus the original 3.SG form íx-e appears as íxe-ne. The latter form was reanalyzed as containing the marker –e ([past+3.SG.]): íxen-e, and the new structure was then extended to the rest of the paradigm. As typically, the 3.SG is treated as the most basic member of the paradigm to become the pivot of leveling. The new pattern did not extend beyond the verb 'have'.

This change yielded a lexically restricted, unique alternation ex- ~ ixen-. The latter could be characterized as a new stem allomorph. Although both allomorphs are undoubtedly etymologically connected to each other, it certainly is highly doubtful if they can be synchronically derived by a morphophonemic rule from one another or from a common "underlying" stem. On the other side

both allomorphs retain a transparent semantic relation to each other. In other words both tenses, in the form they have acquired after restructuring of the imperfect, are still to be viewed as forms of the paradigm of one and the same lexeme. If we are ready to view suppletion as a gradable phenomenon we could rather speak of an increase in the degree of suppletion[6]. High frequency lexical items such as 'have' are among those that would favour paradigms with strong or weak suppletion. It is also interesting that this case of suppletion is unique in (Modern) Greek in the sense that it is associated with tense: suppletion in Modern Greek is always associated with aspect.

The whole process created an anomaly within the subsystem of the barytone verbs: the new alternation, which did not arise through sound change, is not congruent with the Modern Greek verbal system in the sense that verb stems in Modern Greek barytone consonantal verbs are primarily specified for aspect, not for tense, which means that no stem alternations according to tense are expected within the imperfective, with the exception of rather marginal cases of minimal and inherited (synchronically also weakly suppletive?) alternation like *ex- ~ ix-*. The whole process ran counter to any requirements for economical coding or did not meet other functional needs since it added more phonological material (extra marking) to an already sufficiently marked (not only by means of a different set of endings but also of the change of the root vowel) imperfective past. It seems that it is not only phonological changes that can (further) disturb "symmetry" or "regularity" (however the latter might be defined), which must in turn be restored. It is also alternative analyses, focused on certain more or less basic forms of a (sub)paradigm and the subsequent analogic extension of the new structures to fulfill local regularity requirements (in our case the regularity of the paradigm of the imperfect). An imperfect such as *ixen-a* only conforms to the general antepenult stress pattern of active past paradigms in Modern Greek. The present retained its original structure and did not become **xéno*. As Bybee (1985:85) notes, only very frequent paradigms can tolerate high degrees of morphophonemic irregularity. This is in fact the case with *éx-o : ixen-a* after emergence of the latter. Yet in this case the whole process moved towards creating "irregularity" in the first place from a previous state of "regularity" (apart from the /e/:/i/ alternation), it did not preserve an inherited irregularity which emerged otherwise.

3.4. Central Euboean (Évia; Kými and surrounding regions).

The paradigm of mediopassive aorist (see Favis 1911:57, Alexandris 1902:22):

Table 2.

diθin-a	diθi-s	diθi-	diθis-áme	diθis-áte	diθis-áne

The active aorist indicative is formed by suffixing –*k*- to the verbal base in the indicative. Before front vowels /k/ undergoes fronting –"tsitakismos"- to [c]: *jénika* 'I gave birth' (2-3.SG *jénices jénice*), *fóreka* 'I wore, put on', *épjaka* 'I touched' etc. The subjunctive is formed by suffixing –*s*-, e.g. *jeníso*, not **jeníko*). The original paradigm of the mediopassive aorist should not have differed essentially from the respective paradigm of ancient and hellenistic Greek (on the Ancient Greek paradigm see above):

Table 3.

-θi-n	-θi-s	-θi-	-θi-me(n)	-θi-te	-θi-san

The form of the 1.SG continues the older form in –*θin* and constitutes diachronically speaking a case of pleonastic affixation (Haspelmath 1993:297-303, or "doubling of morphemes" Koch 1996:246-247) with addition of the (productive) 1.SG marker –*a* to the periphery of a form the structure of which had probably become opaque[7]. According to Koch this happens in order "to make the analysis of the word more transparent", which "typically occurs when the existing marker is obscure" (compare e.g. the English plural *childer* → *childr-en*, or the Vulgar Latin infinitive *esse* 'to be' → *esse-re*; p.246), by which is meant that the stem and the affix have fused. In our case –*θin* was not any longer felt as containing a marker –*n*, since it was not productive anymore. Through the addition of –*a* a new allomorph *diθin*- emerged[8]. An analogous development is also attested in the 1.SG.-imperfect form of oxytone verbs in a number of varieties (Pantelidis 2003:29f): older form *e-fórun* (originally stem final /e/ + 1.SG.-imperfect –*on* = –*e-on* > contraction in the ancient Attic dialect to –*o:n*>-*un*) → *e-fórun-a* (present *foró* 'wear, put on')[9]. The "unanalyzability" (of the rightmost part) of forms like *e-fórun* or *e-diθin*, as I have already pointed out elsewhere (Pantelidis 2003:30), could be connected to the expansion and the overwhelming presence of the marker –*a* (and 2.SG –*es*, 3.SG –*e* etc.) to mark past categories (combined with [person+number] –*s* –*me* etc.) in general. This process seems to have been restricted mainly to categories that already display "active" endings (-*n*, -*s*, -*me*, -*te* etc.), which in Greek diachronically also include the mediopassive aorist. However categories with mediopassive endings are not completely excluded from analogous developments. More on this in §2.5. The form of the 3.PL continues the original –*θi-san* with an /e/-enlargement due to a well-known tendency of Modern Greek for open final syllables yielding –*θi-sane*. The form retained stress in its original position developing also secondary stress for avoidance of violation of the trisyllabic window. It was reanalyzed as containing the 3.PL past marker –*ane*, common in the synthetic past categories of the active voice with which the mediopassive aorist shares its [person+number] markers=agreement markers, e.g. –*s* –*me* –*te* etc.) anyway. The new structure was then extended to the rest of the plural only. As we saw in

§1, this is not uncommon in Modern Greek varieties. There are cases where there is a difference between the plural and the singular such that the singular displays a peculiar purely grammatically determined allomorphy continuing more or less the ancient forms, and the plural displaying no alternation and a stem allomorph which arose through reanalysis of the 3.PL and was subsequently extended to the rest of the plural forms (see §1). The forms of the singular seem to be the most resistant ones to restructurings and in numerous varieties they more or less continue the older forms with remarkable stability. On the other hand, the 3.PL may be semantically less basic than the 3.SG or singular forms in general (see Bybee & Brewer 1980, Bybee 1985, Koch 1994:31-34, 44ff), which could be related to the fact that its pattern did not extend to the singular (but compare the *–us*-imperfect above), yet within the plural itself it is the most basic of all three forms and may influence the forms of the 1-2.PL (Bybee & Brewer 1980:226f)[10].

The whole process introduced a new stem alternation within the paradigm of the mediopassive aorist, which is governed not by phonological rules but is situated at the level of grammar: *diθin-* ~ *diθi-* ~ *diθis-*. The new allomorph *diθis-* beside its basic function as a stem allomorph cosignals number with the markers *–me –te –ne*.

2.4. Peloponnesian.

Another analogous and perhaps even more interesting case is attested in Peloponnesian varieties. In parts of the regions of Kalávryta and Gortynía in the 3.PL mediopassive imperfect an ending *–ósane* is used (beside the well-known *–ósa(n)de*), which is most probably taken over from the respective form of the verb *to be*: *i-sane* 'they were'. This ending could as well be the result of dropping of the syllable /du/ (or perhaps also /di/) from the ending *-ó(n)disan/ –ó(n)dusan* in fast speech, or of the unstressed /i/ or /u/ and subsequent cluster simplification. This form has given rise to occasionally occurring alternative 1.PL forms like *erxós-ame* 'we came/were coming' and *stekós-ame* 'we stood/were standing'[11] (regular *-ómaste* or *-ómastan*) which points to reanalysis of the form of the 3.PL as *erxós-ane*. Unfortunately the dialectal evidence is fragmentary, yet I regard it as most probable that this pattern did not extend beyond the plural. Even if forms like *erxós-ame* are just sporadic formations, it is interesting for the understanding of the mechanism and the range of reanalysis of past forms in Modern Greek.

2.5. Summary.

(a) According to B.Joseph (1998:362) "...many cases of reanalysis/ reinterpretation involve some analogical pressures, especially when the

reanalysis is induced by models that exist elsewhere in the language". In the cases of reanalysis in inflectional morphology presented above the model is particularly strong since it is connected to one of the major categorial distinctions of the Greek verb: In the history of Greek especially from Hellenistic times onwards, there has been a general tendency for uniform overt suffixal coding of [+past], one of the major tense categories of the Modern Greek verb the other one being [-past] -combined with [person+number]- by means of *-a   -es -e -ame -ete/ate -an(e)* (with *a~e* signaling past) in those synthetic verbal categories which diachronically display "active" endings (i.e. active imperfect and aorist, mediopassive aorist: standard *-θik-a -θik-es -θik-e* etc.). This tendency and its effects have been extensively described and labeled "unification of past structures" by Babiniotis (1972:203-231). This is a millenia long process which -somewhat simplistically expressed of course and with all due caution because of the complexity and manifoldness of the process- one way or the other, at least in parts of the Greek speaking world, has affected all past categories of the Greek verb. In the first stage, that is in Hellenistic-Roman times, the system of terminations (=[person+number] markers+preceding vowel) of the synthetic active past tenses[12] of barytone verbs was unified to *-a -es -e -ame(n) -ete* (later *-ate*) *-an*. This set formed diachronically a highly productive model which has determined the way speakers have analyzed their data (or in some cases "underanalyzed" them as we saw in the case of *diθin*, §2.3) and changed them, gradually extending their domain of use: (i) The terminations/endings *-a* etc. were attached to whole opaque forms as in Euboean 1.SG mediopassive aorist *diθin-a*, or (in some varieties) in the original 1.SG imperfect form *efórun* 'I wore' where any previously existent boundary was lost → *efórun-a*. The emergence of imperfects of the type *ború(-γ)-ame ború(-γ)-ane aγápa(-γ)-a e-fóri(-γ)-e* is also an instance of this process (Pantelidis 2003). The blending/contamination of original 3.PL mediopassive imperfect ending *-onto* with active past *-an* to yield *-ondan* -which is a somewhat different case of course- could be viewed as a special instance of the process of 'unification of past' as well[13]. (ii) They were identified by speakers in forms which share with the pivots of reanalysis morphosyntactic properties + identical (partly as a result of phonological processes) strings of segments in the same part of the word form. This way they indirectly shaped the stem-forms (created new allomorphs) and introduced new alternations which in the cases presented here prove to be byproducts of processes aiming at increasing uniformity of coding of one of the major tense categories of the Greek verb at the end of the word form, across aspect, inflectional class or the distinction "active":"mediopassive" endings. Thus the introduction of stem allomorphy in the above presented cases is not a strategy itself, it is rather the result of a strategy aiming at uniformity at a different level. Reanalysis can create (new) stem allomorphs, further analogical processes (leveling) extend their domain of application.

(b) The steps speakers undertake after reanalysis certainly complicate grammar in the sense that they introduce new alternations to the left of the [tense+person+number] markers. These alternations do not conform to the overall Modern Greek verbal system as we would describe it. The strategies speakers apply, just aiming at local optimization, have a narrow scope and they certainly do not restore "regularity".

3. Various regions: The paradigm of the mediopassive imperfect.

Data from: Favis 1911:58, Kolia 1933:278, Kontosopoulos 2001:130, Kostakis 1979:442-443, Papadopoulos 1927:93-95 & 105. The descendant of the ancient thematic vowel is separated for reasons of clarity of presentation:

Table 4.

ETOLIA-EURYTANIA	NORTHERN EUBOEA (ÉVIA)		Parts of CENTRAL EUBOEA
i-m' tan	*i-m' tani*	*káθ-u-m' tani*	*erx-ú-m' tane*
i-s' tan	*i-s' tani*	*káθ-i-s' tani*	*erx-é-s' tane-s*
i-tan	*i-tani*	*káθ-i-tani*	*erx-é-tane*
i-mastan	*i-mastani*	*káθ-u-mastani*	*erx-ú-mastane*
i-sastan	*i-sastani*	*káθ-i-sastani*	*erx-é-sastane*
i-tan	*i-tani*	*káθ-u-ndan*	*erx-ú-dane*

AYÁSSOS-MYTILÍNI (Island of Lésvos)	Island of TZIÁ (only verb 'to be')	Island FOÚRNI (Samos district)	CRETE (village of Lochriá) *kimúme* 'sleep'
káθ-u-m'dan/-ó-m'dan	*i-mudan* (also *i-mane*)	*i-mutane*	*e-kimú-mutóne*
káθ-u-s' tan/-ó-s' tan	*i-sudan* (also *i-sane*)	*i-sutane*	*e-kimú-sutóne*
káθ-u-dan/-ó-dan	*i-dane* (also *i-tone*)	*i-tane*	*e-kimú-done*
kaθ-ó-mastan	*i-masténe*	*i-mastone*	*e-kimú-mastóne*
kaθ-ó-sastan	*i-sasténe*	*i-sastone*	*e-kimú-sastóne*
káθ-u-dan/-ó-dan	*i-dusan*	*i-tane*	*e-kimú-done*[14]

The paradigm of northern and central Euboea is in principle the same, the difference being in the stress pattern: Fixed stress on the verbal base in the north, and on the "thematic vowel" in the center. In central Euboea the violation of the

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trisyllabic window is avoided through loss of unstressed /u/. Loss of unstressed vowels, which is systematic in "northern" varieties, is not totally unknown in otherwise "southern varieties" (e.g. Peloponnese, Pantelidis 2003:23f) especially in certain morphological environments as a means of avoiding violation of the trisyllabic window. The central Euboean 2.SG-form shows "pleonastic affixation" (marker *–s(u)- + –s*), probably due to its phonological similarity with the 3.SG., **erxés' tane : erxétane.*

H.Ruge (1984) has analyzed the tendency of Greek to give the mediopassive endings a more agglutinative structure. This analysis, despite its problems (what would *–tan* signal, if anything at all?), receives further support from evidence provided by numerous Modern Greek varieties. As can be inferred from the data in Table 4, the plural forms were reanalyzed as containing weak oblique forms (due to the presence of *–mas- -sas-*) of the usually suppressed subject personal pronouns and extended the new structure to the singular. In some of the above-mentioned varieties (Tziá, Évia) the plural forms were reanalyzed as containing forms of the personal pronoun combined with an analysis of the 3.SG.-form as containing no special marker for [person+number] (a zero in certain theoretical frameworks)[15], on which the new forms were built, as is evident from the phonological difference of the part of the forms which appear to the right of the forms of the personal pronouns (*-tene* vs. *–dan*): Tziá: *i-mas-téne i -sas-téne i-Ø-dane → i-mu-dan i-su-dan*, compare also the paradigm from Fourni. Others, such as the variety of the Cretan village of Lochriá, just extended the pattern of the plural to the singular: *e-kimú-mas-tone e-kimú-sas-tone → e-kimú-mu-tone e-kimú-su-tone*. The relatively wide but also discontinuous geographic extension of the phenomenon is also a matter worthy of further (historical) dialectological research.

A point which in Ruge's analysis is in my view not accounted for sufficiently is the opposition *accusative:genitive* between the present and the imperfect (present *γráfo-me : γrafó-mu-n*). How is this to explain on syntactic-semantic grounds? Is there anything that would point to a different "underlying" interpretation of the present as opposed to the imperfect forms or is it just the phonological identity with the respective pronominal forms that favoured this analysis?

What is interesting is the fact that a most basic morphological pattern of Greek, i.e. the expression of [person+number] on the rightmost part of the verb, did not prevent from locating (in the plural) markers of the least relevant for the semantics of the verb categories of [person+number] (see Bybee 1985:33-35) in a position more to the left leaving the rightmost part of the verb form to an element *–tan(e)* which is difficult to be assigned a function. If one adheres to a more extensive segmentation of forms, it could as well be characterized as an empty morph or an exponent of 'mediopassive past'[16]. In this case what would seem to have happened is what could be called 'creation of boundary' (see Koch

1996:238f) in the sense that a part of the morph has split off from the rest to constitute by itself a new morph. It could certainly also be argued that once markers of [person+number] are recognized in a place more to the left and the pattern gives rise to analogous forms in the singular, they merge with –*tan(e)* to a new, unanalyzable whole. The decision depends on the theoretical framework one adheres to for a synchronic analysis of the data. In any case speakers in the first step identified "markers" of [person+number] further inward contrary to the relevance hierarchy as formulated by Bybee (1985:33-35). This development is not congruent with the Modern Greek verbal system (low degree of agglutination, if any at all, agreement ([person+number]) markers at the right end of the word form) do not seem to have necessarily formed an obstacle to alternative (not conforming to the predominant typology of the language) and from a semantic-syntactic point of view not very neat analyses of the linguistic data from the speakers' side. It is not very clear for instance what could have brought about the analysis of the mediopassive plural endings as containing genitive forms of the weak personal pronoun which don't agree with the case of the subject, i.e. the nominative. The analysis of the plural forms as containing genitive forms of the personal pronoun might of course have been favoured by -*mu*- and –*su*- in the 1-2.SG imperfect endings (*kaθómun, kaθósun*).Yet a look at the singular endings of the northern varieties as a whole could lead to the conclusion that the starting point of the process that led to –*mutan –sutan* might in some cases have been rather 1-2.SG forms in –*man –san* (compare 3.SG –*tan*) rather than –*mun –sun* (so in Standard Modern Greek)[17]. The absence of a model elsewhere in Modern Greek for the analysis of the verb forms (of the imperfect only!) as containing oblique forms of personal pronouns is also noteworthy. The reanalysis of the plural forms and the emergence of the new singular forms could be connected to -as McMahon (1994:80) puts it- to "a tendency to form clear exponents of grammatical categories, which should be as strong as possible. Longer, more overt, and complex markers are consequently favoured". Yet no analogous present forms emerged (e.g. 1.PL *kaθó-mas-te* → 1.SG **kaθóme-te*?) a fact which could be connected to the fact that the present is the (semantically) unmarked member of the imperfective system.

5. Conclusion.

The data from Modern Greek varieties can contribute to our understanding of the mechanisms and the range of certain kinds of morphological changes. They conform to the fact that reanalysis in inflectional morphology involving moving of boundaries is driven by surface similarities of form between semantically somehow related word forms. The "pivots" of reanalysis in the examples presented in this paper represent a major highly productive model that already exists in the language and concerns the right end of the word form, i.e. the place

where [tense+person+number] are marked. As is well observed speakers do not seem to care about the consequences of their alternative analysis for the system. They subsequently proceed to leveling which in many cases has, for various reasons, a narrow scope producing irregularity: In most of the cases presented above they create new stem allomorphs. The latter (e.g. *ixen-*) are sometimes real isolates within the verb system not only as regards their morphological structure but also as regards their function as marking certain categories, as e.g. imperfective past in Modern Greek. The result could in some cases also be characterized as (weak) suppletion, as in the case of the new imperfect *íxena*. As regards the cases of reanalysis involving "creation of boundaries" which were presented in §3, there isn't any model for such analyses elsewhere in the language which would make the alternative analysis plausible to speakers. Speakers seem to have been driven by the phonological identity of a part of the endings with word forms, the semantic content of which is contained in the verb forms. In fact the tendency to "break" the relatively long endings (markers of [person+number]) "down" into smaller units with less functions each (i.e. render the forms more agglutinating) could hardly be viewed as congruent with the verbal system of Modern Greek but more as conforming to some general tendency of morphological change towards more transparency of semantically more marked and complex forms.

6. Notes

[1] On examples of the role of reanalysis in the emergence of new morphological patterns in derivation see Haspelmath 1994, Hock & Joseph 1996:171.

[2] Tsopanakis (p.27) refers to the retention of analogous 3.SG forms in originally barytone verbs with stems ending in /ɣ/ which through loss of intervocalic /ɣ/ became oxytone: *e-lósa(si)n* (<*e-légosan*), *e-trósan* (*tró(ɣ)o* 'eat'). These forms gave rise (through reanalysis) to 1-2.PL forms *e-lósamen e-lósetè*. As in the oxytone verbs, the new formation did not extend beyond the plural: SG *é-lj-a é-lj-es é-lj-e*.

[3] On Maniot and Peloponnesian respectively. To be published in *Modern Greek Dialects*, ed. by Ch.Tzitzilis, Thessaloniki: Manolis Triantafyllidis Foundation.

[4] /x/ is always realised as [X] before front vowels in Modern Greek.

[5] Exceptions to this are represented by some Macedonian, Ukrainian and Asia Minor varieties of Modern Greek, where the imperfect displays a different stem allomorph as opposed to the present.

[6] A theoretical analysis of the phenomenon of suppletion is of course beyond the scope of this paper. I prefer to look at suppletion in synchronic terms and detach it from etymological considerations. I also regard it, following Dressler 1985 ("Suppletion in Word Formation". In *Historical Morphology* ed. by J.Fisiak. 97-112) as a gradable

phenomenon. For a recent theoretical (with a chapter on the criteria) and crosslinguistic study see L.Veselinova 2003, *Suppletion in Verb Paradigms: bits and pieces of a puzzle*, Stockholm University.

[7] Such 1.SG forms are also in use in the Greek dialect of Calabria (Karanastassis 1997:84,89,90), Mégara (Hatzidakis 1980:87), and in the "semi-northern" variety of the adjacent to Kými island of Skýros (with fronting –"tsitakismos"- and loss of unstressed /i/-; Karatzas 1974): Verb *ts'móme* 'sleep' (standard *kimáme*): *ts'miθ'na ts'miθ's ts'miθ'*. In other varieties this formation was extended to the rest of the paradigm yielding –θines –θine –θiname etc.: e.g. islands of Aigina (Éghina, Thumb 1891:116), Mýkonos and Ándros (Dieterich 1908:124), Tziá (Kéa, Kolia 1933:278) and Kýthnos, parts of Crete.

[8] See Haspelmath 1993, p.299: "...affix pleonasm leads to additional allomorphy, and this violates the universal preference for uniform coding. For instance, the Vulgar Latin double-marked infinitive *es-se-re* must have been reinterpreted soon as *esse-re*, with a new stem allomorph *esse*-". My objection to the latter analysis is that it is highly doubtful if, by the time speakers add one more affix, there is synchronically any overt affixal marking of the category at all. On *esse*: all active infinitives in Latin are marked by –*re*, an element that is absent from *esse*, which thus became unanalyzable to speakers. That is exactly why they added –*re*. In this sense it would be not very correct to speak of "affix pleonasm" or "doubling of morphemes" since in the beginning of the whole development there isn't any affix.

[9] The latter form gave rise to a new imperfect formation: *efórunes efórune* etc.(Pantelidis 2003:29-32).

[10] It is noteworthy that in the case under §2.3 the new pattern of the 3.SG (the semantically most basic or unmarked of all forms in a paradigm) extended over the whole paradigm, whereas the pattern that emerged through reanalysis of the 3.PL restricted itself to the plural. It seems that the forms of the singular have a higher degree of autonomy (in the sense of Bybee & Brewer 1980, Bybee 1985) which allows them to more easily resist restructuring.

[11] Collections of the Academy of Athens' Historical Lexicon No.419:633 (year 1924) and No.1388:5 (year 1997) respectively.

[12] Thematic imperfect and thematic aorist (-*on* –*es* –*e* –*omen* –*ete* –*on*) on the one hand and sigmatic aorist on the other (-*s-a* -*s-as* -*s-e* –*s-amen* –*s-ate* –*s-an*). The crucial point was probably the identity of the 3.SG ending (-*e*).

[13] The changes affecting the mediopassive imperfect developed of course their own rationale due to a reanalysis of the 3.PL. mediopassive forms (-*onde:-ondan*) as representing a pattern *present* –*e* : *past* –*an* and to subsequent extension of the new pattern to the rest of the plural yielding –*ómast-an* –*ósast-an* (present –*ómaste*

–este/ósaste) and 3.SG. *'–et-an* (older and dialectal)/*-ót-an* (present *–ete*). It is interesting that in some varieties the principle 'uniform coding of [+past] by means of *a~e*' was applied in the place before the endings proper in the mediopassive forms, as in the active: Occasional 3.PL in varieties of Eastern Thrace (now Turkey) and Eastern Romylía (now Bulgaria) in *–a-nde/ -a-ndan*. Apulía (Puglia) in Southern Italy (Karanastasis 1997:84): Present *–o-me –ese –e-te '-omésta* (with double stress) *–este –onde* vs. Imperfect *–amo –aso –ato '-amósto '-asósto –atto*.

[14] Kontosopoulos also mentions the 1-2.SG. forms *i-mutone* and *i-sutone* 'I was, you were' form the village of Níthavris which is geographically close to Lochriá (p.127).

[15] See among others Watkins 1962:90-96, Householder & Nagy 1972:43, Bybee 1985:55f, Koch 1994:31-34.

[16] On the issue of extensive segmentation of Modern Greek verb forms and of agglutinativity in the Modern Greek verbal system see R.D.Janda & B.D.Joseph's 1992 paper "Pseudo-Agglutinativity in Modern Greek Verb-Inflection" (proceedings volume I of the 28th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, p.251-266) where they propose an approach to Modern Greek verb morphology in terms of "meta-templates".

[17] The age of *–man –san* is unknown. Their wide geographic distribution (they appear even in southern varieties as e.g. Central Euboea, Old Athens, Cyclades etc.) might point to relatively high age.

