

MGDLT 5

**Proceedings of the 5th International
Conference on Modern Greek
Dialects and Linguistic Theory**



Edited by

**Mark Janse, Brian D. Joseph, Angela Ralli and Metin
Bagriacik**

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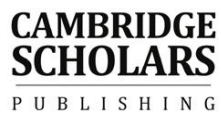


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MGDLT5

Online Proceedings of MGDLT5—2012: Modern Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory

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FOREWORD

The International Conference on Modern Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory (MGDLT) began in 2000, in Patras, Greece to respond to the emerging need of study in Modern Greek Dialects in the light of Modern Linguistic Theories. MGDLT has since been held as a biennial gathering of Greek Linguists. This online proceedings is the collection of the papers presented at MGDLT 5 which was held at the Royal academy of Dutch language and Literature in Ghent, Belgium (September 20–22, 2012).

The papers in these proceedings reflect various interests of the experts working on both linguistics and the dialects of Modern Greek, in a wide variety of topics and orientations. A far ranging amount of data from Modern Greek dialects has been presented during the conference: Data from the dialects of Southern Italy, Cyprus and Asia Minor (Pontus, Cappadocia, Lesvos), Crete, Corfu, Tsakonia, Samothrace and of various regions of the mainland Greece are crucial to various papers, although quite a notable number of papers of typological orientation present cross-dialectal data. It is also noteworthy that formal approaches are applied to historical Modern Greek dialectal data in a number of papers and language contact, mainly with Italian, Turkish and Albanian has constituted a crucial point for many papers included in the proceedings. The papers offer claims and proposal in phonology, morphology, syntax, language acquisition as well as lexicography. They are arranged alphabetically.

We express our gratitude to the invited speakers of MGDLT5, who so promptly responded to its call, namely, Adam Ledgeway (University of Cambridge), Marc van Oostendorp (Meertens Institute, Amsterdam & University of Leiden) and Peter Trudgill (University of Adger). We would also like to thank the other speakers for their participation.

Finally, we are particularly grateful to the members of the Local Organizing Committee, Metin Bağrıaçık, Klaas Bentein, Lieven Danckaert, Jorie Soltic and Samuel Zakowski, as well as to Gitte Callaert, Sylvie Geerts, Els de Loor, Delphine Nachtergaele, Rachele Ricceri, Tine Scheijnen, Maarten Taveirne and Berenice Verhelst for their most valuable help before and during the conference.

The Permanent Scientific Committee
Angela Ralli, Brian D. Joseph and Mark Janse

COMPOUNDING IN THE GREEK DIALECTS OF SOUTHERN ITALY*

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The aim of this paper is to offer a rigorous descriptive analysis of the morphological process of compounding in the Greek dialects of Southern Italy and to fill the gap with respect to the study of compounding in Modern Greek dialects. In particular, the present paper presents the definition and the basic characteristics of Greek compounds and it offers a classification of Italiot compounds based on the lexical category of the compound structure and the lexical category of the compound members. In addition, based on the grammatical relation between the compound members, it offers a classification of Italiot compounds into subordinate, attributive, and coordinate and it also addresses the endocentricity-exocentricity distinction in the Greek compounds of Southern Italy. Finally, it presents the phenomenon of left-headedness in Italiot and it comments on whether it should be considered a language-interference phenomenon.

1 Introduction

1.1 Greek in Southern Italy: Bovese and Griko

The of Greek origin Bovese and Griko are spoken in the southern-most edges of Italy and, more specifically, in Calabria and Puglia respectively (for a discussion of the origins of these dialects see amongst others Rohlf, 1924; Parlangelì, 1953; Karanastasis, 1992; Ledgeway, 1998; Fanciullo, 2001; Manolessou, 2005). Bovese¹ which is the Greek dialect of Calabria was until recently spoken in nine villages, namely, Amendolea, Bova superiore, Galliciano, Bova Marina, Condofuri, Roghudi, Roccaforte, Chorio di Roccaforte, and Chorio Roghudi. Nowadays, Greek-speaking population has declined and Bovese is spoken (mostly) by elder people. In addition, several villages have been deserted for a number of reasons including amongst others floods and

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¹ Bovese is also attested with the following names in literature: Greco, Grecanico, and Romaico. It should be noted that Italian scholars often use the term Grecanico (and sometimes Romaico) to refer to both Bovese and Griko. In this paper, I will use the term Italiot and not Grecanico to refer to both Greek dialects since for Greek scholars, the term Grecanico is usually used with respect to Bovese only.

land-slides (Katsoyannou, 1999). The following statistics are indicative of the situation (Spano, 1965, as cited in Katsoyannou, 1999):

Year	Population	Greek-speaking	%
1901	14.211	10.694	75,2
1911	14.337	8.535	59,5
1921	14.336	3.639	25,3

Table 1. Statistics of Greek-speaking population

Recent statistics also show that Bovesè is in rapid decrease since as Katsoyannou (1999: 607) reports, nowadays there is a number of 500 Greek speakers in the area. It should be mentioned that Bovesè is still resisting in Gallicianò and this is why the only modern comprehensive description of this dialect (Katsoyannou, 1995) is based on this variety. Although nowadays Bovesè has died out in some of these villages (e.g. Bova Marina, Condofuri, and Chorio Rochudi) there is agreement that Greek was spoken in a much larger area during the Middle Ages; according to Manolessou (2005) this area used to encompass not only S. Calabria, but the coast of Sicily as well.

Griko, which is the second Greek dialect of Southern Italy, is spoken in nine villages of the Salento area of Puglia. The villages are the following: Calimera, Castrignano dei Greci, Corigliano d'Otranto, Martano, Martignano, Melpignano, Soleto, Sternatia, and Zollino. In this area, Greek is still resisting due to revival efforts and it is spoken by an approximate number of 20.000 people. We should, however, mention that even in Puglia, Griko is no longer in use in some villages such as Melpignano and Soleto.

The main reason for which Greek in Southern Italy is in rapid decrease is that from the socio-linguistic point of view, the linguistic environment in Southern Italy is characterized as 'negative' with respect to Greek, since its speakers usually belonged to the lower social strata and regarded Italian, or the local Romance linguistic varieties, as the dominant, prestigious linguistic forms. Consider for example that Greek in Calabria has to compete with the Standard Italian, the local variety of standard Italian (*italiano regionale*), and the local Romance dialect of Calabria (*calabrese* or *dialetto*).

1.2 Dialectology and Morphology

Although compounding in Standard Modern Greek is a well-studied phenomenon (Anastasiadi-Simeonidi, 1983, 1996; Ralli, 2005, 2007, 2009a,b, 2013), there is very little in the published literature to date that deals directly with the study of compounds in Modern Greek dialects (Giannouloupoulou, 2006; Andreou, 2010; Ralli and Andreou, 2012; Andreou and Koliopoulou, 2012). The present paper aims to contribute to the understudied compounding system of Greek dialects and to show that the study of dialects can provide us with crucial data which may inform the discussion on various issues of morphological analysis (see Ralli, 2009c for the importance of dialectal data in morphology).

The rest of this study is structured as follows: Section 2 presents the definition and the basic characteristics of Greek compounds and Section 3 offers a classification of compounds in the Greek dialects of Southern Italy based on the lexical category of the compound structures. Section 4 comments on the classification of compounds into subordinate, attributive, and coordinate, based on the grammatical relation between the compound members and Section 5 addresses the endocentricity-exocentricity distinction in compounds. Section 6 presents the

phenomenon of left-headedness in Bovesse and it comments on whether it should be considered a language-interference phenomenon. Section 7 summarizes and concludes the paper.

2 Definition and basic characteristics of Greek compounds

The definition of compounding and its relation to other grammatical components such as syntax and phonology have been hotly debated (see amongst others Aronoff, 1976; Anderson, 1992; Lieber, 1992; Ackema and Neeleman, 2004; Ralli, 2007, 2013; Lieber and Štekauer, 2009). The difficulty to define compounding could be attributed to the fact that the typological characteristics of a language can greatly affect one's understanding and definition of this process. Consider for example that a number of languages, English included, primarily make use of independent words in order to create a compound. Therefore, it is common to find definitions of compounding whereby a compound is a word composed of two other words. The following definition of compounding by Marchand (1960) is not untypical for much work on compounds:

- (1) When two or more words are combined into a morphological unit, we speak of a compound. (Marchand, 1960, p. 11)

Other languages, however, combine stems and not full word forms. Consider the following Greek examples:

- (2) kuklóspito < kukl(a) spit(i)
 'doll-house' doll house
- agguroxórafon < aggur(i) xoraf(i)
 cucumber field
 'field for growing cucumbers'

Consider for example the Cypriot compound *agguroxórafon* (from Andreou, 2010). Contrary to an English compound such as *door knob*, this formation is based on two stems, *aggur-* and *xoraf-*, and not on two full word forms.

Let us now turn to the presentation of the basic characteristics of Greek compounds. According to Ralli (2007, 2013), Greek compounds are one-word formations and they obey the lexical integrity hypothesis (Lapointe 1980), in that their internal structure is never accessible to syntax. More specifically, their structure involves morphologically-proper constituents, i.e. either two stems ([stem stem]) or a stem and a word ([stem word]). In the first case, the inflectional ending and the stress is different from those of the second member when taken in isolation, as in *lulúdi* vs *nixtolúludo* in (3a). In the second case, stress and inflection follows the word constituent as in *saláta* vs *domatosaláta* in (3b):

- (3) a. nixtolúludo < nikt(a) lulud(i)
 'night-flower' night flower
- b. domatosaláta < domat(a) saláta
 'tomato-salad' tomato salad

In addition, Greek compounds are phonological words, i.e. they bear a single stress, independently of the stress of their constituent parts when taken in isolation. They also bear a compound marker, namely *-o-*, between the two constituents which has a compulsory character. For example, in *nixt-o-lúludo*, the compound members are linked together by the element *-o-*. Finally, Greek compounds are inflected at their right edge and their inflectional ending may be different from that of the second constituent, in the case of [stem stem] compounds. Inflection never appears within compounds unless they are built on an Ancient Greek pattern.

A closer inspection of compounding in the Greek dialects of Southern Italy reveals that compounds in Italiot exhibit all of these characteristics. Consider the following; (4a) provides examples of stem-stem compounds and (4b) contains compounds of the stem-word structure (all examples from Karanastasis, 1984-1992):

(4) a. Stem-Stem compounds

imisokálamó <	imis(o)	kalam(i)
‘half reed’	half	reed
glikókathó <	glik(o)	akath(i)
‘sweet thorn’	sweet	thorn

b. Stem-Word compounds

kalokánnó <	kal(o)	kann(o)
‘to help someone’	good	to do
asprokáthi <	aspr(o)	akath(i)
‘white thorn’	white	thorn

A comparison between *asprokáthi* ‘white thorn’ and *glikókathó* ‘sweet thorn’ illustrates the difference between stem-stem and stem-word compounds in some detail. To begin with, both compounds are composed of an adjective, *áspr(o)* and *glik(ó)* respectively, and the noun *akáthi*. In addition, both compounds bear the linking element *-o-* which appears between the compound members (*aspr-o-káthi*, *glik-ó-kathó*). They also bear a single stress (i.e. they are phonological words).

A closer inspection of these compounds, however, shows that *asprokáthi* and *glikókathó* differ with respect to (a) the position of stress and (b) their inflectional endings. As far as the position of stress is concerned, *asprokáthi* is stressed on the penultimate, whereas the stress in *glikókathó* is placed on the antepenultimate syllable. In addition, the former exhibits the same inflectional ending as its right-most constituent when the latter is taken in isolation (i.e. *akáthi*), whereas the latter ends in the inflectional marker *-o*. According to Nespor and Ralli (1996) and Ralli (2013), these differences between *asprokáthi* and *glikókathó* should be attributed to the different structure on which they are built. Based on their analysis, the compound *asprokáthi* is a stem-word formation and as such it preserves both the stress and the inflectional suffix of its right-most element which appears in a full word form, whereas *glikókathó* exhibits a stem-stem structure.

3 Lexical category of compounds and compound members

In this section I classify the compounds of the Greek dialects of Southern Italy based on the lexical category of the whole and the lexical category of the compound members. This classification will allow us to comment on (a) which categories appear inside compounds and the way they combine with one another, and (b) the productivity² of each compound type in the dialects under examination. This presentation will also allow us to make comparisons between compounding in the Greek dialects of Southern Italy and the rest of the Greek-speaking world.

3.1 Nouns

In order to form a compound of the category Noun, one can either combine two Nouns as in (5) or an Adjective and a Noun as in (6).

(5) [Noun + Noun]_{NOUN}

dzurgoššépama 'lid of pot'	<	dzurg(o) pot	ššepam(a) lid
ambelódema 'bundle to tie the vines on sticks'	<	ambel(i) vine	dem(a) bundle
petroláxano 'wild cabbage'	<	petr(a) rock	laxan(o) cabbage

(6) [Adjective + Noun]_{NOUN}

kakoginéka 'evil woman'	<	kak(i) bad/evil	ginek(a) woman
kitrinoléo 'yellow merle bird'	<	kitrin(o) yellow	le(o) merle bird
mavrópilo 'black-coloured soil'	<	mavr(o) black	pil(o) soil

Observe that this category consists of both root- and synthetic-compounds. The compound *petroláxano*, for example, is composed of only two stems *petr(a)* and *laxan(o)*, whereas *dzurgoššépama* consists of the stem *dzurg-* and the deverbial word *ššépama*.

² A caveat may be in order here. In the present study I use *productivity* as a cover term for the availability and profitability of a process (for a detailed study of productivity see Bauer, 2001a). This means that a certain process may be available and exhibit either high or low profitability.

3.2 Adjectives

The formations in (7) illustrate that adjectival compounds in the Greek dialects of Southern Italy are based on the combination of two adjectives.

(7) [Adjective + Adjective]_{ADJECTIVE}

rusogéranos	<	rus(o)	geran(o)
		gold-red	gray
'(an animal which is) gold-red in the front and gray in the back of the body'			

rusokástanos	<	rus(o)	kastan(o)
		gold-red	brown
'(an animal which is) gold-red and has brown spots on facial hair'			

It should be noted that the creation of compounds which belong to the lexical category of Adjectives is not profitable in the dialects of Southern Italy. A comparison with Standard Modern Greek and other Greek dialects reveals the following:

(a) In my data there is only a small number of adjectival compounds and the vast majority of these compounds has the adjective *ruso* as a first constituent. This particularity should be attributed to the low profitability of this category in these dialects since if adjectival compounds were a profitable type of compounding, we would have expected to find a number of different constituents inside compounds and not primarily the stem *ruso*. In Standard Modern Greek in which the formation of adjectival compounds is a profitable process, we can find for example compounds such as *asprómavros* 'black and white', *prasinokókkinos* 'green and red', and *psilólignos* 'tall and thin'.

(b) The low profitability of adjectival compounds in Italiot is also evident on another level since a compound of the category Adjective can only be created by the combination of two adjectives. In more detail, adjectival compounds in SMG and other dialects can be formed by the combination of (a) a noun and an adjective (8), and (b) an adverb and an adjective (9); the adjective in these cases is usually a passive past participle in *-menos*. Consider the following examples:

(8) [Noun + Adjective]_{ADJECTIVE}

SMG: anthostolisménos	<	anth(os)	stolismen(os)
'decorated with flowers'		flower	decorated

Cypriot: axeróplektos	<	axer(o)	plekt(os)
'knitted with straw'		straw	knitted

(9) [Adverb + Adjective]_{ADJECTIVE}

SMG: argokínitos	<	arg(a)	kini-t-(os)
'who moves slowly'		slowly	who moves

Cypriot: <i>alafropiasménos</i> 'slightly cramped'	<	<i>alaf(r)a</i> slightly	<i>piasmén(os)</i> cramped
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As illustrated by these examples, the creation of adjectival compounds in SMG and Cypriot-Greek is more profitable compared to compounding in the dialects of Southern Italy in which adjectival compounds are created only by the combination of two adjectives.

3.3 Verbs

A compound of the category Verb in the dialects of Southern Italy can be created by the combination of (a) a noun and a verb or (b) an adverb and a verb. Consider the following indicative examples:

(10) [Noun + Verb]_{VERB}

<i>ambelodéno</i> 'to stake vine plants'	<	<i>ambel(i)</i> vine	<i>den(o)</i> to stake/tie
<i>dzigostréfo</i> 'turn the yoke'	<	<i>dzig(o)</i> yoke	<i>stref(o)</i> to turn
<i>skatoxédzo</i> 'to deliver an unfinished job'	<	<i>skat(o)</i> droppings	<i>xedz(o)</i> to shit

(11) [Adverb + Verb]_{VERB}

<i>kakopiánno</i> 'to mistreat someone'	<	<i>kak(a)</i> wrongly	<i>piann(o)</i> catch
<i>kalomelónno</i> 'to fondle with love'	<	<i>kal(a)</i> nicely	<i>melonn(o)</i> to hurl honey

In more detail, the compound *ambelodéno* in (10), consists of the noun *ambel(i)* and the verb *den(o)*. The noun in this compound serves as the internal argument of the verb (object). In (11), *kakopiánno* is composed of the verb *piann(o)* and the adverb *kak(a)*.

Contrary to SMG, the creation of compounds of the structure [Verb + Verb] is not profitable in these dialects. For instance, in SMG there are compounds such as *anigoklíno* 'open and close' and *pigenoérxome* 'come and go', which are composed of two verbs and which belong to the class of co-ordinate compounds (Ralli, 2007, 2009b). This type of compounding, however, is not attested in the dialects of Southern Italy.

4 Grammatical relation between compound members

The classification of compounds based on the relation between the compound members has been hotly debated and no consensus has been reached (see amongst others the classifications proposed by Bloomfield, 1933; Marchand, 1960; Spencer, 1991; Fabb, 1998; Bauer, 2001b; Olsen, 2001; Haspelmath, 2002; Booij, 2005; Bisetto and Scalise, 2005; Scalise and Bisetto, 2009). As Bisetto and Scalise (2005) show, the traditional classification of compounds into Subordinate, Coordinate, Appositive, Exocentric, and Synthetic, is highly problematic since some classes are defined by the use of various semantic and grammatical criteria and they may overlap.

A comparison between the class of exocentric and the class of subordinate compounds is illustrative of the inconsistency which manifests itself in the traditional classifications. On the one hand, the category of exocentric compounds is based on the criterion of head (more specifically absence of head), and on the other hand the class of subordinate compounds is based on a different criterion, namely the grammatical relation between the compound members. In order to provide a better classification, Bisetto and Scalise (2005) propose that compounds should be classified into three macro-types: (a) Subordinate, (b) Attributive, and (c) Coordinate compounds. This classification makes use of only one criterion, namely the grammatical relation between the constituents.

4.1 Subordinate

Subordinate compounds are defined as the compounds in which there is an argumental relation between the constituents; (12) contains examples of subordinate compounds from the dialects of Southern Italy:

(12) <i>ambelodéno</i>	<	<i>ambel(i)</i>	<i>den(o)</i>
‘to stake vine plants’		vine	to stake/tie
<i>dzigostréfo</i>	<	<i>dzig(o)</i>	<i>stref(o)</i>
‘turn the yoke’		yoke	to turn
<i>tsukkoššépama</i>	<	<i>tsukk(a)</i>	<i>ššepam(a)</i>
‘lid of pot’		pot	lid
<i>skordófiddo</i>	<	<i>skord(o)</i>	<i>fidd(o)</i>
‘garlic leaf’		garlic	leaf

The class of subordinate compounds in these dialects consists of two different types of compounds. The first type comprises compounds in which the first constituent serves as a complement of the verb or the deverbal second constituent. In the compound *ambelodéno*, for example, the noun *ambel(i)* saturates one of the theta-roles of the verb; in this case it serves as an internal argument (object). In a similar vein, the noun *tsukk(a)* serves as a complement of the deverbal *ššépama* which acts as head.

The second type of subordinate compounds consists of [Noun Noun] compounds in which there is an argumental relation between the head and the non-head. This argumental relation is

usually found as the ‘of-relation’ in the relevant literature. The compound *skordófiddo*, serves as an example, since in this formation, the non-head, *skord(o)*, and the head, *fidd(o)*, are in an argumental relation (‘of-relation’); *skordófiddo* is the *fill(o)* of *skord(o)*.

4.2 Attributive

The second class of compounds, namely attributive compounds, consists of formations in which there is a modification relation between the head and the non-head. These compounds are usually composed of an adjective and a noun modified by the adjective. In (13), I present attributive compounds from the dialects of Southern Italy:

(13) <i>kakoginéka</i>	<	<i>kak(i)</i>	<i>ginek(a)</i>
‘evil woman’		bad/evil	woman
<i>mavrópilo</i>	<	<i>mavr(o)</i>	<i>pil(o)</i>
‘black-coloured soil’		black	soil
<i>avropastanáka</i>	<	<i>avr(o)-</i>	<i>pastanak(a)</i>
‘pastinaca sativa’		wild	pastinaca

More specifically, in the compound *kakoginéka*, the adjective *kak(i)* modifies the head of the word which is the noun *ginek(a)*. In a similar vein, there is a modification relation between the non-head *mavr(o)* and the head *pil(o)* in the compound *mavrópilo*.

4.3 Coordinate

Coordinate compounds are the last class of compounds which will concern us here. In this class, the compound constituents are in a relation of coordination. Consider the following examples:

(14) a. <i>imeráspéro</i>	<	<i>imer(a)</i>	<i>esper(a)</i>
‘day and night’		day	night
b. <i>rusopétrolo</i>	<	<i>rus(o)</i>	<i>petrol(o)</i>
		gold-red	gray
‘with gold-red and gray hair’			

Observe that in (14a) the relation of coordination holds between two nouns and in (14b) it holds between two adjectives.

It should be noted that the creation of coordinate compounds in the Greek dialects of Southern Italy is not-profitable and it does not exhibit the same productivity as in SMG. This holds for all lexical categories in which we classified the Greek compounds of Southern Italy (verbs, adjectives, and nouns). For example, as discussed in sections 3.2 and 3.3, compounds of the type *asprómavros* ‘black and white’, *anevokatevéno* ‘go up and down’, and *anigoklino* ‘open and close’ which are commonly attested in SMG do not exhibit the same profitability in these dialects. It should also be mentioned that as Andreou (2010) has shown, the creation of coordinate compounds is not productive in Cypriot-Greek either. In this dialect, a periphrastic construction is usually preferred to a coordinate compound.

5 Endocentric and exocentric compounds

In morphological theory the difference between endocentric and exocentric compounds is considered as a primarily semantic distinction and it is based on the presence or absence of head (see for example Bloomfield, 1933; Bauer, 2008; Lieber, 2009). Based on this criterion, the head of an exocentric compound lies outside the compound structure, whereas an endocentric compound is usually headed by its right-most constituent.

Given that head can be identified by the hyponymy test which is a semantic test, an endocentric compound is a hyponym of its head, whereas an exocentric one is headless since it fails the hyponymy test. This can be captured by the semantic 'IS A' condition in (15) proposed by Allen (1978: 11). According to this condition, a compound (Z) is a hyponym of its head (Y):

(15) In a compound [[]X []Y]Z, Z 'IS A' Y

Consider as illustrative examples the English compounds *doorknob* and *red-haired*. The compound *doorknob* is endocentric since based on the hyponymy test it is a hyponym of its head, *knob*, whereas *red-haired* is rendered exocentric since it fails the semantic test of hyponymy; *red-haired* is not a kind of hair.

With respect to the classification of compounds, Bisetto and Scalise (2005) and Scalise and Bisetto (2009) propose that each of the three macro-types, namely Subordinate, Attributive, and Coordinate compounds, should be divided into two sub-categories, namely endocentric and exocentric compounds. Consider the following examples from the dialects of Southern Italy; (16) gives examples of endocentric compounds and (17) contains exocentric compounds.

(16) Endocentric compounds

kombóxorto	<	komb(o)	xort(o)
'kind of grass'		knot	grass
alíokátho	<	alík(o)	akath(i)
		red	thorn
'kind of thorn with red flowers'			
kalokáño	<	kal(o)	kann(o)
'to help someone'		good	to do
agriómilo	<	agri(o)	mil(o)
'wild apple'		wild	apple

(17) Exocentric compounds

asprókéfalo	<	aspr(o)	kefal(i)
'with white hair'		white	head

gattóvidzo	<	gat(a)	vidz(i)
		cat	breast
'whose nipples are small like the nipples of cat'			
makropódi	<	makr(i)	pod(i)
'(pear) with a long stem'		long	foot
monóvidzo	<	mon(o)	vidz(i)
'who has only one breast'		single	breast
platófiddo	<	plat(i)	fidd(o)
'broad-leaved tree'		broad	leaf

In more detail, the compound *agriómilo* is considered endocentric because the whole serves as a hyponymy of its head, *mil(o)*; *agriómilo* is a kind of *mil(o)*. On the contrary, a compound such as *platófiddo* is considered exocentric since it fails the hyponymy test; the whole does not denote a kind of *fidd(o)* but a kind of tree 'which has broad leaves'.³

6 Left-headedness in Italiot

This section is devoted to the presentation of the phenomenon of left-headedness which manifests itself in the compounding system of Italiot and particularly in Bovese compounding. To begin with, Greek compounds obey the *Right-hand Head Rule* (Williams, 1981). Consider the following indicative examples from Standard Modern Greek (Ralli, 2005, 2013) and Cypriot (Andreou, 2010):

(18) SMG: agriógata	<	agri(a)	gat(a)
'wild-cat'		wild	cat
psaróvarka	<	psar(i)	vark(a)
'fishing boat'		fish	boat
Cypriot: glikokolókason	<	glik(o)	kolokas(in)
'sweet-potato'		sweet	kind of potato

³ For a theoretical discussion of the notion head and the distinction between endocentric and exocentric structures, the reader is referred to Andreou (2010) and Ralli and Andreou (2012). These scholars argue that the distinction between endo- and exo-centric compounds is not primarily semantic and that it does not manifest itself in all compound macro-types. Based on this proposal, the endocentricity-exocentricity distinction can be better understood if it is analyzed based on the order by which the word-formation processes of compounding and derivation apply. The following summarizes this proposal:

(i) [...] exocentricity is an epiphenomenon, reflecting a particular order of application of compounding and derivation, according to which when compounding and derivation co-occur within the same morphologically complex item, compounding precedes derivation. In contrast, [...] a structure is endocentric if it contains only compounding, or involves derivation and compounding, in this particular order. (Ralli and Andreou 2012: 79)

ampelopérvolon <	ampel(in)	pervol(in)
‘vine field’	vine	field

Observe that the compounds in (18) are all right-headed. For instance, the Adj. + Noun compound *glikokolókason* is headed by the noun *kolokas(in)* and not the adjective *glik(o)* since the compound as a whole is a kind of *kolokas(in)* and it belongs to the lexical category Noun and not to the category Adjective; these two properties come from its head element.

Given that Italiot is of Greek origin, it is expected to exhibit right-headed compounds. As reported by Karanastasis (1992, 1997), however, in this dialectal variety, and specifically in Bovesse, one also finds left-headed [N N] compounds. Consider the following examples:

- | | | |
|--------------------------|------------|------------|
| (19) fiddámbelo < | fidd(o) | ambel(i) |
| ‘vine leaf’ | leaf | vine |
| klonósparto < | klon(o) | spart(o) |
| ‘twig of sedge’ | sedge | twig |
| ššulopótamo < | ššul(o) | potam(o) |
| ‘lit. wood of the river’ | wood | river |
| ‘driftwood’ | | |
| sporomáratho < | spor(o) | marath(o) |
| ‘fennel seed’ | seed | fennel |
| xortanémi < | xort(o) | anem(o) |
| ‘lit. grass of the wind’ | grass | wind |
| ‘kind of grass’ | | |
| xerosíkli < | xer(i) | sikl(a) |
| ‘handle of tin bucket’ | handle | tin bucket |
| korkóššino < | kokk(o) | ššin(o) |
| ‘fruit of pistacia’ | fruit/seed | pistacia |
| sakkokreváti < | sakk(o) | krevat(i) |
| ‘mattress’ | bag | bed |
| rid:záfti < | ridz(a) | aft(i) |
| ‘base of the ear’ | root | ear |

Given that both members of these compounds belong to the lexical category of Noun, we have to rely on the semantic test of hyponymy in order to identify the head of the word. This test qualifies the left-most element as the head of each compound in (19). For example, the head in *sporomáratho* is *spor(o)* ‘seed’ since the whole compound denotes a kind of *spor(o)* and not a kind of *marath(o)* ‘fennel’. In a similar vein, *fiddámbelo* is a kind of *fidd(o)* ‘leaf’ and not a kind of *ambel(i)*.

The structure of these [N N] compounds is particularly striking, since Bovesese, being a dialect of Greek origin, is not expected to exhibit left-headed compounds. In fact, the corresponding compounds in SMG are all right-headed, as expected by headedness considerations in Greek. Compare the examples in (19) to their corresponding SMG right-headed *ampelófillo*, *spartóklono*, *potamóksilo*, and *marathósporos*. It is important to note, though, that the profitability of this phenomenon in Bovesese-Greek has led to the development of compounds such as *xerosikli*, *sakkokreváti*, and *rid:záfti* which are not attested in SMG in any form.

6.1 A contact phenomenon?

Although the main purpose of the present paper is to provide a rigorous descriptive analysis of the process of compounding in the Greek dialects of Southern Italy, I would like to comment on the phenomenon of left-headedness in some detail and to present the interim conclusions of my ongoing research. I am of the opinion that in order to better understand this phenomenon, one should take into consideration both the system-internal and the system-external factors which may have given rise to left-headedness for one should exclude the possibility of *multiple causation* (Joseph, 1982; Andreou and Ralli, 2012).

First, let us consider the language contact scenario according to which the presence of left-headed compounds could be the result of Italian influence on Italo-Greek. It has been voiced by Alessio (1953), for example, that the creation of the compound *xortanémi* in (19) was based on the Italian ‘erba di vento’. If we, however, accept the view that structural compatibility must be met in order to have transfer of a rule from one language to another (for factors promoting or inhibiting contact change see Field, 2002; Hickey, 2010), it cannot be argued that the Italian formation ‘erba di vento’ may have served as a model for the Greek left-headed compound *xortanémi* since the two formations are structurally incompatible. It is not even clear whether ‘erba di vento’ should count as a compound.

In my opinion, if one would like to pursue the idea that this phenomenon is the result of contact between Italian and Greek, one should not base his/her hypothesis on formations such as ‘erba di vento’ but on left-headed [N N] Italian compounds. Consider the following formations (for a detailed analysis of Italian compounding see Scalise, 1984, 1992):

- (20) [N N] Italian compounds
 ufficio viaggi ‘travel agency’
 scuola guida ‘driver school’

Observe that these formations are left-headed. The formation *ufficio viaggi*, for example, is a kind of *ufficio* and not a kind of *viaggi*. According to the language-interference hypothesis, such formations may have served as patterns for the creation of Greek left-headed compounds.

It should also be mentioned that Italian loanwords are attested in the compounds of the Greek dialects of Southern Italy. Consider the following formations which combine a Greek and a Romance morpheme:

- (21) *agroférudda* < agr- férudda (<it. ferula)
 ‘kind of ferule’ wild ferule

<i>animagadára</i>	<	<i>anima</i> (<it. anima)	<i>gadára</i>
		soul, human	mule

‘a half-woman half-mule fairy’			
largokéri	<	it. largo	ker(as)
		wide/broad	horn
‘animal with wide/broad horn’			
survomíti	<	sorv(ao) (it. sorbire)	mit(i)
		absorb/suck	nose
‘who sucks his nose all the time’			

Notice that there is no constraint on the position of these loanwords inside the compound since they can appear on both the head and the non-head position. The word *férudda* for example appears on the right (head)-position, whereas *largo* is the non-head in the compound *largokéri*.

It should be stressed, however, that despite the fact that Romance words from all major lexical categories, Nouns, Verbs, and Adjectives, participate in the creation of compounds, no incorporation of Italian compounds into Bovesè is attested. To put it bluntly, there are no Italian compound loanwords in Bovesè such as *scuola guida* on which a pattern for left-headed Greek compounds could be based.

In addition, in the case of left-headedness in Bovesè, it is not clear whether the typological make-up of Italian and Greek compounding argues for structural compatibility or structural incompatibility. A comparison between the Bovesè compound *xortanémi* ‘kind of grass’ and the Italian *ufficio viaggi* reveals the following: *xortanémi* is composed of two stems, namely *xort(o)* and *anem(o)*. On the contrary, the Italian *ufficio viaggi* consists of two full word forms. Another difference is that *xortanémi* is inflected at the right edge and its inflectional ending is different from that of the second constituent when the latter taken into isolation (compare the full word form *anem-o* to the compound *xortaném-i*), whereas the Italian *ufficio viaggi* allows for inflectional suffixes on both constituents even in the plural (i.e. *uffici viaggi*).

A number of other factors also argue against the proposal that left-headedness should be primarily considered as a contact-induced phenomenon. Consider for example the skepticism with respect to the direct transfer of morphosyntactic rules which is reflected in the hierarchy of borrowability of morphological elements (Field, 2002). Research has shown that the more bound an element is, the less possible it is to be chosen for transfer: the closer an element is to grammar the less likely it is to be borrowed. For example, loanwords are better candidates than derivational affixes for transfer and the latter are more likely to be borrowed than inflectional affixes. Information regarding grammatical settings (rules and constraints), such as the position of head, is highly unlikely to be transferred. Another argument against the language contact hypothesis is that formations such as *ufficio viaggi* are not as old as left-headed compounds such as *fiddámpelo* (Franco Fanciullo, p.c.). Therefore, they could not have triggered the phenomenon of left-headedness.

Finally, Thomason (2001) argues that a number of conditions should be met in order to prove that a rule has been transferred directly from a language to another without the mediation of lexical borrowings. Of particular interest are the following two conditions:

(a) Prove that the change in question is a true innovation and that it was not present in the recipient language before it came into contact with the proposed source language and

(b) consider any internal factor which could lead to the change in question.

These conditions show that it is particularly difficult to prove that a change in the structural make-up of a language is due to the direct transfer of a rule from a proposed donor language.

As far as left-headedness is concerned, a closer examination of the long attested history of Greek reveals that left-headed [N N] compounds are present in previous evolutionary stages. Consider the following examples of left-headed [N N] compounds from Classical and post-Classical Greek:

(22) θεόινος 'god of wine'	<	θεός god	οἶνος wine	<i>A.Fr.382</i>
καρποβάλσαμον 'the fruit of the balsam'	<	καρπός fruit	βάλσαμον balsam	<i>Gal.14.166</i>
κοκκόδαφνον 'laurel seed/berry'	<	κόκκος seed/berry	δάφνη laurel	<i>Paul.Aeg.3.28</i>
ξιφοδρέπανον 'sickle-shaped sword'	<	ξίφος sword	δρεπάνη sickle	<i>Ph.Bel.99.51</i>
ξύλοκάρπασον 'wood of flax'	<	ξύλον wood	κάρπασον flax	<i>Gal.19.738</i>

The analysis of these formations shows that they are head-initial. The compound *κοκκόδαφνον* 'laurel seed', for example, which is composed of *κόκκος* 'seed' and *δάφνη* 'laurel' is headed by its left-most element, *κόκκος*, since the whole compound is a kind of *κόκκος* (compare *κοκκόδαφνον* 'laurel seed' to the Bovesse *korkóššino* 'fruit of pistacia', which is also headed by the word *κόκκος*). The presence of the formations in (22) indicates that left-headed formations are already present in Classical and, mainly, Post-Classical Greek and that the presence of left-headed [N N] compounds in Italiot could very well be linked to these formations. In fact, words such as *fillámbelo* 'vine leaf' in Bovesse are quite old: *fillámbelo* appears in Liddell et al. (1968).

It should also be mentioned that left-headed compounds which are probably relics of a previous evolutionary stage, are attested in other Modern Greek dialects as well, though with not the same profitability. Words such as *rizáfti* are shared by (at least) Bovesse, Cypriot, the dialects spoken in Kos and Karpathos, and Pontic⁴.

To conclude, the interim conclusion of my ongoing research is that left-headedness should not be considered a primarily externally motivated phenomenon since a closer inspection of compounding in Greek reveals that left-headedness in Bovesse may very well be linked to the presence of head-initial compounds in previous evolutionary stages of Greek. In addition, remnants of this Classical and Post-Classical phenomenon are also found in the peripheral Greek dialects such as Cypriot.

⁴ In Pontic we find the word *rizótin* which uses the form *otíon* instead of *aftí*.

7 Conclusions

The aim of this study was to offer a rigorous descriptive analysis of the morphological process of compounding in the Greek dialects of Southern Italy. In more detail, in Section 2 I presented the definition and the basic characteristics of Greek compounds and in Section 3 I offered a classification of compounds in the Greek dialects of Southern Italy based on the lexical category of the compound structure and the lexical category of the compound members. In Section 4, based on the grammatical relation between the compound members, I offered a classification of Italiot compounds into subordinate, attributive, and coordinate, and in Section 5 I addressed the endocentricity-exocentricity distinction in compounds. In Section 6, I commented on the phenomenon of left-headedness in Bovesese and I argued that a number of reasons militate against the proposal that left-headedness should be considered a language-interference phenomenon. This phenomenon in Italiot and particularly in Bovesese, however, and the presence of left-headedness in other Greek dialects and previous evolutionary stages of Greek certainly merit further investigation.

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

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

1 The Phenomenon

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 Synchronic Account

2.1 Q-Marker in Present-day Cappadocian: Misthiotica

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2 Q-Marker in Turkish

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hence the refined version of (11):

- (13) (AT-LAR-1 mi) Hasan (AT-LAR-1 mi) kasaba-da (AT-LAR-1 mi) sat-ti-Ø (*AT-LAR-1 mi)?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

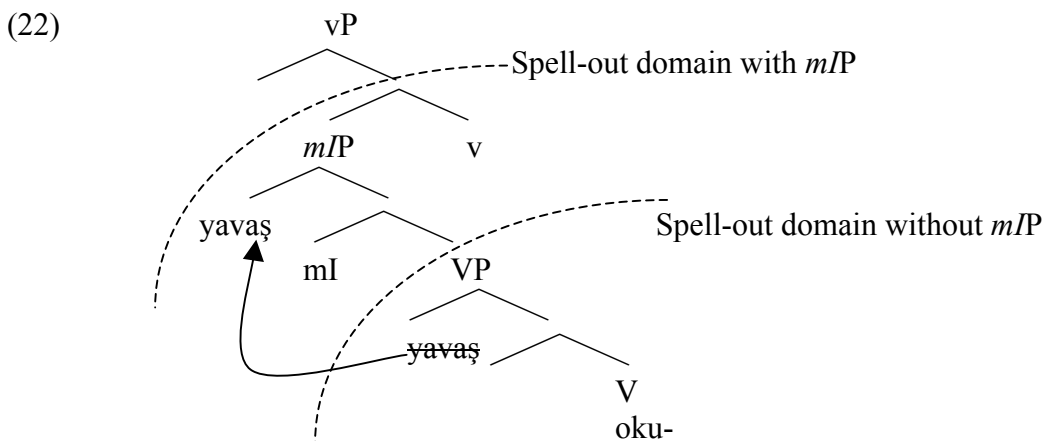
Thirdly, low adverbs (non-derived adverbs) (cf. Erguvanlı-Taylan, 1984) which receive sentence accent (Üntak-Tarhan, 2006) are also default Q-marker hosts (Kamali, 2011: 2) This is witnessed by the wide focus reading present in (20a) but not in (20b):

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

3 Diachrony and Micro-Variation

3.1 Micro-Variation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This is also the case in Turkish:

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

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

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

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

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

3.2 Diachrony

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 Conclusions

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

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CONSERVATIVE AND INNOVATIVE TENDENCIES IN GRIKO INFINITIVE COMPLEMENTS*

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In this paper Griko infinitive complements are compared to those in the Romance dialects of Southern Italy and in Medieval Greek, in order to give a general outline of diatopic and diachronic variation. New data about the contexts of occurrence of infinitive complements in Griko are presented. The second purpose, which deals with a wider topic, is to suggest a possible line of investigation about a well-known and well-described phenomenon, namely, the replacement of infinitive in the Balkan languages. An analysis in terms of restructuring is proposed in order to account for cross-linguistic correspondences in the retention of infinitive.

1 Introduction

Peripheral dialects of standard languages are often considered as a source of information about past stages of the evolution of those languages. That is indeed correct, provided that we take into account the fact that those dialects, once cut off from the main language, often do not develop as totally isolated ones, but rather in contact with other languages. The case of Griko is emblematic. As its origins from Ancient or Medieval Greek has been a controversial issue for many years, many of its features were analyzed as conservative ones, not sufficiently taking into account the possibility of results of the long term contact with neighboring Romance dialects. As I try to show for the case of infinitive retention, below the surface of a conservative feature often instances of innovative tendencies possibly due to language contact can be observed.

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This paper is organized as follows: the first section gives a general outline of the contexts of occurrence of infinitive complements in Griko, presenting new data which are notably different from those usually mentioned in literature. Griko infinitives are compared with those in the other languages of Southern Italy, namely Calabrian Greek and two Romance dialects which share the Balkan phenomenon of infinitive replacement (southern Calabrian and Salentino). In the second section a possible line of investigation is suggested as an account for infinitive replacement, based on the hypothesis that all restructuring predicates retaining infinitive complements are functional heads (Cinque, 2004).

1.1 Griko linguistic data

Linguistic data of Griko used in this research are based on three different sources:

1. Data from the Syntactic Atlas of Italy of the University of Padua. These data were collected by means of questionnaires and fieldwork in 2001.
2. Data from the speech corpus of the Laboratory of Modern Greek Dialects of the Department of Philology of the University of Patras (LMGD).
3. Data collected during two periods of fieldwork led in 2011 in three Griko-speaking villages in Puglia, Italy (Calimera, Sternatia and Castrignano de' Greci).

2 Contexts of retention of infinitive complements

2.1 Griko

As it is known from literature, Modern Greek has lost the infinitive and replaced it with *na*-complements. Italiot and Pontic¹ Greek are the only peripheral Modern Greek dialects which have retained infinitive as a productive verb form, even though in very limited contexts.

Griko deploys infinitive as a complement of the verbs *sòzzo* 'I can' (1) and *spiccèò* 'I finish' (2).

(1) *Sòzzome* *polemìsi* *òle* *tes* *emère*
 can-1PL work-INF all-ACC.PL. the-ACC.PL. days
 "We can work every day"

(2) *Spiccetsa* *tse* *polemìsi* *stes* *ètse*
 finish-1SG.PST of work-INF at six
 "I finished working at six"

Infinitive is obligatory after the verb *sòzzo*, while after *spiccèò* a *na*-complement is available as well (3).

¹ See Mackdrige, 1996.

- (3) *Spiccetsa* *na* *polemiso*² *stes* *ètse*
 finish-1SG.PST COMP at-PRS.PFV at six

As seen in (2), the infinitive complements of the verb *spiccèò* are introduced by the prepositional complementizer (*a*)*tse*. Reasonably, this is to be considered as a loan translation from Salentino, which shows the same pattern of prepositional infinitive with the equivalent predicate *spicciare*.

- (4) *Aggiu* *spicciatu* *te* *faticare* (Salentino)
 Have-1SG.AUX finished-PTCP to work-INF
 “I have finished working”

Moreover, *spiccèò* is the only aspectual predicate selecting an infinitive in Griko. Other aspectual verbs such as ‘I continue’, ‘I start’ etc. can select only *na*-complements.

- (5) *kulusa* *n-i* *fonaso* *risso-pu* *en* *èttase*
 Continue-1SG.PST COMP-her call-1SG until-COMP NEG arrive-3SG.PST
 “I went on calling her until she arrived”

- (6) *ntsignume* *na* *polemosome* *stes* *ennea* (Calimera)
 Start-1PL COMP work-1PL at nine
 “We start working at nine”

Whenever *sòzzo* gets interpreted with a capacity reading, its selection requires a *na*-complement rather than an infinitive. In this case the meaning of the modal verb is slightly different, since as it means ‘I don’t have the strength to’ (7).

- (7) *en* *sòzzo* *na* *pao* (Castrignano)
 NEG can-1SG COMP go-1SG
 ‘I don’t have the strength to go’

The data presented here are notably different from those usually mentioned about Griko, where the contexts of occurrence of infinitive complements in Griko are supposed to be slightly wider. More specifically, two of the contexts of retention of infinitive in Griko which were mentioned by Gerhard Rohlfs in his grammar of Italiot Greek, i.e. after perceptive and causative verbs, are not available according to our data (Rohlfs, 2001). Perceptive and causative predicates only select *na*-complements, as in (8) and (9), at least in the area I considered during my fieldwork. It is also highly probable that the same process has been completed also in the rest of the Griko area.

- (8) a. *On itane* *na’ rti* *fèonta* (Calimera)
 Him see-3PL.PST COMP come-1SG running-PTCP

² Note that the perfective non-past (PNP) is the only available dependent tense in Griko, even as complement of aspectual predicates such as ‘I finish’. As a matter of fact, there is no aspectual opposition (perfective vs. imperfective) in any Griko *na*-complement.

- b. **on itane èrti fèonta*
 Him see-3PL.PST come-INF running-PTCP
 “They saw him come running”
- (9) *o Màssimo mas kànni na jelàsome* (LMGD)
 the Massimo us-ACC make-3SG COMP laugh-1PL
 “Massimo makes us laugh”

Since Rohlfs’s collection dates back to the beginning of 20th century, it is therefore reasonable to suppose that the language has changed following the path of infinitive replacement. However, the fact that infinitive after causative and perceptive predicates is in Griko hardly ever documented elsewhere leads us to consider more appropriate not to include those two predicates in the contexts of retention of infinitive in Griko.

2.2 Southern Italy

Nevertheless, the set of predicates selecting an infinitive complement is wider in Calabrian Greek and in two Romance dialects of Southern Italy which share the phenomenon of replacement of infinitive, namely, Salentino and southern Calabrian, and it includes precisely those two predicates that we have excluded in today’s Griko, i.e. causatives and perceptives.

The Modal predicate ‘I can’ requires infinitive in southern Calabrian (10), Salentino (11) and Calabrian Greek (12).

- (10) *u pozzu hara* (Chillà 2011: 35)
 it.ACC can-1SG do-INF.
 “I can do it”
- (11) *la Maria pote inire* (Calabrese 1995: 30)
 the Maria can-3SG come-INF
 “Mary can come”
- (12) *mu to sonnise ferì avri* (Remberger 2011: 22)
 me.GEN it-1.Acc. can-2SG bring-INF tomorrow
 “You can bring it to me tomorrow”

Note that Calabrian Greek has infinitive also after the ability modal *scèro* ‘(lit.) I know, I am able to’.

- (13) *eyo en iscera blatessi taliano* (Katsoyannou 1992:457)
 I-NOM NEG can-1SG.PST speak-INF Italian
 “I couldn’t speak Italian”

Moreover, Salentino and a large part of Calabrian dialects employ infinitive after all aspectual verbs and as complement of predicates of deontic modality, causative and perception verbs.

- (14) *lu aggiu ncignatu a ffare* (Calabrese 1995: 30)
 cl.Acc. have-1sg. start-part. a do-inf.
 “I have started to do it”

As seen in (7), when a *na*-complement after the predicate ‘I can’ is attested, the meaning of the matrix verb is not a root modal. The same phenomenon can be found in southern Calabrian (15-16).

(15) *Porria mu chiovi!* (Trumper-Rizzi 1985: 70)
 Can COMP rain-3SG
 “Could it rain!”

(16) *pozzu u l-a cercu sa cosa secundu tia?* (Chillà 2011: 36)
 Can-1SG PRT him-it ask-1SG this thing according to you
 “Do you think I can ask him this question?”

Note that the verb *potere* ‘I can’ in (15) and (16) has to be analyzed as two different predicates: (15) has an optative meaning and actually it is not a modal predicate, while (16) is a permission modal predicate.

To conclude, the degree of replacement of the infinitive in Southern Italy is not uniform. The set of predicates selecting an infinitive is wider in Salentino, Calabrian Greek and Southern Calabrian than in Griko. Griko actually has infinitive only after the verbs ‘I can’ and ‘I finish’. The semantic value of the modal verb seems to play a role in the type of complement (finite/infinitive) selected by the matrix verb in Griko and southern Calabrian dialects.

2.3 Medieval Greek

Since Griko infinitive is usually considered as a prosecution of Medieval Greek infinitive, let us briefly report the contexts of occurrence of infinitive complements attested in Medieval texts (Joseph, 1983; Mackridge, 1996; Horrocks, 1997).

Infinitive is still a living category in Medieval Greek, although in very limited contexts. In particular, infinitive complements can be found in (Later) Medieval texts after the following predicates:

1. Modal *(ἦ)μπορῶ* ‘I can’. Competition with *na*-complements is also attested, with a preference of infinitive to be found when the matrix verb is negative (Mackridge, 1996).
2. Volitional *θέλω* as a future auxiliary and *ἤθελα* as a counterfactual one. A possible competition with *na*-complements is a vexed question (Joseph and Pappas, 2002).
3. Auxiliary *ἔχω* ‘have’ at the imperfect tense as a counterfactual. Perfect is a subsequent formation.

Sporadic use of infinitive is documented also after the following predicates:

4. Aspectual *ἀρχίζω/ἄρχω* ‘I start’;
5. *τολμῶ* and *θαρρῶ* ‘I dare’.

Actually, the only context of retention of the infinitive in Griko which can be considered a prosecution of Medieval Greek is after the modal ‘I can’. The other context of occurrence usually supposed to be a conservative feature of Griko, i.e. after aspectual predicates, is better analyzed as an innovation due to the language contact with Romance dialects. Predicates, though both aspectual, do not coincide (Griko ‘I finish’ vs. Medieval Greek ‘I start’) and the pattern of

complementation of Griko *spiccèo* shows that it has to be considered as a loan translation from Salentino.

2.4 Clitic climbing

Griko infinitive complements are closely similar to those in Salentino and southern Calabrian dialects in terms of obligatory clitic climbing. In Griko, the only correct grammatical placement of the clitic is preceding the matrix verb, not separating the matrix verb and the infinitive, nor following the infinitive.

(17) a. *sa sozzane insultètsi* (LMGD)
You-ACC can-3PL.PST insult-INF

b. *sozzane (*sa) insultetsi (*sa)*

“They could insult you”

The same pattern is shared by Southern Italy dialects (Salentino and Calabrese), which display obligatory clitic climbing.

(18) *lu pottsu (*lu) kkattare (*lu) krai* (Calabrese, 1995: 30)
it-ACC can-1SG take-INF tomorrow
“I can take it tomorrow”

Obligatoriness of clitic climbing is not found in Medieval Greek infinitives, where clitics can be found either before the matrix verb (19) and between the matrix predicate and infinitive complement (20).

(19) *ἄν σε εἶχαν εὔρει* (Digenis Akritas, 141)
If you-ACC had-3PL.PST find-INF
‘If they found you’

(20) *οὐκ ἔμποροῦν τήν εὔρειν* (Digenis Akritas, 124)
NEG can-3PL.PST her-ACC find-INF
‘They couldn’t find her’

However, an instance of clitic climbing can be found in SMG too, in the only form of ‘fossilized’ infinitive that has been preserved, i.e. the non-finite verb form in the Perfect tense, which diachronically is an infinitive (21).

(21) *to εχο γρapsi*
It-ACC have-1SG write-INF/PTCP
‘I have written it’

Griko infinitive pattern can to be directly compared to Salentino rather than to Medieval Greek. However, if a tendency for clitic climbing with auxiliaries could actually be found in the last

instances of Greek infinitives, we were probably dealing with the reinforcement of a conservative tendency by contact with Romance dialects.

3 Restructuring and infinitive retention

The replacement of infinitive with finite complements introduced by a special complementizer is one of the most important features of the Balkan *Sprachbund*. In Greek, Romanian and Balkan Slavic a gradual process of reduction of the contexts of occurrence of infinitive is diachronically documented (Joseph, 1983). In some languages (Modern Greek and Macedonian) this process led to a total replacement of the infinitive complements with finite ones; in Bulgarian the replacement is almost total, with infinitive used in very limited contexts (after ‘I can’ and after negative imperative *nedej*), while in Rumanian and Serbo-Croatian this replacement is subject to a spatial variation, with infinitive used in wider contexts in peripheral varieties and dialects rather than in the standard language.

A remarkable spatial and diachronic correspondence can be observed between the synchronic contexts of retention of infinitive and the predicates which tend to retain infinitive more (Cristofaro, 1998). In the Balkan languages, predicates which retain infinitive more are basically the root modal ‘I can’ and volitional predicates as future auxiliaries. Moreover, infinitive is attested more after the aspectual predicate ‘I start’ and, in Balkan Slavic, after ‘I dare’ and predicates of deontic modality (Joseph, 1983; Tomić, 2004).

Predicates retaining the infinitive belong to three main categories: auxiliaries (future, counterfactual and perfect), modals (root modal and deontic) and aspectuals. Additionally, perceptive and causatives can resist longer to the loss of infinitive as well, as in Southern Italy. All those predicates share a common property: they are restructuring predicates.

However, it is not the case that all the predicates that retain infinitive are restructuring predicates. For example, the Bulgarian root modal ‘I can’ (22) does not allow clitic climbing even in the presence of selected infinitive.³

- (22) *ne možeš go nameri* (Tomić 2004: 288)
 NEG can-2PL him-ACC find-INF
 ‘You can’t find him’

In other words, the phenomenon of infinitive retention concerns restructuring predicates, but not in restructuring contexts (in the sense of Rizzi, 1976) since transparency effects are not shown in Balkan infinitives.

A possible account comes out if we follow the hypothesis in Cinque (2004): restructuring verbs are always functional, appearing in a monoclausal configuration with their infinitival complements whether or not they show transparency effects. The verbs that enter a restructuring construction correspond to distinct heads of a hierarchy of functional projections (23).

- (23) MoodP speech act > MoodP evaluative > MoodP evidential > ModP
 epistemic > TP (Past) > TP (Future) > MoodP irrealis > ModP alethic

³ The only possible configuration of clitic climbing in Bulgarian is with the embedded verb when not introduced by the particle *da*, as it is sometimes found in dialects (Sobolev, 2004: 75).

> AspP habitual > AspP repetitive (1) > AspP frequentative (1) > ModP volition > AspP celerative (1) > TP (Anterior) > AspP terminative > AspP continuative > AspP retrospective > AspP proximative > AspP durative > AspP generic/progressive > AspP prospective > ModP obligation > ModP permission/ability > AspP completive > VoiceP > AspP celerative (2) > AspP repetitive (2) > AspP frequentative (2).

Therefore, the replacement of the infinitive by a finite form should not be analyzed as the loss of a morphological or syntactic category of ‘infinitive’, but it can be accounted for as a process in which functional heads are gradually no longer lexicalized by verbs. Crucially, this ‘graduality’ of infinitive replacement, which in some languages such as Modern Greek eventually affects all the predicates, shows that we have to focus on the matrix predicates rather than on the infinitive itself. If we assume that the category which is replaced is not the infinitive but that one lexicalized by the matrix predicates, this ‘graduality’ of replacement is straightforward. Otherwise, the replacement of the infinitive would not be a gradual process, or in any case it would be hard to explain those cross-linguistic correspondences.

The hierarchy of syntactic projections can suggest an account for the linguistic situation in Southern Italy and for the replacement of infinitive, since it establishes a set of predicates not only based on the type of predicate selecting for a complement (i.e. aspectual, modal etc.), but also on their fine meaning. The differentiation of complementation (finite vs. infinitive) that was found in Griko and in southern Calabrian can be explained assuming that in those cases we are not dealing with the lexicalization of modal heads (15) or we are dealing with verbs whose fine meaning in that specific language is not lexicalized (anymore) by restructuring heads (16).

Following this line of investigation, the next aim is trying to account for the individual steps of the process of replacement of the infinitive, i.e. ascertaining whether this hierarchy of syntactic projections can shed light on infinitive replacement from a diachronic point of view as well.

However, as Griko infinitive shows, when we deal with Balkan phenomena, language contact can never be left out. The case of Griko infinitive after *spiccèò* ‘to finish’ suggests that every diachronic hierarchy we try to establish can be subject to exceptions due to unexpected and unpredictable factors.

4 Conclusions

Griko, as a peripheral dialect, is often considered as a source of information about past stages of the history of Greek language. That is indeed only partially correct, as the case of infinitive shows. Griko infinitive is usually considered as the prosecution of Medieval Greek infinitive, according to the opinion that they both feature infinitive after root modal and aspectual predicates. However, the aspectual predicates after which an infinitive is attested in Medieval Greek and in Griko do not coincide. Griko infinitive after ‘I finish’ has to be considered a loan translation from Salentino rather than a conservative property.

The process of replacement of infinitive by finite complements in Greek shows some striking similarities with the other Balkan languages, in that the predicate ‘be able’, alongside the future and the counterfactual auxiliaries are the last ones to still require an infinitive, even though it has become obsolete long ago elsewhere. As a possible line of investigation, I tried to account for

this spatial and diachronic parallelism assuming that the reason lies in the phenomenon of ‘restructuring’, even though clitic climbing is not involved in all Medieval Greek infinitive complements. Following Cinque (2004), the predicates that enter a restructuring configuration correspond to distinct heads of a hierarchy of functional projections: restructuring verbs are always functional, appearing in a monoclausal configuration with their infinitival complements, irrespective of whether or not they show transparency effects. Therefore, the replacement of the infinitive by a finite form can be accounted for as a process in which the respective functional heads are no longer lexicalized by verbs.

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ΕΝΔΟΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΙΚΗ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΟΠΟΙΗΣΗ ΣΤΑ ΙΔΙΩΜΑΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΙΑΣ

ΣΤΑΜΑΤΗΣ ΜΠΕΗΣ

ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑ ΚΑΤΣΟΥΔΑ

Κέντρον Ερεύνης των Νεοελληνικών Διαλέκτων και Ιδιωμάτων-Ακαδημία Αθηνών

In our paper, we have tried to identify key linguistic phenomena in most Thessalian dialects in order to confirm the existence of intradialectal differences in Thessaly by using specific phonological, morphological and syntactic criteria. These phenomena, considered as isoglosses are: a) the prenasalic or not voiced realisation of the voiced stops b) the presence of the allomorphs /i/ or /u/ of the definitive article in the nominative masculine c) the presence of specific nominal forms in the genitive plural and d) the use of the accusative or the genitive case to express the indirect object. This work is a first attempt towards the classification of the main dialectal groups of Thessaly and the results of this study can be useful in the overall study of modern Greek dialects.

1 Πρόλογος-Δομή της εργασίας

Τα θεσσαλικά ιδιώματα ανήκουν στη μεγάλη κατηγορία των βόρειων ελληνικών ιδιωμάτων που παρουσιάζουν πολλά κοινά μεταξύ τους τόσο στο μορφολογικό όσο και στο φωνολογικό επίπεδο. Δύσκολα, ωστόσο μπορεί κανείς να διαφοροποιήσει με γλωσσικά κριτήρια τα θεσσαλικά ιδιώματα από τα αντίστοιχα μακεδονικά, ηπειρώτικα και στερεοελλαδίτικα. Ουσιαστικά, ο όρος βόρεια ιδιώματα αναφέρεται σ' ένα γλωσσικό συνεχές (*continuum*), στο οποίο είναι δύσκολο να εντοπιστούν ποια είναι τα θεσσαλικά ιδιώματα με σαφή γλωσσικά κριτήρια. Γι' αυτό επιλέξαμε να ασχοληθούμε βάσει γεωγραφικών κριτηρίων μόνο με εκείνα τα ιδιώματα που ομιλούνται εντός των διοικητικών ορίων της Περιφέρειας Θεσσαλίας.

Στις μέχρι σήμερα πολύ λίγες μονογραφίες για τα θεσσαλικά ιδιώματα (βλ. ενδεικτικώς Τζάρτζανος, 1909, Λιάπης 1996, Μπασλής, 2010, 2011) δεν υπάρχουν πληροφορίες σχετικά με τις κατά τόπους γλωσσικές διαφορές. Στόχος της παρουσίασης αυτής είναι να καλύψουμε –στο μέτρο του δυνατού– αυτό το βιβλιογραφικό κενό, εντοπίζοντας τις σημαντικότερες διαφορές μεταξύ των ιδιωμάτων του θεσσαλικού χώρου με την αξιοποίηση τόσο φωνητικών όσο και μορφολογικών *ισογλώσσων*, τα οποία θα επιχειρήσουμε να καθορίσουμε ως προς τη γλωσσολογική τους βαρύτητα, δηλαδή να διακρίνουμε τα φαινόμενα των οποίων η παρουσία

στα εν λόγω ιδιώματα παρουσιάζει διακύμανση κατά τόπους. Με βάση τα φαινόμενα αυτά, θα προσπαθήσουμε να προβούμε στην κατάταξη των βασικότερων ομάδων των θεσσαλικών ιδιωμάτων.

Η αναζήτηση των σημαντικότερων διαφοροποιητικών φαινομένων στηρίχτηκε α) στην υπάρχουσα όχι ιδιαίτερα πλούσια βιβλιογραφία για τα θεσσαλικά ιδιώματα (λεξικά, γλωσσάρια και γραμματικές), β) στα χειρόγραφα του KENΔΙ-ΙΑΝΕ¹ που καλύπτουν μεγάλο μέρος του θεσσαλικού χώρου αλλά όχι το σύνολο του και γ) σε προσωπική επιτόπια γλωσσική έρευνα που διεξήχθη το 2005 σε χωριά της επαρχίας Λαρίσης (Άγιοι Ανάργυροι, Μεσοράχη, Αμπελώνας, Γιάννουλη) και στο χωριό Ζάρκο της επαρχίας Τρικάλων.

Ως προς τη δομή, θα παρουσιάσουμε α) τα φαινόμενα που εξετάσαμε αλλά δεν μπορούν να αξιοποιηθούν ως διαφοροποιητικά κριτήρια *διαλεκτικών ομάδων*, β) τα φαινόμενα εκείνα που μπορούν να λειτουργήσουν ως *ισόγλωσσα* και γ) τα ιδιώματα που διακρίνονται βάσει περισσότερων των δυο ισογλώσσων και τα οποία μπορούν να αποτελέσουν διαλεκτικές ομάδες.

Σημειώνουμε ότι η προσπάθειά μας αποτελεί μια πρώτη καταγραφή ορισμένων βασικών γλωσσικών φαινομένων που διαφοροποιούν το μεγαλύτερο ίσως τμήμα των θεσσαλικών ιδιωμάτων. Τα εμπόδια που αντιμετωπίσαμε είναι α) ο περιορισμένος αριθμός γλωσσικών δεδομένων που εμφανίζεται με την εξής μορφή 1) λιγιστές οι μελέτες που έχουν εκδοθεί για τα θεσσαλικά ιδιώματα, 2) παντελής έλλειψη πηγών για μεγάλες περιοχές της Θεσσαλίας (π.χ. η πεδινή περιοχή της επαρχίας Τρικάλων), β) η μη συστηματική σήμανση των φαινομένων τόσο στις γλωσσικές πηγές όσο και στα χειρόγραφα. Ωστόσο, ευελπιστούμε ότι η προσπάθειά μας θα αποτελέσει αφετηρία για περαιτέρω πιο εξειδικευμένη έρευνα που θα αφορά συγκεκριμένες ομάδες των θεσσαλικών ιδιωμάτων.

2 Βασικοί όροι

Βασικές έννοιες στην παρούσα εργασία αποτελούν το *ισόγλωσσο*, η *δέσμη ισογλώσσων* και η *διαλεκτική ομάδα*.

Ισόγλωσσο είναι η γραμμή που χαράζεται σ' ένα χάρτη για να σημειωθεί το όριο μιας περιοχής στην οποία εμφανίζεται ένα συγκεκριμένο γλωσσικό φαινόμενο (Chambers και Trudgill, 1980: 103 κ.εξ.). *Δέσμη ισογλώσσων* (bundle) αποτελεί μια ομάδα ισογλώσσων που συνεμφανίζονται στην ίδια γεωγραφική ζώνη, καθιστώντας διακριτή κάποια ομάδα ιδιωμάτων που θα μπορούσαν να χαρακτηριστούν *διαλεκτική περιοχή* (Chambers και Trudgill, 1980: 109).

Το θεωρητικό πλαίσιο μελέτης των ενδοδιαλεκτικών διαφοροποιήσεων απαιτεί τον προσδιορισμό των βασικών χαρακτηριστικών που έχει το συμβατικά θεωρημένο πρότυπο σύστημα σύγκλισης της διαλεκτικής ποικιλίας, βάσει του οποίου καθορίζεται και η διαλεκτική απόκλιση (Μπασέα-Μπεζαντάκου 2008: 269). Στην περίπτωση των θεσσαλικών ιδιωμάτων, που δεν μπορεί να τα διακρίνουμε με σαφή γλωσσικά κριτήρια, θεωρήσαμε ότι το συμβατικά θεωρημένο πρότυπο σύγκλισης τους αποτελείται από τα βασικά χαρακτηριστικά των βορείων νεοελληνικών ιδιωμάτων.

¹ Βλ. τα Χειρόγραφα στη Βιβλιογραφία.

3 Φαινόμενα που δεν αποτελούν κριτήρια διαφοροποίησης των θεσσαλικών ιδιωμάτων

Όλα τα φαινόμενα –φωνητικά, μορφολογικά και συντακτικά– που εξετάσαμε, αφορούν τα πιο σημαντικά κοινά χαρακτηριστικά που συναντώνται στη μεγάλη κατηγορία των νεοελληνικών βόρειων ιδιωμάτων όπου ανήκουν και τα θεσσαλικά. Ωστόσο, δεν ήταν δυνατόν να χρησιμοποιηθούν όλα αδιακρίτως ως κριτήρια ενδοδιαλεκτικής διαφοροποίησης.

Το κριτήριο της στένωσης των άτονων πρόσθιων φωνηέντων /e/, /o/ και της κλειστής τους προφοράς ως [i] και [u], το οποίο αποτελεί βασικό ισόγλωσσο που διακρίνει τα βόρεια με τα νότια ελληνικά ιδιώματα (Hatzidakis, 1892: 342- 343), δεν εξετάστηκε, γιατί συναντάται σε όλα τα θεσσαλικά ιδιώματα. Δεν υπάρχει ούτε μία νησίδα όπου δεν απαντά το φαινόμενο, σε αντίθεση με τη Μακεδονία λόγω χάριν όπου στην πόλη της Καστοριάς δεν απαντά το φαινόμενο της στένωσης (Κοντοσόπουλος, 2008³: 111).

Αναλόγως, φαινόμενα, τα οποία εξετάσαμε, αλλά δεν μπορούν να αποτελέσουν κριτήρια ενδοδιαλεκτικής διαφοροποίησης είναι τα ακόλουθα:

α) η αποβολή του τελικού [-i] που εναλλάσσεται με την παρουσία του τελικού άτονου ημιφώνου [ʔ] π.χ.

(1) α. *κιούπ'* [cúr]

β. *κιούπ'* [cúrʔ]

β) η παρουσία των ουρανικών συμφώνων [ʎ] και [ɲ] πριν από το [i] *ουρανικά* π.χ.:

(2) *λίγου* [líɣu]

(3) *Νίκους* [níkus]

Τα δύο παραπάνω φαινόμενα δεν μπορούν να αποτελέσουν κριτήρια ενδο-διαλεκτικής διαφοροποίησης, γιατί δεν διαπιστώσαμε συστηματικότητα και κανονικότητα στη χρήση τους και δεν παρουσιάζουν κανονική ενδοδιαλεκτική γλωσσογεωγραφική κατανομή (Μπασέα-Μπεζαντάκου 2008: 269). Και αυτό γιατί το κριτήριο της αποβολής του τελικού [-i] παρουσιάζει μεγάλη διακύμανση στο ίδιο ιδίωμα και πολλές φορές στον ίδιο ομιλητή, στις περισσότερες από τις πηγές που εξετάσαμε, ενώ συνήθως δεν σημειώνεται το <-ʔ> με ιδιαίτερο σύμβολο από τους περισσότερους ερευνητές. Αντιθέτως, το φαινόμενο της παρουσίας των ουρανικών συμφώνων [ʎ] και [ɲ] πριν από το [i] παρουσιάζεται σε όλα τα θεσσαλικά ιδιώματα που εξετάσαμε, αποδεικνύοντας πιθανότατα την καθολική ισχύ του. Διαπιστώσαμε ότι καθολική ισχύ στα θεσσαλικά ιδιώματα, έχει πιθανότατα και το φαινόμενο της μη ουρανικής πραγμάτωσης [l] και [ɲ] όταν ακολουθεί το δευτερογενές [-i] που προέρχεται από /-e/ π.χ.: *νιρό* [niró] (< νερό) κι όχι [niɲó].

4 Φαινόμενα ενδοδιαλεκτικής διαφοροποίησης με διακύμανση

Με τον όρο φαινόμενα ενδοδιαλεκτικής διαφοροποίησης με διακύμανση εννοούμε εκείνα τα φαινόμενα που διαφοροποιούν γλωσσικές περιοχές α) με την παρουσία τους, β) την απουσία τους και γ) την παράλληλη εμφάνισή τους (Chambers και Trudgill, 1980: 103-109).

Δύο τέτοια φαινόμενα, που αποτελούν ισόγλωσσα για τα θεσσαλικά ιδιώματα είναι τα εξής:

α) η αλλομορφία του αρσενικού άρθρου στην ονομ. εν. ως /i/ ή ως /u/ π.χ.: *η τοίχους* ή *ου τοίχους*, *ο Γιάν'ς* ή *ου Γιάν'ς* και

β) η προφορά των συμπλεγμάτων <μπ>, <ντ>, <γκ, γγ> ως απερρινοποιημένων [b], [d], [g] ή ως έρρινων [mb], [nd], [ng] στο εσωτερικό της λέξης σε μεσοφωνηεντική θέση π.χ. [abéL] ή [ambéL] ή σε θέση πριν από σύμφωνο [ádras] ή [ándras] και η συμπροφορά τελικού <ν> με αρχικό <κ, π, τ>, π.χ. [ti bórtá] ή [ti mbórtá].

Παρακάτω, θα παρουσιάσουμε πρώτα την αλλομορφία του αρσενικού άρθρου, γιατί παρουσιάζει μεγαλύτερη απόδοση ως ενδοδιαλεκτικό διαφοροποιητικό στοιχείο.

4.1 Η αλλομορφία του αρσενικού άρθρου

Σύμφωνα με τους Chambers και Trudgill (1980: 114) μια κατηγορία ισόγλωσσων είναι τα *γραμματικά ισόγλωσσα* (grammatical isoglosses) που με τη σειρά τους υποκατηγοριοποιούνται στα *μορφολογικά* και *συντακτικά* ισόγλωσσα. Ειδικότερα τα μορφολογικά ισόγλωσσα περιλαμβάνουν τις διαφορές στο παράδειγμα, την κλίση και την παραγωγή.

Η αλλομορφία, λοιπόν, του αρσενικού άρθρου διαφοροποιεί το κλιτικό παράδειγμα του άρθρου στα κατά τύπους θεσσαλικά ιδιώματα και αποτελεί *γραμματικό μορφολογικό ισόγλωσσο*, βάσει του οποίου μπορούμε να διακρίνουμε τρεις μεγάλες ομάδες ιδιωμάτων:

α) την ομάδα στην οποία το αρσενικό άρθρο παρουσιάζει αποκλειστικά τη μορφή /u/:

(4) *ου κέδρους* ' (Αργιθέα)

(5) *ου Μάης* (Δρακόπετρα)

(6) *ου λύκους* (Νεράϊδα Αγράφων)

(7) *ου Σταματάκ'ς* (Αλόνησος)

(8) *ου σκύλου* (Αλόνησος)

(9) *ου γιός* (Σκόπελος)

Η ομάδα αυτή περιλαμβάνει περιφερειακές ζώνες που καλύπτουν μεγάλο μέρος της Θεσσαλίας και συγκεκριμένα τη δυτικότερη περιοχή που περιλαμβάνει:

ι) την περιοχή της θεσσαλικής Πίνδου, το δυτικό τμήμα των νομών Τρικάλων και Καρδίτσας και πιο συγκεκριμένα

- την περιοχή Αργιθέας (Αργιθέα, Οξυά, Δρακόπετρα, Μουζάκι, Κρυοπηγή)

- την περιοχή των Αγράφων (Νεράϊδα, Βλάσι, Αμάραντος, Μεσοβούνι)

- τα χωριά Παλαμάς και Σοφάδες Καρδίτσας,

-τα χωριά Χασίων Καλαμπάκας (Κακοπλεύρι, Σταγιαδες, Οξύνεια)

-την περιοχή Κόζιακα Τρικάλων (Πύλη, Πιάλεια, Νεραϊδοχώρι, Στουρναρέϊκα, Πετροχώρι) και

ii) το πιο ανατολικό τμήμα της Θεσσαλίας, δηλαδή τα νησιά των Βορείων Σποράδων: (Σκιάθος, Σκόπελος και Αλόνησος). Παρατηρούμε ότι το ισόγλωσσο αυτό χαρακτηρίζει γεωγραφικώς εκείνες τις περιοχές που βρίσκονται στα ανατολικό και δυτικό άκρο της Θεσσαλίας.

β) την ομάδα στην οποία το αρσενικό άρθρο παίρνει τη μορφή /i/: π.χ.

(10) *ι γιλαδάρ* 'ς (Ανατολή Αγιάς, περιφέρειας Λάρισας)

(11) *ι βουριάς* (Τύρναβος)

(12) *ι αφέντ* 'ς (Πήλιο)

(13) *ι Κώστας* (Αλμυρός)

(14) *ι λάκκους* (Κρασιά Ολύμπου)

(15) *ι Βασίλ* 'ς (Ζάρκο)

Η διαλεκτική αυτή ομάδα περιλαμβάνει μεγάλο τμήμα της Κεντρικής και Ανατολικής Θεσσαλίας:

-το νομό της Μαγνησίας εκτός των Βορείων Σποράδων, την περιοχή γύρω από τη Λάρισα και το Τύρναβο που περιλαμβάνει τα χωριά Βερδικούσα, Βελανίδια, Βλαχογιάννι, το ανατολικό τμήμα του νομού Τρικάλων (Φαρκαδόνα, Ζάρκο) που περιλαμβάνει την περιοχή των Αντιχασίων (Φλαμπουρές, Φωτεινό, Γερακάρι, Μαυρέλι και Λογγά).

γ) την ομάδα στην οποία το αρσενικό άρθρο παίρνει και τις δύο μορφές /i/ και /u/. Η περιοχή αυτή περιλαμβάνει το μεγαλύτερο τμήμα της Θεσσαλίας, το μεγαλύτερο τμήμα των νομών Τρικάλων, Καρδίτσας, και Λαρίσης εκτός της επαρχίας Λαρίσης. Αυτή η ομάδα διακρίνεται σε δύο υπο-ομάδες:

i) η πρώτη υπο-ομάδα περιλαμβάνει ιδιώματα, στα οποία η μορφή του αρσενικού άρθρου /i/ χρησιμοποιείται κυρίως στα κύρια ανδρωνυμικά ονόματα και στα έμφυχα όντα. Στην κατηγορία αυτή ανήκουν:

-τα ιδιώματα της περιοχής των Φαρσάλων (Φάρσαλα, Πρόδρομος, Κρανές, Βαμβακού κ.λπ.), τα ιδιώματα της περιοχής της Αγιάς (Μελίβοια, Μεγαλόβρυσο, Νερόμυλοι, Μεταξοχώρι, Αετόλοφος, Γερακάρι, Σωτηρίτσα) με μόνες εξαιρέσεις την Ανατολή και το Σκλήθρο,

-το Πευκόφυτο Καρδίτσας που διαφοροποιείται από τα γειτονικά του χωριά,

-η Καλαμπάκα και το Καστράκι π.χ.:

(16) α. *ου λύκους* (Μελίβοια Αγιάς) αλλά

β. *ι Βασίλ* 'ς (Μελίβοια Αγιάς)

(17) α. *ου λίβας* (Φάρσαλα) αλλά

β. *ι Γιώργ* 'ς (Φάρσαλα)

(18) α. *ου κουμπές* (Καστράκι Καλαμπάκας) αλλά

β. *ι Γιάνν'ς* (Καστράκι Καλαμπάκας)

ii) η δεύτερη υπο-ομάδα που περιλαμβάνει ιδιώματα στα οποία το αρσενικό άρθρο παρουσιάζει και τις δύο μορφές όταν προσδιορίζει ονόματα [\pm έμφυχο]. Στην κατηγορία αυτή ανήκου:

-τα ιδιώματα της Ελασσόνας (Τσαριτσάνη, Καρυά, Συκαμινιά, Κρυόβρυση),

-το Σκλήθρο της Αγιάς και

-το Φανάρι Καρδίτσας, π.χ.:

(19) α. *ι λαγός* (Φανάρι Καρδίτσας) και

β. *ου λαγός* (Φανάρι Καρδίτσας)

(20) α. *η κόμινους* (Τσαριτσάνη Ελασσόνας) αλλά

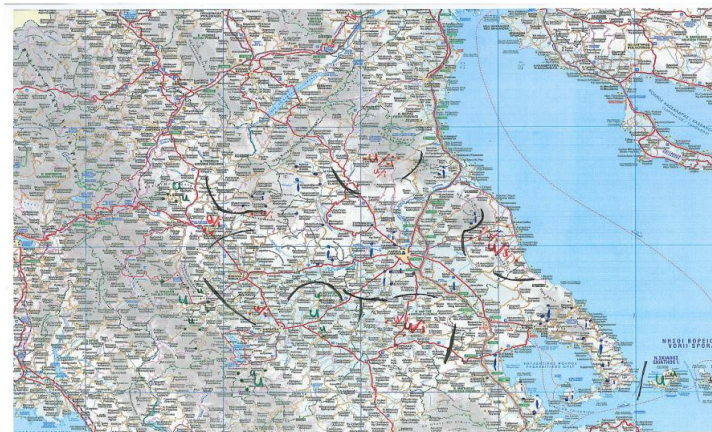
β. *ι Κώστας* (Τσαριτσάνη Ελασσόνας)

(21) α. *η δυάσμους* (Καρυά Ελασσόνας) αλλά

β. *ου όργους* 'κομμάτι αθέριστου' (Καρυά Ελασσόνας)

(22) α. *η Γιώρ'ς* (Καρυά Ελασσόνας) αλλά

β. *ου Λάμπρους* (Καρυά Ελασσόνας)



Χάρτης 1. Η αλλομορφία του αρσενικού άρθρου

4.1 Η προφορά των συμπλεγμάτων <μπ>, <ντ>, <γκ, γγ>

Σύμφωνα με τους Chambers και Trudgill (1980: 113), μια άλλη κατηγορία ισογλώσσων είναι τα φωνολογικά που με τη σειρά τους υποκατηγοριοποιούνται σε *φωνητικά* (phonetic) και *φωνηματικά* (phonemic). Το κριτήριο της προφοράς των συμπλεγμάτων <μπ>, <ντ>, <γκ, γγ>

αποτελεί φωνολογικό-φωνητικό ισόγλωσσο, καθώς αφορά την διαφορετική πραγμάτωση των ίδιων φωνημάτων σε συγκεκριμένη θέση και όχι την ύπαρξη διαφορετικών φωνημάτων σε διαφορετικά θεσσαλικά ιδιώματα. Η διαφοροποίηση αυτή δεν αφορά τη προφορά των <μπ, γκ, ντ> σε αρχική θέση και σε θέση μετά από σύμφωνο όπου η απερρινοποιημένη πραγμάτωση είναι υποχρεωτική π.χ: [bénu] ‘μπαίνω’, [albáns] ‘αλμπάνης’.

Το φαινόμενο αυτό γενικά μπορεί να διακρίνει κάποιες ομάδες νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων και ιδιωμάτων. Ωστόσο, πρέπει να σημειωθεί ότι τον εντοπισμό του φαινομένου δυσχεραίνουν παράγοντες όπως: α) οι διακυμάνσεις του φαινομένου στις ίδιες λέξεις, στην ίδια γεωγραφική περιοχή ή στο ίδιο άτομο, β) η ελλιπής αποτύπωση του φαινομένου στις έντυπες πηγές: ελάχιστοι μελετητές χρησιμοποιούν ιδιαίτερα σύμβολα, όπως <b, d, g> και τα <mb, vd, vg>, για να διακρίνουν τις έρρινες από τις απερρινοποιημένες πραγματώσεις. Ελάχιστοι πάλι δίνουν πληροφορίες για την ακριβή προφορά των <μπ, ντ, γγ/γκ> στα κατά τόπους ιδιώματα. Γι’ αυτό κι εμείς επιλέξαμε να διακρίνουμε τα ιδιώματα μόνο των χωριών για τα οποία έχουμε συγκεκριμένες πληροφορίες από τους τοπικούς μελετητές, τα οποία είναι αντιπροσωπευτικά, αλλά δεν καλύπτουν το σύνολο των θεσσαλικών ιδιωμάτων.

Έτσι, εντοπίσαμε την απερρινοποιημένη προφορά των <μπ, ντ, γκ> στο συντριπτικά μεγαλύτερο μέρος της Θεσσαλίας, σε όλους τους νομούς (Τρικάλων, Καρδίτσας, Λάρισας, Μαγνησίας συμπεριλαμβανομένων των Σποράδων) π.χ.:

(23) *αγκάθ’* [agáθ] (Φανάρι Καρδίτσας)

(24) *Αντών’ς* [adóns] (Τύρναβος)

(25) *τζιμπάνους* [tzibánu] (Φάρσαλα)

(26) *κινητός* [ciditós] (Αλμυρός),

(27) *άντρας* [ádras] (Σκόπελος)

Εξαιρούνται όμως οι εξής περιοχές:

α) τα χωριά των θεσσαλικών Αγράφων (Νεράϊδα, Μεσοχώρα, Ανηρό, Βλάσι) και τα χωριά Ανατολή Αγιάς και Κρασιά Ολύμπου του Νομού Λαρίσης όπου παρουσιάζεται μόνο η έρρινη πραγμάτωση των /b, d, g/ π.χ.:

(28) *αμπόλ’* [amból] (Κρασιά Ολύμπου)

(29) *αμπέλ’* [ambél] (Ανατολή Αγιάς)

(30) *έγκυους* [éñju] (Νεράϊδα Αγράφων, περιφέρεια Καρδίτσας)

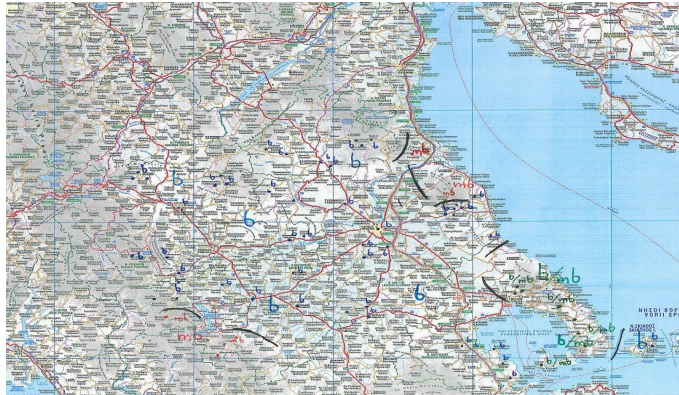
(31) *πέντι* [péndi] (Νεράϊδα Αγράφων, περιφέρεια Καρδίτσας)

Αξιοσημείωτο είναι ότι η περιοχή των θεσσαλικών Αγράφων αποτελεί ένα συνεχές όπου γειτονικά χωριά μοιράζονται και άλλα κοινά γλωσσικά φαινόμενα εκτός της έρρινης πραγμάτωσης των /b, d, g/, όπως την αποκλειστική χρήση της μορφής /u/ του αρσενικού άρθρου σε ονομαστική πτώση. Αντιθέτως, τα ιδιώματα της Ανατολής Αγιάς και της Κρασιάς

Ολύμπου αποτελούν γλωσσικές νησίδες, ή μέρος γλωσσικών νησίδων, αφού ορισμένα βασικά γλωσσικά φαινόμενα τους δεν εμφανίζονται σε γειτονικά τους χωριά: δηλαδή η υποχρεωτικά έρρινη πραγμάτωση [mb, nd, ng] και η αποκλειστική χρήση της μορφής /i/ του αρσενικού άρθρου στην ονομαστική δεν απαντάται στα υπόλοιπα χωριά του Ολύμπου (Καρυά, Συκαμινιά, Κρυόβρυση) και στα υπόλοιπα χωριά της επαρχίας Αγιάς (Μεγαλόβρυσο, Μεταξοχώρι, Γερακάρι, Νερόμυλοι, Μελίβοια).

β) Άλλη μια εξαίρεση αποτελούν τα ιδιώματα όπου τα [b, d, g] εναλλάσσονται ελεύθερα με τα [mb, nd, ng] ως πραγματώσεις των /b, d, g/ στην ίδια θέση. Η κατηγορία αυτή αφορά κυρίως στην περιοχή του Πηλίου στο σύνολο της όπου τα <μπ, ντ, γγ/ γκ> πραγματώνονται τόσο έρρινα όσο και απερρινοποιημένα χωρίς να είναι συχνότερη με εμφανή τρόπο η μία πραγμάτωση έναντι της άλλης (βλ. Λιάπης 1996). Ακόμη και οι παλαιότερες πηγές² μαρτυρούν την παράλληλη πραγμάτωση των <μπ, ντ, γκ> στην ίδια θέση στο ιδίωμα του Πηλίου.

Στην ίδια ζώνη θα εντάξουμε και τα ιδιώματα της επαρχίας Λάρισας του νομού Λάρισας (Άγιοι Ανάργυροι, Μεσοράχη), και της επαρχίας Τρικάλων του νομού Τρικάλων (Ζάρκο) όπου, σύμφωνα με τα δεδομένα από προσωπική επιτόπια έρευνα, παράλληλα με την απερρινοποιημένη πραγμάτωση, παρουσιάζεται και η έρρινη προφορά αλλά σε μικρότερο βαθμό. Ακόμη και τα παλαιότερα δεδομένα³ το επιβεβαιώνουν για την άμεση περιοχή της Λάρισας και του Τυρνάβου, όπου διαπιστώθηκε η έρρινη πραγμάτωση των <μπ, ντ, γγ/γκ> από νεότερους πληροφορητές⁴.



Χάρτης 2. Η προφορά των <μπ, ντ, γγ/γκ>

5 Μεμονωμένα φαινόμενα ενδοδιαλεκτικής διαφοροποίησης

Σ' αυτή την περίπτωση ανήκουν εκείνα τα φαινόμενα που εμφανίζονται μόνο σε μια συγκεκριμένη περιφερειακή περιοχή, στα άκρα μιας γλωσσικής ζώνης, ενώ απουσιάζουν από τις υπόλοιπες, χωρίς να υπάρχουν γλωσσικές περιοχές όπου η παρουσία και η απουσία του φαινομένου συνυπάρχουν.

Τέτοια φαινόμενα είναι:

² Βλ. χφ. 212, χφ. 213, χφ. 214, χφ. 215.

³ Βλ. Τζάρτζανος 1900: 39.

⁴ Δεν είναι δυνατόν να ισχυριστούμε με ασφάλεια ότι η έρρινη προφορά σήμερα στην περιοχή της Λάρισας αποτελεί επίδραση της κοινής νεοελληνικής ή ότι αποτελεί μια διαφοροποίηση που οφείλεται σε άλλους παράγοντες.

α) η χρήση της γενικής πτώσης αντί της αιτιατικής για τη δήλωση του έμμεσου αντικειμένου. Το συγκεκριμένο φαινόμενο αποτελεί *συντακτικό ισόγλωσσο*, το οποίο έχει μελετηθεί αρκετά και αποτελεί το δεύτερο βασικό ισόγλωσσο που διαφοροποιεί τα βορειότερα από τα νοτιότερα ν.ε. ιδιώματα (βλ. Beis- Manolessou, 2006, καθώς και τη σχετική βιβλιογραφία που εμπεριέχεται στο άρθρο).

β) η παρουσία ιδιαίτερου μορφολογικού τύπου για τη γενική πληθυντικού των ονομάτων αντί της συνήθους χρήσης της πρόθεσης *από* + αιτιατική πτώση, π.χ.: *απ' τ'ς αθρώπ'* (= των ανθρώπων).

Αυτά τα δύο φαινόμενα εξετάζονται, γιατί είναι ιδιαίτερα σπάνια στα θεσσαλικά ιδιώματα, αλλά και εν γένει στα βόρεια νεοελληνικά ιδιώματα, καθώς επικρατεί η χρήση της αιτιατικής πτώσης τόσο για τη δήλωση του έμμεσου αντικειμένου όσο και εντός προθετικών συνόλων αντί της γενικής πληθυντικού.

γ) η παρουσία των ρηματικών καταλήξεων: *-αμαν*, *-αταν* για το α' και β' πρόσωπο πληθυντικού αντιστοίχως στους μονολεκτικούς παρελθοντικούς χρόνους (παρατατικό και αόριστο) ενεργητικής φωνής. Τα επιθήματα αυτά που χαρακτηρίζουν κυρίως τα περισσότερα ιδιώματα της Ηπείρου συναντώνται σποραδικά σε συγκεκριμένα χωριά στο δυτικό τμήμα της Θεσσαλίας που περιλαμβάνουν:

- την Πύλη του νομού Τρικάλων
- Κρυοπηγή, Πευκόφυτο Καρδίτσας και το Φανάρι Καρδίτσας, π.χ.:

(32) α. *ήρθαμαν* (Πύλη)

β. *φάγαμαν* (Πύλη)

(33) *περάσαμαν* (Φανάρι)

(34) *προσίχαμαν* (Κρυοπηγή)

(35) *πήγαμαν* 'we went', *γυρίσαμαν* (Πευκόφυτο)

Σημειώνουμε ότι η παρουσία των επιθημάτων *-αμαν*, *-αταν* συνυπάρχει με τα επιθήματα *-άμι/-αμι*, *-άτι/-ατι* που παρουσιάζονται στα περισσότερα θεσσαλικά ιδιώματα, π.χ.:

(36) α. *φτιάναμι* (Φανάρι Καρδίτσας)

β. *ρίχναμι* (Φανάρι Καρδίτσας)

γ. *λιχνούσαμι* (Φανάρι Καρδίτσας)

(37) *λέγαμι* (Πύλη).

6 Δέσμες ισογλώσσων και διαλεκτικές ομάδες

Με βάση τα μεμονωμένα φαινόμενα ενδοδιαλεκτικής διαφοροποίησης που απαντούν μόνο στις συγκεκριμένες περιοχές σε συνδυασμό με τα φαινόμενα διαφοροποίησης με διακύμανση εντοπίσαμε τις *δέσμες ισογλώσσων* (*bundles*). Δηλαδή, εντοπίσαμε μια ομάδα ισογλώσσων που

συνεμφανίζονται στην ίδια γεωγραφική ζώνη, καθιστώντας διακριτή κάποια ομάδα ιδιωμάτων που θα μπορούσαν να χαρακτηριστούν *διαλεκτική περιοχή*. Ο εντοπισμός δεσμών ισογλώσσων κατέστη δυνατός για τα νησιά της Θεσσαλίας, τις Βόρειες Σποράδες που βρίσκονται στα άκρα της ευρύτερης θεσσαλικής περιφέρειας και οι οποίες μοιράζονται ορισμένα κοινά γλωσσικά φαινόμενα με περιοχές εκτός της Θεσσαλίας (Στερεά Ελλάδα, νησιά Βορείου Αιγαίου). Το ισόγλωσσο της αλλομορφίας του αρσενικού άρθρου, η έρρινη ή απερρινοποιημένη πραγμάτωση των <μπ, ντ, γγ/γκ> σε συνδυασμό με μεμονωμένα φαινόμενα του κεφ. 5. συνιστούν μια δέσμη ισογλώσσων και επιτρέπουν να θεωρήσουμε τις Σποράδες ως μια ενιαία διαλεκτική περιοχή.

6.1 Η διαλεκτική περιοχή των βόρειων Σποράδων

Η χαρακτηριστικότερη περίπτωση *διαλεκτικής περιοχής* είναι αυτή των ιδιωμάτων των Βόρειων Σποράδων (Σκιάθος, Σκόπελος και Αλόνησος) εκτός φυσικά της Σκύρου που δεν ανήκει ούτε διοικητικά ούτε γλωσσικά στη Θεσσαλία. Στην περιοχή αυτή παρατηρούμε μια δέσμη ισογλώσσων όπως:

α) την αποκλειστική παρουσία της μορφής του αρσενικού άρθρου /u/ στην ονομαστική πτώση,

(38) *ου Παναΐης* (Αλόνησος)

όπως συμβαίνει σε τμήματα της Δυτικής Θεσσαλίας στην Πίνδο, στα Άγραφα (Νεραΐδα, Μεσοχώρα, Ανθηρό, Βλάσι), στην Αργιθέα Καρδίτσας (Αργιθέα, Οξυά), βλ. και παράδειγμα (1).

(39) *ου κέδρους* (Αργιθέα)

β) την εμφάνιση των απερρινοποιημένων /b,d,g/, π.χ.

(40) *φιγάρ'* (Σκόπελος)

γ) και τη χρήση της γενικής αντί της αιτιατικής πτώσης για τη δήλωση του έμμεσου αντικειμένου, όπως συμβαίνει στη Στερεά Ελλάδα και εν γένει στη νοτιότερη Ελλάδα σε αντίθεση με ό,τι ισχύει στην υπόλοιπη Θεσσαλία εκτός από το Τρίκερι του Πηλίου. π.χ.

(41) *Δώ μου μήλα, κυρά* (Σκιάθος)

(42) *Κι τσού' παν αυτές* (Αλόνησος)

(43) *Θα τ' δώκου ένα τσουβάλι λίρες* (Σκόπελος)

Η χρήση της γενικής για τη δήλωση του έμμεσου αντικειμένου διαφοροποιεί στην πράξη τα ιδιώματα των βόρειων Σποράδων από τα υπόλοιπα θεσσαλικά ιδιώματα (εκτός από το Τρίκερι του Πηλίου). Αυτή η παρατήρηση συμπληρώνει δεδομένα από παλαιότερες μελέτες για το ισόγλωσσο της χρήσης της γενικής ή της αιτιατικής ως έμμεσου αντικειμένου που σε γενικές γραμμές διακρίνει τα βορειότερα από τα νοτιότερα ν.ε. ιδιώματα. Εν προκειμένω, διαπιστώνουμε ότι η γραμμή του ισογλώσσου (βλ. Τριανταφυλλίδης, 1938: 1468-1470, Beis-Manolessou, 2006) πρέπει να αναχαραχθεί λίγο πιο βόρεια και εντάσσει την περιοχή των

βόρειων Σποράδων στη ζώνη όπου χρησιμοποιείται η γενική έναντι της αιτιατικής για τη δήλωση του έμμεσου αντικειμένου.



Χάρτης 3. Η γενική ή η αιτιατική ως έμμεσο αντικείμενο

δ) την παρουσία ιδιαίτερου τύπου για τη γεν. πληθ. των ονομάτων. Στην Αλόνησο, στην Σκόπελο (Παπαδόπουλος, 1926) και στη Σκιάθο (Ρήγας, 1968: 47) χρησιμοποιείται σε κάποιες περιπτώσεις το επίθημα *-ώνις* (στην Αλόνησο) ή *-ούνις* στη Σκόπελο και στη Σκιάθο για τη γενική πληθυντικού ιδιαίτερα για τα ουδέτερα ονόματα σε συνδυασμό με τη μορφή *τ'ς* του άρθρου που είναι κοινή για όλα τα γένη. π.χ.:

(44) *τ'ς πιδιώνις* (Αλόνησος)

(45) *τ'ς κουρτσίνις* (Σκιάθος)

Ο τύπος αυτός χρησιμοποιείται λιγότερο σήμερα κυρίως από παλαιότερους ομιλητές. Είναι πολύ πιθανόν ότι ο τύπος αυτός ήταν ο πλέον συνήθης σε παλαιότερες εποχές (βλ. Παπαδόπουλος 1926: 69). Η ύπαρξη ιδιαίτερου τύπου για την γενική πληθυντικού για τα ονόματα, αλλά και για το άρθρο διαφοροποιεί την Αλόνησο, τη Σκόπελο και τη Σκιάθο από τα υπόλοιπα θεσσαλικά ιδιώματα όπου χρησιμοποιείται αποκλειστικά ο τύπος *από* + αιτιατική π.χ. *απ' τα πιδιά* 'από τα παιδιά'.

7 Επίλογος-Συμπεράσματα

Με την εργασία μας αυτή προσπαθήσαμε να εντοπίσουμε βασικά γλωσσικά φαινόμενα στο σύνολο σχεδόν των θεσσαλικών ιδιωμάτων που επιβεβαιώνουν την ύπαρξη ενδοδιαλεκτικών διαφορών στην Περιφέρεια Θεσσαλίας. Τα περιγραφέντα φαινόμενα αποτελούν μια πρώτη χαρτογράφηση της ενδοδιαλεκτικής διαφοροποίησης των θεσσαλικών ιδιωμάτων, χωρίς φυσικά να αποκλείεται και ο μελλοντικός εντοπισμός και άλλων φαινομένων με διαφοροποιητική αξία⁵.

Η έρευνα μας, βασισμένη σε δέσμες ισογλώσσων, μας επέτρεψε τον εντοπισμό μιας συγκεκριμένης διαλεκτικής ομάδας που μέχρι σήμερα δεν είχε εντοπιστεί. Πρόκειται για την

⁵ Για παράδειγμα, στη Θεσσαλία απαντά *θ'κόζουμ* 'δικός μου', ενώ στις Σποράδες απαντά *θ'κόζιμ* 'ο δικός μου, όπως ακριβώς και στην Ήπειρο. Βλ. Chambers και Trudgill, 1980: 47.

ομάδα των βορείων Σποράδων (εκτός της Σκύρου) που προσδιορίζεται από την αποκλειστική πραγμάτωση χαρακτηριστικών φαινομένων που δεν παρουσιάζονται στα υπόλοιπα θεσσαλικά ιδιώματα.

Διαπιστώνουμε την ανάγκη για νέα χάραξη του δεύτερου σημαντικότερου ισογλώσσου των ν.ε. ιδιωμάτων, αυτού της δήλωσης του έμμεσου αντικειμένου, τοποθετώντας το βορειότερα, ώστε να περιλαμβάνει και την περιοχή των βόρειων Σποράδων (και της Σκύρου).

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ASSIMILATION PHENOMENA IN THE DIALECT OF EPIRUS

THE CASE OF /s/-VOICING

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This study focuses on the assimilation phenomenon of /s/-voicing in the Greek dialect of Epirus. The phenomenon is present in Standard Modern Greek. A voiceless sibilant becomes voiced when it is followed by a voiced consonant as a result of a voice assimilation process. In this study /s/-voicing was examined not only across word boundaries, but also word internally in order to test the role of morphological boundaries in the application of assimilation. The results indicate that there is a relation between the boundary depth and /s/-voicing. Furthermore we will test the application of the assimilation in cases where /s/+ C_[+voi] clusters are created as a result of vowel deletion, a well documented phenomenon in this dialect.

1. Introduction: Previous Research

A great number of assimilation phenomena in Greek has caught researchers' attention and has been described in terms of auto-segmental phonology (Malikouti-Drachman 2001; Baltazani 2006; Arvaniti 2007). Assimilation in Greek can occur across words (sandhi phenomena), or within word boundaries. This study aims to investigate /s/-voicing in the Greek Dialect of Epirus, which is spoken in the western part of mainland Greece, Epirus province is located in the North-West of Greece. Epirus dialect belongs to the group of the Northern Dialects (Hatzidakis, 1892).

Arvaniti and Pelekanou (2002) were the first to examine phonetically the phenomenon of /s/-voicing across word boundaries in Greek. In their experiment they noticed partially voiced and unvoiced sibilants preceding voiced consonants. These results indicate that sandhi phenomena are not obligatory and in many cases, such as in /s/-voicing, they are rather gradient than categorical. Tserdanelis (2005) suggested that there is a blocking of the voicing assimilation when prosodic boundaries appear between the two words (Tserdanelis 2005: 76).

In the most recent study Baltazani (2006), has also shown that there is a lot of variability in the realization of /s/-voicing. Most of the tokens were fully voiced, however, partially voiced tokens as well as unvoiced tokens were found. The results indicate that /s/-voicing was not applied in all the cases although there were no prosodic boundaries between the sibilant and the following voiced consonant. Therefore there is no clear relation between the existence of

prosodic boundaries and the application of /s/-voicing. Baltazani also suggested that there is also some variability across speakers and that the type of the following consonant affects the application of voicing.

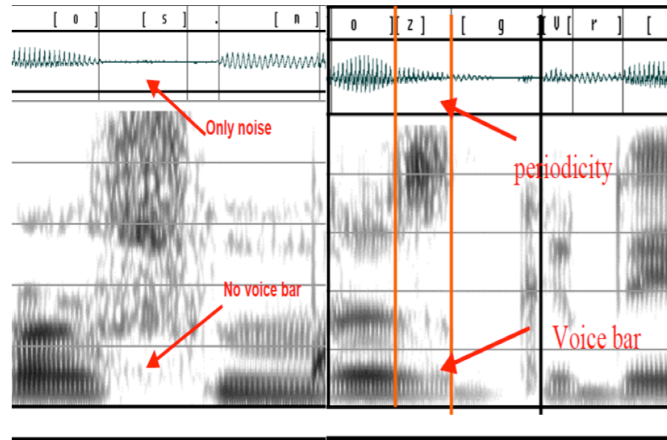


Figure 1. Phonetic realization of /s/ and /z/ (Baltazani 2006: 6)

2 Methodology

2.1 Speakers and Analysis

Approximately 250 tokens from 7 native speakers of the dialect were used for this study. The recordings include spontaneous speech and have been made during interviews of speakers of the dialect in the area of Epirus as a part of a research program of the University of Ioannina, Greece on 2008. The acoustic data were analyzed with the software Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2012).

2.1 Measurements

- 1) The boundaries of the segments and the voiced part were marked by the researcher following Baltazani's method based on the observation of the acoustic wave (see Figure 1). More specifically the criteria for marking voicing were:
 - a) The indication of the glottal pulses in Praat.
 - b) The periodicity on the waveform
 - c) The detection of voice bar in the spectrogram

The segments were categorized as “voiced”, “partially voiced” and “voiceless”.

- 2) Additional measurements were made in order to confirm the voicing:
 - a) The duration of the segment
 - b) The mean intensity with a pass Hann-band filter at 2.000 Hz
 - c) The center of gravity (CoG)

- 3) Two parameters were examined in relation to /s/-voicing:
 a) The boundary depth (stem, morpheme boundary, word boundary)

(1) κόσμος	/ˈkozmos/ ¹	(= world)
προσβάλλω	/proˈzvalo/	(= I offend)
τους βλέπω	/ˈtuz ˈvlepo/	(= I see them)

- b) The speaker

3 Results

The measurements show a relation between the intensity, duration and center of gravity of the sibilants on the one hand and the researcher's impressionistic indication of voicing (Figure 2). The values of intensity and CoG were higher in the voiceless tokens, while the duration was lower in the voiced tokens.

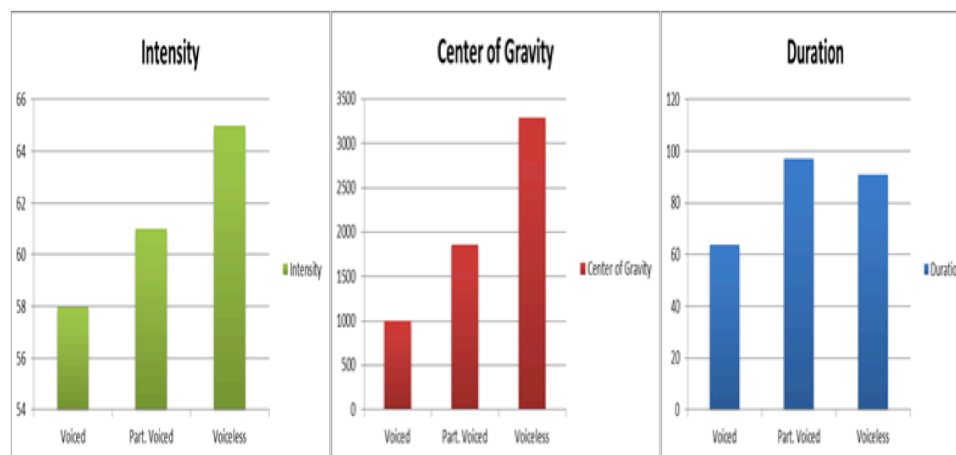


Figure 2. Acoustic measurements

In overall, the results indicate a relation between the morphological boundary and the application of assimilation. As can be seen in the Figure 3, more segments were assimilated when the cluster of /s/+ C_[+voi] was in the stem than when a morpheme boundary was in between the sibilant and the following consonant and even fewer segments were voiced when found in word boundaries.

¹ For consistency reasons I always use /z/ before voiced consonants in these examples.

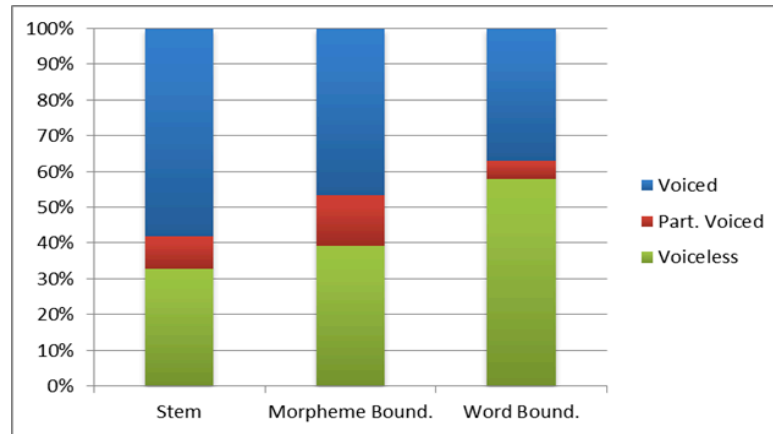


Figure 3. Voicing and boundary depth

A separate measurement was made for the cases where a /s/+ C_[+voi] cluster was created as a result of vowel deletion, a phenomenon that is very common in the dialect of Epirus. The results indicate similar frequency of voiced segments as the “word boundary” category as can be seen in the next chart.

(2) σου δώσω > σ'δώσω su dóso > sđósu ‘to give you’),

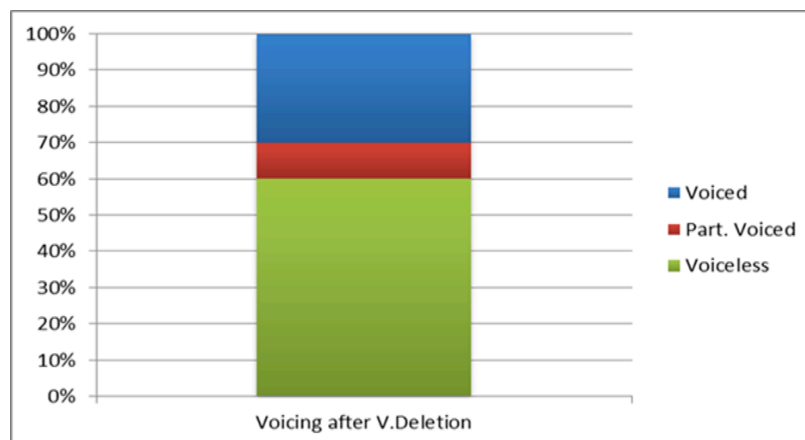


Figure 3. Voicing and vowel deletion

Finally, a high degree of variability across speakers was found as can be seen in the last chart.

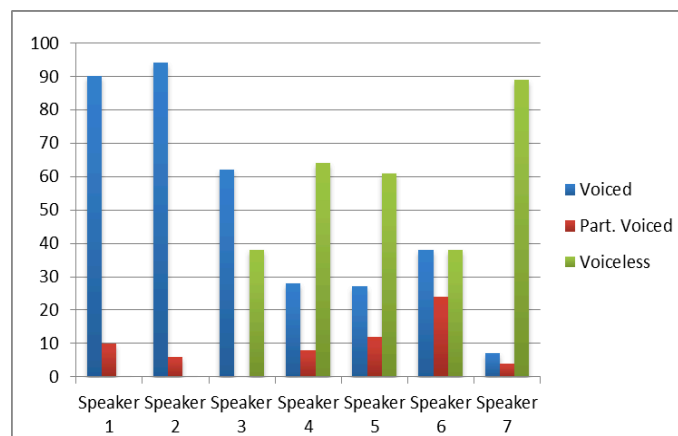


Figure 4. Speaker variability

4. Discussion and Conclusions

The results confirm some of the main conclusions of previous studies. The voice assimilation is not a categorical rule but it should rather be considered as gradient, since it does not apply in all the cases and it also applies in varying degrees.

Different speakers tend to apply the assimilation in different degrees. However, this study indicates that the partially voiced segments are not very common. Additionally, the study of the phonetic characteristics such as the center of gravity, or intensity indicates that apart from the vibration of the vocal chords, other aspects might be important for the interpretation of a phoneme from the speakers. That is, a voiceless sibilant with lower CoG than a typical [s] might tend to be perceived more like a /z/ than a voiceless sibilant with high frequencies. These intermediate situations might also illustrate interesting aspects of the phonetics-phonology interface.

An important relation between voicing and morphological boundaries was shown in this study. The results indicate that the deeper the boundary the less likely it is that /s/-voicing will be applied. The same relation also appears in the /s/-voicing in Standard Modern Greek (Dimos, in prep.) However, it is also clear that /s/-voicing was applied in all the different boundaries, thus there seem to be no blocking in the assimilation. The phenomenon remains gradient in all the morphological levels but the possibility of assimilation seems to increase as we move from word boundaries to the stem. Of course further study is necessary in order to be able to make any strong assumptions, since the size of the sample and the nature of the data does not allow us to derive definite conclusions.

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CROSS-DIALECT/LANGUAGE PARAMETRIZATION AND THE PHONOLOGICAL REALITY OF A ‘NON-EXISTENT’ PROCESS*

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This paper brings Greek cross-dialect and Greek-external data to bear on the theoretical question, whether dissimilative vowel-raising, a process proposed but later rejected in the analysis of certain Modern Greek dialects, is phonologically ‘real’ or not. The short answer will be: Parametrically speaking, yes it is!

1 Vowel Height Dissimilation

In their treatment of Greek dialect-phonology, Brian Newton (1972) and others have invoked vowel raising/Height dissimilation (HD) and Glide formation (GF), the roots of both of which lie in works of Hadzidakis (1907), Andriotis (1974) and others. Below, we support Newton’s version of HD, with examples from two Greek dialects showing independent HD (i.e. raising without a following glide-formation), viz. the dialects of Zakynthos (with primary VV sequences) and Samothraki (with only derived VV sequences, following r-loss), as in the examples under (2), (3) below. Moreover, we will compare evidence for HD not only in the distant languages of the Pacific islands, but even in an Amerindian language of California, thus giving us the near certainty that there are no historical connections between our ‘outside’ cases and the Greek ones. Height dissimilation (HD) and Glide-formation (GF) in Greek dialects

2.1 Height dissimilation (HD) and Glide-formation (GF) in Greek Dialects

Under Table 1, we include dialects with primary vowel hiatus:

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	Feature	Dialects
a)	Neither HD nor GF	e.g. Old Athenian
b)	Dialects with HD only	e.g. Zakynthos
c)	Dialects with GF only	e.g. Thessalia
d)	Dialects with HD and GF	e.g. SMGk & most dialects
BUT e)	Contraction (ea>e)	e.g. Ikaria, Crete

Table 1. Taxonomy

We also take relevant secondary hiatus, following loss of intervocalic voiced spirants in the SE Greek dialects, as well as r-loss in Samothraki, under Table 2:

	Feature	Dialects
a)	No change	e.g. Chios, Cyprus
b)	HD only	e.g. Kos, Karpathos, Samothraki
c)	GF only	e.g. SW-Rhodos

Table 2. Taxonomy with secondary hiatus

2.1 We then narrow the research

Here we give sample dialects for HD only:

- a) Compare alternative treatments of primary hiatus from Zakynthos, viz. Newton (1972) vs. Mendez Dosuna (2002), in (1) below:

(1) **Zakynthos**

	Newton	Mendez-Dosuna
Base	*kariḗá	*kariḗá
HD	kariḗía	x
GF	x	kariḗjá
Dieresis, Stress	x	karidía

where Newton's (1972) HD is in contrast to Mendez Dosuna's (2002) GF and Dieresis.

- b) Now compare secondary hiatus, where the output of r-loss is the input to HD, under (2):

(2) **Zakynthos**

		Base	r-loss	HD
Samothraki	a) front vowel target	pérasa >	péasa >	píasa
	b) back round vowel target	agórasa >	agóasa >	agúasa
Kalimnos	back round vowel target	róga >	róa >	rúa

2 A Problem

A serious claim in Mendez Dosuna (2002) is that in fact no language employs Vowel-height dissimilation. We will not discuss Dosuna's alternative analyses here, but will consider the potential contribution of a cross-language analysis of HD by itself.

As an interim argument, we might question the need for cross-language support to validate a phonological process.¹ The fact that HD is well documented in a single language could alone support its existence as a process, as Kiparsky (2008) puts it for the Australian language Ngalagkan, a fact that would then be orthogonal to the problem of its comparative rarity across languages.² However, in the light of the counter claim just mentioned, a comparison with other languages seems desirable, especially since the relevant languages have no possible relation to Greek or even to IE – as e.g. languages of the Pacific Islands.

3 For V-dissimilation

Yes, we want to claim that the process of HD is independently attested in and outside Greek. Our strategy will be to parameterize over a slightly abstracter dissimilative Vowel-Raising process (independent of following Glide-formation) for which there seem to be examples in a number of languages. Thus, Low Vowel Dissimilation occurs in a number of (Pacific) Oceanic languages (Bender 1969, Blust 1996, Lynch 2003) as well as in Alambak, a non-Austronesian language of New Guinea (Blevins 2009),³ we postpone the complex case of (North Californian Penutian) Wintu to the end of the story.⁴

Our 'Greek-external' examples⁵ are from 3.1,2 (North Pacific) Marshallese and 3.3 (South Pacific) Vanuatu Paamese.

Note that we give MP cases only, thus avoiding the problem of the historical development of individual forms. The MP environments are of course diverse across languages.

Under (3,4) we illustrate Low-Vowel dissimilation for two geographically distant dialects.

¹ Thus, in (Australian) Ngalagkan, the following distinction is found; geminates pattern with homorganic nasal+stop clusters and laryngeal codas; they fail to make syllable weight, as distinct from all other coda consonants. Kiparsky (2008) is undaunted by the extreme rarity of this distinction ('there is just one known example of it'); rather it suffices that it is well documented (ibid pp. 6-7). But this case is omitted in the version of 2011.

² The apparent rarity of V-V dissimilation is mentioned briefly in Walter (2007), Appendix 2, with the comment that V-repetition is not generally subject to dispreference in the same way as consonant repetition is. She also mentions Susuki (1998), who points out that vowel dissimilation happens in more restricted environments whereas consonant dissimilation can occur over considerable distances! We add, whereas vowel dissimilation seems never to occur at greater distance than across a single consonant. Compare the prevalence of

³ This predicts that raising will block when the intervening consonant is [+back] or a member of a cluster, or even (cf. East Chadic Kera, in Ebert, 1979) if a laryngeal precedes the target vowel.

⁴ Mendez Dosuna allows Dutch and Calabrian as potential candidates. Blevins allows for S.Russian dialects, but has doubts on Wintu (under 9, Further Discussion).

⁵ There are hundreds of languages spoken in the Oceanic islands. But we limit the comparison here to a couple of languages. At least one is from North-Pacific (Micronesian), another from distant South-Pacific (Melanesian) languages.

3.1 Marshallese

<u>[-back, -round]</u>	<u>[+back, -round]</u>	<u>[+back, +round]</u>	
<u>[+hi, +ATR]</u>	i	u	u
<u>[+hi, -ATR]</u>	ɪ	ʊ	ʊ
<u>[-hi, +ATR]</u>	e	[ʌ]	o
<u>[-hi, -ATR]</u>	ɛ	[a]	ɔ

Table 3. Marshallese Vowel Allophones

Here in Table 3, Hi and ATR each allow for 2 heights, giving the 4 phonological heights of Bender 1969). The above relevant vowels under HD are bracketed.

V-raising with 3sg. suffix of some Noun. The relevant vowels under HD are underlined) as seen in the examples below under (3):

(3) [-Hi, -ATR] Cons [-Hi, -ATR] >> [-Hi, +ATR] Cons [-Hi, -ATR]

	Indep		3sg-suffixed
a)	head' p ^ɣ ar ^ɣ		p ^ɣ ʌr ^ɣ +aɛn ^j
b)	'name' jɛat ^ɣ		jɛʌt ^ɣ +aɛn ^j
c)	'eye' m ^j ɛt ^j		m ^j ɛt ^j +ɛn ^j

3.2 Compare now

(S. Pacific) Vanuatu Paamese (Crowley 1982:40-41) prefix-raising [a > e] (Subject prefixes with tahosi 'be good') under (4):

- (4) 1) ta-tahosi > te-tahosi 'it is good'
 2) na-tahosi > ne-tahosi 'I am good'
 3) ma-tahosi > me-tahosi 'we (excl.) are good'

This data we set against that for HD in Modern Greek (Andriotis, 1939; Mendez-Dosuna, 2002, Malikouti-Drachman and Drachman, 2011), noting that Mendez Dosuna's analysis (employing synizesis, stress-retraction and dieresis) is irrelevant to the analysis of the Pacific data above. We will concentrate on the clear cases, i.e. those attesting HD by itself.

3.3 Parameters

(First, to clear out a basic question already mentioned (Section 2 above), shouldn't we simply dismiss all these Pacific cases as irrelevant here: they are different from Greek, whether in their target, adjacency condition, need for an intervening consonant, etc?

Not at all! On the contrary, we will unify the two sets of data under a generalized process-family called dissimilative vowel raising.⁶ The variants will fall under the setting of appropriate

⁶ One member of the audience asserted that the Pacific data in this paper are simply different from the Greek, and thus not evidence for the generalized dissimilation of the paper. But compare Fn 2. above, and recall that a) there are Pacific languages showing strict Locality, and b) consonant dissimilation processes show the same +/-Locality

parameters (the constraint-rankings), so let us now look at some of the parameters/constraints we must subsume under our generalized V-height-Dissimilation. There are (under section 4.) below at least eight.⁷

4 Variation

	Pacific Low vowel (LV) Dissimilation	Greek Mid vowel (MV) Dissimilation
1.	LV diss applies (only?) across a C	MV diss, only string-adjacent VV
2.	VV-Identity (V ₁ -C-V ₁)	(V ₁ V ₂) Non-identity
3.	A very few langs show a > i or ə	Many dialects show e>i (>j)
4.	Back cons, CC, or a preceding laryngeal blocks LV raising	ANY intervening cons blocks dissimilation
5.	V1 (a) dissimilates from V2 (a)	V1 (e/o) dissimilates from V2 (a)
6.	Most languages, no stress-influence	Most dialects, V1 dissimilates, stressed or not
7.	A reversal of raising in otherwise raising areas	Also perhaps where Katharevousa gave doublets. Samothraki is a candidate
8.	MP cases are common.	Ditto

Table 4. The variants for vowel raising.

We temporarily interpret from the above the need to parametrize for Feature-assistance in LV dissimilation. Such assistance may be required, as in the Pacific languages, as we discuss below.

5 Explanations

5.1 Greek HD as an OCP effect

Having conceded the value of a cross-language comparison, how to explain HD? Suppose now that Height Dissimilation is an OCP (Obligatory Contour Principle) effect, a matter of grammar simplification (Cf Yip 1988, 1998, Alderete 2003, Malikouti-Drachman & Drachman 2011). Assume that the primary (unmarked) vowels are only /i a u/, (instantiating the I-property, the A-property, and the U-property respectively), so that e is really +a/+I and o is really +a+U.⁸

Then in the Greek process ea/oa > ia/ua we have to do with the OCP under Autosegmental Phonology (e.g. McCarthy 1986); the delinking of the shared a-Feature (on the vowel tier) leaves simply the I-property and thus the high front vowel. And this of course constitutes the grammar-simplification we mentioned, namely, by the unmarking of the mid-vowel. Similar argumentation holds for the o > u side of the Greek HD shift.

effects across languages. Examples of distant (trans-syllabic, even Word-internal) consonant dissimilation are well known, e.g. from Grassmann's Law (1863).

⁷ Bye (2011) counts 46 alternations across languages (building on Suzuki 1998), of which a third concern vowel-dissimilation.

⁸ Giving the common five-vowel system, [i e a o u] as in Greek.

5.2 The pacific variants

But what about the Pacific low-vowel raising variants we exemplified above, viz a) Marshallese shows [a]-raising to [ʌ] by ATR (minus to plus, see Sec 3.1 and (3) above). b) Paamese shows a-raising & fronting aCa>eCa (cp. (4) above). This time we have to do with the *Identity condition (*aCa). Again, under the OCP, the unmarked vowel-sequence a-a is barred, at the cost of introducing the marked eCa.⁹ So we see that as distinct from Greek, *Identity here dominates a markedness-preference.

6 The Intervening Consonant

We may now ask why the Pacific cases require an intervening consonant at all, and in fact usually a non-back one.¹⁰ Paamese raising requires the strong feature-support function of an intervening non-back consonant. And a similar consonantal environment accompanies the simple ATR raising of Marshallese low unrounded back-vowels. However, while both cases involve blocking by post-velars, yet Marshallese invites further examination as to why, since the target vowel a>ʌ changes ATR values but remains +back (cp. Sec. 3.1 above), it gets support from nearly all consonants yet blocks with intervening laryngeal h & semi-vowel y? This is abstract Phonology and hardly phonetics! It is also reasonable that the unmarking Greek shift¹¹ requires no support from an intervening consonant, and thus bans it; instead, the domain is subject to strict locality, i.e. linear adjacency for the two vowels concerned.

7 The explanations continue: why not a phonetic motivation?

With Marshallese we have taken at least a step nearer to answering Blevins' remark on the Pacific cases, viz. that phonetic motivation for this recurrent sound change remains unclear. For we respond that this recurrent sound change is motivated not by phonetics¹² but rather by the phonology of the relevant languages, recalling that by assuming parametrisation, we include all the Pacific variants as well as the Greek ones under our generalized dissimilative vowel raising.¹³ Cross-language comparisons thus strengthen the view that the HD found in Greek dialects constitutes a genuine process-variant.

⁹ Blust (1996) supports LVD as a universal phonological principle, citing the languages Ere and Marshallese which both show LVD despite the distance and lack of any historical connection between them.

¹⁰ Simply put, 'requires an intervening consonant' would be a postulate, whereas we are aiming for an explanation. But for nearly each case, a property of either the intervening consonant or the target vowel itself is relevant.

¹¹ And the Greek-like (i.e. V-V), Pacific cases.

¹² Like most P-processes, HD is abstract (cp. DeLacy 2002), and in the end requires no grounding. But also compare Walter (2007), for a three-fold attempt to ground *identities, viz. from articulation, perception, and syntactic-phase constraints.

¹³ Remnant is the possibility of Greek raising with reversed target/directionality, viz. the sequence a-e/o giving a-i/u. This would of course constitute a further part of parametrisation. MGk does not show such examples.

8 Conclusions

The main discussion concerned a so-called non-existing process postulated for Greek, viz. HD.

8.1 Unmarking, Locality, Identity

HD in MGk is clearly a case of Locality, i.e. linear-adjacent dissimilation; and the raising constitutes a case of unmarking. On the other hand, Low-Vowel Raising in the Pacific is a case of *Identity, one that in most cases requires the facilitative intervention of a non-back consonant. Markedness and *Identity are here seen as complementary aspects of the OCP.

8.2 The Pacific cases

The Pacific cases show parametrization among themselves, and we generalized ‘dissimilative vowel-raising’ to cover the MGreek mid-vowel as well,¹⁴ thus in fact re-validating the process.

8.3 The non-raising cases

Consider the occurrence of non-raising languages in a dominantly raising area of the Pacific, in the light of the discussion on Rule Reversal in Ohala (1981). For Ohala, if the listener¹⁵ supposes that the similarity of two adjacent consonantal segments results from assimilation, he/she might correct this by dissimilating one of the segments. Carrying the argument over to vowel segments, Lynch (2003) claims that such reversal occurred in those Vanuatu languages showing no Low Vowel raising even though raising is common in this area. But such an argument can hardly apply to the Greek case of Mid-vowel dissimilation.

First, not in those cases where no doublets appear under the influence of Katharevousa [Cf. Katharevousa influence in *ennéa*>*ennía*>*ennéa*, as also (Mendez Dosuna Fn 20) *thíos* > *thjós* > *thíos*, *néos* > *ñós*>*néos*]. Second, in that the Greek cases never involve identical vowels. And third,¹⁶ recall the SE dialects of Chios, SW-Rodos and Cyprus, with surface hiatus due to loss of intervocalic spirants yet without any following Height Dissimilation.

Yet Samothraki is a possible case (data in Katsanis 1996): there disyllabics (but not polysyllabics) may optionally undo the (post r-loss) dissimilation rule, creating alternating forms such as ‘gifts’ *dora* > *dua* & also (the reversal) *doa*. Polysyllabics, on the other hand, give us *agorasa* > *aguasa*, with no optional reversal such as **agoasa*. Optional reversal results from the interaction of the stem vowel of a disyllabic with the (directly following) inflection-vowel. But in polysyllabic verbs, where the stem-final vowel is not directly followed by the inflectional vowel, the original stem vowel is not recoverable. This strongly suggests the intervention of a Phase effect.

¹⁴ For the Pacific cases, the standard sources give simply vowel raising, relegating the (e.g.) front property of the output to contextual allophony (where response is to labial, palatal or velar consonants). This agrees with the claim that (e.g.) the 4-vowels of the Marshallese system are specified for Height and ATR (advanced tongue root), but not for front-back or rounded-unrounded.

¹⁵ For an alternative ‘perception’ strategy, cp. Fromkin and Rodman (1993).

¹⁶ though we set aside Old Athenian as showing neither HD not GF.

8.4 Revert to the intervening consonant

Let us now revert briefly to the alternative scenarios on the presence vs. absence of the intervening consonant in the Pacific/MGk dissimilation data. a) Our first scenario postulated (as auxiliary hypothesis) a facilitative role for the intervening consonant in the Pacific data, as detailed so far. b) It is important to note that there are Pacific languages where raising even involves strict Locality, i.e. applies (as in Greek) only to linearly-adjacent vowels. c) There are even hybrid cases, to an important one of which we now turn.

9 Further discussion – the Wintu case

Extending the data-base by even one language can be very suggestive, positively or negatively. The case of Wintu a Penutian (Amerindian) language of Northern California, described in Pitkin (1984) is relevant but a puzzle; How so?

Well, Wintu is hybrid so far as vowel-raising is concerned: like the Pacific cases, raising requires an intervening consonant, but like Greek,¹⁷ raising targets mid-vowels (and never low vowels). This complements our ‘consonant facilitation’ explanation – since (to the best of my knowledge) nothing in the literature on Wintu suggests that the intervening consonant must be a frontal one for the eCa to iCa variant but a back-rounded one for the oCa to uCa variant. Rather (taking first the Wintu data in Wilbur 1999), the intervening consonant is confined to the resonants and y, and is thus not Feature-facilitative at all. We are driven to seek an alternative auxiliary hypothesis.

We tentatively choose one involving the permissive/ transparency role originally assigned in Gafos (1999) to certain intervening consonants under assimilation in Vowel Harmony. Then for Wintu, we might assume that a permissive/transparent property of (only) resonants & y freely allows the required dissimilative interaction between the two vowels involved.

However, a glance at the primary Wintu source (Pitkin’s grammar, 1984: 43-45) disillusion us yet again.¹⁸ First, Wintu raising only involves the abstract mid-vowels (E,O) in certain verb-roots.¹⁹ Worse, as the data in (5) below make clear, low-vowel dissimilation occurs across stops, whether front or back, i.e. p in form a) below, and k in form b) below. Moreover, form c) below shows that a long target vowel (V:) does not dissimilate.

(5) Extent of Wintu raising

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------|---|----------|-----------------------|
| a) | cEpastin | > | cipastin | ‘tell dirty stories’ |
| b) | kOka | > | kuka | ‘to position rafters’ |
| c) | But xe:ta | > | xe:ta | ‘to peel’ |

So, in the end it seems that Vowel-height dissimilation does not necessarily involve some Feature-property of an intervening consonant, as we claimed for our Pacific cases. For Wintu, it may rather depend on the further parameter, an abstract/archiphonemic property of the target

¹⁷ It is important to note that there are also Pacific Island languages where dissimilation involves strict Locality (i.e. linearly adjacent VV without intervening consonant), again like Greek.

¹⁸ This illustrates the danger of relying on secondary sources.

¹⁹ Bye 2011 suggests an underlying distinction based on ATR values,, and that [i/u] revert to [e/o] in non-raising environments.

vowel itself; as we said, in certain verb-roots.²⁰ Despite Blevins' (2009) concluding 'suspicion' regarding Wintu as a case of dissimilation, we take all this new data on variation to be derivable within the parametric i.e. the constraint-theoretical frame discussed.

10 How do we stand, finally?

First, take our auxiliary hypotheses as constraints, over which L-specific dominance relations or ranking will apply. Since ranking will of course be specific to individual languages or language-groups, I simply list here the primary members of the family of V-raising constraints involved, together with the languages to which they especially apply:

1. All our languages -- the target is the first of the two vowels -- i.e. Directionality.
2. MGreek involves the constraint variants -- Locality, & Mid-V-raise (Unmarking).
3. The Pacific langs involve the constraint variants -- *Identity-Lo-V, & Facilitative C.
4. And Wintu involves the constraint variants -- Mid-V-raise (Unmarking), & C.

Table 5. Language-constraint correlations

The parameter/constraint-based account thus covers Low-vowel raising in the Pacific, revives Mid-vowel raising for Modern Greek, and welcomes hybrid Amerindian Wintu into the extended 'dissimilative Vowel-raising' family. The analysis clearly supports the 'reality' of HD for Greek.

11 The Theme

How does the paper conform to the theme of the conference? Quite directly, it seems. I generalized across the theoretical parameters/constraints emerging from comparison of cross-dialect and cross-language data. As a result, I proposed that a phonological process that had been condemned as non-existent is in fact 'real', for Modern Greek dialects as elsewhere. Notice that my explanation is not external, i.e. is not stated in terms of universal phonetics. Instead, it explains the Greek cases in terms of an overarching parametrised phonological process-type, dissimilative vowel-raising. Thus it is 'internal', but nevertheless counts as an explanation (See Baker 2012), insofar as it relates one set of linguistic facts (those of Modern Greek) to a broader pattern of linguistic facts in an interesting and non-ad hoc way. All these processes/constraints are well-attested elsewhere.

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²⁰ And dissimilation largely fails to apply at a word-boundary for some of our languages, or fails even more generally when the target vowel V1 is immediately followed by a consonant cluster.

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SUBDIALECTAL DIVERSITY IN THE TSAKONIAN-SPEAKING AREA OF ARCADIA*

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This paper presents the results of the field research, launched in the Tsakonian-speaking area in 2010-2012 by the Hellenic Institute in Saint-Petersburg. Geographical and social differences in the dialect area have been studied; a correlation between them has been revealed. Two varieties of the Southern Tsakonian dialect have been distinguished: the palatalized variant of Prastos, and the non-palatalized one of Melana. Nowadays this distinction is influenced by two dialect descriptions (Kostakis, 1951; Deffner, 1881), assumed by the community speakers.

1 Purpose of study

The aim of this paper is to present geographical and social varieties of the Southern Tsakonian dialect and to analyze different linguistic and extralinguistic factors that contribute to the emergence and increase of the dialect diversity in the region. The analysis is based on the materials of a number of expeditions in the Tsakonian-speaking area in 2010-2012, organized by the Hellenic Institute in Saint-Petersburg and lead by my colleague Ass. Prof. Maxim Kisilier. In the first phase of the study the materials were collected by narrative interviews in Tsakonian and sociolinguistic and ethnolinguistic questionnaires in Modern Greek. After having revealed the key local dialect variation, a number of phonetic, morphosyntactic and lexical questionnaires were compiled.

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2 Dialect speaking community

The Tsakonian dialect spoken on the eastern Peloponnese nowadays has a relatively small area of extension and is usually divided in two subdialect groups:¹ northern² and southern. The northern variant is spread in the villages of Kastanitsa and Sitena, and the southern one is used in the city of Leonidion, and some villages to the North: Vaskina, Melana, Pragmatevtis, Tyros, Sapunoikeika, and Agios Andreas. Melana and Pramatevtis are situated one above the other and constitute a geographical microregion, so that they were united in one separate geographical point, as well as Tyros and Sapunoikeika. The village of Prastos should be mentioned apart, because it is situated in the mountains and is distinct and isolated from the main southern dialect area. The population of Prastos spends there only a few months in the summer and leaves to Agios Andreas during the winter period. Thus, the following geographical points were chosen as relevant for the study:

Tsakonian is supposed to be a critically endangered language because of its relatively small number of fluent speakers which are estimated to be 2000 to 4000 and because of the lack of a younger generation. The southern Tsakonian area speakers form quite a heterogeneous bilingual community. The percentage of population which doesn't speak Tsakonian is high in the town of Leonidion and very low in the surrounding villages. The mountain area is inhabited by the rural shepherd and agricultural population. Sailors constitute an important part of the inhabitants in the coastal villages.

The Tsakonian dialect is usually presented in relevant dialectological sources as the only Modern Greek dialect that doesn't derive from the hellenistic koine, but has traces of the ancient Greek Dorian (Lacanian) dialect.³ It is considered to have undergone a morphological reduction due to its long isolation in the mountain area of the eastern Peloponnese. Nevertheless, according to historical researches the dialect speakers maintained contacts with the mainland during the Middle Ages until the early part of the 19th c.⁴ Therefore, the isolation of the community during this period can be questioned. Contacts with other languages and Greek dialects are confirmed on the synchronic level by the Tsakonian lexical borrowings (Dragunkina, forthcoming). The Tsakonian community gets relatively isolated from modern development in the first half of the

¹ Besides the Peloponnesian Tsakonian idiom the variety of Propontis (villages Viatka and Khavusi) has been defined (see Kostakis, 1979). This variety wasn't included in the data of the present study due to its geographical remoteness.

² According to (Kondosopoulos, 2001: 4), the northern variety of the Tsakonian dialect was subjected to SMG interference. That is the reason why the southern area was chosen as the subject of this study.

³ This description of the Tsakonian dialect seems to be a simplified one and neglects the following facts: from the one hand, different ancient features ascribed to Tsakonian can be found in some other Greek dialects, e. g.:

1. Ancient Greek /y/ < /u/

Tsak. čuraká 'Sunday' < SMG Κυριακή

cf. Cypr. γrusós 'golden' < SMG χρυσός; Griko čýri 'mister, Lord' < SMG κύριος, Karpathos kryfós < SMG κρυφός.

2. Doric long ā < a

Tsak. améra 'day' < SMG ημέρα

cf. Karpathos axúsa 'sounding (toponym)' < SMG ηχούσα.

From the other hand, some important innovations, typologically comparable with other Greek dialects, can be also revealed in the Tsakonian, e. g. palatalization of /r/ ↔ /r'/.

⁴ See e. g. about relationships between Prastos and Constantinople in the 15-18th c. (Balta, 2009).

20th c., the main road to Leonidion was built only in the 1960s. Thus, it can be suggested that the isolation of the Tsakonian-speaking area is a recent phenomenon, but this hypothesis is to be proved.

3 Subdialectal variation

3.1 Phonetics

3.1.1 Geographical diversity

The main researcher of the Tsakonian dialect, Aphanasios Kostakis, was a native Tsakonian, who contributed to the popularization of the language and fostered the speakers interest in their own language variant. Tsakonian speakers have been influenced by Kostakis dialect researches.

Due to its rich phonetic particularity, the Tsakonian dialect appears to be incomprehensible for other Modern Greek speakers. It falls out of the main current classifications of Greek dialects (Newton, 1972; Kondosopoulos, 2001; Trudgill, 2003), because the majority of Tsakonian phonetic features doesn't coincide with the isoglosses that are valid for other Greek dialects.

The scientific study and description of the Tsakonian dialect was started by Michael Deffner, who lived for a long time in Tsakonian villages and worked with the informants. M. Deffner worked mostly in Prastos, and, as he mentions in his "Dictionary of the Tsakonian dialect", his study is based on the Prastos version of the dialect. The most complete study of the dialect in the XX c. was written by Hubert Pernot (Pernot, 1934) and his disciple Aphanasios Kostakis, born in the Tsakonian village Melana (Pernot, Kostakis, 1933; Kostakis, 1951). Having few local informants, Pernot gives preference to Kostakis' dialect variants, and namely to the variant of Melana. Kostakis' grammar has more prescriptive tendencies, than the descriptive ones, and is based on the southern materials from Melana and Leonidio.

The two different descriptions of the Tsakonian dialect have been opposed to one another and the scholars related to one another very critically. In his "Dictionary of the Tsakonian dialect" M. Deffner (Deffner, 1923) corrects Pernot's mistakes, and A. Kostakis (Kostakis, 1956), in his turn, presents corrections and additions to Deffner's list of the Tsakonian flora (Deffner, 1922). These corrections deal mostly with some phonetic features. Thus, the most problematic feature appears to be the use of the sound /r/ and its palatalized or non-palatalized versions. Two types of corrections can be observed:

1. A non-palatalized /r/ is substituted by a palatalized one:

Deffner 1922	Kostakis 1956
armiriθra ⁵	armižiθra
afria	afšia
vroxistra	vroxiša

Table 1. Correction of non-palatalized /r/ by A. Kostakis.

⁵ I present the examples not in the original orthography, but in a unified transcription.

2. A palatalized variant /rʲj/ is substituted by another result of the palatalization of /r/ – /ž/:

Deffner 1922	Kostakis 1956	
	Leonidio	Kastanitsa
ayržokúmare	ayžokúmare	ayržokumaría
axžía	akxšía	kxžía

Table 2. Corrections of palatalized variant /rʲj/ by A. Kostakis.

The substitution of palatalized /rʲj/ by /ž/ in Kostakis' corrections is very regular. This fact leads us to assume that in this case some subdialectal differences can be observed and their pronunciation should be checked through the whole southern area. The main points of inquiry we have chosen were the villages of Vaskina-Leonidion (the Tsakonian dialect isn't spoken in Leonidion today, it is used only by shepherds from villages around who come to the kafenio), Melana, Tyros, Sapunokeika and the area of Agios Andreas-Prastos.

According to M. Deffner, in the Tsakonian dialect a non-palatalized /r/ can be used before /i/ (Deffner, 1881: 108f) in several words only, for example:

ambria 'Easter',
 voria 'North',
 yria 'old woman',
 krie 'meat'.

In these examples the use of the non-palatalized /r/ has been constantly observed in the speech of the informants. It has never been palatalized neither by men nor by women of different ages.

Palatal consonants, their status and mutation still remain a matter of discussion. In other cases the distribution of palatal and non-palatal consonants is unclear. The same informant (Masc., 70, born in Vaskina, and now living in Leonidion) can use in the same narrative two different variants: a palatalized one (pažiu) and a non-palatalized one (pariu).

3.1.2 Gender differences

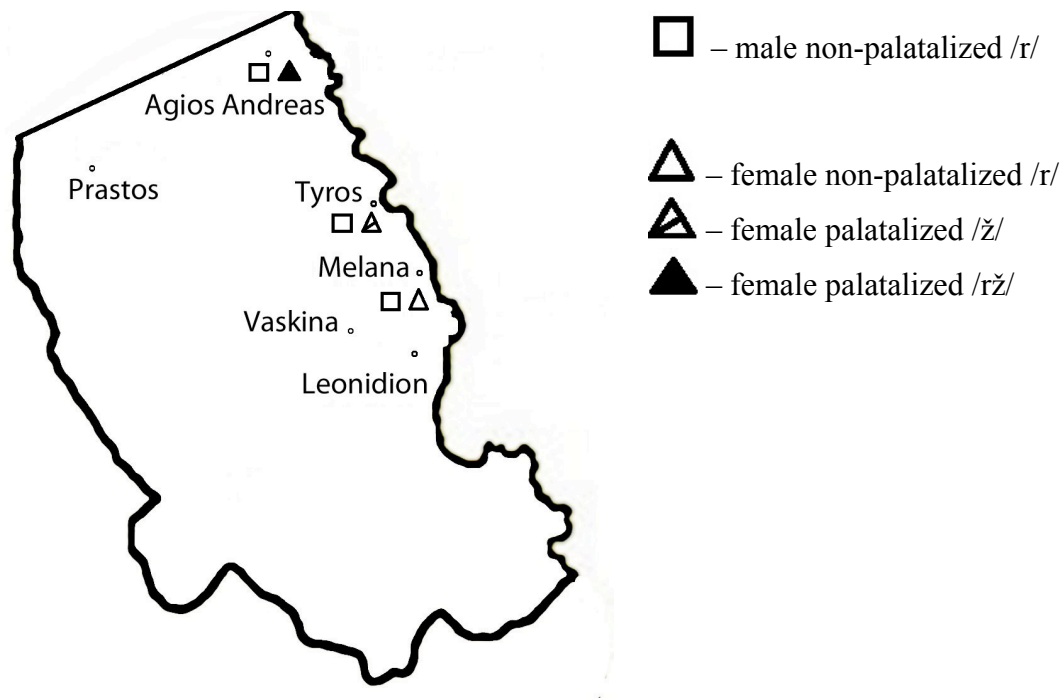
Another problem is linked to the conditions of mutation, it is often not clear if the mutation depends just on the phonological environment or is also affected by certain extralinguistic factors, like the sex of the speaker. Nevertheless, we have been able to reveal also a geographical distribution of the forms which coexists with the social distribution.

It has already been observed by Pernot (Pernot, 1934) and Charalambopoulos (Charalambopoulos, 1980) that women usually use the palatalized variant of /r/, but no geographical distribution of this phenomenon has been presented yet, and the villages of Prastos and Agios Andreas were often excluded from the area in study.

Analyzing together gender and geographical distribution of palatalized /r/, we get the following results:

Place	Male variant	Female variant	SMG
Melana – Pravamtevtis	muár`ja	muár`ja	μουλάρια
Tyros – Sapunakeika	ér`ifo	éžifo	έριφα
Agios Andreas – Prastos	monascír`i	monascírži	μοναστήρι

Table 3. Male and female differences in using palatalized /r/.



Map 1. Male and female differences in using palatalized /r/.

We can observe that in the southern area of Leonidion-Melana-Pravamtevtis the women don't use the palatalized variant of /r/ and pronounce: muárja (Fem, 85, Melana). In the region of Tyros-Sapunakeika, Prastos-Agios Andreas two variants of palatalized /r/ remain: érifó (Masc., 81, Tyros), éžifo (Fem, 80, Tyros), monastsíri (Masc, 61, Agios Andreas), monastsírži (Masc., 70, Agios Andreas).

(Deffner, 1881) describes two variants of palatalized /r/ in the Tsakonian dialect that can be transformed into /rž<i>/, or into /ž<i>/, for example:

máža / márža 'mules' — SMG μουλάρια,

kžáða / kržáða 'cold' — SMG κρυάδα,

[éni] ðakržízu / [éni] ðakžízu 'it tears (3SG)' — SMG ðakρίζω.

The palatalized variants /rʒ/ is preferred by the informants from Prastos and Agios Andreas. This fact confirms once more that M. Deffner's dialect description was based primarily on the dialect version of Prastos. Therefore it can be supposed that the two variants of palatalized /r/ were at first opposed one to another as isoglosses of the local varieties.

It is worth to mention that the palatalization of /r/ into /rʒ/ is common for the northern Tsakonian dialect of Kastanitsa (for example: istoržia). Kostakis' corrections and additions (Kostakis, 1956) to Deffner's work (Deffner, 1922) reveal the same tendency. This observation leads us to suppose that the Prastos area can be expected to have common features with the northern Tsakonian dialect and to be a transition zone between the two dialectal varieties. The differences in male and female use of language can be interpreted as a result of SMG influence.

3.1.3 Geographical and gender differences

As we trace other palatalization phenomena in the area discussed, we observe similar tendencies. There has been a disappearance of palatalized forms in the South of the Tsakonian-speaking area (Leonidio, Vaskina, Melana). We observe an occasional palatalization, especially in the women's use, in the town of Tyros (to the North of Leonidio), and a frequent palatalization in Prastos.

Palatalization of the velar /k/ or tsitakismos has a similar distribution:

tseftéde (Fem., 55, Tyros),

keftéde (Masc./Fem., 80, Melana).

We observe this palatalization also in the relatively new words, e. g.: ameritsí, afritsí, so that it can be concluded that it is still a living process.

The lack of palatalization can be explained as an innovation, which emerged in the South of the Tsakonian-speaking area due to contacts with the Standard Greek language in the town of Leonidio and the coastal villages. The influence of Standard Greek leads also to a phenomenon of depalatalization. In the speech of one informant from Melana, aged 50 years, the sibilants are usually depalatalized: we have *atse* instead of *ače*, *asa* instead of *aša*.

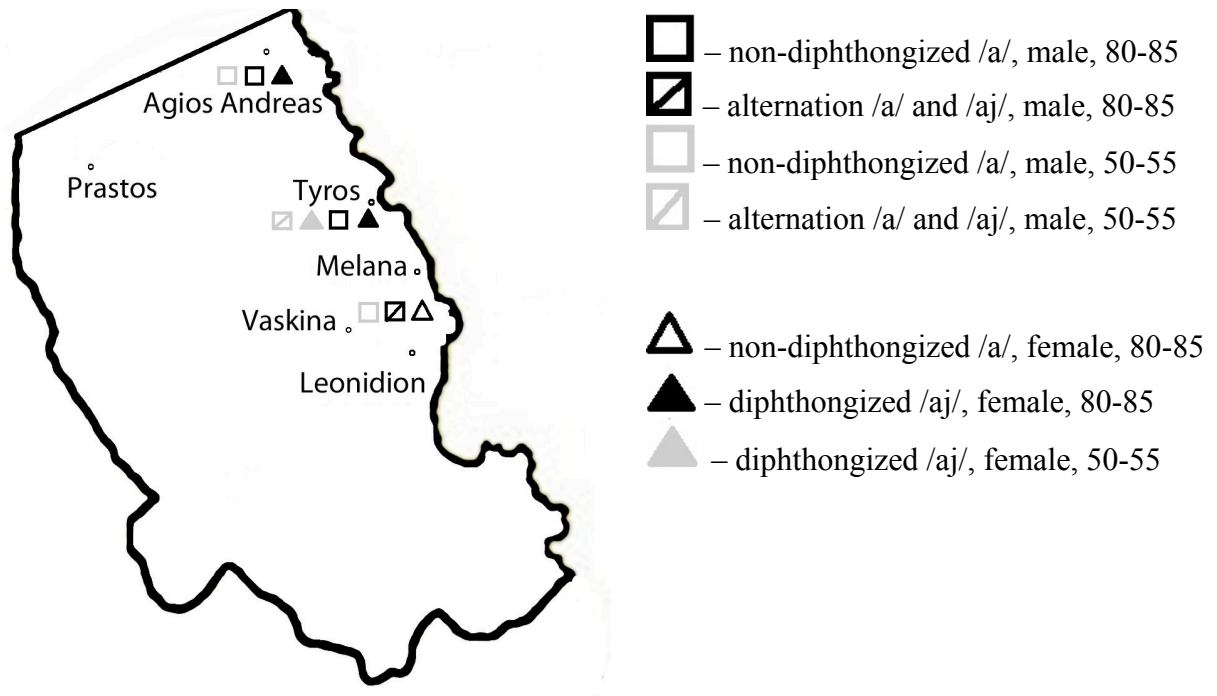
Another phonetic feature is worth to be mentioned – the diphthongization of the back vowels in the position before dental fricatives. A. Kostakis corrects in Deffner's list the form *ayrʒoródiko*, and proposes another form – *ayʒorójdiko*.

In his dictionary M. Deffner prefers non-diphthongized forms like: *čaθía* (Deffner, 1923: 370) that has even no parallel diphthongized form, and *úθi* (Deffner, 1923: 294) that has a variation – *újθi*. Deffner describes this process as diphthong simplification under the influence of Standard greek, but in this case the innovative diphthongization seems to be more probable.

During our field research in southern Tsakonia we have collected the following results:

Place	Age: ~ 80-85		Age: ~50-55	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Melana	kiyáði, čajθía	kiyáði	kiyáði, čaθía	–
Tyros	čaθía, tiyáði	čajθía	čajθía, kiyájði, θa naθí	čajθía, kiyájði, θa najθí
Agios Andreas	čaθía, kiyáði	kiyájði	čaθía, kiyáði	–

Table 4. Diphthongization. Geographical and gender distribution.



Map 2. Diphthongization. Geographical and gender distribution.

It can be concluded that we observe in this case an innovation which has been spreading from the North, because it is well preserved in the female speech, independent of the age, and is likely to be stopped by the interference with the Standard Greek language. The interference is strengthened by the gradual loss of the traditional life style. The gender distinction disappears, while the men in the age of 50-55 in Tyros start to use female diphthongized variant as the more ancient and the right one.

3.2 Morphology

The most variable morphological phenomena have appeared to be the use of genitive forms and irrealis constructions.

3.2.1 Genitive forms

(Kostakis, 1951) contains a number of distinct genitive forms. (Deffner, 1923), on the contrary, gives a restricted number of nouns that are able to build these forms. A list of nouns was compiled and checked with the informants from different villages, of different age and sex. The following feminine nouns preserve a distinct form of singular genitive:

a ghuneka 'woman' – ta ghuneci,
 a ghidha 'goat' – ta ghide,
 a kotxa 'han' – ta kotxe,
 a kulika 'cow' – ta kulice,
 a nytxa 'night' – ta nytxe,
 a kacua 'cat' – ta kacule,
 a dzea 'house' – ta celi,
 a mira 'fate' – ta mire,
 a sati 'daughter' – ta sateri,
 a mera 'day' – ta meri.

From the masculine nouns have been conserved only the following forms:

o achopo 'husband' – tu achupu,
 o athropo 'man' – tu athrupu,
 o kue 'dog' – tu kune.

The forms listed have no subdialectal varieties. They are preserved in the dialect and have different degree of conservation which can depend on geographical or social factors (age, sex). Elderly women who have been living for a long time in the mountain villages appear to be the most competent dialect speakers. Male informants from coastal villages and from the town of Leonidion substitute the genitive singular forms by the accusative ones, e. g.:

- (1) i pue ta kotxa
 the-ART.NOM.PL legs-NOM.PL the-ART.ACC.SG han-ACC.SG
 'han's legs'
- (2) eni oru tar avutane ta kacua
 see-PRS.1SG ART.ACC.PL ears-ACC.PL ART.ACC.SG cat-ACC.SG
 'I see cat's ears'

3.2.2 IRREALIS

The Tsakonian irrealis constructions have been successfully studied in (Liosis, 2010), but the typological approach of this study ignores geographical and social specificity of the phenomenon. Having detected a high variability of the irrealis constructions, we checked them up and got the following results:

Melana, masc.: θa + IMPV.

- (3) θa éma paríu, an m<i>' ésa aú: éa!
 come-IRR if 1SG tell-IMPV.2SG.M come-IMP
 'I would come, if you told me: come!'

Melana, fem.: $\theta a + kja + SBJV$

- (4) θa kja $\langle nd \rangle$ $alíu$ $éa,$ o θa $mólere$ $mazí$ $mi.$
 tell<2SG>-IRR come-IMP NEG come-FUT.2SG with 1SG
 'I would tell you: come, <but> you won't come with me'

Vaskina, masc.: $be-AUX.IMPV + \theta a + SBJV$

- (5) $éki$ θa $líu$ tan $alí\theta ja,$ $alá$ o' $\langle e \rangle ni$ $ború.$
 tell-IRR ART truth but NEG can-PRS.1SG.M
 'I would tell the truth, but I cannot'

Vaskina, fem.: $want-AUX.PRS.F + na + SBJV$

- (6) e $\theta éa$ na nd' $alíu$ tan $alí\theta ja,$ $alá$ o' $\langle en \rangle i$ $bor=ua.$
 tell<2SG>-IRR ART truth but NEG can-PRS.1SG.F
 'I would tell you the truth, but I cannot'

Tyros, masc.: $\theta a + IMPV$

- (7) θa $éma$ $paríu$ $t^x on$ $teré,$ $áma$ o' $\langle e \rangle ni$ $ború.$
 come-IRR PREP=ART Tyros but NEG can-PRS.1SG.M
 'I would come to Tyros, but I cannot'

Tyros, fem.: $\theta a + IMPV$

- (8) an $éma$ $pažía$ tse $ezú$ $t^x a$ $xóra$ $n'úmu,$ θa m' $éki$ $arésa$
 if come-IRR.F and 1SG PREP=ART land our like<1SG>-IRR

 a $xóra$ $n'úmu.$
 ART land our
 'If I came in your land, I would like your land'

Agios Andreas, masc.: $\theta a + IMPV$

- (9) $áma$ $éma$ $ború,$ θa n' $éma$ $píu.$
 if can-IMPV.1SG.M tell<3SG>-IRR
 'If I could, I would tell him'

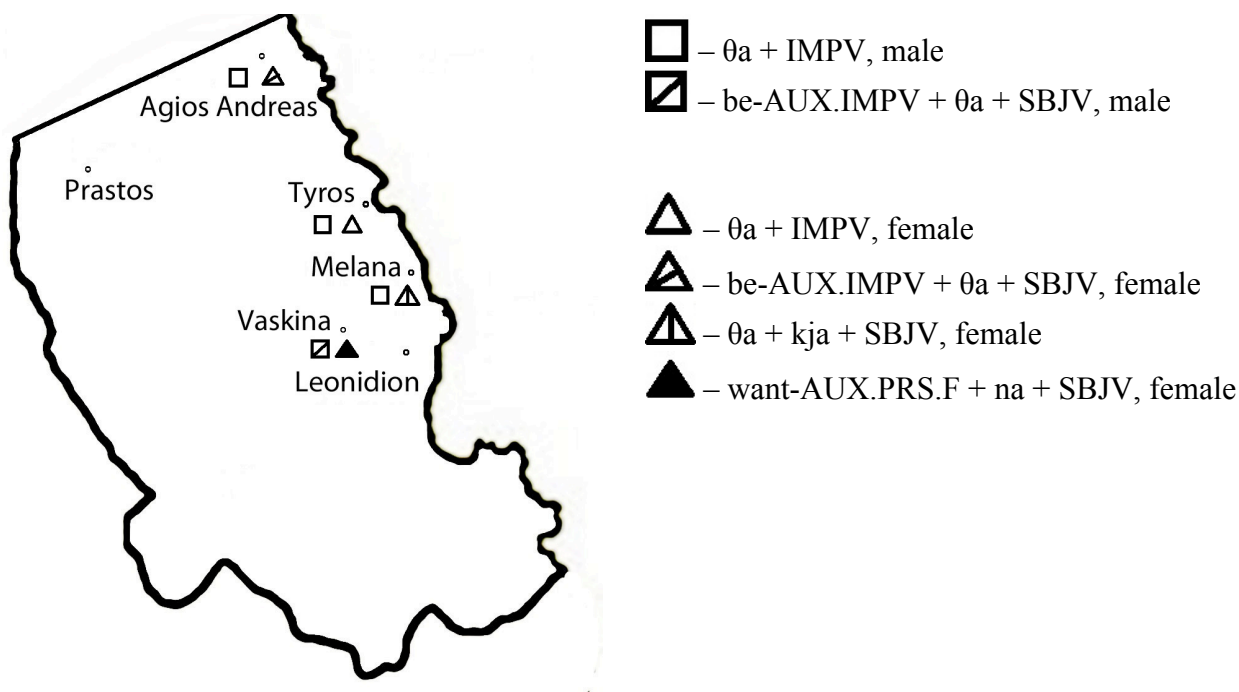
Agios Andreas, fem.: $be-AUX.IMPV.3SG + \theta a + SBJV$

- (10) $éki$ θa nd' $alíu$ tan $alí\theta ja,$ $alá$ o' $\langle e \rangle ni$ $borúa.$
 tell<2SG>-IRR ART truth but NEG can-PRS.1SG.F.
 'I would tell you the truth, but I cannot'.

The information about irrealis constructions can be summarized in the table below:

Place	Male variant	Female variant
Melana	$\theta a + IMPV$	$\theta a + kja + SBJV$
Vaskina	$be-AUX.IMPV + \theta a + SBJV$	$want-AUX.PRS.F + na + SBJV$
Tyros	$\theta a + IMPV$	$\theta a + IMPV$
Agios Andreas (Prastos)	$\theta a + IMPV$	$be-AUX.IMPV.3SG + \theta a + SBJV$

Table 5. Distribution of irrealis constructions.



Map 3. Distribution of irrealis constructions.

The construction θa + IMPV is a recent innovation, influenced by SMG Irrealis forms. It is frequent in the speech of both male and female informants from the coastal village Tyros. Gender differences are no more relevant for this geographical group. In Agios Andreas and Melana a Tsakonian variant of irrealis constructions is used only in female speech, which can be explained by the fact that the villages have a high percent of shepherd population and a relatively traditional life style. In the village of Vaskina, situated high in the mountains above the town of Leonidion, both female and male Tsakonian forms are used. These are the most archaic variants.

3.3 Lexicon

The differences revealed in the southern Tsakonian dialect are, essentially, phonetic and morphological. The lexical varieties confirm the division of the area into the coastal and mountain zones. The study of the lexical borrowings in the same points reveals that Albanian and Slavic animal husbandry terminology prevails in Vaskina, while informants don't recognize the Venetian and Italian borrowings of sailing terms. The inhabitants of coastal villages, on the

contrary, demonstrate a good knowledge of the last one and a worth competence in agricultural lexicon.

4 Dialect experts

Observing the Tsakonian subdialectal diversity, we have also detected some phenomena of local language standardization in the southern Tsakonian-speaking area. A concurrence between two dialect variants can be revealed: the dialect of Prastos and the one of Melana-Leonidion. In these two centers, in Leonidion-Melana, in particular, the language elites are formed nowadays.

Prastos is supposed to be the ancient capital of Tsakonia according to a widespread view within the dialect speaking community. It is called “the center of Tsakonia” by its citizens. The speakers of the palatalized variant of Prastos, in general, do not acclaim Kostakis’ works and prefer the earlier dialect description of the German scholar Michael Deffner. A priest from Prastos has even created his own graphic system for the Tsakonian dialect, alternative to the Kostakis’ system, and tries to teach it to children on his lessons of Tsakonian.

Two different print traditions of Tsakonian literature have been created by the speakers of the two different dialect versions from Melana and from Prastos. For example, the author of Tsakonian narratives Artemisa Panajotu Merkuriadu, born in Prastos, mentions in her book’s introduction that the book’s orthography is based on Deffner’s graphic system, and namely on the orthography of Deffner’s dictionary (Deffner, 1923).

The speakers from Melana believe their dialectal variety to be the most ancient and the most “correct”. A. Kostakis’ attempts of dialect standardization appear to be much more influential than those of Deffner.

There are very frequent cases when the informants correct the forms of their own language or the forms that their parents used and substitute them by Kostakis variants. For example, one informant gave us two subjunctive forms of the verb *díu*: *na si dí* and *na si δ(ú)i*. The first one is given by (Kostakis, 1951) and the second one was used by his mother. He himself chooses the first variant.

The same thing happens with the subjunctive aorist form of the verb *nému*: *na nemaixúni* and *na nemaθúni* (SUBJ.AOR.PASS.REFL.3PL). The last one is correct according to (Kostakis, 1951), and the first example is a diphthongized form, a rare example of diphthongization before /x/. Commenting his text, the informant corrected the “wrong” form.

Not only separate forms are corrected, but also the informants try to reintroduce whole morphological phenomena into the dialect due to Kostakis’ influence. Some traces of this influence can be found in the morphological diversity of the Tsakonian dialect, namely in the formation of the irreal conditional clauses. The model prescribed by (Kostakis, 1951) (with the particle *kja*) was reproduced only by two informants from Melana, which are expert dialect speakers that, obviously, had learnt it from Kostakis’ works. One of them is Kostakis’ granddaughter and the other is a philologist. Other informants, including the elder ones, use other models of irreal conditionals, mentioned above, and even do not recognize the construction with *kja*. They interpret it as the question word “*kja*” ‘where’.

5 Concluding remarks

The subdialectal variation in Southern Tsakonian has emerged and continues developing nowadays due to both internal structural and external extralinguistic factors. We can distinguish two varieties of the Southern Tsakonian dialect: the palatalized variant of Prastos, and the non-palatalized one of Melana. The progress of innovations can be tracked from Prastos. The informants from Melana mention a lack of contact between their village and Prastos, the relationship is maintained mainly with the neighboring village of Tyros.

There are two different and sometimes contradictory descriptions of the Tsakonian dialect which are based, on the one hand, on different subdialect varieties and, on the other hand, are assumed by the subdialect speakers as prescriptive dialect grammars. Therefore we cannot exclude the impact of this local standardization on the further development of the Tsakonian dialect because we have been able to observe the influence of the scholar dialect description on the community behavior. The discussions about the choice of a correct word form or an appropriate lexeme are very frequent among the dialect speakers; jokes about language are widespread. A group of authoritative experts have been formed. Handbooks, children literature and small novels in the dialect have been published recently.

A correlation between the gender and the geographical differences can be observed in the dialect: the gender distinction tends to disappear in the coastal variant, while it remains relevant for the shepherd population of the mountain settlements.

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ASKING QUESTIONS IN CORFU: AN INTONATIONAL ANALYSIS*

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The aim of this paper is to provide an overview of the prosodic marking of polar questions in the Corfiot dialect. More specifically, we aim at comparing the intonation of polar questions in two different varieties spoken in Corfu, namely the variety spoken in the city of Corfu (CC) and the variety spoken in the villages of the South (SC). Our corpus consists of conversational data, the aim being to investigate both the questions' melodies and their conversational functions (cf. Papazachariou 2004). Our preliminary findings showed that the two varieties differ from each other as well as from SMG in terms of the melodies used for polar questions. Furthermore, the tonal analysis of the contours reveals two different intonation patterns in each variety which correspond to different conversational meanings.

1 Introduction

The aim of this paper is to provide an account of the prosodic marking of polar questions in the Corfiot dialect, a dialect spoken in Corfu, an island at the North-west of mainland Greece. Although a sufficient amount of research has focused on polar questions in SMG, only limited research has investigated polar questions in Modern Greek dialects (see, e.g., Papazachariou 1998, 2004). Most importantly, no relevant study has been devoted to the Corfiot dialect. This lack of interest might be attributed to the fact that it was only recently that Modern Greek dialects came to the center of the interest of the scientific community in and outside Greece. In this study we take a first step in the direction of filling this gap.

The present study has been conducted in the Autosegmental and Metrical Framework (henceforth AM; Pierrehumbert 1980, Beckman & Pierrehumbert 1986, Ladd 1996). In this

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model, a melody is represented as a sequence of distinctive tonal levels, namely L and H tonal targets. Tones, which can be either monotonal (L or H) or bitonal (combinations of H and L), are seen as autosegments which associate with the segmental string in two ways: with metrically strong syllables and with phrase edges. Tones associated with stressed syllables are called *pitch accents* and their function is to enhance the prominence of these syllables. Pitch accents are marked with a star ‘*’ as a diacritic. Tones associated with phrasal boundaries can be of two types: *boundary tones*, which demarcate the boundary of an intonation phrase and are marked with a percentage ‘%’ as a diacritic, and *phrase accents*, which demarcate the boundary of an intermediate phrase, and are marked with a ‘-’ as a diacritic. Therefore, following an AM analysis, an intonation phrase is analyzed as a string of at least one pitch accent, a phrase accent and a boundary tone.

Regarding the polar question intonation in SMG, there is unanimity among researchers (independently of the framework they adopt) concerning its general pattern. In particular, the intonational properties that characterize the default melody are a *low pitch* on the focused word of the question, and a *rise-fall* at the end of the intonation phrase (see Arvaniti 2009 and the references therein). Depending on the position of the word in focus, the melody of polar questions may have two different realizations (Arvaniti *et al.* 2006a, 2006b; Arvaniti 2009). These two realizations are illustrated in Figures 1 and 2. In Fig. 1, the focused word *θelis* appears in the beginning of the utterance and the melody is realized as a low level stretch that extends from the stressed syllable of the word in focus to the onset of the last stressed syllable in the utterance. At this point a rise begins that reaches a peak towards the end of this stressed syllable and is followed by a fall. In Fig. 2, the focused word *ροδονερο* appears at the right edge of the utterance. The stressed syllable is low and an abrupt rise and fall appears at its last syllable.

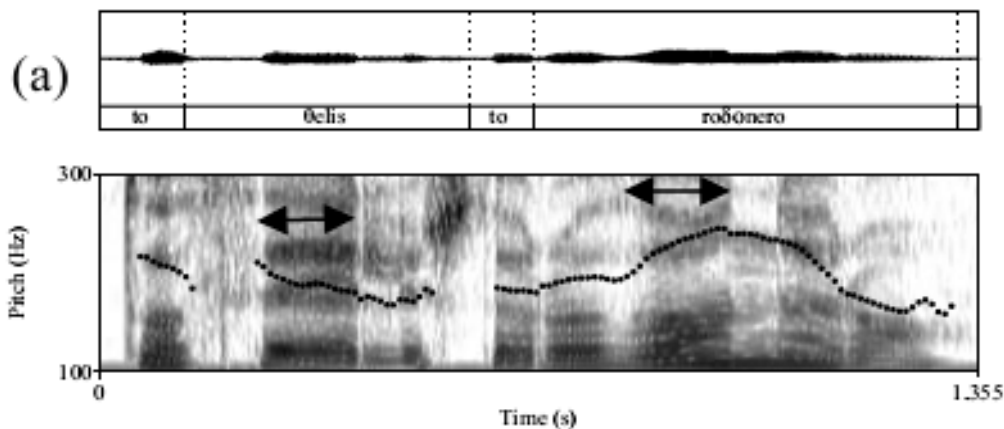


Figure 1. Early focus (from Arvaniti 2009: 21)

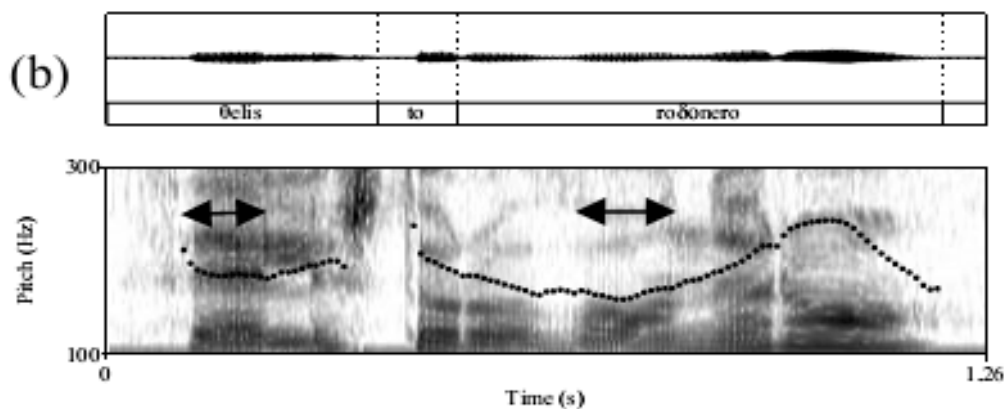


Figure 2. Utterance-final focus (from Arvaniti 2009: 21)

Building upon the above analysis of the polar question intonation in SMG, this paper seeks to describe and compare the intonation of polar questions in two different varieties spoken in Corfu, namely the variety spoken in the city of Corfu (CC) and the variety spoken in the villages of the South (SC). A further important question of this paper is whether there is variability within the same variety in terms of the contours used in different conversational contexts.

2 The Corfiot dialect

This section gives a brief background on the Corfiot dialect. The dialect is spoken in Corfu island and belongs to the Heptanesian dialect (Kontossopoulos 2006:67). Due to the long occupation of the island by the Venetians (1386-1797 AD), the dialect was strongly influenced by the Italian variety of Veneto. This influence led to a long-lasting period of *bilingualism* inside the city of Corfu. The variety of Veneto was spoken by the nobles in order to gain prestige.

The Corfiot dialect was also influenced by the Greek dialects of Epirus and Peloponnese, due to immigration. Since the Ottoman occupation of Greece, many people from Epirus and Peloponnese have migrated to Corfu (the entire island) searching for better living conditions and for better working opportunities.

Interestingly, the Corfiot dialect and the linguistic situation inside the island have never been systematically studied. A few amateur and sporadic studies, focusing mainly on the history and the society of the island (e.g., Salvanos 1918, Laskari 1998), report that the dialect is divided into two major varieties; the varieties spoken in the city of Corfu, influenced by the prestigious Venetian dialect, and the varieties spoken in the rural areas, which remained “pure” and unaffected by foreign influences due to geographic and socio-political facts.

In our recent study of the dialectal situation and geographical variation in the island of Corfu, we showed that there is greater variability within Corfu than previously assumed (Giakoumelou & Papazachariou 2012). By employing qualitative and quantitative methods, i.e. conversational evidence extracted from a corpus of free conversations, as well as structured questionnaires about linguistic variability inside Corfu and Corfiots’ attitudes towards this variability, four major varieties were identified: Corfiot of the city, Northern Corfiot, Middle Corfiot and Southern Corfiot. We found that the four varieties can be distinguished on the basis of

intonation, pronunciation and vocabulary (e.g., more Italian words in the town, more Ancient Greek words in the South). According to the informants' judgments, Southern Corfiot is the most salient variety, whereas the varieties of the city, Middle and North have minor differences. This might be attributed to the general lifestyle of the people of the South. Southern Corfiots are characterized by the informants as autonomous, "villagers" and uneducated, as different from the other Corfiots in terms of lifestyle, and even in terms of looks. In the same spirit, their variety is characterized as rural, "heavy" and funny, judgments obviously based on imposed social norms, or social connotations (see Trudgill & Gilles 1978). On the other hand, the rest of the Corfiots, and especially the Corfiots of the city are characterized as educated, cultured, original and refined, and their variety as melodic and pleasant. These Corfiots' judgments about the dialectal situation in the island were the starting point for our study. In the paper, we investigate whether the above locals' perceptions about the linguistic situation in Corfu correspond to the real linguistic diversity in the island. In doing so, we compare polar questions' melodies from the city of Corfu (urban prestigious variety) and from a large village of the South (Argyrades).

3. Methodology

The data for the present study come from recordings of spontaneous conversations, which were held in the city of Corfu¹ and in the South (2 recordings in each city). All of our informants were born and raised in the city of Corfu and south Corfu (Argyrades) respectively. Two female and one male speakers of each variety participated in our study. The age of the informants for the former variety ranges from 20 to 65 years and for the latter from 42 to 60 years. The fieldworker used ethnographic methods in order to record casual speech in everyday social settings, using in both places local intermediaries who shared strong family and social ties with the informants. The recordings were held at the informants' places, in order that they feel more comfortable with the procedure and to achieve naturalness in conversation. For the recordings we used a portable Fostex FR-2LE digital recorder and two AKG C 680 BL microphones. The sound files have been transcribed and analyzed using Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2013). The transcription has been mainly based on the visual observation of F_0 .

Before proceeding to the analysis, a few methodological clarifications are in order. It has to be noted that our material lacks homogeneity, because the data obtained consist of conversational, not pre-structured utterances. In addition, we did not perform experiments based on controlled utterances, which affects the comparability of data across varieties. As a result, the degree of accuracy of the description of the intonational structure of the contours diminishes. Furthermore, we detected a certain degree of complexity in tonal movements at the end of intonation phrases of both varieties. In order to account for complex pitch trajectories, we incorporate bitonal and tritonal boundary tones, and not a phrase accent² followed by a boundary tone (see also Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto 2008, Prieto and Roseano 2010).

¹ One of the recordings was taken from the database of the Laboratory of Modern Greek Dialects, University of Patras.

² Phrase accents are the most controversial tonal categories. For discussion on this issue see Grice et al 2000, Ladd 1996, Frota 2002, Gussenhoven 2004.

4. Contours of CC and SC polar questions

This section analyzes the contours of polar questions detected in our corpus, from both the City and Southern Corfu. Our analysis of polar question intonation in the two varieties of Corfu results in two different intonation patterns in each variety. Since we are dealing with interactional conversational data, our aim is to try to explain variation of contours with respect to their context, and relate the different patterns to different conversational meanings. Thus, our hypothesis is that the conversational background of the speakers, into which every question is embedded, provides evidence for the speakers' choice of a specific intonation pattern.

4.1 Corfiot of the City

The tonal analysis of polar questions in the Corfiot of the city reveals two different intonation patterns: a rising-falling pattern and a low-rising pattern.

The rising-falling pattern was detected in the majority of the questions analyzed, i.e. 28 out of 32 cases. It involves a rising nuclear pitch accent, followed by a falling boundary tone, concatenated by a high F0 plateau (Fig. 3).

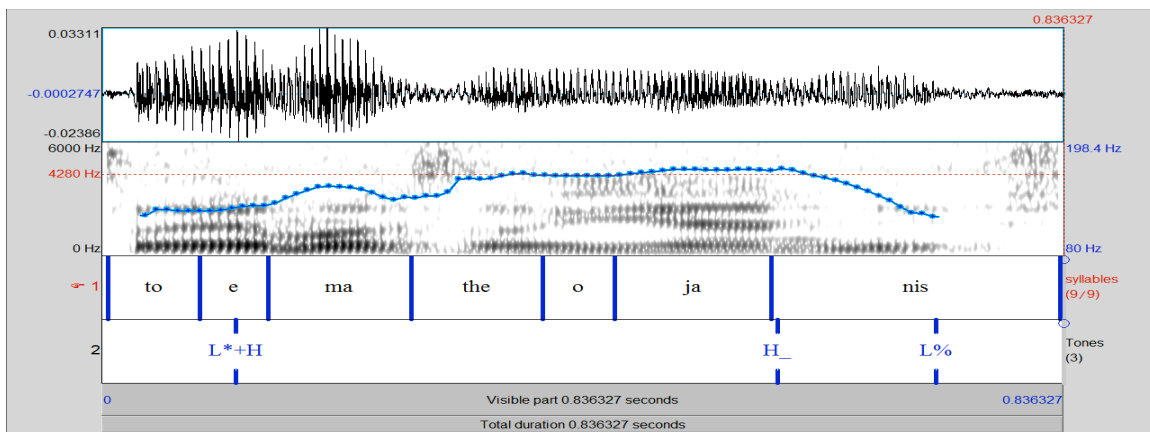


Figure 3. The rising-falling pattern in CC.

This example ‘Did John learn it?’ illustrates a typical contour of polar questions in the Corfiot of the City. The low target of the rising nuclear pitch accent is realized on the stressed antepenultimate syllable of the focused word *emathe* “learned”, and the high target on the penultimate syllable. After the pitch accent, a high F0 plateau follows, extending up to the onset of the last syllable in the phrase.

The low-rising pattern was detected in 4 questions of our corpus. It involves a low nuclear pitch accent, followed by a rise from a low target to a high target. This is illustrated in Fig. 4.

matches the first pattern, i.e. it is rising-falling. In what follows, Sp2 responds positively, by stating that she took the exams (line 2) and Sp1 congratulates her for her success and underlines the positive aspects of this success (lines 3-4). Unexpectedly, Sp2 tells her that she has not finished yet (line 5), implying that she is going to continue for the more advanced level. As is obvious from her reactions, Sp1 did not expect that Sp2 intended to continue. In fact, she was pretty sure that after taking the examination, she would stop. As a matter of fact, she asks a question, from which however she does not expect new information, because she already knows the answer. Her intention is to express her surprise about Sp's 2 decision to continue. Other cues which strengthen the interpretation of the question as a surprise question³, are the immediately following "surprise reaction token"⁴ *Ooooooh!*, as well as her assessment *I admire your courage!*. The melody of question in line 6 matches the second intonation pattern attested in the Corfiot of the City, i.e. the low-rising pattern.

We may conclude that the first pattern (rising-falling) is used when the speaker asks for information and cannot predict the answer. The second pattern (low-rising) seems to be used in order to express surprise.

4.2 Southern Corfiot

The tonal analysis of polar questions in the South Corfiot also reveals two different intonation patterns; a low-rising-falling to a mid-level pattern and a low-rising pattern.

The low-rising-falling to a mid-level pattern was detected in the majority of the questions analyzed, i.e. 19 out of 23 cases. It involves a low nuclear pitch accent, followed by a gradual rise from a low target or a low plateau to a high target, and then a small fall of about 20 Hz average to a mid-level tone, which is analyzed as a downstepped high target. This is illustrated in Fig. 5.

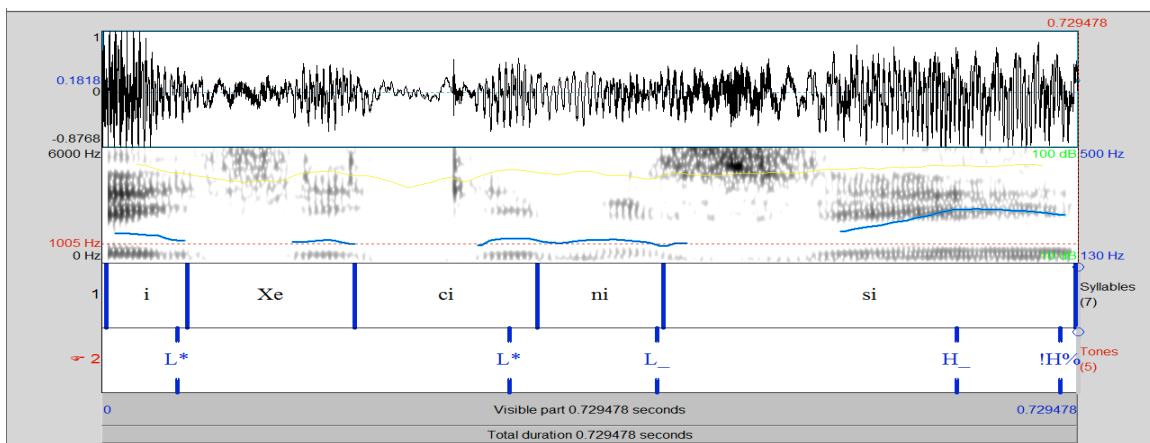


Figure 5. The low-rising-falling to a mid-level pattern in SC.

The example 'Have you met traffic jam?' illustrates a typical contour of polar questions in South Corfu. The L* nuclear pitch accent is realized on the antepenultimate syllable of the phrase final

³ For questions displaying surprise and their prosodic marking, see Selting (1996).

⁴ Wilkinson & Kitinger (2006) use the term "reaction tokens" to refer to such expressions of surprise.

word *cinisi* “traffic jam”. After the pitch accent, a low F0 plateau follows which rises at the last syllable of the phrase to a high target, and a small fall. What is noteworthy is the very long duration of the last syllable.

The low-rising pattern was detected in 4 questions of our corpus. It involves a low nuclear pitch accent, followed by a rise from a low target or a low plateau to a high target. This is illustrated in Fig. 6.

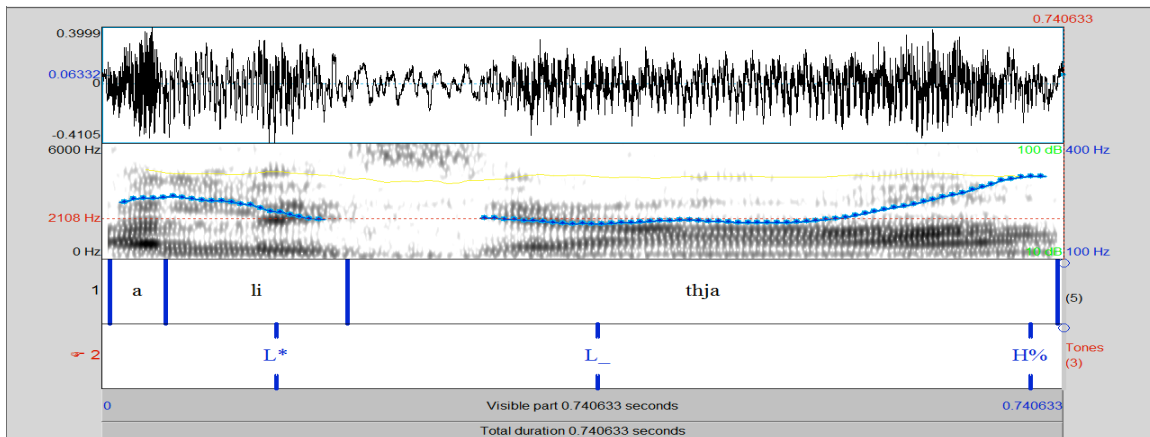


Figure 6. The low-rising pattern in SC.

This example ‘*Really?*’ displays a typical contour of polar questions with low-rising intonation. The L* nuclear pitch accent is realized on the penultimate syllable of the word. After the pitch accent, a rise follows from a very long low F0 plateau to a high target. In the last vowel, one can observe a further rise to an extra high target. What is noteworthy is the extremely long duration of the last syllable.

The following passage is part of a conversation between two friends. They are discussing cultural events that the cultural center of their village is going to organize. More specifically, they are discussing a play that is going to be performed. The passage begins with Sp’s1 unwillingness to participate in such events. She then asks Sp2 whether she knows if a common friend of them is going to have an active role.