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8. Περίληψη

Οι νεοελληνικές γλωσσικές ποικιλίες εμφανίζουν ενδιαφέρουσες περιπτώσεις επανάλυσης στον τομέα της κλιτικής μορφολογίας, οι οποίες παρουσιάζονται στην παρούσα μελέτη. Εξετάζονται οι συνθήκες, υπό τις οποίες έλαβε χώρα η επανάλυση στις περιπτώσεις που παρουσιάζονται, ενώ προσδιορίζονται τα πρότυπα με βάση τα οποία έλαβε χώρα, καθώς και οι επιπτώσεις της για το μορφολογικό σύστημα της γλώσσας. Οι επιπτώσεις περιλαμβάνουν μεταξύ άλλων τη δημιουργία νέων αλλομόρφων του θέματος και γενικότερα την εμφάνιση αλλομορφίας από ένα πρότερο στάδιο απουσίας αλλομορφίας.

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and 1950s the population of the city increased by 30%.

Up until the beginning of the 20th century the dialect of Patras was a southern dialect with all the characteristics of the Peloponnesian variety, the variety which forms the basis of Standard Modern Greek (SMG). During the 20th century, though, the dialect of Patras came to differ radically from the rest of the Peloponnesian varieties, as a result of the population mixture that took place. (For the linguistic situation in Patras see also Papazachariou 1998).

Nowadays the dialect of Patras differs to such a degree from the rest of the Peloponnesian varieties, that even non-linguists very often make comments about its idiosyncratic characteristics. Very often, the speakers of the city recognize each other on the basis of the 'singing' or 'heavy' pronunciation of Patras' dialect, as they usually characterize it. One of the basic phonological characteristics of the dialect is the lateral variable (l).

2. The lateral variable (l)

The lateral variable (l) has a clear /l/ realization as well as a dark [ɫ] realization, the second of which is the stereotype of the local dialect of Patras. The dark [ɫ] is characterized by a secondary articulation, during which the back part of the tongue rises towards the soft palate (velum), and at the same time the front part of the tongue goes down to the bottom of the mouth, below the alveolar ridge.

According to my observations, the vocoid element which very often accompanies the dark lateral [ɫ] could be the result of this complicated articulation. In particular, a parasitic vowel is very often heard before the dark lateral, the quality of which is similar to that of the vowel following the lateral. For example the word [ɫ] 'other' is pronounced as [aɫo]. We could claim that during the pronunciation of the dark lateral, the required raising of the back part of the tongue is very often realized some milliseconds before the required contact between the tip of the tongue and the alveolar ridge, with the result that a parasitic vowel to be heard before the lateral.

This parasitic vowel, which in the case of [aɫo] does not have any phonological significance, sometimes has semantic consequences, as in the example [ɣala] 'milk'. As can be seen from the spectrogram (Figure 1), during the pronunciation of the word [ɣala], the dark [ɫ] produces a parasitic [a] of such duration that the

Patras held around 40.000 inhabitants, but in less than a decade the number of the population was at least tripled. Presently Patras holds more than 170.000 inhabitants. However, during the last two or three decades, the economic situation of the city has changed. Many industries have closed down, and today Patras is among the cities with the highest rates of unemployment.

2. Data collection

This study is held within a variationist framework and it is based on a corpus of recorded casual conversations, collected as part of the project *Dialect Contact and Mechanisms of Language Change: the case of Patras' dialect* (Karatheodori grant no. 103, B 135, funded by the Research Committee of the University of Patras).

The fieldwork followed ethnographic methods of data collection. More specifically, the recordings were conducted by six trained members of the local community of Patras, who used their existing social ties within the community in order to approach and record their informants. Casual conversations were recorded in self-selected dyads, for approximately 45 minutes. The fieldworkers followed the participant observation method, and avoided energetic participation whenever the communicative conditions allowed it. Nevertheless, their interaction was natural, according to their actual and already established social ties with their speakers.

This particular study is based on the recordings of 48 native speakers sampling the local community along three different age groups, gender, and broadly defined educational level. Table 1 below shows the design of the sample. In the next section further discussion on the sample design follows.

Younger (17 – 30)				Middle (40 – 55)				Older (65 – 80)			
Standard Education		Advanced Education		Standard Education		Advanced Education		Standard Education		Advanced Education	
M(ale)	F(emale)	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4

Table 1: Design of the fieldwork sample

2.1 Sample design

2.1.1 Age

The speakers have been grouped in three different age groups, each of them being one generation older than the previous age group. Apart from the obvious

generation scale, these three generations are related to different dialect contact conditions. In particular, the older generation (i.e. from 65 to 80 years old people) is the first generation after the establishment of immigrants from Asia Minor, after the Asia Minor War. The middle generation was borne after the vast increase of the Patras' population during fifties. Finally, the younger generation is brought up during Patras' economic recession, a fact that has reduced the prestigious status of the local identity.

2.1.2 Gender

The term relates to the social orientation of the male-female distinction as opposed to the biological difference, which is pertinent for the term "sex". However, in this study, as well as in most of the studies influenced by L. Milroy's later work (Milroy 1992, Milroy & Milroy 1993, Milroy et al 1994a, 1004b, Watt & Milroy 1999) each of the genders is considered homogenous and unified, without further distinctions and subdivisions.

2.1.3 Education

Although social class identity plays a very crucial role within a variationist framework, there are studies, such as Amsterdam's study of (a) (Brouwer & Van Hout 1992), indicating that the parameter "education" – which is highly interrelated with social class – is more objective than social class, especially in relation to the definition of social class for females. In this study, a broad distinction is followed, with each age group and each gender further divided into two subgroups, i.e. standard and advanced educational level for each age. It is worth mentioning that all age groups do not have the same standard and advanced educational level. In particular, the standard educational level for the older generation is primary education; however, the standard educational level for the middle-aged generation is the first three grades of secondary education, while for the younger generation the standard education covers the six grades of secondary education.

3. Articulatory and acoustic correlates of lateral variants

One of the most typical and well recognized features of the dialect of Patras is a post-alveolar lateral variant that appears only before high front vowel /i/, in words like: [ʎimni] {lake}, or [ʎimani] {port}. Apart from this particular phonological environment that determines the appearance of the dialectal variant, there are no further linguistic parameters related to its realization. In an earlier phonological study of the lateral variable of Patras (Papazachariou 2004) held

on data from the recorded speech of four young women, apart from the standard alveolar variant, two – instead of one – local variants have been identified, i.e. an apical post-alveolar variant [ɭ], and a laminal post-alveolar [l̪] variant of (l). The apical post-alveolar variant [ɭ] is produced with the tip of the tongue touching the central area behind the alveolar ridge and the body of the tongue in an upright position. The laminal post-alveolar variant [l̪] is produced with the blade of the tongue touching heavily the area between the alveolar ridge and the palatal, and the body of the tongue in an upright position. In addition to the articulatory description, the definition of the three lateral variants was supported by formant analysis that took into consideration the first three formants of the variants, and was confirmed by the comments and attitudes of the native speakers of the dialect relating to the two different local variants. In particular, in the young women's speech, the mean values of the alveolar formants were: F1: 460 Hz, F2: 1430 Hz, and F3: 2650 Hz. The mean values of the apical post-alveolar formants were: F1: 501,5 Hz, F2: 1855,8 Hz, and F3: 2691,5 Hz. Respectively, the mean values of the laminal post-alveolar formants were: F1: 521,4 Hz, F2: 1892 Hz, and F3: 3025,8 Hz. Further statistical analysis (ANOVA test, in combination with Scheffe test) showed a significant difference between the standard and the laminal post-alveolar variant as to the values of their second and third formant. The standard and the apical post-alveolar variant were also differentiated as to the values of the second formant. Furthermore, the same statistical tests showed significant statistical differentiation between the third formant of the apical post-alveolar and the laminal post-alveolar variant (for the analytical presentation of the acoustic description of the variants and the results of statistical analysis see Papazachariou 2004).

The formants' values, however, are determined not only by the position of the articulators in the mouth, but also by further objective and physiological parameters, such as the size of the head – and consequently the size of the oral cavity and the articulators – and the filtering quality of the tissue of the mouth. The result of the co-influence of all these parameters is the production of the "same" sound with different formant values by different speakers, a fact that has been pointed out by a significant number of researchers (Docherty & Foulkes 1999, Holmes 1986, Labov 1986, 1994, Pisoni 1997). As Docherty and Foulkes point out, "…there is no inscrutable algorithm for transforming the mathematical differences between speakers, which can therefore render the interpretation of formant measures extremely difficult" (1999: 53). Under these conditions it is not surprising that the statistically significant distinction between the (l) variants produced by a group of young females was lost in this particular study, as the speakers belong to different physiological categories, and their number has been multiplied

Although the validity of formant analysis decreases with the increase of the number of speakers, other acoustic indications can also identify the different

variants of (l). Figure 1 below shows a typical waveform and spectrogram of the word [vɛrɔˈlinɔ], produced with an alveolar variant of (l).
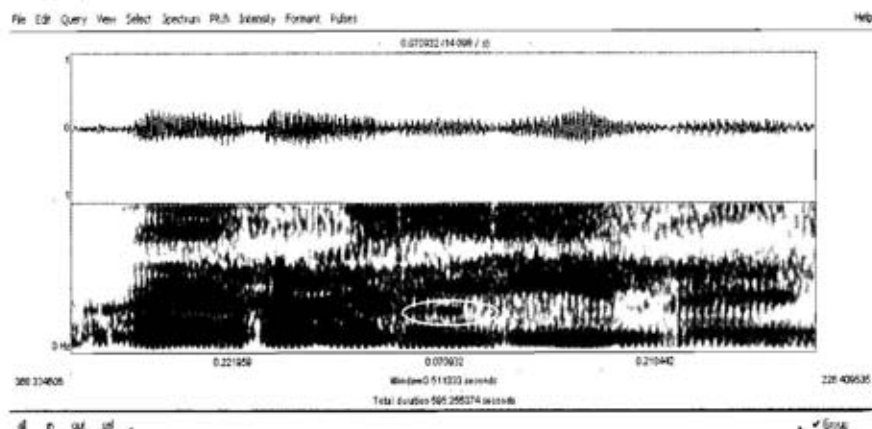
Figure1: Waveform and spectrogram of the word [vɛrɔˈlinɔ]

The spectrogram of the alveolar variant appears within the red rectangular of Figure 1. A very typical acoustic characteristic of the alveolar variant is the loss of the second formant at the end of its realization, a result of co-articulation, i.e. the movements of the articulators before the end of a sound in order to be at the right position to articulate correctly the next sound. As shown in the figures to follow, both of the post-alveolar variants produce their second formant throughout the duration of the sound, without the emergence of co-articulation.
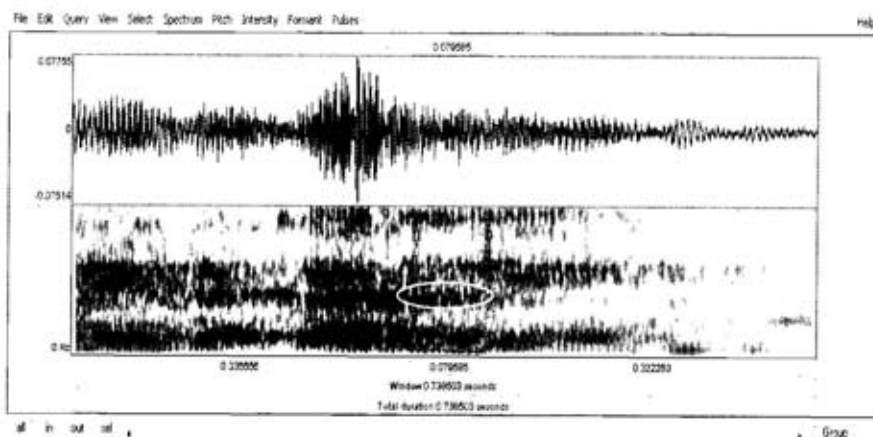
Figure 2: Waveform and spectrogram of the phrase [inɛ keˡli]

As we can see at the spectrogram of the apical post-alveolar lateral variant, the second formant is produced throughout the duration of the sound, by contrast to the alveolar lateral variant in Figure 1.

In Figure 3 below, we not only see the second formant throughout the duration of the sound, but at the same time we can see – in the red circle – the typical spectrogram of a plosive. This feature is a result of the extended contact of the tongue with the alveolar ridge and its sudden withdrawal at the end of the sound. This acoustic feature correlates with the laminal post-alveolar variant and differentiates it from the apical post -alveolar one.
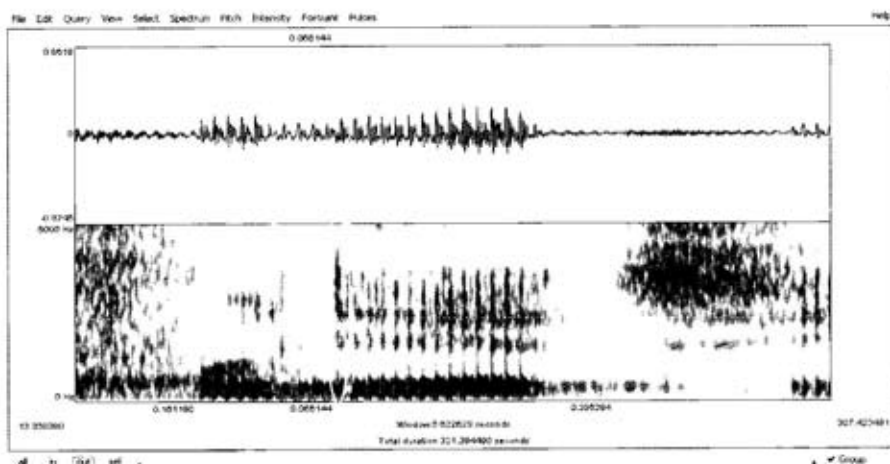
Figure 3: Waveform and spectrogram of the phrase [pɔli ˈɛtsi]

Finally, with the increase of the number of informants and the data, new interesting information came to light, i.e. the existence of a fourth variant that is used almost exclusively by men. This particular variant can be described as a "fat" [l], being produced with the tip of the tongue touching the alveolar and the body of the tongue in a much lower position than the other lateral variants. This variant is very close to a retroflex due to the low position of the body of the tongue; however, the tongue is not shaped with the full curve of a lateral retroflex. According to Figure 4 below, a characteristic feature of this variant's spectrogram is the loudness of the simple waves that appear between the third and the forth formant.
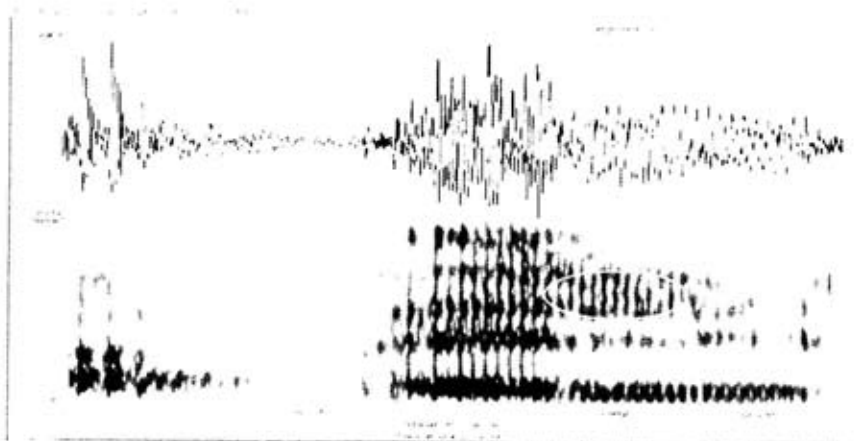
Figure 4: Waveform and spectrogram of the word [a'beli]

4 Distribution of the (l) variants across different generations

4.1 Older generation

Table 2 shows the realizations – actual numbers and percentages – of the (l) variants within the older generation.

| | MALES | | | | FEMALES | | | |
| | Standard Edu | | Advanced Edu | | Standard Edu | | Advanced Edu | |
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Alveolar	143	59.1	47	94.0	63	64.3	23	74.2
Apical Post-Alveolar	28	11.6	3	6.0	33	33.7	4	12.9
Laminal Post-Alveolar	67	27.7			2	2.0	4	12.9
Retroflex	4	1.7						

Table 2: Realizations of the (l) variants according to gender and educational level within the older generation.

Table 2 shows a number of interesting patterns. First of all, older males and females with an advanced level of education for their age prefer the standard form of the variable (94% and 74.2% respectively), with men using almost

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exclusively the standard alveolar variant. Interestingly, males and females with the basic educational level are not differentiated in the use of the alveolar form (59.1% and 64.3% respectively), but in the production of different local variants. In particular, the older standard-educated males prefer the laminal post-alveolar variant instead of the apical one (27.7% Vs 11.6%), in opposition to the older standard-educated females who prefer the apical post-alveolar form instead of the laminal one (33.7% Vs 2% respectively). Finally, older standard-educated male speakers produced very few non-local, non-standard retroflex variants (only 1.7%).

4.2 Middle generation

Table 3 below shows the distribution of the (l) variants according to gender and educational level within the middle generation.

	MALES				FEMALES			
	Standard Edu		Advanced Edu		Standard Edu		Advanced Edu	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Alveolar	18	22.8	95	88.8	20	38.5	24	31.6
Apical Post-Alveolar	29	36.7	7	6.5	24	46.2	42	55.3
Laminal Post-Alveolar	24	30.4	5	4.7	8	15.4	10	13.2
Retroflex	8	10.1						

Table 3: Realizations of the (l) variants according to gender and educational level within the middle generation.

The linguistic behavior of the middle generation, as shown in table 3, presents some very interesting patterns of language change. Although the realization of the (l) variant by the group of middle-aged and advanced-educated males is similar to the linguistic behavior of the older males with the same level of education (88.8% and 94% use of the standard form respectively), females with the same education level – and consequently similar social group status – present a clearly distinct pattern, i.e. a reduction of the standard form (31.6% instead of 74.2% of the previous generation) and a great increase of the production of the apical post-alveolar variant (55.3% instead of 12.9% of older females). Furthermore, the linguistic difference – correlated with the educational level – that appeared within the older female group, has disappeared within the middle-aged female group, as middle-aged females with a standard education level produce similar percentages of the alveolar (38.5% and 31.6%), apical post-alveolar (46.2% and 55.3%) and laminal post-alveolar variants (15.4% and

13.2%) to those produced by middle-aged females with an advanced education level. Furthermore, middle-aged females prefer the use of the apical post-alveolar local variant instead of the apical one, similarly to their mothers. Middle-aged standard-educated males, on the other hand, show an increase of variability, increasing the percentages of the non-standard variants, especially the percentages of the apical post-alveolar variant (36.7% from 11.6% of the older generation), and the retroflex variant (10.1% from 1.7% produced by the older males). Actually, the increase of the use of the retroflex variant and its use only by males is a quite interesting phenomenon, as will be shown later in the discussion.

4.3 Young generation

Table 4 shows the realizations of the (l) variants within the young generation.

	MALES				FEMALES			
	Standard Edu		Advanced Edu		Standard Edu		Advanced Edu	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Alveolar	34	47.9	21	56.8	51	79.7	41	77.4
Apical Post-Alveolar	29	40.8	14	37.8	6	9.4	8	15.1
Laminal Post-Alveolar	3	4.2			7	10.9	4	7.5
Retroflex	5	7.0	2	5.4				

Table 4 Realizations of the (l) variants according to gender and educational level within the young generation.

Table 4 presents further linguistic change patterns within the young generation. The table shows no important difference between different educational levels. In particular, neither males nor females present intra-differentiation according to their educational level, and consequently to their social grouping. By contrast, males and females present quite distinct patterns. In particular, young males of both educational backgrounds us the retroflex variant, yet in small percentages (7.0% and 5.4% respectively). In addition, young males present a major reduction of the use of the laminal post-alveolar variant (from 30.4% in the speech of standard-educated middle-aged males to 4.2% in the speech of standard-educated young males!). Furthermore, it seems that young males adopt the linguistic behavior of the middle-aged females, selecting mainly the apical post-alveolar form. Interestingly, young females change their linguistic options dramatically in comparison to the linguistic behavior of the previous female generation. Regardless their educational background, they reduce greatly the use

of their characteristic local variant (46.2% and 55.3% in the speech of middle-aged females, 9.4% and 15.1% in the speech of young females respectively), increasing at the same time the use of the standard alveolar form.

The comparison of the linguistic behavior of the last three generations of native speakers reveals different – and very interesting – patterns of language variation and change, calling for further discussion and explanation. In the last section of this paper I propose a tentative hypothesis arguing that the seemingly unrelated linguistic behavior of the three different generations can be interpreted in view of the particular dialect contact situation of Patras during the 20th century (see also Britain 2002, Siegel 1997, Trudgill 1986, Foulkes & Docherty 1999, Watt 2002).

5. Discussion

5.1 Supra-local variant

The existence of a retroflex variant was quite unexpected, as this particular variant is considered a typical variant of the North, stereotypical of the dialect of Thessaloniki. Nevertheless, this particular form is a typical characteristic of the linguistic system of the Asia Minor immigrants. The fact that the percentage of this variant was very small in the speech of the older generation (only 1.7% in the speech of standard-educated older males) indicates that this feature is quite new, and it appeared for the first time in the older generation' s linguistic system. Knowing that the retroflex lateral is a typical characteristic of the Asia Minor immigrants' speech, it is quite safe to assume that this feature has been incorporated within the linguistic system of Patras, due to dialect contact processes, i.e. dialect levelling, which in this case is realized with the adoption of a characteristic feature of the hosted linguistic system (i.e. the immigrants' Greek) as another variant together with the local realizations of the particular linguistic unit (Trudgill 1986, Papazachariou 1998). The most interesting thing, however, is the adoption of this feature only by males. Although the percentages of its use are small (1.7% in the speech of standard-educated older males, 10.1% in the speech of standard-educated middle-aged males, and 7.0% and 5.4% in the speech of young males with standard and advanced education respectively), it is obvious that the use of the retroflex variant is expanding, as in the younger generation it is used by both the educated groups, by contrast to the previous generations, where it was used only by the standard-educated males. This expansion, along with the exclusive use of the retroflex variant by males, seems to be a clear expression of the male identity within the speech community of Patras. Although there was no appearance of this retroflex variant within the female recordings, I personally heard a young female from Patras using the retroflex variant when she was mimicking a "macho" male type of speech. This

ethnographic piece of information supports the hypothesis that the retroflex variant has reallocated its sociolinguistic reference, expressing a clear male identity within the speech community of Patras.

5.2 Local variants

The pattern of the variation in the speech of the older generation through the realization of (l) can be interpreted as a result of stable variation. In particular, people with a' higher social status – a social feature highly correlated with an advanced educational background – produce mainly the standard alveolar variant, regardless of gender. By contrast, standard-educated males produce a high percentage of the laminal post-alveolar variant (27.7%, as opposed to 2.0% produced by the standard educated females), and standard-educated females produce a high percentage of the apical post-alveolar variant (33.7%, as opposed to 11.6% produced by the standard-educated females). This stereotypical use of the three variants (i.e. the standard and the two local ones) can be interpreted as a result of stable variation.

Surprisingly, middle-aged males and females differentiated their linguistic behavior dramatically, following, however, different patterns and different strategies. In particular, middle-aged females abandoned the social class division that characterized the production of (l) in the speech of the older generation (38.5% of [l], 46.2% of [ʎ], and 15.4% of [ḷ] in the speech of standard-educated females, compared to 31.6% of [l], 55.3% of [ʎ] and 13.2% of [ḷ] in the speech of advanced-educated females). Moreover, they produce the stereotypical low social status female local variant in a higher percentage than even the standard variant (46.2% and 55.3% of [ʎ], respectively, instead of 38.5% and 31.6% of [l]). On the other hand, social class differentiation is still expressed through the production of (l) within the males' speech, as members of the high social class status produce similar percentages of the lateral variants to older males of the same social group (88.8% of [l], 6.5% of [ʎ] and 4.7% of [ḷ]), and males with a standard educational background produce lateral variants in absolutely different percentages to the high social status middle-aged males, as well as to the standard-educated older males, increasing the use of all the non-standard variants, and decreasing enormously the use of the standard ones (22.8% of [l], 36.7% of [ʎ], 30.4% of [ḷ], and 10.1% of [ɭ]).

I argue that the different linguistic behavior of the two genders should be interpreted as the reflection of major differences in the social practice of males and females. In particular, it seems that high social status women have stopped expressing their social status identity through their linguistic repertoire; on the contrary, they adopt the use of the stereotypical local female lateral variant, and produce it in high percentages, similarly to standard educated females. I suggest that this absence of linguistic differences between the different social groups of

middle-aged females should be regarded as a dialect levelling phenomenon within the female group, considering the population movements described in the beginning of this paper and the consequent dialect contact phenomena that they have triggered. In particular, it was mentioned above that during the fifties, over the course of a decade, the population of Patras was tripled due to population movements from the Ionian Islands, as well as from the rural areas surrounding Patras. It seems logical to assume that this dramatic increase of population in Patras, as well as the conversion of the natives of Patras to a numerical minority within their own community has generated further changes to the development and expression of the 'threatened' native and local identity. Within this framework, I would propose that the loss of linguistic differences – i.e. dialect levelling – within the female group underlines their common identity. In addition, the increase of the use of the apical post-alveolar variant can be interpreted as reallocation of its sociolinguistic function within the female group, expressing now the local identity of the whole group.