- (2) Sp1. 1.1 **Ego den ksero, den asxolume mafta ta spor. Ine spor ja mena poli...banal.**
I don’t know, I am not involved in these stuff. They are too.. banal for me.
- 1.2 **Tha peksi ce i ali?**
L* L* L_H_H%
Will she also take part?
- Sp2. 1.3 **Pja ?**
Who ?
- Sp1. 1.4 **i (...)**
the (...)
- Sp2. 1.6 **Den ksero.**
I don’t know

The question in line 2 is a typical example of an information-seeking polar question. Sp1 is asking for information, and she has no expectations about the answer. The melody of the question in line 2 matches the first intonation pattern for South Corfiot, i.e. low-rising-falling to a mid-level.

The context of a typical example of the second pattern (i.e. low-rising) of polar questions in South Corfiot is given in (3). In this passage, the two interlocutors are talking about the casting for a theatrical play, in which Sp1 wanted to participate but she has not been chosen by the director.

- (3) Sp1. 1.1 **I vasilisa ine I Mersini ce o vasiljas ine o Alekos, e?**
Mersini is the queen and Alekos the king, aren't they?
- Sp2. 1.2 **oXi.**
No.
- Sp1. 1.3 **Etsi ematha.**
That's what I learned.
- Sp2. 1.4 **O Daovas ce i Kostula.**
Daovas and Kostula
- Sp1. 1.5 **Alithjia? Ce I Mersini ti eXi?**
L* H_H%
Really? And what about Mersini?
- Sp2. 1.6 **Tin Titania.**
(She's) Titania
- Sp3. 1.7 **(long pause). Telospanton.**
(long pause). Anyway.

In the beginning of the passage, Sp1 asks Sp2 to confirm the rumours concerning the leading roles for the new play, but Sp2 does not. In what follows (lines 1-4), Sp2 reveals the actors that will lead the cast. This new information comes as a surprise to Sp1, who linguistically marks this feeling by the question *alithjia?* (line 5). This question does not have an informative function, as the speaker already knows the answer, but clearly shows her astonishment; she was absolutely sure that Mersini would have taken the role, as is obvious from her next question, whereby she asks which role she will perform. After Sp's 2 reply, there is an extended pause, which possibly indicates Sp's 1 disapproval (see Wilkinson & Kitzinger 2006) and she ends the conversation with a condescending expression.

To sum up, the analysis of the two contexts show that the low-rising-falling to a mid-level pattern is the typical contour for information-seeking questions in South Corfiot, whereas the low-rising pattern conveys a special conversational meaning, namely it expresses surprise.

5. Final Remarks

In the present paper, we intended to provide an overview of the intonation of polar questions in Corfiot dialect. More specifically, we compared the melodies of polar questions in two different varieties spoken in Corfu, the variety spoken in the city of Corfu and the variety spoken in the villages of the South. Our preliminary findings showed that the two varieties differ from each

other as well as from SMG in terms of the melodies used for polar questions. Furthermore, the tonal analysis of polar questions contours in both varieties revealed two different intonation patterns in each variety. Due to the nature of our data, namely conversational data, we tried to map the different patterns onto different conversational meanings.

In Corfiot of the City, the first pattern that was detected in the majority of the questions analyzed is the *rising-falling* pattern. This melody consists of a rising nuclear pitch accent, followed by a falling boundary tone, concatenated by a high F0 plateau; it is used in information-seeking questions (Fig. 7a). The second pattern -that was detected only in few questions in our corpus- is the *low-rising* pattern. This melody consists of a low nuclear pitch accent, followed by a rise from a low target to a high target; it is used in surprise-questions (Fig. 7b).

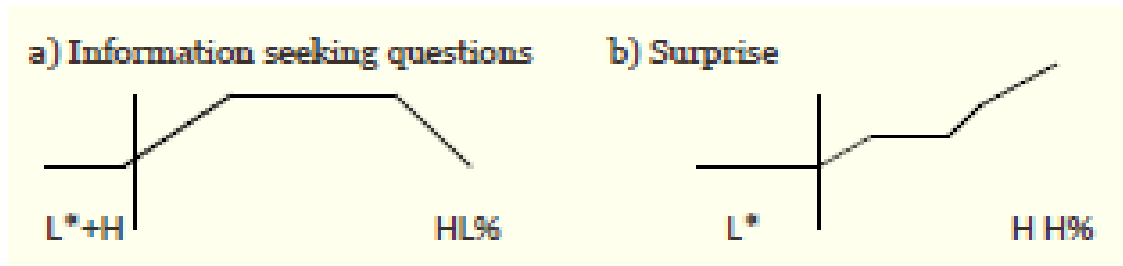


Figure 7. Corfiot of the city: 2 different intonation patterns

In South Corfiot, the pattern that was detected in the majority of the questions analyzed is the low-rising-falling to a mid-level pattern. This pattern consists of a low nuclear pitch accent, followed by a gradual rise from a low target or a low plateau to a high target, and then a small fall of about 20 Hz average to a mid-level tone; it is used in information-seeking questions (Fig. 8a). The second pattern is the low-rising pattern. It consists of a low nuclear pitch accent, followed by a rise from a low target or a low plateau to a high target; it is used in surprise-questions (Fig. 8b).

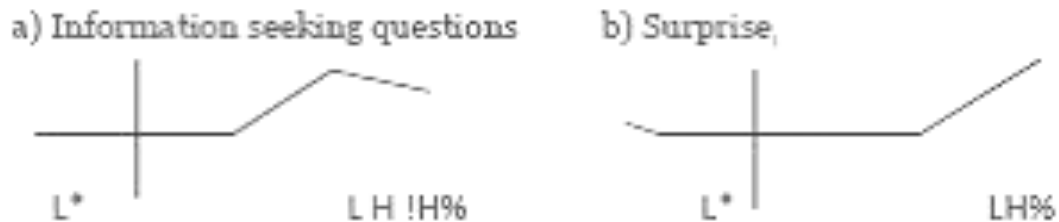


Figure 8. Southern Corfiot: 2 different intonation patterns

Our findings provide a preliminary account of the prosodic marking of polar questions in the two different varieties of Corfiot and their conversational meanings. An analysis of a larger corpus of conversational data is definitely called for, in order to obtain a more holistic view of the issues addressed in this paper. A wider corpus could provide us with a more comprehensive database, from which a greater variety of contours could be extracted leading to a possible proliferation of

the pragmatic meanings linked to these contours. Last but not least, our analysis could be supplemented by controlled experimental data, which will increase the degree of accuracy of the description of the intonational structure of the contours and will provide us with comparable data across the varieties.

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EVALUATING METHODS FOR ELICITING DIALECTAL SPEECH*

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We compare four experimental methods specifically designed for eliciting dialectal speech suitable for quantitative linguistic analysis, ranging from conversational speech to tightly controlled tasks. We test each method's success in eliciting enough instances of the target linguistic variable spoken in authentic dialectal speech. The success of each method is measured by the frequency of occurrence of (i) three dialectal phenomena as markers of dialectal speech (unstressed high vowel deletions, unstressed mid vowel raising and stressed mid vowel diphthongization), and (ii) the linguistic phenomenon under investigation, in this instance the occurrence of pre-nuclear pitch accents in tandem with vocalic deletion. All methods were successful in eliciting dialectal speech, but only the most controlled task was successful in extracting both the appropriate intonational contour and most dialectal authenticity. We conclude that tightly controlled experiments can provide the setting for dialectal linguistic research.

1 Introduction

In a recent article by Post and Nolan (2012), evaluating different elicitation methods for prosodic research, they stress the need for balance between what they call 'ecological validity' (i.e., emulation of natural speech communication) and controlled elicitation (to secure sufficient comparable data). The term 'ecological validity', as we understand it, refers to the production of speech delivered in an informal register, as opposed to more formal, read speech. We would like

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to enrich the meaning of this term by adding another parameter to it, which is essential for dialectologists, that of dialectal authenticity. In designing the methodology for fieldwork on dialectal variation, fieldworkers aspire to not only approximate natural communication in register, but also capture dialectal authenticity, avoiding influences from the dominant linguistic norm of a more prestigious standard variety. As is well known in Speech Accommodation Theory (e.g. Bebee and Giles, 1984; Giles et al, 1977; Giles and Philip, 1979; Giles et al, 1991) individuals might de-accentuate ethnolinguistic characteristics and converge toward the dominant culture when they desire social approval from members of the dominant culture, since standard accents connote high socio-economic status and intellectual competence. This is exactly the situation informants are found in when they face a fieldworker who is viewed as a dominant figure in a powerful position (i.e., the observer's paradox (Labov, 1972: 209)). The fieldworker's task in such situations is to employ a method of data gathering which counteracts the tendencies mentioned above. Although these requirements seem contradictory they are actually reconcilable, as will be shown in the following sections.

Our review of the literature, in search for the best methodology to follow, yielded contradictory results. On one hand there are reports that non-scripted speech produces ecologically valid *and* token-rich results (e.g. Dilley et al, 1996; Ostendorf et al, 1995). On the other, that spontaneous speech corpora cannot provide enough tokens of the target phenomenon (e.g. Schötz et al, 2012). The recent increased interest in intonational dialectal research has generated a demand for methodology comparisons of this sort and consequently a number of papers have emerged comparing different methodological approaches (among others, see Warren 2005, Post and Nolan 2012; Prieto, 2012). Most of these comparisons have been conducted indirectly, that is, through drawing on secondary sources of papers which have employed one or another methodology. Such comparisons cannot provide reliable results because the objects of comparison are disparate, were not designed for a comparison and are thus non-quantifiable.

The novelty of our approach lies in the three main goals of the paper: First, we planned a direct comparison among a set of experiments, each testing a different method for eliciting linguistically relevant dialectal speech instead of relying on post-hoc comparisons of other papers. This was achieved by designing four different elicitation methods which varied in the amount of freedom allowed to the speaker. Second, our experimental design allowed for quantitative analyses to compare the different methods. Third we strived to ensure dialectal authenticity of our participants' speech, that is to avoid their convergence to the dominant standard accent (in our case Standard Modern Greek), by employing a native speaker of the dialect as the experimenter and delivering all aural prompts in the local dialect.

1.1 Elicitation methods in intonational dialectal research

Given the inherent difficulty of eliciting specific intonational contours as well as the lack of research specifically evaluating methodological approaches for tackling intonational questions, it comes as no surprise that a great number of studies investigating dialectal speech have relied on reading tasks involving sentences or paragraphs (e.g. Arvaniti, 1998; Arvaniti and Garding, 2007; Arvaniti, 2007; Atterer and Ladd, 2004; Avanzi et al, 2012; Ladd et al, 2009; Dalton and Ni Chasaide, 2005; Elordieta, 2005; Leemann et al, 2012; Schepman et al; 2006). A few studies have also used single word utterances (e.g. Papazachariou, 2004).

At the exact opposite end of the continuum in terms of speaker freedom lies the use of spontaneous speech materials. Studies using solely spontaneous speech are less common in

dialectal variation of intonation. For example, Archakis et al, (2009) elicited spontaneous speech from a dialectal speaker of Lesvos (Greece) who narrated stories from her life; Leemann and Siebenhaar (2008) examined tonal alignment in Swiss German dialects by conducting interviews that resulted in a corpus of spontaneous speech; Leemann (2009) also used spontaneous speech from interviews held with students answering questions regarding their future plans.

The prevalent difficulty in using a corpus of spontaneous speech is ensuring that enough instances of the linguistic variable under investigation arise to form a balanced experimental design. In an investigation of twelve Swedish dialects, Schötz et al (2012) initially analyzed pre-existing material from three databases of Swedish dialects whose material was recorded as telephone conversations, as well as read and spontaneous speech. These databases, although extremely large, did not contain sufficient material to form a balanced design, clearly evincing the difficulty in using spontaneous speech.

Several studies have used a combination of read material and conversational speech. This combination is also the path suggested by Himmelmann and Ladd (2008), who propose that experimenters start with conversational speech, identify the linguistic issues of interest and then move on to experimental approaches to data elicitation. For example, the IViE corpus for English dialects has relied on a combination of elicitation methods, i.e., read sentences and read passages, as well as story-telling from memory assisted with pictures (Grabe, 2004). Schötz et al (2012) used materials from three databases which comprised recordings of telephone conversations, as well as read and spontaneous speech (see Bruce et al, 1999); one of those databases was also used by Bruce et al (2007), indicating the importance of having available dialectal databases for comparable research, while Ulbrich (2002) again combined read speech with recordings of news broadcasts and fairytale descriptions and Grice et al (2005) combined read, spontaneous and semi-spontaneous speech to analyse four Italian varieties.

While reading tasks allow for greater control over the produced data, researchers often try to find more sophisticated ways of extracting their material to ensure ecological validity. One of the most prominent techniques used is that of a Map Task, whereby pairs of participants are provided with maps and in cooperation try to navigate from one point to another. The maps are not identical and the speakers are told this explicitly at the beginning of their first session. It is, however, up to them to discover how the two maps differ without being allowed to look at the other person's map. The ensuing discussion between the participants results in elicitation of a number of questions, negotiations, instruction giving and repeated use of the place names on the map (e.g. Anderson et al 1991 for Scottish English; Mayo et al 1997 for the intonation of Glasgow English; Ortega 2002 for yes/no questions in Glasgow English). The basic idea of a Map Task has been expanded in other game tasks, such as the one used by Warren et al (2003) and Schafer et al (2004) who asked participants to use a map for the designated Driver to direct the Slider to the right destination. Other possible methods include question answering, role playing, description (possibly to another participant) of videos or pictures the participant has just been exposed to (Himmelmann and Ladd 2008, see also Swerts and Collier 1992 on the use of spatial gridline networks, as well as Edlund et al 2010 on a multimodal database of Swedish). Finally, a few studies have conducted perception experiments on intonational variation (e.g. Peters et al 2002, Ulbrich 2002, Fournier et al 2006).

In this paper we focus on the elicitation of intonation from dialectal speech. Prieto (2012) and Post & Nolan (2012) provide overviews on the experimental methods used overall in prosody research. In these two papers again, however, it becomes clear that no research has specifically set out to provide a comparison of how successful different methods can be in eliciting dialectal

speech with sufficiently frequent instances of the relevant prosodic events to warrant a quantitative analysis of the dataset. The current paper presents such an effort, i.e., we focus on production and show how the combination of conversational and elicited speech manages to extract dialectal data, while at the same time tapping at the specific prosodic phenomenon under investigation. Importantly, by providing a quantitative comparison, we showcase that a combination of the two methods (i.e., conversational and elicited speech) is to be preferred to either one of the two in dialectal variation. We discuss methodological considerations on the elicitation of linguistically relevant materials from native speakers of any given dialect. While we focus on the elicitation of specific intonation and segmental patterns, we expect our results to be relevant for a variety of researchers from many different fields of linguistics.

1.2 Overview of past studies on intonational variation

The investigation of dialectal variation is of great importance in phonology, as exemplified by Foulkes and Doherty's (1999) quote (as cited in Grabe, 2004:9):

- (1) "Understanding the nature and role of variability would [...] appear to be a highly productive route towards constructing an adequate model of phonological knowledge".

With respect to intonation specifically, the last fifteen years have seen a great rise of interest in intonational variation, an area which, until recently, was neglected. As our overview will show, for many languages there is a deficit of research on trans-dialectal intonational differences, which to some extent is due to lack of good methodological tools.

This emerging interest in dialectal variation is clear cross-linguistically, providing insights into two distinct but inter-related directions; first, on a descriptive level to showcase differences in the phonological intonational architecture among different dialects/varieties of a language, and second, on a theoretical level, to use these differences as probes on issues concerning the typology and phonology of intonation. Studies on British English intonation, for example, have given rise to an online corpus called "English Intonation in the British Isles" (IViE) (<http://www.phon.ox.ac.uk/files/apps/IViE/>, Grabe and Post 2002 for a description of the corpus). A number of papers have arisen from the IViE project, some describing differences at the intonational level across urban dialects (Grabe, 2004; Grabe et al, 2007), while others tackling important theoretical issues by means of dialectal variation (Grabe, 2000; Grabe et al, 2004; Fletcher et al, 2005 on the "high rising tune" across four English varieties, Grabe et al 2000 on "truncation" vs. "compression" using four varieties of British English). In addition, dialectal variation of dialectal intonation has appeared in work by Arvaniti and Garding (2007) who investigated the intonational marking on high tunes in two dialects of American English, Arvaniti (2007) on final lowering across British and American English, as well as in work by Mayo et al (1997) who presented a tool for analyzing the intonation of Glasgow English. Theoretical was also the motivation of Ladd et al (2009) who used British English to investigate differences on the alignment of pitch accents across Scottish and British Standard English. Other varieties that have been the matter of investigation from a theoretical viewpoint are Mexican American (Goodwin et al, 2002), African American (Jun and Foreman, 1996), and Irish dialects (Dalton and Ni Chasaide 2005 on pitch accents alignment differences), among others.

Similarly to English, German has received a lot of attention, especially given the wealth of German varieties. Leemann (2009) tested the realization of pitch accents across two Swiss

German dialects, Barker (2005) provided an Autosegmental analysis of Tyrolean German, Leemann and Zuberbühler (2010) examined the intonation of declarative sentences across eight Swiss German varieties, a topic tackled also by Ulbrich (2002) on three different varieties of German, and Atterer and Ladd (2004) tested differences in the acoustic demarcation of pitch accents across northern and southern German. Moreover, Peters et al (2002) offer one of the few perception studies using discrimination tasks to distinguish between Hamburg and Berlin German.

Dutch and its intonational and tonal variation has also seen substantial research from the research team of Radboud University Nijmegen (http://www.ru.nl/gep/projects/intonation_in/), who have developed and presented results on two research projects, namely one on the intonation of *three dialects of Dutch (Zeelandic, Frisian and Low Saxon) as well as two urban dialects (spoken in Amsterdam and Rotterdam)* (e.g. Hanssen et al, 2008a, 2008b; Hanssen et al, 2007; Peters et al, 2007) and one on tone and intonation in Limburgian dialects (e.g. Peters, in press; Fournier et al 2006, 2004).

Various analyses can also be found in a variety of other languages, e.g. the analysis of six Northern Australian varieties by Bishop and Fletcher (2005), an overall description of four Italian dialects by Grice et al (2005), a comparison of pitch alignment across two Basque varieties (Elordieta and Calleja, 2005) and across three Romance varieties (Prieto et al, 2005), an overall description and modeling of three Swedish dialects (Schötz et al, 2012, Bruce et al, 2007), a classification of three French dialects using a variety of prosodic measures (Avanzi et al, 2012) among many others. The issue of pitch accent alignment, being very interesting theoretically, has also been examined by Ladd et al (2000) and Schepman et al (2006) on Dutch, however no cross-dialectal information was used in those papers.

From the above it is clear that some languages and varieties have attracted significant interest and have resulted in a good understanding of their intonational differences, while others still lack substantial research. Modern Greek dialectal intonation falls within the second category of languages for which we do not have a good description and understanding of their cross- and intra-dialectal intonational differences. Arvaniti (1998) compared Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and Cypriot Greek (CG) in terms of the phonological status of phrase accents. More recently, Themistocleous (2011 and 2012) investigated differences on the intonational contours expressing information structure between SMG and CG, focusing on the realization of nuclear pitch accents across the two varieties. The dialect of Goumenitsa (Northern Greece), especially the intonational marking of polar questions, has been the matter of detailed descriptive research by Papazachariou and Archakis (2001) and Papazachariou (2004). Even more recently, Tsiplakou et al (2011) and Gryllia et al (2011) examined the production and perception of polar questions and wh-questions intonation across seven dialects of Greek.

It is therefore apparent that intonational variation is an important under-investigated topic. With respect to the current paper, the lack of much dialectal research on intonation forms a gap also in methodological considerations for researchers. The elicitation of dialectal material is a problematic area, since prosodic effects can be influenced by a variety of factors, making it extremely hard to extract information on a specific linguistic variable (Himmelman and Ladd 2008). With respect to Modern Greek, elicitation of dialectally representative intonation is even harder since one has to create appropriate experimental settings to manage to disentangle influences from a prevailing SMG dialect (Archakis et al, 2009).

In what follows, we first present the theoretical research questions that the compared methods were designed to explore (section 2.1) as well as our motivation for the designed

comparison. Section 3 presents the four different methods in detail and section 4 presents the results. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2 Our project

This paper is part of a project examining the interaction between the segmental and suprasegmental levels in a dialect of SMG. In the phonological theory of intonation, according to the *segmental anchoring hypothesis* the targets of pitch accents are expected to align with specific targets in the segmental string. As can be seen in Figure 1, a pitch accent α comprising L and H targets is associated with a stressed syllable (in this instance the first syllable of a trisyllabic word). According to the segmental anchoring hypothesis, each of the separate tonal targets will manifest itself on specific landmarks with respect to the segmental string. For example, SMG marks pre-nuclear items in declarative sentences using the pitch accent L^*+H^1 . It is expected that the L tone appears near the onset of the stressed syllable's consonant, and the H is consistently aligned just after the onset of the first post-accentual vowel, as shown by the dotted lines in Figure 1 (Arvaniti et al, 1998).

However, it is open to debate whether segmental anchoring represents a *phonological* secondary association of each of the tones with edges of the segmental string (e.g. edges of syllables/segments), as proposed in some research (e.g. Ladd et al, 2000; Prieto et al, 2005), or whether it is *phonetic* in nature, specified at the phonetic level by dialect-specific rules (Arvaniti and Garding, 2007; Ladd et al, 2009). An interesting test-bed for this issue is what happens when the putative anchor point for the H target gets deleted, as shown in Figure 1. The dialect of Epeirus in Northern Greece is known to have the phonological phenomenon of unstressed high vowel deletion, providing the perfect conditions to test our linguistically motivated question. If we hypothesize a similar alignment of L^*+H targets in Epirus as in SMG, it becomes clear that high-vowel deletion can deprive the H target of its anchor point (i.e., /ma'loni/ → [ma'lon] 'scolds'; Topintzi and Baltazani, 2012).

In order to test this hypothesis, our experimental design needs to elicit instances of L^*+H pitch accents associated with words that have undergone high-vowel deletion, forming a rather demanding experimental target. Moreover, a number of experimental prerequisites are needed in order for the phenomenon to be analysed appropriately. First and foremost, the resulting database from dialectal recordings needs to include as many words as possible with high vowel deletion. Appropriate segmental make-up is also necessary in order to be able to "see" the F₀; fundamental frequency contours are only available in voiced segments, given that they have vocal fold vibration. In order to be able to analyse the pitch contour of the specific word with vocalic deletion, most (if not all) segments need to be voiced. Moreover, the position of the word in the utterance is of utmost importance, since the L^*+H pitch accent is found solely in pre-nuclear position. A variety of other considerations include the need for appropriate metrical structure to avoid tonal crowding (Arvaniti et al, 1998), as well as avoiding pauses, hesitations, too many continuation rises or list intonation, all of which exclude the possibility of eliciting the pitch accent under investigation.

¹ This analysis relies on the Autosegmental-Metrical Framework (see Ladd 2008 for an overview), and particularly on Arvaniti & Baltazani's (2005) analysis of SMG.

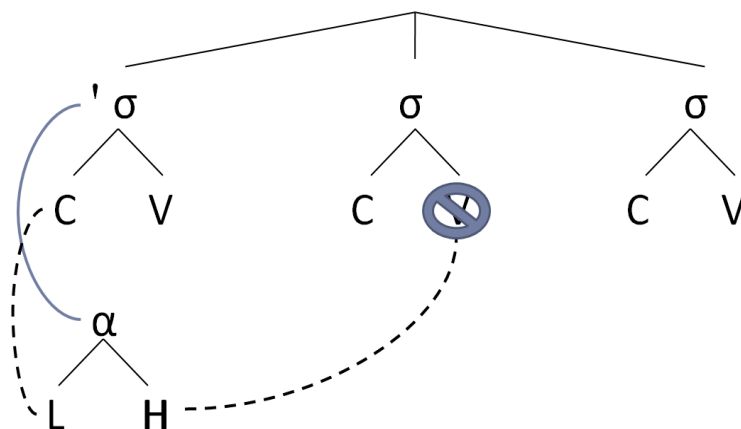


Figure 1: Representation of a possible analysis of phonological secondary association of tonal targets (taken from Ladd, 2008). The pitch accent is shown to be primarily associated as a whole to the stressed syllable, while the component tones are linked with the dotted lines to specific landmarks with respect to the segmental string.

It becomes very clear from the above discussion that the elicited material needs to fulfill a number of requirements that are unlikely to be met in spontaneous unscripted speech. In the next section we summarize the goals for the methodological design of our experiments before we proceed to the detailed presentation of each separate method and its results in sections 3 and 4.

2.1 Goal of the present paper

Combining an ecologically valid experiment with one that manages to elicit dialectal speech that does not resemble the standard dialect and one that elicits frequent samples of the investigated linguistic events is not an easy task. While this issue is commonly stated as a problem in prosodic and dialectal research, the question of how methodologies can be combined to work best in controlled experiments has not been tested yet. For the purposes of our greater research goal, therefore, we initially designed four different experimental methodologies that are directly comparable and can offer quantitative data on the success of each experiment.

Our main proposal is that a combination of conversational and controlled experiments offers the best insights into prosodic phenomena, in the sense that conversational, ecologically valid speech offers the baseline as to how the dialect really behaves. Even if only a few instances of the phenomenon arise, they still provide a qualitative description of what the experimenter is to expect, and form the basis on which subsequent tightly controlled speech tasks can be constructed. Then, by means of specific speech tasks the experimenter can elicit several instances of the particular prosodic phenomenon for quantitative analyses.

Importantly, by extension, the goal of this paper is to help researchers working on dialectal speech overcome their hesitation in using elicited speech, when that is the only solution for extracting relevant specific linguistic material. While our focus is on prosodic and segmental phenomena, we believe that the overall description of the methodology in eliciting the dataset will be helpful for a variety of researchers from different fields within linguistics.

3 Method

Four different elicitation methods were designed and tested. In order for the goals of the experiments to be met, and for the methods to be comparable, several requirements were taken into consideration.

The first goal of the experiment was to see how possible it is to elicit dialectal speech using speech directed tasks instead of free conversational speech. This was achieved by ranging the amount of freedom given to the participants in producing their own sentences. In this Section we present Methods 1 to 4, which range in terms of freedom from the one with the most to the one with the least freedom.

Second, following the notion of ecological validity and wanting to have a baseline as to what dialectal variation really looks like in the dialect of Epirus we made sure that the first method used was that of free conversational speech. However, to ensure elicitation of dialectally representative speech samples, and avoid samples that have undergone accommodation to SMG, the experiment was always run by a native speaker of the dialect. Therefore, across methods we will see that all conversations/questions are directed by a native speaker of the Epirus dialect. Moreover, all experiments were run at the participants' homes (except in some cases when elderly participants were frequenting nearby coffee shops to meet with friends) to ensure a friendly environment.

In methods that diverge significantly in terms of ecological validity, and are highly directed, two considerations were met: first, participants were never asked to read sentences off a paper/screen, but instead their produced utterances were responses to aural and visual stimuli. Second, participants were always given trial sessions to ensure they understood what was being asked of them.

One final goal of the paper was to be able to offer a quantitative comparison across methods in terms of their success. We accomplished that in three ways: first, the same amount of speech was analysed from each speaker, second we measured whether dialectal speech had been elicited by counting the frequency of occurrence of phonological phenomena known to occur in the dialect of Epirus, and third we measured how often the prosodic and segmental variable under investigation appeared in each method. The second measurement allowed insights into whether dialectal speech was elicited, and the third answered the question as to whether the method was successful in terms of its linguistic merit, i.e., whether the linguistic goal of the experiment was met.

3.1 Method 1 – Conversational speech

Conversational speech provides the most naturally uttered and representative dialectal materials and can thus act as a baseline as to how often the phenomenon under investigation occurs in everyday speech.

Two female speakers from Northern Greece (aged 70-80 years old) were recorded at their homes during a single visit to Northern Greece. Interviews were run by a native speaker of the dialect and speakers were asked to describe stories from their life during wartime in Greece. Recordings were made using a Marrantz PMD660 recorder. Each conversation lasted approximately 30 minutes. The experimenter directed the conversation with questions regarding the participants' background, especially their experiences from World War II. The experimenter's participation was minimal, to allow participants to speak freely and for most of

the recording time. Very little overlapping speech ensued, which was not analysed. The quality of the recording was useable for phonetic analysis, in the sense that no background noise was recorded and the participants' amplitude was high enough.

3.2 Method 2 – Describe the differences

In method 2 we aimed again for free speech, but with some direction as to the possible words that participants would use. Participants were shown pictures on a computer screen using a powerpoint presentation and were asked to describe their differences (see Figure 2). The pictures always depicted items that would elicit words with high vowel deletion (e.g. in Figure 3 the word γουρούνι /yu'runi/ 'pig', pronounced /yu'run/ or even /'ɣrun/ in this dialect). Compared to Method 1, this is a more directed speech task, but with substantial amount of freedom during speech production.

The experiment was run by a native speaker of the dialect. Three female native speakers of Northern Greece (area of Ioannina) were recorded (aged 70-80 years old). Recordings took place at the participants' homes using a laptop for the powerpoint presentation and a Marrantz PMD660 for the recording. As for Method 1, no background noise was captured, and the amplitude of the speakers' productions was properly adjusted.

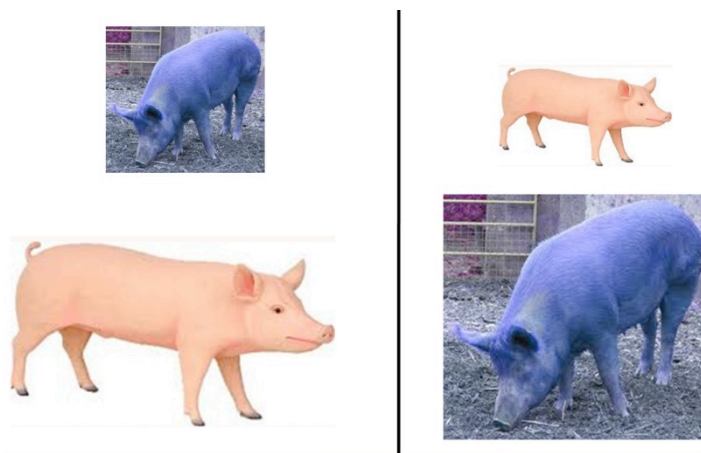


Figure 2: Example of pictures shown to participants to describe the differences. See text for details.

3.3 Method 3 – Two-action naming

Two-action naming is a speech task directly constructed to elicit as many appropriate² sentences as possible in a short amount of time, and therefore represents the method with the least amount of freedom thus far. Participants are placed in front of a computer and see powerpoint slides on the screen. Each slide contains two pictures – most commonly two people performing similar tasks, as for example in Figure 3. They were then prompted with a question of the type “In the picture we can see Eleni and Sula. What is Eleni and what is Sula picking?” (/sti fotoyra'fia

² *Appropriate* in the sense described at the end of Section 2.

'vlepume tin e'leni ce ti 'sula ti ma'zevi i e'leni ce ti i 'sula/ Στη φωτογραφία βλέπουμε την Ελένη και τη Σούλα. Τι μαζεύει η Ελένη και τι η Σούλα;). For each of the constructed sentences one of the names and the verb ended as often as possible in a high vowel, and contained appropriate metrical and segmental material³ to ensure frequent production of words with L*+H and high vowel deletion. The format of the questions was such to ensure that the resulting word order in the answers with place at least one of the names and, hopefully, the verb in pre-nuclear positions carrying the L*+H pitch accent. Moreover, the use of two names at the same time ensured that all names and verbs from the question would be used by the participant (given all these considerations, the answers' format could not differ significantly from “Eleni is picking lettuces and Sula lavender”, /i e'leni ma'zevi ma'ruða ce i 'sula le'vades/ Η Ελένη μαζεύει μαρούλια και η Σούλα λεβάντες).

This method was run in the same session as *Describe the differences*, therefore the same experimental procedure and participants were used. All questions directed to the participants had been pre-recorded by a native speaker and embedded in the powerpoint presentation for reasons of homogeneity of experimental process across participants.



Figure 3: Example of picture shown to participants during method *Two-actions naming*. See text for details.

3.4 Method 4 – One-action naming

This final method was run as a third experiment, using the experience acquired from all previous experiments. Participants were here allowed the least amount of freedom in their productions. They were shown a picture with one person performing one action, e.g. “What is Yannis using to cut the onion with?” (Με τι κόβει ο Γιάννης το κρεμμύδι;) (Figure 4) and were asked to respond using full sentences, e.g. “Yannis is cutting the onion with the knife”, (Ο Γιάννης κόβει το κρεμμύδι με το μαχαίρι). Participants listened to questions from the powerpoint; these had been pre-recorded by a native speaker of the dialect, as for Methods 2 and 3. The experiment was run using a native speaker of the dialect. All words within the sentence were potential sites of high vowel deletion. Moreover, we asked the participants to answer with a full declarative sentence in

³ Please see section 2 for a description of the requirements for appropriate metrical and segmental material.

the hopes of eliciting as many instances of the L*+H pitch accent as possible. Finally, the segmental and metrical structure of the words selected again accounted for metrical and voicing considerations.



Figure 4: Example of picture shown to participants for Method *One-action naming*. See text for details.

Three female native speakers of Northern Greek (area of Ioannina, 45-70 years old) were recorded producing sentences potentially involving deletion of high vowel, matched with sentences without deletion (e.g. “What are the two Yannis using to cut the onions?” Με τι κόβουν οι Γιάννηδες τα κρεμμύδια;). Recordings were made on a laptop using a Blue Yeti microphone.

3.5 Evaluation and comparison of methods

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, in order to ensure that comparisons across methods are experimentally sound, approximately the same amount of raw speech was analysed across methods (≈ 130 seconds of speech for each method). For conversational speech, while 130 seconds were analysed, these did not come directly from the first 130 seconds of the recording, but rather a selection was made from the whole dataset to ensure the speech excerpts contained as much as possible full sentences.

Unfortunately, it is not always easy to segment all parts of the produced utterances. Highly co-articulated passages, background noise, overlapping speech, coughs etc. necessitate that we discard several chunks of the conversation. For this reason, when reporting frequencies of how often a phenomenon applied within each method and the frequency of sites where it is expected to occur, these only apply to segments of speech that were analysable.

In order to measure the success of each method two questions were asked:

1. Have we managed to extract representative dialectal speech?
2. Have we managed to extract the needed pitch accents in deletion (L*+Hdel) and non-deletion (L*+H) environments?

To answer the first question we measured the frequency of appearance of three representative dialectal phenomena in each method. Northern Greek dialects are well-known to undergo (i) unstressed high-vowel deletion, e.g. /ðu'levi/ → [ðu'lev] 'he works', (ii) unstressed mid-vowel raising, e.g. /po'ta/ → [pu'ta] 'drinks', (iii) stressed mid-vowel diphthongization, e.g. \tsu'reci\ → [tsu'rec] 'brioche'.

These phenomena are quite common in this dialect but their application is not categorical. It is possible therefore that the right context for the application of these rules is present but nevertheless the rule does not apply. The exact details for the application of this rule have not so far been investigated to our knowledge. Our analysis accounts for that by performing two separate measurements; first, we counted the *potential* sites of application of these rules (that is, number of words where the phenomenon is expected to occur) and then we counted the actual number of tokens for which the rules did apply. These are called respectively *potential sites of application* and *phenomenon applied* in the Results section, and are compared across methods. For example, if a word like \pezi\ παίζει 'plays' were produced as ['pez] we would count one potential site of stressed-mid vowel diphthongization and one potential site for unstressed high-vowel deletion, with only the high-vowel deletion having actually applied.

To answer the second question we simply measured the frequency of appearance of L*+H and L*+Hdel instances in each method.

4 Results

4.1 Method 1 – *Conversational Speech*

This method proved the least successful of all. While unstressed /i/ deletion occurred 50% of the times, the potential sites of application are not that common. Similarly, potential sites for diphthongization are quite rare, while mid-vowel raising was more often. However, the rate of occurrence of each of the phenomena is quite high, with all phenomena appearing quite often, with the exception of /e/ diphthongization and raising.

The scarcity of occurrence of the vocalic phenomena makes it clear that we would need substantial amounts of conversational speech to be able to elicit enough material for an experimental analysis of L*+H pitch accent co-occurring with vocalic deletion. Moreover, even with a number of tokens big enough to allow a quantitative analysis, the context of tokens in spontaneous speech varies to a great extent and therefore it is difficult to extract reliable inferences, since parameters out of our control might be responsible for the experimental outcome. The success rate in terms of how often the phenomenon applied, on the other hand, clearly shows that dialectal speech has been elicited.

With respect to the second means of testing the success of the method, the pitch accents under investigation were extremely rare and sparse; only six instances of L*+H and two of L*+Hdel accents were identified in conditions allowing intonational analysis, clearly evincing the inadequacy of the current method for a quantitative analysis.

Phenomenon	Potential sites of application	Application of phenomenon	Percent
i unstressed (deletion)	20	10	50%
u unstressed (deletion)	5	2	40%
e stressed (diphthongization)	21	3	14.3%
o stressed (diphthongization)	19	8	42.1%
e unstressed (raising)	52	18	34.6%
o unstressed (raising)	32	15	46.9%

Table 1: Frequency of occurrence of each phonological process occurring in the dataset produced for Method 1- *Conversational Speech*. The second column indicates how many times the phenomenon could appear in the dataset, the third how many of those it actually happened, and the final column shows this relationship in percentage.

The reason conversational speech was not successful in extracting the specific pitch accents lies in the inherent freedom that comes with this method. Almost all experimental pre-requisites for the extraction of pre-nuclear declaratives are not met. While the potential for eliciting L*+H instances was common, in most cases the necessary criteria to see an analysable representation of the accent were not met. The most prevalent shortcoming of this method is that there were not always at least two unstressed syllables intervening between two stressed ones and therefore tonal crowding was not avoided. Furthermore, among other problems that prevented using some of the produced utterances, we note in particular the following: participants would often insert pauses giving rise to continuation rises, place early focus, or use intonation contours that are used in narration⁴ instead of conversational register (participants were asked to narrate their lives during war occupation).

4.2 Method 2 - *Describe the differences*

Table 2 shows the results for method *Describe the differences*. Overall, this method was more successful than conversational speech in eliciting both potential sites of phonological phenomena as well as actual raw instances mainly of high vowel deletion, but less successful in mid vowel raising. Percentage-wise, the two methods do not differ significantly, showing that the method *Describe the differences* resembles in terms of dialectal speech that of conversational speech.

This method was more successful than the previous one in eliciting the prosodic and segmental make-up under investigation since it exercised more control over the speaker utterances. All in all, 13 instances of L*+H were identified but only one L*+Hdel instance,

⁴ This is a register we encountered quite often with dialectal speakers, which deviates considerably in melodic patterns from conversational speech. To our knowledge no study has been published on the intonation of this register, which is an extremely interesting research topic.

clearly indicating that the method is not successful in eliciting the needed combination between the prosodic and segmental levels.

Phenomenon	Potential sites of application	Application of phenomenon	Percentage
i unstressed (deletion)	45	20	44.4%
u unstressed (deletion)	13	3	23%
e stressed (diphthongization)	28	10	35.7%
o stressed (diphthongization)	17	7	41.2%
e unstressed (raising)	23	3	13%
o unstressed (raising)	30	12	40%

Table 2: Frequency of occurrence of each phonological process occurring in the dataset produced for Method 2 –*Describe the differences*.

4.3 Method 3 – *Two-actions naming*

As can be seen in Table 3, *Two-actions naming* gave rise to more sites for potential application of vocalic phenomena than in conversational speech, and also more than *Describe the differences*. The three methods do not seem to differ significantly with respect to the actual percent of how often each vocalic phenomenon applied. This indicates that the last two methods have managed to elicit dialectal speech, especially when compared to conversational speech, which theoretically resembles the most free and dialectally successful method. Still, the method with the least amount of freedom, i.e., *Two-actions naming*, gave rise to most instances of high-vowel deletion in particular, and other vocalic phenomena in general (a needed prerequisite for quantitative analyses).

Phenomenon	Potential sites of application	Application of phenomenon	Percentage
i unstressed (deletion)	87	47	58%
u unstressed (deletion)	6	3	50%
e stressed (diphthongization)	23	5	21.7%
o stressed (diphthongization)	58	23	39.7%
e unstressed (raising)	30	2	6.6%
o unstressed (raising)	27	7	25.9%

Table 3: Frequency of occurrence of each phonological process occurring in the dataset produced for Method 3 – *Two-actions naming*.

Only five instances of L*+H pitch accents were identified in this method, but 14 instances of L*+Hdel. This renders this method marginally better than *Describe the differences*. If we compare *Describe the differences* and *Two action naming* we can see that exercising tighter control over the produced sentences produced the desired L*+Hdel pitch accents.

We should note furthermore, that sentences in Method 3 were designed to contain words that would give rise to vocalic deletion, but no matched sentences without deletion were designed. Given this fact, it was no surprise that L*+H on its own did not occur as often. Therefore, *Two-actions naming* was successful in extracting the material under investigation, but its design lacked the baseline conditions to compare against, something that we tried to rectify in the fourth experiment. In sum, the freedom of allowing speakers to describe pictures using their own words managed to extract the baseline conditions, but not the intended pitch accents.

There were two more problematic issues with the *Two-actions naming* process. Even though the questions posed to the participants' only involved the description of two people performing two actions, older generations often had problems remembering both names mentioned in each slide. Moreover, in cases where peculiar objects were depicted (e.g. lavender) participants often became stressed to produce the correct answer. All these were rectified in the following method.

4.4 Method 4 – *One-action naming*

In *One-action naming* we took advantage of the experience gathered from all previous experiments. Knowing that most instances of vocalic deletion and most L*+Hdel instances arose in the most tightly controlled method thus far, we decided to elaborate on this method, add baseline conditions to elicit L*+H pitch accents, and use sentences that do not require too much memory load on the part of the participants. Therefore, sentences only involved one – not two – actions and all words depicted everyday objects and actions, to avoid causing performance anxiety.

As seen in Table 4, this was a particularly successful method in eliciting potential sites of application of vocalic phenomena, especially high-vowel deletion. This is to be expected, since the segmental make-up of the words used was specifically designed to elicit those. Importantly,

in terms of frequency of occurrence of vocalic phenomena, no great differences can be seen from the previous methods, indicating that dialectal speech has again been elicited.

Phenomenon	Potential sites of application	Application of phenomenon	Percent
i unstressed (deletion)	143	81	56.5%
u unstressed (deletion)	31	8	25.8%
e stressed (diphthongization)	43	2	4.7%
o stressed (diphthongization)	31	7	22.6%
e unstressed (raising)	51	20	39.2%
o unstressed (raising)	69	35	50.7%

Table 4: Frequency of occurrence of each phonological process occurring in the dataset produced for Method 4 – *One-action naming*.

This method was also highly successful in eliciting the required intonational patterns; 14 instances of L*+H were extracted and 27 instances of L*+Hdel, making it the most successful method of all.

4.5 Overall comparison

Overall, all methods were successful in extracting vocalic phenomena, some more so than others. Figure 6 shows a comparison of the number of times (in raw numbers) each of the three vocalic phenomena appeared in each method. The most successful method in eliciting vocalic phenomena was *One-action naming*, with high success in eliciting unstressed high-vowel deletion (i.e., the phonological phenomenon necessary for the linguistic purposes of our experiment). This was expected, since the words in this method were especially designed to elicit the phenomenon. With respect to the remaining processes, *One-action naming* performed equally well (if not better, in the case of /o/ raising) as the other methods. The second more successful method was *Two-action naming*, which again elicited a high number of unstressed high-vowel deletions, for the same reason as *One-action naming*. Similarly, the method was quite successful at eliciting all other phenomena.

A clearer picture is seen with respect to across-methods comparisons when looking at percentages, that is how often a phenomenon applied with respect to how many potential sites of application arose in the corpus. Figure 7 shows that all methods were successful in often extracting vocalic phenomena, on the basis of which we can extrapolate that they were also successful in eliciting dialectal speech. Importantly, when compared to conversational speech, that is the most free version of speech out of the four methods, the highly controlled tasks *One-* and *Two-actions naming* performed equally well.

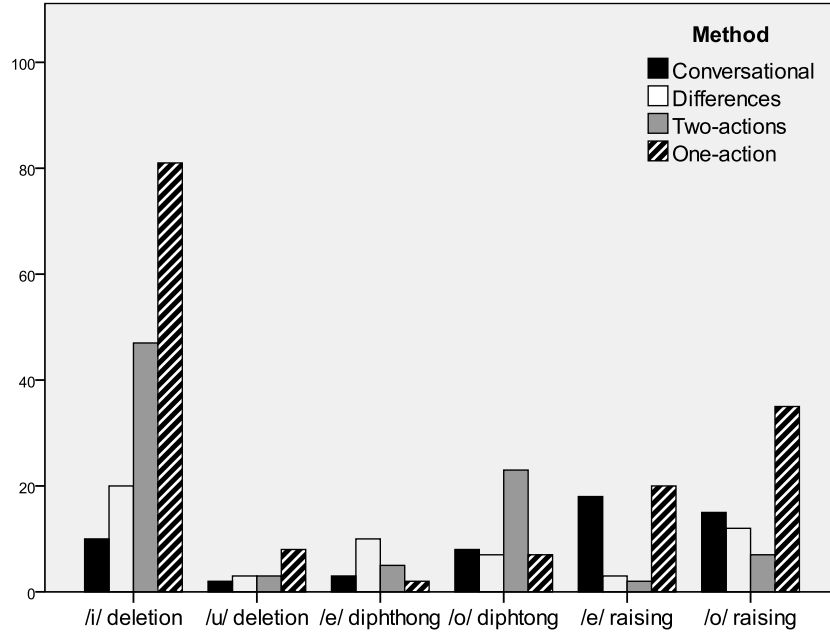


Figure 5: Comparison of frequency of occurrence of each vocalic phenomenon across methods (expressed in number of times of appearance).

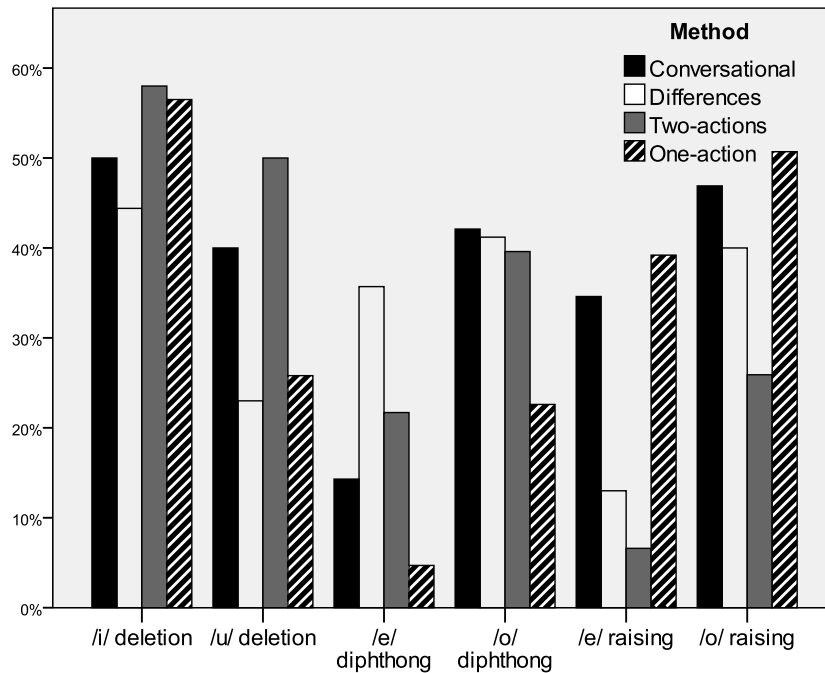


Figure 6: Comparison of frequency of occurrence of each vocalic phenomenon across methods (expressed in percent of times of appearance in the corpus).

An overall comparison in eliciting the pitch accent under investigation across methods is shown in Figure 8, where the clear success of *One-action naming* is seen in both L*+H and L*+Hdel.

This is the only method that was successful in eliciting both the baseline and target pitch accents, followed by *Two-actions naming*, where baseline productions were not specifically included to begin with. From this figure it is clear that conversational speech, while representative dialectally, is not appealing as a means of performing larger scale linguistic analyses.

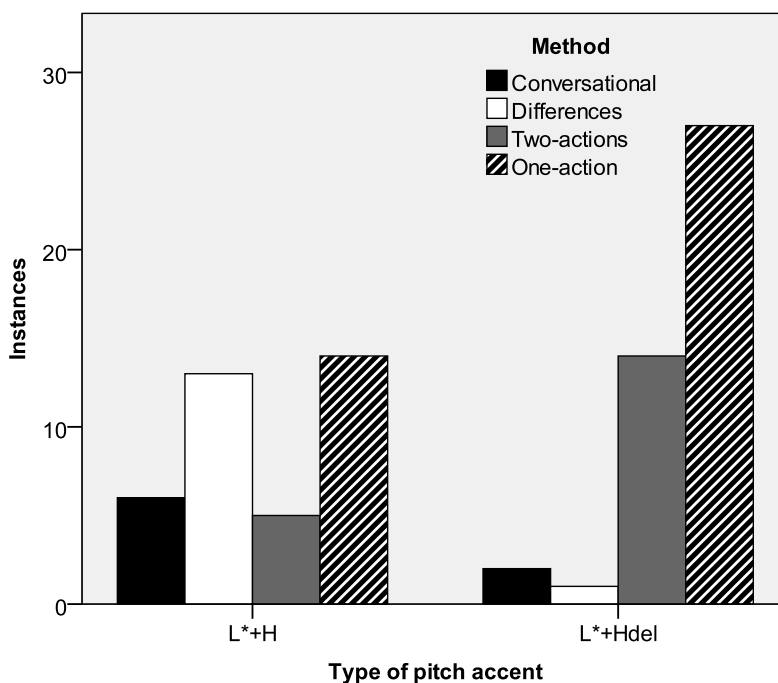


Figure 7: Comparison of frequency of occurrence of each pitch accent across methods (expressed in number of times of appearance).

5 Discussion

The most interesting result emerging from our investigation is that it is possible to elicit dialectally authentic material in a controlled elicitation experiment. In this way we can ensure elicitation of sufficient instances of the phenomenon under investigation to allow for a quantitative analysis of the results and to support strong claims about them. Moreover, without loss of authenticity of speech, we can control critical aspects of both linguistic and extralinguistic context, which cannot be controlled for in spontaneous speech corpora.

We propose that researchers performing linguistic fieldwork of a dialect, who are interested in unveiling specific linguistic phenomena, and therefore require very tightly manipulated experiments, should use a combination of conversational speech and of tightly-controlled speech tasks directed to elicit the specific phenomenon. The merit of using such a combination stems from the fact that conversational speech can act as a baseline as to whether/how often the phenomenon appears in everyday speech, as well as a baseline of each speaker's dialectal repertoire. Following an analysis of this type of data allows the researcher to understand what to expect from the specific dialect. The use of the tightly controlled experiment, on the other hand, allows for concrete control over the produced sentences, once the presence and nature of the

phenomenon has been established. Finally, avoiding the use of reading tasks makes sure that no accommodation to a more formal, “educated” or “standard” production surfaces.

However, there are a few considerations to be taken in mind, and which we suggest as an obligatory part of the protocol. Firstly, pilot testing with a subset of participants is important, not only to see if the experimental procedure is working, but also in order to gain insights into the community visited, such as which tasks they are prepared to perform, how they prefer the experimental procedure to take place, which materials are understandable and useable in everyday interactions, among many other decisions. Piloting the experiment might take more than one visit, since tweaking of the procedure might be considered necessary.

As it turned out in our fieldwork, elderly speakers were not able to carry out a controlled experiment for more than twenty minutes at a time. Younger generations too, however, were not comfortable in continuing with a tightly controlled experiment for more than approximately thirty minutes, especially if that included repetitions of picture tasks. Caution should be taken, therefore, as to how long a controlled experiment can last, and it is proposed that within the pilot protocol researchers include a provision for testing that.

Finally, an important consideration refers to the phonological phenomena we relied upon as markers of dialectal speech. The frequency of appearance of the vocalic phenomena in conversational speech was not as common as one would expect on the basis of traditional descriptions of the dialect. This clearly suggests that a synchronic phonological and acoustic analysis of vocalic phenomena of Northern Greece is in order. Importantly, however, in terms of methodology, it becomes clear that by piloting an experiment researchers are able to pre-test the synchronic frequency of phenomena they expect to use as baselines/potential markers of dialectal speech.

The findings of this paper can hopefully extend to other fields of linguistics, apart from phonetics and phonology. While it is obvious that each research project from each different field has its own research agenda, the common denominator across projects in linguistics remains that researchers are often interested in investigating *specific* phenomena either for syntactic, pragmatic, phonetic, phonological theoretical reasons. For researchers who are not just providing a description of the dialect, but who are also using the phenomenon of a dialect to investigate a deeper theoretical question and are in need of experimental data to allow statistical comparisons, we believe that this paper provides a liberating way forward, since it clearly showcases that conversational and controlled experiments can be similar in terms of extracting representative dialectal speech, and both can therefore be utilized in linguistic research.

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ASPECTUAL DISTINCTIONS IN BILINGUAL RUSSIAN–CYPRIOT GREEK CHILDREN*

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According to the Semantic Complexity Hypothesis (van Hout, 2008), simple semantic operations are acquired early. Perfective aspect on telic predicates, emphasizing completion, is less complex than imperfective aspect on telic predicates, which requires aspect shift. So, for telic predicates, perfective aspect is acquired earlier than imperfective. The present study deals with acquisition of aspect by Russian–Cypriot Greek bilingual children, in both Cypriot Greek and Russian. A total of 22 children participated in the study, split into four age groups (4-, 5-, 6, and 7-year-olds). The materials were comprehension and production tasks on aspect (from COST Action A33), adapted to Cypriot Greek and Russian. The results of the study showed that 4- and 5-year-olds, both in Russian and in Cypriot Greek, have acquired perfective aspect, yet still have problems with imperfective aspect in incomplete situations; the results improve with age 6.

1 Introduction

Aspect describes the internal properties of the event, the way it unfolds in time without reference to the particular time when it takes place (Comrie, 1976). There are two types of aspect: *lexical* and *grammatical*. Lexical aspect is also called situation aspect, VP aspect, or inherent aspect; it expresses the inherent semantic features that characterize each verb. Vendler (1957) classified all verbs, based on their inherent properties, into four types: activity, state, achievement, and accomplishment. These four types of verbs differ in terms of the semantic features of telicity, dynamicity, and durativity: states are [–punctual, –telic, –dynamic] (e.g. ‘believe’), activities are [–punctual, –telic, +dynamic] (e.g. ‘walk’), accomplishments are [–punctual, +telic, +dynamic] (e.g. ‘build a house’); achievements are [+punctual, +telic, +dynamic] (e.g. ‘arrive’) (Shirai and Anderson, 1995). Grammatical aspect, also called IP aspect, viewpoint aspect, or sentential aspect, is focused on the morphological and syntactic markings of aspect on verbs (Smith, 1997). Grammatical aspect is differentiated into perfective and imperfective, the former presenting the

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event as a complete entity without its internal structures and process, while the latter is focused on the internal structure of the event without taking into consideration its boundaries. Within generativist approaches to language acquisition, it is assumed that there is an interaction between lexical and grammatical aspect (Smith, 1997).

There are many approaches to the acquisition of aspect; one of them is the Primacy of Aspect Hypothesis, also known as Aspect Hypothesis. It centers on the development of aspect and tense morphology and analysis of production data (Bloom et al., 1980; Stephany, 1981; Bardovi-Harlig and Reynolds, 1995; Shirai and Andersen, 1995). According to Li and Shirai (2000) the Aspect Hypothesis is universal and applies cross-linguistically. This hypothesis states that perfective and past tense marking appear first on achievements and accomplishments, and then on activities and statives. If a language has the perfective/imperfective distinction, then statives and activities are marked with imperfective past before accomplishments and achievements. If a language has progressive aspect, then activities are marked with progressive aspect first and then accomplishments and achievements, and it is not overgeneralized to statives.

1.1 L1 and L2 acquisition of aspect

The studies by Bloom et al. (1980) and Stephany (1981) on L1 aspect acquisition found that the use of verbal morphology is affected by lexical aspect (progressive marking on activities and past tense marking on achievements and accomplishments). Smith (1980) and Andersen (1989) supported the independent acquisition of tense and aspect. Chin (2006) also rejected mapping between tense and aspect, and proposed that telic verbs are used first with past tense and atelic verbs with present tense; this is also known as the Weak Aspect Hypothesis.

The Prototype Hypothesis was proposed by Shirai and Andersen (1995), according to which in L1 children first acquire the prototype linguistic category and then proceed to the peripheral categories. The prototype for tense is past tense with [+telic, +punctual, +perfective] features, while the prototype for aspect is progressive aspect with [+atelic, +progressive, +imperfective]. L1 studies on aspect acquisition mainly focus on the development of aspectual morphology, but not on aspectual semantics and its interpretation.

The first L2 studies on aspect were the replications of previous L1 studies, focusing on the development of aspectual morphology. Andersen (1991) found that there are stages of L2 aspect acquisition (based on English): the marking of perfective started from achievements and then proceeded to accomplishments, activities, and states, while imperfective marking started from states before accomplishments, activities, achievements. Bardovi-Harlig and Reynolds (1995) found that achievements were correlated with past tense markings and activities with progressive markings. These studies followed the framework of the Aspect Hypothesis.

1.2 Comprehensive studies on L1 aspect acquisition

In general, L1 studies were focused more on the experiment rather than on the observation of spontaneous speech. Wagner (2001) found that English-speaking children had a problem with past progressive when it received an incomplete interpretation. Olbishevskaya (2004) conducted an experiment with Ukrainian-speaking children which revealed that children are able to associate past tense with both perfective and imperfective marking, using the concepts of telicity and atelicity, as well as match past perfective with complete and imperfective aspect with incomplete events. Van Hout (2005) investigated the comprehension of aspect of ongoing, complete, and

incomplete events by Polish-speaking children; the results showed that children do not have a problem with perfective aspect, but they need more time to acquire imperfective aspect.

Van Hout (2008) conducted an aspect comprehension study with Dutch, Italian, and Polish children. Her results showed that the semantics of perfective aspect is acquired earlier than the semantics of imperfective aspect. She proposed the Semantic Complexity Hypothesis, according to which the semantics of simple aspectual operations is acquired before complex, ambiguous ones. Perfective aspect on telic predicates, emphasizing completion, is arguably less complex than imperfective aspect on telic predicates, which requires aspect shift; therefore, for telic predicates, perfective aspect is acquired earlier than imperfective. Konstantzou et al. (2011) found that 4-year-old Greek-speaking children use perfective aspect for completed situations correctly, while they displayed problems with imperfective aspect for incomplete situations; the same goes for 5-year-olds, though the problems decrease.

1.3 Generative approach to L2 aspect acquisition

Within generativist approaches, several studies investigated the syntax–semantics interface, how aspectual semantics is mapped to grammatical morphology and argument structure (Slabakova, 2000; Slabakova and Montrul, 2002; Montrul and Slabakova, 2002; Hawkins et al., 2008). There are also studies that deal with the semantic interpretation of grammatical aspect (Gabriele, 2005; Chin, 2006). A range of studies also explored the influence of L1 on the semantic interpretation of aspect (Slabakova, 2000; Slabakova and Montrul, 2002; Gabriele, 2005; Chin, 2006).

Slabakova (2000) investigated telicity marking through an acceptability interpretation task of Bulgarian and Spanish speakers acquiring English. The cardinality of objects influences telicity in English and Spanish, while perfective a prefix or preverb is responsible for telicity marking in Bulgarian. Bulgarian learners of English did not have a problem with atelic sentences but had a problem to detect telic sentences, while Spanish learners of English did not display this problem. Similar studies by Slabakova and Montrul (2002), Gabriele (2005), Chin (2006), and Hawkins et al. (2008) showed that acquisition of functional categories, such as aspect, involves semantics, syntax, and morphology, and that L2 learners can acquire these categories due to access to UG.

Gabriele (2005) showed that input and learnability factors are crucial in aspect acquisition; advanced learners are more successful in aspect interpretation than intermediate or low proficiency level students; the correct usage of aspect morphology precedes correct interpretation of aspectual semantics. Chin (2006) conducted a study of Chinese and Spanish learners of L2 English and found that the participants were able to distinguish aspectual perfective/imperfective contrasts in L2 due to transfer from their L1s.

1.4 Aspect acquisition cross-linguistically: Russian vs. Greek

The acquisition and production of verb morphology by children depends on the correlation of aspect, tense, and Aktionsart (Antinucci and Miller, 1976; Shirai and Andersen, 1995; Stoll, 1998; Gagarina, 2000). The findings of various studies show that perfective aspect in past tense is used mainly with resultative Aktionsart, with achievements and accomplishments, which are telic types of verbs, while imperfective aspect in the present tense is used with non-resultative Aktionsart, with activities, states, and semelfactives, which are atelic verbs (Filiouchkina, 2004).

The Cognition Hypothesis (Antinucci and Miller, 1976; Bloom et al., 1980) states that cognitive constraints are responsible for the correlation between verb forms and Aktionsarten in child aspect acquisition. According to the Semantic Predisposition Hypothesis and the Prototype

Theory (Rosch, 1975; Slobin, 1985, Li and Shirai, 2000), prototypes or the most frequent/salient associations trigger the use of lexical aspects of verbs with the particular tense–aspect forms by children. The Language Specificity Hypothesis (Bowerman, 1985; Behrens 1993, 2001), in turn, puts emphasis on the ability of a child to analyze the form–function patterns, that is, the system of morphology and syntax of a particular language.

In Russian, tense and aspect interact. There are three tenses: past, present, and future, and there are also synthetic (e.g. *pisal* ‘he wrote’; *pishet* ‘he is writing’; *napishet* ‘he will write’) and analytic constructions (e.g. *napisal* ‘he has written’; *budet pisat* ‘he will write’) that involve both tense and aspect (Whitehead Martelle, 2011). Imperfective aspect can be associated with all three tenses, perfective only with future and past. Grammatical aspect in Russian is encoded with the help of salient aspectual morphology: suppletive forms (*govorit-skazat*: ‘say’-‘tell’), prefixation (*pisat-napisat* ‘write’), or suffixation (*prigat-prignut*, ‘jump’; *zakrit-zarivat*, ‘close’). Suffixation can form both perfective and imperfective forms, while suppletive forms and prefixes transform imperfective forms into perfective (Andrews et al., 1997). A lot of imperfective verbs also have a perfective counterpart (Forsyth, 1970).

Saeed (1997) proposed a verb classification in terms of situation types, according to which state is [+stative, +durative] (e.g. ‘know’), activity [–stative, +durative, –telic] (e.g. ‘run’), accomplishment [–stative, +durative, +telic] (e.g. ‘run a mile’), semelfactive [–stative, –durative, –telic] (e.g. ‘knock’), and achievement [–stative, –durative, +telic] (e.g. ‘build a house’). Stoll (1998) divides semelfactive verbs in Russian into delimitatives and ingressesives, the first group of verbs denotes events that take place for a while for which the prefix *po-* is used (e.g. *poplavat* ‘to swim for a while’), and the latter group of verbs describes a punctual beginning of the event and are used with the prefixes *za-* and *po-* (e.g. *zapetj* ‘to start singing’) (Filiouchkina 2004). There is a coincidence of semelfactive Aktionsart and suffix morphology (e.g. the suffix *-nu-* in verbs like *pryg-nu-tj* ‘to jump once’). The delimitative and ingressive Aktionsarten use the prefixes *za-* and *po-* (e.g. *za-plak-atj* ‘to start crying’, *postojatj* ‘stand for a while’). According to Stoll (1998), the morphology of telic verbs (accomplishments and achievements) in Russian does not depend on Aktionsart as they can use several morphological markers (such as prefix and secondary imperfectivization, e.g. *na-litj* ‘to fill’).

Both the Semantic Predisposition Hypothesis and the Language Specificity Hypothesis predict that children understand non-resultative past and non-immediate future at an early stage, but according to the Cognition Hypothesis states that children need time to understand past and future, without the present context. First, children acquire aspectual distinctions (process, state, result) and then tense distinctions. The Semantic Predisposition Hypothesis here supports the Cognition Hypothesis in that aspectual distinctions come before tense distinctions. Children relate resultative verbs with past tense, as the concept of the result is salient to them. The Language Specificity Hypothesis rejects this view, as it is not true for all languages (Antinucci and Miller, 1976; Bloom et al., 1980); there is some evidence from Russian, for example (Bar-Shalom and Snyder, 2002).

The Cognition Hypothesis presupposes that states and processes are marked differently in child language. The Semantic Predisposition Hypothesis does not support this claim, neither the Language Specificity Hypothesis (e.g. there is no morphological difference in marking states and processes in Russian, e.g. *ljubitj* ‘to love’ and *sidetj* ‘to sit’ have the same ending *-it* in present tense). According to the Semantic Predisposition Hypothesis, processes are marked differently from results, which is in line with the Language Specificity Hypothesis. All three hypotheses claim that telic and atelic (punctual vs. non-punctual) events should be marked differently. The

Cognition Hypothesis explains it with the biological predisposition and that they emerge early in language acquisition, while the Semantic Predisposition Hypothesis claims that these distinctions are part of UG and thus available to children from birth.

According to the transparency principle of learning (van Hout, 1998), overt and unambiguous mappings (one-to-one) between linguistic encodings and cognitive notions is easier than covert or conflated ones (many-to one), so in Russian aspectual distinctions are acquired earlier than in Greek. In Russian the morphological marking of the verb (suffixation and/or prefixation) shows the aspectual property of a verb, while in English or Greek the telic/atelic distinction depends on the property of a verb and its object (Slabakova, 1997, 1998). The morphology and phonology of grammatical aspect (perfective/imperfective) in Russian is complex, but these forms are more salient for child language acquisition than in other languages.

In Greek verbs have person, tense, aspect, and voice features; there are regular and irregular verbs (Stephany, 1997). Perfective aspect in Greek can be marked with a special sigmatic marker *-s*, which is added to the stem of a verb (*pezo – epeza*, ‘play’ – ‘played’), with the help of stem modifications (e.g. *pleno – eplina* ‘wash’ – ‘washed’), or through idiosyncratic forms of the verb (e.g. *troo – efaga* ‘eat’ – ‘ate’) (Stavarakaki and Clahsen, 2009). Stephany (1997) suggested that tense is acquired before aspect in Greek. That acquisition of aspect requires knowledge of telicity, semantics, and the syntactic structure of VP. The telicity/atelicity distinction is achieved through (non-)cardinality of the direct object.

Van Hout (2002) expects that aspect acquisition will take place earlier in Russian, since the verbs themselves bear aspectual markers. In other languages, such as Greek, children should reach the stage of a higher mean length of utterances and know the mechanism of semantics and syntactic structure. In this respect, the Language Specificity Hypothesis (that is, vis-à-vis the transparency principle of learning) is in line with the Cognition Hypothesis.

2 The study

The aim of this study is to examine comprehension and production of aspectual distinctions of bilingual children with L1 Russian (R) and L2 Cypriot Greek (CG) and compare their production with monolingual L1 Greek children (Konstantzou et al., 2012) in order to test the Semantic Complexity Hypothesis (van Hout, 2008).

The present study thus deals with the acquisition of aspect by R–CG bilingual children, both in CG and in R. A total of 22 children participated in the study, split into four age groups (4-, 5-, 6-, and 7-year-olds). The parents of the children filled in a comprehensive questionnaire on the socio-economic and linguistic background of their children (Li et al., 2006 and Gagarina et al., 2010). The children were also tested on their Greek language abilities with the help of the Developmental Verbal IQ (DVIQ) test, adapted to CG from the Standard Modern Greek original (Stavarakaki and Tsimpli, 2000), and on their Russian proficiency with the help of the Russian Proficiency Test (Gagarina et al., 2010).

Test materials included comprehension and production tasks on aspect (from COST Action A33), adapted to CG and R (from van Hout et al., 2010). The children were asked to participate in the task by watching short movie clips in which a clown performed complete and interrupted actions. They had to judge whether the situations were complete or incomplete (comprehension) and use perfective or imperfective aspect (production).

The focus of the task lies on the distinction between complete and incomplete situations. The experiment included 6 transitive and telic verbs with regular inflection in the past tense ('open', 'build', 'blow out', 'close', 'make', 'draw'), and *while*-clauses to establish a specific time frame within which the event could be completed or not. There were six conditions: Com–P (complete situation plus perfective aspect), Com–I (complete situation plus imperfective aspect), Inc–P (incomplete situation plus perfective aspect), Inc–I (incomplete situation plus imperfective aspect), Com–Prod (complete situation), and Inc–Prod (incomplete situation). The first four deal with comprehension and the latter two with production (see examples of the task items, for each condition, below):

(1) Com–P (comprehension)

San epezen i musici, o kloun anikse to kuti?

When the music was playing, the clown opened the box? Yes/No.

(2) Inc–P (comprehension)

San epeze i musici, o kloun anige to vazo?

While the music was playing the clown opened the box? Yes/ No.

(3) Com–I (comprehension)

San epeze i musici, o kloun anie to guti ton pexnidcon.

When the music was playing the clown was opening the box? Yes/No.

(4) Inc–I (comprehension)

San epeze i musici, o kloun anikse do mbuhkali.

When the music was playing the clown opened the bottle? Yes/No.

(5) Com–Prod (production)

Pe mu jia to anima tje to tenekhui.

Tell me about the opening of the can.

San epezen i musici, i kloun.....P/I.

While the music was playing the clown.....P/I.

(6) Inc–Prod (production)

Pe mu jia to anima tje to doro.

Tell me about opening the present.

San epezen i musici, i kloun.....P/I.

While the music was playing the clown.....P/I.

3 Results

3.1 Production of Greek aspect

The results of the comprehension tasks showed that, in general, all participants used target perfective aspect for the Com–P condition (complete situation plus perfective aspect), with more than 90% correct. They used correctly (89.85%) imperfective aspect for Com–I (complete

situation plus imperfective aspect), while for Inc–P (incomplete situation plus perfective aspect) they performed worse (80%). The most problematic condition was Inc–I (incomplete situation plus imperfective aspect), for which the target production of imperfective aspect was only 50% — nearly half of the children used perfective instead of imperfective.

With respect to the production data, the Inc–Prod condition was easier for the participants than Com–Prod, meaning that the participants used imperfective aspect for incomplete situations a little bit more than they used perfective aspect for complete situations. Looking at the data (see Table 1), it becomes clear that there is a difference between comprehension and production data: production results for imperfective aspect in incomplete situation were much better than the relevant comprehension results, while for the perfective aspect in the complete situation the reverse picture emerged, with comprehension results better than production data.

Task conditions	Participants' target productions (%)
Com–P	92.75
Com–I	89.85
Inc–P	80.43
Inc–I	52.89
Com–Prod	81.88
Inc–Prod	86.95

Table 1. Greek task: participants' target productions on all conditions

The participants were divided into four groups, according to their age (4;0–4;11; 5;0–5;11; 6;0–6;11; 7;0–7;11). As it can be seen from Table 2, all age groups exhibited problems with imperfective aspect in the Inc–I condition. There is no clear correlation or tendency to improve production with age increase. The groups produced nearly the same for the Com–P, the Inc–P, the Inc–I, and the Inc–Prod conditions, and at the same time they performed differently for the Com–I and the Com–Prod conditions.

Task conditions	4;0–4;11	5;0–5;11	6;0–6;11	7;0–7;11
Com–P	94.44	79.16	98.33	91.66
Com–I	77.77	95.83	91.66	88.88
Inc–P	83.33	75	76.66	88.88
Inc–I	72.22	16.66	61.66	58.33
Com–Prod	83.33	100	81.66	69.44
Inc–Prod	88.88	91.66	88.33	80.55

Table 2. Greek task: participants' target productions on all conditions per age group

Then the participants were divided according to schooling (st)age (kindergarten, pre-primary, and primary). As can be seen from Table 3, the kindergarten and pre-primary groups performed nearly the same, except for the Comp–P and the Com–I conditions. The primary school group performed the same with the two previous groups for Comp–P, Com–I, Inc–P, and Inc–Prod as well as better for Inc–I and worse for Com–Prod. For all groups, the most problematic condition

was Inc–I, to use imperfective aspect for incomplete situations. The primary school group performed better than the other two younger groups, meaning that the production of imperfective aspect improves when the children enter school. There is a difference between production and comprehension results only concerning imperfective aspect as production results for the usage of imperfective aspect in incomplete situations were much better than the comprehension results. It can thus be said that there is a relation between groups' productions and the schooling factor, at least more than between the participants' productions and their chronological age as factor.

Task conditions	kindergarten	pre-primary	primary
Com–P	83.33	96.66	95.83
Com–I	86.11	100	85.7
Inc–P	77.77	80	81.94
Inc–I	41.66	36.66	65.27
Com–Prod	91.66	90	73.61
Inc–Prod	91.66	86.66	84.72

Table 3. Greek task: participants' target productions on all conditions per school group

The participants were also divided into three groups according to their scores of the DVIQ test: low, intermediate, and high. As can be seen from Table 4, once again all groups displayed a problem with the Inc–I condition. The group with high DVIQ scores in general performed better than or the same as the other groups, except for the Com–Prod condition. The intermediate group performed better than the low group, except for the Inc–P and Inc–Prod conditions.

Task conditions	low	intermediate	high
Com–P	83.33	92.85	96.96
Com–I	86.66	95.23	87.87
Inc–P	86.66	43.05	81.81
Inc–I	33.33	42.85	68.18
Com–Prod	86.66	95.23	71.21
Inc–Prod	86.66	78.57	92.42

Table 4. Greek task: participants' target production on all conditions per proficiency group

3.2 Production of Russian aspect

The overall results of the task for Russian aspect acquisition show that production was worse than comprehension by the Russian (R)–Cypriot Greek (CG) bilingual children. With respect to comprehension, the most problematic condition, with less than 80% of target production, was Inc–I (incomplete situation plus imperfective aspect), meaning that the participants used perfective instead target imperfective. The Comp–P and Inc–P conditions were 100% target-like; this means that participants used perfective aspect correctly for both complete and incomplete situation. With respect to production, the Com–Prod condition was more problematic (less than

40% of target production) than Inc-Prod (more than 80% of target production), which means that, for production, the participants exhibited problems using perfective aspect for complete situation. The results are summarized in Table 5.

Task conditions	Participants' target productions (%)
Com-P	100
Com-I	90
Inc-P	100
Inc-I	76.66
Com-Prod	36.66
Inc-Prod	83.33

Table 5. Russian task: participants' target productions on all conditions

The participants were divided into four groups according to age (4;0-4;11; 5;0-5;11; 6;0-6;11, 7;0-7;11). There was no great correlation between their task productions and chronological age, all groups displayed a similar pattern. The most difficult condition was Inc-I for all groups (use of imperfective aspect for incomplete situation). The 4-year-old group performed better than the other groups, except for the Inc-P condition. In other words, the youngest group performed better than the older ones. This can be probably explained by the fact that, with age, exposure to Russian diminishes and exposure to Greek language increases. The results are shown in Table 6.

Task conditions	4;0-4;11	5;0-5;11	6;0-6;11	7;0-7;11
Com-P	100	83.33	83.33	94.44
Com-I	94.44	87.5	92.59	91.66
Inc-P	77.77	95.83	79.62	100
Inc-I	66.66	29.16	46.29	41.66
Com-Prod	100	79.16	64.81	66.66
Inc-Prod	94.44	83.33	75.92	83.33

Table 6. Russian task: participants' target productions on all conditions per age group

The participants were also divided according to schooling age into kindergarten, pre-primary, and primary school groups. The results are shown in Table 7.

Task conditions	kindergarten	pre-primary	primary
Com-P	88.88	83.33	90.9
Com-I	88.88	96.66	90.9
Inc-P	86.11	93.33	84.84
Inc-I	44.44	50	42.42
Com-Prod	91.66	83.33	66.66
Inc-Prod	91.66	86.66	75.75

Table 7. Russian task: participants' target production on all conditions per school group

There is no clear correlation between participants' productions and schooling; all groups showed nearly the same production rates, but the kindergarten and pre-primary groups performed better than the primary schoolers. This can be explained by the fact that the children attend Greek-speaking schools and have more exposure to Greek than to Russian, so they show worse performance for Russian than for Greek. Again, the most problematic condition was the Inc–I for all the groups; they had problems in the use of imperfective aspect for incomplete situation.

The participants were grouped according to Russian proficiency scores: low, intermediate, and high. The best production was by the high proficiency group, except for the Com–Prod condition; the participants with low proficiency scores performed the worst. The most difficult condition for all groups was Inc–I, except for the high group, and the most difficult was Com–Prod. Therefore, there is a correlation between participants' productions and Russian proficiency. There was no a crucial difference between comprehension and production results; see Table 8.

Task conditions	low	intermediate	high
Com–P	73.8	88.33	100
Com–I	73.8	96.66	90
Inc–P	69.04	83.33	100
Inc–I	26.19	41.66	76.66
Com–Prod	71.42	85	36.66
Inc–Prod	54.76	88.33	83.33

Table 8. Russian task: participants' target productions on all conditions per proficiency group

4 Comparison between Russian and Greek aspect production

We now compare the results of the Greek and the Russian tasks, as in Table 9.

Task conditions	Participants' target productions in the Greek task (%)	Participants' target productions in the Russian task (%)
Com–P	92.75	88.63
Com–I	89.85	87.12
Inc–P	80.43	87.12
Inc–I	52.89	44.69
Com–Prod	81.88	72.72
Inc–Prod	86.95	81.81

Table 9. Greek vs. Russian task: participants' target production on all conditions

It was found that the participants performed nearly the same in both languages; the most problematic condition is Inc–I for both tasks. The comprehension and production scores do not differ too much. The Greek task elicited better results for the Com–P, the Com–I, and the Inc–I

conditions for comprehension, and the Com-Prod and the Inc-Prod conditions for production. The Russian task elicited better results only for one condition, Inc-P. This means the bilingual Russian-CG children had better knowledge of aspect in Greek than in Russian for all conditions, with the exception for the comprehension condition Inc-P.

According to a paired-samples *t*-test statistical analysis, a statistically significant difference exists for the results of the Greek and Russian tasks on the Inc-P (comprehension) condition ($t(22)=2.084$, $df=21$, $p=.050$), and for the results of the Greek and Russian tasks on the Com-Prod (production) condition ($t(22)=1.857$, $df=21$, $p=.077$). With respect to the other conditions, there is no statistically significant difference between the Greek and the Russian tasks.

4.1 Age factor and Greek and Russian task production

There seems to be no crucial difference between the results of the Russian and Greek tasks when looking into chronological age groups, though it is interesting to note that younger children (4- and 5-year-olds) performed better in Russian, while older children (6-year-olds) performed better in Greek. This might be explained by the schooling factor, as it is at the age of 6 that children enter public schooling and their exposure to Greek increases. This is shown in Table 10.

Task conditions	Greek 4;0-4;11	Russian 4;0-4;11	Greek 5;0-5;11	Russian 5;0-5;11	Greek 6;0-6;11	Russian 6;0-6;11	Greek 7;0-7;11	Russian 7;0-7;11
Com-P	94.44	100	79.16	83.33	98.33	83.33	91.66	94.44
Com-I	77.77	94.44	95.83	87.5	91.66	92.59	88.88	91.66
Inc-P	83.33	77.77	75	95.83	76.66	79.62	88.88	100
Inc-I	72.22	66.66	16.66	29.16	61.66	46.29	58.33	41.66
Com-Prod	83.33	100	100	79.16	81.66	64.81	69.44	66.66
Inc-Prod	88.88	94.44	91.66	83.33	88.33	75.92	80.55	83.33

Table 10. Greek vs. Russian task: participants' target productions on all conditions per age group

The group of 4-year-olds performed better in Russian for Com-P, Com-I, Com-Prod, and Inc-Prod, while they performed better in Greek for such conditions as Inc-P and Inc-I. In general, it can be said that the 4-year-olds displayed better knowledge in Russian than in Greek, concerning aspect. The 5-year-old group showed nearly the same patterns for Greek and Russian productions, with the worst production for the Inc-I condition. The Russian task elicited more correct answers than the Greek task on such conditions as Com-P, Inc-P, and Inc-I, while the Greek task elicited more correct answers for Com-I, Com-Prod, and Inc-Prod.

The 6-year-olds, again, had nearly the same pattern for the Greek and Russian tasks, with the worst production for Inc-I. The Greek task elicited more target answers than the Russian task on such conditions as Com-P, Inc-I, Com-Prod, and Inc-Prod, while both tasks yielded the same number of target performance on such conditions as Com-I and Inc-P. This means that 6-year-old children show a better knowledge of aspectual distinctions in Greek rather than in Russian. The 7-year-olds show nearly the same pattern, both for the Greek and the Russian tasks, with the worst production for the Inc-I condition. The Russian and Greek tasks coincide in the number of correct answers for such conditions as Com-P, Com-I, Com-Prod, and Inc-Prod, while the

Russian task outranks the Greek task on the Inc–P condition, and the Greek task outranks the Russian task on the Inc–I condition.

4.2 School factor and Greek and Russian task production

The group of kindergarteners had nearly the same production, in both the Greek and the Russian tasks. There is a correspondence in the number of correct answers for all task conditions, with the exception of such conditions as Com–P and Inc–P, where the Russian task slightly prevails. The pre-primary school group children displayed nearly the same pattern for both tasks, Russian and Greek. The participants' productions coincide for such conditions as Com–I and Inc–Prod, while the Greek task outranks the Russian task for such conditions as Com–P and Com–Prod, and the Russian task outranks the Greek task for Inc–P and Inc–I. The primary school group performed slightly better in Greek than in Russian. This could be explained by the schooling factor, as in primary school children have more exposure to Greek than the other two groups. There is also a correspondence for the two tasks in two conditions (Com–P and Inc–P), while for all other conditions, the Greek task outranks the Russian task. The numbers are provided in Table 11.

Task conditions	Greek kindergarten	Russian kindergarten	Greek pre-primary	Russian pre-primary	Greek primary	Russian primary
Com–P	83.33	88.88	96.66	83.33	95.83	90.9
Com–I	86.11	88.88	100	96.66	85.7	90.9
Inc–P	77.77	86.11	80	93.33	81.94	84.84
Inc–I	41.66	44.44	36.66	50	65.27	42.42
Com–Prod	91.66	91.66	90	83.33	73.61	66.66
Inc–Prod	91.66	91.66	86.66	86.66	84.72	75.75

Table 11. Greek vs. Russian task: participants' target productions per school group

4.3 Proficiency factor and Greek and Russian task production

The participants with low scores in the Russian and Greek proficiency tests show nearly the same pattern of production in both the Greek and the Russian tasks, but the Greek task outranks the Russian task for all conditions. Consider the numbers in Table 12:

Task conditions	Greek low	Russian low	Greek intermediate	Russian intermediate	Greek high	Russian high
Com–P	83.33	73.8	92.85	88.33	96.96	100
Com–I	86.66	73.8	95.23	96.66	87.87	90
Inc–P	86.66	69.04	43.05	83.33	81.81	100
Inc–I	33.33	26.19	42.85	41.66	68.18	76.66
Com–Prod	86.66	71.42	95.23	85	71.21	36.66
Inc–Prod	86.66	54.76	78.57	88.33	92.42	83.33

Table 12. Greek vs. Russian task: participants' target productions per proficiency group

It can be said that children with low Greek proficiency show a better knowledge of Greek aspect than the participants with a low proficiency in Russian and their knowledge of Russian aspect. The participants with a low level of proficiency in Greek and in Russian had nearly the same pattern of productions, both for the Greek and the Russian tasks; there is a correspondence for two conditions, Com-I and Inc-I. The Greek task elicited better results for such conditions as Com-P and Com-Prod, while the Russian task elicited better results for Inc-P and Inc-Prod. It is interesting to note that the high proficiency group performed better on comprehension in Russian and better on production in Greek, and the worst condition was not Inc-I, as in all other groups, but Com-Prod for Russian. There is also a correspondence for two conditions, Com-P and Com-I; children performed better in Inc-P and Inc-I in the Russian task, and in Com-Prod and Inc-Prod in the Greek task.

According to a Pearson correlation analysis, statistically significant (2-tailed) correlations were found between age and Russian Inc-P production ($p=.070$), age and Russian Com-Prod production ($p=.058$), age and school ($p=.000$); school factor and Russian Com-Prod ($p=.021$), school and all conditions in the Russian task ($p=.008$); DVIQ scores and Greek Com-P ($p=.063$), DVIQ scores and Greek Inc-I ($p=.096$), Greek DVIQ scores and Russian Com-Prod ($p=.037$), DVIQ scores and age ($p=.001$), DVIQ scores and school ($p=.000$), DVIQ scores and Russian for all conditions ($p=.057$); Russian proficiency test scores and Greek Inc-I ($p=.039$), Russian proficiency test scores and Greek Com-I ($p=.065$), Russian proficiency test scores and Greek Com-Prod ($p=.004$), Russian proficiency test scores and Russian Inc-P ($p=.016$), Russian proficiency test scores and Russian Com-Prod ($p=.019$), Russian proficiency test scores and Russian Com-Prod ($p=.019$), and Russian proficiency test scores and age ($p=.054$). For reasons of space, we will not enter into further interpretation of these results beyond the summary observations above.

5 Conclusions

The results of the present study showed that 4- and 5-years-old bilingual children, both in Russian and in (Cypriot) Greek, have acquired perfective aspect, yet still display problems with imperfective aspect in incomplete situations; the results improve around age 6. Children have problems associating imperfective predicates with incomplete events. These findings are in line with Kazanina and Phillips (2003, 2007) and van Hout (2005). There is a correlation between schooling factor, proficiency, and task production: the higher the language proficiency of the participants and the higher the school grade they attend, the better task production the children show. It is interesting to note that with more exposure to Greek, by living in a CG-speaking environment, task production improves for Greek and decreases for Russian. These results are in line with Konstantzou et al.'s (2011) findings from Greece and also support van Hout's (2008) Semantic Complexity Hypothesis, according to which perfective aspect for telic predicates is acquired before imperfective. The usage of imperfective aspect on telic predicates requires an aspect shift, since there is a contradiction of imperfective aspect with the entailment of telic predicates.

Appendix 1

	gender	age	grade	Com-P/6	Com-I/6	Inc-I/6	Inc-P/6	Com-Prod/6	Inc-Prod/6	total/36
1	m	5;4	kindergarten	5	5	1	3	6	6	26
2	m	7;1	1st	4	4	2	5	5	6	26
3	f	7;0	1st	5	5	3	5	6	0	24
4	f	6;4	pre-primary	6	6	1	5	6	6	30
5	f	4;8	kindergarten	6	6	4	4	6	6	32
6	m	6;0	pre-primary	5	6	1	5	5	6	28
7	f	6;0	pre-primary	6	6	3	4	5	4	28
8	m	6;0	pre-primary	6	6	6	5	5	5	33
9	m	5;6	pre-primary	6	6	0	5	6	5	28
10	m	6;8	1st	6	6	5	3	3	6	29
11	f	7;6	1st	6	5	5	6	6	6	34
12	m	6;11	1st	6	3	3	5	6	4	27
13	f	6;10	1st	6	5	5	4	6	6	32
14	f	8;4	2nd	6	6	6	5	1	6	30
15	f	3;10	kindergarten	5	5	4	5	4	5	28
16	m	6;0	1st	6	5	1	5	5	5	27
17	m	7;8	2nd	6	6	0	5	6	6	29
18	f	6;8	1st	6	6	6	4	3	6	31
19	m	7;0	1st	6	6	5	6	1	5	29
20	m	4;8	kindergarten	6	3	5	6	5	5	30
21	f	5;7	kindergarten	3	6	0	5	6	5	25
22	f	6;8	1st primary	6	6	6	1	5	5	29

Greek task: target production per participant

Appendix 2

	gender	age	grade	Com-P/6	Com-I/6	Inc-I/6	Inc-P/6	Com-Prod/6	Inc-Prod/6	total/36
1	m	5;4	kindergarten	5	5	4	6	5	5	30
2	m	7;1	1st	5	6	0	5	6	5	27
3	f	7;0	1st	6	3	4	6	6	2	27
4	f	6;4	pre-primary	4	6	1	6	5	6	28
5	f	4;8	kindergarten	6	5	2	5	6	6	30
6	m	6;0	pre-primary	4	5	3	5	6	5	28
7	f	6;0	pre-primary	6	6	2	6	5	5	30
8	m	6;0	pre-primary	5	6	6	5	5	5	32
9	m	5;6	pre-primary	6	6	3	6	4	5	30
10	m	6;8	1st	5	6	5	4	3	5	28
11	f	7;6	1st	6	6	0	6	6	5	29
12	m	6;11	1st	6	5	1	4	4	3	23
13	f	6;10	1st	5	5	1	4	3	1	19
14	f	8;4	2nd	6	6	6	6	0	6	30
15	f	3;10	kindergarten	6	6	5	4	6	6	33
16	m	6;0	1st	4	5	0	4	4	5	22
17	m	7;8	2nd	5	6	0	5	6	6	28
18	f	6;8	1st	6	6	6	6	0	6	30
19	m	7;0	1st	6	6	5	6	0	6	29
20	m	4;8	kindergarten	6	6	5	5	6	5	33
21	f	5;7	kindergarten	6	5	0	5	6	5	27
22	f	6;8	1st primary	3	5	0	6	4	5	23

Russian task: target production per participant

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MODERN GREEK DIALECT LEXICOGRAPHY: AN ONLINE LEXICAL DATABASE FOR CYPRIOT GREEK

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‘Syntychies’ is the first online lexical database for Cypriot Greek dialect, with enhanced sorting and searching functionalities and a text-to-speech feature for listening to the pronunciation of the words. The research goal of the project focuses on the study of Cypriot Greek vocabulary and its written representation. Three main principles guide the structure of the website: accessibility, efficiency, and user friendliness.

‘Syntychies’ is a lexicographic research project for the production of linguistic resources focusing on the study of Cypriot Greek (henceforth CG) vocabulary, its pronunciation and its orthographic representation. This project was undertaken at the University of Cyprus during 2006-2010. An online web service website has been created in order to allow access to the ‘Syntychies’ lexical database (<http://lexcy.library.ucy.ac.cy/>).

Three main principles guide the structure and the form of the website: the accessibility, the efficiency and the user friendliness. In this article the graphical user interface will be presented, with a short description of the data shown on screen; a presentation of the sorting and searching capabilities follows and then the text to speech features are described. The Graphical User Interface is shown in Figure 1.

ΛΕΞΙΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΒΑΣΗ ΔΕΔΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΗΣ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΟΥ

Σε ποια στήλη ψάχνω; Ποια λέξη ή τμήμα λέξης ψάχνω; Τι είδος λέξης ψάχνω;

Λήμμα θκιακο* όλες τις λέξεις Αναζήτηση

Πώς πληκτρολογούνται τα κυπριακά;

Λήμμα	Προφορά	Άλλες γραφές	Άλλες μορφές	Γραμμ. κατηγορία	Κλίση	Σχόλια
θκιακομμένος	θσακομ:έπος	δικιακομμένος	διακομμένος	επίθετο, τριγενές	-ος, -η, -ον	
θκιακονεύκω	θσακοπέφκο	δικιακονεύκω		ρήμα		
θκιακονητής	θσακοnitís		βλ. θκιακονήτης	ουσιαστικό, διγενές	-ής, -ού	Το θηλυκό είναι και θκιακονητίνα.
θκιακονήτης	θσακοnitís	δικιακονήτης	θκιακονητής (δικιακονητής)	ουσιαστικό, διγενές	-ης, -ού	Το θηλυκό είναι και θκιακονητίνα.
θκιακονιά	θσακοη:ά	δικιακονιά		ουσιαστικό, θηλυκό		
θκιακονιάρης	θσακοη:άρις	δικιακονιάρης		ουσιαστικό, διγενές	-ης, -ισσα/-α	
θκιακονιόν	θσακοη:όν	δικιακονιόν		ουσιαστικό, ουδέτερο		
θκιακονώ	θσακοπό	δικιακονώ		ρήμα		

Figure 1: The 'Syntychieis' graphical user interface.

The graphical user interface of the web service has minimal design and constitutes the homepage of the 'Syntychieis' website. The fields currently are in Modern Greek but there are plans for extended language support. The search bar is predominant at the top of the screen; at the left and at the right of the search bar there searching tools -combo boxes- that allow the user to make sophisticated research on the database. The user exploits the lexical database mainly through this tool, specifying the combinations of search criteria (such as grammatical categories or parts of the words) that are to be met. A table follows with the data.

The columns of the data-table contain the following information:

1. Lemma (Λήμμα): The lemma is the head of the record. A standard search executes a search on this column.
2. Voice (Φωνή): Contains buttons that allow the user to hear the pronunciation of the word in the Lemma field.
3. Allomorphs (Άλλες μορφές): Morphological and phonetic variants are represented in this field.
4. Allographs (Άλλες γραφές): Since there is no standardized orthography for Cypriot Greek, alternative spellings are presented.
5. Grammatical Category (Γραμματική κατηγορία): Indicates the grammatical category to which the lemma belongs.
6. Pronunciation (Προφορά): Phonetic transcription of the lemma in the International Phonetic Alphabet.
7. Inflection (Κλίση): Description of nouns and adjectives' morphological class.
8. Comments (Σχόλια): Further information, generally morphological, concerning selected lemmas.

The web-service allows the user to sort each table in ascending or in descending order, just by double clicking each column header. The user can search for any given word just by typing the word in the search bar and pressing enter or clicking at the button labeled ‘Αναζήτηση’ (search). The build-in search capabilities of the web-service allow finer search such as:

1. By using expressions: The star key < * > stands for one or more characters while the question mark < ? > represents one character; so the search results for *τος, are all the existing CG words ending in < τος >, while a search for ?τος will provide one result: έτος (“year”).
2. Search in other fields: Searching is also enabled for the fields [Other forms (Άλλες Μορφές)], [Other spellings (Άλλες Γραφές)] and [Pronunciation (Προφορά)] by making the appropriate selection in the left combo-box. This capability allows the user to find information that is not part of the main lemma. The user can even search for different pronunciations in IPA; this functionality is rare in e-dictionaries but it is of utmost importance for researchers, linguists, phoneticians and speech pathologists.
3. Constraining the search: The user may choose to reduce the search results to certain grammatical categories by making the appropriate selection in the right combo-box.

The text to speech component provides an auditory presentation of the words. It is based on triphone selection speech synthesis trained from a phonetically balanced subset of the lexicon corpus. The training data set consists of 2092 isolated words, which have been chosen to offer a balanced distribution of all the observed intonational phenomena for reading words and some small phrases in a lexicon application domain. Due to this application domain’s nature, prosody is highly predictable with limited variance. On the other hand, the segmental quality is of major importance, to pronounce lexicon entries accurately. Thus, we chose to perform unit selection based on the segmental content and the lexical stress information, leading to high quality and phonetically accurate synthesized speech. The DEMOSTHeNES text-to-speech system (Xydas and Kouroupetroglou, 2001) has been used as the development platform and the synthesis module chain is currently capable of performing the phoneme-to-speech conversion. For the letter-to-phoneme task, we developed an off-line set of transformation rules, which resolves the ambiguity occurring with homographs (cf. Jurafski and Martin, 2000: 791) and informs the CG native and non-native speakers about the pronunciations of a lemma.

In a nutshell, ‘Syntychies’ is the first electronic lexical database for CG, with an online web-service and use of modern technologies. The project aims to provide free online lexicographic resources not only to academics, researchers and scholars but to anyone interested in CG.

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LOAN SUFFIXATION IN MODERN GREEK DIALECTS: THE SUFFIX -OZOS

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

1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

2 Lexical Borrowing and Loan Suffixation

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

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

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

Table 1. Thomason and Kaufman's borrowing scale

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A. Language external factors

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

B. Language internal factors

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

3 The Italian suffix *-oso*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

or

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

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

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

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

or

b. *paur-oso* [+anim.]
‘who has fear’

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

4 Loanwords in *-osos/-ózos* in MGr dialect

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

(9) a. *κουριόσος* Suda κ 2188 (10th c.) (cf. *κουρισσός* V-Melan. 226 [5th c.])
‘officer for the invigilation of travellers’

b. *γρατίωσος* *ἐπίσκοπος* Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum 1.6.15 (7th c.)
‘respected bishop’

c. *τὸ ἐμπαθὲς ἢ τὸ βιτίωσον* Bas. B 279 1 (9-13 a. D.)⁶
‘passionate or defective’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.1 The donor language

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

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

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

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

¹⁰ See Cortelazzo 2007.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2 Presentation of the loanwords in MGr dialects

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

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

(16) see above 11a, b, c.

(17) *γρατσιόζος* (Corfu) / *γρατζιόζος* (Cephalonia) < Ven./ It. *grazioso*
‘gentile, gracious’.

(18) *κουραγιόζος* (not attested) / *κουραγιόζ-ζος* (Chios) / *κουραγκιόζος* (Cyprus) /
κουραγκιόζους (Tinos) / *κουραιόζος* (Naxos) / *κουραγκιόζης* (Ionia, Smyrna) < It.
coraggioso
‘courageous’

(19) a. *πρετσιόζος* (Cephalonia) / *πρεντζιόζος* (Leukada) < It. *prezioso* [< Lat. *pretiōsus*]
‘valuable’

b. *πρετσούζος* (Cyprus) < Prov. *precious*
‘valuable’

(20) *φαμόζος* (Cephalonia, Cyprus) / *φαμόζους* (Samos) < It. *famoso* [< Lat. *famōsus*]
‘famous’

(21) *φουριόζος* (Common MGr) / *φουριόζους* (Tinos, Ioannina, Etoloakarnania) /
φουρζόζους (Lemnos) < It. *furioso* ‘full of haste or rage’ [< Lat. *furiōsus*]
‘who is in haste’

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

(22) *βιρτουόζος* (Common MGr and in many MGr dialects) < Ven. / It. *virtuoso* ‘skilfull’ [<
Lat. *virtuōsus* ‘virtuous’]
‘skilful’

(23) *βιτσιόζος* (Common MGr and in many MGr dialects) < Ven./ It. *vizioso* ‘vicious,
aberrant’ [< Lat. *vitiōsus* ‘sly/ incorrect’].
‘aberrant’

(24) *γολόζος* (Cephalonia, Ithaca, Kea, Crete, Myconos, Syros, Euboia, Preveza and
elsewhere) / *γ'λόζους* (Leukada) / *γ'λούζους* (Kythnos) / *γουλούζης* (Megara)¹⁵ < Ven.
goloso ‘causing the appetite’ / It. *goloso* ‘glutton’ [< Lat. *gulōsus*]
‘glutton’

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

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

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

Adjectives in *-oso* from the 15th c.

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

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

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

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

(33) *γουστόζος* (Common MGr) / *γουστοζόςος* (north dialects) / *’ουστόζος* (Naxos) < Ven. / It. *gustoso*¹⁷
‘tasteful, stylish, funny’

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

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

(36) *σπιριτόζος* (Naxos) / *σπιρτόζος* (Common MGr and MGr dialects) / *σπιρτόζουος* (Alonnisos, Tinos) / *σπιρτσόζος* (Etelocarnania) < Ven. / It. *spiritoso* ‘which contains alcohol/ full of energy’
‘clever, lively’

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

(37) *αβανταγκιόζος* (Leukada) < Ven. **avantazzoso* < Ven *avantazzo* (cf. It. *avanzaggioso*)
‘advantageous’

(38) *πρεμουρόζος* (Cephalonia, Kythira) < It. *premuroso*
‘who is in rush/ willing’

(39) *σκερτσόζος* (Common MGr) / *σκιρτσόζουος* (Ioannina) / *σκιρτσιόζουος* (Etolocarnania) < It. *scherzoso*
‘who frills/ frilling’

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

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

(41) *λουσόζος* (Corfu, Cephalonia, Paxoi-Antipaxoi, Messinia) < It. *lussuoso*
‘luxurious, sprangly, dandy’

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

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

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

- (43) *σπετακολόζος* (Cephalonia) < Ven. / It. *spetacolosso* ‘spectacular’
‘imposing’
- (44) *μαφιόζος* (Common MGr) < It. *mafioso*
‘member of the mafia, mafioso’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5 New formations in MGr dialects

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

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

(46) *μετζοσταγκιόζος* (Paxoi) < *μετζοσταγκι(όν)* ‘intermediate situation’ (Leucada) + *-ózos* ‘of an intermediate situation’

(47) *φασαριόζος* (Common MGr and in many MGr dialects) < *φασαρί(α)* ‘fuss’ (< Ven. **fesaria* < It. *fesseria*) + *-ózos* ‘noisy’

(48) *φατσόζος* (Cephalonia) < *φάτσ(α)* ‘face, appearance’ + *-ózos* ‘presentable’

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

5.1 Loanwords in *-ózos* from Greek nominal stems

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

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

¹⁹ The adjectives *μπουγιόζος* and *μπουγιόζικος* are not lemmatized in none of the above dictionaries.

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

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

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

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

(53) *θυμόζος* (Kythira) < *θυμ(ός)* ‘anger’ + *-ózos*
‘very angry’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2 Constrains at the derivation of the new formations in *-ózos*

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

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

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

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

a) are [+ learnt] ones and

b) are characterized by morphological problems in the formation of certain cases of the singular and plural (for example, **ευλαβή άτομο_{NOM.SG}* instead of *ευλαβές άτομο_{NOM.SG}*, **σωματώδη άντρα άτομο_{GEN.SG}* instead of *σωματώδους άντρα_{GEN.SG}*) and by the lack of discrimination between the masculine and feminine forms (cf. Anastasiadi-Symeonidi, 1985: 100-101)²².

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

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

6 The suffix *-ózos* in Common Modern Greek

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

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

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

²³ This adjective is not lemmatized in Babiniotis Dictionary.

²⁴ This adjective is not lemmatized in Triantafyllidis Dictionary,

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

7 Conclusions-Further hypotheses

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

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

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

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²⁵ This adjective is not lemmatized in Triantafyllidis Dictionary.

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ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ ΚΑΤΑΝΟΜΗ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΒΑΝΙΚΩΝ- ΑΡΒΑΝΙΤΙΚΩΝ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ ΣΤΑ ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΙΔΙΩΜΑΤΑ

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In this paper we try to portray different views of the geographic distribution of Albanian-Arvanitika elements in the Greek dialects. Greek and Albanian meet one another in two main zones: a) in Epirus where we have a continuous neighboring and interaction of the two languages b) in Thessaly, Boeotia, Euboea, Andros, Attica, Peloponnese etc. where the presence of the Albanian language is related to the medieval settlements of Albanian speaking populations. The first zone is characterized by a more complex situation of bilingualism; whereas, in the second one, Albanian is constantly surrounded by Greek speaking regions and evolves in its own way which is different than that of the main body of the Albanian language. The continuously diverging historical evolution of the two zones led to the creation of even more linguistic specificities as far as the language contact is concerned.

Με την ανακοίνωση αυτή επιχειρούμε να ανιχνεύσουμε ένα πεδίο που μέχρι σήμερα έχει απασχολήσει ελάχιστα την ελληνική διαλεκτολογία. Μιλώντας γενικότερα, οφείλουμε να τονίσουμε ότι οι σχέσεις της ελληνικής με τις υπόλοιπες βαλκανικές γλώσσες, σχέσεις που πραγματοποιήθηκαν ως επί το πλείστον μέσω των γεωγραφικά γειτνιαζόντων αλλόγλωσσων ή δίγλωσσων πληθυσμών, δεν έχουν εξεταστεί ακόμη στο βαθμό και την έκταση που τους αξίζει¹.

Παρότι έχει περάσει πάνω από ένας αιώνας από τη δημοσίευσή της, η πρόδρομη μελέτη του G. Meyer για τις λεξιλογικές επιδράσεις της αλβανικής επί της ελληνικής (Meyer, 1894) εξακολουθεί να παραμένει θεμέλιος λίθος, τον οποίο οι μετέπειτα επιστημονικές έρευνες λάξεναν περαιτέρω χωρίς να έχουν αλλοιώσει σημαντικά το αρχικό σχήμα του. Αν αφήσουμε κατά μέρος τις αναφορές στο θέμα αυτό στο πλαίσιο ευρύτερων εργασιών ετυμολογικού ή διαλεκτολογικού χαρακτήρα, μπορούμε να πούμε ότι μόνο το έτος 1997, δηλαδή ύστερα από έναν αιώνα και πλέον, είδε το φως της δημοσιότητας μια μονογραφία που καταπιάνεται ειδικά με τις αλβανικές επιδράσεις στα ηπειρωτικά ιδιώματα (Οικονόμου, 1997), της οποίας ορισμένες

¹ «Ο σημαντικότερος εξωτερικός παράγοντας που διαμόρφωσε τη σύγχρονη ελληνική έτσι όπως τη γνωρίζουμε σήμερα υπήρξε η έντονη, αδιάκοπη και στενή αλληλεπίδραση [των Ελλήνων] με ομιλητές άλλων βαλκανικών γλωσσών». (Joseph, 2003: 225-26).

θετικές πτυχές αλλά και ελλείψεις είχαμε την ευκαιρία να επιστημόνουμε προ καιρού (Κυριαζής, 2000-2001: 182-87).

Φρονούμε ωστόσο ότι είναι αναγκαίο να γίνουν βήματα για την ανάληψη μιας νέας συνθετικής εργασίας, η οποία, αφενός, να συμπεριλάβει το νέο υλικό, και, αφετέρου, να λάβει υπόψη και τις νέες ερμηνείες/προσεγγίσεις, που, ανάλογα με την περίπτωση, προσθέτουν ή αφαιρούν κατιτί στους καταλόγους των Meyer και Οικονόμου. Σε σύγκριση με την εποχή που ο Meyer συνέτασε το Ετυμολογικό λεξικό της αλβανικής (Meyer, 1891), και στη συνέχεια τη μελέτη του για τα σλαβικά, αλβανικά και ρουμανικά δάνεια της νέας ελληνικής, σήμερα βρισκόμαστε σε αρκετά πλεονεκτική θέση τόσο σε ό,τι αφορά το διαθέσιμο υλικό όσο και ως προς τις νέες, συχνά πετυχημένες, ετυμολογικές προσεγγίσεις του. Παρ' όλα αυτά, δεν διαθέτουμε ακόμη τον διαλεκτολογικό άτλαντα της νέας ελληνικής, ενώ το Ιστορικό λεξικό της νέας ελληνικής και των ιδιωμάτων της (ΙΑΝΕ 1933-), έργο που ξεκίνησε από την τρίτη δεκαετία του 20^{ου} αιώνα, προχωράει με πολύ αργό ρυθμό. Από την άλλη, η καλύτερη γνώση των νότιων ιδιωμάτων της αλβανικής², με τα οποία βρίσκονταν (και βρίσκονται) σε άμεση επαφή τα βόρεια και βορειοδυτικά νεοελληνικά ιδιώματα, η πληρέστερη επίσης γνωριμία της μεσαιωνικής αλβανικής, της εποχής όταν αλβανόφωνοι πληθυσμοί κατεβαίνουν στο σημερινό ελλαδικό χώρο³, είναι ορισμένες από τις προϋποθέσεις για την ολοκληρωμένη πραγμάτευση του θέματος αυτού.

Κατά το χρόνο που μεσολάβησε έχει διευρυνθεί και εμπλουτισθεί αισθητά το θεωρητικό πλαίσιο προσέγγισης παρόμοιων ζητημάτων· η θεωρία των γλωσσών σε επαφή, η βαλκανική γλωσσολογία, η γλωσσογεωγραφία κτλ. οδήγησαν σε μια προσέγγιση «από ευρύτερη οπτική, υπό το φως των αμφίδρομων γλωσσικών σχέσεων, του φαινομένου των γλωσσών σε επαφή», αποστασιοποιημένη από την «ιδέα του γλωσσικού κυττάρου» και προσανατολισμένη στην «αλληλεξάρτηση των γλωσσών» (Çabej, 1982: I 115). Είναι σημαντικό να τονιστεί ότι τα θεωρητικά αυτά επιτεύγματα δημιούργησαν τις προϋποθέσεις για μια αυστηρότερη επιστημονική μεθοδολογία, που με τη σειρά της επέβαλε την εκ νέου εξέταση του ετύμου λέξεων που μέχρι πρόσφατα θεωρούνταν αλβανικά δάνεια της ελληνικής (ή και αντίστροφα). Η έννοια των λεξιλογικών βαλκανισμών⁴ και η πληρέστερη εκμετάλλευση του διαλεκτολογικού

² Τα έτη 2007 και 2008 κυκλοφόρησαν ο πρώτος και ο δεύτερος, αντίστοιχα, τόμος του Διαλεκτολογικού Άτλαντα της Αλβανικής Γλώσσας (Atlasi Dialektologjik i Gjuhës Shqipe).

³ Πολύτιμο υλικό για τα αρβανίτικα βρίσκει κανείς στις εργασίες του Τ. Γιοχάλα, ενώ είναι αξιόλογη η δραστηριότητα που σημειώνεται στις αλβανόφωνες κοινότητες της Κ. Ιταλίας, ειδικά στον τομέα φιλολογικών (επαν)εκδόσεων. Έχει δρομολογηθεί επίσης και η ηλεκτρονική συγκρότηση και έκδοση ενός διαχρονικού λεξικού των αλβανόφωνων ιδιωμάτων της Καλαβρίας και της Σικελίας, έργου που συντονίζεται από τα πανεπιστήμια Κοζέντσας και Παλέρμου.

⁴ «Ως βαλκανικές χαρακτηρίζουμε συνήθως μια σειρά λέξεων που απαντούν σε δύο ή περισσότερες βαλκανικές γλώσσες και που η προέλευσή τους είναι άγνωστη ή αβέβαιη», σημειώνει ο Τζιτζιλής (Δουγά-Παπαδοπούλου & Τζιτζιλής, 2006: 43). Ο ίδιος συγγραφέας (ό.π.) διαχωρίζει μια υποκατηγορία βαλκανικών λέξεων που περιλαμβάνει τα αλβανορουμανικά λεξιλογικά ισόγλωσσα, πολλά εκ των οποίων απαντούν και σε άλλες βαλκανικές γλώσσες – κυρίως στην ελληνική- και δεν μπορούν ούτε και πρέπει να ερμηνεύονται πάντα ως δάνεια στοιχεία της αλβανικής ή της ρουμανικής στις γλώσσες αυτές. Αυτό σημαίνει ότι, όχι σπάνια, λέξεις που μέχρι σήμερα θεωρούνταν αλβανικές είμαστε υποχρεωμένοι να τις εξετάζουμε σε ευρύτερο βαλκανικό πλαίσιο. Σε μια άλλη υποκατηγορία, συνεχίζει ο Τζιτζιλής (ό.π. 45), συγκαταλέγονται λέξεις «που απαντούν δε δύο ή περισσότερες βαλκανικές γλώσσες και συνήθως θεωρούνται ως κατάλοιπα υποστρωματικών γλωσσών (της θρακικής και συνθέστερα της δακο-μυσικής). Και για τις λέξεις αυτές «ισχύει η παρατήρηση ότι η αναζήτηση του ετύμου τους αποκλειστικά στα πλαίσια της αλβανικής και της ρουμανικής δεν θα πρέπει να είναι αυτονόητη». Μια τρίτη υποκατηγορία «παρουσιάζει ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον γιατί, ενώ πρόκειται για λέξεις που απαντούν σε δύο ή περισσότερες βαλκανικές γλώσσες, η παρουσία τους στις γλώσσες αυτές δεν είχε ως σήμερα επιστημανθεί ή, κι όταν επιστημαίνεται, σπάνια

υλικού⁵ μάς κατέστησαν πιο επιφυλακτικούς και έδειξαν πόσο σύνθετα είναι τα προβλήματα της ετυμολογίας στις βαλκανικές γλώσσες⁶.

Όταν ο Γ. Φραντζής έγραφε στα μέσα του 15^{ου} αι. ότι

«...το κάκιστον και ανωφελέστατον των Αλβανιτών γένος ... αντί του ειπείν κόμας ή άστεα κάστρας έλεγον κατά την αυτών γλώσσαν την βαρβαρίζουσαν» (Φραντζής, *Χρονικόν*, 1838: 391, 10)⁷

εγκαινιάζε στην ουσία μια παράδοση που συσχετίζει το «κάκιστον» ενός γένους με το «βάρβαρον» της γλώσσας που εκείνο χρησιμοποιεί⁸. Στις αρχές του 19^{ου} αι., την εποχή που οι πρώτοι εκείνοι Αλβανίτες είχαν αρχίσει να συγχωνεύονται στο ελληνικό «καμίνι», ο Ιωάννης Βηλαράς γράφει ένα ολιγόστιχο ποίημα, όπου ούτε λίγο ούτε πολύ σκιαγραφεί το «ενάρετο» πορτρέτο των Αρβανιτών, για την ακρίβεια Αλβανών, που είχε γνωρίσει από κοντά καθώς υπηρέτησε γιατρός του Βελή, υιού του Αλή Πασά των Ιωαννίνων:

Μόνε είπες Αρβανίτη, // σαν να λέγεις κλεισοσπίτη // Είδε βιό αυτό τ' αγρίμι; // Όρνιο τρέχει στο ψοφίμι // Άλλο τόσο είναι φίλος, // όσο ο λυσσασμένος σκύλος. // [...] // Σαν θελήσεις // να μισήσεις // τη ζωή σου // και τιμή σου, // ν' αρνηθείς και βιο και σπίτι, // πιάσε φίλο Αρβανίτη! (Βηλαράς, 1995: 322-23).

τονίζεται ο βαλκανικός χαρακτήρας των λέξεων αυτών. Ίσως αυτή να είναι και η αιτία που η μεγάλη πλειοψηφία των λέξεων αυτών δεν έχουν γίνει αντικείμενο ετυμολογικής ανάλυσης». (Τζιτζιλής, ό.π. 46).

⁵ Η προαναφερθείσα εργασία για το ιδίωμα της ορεινής Πιερίας αποτελεί κατά τη γνώμη μας ένα πετυχημένο δείγμα μελέτης του διαλεκτολογικού υλικού σε βαλκανικό πλαίσιο, αλλά και δείχνει το όφελος που αποκομίζουμε όταν συνδυάζονται σωστά η εσωτερική και η εξωτερική ιστορία του γλωσσικού ιδιώματος.

⁶ Επειδή το βάρος της ετυμολογικής έρευνας επικεντρώνεται κυρίως στο λεξιλόγιο της κοινής, παραμελούνται δυστυχώς οι διάλεκτοι και τα ιδιώματα, η μελέτη των οποίων έρχεται να συνδράμει στη λύση ετυμολογικών προβλημάτων της κοινής. Στα Βαλκάνια, η αναζήτηση του ετύμου πολλών λέξεων περνάει υποχρεωτικά από την εξέταση του πλέγματος διγλωσσίας και πολυγλωσσίας. Για παράδειγμα, κατά την εξέταση των λεξικών ισογλώσσων ανάμεσα στην αλβανική και την ελληνική στην περιοχή της Ηπείρου, είναι ανάγκη να ληφθούν υπόψη και οι άλλες γλώσσες που χρησιμοποιούνταν στην περιοχή αυτή (σλαβική, αρομουνική, τουρκική κ.ά.). Λ.χ. η λ. *mahi* 'δοκάρι της στέγης' της αλβανικής απαντά στην Ήπειρο ως *μαχιάς* 'αγκωνάρι της στέγης', αλλά και οι δύο ανάγονται στην τουρκική *mahi* 'id.' (Dizdari, 2005). Επίσης, η λ. *μυρμάλια* 'πλήθος πραγμάτων, αφθονία', που απαντάει στην Ήπειρο, ερμηνεύεται καλύτερα μέσω της τουρκικής *miri mal* < *mali miri* 'public money, public revenue' (Redhouse *Türkçe-İngilizce Sözlük*) και όχι ως σύνθετη αλβανική *merr* + *mall* (< *turk. mal*), όπως ετυμολογεί ο Οικονόμου (ό.π. 51). Επιπλέον, η καλύτερη γνώση του υλικού θα αποδείκνυε ότι η σύνθετη λ. *ταταζότης* δεν σχηματίστηκε στο πλαίσιο κάποιου ελληνικού ιδιώματος της Ηπείρου (Οικονόμου, 1997: 67), επειδή, απλά, η λ. *tatëzot* είναι αλβανικού ετύμου (*tatë* + *zot*).

⁷ Ως συνήθως, η εικόνα που μας μεταφέρει ο Φραντζής για τους Αλβανίτες (και τη λαλιά τους) εδράζεται σε εξωγλωσσικά κριτήρια, καθώς, όπως ο ίδιος γράφει, «τί ουκ έπραξαν ή τί ουκ ειργάσαντο κακόν; απιστούντες γαρ τρις του σαββάτου εκ του ενός αυθέντου προς τον άλλον απήρχοντο». (*Χρονικόν*, ό.π. Η πληροφορία και η παραπομπή από το Γιοχάλας, 2006: Α' 75, σημ. 1).

⁸ *Χρονικόν* ό.π. Είναι μάλλον βέβαιο ότι ο Φραντζής γνώρισε από πρώτο χέρι τους Αρβανίτες, καθώς, όπως πληροφορούμαστε από τη βιογραφία του, είχε συνοδεύσει τον Ιωάννη Παλαιολόγο στο Δεσποτάτο του Μορέως και παρέμεινε εκεί, υπηρετώντας αργότερα τον δεσπότη Κωνσταντίνο Παλαιολόγο, που το 1447 τον διόρισε διοικητή της Σπάρτης και των περιχώρων της.

Αν και στο στιχούργημα αυτό δεν βρίσκουμε αναφορές στη γλώσσα των Αρβανιτών⁹, είναι προφανές ότι τέτοιοι στίχοι, καθώς και άλλα κείμενα της εποχής, όπως η *Ελληνική Νομαρχία*, συμβάλλουν στη δημιουργία μιας αρνητικής εικόνας για τους Αλβανούς-Αρβανίτες, η οποία θα αποτυπωθεί όπως θα δούμε και στη γλώσσα.

Στο σημείο αυτό είναι ανάγκη να γίνει και μια άλλη προκαταρκτική παρατήρηση: οι *Αλβανίτες* του Φραντζή και οι *Αρβανίτες* του Βηλαρά, παρά τα κοινά στοιχεία καταγωγής τους, παραπέμπουν σε δυο ομάδες που διαμορφώθηκαν κάτω από διαφορετικές ιστορικές συνθήκες: η πρώτη αποκόπηκε νωρίς από τον εθνοτικό της κορμό και βρέθηκε σκορπισμένη υπό τη μορφή γλωσσικών νησίδων στη Θεσσαλία, τη Βοιωτία, την Εύβοια, την Άνδρο, την Αττική, τη Στερεά Ελλάδα και την Πελοπόννησο, ενώ η δεύτερη αποτελούσε πάντα μια προέκταση και συνέχεια του κορμού της αλβανικής, με γεωγραφικό σημείο αναφοράς την Ήπειρο.

Πρόκειται για δυο σαφώς διακριτές ομάδες. Παρ' όλα αυτά, καθ' όλη τη διάρκεια του 19^{ου} αι. και κατά τις πρώτες τουλάχιστον δεκαετίες του 20^{ου}, υπάρχει μια αμφισημία των όρων *Αρβανίτης* και *Αρβανίτικα*, καθώς απ' ό,τι φαίνεται οι όροι *Αλβανός* και *Αλβανικά* είναι μεταγενέστεροι¹⁰. Το ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι είναι πιστός καθρέφτης αυτής της κατάστασης. Συγκρίνοντας τους ορισμούς του λήμματος *Αρβανίτης* στο ΙΑΝΕ της Ακαδημίας και σε σύγχρονα λεξικά της ΚΝΕ διαπιστώνουμε ότι η αμφισημία αυτή αίρεται τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες, ειδικά μετά την εμφάνιση των αλβανών μεταναστών στην Ελλάδα ύστερα από το 1990¹¹.

⁹ Ο Βηλαράς έδειξε πρακτικό ενδιαφέρον για τη γλώσσα αυτή, πράγμα που φαίνεται κι από τις σχετικές χειρόγραφες σημειώσεις του, που εξέδωσε ο Τ. Γιοχάλας (Γιοχάλας, 1985). Στις σημειώσεις αυτές δεν βρίσκουμε αξιολογικές κρίσεις του Βηλαρά για την αλβανική. Μόνο στη σ. 223 του χειρογράφου παρατίθενται ορισμένες αλβανικές λέξεις, που ο Β. ετυμολογεί είτε από την ελληνική (λ.χ. *njëri*, άνθρωπος παρά του ανήρ· *grua*, γυναίκα παρά του γράια) είτε από τη λατινική (*dhëlpërë*, αλεπού παρά του *vulpis*) ή την ιταλική (*drejtë*, δίκαιος παρά του *dritto*). Με τις ετυμολογήσεις αυτές φαίνεται, έστω και έμμεσα, ότι ο Β. συνδέει την αλβανική με την αρχαία ελληνική και τη λατινική, απηχώντας πρόωρα τις θεωρίες περί «πελασγικής προέλευσης» ή περί «μικτού χαρακτήρα» της αλβανικής, που θα διατυπωθούν την ίδια περίπου περίοδο. (Για το ζήτημα των θεωριών περί του χαρακτήρα και της προέλευσης της αλβανικής στα προεπαναστατικά χρόνια, βλ. Γούναρης, 2007: 36-39).

¹⁰ Θα άξιζε να γίνει μια μελέτη σχετικά με το θέμα αυτό με ζητούμενα την πρωτοεμφάνιση των διάφορων ονομασιών και τη σημασιολογική τους μετεξέλιξη. Σημείο κλειδί στην έρευνα αυτή θα αποτελούσε το πώς αποκαλούσαν οι Έλληνες τις συγκεκριμένες ομάδες, αλλά και το πώς αυτοαποκαλούνταν οι ίδιες. Άξιο μνείας είναι επίσης και το ότι, παράλληλα με την αμφισημία του όρου *Αρβανίτης*, φαίνεται να υπάρχει και μια ξεκάθαρη διάκριση και αντίθεση ανάμεσα στα *Αρβανίτης* και *Τουρκαλβανός*, όπου το τελευταίο αναφέρεται στους εξισλαμισθέντες Αλβανούς. Το ότι στη *Συναγωγή Νέων Λέξεων* του Στ. Κουμανούδη (Κουμανούδης, 1998) έχουν συμπεριληφθεί μόνο η λ. *Αλβανός* με τα παράγωγα και τα σύνθετά της (*αλβαναρχηγός*, *αλβανίζω*, *Αλβανίς*, *αλβανισμός*, *αλβανισταί*, *αλβανιστί*, *αλβανιστικός*, *αλβανοβλαχικός*, *Αλβανόβλαχοι*, *αλβανόγλωσσοι*, *αλβανοδιδάσκαλος*, *αλβανοέλληνες*, *αλβανοελληνικός*, *αλβανοκτόνος*, *αλβανολαλείν*, *αλβανολογία*, *αλβανολόγοι*, *αλβανομάθεια*, *αλβανομαθής*, *Αλβανομακεδονία* - τίτλος εφημερίδας, *αλβανομείρακες*, *αλβανόπαιδες*, *αλβανοπομηνικός*, *αλβανοπομηνή*, *Αλβανορωμόνοι*, *Αλβανός*, *αλβανοσλαβικά*, *αλβανοσυνδεσμικά* [ιδέαι], *Αλβανότουρκοι*, *αλβανοφορούντες*, *αλβανοφραγκοτουρκικός*, *αλβανόφρονες*, *αλβανόφωνοι*) και λείπει παντελώς η λ. *Αρβανίτης* (μοναδική εξαίρεση η λ. *αλβανιτοχωρίται*), δείχνει ότι η τελευταία είχε ενσωματωθεί πλήρως στην ελληνική όταν άρχισε να χρησιμοποιείται η λ. *Αλβανός*. Αυτό φαίνεται άλλωστε κι από την πληθώρα επωνύμων που σχετίζονται με το Αρβανίτης (*Αρβανίτης*, *Αρβανιτάκης*, *Αρβανιτίδης*, *Αρβανιτόπουλος*), που υπερβαίνει κατά πολύ το *Αλβανός* και το ακόμη πιο σπάνιο *Σκιπητάρης*. Μια άλλη ομάδα επωνύμων είναι και τα αναγόμενα στο τουρκικης αρχής *Αρναούτης* (< *Αρβανίτης*), όπως τα *Αρναούτης*, *Αρναούτογλου* κτλ.

¹¹ Παρουσιάζει ερευνητικό ενδιαφέρον το ότι το ΙΑΝΕ, στο λήμμα *αρβανίτικος* (3/1 28), για τον πληθ. *αρβανίτικα* δίνει την ερμηνεία «αλβανική γλώσσα» και δεν κάνει καμιά αναφορά στα *αρβανίτικα* ως γλώσσας των Αρβανιτών, μιας ιδιαίτερης γλωσσοπολιτισμικής ομάδας του ελληνικού πληθυσμού. Άλλωστε στο ΙΑ η αμφισημία του όρου *Αρβανίτης* περιορίζεται στο ζεύγος *Αλβανός* – *Ηπειρώτης* (κάτοικος της Ηπείρου, ομόρου της Αλβανίας) και δεν συμπεριλαμβάνει στη β' σημασία και το ερμήνευμα «αλβανόφωνος κάτοικος της Ελλάδας». Μαζί με την

Μιλώντας τώρα με αυστηρά επιστημονικούς όρους, δεν μπορούμε να εξισώνουμε σήμερα τα αρβανίτικα με την αλβανική, ούτε τους Αρβανίτες με τους Αλβανούς (Troudgill & Tzavaras, 1977: 171-184). Η σχέση τους εδράζεται κυρίως σε διαχρονικό και όχι τόσο σε συγχρονικό πλαίσιο.

Συνοπτικά, σε ό,τι αφορά τη σχέση και τις επαφές των δυο γλωσσών παρατηρούμε:

α. -ελληνόφωνες περιοχές μέσα σε αλβανόφωνο περίγυρο, με γλώσσα κύρους την ελληνική (προπολεμική περίοδος) ή την αλβανική (μεταπολεμική περίοδος, νότια Αλβανία). Στην ομάδα αυτή συγκαταλέγονται κυρίως οι εστίες ελληνοφωνίας της σημερινής νότιας Αλβανίας (Σπύρου, 2000, Κυριαζής & Σπύρου, 2011: 175-199), όπου παρουσιάζει ενδιαφέρον η αλλαγή του στάτους της ελληνικής πριν και μετά τον Β΄ Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο. Για την πρώτη περίοδο είναι ενδεικτικά όσα σημειώνει ο Hahn με αφορμή την γλωσσική κατάσταση στην περιοχή Αργυροκάστρου:

«Αν συγκρίνουμε την αλβανική και την ελληνική, τότε μπορούμε να πούμε ότι αυτές είναι όπως η γερμανική με τη γαλλική, δηλαδή σε 50 Αλβανούς που μιλάνε ελληνικά αναλογεί ένας Έλληνας που μιλάει αλβανικά. Τα ελληνικά είναι γλώσσα γραφής για τους Τόσκηδες και, επειδή ο Τόσκας ταξιδεύει πολύ στη διάρκεια της ζωής του, έχει και την ευκαιρία να μάθει πιο γρήγορα τη γλώσσα αυτή. Όμως, απ' ό,τι φαίνεται, ο Αλβανός καμαρώνει με τα ελληνικά του, ενώ ο Έλληνας μισεί τα αλβανικά ως βάρβαρη γλώσσα.» (Hahn, αλβ. μετάφρ., 64)¹².

Έχουμε την εντύπωση ότι μέχρι σήμερα δεν έχει δοθεί η δέουσα προσοχή και σημασία στο έργο *Η Αληπασιάς* του Χατζή Σεχρέτη (Σάθα, 1870). Ίσως να «ευθύνεται» γι αυτό και το περιεχόμενο του έργου, που, μιμούμενο την «Ιλιάδα», πλέκει ένα ατέλειωτο εγκώμιο για τον

επισημάνση αυτή, ας προσθέσουμε ότι ο τόμος που περιέχει το λήμμα *αρβανίτικος* κυκλοφόρησε το 1941. Ακολουθούν οι ορισμοί του Λεξικού του ΙΝΣ - Ιδρύματος Μ. Τριανταφυλλίδη (ηλεκτρονική έκδοση):

Αρβανίτης ο: 1. αλβανικής καταγωγής Έλληνας (που παράλληλα με τα ελληνικά μιλάει και τα αρβανίτικα). 2. (μτφ., μειωτ.) *αρβανίτης*, ως χαρακτηρισμός ανθρώπου πεισματάρη και ξεροκέφαλου. 3. (παρωχ.) ο Αλβανός.

αρβανίτικος -η / -ια -ο : 1. (μειωτ.) που έχει τα χαρακτηριστικά του αρβανίτη₂: πεισματάρης, ξεροκέφαλος: Έχει αρβανίτικο πείσμα. (έκφρ.) αρβανίτικο κεφάλι*. 2. (παρωχ.) αλβανικός. || (ως ουσ.) τα αρβανίτικα, αλβανικής προέλευσης διάλεκτος. **αρβανίτικα** ΕΠΙΡΡ: *Μιλούν ~ για να μην τους καταλαβαίνουν*.

Ιδιαίτερη μνεία αξίζει να γίνει τέλος στο Λεξικό Μπαμπινιώτη, το οποίο στην γ΄ έκδοσή του (2008) σημειώνει για τα **Αρβανίτικα** τα εξής: «Πρόκειται για μια αλβανικής προέλευσης διάλεκτο, η οποία βαθμιαία –μια και οι Αρβανίτες ήταν πάντοτε δίγλωσσοι, αν δεν ήταν μονόγλωσσοι (ομιλητές της Ελληνικής)- υποχώρησε μπροστά στο γόητρο και στην επικοινωνιακή δύναμη της επίσημης γλώσσας (της Ελληνικής). Σήμερα είναι πολύ λίγοι οι ομιλητές των Αρβανιτικών, μερικά μεγάλης ηλικίας άτομα, τελευταία απομεινάρια μιας διαλέκτου που μιλήθηκε πολύ περιορισμένα, σκόρπια και άτακτα επί πέντε και πλέον αιώνες, έχοντας διασωθεί για μακρό διάστημα χρόνου μέσα από την προφορική παράδοση». Για λόγους οικονομίας χώρου δεν θα προχωρήσω στο σχολιασμό του παραθέματος. Υπογραμμίζω μόνο δυο σημεία αφήνοντάς τα στην κρίση του αναγνώστη.

¹² Για την «αλβανική ελληνοφωνία» βλ. και Παναγιωτόπουλος, 2009: 151-61. Είναι ενδιαφέρον επίσης να αναφέρουμε ότι, σε επιστολή του προς τον Αργυροκαστρίτη έμπορο και λόγιο Α. Βασιλείου, γραμμένη τον Οκτώβριο 1809, ο Α. Κοραΐς, με αφορμή την προετοιμασία για έκδοση των *Γεωγραφικών* του Στράβωνα, ρωτάει για την τρέχουσα γλωσσική κατάσταση στην Ήπειρο, αν δηλαδή μοιάζει με εκείνη της αρχαίας μακεδονο-ηπειρωτικής δίγλωσσίας, όπου «Ένιοι δε και δίγλωττοι είσι» και η μακεδονική (δηλ. ελληνική ή ελληνική διάλεκτος) ήταν η γλώσσα των καλών καγαθών, της μορφωμένης άρχουσας τάξης, ενώ η ηπειρωτική ήταν η γλώσσα του όχλου. Για την τελευταία προσθέτει μάλιστα ότι «ενδέχεται να ήναι μήτηρ της νυν Αλβανικής.» (Κοραΐς, 1966: 546).

Αλή πασά Τεπελενλή. Όπως σημειώνει ο M. Leake, ο Σεχρέτης υπήρξε αγράμματος (Σάθας, 1870: 125) και επομένως οι ελληνικοί στίχοι του μπορούν να θεωρηθούν ως μια αυθεντική μαρτυρία του ελληνικού ιδιώματος των περιχώρων της γενέτειράς του, Δελβίνου, και της ευρύτερης περιοχής. Η προσεκτική εξέταση της ελληνικής του Σεχρέτη δείχνει ότι μοιάζει σε πολλά σημεία με τα ελληνικά που μιλάει σήμερα η εθνική ελληνική μειονότητα στην Αλβανία, τα οποία, όπως αναμενόταν, είναι επηρεασμένα σε μεγάλο βαθμό από την αλβανική¹³. Μέχρι στιγμής δεν διαθέτουμε μια ολοκληρωμένη μελέτη της ντοπιολαλιάς του Σεχρέτη και γι αυτό θα περιοριστούμε σε ένα μικρό αριθμό παραδειγμάτων όπου φαίνεται η επίδραση αυτή. Το επιρρηματικό σύνταγμα *σήμερα για σήμερα*, που βρίσκουμε στην *Αληπασιάδα* (Σάθας, ό.π. 132), και το οποίο δεν απαντά σε άλλα σημεία της ελληνόφωνης επικράτειας, είναι κατά πάσα πιθανότητα μια *moi à moi* μετάφραση του αντίστοιχου αλβανικού *sot për sot* ‘για την ώρα, προς το παρόν’. Το σύνταγμα αυτό, καθώς και άλλα παρόμοια (*τόρα για τόρα* < αλβ. *tani për tani* ‘προς το παρόν’, *μέσα για μέσα* < αλβ. *brënda për brënda* ‘εκ των ενόντων’, κ.ά.) ακούγονται και σήμερα στο ελληνικό ιδίωμα της περιοχής Δελβίνου και Αγίων Σαράντα. Μια άλλη χαρακτηριστική φράση είναι η *Να σου πάρω το κακό!* (Σάθας, ό.π. 257), που έχει αποτρεπτικό-εξορκιστικό περιεχόμενο και είναι ταυτόσημη σε σημασία και χρήση με την αλβανική *Të marrca të keqen!*, απ’ όπου και προέρχεται. Και η φρ. *τα χέρια μου θα πλύνω* (Σάθας, ό.π. 141) βρίσκει το αντίστοιχό της στο αλβ. *duart do t’i laj*, που σημαίνει ‘θα απαλλαχθώ από κάτι, θα το χάσω’.

β. -αλβανόφωνες περιοχές μέσα σε ελληνόφωνο περίγυρο, με γλώσσα κύρους την ελληνική. Τέτοια περίπτωση αποτελούν τα τσάμικα της προπολεμικής Ηπείρου, που κατέχουν μια ενδιάμεση θέση ανάμεσα στα αλβανικά και τα αρβανίτικα, αλλά δεν πρέπει να ταυτίζονται με τα τελευταία, επειδή δεν έχασαν ποτέ την επαφή τους με τον κορμό της αλβανικής¹⁴.

γ. -αρβανιτόφωνες περιοχές με γλώσσα κύρους την ελληνική. Ενώ *Η Αληπασιάς* μάς παρέχει μια εικόνα της γλώσσας περιοχών όπου η αλβανική και η ελληνική διεισδύουν η μία στα όρια της άλλης χωρίς να χάνουν την επαφή με τον υπόλοιπο κορμό τους, θα μεταφερθούμε τώρα στα αρβανίτικα ιδιώματα της Ελλάδας, όπου η αλβανική, για την ακρίβεια τα αρβανίτικα, απαντά υπό μορφή θυλάκων ευρισκόμενων εντός ελληνόγλωσσων περιοχών. Με τον τρόπο αυτό φτάνουμε στις δυο κύριες πηγές απ’ όπου τα στοιχεία της αλβανικής εισχώρησαν –στο βαθμό που ήταν εφικτό– στο σώμα της ελληνικής. Οι διαφορές των πηγών αυτών αντικατοπτρίζονται και στις ιδιαιτερότητες του υλικού με το οποίο η καθεμία τροφοδότησε την ελληνική.

Οφείλουμε να τονίσουμε ότι και στα ελληνικά ιδιώματα που βρίσκονται στις παρυφές της Ηπείρου ή πέραν των ορίων της ο αριθμός λέξεων αλβανικής-αρβανίτικης αρχής δεν είναι αμελητέος, πράγμα που επιβεβαιώνουν τα παραδείγματα από το μεγαρικό ιδίωμα (Σύρκου, 2006)¹⁵ κι από τις συνθηματικές γλώσσες των χτιστών της Πελοποννήσου, γνωστές ως *κρεκόνικα* και *μπαραμπάτικα* (Κωνσταντινόπουλος, 1983)¹⁶.

¹³ Δεν θα σταθούμε αναλυτικά στο ζήτημα αυτό, επειδή το έχουμε θίξει σε άλλη μας εργασία (Qirjazi, 2004: 303-325).

¹⁴ Από τη σχετική βιβλιογραφία προτείνουμε τις εργασίες των Q. Haxhihasani και F. Muça στη σειρά μελετών *Dialektologjia Shqiptare*, όπως και διάφορες εκδόσεις του F. Rrapaj κ.ά. Ενδιαφέρον υλικό βρίσκει κανείς και στο βιβλίο *Γραμματική αρβανίτικης γλώσσας* του Φ. Παπαθανασίου (Ποταμιά, 2011). Γραπτές μαρτυρίες της ελληνόφωνιας και διγλωσσίας των Τσάμηδων βρίσκουμε στα έγγραφα από τα Αρχεία του Αλή Πασά Τεπελενλή, που εκδόθηκαν πρόσφατα από το ΕΙΕ.

¹⁵ Από το βιβλίο αυτό αναφέρουμε τα εξής παραδείγματα: *αγιέ τα μου* ‘εκφράζει 1. αισιοδοξία 2. σκωπτική διάθεση 3. οίκτο 4. χαρά’ [= α γιέτα μου < a jeta (ime)], *βλάμης (ο)* 1. ο φίλος 2. ο εραστής’ [<vllam], *κιούρα (η)* ‘η μύξα’ [<qurra], *κομπόρα (η)* ‘1. μεγάλο κουδούνι 2. κουδούνι σε σχήμα καπάνας με ξύλινη λαβή’ [<këmbora], *κοροβέσης (ο)* ‘αυτός που του έχουν κόψει τα αφτιά’ [<korovesh], *κουρίζι (το)* 1. η κορυφή του τοίχου που στο τελειώμά του

δ. -καθαρά ελληνόφωνες περιοχές χωρίς άμεση επαφή με την αλβανική ή τα αρβανίτικα (νησιά νότιου Αιγαίου και ανατολικά νεοελληνικά ιδιώματα).

Είναι σαφές ότι ορισμένα στοιχεία από τα αρβανίτικα που εντοπίζονται στη δ' ομάδα οφείλονται μάλλον στις δια-ιδιωματικές σχέσεις και επαφές παρά σε άμεση επαφή με αλβανόφωνους ή Αρβανίτες.

Από τις υπόλοιπες ομάδες, η α' και η β' παρουσιάζουν / παρουσίαζαν αντεστραμμένες παραμέτρους σε ό,τι αφορά τη γλώσσα κύρους και τον γλωσσικό περίγυρο, ενώ η γ' αποτελεί μια κλασική περίπτωση γλωσσικής κοινότητας γεωγραφικά και ιστορικά αποκομμένης από τον φυσικό της κορμό¹⁷.

Με γνώμονα τα όσα διατυπώθηκαν παραπάνω, στο ερώτημα «τι είδους στοιχεία δανείστηκε η ελληνική από την αλβανική-αρβανίτικη κι από ποια σημασιολογικά πεδία άντλησε υλικό», η απάντηση δεν μπορεί να είναι ομοιόμορφη και μονολεκτική. Όπως έχει γράψει ο ελληνομαθής αλβανός γλωσσολόγος A. Xhuvani,

«Οι Αλβανοί δεν δημιούργησαν ποτέ στην ιστορία τους ένα ενιαίο κράτος, άρα δεν άσκησαν ποτέ εξουσία στους γύρω λαούς, η οποία θα συνεπαγόταν και τη διάδοση της αλβανικής· έπειτα, από πολιτιστικής πλευράς, οι Αλβανοί δεν ανέπτυξαν στην ιστορική τους διαδρομή έναν

είναι στρογγυλεμένος 2. η σπονδυλική στήλη' [<kuriziti], βλ. και *κουρίζα* 'ραχοκοκαλιά γιδοπροβάτων' στην Ήπειρο· η λ. δεν έχει καταχωριστεί σε ιδιωματικά λεξικά, *κόχα (η)* '1. η κατάλληλη εποχή για την καλλιέργεια του χωραφιού 2. (μτφ.) η διάθεση, η προθυμία' [<koha], *κρεσέλια* (και *κρισίλια*) η 'η αγριάδα, το γαϊδουρόχορτο' [<krisël], *λαγκουμία (η)* 'η λαίμαργία' [<lakmia], *λαμπότι (το)* 'βρώσιμο χόρτο' [<labot], *λιαργκόι (το)* 'ο ταπεινός, ο ευτελής' [<largoi], *λιουγκούσι (το)* '1. σιδερένιο εργαλείο που χρησιμοποιείται για την εκσκαφή ξύλου 2. (μτφ.) φράση που χαρακτηρίζει τον ανόητο ή άμυαλο' [<lugës], *λιούφτι (το)* '1. εξευτελισμός, διασυρμός 2. επίθεση' [<luftë], *λιοφάτα (η)* 'ή άγρια χαρουπιά' [<lofatë], *μονοφρίμα (το)* 'μονορούφι' [<μονο- + frymë], *μούλοζα (η)* και *μούλουζα* 'τμήμα του πεπτικού σωλήνα' [<mullëza], *μούσκια (η)* '1. το θηλυκό μούλαρι 2. (μτφ.) η γυναίκα' [<mushka], *μπότσικα (η)* 'το αγριοκρέμμυδο' [<bocka], *ντελίτι (το)* 'αρωματικό δέντρο από το ξύλο του οποίου κατασκευάζαν κανατάκια' [<dëllinjë], *ντράδα (η)* 'μικρά κομμάτια τυριού στο οποίο μετατρέπεται το γάλα όταν κόβει' [<dra-të], *ντρόμισες (οι)* 'είδος ζυμαρικού παρασκευαζόμενο από αλεύρι, λάδι και νερό' [<dromca], *ονταμπίρ ονταμπίρ* 'τάλε κουάλε, ό,τι είναι ο ένας είναι και ο άλλος' [<at' e bir 'πατέρας και γιος'], *ούστρα (η)* 'τα χλωρά στάχυα...' [<ushtër, -a], *πόρδωση (η)* και *πόρδωσι (το)* 'το παχύ έντερο' [<porðhësi], *πούσι (το)* '1. η καταχνιά 2. τα ξερά βελονοειδή φύλλα του πεύκου' [<pushi], *ρόδιζα (η)* 'ακανθώδες στρογγυλό χόρτο' [<rodhe - za], *ρουσιεφίκι* (επίρ.) 'ανοικοκύρευτα, ακατάστατα, ανακατεμένα' [<rrush e fiq 'σταφύλια και σύκα'], *σκούμα (το)* 'ο αφρός της σαπουνάδας και ο κομός του λαδιού' [<shkuma], *στάλλη (η)* 'το πηγμένο γάλα' [<shtalrë], *σταμπουλάρης (ο)* 'ο ξύλινος στύλος που τοποθετούνταν στη μέση του αλωνιού' [<strumbullari (i lëmit)], *τρικούγκουλο (το)* 'ασθένεια κατά την οποία εμφανίζονται στο σώμα μικρές φουσκάλες' [<tri 'τρία' + kungull 'κολοκύθι'], *φρίμα (το)* 'η αναπνοή' [<fryma], κτλ.

¹⁶ **Κρεκόνικα** : *βερδίλης*, ο 'γέρος, ηλικιωμένος' και τ. *ζβερδίλης* [<i (z)verdhu], *βερδίλω*, η 'γριά', *γκλιουμιστρό*, το 'γάλα' [<klumështor], *γκούρα*, η 'πέτρα' [<gur], *λιάγκιρα*, τα 'λάχανα' [<lakra], *λιόκι*, το 'πέος' [<loqe], *μπάλτα*, η 'λάσπη' [<baltë], *μπλάθρες*, οι 'κουκιά' [<bathë], *μπότα*, η 'χώμα' [<botë], *μπούλιζα*, η (και *πούλιζα*) 'κότα' [<pulëza], *ντέρζα*, η 'πόρτα' [<derëza], *ντρούμιζες*, οι 'τριφτιάδες' [<dromca], *ούγιε*, το 'νερό' [<ujë], *πίγκες*, οι 'αρβανίτικα τσαρούχια' [<oringa], *πρεπόσι*, το 'γυναικείο αιδόιο' [<preposhi], *πρίφτης*, ο 'παπάς' [<prifti], *ρογκαλάω* 'πίνω' [<gëkëllej], *σιουραυλάω* 'ουρώ' [<shurroj], *τέριζα* και *ντέριζα*, η 'πόρτα' [<derëza]. **Μπαρραμπάτικα**: *βόγγιλο*, το 'μικρό παιδί' [<i vogël-o], *μαπαθεκούκια* ή *μπάθες* 'κουκκιά' [< bathëkuqe ή bathë], *μπούκουρε* 'όμορφος, -η, -ο' [<i bukur], *νούσε*, η 'νύφη' [<nuse], κ.ά.

¹⁷ Ωστόσο, ανάλογα με διάφορες παραμέτρους (βαθμός διγλωσσίας, δημογραφικά δεδομένα, ιδιαιτερότητες επιμέρους αρβανίτικων ιδιωμάτων, κτλ.) μπορούν να γίνουν περαιτέρω υποδιαίρεσεις. (Λ.χ. τα Μεγαρο-Κουμιάτικα παρουσιάζουν περιορισμένο βαθμό επιδράσεων, αλλά μεγαλύτερο σε σχέση με άλλες ελληνόφωνες περιοχές).

ανώτερο πολιτισμό από εκείνο των γειτόνων τους, και γι αυτό το λόγο τα στοιχεία της αλβανικής σε εκείνους είναι περιορισμένα.» (Xhuvani, 1990: 369).

Ωστόσο, καθώς το γενικότερο πολιτισμικό υπόβαθρο των δυο εθνοτικών ομάδων, υλικό και πνευματικό, δεν διέφερε ουσιαστικά, οι νεοελληνικές διάλεκτοι και τα ιδιώματα, μαζί με μια σειρά γραμματικών λέξεων και στοιχείων του ποιμενικού κυρίως λεξιλογίου¹⁸ θα δανειστούνε λέξεις και φράσεις που αποτελούν τρόπον τινά το γλωσσικό «πορτρέτο» του Αλβανού-Αρβανίτη.

Σκληρός και κακοτράχαλος, που κι όταν χορεύει δεν αποχωρίζεται τα όπλα του (πολύ χαρακτηριστικός ο πίνακας «Αλβανοί χορεύοντες» του έλληνα λαϊκού ζωγράφου Θεόφιλου, βλ. εικονογραφικό παράρτημα), που συνηθίζει να επιβάλλεται με τη βία και ως εκ τούτου η γλώσσα του είναι γεμάτη απειλές και βρισιές. Από την άλλη, ο ηθικός του κόσμος είναι σημαδεμένος από έννοιες όπως η *μπέσα* και το αντίθετό της, η *μπαμπεσιά*. Είναι άνθρωπος της *μπέσας* και γι αυτό προτιμάνε να τον κάνουν *βλάμη* και να την κάνουν *μότριμα*¹⁹ κτλ. Οι ελληνικές φράσεις *αρβανίτικο κεφάλι*, *αρβανίτικο γινάτι* κτλ. συνυπάρχουν με δάνειες φρ. όπως *με το άστε ντούε, με το παϊρι, ντομοσντό / ντομουζντό* κτλ., που αποδίδουν την ισχυρογνωμοσύνη του Αλβανού-Αρβανίτη. Όλες αυτές οι «αρετές» του αποτυπώνονται με πληρότητα και λεπτομέρειες στα λήμματα *Αρβανίτης* και *Αρναούτης* του ΙΑΝΕ της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών²⁰. Σε μια όχι και τόσο εξερευνημένη περιοχή σε ό,τι αφορά τα ίχνη της αλβανικής, τη Θεσσαλία και Μακεδονία, επιχωριάζει η λ. *τενκόρδε* ‘θάνατος’ (<αλβ. të ngordhë ‘να/ας ψοφήσει/πεθάνει’), που ανήκει στο ίδιο πεδίο (Ταρνανάς, Γεωργίου 1962). Έτσι και η λ. *παγκόι, παγκούι* και *παγκουί* ‘πληρώνω ντούκου, τοις μετρητοίς’ (<αλβ. pagoj), χαρακτηριστικό της αλβανικής φιλοτιμίας (Παπακίτσος, 2006, Κουσαθάνας 1996). Οι λ. *κουρβελέσι* ‘θόρυβος, σαματάς’ (Μάτσιας, 2007) και *κουρβελιό, κουρβαλιό* ‘ταραχή, αναστάτωση’ (Παπακωνσταντίνου, 1995) φαίνεται να σχετίζονται με την αλβανική περιοχή *Kurveleshë*, απ’ όπου ορμούσαν οι Λιάπηδες για να πλιατσικολογήσουν. Στην ίδια κατηγορία ανήκουν μάλλον και η λ. *βλιώρα* (Μάτσιας, 2007) ‘άφθονο’ (<Vlora), που στα Γιάννενα του 1910-11 είχε λάβει πολιτική σημασία (Μπόγκας, 1964)²¹. Λέξη ή φράση του αυτού πεδίου είναι και το *μάλε βράσε* (*μαλεβράσι, μαλιοβράσι*) ‘θόρυβος, καβγάς, μέγα κακό’, ευρείας διάδοσης και ασαφούς μέχρι πρόσφατα ετυμολογίας (τη συνέδεαν με τις λ. *μαλλί* και *βράσε*, Μπαμπινιώτης 2009), που όμως ετυμολογείται πειστικά μέσω της αλβανικής-αρβανίτικης (<αρβ. *e malle vrasje* <αλβ. *vrasje e madhe* ‘μέγας φόνος, μέγα κακό’, και κατ’ επέκταση ‘μεγάλη αναστάτωση, ταραχή’)²².

Το στερεότυπο του ισχυρογνώμονα και χοντροκέφαλου Αλβανού-Αρβανίτη αποτυπώνεται και στις δευτερεύουσες ή μεταφορικές χρήσεις λέξεων όπως *γκέ(γ)κας* και *λιάπης* κ.ά. Σύμφωνα με το ΙΑΝΕ, η λ. *Γκέγκας* ‘κάτοικος της Β. Αλβανίας’ χρησιμοποιείται κυρίως για τον άξεστο, τον αμετανόητο, τον άγριο και εκδικητή, αλλά και για τον βλάκα. Χρησιμοποιείται επίσης για

¹⁸ Βλ. λ.χ. το μόριο *ντοτ* (<αλβ. dot), με τους τ. *ντότι, ντότις* κ.ά., και τη λ. *κουρίζα* ‘ραχοκοκαλιά γιδοπροβάτων’ (<αλβ. kurriz ‘ράχη’).

¹⁹ Η λ. χρησιμοποιείται στην Ήπειρο και είναι το αντίστοιχο του *βλάμης* για γυναίκες (<αλβ. motër ‘αδερφή’).

²⁰ Αρβανίτης ο. 1. Ο κάτοικος της Αλβανίας, Αλβανός. Η λ. συνήθως μεταφορικός επί του θορυβοποιού, του οξυθύμου, του πείσμονος, του βλακός (πβ. *κουταρβανίτης*), του βίαιου τυραννικού, αδίκου και δολίου, ή του εκ πυρός υπερθέρμου (ΙΑΝΕ 3/1 27). Αρναούτης ο. 1. Αλβανός συνήθως μετά σημ. σκωπτικής προς δήλωσιν ανθρώπου αδιακρίτου, κακού ή δύσνου ή αγροίκου και σκαιού τους τρόπους. 2. Τουρκαλβανός στρατιώτης. 3. Ο μη ομιλών καλώς, αλλ’ εκφέρων τας λέξεις μεταβεβλημένας ώστε να μη εννοήται (ΙΑΝΕ 3/1 98).

²¹ Σύμφωνα με τον Μπόγκα, στα Γιάννενα, στις εκλογές του 1909-1910 η λ. *βλιώρα* σήμαινε ‘απλός λαός’, άρα πλειοψηφία.

²² Πρόταση του καθηγητή Χρ. Τζιτζιλί (σύμφωνα με Παπαναστασίου, 2008: 214).

τον έμπιστο, τον ψηλόσωμο, τον ακάθαρτο, τον μπαμπούλα κ.ά. *Γκέκας* ονομάζεται κι ένα είδος κυνηγετικών σκυλιών. Στα ιδιώματα της Ηπείρου *γκέγκας* λεγόταν και το άτομο που ετοίμαζε και πουλούσε γλειφιτζούρια. Δίπλα στα παραπάνω βρίσκουμε και κάποια χαρακτηριστικά κύρια ονόματα όπως *Γκιουλέκας* ‘ανυπότακτος, αδάμαστος’ (< Gjoleka)²³. Το όνομα *Βεληγκέκας* (<Veligega) απαντά σε χρήση επιθέτου στα μέρη της Ηπείρου και σημαίνει ‘χοντροκέφαλος’ (Παπακωνσταντίνου, 1995).

Παρ’ όλα αυτά, οφείλουμε να πούμε ότι στην ελληνική λαϊκή παράδοση και σε ορισμένα ιδιώματα οι προαναφερμένες λέξεις ή και άλλες παρόμοιες απαντάνε και με ουδέτερες ή θετικές σημασιολογικές αποχρώσεις: *μπούρας* (<αλβ. bujtë) έχει σε πολλά ιδιώματα τη σημ. ‘γενναίος, ανδρείος’. Η λ. *σκιπετάρι*, που απαντά στη Ρούμελη (Καλαντζάκος, 1995) έχει τη σημ. ‘όμορφος άντρας’ (<αλβ. shqiptar ‘Αλβανός’). Στο Λιβαδερό (Μόκρο) Κοζάνης, ένα από τα τραγούδια που αφιερώνεται στη νύφη είναι το εξής: *-Κόρην αρβανιτοπούλα // κι αρβανιτοθυγατέρα, //πού τα βρήκες τόσα κάλλη// κι άλλην τόση ουμουρφάδα;*(Νίκου-Γιωλτζόγλου, 1999: 202).

Μια δεύτερη παρατήρηση, πραγματολογικής αυτή τη φορά φύσεως, είναι ότι, κατά τη γνώμη μας, θα πρέπει να υπήρξε ένα είδος *mock αρβανίτικων* (ο όρος σύμφωνα με το *mock Spanish*²⁴), τα οποία ήταν γνωστά στους Έλληνες, που τα χρησιμοποιούσαν για να χαρακτηρίσουν γλωσσικά τον Αλβανό-Αρβανίτη. Δείγματα *mock αρβανίτικων* βρίσκουμε στο έργο «Βαβυλωνία» του Δ. Βυζαντίου και κυρίως στο θέατρο σκιών του Καραγκιόζη. Αν λάβουμε υπόψη το ρόλο και την απήχηση του λαϊκού θεάτρου, καταλαβαίνουμε πόσο ενισχύθηκε και διαδόθηκε μέσω αυτού η επικρατούσα περί (Τουρκ)Αλβανών εικόνα. Ο Βεληγκέκας, λ.χ.,

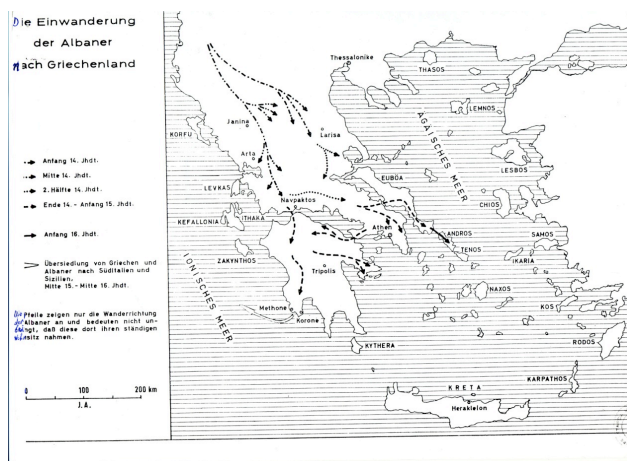
«Αντιπροσωπεύει την εκτελεστική εξουσία της δημόσιας τάξης, είναι τουρκαλβανός στην καταγωγή, κουτός, απολίτιστος, λιγόλογος και μιλά άσχημα τα ελληνικά με ανάμικτες αρβανίτικες και τούρκικες εκφράσεις.» (www.karagiozismuseum.gr/figures/index)²⁵.

Ας ξαναπιάσουμε όμως το νήμα της γεωγραφικής κατανομής των αλβανικών-αρβανίτικων στοιχείων. Η εικόνα που σχηματίζουμε ανταποκρίνεται λίγο-πολύ στα ιστορικά δεδομένα. Γλωσσικό υλικό αλβανικής-αρβανίτικης προέλευσης είναι ανιχνεύσιμο στις περιοχές απ’ όπου πέρασαν και εγκαταστάθηκαν Αρβανίτες κι Αλβανοί.

²³ Η έκφραση *κάνει το Γκιουλέκα* χρησιμοποιείται για τους ψευτοπαλληκαράδες.

²⁴ «Mock Spanish itself is a system of four major strategies for the ‘incorporation’ of Spanish-language materials into English. These strategies yield expressions that belong to a pragmatic zone bounded on one end by the merely jocular, and on the other by the obscene insult» (Hill, 1995).

²⁵ Βλ. και τη σημασία 3 της λ. *Αρναούτης* στην υποσημ. 20.



Τ. Γιοχάλας. Κάθοδος και μετακινήσεις αλβανόφωνων πληθυσμών στον ελλαδικό χώρο.

Ο χάρτης Γιοχάλα (Jochalas, 1971) μας δίνει μια αδρή εικόνα της εγκατάστασης αλβανοφώνων στον ελλαδικό χώρο κατά το μεσαίωνα (πρώτη μαρτυρία για αρχές 14^{ου} αι.), αλλά η εικόνα αυτή είναι πιο σύνθετη, γιατί έχουμε κι άλλες μετακινήσεις αλβανόφωνων πληθυσμών στη Μακεδονία και τη Θράκη, κατά τα χρόνια μάλλον της τουρκοκρατίας. Λ.χ. υπάρχουν αλβανόφωνα χωριά της Δυτικής Θράκης, για τους κατοίκους των οποίων γνωρίζουμε ότι κατάγονται από τα μέρη της ΝΑ Αλβανίας και εγκαταστάθηκαν στη Θράκη κατά τον 17^ο αιώνα (Δαλάτσης, 2012). Επίσης, το υλικό που διαθέτουμε από διάφορες πηγές δείχνει ότι και τα ελληνικά ιδιώματα των Επτανήσων έχουν ενσωματώσει στοιχεία της αλβανικής και αυτό εξηγείται με τις επαφές που είχαν με τις απέναντι ακτές της Ηπείρου²⁶.

Δεν χωράει αμφιβολία ότι η ευκρίνεια της εικόνας της γεωγραφικής κατανομής των υπό εξέταση στοιχείων θα ήταν μεγαλύτερη εάν διαθέταμε περισσότερο πρωτογενές υλικό. Τα κενά που υπάρχουν σε ό,τι αφορά την καταγραφή και μελέτη του συνόλου των νεοελληνικών ιδιωμάτων ισχύουν και στην περίπτωση της διερεύνησης των στοιχείων της αλβανικής-αρβανίτικης. Όμως, κι όταν υπάρχει υλικό, πολλές φορές τίθενται ζητήματα που άπτονται της πληρότητας και της ποιότητας καταγραφής του.

Είμαστε λοιπόν υποχρεωμένοι να διατυπώσουμε κάποια ενδεικτικά συμπεράσματα, τα οποία –ας το τονίσουμε και με την ευκαιρία αυτή– θα ήταν ασφαλέστερα αν υπήρχε δυνατότητα ηλεκτρονικής πρόσβασης στο Αρχείο του ΙΑΝΕ, το οποίο εξακολουθεί να παραμένει το πιο πλούσιο και πιο αξιόπιστο.

Από την άλλη, είναι ανάγκη επίσης να επανεξεταστεί και το γνωστό μέχρι σήμερα υλικό. Με βάση κυρίως τους εκδοθέντες τόμους του ΙΑΝΕ, θα επιχειρήσουμε να κατατάξουμε το υλικό αυτό σε ορισμένες υποομάδες και να αναδείξουμε τη σχετική προβληματική τους:

α) στοιχεία βέβαιης αλβανικής-αρβανίτικης προέλευσης. Η λ. *αμπάριζα*. λ.χ., ‘είδος παιχνιδιού’ (ΙΑΝΕ 1 534) θεωρήθηκε σωστά αρβανίτικο στοιχείο διότι, εκτός της υποκορ. κατάλ. –ζα, η γεωγραφική της κατανομή δείχνει ότι απαντά σε περιοχές με εστίες αρβανιτοφωνίας.

²⁶ Σε κερκυραϊκά νοταριακά έγγραφα των ετών 1500-1503 βρίσκουμε τα επώνυμα *Αλβανίτης, Γκίνης, Μάξης, Σπάτας* (Τοξότης, 2007), ενώ από συμφωνητικό της 23.12.1741, που συνάπτεται στην Κέρκυρα, πληροφορούμαστε ότι «ο μισέρ Αντρούτζος Αγιότης ... συνενφώνισεν με τον παρόντα κύριον Κούκναβον από τα χωριά του Δελβίνου... υπόσχετε ο άνωθεν Κούκναβος να δουλέμι διά πηστικός εις το κοπάδι του άνωθεν Αγιότη» (Βερβιτζιώτης, 2009: 1).

β) στοιχεία αλβανικής-αρβανίτικης προέλευσης, που μέχρι σήμερα θεωρούνταν ότι ανήκουν στην ελληνική. Η λ. *βάιζα* (*βάζα*) ‘1. μικρά υπηρέτρια’ 2. μικρά κόρη’, που απαντά στην Πελοπόννησο (ΙΑΝΕ 3 424) σχετίζεται άμεσα με την αλβ. λ. *vajza* ‘το κορίτσι’ και δεν σχηματίστηκε από την ελλ. λ. *βία* + υποκορ.κατάλ. *-iza* της αλβανικής.

Στην ομάδα αυτή συμπεριλαμβάνουμε και όσα δάνεια έφτασαν στην ελληνική με τη μεσολάβηση της αλβανικής. Για παράδειγμα, η λ. *γκιόσα* ‘1. είδος γίδας 2. κακόφημη γυναίκα’ είναι πιθανότερο να ανάγεται στην αλβ. *gjosë* < σλ. *kozje* (*meso*) (Meyer, 1891) παρά στην αρομ. *ghes(ũ)* ‘μαύρη γίδα με καστανές ρίγες’, όπως σημειώνουν τα λεξικά του ΙΝΣ και του Μπαμπινιώτη. Πάντως το ΙΑΝΕ και ο Ανδριώτης (Ανδριώτης, 1983) υιοθετούν την αλβανική ετυμολογία της λέξης.

γ) στοιχεία ελληνικής προέλευσης, που έχουν ετυμολογηθεί λανθασμένα ως προερχόμενα από την αλβανική. Το ΙΑΝΕ (5/2 231) ανάγει τη λ. *γρούζα* ‘το φυτό κόνυζα η βαρύσομος’ στην αλβ. *grúzë*, αλλά έχει υποστηριχθεί πειστικά ότι η σχέση είναι αντίστροφη. Οι λέξεις *γρούζο*, *γρούζα* (Ηπειρος), *κρούζα* (Κέρκυρα) και *kliza*, *kriza*, *klisa* (Κάτω Ιταλία) σχετίζονται με την αρχ.ελλ. λ. *κνύζα*. (Tzitzilis, 1997: 204).

δ) στοιχεία χαρακτηρισμένα ως αγνώστου ετυμολογίας, τα οποία ετυμολογούνται επαρκώς από την αλβανική. Η λ. *βάργα* (τ. *βάρκα*) ‘ορμαθός σύκων ξηρών’ (ΙΑΝΕ 3 455), που απαντά στην Κορινθία και το ΙΑΝΕ τη χαρακτηρίζει ως αγνώστου ετύμου, σχετίζεται σίγουρα με τη λ. *varg* ‘ορμαθός’ της αλβανικής. Η λ. *γκρενιάς* ‘ποικιλία σίτου του ημέρου’, αγνώστου ετυμολογίας (ΙΑΝΕ 5/1 265), διαδεδομένη σε περιοχές όπου η αρβανίτικη ήταν παρούσα (Εύβοια, Στερεά Ελλάδα, Πελοπόννησος, Ζάκυνθος κλπ.) σχετίζεται μάλλον με την αλβ. λ. *i grýnjë* / *i grínjë* ‘από σιτάρι’ < *grurë* / *grunë* ‘σιτάρι’, πβ. *bukë e grunjë* ‘ψωμί από σιτάρι’, αλλά και *Ο γκρινιάς κάνει καλό ψωμί* (ΙΑΝΕ ό.π.).

Τα αλβανικά-αρβανίτικα στοιχεία είναι μέρος του προφορικού, λαϊκού και ιδιωματικού – γεωγραφικού και κοινωνικού- λόγου, αλλά σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις τα βρίσκουμε να παρεμβάλλονται και σε γραπτά, λογοτεχνικά κυρίως, κείμενα, προσδίδοντάς τους μια ιδιαίτερη χωροχρονική πινελιά. Από τη νέα ελληνική λογοτεχνία είναι γνωστό το διήγημα «Η εικόνα» του ηπειρώτη λογοτέχνη Κ. Κρυστάλλη (Κρυστάλλη, Β΄ 55-56), όπου μια ομάδα Αλβανών (από τη γλώσσα φαίνεται να είναι Λιάπηδες) ακούνε για τα κατορθώματα του Σκεντέρμπεη και νιώθουν υπερήφανοι γι αυτόν²⁷:

-Αίντε, μωρέ Σκεντερμπέο, αίντε μωρ’ ινγκιούαρ μπρετ ισκηπετάρβε! [Ajde, more Skenderbeo, ajde mor’ i ngjuar mbret i shqipëtarve!] (Αίντε ωρέ Σκεντέρμπεη, αίντε ωρέ ζακουσμένε αρβανιτοβασιλιά!) ...

-Γέμε βλέζερ, μωρέ πλιάκ, λέτε γέμε νγκα ντου μπες’ – ε λέτε θόνε τσε ντούαν γκόλιτε βρομέψουρα τα χασμεβέ. [Jemë vllëzër, more plak, le të jemë nga du bes – e le të thonë çë duan golitë vromepsura të hasmëne]. (Είμεστε αδέρφια, ωρέ γέρτο, ας είμεστε από δυο πίστες, -κι ας λεν ό,τι θέλουν τα μαγαρισμένα τα στόματα των οχτρών μας).

Άλλο ενδιαφέρον παράδειγμα πετυχημένης παρεμβολής των αρβανίτικων σε ένα ελληνικό κείμενο είναι το σατιρικό ποίημα «Γαρουφιάς», έργο που γράφτηκε το 1924 από τον Ν. Γ. Λίσβα (Λίσβας, 2000). Δυο αρβανιτοχώρια μαλώνουν «για τα μάτια» της ομορφότερης

²⁷ Δίπλα στο πρωτότυπο δίνουμε τη μεταγραφή στο σημερινό αλβανικό αλφάβητο.

γαϊδουρίτσας της Αίγινας, που έχει γίνει μήλον της έριδός τους. Σε σημεία κορύφωσης της έντασης και δράσης, παρεμβάλλονται τα αρβανίτικα:

*Και ρώτησε ο Πιτσιλός: «Μπέσα πο θομ ρε μπέσα;»²⁸
 Οι Αγκυστριώτες φώναζαν: «Μπέσα ρε γιο μπαμπέσα»²⁹.
 Μα δεν τους καλοάκουγαν, και φώναζαν «Ρι πέρδε».³⁰
 Κι άμα η βάρκα ζύγωσε τους είπαν «Μίρις έρδε»³¹
 «Τσι μπεν;»³² επειπ' ο Πιτσιλός και την φωνήν απήρεν,
 Οι Αγκυστριώτες σκέφθηκαν και απήνησαν: «Για μίρεν».³³
 «Τσι έρτε για πο θομ κετού;»³⁴ ρωτήσαν οι Αγκυστριώτες
 Και ξεκουμπώσαν στο λαιμό λιγάκι τις καπότες.
 Και απεκρίθ' ο Πιτσιλός «Έρμε κετού στ' Αγκύστρι,
 Ντο βομ πραπ ντι γαϊδούρε μας Γενίτικο καπίστρι!»³⁵
 «Α γιό νούκου μπεντέ ποτές»³⁶ απάντησε το Κόλλια
 «Το νούκου λογαριάσουμε α όπλα α πιστόλια».³⁷
 Κι επειπ' αφού σηκώθηκε από το μετερίζη
 «ΙΚ χάντε χούρντε λούβιαρε, τε χίτε μπιθ ρεϊζη»³⁸.
 Αυτό δ' απαμειβόμενος ο Πιτσιλός προσέφη
 Αφού το δοιάκι έστριψε: «Τσι θούα ρε κενέφη;
 Πο χάντε ικ ρε μπουνταλά, ιντσίκ το Φλόττα έρδε
 Και θα σε κάνω μουτ στο μουτ, πο σα ρετσίνι βέρδε!»³⁹*

Από ένα κοντινό νησί με την Αίγινα και το Αγκίστρι, την Ύδρα, έχουμε ένα άλλο λογοτέχνημα (Πουλάκης, 2003), για πράγματα

«ειπωμένα με κείνηνε τη γλώσσα ντους της εποχής, τη ντόμπρα, τη κοφή ντοπιολαλιά, τη μουσικάτη, μ' ένα σκαζμό αρβανίτικες εκφράσεις μαγειρεμένες μέσα ντης, έτσι για νοστιμιά του λόγου, καί νόμιζες οπού το στόμθι ντους έσταζε μέλι θυμαρίσιο και η αναμνοή ντους μοσχοβόλαγε κάτι σα φούλι υδραϊκό. Και άσχημη δε βγήκε η συνταγή τούτηνης εδώ της

²⁸ *Μπέσα πο θομ ρε μπέσα* Μπέσα po thom ρε μπέσα; 'μπέσα, λέω, ρε μπέσα;'

²⁹ *Μπέσα ρε γιο μπαμπέσα*. Μπέσα ρε jo μπαμπέσα. 'μπέσα ρε όχι μπαμπεσιά'.

³⁰ *Ρι πέρδε*. Rri përdhe. 'Κάτσε χάμου'.

³¹ *Μίρις έρδε*. Miris erdhe. 'Καλώς όρισες'.

³² *Τσι μπεν;* Çi bën? 'τι κάνεις;'

³³ *Για μίρεν*. Ja mirë. 'να καλά'.

³⁴ *Τσι έρτε για πο θομ κετού;* Çi ertë ja po thom këtu? 'Γιατί, λέω, ήρθατ' εδώ;'

³⁵ *Έρμε κετού στ' Αγκύστρι, / Ντο βομ πραπ ντι γαϊδούρε μας Γενίτικο καπίστρι!* Ermë këtu στ' Αγκύστρι, / do vom prap ndë γαϊdhure μας Γενίτικο καπίστρι! 'Ηρθαμ' εδώ στ' Αγκύστρι, / θα βάλουμε πάλι στη γαϊδούρα μας Γενίτικο καπίστρι!'

³⁶ *Α γιό νούκου μπεντέ ποτές*. Ajo nuku bënet potës. 'Αυτό δε γίνεται ποτέ'.

³⁷ *Το νούκου λογαριάσουμε α όπλα α πιστόλια*. To nuku λογαριάσουμε α όπλα α πιστόλια. 'Δεν θα λογαριάσουμε μήτε όπλα μήτε πιστόλια'.

³⁸ *ΙΚ χάντε χούρντε λούβιαρε, τε χίτε μπιθ ρεϊζη*. Ik hade hurde λούβιαρε, të hitë bith reizi. 'Αι χάσου, λούβιαρε, που να σε παλουκώσουν'.

³⁹ *Τσι θούα ρε κενέφη; / Πο χάντε ικ ρε μπουνταλά, ιντσίκ το Φλόττα έρδε / Και θα σε κάνω μουτ στο μουτ, πο σα ρετσίνι βέρδε!* Çi thua ρε κενέφη; / Po hade ik ρε budalla, njëçik το Φλόττα erdhë / Και θα σε κάνω mut στο mut, posa recini verdhë! 'Τι λες ρε χαλέ; / Φύγε λοιπόν ρε μπουνταλά, σε λίγο έφτασ' ο Στόλος / Και θα σε κάνω σκατό στο σκατό, όπως το κίτρινο ρετσίνι!'

γλώσσας, κι ας ήτονε και μπάσταρδη, αλλά με το καιρό σιγά-σιγά αλίμονο, που έσβυσε για τα καλά, κι ούτε κανείς που τη θυμάται...».⁴⁰

Όπως θα δούμε, η «νοστιμιά του λόγου» επιτυγχάνεται και με το «αλατοπίπερο» των αρβανίτικων, λέξεων και φράσεων μιας αλλοτινής καθημερινής γλώσσας, που έχουν ενσωματωθεί πλέον στα ελληνικά του νησιού⁴¹.

Αναφέραμε ήδη ότι η «Βαβυλωνία» του Δ. Κ. Βυζαντίου (Μπίρης, 1948) αποτελεί ξεχωριστό δείγμα χρήσης των αρβανίτικων. Οι λέξεις *πο* (<pro ‘ναι, όμως, αλλά, κ.ά.’), *πρα* (<pra ‘λοιπόν, άρα’), *νούκου* (<nuku ‘δεν’), *πίθε μούτη* (<bithë ‘κώλος’ + mut ‘σκατό’), *πλιάτσ(ι)κα* (<plaçka ‘πλιάτσικα’), *πρεσέσι* (<përshesh ‘τριφταριά’), η λανθασμένη χρήση του οριστικού άρθρου *το* της ελληνικής δίπλα σε ουσιαστικά αρσενικού και θηλυκού γένους⁴², είναι ορισμένα από τα στοιχεία αυτά. Μια άλλη χαρακτηριστική λέξη είναι και η *ζτρου*, προβληματικής για την ώρα σημασίας και ετυμολογίας, την οποία εντοπίσαμε και σε νεοελληνικά ιδιώματα (Λιάπης, 1996, Ταρνανάς).

Το υλικό από ιδιώματα που γειτνιάζουν με περιοχές αρβανιτοφωνίας είναι πλούσιο σε αριθμό στοιχείων αλλά και σε διάφορα γλωσσικά φαινόμενα. Σε *σημασιολογικό επίπεδο* παρατηρείται η συμπληρωματική κατανομή των γηγενών και των δάνειων στοιχείων (βλ. *τσιούπρα* ‘κορίτσι’ και *κοπέλα* ‘υπηρέτρια’, *άνθια* ‘άνθη οπωροφόρων δέντρων’ και *λ’λούδια* ‘φυτά που ανθίζουν, λουλούδια’ Μπόγκας, 1964), ενώ πολλές φορές μεσολαβεί ο μηχανισμός της λαϊκής ετυμολογίας, για την αποκατάσταση της σημασιολογικής διαφάνειας (βλ. *δέντρος* ‘γαμπρός’, πβ. αλβ. dhëndër ‘id.’, *βλαστάρι* ‘αδερφός’, πβ. αλβ. v(ë)lla ‘αδερφός’, από τις συνθηματικές γλώσσες της Ηπείρου⁴³).

Στα ηπειρωτικά ιδιώματα, ιδίως σε εκείνα της νοτίου Αλβανίας, έχουμε πληθώρα μεταφραστικών δανείων, που δεν περιορίζονται σε μεμονωμένες λέξεις (*παίρομαι* ‘απασχολούμαι επαγγελματικά, καταπιάνομαι με κάτι’, βλ. *με τι παίρεσαι*; < me se merresh?) αλλά και σε φράσεις (*να σου πάρω το κακό!* ‘αν είναι να σου συμβεί κάτι κακό, ας μου συμβεί εμένα’ < të marrsha të keqen!) κτλ.

⁴⁰ Το διήγημα αρχίζει ως εξής: *Δυο γερόντοι κριεμπάρδηδες, νησιώτες Νυδρεώτες, άστε ντούε, Αρβανίτες, σύντροφοι και γκιέρηδες, με κάμποσους, πολλούς, στην πλάτη χρόνους, λάσκους, λεύτερους, ακόμα και αλόγιστους, ταλαίπωρους, αλμυρησμένους, θαλασσινούς...*

⁴¹ Βλ. λ.χ. τα πολλά προσηγορικά (κριεμπάρδηδες ‘ασπρομάλληδες’ [<kryebardhë], γκιέρηδες ‘συγγενείς’ [<gjiri], *κουμπουθέου* [<këmbëthyer ‘ο έχων σπασμένα πόδια’, ‘που να τσακίσει τα πόδια του!’], *χάνα μούνου* ‘φάγε μας το σκ.’ [<hana munë], κ.ά.), αλλά και την εκτεταμένη χρήση της υποκοριστικής κατάληξης -(ë)z- και λιγότερο της -th, που εμφανίζονται δίπλα σε ελληνικές βάσεις: *γιέτιζα* ‘ζωή μου, καρδούλα μου, μάτια μου’ [<jetëz], *ντούμπιζα* ‘μικρή τούμπα, κορυφούλα’ [<tumbëz < τούμπα], *Νύδριζα* [<Υδρα], *ψείρηζες* [<ψείρα], *κάτουζα* [<κάτου], *πάνουζα* [<πάνου], *λιγάκιζες* ακόμα λέξεις, *λιγάκιζα* [<λιγάκι], (ακόμα) *λίγοζα* [<λίγο], *τώραζα* [<τώρα], *καλέουζα* [<καλέ], *στόμθι* (το στόμθι ντους έσταζε μέλι θυμαρίσιο) [<stom < στόμα], *κακομοίρηθ* [<κακομοίρης] κ.ά.

⁴² Το ίδιο λάθος παρατηρείται και στους αλβανούς μετανάστες κατά τα πρώτα στάδια εκμάθησης της ελληνικής.

⁴³ Στοιχεία της αρβανίτικης έχουν εισχωρήσει και στις αστικές κοινωνικές διαλέκτους (*νάκα* ‘δεν’ < naka, *γκέγκε* ‘κατάλαβες’ < gjegje κ.ά.). Στα *καλιαρντά*, για παράδειγμα, βρίσκουμε έναν αριθμό σύνθετων λέξεων όπως *ασεντούπουρος* (ο) ‘διευθυντής’ (<αρβ. άστε ντούε + πουρός ‘γέρος, ηλικιωμένος’), *θεομούκουρα* (επίρρ.) ‘άριστα’ (<θεο- ‘επιτατικό’ + μπούκουρα <αρβ. bukur ‘όμορφα’). Βλ. Πετρόπουλου, 1993.

Μνεΐα ιδιαίτερη αξίζει να γίνει στο ονοματολογικό υλικό. Εδώ ενδιαφέρουν ιδίως οι περιπτώσεις όπου δίπλα σε τοπωνύμια⁴⁴ και επώνυμα αρβανίτικης αρχής έχουμε και τα αντίστοιχα προσηγορικά, περιορισμένης έστω διάδοσης. Για παράδειγμα, το επών. *Σκλιας* και η μεγαρική λ. *σκλέρικα*. Η διάδοση του επωνύμου αυτού σε περιοχές όπως η Εύβοια και η Αττική οδηγεί στην αναζήτηση ενός αλβανικού-αρβανίτικου ετύμου και πράγματι υπάρχει στην αλβανική η λ. *shqa, shkla*, μαρτυρημένη από το μεσαίωνα, που σήμαινε αρχικά τον Σλάβο και κατ' επέκτασιν τον αλλόθρησκο, αλλόγλωσσο, και τελικά τον ανήκοντα σε μια άλλη φυλετική ομάδα (Demiraj, 2006-2007). Η λ. *shklierisht* σημαίνει 'ελληνιστί, σε γλώσσα διαφορετική από τα αρβανίτικα' και είναι διαδεδομένη στους Αρβανίτες. Η ρίζα αυτή σώζεται και στο επίθετο *σκλέρικος* 'μη ντόπιος' και το επίρρημα *σκλέρικα* 'με τον τρόπο των ξένων' του μεγαρικού ιδιώματος (Σύρκου, 2006).

Σε μορφολογικό επίπεδο, εκτός από το δανεισμό κάποιων υποκοριστικών καταλήξεων, όπως των *-z* και *-th*⁴⁵, παρατηρούνται ενδιαφέροντα φαινόμενα επανάλυσης (το κεντόι 'είδος τραγουδιού' < *do këndoj* 'θα τραγουδήσω')⁴⁶ ή αλλαγής γραμματικής κατηγορίας (*παγκόι* 'τοίς μετρητοίς' < *ragóι* 'πλήρωσέ [τα τώρα]' προστ. του *ragóι*)⁴⁷ κτλ.

Στοιχεία της αλβανικής-αρβανίτικης μπαίνουν στην ελληνική σε μια παγιωμένη μορφή και παραμένουν τέτοια, χωρίς να υπακούουν στους κανόνες προσαρμογής:

*Αν γουστάρετε να τα πούμε πολιτικά καλως να ορίσει η αφεντιά σας αλλά όχι πολλά πολλά ναουμ με εμάς τους Ζωγραφιώτες γιατί θα σας ζηηηθούμε αλμυρό φυστίκι. Γκέγκε φλώροι. Εδω είναι Ζωγράφου δεν είναι παίξε γέλασε...*⁴⁸

Ρέ χάνα μούνου ούλοι σας... (Πουλάκης, 2003)⁴⁹.