The males' linguistic behavior is not unified like that of the females. I have already shown above that social distinction is still expressed within the middle-aged males group through the production of the standard alveolar variant. Moreover, middle-aged males produce high percentages of both local variants. I argue that this linguistic variation and change – as compared to the linguistic behavior of the older standard-educated males – has been triggered by the same social parameters that characterize the linguistic behavior of the middle-aged females, i.e. the dramatic increase of the population of Patras through immigration during the 1950'. However, more analytical and detailed study is required, taking into account the actual social parameters that characterize every-day life and communities of practice, in order to formulate a plausible hypothesis explaining the male linguistic diversity within the middle generation.

Finally, the linguistic behavior of the younger generation presents further different patterns. In particular, younger males are no longer differentiated in terms of educational level, and consequently social status. Furthermore, they have reduced the use of the laminal post-alveolar variant (4.2% and 0.0% use by standard and advanced-educated younger males respectively) sharply and massively, shifting towards the standard alveolar variant. Nevertheless, the use of the apical post-alveolar variant is still high, showing similarities to the linguistic behavior of the previous female generation. There are numerous variationist studies (Labov 1990 and Champers 1995, among others) arguing that the younger generation adopts the linguistic patterns of their mothers, and through this process, the female innovations spread to the next generations. However, earlier research (Papazachariou 1998) has shown that the adolescents' and the young people's use of particular variants was significantly correlated with the social parameters that characterized their everyday life and their communities of practice. Although it is not unrealistic to hypothesize that younger males have recognized the expression of the local identity by the middle-aged female speakers through the use of the apical post-alveolar variant,

and have adopted it in their speech. Further and more detailed study is necessary, taking into consideration all the different social parameters that characterize their communities of practice, in order to provide a plausible hypothesis about the younger males' choices of lateral variants.

On the other hand, young females show a clear preference towards the standard alveolar variant, regardless of educational background (79.7% and 77.4% use of the standard variant by the standard and advanced-educated young females respectively), reducing enormously the use of the apical post-alveolar variant (9.4% and 15.1% production of the apical post-alveolar variant by the standard and advanced-educated young females respectively). The preference for the standard variant can be explained as a result of the changes in the economic situation of Patras over the last two decades. Most of its industries have closed down, and the unemployment percentage is among the highest in Greece. In this particular context the local identity is not as prestigious as it used to be in the past. Therefore, I would assume that for the young females who try to construct and negotiate their own social identity, a non-prestigious local identity is not their target, even among the local young generation. Under these circumstances, a reduction of the local variants and a parallel shift to the standard one seems comprehensible.

Summarizing the above observations and hypotheses in relation to the role of gender, age, and social class in variation and change, as well as to dialect levelling, I suggest that under stable variation social status distinctions can play an important role differentiating sub-groups of the community, as is the case with the older generation of this study. However, under dialect contact conditions, the "Us" Vs "Them" distinction usually differentiates groups of different origin, i.e. the locals from the migrants. Surprisingly, in our study this unified sense of local identity was not expressed linguistically by all the locals, but only by the female group, indicating the existence of major differences in the social practice of the two genders. Further evidence supporting this argument is provided by the use of the retroflex variant in male speech only. Numerous variationist studies describe the females as the "innovators" of linguistic variation and change. Yet, the appearance and development of a pure male variant in this study shows that men can be innovators as well.

A final comment here concerns the dialect levelling mechanism. Dialect levelling (i.e. one of the linguistic mechanisms of language change under dialect contact conditions, which is responsible for the loss of the differences between the linguistic systems in contact), is usually realized as a reduction of socially and geographically marked features of the dialects in contact. The present study, however, reveals the existence of another, not so frequent type of dialect levelling, i.e. the adoption of a marked feature by the group initially lacking it. In this case, the old markedness is lost, being replaced by a new one. Another mechanism of linguistic change, i.e. reallocation, is realized, as a new sociolinguistic reference is allocated to the particular variant. That was the case with the adoption of the Asia Minor retroflex variant by the local males, which

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became a purely male feature through a process of reallocation. Similarly, the loss of variant differences within the middle-aged females turned the apical post-alveolar variant into a marker of the local identity within the same group.

My purpose in this paper was to provide an account of linguistic variation and change as they are realized in the production of the lateral variable (l) in the dialect of Patras. Contrary to mainstream variationist approaches, which interpret linguistic change in terms of parameters such as age, gender, and social class in isolation, I have proposed an account that takes into consideration the changing dynamics of a specific speech community under specific communal conditions.

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7. Περίληψη

Στο παρόν άρθρο μελετώ φαινόμενα γλωσσικής εξομοίωσης, όπως αυτά εμφανίζονται μέσα σε μία *υπο-ομάδα* της γλωσσικής κοινότητας, και συζητώ τις θεωρητικές προεκτάσεις αυτής της διαπίστωσης στην κατανόηση των μηχανισμών της γλωσσικής αλλαγής. Στο πρώτο μέρος του άρθρου παρουσιάζω τέσσερις διαφορετικές πραγματώσεις της πλευρικής μεταβλητής (l) στην πατρινή διάλεκτο, όπως αυτές ορίζονται με εργαλεία και μεθόδους της εργαστηριακής φωνητικής. Στο δεύτερο μέρος παρουσιάζω τη διακύμανση εμφάνισης αυτών των πραγματώσεων ως προς α) την ηλικία, β) το φύλο και γ) τη μόρφωση των πληροφορητών. Τέλος, προτείνω μία υπόθεση ερμηνείας των διαφορετικών χρήσεων των πλευρικών πραγματώσεων, η οποία βασίζεται στο διαφορετική στάση που υιοθέτησαν γυναίκες και άντρες ως προς α) το μεγάλο μεταναστευτικό κύμα τη δεκαετία του πενήντα, το οποίο μετέβαλε εντελώς τη δημογραφική σύνθεση της Πάτρας, και β) τη μείωση της οικονομικής ευρωστίας της πόλης, και κατ' επέκταση την έκπτωση της αίγλης της τοπικής ταυτότητας.

Object clitic placement in the dialects of Medieval Greek *

Panayiotis A. Pappas
Simon Fraser University

Contrary to previous opinion, the pattern of object clitic placement is not uniform across regional varieties of Medieval Greek. There are three identifiable varieties, Pontic, Cypriot and Byzantine and they appear to be situated on a cline of increasing preverbal placement. The nature of the variation provides some support for an analogical model of change that is based on the linear order of elements, but the evidence is not conclusive. This paper also presents an investigation of object clitic placement in Graeco-Roman Koiné in order to determine whether the point of origin proposed in this model was actually present during that period. The evidence reveals that there was competition between three subsystems of object clitic placement in the Koiné. One of these subsystems is the hypothesized starting point for the model of change by analogy.

1. Introduction

Until recently, dialect differentiation on the basis of object clitic placement was considered to be a development of the Modern stage of the Greek language. For instance, Mackridge (1993) claims that the pattern of pronoun placement found in Byzantine texts is not affected by geographical origin, and neither Browning (1983), nor Horrocks (1997) discuss dialectal variation with respect to this phenomenon in their descriptions of Medieval Greek. Hadjiioannou (1988), who wrote specifically on the distinguishing characteristics of Medieval Cypriot, does not mention it either.

However more recent studies, have demonstrated that the pattern was not regionally uniform. Pappas (2004a, 2004b) discuss the differences found between Medieval Cypriot and Byzantine Greek in this respect, while Condoravdi and Kiparsky (2001) bring to our attention that there is a third pattern of pronoun placement in Medieval Pontic Greek. An unavoidable conclusion then is that variation with respect to pronoun placement is not a development of Modern Greek but goes back at least to medieval times. My goal

in this article is to articulate the differences that exist between the three varieties, and to examine the possible causes that brought about this differentiation.

2. The data

I begin with a description of the facts for Medieval Pontic Greek, as this is the set of data that has not been described in any detail yet. (Condoravdi and Kiparsky highlight two significant constructions that demonstrate the existence of a third pattern but they do not provide a full description of the data in their article). The corpus of Medieval Pontic documents is a collection of deeds from the Vazelon monastery on the southern coast of the Black Sea. These documents are for the most part property transfers from individuals to the monastery itself, but there are also some documents that reflect private agreements between individuals. There are 188 deeds that are dated from as early as 1245 to as late as 1704, but most of them were created in the 14th or 15th centuries. Obviously, this is not an ideal dataset for the investigation of dialectal features, as legal documents tend to use a more conservative register and are often constructed around formulaic expressions that may not be very informative from a linguistic perspective. However, there are a few facts that inspire confidence in the authenticity of these data. First, the use of clitic object pronouns is a vernacular feature that is very rare in the higher styles of Byzantine Greek including ecclesiastical documents. Thus the pattern of clitic placement is unlikely to have been influenced by other, more prestigious registers. Second, the Pontus region had been isolated from the rest of the Empire ever since the 10th and 11th century incursions of Seljuk Turks. Under such circumstances, it is not uncommon for the regional variety to be elevated in status and used in official documents. Finally, the pattern of pronoun placement in these documents is surprisingly straightforward in its differentiation from the patterns found in Byzantine and Cypriot Greek and for that reason alone it merits discussion.

Following the analysis of Pappas (2001, 2004a, 2004b), Table 1 presents the pattern of clitic placement according to the nature of the immediately preceding element. The term 'fronted constituent' refers to a direct or indirect object, a prepositional phrase or a non-temporal adverb that preceded the verb-pronoun complex. One category that requires further discussion is 'wh-expression', where the pattern of pronoun placement seems to change over time. Thus, in documents from the 13th century there are 13 postverbal pronouns and 1 preverbal one, while in later documents we find 6 postverbal pronouns and 6 preverbal ones. Examples (1)-(4) illustrate pronoun placement in the environment of a fronted constituent, a subordinating conjuction, and wh-expressions respectively.

(1) me tēn thelēsē mou   aphēka   to   ekei
     with my will   I left   it   there
     'By my own volition I left it there' (*AV*: d. 36 1270)

(2) kathōs   eikha   to   agoran
     as   I had   it   purchase
     'As I had purchased it' (*AV*: d. 33 1264)

(3) hoson   diapherei   me   apo tous adelphous mou
     as much as   belongs   to me   from my brothers
     'As much as is my share from my brothers ' (*AV*: d. 10 1435)

(4) ē de idikē mou moira   hosē   me   diapherei
     as to my share   as much   to me   belongs
     'As to my share, whatever belongs to me' (*AV*: d. 100 1344)

Table 1. Pronoun placement in Medieval Pontic

Environment	Preverbal	Postverbal	Date
clause-initial	0	19	13th, 14th, 15th
fronted constituent	0	10	13th
temporal expression	0	3	13th, 14th, 15th
ouk	0	1	13th
kathōs	0	2	13th
epei	0	1	13th
mēpŏs	0	1	13th
hina	14	0	13th, 14th, 15th
ıs	1	0	13th
mē	1	0	13th
ōs	1	0	13th
subject	1	1	13th
wh-expression	7	19	13th 14th 15th
TOTAL	**25**	**57**	

The pattern of pronoun placement in Byzantine and Cypriot Medieval Greek has been described in detail elsewhere (Pappas 2001, 2004a, 2004b), so only a summary of the variation will be presented here. In Byzantine Medieval Greek, pronoun placement patterns in the following way (only finite, non-imperative, constructions are compared here). Postverbal pronouns are the norm when the verb is clause-initial, or if it immediately follows the negative *uk*, the complementizer *oti*, a coordinating conjunction, or a reduplicated object. Preverbal pronouns appear when the verb immediately follows any marker (negative or subjunctive), complementizer, wh-expression or fronted constituent.

Both preverbal and postverbal pronouns occur after a subject or a temporal expression. On the other hand, in Medieval Cypriot we find preverbal pronouns after all markers, complementizers, and wh-expressions, and postverbal pronouns in all other contexts.

The most important aspect of the variation in pronoun placement in Medieval Pontic Greek is the existence of postverbal pronoun placement with some complementizers and wh-expressions, elements, which are categorically associated with preverbal pronoun placement in the other two varieties. It appears then, that the three varieties are on a cline of increasing preverbal pronoun placement as illustrated in Figure 1. In the next section, I will present the two competing explanations for the variation in Medieval Greek, and evaluate them in the face of the new data from Pontic.

Figure 1. The cline of clitic object placement in Medieval Greek Dialects.

postverbal   preverbal

Pontic   Cypriot   Byzantine

3. Surface vs. Structure

This variation is interpreted differently in Pappas (2001, 2004a, 2004b) and Condoravdi and & Kiparsky (2001, 2004). The former propose a model of analogical change that links the change in pronoun placement to the development of *na* from *hina*, that is from a complementizer to the head of the verb phrase. The proposal depends crucially on the description of pronoun placement in Koiné as essentially postverbal (Horrocks 1990, 1997). The central idea is that during that period of the language, clitic placement is defined as 'post-head'. When *na* becomes the head of the subjunctive verb phrase (cf. Veloudis and Philippaki-Warburton 1983, and Philippaki-Warburton 1998, Philippaki-Warburton and Spyropoulos 2004), the pronoun is placed after *na* and before the verb. The proposal goes on to suggest that this formed the basis for a pattern of linear order that spread to other constructions in the language and that the three varieties that have been described above present us with three different stages in this development.

Figure 2. Schema for the reanalysis of pronoun position with *hina* (Pappas 2004b)

hina	grapsei	to
Comp	Head	WP
in order to	write	it
	→	

na	to	grapsei
Head	WP	V

Condoravdi and Kiparsky (2001) on the other hand, account for the differences in pronoun placement by positing different clause structures for Pontic and Byzantine Greek (they do not offer an explicit account of Cypriot). They posit the structure seen in (5) for Medieval Pontic Greek where postverbal clitics are the result of verb movement from Tense^0 to C. On the other hand, Byzantine Greek represents a further development in the history of the language, which saw the emergence of the node ΣP a composite of NegP, MoodP, and FocusP. In this clause structure, which can be seen in (6), pronouns are X^{max} enclitics which appear postverbally only when there is no available host to their left, in which case Prosodic Inversion (Halpern 1995) takes place, transposing the order between the verb and the pronoun. Adjoined constituents are not eligible hosts.

(5) [$_{CP}$ [$_{C'}$ [$_C$ (V$_j$)] [$_{TnsP}$ Cl [$_{TnsP}$ [$_{Tns0}$ V$_j$] [$_{VP}$ t$_j$]]]]]]

(6) [$_{CP}${Wh}[$_{ΣP}${FocXP, EmNeg}[$_{Σ'}$[$_{Σ0}${Neg, Mod}][$_{TnsP}$Cl[$_{TnsP}$[$_{Tns0}$ V$_j$][$_{VP}$ t$_j$]]]]]]]]

The differences between these two positions are articulated in detail in the articles mentioned above, so they will not be repeated here. Instead, I will discuss the implications that the Pontic data has for each proposal. The pattern of pronoun placement in the Medieval Pontic documents from the Vazelon collection supports the hypothesis of Pappas (2004a, 2004b) that the change from postverbal to preverbal pronouns started with *(hi)na* and spread analogically to other constructions as well. A key prediction of this proposal is that at an early stage of the development there would be preverbal pronouns with *(hi)na* but not with other elements. This is exactly what we see in deeds from the 13th century, where there are several tokens of *hina*–WP–V strings (see example 2) alongside strings that have the order *wh*-expression–V–WP, as in example (3). We also see that while markers (*as, na, mēn*) are associated with preverbal pronouns, conjunctions (*epei, kathōs*) are not although the number of available tokens is very small for those constructions. Thus, the Pontic documents from the 13th century may represent the early stages of analogical spread. Furthermore, in the 14th and 15th centuries we see an increase in preverbal pronouns associated with wh-expressions, a development which could be an indication that the change from postverbal to preverbal pronoun placement was indeed a gradual process. On the other hand, Condoravdi and Kiparsky's (2001) proposal predicts that postverbal pronoun placement should be increasing in the Pontic dialect as the development of lexicalized (X^0) enclitics from phrasal level (X^{max}) pronouns moves forward.

The change-by-analogy account however is challenged by the timeline of these developments. Ideally, one would like to show that the existing differences between the three varieties reflect the timeline of their separation from one another. Based on their position on the cline of clitic placement, one would assume that Pontic was the first variety to be separated, but in fact the opposite is true. According to Browning (1983), the separation of Cyprus from the rest of the Empire began in the 7th century, when the island first passed into Arab rule. For the following three centuries, the Byzantines successfully recaptured and lost control of Cyprus or parts of it several times, before securing the island in the later half of the 10th century. Browning believes that this period of isolation led to the development of many features of Cypriot Greek. The Pontic region on the other hand, during the same time was an integral part of the Byzantine Empire. Vryonis (1971) argues convincingly that the links between Constantinople and Trebizond and other Pontic cities were well established, financially, culturally and administratively. Vryonis also specifically refutes the claims that Anatolian cities were in decline, and points out that in comparison to the Slavic invasions of the Balkans, the Arab raids of Anatolia were transitory affairs with no long-term consequences. Thus there are really no socioeconomic reasons that would have led to a divergence between Pontic and Byzantine Greek during the period spanning the 7th to the 11th century.

The timeline of these developments poses a challenge for the Condoravdi and Kiparsky account as well. They suggest that Medieval Pontic Greek and Byzantine Greek were separated from each other as a result of the Seljuk conquests in the 11th century (the battle of Manzikert took place in 1071), after which point, Byzantine Greek developed the clause structure seen in (6) while Pontic maintained the structure seen in (5) for at least another two or three centuries, before the pronouns developed into lexical level enclitics in this dialect. However, there is strong evidence that the pronoun placement pattern of Byzantine Greek was in place at least by the 10th century if not earlier. Both the *Digenes Epic* and the *Acclamations*, which were composed prior to the 10th century, contain examples of preverbal pronoun placement that are accounted for by the structure in (6) but not the one in (5), as examples (7) and (8) demonstrate.

(7)   ho martēs   se   diōkei
       the March   you   pursuits
       'March is pursuing you' (*Acclamations* 10:15)

(8)   mē   me   deireis
       Neg   me   beat
       'Do not beat me' (*Acclamations* 10:31)

One last surprising fact from the Pontic documents is the existence of a preverbal pronoun associated with a focused subject, as seen in example (9). Condoravdi and Kiparsky's clause structure for Pontic explicitly predicts a postverbal pronoun in such a context, while in the change-by-analogy account this construction should not be possible until a much later stage, at least after preverbal pronouns are associated with wh-expressions.

> (9) me ton ergatēn ton praitōrēn   egō to   efuteusa
>   with the worker Praitores   I   it   planted
>   'I planted it with my worker Praitores' (*AV*: d. 23 1260)

The data from the Vazelon documents provide more support for the surface-based approach to the change than the structural one, but the support is not conclusive, as some key questions remain unanswered for both accounts. The next section examines the pattern of clitic placement in the Koiné in order to ascertain if either of these proposals makes valid assumptions about the origin of the variation.

4. Clitic object placement in the Koiné

Since the Medieval Greek evidence does not allow us to conclusively resolve the question of whether the change in clitic placement was the result of analogical change that spread gradually, or due to a change in clause structure, it becomes necessary to examine data from the Koiné period which plays an important role as the starting point for each proposal. The findings, although somewhat surprising, provide further support for the hypothesis of analogical change.

The data concerning clitic placement in the Koiné have not been fully explored. The two most valuable sources are the texts of the New Testament and the non-literary papyri from post-Ptolemaic Egypt. There are only two detailed accounts of clitic placement during this period (other than Horrocks' brief sketches in 1990 and 1997) and I will summarize their results before presenting my findings.

Janse (1993) provides a careful description of clitic placement in the New Testament, which demonstrates that the pattern is not influenced by Hebrew, but also lays out the basic tendencies of the phenomenon. According to his findings, both possessive and object pronouns 'regularly' follow their governing nouns or verbs. Preposed pronouns occur as a result of a version of Wackernagel's Law, which places them in second position, especially when the first word of the clause (or phrasal unit) is focused or a subordinating conjunction such as *hina*, as can be seen in the following examples. Notice that according to Janse, the application of the law can also draw the clitics away from the head that selects them and into the traditional Wackernagel second position (example 12).

(10) oudeis   se   katekrinen
      no one   you   condemned
      'No one has condemned you' (*John:* 8.10—Janse's 29)

(11) ou mē   se   aparnisomai
      NEG   you   renounce
      'I will never renounce you' (*Matthew:* 26.35—Janse's 23)

(12) tis   mou   ēpsato   tōn immatiōn
      who   my   touched   garments
      'Who touched my garments' (*Mark:* 5.30—Janse's 12)

Taylor's (2002) account covers the New Testament, *The shepherd of Hermas*, as well several private letters from the non-literary papyri. One of the interesting points of her presentation is that even though true Wackernagel clitics have been in decline since Ancient Greek, there are still vestiges of this pattern in the Koiné, occurring in about 5% of the constructions. Taylor's main concern in the (2002) paper is to provide an explanation for the variation between postverbal and preverbal clitics in constructions where there is either a subject, or some other constituent before the verb. The key statistical observation is that long subjects are categorically associated with postverbal clitics while short subjects allow for both possibilities equally as examples (13)-(15) illustrate.

(13) hē gunē diskatos tou adelphou mou   ēnegke   moi   r
      the wife of Discas my brother   brought   me   100
      'the wife of your brother Discas brought me 100 (drachmas)'
      (*Letters:* 114,9—Taylor's 32)

(14) ekeinos   me   apesteilen
      he   me   sent
      'He sent me' (*John:* 8.49—Taylor' s 33a)

(15) hymeis   atimazate   me
      you   dishonor   me
      'You dishonor me' (*John:* 8.49—Taylor' s 33b)

According to Taylor, this variation is explained if one assumes that the pronouns are enclitics that are adjoined at the left edge of VP and that, in addition to Prosodic Inversion, Φ-restructuring (Nespor and Vogel 1986, revised for Greek by Taylor 2002) is also in operation. In Ancient and Koiné Greek this latter rule allows two non-branching phonological phrases (Φ) to be optionally combined

into a single one as long as the appropriate syntactic conditions (c-command) apply. In example (13), since the long subject is a branching Φ it cannot join the Φ of the verb. Since the two Φs remain separate the clitic cannot find a host to its left and so PI moves it to the right of the verb. In (14), the short subject *ekeinos* is a non-branching Φ which combines with the Φ of the verb to create a single phonological phrase in which the enclitic can find a host to its left. In (15) the Φ-restructuring does not apply (the operation is optional) and so as in (13) PI moves the clitic to the right of the verb.

It is noticeable that Taylor's account does not deal explicitly with clitic placement after subordinating conjunctions, negative markers or wh-expressions but one would expect that these elements belong to the phonological phrase of the verb because they are not lexical heads and therefore are associated with preverbal clitic placement. This also seems to be implied by Taylor's discussion of clitic placement with wh-expressions (p. 299). As a result we would expect preverbal pronoun placement in these environments. This is also Janse's (1993: 96-97) point of view: "[la Loi de Wackernagel] s'applique davantage quand le premier mot de la proposition est un subordonnant... On constate toutefois qu'il s'est développé un ordre plus ou moins figé {subordonnant + enclitique}."

However, the results of the present investigation disagree with this description. Table 2 shows the pattern of object clitic placement in the private correspondence papyri from Oxyrhynchus. Surprisingly, the tendency for postverbal pronouns associated with negative markers, complementizers and wh-expressions is quite strong forcing us to seek an explanation beyond those provided by Janse (1993) and Taylor (2002).

Table 2. Object clitic placement in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri (vols. 1-56)

Environment	Preverbal	Postverbal
clause-initial	4	231
ŏɪí	0	8
ɪÁ	2	9
infinitival complement	12	0
adverbs	34	14
NP-Object	21	15
NP-Subject	10	13
PP	13	37
complementizers	17	37
wh-expressions	18	16

(16)	epimelou seautēs	hina	moi	hugiainēs
	take care of yourself	so that	for me	you are healthy

'take care of yourself so that you will be in good health for
my sake' (*Oxy*: 1154 late 1st cent)

(17) takhu erkhei   hina   idōmen   se
      quickly come   so that   we may see you
      'Come quickly so that we may see you' (*Oxy*: 2599 3rd cent)

(18) kan egō   mĕ   graphō   soi
      even if I   NEG   write   to you
      'Even if I do not write to you' (*Oxy*: 3813, 3rd cent)

5. Evaluating the data from Koiné Greek

Despite this difference in the description of object clitic placement during the
Koiné, all three accounts posit challenges to the clause-structure that
Condoravdi and Kiparsky (2001: 26) propose for Medieval Pontic as well as for
Koiné Greek. As they indicate, the structure seen in (5)—and repeated here as
(19)—predicts postverbal pronouns in the environment of negative markers and
focused elements: "At the stage before Sigma P was introduced, focused
elements and negation would have been fronted to SpecCP. Movement of the
verb to C in such cases would then have resulted in postverbal positioning of
clitics." On the other hand, this structure predicts that the presence of
complementizers in a clause would always be associated with preverbal clitics
as there would be no empty node for the verb to move to.

(19) $[_{CP} [_{C'} [_C (V_j)] [_{TnsP} Cl [_{TnsP} [_{Tns0} V_j] [_{VP} t_j]]]]]]$

Both of these predictions are contradicted by the accounts reviewed above.
Janse's (1993) description of New Testament Greek counts focused elements as
the main reason for preverbal clitics, while Taylor's proposal ascribes postverbal
object clitics as the result of Prosodic Inversion, not verb movement. Finally, the
new data from the Oxyrhynchus Papyri presented here, demonstrate that
postverbal clitics are possible after a complementizer.

In addition to this evidence, Philippaki-Warburton and Spyropoulos (2004),
argue that there are strong indicators that Mood had emerged as a functional
category already in Graeco-Roman Koiné, as in the structure shown in (20).
They conclude this from the fact that already by the fourth century AD, *hina*
was used as a subjunctive marker in embedded clauses, it has deontic force in
main clauses, and it is often combined with complementizers (e.g. *os*, in order to
introduce final clauses). Consequently, it does not seem plausible that the
distinction in clitic placement between Pontic and Byzantine Medieval Greek

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can be ascribed to the emergence of the functional category ΣP in the latter, after the two had been separated by the Seljuk conquests of the 11th century.

(20) [$_{CP}$ [$_{MoodP}$ [$_{NegP}$[$_{InflP}$ V]]]]

On the other hand, the same data provide further support for the change-by-analogy hypothesis. The crucial evidence is the existence of both preverbal and postverbal object clitics after complementizers and wh-expressions. This type of variation cannot be explained by any of the accounts reviewed above, and it is unlikely that it can be captured within a single grammatical system. Instead, I propose that this variation is evidence of competition between different subsystems of the grammar. It is a well-documented fact that during transitional periods in a language, change does not necessarily proceed by immediate substitution of the older system by an innovative one. As Kroch (1989) has demonstrated the phenomenon is quite common in the history of several of the world's languages. We also know that during the Graeco-Roman period Greek went through significant reorganization. There was competition between verb-final and verb-medial word order (Taylor 1994), infinitival and finite complementation (Joseph 1978/1990, 1983), as well as restructuring of the clause and the emergence of new functional categories (Philippaki-Warburton 1998, Philippaki-Warburton and Spyropoulos 2004). Thus, the existence of competition between subsystems of clitic placement is not surprising at all. In fact, the papyri provide us with direct evidence of this competition in the form of errors and corrections with respect to clitic placement. In the first example (21), the clitic *moi* is written twice, once before the verb and once after, indicating uncertainty as to its correct position. In the second example, the clitic *soi* is written first in what is presumably the traditional Wackernagel second position and then written again before it is erased and the verb is inserted from above.

(21) ean moi   paradois   moi   tous anthrōpous
      if to me   you give   to me the people
      'If you deliver the people to me' (*Oxy*: 2981, 2nd cent)

(22) hoti egō men gar autos   soi   anelipōs   [[soi]] \graphō/
      because I PART self   to you constantly   to you write
      'Because I myself constantly write to you' (*Oxy*: 2980, 2nd cent;
      [[X]] indicates erasure, \X/ indicates insertion from above)

The first of these subsystems would be the one traditionally described by Wackernagel's Law, which only represents a minority of constructions in the Koiné. The second subsystem is the one described by Taylor (2002), essentially

a development of the previous one, since prosody still plays a role in determining the clitic's position. Adopting the clause structure proposed by Philippaki-Warburton and Spyropoulos (2004), and following Halpern (1995) and Taylor (2002), I would propose that object clitics are X^{max} enclitics adjoined to IP and may appear before the verb as long as there is not a phonological boundary Φ to their left. When the latter is the case, PI places the clitic to the right of the verb. This subsystem would then account for the pattern of pronoun placement seen in Table 2 except for postverbal clitics associated with complementizers, wh-expressions and negative markers.

(23) $[_{CP} [_{MoodP} [_{NegP} [_{InflP} Cl [_{InflP} [_{Infl'} [_{Infl} V_j] [_{VP} t_j]]]]]]]$

In the third subsystem, object clitics have become lexicalized (X^0) enclitics that are attached to the verb as Condoravdi and Kiparsky have proposed for Modern Pontic Greek (24). This of course means that there is a certain degree of ambiguity in the system, as speakers would not have been able to distinguish postverbal clitics that are the result of PI from those that belong to the innovative subsystem. We can, however, estimate the percentage of lexical postverbal clitics in the ambiguous cases by calculating their percentage in the unambiguous ones (Kroch 1989, Taylor 2002). This is quite significant at 62%, so we would expect two-thirds of all postverbal clitics to be attached to the verb.

(24) $[_{v0} [_{v0} [V] Cl]]$

One question that remains is what led to the creation of fixed postverbal clitics. This is a question that requires further research, but I suggest that this is the result of reanalysis caused by several conspiring factors. First there is the ongoing change of Greek word order from SOV to SVO (Taylor 1994), which in the regular absence of subjects would have resulted in a predominance of verb-initial clauses. At the same time, the intonation pattern of Greek was changing, and the sentence accent was increasingly being placed on the verb and not on the first element of a clause (Dunn 1989). If we also follow Dunn's argument that the position of enclitics in Ancient Greek is not only determined by structure but is also linked to the placement of the sentence accent, then the following development becomes possible: as verbs increasingly carry the sentence accent and as they increasingly appear in clause-initial position, the appearance of clitics in second position is no longer perceived as placement after the first constituent but reanalyzed as placement after the verb. Thus, even when the verb is not the first constituent in a clause, object clitics would tend to follow it, as their position is linked to the sentence accent. This pattern, which was enhanced by the fact that Φ-restructuring is optional and not obligatory, was further reanalyzed as one in which object clitics are lexically attached to the verb.

5. Conclusion

In this paper it was shown that, contrary to previous opinion, the placement of clitic object pronouns was a dialectal feature of Medieval Greek. The three identifiable varieties, Pontic, Cypriot and Byzantine appear to be situated on a cline of increasing preverbal placement. The nature of the variation provides some support to an analogical model of change that is based on the linear order of elements, but the evidence is not conclusive. In order to further evaluate this model against Condoravdi and Kiparsky's (2001) explanation that the variation is due to differences in clause structure, the pattern of object clitic placement in Graeco-Roman Koiné was also explored. The evidence from that period of the language indicates that the key change in clause structure must have occurred several centuries before the three varieties were separated from each other, while it also revealed, that there was competition between three subsystems of object clitic placement in the Koiné. One of these subsystems is the hypothesized starting point for the model of change by analogy.

6. Notes

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8. Περίληψη

Σε αντίθεση με την επικρατούσα αντίληψη, η θέση των κλιτικών στα μεσαιωνικά ελληνικά ποικίλει ανάλογα με την περιοχή. Υπάρχουν τρεις διάλεκτοι, τα Ποντιακά, τα Κυπριακά και τα Βυζαντινά, οι οποίες φαίνεται ότι αποτελούν βαθμίδες σε μια κλίμακα αυξανόμενης πρόταξης των κλιτικών. Η φύση της διαφοροποίησης προσφέρει μερική υποστήριξη για ένα μοντέλο εξέλιξης το οποίο βασίζεται στη σειρά των όρων στην πρόταση. Επίσης, η παρούσα εργασία εξετάζει τη θέση των κλιτικών στην Ελληνο-Ρωμαϊκή Κοινή για να προσδιορίσει εάν η αφετηρία την οποία προϋποθέτει το εν λόγω μοντέλο απαντά σε εκείνη την περίοδο της γλώσσας. Τα στοιχεία δείχνουν ότι στην Κοινή υπάρχει ανταγωνισμός τριών συστημάτων ως προς την τοποθέτηση των κλιτικών και ότι ένα από αυτά θα μπορούσε όντως να αποτελέσει την αφετηρία για την εξέλιξη της προτεινόμενης μεταβολής κατ' αναλογία.

Allomorphy in Inflection: Evidence from the Dialects of Lesvos, Kydonies and Moschonisia[*]

Angela Ralli
University of Patras

In language variation relatively little research has investigated the consequences of the emergence of new, non-phonologically interpreted allomorphy patterns. A survey of certain allomorphy phenomena that are reported here from Standard Modern Greek and its dialectal variation, as is realized on the island of Lesvos, and in the Asia Minor areas of Kydonies and Moschonisia, provides a typical example of how systematic allomorphy patterns may affect the morphological system in a significant manner. In dealing with the issue of stem variation in inflectional morphology, the paper shows that non-phonologically conditioned allomorphy occupies a central position in morphology. It assumes several roles and is not a simple synchronic residue of historical processes. It is proposed that allomorphy may have a classificatory role, leading to the distinction of inflection classes, and paves the way for paradigmatic uniformity, contributing to the simplification of the linguistic system. It is argued, however, that allomorphy has an independent status as a basic morphological phenomenon, and may resist levelling forces when structure preservation is at stake.

1. Introduction

A major question in linguistic morphology is when two or more phonetically distinct morphological units are analyzed as the same for morphological purposes, that is as allomorphs of a single morpheme (see, among others, Nida 1948, Harris 1951). With few exceptions (see, for instance, Lieber 1980, 1982, Carstairs 1987, 1988, Maiden 1992, Aronoff 1994, Booij 1997a,b), this issue has never become the focus of attention, particularly within the generative grammar framework. The reason for such neglect is mainly due to the fact that allomorphy is usually considered as nothing more than the absence of uniformity, resulting either from historical processes or from borrowing. Contrary to this view, I will try to show that allomorphy is an important property

of morphological formations which plays an active role in paradigmatic organization and paradigmatic restructuring.

Allomorphic variation affects lexemes such as stems and words, but may also characterize affixes. In early generative grammar, Aronoff (1976) explains the form difference of allomorphs in terms of adjustment allomorphy rules. These rules are situated at the interface of phonology and morphology, but are different from phonological ones, since they cannot introduce segments, which are not otherwise motivated as underlying phonological segments of the language. Moreover, they are unconstrained, in that they are capable of encoding all types of behavior, exceptional and regular.

As opposed to Aronoff's views, Lieber (1980, 1982) proposes that allomorphic variation must be encoded in segmental terms, directly in the lexicon. She argues that it is often the case that certain word-formation rules must have available to them the segmental composition of the allomorphic variants they concatenate, and that these variants cannot be accounted for by phonology or syntax. In her approach, allomorphic variants of the same item are related by a morpholexical rule, which is nothing but a redundancy statement relating items of a different form but of the same grammatical category. Marantz (1982) further specifies the formulation of this type of rule, by claiming that its conditioning environment has to be stated in morphological than in purely phonological terms. Along the same lines, Spencer (1988) argues that allomorphic relationships are situated in the lexicon, since there are word-formation processes that choose particular allomorphs on the basis of lexical criteria.

According to Carstairs (1987), there is a need to distinguish phonologically-conditioned allomorphy from lexically or grammatically conditioned one, although there may be some controversial cases where this distinction is not clear. The same position has been taken by Ralli (1988) and Booij (1997a,b, 2005). Without denying the fact that there is a type of allomorphy that can be explained as the result of application of phonological processes, these authors claim that there are allomorphic variants which should be stated in morphological terms. Standard Modern Greek (hereafter SMG) provides several examples that bring support to a distinction between phonologically-conditioned and non-phonologically conditioned allomorphy. Consider the inflected types of a verb like 'γrafo 'to write' under (1):

(1)a. 'γraf-ume   vs.   b. 'γrap-s-ame
     write-IMPERF.PR.1PL   write-PERF-PAST.1PL
     'we write'   'we wrote'

As seen in the example above, the verb 'to write' displays two stem variants, /γraf/ and /γrap/, depending on the phoneme that follows its stem-final

consonant. If this phoneme is the [+continuous] /s/ of the aspectual marker, a dissimilation rule transforms the [+continuous] /f/ into the [-continuous] /p/. Thus, /ɣraf/ is the basic stem[1] expressing the concept of 'write', and /ɣrap/ is the outcome of a phonological rule applied to it.

Evidence of the second type of allomorphy may be found in the systematic stem variation of a number of verbs, like aɣa'p(a)o to love'. aɣa'p(a)o displays an allomorphy pattern, according to which a X(a) stem variant aɣap(a)- is used in the context of imperfective forms (e.g., in the present and the imperfect tenses, see (2a)), while a Xi stem variant aɣapi- appears in the context of perfective forms (e.g., in the aorist paradigm, see (2b)), as well as in the passive voice (2c) and derived words (2d):

(2) SMG

  a. aɣa'p(a)-o   b. a'ɣapi-s-a
     love-IMPERF.PR.1SG   love-PERF-PAST.1SG
     'I love'   'I loved'

                     vs.

  c. aɣapi-'eme (> aɣapjeme)   d. aɣapi-'tos
     love-PASS.IMPERF.PR.1SG   'beloved'

Clearly, there is no synchronic phonological explanation for this form variation. Therefore, the selection of allomorphic variants must be a matter of the lexicon or morphology. Crucially though this form variation cannot be explained in terms of a typical concatenative word-formation rule of Greek, since it has no semantic counterpart, that is, the change in the form is not triggered by the addition of a meaningful element. We could, thus, suppose that the stem variation in (2) is handled at the level of the lexical entry, by a lexical redundancy rule, along the lines of Lieber (1980, 82). This type of rule relates stems that are considered to be basic, in the sense that no particular stem is derived from the other. By adopting Lieber's (1980, 1982) symbolization, the basic stem allomorphs of verbs like aɣa'p(a)o to love' will be noted as X(a) ~ Xi (aɣap(a) ~ aɣapi).

Interestingly, a more morphologically-oriented explanation could be found in Booij (1997a,b, 2005) who proposes that there is a close relation between non-phonologically conditioned allomorphy and paradigmatic morphology, and that in certain cases, allomorphic variants may be determined on the basis of paradigmatic relations holding either between inflected forms, or between derived words of the same lexeme. For instance, the correct form of the stem used in the French adverbs in –ment, is determined by referring to the stem of a paradigmatically related form, the feminine one:

(3) French

Adjective.MASCULINE	Adjective.FEMININE	ADVERB
beau	belle	belle-mente
fou	folle	folle-ment

In this paper, I restrict my attention to instances of allomorphy that are not entirely phonologically dissimilar - as cases of pure suppletion are – but, at the same time, they cannot be describable in phonological terms. In particular, by examining stem allomorphy and its relation to inflection, I show that it plays an important role in morphological paradigm formation. Elaborating on Booij's hypothesis on the close relation between allomorphy and paradigmatic morphology, I propose that allomorphy can be seen as a central morphological property, which may

- assume a classificatory role, leading to the distinction of inflection classes,
- pave the way for paradigmatic uniformity, but also
- resist leveling forces when structure preservation is at stake.

In this respect, allomorphy constrains paradigms, paradigm organization, and paradigm restructuring. Furthermore, its significant contribution to inflectional paradigmatic structure adds support to the hypothesis for the autonomy of morphology. As shown in this paper, the interaction of allomorphy and paradigmatic structure, as well as certain regularities in the choice of particular allomorphs cannot be predicted by phonological rules, and cannot be explained in terms of syntagmatically-oriented syntactic constructions. On the contrary, they ask for a morphological interpretation, proving that morphology is a grammatical domain with its own phenomena.

Claims and proposals that are put forward in the paper are exemplified with data of stem allomorphy drawn from SMG, the dialectal varieties of the island of Lesvos (Kretchmer 1905, Papadopoulos 1927), and the Asia Minor towns of Kydonies (also called Aivali) and Moschonisi (hereafter LAM, see Sakkaris 1940, Ralli to appear, Ralli forthcoming).[2] These dialectal varieties belong to the group of northern Greek dialects. As such, they display the two typical characteristics of high vowel deletion in unstressed position, and change of mid-vowels /e/ and /o/ into /i/ and /u/, respectively, also in unstressed position:

(4)
	LAM	SMG	
	kti	ku'ti	'box'
	xu'raf	xo'rafi	'field'
	pit'nos	peti'nos	'cock'

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2. Allomorphy as an inflection-class demarcator

It is well known that nouns and verbs of fusional languages belong to more than one inflection class, and that their classification is based on certain specific criteria. For instance, in Ancient Greek verbal inflection, one of these criteria is the presence, or absence, of thematic vowels, accompanied by a difference in the endings. A verb like λύω /lyo:/ 'to solve', containing the thematic vowels –o- or -e-, depending on the context (λύομεν /lyomen/ 'we solve', but λύετε /lyete/ 'you solve.PL'), belongs to the second class, while the athematic verbs, like τίθημι /tith e:mi/ 'to put', is part of the first. In addition, the phonological application of the so-called 'contraction rule' applying to a string of two consecutive vowels (the stem final one and the initial vowel of the ending) results into distinguishing two subclasses among the class of the thematic verbs, those which do not undergo contraction (e.g. λύ-ω /lyo:/), and those which are submitted to the rule (e.g., κινέ-ω > κιν-ω (/kine-o:/ > /kin-o:/) 'to move'). The situation is different today, where the old thematic vowels and the contraction rule play no active role in verbal inflection. Their old application, however, has left its residues on the form of Modern Greek verbs. According to most recent analyses by Koutsoudas 1964, Philippaki-Warburton 1970, Babiniotis 1972, and Ralli 1988 (Hamp 1962 is the only exception who considers the thematic vowel to be a mark of voice), the old thematic vowel –o/e- is not taken to be a distinct functional element any more, but part of the endings of the present tense. However, as shown by Ralli (1988), SMG verbs are still distributed into two major inflection classes, each class bearing its own inflectional endings in the present and the imperfect tenses. Elaborating on this analysis, I would like to propose that the Modern Greek verb classification is based on the systematic presence, or absence, of a specific allomorphy pattern, which affects the stems. In other words, I propose that stem allomorphy has taken over the function of the old thematic vowel, and has assumed the role of an inflection class demarcator on synchronic grounds.

As shown in (1) above, the SMG verb aγa'p(a)o 'to love', together with a considerable number of inflectionally similar verbs, contains a X(a) form (aγapa) and a Xi one (aγapi), depending on the context, and no synchronic phonological explanation could conceivably account for this stem alternation. Assuming that the general structural pattern for the verb types is [Stem-(Aspect)-Tense/Person/Number] (cf. Koutsoudas 1964, Ralli 2005), the paradigms of active present, imperfect and aorist are as in (5), where a hyphen separates the stems from the endings:[3]

> (5) SMG Stem allomorphs: aγapa ~ aγapi
>
> | | a. Present | b. Imperfect | c. Aorist |
> |---|---|---|---|
> | SG 1P | aγa'p(a)-o | a'γapa-γ-a / aγa'p-us-a | a'γapi-s-a |

	2P	aγa'pa-s	a'γapa-j-es / aγa'p-us-es	a'γapi-s-es
	3P	aγa'pa-i	a'γapa-j-e / aγa'p-us-e	a'γapi-s-e
PL	1P	aγa'pa-me	aγa'pa-γ-ame / aγa'p-us-ame	aγa'pi-s-ame
	2P	aγa'pa-te	aγa'pa-γ-ate / aγa'p-us-ate	aγa'pi-s-ate
	3P	aγa'pa-ne	a'γapa-γ-an / aγa'p-us-an	a'γapi-s-an

Crucially, verbs like '*γrafo* 'to write' differ from verbs like *aγa'p(a)o*, in that they do not display any systematic stem allomorphy (as already mentioned in the introduction, the stem final /f/ is phonologically transformed into /p/), and their inflectional endings in the present tense are also distinct from those of *aγa'p(a)o*:

(6) SMG

		a. Present	b. Imperfect	c. Aorist
SG	1P	'γraf-o	'e-γraf-a	'e-γrap-s-a
	2P	'γraf-is	'e-γraf-es	'e-γrap-s-es
	3P	'γraf-i	'e-γraf-e	'e-γrap-s-e
PL	1P	'γraf-ume	'γraf-ame	'γrap-s-ame
	2P	'γraf-ete	'γraf-ate	'γrap-s-ate
	3P	'γraf-un	'e-γraf-an	'e-γrap-s-an

On the basis of the examples given under (5) and (6), I would like to suggest that the presence or absence of a systematic allomorphy pattern X(a) ~ Xi signal the way in which verbs are classified into inflection classes. This suggestion is in accordance with Maiden (1992) who has showed that allomorphy patterns are very robust in paradigms, on the basis of evidence drawn from Italian. In other words, I propose that X(a) ~ Xi stem allomorphy may function as an inflection-class demarcator, in the sense that verbs that do not adapt to the particular allomorphy pattern are predicted to inflect differently from verbs that have it. Conventionally, let us call them class-a and class-b verbs, respectively.[4] Seen like this, the X(a) ~ Xi allomorphy pattern functions like a schema, in a broader sense of what is defined as a schema by Bybee & Slobin 1982, since it determines the paradigmatic behavior of a class of verbs, the members of which form a series of 'family' inflectional resemblances.[5] Moreover, by using the idea that inflectional classes can be determined by clustering around a basic allomorphy pattern, allomorphy contributes to paradigmatic distinctness, as opposed to Carstairs (1987: 222-223) who claims that stem allomorphy is irrelevant to the identification of paradigms, to which only affixal inflection should count.

The proposal for the role of allomorphy as an inflection-class demarcator finds additional support in the dialectal domain. Consider (7) and (8) below. Evidence from the present, the imperfect, and the aorist tenses of the same verbs '*γrafo* and *aγa'p(a)o*, in their dialectal realization, suggests that the allomorphy

pattern X(a) ~ Xi is not only present in LAM, but like in SMG, serves to classify verbs into distinct inflection classes, followed by their own inflectional endings.[6]

(7) LAM underlying stem forms: X(a) ~ Xi [aɣap(a) ~ aɣapi]

	a. Present	b. Imperfect	c. Aorist (underlying aɣapi-)
SG 1P	aɣa'p-o	a'ɣap-um, aɣap-umna[7]	a'ɣap-s-a
2P	aɣa'pa-s	a'ɣapa-s	a'ɣap-s-is
3P	aɣa'pa	a'ɣapa	a'ɣap-s-i
PL 1P	aɣa'p-umi	aɣa'p-us-ami	aɣa'pi-s-ami
2P	aɣa'p-uti	aɣa'p-us-ati	aɣa'pi-s-ati
3P	aɣa'p-un	aɣa'p-us-an	aɣa'pi-s-an

(8)

	a. Present	b. Imperfect	c. Aorist
SG 1P	'ɣraf-u	'eɣraf-a	'eɣrap-s-a
2P	'ɣraf-s	'eɣraf-is	'eɣrap-s-is
3P	'ɣraf	'eɣraf-i	'eɣrap-s-i
PL 1P	'ɣraf-umi	'ɣraf-ami	'ɣrap-s-ami
2P	'ɣraf-iti	'ɣraf-ati	'ɣrap-s-ati
3P	'ɣraf-in	'ɣraf-an	'ɣrap-s-an

If we compare the inflected types of SMG (5-6) and LAM (7-8), we realize that in LAM the distinction of verbs into two inflection classes has acquired a clearer status than in SMG, since it is followed by a sharper difference in the inflectional endings. For instance, in LAM, there is a systematic distinction between class-a and class-b verbs as far as the plural endings of the present tense are concerned (9), and a form –um (or –umna) appears in the 1SG of LAM class-b verbs.

(9) Present tense plural endings

LAM	Class a	Class b
	-umi	-umi
	-iti	-uti
	-in	-un

SMG	Class a	Class b
	-ume	-me
	-ete	-te
	-un	-un

The sharper division of the two inflection classes in LAM is also proved by the rise and spreading of the class-b pattern among verbs, the stems of which have

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an allomorphic variation, but do not conform to the systematic allomorphy pattern X(a) ~ Xi, and as such, they belong to class a, as shown in (10). In fact, on the basis of the Italian verb inflection, Maiden (1992) has proposed that the levelling of allomorphic variations may assist to a sharper differentiation of the verb forms. As far as the Greek conjugation is concerned, some verbs display the peculiarity to have an aorist stem form in Xi (see (10) below). Since the same form is also shared by class-b verbs, the division between the two classes, as far as the aorist forms of the particular verbs are concerned, is blurred. As a consequence, the verbs undergo a shift from class a to class b.

Consider, first, the 1SG and 2SG in the present of SMG verbs in -*ino*, and -*eno*:

(10) SMG class-a verbs in -ino and -eno

a. 'zvin-o   'e-zvin-a   'e-zvi-sa
   'I extinguish'   'I was extinguishing'   'I extinguished'
   'zvin-is   'e-zvin-es   'e-zvi-ses
   'you extinguish' 'you were extinguishing' 'you extinguished'

b. aro'sten-o   a'rosten-a   a'rosti-sa
   'I fall ill'   'I was falling ill'   'I fell ill'
   aro'sten-is   a'rosten-es   a'rosti-ses
   'you fall ill'   'you were falling ill'   'you fell ill'

These verb types contain two different stem variants that are listed in (11), one particular type in the present and the imperfect, and another type in the aorist.