Μια τελευταία παρατήρηση αφορά και το διαμεσολαβητικό ρόλο της αλβανικής κατά το δανεισμό της ελληνικής από άλλες γλώσσες. Τέτοια περίπτωση φαίνεται να αποτελεί η λ. *γκιουνάφι* 'κρίμα', που απαντά στην Ήπειρο και μπήκε στο τοπικό ιδίωμα μέσω της αλβανικής: αλβ. *gjynah, gjynaf* < τουρκ. *günah*, αφού είναι γνωστό ότι η τροπή *h > f* συνηθίζεται στις αλβανικές διαλέκτους, ειδικά στο τέλος της λέξης⁵⁰.

Τώρα που τα αρβανίτικα έχουν σχεδόν «σιγήσει» οριστικά, τι απέμεινε απ' αυτά στα νεοελληνικά ιδιώματα και στην κοινή νεοελληνική; Ας απαντήσουμε με συγκεκριμένα παραδείγματα, «αλιευμένα» κυρίως από το διαδίκτυο⁵¹.

⁴⁴ Για λόγους χώρου δεν θα αναφερθούμε εδώ στο τοπωνυμικό υλικό, που είναι αρκετά πλούσιο και αξίζει μια ιδιαίτερη μελέτη.

⁴⁵ Βλ. παραπάνω υποσημ. 41.

⁴⁶ Εικάζουμε ότι το μόριο του μέλλοντα της αλβανικής εκλαμβάνεται ως οριστικό άρθρο ουδετέρου γένους της ελληνικής.

⁴⁷ Ο τ. προστακτικής εκλαμβάνεται, υποθέτουμε, ως τροπικό επίρρημα.

⁴⁸ *zograounet*. Στο *γκέγκε φλώροι*, το *γκέγκε* 'άκουσες, κατάλαβες' αντιστοιχεί σε β' πρόσωπο ενικού της αλβανικής – αρβανίτικης.

⁴⁹ Το *χάνα μούνου* 'φάγε μας το σκατό' απευθύνεται σε ένα άτομο. Όπως συμβαίνει συνήθως με τις βρισιές από άλλες γλώσσες, η έκφρ. αυτή έχασε με τον καιρό τη σημασιολογική και μορφολογική της διαφάνεια.

⁵⁰ Πβ. *njoh – njof, shoh – shof* κ.ά. Βλ. Gjinar, 1989: 172-173.

⁵¹ Βλ. λ.χ. τον ιστότοπο *slang.gr*

Αναζητώντας στο google τη λ. *γκέγκε*, μαθαίνουμε ότι πριν λίγους μήνες κυκλοφόρησε στην Αθήνα ένα CD με τίτλο *γκέγκε* του garrer Εισβολέας⁵². Την ίδια λ. ακούσαμε σχετικά πρόσφατα σε διαφήμιση κέντρου εκμάθησης ξένων γλωσσών, την οποία αναλαμβάνει παπαγάλος, που στο τέλος ρωτά: *γκέγκε*; Βέβαια, δεν καλεί τον κόσμο να μάθει αρβανίτικα, αλλά χρησιμοποιεί το συγκεκριμένο στοιχείο της αρβανίτικης για να κεντρίσει την προσοχή των ακοατών της ραδιοφωνικής διαφήμισης.

Το *άστε ντούε* είναι ένα άλλο λεξιλογικό στοιχείο που απαντά σχετικά συχνά σε σχόλια πολιτών που σχετίζονται με την αυθαιρεσία της εξουσίας ή μεμονωμένων ατόμων. Απαντά όχι μόνο στη φρ. *με το άστε ντούε* αλλά και ως χαρακτηρισμός προσώπων:

Η Μαρία η άστε ντούε ή Νυδρεώτες, άστε ντούε, Αρβανίτες... (Πουλάκης, 2003).

Το πιο πρόσφατο παράδειγμα χρήσης/επανάχρησης στοιχείων της αλβανικής-αρβανίτικης το εντοπίσαμε σε μια γελοιογραφία του Μαΐου 2012, αμέσως μετά τις βουλευτικές εκλογές στην Ελλάδα. Όπως θα δούμε, η ευρηματικότητα του γελοιογράφου, βασισμένη και στην πλούσια σχετική παράδοση, πέραν από τον τίτλο εκτείνεται και στο κείμενο της λεζάντας⁵³.

ο...βεληγκέκας



Πρα! Πρα! Εγέρθητι, ωρέ!

Τελειώνουμε με την υπόμνηση ότι μια εκτενέστερη μορφή της εργασίας αυτής θα συνοδεύεται και από ένα *γλωσσάρι* των αλβανικών-αρβανίτικων στοιχείων της ελληνικής,

⁵² «γκέγκε» είναι ο τίτλος ενός από τα τραγούδια του, όπου η συγκεκριμένη λέξη επαναλαμβάνεται αρκετές φορές στο ρεφρέν.

⁵³ Μαΐου 9, 2012 - Αναρτήθηκε από τον/την Δ.Ι. | "Greek National Pride" blog, χιούμορ.

κοινής και ιδιωμάτων, καθώς και –όπου είναι εφικτό– από σχετικό εικονογραφικό υλικό, συγκεντρωμένο από πηγές ποικίλης προελεύσεως⁵⁴.

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⁵⁴ Βλ., λ.χ., τις φηγούρες του *Αλβανού*, του *Βεληγκέκα*, κ.ά., από διάφορες εκδόσεις με θέμα το θέατρο σκιών, καθώς και του *Γκιουλέκα*, ακόμη και του *γκέκα* (είδος σκυλιού), στο Πετρόπουλου, 1978. Ενδιαφέρον υλικό υπάρχει και στο έργο του λαϊκού ζωγράφου Θεόφιλου, όπως ο προαναφερθείς πίνακας «Αλβανοί χορεύοντες» και το πορτρέτο ενός *Γκέκα* με τη γυναίκα του. Το υλικό αυτό παρατίθεται εδώ σε μορφή παραρτήματος.

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Παράρτημα εικονογραφικού υλικού



Θεόφιλος. Αλβανοί χορεύοντες.



Καραγκιόζης.



Ένας Άλβανός



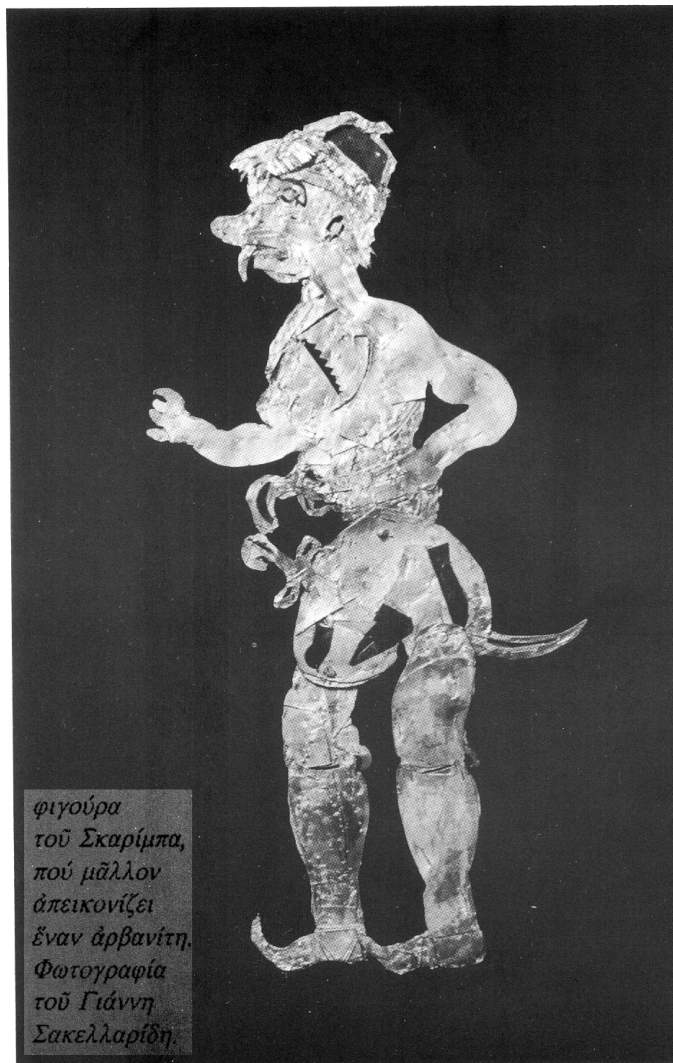
Βεληγκέκας.



Θεόφιλος. Αλβανός [Γκέκας] και η γυνή του από τη Σκόντρα της Αλβανίας.



Τσομπάνης
μέ κάπα,
γκλίτσα καί
τσαρούχια,
μαζί μέ τόν
γκέκα του.
Χαρτονόμουτρο
του Σκαρίμπα.
Φωτογραφία
του Γιάννη
Σακελλαρίδη.



GREEK DISGUISED AS ROMANCE? THE CASE OF SOUTHERN ITALY*

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One of the best-known cases of language contact within Romance concerns the influence of Greek on the Romance dialects of southern Italy. Here I reconsider the traditional claim that these dialects are essentially Greek disguised as Romance. In particular, I shall draw on recent theories about parameter hierarchies and parametric change in terms of four discrete classes of parameter, namely macro-, meso-, micro- and nanoparameters, to show how such an approach is able to both model and formalize the degree of morphosyntactic convergence and divergence exhibited between Italo-Greek and southern Italo-Romance. While recognizing the essential correctness of Rohlfs' original slogan *spirito greco, materia romanza*, this novel approach to an old question will afford us a more nuanced and refined interpretation of the precise nature and extent of Greek-Romance structural contact in this area of southern Italy.

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The following abbreviations are used: ACC = accusative; AG = Ancient Greek; Appl = applicative head; Arl. = Ariellese; Aspect.s = aspectual predicates; BR = province of Brindisi; Brc. Cat. = Barcelona Catalan; Cal. = Calabrese; CG = Classical Greek; CZ = province of Catanzaro; DAT = dative; Dodec. = Dodecanese; Eng. = English; F = feminine or finite complement; Fr. = French; FUT = future; gc = Greko; GEN = genitive; gk = Griko; Gk = Greek; IMP = imperative; IO = indirect object; I = infinitival complement; It. = Italian; Lat. = Latin; LE = province of Lecce; M = masculine; MDL = middle voice; N = neuter; NOM = nominative; nth. = northern; Occ. = Occitan; PASS = passive; PL = plural; PRES = present; RC = province of Reggio Calabria; Sal. = Salentino; SG = singular; SMG = standard modern Greek; Sp. = Spanish; Srd. = Sardinian; st. = standard; sth. = southern; SVCs = serial verb constructions; TMAs = Tense, Mood and Aspect markers; Tsak. = Tsakonian; v_{PTP} = participial *v*; VV = province of Vibo Valentia.

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1 Greek in Southern Italy: Italo-Greek

As is well known, Greek has been spoken as an indigenous language in southern Italy since ancient times (Falcone, 1973: 12-38; Horrocks, 1997: 304-306; Manolessou, 2005: 112-121; Ralli, 2006: 133). According to one, albeit now unpopular, view championed most notably by Rohlfs (1924; 1933; 1974; 1977), the Greek spoken in southern Italy, henceforth Italo-Greek, is to be considered a direct descendant of the ancient (mainly Doric) Greek varieties which were imported into *Magna Graecia* as early as the eighth century BC with the establishment of numerous Greek colonies along the coasts of southern Italy.¹ The opposing – and now widely accepted – view, argued most vehemently by Battisti (1924; cf. also Morosi, 1870; Parlangèli, 1953), sees the Greek of southern Italy as a more recent import dating from the Byzantine period of domination between the sixth and eleventh centuries (though see Fanciullo, 2007, for a conciliatory approach to these apparently two opposing views). Whatever the correct view, it is in any case clear that by the beginning of the second millennium AD Greek was still widely spoken as a native language in north-western Sicily, Calabria and Apulia. Indeed, as late as the fourteenth century Petrarch is reported to have advised those wishing to study Greek to go to Calabria.

Today, by contrast, Italo-Greek survives precariously only in a handful of villages of southern Calabria and Salento in the respective areas of Bovesia and Grecia Salentina. In Bovesia, where the local variety of Greek is known as *greko* (though usually known as *grecanico* in Italian; henceforth abbreviated as *gc*), the language is today confined to five remote villages of the Aspromonte mountains (namely, Bova (Marina), Chorío di Rochudi, Condofuri (Marina), Galliciano and Roghudi (Nuovo)),² where it is reputed, according to some of the most generous estimates (Spano, 1965; Martino, 1980: 308-313; Stamuli, 2007: 16-19; Remberger, 2011: 126-127), to be spoken by around 500 speakers (cf. however Katsoyannou, 1992: 27-31; 2001: 8-9). In Grecia Salentina, on the other hand, the language, locally known as *griko* (henceforth abbreviated as *gk*),³ appears to have fared somewhat better, in that it continues to be spoken in a pocket of seven villages of the Otranto peninsula (Calimera, Castrignano dei Greci, Corigliano d'Otranto, Martano, Martignano, Sternatia, Zollino) by as many as 20,000 speakers according to the most optimistic estimates (Comi, 1989; Sobrero and Miglietta, 2005; Manolessou, 2005: 105; Marra, 2008: 52-53; Romano, 2008).

Now, although Greek was extensively spoken in southern Italy for centuries, following the gradual expansion first of Latin and then what were to become the local Romance varieties in this same area, Greek and Romance came to be used alongside of each other in a complex situation of diglossia with expanding bilingualism. As a consequence, the Romance dialects of these two areas, namely *Calabrese* and *Salentino*, display huge structural influences from Italo-Greek, since they first emerged among speakers whose mother tongue was Greek (the 'substrate') and continued to develop and expand to the present day in the shadow of the surrounding, albeit shrinking, Italo-Greek dialects (the 'adstrate'). To a lesser extent, these latter

¹ Cf. 'These Greeks must be considered the last direct descendants of the Greek population of Magna Graecia' (Rohlfs, 1997b: 233).

² To these villages one can also add the small diaspora of speakers now dispersed across Melito di Porto Salvo and across the city of Reggio Calabria (e.g. in the district of San Giorgio Extra) following the forced evacuations of their villages following natural disasters such as landslides and earthquakes. In what follows, all unreferenced *Greko* examples are taken from Rossi Taibbi and Caracausi (1959).

³ In what follows all unreferenced *Griko* examples are taken from Morosi (1870).

varieties also show some structural influences from the local Romance dialects (cf. for example note 23 below); in more recent times, regional (/standard) Italian has also been thrown into the mix, at least among younger members of the speech community, although its influence on Italo-Greek is negligible if not inexistent given the age of most Italo-Greek speakers. Greek and Romance contact in diachrony and synchrony can be summarized as in Figure 1 (cf. also Martino, 1980: 338; Profili, 1985; Marra, 2008; Romano, 2008).

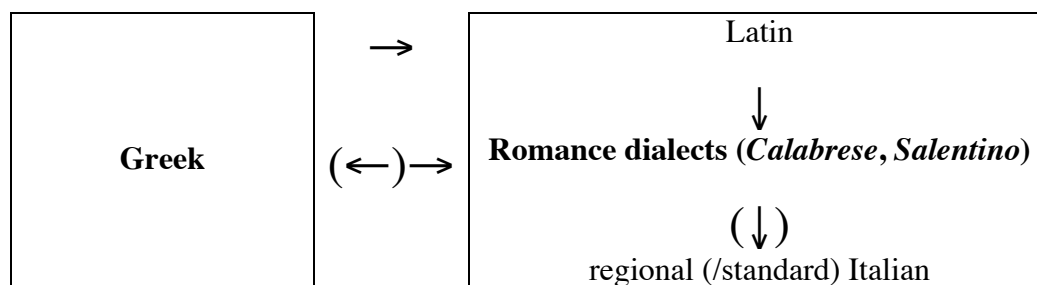


Figure 1. Greek – Romance contact in diachrony and synchrony

Consequently, the influence of Greek on the Romance dialects of southern Italy is generally considered to offer us one of the most spectacular, and least controversial, cases of language contact within Romance. One has only to think of the many articles and monographs written by Rohlfs on this topic (cf. Rohlfs, 1924; 1933; 1964; 1967; 1997a, b, c, d, e, f; 1974) that variously highlight the supposed influence of Italo-Greek on the lexical, morphological and syntactic structures of these Romance dialects.⁴ Among the numerous lexical examples in common use throughout large parts of the South,⁵ it will suffice here to recall such widespread Hellenisms as χίμαρος > *zìmmaru* ‘billy-goat’, νάχη > *naca* ‘cot’, ἀπαλός > *ápilu* ‘soft, without shell’, γάστρα > (*g/c*)*rasta* ‘vase, pot’, λάγανον > *làgana* ‘long thin pasta strip’.

In the area of morphology, some of the most striking examples include the widespread absence of the adverbial manner suffix *-mente* ‘-ly’, whose functions are typically covered by the simple bare adjective (1a-b),⁶ the generalized use of the *passato remoto* ‘aorist’ in large parts of the Extreme South as the sole perfective tense (2a-b),⁷ and the use of the so-called *dativo greco* ‘Greek-style dative’ in large parts of southern Calabria where, on a par with the merger of dative and genitive cases during the Middle Greek period (Joseph, 1990: 160), the genitive preposition *di* ‘of’ has extended its functions, at least under specific conditions, to include the marking of dative arguments (3a-b).⁸

⁴ Greek influence on the phonology of these dialects, in contrast, is less conspicuous. However, one oft-cited case of possible Greek phonological interference concerns the pentavocalic stressed vowel system of the dialects of the Extreme South (cf. Rohlfs, 1977: 1-2).

⁵ Cf., among others, Pellegrini (1880), Rohlfs (1924; 1933; 1964; 1967; [1972] 1997a, b, c; 1974), Mancarella (1988: 234-243), Stamuli (2007).

⁶ Cf. Morosi (1870: 155), Rohlfs (1969: 243-245; 1977: 135-136), Katsoyannou (1992: 393-394), Meliaddò (1994: 52, 113-114), Ledgeway, (2000: 274-276; 2003: 117-119; 2012: 310-311), Violi (2004: 87).

⁷ Cf. Morosi (1870: 142), Cassoni ([1937] 1990: 125), Rohlfs (1966: 312; 1969: 46; 1977: 196; 1997d: 315-316), Cotardo ([1975] 2010: 123), Harris (1982: 50-51), Meliaddò (1994: 47-48), Alfonzetti (1998), Trumper and Lombardi (1998: 822), Katsoyannou (1992: 316-317; 2001: 44), Italia Gemma and Lambroyorgo (2001: 108, 164), Ralli (2006: 134-145), Remberger (2011: 131-132).

⁸ Cf. Rohlfs (1969: §639), Trumper (2003: 232-233), Vincent (1997a: 209), Katsoyannou (1992: 243, 427-429; 2001: 54-55), Ralli (2006: 140-141).

- (1) a. *nu te l' eri llavati filu boni* (Scorrano, LE)
not you= it=you.were washed not good.MPL
'in any case you hadn't washed them well'
- b. *o asciàdi mu pai calò* (gk)
the hat.NSG me= goes good.NSG
'the hat suits me'
- (2) a. *tutti 'ssi cosi ormai diventàru normali* (Catanzaro)
all these things now became normal
'all these things have now become normal'
- b. *Δεν εφάνι ο γόσου?* (Roccaforte (gc))
not appeared the son=your
'Has your son not turned up?'
- (3) a. *Nci dissi di lu figghiòlu 'u si ndi vaci* (Bovese, RC)
to.him= I.said of the boy that self= therefrom goes
'I told the boy to go'
- b. *ordínnettse tu Ġoséppi ná 'ne meθéto* (Bova (gc))
he.ordered of.the Giuseppe that he.be with.them
'he ordered Giuseppe to stay with them'

Also in the area of syntax the dialects of southern Italy display numerous structural calques with the surrounding Italo-Greek dialects. Without doubt the most notable and most widely-studied of these relates to sentential complementation where, following the Greek pattern, finite clauses are generally employed at the expense of the infinitive. Naturally, this finite pattern of subordination brings with it the use of a dual complementizer system which broadly distinguishes between irrealis clauses headed by *mu/ma/mi* (Calabria) or *cu* (Salento) on the one hand and realis clauses introduced by *ca* on the other:⁹

- (4) a. *Àiu mu vàiu mu viju div' àiu mu vàiu òja* (Sant'Andrea, CZ)
I.have that I.go that I.see where I.have that I.go today
'I have to go and see where I have to go today'
- a'. *tus ambitéspai ya na páusi sto bastiménto na divertéftusi,*
them= they.invited for that they.go to.the ship that they.enjoy.MDL
na kámusi mian galì šaláta (Roccaforte (gc))
that they.do a good party

⁹ Cf. Morosi (1870: 136-138, 156), Cassoni ([1937] 1990: 85-86, 105-106, 122-123), Sorrento (1950: 355ff.), Parlangèli (1953: 114), Falcone (1973: 290-291), Rohlf's (1969: 190; 1977: 204-205; 1997e, f), Joseph (1983: 72-74, 250, 286 n. 3), Trumper and Rizzi (1985), Mancarella (1988: 185f.), Stehl (1988: 710), Katsoyannou (1992: 327-328, 333-334, 370-372; 2001: 44-47, 49), Calabrese (1993), Lombardi (1997; 1998), Vincent (1997b: 176), Ledgeway (1998; 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007; 2013; in press a), Nicholas (1998: 308-314), Italia Gemma and Lambroyorgo (2001: 119, 167), Damonte (2002; 2005; 2006a, b; 2010), Roberts and Roussou (2003: 88-97), Violi (2004: 72-73), Manzini and Savoia (2005, I: 455-501, 650-76), Sitaridou (2007), Frassanito (2010), Vecchio (2010), Remberger (2011: 136-143). Note that we use the term 'complementizer' in the text in a purely descriptive sense, fully aware, as many of the references above have demonstrated, that the so-called irrealis complementizer in some varieties (e.g. *Calabrese*) is best considered a T-element (e.g. subjunctive particle) rather than a C_{Fin}-element (e.g. subordinating complementizer).

‘they invited them to come aboard to enjoy themselves and to make merry with them’

b. *ti cuntanu ca su’ stanchi morti* (Catanzaro)

you= they.tell that they.are tired dead

‘they tell you that they’re dead tired’

b'. *léyete ti o dyávolo éfiye ánda peḍía* (Rochudi (gc))

say.PASS.3SG that the devil left from.the children

‘it is said that the devil fled from the children’

Also indicative of Greek contact is the widespread use of: (i) paratactic structures (5a-b);¹⁰ the imperfect indicative in the protasis and apodosis of unreal hypothetical clauses (6a-b);¹¹ and (iii) the definite article in conjunction with first names, both male and female, in *Salentino* dialects (7a-b), though not in *Calabrese* despite the use of the article in this context in *Greko*.¹²

(5) a. *Crammatina lu sçia’ ccattamu* (Lecce)

tomorrow.morning it= we.go we.buy

‘we’ll go and buy it tomorrow’

b. *pame ce drome* (Soletto (gk))

we.go and we.eat

‘we’re going to eat’

(6) a. *iva si non chivía* (Melito di Porto Salvo, RC)

I.went if not it.rained

‘I would go if it were not raining’

b. *An iṣera pu m’ épie tim búḍḍa, san gáðaro ton éðenna áše*

if I.knew who me= took the hen like ass him= I.tied to

staḍḍa (Condofuri (gc))

stable

‘If I knew who stole my hen, I would tie them to the stable like an ass’

(7) a. *Quistu dev’ essere lu Pascali* (Scorrano, LE)

this must to.be the Pasquale

‘This must be Pasquale’

b. *efònase to pedì to mea ce puru ton Antonài* (Martano (gk))

he.called the son the big and also the Antonuccio

‘he called to him his eldest son as well as Antonuccio’

¹⁰ Cf. Morosi (1870: 156), Ascoli (1886), Cassoni ([1937] 1990: 120-121, 124), Rohlf s (1969: 133-134, 171; 1977: 201-203), Leone (1973), Sornicola (1976), Sorrento (1977), Stehl (1988: 711), Katsoyannou (1992: 362, 375-376; 2001: 50-51), Meliadò (1994: 49, 64, 188-189), Ledgeway (1997; 2008), Lombardi (1997), Cardinaletti and Giusti (2003), Manzini and Savoia (2005: 688-701).

¹¹ Cf. Morosi (1870: 157), Parlàngeli (1953: 105-106), Rohlf s (1977: 195-196; 1997d: 306-315), Mancarella (1988: 187-188), Katsoyannou (1992: 313; 2001: 43-44), Meliadò (1994: 46-47), Italia Gemma and Lambroyorgo (2001: 122-123), Violi (2004: 99-100).

¹² Cf. Cassoni ([1937] 1990: 109), Rohlf s (1977: 181), Katsoyannou (1992: 182; 2001: 25), Italia Gemma and Lambroyorgo (2001: 31), Violi (2004: 25).

In light of structural parallels such as those briefly reviewed in (1)-(7), it has become commonplace in the literature to claim that once extensive Greek-Romance bilingualism throughout the Extreme South of Italy has given rise to an exceptional Hellenization of the local Romance dialects or, as Rohlfs aptly put it, a case of *spirito greco, materia romanza* ('Greek soul, Romance (lexical) material'). While accepting Rohlfs' general thesis that the Romance dialects of this area superficially appear to be nothing more than Greek disguised as Romance (or to put it another way, Greek in Romance clothing), such broad-brush generalizations obscure many subtle differences between Italo-Greek and the local Romance varieties which have hitherto gone unnoticed. In what follows we shall therefore reconsider a number of case studies of apparent Greek-Romance contact to highlight a number of such differences with the aim of exploring how such contact phenomena may be modelled in terms of parameter hierarchies. In particular, we shall examine to what extent it is possible to reinterpret morphosyntactic convergence and divergence in this area of southern Italy in terms of a scalar parameter theory.

2 Parameter hierarchies

Since the conception in early Government and Binding Theory of Universal Grammar in terms of a small set of abstract parametrized options, much work over recent decades has radically departed from this view with a focus on predominantly surface-oriented variation (cf. Borer, 1984). This has led to the proliferation of a remarkable number of local, low-level parameters interpreted as the (PF-)lexicalization of specific formal feature values of individual functional heads (including ϕ , Case, movement-triggers (EPP, Edge)) in accordance with the so-called Borer-Chomsky Conjecture (Baker, 2008b: 353). While this approach may prove descriptively adequate in that it predicts what precisely may vary (cf. Kayne, 2000; 2005a,b; Manzini and Savoia, 2005), it suffers considerably from explanatory inadequacy. Among other things, it necessarily assumes such microparameters to be highly local and independent of one another. This assumption seriously increments the acquisitional task of the child who has to set each value in isolation of the next on the basis of the primary linguistic data alone, and at the same time exponentially multiplies the number of parametric systems and, in turn, the number of possible grammars predicted by UG (cf. Kayne, 2005b: 11-15; Roberts, to appear). By way of illustration, consider the following patterns of past participle agreement observed across Romance (cf. Smith, 1999; Loporcaro, 1998; D'Alessandro and Roberts, 2010; Ledgeway, 2012: 317-318):

- (8) a. *La manzana, la había [_{vP} [_{Spec} ~~la~~] comido] ~~la~~ (Sp.)*
 the.FSG apple.FSG it.F= I.had eaten.MSG
 'I had eaten the apple'
- b. *pro_i seme [_{AgrOP} [_{Spec} ~~pro_i~~] magnite] lu biscotte / pro_i so [_{vP} [_{Spec} ___]*
 pro are.1PL eaten.MPL the.MSG biscuit.MSG/ pro am
magnite] *li* biscutte (Arl.)
 eaten.MPL the.MPL biscuits.MPL
 'We have eaten the biscuit / I have eaten the biscuits'
- c. *avètz [_{vP} [_{Spec} ___] presas] de fotòs? (Occ.)*
 you.have taken.FPL of photos.FPL
 'Did you take any photos?'
- d. *La clé que j'ai [_{vP} [_{Spec} ~~la-clé~~] prise] ~~la-clé~~ (Fr.)*

	the.FSG	key.FSG	that I.have		taken.FSG	
			‘the key which I took’			
e	<i>Li/Ci</i>	<i>hanno</i>	[_{vP} [_{Spec} <i>li/ei</i>]	<i>visti</i>]	<i>li/ei</i>	<i>ieri</i> (It.)
	them.M/us=they	.have		seen.MPL		yesterday
			‘They saw us yesterday’			
f	<i>Los/Nos</i>	<i>as</i>	[_{vP} [_{Spec} <i>los/nos</i>]	<i>vistos/vistu</i>]	<i>los/nos</i>	(Lula, Srd.)
	them.M/us=you	.have		seen.MPL/MSG		
			‘You have seen them/us’			
g	<i>Els/Les</i>	<i>he</i>	[_{vP} [_{Spec} <i>els/les</i>]	<i>llegit/llegides</i>]	<i>els/les</i>	(Brc. Cat.)
	them.M/F	I.have		read.MSG/FPL		
			‘I’ve read them’			

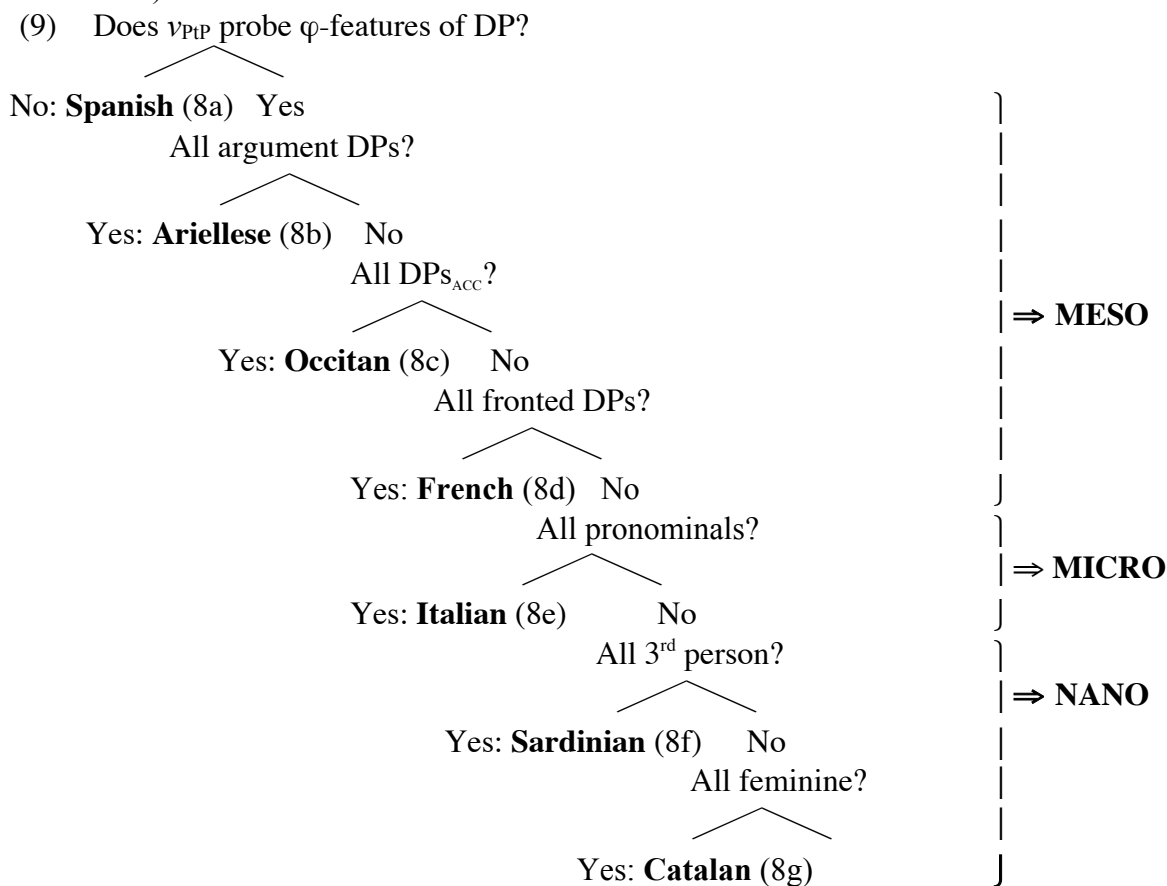
Assuming participle agreement to be the surface reflex of an underlying Agree relation for ϕ -features between, say, the functional head v_{PTP} and a given nominal, we are forced to recognize at least seven different microparametric specifications for v_{PTP} . The simplest and least constrained system is exemplified by Ibero-Romance varieties such as Spanish (8a), where v_{PTP} quite simply never displays any agreement, failing to enter into an Agree relation with any DP. Its mirror image is the pattern of participial agreement found in the eastern Abruzzese dialect of Arielli (8b), where the participle, and hence v_{PTP} , simply agrees with any plural DP, be it the internal or external argument. Slightly more constrained, though still liberal by general Romance standards, is the pattern found in Occitan varieties (8c) where the participle agrees with all types of DP object, a pattern further constrained in modern standard French (8d) by the additional requirement that the object DP be overtly fronted (either under object-to-subject fronting as with unaccusative structures, or under relativization and *wh*-fronting). In this respect, modern Italian (8e) proves even more restrictive in that, in addition to A-moved superficial subjects of unaccusatives and passives, v_{PTP} only agrees with fronted nominals when they are represented by pronominal clitics, an option taken a stage further in Sardinian dialects (8f) where there is a further requirement that the pronominal clitic also be 3rd person. Finally, there are varieties such as standard Barcelona Catalan (8g), where v_{PTP} is further restricted to agreeing only with feminine 3rd person pronominal clitics. The overall picture reflects an unmistakable tension between the demands of detailed empirical description on the one hand, which forces us to assume as many as seven distinct featural (viz. microparametric) instantiations of v_{PTP} across Romance, and the desire to provide a principled explanation within the limits of a maximally constrained theory of UG on the other.

One way to avoid the proliferation of grammatical systems that such a microparametric approach predicts, while still accommodating morphosyntactic variation like that witnessed for the Romance participle in (8a-g), is to assume a theory that combines some notion of macroparameters alongside microparameters (Baker, 1996; 2008a, b). Following ideas first proposed by Kayne (2005b: 10) and further developed by Holmberg and Roberts (2010) and Roberts (2012), progress in this direction has recently been made by the *Rethinking Comparative Syntax (ReCoS)* research group based in Cambridge;¹³ their central idea is that macroparameters should be construed as the surface effect of aggregates of microparameters acting in unison, ultimately as some sort of composite single parameter. On this view, macroparametric effects

¹³ The *ReCoS* project (www.mml.cam.ac.uk/dtal/research/recos/index.html) is based within the Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics of the University of Cambridge. Recent publications of the *ReCoS* group include: Biberauer, Holmberg, Roberts and Sheehan (2012), Biberauer and Roberts (2012; in press), Roberts (2012).

obtain whenever all individual functional heads behave in concert, namely are set identically for the same feature value (e.g. in a consistently head-final language such as Japanese *all* heads will bear a roll-up movement feature or some other kind of feature guaranteeing uniform head-finality which invariably places complements to the left of their heads), whereas microparametric variation arises when different subsets of functional heads present distinct featural specifications (e.g. in mixed languages such as German where verbal heads bear the relevant roll-up feature, but nominal heads do not). Conceived in this way, parametric variation can be interpreted in a scalar fashion and modelled in terms of parametric hierarchies. Macroparameters, the simplest and least marked options that uniformly apply to all functional heads, are placed at the very top of the hierarchy, but, as we move downwards, variation becomes progressively less ‘macro’ and, at the same time, more restricted with choices becoming progressively more limited to smaller and smaller proper subsets of features (namely, no $F(p) > \text{all } F(p) > \text{some } F(p)$, for F a feature and p some grammatical behaviour). More specifically, functional heads increasingly display a disparate behaviour in relation to particular feature values which may, for example, characterize: (i) a naturally definable class of functional heads (e.g. [+N], [+finite]), a case of mesoparametric variation; (ii) a small, lexically definable subclass of functional heads (e.g. pronominals, auxiliaries), a case of microparametric variation proper; and (iii) one or more individual lexical items, a case of nanoparametric variation.

In light of these assumptions, we may now reinterpret the distribution of Romance participial agreement in (8a-g) in terms of a small-scale parametric hierarchy along the lines of (9), ultimately part of a larger hierarchy related to differential object marking (for discussion, see Sheehan 2013).



The gradual cascading effect produced by the options presented in (9) highlights how variation in relation to the ability of v_{PTP} to probe the φ -features of specific nominals is not uniform but, rather, licenses differing degrees of surface variation in accordance with the growing markedness conditions that accompany the available parametric options as one moves down the hierarchy. In this respect, we can note that Spanish and Ariellese represent rather simple and relatively unmarked options, in that v_{PTP} in these varieties either indiscriminately fails to probe all DP arguments or, on the contrary, systematically probes all (plural) DP arguments. Occitan varieties, on the other hand, are slightly more constrained in that v_{PTP} only probes a subset of DP arguments, namely those marked [+ACC], whereas in French there is the further proviso that the DP_{ACC} must have also undergone A- or A'-movement. In all four cases, however, we are dealing with a case of mesoparametric variation, in that the four options can be subsumed within a naturally definable class insofar as they exclusively make reference to a single functional head [D], in turn further specified for the feature [+ACC] in Occitan and French (presumably un(der)specified in the case of Spanish and Ariellese) and the relevant A/A'-movement feature in French. We observe however a shift from meso- to microparametric variation as we move down the hierarchy to Italian, insofar as the relevant class of triggers for participial agreement is no longer represented *tout court* by a naturally definable class of functional heads (viz. [D]), but now also makes reference to a small and lexically definable subclass of Ds, namely pronominals. Arguably, in the case of Sardinian and Barcelona Catalan where this lexically definable subclass is further broken down into the ever more marked pronominal categories of 3rd person and, in turn, feminine, we are now entering nanoparametric territory where the relevant generalizations hold of just a handful of individual lexical items, namely Sardinian *lu* (MSG), *la* (FSG), *los* (MPL) and *las* (MSG) and Barcelona Catalan *la* (FSG) and *les* (FPL).

Armed with these assumptions about parametric variation, let us now revisit a number of structural cases of Greek-Romance contact to see how these maybe modelled in terms of the parameter hierarchies outlined above.

3 Greek – Romance parallels revisited

3.1 *Dativo greco* ('Greek-style dative')

Above we saw how it has often been reported that the Romance dialects of Calabria have, following an original Greek pattern now widespread within the Balkan Sprachbund (Pompeo 2013), extended the distribution of the genitive preposition *di* 'of' to include many of the traditional uses of the dative, the so-called *dativo greco* (cf. 3a-b).¹⁴ Although there is undoubtedly some truth to these traditional descriptions, they nonetheless conceal some non-trivial differences between *Greko* and *Calabrese*.¹⁵ Firstly, Greek-style genitive marking of indirect objects is not obligatory in *Calabrese*, with RECIPIENT arguments more frequently

¹⁴ No such use of the genitive has to date been recorded for the Romance dialects of the Salento.

¹⁵ I am grateful to M.O. Squillaci and T. Squillaci for providing the following Romance Bovesese data. See also Trumper (2003: 232-233).

surfacing in the dative marked by the preposition *a* ‘to’ in accordance with the typical Romance pattern, witness (10a) which forms a minimal pair with (3a) repeated here as (10b).

- (10) a. *Nci* *dissi* *a* *lu* *figghiòlu* 'u *si* *ndi* *vaci* (Bovese, RC)
 to.him= I.said to the boy that self= therefrom goes
 b. *Nci* *dissi* *di* *lu* *figghiòlu* 'u *si* *ndi* *vaci* (Bovese, RC)
 to.him= I.said of the boy that self= therefrom goes
 ‘I told the boy to go’

Secondly, in so-called genitive structures such as (10b) the genitive-marked indirect object DP is always obligatorily doubled by a dative clitic (e.g. *nci*), witness further the structures in (11a-c).

- (11) a. **(Si)* *dissi* *d'u* *figghiòlu* 'u *si* *ndi* *vaci* (S. Ilario, RC)
 to.him=I.said of.the boy that self= therefrom= goes
 ‘I told the boy to go’
 b. **(Nci)* *lu* *scrissi* *di* *mè* *frati* (Bagaladi, RC)
 to.him= it=I.wrote of my brother
 ‘I wrote it to my brother’
 c. **(Nci)* *lu* *vindia* *di* *Don Pippinu* (Bagaladi, RC)
 to.him= it= I.sold of Don Peppino
 ‘I was selling it to Don Peppino’

We are not therefore dealing with an autonomous genitive structure, as is the case in Greek, but with a hybrid structure in which the indirect object is referenced in part through dative marking on the verbal head and in part through genitive marking on the nominal dependent. This observation is even more striking when we consider that the same dialects have an independent genitive clitic (INDE >) *ndi* ‘of it; thereof/-from’ which, despite providing a perfect match for the genitive case of the nominal dependent, cannot double the indirect object in such examples:

- (12) a. **Ndi* *dissi* *d'u* *figghiòlu* 'u *si* *ndi* *vaci* (S. Ilario, RC)
 of.him=I.said of.the boy that self= therefrom= goes
 b. **Ndi* *lu* *scrissi* *di* *mè* *frati* (Bagaladi, RC)
 of.him= it=I.wrote of my brother
 c. **Ndi* *lu* *vindia* *di* *Don Pippinu* (Bagaladi, RC)
 to.him= it= I.sold of Don Peppino

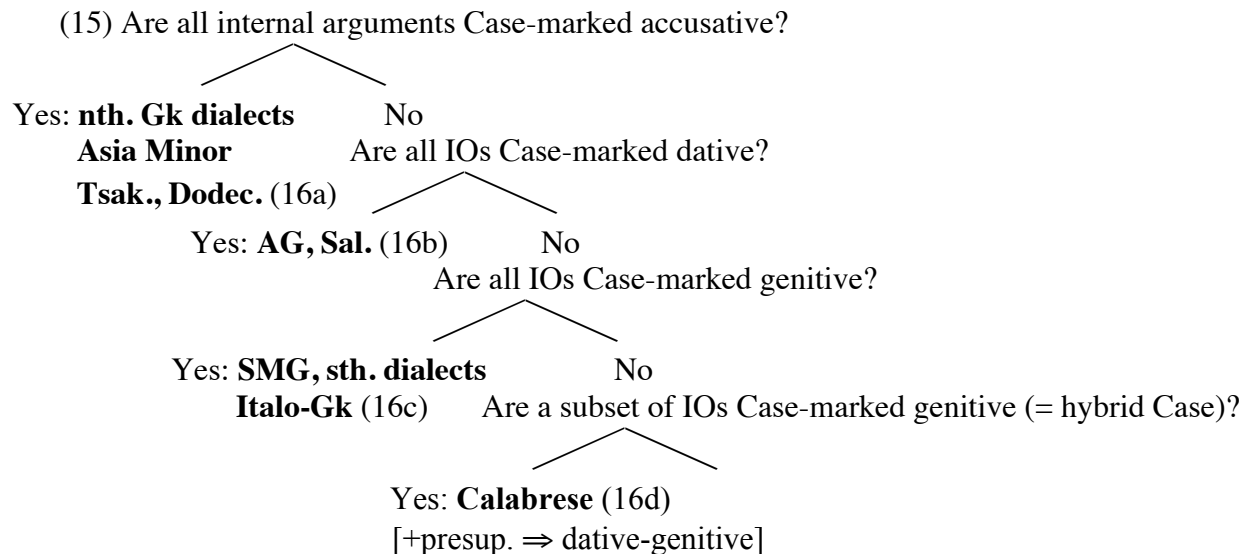
Finally, the use of the so-called *dativo greco* is not indiscriminate, but carries a marked pragmatic interpretation. Thus, despite appearances, (10a-b) are not entirely synonymous. By way of comparison, consider the English minimal pair in (13a-b), where the indirect object of the first example (*to someone*) has undergone so-called *dative shift* in the second example where it now appears without the dative marker *to* and comes to precede the underlying direct object.

- (13) a. *I promised to rent every apartment in the building to someone*
 b. *I promised to rent someone every apartment in the building*

As is well known, one of the pragmatico-semantic consequences of *dative shift* in English is to force a known or given interpretation of the RECIPIENT argument, as can be clearly seen in (13a-b):¹⁶ whereas the quantifier *to someone* in (13a) typically refers to an unknown individual or group of individuals (e.g. whoever I can find who is willing to pay the rent), dative-shifted *someone* in (13b) typically, though not necessarily unambiguously for all speakers, refers to a particular individual already known to the speaker (e.g. my father's best friend), but whom the speaker simply chooses not to name in this particular utterance (for discussion, see Aoun and Li, 1993). By the same token, it is this same presuppositional reading of the RECIPIENT that is licensed by the *dativo greco* in *Calabrese*, witness the implied specific reading of the 'student' in (14b) when marked by the genitive in contrast to its non-specific reading in (14a) when it surfaces in the dative; similarly, the identity of 'the boy' in (10b) is assumed to be known to the addressee.

- (14) a *La machina, nci la vindu a nu studenti* (Bovese, RC)
 the car to.him= it=I.sell to a student
 'I'll sell the car to a student (=not known to me, any gullible student I can find)'
 b *La machina, nci la vindu di nu studenti* (Bovese, RC)
 the car to.him= it=I.sell of a student
 'I'm selling a student the car (= specific student known to me)'

Integrating these observations with the results of Manolessou and Beis' (2006) investigation of indirect object marking across Greek dialects (cf. also Joseph, 1990: 160; Horrocks, 1997: 125-126, 216; 2010: 628-629; Ralli, 2006: 140-141), we can construct a partial parameter hierarchy based on the marking of indirect objects (IOs) along the lines of (15) with representative examples in (16a-d), ultimately to be understood as part of a larger hierarchy related to argument marking and alignments (cf. Sheehan 2013).



¹⁶ For full discussion, see Larson (1988, 1990), Jackendoff (1990), Torrego (1998) and references cited there.

- (16) a. *επέτρε τον όνε* (Tsakonian, Manolessou & Beis, 2006)
 he.said the.ACC donkey.ACC
 ‘he said to the donkey’
- b. *ύπηρετώ τοίς θεοίς* (AG, Xenophon, Cyropaedia 8.2.22)
 I.serve the.DAT.PL gods.DAT
 ‘I am a servant to the gods’
- c. *Ce t’ adreffiatu tū ’pane* (Martano (gk))
 and the brothers=his him.GEN said
 ‘And his brothers said to him’
- d. *Si dissì d’u figghiòlu ’u si ndi vaci* (S. Ilario, RC)
 to.him= I.said of.the boy that self= therefrom= he.go
 ‘I told the boy to go’

Our first option in (15) represents the least marked question that we can ask about the marking of indirect objects, namely whether they are formally distinguished at all from other internal arguments. The negative reply to this question thus isolates a group of northern Greek dialects, Asia Minor dialects, Tsakonian and Dodecanese which, in contrast to all other Greek varieties, fail to mark a formal distinction between direct and indirect objects, witness the accusative-marking of the RECIPIENT in (16a). We are thus dealing with a case of mesoparametric variation, in that in these varieties accusative, arguably the core object Case crosslinguistically and licensed by *v*, hence situated at the top of our hierarchy, indiscriminately marks all DP objects, a naturally definable class (namely, [-NOM] Ds). The next option is that exhibited by varieties such as ancient Greek and *Salentino* which, by contrast, unambiguously distinguish indirect objects by marking them dative (16b), in contrast to varieties such as standard modern Greek, southern Greek dialects and Italo-Greek which are situated further down the hierarchy in that they conflate this category with the genitive (16c). The greater and increasing markedness of these latter two options follows from the observation that crosslinguistically dative, generally taken to be licensed by an Appl(icative) functional head, represents the least marked distinctive Case for indirect objects, whereas genitive, at least in those languages with rich case systems, typically displays all the hallmarks of an inherent Case whose distribution is largely defined by not entirely predictable lexical factors, hence taken here to be assigned by a lexical V head. These two options reflect, respectively, micro- and nanoparametric variation, in that dative serves in the former case to uniquely mark a small, lexically definable subclass of functional heads, namely all Ds bearing the RECIPIENT feature (for arguments in favour of treating theta roles as formal features, see Hornstein, 1999), whereas in the latter case genitive is associated with a class of predicates whose membership can only be established on purely lexical grounds, inasmuch as the RECIPIENT feature is just one of many semantic roles associated with genitive marking.

Our final option in (15) is represented by the *dativo greco* in *Calabrese* (16d), clearly the most marked option of all, insofar as the marking of RECIPIENT arguments in this variety is strictly context-sensitive, with the *dativo greco* serving to narrowly delimit individual RECIPIENT arguments in accordance with their [\pm presuppositional] reading. This more complex and non-uniform behaviour is further reflected in the surface form of the so-called *dativo greco* which, we have observed, involves a composite Case structure combining dative clitic marking on the verbal head with genitive prepositional marking on the nominal dependent, presumably reflecting the simultaneous intervention of Appl_{DAT} and V_{GEN} heads in the licensing of such indirect objects. These facts which require greater cross-dialectal exploration to ascertain their

extent and significance for typological and theoretical issues about argument structure, including the mapping between morphological marking and syntactic configurations, the availability of object raising and the behaviour of ditransitive structures, highlight how convergence through grammars in contact does not necessarily lead to simple borrowing, but frequently yields new hybrid structures born of reanalysis.

3.2 Complementation

We observed in relation to examples (4a-b) above that both Italo-Greek and the local Romance dialects show a marked tendency to avoid the infinitive in favour of a system of finite complementation. However, contrary to all other Greek dialects, with the notable exception of Pontic (Mackridge, 1987), the infinitive is not by any means defunct, but exceptionally survives to the present day in Italo-Greek where it is still employed, to varying degrees and often alongside competing finite *na*-clauses, in conjunction with a class of restructuring predicates (Cinque, 2004; 2006). Below we provide some representative examples of infinitival clauses together with competing finite *na*-clauses from *Griko* (17a-c) and *Greko* (18a-c):

- (17) a. *Oria se sozo pi / e ssozo na tramo* (Zollino / Sternatia)¹⁷
 beautiful you= I.can to.say / not I.can that I.run
 ‘I can call you beautiful / I cannot run’
- b. *Cùsti o caddo cantàlisi / a cusi na simànun ‘e*
 heard.PASS the cockerel to.sing if you.heard that ring the
campane (Martano)
 bells
 ‘The cockerel could be heard crowing / If you hear the bells ringing’
- c. *A teli piachi o rodo / n’ acapisi* (Corigliano)
 if you.want to.take the rose / that you.love
 ‘If you want to take the rose / to love’
- (18) a. *se kánno déi / tis to kánnise na to fái* (Roccaforte)
 you= I.make to.bind/ to.her=it=you.make that it=she.eat
 ‘I’ll have you tied up / You’ll make her eat it’

¹⁷ The use of a *na*-clause following *sozo* ‘can’ in *Griko* is unusual: the Sternatia example is the only recorded example in our corpus, where its use is licensed in this piece of verse by the requirements of the rhyme (cf. Morosi, 1870: 137). Baldissera (2012; this volume), by contrast, notes an interpretative difference between the use of infinitival and finite complements, with the latter apparently marking ability readings, witness her translation of (i). It is not inconceivable that such a reading might also be at play in the selection of a finite complement in (17a).

- (i) *en sozo na pao* (gk)
 not I.can that I.go
 ‘I am not able to go’

It is also notable that the overwhelming majority of examples of the infinitive after *sozo* recorded in the literature involve negation of *sozo*. This might be taken to indicate that negation is in some way involved in licensing the infinitive, a conclusion also supported by the observation that another context in which the infinitive exceptionally survives is in negated indirect interrogatives of the type *den éxo pu pái* (lit. not I.have where to.go) ‘I have nowhere to go’ (Rohlf, 1977: 191; Katsoyannou, 2001: 47).

- b. *E ssu sònno anísi / den ésonne na ta' gwálice óšu* (Roccaforte)
 not you= I.can to.open / not he.could that them= he.pull out
 'I cannot open the door to you / he could not pull them out'
- c. *Egò tus àcua platèttsi / na platèttsusi* (Bova)
 I them= I.heard to.talk / that they.talked
 'I heard them talking'

In a similar fashion the infinitive survives, again to varying degrees and often alongside of competing finite clauses (Manzini and Savoia, 2005, I: 650-654), also in the neighbouring Romance dialects of Salento (19a-c) and Calabria (20a-c):

- (19) a. *cce ppozzu fare?* (Lecce)
 what I.can to.do
 'What can I do?'
- b. *Facítme ssettare / te facía cu llaba' ccunti a ssirda* (Lecce)
 make.IMP=me to.sit.down you= I'd.make that it=FUT you.tell to sister=your
 'Let me sit down! / I'd make you go and tell your sister'
- c. *Sàccite cumpurtare cumu nna vera recina* (Lecce)
 know.IMP=you to.behave like a real queen'
 'Learn to behave like a true queen!'
- (20) a. *u pozzu fari* (Seminara, RC)
 it= I.can to.do
 'I can do it'
- b. *l' annu a chiamari / pe mmi u chiamanu* (Seminara, RC)
 him= they.have to to.call / for that him= they.call
 'they must call him'
- c. *u fazzu dòrmiri / mi dormi* (Seminara, RC)
 him= I.make to.sleep / that he.sleeps
 'I'll make him sleep'

If we now examine in greater detail the distribution of the infinitive across these Greek and Romance dialects of southern Italy,¹⁸ it soon becomes apparent that there has been a gradual diachronic retreat of the infinitive, which is characterized at the same time by a considerable amount of diatopic and idiolectal variation. We illustrate this for Italo-Greek by way of Table 1. Although our written records only go back as far as the latter half of the nineteenth century, the texts and sources listed in the first column are arranged in chronological order and can thus broadly be read diachronically, allowing us to track the changing patterns of Italo-Greek complementation over approximately the last century and a half. These are to be read in conjunction with the implicational scalar arrangement of predicates on the horizontal axis,

¹⁸ See, among others, Morosi (1870: 136-138, 156), Parlangèli (1953: 114), Falcone (1973: 290-291), Rohlfs (1969: 190; 1977: 204-205; 1997e,f), Joseph (1983: 72-74), Trumper and Rizzi (1985), Pristerà (1987), Mancarella (1988: 185-287), Calabrese (1993), Meliadò (1994: 44-46, 109), Lombardi (1997; 1998), Vincent (1997b: 176), Cristofaro (1998), Ledgeway (1998; 2006; 2007; 2013; in press a), Katsoyannou (2001: 44-47, 49), Damonte (2002; 2005; 2006a,b; 2010), Roberts and Roussou (2003: 88-97), Trumper (2003: 238-246), Violi (2004: 72-73), Manzini and Savoia (2005, I: 455-501, 650-676), Ralli (2006: 132-233), Vecchio (2010), Remberger (2011: 136-243).

which, although not necessarily systematically reported on in each study (hence the blanks in Table 1), are ordered according to their growing susceptibility to infinitival complementation (towards the left of the scale) and finite (*na*-clause) complementation (towards the right of the scale). Now a number of observations immediately emerge from Table 1, which provide us with some important empirical generalizations about sentential complementation in Italo-Greek.

Firstly, the retreat of the infinitive to the advantage of finite complementation has progressed far more quickly in *Griko* than in *Greko*, as superficially revealed by a cursory examination of the dwindling number of ‘I(nfinitival)’ tokens contained in the *Griko* section of Table 1. This same conclusion is further supported by the results of Rohlfs’ (1977) and (1997e) comparative studies of complementation in both areas, originally published in (1950) and (1972), respectively. In his earlier 1950 investigation, Rohlfs reports the use of infinitival complementation, albeit alongside finite strategies, with all predicates on the scale between *hear* and *come* in both *Griko* and *Greko*. Twenty years later, however, in his 1972 study Rohlfs finds that the infinitive has now been eliminated with this same range of predicates in *Griko*, but not in *Greko* where the infinitive, although no longer an option with *let* and *want* (and presumably neither with *come*, for which he does not unfortunately provide any information), now represents the preferred complementation pattern with *hear*, *know* and *make*. Even earlier, a similar tendency is observable in a comparison of the (largely) nineteenth-century sources, where Morosi (1870) reports the optional extension of finite complementation to *make* and *hear* in *Griko* (cf. also Cassoni, ([1937] 1990: 85), whereas in Rossi Taibbi and Caracausi (1950) they still predominantly occur with the infinitive (viz. *make*: 25/7 (I/F), *hear*: 3/1 (I/F)).

	Infinitive ←————→ Na-complement									
<i>Griko</i>	<i>Can</i>	<i>Hear</i>	<i>Know</i>	<i>Make</i>	<i>Let</i>	<i>Want</i>	<i>Come</i>	<i>Must</i>	<i>Go</i>	<i>Aspectual</i>
Morosi (1870)	I	(I/F)		(I/F)		(I/F)		(I/F)		F
Cassoni ([1937] 1990)	I	I	I	I/F		(I/F)		(I/F)		
Rohlfs ([1950] 1977)	I	I/F	I/F	I/F	I/F	(I/F)	(I/F)	F	F	F
Rohlfs ([1972] 1997e)	I	F	F	F	F	F	F			
Italia & Lambro. (2001)	I	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Cotardo ([1975] 2010)	I	I/F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Frassanito (2010)	I	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Baldissera (2012)	I/F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	I/F
<i>Greko</i>	<i>Can</i>	<i>Hear</i>	<i>Know</i>	<i>Make</i>	<i>Let</i>	<i>Want</i>	<i>Come</i>	<i>Must</i>	<i>Go</i>	<i>Aspectual</i>
R.T. & Caracausi (1959) ¹⁹	I ^(I/F)	I ^(I/F)	I	I(F)	I(F)	(I/F)	(I/F)	F		F
Rohlfs ([1950] 1977)	I	I/F	I/F	I/F	I/F	(I/F)	(I/F)	F		F
Rohlfs ([1972] 1997e)	I	I(F)	I(F)	I(F)	F	F				
Katsoy. (1992: 2001) ²⁰	I	F	F	F	F	F	F	F		F
Violi (2004)	I		(I/F)	(I/F)	F	F	(I/F)	F		F
Remberger (2011)	I/F			I/F		F		F		
Bovese ²¹	I/F	I/F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F

¹⁹ These data are based on my reading of the mainly prose texts contained in Rossi Taibbi and Caracausi (1958: 10-128, 269-278, 281-306, 394-486), which are principally representative of *Greko* from the second half of the nineteenth century, but which also include some texts from the twentieth century (up until 1958).

²⁰ Although Katsoyannou (1992: 334, 356-359; 2001: 47) claims the infinitive to be restricted to complements of *sónno* ‘can’ in the modern *Greco* of Gallicianò, her own corpus (Katsoyannou, 1992: 328, 464) offers examples following *know* (*en iferam blatéssi taliáno* lit. ‘not I.knew to.speak Italian’) and *make* (*kanum bajéssij garo* lit. ‘they.make.to.pay dear’).

Table 1. Variation in use of infinitival & finite complements in *Griko* and *Greko*²²

Secondly, the retreat of the infinitive appears more advanced in *Griko* than in *Greko*. By way of illustration, consider the sources for the modern period where we observe that in *Griko* (Baldissera, 2012; this volume) the infinitive is now restricted to *can*,²³ whereas in *Greko* the infinitive, albeit subject to some idiolectal variation, is reported to still constitute at least an option after *hear*, *know* and *make* (and somewhat implausibly even after *come* according to Violi, 2004: 144) in addition to *can*.

Finally, the evidence reported in Rossi Taibbi and Caracausi (1958) allows us to conclude that in Italo-Greek causative *make* is potentially more susceptible to the extension of finite complementation than modal *know* (hence the ordering *know* > *make* in Table 1 above), since, unlike the latter, *make* is occasionally followed by a finite complement (21a-c).²⁴ Similarly, in

²¹ I am grateful to M.O. Squillaci (Bova) for providing these data.

²² Note that in Table 1 (i) *hear* is a cover term for all verbs of perception (including *see*, *watch*, *feel*); (ii) *know* refers to the modal ‘know how’, and not the epistemic ‘know that’; and (iii) *must* in these varieties refers to a ‘have to/that’ periphrasis.

²³ Baldissera (2012; this volume) reports that in modern *Griko* the infinitive (i.a) is also an option, alongside a finite *na*-clause (i.b), after the aspectual predicate *spicceo* ‘finish’:

- (i) a. *Spiccetsa atse polemisi stes etse* (gk)
I.finished of to.work at.the seven
b. *Spiccetsa na polemiso stes etse* (gk)
I.finished that I.work at.the seven
‘I finished working at seven’

There is however reason to believe that this infinitival strategy represents a recent borrowing from Romance (cf. also Rohlfs, 1977: 192) and, in particular, from the local Salentino dialects where the infinitive (alongside finite strategies) is regularly employed after aspectuals (cf. Table 2 below). Observe in this regard that the lexical item itself *spicceo* is a Romance borrowing (cf. Sal. *spicciare/i* ‘to finish’ < Fr. *dépêcher* < *DISPICTIARE), hence it is not inconceivable that, in borrowing this particular lexical item from the adstratal Romance dialects, bilingual *Griko* speakers also borrowed (or, better, transferred) the relevant infinitival complementation pattern. This is further supported by the observation that the infinitive in (i.a) is preceded by the preposition *atse* ‘of’, a clear calque of the corresponding Romance/Salentino constructions which also require the use of the prepositional complementizer *de / te* ‘of’ to introduce the infinitive (cf. ii).

- (ii) *Aggiu spicciatu te fatiare* (Lecce)
I.have finished of to.work

From a comparative and diachronic examination of the data in Table 1, it is also notable that at no other time either in *Griko* or *Greko* has the infinitive ever been reported as an option for aspectual predicates which, together with the andative predicate *go*, represent the functional predicates least susceptible to infinitival complementation. By the same token, the implicational nature of the scalar arrangement of predicates in Table 1 would lead us to expect that all functional predicates to the left of aspectual *spicceo* should also, at least as an option, permit infinitival complementation in *Griko*, a prediction clearly not borne out. Rather, the exceptional nature of infinitival complementation in conjunction with *spicceo* in modern *Griko* is entirely in line with the borrowing scenario outlined above, which introduces an unexpected structural irregularity into the system tied to a single lexical item in accordance with an unmistakable nanoparametric pattern.

²⁴ More precisely, in our sample of Rossi Taibbi and Caracausi’s anthology we counted 6 sentential complements to *know*, all in the form of an infinitival clause, and a total of 32 sentential complements to causative *make*, of which just 7 occur in finite form.

the anthology of *Griko* texts contained in Cassoni ([1937] 1990), causative *make* invariably selects for a finite clause (22a) but *know* selects for an infinitive (22b):

- (21) a. *tséri kumbattéttsi* (Bovesse (gc))
 you.know to.fight
 ‘you know how to fight’
- b. *s’ ékame exi túto práma* (Bovesse (gc))
 you= he.made to.have this thing
 ‘he obtained this thing for you’
- c. *Káme na peθánu ta dío pedíamu* (Bovesse (gc))
 make.IMP that die the two children=my
 ‘Have both of my children die!’
- (22) a. *m’ ècame ’na fao* (Calimera (gk))
 me= she.made that I.eat
 ‘she made me eat’
- b. *o sordo t’ ùfsere cratèsi* (Castrignano (gk))
 the money it=he.knew to.save
 ‘he knew how to save money’

If we now examine complementation in the Romance dialects of the same areas, as illustrated in Table 2, we immediately see some striking differences.

<i>Salentino</i>	Infinitive ← → <i>mu/cu-complement</i>									
	<i>Can</i>	<i>Hear</i>	<i>Must</i>	<i>Know</i>	<i>Make</i>	<i>Let</i>	<i>Aspect.s</i>	<i>Want</i>	<i>Come</i>	<i>Go</i>
Rohlfs ([1972] 1997e)	I	I		I/F	I/F	(I/F)		F		
Mancarella (1988)										
Brindisi	I	I	I	I	I			F		
Lecce	I	I		I				F		
Casarano (LE)	I			F	F			F		
Sternatia (LE)	I	F		F	F		F	F		
Martignano (LE)	I	F			F		F	F		
N.Sal. (Calabrese 1993)	I	I			I		I	F	F	
Scorrano (Musio 1995)	I	I	I	I/F	I/F	I/F	I/F	F	F	F
LE (Protopapa 1990-92)	I	I	I	I	I/F	I/F	I/F	F	F	F
<i>Calabrese</i>	<i>Can</i>	<i>Hear</i>	<i>Must</i>	<i>Make</i>	<i>Know</i>	<i>Let</i>	<i>Aspect.s</i>	<i>Want</i>	<i>Come</i>	<i>Go</i>
Rohlfs ([1972] 1997e)	I	I/(F)	I	I/F	(I/F)	(I/F)	F	F		F
Lombardi (1998)										
Tyrrhenian Coast	I		I				I/F	I/F	F	F
Ionian Coast	I/F		I/F				I/F	F	F	F
Cristofaro (1998)	I		I	I			I	F		
Boval. (Remberger 2011)	I		I/F	F				I/F		
Bovesse	I/F	I/F	I/F	I/F	I/F	I/F	I/F	I/F	I/F	F

Table 2. Variation in use of infinitival and finite complements in *Calabrese* and *Salentino*

Given that in some of the *Salentino* and *Calabrese* dialects reported in Table 2 (e.g. Sternatia, Bovese), we are dealing with speakers, and even more so in the recent past, who are also native speakers of their local Italo-Greek variety, we might legitimately expect the patterns of complementation observed in Table 1 above for the two Italo-Greek-speaking areas to be broadly, if not closely, replicated in the neighbouring Romance dialects reported in Table 2. However, these expectations are not borne out. Firstly, we note that the retreat of the infinitive has been quicker in *Calabrese* than in *Salentino*, with finite complements now representing an option with all predicates in *Calabrese*, whereas in *Salentino* the sole selection of the infinitive still represents a more productive and versatile option with a larger range of predicates (e.g. *can...make*). This distribution is the opposite of that seen in Table 1 for Italo-Greek, where it was noted that the retreat of the infinitive had progressed most rapidly in *Griko*.

Secondly, the retreat of the infinitive is more advanced in (some, though not all, varieties of) *Calabrese* than in *Salentino*, in that the infinitive no longer represents the sole option with any single predicate, even after *can*, in most modern *Calabrese* varieties, whereas in *Salentino* the infinitive still represents the sole permitted complement type employed after *can* across all varieties and, in some dialects, also after *hear*, *must*, *know* and *make*. Yet, the infinitive with these latter four predicates has not been recorded for *Griko* for some 40 years (cf. Rohlfs, [1950] 1977, in Table 1), highlighting a significant lag in the rate of change affecting the retreat of the infinitive in these two linguistic groups despite ongoing and extensive contact. Similarly, in many *Calabrese* dialects the infinitive continues to represent an option, together with finite complement clauses, after a wide range of predicates (viz. *can...want*); yet we saw for *Greko* that, apart from *can*, the infinitive is only ever found after *hear*, and to a lesser extent after *know* and *make*.

Finally, a further difference between *Salentino* and *Calabrese* concerns the respective susceptibility of the modal and causatives predicates *know* and *make* to the extension of finite complementation. Whereas in *Salentino* there are varieties such as Lecce (cf. 19b-c) where finite complements are found following *make*, but not *know* (hence the ordering *know* > *make* in Table 2 above), in *Calabrese* both infinitival and finite complements are found following *know* but not necessarily after *make* which, in some varieties at least (cf. Rohlfs, 1997e: 325-332; Cristofaro, 1998), only allows an infinitival complement (hence the ordering *make* > *know* in Table 2). This latter distribution contrasts with that noted in Table 1 for Italo-Greek where, on a par with *Salentino*, the modal predicate *know* shows a greater resistance to finite complementation.

If we now put the results of Tables 1 and 2 together, the overall picture that emerges is that given in Table 3, where darker shading indicates a correspondingly greater propensity towards the use of finite complementation:

	← Infinitive → Finite-complement →									
	<i>Can</i>	<i>Hear</i>	<i>Know</i>	<i>Make</i>	<i>Let</i>	<i>Want</i>	<i>Come</i>	<i>Must</i>	<i>Go</i>	<i>Aspectuals</i>
<i>Griko</i>										
<i>Grecanico</i>										
	<i>Can</i>	<i>Hear</i>	<i>Must</i>	<i>Know</i>	<i>Make</i>	<i>Let</i>	<i>Aspectuals</i>	<i>Want</i>	<i>Come</i>	<i>Go</i>
<i>Salentino</i>										
	<i>Can</i>	<i>Hear</i>	<i>Must</i>	<i>Make</i>	<i>Know</i>	<i>Let</i>	<i>Aspectuals</i>	<i>Want</i>	<i>Come</i>	<i>Go</i>
<i>Calabrese</i>										

Table 3. Greek and Romance infinitival and finite complement selection in southern Italy

Despite centuries of intimate language contact and extensive Greek-Romance bilingualism, Table 3 highlights a number of significant differences between the varieties under discussion. One of the most obvious of these concerns the differing behaviour of aspectual predicates and the modal *must*, which in Italo-Greek both invariably align with finite complementation (23)-(24), while in *Salentino* (25) and *Calabrese* (26) they either freely alternate between infinitival and finite complementation (aspectuals) or favour infinitival complementation (*must*).

- (23) a. *ensignase na pratisi* (Martano, Cassoni, [1937] 1990: 154)
 she.began that she.walks
 ‘she began to walk’
- b. *è n’ agui a tti porta* (Martano, Cassoni, [1937] 1990: 154)
 you.have that you.leave of the door
 ‘you must leave through the door’
- (24) a. *ém benne na grázzì* (Bovese, Rohlf, 1977: 192)
 he.entered that he.writes
 ‘he was beginning to write’
- b. *Éxo na ta éxo fíkatu* (Gallicianò, Katsoyannou, 1992: 341)
 I.have that them= I.have there
 ‘I must have them there’
- (25) a. *ave spicciare cu vene ddescia fastidiu / ieu va spicciu de*
 he.has to.finish that he.comes he.gives bother I FUT I.finish of
cunzare a intru lla camera (Scorrano, LE)
 to.prepare to inside the bedroom
 ‘he has to stop coming here and annoying us / I’m gonna finish preparing the bedroom’
- b. *lu patru de casa ave bbivire* (Scorrano, LE)
 the owner of house has to.drink
 ‘the landlord must have a drink’
- (26) a. *si misi mi ciangi / si misaru a ballari* (Reggio Calabria)
 self= she.put that she.cries selves= they.put to to.dance
 ‘she began to cry / they began to dance’
- b. *m’ aviti a perdunari* (Reggio Calabria)
 me= you.have to to.forgive
 ‘you must forgive me’

A further disparity concerns the extension of finite complementation to *make*. In Italo-Greek and *Salentino*, *make* patterns more readily with *let*, though still not forming a single class of ‘causatives’ with the latter since in some of these same varieties *let* only licenses finite complementation (cf. (a) examples below), whereas *make* also allows an infinitival complement

(cf. (b)-(c) examples below),²⁵ hence the order ...*know* > [*make* > *let*] > *want*.... In *Calabrese*, by contrast, we have seen in Table 2 that *make* is more susceptible to infinitival complementation than modal *know* and hence, in turn, even more detached from causative *let* (viz. ...*make* > *know* > *let*...) which shows a greater propensity towards finite complementation (30a-b).

- (27) a. *astu n' artune* (gk, Cassoni, [1937] 1990: 107)
 let.IMP that they.come
 'Let them come!'
- b. *S' òcama tozzo 'na fai* (Climera (gk), Cassoni, [1937] 1990: 152)
 you= I.made so.much that you.eat
 'I made you eat so much'
- c. *Oli cànnome pragalisi* (gk, Morosi, 1870: 137)
 all.PL we.make to.pray
 'We all make pray'
- (28) a. *àfi na se filio* (gc, Violi, 2004: 118)
 let.IMP that you= I.kiss
 'Let me kiss you!'
- b. *kàme na pettòi apànu* (gc, Violi, 2004: 130)
 make.IMP= that he.ascends up
 'Make him go up!'
- c. *me kànni pethàni* (gc, Violi, 2004: 130)
 me= he.makes to.die
 'He's killing me'
- (29) a. *Lassa ttrou ddu baccalà te sirda* (Lecce)²⁶
 let.IMP I.find that cod of sister=you
 'Let me find that fool of a sister of yours'
- b. *fazzu cu te llicchi li musì* (Lecce)
 I.make that yourself= you.lick the lips
 'I'll make you lick your lips'
- c. *te fazzu ccògghiere li tientì te terra* (Lecce)
 you= I.make to.collect the teeth of earth
 'I'll make you pick your teeth up from the floor'
- (30) a. *i dassu 'u parranu* (Nicotera, VV)
 them= I.let that they.speak
 'I let them speak'

²⁵ Cf. Rohlfs ([1972] 1997e: 321; 1977: 191), Violi (2004: 118, 130). In addition to infinitival and finite complements, causative *make* may also license a paratactic complement in *Greko* (Violi, 2004: 130):

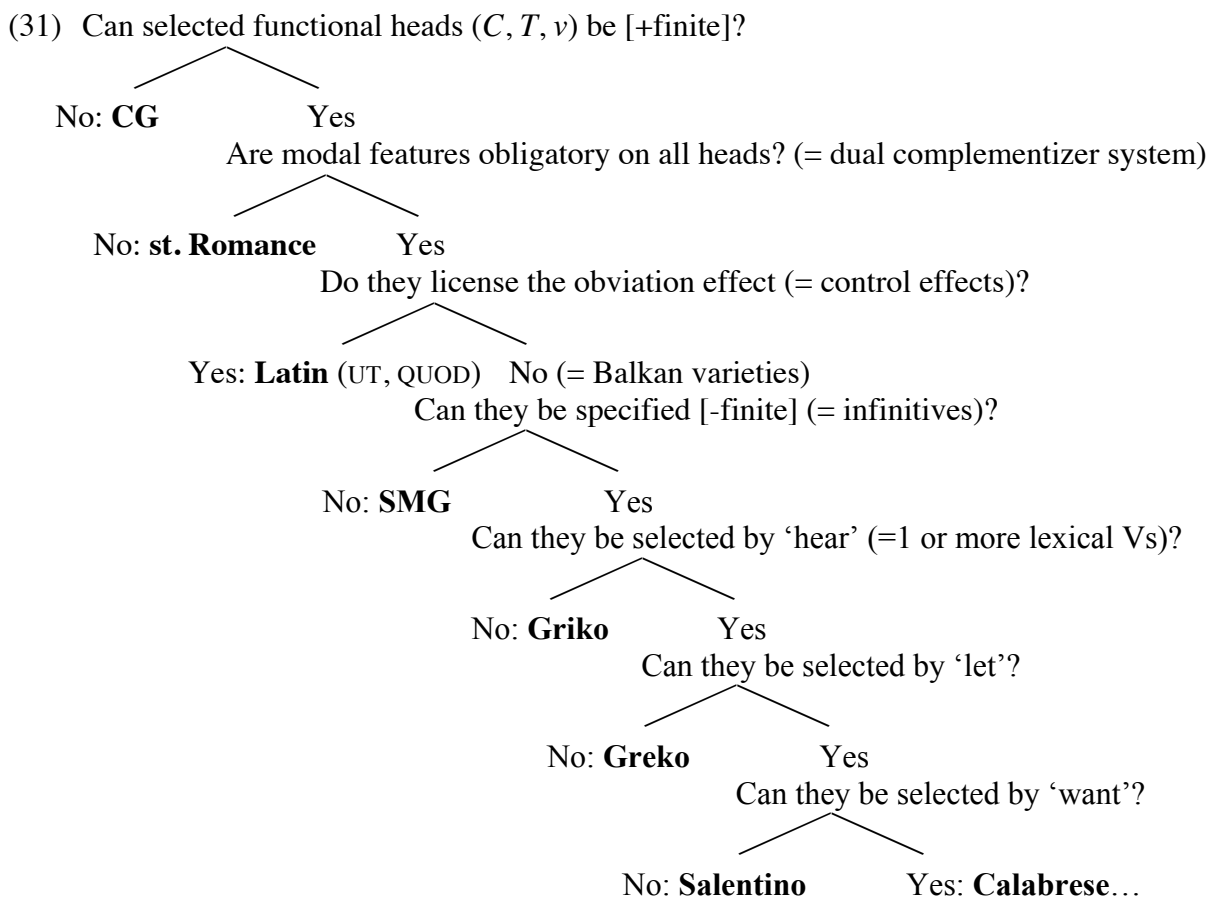
(i) *ton èkame ce apèthane* (gc)
 him= he.made and he.died
 'he made him die'

²⁶ On the deletion of the irrealis complementizer *cu* in this example, see the discussion in §3.2.1 below.

- b. *cu chiju chi mi stati facendu passari!* (Nicotera, VV)
 with that which me= you stand making to pass
 ‘With all you’re putting me through!’

Overall the biggest difference, however, concerns the extent of the spread of finite complementation which has progressed to different degrees in the four dialect groups, reaching its height in *Griko* where it is now obligatory with all functional predicates other than *can* (cf. though note 23), followed by *Greko* where, broadly speaking, it has entirely replaced the infinitive after all predicates except *can*, *hear*, *know* and *make*, and finally to a much lesser extent in *Salentino* and *Calabrese* where today it only proves obligatory with a handful of predicates situated at the rightmost part of the scale (viz. (*want* >) *come* > *go*).

To sum up, diachronically there is extensive and largely unpredictable variation in the distribution of infinitival and finite complementation both across and within individual areas and dialects and, synchronically, even within the same speech community. At the same time, most of these differences can ultimately be reduced to idiosyncratic variation in the selectional properties of individual lexical items in accordance with our definition of nanoparametric variation above. To be sure, as with Biberauer and Roberts’ (in press) discussion of variation in the English auxiliary system, the variation and instability observed in relation to the distribution of infinitival and finite complementation in *Magna Graecia* does not readily lend itself to an explanation in terms of independent linguistic principles or theories such as Cinque’s (1999; 2004; 2006) highly-articulated theory of clause structure which might lead us to expect, for example, the extension of finite complementation to follow, say bottom-up, the order of functional projections predicted by his rich clausal architecture. On the contrary, the variation witnessed here can be most naturally modelled in terms of the more marked options made available by the lower branches of a complementation parameter hierarchy along the lines of (31):



Our first question in (31) relates to a mesoparametric distinction which allows us to identify languages like Classical Greek, where a naturally definable subclass of selected functional heads *C, T* and *v* (all specified as [+V]) are uniformly specified negatively for the [+finite] feature, thereby capturing the fact that sentential complements invariably surface in non-finite form.²⁷ More marked by comparison is the subsequent question regarding the obligatory marking of [±realis] modal features on all such functional heads, which serves to draw a distinction between those varieties that present dual complementizer systems (e.g. Latin, Balkan varieties) and those that do not (e.g. standard Romance).²⁸ This amounts to a case of microparametric variation in that it isolates a small – indeed, in this particular case, binary –, lexically definable subclass of functional heads (e.g. Ro. *că* vs *să*, Cal. *ca* vs *mu*).²⁹ Among those varieties that present dual complementizer systems, we can, in turn, further distinguish between those which license the obviation effect (namely, display control effects) such as Latin and those that do not, a contrast

²⁷ On the gradual replacement of the Classical Greek elaborate system of non-finite (infinitival, participial) complementation, from as early as Hellenistic Greek, in favour of finite strategies, see Joseph (1983: ch. 3; 1990: 167), Horrocks (1997: 45-46; 2010: 623-626), Nicholas (1998).

²⁸ On the possibility of (Romance) complementizers variously lexicalizing *C, T* and *v* heads, see Ledgeway (2013; in press a).

²⁹ Of course, in the case of Greek and its dialects the situation proves more complex, in that the complementizer system offers a richer array of lexical forms including, in addition to *oti* and *na* also *pou* (cf. Nicholas, 1998; Roussou, 2000; 2010; Roussou and Roberts 2001; Roussou and Tsangalidis, 2010). Nonetheless, the fact remains that the distinction is ultimately a binary one, namely *oti / pou* vs *na*, however one wishes ultimately to represent it formally (e.g. [±realis] or [±factive]).

which conveniently singles out the relevant Balkan(-style) varieties of immediate interest to us here. Within this subset of languages the availability of the [-finite] feature, intended here to indicate the availability or otherwise of the infinitive, allows us to make the relevant distinction between standard modern Greek (and indeed all other dialects of Greek except Pontic) on the one hand and Italo-Greek, *Salentino* and *Calabrese* on the other.

It is, however, from this point onwards that we move into nanoparametric territory, since the only way to make sense of the observed variation in the selectional properties of different functional predicates is to make explicit reference to individual lexical items in terms of the implicational scales, themselves presented as pure stipulations at this stage rather than derivable from general linguistic principles,³⁰ outlined in Tables 1, 2 and 3. For instance, the exceptional restriction of the infinitive to *can* in *Griko* can only be formalized in terms of the rather specific question regarding whether such [-finite] heads (= infinitives) can be selected by the specific lexical item *hear*. If the answer is negative, then the only other lexical predicate to its left, namely *can*, must by implication be able to select an infinitival complement, thereby correctly isolating *Griko*. By a similar process of explicit lexical identification we can isolate the other three broad dialect groups: if the infinitive cannot be selected by *let*, then this implies that it can only be selected by all functional predicates to its left (viz. *can...make*), the correct characterization of *Greko*, and if unavailable to be selected by *want*, then this further isolates *Salentino* from *Calabrese* where only predicates to the left of *want* license infinitival complementation (viz. *can...aspectuals*).³¹ Without doubt, this admittedly somewhat messy characterization of the facts bears all the hallmarks of nanoparametric variation, to the extent that we are dealing with a largely unpredictable and irregular distribution of the infinitive based purely on the idiosyncratic variation of individual lexical items, rather than on naturally definable classes or lexically definable subclasses of functional heads.

3.2.1 C(omplementizer)-drop

Staying with complementation, we can note a further subtle difference between Italo-Greek and southern Italo-Romance in the area of C(omplementizer)-drop. Although we have established that, following the (Italo-)Greek pattern, Romance dialects of this area have developed a dual complementizer system, the relevant facts concerning the distribution of both complementizers is not identical in both dialect groups. Essentially, *Calabrese* dialects (34a-b) pattern on a par with both Italo-Greek varieties (32)-(33), in that both the realis and irrealis complementizers must invariably be pronounced.

- (32) a. *Ipistí * (ka) tom brískome?* (gk, Rohlf, 1969)
 you.think that him= we.find
 ‘Do you think that we’ll find him?’

³⁰ See, however, Givón (1990: 826, 853) and Cristofaro (1998) for functionalist explanations in terms of greater or lesser semantico-pragmatic integration between the functional predicate and its sentential complement.

³¹ As Ian Roberts (p.c.) points out, these nanoparametric options could be more appropriately formalized in terms of θ -role and Case features: perception verbs like *hear* assign a θ -role to their eventive internal argument, whereas causatives like *let* assign just Case (cf. Roberts 2013), and volitionals like *want*, in their modals sense, are just raising triggers, assigning neither θ -role nor Case to their complement. This would reduce the parametric options to θ -role and Case feature bundles of various kinds.

b. *Tèli* **(nna)* *su* *pó* (gk, Rohlfs, 1969)
 you.want that you= I.say
 ‘you want me to tell you’

(33) a. *Egò tus* *àcua* **(ti)* *eplatègguai* (Bova (gc))
 I them= heard that they.spoke

b. *Egò tus* *àcua* **(na)* *platèttsusi* (Bova (gc))
 I them= heard that they.speak
 ‘I heard them speaking’

(34) a. *Ti* *cuntano* **(ca)* *su’* *stanchi morti* (Catanzaro)
 you= they.tell that they.are tired dead
 ‘They tell you that they’re dead tired’

b. *Ti* *scialavi* **(ma)* *i* *guardi* (Catanzaro)
 yourself= you.enjoyed that them= you.watch
 ‘You enjoyed watching them’

In *Salentino* dialects, by contrast, the irrealis complementizer *cu* (35b), but not its realis counterpart *ca* (35a), is regularly dropped (cf. Rohlfs, 1969: 105; Calabrese, 1993: 81 n. 8; Terzi, 1996), a phenomenon which cannot simply be reduced to a PF phenomenon, at least in the northern dialects of Salento where C-drop licenses significant structural effects (for detailed discussion, see Ledgeway, 2013; in press a);

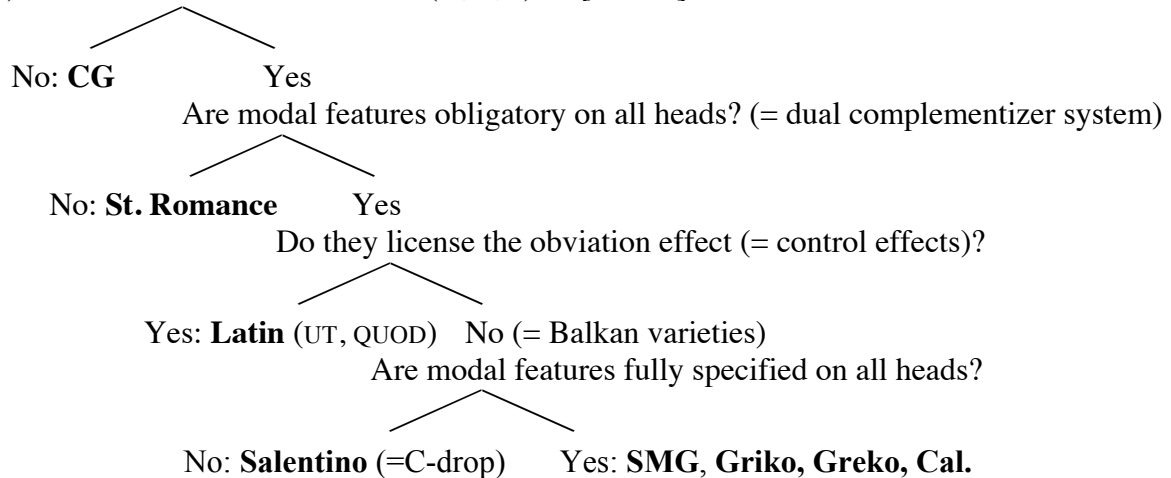
(35) a. *Te* *l’ia* *tittu* **(ca)* *è* *nu bravu vagnone* (Cellino San Marco, BR)
 you= it=I.had said that he.is a good boy
 ‘I told you that he’s a good lad’

b. *Ce* *bbuei* *(cu)* *ddici?* (Cellino San Marco, BR)
 what you.want that you.say
 ‘What do you want to say?’

In light of these facts, we can now slightly modify our proposed complementation parameter hierarchy in (31) to incorporate this microparametric difference between *Salentino* on the one hand and *Calabrese* and Italo-Greek on the other. In (36) we produce the relevant portion of the hierarchy that takes account of this C-drop option.³²

³² Note that C-drop is also found in a number of standard Romance varieties in marked modal contexts (e.g. in subordinate clauses containing a verb in the subjunctive or the future or conditional), the evidence of which can be used to argue for the existence of a dual complementizer system (albeit with homophonous complementizers) in these same varieties. For further discussion, see Poletto (2001), Ledgeway (2013; in press a), Ledgeway and Lombardi (in press).

(36) Can selected functional heads (*C, T, v*) be [+finite]?



3.3 The definite article

We now return to the distribution of the definite article. Above we noted how in *Griko* (37a) and *Greko* (37b) the use of the definite article proves obligatory with proper names in accordance with a usage only partially reflected in the surrounding Romance dialects, witness the contrast between *Salentino* and *Calabrese* in (38a-b).

(37) a. *Allù sessanta irte puru o Steo* (gk, www.glossagriko.it)
 at.the sixty came also the Steo
 ‘In 1960s Steo also came over’

b. *I Romi è pplon òria a’ tti Nnàpuli* (Sternatia (gk))
 the Rome is more beautiful than the Naples
 ‘Rome is more beautiful than Naples’

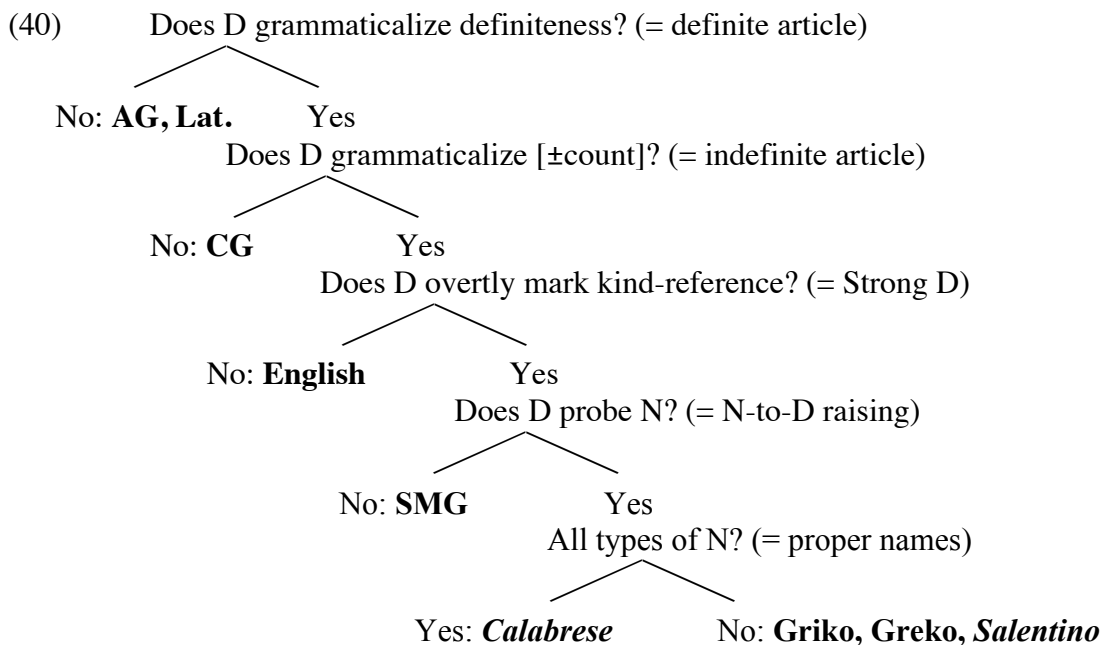
(38) a. *Nu’ à ntisu lu tescorsu te la Catarina cu llù Saveriu?* (Lecce)
 not you.have heard the speech of the Catarina with the Saveriu
 ‘Didn’t you hear Catarina’s discussion with Saverio?’

b. *(*La) Maria mi fici scrìveri tutti i cosi* (Bova)³³
 the Maria me= made to.write all the things
 ‘Maria made me write everything down’

The variation witnessed in this area finds an elegant explanation in terms of the parametric approach to the development of the Greek article and the structure of the DP expounded in Guardiano (2006). In particular, she breaks down the observed variation across different diachronic varieties of Greek into four microparametric options (39a-c), which we can, in turn, directly incorporate into a parameter hierarchy along the lines of (40), part of a larger word structure hierarchy (Roberts, 2012; Biberauer and Roberts, in press):

³³ Cf., however, the obligatory use of the article in the equivalent Bovesse *Greko* sentence: **(I) Maria mu ècame na gràzzo pasa prama*.

- (39) a [±] grammaticalization of definiteness in DP;
 b [±] grammaticalization of countability in DP;
 c [±] strong D;
 d [±] N-raising;



Our first question in (40) relates to the microparametric option (39a) which serves to distinguish between those languages that lack articles such as ancient Greek and Latin, which fail to grammaticalize definiteness overtly in the syntax through the lexicalization of the D position with a definite article (cf. Bošković, 2005a,b; 2008, in press; Bošković and Gajewski, 2011; Ledgeway, 2012: 43-46), and those that do. Among the latter group we can further isolate through option (39b) those varieties such as Classical Greek which, despite presenting a definite article, fail to grammaticalize the [±count] distinction in the DP and hence lack an indefinite article. Among those that grammaticalize both the definite and indefinite articles we can further distinguish in accordance with (39c) between weak and strong D languages (Guardiano and Longobardi, 2005). Varieties of the former group such as English do not require overt association in the syntax between N and D, hence kind-reference is not explicitly lexicalized on D in these varieties, witness the absence of the article in English sentences such as *(*The) grass is green*. In strong D languages such as Greek and Romance varieties, by contrast, kind-reference has to be licensed through explicit association of N and D in the syntax, witness the obligatory use of an expletive article in the equivalent French sentence **(L')herbe est verte*.

Crucially, among the strong D varieties that interest here we can finally distinguish on the basis of the parametric option (39d) between those that exhibit N(-to-D)-raising and those that do not. Standard modern Greek squarely falls into the latter category, as is immediately revealed by its strict adherence to the A+N order with definite DPs and the requirement that D be lexicalized with an expletive article in conjunction with proper names (41a-b; cf. Mackridge, 1985: 198; Holton, Mackridge and Philippaki-Warbuton, 1997: 276-278).

- (41) a. *to (*pedì) kalò pedì* (SMG)
 the child good child
 ‘the good child’
 b. *érkete *(o) Dimitris?* (SMG)
 comes the Dimitris?
 ‘Is Dimitris coming?’

In one respect, Italo-Greek (42a-b) thus diverges radically from standard modern Greek in exhibiting N-raising on a par with *Salentino* (43a) and *Calabrese* (43b), yielding the typical Romance N+A order (cf. Katsoyannou, 1992: 200-204; Guardiano, 2011; this volume; Guardiano and Stavrou, 2012) derived from overt movement of the nominal head to the left of any adjectival classes situated immediately above its first-merge position.

- (42) a. *ena spitin grò (*spiti(n))* (Castrignano dei Greci (gk))
 a house damp house
 ‘a damp house’
 b. *tossa ximóna sprixá fe makria (*ximóna)* (Gallicianò (gc))
 so.many winters cold and long winters
 ‘so many cold and long winters’
- (43) a. *sta scrie a uècchi chiusi (*uècchi)* (Lecce)
 PROG he.writes to eyes closed eyes
 ‘he writes with his eyes closed’
 b. *cu li braccia aperti (*braccia)* (Bovese, RC)
 with the arms open arms
 ‘with open arms’

Although it therefore appears correct to conclude that D – or, to be more precise, the functional field (D-domain) above NP – uniformly probes N in *Magna Graecia*, further fine-grained differentiation of this particular microparameter is required to produce the observed split between Italo-Greek (37a-b) and *Salentino* (38a) on the one hand and *Calabrese* (38b) on the other in relation to the licensing of proper names through the use or otherwise of the article. The relevant difference can be expressed by asking which types of N may be probed by D. The least marked option is that which characterizes *Calabrese*, where D attracts all types of N, including proper names which overtly raise to D and therefore prove incompatible with the definite article. The more marked and selective option is exemplified by the remaining three varieties where D fails to probe proper names, a small and lexically definable subclass of nominals, which, by virtue of the strong D setting, can only be rescued through merger of an expletive article in D.

3.4 Verb movement

Finally, we turn our attention to the verb to consider what structural parallels Greek-Romance contact has produced on the verbal system. In some respects, the parallels between the two varieties prove quite remarkable (Rohlf, 1977: 193-203; Katsoyannou, 1992: 301-323; Italia Gemma and Lambroyorgo, 2001: 107-124; Remberger, 2011: 130-43), as was already noted

above in relation to the distribution of the *passato remoto* in contexts of present relevance on a par with the use of the Italo-Greek aorist (cf. 2a-b). By way of further illustration, consider the overview of verbal paradigms in *Calabrese*, *Greko* and standard modern Greek presented in Table 4 taken from Remberger (2011: 132). While we can standardly recognize eight distinct paradigms for modern standard Greek, this number goes down to just four in *Calabrese* and *Greko* which both lack progressive and non-progressive futures, the future perfect and the present perfect,³⁴ thereby revealing a perfect formal parallelism between the two.

Calabrese & Greko

Present			
Imperfect	Simple Past/Aorist		Pluperfect

SMG

Present			
Imperfect	Aorist	Present Perfect	Pluperfect
Progressive future	Future		Future Perfect

Table 4. Overview of verbal paradigms in *Calabrese & Greko* and SMG

Indeed, the parallels between the Italo-Greek and local Romance verb systems go even further, as revealed by the identical formal development of aspectual periphrases in both dialect groups.³⁵ Beginning with *Greko* and *Calabrese*, we can note that in both varieties progressive (44a-b) and continuative (45a-b) aspects are marked through a grammaticalized periphrasis consisting of ‘stand’ (= *steko/stari*) and ‘go’ (= *pao/iri*), respectively, followed by a non-finite verb form (active participle in *-onda/gerund* in *-ndu*).

- (44) a. *tri’ animágga, pu estékai miryázonda to kréa* (Roccaforte (gc))
 three animals which stood sharing the meat
 ‘three animals, which were sharing the meat’

³⁴ Note that in Italo-Greek *thèlo* never grammaticalized as a future marker which is expressed by the simple present (i.a; Morosi, 1870: 145; Rohlfs, 1977: 193-194; Violi, 2004: 67, 73), and that the periphrasis consisting of *éxo* ‘have’ + perfect passive participle (in *-mena*) carries only a resultative meaning (i.b; Morosi, 1870: 142; Rohlfs, 1977: 196-197), and not a temporal perfective interpretation as in standard modern Greek which is expressed instead by the aorist (i.c):

- (i) a. *Avri èrcome evò* (gk) / *sas tes iftyázo egó* (Roccaforte (gc))
 tomorrow come.PRES.1SG I you= them repair.PRES.1SG I
 ‘I’ll come tomorrow / I’ll repair them for you’
 b. *Éxo faména* (gk) / *Ton éxo kimméno* (Roccaforte (gc))
 I.have eaten / it= I.have hidden
 ‘I’ve finished eating (and am now full up) / I’ve got it hidden away’
 c. *Éfa* (gk) / *egò den ákua mai mentuvéspi ettúndom mágo* (Roccaforte)
 I.ate I not heard never to.mention that wizard
 ‘I’ve eaten / I’ve never heard mention of that wizard’

³⁵ Cf. Rohlfs (1969: 108; 1977: 201-202), Katsoyannou (1992: 350-354, 362), Meliadò (1994: 109, 188-189), Trumper (1997: 363), Ledgeway (2000: ch. 3; 2008), Manolessou (2005: 118), Remberger (2011: 134-36).

- b. *Staju vinendu i Missina* (Reggio Calabria)
 I.stand coming from Messina
 ‘I’m on my way from Messina’

- (45) a. *énan áthropo ton ivre ti ípiye parpatónda ya ta xoráfya* (Bova)
 a man him= found that he.went walking for the fields
 ‘a man found him who was (continuously) walking through the fields’
 b. *Ddhu povireddhu va girandu casi casi* (Reggio Calabria)
 that poor.DIM goes turning houses houses
 ‘That poor man is going around from house to house’

A very similar situation is found in *Griko* and *Salentino*, where progressive aspect (46a-b) is expressed by a hypotactic structure ‘stand and’ (= *stéo cé/sto a*) followed by the finite verb, where ‘stand’ shows varying degrees of inflectional attrition (Ledgeway 2008), including the non-agreeing forms (*st*)*é* (gk) and *sta* (Sal.). Both varieties also employ an analogous hypotactic structure for the expression of prospective aspect, namely ‘go (and)’ (= *pao (cé) / ire (a)*) followed by the finite verb (47a-b).

- (46) a. *sté(o) cé tró / ’e cé vréxi* (Zollino / Martignano)
 I.stand and I.eat STAND and it.rains
 ‘I’m eating / It is raining’
 b. *Cce sta ffaciti a dda intru? / Sta cuntamu cose* (Lecce / Matino)
 what STAND you.do to there inside STAND we.recount things
 ‘What are you doing in there? / We’re discussing things’
- (47) a. *pao vrisco tipo* (Calimera (gk), Cassoni [1937] 1990: 164)
 I.go I.find something
 ‘I’ll go and fetch something’
 b. *Se nu’ ppachi li cinquecentu miglioni bba’ ccite marítuta* (Lecce)
 if not you.pay the 500 millions go he.kills husband=your
 ‘Unless you pay 500 million lire, he’s gonna kill your husband’

Despite these remarkable parallels in the verbal systems of Italo-Greek and the local Romance dialects, a major and unexpected difference emerges in relation to the different extent of verb movement in both varieties. By way of example, consider first the contrast in the unmarked position of the finite verb witnessed in the English and French examples in (48a-b):

- (48) a. *John* [_T Ø [_{v-VP} *often cleans his car*]] (Eng.)
 b. *Jean* [_T *nettoie* [_{v-VP} *souvent nettoie sa voiture*]] (Fr.)

Exploiting the fixed positions of VP-adverbs like ‘always’ as a diagnostic indicator of the left edge of the *v*-VP complex, it is possible to distinguish between overt verb-raising languages like French, where the finite verb raises to the T position to the left of VP-adverbs, and languages like English, where the verb remains *in situ* to the right of such VP-adverbs and the T position is not overtly lexicalized in the syntax. This difference is traditionally retraced to the respective

richness of verbal inflection in the two languages (Emonds, 1978; Pollock, 1989; Belletti, 1990: 44-45; Cinque, 1999: 152; Biberauer and Roberts 2008).

Nonetheless, recent research has revealed a much more nuanced interpretation of Romance verb movement than these familiar broad-brush treatments which classify Romance *tout court* as having overt verb movement. Following the seminal work of Cinque (1999), Infl/T is now commonly interpreted as a general label for the rich inflectional area of the clause (the Infl/T-domain) made up of a series of distinct functional projections dedicated to marking various temporal, aspectual, modal and voice distinctions ranging over the lexical verb, its arguments, and possible adjuncts which can also be identified by the semantically corresponding adverbial modifiers they host (cf. also Cinque, 2002; 2006; Belletti, 2004; Rizzi, 2004). Armed with these assumptions about a universal fixed hierarchy of adverb positions and corresponding functional projections, it is therefore possible to provide a more fine-grained comparative analysis of verb movement. In this respect, it has been shown that the dialects of southern Italy present low V-movement (Ledgeway and Lombardi, 2005:103-106; in press; Schifano, 2011; in prep.; Ledgeway, 2012: §4.3.2; in press b), as revealed by the following representative *Calabrese* (49a) and *Salentino* (49b) examples where the verb does not raise above Cinque's (1999) pre-VP aspectual adverbs (including *not even, already, still, always, hardly, almost*):

- (49) a. *Gianni mancu / sempi / amalappena [_{v-VP} **fumava**]* (Cal.)
 John not.even always hardly smoked
 'John didn't even smoke / John always/hardly smoked'
 b. *l'Anna già / ncora / quasi [_{v-VP} u **sapìa**]* (Sal.)
 the.AnnA already still almost it= knew
 'Anna already / still / almost knew'

Nonetheless, it is not possible to conclude that the verb in southern Italian dialects does not raise at all, inasmuch as it must occur to the left of Cinque's lowest pre-VP adverbs such as 'well' and 'everything', as illustrated by the following examples:

- (50) a. *Rosina [_{T...} [_{AspField} sempi **cucina** bbonu [_{v-VP} ~~eucina~~]]]* (Cal.)
 Rosina always cooks good
 'Rosina always cooks well'
 b. *iddru [_{T...} [_{AspField} sempre **sente tuttu** bonu [_{v-VP} ~~sente~~ *forchè de l' urtima parola*]]]* (Sal.)
 he always hears all well except of the last word
 'he always hears everything perfectly except for the last word'

We are led to assume therefore that in the dialects of southern Italy the verb raises to a medial position within Cinque's pre-VP aspectual adverb field.

Now, given the unmistakable parallels between the verb system of *Calabrese/Salentino* and Italo-Greek observed so far, it is natural to expect the extent of V-movement in Italo-Greek to be similarly quite low. However, the results of a preliminary examination reveal that this prediction is not borne out. Rather, V-movement in Italo-Greek would appear to pattern identically with standard modern Greek, which is standardly reported to display high V-movement to T (Rivero,

1994; Rivero and Terzi, 1995; Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 1998),³⁶ a position from where it precedes all pre-VP adverbs. Below in (51)-(52) we report some representative examples from *Greko* and *Griko*, respectively, which illustrate the higher position of the verb in Italo-Greek.

- (51) a. *den éfaga akomí* (Roccaforte (gc))
not I.ate yet
'I haven't eaten yet'
- b. *ecíni ston gípo e ppánda* (Roccaforte (gc))
she in.the garden is always
'she is always in the garden'
- c. *e ssónno porpatim bléo* (Condofuri (gc))
not I.can to.walk anymore
'I can't walk anymore'
- d. *i anaráda eyávi sirma é' ékraš' ecínda yinéka* (Rochudi (gc))
the anarada went early and called that lady
'the anarada [= hooved-lady!!] didn't delay in calling that lady'
- e. *t' alévveri tos sákko en etél'onnem mái* (Bova (gc))
the flour of.the sack not finished never
'the flour from the sack never ran out'
- (52) a. *ja mià kuindicina èrkatto panta e missionari* (gk, www.glossagrika.it)
for a fortnight came always the missionaries
'the missionaries would always come for a fortnight'
- b. *e' penzean pleo* (gk, www.glossagrika.it)
not they.thought anymore
'they were no longer thinking'
- c. *En ermàzutte mai* (gk, www.glossagrika.it)
not they.marry never
'They'll never get married'
- d. *Ekhi già dio* (gk, www.glossagrika.it)
he.has already two
'He'll already be two years old'
- e. *E' ràttu mánku* (gk, www.glossagrika.it)
not they.sew not.even
'They don't even sew'

Interestingly, however, there is one context in which V-movement patterns identically both in Italo-Greek and in the local Romance dialects. As argued in Ledgeway (2009; 2012b), D'Alessandro and Ledgeway (2010: 2053-2056) and Ledgeway and Lombardi (in press), the finite lexical verb in the dialects of southern Italy exceptionally undergoes high movement to T in irrealis clauses where, as in Italo-Greek and Greek more generally, nothing can intervene between the irrealis complementizer/particle (*mu, ma, mi, cu*) and the finite verb other than clitic elements (e.g. pronouns, negation; cf. Ledgeway, 1998). The dialects of southern Italy thus display a significant asymmetry between irrealis and non-irrealis clauses (see also Schifano, in

³⁶ For a more nuanced interpretation of the modern Greek facts, see however Mavrogorgios (2010: 182-185).

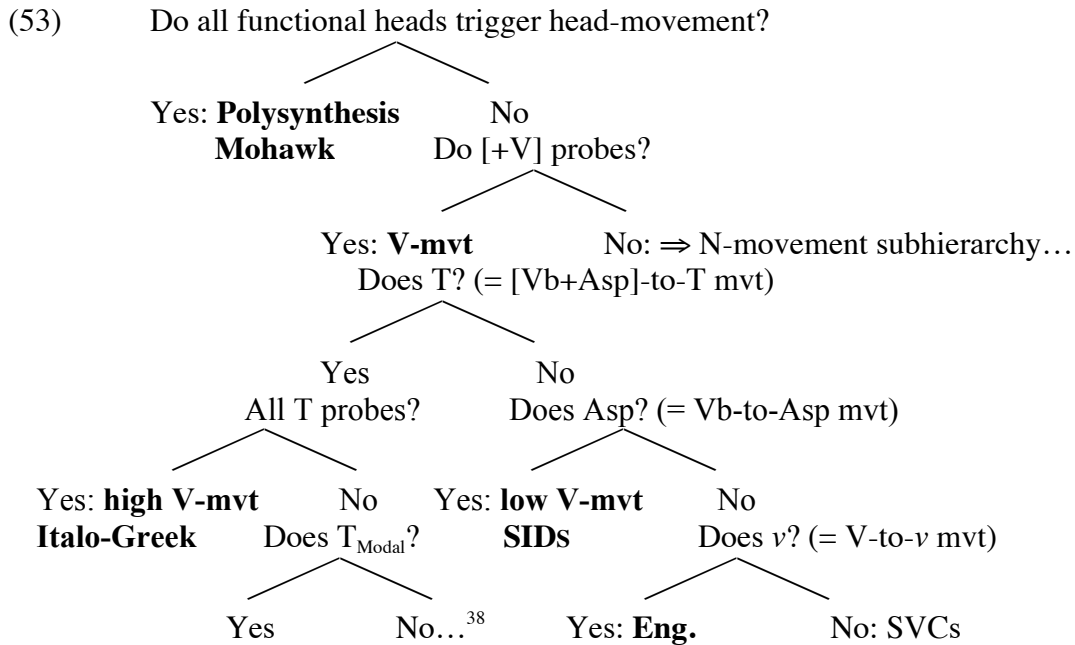
prep., for similar data from other Romance varieties): whereas the verb raises to a low position in the lower pre-VP aspectual field in both root and realis complement clauses (53a), in irrealis clauses the verb exceptionally targets the highest available position within the T-domain (53b).

- (53) a. (*tice ca*) [_T *l' Anna* [_{Asp} *già u sape* [_{v-VP} *sape*]]] (Sal.)
 he.says that the Anna already it=knows
 ‘(He says that) Anna already knows’
- b. *speru cu* [_T *u sape* [_{Asp} *già (*u sape)* [_{v-VP} *sape*]]] (Sal.)
 I.hope that it=he.knows already it= he.knows
 ‘I hope that he already knows’

In light of these facts, it is tempting to conclude that the higher verb movement observed in irrealis clauses is a consequence of contact with Italo-Greek. Recall from above (§3.2) that, in contrast to other Romance languages and varieties, the Romance dialects of this area make very little use of the infinitive, the functions of which are in most cases replaced by a finite irrealis clause following the distinctive complementation pattern of the surrounding Italo-Greek varieties. It would appear therefore that the dialects of this area borrowed not only the superficial complementation pattern, which left little consequent space for the infinitive and introduced a dual complementizer system, but they also borrowed the syntax (namely, the exceptionally high V-movement) associated with the introduction of an irrealis complementizer. By contrast, root clauses and realis complement clauses, which do not typically replace the infinitive, were left unaffected and continue to display the default low V-movement typical of all Romance dialects of the south of Italy (Ledgeway and Lombardi, in press). The result is a hybrid grammar which combines (local) Romance low V-movement in realis contexts with Greek-style high V-placement in irrealis contexts.

These differences in the extent of V-movement in the two dialect groups can therefore be modelled in terms of the parameter hierarchy in (53), in which the various movement options have been embedded within a larger word structure parameter hierarchy (cf. Roberts, 2012; Biberauer and Roberts, in press). Focusing on the portion of the hierarchy which interests us most here, we note that generalized high V-movement in Italo-Greek constitutes a mesoparametric option, since V-movement does not discriminate among different subtypes of T probe, but simply applies across the board productively raising verbal categories of all kinds to T. Italo-Greek thus contrasts with the more restricted and marked microparametric V-movement options that immediately follow in the hierarchy, where only a specific subclass of T probes trigger movement. In the cases at hand the relevant discriminating feature is informally labelled [modal], which isolates a subclass of modally marked instantiations of T capable of attracting the verb. In the case of *Calabrese* and *Salentino* the relevant feature is intended to single out all instantiations of irrealis modality, where T_{Modal} probes, and hence is lexicalized by, all [+V] categories, be these lexical Vs or auxiliary vs. Modern English, by contrast, assumes a more restrictive version of this option where T only probes modals (v_{Aux}), but not lexical verbs. Of course, we have seen that not all verbs in *Calabrese* and *Salentino* are probed by T, and this falls out directly from the negative specification for the preceding mesoparametric option regarding the ability of T to trigger head-movement. In short, if T does not probe the verb, then the next

least marked option is for the verb to be probed by the next functional head down, namely Asp,³⁷ giving rise to the typically low verb movement observed for [-irrealis] verbs in the dialects of southern Italy, including *Calabrese* and *Salentino* (Ledgeway and Lombardi, in press). Even more restricted options are instantiated by modern English, where lexical Vs are limited to raising to *v*, and those languages with serial verb constructions (SVCs) where lexical V does not raise at all.



4 Discussion and conclusions

The detailed discussion of Italo-Greek and southern Italo-Romance morphosyntax above has shown beyond all doubt how, at least on the surface, the grammars of these two broad linguistic groups are in many respects very similar, to the extent that the observed structural parallels are far too striking for them to be dismissed as accidental but, rather, must be considered the result of centuries-old structural contact between Greek and Romance, ultimately to be placed towards the upper end of Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) five-point scale of contact intensity. With the sole exception of adjectival positions in Italo-Greek (cf. §3.3), the direction of such contact has consistently been shown to be unidirectional, involving the transfer and extension of original Greek structural features into the surrounding Romance varieties. At the same time, however, we have seen that a detailed examination of these contact phenomena

³⁷ Asp is to be interpreted here as one of a series of functional heads within the lower pre-VP aspectual field. We are glossing here over considerable microparametric differences across varieties in terms of which specific instantiations of Asp may probe the verb. For detailed discussion in relation to Romance, see Schifano (in prep.).

³⁸ We leave open for future research the various options here, assuming that in some languages V-movement is triggered by more marked instantiations of T including, among others, [-finite] T. This is presumably the correct characterization for Italian, where finite lexical verbs raise to a clause-medial position (immediately above the lower pre-VP field), whereas non-finite verb forms such as the infinitive obligatorily raise to T (Belletti, 1990: 70-76; Cinque, 1999: 143-146; Ledgeway, 2012: 144-145; in press b: §2.1.2.2).

reveals how the finer details of such structural parallels often differ in subtle and unexpected ways once adopted in Romance: this highlights how speakers have not so much borrowed actual Greek forms but, rather, reshaped and reanalysed, often in a process of replication (Heine and Kuteva, 2003; 2005), already existing Romance categories (e.g. dative and genitive marking, finite and infinitival complementation, article usage, and verb movement) to approximate the superficial Greek models and patterns. Indeed, data like these highlight how the varieties in question marry together in still poorly explored and largely little understood ways facets of core Romance and Greek syntax to produce a number of innovative hybrid grammars, the evidence of which can be profitably used to throw light on the nature of parametric variation and the proper formal characterization of convergence and divergence.

In the case of Italo-Greek and southern Italo-Romance, which it must not be forgotten independently share a common Indo-European ancestry that is in large part responsible for their shared macro- and mesoparametric settings (e.g. head-initial, nominative-accusative alignment, pro-drop), observed Greek-biased convergence between the two can typically be reduced to a surface effect of shared microparametric settings. By way of illustration, consider once again the case of sentential complementation. Specifically, we saw that southern Italo-Romance patterns not with standard Romance, but, rather, with Italo-Greek in exhibiting a dual complementizer system, the manifestation of which was argued to be ultimately understood as a case of microparametric variation in terms of the obligatory marking of [\pm realis] modal features on all selected functional heads. On the other hand, the more subtle nature of divergence between southern Italo-Romance and Italo-Greek can be reduced to the surface effect of different settings in relation to hierarchically ‘deeper’ microparametric options and, above all, in relation to nanoparametric differences. Returning again to sentential complementation, although Italo-Romance and Italo-Greek share the same microparametric settings in relation to [\pm realis] modal features (= dual complementizer system), licensing of the obviation effect (= lack of control) and non-finiteness (= presence of infinitives), we have seen how only distinct nanoparametric settings can provide the key to understanding why they differ quite radically and in largely unpredictable ways with regard to the individual functional predicates that may or may not select the infinitive. This is another significant aspect where the parameter hierarchies prove particularly enlightening, inasmuch as the ‘relic syntax’ associated with these nanoparametric properties provide us with a valuable window on what must have formerly been productive complementation patterns that our extremely limited textual record does not allow us to observe directly in its entirety (cf. Biberauer and Roberts, in press). Indeed, one of the general predictions of the parameter hierarchies discussed by Biberauer and Roberts (in press) is that the parameters situated higher in the hierarchy (e.g. macro- and mesoparameters) should display greater stability over time than both micro- and nanoparametric options situated in the lower portions of the hierarchy. Although the time depth of our textual records is admittedly rather limited (cf. Tables 1 and 2), we can nonetheless see over the course of approximately 150 years that the rate and extent of change over this period has been quite considerable, not to say catastrophic in particular cases, with the infinitive now restricted in many, though not all, varieties to just one predicate, namely ‘can’. This progressive yet swift diffusion of finite complementation at the expense of the infinitive highlights a process of diachronic regularization of finite complementation in all except the most frequent cases in the primary linguistic data (PLD), namely after ‘can’ (and to a lesser extent after ‘hear’ > ‘know/make’), where the more marked nature of the featural specification associated with the particular lexical items involved is overridden by their prominence in the PLD.

Turning finally to the title of this paper, it is appropriate to ask whether the local Romance varieties of *Magna Graecia* can indeed be regarded as Greek disguised as Romance. The preceding discussion has provided and reviewed abundant evidence to demonstrate that ultimately this interpretation is untenable. Although such a view has traditionally enjoyed a great deal of acceptance, hence Rohlfs' now classic slogan *spirito greco, materia romanza*, it is based on rather superficial structural similarities deriving from retained macro- and mesoparametric settings and, above all, from shared 'shallow' (= hierarchically higher) microparametric settings. However, as soon as one begins to peel back the layers, it soon becomes clear that convergence through grammars in contact does not necessarily lead to simple borrowing and transference through interference, but more frequently gives rise to new hybrid structures born of reanalysis of the original Greek structures within an emergent Romance grammar instantiating 'deeper' (= hierarchically lower) microparametric and, above all, nanoparametric options. This observation goes against the general prediction (cf. Biberauer and Roberts, in press) that, all things being equal, syntactic change should proceed 'upwards' in the hierarchy as acquirers strip away features in their attempt to postulate the simplest featural analyses compatible with the PLD (Roberts and Roussou, 2003). In the particular cases at hand, however, we are dealing with convergence where speakers are not so much trying to provide the best fit with the PLD, but, rather, are striving to accommodate fully acquired structures from their native L1 in a 'less' native L2, frequently introducing competing and additional options within the contact grammar. Within this scenario, one possibility that presents itself to speakers is to simply eradicate such redundancy from the system, as appears to have been the case with the gradual demise of the infinitive where apparent optionality in the choice of complement type has been radically reduced in recent times according to different lexical classes giving rise to the observed nanoparametric variation.³⁹ Another is to reanalyse such optionality as meaningful variation, thereby enriching the contact grammar with new choices and concomitant distinctions. This appears to have been the case with the *dativo greco*, where the introduction of Greek-style genitive marking of RECIPIENT arguments does not replace dative marking wholesale, but, rather, emerges as a marked context-sensitive option that is specialized in the marking of individual RECIPIENT arguments in accordance with their [\pm presuppositional] reading.

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³⁹ Though see footnote 17 above where Baldissera argues that variation in the choice of infinitival versus finite complementation, at least after *sozo* 'can', correlates with a modal distinction in *Griko*. If so, original free variation would appear then to have been reinterpreted in this case as a new nanoparametric distinction.

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DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS SYNCHRONIC VARIATION AND DIACHRONIC EVOLUTION*

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The present paper attempts a classification of Modern Greek dialectal demonstrative systems on the basis of their structure (tripartite vs. bipartite), function (proximal vs. distal, deictic vs. anaphoric) and diachronic evolution (retention, loss or merger of pronouns). It also examines the consecutive stages of evolution leading to the creation of ‘extended’ and reinforced demonstrative variant forms. The discussion draws on a broad range of modern dialectal as well as Medieval and Early Modern textual data.

1 Introduction

The present paper expands and elaborates on earlier research in the domain of demonstrative pronouns and in the development of Medieval Greek (Holton et al. forthcoming; Manolessou 2001) in order to provide an overview of the demonstrative systems of Modern Greek and its dialects, and of their evolution. Two sets of data are explored to this end: a) diachronic data collected for the project Grammar of Medieval Greek (University of Cambridge) and from the relevant secondary literature, b) dialectal data from the archive of the Research Centre for Modern Greek dialects (Academy of Athens) and the relevant secondary literature.

The treatment of this topic involves a number of *caveats*:

a) The availability of diachronic textual data is unevenly distributed, depending on period and geographical area. For example, textual sources are quite scarce in areas under Ottoman occupation, whereas areas under Venetian control provide abundant archival and literary

· Part of this research was conducted within the framework of the Grammar of Medieval Greek Project of the University of Cambridge (www.mml.cam.ac.uk/greek/grammarofmedievalgreek); the Medieval and Early Modern Greek data were drawn from the Project’s electronic corpus and database, which are the result of collective effort. We would like to thank our colleagues for their contribution.

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material.¹ Furthermore, the availability of synchronic (post-1800) dialectal data is also unevenly distributed, as some areas are insufficiently researched; especially the older literature does not always offer comprehensive treatment of pronouns. Additionally, many dialectal varieties are in a process of obsolescence, which impedes the collection of new data.

b) In contrast to most grammatical constituents, the analysis of demonstrative pronouns requires additional evidence from the domains of syntax, semantics and pragmatics. The treatment requires information on the wider linguistic and extralinguistic context and details on discourse factors such as deixis and anaphora, speaker and hearer, topic and focus etc., which involve consideration of extensive textual and discourse extracts. The collection of such information would have been extremely time-consuming for the purposes of this paper, and in several cases well-nigh impossible (for example extralinguistic information or intonational focusing in historical texts, wider context in dialectal grammatical descriptions and examples) – therefore it has not been attempted. Also, many descriptions of textual sources and of dialects are written in a pre-theoretical framework which does not use the linguistic tools or types of data that a modern approach would require.

c) The influence of the learned language (for earlier periods) and of Standard Modern Greek (for modern dialects) is a factor that should always be taken into consideration.

d) Although Greek demonstratives present an enormous variety of forms and functions across dialects thus constituting, at least in our view, an excellent field for diachronic investigation in both morphology and syntax, the relevant literature is limited. Discounting a number of descriptions of individual texts or varieties which may offer a passing mention or a short section to demonstratives, there are no general overviews of Greek demonstrative systems. The two important exceptions are the descriptions of the dialects of Lesbos (Kretschmer 1905) and Chios (Pernot 1946) which offer ample comparative material on demonstratives from wide range of dialects, and make serious attempts at an etymology and dating of forms. However, both works are now more than a century old (Pernot's study was written in 1907 but was only published at his death); besides, the main etymological proposals still accepted today were formulated by Meyer (1889), Jannaris (1897) and Chatzidakis (1907). A re-evaluation of the topic was therefore felt to be a significant research desideratum.

2 The Modern Greek demonstrative system: typology and synchrony

2.1. Typological considerations

From a typological point of view,² Greek in all its varieties displays a two-person pronominal system: there are specific forms for personal pronouns for the 1st and 2nd person, but no special 3rd person personal pronouns. The function of the 3rd person personal pronoun is covered by the demonstrative pronouns (full forms) or by personal pronoun forms deriving from demonstrative (more specifically anaphoric) pronouns (the weak, clitic forms). See Holton, Mackridge and Philippaki-Warbuton (1997: 95-97).

¹ For the nature, availability and distribution of the textual material see Holton et al. (forthcoming), Introduction.

² Adopting the recent framework of Bhat (2004).

The demonstrative system of Standard Modern Greek can be considered bipartite (αυτός-εκείνος), deriving from an earlier tripartite system (αυτός-τούτος-εκείνος), which in turn stems from an Ancient Greek tripartite system (ὄδε-οὗτος-ἐκεῖνος). The third demonstrative pronoun of Modern Greek, τούτος, is only marginally used, especially in a pejorative way.³ In brief, the pathway of evolution can be interpreted in the following way: the strongly deictic ancient demonstrative ὄδε became obsolete, being replaced by οὗτος > τούτος. The latter assumed the mainly deictic function, changing its original function in Ancient Greek, which was mainly anaphoric. A new demonstrative, αυτός, originating from the ancient intensive pronoun (ὁ) αὐτὸς ('the same', 'himself') took over the uses of οὗτος/τούτος, originally only in anaphoric functions and later in all functions.⁴ (Table 1)

	Proximal		Distal
	Deictic	Anaphoric	
Ancient Greek	ὄδε	οὗτος	ἐκεῖνος
Medieval Greek	τούτος	αὐτός	ἐκεῖνος
Modern Greek	αυτός	αυτός	ἐκεῖνος

Table 1. Evolution of the Greek demonstrative system

Demonstrative systems can be distinguished in two main types: a) distance-oriented, i.e. proximal vs. distal and b) person-oriented, i.e. close to the speaker/1st person – close to the addressee /2nd person – far from the two interlocutors/3rd person).⁵ In this respect, Modern Greek can be classified as a distance-oriented system, with *αυτός* 'this' as proximal and *εκείνος* 'that' as distal, a distinction that does not leave much room for *τούτος* 'this here' (very proximal?) and which perhaps partly explains its marginal status and gradual disappearance. Certainly it cannot be claimed that the Modern Greek demonstrative system is person-oriented, with *τούτος* as 1st person, *αυτός* as 2nd person and *εκείνος* as 3rd person, although for Ancient Greek, traditional grammars often do make a person distinction (ὄδε 1st, οὗτος 2nd, ἐκεῖνος 3rd).⁶ *Τούτος* and *αυτός* are both proximal demonstratives, and the difference between them is rather one between clearly deictic and exophoric meaning for *τούτος* vs. both endophoric (anaphoric) and exophoric meaning for *αυτός*. However, the written nature of the sources and the practical difficulties of the research as described above, do not always allow a straightforward distinction. Furthermore, the system outlined here represents the final phase of a development of which Medieval Greek and most Modern Greek dialects constitute earlier phases.

³ See the description in Mackridge (1985: 226), Holton, Mackridge and Philippaki-Warburton (1997: 317), Clairis and Babinotis (2005: 299).

⁴ For a detailed presentation of this evolution, see Manolessou (2001). The proposed analysis of the Ancient Greek demonstrative system is adopted in several recent linguistic and classics papers, e.g. Roberts (2007: 309), Stavinschi (2012: 77), Langslow (2009: 530), Jacobson (2011), De Jong (2012).

⁵ Adopting the typological framework of Diessel (1997) and Lyons (1999).

⁶ The traditional person-oriented analysis for Ancient Greek, involving the so called Ich-Deixis, Du-Deixis and Jener-Deixis going back to Brugmann, can be found in works such as Wackernagel (1924: 102-110; see now transl. and update in Langslow 2009: 528-537), Smyth (1956: 307-309), Schwyzer and Debrunner (1966: 207-210). A similar analysis is standardly adopted for the Latin tripartite system *hic-iste-ille*, although distance oriented analyses seem to be gaining favour recently; see Lyons (1999: 109, 111), Stavinschi (2012).

Again, from a typological point of view, tripartite person-oriented demonstrative systems usually correlate with tripartite personal pronoun systems; therefore, the reduction from a tripartite to a bipartite system in Greek, which, as set out above, exhibits a 2-person system of personal pronouns, is to a certain extent the “expected” path of evolution. In general, Indo-European languages show the same diachronic trend for reduction of the demonstrative system (Lyons, 1999: 110-111; Bhat, 2004: 181; Stavinschi, 2012); for example, the English system was reduced from three members to two (losing the pronoun, *yon*, *yonder*), and similar evolutions can be observed in French, Catalan and German.

2.2. Dialectal distribution

All dialectal demonstrative systems can be explained as deriving from the tripartite Medieval Greek system *αὐτός-τούτος-ἐκεῖνος*, with the possible exception of Tsakonian.⁷ For the other MG dialects, the following developments may be distinguished:

a) **Retention of the tripartite system.** This evolution is attested in the majority of dialects. The first variety deserving comment in this respect is Pontic. Interestingly, the grammatical descriptions of Pontic do not agree with one another when it comes to the demonstrative system. According to Oikonomidis (1958: 239-243) there are only two demonstratives, proximal *αβούτος / αγούτος / αούτος / χαούτος* (deriving from *οὔτος*) vs. distal *εκείνος/ ακείνος*. According to Papadopoulos (1958: 61-64), there are four demonstratives, *αβούτος / αγούτος / αούτος / χαούτος* indicating first-person proximity, *ατός* indicating 2nd person proximity and *εκείνος* indicating 3rd person-distance, with a subcategory *ακείνος* which is more strongly deictic. According to Drettas (1997), the system is tripartite, with proximal *αβούτος / αούτος* and *ατός* contrasting with distal *εκείνος*, but *ατός*, although on the same level as *αβούτος* with respect to distance, shows a syntactic/semantic restriction in that it is only used anaphorically (1997: 182).⁸ It is tempting to reinterpret Papadopoulos’ traditional person-oriented analysis of *ατός* (‘close to the addressee’) as identical to Drettas’ ‘anaphoric’ function. In this sense Pontic would represent an archaic stage of the Modern Greek system, where the “new” pronoun *αυτός* > *ατός* is still restricted to anaphoric uses, as documented from the early history of the language.

It is interesting to note that the Greek dialects of S. Italy, most of which also possess a tripartite system *τούτος / ετ-τούνος* (<*αυτούνος*) / *ετ/είνος*, are usually described as not making any distinction between the first two (Rohlf, 1977: 91-95; Katsoyannou, 1995: 224). However, Karanastasis (1997: 70) remarks, similarly to Papadopoulos, that *ετ-τούνος* is used for deixis of persons or things close to the hearer.⁹ This person-related analysis can again be reinterpreted as deictic vs. anaphoric distinction, an analysis that would characterize S. Italian, like Pontic, as a conservative peripheral dialect which preserves an older stage of evolution, where *αυτός* is expectedly only anaphoric due its origin from Ancient *αὐτός*.

The distinction between a “second-person” *αυτός* and a “first-person” *τούτος*, in our terms between an originally anaphoric and now general demonstrative *αυτός* and a strongly deictic *τούτος*, can also be found in Samothraki, where the tripartite system takes the form *τούτους/έτουτους/τούτουνας – αυτός/εύτους – ικειός/έκειους/κείουνας* (Tsolaki, 2009: 295-301).

⁷ Tsakonian has different and complex forms of dubious etymology and rather blurred functions, mostly indifferent to distance or person orientation (*έτενη – έντενη/έντερη –ετήνε*), see Liosis (2007: 413-421).

⁸ “*atos* sera exclusivement employé dans la reprise anaphorique d’un terme déjà introduit” (Drettas 1997: 182).

⁹ «για να δείξει πρόσωπο ή πράγμα που βρίσκεται προς το μέρος εκείνου προς τον οποίο μιλούμε».

Similarly, for the dialect of Mani, Bassea-Bezantakou (forthcoming) observes that *εούτος/ετούτος* is strongly deictic and is related to the 1st person, whereas *ετούνος* expresses 2nd person deixis, both contrasting with distal *ετσείνος*.

The tripartite system is retained in most of the Northern dialects (Kretschmer, 1905: 259-270; Papadopoulos 1926: 78-80, cf. also Dinas 2005: 124 for Kozani, Georgiou, 1962: 381-383 for Kastoria), in the Peloponnese (Pantelidis, forthcoming), the Cyclades and the Heptanese (Chytiris, 1978: 44-45) and in Bithynia (Danguitsis, 1943: 90-93, Deligiannis, 1999: 101). However, on the basis of the available dialectal descriptions and examples it is not possible to reach any conclusions concerning the different meanings/functions of *αυτός* vs. *τούτος*; in several areas there seems to be no clear distinction between them.

b) Reduction of the tripartite system.

i) through loss of *αυτός*. The most characteristic case of reduction through loss of *αυτός* is provided by the Cypriot dialect, where the process of gradual loss begins in the medieval period. In the *Assizes* and the *Chronicle of Machairas* the pronoun still exists, although in reduced frequency. In later texts such as Voustronios, *Fior di Vertu* and the *Cypriot love poems*, the use of the pronoun decreases further, up to the modern period where it has completely disappeared (Menardos, 1969: 63; Symeonidis, 2006: 215; Koundouris, 2009: 67-75; Holton et al, forthcoming). Modern Cypriot has a bipartite system *τούτος-ετφείνος*, a characteristic that does not seem to be shared by the other dialects of the Southeastern group, which mostly retain *αυτός*: for example, this is the case of Rhodes (Papachristodoulou, 1958: 55), Karpathos (Minas, 1970: 97), Kalymnos (Drakos, 1983: 53) and Astypalaia (Karanastasis, 1958: 129).

Similarly, the dialect of Silli has retained *τούτος* in regular use but employs *αυτός* only rarely (Dawkins, 1916: 50). However, in this case one cannot speak of reduction of the tripartite to a bipartite system, as *αυτός* is not in effect lost, but replaced through the locative adverb *εδώ* and the demonstrative reinforcer *-δα*, which in the dialect takes the form *-ρα* (see also Kostakis, 1968: 72-73).

ii) through loss of *τούτος*: as the disappearance of *τούτος* is the Standard MG tendency, and as many dialect descriptions fail to mention grammatical elements that do not present special dialectal features, it is hard to determine when *τούτος* is indeed absent from a dialectal pronominal system. For example, the description of the dialect of Samos (Zafeiriou, 1995: 96-97) simply does not list the form although Kretschmer does (1905: 266), but for Eastern Thrace Psaltis (1905: 68-69) specifically states that *τούτος* has been lost as a demonstrative.

In the same vein, the dialect of Pharasa preserves *τούτος* only vestigially: Dawkins (1916: 174) records only the gen. *τουτουῦ* used as a possessive pronoun, and Anastasiadis (1976: 154-157) notes that in the bipartite system *ατές/ατᾶς/ατός* vs. *ατφείνος/ατσείνες* the first pronoun is used for proximal deixis, corresponding to both *αυτός* and *τούτος* of Standard MG.¹⁰ Other Cappadocian dialects seem to have merged the paradigms of *αυτός* and *τούτος*, but further research on this complex issue is required.

iii) through merger of *αυτός* and *τούτος*: Most Cappadocian dialects (Axos, Anakou) seem to have merged forms of *αυτός* and *τούτος*. Costakis (1964: 43) gives the mixed paradigm *ετό* nom. acc vs. *τούτου* gen. and Mavrochalyvidis and Kesisoglou (1960: 55) similarly record nom *ετό/ετά* vs. gen. *του τούτ'/τα τούτ'*; Dawkins (1916: 126) also records *ετούτα* only in the

¹⁰ From the unclear descriptions of the Cappadocian dialects, it seems that *τούτος* is also absent from Ulagatsch (Kesisoglou, 1951: 88).

plural vs. *ετό* in the singular. In Dawkins' analysis (1916: 123-125) the various genitive forms deriving from *τούτος* (*τουτούτ, τουτουνού* etc.) are classified separately as possessive pronouns.

The Old Athenian group (comprising the mostly extinct dialects of Athens, Aegina, Megara, parts of Euboea) provides a special variant of the bipartite system which consists of the pronouns *τούνος* vs. *έτσεινος*.¹¹ Depending on the etymological interpretation of *τούνος* the system can be viewed as resulting from loss of *αύτός* or from loss of *τούτος*. This issue will be discussed in the next section.

3. Morphological evolutions

The multiple morphological evolutions in the MG demonstrative sub-systems can be classified under two main headings:

- a) Mutual influence between paradigms, leading to “mixed” and “extended” forms, e.g.
 - τούτου* > *τουτουνού* (*τούτου* + *εκεινού*)
 - εκείνος* > *εκείός* (*εκείνος* + *αυτός*)
- b) Emphatic reinforcement of demonstratives through various particles such as *-για, -δα, -να, -ε*, sometimes doubled or even tripled. Examples:
 - αυτός* > *αυτός-για, αυτός-για-για, αυτός-δα*
 - εκείνος* > *εκείνονα > εκείνονανα > εκείνονανανα*

3.1 Extended paradigms

Mutual analogical influence between demonstrative pronouns has led to considerable morphological variety. Some forms, mostly in the oblique cases, appear in all dialects, whereas new nominative forms, and consequently the establishment of a full innovative paradigm, is geographically more restricted.

Such mutual influence is up to a point to be expected within closed and closely connected semantic sets, without any concomitant blurring of meaning or function (cf. the classic example *βαρύς* ‘heavy’ - *έλαφρός* ‘light’ > *βαρύς* - *έλαφρύς*). However, the extensive restructuring of entire demonstrative paradigms requires, for its interpretation, more than the mere fact of belonging in the same semantic field; it cannot be dissociated from the general instability of the Medieval Greek tripartite system, in which the semantic and pragmatic roles of the three exponents of deixis, namely proximal *τούτος* and *αυτός* vs. distal *εκείνος* and of deictic *τούτος* vs. anaphoric *αυτός*, were transitional and to a certain extent not clearly defined (as evidenced by subsequent evolutions leading to various forms of bipartite systems).

These analogical influences were first studied by Meyer (1889: 169-171), Hatzidakis (1892: 439-330, reproduced in Chatzidakis, 1907: 155-156) and Thumb (1912: 92), see Holton et al. (forthcoming) for further discussion and examples from Medieval Greek. According to these analyses, analogical change was a multi-stage process, involving both accent and suffix exchanges.

The first stage in the overall evolution must have been the analogical influence of oxytone *αύτός* on paroxytone *έκείνος*, which led to the oxytone forms *έκεινοῦ*-GEN.SG., *έκεινῶν*-GEN.PL., *έκεινούς*-ACC.PL. (1):

¹¹ See ILNE s.v. *αύτός*; also, for Athens Kambouroglou (1910: 48); for Megara Benardis (2006, s.v. *τούνος*) and Syrkou (2006, s.v. *τούνος*); for Aegina Thumb (1891: 111); and for Euboea Favis (1911: 42).

- (1) αὐτός – αὐτοῦ :: ἐκεῖνος – ἐκεῖνου → αὐτός – αὐτοῦ :: ἐκεῖνος – **ἐκεινοῦ**
 αὐτός – αὐτῶν :: ἐκεῖνος – ἐκεῖνων → αὐτός – αὐτῶν :: ἐκεῖνος – **ἐκεινῶν**
 αὐτός – αὐτοῦς :: ἐκεῖνος – ἐκεῖνους → αὐτός – αὐτοῦς :: ἐκεῖνος – **ἐκεινοῦς**

The accent-shift may have been induced by an effort to disambiguate between the homophonous accusative singular and genitive plural of paroxytone o-stem nominal forms (2), (Meyer 1889: 170; Kretschmer 1905: 260-262; Henrich 1996: 14-16):

- (2) M.ACC.SG. τὸν χρόνον /ton 'xronon/ ~ M.GEN.PL. τῶν χρόνων /ton 'xronon/ →
 M.GEN.PL. τῶν χροινῶν /ton xro'non/

It must be noted that in the northern dialects, due to the regular raising of unstressed /o/ to /u/, even more forms would become homophonous and would require disambiguation, were it not for the innovative accent shift to the final syllable (3):

- (3) M.ACC.SG. κείνου [i'kinu]
 N.NOM.SG. κείνου [i'kinu]
 N.ACC.SG. κείνου [i'kinu]
 M., N.GEN.SG. κείνου → κεινοῦ [iki'nu]

As a next stage, shift of the morpheme boundary between stem and suffix in the oblique cases of the pronoun ἐκεῖνος takes place, leading to the creation of the new suffixes -νοῦ, -νῶν, -νοῦς (4a). The morpheme boundary shift may have been prompted by the analogy to the locative demonstrative adverbs αὐτοῦ 'here' and ἐκεῖ 'there' (both attested since antiquity), which was reanalyzed as the stem morpheme of the pronoun, leading to a less opaque morphological structure. This is typical case of affix secretion, whereby a suffix is extended through incorporation of a root element (following the classification of Haspelmath, 1995: 8-10).¹² The newly created suffixes, were attached to the simple forms of other demonstratives (4b), as well as other (indefinite, interrogative etc.) pronouns and determiners (4c):

- (4) a. ἐκεῖ 'there' :: ἐκεῖνος 'that'
 ἐκεῖν-ος → ἐκεῖν-νοῦς
 ἐκειν-οῦ, ἐκειν-ῶν, ἐκειν-οῦς → ἐκει-νοῦ, ἐκει-νῶν, ἐκει-νοῦς
- b. αὐτοῦ 'here' – αὐτός 'this'
 αὐτου-νοῦ, αὐτου-νῶν, αὐτου-νοῦς
 τούτος – τούτου 'this-here'
 τουτου-νοῦ, τουτου-νῶν, τουτου-νοῦς

¹² From a purely historical point of view, of course, if one accepts the standard etymology of Ancient Greek ἐκεῖνος from the elements *ἐ-κε-ενος (Beekes, 2010 s.v. and references therein), the reanalysis of Medieval Greek ἐκεῖν-ος to ἐκει-νοῦς could also be seen as a case of affix extension via incorporation of a quasi-affix (in this case the opaque affix *ένος, originally an independent word, subsequently incorporated into the stem). However, in view of the fact that the reconstructed form *ἐ-κε-ενος belongs to the prehistory of Greek and that ἐκεῖν-ο-ς would have been the morphological structure of the word in Ancient Greek, an analysis of the evolution as affix secretion seems preferable.

c. ποιός- ποιουνοῦ ‘who’, ἄλλος-ἄλλονῶν ‘others’, ὅλος-ὅλονῶν ‘all’

A telling indication of the reanalysis of ἐκειν-οῦ as ἐκει-νοῦ is the analogical creation of the nominative ἐκειός, with the innovative form of the stem without final /n/, under the influence of the new forms of αὐτός (5):

(5) αὐτουνοῦ - αὐτός :: ἐκεινοῦ - ἐκεῖνος →
αὐτουνοῦ - αὐτός :: ἐκεινοῦ - ἐκειός

ἐκεινῶν τῶν παιδόπουλων *Chronicle of Morea*, ms H, 4818
ἐνι καὶ τέτοιοι ἀπὸ ἐκεινούς, *Asma tou Armouri*, 64
τοῦ λεγομένου πραγμάτου ἐκεινοῦ (1608, document from Crete)
ἐκεινοῦ καὶ ὄτινος ἄλλονοῦ (1623, document from Naxos)

ἐκειὸ πὸν ζητοῦσι (1509, document from Syros)
ἐκειὸν πὸν σὲ κοιτάζει, Defaranas, *Logoi didaktikoi*, 461

Another factor that may have contributed to the development of the new pronominal suffix -νοῦ, -νῶν, -νούς can be seen in the independent inflectional changes taking place in the paradigm of the indefinite article εἷς/ἕνας ‘one’ and κανεῖς/κανένας ‘no-one’. Already since the end of the Koine period, third declension (consonant-stem) masculine and neuter nouns sporadically displayed second declension (o-stem) inflectional suffixes in the genitive singular (Dieterich, 1898: 163; Gignac, 1981: 44; cf. also Chatzidakis, 1907: 16, 93, and Holton et al, forthcoming),¹³ e.g. (6):

(6) ἀλέκτωρ, ἀλέκτορος → ἀλεκτόρου *PMG* 12.313, 300-500 AD
λιμήν, λιμένος → λιμένου *BGU* 1594.2 (3rd c. AD)

This phenomenon probably lies at the origin of the equivalent evolution in the genitive singular of the indefinite article εἷς/ἕνας ‘one’ and the indefinite pronoun κανεῖς/κανένας ‘no-one’, the first traces of which appear in the 12th c., earlier than the innovations affecting demonstratives as described above (7):

(7) NOM. εἷς, GEN. ἑνός → ἐνοῦ
ἐνοῦ ἀμπελίου (doc. from S. Italy, ed. Trichera 1865: 241, 1175 AD)
NOM. κανεῖς, GEN. κανενός → κανενοῦ

The indefinite pronouns thus acquired the variant ending -νοῦ (where [n] is part of the stem and [u] is the 2nd declension genitive suffix), homophonous with the -νοῦ ending of the demonstrative pronouns.¹⁴ It would be reasonable to assume that the co-existence of these homophonous endings in two different pronoun categories contributed to the spread of the -νοῦ, -

¹³ Cf. also the later formation τοῦ μηνός > τοῦ μηνοῦ (see Kriaras, s.v. μήνας).

¹⁴ Kretschmer (1905: 273) erroneously attributes the innovation κανενός > κανενοῦ to the influence of ἐκεῖνος-ἐκεινοῦ, an unlikely scenario in view of the relative chronology of the two evolutions.

ων suffixes to other pronominal categories, marking it as a “special” suffix family reserved for the pronominal and determiner domain.¹⁵

During the final stage of the evolution, in the case of αυτός, paradigm levelling of all forms took place: the same stem allomorph extended throughout the paradigm, forming the full inflectional paradigms αυτούνος (from the gen. sg. and acc. pl.) and αυτόνος (from the gen. pl.) (8). It has been suggested that the form αὔτεινος also derives from such a levelling process, namely from the generalization of the feminine genitive singular αὔτηνης (Chatzidakis, 1907: 156); in view of the fact that analogies based on the feminine gender are comparatively rare in Greek, the form should best be viewed as deriving from the analogy of ἐκεῖνος (see also ILNE s.v. αυτός, Kriaras s.v. αὔτεινος).

- (8) αὐτοῦ > αὐτουνοῦ > αὐτοῦνος, αὐτούνη, αὐτοῦνο
αὐτῶν > αὐτωνῶν > αὐτόνος, αὐτόνο

Alternatively, it has been proposed that these new forms were the result of an “emphatic” repetition of the final syllable of αυτός in all case-forms followed by infixation of -n- (Jannaris, 1897: 161; Pernot, 1946: 170-172), an analysis which should be dismissed as it involves a reduplicative mechanism non-existent in Greek morphology. However, the homophony in some case forms (αὔτεινη, αὐτουνοῦ, αὐτωνῶν) between the final vowel of the stem and the suffix vowel may have set in motion further analogical processes: a schema similar to that proposed by Jannaris and Pernot –only in so far as apparent vowel repetition is involved– would have been activated in the last stage of morphological levelling, where the analogical principle may have been copying of the vowel of the final syllable onto the stem (9):

- (9) αὔτεινη /a'ftini/
αὐτουνοῦ /aftu'nu/
αὐτουνούς /aftu'nus/
αὐτωνῶν /afto'non/ } aft-X_a-n-X_a → αὔτενες, αὐτόνο, αὐτάνα
/a'ftenes/, /a'ftono/, /a'ftana/

The division into discrete consecutive stages, as outlined above, can be indirectly confirmed through Modern Greek data (both from Standard Modern Greek and its dialects). In Standard Modern Greek, the genitive sg. and pl. (αυτουνού, αυτηνής, αυτωνῶν) and the acc. pl. (αυτουνούς) are acceptable, though colloquial, variants of αυτός (Mackridge, 1985: 144; Holton, Mackridge and Philippaki-Warburton, 1997: 96) whereas nominative forms like αὔτεινος, αὔτουνος, αὐτόνος etc. are not. Similarly, in most dialects the extended forms appear only in the genitive singular & plural and the accusative plural. For example see the demonstrative paradigm for Naxos (10a), Bithynia (10b) and Kerkyra (10c):

- (10) a. Naxos (Oikonomidis 1952: 235-236)

	Singular	Plural
NOM.	ευτός	ευτοί
GEN.	ευτεινού	ευτεινώ
ACC.	ευτόν	ευτοί

¹⁵ An interesting parallel can be provided by the special ‘pronominal’ declension in Latin where synchronically second-declension pronominal adjectives like *unus*, *totus*, *ullus* do not display the regular genitive in *-i* but a genitive *-ius* which has spread analogically from demonstrative and interrogative pronouns (see Baldi, 2002: 348).

- b. Bithynia (Deligiannis 1999: 101)
- | | Singular | Plural |
|------|-----------------|---------------|
| NOM. | αυτός | αυτοί |
| GEN. | αυτουνού | αυτουναρώ |
| ACC. | αυτόνα | αυτουνούς |
- c. Kerkyra (Chytiris 1978: 44)
- | | Singular | Plural |
|------|-----------------|---------------|
| NOM. | αυτός | αυτοί |
| GEN. | αυτουνού | αυτουνώνε |
| ACC. | αυτόνε | αυτουνούς |

The wider geographical distribution of the previous stage speaks for a chronological sequence, as described above. In the same vein, the grammatical descriptions of the 16th and 17th c. list only genitive sg. and pl. extended forms.¹⁶ Another indication in the same direction is the existence of similar morphological variants in other pronominal paradigms, e.g. ποιουνοῦ, ἀλλουνοῦ/ἀλλουνώων, ὀλουνοῦ/ὀλουνώων, despite the absence of nominative forms such as *ἀλλοῦνος, *ποιοῦνος etc.

Despite its plausibility, the proposed schema of relative chronology by stages cannot be easily verified on the basis of textual data, because the nominative and accusative forms are attested simultaneously with the genitive, and, occasionally, later. It is equally difficult to establish whether any one of the three stem variants (αὔτειν-, αὔτουν- αὔτον-) appeared earlier than the others. An indirect indication is perhaps supplied by the relative frequency of the variants, since αὔτονος is much less common in texts than αὔτοῦνος and αὔτεινος. The relatively late (15th c.) spread of the innovative variant paradigms is supported by their absence from the Cypriot dialect. On the other hand, the presence of extended forms in the S. Italian dialects does not allow a later dating, since the evolutions must have begun before S. Italian was cut off from the rest of the Greek-speaking world, something which must have happened around the end of the Middle Ages.

In more detail, the textual sources record the new analogically reformed paradigms from the 15th c. onwards. Their first (and isolated) attestations are found in the *Chronicle of Morea*, the *War of Troy* and *Livistros & Rodamni*. They become more frequent in the 16th c. and are quite common in Cretan literature, as well as in documents from Crete and the Cyclades, but they are totally absent from dialectal texts from Cyprus, on a par with modern Cypriot¹⁷ (11):

- (11) a. αὔτεινος ὁ μαρκέζης *Chronicle of Morea*, ms P, 1009
 αὔτεινος ἦτον ὁ εὐγενής *Livistros & Rodamni*, ms. E, 1
 ἐχρώστειε καὶ αὔτεινοῦ (1685, document from Naxos)

¹⁶ Nikolaos Sophianos's Grammar (ca. 1550) lists the forms τουτουνοῦ, τουτηνής, τουτουνώων, αὔτουνώων, ἐκεινώων (see Legrand 1874: 7). The Grammar by G. Germano (1622) lists τουτουνοῦ, τουτονής, τουτονών, αὔτουνοῦ, αὔτονών, ἀλλουνοῦ, ἀλλονής, ἀλλονών, ὀλουνοῦ, ὀλονής (see Pernot 1907: 69-70) and the Grammar by S. Portius (1638) lists ἐνοῦ, τουτουνοῦ, τουτηνής, τουτονών, ἐκεινοῦ, ἐκεινής, ἐκεινώων (see Meyer 1889: 22, 23, 29).

¹⁷ For a much fuller list of attestations by case-form and geographical area see Holton et al. (forthcoming).

- b. αὐτοῦνος ὁ μαρκέσης *Chronicle of Morea*, ms H, 1009
 μετ' αὐτοῦνον *Digenis Akritis* ms. E, 1401
 αὐτοῦνα τὰ χωράφια (1572, document from Andros)
 c. αὐτόνο τὸν στρατιώτην *Achilleid* O 660
 τὰ σάλια αὐτάνα Foskolos, *Fortunatos* I.139

For the extended forms of *τοῦτος*, the chronology is similar: the earliest available examples date from the 14th-15th c. (although very isolated). They become more frequent from the 16th c. onwards, mainly in the Heptanese and Chios (cf. the direct testimonies of Sophianos and Germano: Meyer, 1889: 78-79 and Pernot, 1907: 69), with occasional attestations from the Cyclades, the Peloponnese and Northern areas, including Constantinople (12):

- (12) ἀπὸ τουτουνοῦς *Polemos Troados*, mss. BX, 8059
 τὰ μάγια τουτουνοῶν Dellaportas, *Erotimata* 2703
 ἐτουτουνοῦ τοῦ ἐμπιστεμένου λαοῦ (1614, document from Tinos)
 τοῦ τόπου ἐτουτουνοῦ (1688, document from Zakynthos)

The absolute and relative dating of the innovative forms *αὐτοῦνος*, *αὐτουνοῦ*, *τουτουνοῦ* etc. is rendered more complex through the mention of the form *ἀτοῦνος* by Michael Choniates, in a derogatory metalinguistic comment on the local dialect of Athens, which is contained in a letter dated 1185 (for the dating see Kolovou, 1999: 164), i.e. considerably earlier than any direct textual attestation (13):

- (13) καὶ τοῦ ὑποκορύζειν δενδρύφια, προβατύλλια, παιδύλλια καὶ τὰ γε λοιπά,
 ὅτεῦτος καὶ ἀτοῦνος καὶ τὰ τούτοις σύστοιχα (Michael Choniates,
Epistulae, 28. 21-22)

As already mentioned, the form *τοῦνος* is indeed regular in the Old Athenian dialect group (see above, section 2.2); it also occurs in the tripartite demonstrative systems of Kea (Kollia, 1933: 274) and S. Italy (Rohlf's, 1977: 95; Karanastasis, 1997: 69-70) (14a). Furthermore, the genitive forms *τουνοῦ*, *τουνοῶν* appear in Crete and some islands of the Cyclades as part of the paradigm of *τοῦτος* (see Lioudaki, 1938: 424 for Crete; Oikonomidis, 1952: 236 for Naxos; Thumb, 1897: 12 for Amorgos; Voyatzidis, 1925: 127 for Kimolos) (14b).

- (14) a. τοῦνος – ἐτσεῖνος (Old Athenian)
 αὐτός – τοῦνος – ἐκεῖνος (Kea)
 τούσο¹⁸ – τούνο – ετσεινο (Puglia)
 τούτο – εττούνο - ετσεινο (Calabria)
- b. τοῦτος, gen. τουνοῦ (Kimolos)
 ἐτουτος/ἐτουτοσές, gen. ἐτουνοῦ (Crete)
 ἐτουτος, gen. ἐτουνοῦ (Naxos)

¹⁸ The form derives from a merger with the following definite article, i.e. nom. τούτος ο > τούος ο > τούσο, acc. τούτον τον > τούντον (Karanastasis Lex. s.v. τούτος).

On the basis of the distribution 14b in Crete and the Cyclades, Chatzidakis (1907: 156) suggested that the form (ἐ)τοῦνος derives from the genitive τουτουνοῦ > τουνοῦ through haplology. The Old Athenian and S. Italian forms on the other hand have been interpreted as deriving from an irregular phonetic evolution of αὐτοῦνος > ἀτοῦνος > τοῦνος (Favis, 1911: 42; Thumb, 1897: 12 and Rohlf, 1977: 95). Since Choniates does not provide any details about the demonstrative system of the vernacular Athenian of his time system (tripartite or bipartite, as well as the degree of the generalisation of the form throughout the paradigm),¹⁹ it is not possible to readily subscribe to either. Whichever the origin of the form ἀτοῦνος, one is tempted to pre-date the second and third stage of the evolution as set out above about two centuries before it is recorded as part of the written vernacular.

3.2 Emphatic reinforcement

In order to increase deictic strength, demonstrative pronouns are frequently reinforced through a variety of deictic elements, mostly locative/gestural particles. This is well-known cross-linguistically (cf. Haspelmath, 1993; Bernstein, 1997; Diessel, 2006: 424), and has been a feature of Greek since the Ancient period (e.g. ὄδε, τοσόσδε, τοιόσδε, οὐτοσί). In Standard Modern Greek the reinforcers are usually the locative adverbs ἐδῶ - ἐκεῖ and, more colloquially, the suffixal -δα. In the Greek dialects, ἐδῶ and ἐκεῖ are also used, but δα seems to be more common. Furthermore, other suffixal reinforcers, such as -να, -για, -ε, are also common and attested already from the 17th c.²⁰ (15a). Indicative of the constant necessity for increased deictic strength is the fact that reinforcers in MG dialects often appear doubled (15b) or two different reinforcers appear in combination (15c):

- (15) a. ἐκεινονὰ ὀλονομπρὸς νὰ σώση Foskolos, *Fortunatos* II.287
 Νά τουτονὲ τὸ χάρισμα! Chortatsis, *Katzourbos* III.467
- b. αὐτόσγιαγια Siatista (Tsopanakis, 1953: 286)
 ἐκεῖν' νανα Bithynia (Danguitsis, 1943: 92)
- c. φτοσδανά (αὐτός-δα-να) Rhodes (Papachristodoulou, 1958: 55)
 ετουτοσιάρε (ετούτος-για-ρε) Karpathos (Minas, 1970: 97)

Space limitations prevent us from presenting a full overview of the reinforced forms. Therefore, we will concentrate only on a specific issue which presents great interest for diachronic morphology: Greek dialectal demonstratives constitute a typical case of “diachronic externalization of inflection”: Haspelmath (1993) uses demonstrative pronouns to exemplify the phenomenon, noting how the suffixation of the uninflected reinforcer results in ‘undesirable forms’ in which the inflectional suffix is no longer the final morpheme of the word, something that renders its processing more difficult. The cross-linguistically observed path of change in such cases involves three stages: a) the external suffixation of the reinforcer with internal inflection of the form, b) the creation of ‘hybrid’ forms with double, pleonastic inflection, one

¹⁹ It is quite possible that Choniates only heard a genitive form which he subsequently overgeneralized to a nominative ‘quotation’ form.

²⁰ For the etymology of these forms see Chatzidakis (1907: 132), Tsopanakis (1949: 51) and Kriaras Lex. s.v. γὰ (II). The issue of deictic reinforcement through prefixation, mostly with prothetic [e], will not concern us here.

before and one after the suffix and c) the loss of the original, internal inflectional suffix leaving only the innovative word-final inflectional suffix.

This process is amply documented in the Modern Greek dialects. It is a comparatively recent evolution since there is no evidence in the Medieval period for the externalised forms. The second stage appears in many dialects (16):

- (16) a. Crete (Pangalos, 1955: 289, 299; Lioudaki, 1938):
 NOM. SG. αυτό-νος → αυτονοσέ, αυτονοσά → αυτονοσές
 ACC. PL. τούτους → τουτουσά → τουτουσές, τουτουσάς
- b. Chios (Pernot, 1946: 187)
 NOM. SG. τούτσονα → τούτσονα-ς, gen. τούτουνου
 NOM. PL. τούτοινοι, τούτεσνες, τούτανα
- c. Euboea (Favis, 1911: 42) and Lesbos (Kretschmer, 1905: 266-268)
 NOM. SG. τούτσονα → τούτσονα-ς, ACC. SG. τουτονε-δά-νε
 NOM. SG. τούτουςονα → τούτουςονα-ς, ACC. SG. τουτουσι-δά-νι

The most advanced stage, with externalised inflection is also well attested (17):

- (17) a. Livissi (Mousaios, 1884: 10):
 GEN. SG. τουτουνά → NOM. τουτουνάς → τουννάς, GEN. SG. τατουννανού
- b. Mani (Bassea-Bezantakou, forthcom.)
 τετοιισ-δά → τετοιισ-δός → Μ. τετοιιδ-ός, F. τετοιιδ-ή, Ν. τετοιιδ-ό

Conclusion

Summing up, we hope to have provided a substantial overview of the evolutionary patterns attested in MG dialectal systems and to have touched upon some stimulating topics concerning diachronic morphology. The proposed analysis of the demonstrative system on the basis of the proximal vs. distal and deictic vs. anaphoric distinction aims at a more satisfactory interpretation of the diachronic evolution observable in the domain of Greek demonstratives that the traditional person-based model. A new and comprehensive classification of dialectal demonstrative sub-systems has been elaborated on the basis of both function and diachronic evolution. Also, a detailed investigation of the diachronic morphological processes leading to a wide variety of attested dialectal variant form has been attempted, supported by extensive textual research (conducted for the Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek).

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TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF RELATIVE CLAUSES IN MODERN GREEK DIALECTS*

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

1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

2 Typology of relativizers

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

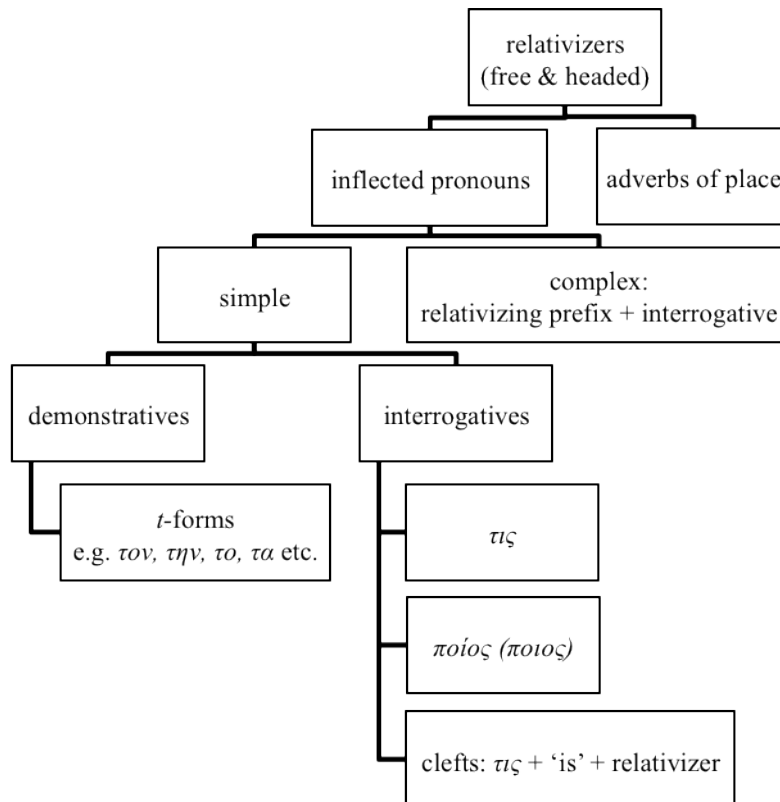


Figure 1. Typological schema of relativizers in MGD (Tzitzilis, to appear)

2.1 Simple relativizers from demonstratives

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- b. *του (< το) πέρασιν μήνας*
REL it.passed month
'the month that passed'
(Crimean-Azov; Tzitzilis & Zuravliova, to appear)
- c. *σο κεφάλι του τα ήρτανε τα δουλείες*
on.the head his REL they.came the works
'[he told them] the works that came upon his head' (= 'his sufferings')
(Pontic; *Archeion Pontou (AP)*1:186)
- (5) *εκείν' αελφή τ', το εν σο σανδέχν εμέση τ', baghēρσε*
that sister his REL is in.the box middle of.it she.shouted
'his sister, who was inside the box, shouted'
(Cappadocian; Dawkins, 1916:392)
- (6) a. *στα δεκξιά το βαίν λιαρό έρεται*
to.the right REL he.goes alife he.comes
'whoever goes to the right comes back alive'
(Cappadocian; Dawkins, 1916:414)
- b. *το φτύσω 'κε γλύφω το*
REL I.spit not lick it
'that which I spit I don't lick'
(Pontic; Oikonomidis, 1958:244)

These data can be interpreted as follows: in reality all that remains of the inflected demonstrative pronoun is the uninflected grammaticalized form *το* (originally neuter singular) or *τα* (originally neuter plural) which is the equivalent of SMG *που*, i.e. it has acquired the status of a "general relative marker" (for the term see Tzitzilis, to appear). Only in two or three fossilized examples, which are very similar to one another and come from metrical texts, do we find preserved in Pontic and Crimean-Azov the accusative feminine form *την*, e.g.:

- (7) a. *εμάεψαν την αγαπό*
they.bewitched REL.ACC.F.SG I.love
'they cast a spell upon the one I love'
(Pontic; Papadopoulos, 1955:67)
- b. *βρε ήρτα να δου την 'γω αγαπού*
hey I.came to see.SBJV REL.ACC.F.SG I love
'I came to see the one I love'
(Crimean-Azov; Černyšova, 1958:48)

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

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

- (9) a. *το διλκίς, το δε šυφτάν’ να φάj’ τα σταφύλια,*
 the fox REL not it.gets to eat the grapes
ζάš’ τα αβρίρες
 it.makes them sour.grapes
 ‘the fox, the grapes that he can’t manage to eat, pretends they are sour grapes’
 (Cappadocian; Fosteris & Kesisoglou, 1960:90)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

b. OBJ	<i>το</i>	<i>κορίτσι</i>	<i>τ'</i>	<i>εγάπανεν</i>
	the	girl	REL	he.loved
	'the girl he loved'			

(AP 41:56)

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

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

(13) OBL:	<i>με</i>	<i>το</i>	<i>ῥκοινίν</i>	<i>τ'</i>	<i>έδεσαν</i>	<i>εμέν</i>
	with	the	rope	REL	they.tied	me
	'with the rope that they tied me with'					

(AP 15:160)

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

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

(14) a. I.OBJ:	<i>έρεται</i>	<i>ς</i>	<i>το</i>	<i>δώκεν</i>	<i>τα</i>	<i>πρόβατα</i>	<i>το</i>	<i>πιττικό</i>
	he.comes	to	REL	he.gave	the	sheep	the	shepard
	'he comes to the shepherd who (=to whom) he gave the sheep'							

(Mavrohalividis & Kesisoglou, 1960:204)

b. OBL:	<i>εκού</i>	<i>δο</i>	<i>λούστα</i>	<i>δο</i>	<i>λερό</i>
	there	REL	I.bathed	the	water
	'that water which I washed with'				

(Kesisoglou, 1951:158)

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

2.1 Simple relativizers from interrogatives

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

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

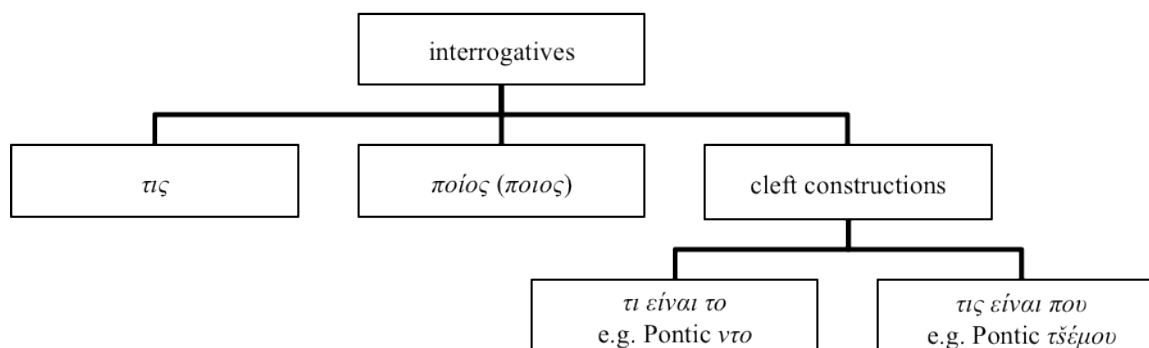


Figure 2. Typological schema of relatives from interrogatives

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

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

(AP 3:102)

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

(AP 3:89)

2.1.1 The case of *τις*

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

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

(Oikonomidis, 1958:247)

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

(Oikonomidis, 1958:244)

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

(AP 16:105)

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

(AP 7:246)

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

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

(AP 45:96)

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

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

(Tzitzilis and Zuravliova, to appear)

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

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

(Tzitzilis and Zuravliova, to appear)

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

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

(22) Pontic:

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

(Oikonomidis, 1958:247)

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

(Oikonomidis, 1958:247)

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

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

(AP 26:258)

(23) Crimean-Azov Greek:

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

(Πιρνέξου Αστρου, 3)

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

(Πιρνέξου Αστρου, 3)

(24) Southern Italian:

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

(Karanastasis, 1992, 5:151)

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

(Rohlf, 1950:121)

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

(Rohlf, 1950:121)

2.1.2 The case of *ποίος*

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

(25) Pontic:

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

(Oikonomidis, 1958:244)

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

(AP 1:188)

(26) Southern Italian:

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

(Karanastasis, 1991, 4:237)

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

(Karanastasis, 1991, 4:237)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2 Relativizers of mixed origin

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

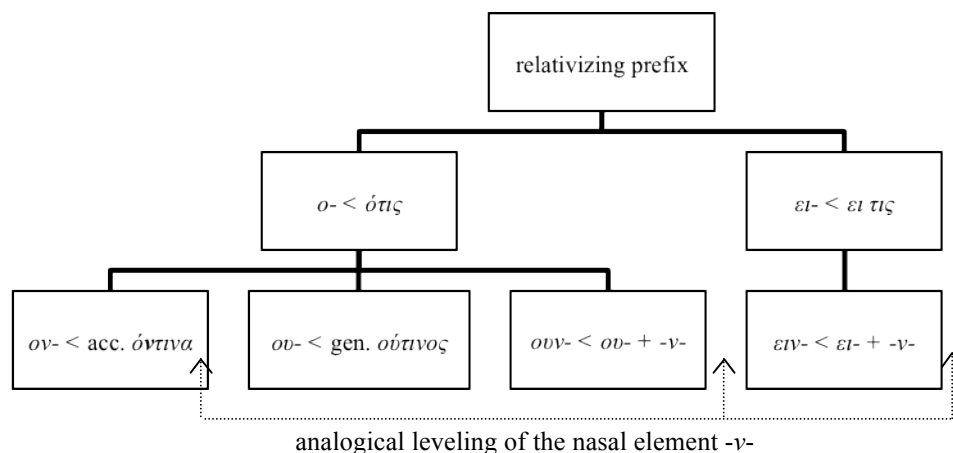


Figure 3. Typological schema of complex relativizers

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

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

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

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

	<i>τις</i>	<i>ποιος</i>	Pontic		Cappadocian		Pharasiot		Tsakonian	
I	<i>ο-τις</i>	<i>ο-ποιος</i>	√	√	√	√	√	–	√	√
II	* <i>ον-τις</i>	<i>ο-μποίος</i>	–	√	–	–	√	–	–	√
III	<i>ον-τις</i>	<i>ον-ποιος</i>	√	√	–	–	–	–	–	–
IV	<i>οον-τις</i>	<i>οον-μποίος</i>	√	√	–	–	–	–	–	–
V	<i>ει-τις</i>	<i>ει-ποιος</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
VI	<i>ειν-τις</i>	<i>ειμ-ποιος</i>	√	√	–	–	–	–	–	–

Table 1. Distribution of complex pronouns

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

(30) I. *ο-τις, ο-ποιος*

a. Pontic:

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

(Oikonomidis, 1958:246)

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

(Oikonomidis, 1958:246)

- iii. *ό-σοονους² τα κορίτς' θωρήτε σ' όρωμά σας*
REL-to.REL.GEN the girls you.see to.the dream yours
'whoever's daughters you see in your dream'

(AP 1:185)

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

(AP, 3:86)

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

(Oikonomidis, 1958:245)

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

(Oikonomidis, 1958:245)

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

(Oikonomidis, 1958:245)

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

b. Cappadocian:

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

(Dawkins, 1916:304 / 354)

- ii. *ό-σ-τινος*³ *κιφάλ* *κόνδανεν*,
REL-to-REL.GEN head was.doing.droppings
'whoever's head it did its droppings on'

(Dawkins, 1916:424)

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

(Fosteris and Kesisoglou, 1960:102)

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

(Dawkins, 1916:424)

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

(Mavrohalividis and Kesisoglou, 1960:174)

c) Pharasiot:

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

(Loukopoulos and Loukatos, 1951:18)

d) Tsakonian:

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

(Costakis, 1986 2:371)

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

(Costakis, 1999:87)

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

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

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

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

II. *ον-τις, ομ-ποιος

a) Pontic:

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

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

b) Pharasiot:

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

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

c) Tsakonian:

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

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

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

a) Pontic:

- i. *και εκεί ου-τσ-ου (< ούτις ου⁵) πάαινε άλλου 'κι γυρίζινε*
 and there REL-REL.NOM-REL he.was.going more not was.coming
 'and whoever went there didn't come back again'
 (Athanasiadis, 1977:54)

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

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

IV) ουν-τις, ουμ-ποιος

Pontic:

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

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

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

V) ει-τις, ει-ποιος

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

VI) ειν-τις, ειμ-ποιος

Pontic:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Athanasiadis, 1977: 53)

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

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

(AP 3:120)

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

(AP 8:208)

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

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

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

(AP 3:87)

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

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

(AP 3:113)

2.3 Relativizers from adverbs of place

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

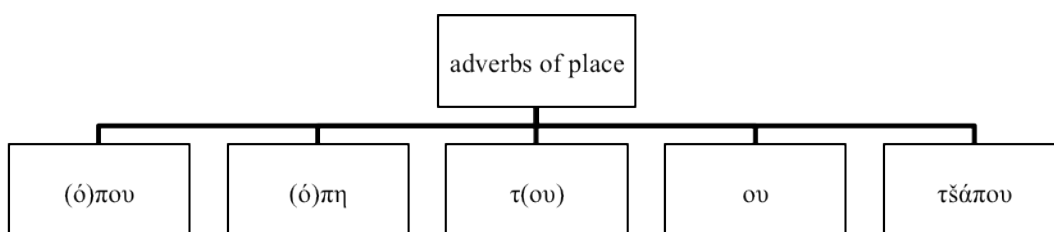


Figure 4. Typological schema of uninflected relativizers

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

(37) I. Pontic *που* (*πη*, *π'*):

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

(AP 7:113)

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

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

II. Pharasiot *του* and *τσάπου*⁸:

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

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

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

III. (Northern) Cappadocian (*ό*)που:

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Kozmuku Pigaδ, 1994:19)

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

V. Silliot (κεια) τ(ου):

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

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

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

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

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

2.4 Combined relativizers

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

(38) I) complex + simple relativizer:

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

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

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

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

II) complex + uninflected:

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

(Tsakonian; Costakis, 1987 3:72)

III) simple + uninflected:

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

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

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

(Silliot; Costakis 1968: 75),

IV) simple + simple:

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

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

V) relativizing prefix + complex:

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

(Pharasiot; Loukopoulos and Loukatos, 1951:95)

3 Conclusions

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

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VELAR FRONTING IN MODERN GREEK DIALECTS*

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The present paper offers a detailed investigation of the phenomenon of velar fronting in Modern Greek dialects, i.e. the change in the place of articulation of the velar consonants \k g x γ\ to more front regions of the oral cavity under the influence of a following front vowel or semivowel, a change which involves several subtypes. First, a definition of the phenomenon is provided, followed by a description of the various front realisations (palatal, palato-alveolar, alveolo-palatal, alveolar). Then the geographical distribution of each variant type is discussed, from west to east. The discussion also includes information on the earliest attestations of the phenomenon in each area.

1 Definition of the phenomenon

The present paper aims to clear the picture concerning a major isogloss in Modern Greek dialectology, namely that of the fronting of velar consonants. The current overviews of the phenomenon (Newton, 1972b: 126-136; Georgacas, 1982: 200-205; Kontosopoulos, 2001: XXIII; Trudgill, 2003: 54-57) do not enter into sufficient detail concerning geographical microvariation, and the linguistic/phonetic descriptions of the phenomenon in each area leave much to be desired.

As a starting point, it must be noted that in the international phonetic bibliography the term palatalisation has been used for a great variety of phenomena, and, conversely, the phenomenon of velar fronting, which includes palatalization, has been described in many different terms. Furthermore, a distinction needs to be made between palatalisation as a synchronic rule of a specific phonological system, creating allophonic variation, and palatalisation as a diachronic

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change which may lead to phoneme split. In Greek, for example, lexical items such as those in (1) have always constituted a major problem for any synchronic phonological analysis:¹

- (1) *χιόνι* [ˈçoni] ‘snow’ vs. *χώνει* [ˈxoni] ‘sticks, stuffs’
γιατί [jaˈti] ‘why’ vs. *γατί* [ɣaˈti] ‘kitten’
κιόλας [ˈcolas] ‘already’ vs. *κόλλας* [ˈkolas] ‘glue.GEN’.

According to the most recent studies (see Keating, 1993; Bateman, 2007, 2011), the term palatalisation should be restricted to the following two phenomena:

- (i) **Full palatalisation:** A consonant changes its main place (and manner) of articulation, by moving towards the palatal section of the oral cavity, under the influence of an adjacent front vowel or semivowel. Example: [x] > [ç], [g] > [ɟ]
- (ii) **Secondary palatalisation:** A consonant retains its main place of articulation but develops a secondary palatal articulation under the influence of an adjacent front vowel or semivowel. Example: [p] > [pʲ]. This second type of palatalisation will not concern us here.

In the case of Modern Greek dialects, the term should ideally include what is traditionally termed “full tsitakism”, i.e. the affrication of [c] > [ts] and [ɟ] > [dz], which is a very widespread development, often in variation with true “palatal” realisations such as [k] > [tʃ]. Furthermore, it would be best to exclude from the present discussion a series of palatal or palatalised realisations triggered by front vowels or semivowels, but affecting non-velar consonants. Therefore, no further details will be adduced to issues such as the fronting of other classes of consonants (dental, liquid, sibilant etc – see (2)), especially in the cases involving synzesis:

- (2) [aˈlati] > [aˈlatsi] ‘salt’, Naxos
 [maˈli] > [maˈli] ‘hair’, Achaia
 [xorˈjo] > [xorˈzo] ‘village’, Crete
 [peˈðja] > [peˈðza] ‘children’, Kalymnos

On the basis of the above, the phenomenon examined here is velar fronting, i.e. the fronting of the consonants [k g x ɣ] followed by a front vowel or semivowel, but no discussion of the phonological status of the fronted consonants will be provided. Palatalisation is only a part of fronting, while “tsitakism” should rather be characterized as affrication, since it involves the development of a secondary sibilant articulation, be it palato-alveolar/alveolo-palatal (in which case palatalisation also takes place) or simply alveolar/dental (in which case no palatalisation but only fronting takes place). The relation between the two phenomena is illustrated in fig. 1:

¹ For overviews of the problem see Householder (1964); Arvaniti (2007: 112-114), Topintzi and Baltazani (forthcoming). For a diachronic phonological approach to glide formation see Manolesou and Koutsoukos (2011).

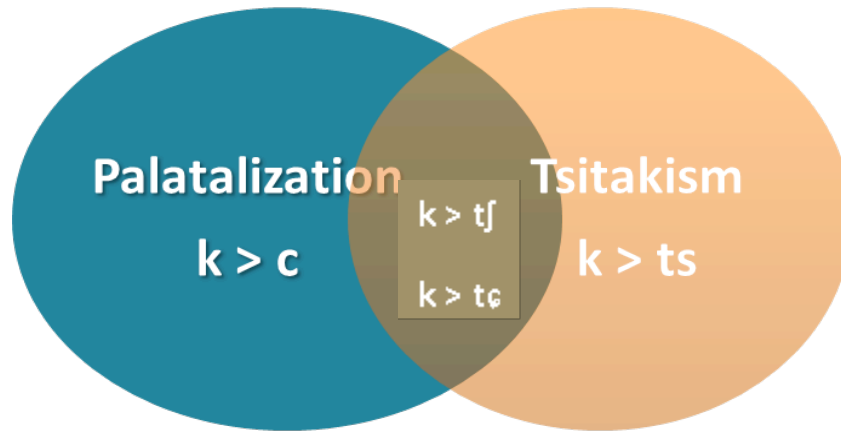


Figure 1. Velar fronting

2 Types of fronting

In more detail, according to the relevant literature, the forms which velar fronting can assume in Modern Greek, are the following. These are set out as different degrees of fronting, ranging from the back of the oral cavity (soft palate) all the way to the front (alveolar ridge), as illustrated in fig. 2 below:

1. $[k \ g \ x \ ɣ] \rightarrow [c \ ɟ \ ɕ \ j]$. Change of velar to palatal. This is a synchronic allophonic rule of Standard Modern Greek and of many dialectal varieties. The phenomenon is absolutely systematic, but some rare cases of dialectal forms in which it does not take place have been recorded. These are the dialect of Karpathos (Michailidis-Nouaros, 1928:13-14; Dawkins, 1903/1904: 87), cf. (3), the dialect of Pharasa in Cappadocia (in the last case under the influence of Turkish), cf. (4) and four sub-varieties of the dialect of Naxos (Zevgolis, 1956). Newton (1972b: 127) had doubted the absence of palatalisation in Karpathos, but the velar realisation is clearly audible in fieldwork recordings. Similar observations concerning absence of palatalisation have been made for parts of Crete, Rhodes and for Thirasia (Dawkins, 1940: 24-25) and the area of Agii Saranda, sometimes as part of the phonological system, in other cases involving only individual lexical items, mainly loanwords (5).²

- (3) a. Standard MG ['exo] 'have.1.sg.' vs. ['eçis] 'have.2.sg.'
 b. Cappadocian ['exo] 'have.1.sg.' vs. ['exus] 'have.2.sg.'

² In the case of Karpathos, the lack of palatalization is regular, and involves [k] in the village of Elymbos and [x] in the villages of Mesochori and Spoa; the rest of the island exhibits affrication of velars before front vowels and semivowels. For Crete, see Anagnostopoulos (1926: 162) and especially Kontosopoulos (1969: 35) who record a velar realization in Turkish loanwords, where the Turkish original has a velar consonant followed by the high back unrounded vowel [u], adapted to Greek as [i]. Velar pronunciation in Turkish loanwords is recorded for Ag. Saranda by Kyriazis and Spyrou (2011: 180), who also note occasional lack of palatalization of [k] in the cluster [sk]. Similarly, velar pronunciation in Turkish loanwords is recorded for Rhodes by Tsopanakis (1940: 111). In the case of Naxos, the velar realization is recorded for the villages of Komiaki, Koronos, Skado and Keramoti.

- (4)a. Standard MG [vuti'raci] 'butter-dim.', ['citrinos] 'yellow'
 b. Elymbos [vuti'raki], ['kitrinos]

- (5)a. Standard MG [ci'mas] 'minced meat', [ba'ciri] 'copper(ware)'
 b. Cretan [ki'mas]< Turk. *kıyma* [kui'ma], [ba'kiri]< Turk. *bakır* [ba'kuur]

2. [k g x ɣ] → [tʃ dʒ ʃ z]. Change of velar to palato-alveolar. This is the traditionally termed “heavy” or “spirant” tsitakism, which has been experimentally verified at least for the Cypriot dialect (Granqvist, 1997: 27-32; Arvaniti, 1999: 175), and is uncontested for several other, mainly peripheral, areas. From a crosslinguistic and typological viewpoint, this is the most common type of velar palatalization (Kümmel, 2007: 207, Bateman, 2011: 595).

3a. [k g x ɣ] → [ç^(h) ʝ ç^(h) ʝ]. This is the so-called “Cretan-type” fronting, which in the traditional dialectological literature is described as a strongly fronted, non-affricate realization, the stops being accompanied in some areas by aspiration. This articulation is occasionally characterized as “pre-palatal”, i.e. more fronted compared to the palatal articulation, mid-way between a palatal and an alveolar realisation. What complicates matters is that in Crete there also occurs a different type of fronting (which will be described immediately below) and which includes affrication, i.e. leads to alveolo-palatal affricates (Trudgill, 2003: 54). It is doubtful, however, whether this two subcategories of fronting (3a and 3b) differ in all four of their members. Most likely, they coincide in the fronted results of the velar fricatives, giving in both cases alveolo-palatal [ç z]. In any case, when the older descriptions of palatalisation from other areas describe the phenomenon as “more pronounced, stronger” or “lighter, weaker” than Cretan-type palatalization, it is unclear to which of the two Cretan realisations they refer to.