(11) SMG
        a. zvin ~ zvi   b. arosten ~ arosti

As already mentioned, non-systematic allomorphy or absence of allomorphy determine class-a verbs. These verbs in LAM, however, have undergone a change of their present stem by acquiring the X(a) form. The new stem form, together with the Xi stem of the aorist conform to the systematic allomorphy pattern X(a) ~ Xi. As a result, the verbs have changed inflection class, that is they have passed from class a to class b.[8]

(12) LAM
    Allomorphy pattern: X(a) ~ Xi, e.g. arust(a) ~ arusti → class-b verbs
                                          z(u)v(a) ~ z(u)vi

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a. zv-o	'zuv-um / 'zuv-um na	'zuf-sa < 'zuvi-sa
'I extinguish'	'I was extinguishing'	'I extinguished'
zva-s	zuva-s	'zuf-sis < 'zuvi-ses
'you extinguish'	'you were extinguishing'	'you extinguished'

b. aru'st-o	a'rost-um / a'rost-umna	a'rost-sa < a'rosti-sa
'I fall ill'	'I was falling ill'	'I fell ill'
arusta-s	a'rosta-s	a'rost-sis < a'rosti-ses
'you fall ill'	'you were falling ill'	'you fell ill'

The phenomenon described above seems to be a typical case of analogical restructuring of irregular class-a forms that has been realized with the support of the aorist forms, which, as shown in (10) are shared by class–b verbs. Following Kuryłowicz (1949) we could claim that the process of analogy has occurred in order to establish a central contrast of the language, i.e. the presence or absence of the X(a) ~ Xi allomorphy pattern, which replaces a more marginal allomorphy pattern (see [11]), and is used as an inflection-class demarcator. Superficially, however, the change from (10) to (12) does not appear to be a straightforward simplification of the morphological system because the innovation e.g. the loss of non-systematic allomorphy, is followed by a new complication, e.g. the appearance of new allomorphic variants. Nevertheless, a better look at the inflectional system reveals that the introduction of new allomorphy has been done for some good reason:[9] it has assisted the affected verbs to acquire more regular stem forms since irregular allomorphy is replaced by a more regular one. As a consequence, the introduction of new allomorphy has allowed some class-a verbs with irregular stems to adapt to class-b verbs. Assuming that the base stem forms of the Greek verbs are distributed into two inflection classes, according to the presence or the absence of the particular X(a) ~ Xi stem pattern, the dialectal change described under (10-12) constitutes an optimization of the verb system at the level of lexical representations. In Kiparsky's (2003) terms, it removes the irregular allomorphic variants from certain class-a verbs, establishes a uniform stem-allomorphy pattern for them, and optimizes lexical representations by increasing their conformity with the system.

3. Allomorphy and cross-paradigmatic uniformity

In what follows, I examine another instance of interaction between allomorphy and paradigmatic structure, namely, the issue of how allomorphy may assist

cross-paradigmatic uniformity. This time evidence is drawn from nominal inflection, in particular, from the inflection of neuter nouns.

According to Ralli (1994, 2000), SMG neuter nouns inflect according to four inflection classes. Consider (13) for relevant examples:

(13) SMG   a. a'vɣ-o   b. ku'ti   c. 'laθ-os   d. 'kima (stem: X ~ Xt)
             'egg'   'box'   'mistake'   'wave'

NOM/ACC/VOC SG	a'vɣ-o	ku'ti	'laθ-os	'kima
GEN SG	a'vɣ-u	ku'tj-u	'laθ-us	'kimat-os
NOM/ACC/VOC PL	a'vɣ-a	ku'tj-a	'laθ-i	'kimat-a
GEN PL	a'vɣ-on	ku'tj-on	la'θ-on	ki'mat-on

As far as the general properties of these items are concerned, it is worth mentioning the following:

- neuter nouns belonging to class d display two allomorphic variants in complementary distribution, a form X in the syncretic types of nominative/accusative and vocative singular and a form Xt in genitive singular, as well as in plural. This is another instance of stem allomorphy which is inherent to the stems of the items in question and makes them different from the items of the other classes.
- Class c constitutes a rather closed class because its inflection pattern is no more productive. For instance, no neologisms or recently created neuter nouns inflect according to this particular paradigm.
- Class a and class b are the most productive ones, in the sense that they are the inflectional patterns according to which new words are formed, loan words are adapted, and towards which words that previously belonged to another class migrate. These classes are almost identical, with the exception of the syncretic nominative/accusative/vocative types of the singular. They also differ to each other with respect to some other features. For instance, class-b nouns are predominantly of an informal style of language.

It should be noticed that the same inflection classes are also encountered in LAM, but tendencies of case reduction and cross-paradigmatic levelling have rendered their distinction less clear. The data under (14) portray the situation:

(14) LAM   a. a'vɣ-o b. kti c. 'laθ-us   d. 'kima
                         'egg'   'box' 'mistake'   'wave'

NOM/ACC/VOC SG	a'vɣ-o	kti	'laθ-us	'kima
GEN SG	a'vɣ-u	ktj-u	('laθ-us / la'θj-u??)	
NOM/ACC/VOC PL	a'vɣ-a	ktj-a	'laθ /'laθj-a /'laθt-a /'laθit-a	'kimat-a
GEN PL	----	----	----	----

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As the examples in (14) depict, the morphological realization of the genitive plural forms has disappeared, and the singular genitive forms that are still in use are those of the most productive first two classes. The disappearance of the genitive case, assisted by the syncretism affecting the other cases (nominative, accusative, vocative), has reduced the paradigmatic structure of LAM neuter nouns only in the singular. Thus, neuter inflectional paradigms in LAM do not appear as complex as their correspondent ones in SMG.

Interestingly, we also observe a tendency for restructuring the class-c plural forms from 'laθ (< 'laθi, with /i/ deletion in unstressed position, see (4) and end of section I) to 'laθja (<'laθia) or 'laθita. Crucially, all dialectal innovations display an –a inflectional ending, like the rest of neuter nouns in the corresponding plural forms, as opposed to SMG class-c neuter nouns which end into an -i. Since –a is also the plural ending of the other three classes, it would be legitimate to assume that the dialect has undergone a cross-paradigmatic levelling in the plural.[10]

Apart from cross-paradigmatic uniformity considerations, a closer examination of the two forms is revealing as far as the role of allomorphy in paradigmatic structure is concerned. With respect to the form 'laθja, we notice that the spread of the –a ending from the other classes to class c does not replace the old ending –i but is attached to it (the unstressed /i/ has become a semi-vowel /j/ in front of the /a/). Considering the fact that in Greek (in its standard and dialectal forms) inflectional endings are combined with stems and not with entire words (see Ralli 2005), a plausible hypothesis would be that in LAM, the word laθi has been reanalyzed into a stem allomorph. In other words, I suppose that the spread of -a among class-c nouns triggers a morpheme-boundary shift, which leads to a reanalysis of the stem form X (laθ-) into Xi (laθi-) in the context of plural:

(15) [[laθ] –i] → [[laθ] –ia] → [[laθi] –a] → laθja

Significant support in favor of the reanalysis hypothesis relies on the fact that for some LAM speakers, an allomorph Xi (laθi-) is also attested in the genitive singular forms, where a less common form la'θju (< la'θiu) is encountered, alternating with the old form 'laθ-us. Again, in la'θju, an /i/ appears between the stem laθ- and the common genitive ending –u, the latter being adopted from the productive inflection classes a and b. Thus, laθi- is most likely analyzed as an allomorphic variant of laθ-, the two of them being in complementary distribution: laθ- appears in nominative/accusative and vocative singular whereas laθi- is used in the rest of the paradigm. Interestingly, this allomorphic variation does not rely on any phonological rule, and is, thus, another instance of morphological allomorphy.

It is also worth examining the introduction of new allomorphy, which, as in the previous case, leads to an apparent contradiction: on the one side, there is simplification in grammar because of the levelling of the inflection classes (class-c has disappeared in plural), but on the other side, there is complication in the form of stems: after the cross-paradigmatic levelling, class-c dialectal nouns display a stem allomorphy X ~ Xi which is absent from SMG corresponding verbs. What is the reason for this change? As already shown in the previous section, new allomorphy may be introduced for a particular purpose. In the case of class-c nouns, allomorphy has helped them to restructure their paradigm according to a more productive inflection pattern, by allowing it to adopt the simpler and widely used endings –a (NOM/ACC/VOC PL) and –u (GEN SG). More importantly, however, the result of the innovation, i.e. the Xi stem, conforms to the least marked and most common neuter stem forms of class-b nouns, which also end in –i, as shown in (14). In fact, on the basis of evidence from language acquisition, it is argued by Christophidou (2003) that neuters in – i (e.g., spiti 'house') are relatively more productive, and unmarked, than those in –o (e.g. vuno 'mountain').

Notice that the prevalence of Xi stem forms is also proved by their penetration in the other classes as well. As an illustration, consider the occurrence of dialectal forms such as krija'tj-u 'meat.GEN.SG' and kri'jatj-a 'meat.NOM/ACC/VOC.PL' of class-d noun 'kreas 'meat' which in LAM, as opposed to its SMG realization, has developed a Xi stem. Compare (16) and (17) below:

(16) SMG
NOM/ACC/VOC SG	'kreas
GEN SG	'kreat-os
NOM/ACC/VOC PL	'kreat-a
GEN PL	kre'at-on

(17) LAM
NOM/ACC/VOC SG	kri'jas
GEN SG	krija'tj-u
NOM/ACC/VOC PL	kri'jatj-a
GEN PL	

The fact that allomorphy affects the basic form of stems proves that it contributes to the simplification of the system, in the sense that there is an increase of morphophonological regularity in the plural of neuter inflected forms (Kiparsky 1982). Allomorphy allows underlying forms to be brought into line with more widespread patterns, since the innovative Xi allomorph intervenes in

an adaptive situation to assist the levelling of inflection classes, and in this particular case, to restructure class-c nouns according to more productive and more common forms.[11]

With respect to the role that allomorphy plays in the general morphological system, Drachman (2001: 112) has suggested that allomorphy constitutes a 'normal state' of morphology, and is not just an epiphenomenon. If this claim is true, instances of allomorphy should appear even where there is no system simplification involved. Let us examine the second alternating dialectal type, *'laθita*. In this type, not only an /i/ appears to the original stem form *laθ-*, but also a /t/ segment. Where does /t/ come from? A plausible phonological explanation would be to suppose that /t/ is phonologically inserted as a transition element between the *laθi-* stem form and the *-a* ending. However, /t/ does not belong to the epenthetic elements that are used by the dialect to resolve the hiatus situations (these elements being the fricative /γ/ and the nasal /n/). Therefore, it is not unlikely to postulate that *'laθita* is formed analogically to the plural pattern of class-d nouns, which display the stem allomorphic variation X ~ Xt. This seems to be an unnecessary complication in grammar, since the other form *'laθja* matches perfectly the forms of the productive class-a and class-b nouns, and does not need the /t/ in order to accept the productive ending *-a*. Moreover, the free variation of inflected forms (*'laθja* and *'laθita* in our case) expressing the same inflectional features of one particular word is against a general economy principle governing inflection, which is described by Carstairs (1987: 28-35) as *inflectional parsimony principle*, according to which for every combination of morphosyntactic properties to a given word-class, each word in that class will have one and only one inflectional realization.[12] I would like to suggest that the dialectal creation of the form in *-ita* (*'laθita*) advocates the status of allomorphy as a basic property of morphology. I propose that, in certain cases, allomorphy may assist paradigmatic uniformity and grammar simplification, as shown with the previous verb cases and the example of *'laθja*, but in other cases, it may operate independently. This independent character of allomorphy may cause the creation of unnecessary and more complex segments, as is the example of *'laθita*, and provides a reason why inflectional parsimony seems to be violated. In fact, as Carstairs (1988: 87) suggests, beside the principle of inflectional parsimony, dichotomies or sameness in inflectional morphology may be due to other factors. I suggest that the morphological property of allomorphy is one of them, overriding the particular principle.

Additional proof for the independent functioning of allomorphy in morphology can be found in other dialectal formations of neuter nouns too, which in spite of the fact that they belong to the two commonest inflection classes, class-a and class-b, and, as such, do not need any levelling, they show an alternation between the forms predicted by their inflection class, and other innovative forms containing an allomorphic variation Xt of the less common

class-d. The examples given under (18), *pru'sopata* 'faces' and *'mel'ita* 'honey.PL', illustrate this observation. *pru'sopata* is the innovative plural form of the class-a noun *'prosup-u ('prosop-o* in SMG), which alternates with a plural form *'prosup-a. 'mel'ta / 'mel'ita* are the innovative plural forms of the class-b noun *'mel'i* whose original plural form is *'mel'ja.*

(18) SMG   NOM/ACC/VOC.SG   'prosopo
   'meli

   NOM/ACC/VOC.PL   'prosopa
   ??'mel'ja < 'melia (l' = l palatal)

(19) LAM   NOM/ACC/VOC.SG   'prosupu
   'mel' < 'mel'i < 'meli

   NOM/ACC/VOC.PL   'prosupa / pru'sopata
   'mel'ja / 'mel'ta < 'mel'ita

4. Resisting paradigmatic uniformity

In the previous sections, we have seen that the existence of a systematic allomorphy pattern may predict how words are distributed into inflection classes. We also saw that allomorphy may contribute to the simplification of paradigmatic structure, and that it has an independent status, since it is involved in paradigmatic restructuring even when it is not necessary. The claim about this independent status may become stronger if we find cases where allomorphy resists tendencies of paradigmatic levelling. To this purpose, I illustrate my arguments with data drawn from nominal inflection of masculine nouns.

SMG masculine nouns inflect according to two inflection classes, as proposed by Ralli (1988, 2000). The basic criterion for their distinction is again stem allomorphic variation. Nouns of the first class have no stem variation, as opposed to nouns of the second class, which display a systematic allomorphy relation of two stem types in complementary distribution, a XV allomorph in the singular and a X allomorph in the plural. See (20) for relevant examples:

(20) SMG a. 'polemos 'war'   b. 'jitonas 'neighbour' (*jitona ~ jiton*)

SG	NOM	'polem-os		'jitona-s
	GEN	po'lem-u		'jitona
	ACC	'polem-o		'jitona
	VOC	'polem-e		'jitona
PL	NOM	'polem-i		'jiton-es
	GEN	po'lem-on		ji'ton-on

ACC	po'lem-us	'jiton-es
VOC	'polem-i	'jiton-es

Crucially, the same nouns in LAM have undergone a cross-paradigmatic levelling, mainly in plural, but also in the genitive singular, according to which the difference between the two classes has been reduced in favor of the inflectional paradigm of class-a nouns:

(21) LAM

		a.		b.
SG	NOM		'polim-us (< 'polem-os)	'jituna-s
	GEN		'polim-u / pu'lem (< po'lem-u)	'jituna / j'ton (< ji'ton-u)
	ACC		'polim-u (< 'polem-o)	'jituna (< 'jitona)
	VOC		'polim-i (< 'polem-e)	'jituna
PL	NOM/ACC/VOC		pu'lem (< po'lem-i)	j'ton' (< ji'ton-i)
	GEN			

In order to understand the situation portrayed in (21), the following points should be taken into consideration:

- The nouns have undergone application of the two basic phonological rules of high vowel deletion and mid-vowel change. A simple comparison of the paradigms in (20) and (21) shows the effect of these rules.
- As already seen in the case of neuter nouns, the morphological realization of the genitive plural has disappeared from LAM inflection.
- There is no morphological difference between the nominative and the accusative cases in the plural paradigm. It has been argued by Ralli, Melissaropoulou & Tsiamas (2004) that this is an instance of a new syncretism, proper to the dialect, which restructures the plural paradigm on the basis of the nominative case.

A comparison of the paradigms of (20) and (21) also reveals that in LAM, a cross-paradigmatic levelling has occurred in the plural of class-b nouns, which conform to the inflectional paradigm of class-a ones.[13] This levelling has been facilitated by a dialectal innovative form syncretism between the nominative and the accusative cases, as opposed to their different morphological realizations in SMG. Crucially, however, certain masculine nouns, which in SMG are regularly inflected according to class b, resist levelling in the dialect. Consider the inflection of examples like pa'pas 'priest' or ka'fes 'coffee' under (22), which contain an allomorphic variation X ~ Xδ:

(22) LAM   pa'pas 'priest' (papa ~ papaδ)   ka'fes 'coffee' (kafe ~ kafeδ)

		pa'pas	ka'fes
SG	NOM	pa'pa-s	ka'fe-s
	GEN/ACC/VOC	pa'pa	ka'fe

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PL NOM/ACC/VOC pa'paδ-is (*pa'p-i) ka'feδ-is (*ka'f-i)
GEN

As depicted in (22), these dialectal formations keep their class-b inflectional pattern, as opposed to other class-b nouns, like 'jitunas (21), which have undergone an inflection-class shift from class b to class a. In his study of the diachronic development of the masculine plural forms ending in –δ-es, Drachman (2001: 116) has suggested that the presence of the Xδ allomorph has allowed the particular stems to keep stress on the same vowel in both singular and plural:

(23) SMG Singular Plural
 a. fi'γa-s fi'γaδ-es b. ka'fe-s ka'feδ-es
   fugitive fugitives'   coffee coffees

This suggestion is supported by evidence from LAM inflection. In the dialect, the δ-form is closely related to the –es ending, which does not cause a stress shift, as opposed to the –i ending which triggers a change in stress. The nouns under (21) and (22) illustrate this situation. A possible cross-paradigmatic levelling in favor of the –i ending, would have caused a stress shift to the inflectional ending, and consequently, an erasure of the δ-allomorph, as seen in (22) (e.g., *ka'f-i, *pa'p-i). Since this is not the case, we may suppose, following Drachman, that the allomorphic variation X ~ Xδ assists stress preservation.

However, if we look at items like 'jitonas under (20b), we realise that their stem has also a systematic allomorphic variation X ~ Xa, which did not prevent them from changing inflection class in LAM, and the position of stress (21b). Is there a particular reason for the different behaviour between the items like the one in (21b) and those in (22)?

At this point, I would like to draw attention to the fact that levelling affects nouns like 'jitunas (20) as far as the functional, inflectional part is concerned, while the stem remains unaffected. In other words, in these nouns the inflectional ending –es is replaced by the most common –i, but this change has no impact on the stem form. On the contrary, a possible levelling of nouns like papas and kafes would have triggered a change of their stem form as well (i.e. it would have erased their –V(owel)δ- segment), which is a piece of lexical information:

(24)a. ka'feδ-is > *ka'f-i   b. pa'paδ-is > *pa'p-i

In fact, the elimination of the –Vδ- segment is well attested in a small number of dialectal plural forms, like skupiδjari 'garbage men', of masculine nouns ending in –ars (< SMG aris, e.g. skupi'δjars < SMG skupi'δjaris 'garbage man'), which

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have undergone deletion of the word internal sequence of Vδ, and do not appear as *skupiðjar'ði.

On the basis of the observation above, and further elaborating on the main claim of the paper about the major role of allomorphy in inflectional morphology, I would like to suggest that the systematic allomorphy X ~ Xδ, in cases like the ones examined under (22), assists the preservation of lexical structure, when this structure is at stake, that is, when pieces of lexical information risk to be erased. Therefore, forms such as the ones in (22) resist levelling.

This suggestion is further supported by evidence drawn from the derived nouns in –as denoting a profession. A typical example of these nouns is *psomas* 'baker' that contains the stem *psom-* 'bread' and the derivational suffix *–a(s)*, the latter displaying an allomorphic variation a ~ aδ-. Let us examine *psomas* in its SMG and LAM (25) realizations:

(25)a. SMG		*pso'mas* 'baker'	b. LAM
SG	NOM	pso'ma-s	psu'ma-s
	GEN/ACC/VOC	pso'ma	psu'ma
PL	NOM/ACC/VOC	pso'maδ-es	psu'maδ-is (*psu'm-i)
	GEN	pso'maδ-on	

What we see in (25b) is that *pso'mas* in LAM resists cross-paradigmatic levelling in plural. If levelling had occurred, it would have triggered an erasure of the surface realization of the derivational affix and its allomorphic variation -a- ~ -aδ-. In order to provide a plausible explanation, it is worth noticing that in derivational suffixation, like the one under examination, allomorphy is part of the suffixal substance, and thus of primary importance. A possible cross-paradigmatic levelling would have led to a form like *psu'm-i, without the presence of the typical allomorph Xδ. Therefore, there is good reason to argue that in derived nouns, the presence of allomorphy provides significant support to the structural existence of the derivational suffix, in the sense that allomorphy helps reinforcing its lexical status by resisting levelling. In other words, the presence of allomorphy could be interpreted as a contribution to structure preservation.

5. Conclusions

The research topic in this work was to find out whether non-phonologically conditioned allomorphy is just the synchronic residue of historical processes or a basic property of morphological structure.

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After a survey of several allomorphy phenomena in Modern Greek, and in the Greek dialectal varieties of Lesvos, Kydonies and Moschonisia, I argued that allomorphy plays an important role in morphological formations, and that systematic allomorphy patterns have their own regularity constraining paradigms, paradigmatic organization, and paradigmatic restructuring. I showed that, in its interaction with inflectional morphology, allomorphy tells us how inflected words are organized into paradigms, contributes to grammar simplification, but also assists lexical pieces of information, stems and derivational affixes to resist levelling when structure preservation is at stake. Moreover, I also claimed that allomorphy shows a certain independency in that it may arise in certain situations of paradigmatic restructuring even against grammar simplification. Thus, I agree with Drachman (2001, 2003) that allomorphy is not a negative morphological property.

6. Notes

* I am very much indebted to Geert Booij, Gaberell Drachman, Brian Joseph and Dimitris Papazachariou for their precious comments on a previous draft of this paper.

[1] The term 'basic stem' has been employed by Aronoff (1994) and Pirelli & Battista (2000) to denote a stem form that is synchronically unpredictable on the basis of another stem in the paradigm.

[2] These Asia Minor dialects were spoken once in the Greek speaking towns of Kydonies and Moschonisia, which are situated on the West Coast of Turkey. In 1922, Greeks were expulsed from Asia Minor, and today, the particular dialects are still spoken by refugees and their descendants in a number of villages on the island of Lesvos. The actual Turkish names for the towns of Kydonies and Moschonisia are Ayvalik and Cunda respectively.

[3] In the imperfect and the aorist, the ending following the stem is segmented into two parts: in an aspectual marker and in a formative representing the features of tense, person and number. In the aorist, the perfective aspectual value is realized by an –s-, while in the imperfect, the imperfective value is expressed by a -γ- alternating with –us-. The choice of the particular form may vary among the speakers, depending on the language register or on dialectal variation. For instance, the -γ- forms appear in the southern dialects of Greece, while the –us- types characterize the northern dialects and are used in a more formal style of language. As noted by Ralli (1988), the -γ- was originally an epenthetic element, which has been reanalysed into an aspectual marker.

[4] Notice, however, that with the term 'inflection-class demarcator' I do not mean that stem allomorphy is generally counted as part of the morphosyntactic features, which are mainly expressed by the affixal segments.

[5] A SCHEMA for Bybee & Slobin (1982: 267) is a statement that describes the phonological properties of a morphological class, and is introduced in relation to the past tenses of English irregular verbs (e.g. *sang / sing*).

[6] According to LAM phonology unstressed /u/ and /i/ are deleted, and /e/ and /o/ become /i/ and /u/ respectively. See (4) and end of section 2.

[7] *A'γapum* is the form used in Lesvos, while *a'γapumna* is the one used in the Asia Minor dialect of Kydonies and Moschonisia.

[8] The adoption of a X(a) stem by some irregular class-a verbs could be defined as a case of attraction, using Maiden's (2003) terminology, in the sense that class-b verbs spread their X(a) stem and its distributional pattern.

[9] Cf. Drachman (2000) for a similar observation regarding the role of the introduction of new allomorphy.

[10] Within an optimality-theory framework, Ralli, Melissaropoulou and Tsiamas (2004) have interpreted this levelling as the result of an output-output constraint, which requires uniformity across inflection classes, and is ranked higher than the input-output paradigm faithfulness constraint.

[11] This role of allomorphy has also been pointed out by Drachman (2001).

[12] Inflectional parsimony resembles to the Uniqueness Principle put forward by Pinker (1984: 113).

[13] As in the case of neuter nouns, an optimality-theory account by Ralli, Melissaropoulou and Tsiamas (2004) has interpreted this levelling across paradigms as the result of an output-output constraint of cross-paradigmatic uniformity, ranked higher than the input-output paradigm faithfulness constraint.

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8. Περίληψη

Στο άρθρο μελετάται ο ρόλος της αλλομορφίας στην κλίση. Υποστηρίζεται ότι η ύπαρξη αλλομορφίας μπορεί να χρησιμοποιηθεί ως κριτήριο για τη διάκριση σε κλιτικές τάξεις και συμβάλλει στην αναδιοργάνωση των κλιτικών παραδειγμάτων για την επίτευξη παραδειγματικής ομοιομορφίας. Προτείνεται ότι η αλλομορφία είναι βασική ιδιότητα του τομέα της μορφολογίας και ως τέτοια μπορεί να δημιουργήσει αντιστάσεις στις τάσεις απλοποίησης των παραδειγμάτων όταν κινδυνεύουν να χαθούν σημαντικές πληροφορίες λεξικού περιεχομένου. Οι θεωρητικές θέσεις υποστηρίζονται με παραδείγματα από την Κοινή Νεοελληνική, τη διάλεκτο της Λέσβου και τη Μικρασιατική Διάλεκτο των Κυδωνιών και Μοσχονησίων.

Vowel harmony in contact-induced systems: the case of Asia Minor dialects of Greek*

Anthi Revithiadou,[1] Marc van Oostendorp,[2] Kalomoira Nikolou[1] & Maria-Anna Tiliopoulou[1]
University of the Aegean (1) / Meertens Institute (2)

The Asia Minor dialects of Greek display two patterns of vowel assimilation that look superficially like the vowel harmony that is familiar from Turkish. In this paper, we discuss these patterns and show that they should not be identified as vowel harmony of the Turkic type. In particular, we argue that two disyllabic domains can be identified, one at the beginning of the word and one at the end. 'Harmony' within these two domains conforms to different principles. Initial-domain harmony is sonority-driven and it is attested in other Greek dialects of the southern zone as well. Final-domain harmony is not sonority-driven but features sensitivity to stress which is unattested in Turkish.

1.   Introduction

A number of dialects once spoken in Asia Minor present a harmony-like process that shares similarities with Turkic harmony. These dialects belong to the south-eastern dialectal zone of Greek which also includes the dialects of Dodecanese (Rhodes, Karpathos, Symi, etc.), Cyprus, among others. They developed, however, in isolation from the rest of the Greek-speaking world and, in that process, underwent the influence of Turkish. Social conditions in the villages of this vast geographical area must also be taken into consideration. Most of the villages had a mixed Greek, Armenian and Turkish population. The Turkish influence is more eminent in certain Cappadocian dialects[1] such as Ulaghatsh and Semenderé, because there the Turkish population was large and increasing. The economical and social ties between villages played an important role in determining the linguistic profile of each dialect. In this paper we explore how each dialect counterbalances two opposing forces: Greek, the mother tongue, and Turkish, the ambient language. These dialects virtually stopped being

spoken in that area after the expatriation of the Greek population from Asia Minor at the beginning of the 1920s. Nowadays, they are almost extinct.

The Asia Minor dialects of Greek (henceforth AMG) display two patterns of vowel assimilation that look superficially like the vowel harmony which is familiar from Turkish. Consider the following examples:[2]

(1) *'harmony' in various Asia Minor dialects*

a.	ónom-a	ónama	'name'Sil, Ko33[3]
b.	kóskin-o	kóskuno	'sieve' Sil, Ko31
c.	/é-zes-a/	ézasa	'live-1SG.PAST' Far, An48:20
d.	evðomáð-a	ovdomája	'week' Ax, MK9
e.	miruðj-á	murudjá	'smell' Ax, MK111

It is not completely clear whether this 'harmony' was still a fully active phonological process at the moment these data were recorded, or whether it reflects a diachronic process which had applied at an earlier stage. We assume that, even if the latter is the case, this change of underlying forms still needs an explanation in terms of phonological theory. There is no doubt, however, that vowel harmony processes are not as widespread in Greek as they are in Turkish where vowels which occur harmonize for backness and, if high, for roundness as well. Both harmony processes are exemplified in (2).

(2) *vowel harmony in Turkish*

	NOM.SG	GEN.SG	NOM.PL	GEN.PL	
a.	iʃ	iʃ-in	iʃ-ler	iʃ-ler-in	'name'
b.	ev	ev-in	ev-ler	ev-ler-in	'house'
c.	kɯz	kɯz-ɯn	kɯz-lar	kɯz-lar-ɯn	'girl'
d.	jol	jol-un	jol-lar	jol-lar-ɯn	'road'
e.	gyl	gyl-yn	gyl-ler	gyl-ler-in	'rose'
f.	gœl	gœl-yn	gœl-ler	gœl-ler-in	'lake'
g.	tas	tas-ɯn	tas-lar	tas-lar-ɯn	'pot'

At first sight, one may assume that the AMG forms in (1) have simply borrowed the Turkish process and adopted it to their otherwise Greek phonology. This is indeed the standard view in contact linguistics at least since the work of Thomason & Kaufman (1988) (but see Winford 2003 for an alternative view of the Asia Minor contact situation, and Karantzola & Theodoridou, this volume).

In this paper, we argue that the situation is not quite as simple as has generally been assumed. First, we show that these harmony-like patterns in AMG are very different from those attested in Turkish (Section 2). On the one hand, they seem to be extensions of processes commonly found in Southern

Greek dialects, such as Karpathos, which are clearly distinct from the Turkish pattern of vowel harmony. On the other hand, they appear to have developed under the influence of the contact language since they display certain properties of Turkic harmony (Section 3). Moreover, the AMG harmony has evolved into an intricate system of its own right with fascinating formal properties (Section 4). To explain, a foot-sized harmonic domain is constructed either at the beginning or at the end of the word depending on the position of the stressed vowel. The two domains, however, are shown to be subject to different requirements: the initial domain involves a sonority-based vowel-copying process according to the pattern of Karpathos and other Southern Greek dialects, whereas the final domain involves mainly spreading of roundedness and backness features according to the Turkic pattern (Section 5). This paper concludes with some hypotheses about the possible role of language contact in the development of the these harmony-like processes in AMG (Section 6).

2. AMG and Turkish vowel harmony compared

There are some interesting differences between AMG and Turkish vowel harmony. First, a disyllabic harmonic domain is constructed either at the beginning or at the end of the word, as shown in (3) and (4). Second, in AMG, harmony does not always involve spreading of features; often, a whole vowel is copied, as shown in (4).

(3)   *vowel harmony in word final position*

a. ánem-os   ánomos   'unlawful' Axo, MK9
    ðáskal-os   ðáskolos   'teacher' Far, A48:20fáɣo
    fáɣo   fóɣo   'eat-1SG.PRES' Ul, D65
b. ónoma   ónama   'name' Sil, Ko33
    pandeleímon-as   pandeleímanas   'merciful' Sil, Ko151
c. filak-s-e   filekse   'guard-3sg.PAST' Ax, MK188
    íp-e   épe   'say-3SG.PAST' Ul, Ke142
    /éðok-en/   éðeken   'give-3SG.PAST' Ul, D308
d. /kóskino/   kóskuno   'sieve' Sil, Ko31

(4)   *vowel harmony in word initial position*

a. /meɣaríz-o/   maɣarízo   'mess up-1SG.PRES' Ax, MK8
    kateváz-i   kataváz   'lower-3SG.PRES' Ax, MK192
    sevast-í   savastí   'name' Ax, MK8
b. meθópor-o   moχóporo 'fall' Ax, MK9
    ékso   ókso   'out' Ul, D366

	embrós	ombró	'in front' Ax, MK216
c.	evðomáð-a	ovdomája	'week' Ax, MK9
	fover-ó	fovoró	'frightening' Ax, MK9
d.	miruð-já	murudjá	'smell' Ax, MK111
	lizmon-ó	zolmonó	'forget-1SG.PRES' Ax, MK9
e.	pipér-i	pepér	'pepper' Ax, MK116

In (3), the final vowel spreads its features to the preceding vowel regardless of sonority considerations, e.g. *ðáskolos* (3a) vs. *ónama* (3b). Consequently, the directionality of the process is systematically right-to-left. This is not the case in (4). Here, the process is clearly sonority-driven: the most sonorous vowel replaces the least sonorous one, regardless of whether it precedes or follows the trigger. Compare *kataváz* with *maɣarízo* (4a), *ovdomája* with *fovoró* (4c), and so on. More importantly, in word-final positions, the trigger spreads its [round] feature only when the preceding vowel is high, e.g. *kóskuno* (3d), pretty much in compliance with the Turkish pattern. In contrast, full copying of a round vowel to a neighboring vocalic position is witnessed only in word-initial domains, e.g. *murudjá, zolmonó* (4d).

Third, unlike Turkish harmony, the described process is stress-sensitive. More specifically, as shown in (5), stressed vowels are not triggers, unless the word is binary, e.g. /pu θá/ *paá* 'that will' Liv, An61:33. For instance, if domain-final vowel harmony applied, the expected outputs for /monax-ós/ in (5b) would have been **monoxós* instead of the attested *manaxós*.

(5)	a. kerat-ás	tʃaratás	's.o. with horns' Far, An48:20
	alep-ú	alapú	'fox' Liv, An61:33
	b. monax-ós	manaxós	'lonely' Ax, MK8
	orfan-ós	arfanós	'orphan' Liv, An61:33
	perpat-ó	parpató	'walk-1SG.PRES' Far, An48:20
	aðelf-ós	aðarfós	'brother' Liv, An61:33
	c. elin-ik-ó	elenikó	'Greek' Far, An48:81
	kirek-í	kerekí	'Sunday' Ax, MK8

Finally, like Turkish harmony, AMG harmony is not sensitive to morphological structure since it takes place both within a stem (6a) and between a stem and a suffix (6b):

(6)	a. tésera	tésara	'four' Far, An48:20
	ékso	ókso	'out' Ul, D366
	ónoma	ónama	'name' Sil, Ko33
	b. petsét-a	petʃáta	'napkin' Sil, Ko185

ánem-os	ánomos	'wind' Ax, MK9
filak-s-e	filekse	'guard-3SG.PAST' Ax, MK188

3. Vowel copying in southern dialects: the case of Karpathos Greek

As argued in the previous section, the AMG harmony has a sonority-driven aspect which compares with a vowel copying pattern attested in various Greek dialects of the southern zone, e.g. Symi (Katsiki 1974), Rhodes (Papachristodoulou 1986), Cypriot (Newton 1972), and so on. The examples in (7) from Karpathos Greek (Minas 2002) illustrate a vowel copying process that takes place at the left edge of the word and according to which the less sonorous of two adjacent vowels assimilates to the most sonorous one.

(7) *initial vowel assimilation in Karpathos Greek* (Minas 2002: 56-60)

a.	orfan-ós	arfanós	'orphan'
	árotr-on	áratron	'plough'
	kalo-póð-i	kalapói	'shoehorn'
b.	elafr-ís	alafrís	'light'
	erɣá-t-is	argátis	'worker'
c.	irakl-ís	araklís	'Hercules'
	ipako-í	apakoí	'obedience'
d.	velón-i	volóni	'needle'
	ékso	ókso	'outside'
e.	iɣr-ós	oɣrós	'wet'
	siróp-i	sorópi	'syrup'
f.	/stomúx-i/	stumúxi	'muzzle
	skotúr-a	skutúra	'worry'
g.	ésθi-ma	éstema	'feeling'
	éksi	ékse	'six'
h.	kukíð-i	kukúi	'bullet'

It is clear from the above examples that, within a disyllabic domain, vowel copying conforms to the sonority hierarchy in (8). The same hierarchy is, in general, effective in the phonology of Karpathos Greek, since it also guides vowel deletion in hiatus contexts, as shown in (9).

(8) $a > o, u > e > i$[4]

(9) *vowel hiatus in Karpathos Greek* (Minas 2002: 62-67)

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a.	/ta ómorfa/	[támorfa]	'the beautiful ones'
b.	/ðéka éksi/	[dekáksi]	'sixteen'
c.	/mesá íne/	[mesáne]	's/he is inside'
d.	/to éma/	[tóma]	'the blood'
e.	/me uranó/	[muranó]	'with sky'

Despite the similarities, there are differences between the vowel copying process of Karpathos and the vowel harmony of AMG. To begin with, unlike Karpathos Greek, AMG harmony does not *always* conform to the sonority hierarchy, especially when the harmonic domain is built at the end of the word. Compare the examples in (6a-h), e.g. *alafrís* 'light', with the ones in (3), e.g. *fílekse*. Moreover, vowel copying in Karpathos Greek can be triggered by a stressed vowel, if this happens to be the most sonorous one within the specified domain. Finally, vowel copying is restricted to the stem, (10a). It crosses morphological boundaries only when the stem is monosyllabic, (10b):

(10)	a.	ésθi-ma	éstema	'feeling'
		an-ésθi-t-os[5]	anéstetos	'unconscious'
	b.	élk-os	órkos	'oath'
		érɣ-on	órgon	'work'
		iɣr-ós	oɣrós	'wet'

AMG harmony, however, is not subject to this restriction. It applies equally between a stem and a suffix (11a), within a suffix (11b) and within a stem (11c):

(11)	a.	petsét-a	petʃáta	'napkin' Sil, Ko185
		perðik-ó-θir-a	perðikóθara	'door for birds' Far, An48:20
	b.	erx-ómaste	erúmeste	'come-1PL.PRES'Ax, MK190
	c.	tésera	tésara	'four' Far, An48:20
		ékso	ókso	'out' Ul, D366

To summarize, domain-initial harmony in AMG resembles vowel copying exhibited by several dialectal varieties of Southern Greek: it is sonority-driven and confined to the left edge of the word. More importantly, it allows stressed vowels to be triggers. In the following section, we propose that the AMG harmony splits into two different processes that operate at different prosodic domains and, more importantly, abide by different conditions.

4. Two domains of harmony

The intricate pattern of AMG harmony can receive a straightforward explanation if we assume the existence of two different harmonic spans. More specifically, we propose that a harmonic span of two syllables can be constructed either at the end or at the beginning of the word. (See McCarthy 2004 for a proposal on the implementation of harmonic span and further references.) Different conditions, however, apply to these harmonic spans. To be precise, the span at the end of the word is more like Turkish vowel harmony in the sense that it involves mainly spreading of the features [round] and [back]. Within this span stressed vowels are neither triggers nor undergoers unless harmony would fail to apply altogether. Examples such as *fóγo* (St.Gr *fáγo*) 'eat-1SG.PRES' /ípe/ *épe* (3a) suggest that, when is,In contrast, the span at the beginning of the word is less restricted. It has to dois characterized by a sonority-driven vowel copying process in line with the Karpathos pattern also exhibited by a range of Southern Greek dialects (e.g. Symi, Rhodes, Cypriot, etc.). In this span, vowels can equallycan initiate and even undergo vowel-copying, e.g. ʔ(< /r/), *ókso* (St.Gr *ékso*) 'out' (4b).

Since the span at the end of the word is more restricted, in the case of a possible conflict, it takes precedence over the one at the beginning. Such cases are not hard to find. In two syllable-long words, for instance, the harmonic domains overlap. The words in (12) are crucial in this respect. Examples such as *fóγo* from underlying / *fáγo*/ (12a) and *édeken* from underlying /éðoken/ (12b) demonstrate that final-domain harmony prevails.

(12)   *harmonic domains*
    a.   fáγo   fóγo   'eat-1SG.PRES' Ul, D65
    b.   éðoken   édeken   'give-3SG.PAST' Ul, D376
    c.   kal-ó-γer-os   kalóγjoros   'monk' Ax, MK9

In longer words, harmony domains do not overlap. In this case, a harmonic span is formed at the end of the word, provided that there is a harmony-triggering vowel, namely a vowel from the set {a, o, e}, and the target vowel is not stressed, as shown in (13). Otherwise, the harmonic span is formed at the beginning of the word, as illustrated in (14).

(13)   a.   tésera   tésara   'four' Far, An48:20
    b.   ánem-os   ánomos   'wind' Ax, MK9
    c.   filak-s-e   filekse   'guard-3SG.PAST' Ax, MK188

(14)   a.   sevast-í   savastí   'name' Ax, MK8
    b.   kateváz-I   kataváz   'lower-3SG.PRES'Ax, MK192
    c.   meγaríz-o maγarízo 'mess up-1SG.PRES'Ax, MK8

Stressed vowels heading a prosodic word should not be included in the binary harmonic domain (see the examples in (5)). Two conditions determine the behavior of stressed vowels, namely footing and headedness. Footing in Greek is trochaic (Revithiadou 1999). More specifically, a syllabic trochee is built at the right edge of the word whereas degenerate feet are allowed only under certain conditions. Let us assume that a word is stressed on the final syllable and that, in parallel to the degenerate foot, a trochaic-shaped harmonic domain is also constructed at the right edge of this word, as shown in (15).

(15)   (* .)   harmonic foot
               (*)   metrical foot
        m o n a x ó s

The AMG harmony facts, however, clearly suggest that a representation such as the one in (15) is not permitted because it leads to a mismatch between the head of the metrical foot and the head of the harmonic foot. (See Gordon 2005 for discussion on the hypothesis that different types of weight behavior within one language may also be due to different phonological dimensions of weight representation.)

Furthermore, stressed vowels are less resilient to changing their [round] and [back] features than unstressed ones. This entails, therefore, that they avoid placing themselves in the head of a harmonic foot and hence be targeted by harmony. In fact, such a foot is built only when the word runs the risk of not constructing a harmonic foot at all as in the case of *fóɣo* (St.Gr *fáɣo*) and *petʃáta* (St.Gr *petséta*). Only under this scenario, will a metrical foot match a harmonic foot, as show in (16).

(16)   (* .)   harmonic foot
              (* .)   metrical foot
        petʃéta

5.   The analysis

In this section, we attempt a formalization of the chief insights presented in the previous section. We assume that a notion of a harmonic span, consisting of two syllables is required (Halle & Vergnaud 1978, Harris & Lindsey 1995, van der Hulst & van de Weijer 1995). In accordance with at least some of these authors, we also claim that these spans are congruent with metrical feet, more specifically, trochees (but see McCarthy 2004 for a different approach):

(17)   a.   (ovdo)maja   initial domain
       b.   e(zasa)   final domain

As we have seen, different principles apply to initial and final feet. Starting from initial domain spans, we call upon the notion of *positional markedness* (Kiparsky 1997, Zoll 1998, Smith 2004, and others). That is, certain markedness constraints hold only or more forcefully in certain prominent positions than in others. Prominence may be defined either in terms of stress, or in terms of absolute position. Word-initial positions have undeniably been considered more prominent than others. We propose, therefore, the following positional markedness constraint to be in effect at the beginning of the word:

(18) HNUC/FIRSTFOOT: Syllable nuclei should be maximally sonorous within the first foot of the word.

One way to achieve maximal sonority for the nuclei of the first foot would be to simply upgrade all nuclei to the highest sonority value thus turning them into /a/. In this case, a word like *eliniko* would surface as **alanikó*, which is, nevertheless, unattested. The reason why this total lowering of all vowels does not happen is that the constraint in (18) interacts with the faithfulness constraint in (19) which militates against insertion of vocalic material:

(19)   DEP-VFEAT: Do not insert (vocalic) features.

The tableau in (20) illustrates the effects of the competition. HNUC/FIRSTFOOT is responsible for unfaithful analyses of the input in candidates (20c) and (20d). Both violate the faithfulness constraint because the [back] feature is inserted in the second vocalic position in (20b) and in both vocalic positions in (20d). The choice between the remaining two candidates relies on the markedness constraint which opts for the most sonorous output permitted by DEP-VFEAT.

(20)

/elin-ik-o/	DEP-VFEAT	HNUC/FIRSTFOOT
a. elinikó		ei!
☞ b. eleniko		ee
c. elanikó	*!	e
d. alanikó	**!	

It is evident that, from a purely formal point of view, this part of the system displays none of the mechanisms of harmony. Therefore, word-initial spans should be considered as loci of vowel-copying procedures rather than domains of harmony in the Turkic sense. Both vowels within such as domain

strive to be as sonorous as possible, without adding new material. Spreading of the more sonorous vowel is the best way to get this effect. The autosegmental representation of (20b) is provided in (21).