3b. [k g x ɣ] → [tʃ dʒ ç z]. Change of velars to alveolo-palatals. This type of fronting is very widespread, but due to the lack of clarity in older descriptions, it is frequently confused with the two previous ones. For an instrumental/experimental analysis of this type see Kontosopoulos (1972: 450-456, Granqvist 1997). The symbols usually adopted for its representation are non-standard modifications of the IPA, namely ç' ʝ' ç' ʝ' (Kontosopoulos, 1969, 1972; Granqvist, 1997). The honour of the discovery of three different degrees of fronting (palato-alveolar/ alveolo-palatal/ alveolar) belongs to Albert Thumb, already in the 19th c. (see e.g. Thumb, 1901: 190).

4. [k g x ɣ] → [ts dz s z]. This last type of fronting, which cannot properly be termed palatalisation, gives rise to alveolar affricates. The simple alveolar sibilants [s z] as results of the fronting of fricatives [x ɣ] are a rare evolution, which is nevertheless attested in some island varieties.

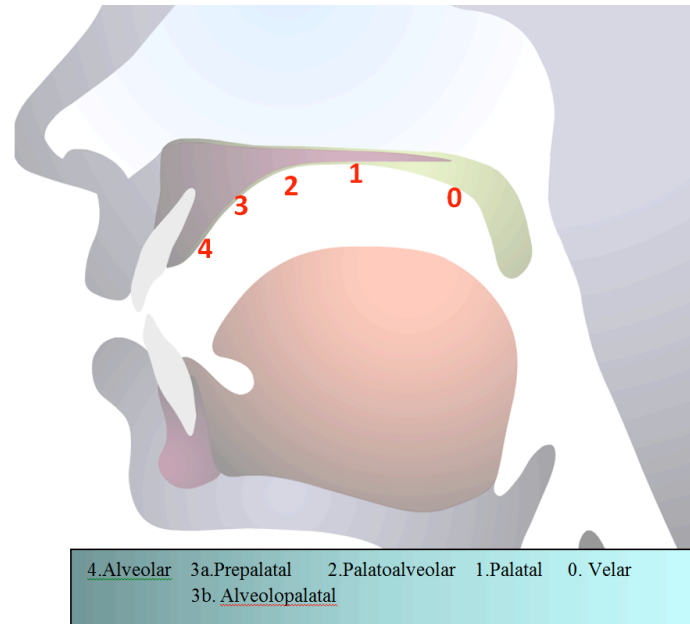


Fig. 2: “Degrees” of velar fronting

It must be emphasised that the classification of the various types of fronting in MG dialects relies on their synchronic articulation, as it would be hazardous to formulate hypotheses concerning the pathway of diachronic evolution in each dialect. It is not possible to prove, for example, that a dialect which presents fronting of type 4 (the traditionally called “full tsitakism”) had in previous periods passed through the previous types, nor that in a dialect which at the present moment displays fronting of type 2 or 3a the phenomenon spread to it at a later point in time than in other dialects which present a more “advanced” fronting.³

However, it is possible to make the empirical observation that type 4 fronting in at least some cases constitutes an indication of dialect obsolescence, a retreat from an earlier “more palatal” realisation. This is perhaps because this type (except of course for type 1) is the only one which does not involve sounds non-existent in the phonological system of Standard Modern Greek. As a result, speakers who are in a process of dialect loss avoid the production of palato-alveolar or alveolo-palatal sounds either consciously for social reasons, or unconsciously due to lack of competence. Concrete written testimonies of such a process will be presented below.

Before moving on to the detailed discussion of the geographical distribution of the various types of fronting, it is necessary to point out a number of factors which constitute obstacles to research. The most important one has already been mentioned: the lack of a precise distinction between the various types of fronting in the older literature, both in primary sources and in metalinguistic descriptions. Difficulties are caused both by the non-standard impressionistic terminology (e.g. “heavy”, “light”, “spirant”, “tsitakism”⁴, confusion between “palatal/palatalised” and “fronted”) and by the use of non-interpretable phonetic symbols (accents, points, haccs, apostrophes etc.)⁵. A second issue concerns the great variation that is

³ Trudgill’s suggestion for example goes against the historical record: The earliest attestations of fronting come from Cyprus (15th c.), which has only type 2.

⁴ For a recent discussion of this term see Pantelidis (2009).

⁵ On these difficulties, as well as on the more common graphematic symbolisms of the phenomenon of fronting, see Manolessou, Beis and Bassea-Bezantakou (2012).

exhibited in the various sub-dialects, sometimes in the speech of the same village or even the same speaker. Another, equally important, impeding factor is the widespread obsolescence of the Modern Greek dialects, which does not allow a more authentic and higher quality recording of the phenomenon through data-collection during fieldwork.

3 Geographical distribution of fronting

In more detail, according to the relevant literature, the forms which velar fronting can assume in Modern Greek, are the following:

A preliminary observation is that fronting need not affect all four velar consonants. As already described by Newton (1972b: 127-128), fronting is defined by an implicational hierarchy $k > g > x > \gamma$. This means that if a dialect does present velar fronting, this will first affect stops and then fricatives, with $[\gamma]$ always being the least frequently affected. Furthermore, when fronting goes beyond type 1, all affected consonants usually belong to the same “type”.

The distribution of type 1 will not concern us here, since it is the simple palatal fronting also characteristic Standard Modern Greek. It should be assumed that if a Greek-speaking area is not mentioned in the following discussion, then it has type 1 fronting. The data concerning the distribution of the other types will be discussed immediately below, from West to East.

The Maniot of Corsica displays palato-alveolar fronting of type 2 (Blanken 1951: 47-49) for all four velar consonants, although the varieties of metropolitan Maniot, as will be shown below, display fronting of type 3a and 4. The adstratal influence of the local Romance dialects is very probable. Similarly, the Greek dialects of South Italy also display palato-alveolar fronting of type 2 (Rohlf, 1977: 32-34; Katsoyannou, 1995: 115-117; Coutsoygera and Katsoyannou, 2011: 63-64), and again Romance influence is possible but not necessary. Only $[k]$ seems to be affected regularly by fronting, while $[g]$ is fronted only in some cases, and $[x \ \gamma]$ never⁶. Velar fronting in S. Italian Greek is not attested before the 19th c. The dialect of Cheimara in Albania has type 2 fronting as well (Kyriazis-Spyrou, 2011: 180), which affects all four velar consonants.

In the Peloponnese, fronting affects only the velar stops. The palato-alveolar realization (type 2) occurs in parts of Corinthia, Arcadia, Argolis, in eastern Achaia (Kloutsinochoria) and in a few areas of Messenia (Alagonia) and Elis (Lambeia).⁷ It is of course possible that either within the same settlement or in different areas the realization might vary between types 2 and 3b (palatoalveolar- alveolopalatal). In several areas of Laconia, the Cretan-type fronting 3a is also recorded. Velar fronting is attested in non-literary documents from the Peloponnese since the 17th century (Pantelidis, 2010: 471).

In the Peloponnese two additional, separate, dialect areas, Tsakonia and Mani, are recognised. The first displays fronting of type 4 (alveolar), affecting only stops, with a variant

⁶ In Calabria, the sound $[\text{dʒ}]$ appears only in Italian loanwords such as *giardino*, *geloso*, *viaggio* and as a voiced realization of $[\text{ʃ}]$ after a nasal, at word boundaries, e.g. /ton 'kipo/ > [ton 'dʒipo]. Fronting of $[\text{x}] > [\text{j}]$ is attested for very few lexical items in the Greek dialect of Puglia (Morosi, 1870: 105; Rohlf, 1977: 52; Karanastasis, 1984-1992: s.vv.), mainly *χειμώνας* [*ʃi' mona*] ‘winter’ and its derivatives.

⁷ For details see Pantelidis (2009). The realisations in Alagonia and Elis are certainly affricate, but the precise degree of fronting is unclear in the sources. For Laconia, there is only the vague testimony of Thumb (1901: 35), but modern recordings reveal rare traces of possibly type 3a or even 3b, as well as cases of hypercorrection of fronting affecting “original” $[\text{ts}]$ (the so-called “anti-tsitakism”), e.g. [*ˈtʃepi*] vs. Standard MG [*ˈtsepɪ*] ‘pocket’ < Turk. *cep* [dʒep].

realization as 3b (alveolo-palatal) in the older speakers of the southern section (Liosis, 2007: 342, 349). The same, type 4, fronting, was characteristic of the Tsakonian varieties of the Propontis.⁸

The dialect of Mani can be subdivided in two broader areas: fronting of type 3a for the velar stops and of type 3b for fricatives appears in east Mani and in the southern section of west Mani, while fronting of type 4 appears in the northern section of west Mani, affecting only stops (Bassea-Bezantakou, 2008: 272). The fronting attested in the island of Cythera is the same as that of southwestern Mani (Kontosopoulos, 1982: 127).

Turning now to the so-called “Old Athenian” dialect group: for the dialect of Megara the older literature (Benardis, 2006: 55-59; Syrkou, 2006: 14) draw attention to the difference between “deep Megarian” showing a palato-alveolar realisation of type 2, only for stops (which, due to the impressionistic quality of older descriptions could also be alveolo-palatal of type 3b) and the more “gentrified”, lighter realization of type 4, again, only for stops. Modern sound recordings (Dimela, 2011: 6-7) show variation between types 2 and 4, with the first been more frequent for voiceless [tʃ] and the second for voiced [dz].

The dialect of Old Athens cannot be investigated on a synchronic basis, as it has become extinct. One of the oldest available testimonies (17th c.), by the French traveller Spon, mentions fronting of type 2, similar to Italian palatalisation: “Ils ont à Athenes, à Thebes & à Negrepoint une prononciation toute particuliere du Ké & du Ki, qu’ ils prononcent comme si nous êcrivions Tché, Tchi, de même que le C. des Italiens” (Spon, 1678: II, 254). The study of the Albanian varieties (Arvanitika) of northeastern Attica also reveals a type 2 realisation, since this is the form in which Greek loanwords from the Old Athenian substrate have been adopted into Arvanitika (Sasse, 1991: 6-7, 25). On the contrary, according to late 19th c. testimonies (Chalkiopoulos, 1872: 357; Foy, 1879: 57), the fronted realisation in Athens and Boeotia was an alveolar affricate [ts] (type 4), which was already receding (‘sehr altmodisch’). Thumb’s study from the end of the 19th c. for the related dialect of Aegina draws attention to a difference between a realization of type 4 for velar fronting before [e, i] and a realization of type 3b for cases when the velar stop occurs before the sequence [ju] arising from ancient <Y> or <OI>, e.g. *κοιλία* > *τσουλία* (Thumb, 1891: 106-108). This information is corroborated by the testimony of Ludwig Ross (1845: 160) who records a similar differentiation for words with original <Y, OI> in Athens. Old Athenian shows fronting only of velar stops.

The area covered by the term “Old Athenian” includes the parts of Attica, Megaris, Boeotia and Southern Euboea not settled by Albanian speakers, as well as the island of Aegina. However, velar fronting extends beyond this area, into the neighbouring northern and semi-northern dialects of Sterea Ellas: Boeotia (Arachova, Ag. Georgios), Lokris (mainly Amphikleia) and Phokis (Desfina, Ag. Euthymia), which all also show fronting of type 4 (Chalkiopoulos, 1872: 357; Kousoulas, 1904: 51; Tsouknidas, 1995: 190-191), affecting only velar stops.

The island of Euboea shows a complex picture with respect to velar fronting (only of velar stops). According to Caratzas (1940: 281-282), the southern tip of the island shows fronting of type 2, the rest of the southern part, which is Arvanitika-speaking with a Greek substrate, shows traces of type 4, while the northern part around Kymi has fronted stops of type 3a or 3b (unclear). The adjacent island of Skyros shows type 4 fronting of velar stops.

Velar fronting also occurs in the northern Aegean islands. In Lesvos, there is variation between type 2 (palato-alveolar) and 4 (alveolar). The variation is geographically determined:

⁸ The symbol <τσ̄> with smooth breathing used by Kostakis (1951: 163) corresponds to simple [ts] (see the correspondence table in Manollessou, Beis and Bassea-Bezantakou 2012: 200-201).

type 2 occurs mainly in the southeastern part of the island (e.g. Vasilika, Agiasos, Eresos, Agia Paraskevi) and was already since Kretschmer's time a marker of low social prestige, while type 4 occurs mainly in the northwest (Pamfila, Molyvos, Petra), although it may appear in other settlements as well (Plomari, Kalloni)⁹. In the areas where refugees from neighbouring Aivali were settled, the fronting is of type 4. The small islands of Moschonisia, adjacent to Aivali, show only fronting of type 1 similar to Standard Modern Greek (Ralli, 2007: 10).

In Lemnos, the fronting recorded is of type 4, but it nowadays occurs only rarely, and in the most aged speakers of the dialect, as it is stigmatised (Kontonatsiou, 1988: 54-55). Kretschmer's much older description (1905: 149) mentions only geographical factors determining the distribution of the phenomenon, which seems to have been restricted to the southeastern part of the island (Skandali, Ag. Sophia, Fysini)¹⁰. In Tenedos, the realisation of fronting is uniformly of type 4 (Kerkineoglou, 2009), whereas the adjacent island of Imbros has only type 1 as in SMG.

In Chios, both older studies (Pernot, 1907: 242-244) and modern fieldwork (Katsouleas, 1996-1997: 28-31) record great variation in realisations. Type 3a is attested in many settlements (e.g. Spartounda, Nenitouria, Agio Galas, Trypes, Katavasi), while a minority present type 4 (Vouno, Elata, Mesta, Pyrgi); the dialect of the capital, Chora, and the nearby village of Vrontados shows only type 1 similar to Standard Modern Greek. The consonants affected are [k g] for the areas with type 4, while the areas with type 3a show mostly [k g x] which in some cases has receded to only [k g]. Velar fronting in Chios is attested in grammatical descriptions of the dialect and in non-literary documents since the 17th c. (Pernot, 1907: 244).

The research concerning the spread of the various types of fronting in the island groups of the Cyclades and the Dodecanese presents particular difficulties, since the phenomenon displays considerable variation both between islands and, frequently, within the same island.

In brief, in the Cyclades type 2 is to be found only in Amorgos and Folegandros, in variation with type 4. This last type, alveolar affricates, is to be found in the following islands: Andros, Syros, Ios, Kythnos, Kea, Tinos, Serifos, Folegandros, Mykonos, Paros, parts of Naxos and Sifnos (Kontosopoulos, 2001: 58). In the village of Apeiranthos in Naxos, in Santorini, Anafi, Serifos, Kimolos, Sikinos and in parts of Milos, Kythnos (village of Syllakas, modern Dryopis)¹¹, Sifnos and Tinos, i.e. in areas which historically had close ties with Crete, fronting of type 3a is also to be found. Of course in most islands fronting appears nowadays only as a relic phenomenon, restricted to the most aged speakers. In the Cyclades, fronting affects in general only [k g] in the areas which show type 4, but areas with type 2 show fronting of [k g x] and areas with type 3a show fronting of all four velars, i.e. [k g x ɣ]¹². Against this generalization, the island of Kea (type 4) showed in earlier periods the rare phenomenon of [ɣ] > [z] fronting without the corresponding change of [k] > [s] (Kollia, 1933: 268-269), and rare traces are also to be found in Sikinos and Folegandros. In view of the fact that many Cycladic and all Dodecanesian varieties exhibit deletion of intervocalic [ɣ], the rarity of [ɣ]-fronting is in any case to be expected in these areas, as the first phenomenon "bleeds" the second.

⁹ Information provided by A. Ralli.

¹⁰ Georgacas (1982: 202) also adds the central village of Livadochori.

¹¹ On the differentiation between Chora (type 4) and Syllakas (type 3a) see Vallindas (1882: 138) and Koukoules (1923: 278, 289-290).

¹² According to Dieterich (1908: 89-90), fronting of [x] > [ʃ] appears in Amorgos, Sifnos and Syros (note that Dieterich does not make a distinction between types 2 and 3 so the fronted velar fricative could be either [ʃ] or [e]). For Syros, Chatzidakis (1893) mentions only place-names displaying fronting of the velar fricative; the recent fieldwork by Katsouleas (1993: 70-72) gives no instances of this phenomenon at all, although he does record regular fronting of [k] > [ts] and [g] > [dz].

In the Dodecanese, the most widespread type of fronting seems to be 3a/3b, which Tsopanakis (1940: 111) describes as fronted, but not as strong as the Cretan one. Type 3b occurs in NW Rhodes, Chalki, part of Nisyros, Leros, Kasos Kos, N. Karpathos, Kalymnos (along with the neighbouring small islands of Pserimos and Telendos) Patmos¹³ and part of Tilos. In some islands, however, type 3 appears in variation with type 4 (alveolar), which is recorded in Karpathos, Kalymnos, Eastern Kos, and Tilos. In some cases (Kos, Tilos), type 4 seems to be a less dialectally marked, more “gentrified” realisation compared to the “heavy” dialectal realisation 3b, while in other islands the variation is geographically determined. The varieties of Kastellorizo and Astypalaia have type 4 exclusively (Karantastasis 1958: 119). Several older studies seem to confuse types 2, 3a and 3b (palato-alveolar/ alveolo-palatal), a fact which leads to imprecise and non-verifiable information due to the low quality of older recordings and the unavailability of modern ones. The Dodecanesian dialects present variation with respect to the velar sounds affected by fronting. In most cases, fronting affects [k g x] but fronting of [ɣ (to [z] or [z̥])] is also attested (e.g. Kalymnos, Nisyros, Patmos). The variety of Astypalaia also presents the remarkable phenomenon of fronting of [ɣ] to [ndz], which also applies to secondary [j] arising from synizesis (Karanastasis, 1958: 124), which is to be attributed not to the process of fronting per se, but to the general tendency of [z], of whatever provenance, to become affricate in this dialect (6):

- (6) [jito'ɲa] SMG vs. [ndzito'ɲa] Astypalaia ‘neighbourhood’
 [av'ji] SMG vs. [a'vndzi] Astypalaia ‘dawn’
 [xor'jo] SMG vs. [xor'dzo] Astypalaia ‘village’
 ['zaxari] SMG vs. ['ndzaxari] Astypalaia ‘sugar’

It is remarkable that the neighbouring dialects of the island of Ikaria (and adjacent Fournoi) and the Asia Minor mainland town of Livissi, only display velar fronting of type 1, although they share many characteristic traits with the South-Eastern dialect group (Dodecanese and Cyprus).

Fronting in Crete has been exhaustively investigated by Kontosopoulos (1969), followed by Granqvist (1997). According to these studies, three fronting zones can be distinguished in Crete: The mountain areas of the prefecture of Chania show only the Standard Modern Greek type 1. The rest of the prefecture of Chania and the prefecture of Rethymnon display fronting of type 3a, affecting all four consonants. The eastern part of the prefecture of Rethymnon, and the prefectures of Herakleion and Lasithi, i.e. roughly speaking the eastern part of Crete, show fronting of type 3b, i.e. alveolo-palatal. Of particular interest is the observation that a gradual change from type 3b to 3a is shown by those who tend to reject the more pronounced phonetic characteristics of their dialect (e.g. Cretans settled in Athens), irrespective of geographical provenance (Kontosopoulos, 1969: 33). It is possible therefore that, diachronically speaking, there might have been an evolution from 3b to 3a, from east to west. As far as the historical sources are concerned, the fronting of the Cretan dialect is known since the 16th c. thanks to an observation preserved in Martinus Crusius’ *Turcograecia* (1584) (7). However, it is not recorded in literary and non-literary sources at least for another century, and of course it is not possible to draw conclusions concerning the precise realisation based on Early Modern graphematic evidence.

¹³ Kontosopoulos (1998: 167-168). The phenomenon of fronting in Patmos, which must have been of type 3b, seems to be extinct nowadays (Papadopoulou 2005: 181-182).

(7) *Ait [...] Graecis etiam aliis, δυνόητον esse Cretensem linguam: sicuti Belgicam, nobis Germanis. Derideri a cultoribus, qui corruptius loquantur. Τζοπέλους (inquit) vocamus eos: qui semper utuntur τζ, sive τζίντα: id est talibus verbis, quae sic incipient, aut desinunt: ut pro πρόβατο, προβατάτζι: άρνί άρνάτζο, seu άρνάτσχο.* (Martinus Crusius, *Turcograecia*, Basel 1584, p. 209).

“[Stamatius Donatus] says... that the Cretan language is incomprehensible to the other Greeks, as is the Belgian language to us Germans. The inhabitants laugh at those who speak in a corrupt way. We call them (he says) *τζοπέλους*, since they always use *τζ*, or *τζίντα*, that is, words which begin or end with this sound. For example, instead of *πρόβατο* and *άρνί*, they say *προβατάτζι*, *άρνάτζο* or *άρνάτσχο*”.

The Asia Minor dialect of Alikarnassos, now spoken by refugees settled in Crete, presents variation between types 2 (in the country) and 4 (in the city) (Kontosopoulos, 2003: 285).

The Asia Minor Greek-speaking areas also show various types of fronting. Type 2 appears in the Ophitic sub-dialect of Pontic (Oikonomidis, 1958: 90-92) although it seems to have been lost in the speech of refugees settled in mainland Greece (Revythiadou and Spyropoulos, 2009: 39) and to be retained only in the Muslim Greek-speakers who remained in Ophis. The dialect of Marioupolis in Ukraine does not seem to present fronting beyond type 1; sporadic fronting of type 2 is recorded only for specific lexical items, namely the conjunction *και* [tʃe] and the negation *ούκ* > *ουκί* > *τσι* [tʃi] (Symeonidis and Tombaidis, 1999: 30-32)¹⁴. It must be noted that Pontic is one of the rare exceptions to the implicational hierarchy given above, which stipulates that the palatalisation of velar fricatives presupposes the palatalisation of velar stops. Specifically, all varieties of Pontic, and Mariupolitan as well, display fronting of the fricative [x] > [ʃ], but do not display fronting of [k] and [g] beyond type 1 (with the exception of course of Ophitic).

Similarly, in Cappadocia the phenomenon of type 2 fronting of stops appears as a spreading innovation at the time of the investigation of the dialect by Dawkins (1916: 78), only for the area of Misti¹⁵. However, fronting of [x] appears in many more areas, such as Potamia, Sylata, Anakou, Fertakena, again violating the palatalization hierarchy. Wholesale type 2 fronting of stops and fricatives is recorded for the dialect of Farasa (Dawkins, 1916: 70-71, 154.)

The easternmost area presenting velar fronting is Cyprus. According to the relevant recent literature, which includes several phonetic and phonological studies (e.g. Newton, 1972a; Arvaniti, 1999, 2010), velar fronting in Cyprus is of type 2 (palato-alveolar), involving the consonants [k g x]. Older studies (Kontosopoulos, 1969-1970: 100) mention the presence of other types of fronting in the island, although always as a minority variant. Type 2 was always the dominant type, appearing in the capital and in most areas of the island, but type 3a was recorded in the westernmost areas and in isolated settlements, while in areas around the cities of Morfou, Keryneia, Ammochostos and Larnaka an “intermediate” fronting type, probably 3b, was also recorded. Velar fronting in Cyprus is attested at least since the 15th c. As in the case of Crete, the testimony of Martinus Crusius is important: he transcribes the pronunciation of his

¹⁴ Through the book’s index one may locate one further instance of fronting, namely the locative adverb *κει* > *τσι* [tʃi] it is therefore possible that the phenomenon is more extensive than usually described.

¹⁵ Recent fieldwork shows that it has now become regular in the Misti dialect spoken by descendants of refugees in mainland Greece (Petros Karatsareas, personal communication).

Cypriot informant, Stamatis Donatos, with <τσχ>, which seems to point to a type 2 palato-alveolar realization (7).

The overview of velar fronting in the Modern Greek dialects attempted above can be viewed schematically in the following table (table 1):

	2				3a/3b				4			
	ʧ	ʤ	ʃ	ʒ	ç/ tɕ	ɟ/ dz	ɕ	ʑ	ts	dz	s	z
Corsica	●	●										
S. Italy	●											
N. Epirus	○	○	○	○								
Peloponnese	○	○			○	○	○	○				
Mani					○	○	○	○	○	○		
Tsakonia					○	○			●	●		
Stereia Ellas	○	○			?	?			○	○		
Euboea	○	○			○	○			○	○		
Skyros									●	●		
Lesvos, Aivali	○	○							○	○		
Limnos									○	○		
Tenedos									●	●		
Chios					○	○	○		○	○		
Cyclades	○	○	○		○	○	○	○	○	○		○
Crete					○	○	○					
Dodecanese	○	○			○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Alikarnassos	○	○							○	○	○	
Pontos	○		●									
Mariupolitan			●									
Cappadocia	○		○									
Cyprus	●	●	●									

Table 1. Distribution of fronting types

- = the realization occurs throughout the area
- = the realization occurs in parts of the area

4 Conclusions

This overview of velar fronting in all Greek-speaking areas cannot close with definite conclusions, but only with an urgent call for fieldwork, employing state of the art phonetic instrumentality, while the Modern Greek dialects are still “alive”. On the basis of the extant bibliographic data and past recordings it is possible to make some generalizations of a

typological character (frequency or rarity of a type, verification or falsification of universals) or some historical observations (process of spread or attrition, dating of its appearance). It is hoped that it has also been possible to provide a more detailed cartography of the phenomenon than those available up to now. However, to take things a step further, it is necessary to collect primary data of higher quality and greater quantity.

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ΤΟ ΦΩΝΗΤΙΚΟ ΚΑΙ ΦΩΝΟΛΟΓΙΚΟ ΠΡΟΦΙΛ ΤΟΥ ΙΔΙΩΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΣΑΜΟΘΡΑΚΗΣ*

ΜΑΡΓΙΑΝΝΑ ΜΑΡΓΑΡΙΤΗ-ΡΟΓΚΑ
ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΣΟΛΑΚΗ

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The aim of this paper is to present the phonetic – phonemic profile of the Modern Greek dialect (MGD) of Samothraki. More specifically, 1. we give the position of the Samothraki Dialect (SD) among the other MGDs on the basis of the twenty-four characteristics proposed by Tzitzilis for the classification of the MGDs; 2. we present its phonetic – phonemic system; 3. we present (a) the special characteristics that differentiate it from all other MGDs, and are connected with the treatment of /r/ in the SD; (b) the specific characteristics that the SD shares with a few distant dialects; (c) the characteristics that the SD shares with other dialects. Our research has shown that (i) SD is a dialect-enclave and (ii) it belongs together with the other islands of the North Aegean to a transitional zone sharing characteristics with Northern Greek, Thracian-Bithynian, Asia Minor and South-Eastern dialects.

1 Εισαγωγή

Σκοπός της ανακοίνωσης είναι η σκιαγράφηση του φωνητικού - φωνολογικού προφίλ του ιδιώματος της Σαμοθράκης (ΙΣ), εστιάζοντας στις ιδιαιτερότητές του και επισημαίνοντας τα κοινά χαρακτηριστικά με, γειτονικές και μη, διαλεκτικές ομάδες. Για ειδικά φαινόμενα που έχουν απασχολήσει την επιστημονική έρευνα παρουσιάζονται οι προηγούμενες ερμηνευτικές προτάσεις και παράλληλα πληρέστερα δεδομένα του ιδιώματος, τα οποία, κατά τη γνώμη μας, τις ενισχύουν ή τις αποδυναμώνουν.

1.1 Υλικό και πηγές

Το υλικό προέρχεται από:

* Ευχαριστούμε τον καθ. Χρ. Τζιτζιλή για τις συζητήσεις προβλημάτων και το υλικό που έθεσε στη διάθεσή μας.
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1. Την επί σειρά ετών επιτόπια έρευνα στη Σαμοθράκη της μιας εκ των συγγραφέων του άρθρου, της Μ. Τσολάκη, η οποία είναι και φυσική ομιλήτρια: από τις έρευνές της έχει καταρτιστεί προσωπικό αρχείο, καταχωρημένο σε βάση δεδομένων, με υλικό που αντιπροσωπεύει το ΙΣ, όπως το μιλούν μέχρι σήμερα οι επαρκείς¹ ομιλητές του.
2. Το γραπτό και το ηχητικό υλικό παλαιότερων μελετητών, κυρίως των:
 - Heisenberg (1918, 1921, 1934) και ηχογραφημένο (1917)²
 - Andriotis (1939-40) και
 - Κατσάνη (1996)
3. Αξιοποίηση των πρώτων πληροφοριών και μαρτυριών των περιηγητών και αρχαιολόγων του 19^{ου} αι., μεταξύ των οποίων Temple, 1834;³ Blau and Schlotmann, 1855;⁴ Deville, 1867;⁵ Conze, 1860; Tozer, 1890 για το ΙΣ.⁶

1.2 Στόχοι

Για την παρουσίαση του φωνητικού - φωνολογικού προφίλ του ΙΣ θα επιχειρήσουμε στη συνέχεια: 2. να καθορίσουμε καταρχάς τη θέση του στο πλαίσιο των νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων, 3. να παρουσιάσουμε το φωνητικό – φωνολογικό σύστημά του, 4. να αναδείξουμε τα ειδικότερα χαρακτηριστικά του, που 4.1 το διαφοροποιούν από όλα τα υπόλοιπα νεοελληνικά ιδιώματα και που, κατά κανόνα, συνδέονται με την συμπεριφορά του /r/ στο ιδίωμα, 4.2 το συνδέουν με ορισμένα, και μάλιστα μη γειτονικά, ιδιώματα, 4.3. το συνδέουν με περισσότερα νεοελληνικά ιδιώματα. Τέλος, 5. θα συνοψίσουμε τα συμπεράσματα της εργασίας μας.

2 Θέση του ΙΣ στο πλαίσιο των νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων

Με βάση τα εικοσιτέσσερα, φωνητικά (1-10) και μορφοσυντακτικά (11-24) χαρακτηριστικά, που προτείνει ο Τζιτζιλής για τη διαλεκτική διαίρεση της ελληνικής, στον υπό έκδοση τόμο για τις Νεοελληνικές Διαλέκτους, διαπιστώνεται ότι το ΙΣ, εκτός από τα χαρακτηριστικά που το συνδέουν με τα βόρεια ιδιώματα (ΒΙ) – ιδιαίτερα ο βόρειος φωνηεντισμός – εμφανίζει, επίσης, κοινά χαρακτηριστικά και με άλλες διαλεκτικές ομάδες, όπως τα θρακοβιθυνιακά (ΘΒ),⁷ τα μικρασιατικά (ΜΑ)⁸ και τα νοτιοανατολικά (ΝΑ)⁹ ιδιώματα. Στο άρθρο αυτό η περαιτέρω

¹ Επαρκείς ομιλητές θεωρούμε τους μεγαλύτερους ηλικιακά ομιλητές, χαμηλού μορφωτικού επιπέδου, που ασχολούνται, ως επί το πλείστον, με αγροτοποικιακά επαγγέλματα, και συνεπώς έχουν δεχτεί τις λιγότερες εξωτερικές επιδράσεις.

² Το ηχητικό υλικό (PK 986_1, PK 986_2 & PK 986_3) βρίσκεται στο "Phonogramm-Archiv bzw. im Musikwissenschaftlichen Institut του "Humboldt-Universität" του Βερολίνου.

³ Η αναφορά στην Παπαγεωργίου (1982 : 120): Gr. Temple. 1843. *Travels in Greece and Turkey, and the Mediterranean*, London, σ. 102-119.

⁴ Η αναφορά στην Παπαγεωργίου (1982 : 166): O. Blau und K. Schlotmann. 1855. *Mittheilung über die Altertümer der von ihnen im Sommer 1854 besuchten Inseln Samothrake und Imbros*. Berlin, σ. 611.

⁵ Η αναφορά στην Παπαγεωργίου (1982 : 166-167): G. Deville. 1867. *Rapport sur une mission scientifique dans l'île de Samothrace* (Archives de missions scientifiques σειρά II, τ. IV), Paris, σ. 256.

⁶ Για δυο ποικιλίες κάνουν λόγο οι πηγές, το ιδίωμα σήμερα εμφανίζεται ενιαίο.

⁷ Πρόκειται για μια ιδιαίτερη διαλεκτική ομάδα, που για πρώτη φορά αναγνωρίζεται από τον Τζιτζιλή (ΘΒ), και περιλαμβάνει ιδιώματα της Α Θράκης και της Βιθυνίας που παρουσιάζουν κοινά χαρακτηριστικά.

⁸ Περιλαμβάνονται τα Ποντιακά, Κριμαίο-Αζοφικά (ΚΑ), Καππαδοκικά, Φαρασιώτικα και Σιλλιώτικα (ως περιφερειακό ιδίωμα) (βλ. Τζιτζιλής [υπό έκδ].).

⁹ Περιλαμβάνονται τα δωδεκανησιακά, χιώτικα, κυπριακά και το ιδίωμα του Λιβισιού (βλ. και Newton 1972b : 15).

εξέτασή μας εστιάστηκε, κυρίως, στην επισήμανση των κοινών χαρακτηριστικών με τις παραπάνω διαλεκτικές ομάδες.

2.1 Φωνητικά χαρακτηριστικά

Το ΙΣ ανήκει στα ιδιώματα που:¹⁰

1. Παρουσιάζουν στένωση (κώφωση) των άτονων /e/ και /o/ σε /i/ και /u/ (mid vowel raising) αντίστοιχα, και αποβολή των άτονων /i/ και /u/ (high vowel loss), βασικά χαρακτηριστικά των ΒΙ, που απαντούν, επίσης, και στα άλλα νησιά του Β Αιγαίου, σε μέρος των ΘΒ, στα Κριμαιο-Αζοφικά (ΚΑ), στη Σάμο και σε μέρος των Κυκλάδων.

2. Δεν διατηρούν τη ρινική προφορά στα συμπλέγματα mb, nd, ng, τα οποία προφέρονται ως [b], [d], [g]· το φαινόμενο απαντά, επίσης, σε ΒΙ (ΒΑ ζώνη της ΒΑ ομάδας,¹¹ Α Στερεά, Α. Θεσσαλία, Β. Εύβοια), στα νησιά του Β Αιγαίου, στα ΘΒ, στην Ιωνία,¹² σε μέρος των Κυκλάδων, στα Εφτάνησα, στην Κρήτη.

3. Κάνουν διάκριση ανάμεσα σε φατνιακά και ουρανοφατνιακά φωνήματα.

Το φαινόμενο απαντά, επίσης, στο μεγαλύτερο μέρος των ΒΙ και των νησιών του Β Αιγαίου (εξαιρούνται η Λήμνος και η Τένεδος), στα ΜΑ, στα κυπριακά.

4. Δεν διακρίνουν φωνολογικά τα απλά από τα διπλά σύμφωνα· το φαινόμενο απαντά, επίσης, στα ΒΙ, στα νησιά του Β Αιγαίου, στα ΘΒ, σε μέρος των ΜΑ και των κυκλαδικών κ.α.

5. Αγνοούν τον τσιτακισμό, όπως και τα περισσότερα ΒΙ, τα νησιά του Β Αιγαίου (εξαιρούνται η Τένεδος, η Λέσβος, εν μέρει η Λήμνος), τα ΘΒ (εξαιρούνται η Κριθιά κ.α.), η Σάμος, μέρος των μικρασιατικών, το Λιβίσι κ.ά.

6. Παρουσιάζουν συνίζηση, με κοινή εξέλιξη του ημίφωνου στις ακολουθίες /ia/, /io/ και /éa/, /éo/, π.χ. μάτια [mátja], λαδιά [ladjá] (βλ. και 4.3.4)· συνίζηση απαντά ευρύτερα στις νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους, η εξέλιξη όμως των ακολουθιών ποικίλλει στα διάφορα ιδιώματα, όπου συνήθως το ημίφωνο που προέρχεται από /e/ διαφέρει σε σύγκριση με αυτό που προέρχεται από /i/.¹³

7. Τηρούν, με ελάχιστες εξαιρέσεις, τον νόμο της τρισυλλαβίας· τον τρισυλλαβικό τονισμό μοιράζεται με τα νησιά του Β Αιγαίου, τα νότια (ΝΙ) και ΝΑ ιδιώματα κ.α· παράλληλα όμως εμφανίζεται στηλοειδής τονισμός, με ανάπτυξη 2ου τόνου (α) στο 1ο πληθ. μεσοπαθητικού ενεστώτα και παρατατικού, π.χ. λύνουμάστι [línunásti] 'λυνόμαστε', λύνουμάσταν [línunástan] 'λυνόμασταν', (β) σε αντωνυμικούς τύπους, π.χ. τούτουνονα [tútunóna] 'αυτόν', κάθαγένα [káθajéna] 'καθένα', ότουργιούνα [óturjúnna] 'ό,τι λογής' και επιρρήματα, π.χ. κάμπουμπίτα (< καν + πούπετα) [káububíta] 'πουθενά'· στηλοειδής τονισμός εμφανίζεται, επίσης, στα ΒΙ, τα ΘΒ κ.α.

8. Εμφανίζουν τάση για κλειστές συλλαβές (συνέπεια της αποβολής) και την αντίθετη για ανοιχτές (με ανάπτυξη φωνηέντων)· την τάση για κλειστές συλλαβές μοιράζεται με τα ΒΙ και τα νησιά του Β Αιγαίου, τα ΜΑ, καθώς όλα τα σύμφωνα, απλά ή ουρανωμένα, μπορούν να εμφανιστούν ως τελικά· αντίθετα ένδειξη τάσης για ανοιχτές συλλαβές αποτελεί η εμφάνιση επεκτατικού φωνηέντος /a/ σε αντωνυμίες π.χ. κείνουνονα [cínunóna] 'εκείνον', τούτουνονα

¹⁰ Πέρα από τις ειδικές μελέτες για τις νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους, για την κατανομή των χαρακτηριστικών χρησιμοποιήθηκαν και οι: Dawkins (1916), Τριανταφυλλίδης (1938), Κοντοσόπουλος (2001), Browning (1995), Χόρροκς (2006).

¹¹ Η διαίρεση των ΒΙ σε δύο ομάδες: (α) ΝΔ (Ηπειρος, Στερεά Ελλάδα) και (β) ΒΑ (Θεσσαλία, Μακεδονία, Δ. Θράκη) χωρισμένη σε δύο ζώνες (ΒΔ και ΒΑ) με όριο τη Θεσσαλονίκη είναι του Τζιτζιλί (ΒΙ).

¹² Οι πληροφορίες για την Ιωνία προέρχονται από το Λιόσης (υπό έκδ.).

¹³ Πβ. και Μαργαρίτη-Ρόγκα 1986.

[tútunúna] 'αυτόν', *ότουργιούνα* [óturjúna], *ποιόνα* [rjóna]. Παρόμοια τάση εμφανίζεται στα ΘΒ κ.α.

9. Δεν διατηρούν το ληκτικό -ν των ουδετέρων, όπως και τα ΒΙ, τα νησιά του Β Αιγαίου (εξαιρείται μέρος της Λέσβου), τα ΘΒ, τα ΜΑ (εξαιρείται μέρος ποντιακών)· επίσης τα κρητικά, τα εφτανησιακά, τα πελοποννησιακά, τα κατωιταλικά (ΚΙ).

10. Δεν αναπτύσσουν /γ/ στη ρηματική κατάληξη -εύω, όπως τα ΒΙ, μέρος των νησιών του Β Αιγαίου (εξαιρείται η Λέσβος, Ίμβρος, Τένεδος), μέρος των ΘΒ, ΜΑ κ.ά.

2.2 Μορφοσυντακτικά χαρακτηριστικά

11. Δεν διατηρούν τη μορφολογική διάκριση ανάμεσα στην ονομαστική και στην αιτιατική πληθυντικού των αρσενικών σε -ος, π.χ. *οι λαγοί - τς λαγοί*. Παρόμοιοι σχηματισμοί απαντούν στα ΒΙ (ΒΑ), στα νησιά του Β Αιγαίου (εξαιρείται η Τένεδος), στη Σάμο, τα ΘΒ, τα ΜΑ κ.α.

12. Χρησιμοποιούν την ερωτηματική αντωνυμία *τί*,¹⁴ όπως τα ΒΙ, τα ΘΒ, τα νησιά του Ιονίου κ.ά.

13. Διαθέτουν τριπλό λειτουργικό δεικτικό σύστημα: *τούτους* [tútus] 'τούτος' (κοντά στον ομιλητή), *αυτός* (κοντά στον ακροατή), *ικειός* [icós] 'εκείνος' (μακριά κι από τους δυο)· τριπλό δεικτικό σύστημα απαντά, επίσης, και σε ΘΒ ιδιώματα (βλ. Τζιτζιλής [ΘΒ]).

14. Χρησιμοποιούν τις ρηματικές καταλήξεις -ουν και -αν, όπως τα ΒΙ, τα νησιά του Β Αιγαίου (εξαιρείται η Λέσβος), τα ΘΒ, τα ΜΑ (σποραδική παρουσία παλαιότερα στο ΙΣ των -ουσι και -ασι).

15. Χρησιμοποιούν την κατάληξη -ετε για το 2ο πληθ. του ενεργητικού παρατατικού και αορίστου, π.χ. *λύνιτι* [líniti] < *λύνετε*, *λύσιτι* [lísiti] < *λύσετε*· παρόμοια τα ΒΙ (ΒΑ), νησιά Β Αιγαίου (εξαιρούνται η Θάσος, εν μέρει η Λέσβος), εν μέρει τα ΘΒ, τα ΜΑ κ.α.

16. Σχηματίζουν τον παθητικό αόριστο σε -ηκα, π.χ. *πλύθ'κα* [plíθka] < *πλύθηκα*, όπως τα ΒΙ, τα νησιά του Β Αιγαίου, τα ΘΒ, τα εφτανησιακά, τα πελοποννησιακά.

17. Σχηματίζουν τον ενικό των οξύτων ρημάτων χωρίς φωνηεντικές επεκτάσεις, π.χ. *πουλ'μό* [pulmó] 'προσπαθώ', *πουλ'μάς* [pulmás], *πουλ'μά* [pulmá]· παρόμοιοι σχηματισμοί απαντούν στα ΘΒ, στα νησιά του Β Αιγαίου και σε άλλα νησιωτικά ιδιώματα.

18. Εμφανίζουν μεικτό κλιτικό παράδειγμα στον παρατατικό των οξύτων, με αρχαϊκό ενικό και σιγματικό πληθ., π.χ. *μπόλουμαν* [bó'uman] 'μπορούσα', *μπόλεις* [bólis] 'μπορούσες', *μπόλει* [bólí] 'μπορούσε', *μπουλούσαμ'* [bu'úsam] 'μπορούσαμε', *μπουλούσιτι* [bu'úsiti] 'μπορούσατε', *μπουλούσαν* [bu'úsan] 'μπορούσαν', όπως: τα νησιά του Β Αιγαίου (εξαιρούνται η Θάσος και Τένεδος)· χωριά της Αίνου (Παπαδόπουλος 1926 : 100)· η Λέσβος, η Λήμνος (Kretschmer 1905 : 329)· η Ίμβρος (Ανδριώτης, 1930 : 175)· οι Κυδωνιές (Σάκκαρης, 1940 : 124, 129)· η Μύκονος (Dieterich, 1908 : 128)· η Κύθνος, Μεσαριά Κύπρου, Κρήνη Μ. Ασίας, Άνδρος, Νάξος, Άνω Σύρος, Κίμωλος (Κουκουλές, 1923 : 303, 304)· το Ρέθυμνο Κρήτης (Κουρμούλης, 1956 : 7) κ.α.

19. Αποβάλλουν την άτονη συλλαβική αύξηση, όπως τα ΒΙ, τα νησιά Β Αιγαίου, τα ΘΒ, μέρος ΜΑ (Καπαδοκικά, Φάρασα κ.ά), Σάμος κ.α.

20. Εμφανίζουν στερητικά επίθετα σε -τος (> -τους) / -στος (> -στους) π.χ. *αζούρστους* [aksúrstus] 'αζύριστος' και σπανιότερα σε -γος (> -γους), π.χ. *αζούλ'γους* [azúlygus] 'αζούληχτος', *αβύζαγους* [avízaygus] 'αβύζαχτος'.

¹⁴ Βλ. Contossopoulos (1983-1984) για διαίρεση σε Ελλάδα του *τί* και Ελλάδα του *είντα* (*La Grèce du τι et la Grèce du είντα*).

21. Εμφανίζουν τον υποκορισμένο τύπο στη θέση του πρωτότυπου, π.χ. *του κιφάλ'* [tu ci'fál] 'το κεφάλι', *του πουδάρ'* [tu ru'dár] 'το πόδι', *του δαχτύλ'* [tu daχtíλ] 'το δάχτυλο' (πβ. ΒΙ, ΘΒ κ.α.), παράλληλα όμως και πρωτότυπους τύπους, π.χ. *ι μήλ'γγας* [i míλgas] 'το μηλίγγι', *ι βούτυ.ους* [i vútius] 'το βούτυρο', *ι μυαλός* [i mha'ós] 'το μυαλό', *η σκούλ'κα* [i skúλka] 'το σκουλήκι', *ι κότσ'φας* [i kótʃfas] 'το κοτσύφι' (πβ. ΝΑ κ.ά.).

22. Εκφέρουν το έμμεσο αντικείμενο σε αιτιατική, π.χ. *μι του δόκι* [mi tu dóci] (< με το έδωκε), όπως μέρος των ΒΙ (ΒΑ ομάδα), τα νησιά του Β Αιγαίου (εξαιρέση μέρος της Λέσβου), τα ΘΒ, το Λιβίσι, τα ΜΑ κ.α.

23. Προτάσσουν τους αδύνατους τύπους της προσωπικής αντωνυμίας, π.χ. *μι του δόκι* [mi tu dóci] 'μου το έδωσε', όπως και τα περισσότερα ΒΙ, τα νησιά του Β Αιγαίου (εξαιρέση μέρος της Λέσβου), η Α Θράκη, η Ιωνία κ.ά.

24. Στις αντιγεγονοτικές δομές δηλώνουν τη χρονική βαθμίδα στον δείκτη, που αποτελεί γραμματικοποιημένη μορφή του παρατατικού του *θέλω*, π.χ. *θέλα / έλα να πάγυ* [θέ¹a / έ¹a na ráγυ] 'θα πήγαινα'. Παρόμοιοι σχηματισμοί απαντούν, επίσης, στα περισσότερα ΒΙ, στα ΘΒ, στην Ιωνία κ.α.

3 Φωνητικό και φωνολογικό σύστημα του ΙΣ

Το φωνηεντικό σύστημα αποτελείται από ένα πενταμελές σύστημα τονισμένων και ένα τριμελές άτονων μακρών και βραχέων φωνηεντικών φωνημάτων.

	πρόσθια		κεντρικά		οπίσθια	
	βραχέα	μακρά	βραχέα	μακρά	βραχέα	μακρά
κλειστά/ υψηλά	i	i:			u	u:
μεσαία	e	e:			o	o:
ανοιχτά/ χαμηλά			a	a:		

Πίνακας 1. Τονισμένα φωνήεντα

	πρόσθια		κεντρικά		οπίσθια	
	βραχέα	μακρά	βραχέα	μακρά	βραχέα	μακρά
κλειστά/ υψηλά	i	i:			u	u:
ανοιχτά/ χαμηλά			a	a:		

Πίνακας 2. Άτονα φωνήεντα

Τα πρόσθια φωνήεντα έχουν τα εξής αλλόφωνα:¹⁵

¹⁵ Τα σύμβολα [i], και [ə] δεν δηλώνουν τους φθόγγους του διεθνούς φωνητικού αλφαβήτου (IPA), τα χρησιμοποιούμε συμβατικά για να δηλώσουμε φθόγγους ελαφρά κεντρικοποιημένους.

Τα /i/, /i:/ παρουσιάζουν αλλόφωνα κεντρικοποιημένα [i], [i:], τονισμένα ή άτονα, μετά από υπερωικό, και [i], [i:] οπουδήποτε αλλού.

Τα /e/, /e:/ παρουσιάζουν αλλόφωνα κεντρικοποιημένα [ə], [ə:] τονισμένα μετά από υπερωικό, και [e], [e:] τονισμένα οπουδήποτε αλλού.

Στο **συμφωνικό σύστημα** του ΙΣ τα υπερωικά, τα ένηχα /n/, /l/ και τα φατνιακά διακρίνονται φωνολογικά από τα αντίστοιχά τους ουρανικά και ουρανοφαντιακά.¹⁶

		Χειλικά	Οδοντικά	φατνιακά	ουρανοφατνιακά	Ουρανικά	Υπερωικά
κλειστά	άηχα	p	t	ts	tʃ	c	k
	ηχηρά	b	d	dz	dʒ	ʃ	g
τριβόμενα	άηχα	f	θ	s	ʃ	ç	x
	ηχηρά	v	ð	z	ʒ	j	γ
έρρινα		m	n			ɲ	
πλευρικά			l			ʎ	
παλλόμενα			r				

Πίνακας 3. Συμφωνικά φωνήματα

Το φώνημα /l/ πραγματώνεται:

πριν από /a/, /o/, /u/ ως εξαιρετικά ασθενής προσεγγιστικός (approximant) φθόγγος, τον οποίο δηλώνουμε με το σύμβολο [l], π.χ. *καλά* [ka^lá], *λουλούδ'* [lu^lúð] (ο Andriotis, 1939-40 : 159, παλαιότερα, περιγράφει το σύμφωνο αυτό ως ανακεκαμένο ρ με ασθενή άρθρωση, που οι ξένοι το αντιλαμβάνονται ως ρ, π.χ. *καρά* αντί *καλά*).

και ως [l] πριν από τονισμένο [e], π.χ. *λέφακας* [léfakas] 'πολύ χοντρός', ή άτονο δευτερογενές [i] < [e], π.χ. *λιμόν'* [limon] 'λεμόνι', και πριν από τονισμένο [i] σε δάνεια από την τουρκική, *σιβνταλής* [sivdalis] 'σεβνταλής'.

Το φώνημα /r/ έχει ελλειπτική κατανομή, εμφανίζεται μόνο στο τέλος της λέξης ή πριν από σύμφωνο, π.χ. *ψαρ'* [psar] 'ψάρι', *φιργάδα* [firgáða] 'φρεγάδα', *σουφέρ'ς* [suférs] 'σοφέρ', *ρυάκ'* [rjác] 'ρυάκι', *ρ'φω* [rfo] 'ρουφώ'.

¹⁶ Για τη φωνολογική ανάλυση του συμφωνικού συστήματος του ΙΣ βλ. Κατσάνης 1996 και Τσολάκη 2009. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, στο ΙΣ έχουν γίνει ανεξάρτητα φωνήματα τα /c/, /j/, /ç/, /j/ και τα /k/, /ɲ/, ουρανικά αλλόφωνα των υπερωικών /k/, /g/, /x/, /ɣ/ και των οδοντικών ενήχων /l/, /n/, και τα /ʃ/, /z/, /tʃ/, /dʒ/, ουρανοφατνιακά αλλόφωνα των φατνιακών συριστικών /s/, /z/, /ts/, /dz/. Τα υπερωικά ουρανώθηκαν πριν από το ημίφωνο j, και τα /i/, /e/ (για τη διαδικασία της ουρανώσεως στα ΒΙ βλ. Μαλικούτη-Drachman & Drachman 1977 : 41 κ.ε) τα ένηχα και τα φατνιακά ουρανώθηκαν πριν από ημίφωνο και πρωτογενές /i/, ενώ δεν ουρανώθηκαν πριν από /i/ (α) δευτερογενές, π.χ. *λιμόν'* [limon] 'λεμόνι', *νι.ό* [nió] 'νερό', *ζιβγάρ'* [zinvár] 'ζεργάρι', *δώσι μ'* [dósi m] < δώσε με, (β) αναπτικτικό (βλ. 4.2.2 ii), π.χ. *ι μπαμπάζ-ι-μ'* [i babázim] 'ο μπαμπάς μου', *τ κόζιμ'* [t kózim] 'του κόσμου', *απάν-ι-μ'* [aráním] 'επάνω μου', (γ) εγκλωβισμένο ή ευφωνικό ι (βλ. 4.1.3), π.χ. *δεν-ι-δώκα* [den i dóka] 'δεν έδωσα', *σάι τσ-ι-δώκι* [sai tsi dóci] 'σας τις έδωσε', *δεν -ι- γείμι* [den i jími] 'δεν είμαι', και επίσης (δ) αυτό που υπάρχει σε τουρκ. δάνεια, π.χ. *ταλίμ* [talim] 'ξυλοκόπημα', *ακλής* [aklís] 'αγαθιάρης', *καλαπαλικ'* [ka^labalíc] 'καλαπαλικί', *καναπλικ'* [kanarlic] 'διακοσμητικό ύφασμα γύρω από τον καναπέ' κλπ.

4 Ειδικότερα χαρακτηριστικά του ΙΣ

Πέρα από τα εικοσιτέσσερα χαρακτηριστικά, που αναφέρθηκαν παραπάνω, τα οποία καθορίζουν τη θέση του ΙΣ σε σχέση με τα υπόλοιπα νεοελληνικά ιδιώματα, το ΙΣ παρουσιάζει και ειδικότερα φωνητικά – φωνολογικά χαρακτηριστικά, που (4.1) το διαφοροποιούν από όλα τα υπόλοιπα νεοελληνικά ιδιώματα και που κατά κανόνα συνδέονται με τη συμπεριφορά του /r/ στο ιδίωμα, όπως η εμφάνιση μακρών φωνηέντων, (4.2) το συνδέουν με ορισμένα μόνο ιδιώματα, και μάλιστα μη γειτονικά, όπως (1) η ανομοίωση ύψους, (2) η εξέλιξη του /sf/ > /sv/, (3) η εμφάνιση ευφωνικού ή εγκλωβισμένου φωνήεντος *i*, (4.3) απαντούν σε περισσότερα νεοελλ. ιδιώματα. Από τις παραπάνω κατηγορίες θα εξεταστούν συστηματικότερα η πρώτη (4.1) και η δεύτερη (4.2)· από την τρίτη (4.3) θα περιοριστούμε μόνο σε όσα έχουν ιδιαίτερη σημασία για το ΙΣ, όπως (4.3.1) η αποβολή ληκτικού /e/ στα βαρύτονα ρήματα στο 1^ο πληθ. ενεργ. φωνής και 1^ο ενικό μεσοπαθητικής, (4.3.2) η ανάπτυξη μεσοσυμφωνικού φωνήεντος *i*, (4.3.3) η ανάπτυξη *γ* ή *ζ*, (4.3.4) η εξέλιξη της ακολουθίας Ci/eV, (4.3.5) η εξέλιξη των ακολουθιών /Vsis/, /Vzis/, /Vxis/, /Vγis/, /Vstis/, /Vtsis/, (4.3.6) η ανομοίωση τρόπου άρθρωσης του συμπλέγματος /rθ/ > /rt/, (4.3.7) η μετάθεση.

4.1 Ιδιάζοντα χαρακτηριστικά του ΙΣ

4.1.1 Μακρά φωνήεντα στο ΙΣ

Το κυριότερο χαρακτηριστικό που διαφοροποιεί το ΙΣ από όλα τα υπόλοιπα νεοελληνικά ιδιώματα είναι η αποβολή του /r/, με συνέπεια σειρά φωνολογικών διαδικασιών, με σημαντικότερη την εμφάνιση μακρών φωνηέντων με φωνολογική αξία.

Το ΙΣ ήδη από τις πρώτες μαρτυρίες (Conze, 1860 : 52-54· Tozer, 1890 : 334-5 και Heisenberg,¹⁷ 1918· 1921· 1934) εμφανίζεται με ολοκληρωμένη αποβολή του /r/· η εικόνα για το ΙΣ που δίνει ο Heisenberg, και επιβεβαιώνεται αργότερα από τον Andriotis (1939-40) είναι, με κάποιες εξαιρέσεις (για παράδειγμα ο Heisenberg καταγράφει ημίφωνο *ι* ή /r/ στην έξοδο συλλαβής, ενώ σήμερα απαντά μόνο /r/), όμοια με την σημερινή εικόνα του ιδιώματος.

Για αποβολή του /r/ σε άλλες νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους δεν έχουμε επαρκείς πληροφορίες.¹⁸

Τα μακρά φωνήεντα του ΙΣ, όπως έχουμε παρουσιάσει σε προηγούμενη μελέτη μας (Μαργαρίτη-Ρόγκα & Τσολάκη, 2011) προέρχονται:

1. κατά κανόνα από αποβολή του /r/.

Το /r/ αποβάλλεται σε έμβαση συλλαβής (onset), ενώ διατηρείται στην έξοδο (coda). Συνέπεια της αποβολής είναι η εμφάνιση μακρών φωνηέντων:

¹⁷ Πρώτη γλωσσολογική καταγραφή του ΙΣ.

¹⁸ Η πληροφορία του Οικονομίδη (1933) για γενικευμένη αποβολή του /r/ (αλλά και του /l/) στο Ταϊφίρι αναιρείται από τον Λουίζο (1934)· μαρτυρίες για αποβολή του /r/ στην Κάπη της Λέσβου έχουμε από τον Kretschmer (1905 : 159-160), π.χ. *γάμματα* 'γράμματα', *γαμμένα* 'γραμμένα', *γαβός* 'γαμπρός', *πουνό* 'πουρνό', *πόβατα* 'πρόβατα', *φέτα* 'φέρτα' κλπ.· ο Ψάλτης (1905 : 57) για τις Σαράντα Εκκλησιές δίνει τη λ. *χουσός* 'χρυσός' και παράγωγά της στα ποντιακά μεμονωμένες αποβολές του /r/ σημειώνει ο Oeconomides (1908 : 122), π.χ. *δίκροκον* < δίκροκον, *έχουμαι* < έρχουμαι (Όφις) κ.ά. Επίσης, έχουμε πληροφορίες για αποβολή του /r/ και σε ΝΙ: σε ιδίωμα της Ν Σαντορίνης ο Newton (1972b : 76) αναφέρει αποβολή του /r/ σε όλες τις θέσεις· για την Κρήτη ο Πάγκαλος (1955 : 217 κ.ε.) αναφέρει αποβολή του λ και ρ στο Τυμπάκι.

α. από αναπληρωματική έκταση, όταν το /r/ είναι αρχικό ή δεύτερο μέλος σύνθετης έμβασης, π.χ. *άβου* [á:vu] 'ράβω', *όγου* [ó:γus] 'ρόγος', *ούουχα* [ú:xa] 'ρούχα', *ίχνου* [í:xnu] 'ρίχνω', *ταβώ* [ta:vó] 'τραβώ', *γαίαινου* [γέ:nu] 'υγραίνω', *κυφτός* [ki:ftós] 'κρυφτό', *κουουταλώ* [ku:ta¹ó] 'κροταλώ', *αλέβυ* [alévi:] 'αλεύρι'.

β. από συναίρεση όμοιων φωνηέντων ή ανόμοιων που έγιναν όμοια, μετά από στένωση ή αφομοίωση,¹⁹ όταν το /r/ ήταν μεσοφωνηεντικό,

π.χ. *τύ* [τί:] 'τυρί', *χάα* [χά:] 'χαρά', *χόος* [χό:s] 'χορός', *απουσπί* [apusrí:] 'αποσπερί', *τυυγάλ'* [ti:γάλ] 'τυρογάλοι', *ζέε* [ksé:] 'ξέρω', *πάα* [ρά:] 'πάρω'.
καθίζου [καθί:zu] (<καθερίζω) 'καθαρίζω'.

2. Από άλλες φωνολογικές διαδικασίες των οποίων το εξαγόμενο έχει λεξικοποιηθεί και σε ορισμένες από τις περιπτώσεις αυτές δεν είναι εύκολο να ανιχνευθεί με ασφάλεια η προέλευση των τύπων, όπως:

(α) /a:/ 'θα': ο γραμματικοποιημένος δείκτης για την περιφραστική δήλωση του μέλλοντα 'θα', που εμφανίζεται ως /a:/ στο ΙΣ και ως /a/ στα ΘΒ, μπορεί να προέκυψε από *θα* ή *δα* ή *θαλά*.²⁰

Οι συνεκφορές *δεν θα*, *πού θα*, *τί θα*; εξελίσσονται σε:

[δά:], [ρά:], [τά:], με μακρό φωνήεν στη Σαμοθράκη· με μακρό²¹ ή βραχύ [δά], [ρά], [τά] στον ευρύτερο ΘΒ χώρο.²²

(β) τύποι με εναλλαγή /i:/ άτονο ~ /jí/ τονισμένο, π.χ. [i:néka] 'γυναίκα', [i:tóŋ] 'γειτόνοι', [ra¹lyjíniku] 'παλιογύναικο', [jítunas] 'γειτόνας'.²³

(γ) από αποβολή μεσοφωνηεντικού /ð/:

ι. στις δεικτικές αντωνυμίες και επιρρήματα, όπου προτάσσεται το δεικτικό μόριο *έδε*²⁴ > *έε*, π.χ. *έεφτος* [έ:ftus] 'αυτός', *έεκειους* [έ:cus] 'εκείνος', *έετουςους* [έ:tusus] 'τόσος', *έεφτ'* [έ:ft] 'αυτού', *έεκ'* [έ:c] 'εκεί'.

Το *έδε* έχει ευρεία κατανομή στις νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους και εμφανίζεται με διάφορες μορφές, όπως *έδ(ε-)*, *έε-*, *έϊ* ή *έj*.²⁵

α. *έδε*, π.χ. *έδαντους*, *έδιφτους* (Ιμβρος· Τζαβάρας, 2011)· *έδεδέτσι*, *έδεκεί*, *έδεφτός* (Χίος· Άμαντος, 1926 : 26)· *έδitsi* (Λέσβος· Kretschmer, 1905 : 356)· *έδεκεί* (Θήρα· Πεταλάς, 1876)· *έδέτσι* (Κρήτη· Kretschmer, 1905 : 355).

¹⁹ Επισημαίνουμε ότι δεν μαρτυρούνται σήμερα τύποι που κατά τον Andriotis (1939-40 : 198-9) εμφανίζουν μερική αφομοίωση των ακολουθιών (πρωτογενών και δευτερογενών) *éu* > *ëü*, *iü* > *íü*, *iü* > *iü*, όπως *γέυς*, *γύυς*, *αδίδιυ*, *νέυς*, ως προστάδιο της πλήρους αφομοίωσης, αλλά αντί αυτών εμφανίζονται σήμερα οι τύποι: *γέους* [jéus] 'γέρος', *γύους* [jýus] 'γύρος', *αδίδιου* [adídiu] 'αντίδιωρο', *νέους* [néus] ή *νός* [nos] 'νός', με εξαίρεση τα *ζέεμ*, *φέεμ* που εξελίχτηκαν, με πλήρη αφομοίωση και συναίρεση, σε *ζέεμ* [ksé:m] 'ξέρομε', *φέεμ* [fé:m] 'φέρομε', και με παράλληλους τύπους *ζέουμ* [kséum], *φέουμ* [féum].

²⁰ Βλ. και Τσολάκη (2009 : 395-396).

²¹ Ο Ψάλτης (1905 : 40) για τις Σαράντα Εκκλησιές επισημαίνει "το *α* είναι αληθώς μακρόν και δη περισπώμενον, διότι ούτως απαγγέλλεται ωσάν να είναι δύο *α*, ων το πρώτον λαμβάνει τον ισχυρότερον τόνον, το δε δεύτερον τον ασθενέστερον *πάα*... ". Ο Χατζιδάκης (1907 : 142) αναφερόμενος στο φαινόμενο αυτό των Σαράντα Εκκλησιών, γράφει "Δηλαδή απολομένου του *θ* του χωρίζοντος πρότερον τα δύο φωνήεντα *ι-α*, *ου-α* επήλθεν αφομοίωσις του ασθενεστέρου αυτών *ι*, *ου* προς το ισχυρότερον *α* ... αλλ' ούπω συγχώνευσις εις ένα μόνον απλούν και δη βραχύν φθόγγον. Τα δύο δε όμοια και συνεκφερόμενα *α* *α* δύνανται, ως εικός, εν τη αρχή της συναλοιφής αυτών έτι ευρισκόμενα, να υπολαμβάνωνται ως έν μακρόν φωνήεν".

²² Βλ. Τζιτζιλής (ΘΒ)· Παπαδοπούλου (2010 : 264) κλπ.

²³ Οι τύποι *υναίκα*, *είτονας*, *ειτόν'σσα* έχουν ευρύτερη κατανομή σε ΘΒ και ΒΙ, π.χ. *υναίκα*, *είτονας* (Τρίγλια· Παπαδοπούλου, 2011 : 74), *ιτόν'σα* (Θάσος· Heisenberg, 1918 : 38). Η ιδιαιτερότητα στο ΙΣ είναι η εμφάνιση μακρού φωνήεντος και η εναλλαγή /i:/ άτονο ~ /jí/ τονισμένο.

²⁴ Πβ. ΛΜΕ-Κρ. λ. *έδε*, *έδεδώ*, *έδεκεί*, *έδεκείνος*, *έδεκείσε*, *έδεπά*, *έδετούτος*, *έδέτσι*, *έδευτού*.

²⁵ Τα παραδείγματα από γραπτές πηγές τα γράφουμε όπως τα καταγράφουν οι συγγραφείς τους.

b. *έε*, π.χ. *έετους*, *έετεινος* (Χίος [Πυργί]: Τσικής, 2002 : 33, 109).

c. *έι* ή *έι*, π.χ. *έιtutus*, *έιtsi* (Λέσβος: Kretschmer, 1905 : 266, 355), *έιτουτους*, *έιτοσους* (Ιμβρος: Ανδριώτης 1930 : 167): *έιτσει*, *έιτσεινα* (Κυδωνίες: Σάκκαρης 1940 : 98): *έιtsi* (Λέσβος, Kretschmer 1905 : 355).

ii. στο δεικτικό επίρ. *ουονά* [u:ná] ‘εδώ’· παράλληλοι τύποι στο ΙΣ: *ιδ’νά* [ιδνά], *δουνά* [δυνά], *έδουνα* [έδυνα], πβ. και *οδονά* (Κάρπαθος: Μηνάς, 1970 : 112).

3. Αποτέλεσμα δανεισμού τουρκικών λέξεων

Ορισμένες φορές τουρκικά δάνεια²⁶ εμφανίζουν στο ιδίωμα μακρό φωνήεν ως απόδοση μακρού ή βραχέος φωνήεντος ή διφθόγγου της τουρκικής:

άαφιρουμ [á:fi:ru:m] ‘μπράβο’ < τουρκ. âferin (με διατήρηση του /r/)

χίισ’ [xi:ʃ] ‘ορμή, φόρα’ < τουρκ. hiz

κιμάς [ki:más] ‘κιμάς’ < τουρκ. kiyama, *πίι* [pi:] ‘πάρα πολύ’ < τουρκ. epey.

Ερμηνευτικές προτάσεις για την αποβολή του /r/ στο ΙΣ έχουν κάνει οι Newton (1972a,b), Hayes (1989), Kavitskaya (2002), Torinzi (2006 & 2010), Kirarsky (2011). Τις προτάσεις αυτές παρουσιάσαμε και κρίναμε στο άρθρο μας (2011) για τα μακρά φωνήεντα της Σαμοθράκης. Εκεί καταλήξαμε ότι τα δεδομένα της Σαμοθράκης ερμηνεύονται επαρκέστερα από την πρόταση του Kirarsky (2011) ότι το /r/, ως τεμάχιο υψηλής ηχητικότητας (high sonority segment), αποκλείεται από την έμβαση, ενσωματώνεται στον πυρήνα και γίνεται φορέας μόρας, σχηματίζοντας ανερχόμενη δίφθογγο (rising diphthong) με το επόμενο φωνήεν, και στη συνέχεια αποβάλλεται με αναπληρωματική έκταση (compensatory lengthening) του φωνήεντος.

4.1.2 Μακρά φωνήεντα και σε άλλες διαλέκτους;

Ακολουθίες φωνηέντων προκύπτουν και σε άλλες διαλέκτους από αποβολή μεσοφωνηεντικών, κατά κανόνα ηχηρών τριβόμενων /v/, /ɣ/, /ð/ (αλλά και άλλων συμφώνων), είναι δύσκολο όμως να αποφανθούμε για την παρουσία φωνολογικά μακρών φωνηέντων στις διαλέκτους αυτές, δεδομένου ότι δεν διαθέτουμε τα κριτήρια που θα μας επέτρεπαν μια τέτοια περιγραφή. Στις διαλέκτους αυτές παρατηρείται ποικιλία στη συμπεριφορά των φωνηέντων της χασμωδίας:²⁷

(α) διατηρούνται: *έφαα* [éfaa] (Ρόδος: Tsoranakis, 1940, 38), *πουλλολός*, *παάμη*, (Κρήτη: Χατζιδάκις, 1905 : 240-241): *λαάτι* (< λουγάτι < λογάται), *παά* (< πού θα), *τζαάπιν* (< τζοχάπιν), *ταάρις* (τιγάρις < τίγαρ), *ααπού* (< αου πού < από πού), *κάαμαν* (< κάουμαν < κάωμαν) (Λιβίσι: Ανδριώτης, 1961, 32-33): *μαναά* (< μαναχά) (Κομοτηνή, Ξάνθη: Παπαδόπουλος 1926 : 35).

Η διατήρηση της ακολουθίας των φωνηέντων έχει θεωρηθεί ως ένδειξη ότι η αποβολή του συμφώνου είναι νεότερη ή ότι η διαδικασία της συγχώνευσης τελείται με διαφορετικούς ρυθμούς στα διάφορα ιδιώματα (Χατζιδάκις 1905 : 241).

(β) τα δύο όμοια φωνήεντα απλοποιούνται σε ένα βραχύ π.χ. *πουλλολός* (< *πουλλολόγος*) (Κέα: Χατζιδάκις, 1905 : 240-241): *άς* (< ά(λ)ας), *γά* (< γά(λ)α), *βδομά* (< βδομά(δ)α), *κα* (< κα(λ)ά), *μό* (< μό(ν)ο), *ζύ* (< ζύ(γ)ι) (Φάρασα: Ανδριώτης, 1948 : 18).

αθός (< ααθός < αγαθός), *βιδολός* (< βιδολόγος) (Ρόδος: Tsoranakis, 1940 : 38-39).

(γ) εξελίσσονται σε δίφθογγο, η οποία στη συνέχεια υφίσταται κι άλλες τροποποιήσεις, π.χ. *άωρος* > *ά^{ov}ρος* > *άβρος*, *κάβουρας* > *κό^{ovv}ρας* > *κόγγρας* (Ρόδος: Tsoranakis, 1940, 48).

²⁶ Ο έλεγχος των τουρκ. δανείων έγινε με βάση το Λεξικό Redhouse.

²⁷ Για ποικίλες εξελίξεις στα δωδεκανησιακά ιδιώματα βλ. και Παπαναστασίου (υπό έκδ.).

Για μακρά φωνήεντα γενικότερα στις νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους βλ. Tsorpanakis (1940), Seiler (1958), Hamp (1961).

4.2 Ισόγλωσσα με μη γειτονικά ιδιώματα

4.2.1 Ανομοίωση ύψους (height dissimilation)

Πρόκειται για εξέλιξη των φωνηεντικών ακολουθιών (vowel sequencies) έα και όα σε ία και ύα αντίστοιχα. Οι ακολουθίες αυτές προέκυψαν δευτερογενώς από τις /έγα/ και /όγα/ με αποβολή του /r/, δηλ. /έγα/ > [έα] > [ία] και /όγα/ > [όα] > [ύα], π.χ. *μία* [μία] 'μέρα', *ούα* [ύα] 'ώρα' κ.ά.

Το φαινόμενο έχει μελετηθεί από τους παρακάτω ερευνητές:

1. Ο Andriotis (1939-40 & 1974) πρώτος περιέγραψε και εξέτασε το φαινόμενο της Σαμοθράκης σε συνδυασμό με διαλέκτους που εμφανίζουν δευτερογενείς φωνηεντικές ακολουθίες μετά από αποβολή μεσοφωνηεντικών /v/, /δ/, /γ/, όπως τα κυπριακά, δωδεκανησιακά και ιδιώματα ορισμένων άλλων νησιών του Αιγαίου, ποντιακά και καππαδοκικά (Andriotis, 1974 : 15).

Το φαινόμενο, που το ονόμασε 'νόμο της προφύλαξης' ('Loi de prophylaxie', Andriotis 1974 : 7),²⁸ το αποδίδει σε μία σταθερή τάση στον φωνηεντισμό των νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων για ανομοίωση των μελών ορισμένων φωνηεντικών ακολουθιών, με μεγιστοποίηση της διαφοράς ανοίγματος, για να αποτραπεί η συναίρεσή τους και να διατηρηθεί έτσι η συλλαβική οικονομία (δηλ. ο αριθμός των συλλαβών) της λέξης.²⁹

2. Ο Newton (1972b : 78)³⁰ χαρακτηρίζει το φαινόμενο ανομοίωση ύψους (height dissimilation) και παριστάνει τη διαδικασία παραγωγής ως εξής:

	méra	óra
αποβολή του /r/ (/r/ deletion)	méa	óa
ανομοίωση ύψους (height dissimilation)	mía	úa

Οι ακολουθίες αυτές δεν υφίστανται συνίζηση. Όπως επισημαίνει και ο Newton (1972b : 78), οι ακολουθίες υψηλού V + V (high vowel + vowel) δεν τράπηκαν σε [yV], [wV], διότι όταν το /r/ χάθηκε ιστορικά, η συνίζηση (glide formation) είχε πάψει να είναι ενεργός φωνολογικός κανόνας.

3. Ο Méntez Dosuna (2002) αμφισβητεί τη διαδικασία της ανομοίωσης ύψους, υποστηρίζοντας ότι δεν συνδυάζεται με κανένα καθολικό χαρακτηριστικό και στερείται πραγματικής φωνητικής αφετηρίας τόσο συγχρονικά όσο και διαχρονικά· αποδίδει το φαινόμενο σε συνίζηση (loss of syllabicity), δηλ. ημιφωνοποίηση του φωνήεντος και σχηματισμό διφθόγγου, κατόπιν τροπή των μη συλλαβικών ξ & ρ σε ημίφωνα j και w (glide formation) αντίστοιχα, και εν συνεχεία διαίρεση

²⁸ Ο Andriotis (1974 : 38) παραπέμπει και στον Schwyzer, Griechische Grammatik 1, σ. 242, ο οποίος, συζητώντας την τροπή του ε σε ι στις ακολουθίες ε+Φ σε αρχαίες ελληνικές διαλέκτους, χαρακτηρίζει το φαινόμενο ως «Hiatusprophylaxe gegenüber der sich anbahnenden Kontraktion».

²⁹ Ο Andriotis (1974 : 52) συμφωνεί με την φωνητική ερμηνεία του φαινομένου από τον Dieterich (1898 : 71 κ.ε.), αλλά θεωρεί εσφαλμένη τη σύνδεσή του με τον βόρειο φωνηεντισμό (Dieterich ό.π.: 77, σημ. 2).

³⁰ Εδώ πρέπει να παρατηρήσουμε ότι ο Newton εκ παραδρομής συμπεριλαμβάνει για το ιδίωμα της Σαμοθράκης και την ακολουθία /e/+o/ σε αυτές που υφίστανται ανομοίωση ύψους. Προφανώς, έχει παρερμηνεύσει δεδομένα που δίνει ο Andriotis (1939-40 : 165 κ.ε.) για άλλες νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους, ενώ ο ίδιος ο Andriotis (ό.π. : 164, 184) δηλώνει ρητά ότι στο ιδίωμα της Σαμοθράκης πρόκειται για τονισμένα *ο* και *ε* ακολουθούμενα από άτονο *α*.

(dieresis), δηλ. τροπή του ημιφώνου σε πλήρες φωνήεν με οπισθοχώρηση του τόνου στην προηγούμενη θέση του, δηλ. [éa] > [éa] > [eá] > [já] > [ía] και [óa] > [óa] > [oá] > [wá] > [úa]. 4. Οι Malikouti-Drachman & Drachman (2011) συζητούν και απορρίπτουν την πρόταση του Méntez Dosuna και υποστηρίζουν την άποψη του Newton για ανομοίωση ύψους. Εστιάζοντας κυρίως στο επιχείρημα του Méntez Dosuna ότι παρόμοια διαδικασία δεν απαντάται διαγλωσσικά, αντιτείνουν ότι ανομοίωση ύψους, – όχι όμως σε χασμωδία, αλλά σε περιβάλλον VCV– παρατηρείται σε γλώσσες της Ωκεανίας και Ν. Γουινέας.³¹ Στο θέμα επανέρχεται ο Drachman, με το υπό δημοσίευση άρθρο του στον παρόντα τόμο, υποστηρίζοντας την ίδια άποψη, με δεδομένα και από άλλες γλώσσες (π.χ. Ινδιάνικη γλώσσα της Καλιφόρνιας, γλώσσες νησιών του Ειρηνικού), και προτείνοντας την ενοποίηση των δύο διαδικασιών (νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων με VV και γλωσσών με VCV), με παραμετροποίηση των διαφορών τους, σε μια γενικευμένη οικογένεια διαδικασιών (process-family), που ονομάζεται 'dissimilatory vowel raising'.

Ως προς τις παραπάνω απόψεις έχουμε να κάνουμε τις εξής παρατηρήσεις:

Κατά τη γνώμη μας, η άποψη του Ανδριώτη ότι, σε περίπτωση χασμωδίας, η τροπή του έα και όα σε ία και ύα αντίστοιχα, είναι μηχανισμός αποφυγής της συναίρεσης, μπορεί να υποστηριχθεί από πρόσθετα δεδομένα του ιδιώματος. Συγκεκριμένα, σύμφωνα με νεότερες εξελίξεις, σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις που η ακολουθία /όα/ δεν εμφανίζει πλέον ανομοίωση ύψους, υφίσταται αφομοίωση και συναίρεση σε ένα μονοσυλλαβικό μακρό φωνήεν, οπότε προκύπτει ελάττωση του αριθμού των συλλαβών της λέξης, π.χ. *κόοκας* [kó:kas]³² (< κόακας) 'κόρακας' (πβ. γεν. *κουάκ'* [kuák' 'κοράκου'), *ώω* [ó:]³³ < *ώα* [óa] < *ώρα* (αντί του παλαιότερου *ούα* [úa]): επίσης το νεότερο στο ιδίωμα *τώω* [tó:] < **τώα* [tóa] < *ώρα* εμφανίζεται μόνο με αφομοίωση και συναίρεση³⁴ (στο ΙΣ με τη σημασία 'ώρα' χρησιμοποιείται το *έδια* [édja]).

Σημειώνεται ότι η ακολουθία /έα/, σε αντίθεση με την /όα/, εξακολουθεί σε όλες τις περιπτώσεις να εμφανίζει ανομοίωση ύψους ([ía]).

Η άποψη του Méntez Dosuna για συνίζηση και στη συνέχεια διαίρεση με οπισθοχώρηση του τόνου, δημιουργεί ορισμένα ερωτήματα. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, πώς θα δικαιολογήσουμε την απουσία ουράνωσης του /l/, π.χ. στη λέξη [lía] 'λέρα', αν δεχτούμε τη διαδικασία με συνίζηση: /léra/ > [léa] > [leá] > [ljá] > [lía]: γιατί, δηλ. δεν ουρανώνεται το /l/ που ακολουθείται από το ημίφωνο [j] –κατεξοχήν ουρανοποιητικό τεμάχιο³⁵– αν προέκυψε από το [ljá]; Υπενθυμίζουμε ότι στο ΙΣ, όπως προαναφέρθηκε σημ. 16, το /l/ ουρανώθηκε και τράπηκε σε /k/ πριν από ημίφωνο *i* και πρωτογενές /i/, ενώ έμεινε αμετάβλητο πριν από δευτερογενές /i/ < /e/ και τονισμένο /é/: έτσι, στο ελάχιστο ζεύγος (minimal pair) /lía/ 'λίρα' - /lía/ 'λέρα' αντανακλάται η ουράνωση του /l/ σε /k/ πριν από /i/ στο /kía/ 'λίρα' και η απουσία ουράνωσης πριν από δευτερογενές /i/ στο /lía/ 'λέρα'.

Επισημαίνουμε, επίσης, ότι στο ΙΣ δεν παρατηρείται συνίζηση, μετά την αποβολή του /r/, στο περιβάλλον που συζητάμε, ούτε όταν είναι άτονα και τα δύο φωνήεντα, π.χ. *ανιφτιακίζου*

³¹ Για δεδομένα από τη γλώσσα Alambak, βλ. Blevins (2009).

³² Επισημαίνουμε ότι στο συγκεκριμένο παράδειγμα η συναίρεση που σημειώνεται αφορά πολυσύλλαβο (προπαροξύτονο) τύπο.

³³ Ήδη στον Heisenberg (1921 : 93) *kal' óos* 'καλή ώρα σου' παράλληλα με τον τύπο *kal' úas*.

³⁴ Η λ. *ώρα* που αναφέρεται ως [túa] από τον Newton (1972a : 568-569 & 1972b : 77) με ανομοίωση ύψους δεν μαρτυρείται με τη μορφή αυτή σήμερα ούτε και επιβεβαιώνεται ως παλιότερη προφορά. Αντίθετα η προφορά *τώω* [tó:] πιστοποιείται και από τον Andriotis (1939-40 : 160, σημ. 1 & 1974 : 8, σημ. 1).

³⁵ Για ιεραρχία του ενεργούντος τεμαχίου στην ουράνωση βλ. Μαλικούτη (1977 : 42) για τα βόρεια ιδιώματα, και διαγλωσσικά Kochetov (2011 : 1672).

[aniftiacizu] ‘αναθαυρώ’, *πιαστό* [riasto] ‘χαλί’, *κιασιά* [ciaʃǎ] ‘κερασιά’, *κουασμένους* [kuazménus] ‘κουρασμένος’.

Ως προς την πρόταση των Malikouti-Drachman & Drachman (2011) και Drachman (υπό έκδ.) για ανομοίωση ύψους σε περιβάλλον VCV περιορίζομαστε μόνο να αναφέρουμε δεδομένα του ΙΣ, σύμφωνα με τα οποία δεν υφίσταται ανομοίωση ύψους στο περιβάλλον αυτό.³⁶

(α) ούτε όταν είναι τονισμένο το 1ο φωνήεν (e ή ο), δηλ. VCV, οποιοδήποτε και αν είναι το μεσοφωνηεντικό σύμφωνο, π.χ. *μέλαγας* [méʎas] ‘θολό νερό’, *αγέλαστους* [aǰéʎastus] ‘αγέλαστος’, *μσουπέλαγα* [msuréʎa] ‘στο μέσο του πελάγου’, *γαίμα* [jéma], *γένα* [jéna], *πέταλου* [rétaʎu] ‘πέταλο’, *βικόλακας* [vi:kóʎakas] ‘βρικόλακας’, *γόνατου* [gónatu] ‘γόνατο’, *ακόμα* [akóma].

(β) ούτε όταν είναι άτονο το 1ο φωνήεν (e ή ο), επειδή η ανύψωση, στην περίπτωση αυτή πρέπει να αποδοθεί σε στένωση κι όχι σε ανομοίωση, π.χ. *κεφάλι* > *κιφάλ* [cifál], *φορά* > *φουρά* > *φουά* [fuá]. σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις μάλιστα σημειώνεται αφομοίωση φωνηέντων, π.χ. *Σαμοθράκη* > *Σαμαθάακ* [samaθá:c], *Σεραφείμης* > *Σαραφείμ* > *Σααφείμ* [saafíms], *ενάμισι* > *ανάμ* [anámf].

4.2.2 Εξέλιξη του συμφωνικού συμπλέγματος /sf/ > /sv/

Στο ΙΣ και στο Λιβίσι το σύμπλεγμα /sf/ εμφάνισε ανομοίωση ως προς την ηχηρότητα και το *σφ* [sf] τράπηκε σε *σβ* [sv].

Παραδείγματα από ΙΣ

σβάζου [svázu] ‘σφάζω’, *σβιντάμ* [svidám] ‘σφεντάμι’, *σβήνα* [ʃvína] ‘σφήνα’, *σβίγγουμ* [ʃvígum] ‘σφίγγομαι’, *σβήδα* [ʃvída] ‘σφηνοειδές αγγείο’, *σβύι* [ʃví:] ‘σφυρί’, *σβύιζου* [ʃví:zu] ‘σφυρίζω’, *σβαλ μένους* [svalménus] ‘κλεισμένος’, *σβουγγίζου* [svuǰízu] ‘σφουγγίζω’, *σβάαγγ* [svá:ǰ] ‘σπαράγγι’, *πουουσβυγίτικους* [pu:svijítikus] ‘προσφυγίτικος’, *καλ βουσβέρ* [kalvuʃvér] ‘σφυρί για καλίγωμα’, *αλέσβι.ίσ* [aléʃviíʃ] (< τουρκ. alısveris) ‘αλισβερίσι’ (στο Λιβίσι /sf/ στη λ. *αλισφερίσιν* Ανδριώτης 1961 : 49).

Παραδείγματα από Λιβίσι (Ανδριώτης, 1961 : 49)

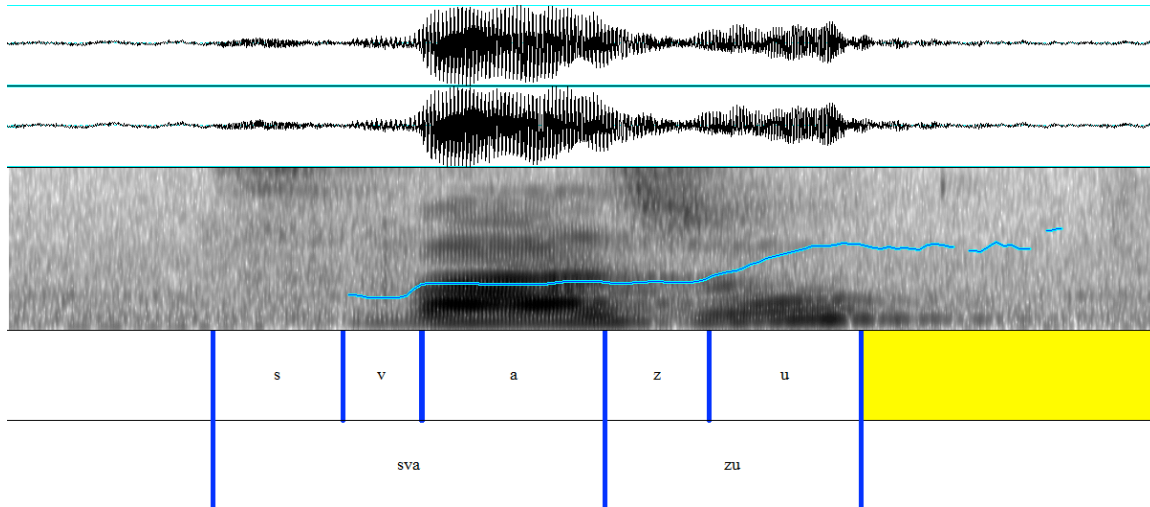
σβάννου, *σβαχτά*, *σβάχτης*, *σβαλού*, *σβήκα*, *σβίγγου*, *σβιχτά*, *σβουγγαλού*, *σβυρού*, *αόρ. ισβύριζα*, *σβυρίδα*, *σβυριδίν*.

Σύμφωνα με τον Ανδριώτη (Andriotis, 1939-40 : 204-205 & Ανδριώτης, 1961 : 49) το ασυνήθιστο αυτό χαρακτηριστικό εμφανίζεται με συστηματικότητα στο ιδίωμα της Σαμοθράκης και στο Λιβίσι και σποραδικά στην Κρήτη και στην Τριφυλία της Πελοποννήσου και στη Ρόδο.

Ο Andriotis (1939-40 : 204-205) ερμηνεύει το φαινόμενο ως αφομοίωση ως προς την ηχηρότητα από ένα ελαφρά ηχηροποιημένο *σ* που ηχηροποιήθηκε από επίδραση τελικού -ν της προηγούμενης λέξης και σημειώνει ότι αντιλαμβάνεται μια ελαφρά ηχηρότητα στο *σ* του συμπλέγματος *σβ*.

Εμείς σήμερα δεν αντιλαμβανόμαστε ηχηρότητα στο /s/, όπως προκύπτει και από το παρακάτω σπεκτρογράφημα (spectrogram) της λέξης [svázu].

³⁶ Πβ. και Drachman (υπό έκδ.) για παραμετροποίηση των διαφορών ως προς την ανομοίωση στα περιβάλλοντα VCV (σε γλώσσες του Ειρηνικού) και VV (σε ελληνικές διαλέκτους).



Σπεκτρογράφημα 1. svázu

Ως προς την ιδιαίτερη συμπεριφορά του συμπλέγματος /sf/, έχουμε να επισημάνουμε τα εξής:

(1) Το πρωτογενές συμφωνικό σύμπλεγμα *σφ* /sf/ δεν υπέστη στη μεσαιωνική ελληνική ανομοίωση τρόπου άρθρωσης, αντίθετα με τα /sθ/ > /st/, /sx/ > /sk/.

(2) Το /sf/ εμφανίζει μια ποικιλία εξελίξεων στα διάφορα ιδιώματα της νεοελληνικής. Συγκεκριμένα, όπως επισημαίνει ο Τζιτζιλής (ΜΑ), το σύμπλεγμα /sf/, στα ΜΑ και ΘΒ ιδιώματα, χαρακτηρίζεται από αστάθεια ιδίως στην αρχή της λέξης και εμφανίζει ποικίλες εξελίξεις: (α) τρέπεται σε *σπ*, π.χ. *σφάζω* > *σπάζω* (Ποντιακά), *σφεντόνα* > *σπιδόνα* (Κύζικος), (β) υφίσταται μετάθεση σε *φσ*, π.χ. *σφίγγω* > *φσίνγω* [fɪngɔ] (Φάρασα, ΚΑ), *έσφαξα* > *έφσαξα* (Καπαδ.), *σφάζω* > *φσάζω*, *σφήκα* > *φσήκα*, *σφιχτός* > *φσιχτός* (Αν. Ιδ. Βιθυνίας), (γ) απλοποιείται σε *σ*, π.χ. *σφάζω* > *σάνω* (ΚΑ, Καπαδοκ., Φάρασα), *σήκα*, *σιχτός* (Ντεμίρντεσι), (δ) απλοποιείται σε *φ*, π.χ. *σφάζω* > *φάνω* (ΚΑ, Καπαδ.), (ε) παραμένει αμετάβλητο, όπως και στην ΚΝΕ, π.χ. *σφιχτός*, στα περισσότερα ΒΙ, στην ΚΑ, δυτικά Καπαδ., στη ΘΒ: *σφοδόνα* < *σφεντόνα* (Σαράντα Εκκλησιές).