(21)
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     l     n   k
     |  |  |   |
  x  x  x  x  x x
  ⌣        |   |
     e     i   o
```

Turning now to the right-hand harmonic domain, we argue that in this case a different type of positional markedness constraint is active. This constraint is in conformity with proposals of Walker (to appear) for metaphony in Romance and, especially, Italian dialects. In these dialects, features seem to move to stressed (i.e. head) positions in the word. For instance, in the Ascrea dialect spoken in the Lazio region of Italy, post-tonic high vowels induce raising of a stressed mid vowel:

(22) *Ascrea: stress-targeted harmony*

a.	sórda	'deaf-FEM.SG'	súrdu	'deaf-MASC.SG'
b.	véʃte	'this-FEM.PL'	víʃti	'this-MASC.PL'

Notice that again this type of pattern is quite different from Turkic vowel harmony. To our knowledge, Turkish vowel harmony does not display any sensitivity to metrical structure. In order to analyze the above patterns, Walker proposes the following positional markedness constraint:

(23)   LICENSE(F,S-Pos): Feature [F] is licensed by association to strong   position S. Let:
i. f be an occurrence of feature [F] in an output O
optional restrictions: (a) f is limited to a specification that is perceptually   difficult, (b) f belongs to a prosodically weak position, (c) f occurs in a   perceptually difficult feature combination),
ii. s be a structural element (e.g. σ, μ, segment root) belonging to perceptually strong position S in O,
iii. and sδf mean that s dominates f.
Then, $(\forall f)(\exists s)[s\delta f]$.

In other words, LICENSE(F, S-Pos) requires that a feature be affiliated with a perceptually strong position. In the case of AMG, the relevant features are [back] and [round] and the strong position is the head of the final harmonic foot. Thus:

(24)   LICENSE([round, back], HeadHarmony): Features [round, back]
are   licensed by association to the head of a harmonic domain.

Because of the nature of this constraint, spreading will only go from a less prominent position to a more prominent one. This is the reason why forms such as the following are unattested:

(25)*m o n o x ó s
                    | spreading from a prominent (main stressed) position
        [round]

This constraint crucially interacts with a faithfulness constraint that requires corresponding segments to have the same specification for roundness and backness:

(26) IDENT([round, back]): If an input segment A and an output segment B are in a correspondence relation, they should have the same specification for features [round, back].

The interaction between these two constraints results in the desired pattern. Candidate (27c) is excluded from the competition because the feature [round] spreads farther than the head of the harmonic foot causing unwanted violations of IDENT. Candidate (27a) shows no harmony and hence compels a fatal violation of LICENSE. Candidate (27b) is the absolute winner because it licenses roundness from the tail to the head of the harmonic foot without triggering unnecessary violations of faithfulness.

(27)

/anemos/	LICENSE	IDENT
a. ánemos	*!	
☞ b. ánomos		*
c. ónomos		**!

If we assume the ranking LICENSE » HNUC/FIRSTFOOT, we can also account for the fact that the domain at the end of the word takes precedence over the domain at the beginning of the word. It is more important to license [round] and/or [back] to the head of the word-final harmonic span than copy a sonorous vowel in a word-initial harmonic span. However, the story is not complete. An the special behavior of stressed vowels isstill missingto be accounted for.

    Stressed vowels preserve their specification for [round] and [back] and hence are impervious to the harmonizing forces of LICENSE. This is due to the IDENT-V[round, back] which requires corresponding stressed vowels to have identical values for roundness and backness. Second, the MATCH constraint in

(28) forces heads in the harmonic and the metrical domain to match, thus penalizing outputs with mismatched heads:

(28) MATCH: Heads in metrical and harmonic feet should coincide.

In AMG, the effects of (28) are overshadowed by IDENT-V[round, back], as evidenced by examples such as *maɣarízo* (< /meɣarízo/). Although here(3a) the formation of two harmonic spans is possible, i.e. *meɣa(rízo)* and *(meɣa)rízo*, only the latter option arises. This is because satisfaction of MATCH would lead to an output in which the featural specification of the stressed vowel would have changed, an unwanted result due to high-ranking of IDENT-V[round,back]. Interestingly, the effects of MATCH emerge in disyllabic words, e.g. *fóɣo*, as well as in words where contains vowels of (< /meθóporo/) (St.Gr *petséta*).,(3a), /petsét-a/ *petʃáta* (6b). The following tableaux illustrate the effects of the complete constraint ranking, namely: IDENT-V[rd/bk] » MATCH » LICENSE » HNUC/FIRSTFOOT.

(29)

T1 /meɣarizo/	IDENT-V [rd, bk]	MATCH	LICENSE	HNUC/FIRST FOOT
☞ a. (maɣa)rízo		*	*	
b. meɣa(rúzo)	*!			*
T2 /monaxos/				
☞ a. (mono)xós		*	*	
b. mo(naxós)		*!		*

6. Conclusions

Our analysis of the data in the preceding section just scratches the surface of the complicated data found in the AMG dialects. Even though the generalizations stated so far seem to cover a large majority of data, it is also possible to find problematic cases, which do not conform to what we have described. For instance, vowel-copying does not apply to examples such as *éfaksan* 'kill-3PL.PAST' Ul, D364. Moreover, some unproductive patterns of harmony are also attested, e.g. *keremítzi* (St.Gr. keramíði) 'tile' Sil, Ko168. We may see these forms either as lexical exceptions or as indications that other (diachronic) processes may have interfered. In either case, we believe that the basis of our analysis will stand to scrutiny.

One could wonder *why* AMG dialects have developed these intricate patterns of harmony. Even though we have shown that they do not really have a

truly Turkic type of vowel harmony, it stands to reason that these patterns have still developed under the influence of language contact with Turkish. Possibly, this contact has brought Greek language learners to extend the patterns they already found in the Southern Greek of their parents so that they would resemble more vowel harmony. This could at least explain the copying pattern we find at the beginning of the word. Another related issue is why this 'Greek' pattern (the one with total copying) shows up at the beginning of the word, while the more 'Turkish' pattern (the one with spreading of [back] and [labial]) shows up at the end. Our presumption is that the language learner will have more opportunity to observe the Turkish pattern at the end of the word. First, vowel harmony patterns in Turkish are most easily observed at the edge between stems and suffixes because this is the exact locus where alternations take place. It is well-known that Turkish has productive suffixes which adapt themselves to the stem. Second, the end of the word is where the main stress usually is located in these dialects (Kooij & Revithiadou 2001), so naturally this position tends to be more prominent and therefore more salient. Furthermore, we speculate that adoption of something similar to the foreign language is more likely to take place in salient positions than in less salient ones. In this respect then, we lean towards adopting Thomason & Kaufman's (1988) approach to contact linguistics even though we have shown that the traditional view of AMG vowel harmony as an instance of 'rule borrowing' is too heavily simplified.

7. Notes

[1] The mutual relation of the idioms of twenty or so villages make up what is called here 'Cappadocian'. In addition to those mentioned explicitly in the text, the generalizations are also based on Delmeso, Potamia, Mistí, Aravan and Semenderé. Data are also drawn from other Asia Minor dialects such as Farasa, Silly and Livisi.

[2] The examples are organized as follows: in the left column, the underlying representation of the Standard Greek form is given. In the next column, the dialectal forms are provided together with glosses and information about the dialect and the particular source they are drawn from. When different from the standard language, the underlying representation of the dialectal form is provided within slashes /.../.

[3] The following written sources have been used in this paper: Dawkins (1916), Mauroxalyvidis & Kesisoglou (1960) for Axo; Kostakis (1968) for Silly; Andriotis (1948) for Farasa; Andriotis (1961) for Livisi; Dawkins (1916), Kesisoglou (1951) for Ulaghatsh.

[4] There are a few inconsistencies with respect to the ordering of /o/ and /u/. In all instances of *u*-copying over /o/, the vowel /u/ is stressed. Hiatus resolution, however, suggests that /o/ prevails over /u/, e.g. the compound /proto-júlis/ 'first of July' is rendered as [protólis] and the verb /tróɣusin/ 'they eat-3PL.PRES' is rendered as [trósin] after intervocalic /ɣ/ deletion has taken place.

[5] In the word *anésθitos*, the morpheme /an-/ is a prefix.

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9. Περίληψη

Οι ελληνικές διάλεκτοι της Μικράς Ασίας παρουσιάζουν δύο είδη φωνηεντικής αφομοίωσης, τα οποία εκ πρώτης όψεως προσομοιάζουν τη φωνηεντική αρμονία της Τουρκικής. Σε αυτό το άρθρο, εξετάζουμε ενδελεχώς δεδομένα από μια πλειάδα διαλέκτων και προτείνουμε ότι στην ουσία πρόκειται για δύο διαφορετικές διαδικασίες. Η πρώτη λαμβάνει χώρα στις δύο αρχικές συλλαβές της λέξης και λειτουργεί βάσει της κλίμακας αντηχητικότητας. Πρόκειται στην ουσία για ένα κανόνα φωνηεντικής αφομοίωσης (ή αντιγραφής) διαδεδομένο σε πολλές ελληνικές διαλέκτους της νότιας ζώνης. Η δεύτερη διαδικασία περιορίζεται στις δύο τελευταίες συλλαβές της λέξης και αφορά την εξάπλωση των διακριτικών χαρακτηριστικών της στρογγυλότητας και πισινότητας. Καθώς παρουσιάζει εκπληκτικές ομοιότητες με τη φωνηεντική αρμονία της Τουρκικής, υποστηρίζεται ότι αποτελεί περίπτωση δανεισμού από τη γλώσσα επαφής.

Definiteness and Case in Cappadocian Greek[1]

Vassilios Spyropoulos & Maria-Anna Tiliopoulou
University of the Aegean

This paper discusses an instance of structural interference between Greek and Turkish in Cappadocian Greek. Three dialectal varieties of Cappadocian Greek are investigated with respect to the interaction between case and definiteness/specificity marking. It is shown that these varieties exhibit a combining mode of marking definiteness/specificity: Definiteness is marked by means of articles, as in Greek, whereas a Differential Object Marking pattern, as in Turkish, is employed to mark specificity. This combining mode results in a system where a DOM pattern based on specificity is incorporated within the structural mode of marking definiteness by means of articles.

Keywords: nominative, accusative, definiteness, indefiniteness, Differential Object Marking, iconicity, specificity

1.   Introduction

Cappadocian Greek has been greatly influenced by Turkish at all levels (phonology: vowel harmony; morphology: agglutination; syntax: head-final constructions, e.g. OV order) as a result of their contact for centuries (Dawkins 1916, Kesisoglou 1951, Thomason & Kaufman 1988). In this paper we investigate a case of structural interference, which involves the grammatical marking of definiteness and is more salient in the varieties spoken at the areas of Potamia, Delmeso and Axo. These dialectal varieties employ a combining mode of marking definiteness/specificity: Although, they retain the substratum Greek mode of the article, they also facilitate the case distinction between nominative and accusative, which is used in Turkish (Janse 2004). The aim of this paper is to provide a detailed description of the emerged pattern and to investigate the implications of this pattern for the theory of *Differential Object/Subject Marking*.

2.   Background

2.1.   Definiteness and case in Greek and Turkish

Cappadocian Greek as a contact dialect employs a Greek substratum and a great scale of lexical borrowing and structural interference from Turkish at all levels. Thus, it will be useful to briefly introduce the mode of grammatical marking of definiteness/specificity and the grammatical function of case in these two languages, before we proceed to the investigation of their interaction in Cappadocian.

In Greek, case and definiteness/specificity do not interact, in the sense that case is exclusively used to mark grammatical relations. Thus, nominative and accusative mark the subject and the object respectively. Definiteness, on the other hand, is marked by the structural mode of articles (Joseph & Philippaki-Warburton 1987, Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warburton 1997). The definite article is used to mark a definite NP (1), whereas the indefinite article marks an indefinite NP (2), which can be interpreted as either specific or non specific. Absence of the article marks an indefinite NP (3), which can be interpreted as either non specific (3a) or generic (3b).

(1)   metéfera   to   ksílo
        carried-1SG the-ACC.SG wood-ACC
        'I carried the wood'

(2)   metéfera   éna   ksílo
        carried-1SG a-ACC.SG wood-ACC
        'I carried a (certain) wood'

(3)   a.   metéfere ksíla
             carried-3SG woods-ACC
             'He carried woods'

       b.   to   plío   aftó metaféri ksíla
             the-NOM.SG ship-1SG this carry-3SG woods-ACC
             'This ship carries woods'

On the other hand, Turkish exhibits *Differential Object Marking* with respect to specificity (Enç 1991, Kornfilt 1997, Lyons 1999, Lewis 2000, a.o.). Thus, specific objects are marked by the accusative marker *-(y)I*, whereas non specific objects appear in the nominative/absolute form, which carries no overt case morphology:

(4)   a.   Ali bir kitab-ı   aldı
             Ali a book-ACC bought-3SG
             'A book is such that Ali bought it'
       b.   Zeynep adam-ı   gördü

Zeynep man-ACC saw-3SG
'Zeynep saw the man'

(5)   a.   Ali bir kitab   aldı
                Ali a book-NOM bought-3SG
                'Ali bought some book or other'
        b.   Bilet   satıyorlar
                ticket-NOM sell-3PL
                'They are selling tickets'

2.2.   Differential Object Marking

Differential Object Marking (DOM) is a quite widespread phenomenon in the languages of the world and it is attested in the languages of different language families (Aissen 2003, Bossong 1985, Comrie 1979, 1989, Croft 1988, Lyons 1999, Silverstein 1976, 1981 a.o.). In DOM languages, an object may or may not be case marked depending on its semantic and/or pragmatic features.

Typological investigations on DOM have shown that it employs a situation in which the higher in prominence an object is, the more likely it is to be overtly case marked (Aissen 2003: 436). Prominence is assessed by the position that the object occupies in one (e.g. Turkish, Hebrew) or both (e.g. Persian, Rumanian) of the animacy and the definiteness scales.

(6)   a.   Animacy scale:
                Human > Animate > Inanimate
        b.   Definiteness scale:
                Personal pronoun > Proper name > Definite NP > Indefinite specific NP > Non-specific NP

According to these scales, a sentence with an object that is a human NP or a personal pronoun constitutes a marked construction. Such marked constructions are assumed to be avoided as a result of economy principles in the grammar. However, marked constructions can be tolerated, but at the cost of morphological marking. In this way DOM is highly iconic, in the sense that it favours morphological marking for marked constructions. Aissen (2003) also notices in this direction that DOM morphology is highly privative, in the sense that zero morphology contrasts with audible expressions. Based on these observations, she attempts to provide a formal account of DOM within the framework of *Optimality Theory* (Prince & Smolensky 1993, *et seq.*). According to her analysis, DOM arises as the result of the competition between *Iconicity* and *Economy* constraints on the specification of case features: An economy

principle that bans the morphological manifestation of case is associated with a certain point of the scales above. All elements lower in the scale from this point on cannot be morphologically marked for case, resulting in the relevant DOM pattern.

3.   The case study

In order to determine the Cappadocian pattern we investigated definiteness/specificity in relation to the structure and the case marking of NPs in both object and subject functions. Our data were drawn from three dialectal varieties, which were classified in two groups: (a) Delmeso/Potamia (Del/Pot) and (b) Axo. We focused on the NPs with a head noun the declension of which distinguishes nominative from accusative. These are mainly masculine nouns ending in *-os, -as, -is*[2]. We extracted all the relevant examples from the texts included in Dawkins (1916) and Mavroxalyvidis & Kesisoglou (1960) (D and M&K respectively). These examples were examined in two ways. First, they were classified according to the nine possible constructions that derive from the combination of NP structure (Bare NPs – NPs with definite article – NPs with indefinite article) and case marking (nominative – accusative).

(7)   The Variables
Bare NPs
a.   Nominative
b.   Accusative
NP with definite article
a.   Nominative
b.   Accusative
NP with indefinite article
a.   Nominative
b.   Accusative

Then, the definiteness/specificity interpretation of the examples in each variable was noted. The results of this investigation are presented and discussed in the next section.

4.   The data and analysis

4.1   Delmeso/Potamia

Table 1. *Object in Delmeso/Potamia*

Bare NPs	
Nominative	indefinite & incorporating structures (example 8)
Accusative	-
NPs with definite article	
Nominative	definite (example 9)
Accusative	definite (example 10)
NPs with indefinite article	
Nominative	indefinite (example 11)
Accusative	indefinite specific (example 12)

(8) ístera   píkan   γámos   (Pot: D456, §1)
     afterwards made-3PL marriage-NOM.SG
     'After that they got married'

(9) ívren   to   mílos   (Del: D308, §3)
     found-3SG the-ACC.SG mill-NOM.SG
     'He found the mill'

(10) to   layó   eskótosen   (Del: D94, §115)
     the-ACC.SG hare-ACC.SG killed-3SG
     'He killed the hare'

(11) δéke   éna   layós   (Del: D94, §115)
     hit-3SG a-ACC.SG hare-NOM.SG
     'He struck a hare'

(12) éxo   én   aδelfó   (Pot: D454, §4)
     have-1SG a-ACC.SG brother-ACC.SG
     'I have a certain brother'

The data, as summarized above, shows that definiteness vs. indefiniteness is marked by means of the structural mode of the article. Thus, bare NPs are indefinite, whereas NPs introduced by the definite article are definite. NPs introduced by the indefinite article are indefinite, either specific or non specific. However, a DOM pattern similar to that of Turkish is also observed: accusative case is associated with specificity, as indicated by the following two facts. First, no examples of accusative bare NP-objects were found. Bare NPs are inherently indefinite and tolerate no specific reading. The absence of accusative bare NPs, therefore, suggests that accusative is incompatible with non-specificity. Second, an NP with an indefinite article can

be either in the nominative (11) or in the accusative (12). When such an NP is in the accusative, it is always interpreted as specific.

Finally, it should be noted that an NP with a definite article can be either in the accusative (10) or in the nominative (9) without any effect on the definiteness/specificity reading. We suggest that the appearance of nominative case in such an inherently definite/specific environment indicates that nominative is unmarked in terms of definiteness/specificity.

Table 2. Subject in Delmeso/Potamia

Bare NPs	
Nominative	definite (example 13)
Accusative	definite (example 14)
NPs with definite article	
Nominative	definite (example 15)
Accusative	definite (example 16)
NPs with indefinite article	
Nominative	indefinite – indefinite specific (example 17)
Accusative	-

(13) élios   mávrosen   to   prósopo
sun-NOM.SG blackened-3SG the-ACC.SG face-ACC.SG
'The sun blackened the face'   (Del: D312, §3)

(14) írten   aδelfó   t   (Del: D320, §2)
came-3SG brother-ACC.SG her
'Her brother came'

(15) na pár   ke sás   to   δjávolos
SUBJ take-3SG and you-2PL the-ACC.SG devil-NOM.SG
'May the devil take you'   (Del: D316, §1)

(16) to   mílo   én   makrjá   (Pot: D94, §115)
the-ACC.SG mill-ACC.SG be-3SG far away
'The mill is far away'

(17) én   éna   aslános   ke éna   qaplános
be-3SG a-ACC.SG lion-NOM.SG and a-ACC.SG leopard-NOM.SG
'There are some lion and some leopard'   (Del: D320, §3)

We note the following. First, all bare subject NPs found are singular and definite. Given that in Greek singular bare NPs are excluded as subjects and that a bare NP is never interpreted as definite (Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-

Warburton 1997: 276-285), we suggest that all these definite bare NPs are the result of the omission of the nominative definite article in a definite NP. This is because, as it has already been noticed (Dawkins 1916, Janse 2004, a.o.), the use of the definite nominative article has declined in Cappadocian Greek.

Second, from a first look, nominative and accusative seem to be in free variation in definite subject NPs. However, a closer look at the data shows that the distribution of accusative is in fact quite limited and constrained. First, only one example of an accusative subject NP with a definite article was found (example 16). In addition, in all accusative bare subject NPs, the head noun is followed by a possessive pronoun (18):

(18) a. írten aδelfó t   (Del: D320, §2)
        came-3SG brother-ACC her
        'Her brother came'

     b. an   értʃ   aδelfó   sas   (Del: D322, §2)
        when came-3SG brother-ACC yours
        'When your brother come...'

     c. ke aδelfó   tun ge léx   (Del: D322, §3)
        and brother-ACC their and says'
        'and their brother says'

Janse (2004) has proposed that the nominative suffix -s has been reanalysed as an indefiniteness marker in Cappadocian. Thus, -s can be suggested to be omitted in these examples as a marker of indefiniteness, since it is incompatible with the definite reading of the NP imposed by the possessive pronoun. However, this suggestion is not supported by the data. Notice example (19), where the suffix -s appears in exactly the same environment.

(19) írte   aδelfós   tun   (Del: D322, §3)
     came-3SG brother-NOM.SG their
     'Their brother came'

Moreover, as evident from the data, nominative is readily attested in definite environments, both in bare subject NPs and in subject NPs with a definite article. We can, therefore, conclude that the nominative marker -s has not been reanalysed as an indefiniteness marker. Nevertheless, it may be the case that such accusative examples are in fact nominative examples with the -s suffix being omitted for some phonological reason. We leave the issue open, since it requires further investigation.

4.2.   Axo

Table 3. Object in Axo

Bare NPs	
Nominative	indefinite & incorporating structure (example 20)
Accusative	incorporating structure (example 21)
NPs with definite article	
Nominative	-
Accusative	definite (example 22)
NPs with indefinite article	
Nominative	indefinite (example 23)
Accusative	indefinite specific (example 24)

(20)   méγa lóγos   mé lés   (M&K172, 39)
        big   word-NOM.SG NEG say-2SG
        'Don't say big words'

(21)   píγan   na   vγálne   vasiljó   (M&K216, §3)
        went-3PL SUBJ take out-3PL king-ACC.SG
        'They went to raise a king'

(22)   to   djávole   rótsan   (M&K180, 96)
        the-ACC.SG devil-ACC.SG ask-3PL
        'They asked the devil'

(23)   ívren   éna   líkos   (D402, §1)
        found-3SG a-ACC.SG wolf-NOM.SG
        'He found some wolf'

(24)   ívra   éna   mílo   (D390,§3)
        found-1SG a-ACC.SG mill-ACC.SG
        'I found a certain mill'

We note the following: First, accusative is not excluded from bare NPs, despite the fact that only one example was found, which involves an incorporating structure (21). Second, there are no nominative definite NPs. This fact may be taken to suggest that nominative is incompatible with definite object NPs. Otherwise, the pattern is the same as the one observed in Delmeso/Potamia.

Table 4. Subject in Axo

Bare NPs	
Nominative	definite & indefinite (example 25)
Accusative	definite (example 26)
NPs with definite article	
Nominative	definite (example 27)
Accusative	definite (example 28)
NPs with indefinite article	
Nominative	indefinite (example 29)
Accusative	indefinite specific (example 30)

(25)   érete   xasápis   (M&K192, §3)
come-3SG butcher-NOM.SG
'The butcher is coming'

(26)   líko   éfaén da   (D398, §1)
wolf-ACC.SG ate-3SG them
'The wolf ate them'

(27)   to   kalós   árxopos   érete
the-ACC.SG decent-NOM.SG man-NOM.SG come-3SG
'The decent man is coming'   (M&K181, §102)

(28)   to   mílo   djavoljú γjatáx ton
the-ACC.SG mill-ACC.SG devils'   fastness was-3SG
'The mill was devils' fastness'   (M&K196, §1)

(29)   írten   énan   álo   insános
came-3SG a-ACC.SG another-ACC.SG man-NOM.SG
'Another man came'   (D394, §7)

(30)   kíton   éna   koikonó   (D400, §6)
there was-3SG a-ACC.SG rooster-ACC.SG
'A rooster was there'

The data shows that subjects are predominantly marked by nominative case. Thus, only three examples of accusative subject NPs were found, one for each of the structure variables: bare NPs (26), NPs with definite article (28), NPs with indefinite article (30). Crucially, in the latter the accusative indefinite NP is interpreted as specific. These facts show that the distribution of the accusative in subject NPs is limited and/or constrained.

5.   The pattern

The examination of the data summarized above leads us to the conclusion that the predominant way of marking definiteness/indefiniteness in Cappadocian is the structural mode of the article, in the same way as in Greek. Bare NPs are interpreted as indefinite, with the exception of singular bare NP-subjects, which are the result of the omission of the nominative definite article and are, therefore, interpreted as definite. NPs with a definite or an indefinite article are interpreted as definite or indefinite respectively. In addition, a DOM pattern based on specificity and similar to the Turkish one supports the structural marking of definiteness in objects: accusative case is associated with specificity, whereas nominative is used with indefinite non-specific NPs. Thus, an NP-object with an indefinite article can be either in nominative or in accusative depending on its specificity interpretation. Furthermore, accusative is excluded from bare NPs with the exception of one example in the dialect of Axo (26). However, the association between nominative and non-specificity seems not to be complete in Delmeso/Potamia, since nominative can be used in NPs with a definite article. This fact suggests that nominative is rather unspecified for specificity. The association between accusative case and specificity can also explain the expansion of accusative case in NP-subjects as an instance of overgeneration of the emerged pattern. Thus, the existence of the rather few examples of accusative NP-subjects does not indicate the existence of a *Differential Subject Marking* pattern, since nominative is predominantly used to mark subjects regardless of their definiteness/specificity reading.

Cappadocian Greek exhibits a very interesting instance of DOM, since the morphologically unmarked case in the nouns that differentiate the nominative from the accusative (masculine nouns in *-os, -as, -is*) is not the nominative, which is marked by the suffix *-s*, but the accusative, which is marked by $\emptyset$. This means that the less prominent NP-object in the definiteness scale (indefinite non-specific) is marked by a marked case (nominative), whereas the unmarked case (accusative) marks the most prominent NP-objects (specific). This pattern clearly violates iconicity, which has been considered to be the hallmark of DOM (Aissen 2003). Thus, DOM in Cappadocian cannot be viewed as the result of an economy constraint that bans overt case marking, when an NP is low in prominence. We suggest that Cappadocian DOM is the result of the interference between the case systems of Greek and Turkish, by which specificity has been associated with the accusative case, irrespective of its morphological complexity.

6.   Conclusions

The dialectic varieties of Cappadocian Greek examined in this paper have been shown to exhibit an instance of DOM based on specificity, which is incorporated within the structural mode of marking definiteness by means of articles. We have observed that the association between accusative and specificity in Cappadocian is not compatible with the iconicity nature of DOM, but it should be viewed as the result of a direct interference from the Turkish case/definiteness system. Crucially, similar phenomena have been attested in other contact situations between Greek and Turkish, such as the Greek varieties spoken by the Muslims in Rhodes (Georgalidou, Spyropoulos & Kaili 2004). This suggests that such a phenomenon can be considered as a generalised structural interference between the two languages in contact situations.

7. Notes

[1] We would like to thank the audience of the *2nd International Conference on Modern Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory* (Mytilene 30/9 – 3/10/2004) for their comments. All errors remain ours. This research is part of the PYTHAGORAS project '*A comparative study of Greek-Turkish: Grammatical analysis and acquisition of Turkish as a foreign language*' carried out by the 'Research Group of the Languages of the Southern-Eastern Mediterranean', University of the Aegean (June 2004 – July 2006). *Action*: "Operational Program for Reinforcement of Research Groups at Universities", sponsored by the Second Community Support Framework and co-financed by the European Social Fund, the European Regional Development Fund and national resources (Greek Ministry of National Education and Religion). Maria-Anna Tiliopoulou also wishes to thank the State Scholarship Foundation of the Hellenic Republic for the financial support of her studies.

[2] See Dawkins (1916), Mavroxalyvidis & Kesisoglou (1960) and more recently Tiliopoulou (2003) and Janse (2004).

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9. Περίληψη

Στην εργασία αυτή παρουσιάζουμε μια περίπτωση δομικής παρεμβολής της Τουρκικής στην Καππαδοκική Ελληνική. Πιο συγκεκριμένα εξετάζουμε την αλληλεπίδραση στη δήλωση της πτώσης και της οριστικότητας/ειδικότητας σε τρεις διαλεκτικές ποικιλίες της Καππαδοκικής. Στις ποικιλίες αυτές η δήλωση της οριστικότητας/ειδικότητας συνδυάζει τη συντακτική πραγμάτωση μέσω των άρθρων, όπως στην Ελληνική, με το μορφολογικό σχήμα της Διαφοροποιημένης Δήλωσης του Αντικειμένου της Τουρκικής. Η συνδυαστική αυτή πραγμάτωση ορίζει ένα σύστημα, σύμφωνα με το οποίο το σχήμα της Διαφοροποιημένης Δήλωσης του Αντικειμένου όσον αφορά τη δήλωση της ειδικότητας ενσωματώνεται στο δομικό σχήμα της δήλωσης της οριστικότητας με το άρθρο.

The interplay of regional and social variation in Cyprus: a diachronic perspective

Marina Terkourafi
British School at Athens and University of Cambridge

This article considers the diachronic applicability of Trudgill's (1983) 'pyramid' model to Cypriot Greek speech. Textual and spoken data from two different historical periods—the medieval period of western domination (1291-1570/71), and modern times—are shown to exhibit structural features typical of koiné varieties, suggesting that the speech of higher and middle urban strata in Cyprus during these periods results from dialect contact and is relatively homogeneous across the island. In conjunction with research on the social conditions prevailing during these two periods (Terkourafi 2003, forthcoming), this evidence supports the view that a koiné variety was formed among the upper strata under Lusignan rule and continued to exist as a supra-local, yet distinctly Cypriot variety spoken in the cities since medieval times, maintaining a vivid relationship with regional varieties spoken in different parts of the island.

Keywords: social dialectology, Cypriot Greek, koiné, mixing, levelling, simplification, reallocation

1. Introduction

A model for the inter-relation of regional and social varieties is proposed by Trudgill in his study of the dialects of the British Isles (1983: 186; figure 1).
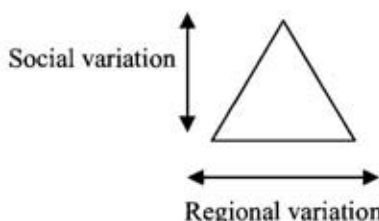

Figure 1: Trudgill's pyramid model (1983: 186)

According to this model, regional variation is greatest among the lower social strata, while regional features subside as one goes up the social hierarchy. Speech is most homogeneous at the top of the social pyramid, the speech of the highest social strata showing virtually no variation across the different

geographical areas. In this model, one regional variety may rise to the top of the social pyramid virtually intact, the language of the higher social strata reflecting in all respects a particular regional variety (this has arguably been the case for Southern British English in the past).

In a related proposal pertaining to Hellenistic Greek, Horrocks explicitly identifies the variety at the top of the social pyramid with a koiné, i.e. a variety abstracting away from particular regional features:

> "It is essential, then, to see the Koine not only as the standard written and spoken language of the upper classes [...] but also more abstractly as a superordinate variety standing at the pinnacle of a pyramid comprising an array of lower-register varieties, spoken and occasionally written." (Horrocks 1997: 37)

Placing at the top of the social pyramid a known koiné variety opens up the possibility that the variety at the top of the pyramid may at once incorporate features from different regional varieties, and be innovative with respect to them, i.e. instantiate features not previously found in any of them.

These proposals provide the starting point for studying the interplay of regional and social variation in Cyprus during two different historical periods, the medieval period of western domination, which includes the periods of Lusignan (1291-1486) and Venetian rule (1486-1570/71), and modern times. The analysis of textual evidence from the earlier period and of contemporary spoken data shows that the speech of middle and higher urban social strata in Cyprus during these two periods is characterised by mixing, levelling, simplification and reallocation, i.e. by structural features that previous research has associated with koiné varieties. Characterisation of the speech of these strata as a koiné is supported by the socio-historical background against which such speech emerged, which was favourable to processes of koineisation (Terkourafi 2004, forthcoming).

Joint consideration of the structural and socio-historical evidence thus suggests that, during the second half of Lusignan rule, contact between the Greek interlanguage[1] of the old Frankish aristocracy and the indigenous Greek of the new local elite gave birth to a medieval koiné that quickly spread throughout the cities and became associated with urban status. With the advent of Ottoman rule (1570/71-1878), this early urban koiné spread to the countryside cross-fertilising with local ways of speaking to give rise to the spectrum of patois varieties constituting the Cypriot dialectal continuum. At the same time, the medieval koiné continued to evolve in the cities, where members of the new local elite lived. Today's koiné arose out of contact between Standard Greek as received by Cypriots, local patois varieties, and the earlier urban koiné as it has been handed down the mouths of urban populations. This article focuses on the structural evidence for claiming that the speech of

Cypriots at the top of the social pyramid during these two periods is relatively homogeneous, and in particular that it shows evidence of koineisation.

2. Previous research on koinés

Before going on to analyse the Cypriot Greek data, a brief overview of the findings of previous research on koiné varieties is in order. According to a recent definition, as a sociolinguistic term, koiné refers to "[a] stabilised contact variety which results from the mixing and subsequent levelling of features of varieties which are similar enough to be mutually intelligible, such as regional or social dialects. This occurs in the context of increased interaction among speakers of these varieties." (Siegel 2001: 175).

This definition singles out three features as central to the characterisation of a variety as a koiné. First, the varieties in contact must be mutually intelligible to begin with, i.e. mutual intelligibility constitutes a precondition of koineisation. Second, once they are in contact, the original varieties undergo mixing and levelling. Finally, these structural processes go hand in hand with social processes. In particular, increased interaction among speakers of the original varieties, i.e. interaction not limited to one register or activity but spanning different domains of everyday life, is crucial to koineisation.

Prior mutual intelligibility and increased interaction most clearly distinguish koinés from other contact varieties such as pidgins and creoles. Nevertheless, finer distinctions, such as, e.g., between cases of koineisation and cases of dialect levelling (Kerswill and Williams 1999), are not as straightforward. While a case can be made for describing Cypriot Greek speech in the two periods under study as the outcome of koineisation rather than levelling (Terkourafi, forthcoming), one may nonetheless remain sceptical about the point of forcing subtle theoretical distinctions onto the empirical data. Alternatively, following Thomason's (1997: 85) "continuum" solution to the problem of borderline cases of creolisation, one may prefer to treat classificatory categories for the outcomes of contact situations as prototypically organised categories allowing some overlap around their edges (cf. Taylor 1995: 187-190).

Whichever direction one follows, distinguishing between the outcomes of different contact situations necessitates joint reference to structural and socio-historical parameters. This is because similar structural processes may well operate in different types of contact situations producing structurally comparable outcomes. In such cases, it is only by appealing to the socio-historical context that different types of contact situations and their outcomes are kept distinct (cf. Thomason 1997:72). The socio-historical parameters shown by previous research to favour koineisation are: i) isolation and small size of the koineising community; ii) weak network ties between community members; iii) the

formation of a common identity; iv) low norm enforcement; and, v) young speakers receiving a rich and variable input (Tuten 2003). Terkourafi (2004, forthcoming) discusses the applicability of these parameters to the social conditions prevailing in Cyprus in medieval and in modern times.

In this article, I focus on the structural processes characterising the speech of koineising communities, and examine the evidence for their diachronic applicability to Cypriot Greek. Four such processes are discussed in the literature (see, e.g., Siegel 1985, 2001: 176-178; Trudgill 1986: 98-126; Tuten 2003: 41-47). *Mixing* concerns the co-existence of variants from different varieties in the emerging koiné during the early stages of contact. Once mixing has occurred, the way is open for the remaining three processes to select those variants out of the original mixture that will survive, or fulfil specific functions, in the new variety. Levelling and simplification cover different aspects of the subsequent variant reduction process. *Levelling* concerns loss or attrition of those variants that are least frequent in the original mixture, which in turn is a function of the demographic composition of the koineising population. Due to this quantitative basis, levelling foregrounds the link between historical process and structural consequence. *Simplification*, on the other hand, operates on a qualitative basis and refers to the reorganisation of grammatical categories toward greater economy and symmetry. Regularisation of grammatical paradigms, loss of inflections and increased transparency in phonological and lexical derivation are typical cases of simplification. From the point of view of their products, levelling and simplification may be defined as reduction of variation between dialects, and reduction of variation within a single dialect, respectively (Hinskens 2001: 201). Finally, *reallocation* concerns not the actual loss of variants, but the redistribution of variant functions, such that in the resulting koiné variants originating in different varieties become specialised to different functions. As a result of reallocation, the new variety combines variants from different varieties in a relationship of complementary distribution according to register, social class, or area.

3. Structural features of the language of the medieval texts

As a first attempt to determine whether the language of medieval Cypriot Greek texts structurally corresponds to a koiné variety, this section analyses examples from administrative and literary texts of that period. Instances of mixing, levelling, and simplification found therein provide initial support for this hypothesis. However, only detailed philological study of the manuscript tradition can confirm it. At the current state of knowledge, a study of this kind is hampered by the lack of diplomatic editions of the majority of surviving texts from this period. These structural indications are thus primarily intended to stimulate research and to provide clear directions for future studies.

The administrative texts from which examples discussed below are taken are the 13[th]-century translation of the *Assises de la Haute Cour et de la Bourgeoisie*, and the 15[th]-century *Livre de Remembrances de la Secrète du Royaume de Chypre*.[2] The first is the code of laws of the Lusignan kingdom, and the second an (incomplete) collection of one year's (1468-1469) royal decisions on financial, legal and administrative matters, which constitutes the only surviving document of its kind from the archives of the medieval Frankish kingdom (Richard 1983: vii-x). Since these administrative texts were written by and addressed to court officials (cf. ibid.: x), their language gives us a taste of Greek as it was spoken in the Lusignan court (Constantinides and Browning 1993: 17). In particular, the strong representation of the Provençal element in court circles justifies the high percentage of loanwords from the langue d'oc found in the earlier text (Nicolaou-Konnari 1993: 30).

The literary texts consulted comprise 15[th]-century originals (the *Chronicle* of Leontios Machairas and its sequel, the *Chronicle* of Georgios Boustronios) as well as 16[th]-century translations of either foreign or older Greek originals (*Fior de Vertù* and *Love Poems* from Italian originals; *Apostles' Deeds*, from an older Greek original).[3] The subject matter of these works, as well as certain linguistic traits have been used to argue for their wider circulation amongst a mixed audience of Franks and Greeks, who in their majority knew only the spoken Cypriot of their time (Nicolaou-Konnari 1993: 51; Kyrris 1993: 191, 205).

Mixing in these texts occurs in three ways. First, one encounters several instances of parallel citation of borrowed and inherited synonyms. In such cases, the French synonym may either be adapted to the Greek inflectional paradigm or remain uninflected, constituting a case of mixing-cum-simplification. The following pairs of synonyms from the Chronicle of Machairas exhibit the first possibility: οι φρέριδες (from French *frère*) αδελφοί "the brothers"; σιρέντζιν (from French *surgie*) εγιατρεύσαν "they cured"; *Εξήγησις της γλυκείας χώρας Κύπρου, η ποία λέγεται Κρόνικα* (from French *chronique*) τουτέστιν Χρονικ(όν) "Recital of the Sweet land of Cyprus which is called a Kronika, that is a Chronicle"; ο αβοκάτος (from French *avocat*) τουτέστιν ο εμπροπέτης ο λεγόμενος φαρπαλιέρος "the lawyer"; πολλά τιμημένην και πολλά τεβόνταν (from French *devoir*) "very honourable". Two pairs of synonyms, the first from *Machairas* and the second from the *Assises* exhibit the second possibility: βαλέντε (from French *valoir*) αντρειωμένος "brave, worthy"; αμέριμνος ήγουν κίτες (from French *quites*) "innocent or acquitted". The accumulation of synonyms in these examples serves comprehension: by citing several variants, the author is apparently hedging his bets, uncertain that his audience in its entirety will be familiar with any single one of them.

A second way in which mixing shows up in these texts concerns the use of French function words interchangeably with the corresponding Greek

ones. Thus, in the *Assises*, one reads *ο πατήρ ου η μήτηρ εκείνου* "his father or his mother" using the French disjunction *ou*, but seven lines later *διά τήν ζωήν του ή διά τον διδάσκαλόν του* "for his life or for his teacher", using the Greek disjunction *ή*. Mixing also occurs in the phonological rendition of these particles. The French particle *de* is variably rendered as *τε, ντέ, ττε*, and *δε* when accompanying names of the nobility. For example, in *Machairas*, "de Nores" occurs as *τενορες, ντέ νόρες*, and *ττενόρες*, while "de Monfort" as *δε μονφόρτε*.

The final way in which mixing is expressed concerns semantic calques. In these, Greek form and French function/meaning are mixed in the literal translation of a French model in Greek. Examples of semantic calques include the interjection *αλλά ναι!* (from French *mais si!*) in the *Assises*, and the expression *γιοφύρια ερίκταν* (from French *lancer/jetter un pont*) and *γλυκεία χώρα Κύπρος* (from French *la douce France*) in *Machairas*.

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Levelling in the medieval texts is expressed as the ousting of older Greek forms by contemporary Cypriot ones. Even established church expressions are not immune to this. Thus, Machairas renders the famous church expression *ματαιότης ματαιοτήτων τα πάντα ματαιότης* "vanitas vanitatum omnia vanitas" as *ψέματα των ψεμάτων όλα είναι ψέματα* "lies of lies everything is lies", and *ουδέν ωφελεί αλλά μάλλον θόρυβος γίνεται* "is no good but rather produces upheaval" as *ουδέν ωφελούν αλλά μάλλον μάλλωμαν γινίσκεται*. Similarly, in the *Apostles' Deeds* compound forms such as *θεάρεστα* "liked by God", and *ευαρεστησάντων* "that you liked" are analysed to *αρεστά του Θεού* and *οπού Σου αρέσαν* respectively.

Finally, simplification is noted at the morphological and morpho-syntactic levels. In morphology, the appearance of a new verbal suffix *–ιάζω* from the French 2pl. ending pronounced as [–ez] (Menardos 1969: 165) facilitated the adaptation of French verbs to the Greek inflectional paradigm, promoting regularity in the inflectional paradigm of the verb. For instance, in *στιμιάζει με* from *Machairas*, French *estimer* is adapted to Greek as *στιμιάζω*. At the morphosyntactic level, the beginning of the retreat of the genitive plural of masculine adjectives and nouns has been attributed by Papadopoullos (1983: 226) to the mistaken rendition of the French genitive as accusative in Greek. According to Papadopoullos, in examples such as the following, from the *Livre des Remembrances*, *s'ils sont parèques des autres* "if they are others' slaves", rendered as *ανε παρικι αλούσ* in place of the correct *αν εν 'πάροικοι άλλων*, the Cypriot scribe made a random assignment of case to the noun phrase *des autres*, left by the absence of morphological marking of case in French without clues as to its correct case. The retreat of the genitive plural from the inflectional paradigm of masculine adjectives and nouns has led to partial restructuring of the noun paradigm in Cypriot Greek, a process continuing to this day (cf. below).

In sum, the language of the medieval texts shows evidence of mixing, levelling and simplification typical of koinés at the structural level. Since it emerged in a socio-historical context favourable to koineisation (Terkourafi 2004), it meets both structural and socio-historical conditions to be considered a koiné, a conclusion that remains to be validated by in-depth study of diplomatic editions of the surviving manuscripts.

4. The subsequent course of the medieval koiné

Having arisen under western domination, the medieval koiné subsequently followed two routes, both related to the fates of its speakers. First, as a result of the persecution of the Catholic faith by the Ottomans, several Hellenised aristocrats relocated to the countryside, taking their language with them. Thus, the medieval koiné spread to rural areas, coming into contact with local ways of

speaking and giving rise to the spectrum of local patois varieties constituting the Cypriot dialectal continuum. This explains the presence across the entire continuum of features such as the replacement of the genitive plural of male nouns and adjectives by the accusative, an instance of simplification potentially generated under the influence of French, as outlined above.

Linguistically, this possibility is supported in three ways. First, one may note the occurrence of Frankish lexical items exclusively among the peasantry. For instance, Menardos (1969: 167-168) cites use of the western provenance name Ντζορζής—which Machairas differentiates from inherited Γεώργιος "George"—among peasants, but not among townspeople in the 19th century. Similarly, only four of the "multitude" of the older verbs in –ιάζω, namely στιμιάζω "to respect" (from French estimer), κουφερκιάζω "to comfort" (from French conforter), κουλιάζω "to sieve" (from French couler) and σπιάζω "to observe, scrutinise" (from French épier), survive into the 19th century, and these "only between farmers" (Menardos 1969: 164). Secondly, not only do the older French loanwords prevail in the countryside, but their referential content bears traces of their noble origin. Thus, "in the villages, for a house to be called τσάμπρα [from French chambre; MT] it must have something exceptional" (Menardos 1969: 154). Finally, certain Frankish expressions, such as à la durée for continuous horse-riding rendered as αλατουρέ "[any activity that is] continuous or repeated frequently", seem to have survived in the 19th century only in the Mesaoria variety, spoken in the capital Lefkosia, supporting the pivotal role of this variety in processes of koineisation on the island (cf. Terkourafi, forthcoming).

At the same time as it cross-fertilised with local ways of speaking across the island, the medieval koiné continued to be spoken in the cities, and in particular in Lefkosia, where a small Greek elite of merchants and dignitaries connected with the church and the Ottoman administration lived around the Archbishop's palace south of the river throughout Ottoman rule.

Linguistically, this possibility is supported by reports of a generic city variant (εν ταις πόλεσιν) which is often non existent, or different from the variant used in the countryside (εν τη υπαίθρω). Farmakides's (1983 [1912-1925]) reports of several such city variants in his early 20th century *Compilations of words*, fall in two categories. First, the city variant may be closer to the underlying phonological form, and therefore derivationally more transparent than variants used in rural areas, contributing to the overall transparency of urban speech, as this results also from simplification. An example of increased derivational transparency is the variant η κρυάδα "cold weather" encountered in the cities in place of the rural η κρυότη and the even less transparent η κρυκότη encountered in Pafos. The second category of city variants are French and Italian loanwords. In such cases, the city variant either approximates the foreign model more closely than rural variants, as with

πινόλια "pine seeds" from Italian *pinoli*, rendered as πελόνια in the north of the Lemesos province, or refers to an object not known in the countryside, as with καούκκος, denoting a caramelised almond sweet of French origin. Both types of city variants, those closer to the underlying phonological form and those more faithfully reflecting foreign models, structurally parallel the outcomes of processes such as simplification typically found in koiné varieties. Thus, these variants support a continued connection between a variety abstracting away from particular regional features and urban speech.

5. Structural features of contemporary urban speech

Evidence of contemporary urban speech is drawn from a variety of sources. These include recordings of spontaneous exchanges (as described in Terkourafi 1999, 2001), observation (data cited by Malikouti-Drachman 2000, Moschonas 2002, and Tsiplakou 2004), and a comparison of regional and urban variants made on the basis of reports from Newton (1972) and Farmakides (1983 [1912-1925]).

In these data, mixing takes two forms. The first concerns novel form: function combinations mixing Cypriot forms and standard functions. As a result, functions previously fulfilled by momentary switches into the standard code are now fulfilled by Cypriot forms. This increases the symmetry of pragmatic paradigms (the paradigm of diminution, the paradigm of the polite plural), since whereas previously two sets of forms (Cypriot and standard ones) were necessary to fulfil a single set of the functions (e.g. the functions of diminution, including cajoling hedging and demeaning functions), a single set of forms (Cypriot ones) are now sufficient, resulting in simplification.[4] For example, morpho-phonologically Cypriot diminutives are now used to signal hedging, originally a standard function (Terkourafi 1999). In λοξούδιν "sort of diagonal" in example (1), used by a hairdresser to explain a new haircut to a customer, a morphophonologically Cypriot form (adjective λοξός + Cypriot diminutive suffix -ούδιν) combines with hedging, a predominantly standard function that would have normally required a switch into the standard code (e.g. λοξούλι).

> (1) αυτόν έρχεται όλον κάτω... λοξούδιν δαμέ τζιαι δαμέ πέφτει
> this come-3sg. all down... diagonal-dim. here and here fall-3sg.
> 'this comes straight down... sort of diagonal here and here it falls'

By using λοξούδιν, the speaker expands the range of functions of the Cypriot form, such that a switch into the standard is no longer required to fulfil the wider set of functions.

Similarly morpho-phonologically Cypriot 2pl. verb-forms can now be used non literally, whereas previously they were used only literally (i.e. to

address several addresses), and non literal use of 2pl verb forms was confined to formal settings where it was realised as momentary 'borrowing' of the requisite 2pl. forms from the standard code (Terkourafi 2005). The following are examples of Cypriot forms fulfilling this traditionally standard function, i.e. addressed to a single addressee in formal or work settings: *αλλάσσετε* "you-change-V" (retaining long consonants), *εβάλετε* "you put-V" (retaining syllabic augment), *θα φκάλετε* "'you will bring out-V" (exhibiting manner dissimilation of obstruent+obstruent into fricative+stop).

The second form of mixing encountered in contemporary urban speech concerns Cypriot youth neologisms (Moschonas 2002; Tsiplakou 2004). These are either calqued on standard models, as in *έδωκέν μου την* "I went berserk", *εβάψαμέν την* "we're in trouble", which constitute verbatim renditions of standard idioms by Cypriot forms, or are drawn from local patois varieties, as in (2) (Tsiplakou's 2004, example 30) where a 15-year old girl mixes the patois variant *εγιώνι* with urban speech, much to the dismay of the 49-year old hairdresser reporting the incident:

(2) Ναι, εν χωρκάτικα που λαλούν, κόρη μου. Έρκεται στο κομμωτήριον εψές μια κορούα, δεκαπέντε χρονώ, δεν ηξέρω ακριβώς, και λαλεί μου «εγιώνι». Ακούεις, Σταυρούλλα μου; «Εγιώνι». «Κόρη μου», λαλώ της, «εσύ είσαι Λευκωσιάτισσα, κόρη μου. Εσύ είσαι χωραΐτισσα. Ίντα τρόπος εν τούτος, να λαλείς 'εγιώνι'»; «Ούφου!» λαλεί μου, τζιαι φέφκει.

'Yes love, it's village speech they use. Yesterday, a girl came into the salon, fifteen-years old, I don't know exactly, and she said to me "ejoni" ((=me in 'village' Cypriot)). You hear, Stavroula? 'ejoni'. "Love" I told her, "you're from Lefkosia love. You are a city girl. What's this saying 'ejoni'?" "Ouf!" she said and left.'

In addition to mixing, levelling occurs in phonology and in the lexicon. In both cases, it is forms of the Mesaoria variety, the variety spoken the plain area around, and including, the capital Lefkosia, that are levelled out in favour of numerically dominant forms encountered on the rest of the island. In phonology, the geminate dental stop [tt] of the Mesaoria variety has been replaced by the geminate dental fricative [θθ] of western and southern areas in items such as [pettera] "mother-in-law", pronounced [peθθera] in urban speech. In this example, levelling combines with simplification, since the Mesaoria form [pettera] is not only a minority form, with [peθθera] used on the rest of island, and [peθera] in standard Greek, but also less transparent with respect to the other two forms, as it involves an extra derivational step from underlying /peθθera/ (Newton 1972: 98-99). Levelling also affects particular lexical items of the Mesaoria variety, which have retreated in favour of lexical items used on

the rest of the island. Thus, a verb συρκώ "to be averse to" reported by Farmakides (1983[1912-1925]: 225) to be used in Mesaoria in the early 20th century, has been replaced in urban speech by the much more frequent ανακατσιώ, used on the rest of island.

Finally, in contemporary urban speech, simplification produces both an increase in derivational transparency, and an increase in symmetry. Phonological innovations such as *omorfca* "beauty" (from inherited *omorca*), *xartca* "papers" (from inherited *xarca*), and *m:atca* "eyes" (from inherited *m:aθca*), formed under the influence of the corresponding standard forms (*omorfja*, *xartja*, and *matja* respectively), have the effect of increasing the derivational transparency of the Cypriot forms, whose underlying forms are those of standard Greek (Malikouti-Drachman 2000). The same applies to morphophonological innovations in proper name diminutivisation such as ʃefkos "Parascevas-dim", in place of the inherited ʃefkas (Malikouti-Drachman 2000).

An increase in symmetry is achieved through changes in the stored stress properties of clitics and the dropping of the verbal suffix *-te* (Malikouti-Drachman 2000), which have the effect that the trisyllabic rule, from which these items were previously exempt, now applies across the board. Thus, inherited *a'apisen tin* is rendered as *a'api'sen tin* "he loved her", *tafto'ciniton tu* as *taftocini'ton tu* "his car" , and the suffix *-te* that caused dynamic stress to fall on the fourth syllable from the end of the tone unit is dropped from the end of inflected forms such as *poja'tisamente*, leaving *poja'tisamen* "we painted", with regular stress on the third syllable in its place. Finally, an increase in symmetry is achieved also at the morphological level, where the obsolescence of the genitive plural and its replacement by the accusative, originally affecting only masculine adjectives and nouns (see 3 above), is now being generalised across the noun paradigm irrespective of gender. In the recorded example, ο αριθμός τες σωλήνες "the number of pipes", the feminine noun η σωλήνα occurs in the accusative plural instead of the genitive.

In sum, contemporary spoken urban Cypriot Greek speech shows evidence of mixing, levelling and simplification, that is, it meets the defining criteria of koinés at the structural level. The koineising varieties are local patois varieties (Contossopoulos 1969 reports 18 such varieties), and standard Greek as received by Cypriot Greeks. Inasmuch as the medieval koiné has both interacted with local patois varieties and continued to be spoken in the cities (see section 4 above), it constitutes a third factor indirectly involved in the koineisation process in two distinct ways. In fact, the contribution of standard Greek itself to this process is largely indirect too, hence the qualification "standard Greek as received by Cypriot Greeks". This qualification is important, if one recalls that koineisation presupposes "increased interaction" between speakers of the varieties in contact (Siegel 2001: 175). Since the proportion of standard speakers living on the island has never been demographically

significant,[5] standard Greek has contributed to the pool of linguistic variants largely indirectly, that is through the repatriation of Cypriots educated in Greece, and through access to the Greek media. This is an important reason why the resulting supra-local variety is best classified as the outcome of koineisation, and not the result of dialect retreat (as suggested by Malikouti-Drahcmann 1996, 2000).[6]

6. Concluding remarks

Previous research on koiné varieties has shown that mixing, levelling, simplification and reallocation constitute structural hallmarks of koineisation. Examples from two different periods of Cypriot Greek, the medieval period of western domination (1291-1570/71) and modern times, were shown to exhibit these features at the structural level. Considered jointly with socio-historical information (Terkourafi, forthcoming), these examples support the view that the speech of urban strata during these two periods abstracts away from particular regional features, converging toward a supra-local koiné variety. Moreover, urban speech during these two periods largely reflects the speech of middle and higher social strata. The Frankish aristocracy was very much urban centred (de Collenberg 1982: 73-4; Arbel 1986: 203; Papadopoullos 1995: 792), retaining a particularly strong association with the capital Lefkosia, seat of the government and of the Latin archbishop. Similarly, in modern times, the decline of agriculture in the decades since WWII and corresponding rise of a services-oriented economy (Christodoulou 1994) have made modern Cyprus a distinctly urban-centred society, centralised—demographically, administratively, and culturally—around the capital (2001 census of the Cyprus Statistical Service; Attalides 1980). Thus, the speech of the middle and higher social strata in two distinct historical periods in Cyprus is characterised by an absence of markedly regional features, confirming the prediction that, the higher one goes up the social hierarchy, regional features subside, and the speech of the higher social strata is homogeneous across geographical areas.

7. Notes

[1] The term (learner) interlanguage covers systems intermediate between the source and target languages formed during the process of second language acquisition (cf. Bussmann 1996: 235-236).

[2] For texts see: Sathas (1877), Richard (1983).

[3] For texts see: Pieris and Konnari (2003), Kehagioglou (1997), Kakoulidi-Panou and Pidonia (1994), Siapkaras-Pitsillidés (1975 [1952]), and Nikolopoulos (2000), respectively.

[4] Admittedly, dissociating forms from functions, such that a novel combination conjoining elements from two different varieties is considered a case of mixing, constitutes a rather liberal interpretation of mixing as standardly understood in the koineisation literature. Nevertheless, inasmuch as this process results in increased symmetry, i.e. in simplification, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that what set this process into motion was contact with another variety. This justifies classifying these cases as mixing, since in koineisation mixing is a precondition of simplification.

[5] Immigration to Cyprus from parts of Greece peaked at different times in the 19[th] and 20[th] centuries but in those cases immigrants came from the Ionian islands and Asia Minor respectively, areas of Greece with a strong dialectal background of their own.

[6] For further arguments why contemporary urban Cypriot Greek speech is best classified as the outcome, of koineisation rather than dialect retreat, dialect levelling, or standardization, see Terkourafi, forthcoming.

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9. Περίληψη

Η δημιουργία κοινών ποικιλιών έχει συνδεθεί με τις διαδικασίες της ανάμειξης, της εξίσωσης και της απλοποίησης στο δομικό επίπεδο. Ως δείγματα της λειτουργίας αυτών των διαδικασιών στην Κυπριακή συζητούνται παραδείγματα γλωσσικής χρήσης απο δύο διαφορετικές ιστορικές περιόδους στην Κύπρο, την περίοδο της Φραγκοκρατίας/ Βενετοκρατίας (1291-1570/71) και τη σημερινή. Σε συνδυασμό με το κοινωνικο-ιστορικό πλαίσιο της κάθε περιόδου, υποστηρίζεται ότι ο λόγος των μέσων και ανώτερων κοινωνικών στρωμάτων κατά τις δύο αυτές περιόδους λαμβάνει υπερ-τοπικό χαρακτήρα, γεγονός που συνάδει με τις προβλέψεις του μοντέλου της πυραμίδας (Trudgill 1983) για την περιγραφή του συσχετισμού κοινωνικής και γεωγραφικής ποικιλότητας.