Παρόμοιες αλλαγές συναντούμε και σε άλλα ιδιώματα, π.χ. *σπαλιζζω*, *σπάζζω*, *σπίγγω* 'σφίγγω' (Ικαρία, Κύθηρα· Χατζιδάκις 1907 : 431)· επίσης, τροπές /sf/ > /fs/ και /zv/ > /vz/, π.χ. *σφυρώ* > *φσυρώ* & *σ-συρώ*, *σβήν-νω* > *βζήν-νω* & *ζήν-νω* (Κύπρος [Πάφος]· Βαγιακάκος 1973 : 68).

(3) Στη Λέσβο (Ανδριώτης, 1961 : 49) συναντούμε την ανομοίωση ηχηρότητας, όταν τα μέλη του συμπλέγματος βρίσκονται σε αντίστροφη σειρά *fs* > *vs*, π.χ. *άφ(η)σε* > *άβ'σι*, *φ(ου)σκώνω* > *β'σκώνου*, *φ(ου)στάνι* > *β'στάν'*, *ψόφ(η)σε* > *ψόβ'σι* κλπ.

(4) Από το υλικό μας, επίσης, διαπιστώνουμε ότι:

(α) το ΙΣ ανέχεται σε δευτερογενή³⁷ συμπλέγματα την ακολουθία /s/ + ηχηρό τριβόμενο, δηλ. δεν ηχηροποιείται το συριστικό από το επόμενο ηχηρό σύμφωνο, π.χ. *σ'δέρς* [ʃdɛrs] < *σιδέρης* 'ο

³⁷ Επίσης, στο ΙΣ και άλλα δευτερογενή συμπλέγματα, με διαφορά ηχηρότητας, παραμένουν αμετάβλητα ή από επίδραση της ΚΝΕ, εμφανίζουν παράλληλους σχηματισμούς με αφομοίωση ηχηρότητας: *χορέβς* [xuɛvs] 'χορευείς', *γέβ'ς* [jɛvs] 'γυρευείς', *δ'λέβ'ς* [dlɛvs] 'δουλέβεις', *σουματόδ'ς* [sumatódɔs] 'μεγαλόσωμος', *λαγούδ'ς* [laɣúds] 'ο έχων το χρώμα του λαγού', *α(ρ)ιβ'σσα* [arivsa] 'αρχόντισσα', *ανέβ'κα* [anévka] 'ανέβηκα', *β'τώ* [vto] (& *φ'τώ* [fto] 'βουτώ', *φουβ'θώ* [funθó] (& *φουφ'θώ* [fufθó], *ανιβ'θώ* [anivθó] (& *ανιφ'θώ* [anifθó]) 'βοηθώ', *δ'κός* [ðkos] (& *θ'κός*) 'δικός', *β'τω.έλιας* [vtiélas] (& *φ'τω.έλιας* [ftiélas]) 'βουτυρέλιας', *έφ'γα* [éfga] 'έφυγα', *φ'δέλ'* [fdél'] 'φιδάκι'.

γκρίζος', *σ'διρ'κά* [ʃdĩrká] 'σιδερικά', *σ'γουέρνου* [ʃγυέ̞rnu] 'σιγουράρω', *σ'βουλεύου τα ζά* [ʃvulé̞nu ta za] 'τακτοποιώ τα ζώα', *σ'βάστιρ* < *σίβη+αστερή* [ʃvástir] 'κατσικά γριζωπή με άσπρες βούλες στο μέπωπο'. Το /ʃ/ ηχηροποιείται πριν από ηχηρό κλειστό, π.χ. *ζ'μπέθιους* [zβé̞θius] 'συμπέθερος', *ζ'ντάζουμ* [zdázum] 'υπόσχομαι', *ζ'ντόφ'σσα* [zdó:fsa] 'συντρόφισσα'.

(β) το δευτερογενές σύμπλεγμα /sx/ εμφανίζει ηχηροποίηση του 2ου μέλους, δηλ. στη λέξη *συγχωρώ*, *σχωρνώ* και στα παράγωγά της τρέπεται σε /sɣ/, π.χ. [sɣurnó] < *συγχωρώ*, [sɣóɣju] < *συγχώριο*, [sɣuiménus] < *συγχωρεμένος* 'πεθαμένος' κλπ. Το σύμπλεγμα καταγράφεται ως /ʃɣ/ από τον Heisenberg (1921): *δ'γιό & δ'γυρνό* 'συγχωρώ' (90), *δ'γίιun* 'συγχωρούν', *δ'γόισι* 'συγχώρεσε' (92), *δ'γυιέ̞sam* 'συγχωρέσαμε' (93).

Μπορούμε από όλα όσα παραθέσαμε να συμπεράνουμε ότι το ΙΣ ανέχεται τη διαφορά ηχηρότητας στην έμβαση μεταξύ α' και β' μέλους, εφόσον η μετάβαση προς τον πυρήνα (nucleus) γίνεται με αυξανόμενη ηχητικότητα (rising sonority). Με τα έως τώρα, όμως, στοιχεία δεν είμαστε σε θέση να ερμηνεύσουμε ικανοποιητικά το φαινόμενο της ηχηροποίησης.

4.2.3 Ευφωνικό ή εγκλωβισμένο φώνηεν

Πρόκειται για εμφάνιση *i* στα όρια λέξεων, σε φωνολογική φράση, μεταξύ τελικού *v* ή *s* (ή και άλλου συμφώνου) και αρχικού συμφωνικού συμπλέγματος (ή σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις και ενός συμφώνου). Το φώνηεν το οποίο στην παραδοσιακή ορολογία αναφέρεται ως ευφωνικό, δεν ανήκει οργανικά ούτε στη μια ούτε στην άλλη λέξη, γιατί δεν διατηρείται, όταν οι λέξεις αυτές προφέρονται μόνες τους ή σε συνεκφορά με φωνήεντα, π.χ. *ζήβκα* [kʃínka] 'βγήκα', *δεν-ι-ζήβκα* [den i kʃínka], *ααν είμι* [a:n ími], *ααν -ι- γείμι* [a:n i jími] 'θα είμαι' κλπ.

Ο Ανδριώτης (Andriotis, 1939-40 : 206-207 & Ανδριώτης, 1961 : 22-3), εξετάζοντας το φαινόμενο αυτό στο Λιβίσι, επισημαίνει την παρουσία του και στη Σαμοθράκη, στην Κύπρο, στα Δωδεκάνησα, και ίχνη του στην Απουλία και στην Κρήτη.

Το φαινόμενο φαίνεται ότι ήταν εκτεταμένο στη Σαμοθράκη μέχρι τη δεκαετία του 60. Σήμερα βρίσκεται σε φάση υποχώρησης, με αποτέλεσμα την εμφάνιση παράλληλων σχηματισμών, με και χωρίς *i*, ή και την μη αποδοχή παλιότερων συνεκφορών, όπως π.χ. *τουν-ι-μ'κρό*, *τουν-ι-θ'κό* κλπ., που αναφέρει ο Ανδριώτης (1961 : 22-23).

Παραδείγματα από τη σημερινή κατάσταση του ιδιώματος της Σαμοθράκης:³⁸

- *μιαν -ι- ρ'ζιά* [mɣan i rkʃá] ή *μια ρ'ζιά* [mɣa rkʃa] 'μια ριζιά'
- *μιαν -ι- ρ'φιζιά* [mɣan i rfikʃá], *μια ρ'φιζιά* [mɣa rfikʃá] 'μια ρουφηξιά'
- *άλλ'ς -ι- φ'λής άθιπους* [áls i fɫis áθiipus] / *άλλ'ς φ'λής άθιπους* [áls fɫis áθiipus] 'άλλης φυλής άνθρωπος'
- *ντιπ-ι-φτ'νά* [dip i ftna] 'πολύ φτηνά'
- *σαν -ι- τ ιμένα* [san i t imena] / *σαν τ ιμένα* [san t imena] 'σαν εμένα'
- *δεν -ι- γήξι.α* [den i jíksia] / *δεν' ήξι.α* [den íksia] / *δε γήξι.α* [de jíksia]
- *δεν -ι- σότ'χα* [den i sítɣa] / *δε σότ'χα* [de sítɣa] 'δεν μίλησα'
- *ααν -ι- γείσι* [a:n i jísi] / *ααν είσι* [a:n ísi] / *αα γείσι* [a: jísi]
- *να μας-ι-δ'γιείς* [na mas i djís] / *να μας δ'γιεις* [na maz djís]

Σημειώνουμε ότι το *i*³⁹ δεν ουρανώνει το προηγούμενο σύμφωνο, σε αντίθεση με το πρωτογενές *i*: *δεν -ι- γείμι* [den i jími] / *δεν είμι* [den ími] 'δεν είμαι'.

Το φώνηεν απαντά ως *i* στο Λιβίσι και ως *i* ή *e* στα Δωδεκάνησα και στην Κύπρο, π.χ.

³⁸ Βλ. για επιπλέον παραδείγματα Ανδριώτης (1961 : 22-23) και Τσολάκη (2009 : 103-104).

³⁹ Πβ. και Newton (1972b : 209).

- Λιβίσι : *τουν-ι-δρόμουν, τις-ι-σκλάβις*· Ανδριώτης (1961 : 19).
 Δωδεκάνησα: *έν-ι-βρέχει* (Μεγίστη), *έν-ι-σκάβγει* (Σύμη)· Ανδριώτης (1961 : 22).
έν-ε-σκοτίζομαι (Ρόδος), *έν-ε-στάζω* (Κάλυμνος)· Ανδριώτης (1961 : 23).
εν-ε-φελά, το στραόν-ε-μμάτι, εν ημωρώ & εν εμωρώ (μωρώ), *ας ιδρώσωμε*
 (δρώννω) (Κάρπαθος)· Μηνάς, 1970 : 49).
 Κύπρος: *έν-ι-βράζω, έν-ε-ζερανίσκει*· Ανδριώτης (1961 : 23)
έν-ε- τσ'αττίζζει [én e tʃːʰ atːʰizːi] 'δεν ταιριάζει' (Πάφος· αυτηκοΐα).

Ο Ανδριώτης (1961 : 23) αναφέρει μαρτυρίες του φαινομένου στο Σαχλίκη⁴⁰ κ.α., απορρίπτει προηγούμενες ερμηνευτικές προτάσεις περί τουρκικής επίδρασης και υποστηρίζει την ανεξαρτησία του φαινομένου από την τουρκική, επισημαίνοντας αφενός τα διαφορετικά φωνητικά περιβάλλοντα εμφάνισης του φαινομένου (στην τουρκική το φωνήεν αναπτύσσεται στην αρχή της λέξης, στο Λιβίσι σε περιπτώσεις sandhi, στην τουρκική σε λέξεις που αρχίζουν από sp, st, sk, ενώ στο Λιβίσι πριν από οποιοδήποτε συμφωνικό σύμπλεγμα) και αφετέρου τις περιοχές εμφάνισης του φαινομένου "όπου η τουρκική επίδραση στη φωνητική μπορεί να θεωρηθεί εντελώς ασήμαντη, αν όχι ανύπαρκτη ... ενώ είναι εντελώς άγνωστο στις καθαρά μικρασιατικές διαλέκτους του Πόντου και της Καππαδοκίας".

Ο Τζιτζιλής (2004) δέχεται την άποψη του Ανδριώτη περί μη τουρκικής επίδρασης και αναφέρει μαρτυρίες του φαινομένου ήδη στο Διγενή (12^{ος} αι.). Επειδή θεωρεί ότι μόνος ο όρος 'ευφωνικό ι' δεν εξηγεί ικανοποιητικά το φαινόμενο, προτείνει τον όρο 'εγκλωβισμένα φωνήματα', για να περιγράψει κυρίως το φαινόμενο της εκμετάλλευσης κάποιου παλαιότερου μορφολογικού στοιχείου και να ερμηνεύσει παράλληλα με την εμφάνιση και την προέλευση του φωνήεντος. Η εμφάνιση αυτού του ι, όπως σημειώνει, δεν έχει ούτε φωνολογική ούτε μορφολογική αξία, αλλά εξυπηρετεί μόνο την άρση του αρθρωτικού αδιεξόδου, που δημιουργείται κατά τη συνεκφορά, εξυπηρετεί δηλαδή την ανάγκη στήριξης του εξωσυλλαβικού συμφώνου ν ή ς (ή άλλου), η οποία επιτυγχάνεται είτε με την εκμετάλλευση προϋπάρχοντος μορφολογικού στοιχείου, όπως για παράδειγμα είναι η συλλαβική αύξηση του αορίστου, είτε με την ανάπτυξη ενός ευφωνικού φωνήεντος ι.

4.3 Κοινά χαρακτηριστικά με περισσότερα ιδιώματα

4.3.1 Αποβολή ληκτικού /e/

Η αποβολή του τελικού /e/ αποτελεί φωνολογικό φαινόμενο που εφαρμόζεται σε ορισμένα μορφολογικά περιβάλλοντα· συγκεκριμένα, στο ΙΣ εμφανίζεται σε προπαροξύτονους ρηματικούς τύπους⁴¹ (1^ο πληθ. ενεργ. φωνής και στο 1^ο ενικό μσπθ.),⁴² π.χ. *έρχουμ'* [érxum] 'έρχομαι', *σκουτίζουμ'* [skutízum] 'σκοτίζομαι', *παγαίνουμ'* [rajénum] 'πηγαίνουμε', *τέεχαμ'* [té:xam] 'τρέχαμε', *δλέβαμ'* [dlévam] 'δουλέβαμε' κλπ., ενώ τα αντίστοιχα πρόσωπα σε παροξύτονους ρηματικούς τύπους υφίστανται μόνο στένωση, π.χ. *αγαπούμι* [agarúmi] 'αγαπούμε', *αγαπιέμι* [agarjémi] 'αγαπιέμαι', *κ'μούμι* [cmúmi] 'κοιμούμαι'

⁴⁰ Ο Ανδριώτης χρονολογεί τον Σαχλίκη στον 16ο αι., σύμφωνα με νεότερες έρευνες όμως ο Σαχλίκης χρονολογείται στον 14ο αι. (βλ. Μανούσκακας, Μ. Ι. και van Gemert, Α. F. 1980. «Ο δικηγόρος του Χάντακα Στέφανος Σαχλίκης ποιητής του ΙΔ' και όχι του ΙΕ' αιώνα», στο: Πεπραγμένα του Δ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου (Ηράκλειο, 29 Αυγούστου – 3 Σεπτεμβρίου 1976), Τόμος Β': Βυζαντινοί και μέσοι χρόνοι, Αθήνα 1980, 215-231).

⁴¹ Πβ. επιρρηματικούς τύπους του ΙΣ *όπουντι* [órudi] 'όποτε', *έετουτι* [é:tuti] 'τότε' κ.α. χωρίς αποβολή ληκτικού /e/.

⁴² Βλ. και Τσολάκη (2009 : 93-94).

Ο Kretschmer (1905 : 288) ερμηνεύει το φαινόμενο ως αναλογική επέκταση από το γ' πληθ. πρόσ. όπως έχουν και έχουνε έτσι και στο α' πληθ. έχομ πλάι στο έχομε· ο Παπαδόπουλος (1926 : 19-20) το θεωρεί αναλογικό προς την αποβολή του *e* της προσωπικής αντωνυμίας *με*, στις ακολουθίες προστατική + κλιτικό *με*, την οποία ερμηνεύει ως ανομοιοτική αποβολή.⁴³ Ο Τζιτζιλής (ΘΒ), αναφέρει ότι απαντά σε βόρεια και ημιβόρεια ιδιώματα, δεν σχετίζεται με τον βόρειο φωνηεντισμό και αποτελεί τυπικό γνώρισμα της θρακοβιθυνιακής ομάδας, το οποίο σχετίζεται ή όχι με τη θέση του τόνου.

Κατανομή του φαινομένου σε ΘΒ και άλλα ιδιώματα, π.χ. *τρώγουμ, πίνουμ, έτρωγαμ, ήλεγαμ, γελούμ, κοιμούμ* (Σαράντα Εκκλησιές· Ψάλτης, 1905 : 73-74, 84-85) κ.α., σε νησιά του Β Αιγαίου *δένουμ* 'δένουμε', *δέναμ* 'δέναμε' (Λήμνος· Κοντονάτσιου (1989 : 89)· *έχομ*', *μαζεύουμ, π'χύζουμ* (Ιμβρος· Ανδριώτης, 1930 : 173), Καπαδοκικά: *παίνουμ* 'πηγαίνουμε' (Συνασός)· στην Αζοφική: *έχομ* (Μαριούπολη)· στον Πόντο: *αποθάνουμ, τρώγουμ* (Kretschmer, 1905 : 288-289) κ.α.

4.3.2 Ανάπτυξη μεσοσυμφωνικού φωνήεντος *i*

i. Στην ακολουθία C*ri*/eV > C*irj*V

Η ακολουθία C*ri*/eV στο ΙΣ εξελίχθηκε σε C*irj*V, με συνίζηση και συμφωνοποίηση του ημιφώνου *i*, και κατόπιν σε C*irj*V, με ανάπτυξη φωνήεντος (vowel epenthesis) για αποσυμπλοκή του τρισυμφωνικού συμπλέγματος,⁴⁴ π.χ.

άβιργιου [άνιρjυ] 'αύριο', *δάκιργιου* [δάκιρjυ] 'δάκρυ', *τιργιά* [τιρjά] 'τρία', *πιργιόν'* [πιρjόν] 'πριόνι', *γιργιά* [γίρjά] 'γριά', *κουπιργιά* [κουπιρjά] 'κοπριά', *Ουβιργιός* [υβιρjός] & *Βιργιός* [βιρjός] 'Εβραίος' κ.ά.

Το φαινόμενο έχει ευρεία κατανομή και απαντά⁴⁵ σε:

ΘΒ ιδιώματα: *πιργόν'*, *άβιργο, γιργά, κ'ιργάς* (Ντεμίρντεσι: Danguistis, 1943 : 43)· *γιργιά / jirjá, πιριόν' / pirjón'* (Κουβούκλια· Δεληγιάννης 2002 : 86-87)· *γιργιά* (Θράκη [Αυδήμι]· ΙΛ)· *γιριά* (Θράκη [Πλαγιάρι, Στέρνα]· ΙΛ)· *άφιργια, βυζάστιργια* (Σαράντα Εκκλησιές· Ψάλτης, 1905 : 173-174) κ.α.

νησιά Β Αιγαίου: *χουρεύτιργια· προυζινήτιργια* (Λήμνος· Παπαδόπουλος 1926 : 23)· *xuréfirja* 'χορευτριά' (Λέσβος [Αγιάσος]· Kretschmer 1905 : 110)· *γιργιά* (Λήμνος· ΙΛ)·

ΝΑ: *άεργιο* (Χίος· ΙΛ, λ. *αύριο*, βλ. και Pernot, 1907 : 130)· *Ανδιργιάς, αποκιργιά, κιργιάς, κιργιός, γιργιά, κοπιργιά, τιργιάνδα* (Ρόδος [Μαρίτσα]· Tsopanakis, 1940 : 66)· *κιριάς, μακιριά* (Καστελλόριζο· Pernot, 1907 : 132 και Παντελίδης, 1929 : 19, αντίστοιχα)· *γιρζά* (Κάλυμνος· ΙΛ)· *άγιρζα, κοπερζά* (Κάλυμνος· Παντελίδης, 1929 : 19)· *án'rdžo, g'rdzá* (Αστυπάλαια·

⁴³Συγκεκριμένα ο Παπαδόπουλος (ό.π.) αναφέρει «διότι ως άτονον συναποτελεί τρόπον τινά μίαν λέξιν δώστέμ, άρτεμ» και πιστεύει πως αναλογικά προς αυτές σημειώθηκαν και η αποβολή του *e* στους ρηματικούς τύπους Ιο εν. μσπθ. φωνής και Ιο πληθ. ενεργ. Αναφέρει χαρακτηριστικά «επειδή δε τοιουτρόπως το μ' προσέπιπτεν εις το γλωσσικόν συναίσθημα ως κατάληξις ρηματική, δια τούτο η κατ' ανομοίωσιν αποβολή του *e* ορμηθείσα εντεύθεν εξηπλώθη παντού όπου υπήρχε κατάληξις με και ούτω ελέχθη εν Σαρεκκλ. μαγιώνουμ(αι), πλογούμ(αι), σειούμ(αι), τρώγουμ(αι), πίνουμ(ε), έτρωγαμ(ε), θα πιούμ(ε), Λήμν. βάζουμ(ε), ρωτούσαμ(ε)».

⁴⁴ Για τη διαδικασία βλ. Malikouti-Drachman & Drachman (2010), οι οποίοι απορρίπτουν την πρόταση των Topintzi (2006) και Topintzi & van Oostendorp (2009) για μετάθεση του *r* στην έξοδο (rj --> ir).

⁴⁵ Παραπέμπουμε μόνο στις διαλέκτους που εμφανίζουν ανάπτυξη μεταξύ C+r· για διαλέκτους που εμφανίζουν ανάπτυξη μετά το *r*, π.χ. Κύπρος, Αστυπάλαια βλ. Malikouti-Drachman 2009.

Dieterich, 1908 : 53).⁴⁶ *γιργιά, κιριάς* (Λιβίσι· Ανδριώτης, 1961 : 49)⁴⁷ *κιριάδα* (Λιβίσι· Pernot, 1907 : 132) κ.α.

ΜΑ: *γκιριάς & κιριάς, κιρνός, Αδιριάς, τιριάδα, τριακόσοι* (Σύλλη· Κωστάκης, 1968 : 36-37)· Καππαδοκικά: *γιάρι* (Ανακού, Αραβανί, Μισθί, Τελμισσός· ΙΛ)· *κιργιάς, κιργιός, κιργιώνου* (Μιστί· Λ. Κοτσανίδης χ.χ. : 124, 125)· *κιργιά 'γριά'* (Φλογητά· ΙΛ)· *κιρjός, κιρjάς, ταυιρjέμι, καλόγjα, χjρjος, χjρjά* (Αξός· Μαυροχαλυβίδης – Κεσίσογλου, 1960 : 5)· *κιρjός, κιρjάς* (Ουλαγάτς· Κεσίσογλου, 1951 : 12) κ.α.

ii. Ανάπτυξη μεσοσυμφωνικού φωνήεντος *i* σε επίπεδο απλής ή φωνολογικής λέξης, όταν μετά την αποβολή /i/ ή /u/ προκύπτει τελικό σύμπλεγμα C + έρρινο· η ανάπτυξη στο ΙΣ παρατηρείται:

(α) στην ακολουθία Cn, μόνο σε ονοματικούς τύπους, π.χ.

πάχιν' [ράχιn] 'πάχνη', *δάφιν'* [δάφιn] 'δάφνη' κ.ά.,⁴⁸

(β) σε ονοματικούς και επιρρηματικούς στην ακολουθία Cm, π.χ.

τ κόζιμ' [t kózim] 'του κόσμου', *θκόζι μ'* [θkózim] 'δικός μου', *πουτέζι μ'* [putézim] 'ποτές μου',

απάνι μ' [arán i m] 'επάνω μου'.⁴⁹

Το φαινόμενο είναι ευρύτερα γνωστό στα ΒΙ, νησιά του Β Αιγαίου, ΘΒ κ.α., π.χ. *άχιν', στέγιν', τέχιν', πάχιν'* (Αίος· Λέσβος· Σάμος), *στάφιν* (Λέσβος· Σάμος), *δάφιν'* (Ιμβρος· Κυδωνίες· Λέσβος· Σάμος· Παπαδόπουλος, 1926 : 23)· *αράχιν' & αράχιν', τέχιν' & τέχιν', δάφιν' & δάφιν', στάφιν' & στάφιν', κάπιν'* (Κυδωνίες· Σάκκαρης, 1940 : 93) κ.α.·

ατόζι μ, θκόζι μ (Θάσος· Τομπαΐδης, 1967 : 15, 32), *ι j άντραζι μ, ι μύλουζι μ, τ' αδιάζι μ, τ' κουλλβόζι μ, τ' κόζι μ* (Ιμβρος· Ανδριώτης, 1930 : 149-150)· *η πατέραζι μ, η jόζι μ, η θκόζι μ, τς κόρζι μ* (Κυδωνίες· Σάκκαρης, 1940 : 93) κ.α.

4.3.3. Ανάπτυξη γ ή j

Στο ΙΣ εμφανίζεται ανάπτυξη γ ή j, ανάλογα με το φωνητικό περιβάλλον:

(i) Σε αρκτικό τονισμένο φωνήεν:

(α) Συστηματικά πριν από αρκτικό τονισμένο /i/, π.χ.

γηόβαα [jíva:] < ηύρα, *γήθλια* [jíθi¹la] 'ήθελα', *γήφι.α* [jífi.a] 'έφερα', *γύστι.α* [jístia] 'ύστερα', *γίδιους* [jídjus] 'ίδιος', *γήμε.ους* [jímius] 'ήμερος' κλπ.

και σπανιότερα και πριν από τονισμένο αρκτικό /é/ π.χ. *γέρμους* [jérmus] 'έρημος', *γένας* [jénas] 'ένας', *γαίμα* [jéma] 'αίμα' κ.ά.⁵⁰

(β) ορισμένες φορές πριν από αρκτικό τονισμένο /ú/, π.χ. *γούλους* [júlus] 'όλος', *γούλα* [jú¹la] 'ούλα', *γούργιου* [júrgju] < ούργιος 'κλούβιο', *γούγια* [júja] 'ούγια'.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Στα δεδομένα του Καραναστάση (1958) δεν εμφανίζεται ανάπτυξη φωνήεντος στους τύπους αυτούς π.χ. *αύρδζο* (115), *γρντζά* (72) (πβ. και ΙΛ *γρζά*, λ. γριά)· εμφανίζονται όμως τύποι, όπως *χρειjά, Οβριjός* (113) με διαφορετική θέση του αναπτυκτικού φωνήεντος (βλ. Malikouti-Drachman, 2009 : 121-124).

⁴⁷ Σύμφωνα με Kretschmer (1905 : 158) και Ανδριώτη (1961 : 49) πρόκειται για μετάθεση.

⁴⁸ Για ερμηνεία των τύπων βλ. Newton (1972b : 209) και Malikouti-Drachman (2009 : 125-126).

⁴⁹ Για συζήτηση και ερμηνευτικές προτάσεις του φαινομένου βλ. Newton (1972b : 207-208), Μαλικούτη-Drachman & Drachman (1977 : 46-49) και Malikouti-Drachman (2009 : 125-126).

⁵⁰ Αξίζει να παρατηρηθεί ότι αρκτικό άτονο /i/, /e/ στο ΙΣ, κατά κανόνα, αφαιρείται, π.χ. *δύωνου* [dó:nu] < ιδρώνω, *φαίνου* [fénu] < υφαίνω, *νι* [ni] < νύ, *πουφέρνου* [pufénu] < υποφέρνω, *ρχουμός* [rxumós] < ερχομός, *Βδουκιά* [vducá] < Ευδοκία, *βλουγώ* [vluγó] < ευλογώ, *λαφύς* [lafís] < ελαφρύς, *κατό* [kató] < εκατό, *μπόδιου* [bódju] < εμπόδιο, *λια* < [la] < ελιά, *λιώνας* [lónas] < ελαιώνας κλπ. (πβ. και *ιγώ* [igó] & *γω* [gó] 'εγώ', *μεις* [imís] & *μεις* [imís] 'εμείς', *ιννά* [ina] 'εννιά') ή τρέπεται σε α, π.χ. *αγγουνός* [agunós] < εγγονός, *αγκαλνώ* [agalnó] < εγκαλώ, *ακκλησιά* [aklíja] < εκκλησία, *αγαστουμέν'* [agastu:mén] < εγαστρομένη.

Αναπτυκτικό γ ή j σε αρκτικό τονισμένο φωνήεν εμφανίζεται και σε άλλα ιδιώματα, π.χ.

(α) πριν από αρκτικό τονισμένο /i/, π.χ.

γήλιους, γίδρους, γήμιρους (Ηπειρος, Θράκη, Μακεδονία· Παπαδόπουλος, 1926 : 36), *γείκουσ'* (Θράκη· Παπαδόπουλος, 1926 : 36)· *γήρτε* (Σαράντα Εκκλησιές· Ψάλτης, 41) *γήρκουμα*· (Σκοπός· Πετρόπουλος, 1938-1939 : 236)· *γή 'ή'* (Ιμβρος· Τζαβάρας, 2011)·

πριν από τονισμένο /e/, π.χ.

γαίμα (σύνηθες ΙΛ· Θράκη, Μακεδονία· Παπαδόπουλος 1926 : 36· Λήμνος· Κοντονάτσιου, 1989 : 33), *γέρ'μους* (Ηπειρος, Θράκη, Μακεδονία· Παπαδόπουλος, 1926 : 36) κ.α.

(β) και πριν τονισμένο /ú/, π.χ.

γούγια, γούλος (Σαράντα Εκκλησιές· Ψάλτης, 1905 : 41)· *τα γούλα* (Τρίγλια· Παπαδοπούλου, 2010 : 82) κ.α.

ii. Σε μεσοφωνηεντική θέση στη λέξη,⁵² π.χ.

κλαίγου [kléygu] 'κλαίω', *ακούγου* [akúygu] 'ακούω', *νουγώ* [nygó] 'καταλαβαίνω', *Θιγός* [θιγός] 'Θεός', *ζόγανου* [ksóyanu] 'ξόανο', *απανουγότε.ους* [apanuyóti.ous] 'ανώτερος', *βουγή* [vují] 'βοή', *ζουγή* [zují] 'ζωή', *ακγή* [akjí] 'ακοή' κλπ. (παράλληλα, διατήρηση του γ στα *λέγου* [léygu], *τώωγου* [tó:ygu]).

Άλλα ιδιώματα που εμφανίζουν ανάπτυξη γ ή j σε μεσοφωνηεντική θέση, π.χ. *λαγός* 'λαός', *να καγώ* (Σαράντα Εκκλησιές· Ψάλτης, 1905 : 40)· *βουγάνε*, *Θεγίέ μου*, *αγέρας* (Τρίγλια· Παπαδοπούλου, 2010 : 83)· *κσόγανυ* 'ξόανο', *νυjí, zují* (Λέσβος· Kretschmer, 1905 : 187-188)· *ανιραjíδα*, *αγέρας*, *ζουγή*, *βουγή* (Κυδωνιές· Σάκκαρης, 1940 : 98)· *κλαίγου*, *ζόγανου* (Τένεδος· Κερκινέογλου, 2009 : 146) κ.α.·

iii. Ανάμεσα στο άρθρο /i/ και το αρκτικό φωνήεν του ονόματος,⁵³ π.χ.

ι γ' άθιπους [i j áθi:pus], *η γ' αδιρή μ* [i j adirí m], *οι γ' αθώωπ* [i j aθó:p] 'οι άνθρωποι'.

Το φαινόμενο έχει ευρύτερη κατανομή, π.χ.

ηj άθριπους, *ηj ένας*, *ηj ώρα*, *ηj ίσια* (Ιμβρος· Ανδριώτης, 1930 : 163)· *οι γι αθρώωπ'* (Λέσβος· Παπαδόπουλος, 1926 : 52)· *η-γ-όμορφη* (Μελένικο· Ανδριώτης 1989 : 12)· *ι γ' ιργάτς*, *η γ' Ιλέν'*, *οι γ' Έλλην'* (Τένεδος· Κερκινέογλου 2009, 146)· *ι j αγιασμός* (Θάσος· Τομπαΐδης, 1967 : 83)· *η j αγέρας*, *η j ώρα*, *η j άγιους*, *η j έρμους* (Κυδωνιές· Σάκκαρης, 1940 : 98)· *η γιαλλη* (Τρίγλια· Παπαδοπούλου, 2010 : 72)· *η j άλλη*, *η j αμαρτία* (Βούρμπιανη· Αναγνωστόπουλος, 1930 : 450)· *η jadeρφή* (Αστυπάλαια· Καραναστάσης (1958 : 114) κ.α.

4.3.4 Εξέλιξη της ακολουθίας Ci/eV > CıV > CjΦ

Στο ΙΣ, στην ακολουθία CıV το ημίφωνο, το οποίο προκύπτει από i ή e με συνίζηση:

(α) εξελίσσεται σε ηχηρό j μετά από χειλικά, οδοντικά και /t/, ανεξάρτητα από την ηχηρότητα του προηγούμενου συμφώνου, π.χ.

θειά [θja] 'θεία' *κούφους* [kúfjus], *κινούργιους* [cinúrgjus], *αδειά* [adjá], 'ευκαιρία', *ποιος* [pjos], *δαγκαματιά* [dagamatjá], *σ'τιά* [stjá] 'φωτιά'·

(β) συγχωνεύεται σε ένα ουρανικό ή ουρανοφατνιακό σύμφωνο, σε επιδεκτικά ουράνωσης σύμφωνα, π.χ.

⁵¹ Ορισμένες φορές αποβάλλεται άτονο αρκτικό ο, π.χ. *λόχαδους* [l'óxadus] (< *ολόχαδος*) 'χαϊδεμένος', *λάκι.ους* [l'ácius] (< *ολάκερος*) 'ολόκληρος', *λουρτουχ'έιτς* [lurtuχ'éits] (< ολορθοχέστης) 'βιαστικός' κ.ά.

⁵² Βλ. και Malikouti-Drachman (2009 : 112).

⁵³ Βλ. και Malikouti-Drachman (2009 : 114, 121).

κι.άσια [ciáf̥a] 'κεράσια', κι.ασιά [ciáf̥á] 'κερασιά', απλυσιά [arlif̥á], λια [la] 'ελιά', νιά [na] 'νέα', κ'κιά [kčá], βουρτσιά [vurtšá].

Εμφανίζουν ηχηρό j μετά από άηχα σύμφωνα και άλλα ιδιώματα, π.χ. στήθηγα (Αίνος, Θράκη, Λέσβος)· κάπγοιους, τέτγοιους (Αιτωλία, Ήπειρος, Θράκη, Λέσβος, Κυδωνίες)· φουτγιά (Λιβίσι)· χουράφγια (Μακεδονία) (Παπαδόπουλος, 1926 : 36)· τέτγοιους, κάπγοιους (Αιτωλία· Κοντός, 1997 : 82)· σπιά, πjos, φτζαρ, τέτjουνας Κυδωνίες· Σάκκαρης, 1940 : 99 & 1952 : 89)· τόπ-γ-ια, σπít-γ-ια, χουράφ-γ-ια, αρβίθ-γ-ια, (Τένεδος· Κερκινέογλου, 2009 : 146)· αλήθjα, τόπjα, σπítjα, χουράφjα (Ιμβρος [Κάστρο, Γλυκύ, Παναγιά, Ευλάμπιο]· Ανδριώτης, 1930 : 152)· στια /stja/, αστήθjα, τέτjος (ή téth'os), pjes 'ποιες' (Κουβούκλια· Δεληγιάννης, 2002 : 60-61, 102)⁵⁴ κ.α.

4.3.5 Εξέλιξη των ακολουθιών /Vsis/, /Vzis/, /Vxis/, /Vγis/, (/Vstis/ /Vtsis/)

Πρόκειται για φαινόμενο των ΒΙ που οφείλεται στην αποβολή του /i/ μεταξύ συριστικού ή ουρανικού τριβόμενου και συριστικού, η οποία οδήγησε στην εμφάνιση ημιφώνου στη θέση του προϋπάρχοντος πρώτου συμφώνου. Οι ακολουθίες αυτές στο ΙΣ εξελίχτηκαν ως εξής, π.χ.

/Vsis/, /Vxis/, /Vγis/ > Vjs

πι.άjς [riájɪs] < περάσεις, ακούjς [akújɪs] < ακούσεις, βύjς [vi:jɪs] < βρύσης

έjς [éjɪs] (και έχ'ς [éçs]) < έχεις

φύjς [fi:jɪs] (και φύγ'ς [fi:ɣs]) < φύγεις

/Vzis/ > /Vjz(s)/

γουρσουζjς [ɣursújz(s)] < γουρσουζης, πει.άjζjς [piájz(s)] < πειράζεις

/Vstis/ ή /Vtsis/ > /Vjts(s)/

ασβέjτς(s) [azvéjts(s)] (& ασβέσ'τς(s) [azvéjts(s)]) < ασβέστης, θκόj τς [θkój ts(s)]

'δικός της', κάjτςjς [kájts(s)] < κάτσεις

Το φαινόμενο είναι ευρύτατα διαδεδομένο στα ΒΙ και σε ΘΒ με βόρειο φωνηεντισμό.

Για επιπλέον παραδείγματα βλ. Παπαδόπουλος (1926 : 25-26) και Τζιτζιλής (ΒΙ & ΘΒ).

Με την εξέλιξη των ακολουθιών /Vsis/, /Vzis/ στα ΒΙ έχουν ασχοληθεί οι Newton (1972b) και Μαλικούτη-Drachman & Drachman (1977). Ο Newton (1972b : 83-87) αποδίδει την εμφάνιση του ημιφώνου στη θέση των š, ž σε ανομοίωση συμφωνικότητας, ενώ οι Μαλικούτη-Drachman & Drachman (1977 : 39-40) την αποδίδουν σε ανομοίωση ουράνωσης με αποσύνθεση των διακριτικών χαρακτηριστικών της ουρανικότητας των š, ž, και με αυτόν τον τρόπο δικαιολογούν και περιπτώσεις όπως θαμάjzς με παρουσία τόσο του ημιφώνου όσο και του συμφώνου z, που προκαλεί την εμφάνιση του ημίφονου.

Ο Τζιτζιλής (ΒΙ) εξετάζοντας αυτές τις ακολουθίες συμπεριλαμβάνει στην εξέτασή του και τις ακολουθίες /Vxis/, /Vγis/ και σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις και τις /Vstis/, /Vtsis/ (δηλ. ακολουθίες όπου μετά την αποβολή του /i/ προκύπτουν συριστικά προστριβόμενα) και κάνει σύνθεση των προτάσεων των δύο παραπάνω ερμηνευτών, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη και ερμηνεύοντας την προέλευση όλων των μαρτυρημένων φωνητικών εκδοχών της διαδικασίας που προτείνει.

⁵⁴ Σε ορισμένα ιδιώματα που δεν διαθέτουν ουρανοφανιακά το ημίφωνο εξελίσσεται σε j και μετά τα φατνιακά, π.χ. ιογιάζου (Θράκη)· β'ζγια (Βελβεντός, Μελένικο) (Παπαδόπουλος, 1926 : 36)· μιτάξ-γ-ια, φέσ-γ-ια, κουρίτσ-γ-ια κ.α. (Τένεδος· Κερκινέογλου 2009 : 146).

4.3.6 Ανομοίωση τρόπου άρθρωσης του συμπλέγματος /rθ/ > /rt/

Στο ΙΣ το σύμπλεγμα /rθ/ τρέπεται σε /rt/, π.χ.

γήρτα [jírta] 'ήρθα', *ααν έρτου* [értu] 'θα έρθω', *αλόρτους* [a'órtus] 'ολόρθος', *ουρτιά* [urtjá] < ορθία 'καλή πλευρά υφάσματος'.

Το φαινόμενο είναι ήδη γνωστό από τις Ασσίζες (13ος αι.).⁵⁵ Το φωνητικό ισόγλωσσο της τροπής του /rθ/ σε /rt/ καταλαμβάνει μεγάλο μέρος των ΒΙ (ΒΑ), ΘΒ, ΜΑ, ΝΑ.

4.3.7 Μετάθεση

Στο ΙΣ σημειώθηκε μετάθεση στην ακολουθία CSV.C με εξαγόμενο δομή συλλαβής CVS.C, πρόκειται δηλ. για μετακίνηση ένηχου σε θέση εξόδου συλλαβής (πβ. και 4.3.2 i), π.χ.

κουρκίαμα [kurciama] 'ακροκέραμα', *μπιρζόλα* [birzola] 'μπιρζόλα', *τούρλα* [túrta] 'κάτι πολύ γεμάτο σε σχήμα τρούλου', *φουρτιέρα* [furtjéra] 'φρουτιέρα', *μπιργιόλ* [birjól] 'μπιργιόλ', *μπιργιάντια* [birjándja] 'μπιργιάντια', *φιργάδα* [firgáda] 'φρεγάδα', *ζ'ιμλάρ* [žimlár] 'σμιλάρ'.

Το φαινόμενο έχει ευρεία κατανομή, π.χ. *διρπάν*' (κοινώς· Παπαδόπουλος, 1926 : 17)· *ριρπυδίζι* < προποδίζω (Λέσβος [Μανταμάδος] Kretschmer, 1905 : 207)· *φιργαδούλα* < φρεγαδούλα, (Θάσος· Τομπαΐδης, 1967 : 24)· *κιτρινίζου* < κιτρινίζω (Μακεδονία· Kretschmer, 1905 : 110)· *κίτερνου* (Σίλλη· Κωστάκης, 1968 : 31)· *τίτερνο* 'κίτρινο' (Καστελλόριζο· Kretschmer, 1905 : 110)· *τύρπα* 'τρύπα' (Λιβίσι· Ανδριώτης, 1961 : 49).

5. Ανακεφαλαίωση - συμπεράσματα

Στην εργασία μας καθορίσαμε τη θέση του ΙΣ με βάση τα εικοσιτέσσερα χαρακτηριστικά για τη διαλεκτική διαίρεση της ελληνικής, παρουσιάσαμε το φωνητικό και φωνολογικό προφίλ και τα ειδικότερα χαρακτηριστικά του ΙΣ, και πιο συγκεκριμένα:

1. Αναδείξαμε τα ιδιάζοντα στοιχεία, που το διαφοροποιούν από όλα τα υπόλοιπα νεοελληνικά ιδιώματα, και που κατά κύριο λόγο συνδέονται με την αποβολή του /r/, με συνέπεια την εμφάνιση φωνολογικά μακρών φωνηέντων, για τα οποία έχουμε διαπιστώσει ότι προέρχονται και από άλλες εκτός του /r/ πηγές, γεγονός που ενισχύει την άποψη ότι η μακρότητα έχει φωνολογική αξία στο ΙΣ. Τις απόψεις για την ερμηνεία της αποβολής του /r/ έχουμε ήδη συζητήσει σε προηγούμενο άρθρο μας (2011) και έχουμε καταλήξει ότι τα δεδομένα του ιδιώματος ερμηνεύονται επαρκέστερα από την πρόταση του Kirarsky.

2. Εστιάσαμε σε χαρακτηριστικά που δεν απαντούν σε γειτονικά ιδιώματα, αλλά συνδέουν το ΙΣ με τα νοτιανατολικά ιδιώματα:

(α) ανομοίωση ύψους: παρουσιάσαμε τις προτάσεις των Andriotis, Newton, Méndez Dosuna και Malikouti-Drachman & Drachman και προσθέσαμε νέα δεδομένα, τα οποία κατά τη γνώμη μας ενισχύουν την άποψη για ανομοίωση ύψους. Το φαινόμενο απαντά επίσης στα Δωδεκάνησα και την Κύπρο.

(β) εξέλιξη του συμπλέγματος /sf/ > /sv/ που απαντάται συστηματικά και στο Λιβίσι: αναφερθήκαμε στις ιδιαίτερες εξελίξεις του συμπλέγματος στις νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους και προσθέσαμε δεδομένα που δείχνουν ότι το ΙΣ ανέχεται ακολουθίες άηχου συριστικού + ηχηρό τριβόμενο, και μάλιστα εμφανίζει ηχηροποίηση του /sx/ σε /sy/.

⁵⁵ Βλ. ΑΜΕ-Κριαρά λ. *έρχομαι* για τύπο *ήρτα*.

(γ) εμφάνιση ευφωνικού ή εγκλωβισμένου φωνήεντος *i* σε φωνολογική φράση: επισημάναμε την παρουσία του φωνήεντος ως *i* στο Λιβίσι και ως *i* ή *e* στα Δωδεκάνησα και την Κύπρο· βασιστήκαμε στην ερμηνεία του Τζιτζιλί και χρησιμοποιήσαμε την ορολογία του.

3. Τέλος, σκιαγραφήσαμε ορισμένα από τα σημαντικότερα χαρακτηριστικά του ιδιώματος που απαντούν σε περισσότερα ιδιώματα και το συνδέουν με περισσότερες διαλεκτικές ομάδες, όπως: (1) αποβολή ληκτικού /e/ σε ρηματικούς τύπους, (2) ανάπτυξη μεσοσυμφωνικού *i* στις ακολουθίες: Cti/eV > CijV, C + έρρινο > C + i + έρρινο, (3) ανάπτυξη γ ή j: στην αρχή ή στο εσωτερικό της λέξης ή μεταξύ άρθρου και ονόματος, (4) εξέλιξη της ακολουθίας Ci/eV > CjV, (5) εξέλιξη των ακολουθιών /Vsis/, /Vzis/, /Vxis/, /Vγis/, /Vstis/ /Vtsis/, (6) ανομοίωση τρόπου άρθρωσης του συμπλέγματος /tθ/ > /t/ και (7) μετάθεση, κατά το σχήμα: CSV.C > CVS.C.

Από την εξέταση αυτή διαπιστώσαμε ότι το ΙΣ έχει κοινά χαρακτηριστικά με τα ΒΙ, ιδιαίτερα με τα νησιά του Β Αιγαίου, τα ΘΒ, τα ΜΑ και τα ΝΑ. Με βάση τα ιδιάζοντα χαρακτηριστικά του ΙΣ και τα κοινά με τις άλλες διαλεκτικές ομάδες συμπεραίνουμε ότι:

(α) το ΙΣ αποτελεί διαλεκτικό θύλακα αφενός επειδή παρουσιάζει χαρακτηριστικά που δεν απαντούν σε άλλα ιδιώματα και αφετέρου επειδή εμφανίζει χαρακτηριστικά που είναι άγνωστα στα ιδιώματα που το περιβάλλουν, ενώ εμφανίζονται σε απομακρυσμένα ΝΑ ιδιώματα.

(β) το ΙΣ ανήκει σε μια από τις σημαντικότερες, κατά τον Τζιτζιλί (ΒΙ), μεταβατικές ζώνες, την οποία αποτελούν τα νησιά του Β Αιγαίου (Λέσβος, Τένεδος, Ίμβρος, Σαμοθράκη, Λήμνος, Θάσος)· η ομάδα αυτή διαθέτει έναν σημαντικό αριθμό κοινών χαρακτηριστικών που συνδέουν τα ΒΙ αφενός με τα ΘΒ και αφετέρου με τα ΜΑ και ΝΑ.

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REORGANIZATION OF GRAMMAR IN THE LIGHT OF THE LANGUAGE CONTACT FACTOR: A CASE STUDY ON GRICO AND CAPPADOCIAN*

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This paper makes a contribution to the issue of the role of language contact in the reorganization of grammar in the light of the evidence provided by two Modern Greek contact induced dialects, i.e. Italiot varieties in contact with both the local Romance varieties and Standard Italian and Cappadocian in contact with Turkish. We claim that the attested phenomena of reorganization of nominal inflection can be accounted for as temporarily complexification always headed, however, towards the same direction, simplification in the paradigmatic relations. The amount and the type of temporary complexification diverge significantly depending on the compatibility or incompatibility factor among the systems in contact. Furthermore, we show that although replacement and loss of features are admittedly the commoner strategies on the level of morphology, addition is also very likely to appear when structural incompatibility is involved.

1 Introduction

The topic of reorganization of grammar in the light of the language contact factor has been treated both from a sociolinguistic and a typological viewpoint. In the sociolinguistic spirit, the general claim is supported that language contact is strongly related to simplification (cf. Kusters, 2003; Dahl, 2004; Trudgill, 2002, 2009, 2011), while from the typological viewpoint it is thought to lead to complexification (cf. Comrie, 1992).

Comrie (1992: 210) has argued that complexity could be thought of as what language evolution adds (for example morphophonemic alternation and suppletion), or in terms of language change and referring to contact factors, the burden of diachrony. Research in sociolinguistics, on the other hand, has shown, within the spirit of associating certain linguistic

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features or tendencies with certain types of social structure, that specific types of social structure may pave the way towards lesser or greater language complexity (cf. Trudgill, 2004, 2009, 2011). One of the most prominent factors is that of the degree of contact¹ or the degree of isolation (first proposed by Lenneberg, 1967), often related to stability and the community size (cf. Trudgill, 2011). As regards the Modern Greek dialects, they are generally argued to constitute a very good example of the thesis that low-contact varieties are rather conservative systems (cf. Trudgill, 2004: 435), i.e. tend to preserve their structure, or archaisms (thus complexity).

The aim of this contribution is to investigate the extent, the strength and the implications of the influence of a particular linguistic system on another, emphasizing the reorganization of grammar, nominal inflection in particular in intense language-contact situations involving communities in isolation (cf. Trudgill, 2004, 2009), or at least in relevant isolation from the Greek mainland, in terms of simplification vs. complexification.

Claims and proposals put forward are exemplified through data from the contrastive investigation of two different contact-induced dialects of Greek. The reasoning behind this choice lies in our belief that simplification vs. complexification phenomena can be more effectively enlightened due to the close genetic affiliation and the common historical origin of these varieties. On the one hand, we examine the Asia Minor dialect of Cappadocia which was spoken for great many centuries in a Turkish spoken environment while, on the other hand, the dialects of Southern Italy, i.e. Italiot -Grico and Greacanico (Bovese)-, which are spoken for great many centuries as well in an Italian ground.

The data under investigation are extracted from the available written sources (cf. Karanastasis, 1997; Rohlf, 1977; Tommasi, 1996; Stomeo, 1996; Filieri, 2001; Katsoyannou, 1996; Dawkins, 1916; Kesisoglou, 1951; Fosteris and Kesisoglou, 1960; Mavrochalyvidis and Kesisoglou, 1960; Sasse, 1992; Janse, forthcoming, etc.), as well as from the oral corpora available at the Laboratory of Modern Greek dialects at the University of Patras. They are looked into not in a static perspective but in terms of language variation and change, in the sense that synchronic variation mirrors language change.

The paper is structured as follows. In section 2, basic premises and assumptions on the notions of contact, reorganization of inflection and complexification vs. simplification are offered. In section 3, a sketchy description of the sociolinguistic background and all the relevant data are presented accompanied by generalizations on the attested phenomena. In section 4, discussion, by focusing on commonalities and particularities, specific claims and proposals are put forward in order to account for the contact induced changes in terms of simplification vs. complexification, while the section ends with some thoughts for future research.

2 Premises

No matter the linguistic perspective, language contact is thought to have two different types of implications for the organization of grammar:

a) It may lead to increase of complexification (due to borrowing effects). In Nichols's (1992: 193)² exact words “[...] *contact among languages fosters complexity, or put it differently,*

¹ Maintaining that linguistic change is favoured by contact situations, while lack thereof entails lack of change (cf. Trudgill 2011).

² Nichols also distinguished between spread zones and residual zones in the sense that “*residual zones show relatively high complexity[...]*” while “[...] *spread zones show somewhat average complexity*” (1992:192). In

diversity among languages fosters complexity in each of the languages”, often called *added complexity*. This type of implication is expected on the condition that the circumstances are of long-term contact, involve childhood (the so called *critical threshold*) and bilingualism occurs.

However, Kusters (2003:359) on the basis of a large-scale empirical study claims that languages experiencing a long history of intense contact show greater degrees of simplification, associating thus the amount of contact with the amount of simplification.

b) Language contact may lead to simplification usually associated with pidginization and as a result of imperfect post-adolescent or adult³ learning (Lenneberg, 1967). In this perspective, it can be deduced that pidgin and creole grammars are the simplest grammars, since in this case adults are obliged to cope with the problem of learning another language after the critical threshold (McWorter, 2001: 372).

However, as correctly pointed out by Trudgill (2001: 372), simplification phenomena, or the simplest grammars are not confined to pidgins and creoles, they can be attested in other types of languages or varieties as well.

In this paper, the role of language contact among both typologically and genetically divergent systems in this process will be examined; the situation of long term contact, that in the relevant literature (cf. Nichols, 1992; Trudgill, 2009, 2011) is expected to lead to complexification phenomena, *added complexity* in Trudgill’s terms.

As regards the notions of complexification and simplification⁴, aligning with Sasse’s (1992: 15-16) thesis we do not advocate that simplification is necessarily linked with recession or language death. We rather conceive it as loss of complexity (in our case structural complexity) involving greater or lesser rearrangements in the structure of the language, i.e. restructuring phenomena which vary depending on the nature of the systems (and would entail repair -which could be seen as a chain reaction- or no repair in terms of Trudgill (2009:100)) but ultimately they balance out the system.

For the purposes of this paper the above mentioned notions are used to refer to irregularity vs. regularity, opacity vs. transparency and redundancy vs. loss of it (with or without repair in terms of Trudgill (2009:100) with a special focus on the reorganization of nominal inflection. In the particular case considered, it refers to systems without superfluous morpho(phono)logical alternations, i.e. loss of irregularity and redundancy in inflectional organization.

With respect to the notion of contact, contact induced changes can be conceived of as transfer phenomena of both direct and indirect nature. In direct transfer, what is borrowed from the donor to the recipient language is linguistic material (e.g. phonemes, morphemes), while in indirect transfer what is borrowed is structure, i.e. patterns that result in the rearrangement of the structure of the recipient language under the influence of the donor language (*model replica language* resulting to *grammatical pattern replication*, cf. Matras and Sakel, 2007)⁵. Grammatical patterns can be transferred with or without concomitant transfer of lexicon or morphemic material (for the relevant debate see among others Thomason, 2003; Aikhenvald,

Trudgill’s (2011) terms, in small and tightly-knit communities, complexities learning can be easily reinforced. In a similar vein Braunmüller (1995) argues that morphological opacity is a feature of small languages.

³Due to their inability for perfect language learning as is similar to the pre-critical threshold language acquisition.

⁴The notions of complexity - complexification and simplicity - simplification, having overcome their controversial status (due to their initial equation with higher and lower values respectively and the resulting chauvinistic overtones) have become hotly debated in the fields of dialectology, typology, and language contact (cf. Klein and Perdue 1997, Trudgill 1986, Kusters 2003, Dahl 2004, Miestamo 2006, Miestamo et al 2008, Trudgill 2009, 2011).

⁵The second type of change is often referred to in the relevant literature as *syntactic borrowing*, *loan-syntax*, *calquing* or *indirect diffusion* (see among others Clyne 1987, Silva-Corvalán 1995).

2003; Winford, 2003 etc.). It is true that approaches to contact-induced grammatical change vary from the statement that grammatical borrowing is unrestricted, supported by the extreme diffusionists (e.g. Wackernagel, 1926-8: 8; Thomason, 2001:63 to the thesis that it is not possible at all, supported by the extreme retentionists (e.g. Sapir, 1921: 203), the intermediate position holding scholars who argue that grammatical borrowing is possible only to the extent that the donor and the recipient languages are structurally compatible (cf. Meillet, 1921; Weinreich, 1953: 25 and Field, 2002: 42 on the *Principle of System Compatibility* (PSC))^{6/7}.

The investigated phenomena are ascribable to indirect transfers resulting to the reorganization of structure either with the form of loss of features or categories (i.e. negative transfer, e.g. breakdown of case systems resulting to simplification of paradigms etc.) or with the form of addition, or replacement thereof (which may serve to compensate for a respective loss in the recipient language). In complexification vs. simplification terms, addition of features as such most probably leads to greater complexity of the influenced system (cf. Trudgill, 2011: 27) and loss of redundant features would most probably entail simplicity, while replacement might vacillate between the two, perhaps depending on the stage of the on-going process. However, in our view, addition of features could be seen as an intermediate stage towards replacement, especially in a diachronic perspective. Lastly, as noticed by Gardani (2008: 22), replacement is thought to be more common in morphology and syntax than the other two processes.

3 Data

Given that no specific studies on the organization of the above mentioned dialectal systems into inflection classes are available, we will not make any reference to particular inflection classes as are those of S(tandard) M(odern) G(reek) proposed by Ralli (2000, 2002). Nouns will be divided into groups on the basis of their different inflectional endings in the singular form in combination with their different grammatical gender values (as is suggested in some existing descriptions of the dialects). The corresponding SMG inflectional paradigms will be provided in a comparative column.

3.1 Grico

Italiot varieties, Grico and Greacanico (or Bovese cf. Fanciullo, 2001) are spoken in Southern Italy, Grico in the area of Puglia, Salento, widely known as *Grecia Salentina* (cf. Karanastasis, 1984), while Greacanico in the area of Calabria (*Bovesia*). The sociolinguistic status of these Greek-speaking enclaves varied during centuries. Till the early 90s, in Calabria several villages were reported to be deserted (only in Gallicianó and Bova, the dialect is thought to be alive cf. Katsoyannou, 1995), while in Puglia, the dialect seemed to be more resisting (nine Grico-speaking villages were reported, cf. Profili, 1985), although confined mainly to people of advanced age. The last decades, the dialects, especially Grico, experience revitalization efforts

⁶ The Principle of System Compatibility (Field, 2002: 42) predicts that the type of morphological structure of the languages involved in a language-contact situation constraints borrowability.

⁷ Gardani (2008:29), examining direct grammatical borrowing (transfer) argues that typological divergence does not impede grammatical transfer although he acknowledges that the lack thereof favours the above mentioned process (grammatical borrowing).

(cf. Caratzas 1958; Profili, 1999a, b), having as a starting point their official recognition as minority languages (1999).

Being spoken for great many centuries in an Italian ground (see Minas, 1994, 2004; Manolessou, 2005 and references therein for the different opinions with respect to Grico origin, i.e. Ancient Greek vs. Byzantine Greek), Italiot varieties were in long term contact with Italian, not only in its standard form (the language of school and media), but in the local Romance varieties as well, (*dialetti salentini and calabresi*), used in every day speech (street conversations, local commerce), limiting the sphere of their usage to family situations (cf. Profili, 1985; Katsoyannou, 1999). Gricophons and Greacophons are aware of the fact that their code differs from Modern Greek (they say: *griko diko ma pero e?* ‘Greek, but our version of it⁸’) as well as of the divergence between *Grico di Puglia* (of Puglia) and *Grico di Calabria* (of Calabria)⁹ (for relevant statements in the literature, cf. Rohlfs, 1933, 1997; Karanastasis, 1984, 1997). However, these differences are not so significant, especially in the domain of nominal morphology and nominal inflection that is of interest for the purposes of this paper, so as to treat them as distinct case studies. Divergence in inflectional markers and paradigms between the two varieties will be mentioned, when occurring.

More specifically, the nominal inflection of Italiot varieties is organized as follows:

Three groups of masculine nouns are distinguished in *-a*, *-i*, and *-o* which are inflected as shown in tables (1-3) respectively:

(1)^{10/11} 'mina.M ‘month’

	Singular			Plural		
	Salento	Calabria	SMG	Salento	Calabria	SMG
Nom	'mina	'mina	'minas	'mini	'mini	'mines
Gen	'mina	'mina & 'minu & mi'nu	'mina	mi'no	'mino & mi'no	mi'non
Acc	'mina	'mina	'mina	'minu & 'mini	'minu	'mines
Voc			'mina			'mines

⁸ This is part of recorded speech that was collected as part of the activities implemented for the research project “Recording and Analyzing the Grico dialect of South Italy”, Interreg II, 5.4. European Union - Ministry of Economy (2000-2001), and is stored at the under construction oral dialectal corpora database of the Laboratory of Modern Greek Dialects at the University of Patras.

⁹ Gricophons make meta-linguistic judgments on the divergence of their Grico and *Grico di Calabria* (i.e. Bovesè). Here follows a typical example of a judgement in which a Gricophon comments the difference between the two varieties on a folk song: *e'yo 'leo 'ela 'elatu si'ma. In'vetse e'ci e'lene 'ela 'ela 'tu kon'da.* ‘I say: ‘come close / near here. On the contrary, they say: ‘come close’ (using another adverbial element). For the source of the above-mentioned utterance see the previous footnote.

¹⁰ Abbreviations are used throughout the text following the list of Standard Abbreviations of the Leipzig glossing rules as follows: M(asculine), F(eminine), N(euter), Abs(olutive), Nom(inative), Gen(itive), Dat(itive), Acc(usative), Loc(ative), A(blative), Def(inite), Indef(inite), S(in)g(ular), Pl(ural).

¹¹ Dialectal data are transliterated throughout the paper in broad phonetic transcription.

(2) 'ʃuri.M 'master'

	Singular			Plural		
	Salento	Calabria	SMG	Salento	Calabria	SMG
Nom	'ʃuri	'ʃuri	'ciris	'ʃuri	ʃu'ruði & ʃu'ruđja	'ciriðes
Gen	'ʃuri &'ʃuru	ʃu'ru &'ʃuru	'ciri	'ʃuro & ʃuri [attus 'ʃuri] ¹²	ʃu'ruði & ʃu'ruđo	('ciriðon)
Acc	'ʃuri	'ʃuri	'ciri	'ʃuru	ʃu'ruđu	'ciriðes
Voc			'ciri			'ciriðes

(3) 'milo.M 'mill'

	Singular		Plural	
	Salento-Calabria	SMG	Salento-Calabria	SMG
Nom	'milo	'milos	'mili	'mili
Gen	'milu	'milu	'milo & 'mili [attuz 'mili Salento]	'milon
Acc	'milo	'milo	'milu & 'mili	'milus
Voc		'mile		'mili

Apart from the generalized use of *-i* marker for the plural (e.g. *'mini* and *'ʃuri* instead of *'mines* and *'ʃuriðes*), which is a cross-dialectal phenomenon (cf. Melissaropoulou, 2012, in print), what can be seen from the examples (1) to (3) above is that there is a strong alternation between different inflectional forms which tend to generalize the nominative inflectional marker. In (1) for example, the noun *'mina* 'month' is realized in genitive singular as *'mina* and *'minu* in Calabria, while accusative plural as *'minu* and *'mini* in Salento. Similarly, in (2) the noun *'ʃuri* 'master' is realized in genitive singular as *'ʃuri* and *'ʃuru* in Salento, while genitive plural as *'ʃuro* and *'ʃuri* (both synthetic and analytic) in Salento and as *ʃu'ruði* and *ʃu'ruđo* in Calabria. In (3) the noun *'milo* 'mill' is realized both as *'milo* and *'milu* in genitive plural in both Salento and Calabria.

Masculine nouns preserve only to some extent their different inflectional markers in the different plural case forms. According to Katsoyannou (1996: 332), genitive case in particular shows serious signs of recession and seems to be restricted to possessive constructions and nouns denoting kinship, alternating with the corresponding syncretic nominative-accusative forms and with analytic expressions. However, as will be below, this is a general tendency that cross-cuts all groups of Italian nouns.

¹² Analytic expressions are put into squared brackets.

Feminine nouns seem to be confined basically to one group of nouns those in *-a*, since the vast majority of the former feminine nouns in *-i* are transferred to the *-a* group without the reverse tendency being seriously at play¹³. Crucially, this is the only innovation reported by Minas (2004) according to whom, the first attestations of this change were traced in the medieval Greek documents of Italiot and Sicilian Greek, where forms like *tin 'oxθa* instead of *tin 'oxθi* ‘the shore.Acc.’, *tin 'limna* instead of *tin 'limni* ‘the lake.Acc.’ are attested (cf. Minas, 2004: 88-89).

Their inflectional behavior can be seen under (4):

(4) *ji'neka.F* ‘woman’

	Singular			Plural		
	Salento	Calabria	SMG	Salento	Calabria	SMG
Nom	<i>ji'neka</i>	<i>ji'neka</i>	<i>ji'neka</i>	<i>ji'nece</i>	<i>ji'nece</i>	<i>ji'neces</i>
Gen	<i>ji'neka</i> [atti <i>ji'neka</i>]	<i>jine'ko</i> ¹⁴ & <i>ji'neka</i>	<i>ji'nekas</i>	<i>jine'ko</i> & <i>ji'nece</i> [attes <i>ji'nece</i>]	<i>jine'ko</i> & <i>ji'nece</i> [atze /afse <i>ji'nece</i>]	<i>jine'kon</i>
Acc	<i>ji'neka</i>	<i>ji'neka</i>	<i>ji'neka</i>	<i>ji'nece</i>	<i>ji'nece</i>	<i>ji'neces</i>
Voc			<i>ji'neka</i>			<i>ji'neces</i>

As shown in the examples under (4) above, genitive plural only partially maintains its distinct inflectional marker since it competes with both the syncretic nominative-accusative (*tos ji'nece*) and the analytic forms (*atze /afse ji'nece*) and tends to be substituted by them.

Lastly, neuter nouns in Italiot consist of three subgroups, those in *-o*, *-i*, and *-a*. Their paradigms can be seen under (5) to (7) below:

(5) *'fsilo / 'fjilo.N* ‘wood’

	Singular			Plural		
	Salento	Calabria	SMG	Salento	Calabria	SMG
Nom	<i>'fsilo</i>	<i>'fjilo</i>	<i>'ksilo</i>	<i>'fsila</i>	<i>'fjila</i>	<i>'ksila</i>
Gen	<i>'fsilu</i> & <i>'fsilo</i> [atto'fsilo]	<i>'fjilu</i> & <i>'fjilo</i> [azze'fjilo]	<i>'ksilu</i>	<i>'fsilo</i> & <i>'fsila</i> [atta'fsila]	<i>'fjilo</i> & <i>'fjila</i>	<i>'ksilon</i>

¹³ Only the noun *'tripi* instead of *'tripa* ‘hole’ is found in use in Salento. In Calabria the corresponding form is *'tripa*.

¹⁴ Only the variety of Calabria seems to retain a distinct inflectional marker as well for the genitive singular, which is reminiscent of the Ancient Greek genitive singular form *τῆς γυναικός* and could be ascribed to the relatively greater isolation of Calabria compared to Salentino. However, this is far from being characterized a stable or systematic form. It alternates with the nominative form *ji'neka* as well as with analytic periphrastic structures (for similar examples see Katsoyannou, 1996: 332).

Acc	'fsilo	'fjilo	'ksilo	'fsila	'fjila	'ksila
Voc			'ksilo			'ksila

(6) 'gala.N 'milk' 'stoma.N 'mouth'

	Singular			Plural		
	Salento	Calabria	SMG	Salento	Calabria	SMG
Nom	'gala	'stoma	'ɣala	'galata	'stomata	'ɣalata
Gen	ga'latu & 'gala [atto 'gala]	sto'matu & 'stoma [atto 'stoma]	'ɣalaktos	ga'lato & 'galata ['atta 'galata]	sto'mato & 'stomata [azza 'stomata]	ɣa'laton
Acc	'gala	'stoma	'ɣala	'galata	'stomata	'ɣalata
Voc			'ɣala			'ɣalata

(7) kro'vatti /kre'vatti.N 'bed'

	Singular			Plural		
	Salento	Calabria	SMG	Salento	Calabria	SMG
No m	kro'vatti	kre'vatti	kre'vati	kro'vattja	kre'vattj/ia	kre'vatja
Gen	krova'ttiu & kro'vatti [atto kro'vatti]	kreva'ttiu & kre'vatti	kreva'tju	krova'ttio & kro'vattja [atta kro'vattja]	kreva'ttio & kre'vattj/ia [azza kre'vattja]	kreva'tjon
Acc	kro'vatti	kre'vatti	kre'vati	kro'vattja	kre'vattj/ia	kre'vatja
Voc			kre'vati			kre'vatja

In neuter nouns as well, apart from the syncretic nominative-accusative forms, common to all Modern Greek varieties (for a typological correlation see Baerman et al, 2005: 47) the genitive case is only partially realized with a distinct inflectional marker, alternating however with either the syncretic nominative-accusative form or with the analytic structures, showing strong signs of recession. Moreover, nouns that formerly followed the inflectional behavior of *'ðasos* (see the example under the SMG column in (8)), are following divergent directions in order to conform to the new dynamics of the system. They either become masculine (i.e. follow the behavior of *'milo* - *'mili* 'mill-mills') or follow the *-o - ja* neuter inflectional pattern (e.g. *'çilo* - *'çilia* 'lip-lips'),

due to their formal correspondence, or are substituted by loan elements (cf. Katsoyannou, 1996: 335). Thus, the subgroup of nouns shown in (8) does not appear in the Italiot varieties.

(8) 'ðasos.N 'forest'

SMG		
	Singular	Plural
Nom	'ðasos	'ðasi
Gen	'ðasus	ða'son
Acc	'ðasos	'ðasi
Voc	'ðasos	'ðasi

Generalizing our observations with respect to the Italiot morphological system, both Grico and Greacanico retain their tripartite gender categorization. Italiot inflectional markers are reminiscent of but not identical with the SMG inflectional affixes. This is mainly due to final *-s* dropping resulting from the preference of Italiot systems for open (CV) syllables.

On the other hand, Italian nominal inflection, both in its standard form and in the neighboring with Italiot Romance varieties, realizes the properties of number (singular, plural) and gender (masculine and feminine) both of them marked on the noun. However, none of the dominant varieties is inflected for case. Although the range of Italian inflection classes may vary from 3 to 10, depending on the analysis (cf. Dressler and Thornton, 1988; Acquaviva, 2008 and references therein), the most productive classes, shown under (9)¹⁵ below, seem to coincide with the respective Italiot inflectional endings.

(9)	Productive inflection classes					
	Italian			Romance (Salentino)		
	Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural	
Feminine	X-a	X-e	Feminine	X-a	X-e	
	macchina	machine 'car'		igna	igne	'fire'
(Coinciding with Italiot ji'neka)						
Masculine	X-o	X-i	Masculine	X-u (< o)	X-i	
	marito	mariti		maritu	mariti	'husband'
(Coinciding with Italiot 'milo)						
Masculine	X-a	X-i	Masculine	X-a	X-i	
	poeta	poeti		pueta	pueti	'poet'
(Coinciding with Italiot 'mina)						

¹⁵ The first two are thought to be the most productive ones, displaying maximum contrast of gender and inflectional markers final vowels. The situation is similar in the Romance varieties as well. Moreover, the masculine gender value, according to Dressler and Thornton (1988: 3) is thought to be unmarked, while the feminine one marked.

Crucially, a contrastive look at the Italiot vs. Romance nominal subgroups reveals that the notion of inflection class as well as formal correspondences between the two groups of systems cannot but have contributed to the reorganization of the Italiot inflectional system. In other words, the notion of inflection class and the correspondences of inflectional markers between the systems in contact have contributed significantly to restructuring of Italiot nominal inflection to this shape. Further support to this claim is offered by the loss of the subgroup of feminine nouns in *-i* and neuter nouns in *-o*. Crucially, while the levelling of neuter nouns is observed in other Modern Greek varieties, the levelling of feminines in *-i* is a purely Italiot innovation.

Bearing these in mind the above observations can be made:

-There is a strong tendency towards simplification of Italiot nominal morphological system (see also Katsoyannou 1996: 328, 338-339, Katsoyannou 1999) under the prevailing influence of the dominant Italian varieties that is realized as follows: gender and number distinctions are retained, while subgroups of nouns and case inflectional markers tend to eliminate, since

- (i) two subgroups of nouns (neuter in *-os* and feminine in *-i*) are lost,
- (i) vocative case is practically extinct (only some fixed expressions are recorded¹⁶),
- (ii) extended case syncretism is attested not only in the plural (occurring in other Modern Greek dialects, mainly those of the Northern group) but also in the singular of the vast majority of all subgroups of nouns,
- (iii) there is a strong tendency for substitution of genitive case (more intense in the plural but also in the singular) by the syncretic nominative-accusative or by an analytic structure, i.e. a preposition phrase, consisting of a preposition and a noun phrase in the invariable nominative-accusative case form. Generally speaking, genitive, as already noted in Katsoyannou (1996: 332), seems to be retained only in possessive constructions and especially when terms of kinship are involved. Further support to the observed tendency is offered by the fact that, according to same author, adjectives and pronouns are also gradually moving towards losing their case marking and retaining only the number one.

However, extended desystematization phenomena are attested which are as follows:

- Vacillation between syncretic and non syncretic forms (paving the way towards a one marker per number paradigm as is the case in Romance languages (e.g. *'mina & mi'nos*.Gen.Sg, *jine'ko & ji'nece*.Gen.Pl).
- Vacillation between fusional-synthetic vs. analytic constructions, showing signs of desystematization (*jine'ko & ji'nece*.Gen.Pl (synthetic) & *a'ttes ji'neke* (analytic)).
- Lack of regularity in the inflectional pattern of nouns belonging to the same group (e.g. *'milu & 'mili*.Acc.Pl., *'furi & fu'ruđja*.Nom.Pl).

The above mentioned instances of desystematization are accounted for as temporary complexification phenomena, since they violate economy and regularity and put extra burden to the system, paving however the way towards simplification in the paradigmatic organization of inflection under the influence of the dominant systems.

However, due to the morphological compatibility among the systems in contact, no radical changes, no other complexification phenomena are to be expected. The situation seems to be quite differentiated in Cappadocian.

¹⁶ The vocative is recognizable only in fixed expressions like *Teemu* 'my God' or in some proper nouns.

3.2 Cappadocian

Cappadocian came under the Turkish influence during the late byzantine period, for the first time in the 11th century after the Seljuk invasion and subsequently in the 14th century after the conquest of Asia Minor by the Ottoman Turks. It was spoken till 1923 (i.e. till the exchange of populations that followed the treaty of Lausanne in the former Asia Minor (today's central Turkey) in an area that covered 32 communities approximately. The dialect is subdivided into two basic groups, North and South Cappadocian (cf. Dawkins, 1916) and an intermediate one, namely Central Cappadocian (cf. Janse forthcoming)¹⁷ showing intra-dialectal divergence. Today it is spoken by descendants of Cappadocian refugees (second and third-generation refugees) in several parts of Northern Greece (Kavala, Alexandroupoli, Kilkis, Thessaloniki, Karditsa, Volos, Larisa).

Cappadocian is often used in the literature as a prototypical example of *heavy borrowing* in terms of Thomason and Kaufman's borrowing scale, referring to 'overwhelming long-term cultural pressure (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 50). The length and intensity of cultural and linguistic contact led Dawkins to the following statement about Cappadocian dialect "[...] *the body ha[d] remained Greek but the soul ha[d] become Turkish [...]*", Dawkins (1916: 198). It should be noted that, although Cappadocian is originally a Greek variety and its basic morphological structure is fusional, it displays some agglutinative patterns due to language contact with Turkish. More importantly, it is the only Greek variety where agglutinative inflectional structures are attested (cf. Dawkins, 1916 and Janse, 2004, forthcoming).

Our presentation of the Cappadocian nominal inflection follows the geographical distinction into North Central and South Cappadocian in order to be able to capture the intra-dialectal divergence and account for it in terms of mirroring the gradualness of linguistic change. The division of Cappadocian into zones is not clear cut and several contact zones between the different subvarieties are traced. Thus, examples and villages are chosen in order to depict the variation among the different zones and may vary depending on the available data.

Masculine nouns are inflected as follows:

Masculine nouns in *-os*

(10) 'aθropos 'man'

Northeast Cappadocian and Axó (Central) [+animate]			Northwest Cappadocian, Mistí [+animate]		SMG	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nom	'aθropos	a'θrop(<i)	'aθropos	a'θrop(<i)	'a(n)θropos	'a(n)θropi
Gen	a'θrop(<u) & aθro'pju		a'θrop(<u) & aθro'pju		a(n)'θropu	'a(n)'θropo n
Def Acc.	'aθropo	a'θropus &	'aθropo	a'θrop(<i)	'a(n)θropo	a(n)'θropus
Indef. Acc	'aθropos	aθro'pjus	'aθropos			
Voc					'a(n)θrope	'a(n)θropi

¹⁷ For a more detailed categorization of the Cappadocian varieties into zones see the Appendix 1.

In North and Central Cappadocian, nouns in *-os* are subject to what is called split animacy. Namely, animate nouns are treated as masculines, inanimate as neuters (cf. Dawkins 1916: 94-95), whereas domesticated animals vacillate between the two, showing intra-dialectal variation. Accusative singular coincides with nominative when indefinite, while it bears the accusative marker as well as the definite article in its definite realization (see Dawkins 1916, Janse 2004, forthcoming)¹⁸. Hence, Cappadocian inflection is organized in the light of this distinction. You can see the inflectional behavior of *'aθropos* in (10).

In Northeast Cappadocian and Axó (Central) genitive is realized for both numbers with the inflectional marker *-ju* (which is taken from the neuter nouns in *-i* along with *-ja* for the plural and is usually called *agglutinative inflection* in the relevant literature (cf. Dawkins 1916), alternating with the old form (*a'θrop(<u) & aθro'pju*), while in the accusative plural, on the analogy of this singular an alternative inflectional marker *-jus* along with *-us* (*a'θropus & aθro'pjus*) was created.

In Northwest Cappadocian, Mistí, the only difference seems to be that the accusative plural is identical with the nominative one, i.e. syncretism occurs. Crucially though, at Misti, following Dawkins (1916: 101) the distinction of animacy begins to disappear and the *-ja*¹⁹, *-ju* markers tend to spread gradually to all subgroups of nouns. This change will be seen completed in the South Cappadocian zone, i.e. Fertek. In Dawkins's exact words (1916: 101) "*Here we see the beginning of the complete victory of the agglutinative system which appears at Fertek*", Ulağaç as well, we would add. The inflectional behaviour of the animate noun *ael'fos* 'brother' in Mistí is indicative of the on-going change, since in this noun the old inflectional forms alternate with the innovative ones:

(11)

Mistí, Central Cappadocian [+animate]		
	Singular	Plural
Nom	ael'fos	ael'foja and a'elfja
Gen		-
Def Acc.	ael'fo	ael'foja and a'elfja
Indef. Acc		
Voc	-	

Inanimate nouns in *-os* in North Cappadocian²⁰, seen in the example under (12), differ, compared to the animate ones, only in the realization of the plural which is based on the

¹⁸ Turkish nouns take the accusative suffix *-(y)I* when definite (or specific cf. Kornfilt, 1997: 214)

¹⁹ The semi-vowel /j/ of the *-ja*, *-ju* markers is realized either as /j/ or /ç/, showing intra-dialectal variation.

²⁰ However, in Silata (Northwest Cappadocia), in nouns without personality what is called agglutinative inflection is first met. Following Dawkins (1916: 98) personal nouns in Silata follow the old declension, while non personal nouns either the imperfect or the agglutinative pattern. E.g.

(i)

	Singular	Plural
Nom	'milos	'milus & 'milozja
Gen		'milozju

syncretism of nominative-accusative plural on the basis of accusative, for a relative interpretation of which see Janse (2004)²¹. However, in some North Cappadocian villages, e.g. in Sílata, according to Dawkins (1916: 98), non personal nouns vacillate between the old and the innovative inflection ('milus & 'milozja in Silata), showing strong signs of an on-going change.

In Central Cappadocian, the innovative inflection invades and characterizes all non animate nouns in -os (see the forms 'milozja.Nom/Acc.Pl and 'milozju.Gen in the Central Cappadocian column under (12)), while the distinction between definite and indefinite accusative is only occasionally retained.

(12) 'milos 'mill'

	North Cappadocian [- animate]		Central Cappadocian [- animate]		SMG	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nom	'milos	'milus (&'milozja: Sílata)	'milos	'milozja	'milos	'mili
Gen	'mil(<u) & mi'lju (&'milozju: Sílata)		'milozju		'milu	'milon
Def Acc.	'milo	'milus (&'milozja: Sílata)	'milo(s)	'milozja	'milo	'milus
Indef. Acc	'milos		'milos			
Voc					'mile	'mili

Crucially, in South (Southeast and Southwest) Cappadocian the distinction based on animacy and definiteness has disappeared and all nouns are formally neuter, attaching to the -ja, -ju markers, following thus the agglutinative inflection. See the examples under (13) below.

(13) 'aθropos²² 'man'

South Cappadocian (Ulağác) ²³				
	[+animate]		[-animate]	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Acc def	'milo	'milus & 'milozja		
Acc Ind	'milos			

²¹ For a relative explanation see Janse (2004: 9) and for similar phenomena in other Greek dialects see Thumb (1910: 42).

²² This example is cited in Sasse (1992) and was elicited by one of the last speakers from Ulağác.

²³ At Fertek, with the exception of very few oxytones, the vast majority of nouns follow the agglutinative pattern, as shown in 'jeros 'old man' below:

(ii)

	Singular	Plural
Nom	'jeros	'jerezja
Gen	'jerezju	
Acc	'jeros	'jerezja

Nom	'atropos	'atropozja	'γamos	'γamozja
Gen	'atropozju	'atropozjaju	'γamozju	
Acc	'atropos	'atropozja	'γamos	'γamozja
Voc				

Masculine nouns in *-is -as*

This subgroup of nouns includes animate nouns of Greek origin and Turkish animate loans that end in a vowel. In North, Central and Southwest Cappadocian their inflection follows the lines of masculine animate nouns in *-os* in that a) they are subject to split animacy, b) they have the so called agglutinative markers *-ju* and *-jus* in genitive singular and accusative plural respectively and c) in some cases tend to have a syncretic nominative-accusative plural or syncretic nominative-accusative plural as well (e.g. *pa'paðes* & *papa'ðjus*, *kle'ftjus* & *'kleftes*). Indicative examples can be seen under (14) and (15) below:

(14) *pa'pas* 'priest'

North, Central, and Southwest Cappadocian			SMG	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nom	<i>pa'pas</i>	<i>pa'paðes</i> (Potámya & Delmesó) <i>pa'paði</i> (Malakopí)	<i>pa'pas</i>	<i>pa'paðes</i>
Gen		<i>pa'pa</i> (Potámya) & <i>papa'ðju</i> (Delmesó & Malakopí)	<i>pa'pa</i>	<i>pa'paðon</i>
Def.Acc	<i>pa'pa</i>	<i>pa'paðes</i> (Delmesó & Potámya) & <i>papa'ðjus</i> (Potámya) <i>pa'paði</i> (Malakopí)	<i>pa'pa</i>	<i>pa'paðes</i>
Indef.Acc	<i>pa'pas</i>			
Voc			<i>pa'pa</i>	<i>pa'paðes</i>

(15) *'kleftis* 'thief'

North, Central, and Southwest Cappadocian			SMG	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nom	<i>'kleftis</i>	<i>kleft (<i)</i> & <i>'kleftes</i> (Mistí: <i>kleft</i> & <i>'kleftja</i>)	<i>'kleftis</i>	<i>'kleftes</i>
Gen		<i>kle'ftju</i> & <i>kleft(<i)</i>	<i>'kleftis</i>	<i>kle'fton</i>
Def.Acc	<i>'kleft</i>	<i>kle'ftjus</i> & <i>'kleftes</i> (Mistí: <i>kleft</i> & <i>'kleftja</i>)	<i>'klefti</i>	<i>'kleftes</i>
Indef.Acc	<i>'kleftis</i>			
Voc			<i>'klefti</i>	<i>'kleftes</i>

Generalizing, in the villages that according to Dawkins are less corrupted (1916: 112), nouns in *-is* or *-as* have not adopted the agglutinative pattern. They are levelled to the paradigm of nouns in

-os, e.g. *kleft(<i>i)</i>* ‘thieves’ or *pa'paði* ‘priests’, (a cross-dialectal phenomenon for a relevant analysis of which see Melissaropoulou, 2012, in print). However, in Axó, Central Cappadocian (in Misti as well although to a lesser extent, cf. Dawkins (1916: 113)) the agglutinative inflection has invaded this subgroup of nouns, which are inflected as shown under (16) below. What seems to be taking place is an on-going process of levelling of inflectional paradigms and their corresponding markers towards the generalized use of the *-ja*, *-ju* markers.

(16) a'fendis ‘master’ pa'pas ‘priest’

Central Cappadocian (Axó)				
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nom	a'fendis	a'fendizja	pa'pas	pa'paja & pa'paes
Gen	a'fendizju		pa'pa & papa'ju	pa'pajezju & papa'ju
Acc	a'fendi	a'fendizja	pa'pa	pa'paes
Voc				

In the Southeast Cappadocian zone and especially at Fertek, the agglutinative inflection, with the use of *-ja*, *-ju* markers is generalized in all nouns of this subgroup. Very few nouns seem to be resisting in this subdialect (e.g. *'adras* ‘man’) possibly due to frequency effects. The inflection behavior of the nouns *pa'pas* ‘priest’ and *ʃif'ʃis* ‘farmer’ can be seen under (17) below.

(17) pa'pas ‘priest’ ʃif'ʃis ‘farmer’

Southeast Cappadocian				
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nom	pa'pas	pa'pazja	ʃif'ʃis	ʃif'ʃija
Gen	papa'zju		ʃif'ʃiju	
Acc	pa'pas	pa'pazja	ʃif'ʃis	ʃif'ʃija
Voc				

Due to space limitations we will not be able to make a thorough presentation of all different subgroups of nouns for Cappadocian as well, given the divergence among the different zones. However, we should say that the situation is similar, although the occurring phenomena were not completed or made the same progress for all different subgroups of nouns till the exchange of populations in 1923, when the sociolinguistic context changed radically.

Generalizing, what can be seen is that Cappadocian, especially those spoken in the central and Southern zone show remarkable divergence compared to the SMG fusional morphological organization of inflection. Moreover, in our view, the observed intra-dialectal divergence, conceived in terms of a dialectal continuum, seems to depict a gradual movement of the system from a mainly fusional organization with many different subgroups of nouns (i.e. classes) towards a rearrangement that, could be thought not of as leading to an agglutinative system,

identical with the Turkish one²⁴, but to a system that would balance its organization between its original structure and the structure of the dominant language.

Generalizing, in the Cappadocian varieties the following tendencies are observed (Dawkins, 1916; Janse 2004, forthcoming):

- (i) Loss of the genitive plural marker and use of the corresponding genitive singular marker (*-ju*) instead.
- (ii) Nominative-accusative syncretism (which is not always ascribed to language contact but certainly facilitates the process of inflectional reorganization. For example the conflation of nominative and indefinite accusative singular²⁵ in North and Central Cappadocian results in the reanalysis of both cases (see also Janse 2004: 5).
- (iii) Loss of vocative case.
- (iv) Reorganization of nominal inflection in North and Central Cappadocian on the basis of animacy and definiteness. However, in the South Cappadocian zone these distinctions have been lost.
- (v) Formal paradigmatic distinctions corresponding to grammatical gender values are progressively lost and especially in South Cappadocian zone nouns are formally neuter, adopting the generalized *-ja*, *-ju* inflectional markers of the old inflection of neuter nouns in *-i* (cf. Dawkins, 1916: 87-116; Janse, 2004: 6-12, forthcoming).

Given that in the case of Cappadocian, contact between two genetically and typologically divergent systems is taking place, several temporary complexification phenomena are to be attested in the on-going simplification process. Indeed, the following phenomena are observed:

- a) Addition the extra category of animacy
- b) Addition of the extra category of (in)definiteness marking
- c) Vacillation between the old fusional and the innovative (so called) agglutinative inflectional pattern.

These phenomena are accounted for in terms of temporary complexification that is also depicted in the observed intra-dialectal divergence. In the admittedly less corrupted areas, in the words of Dawkins (1916: 101), nouns seem to adhere more persistently to the original fusional

²⁴ Turkish is a genderless agglutinative language displaying only one inflection macro-class. Its nominal inflection is organized on the basis of agglutination as follows:

(iii)

Turkish nominal inflection (<i>ev</i> 'house' <i>-ler-</i> 'plural marker', <i>-i</i> , <i>-in</i> , <i>-e</i> , <i>-de</i> , <i>-den</i> 'case markers')		
	Singular	Plural
Abs (Nom)	<i>ev</i>	<i>ev-ler</i>
Gen	<i>ev-i</i>	<i>ev-ler-i</i>
Dat	<i>ev-in</i>	<i>ev-ler-in</i>
Acc	<i>ev-e</i>	<i>ev-ler-e</i>
Loc	<i>ev-de</i>	<i>ev-ler-de</i>
Abl	<i>ev-den</i>	<i>ev-ler-den</i>

²⁵ The Turkish absolutive is formally identical with the indefinite (and non-specific) accusative case form.

paradigmatic organization, while animacy (which is not found in Turkish) and definiteness under the Turkish influence come into play. In the intermediate, Central Cappadocian zone intensive mobility is observed, while the innovative categories of animacy and definiteness are becoming rather unstable and are only partially retained. Lastly, in the most corrupted South Cappadocian zone, the above mentioned complexification phenomena are either scantier (less alternations between the old and the innovative patterns) or are completely extinct.

On the other hand,

- the loss of formal grammatical gender distinctions and
 - the tendency towards the establishment of a unique inflectional paradigm
- are accounted for as simplification phenomena, since they lead into more regularity and loss of redundancy in the morphological realizations.

The emerging paradigm diverges from the fusional Greek organization, where an inflectional marker, for example *-os* in *'anθropos*, marks simultaneously the genitive case, the singular number and a specific inflection class. Here, features are realized by distinct inflectional markers, which are added to the new reanalyzed base (on the basis of the nominative form) and are the same for all groups of nouns. More specifically, we would say that in the emerging innovative paradigm, a zero-morpheme marks the nominative and accusative singular form, *-ju* is the inflectional marker for the genitive case and *-ja* the marker of plural (see also Karatsareas, 2011: 265).

(18) The emerging inflectional paradigm in Cappadocian

	Singular	Plural
Nom	∅	-ja
Gen	-ju	- (ja)ju ²⁶
Acc	∅	-ja

4 Discussion

A contrastive investigation on the reorganization of nominal inflection in the two contact induced varieties of Modern Greek reveals interesting correlations. Firstly, in both dialectal case

²⁶ The agglutination of these markers in forms like *'atropoz-ja-ju* is reminiscent of the respective Turkish agglutinative inflection in which the marker of the plural is *-lar-* and the marker of genitive case is *-in*, so the Turkish morphological structure of the word *adam* 'man' in Turkish is similar to that of *'atropos* (see Janse, 2001). However, the situation is not the same for all different case-number forms.

(iv)

atropos - adam 'man'	Singular		Plural	
	Nom/Acc	Gen	Nom/Acc	Gen
Cappadocian (Ulağaç)	'atropos	'atropozju	'atropozja	'atropoz-ja-ju
Turkish	adam∅	adamin	adamlar	adam-lar-in

studies intense language contact situations result into the reorganization of nominal inflection accounted for in terms of simplification.

As shown in the previous section, in the case of Italiot, the prevailing tendency is towards the establishment of a one marker per number inflectional paradigm, allowing however for several inflection classes as is the case in the dominant languages. What seems to play a crucial role in the case of Italiot is the role of interlingual correspondences (cf. Weinreich, 1953: 39-40), between items, patterns or sounds of the systems in contact, called *diaforms* (cf. Selinker, 1992: 83-84)²⁷. Apart from the neuter subgroups of nouns which do not have a correspondent form in Italian, productive masculine and feminine subgroups that are retained in Italiot correspond to the most productive Italian inflection classes. Feminine nouns in *-i* shifted to the other group of feminine nouns, that of *-a*, which corresponds to the most productive Italian feminine inflection class. Furthermore, neuter nouns in *-o -i* (remember the example of *'ðasos* under (8)) either follow the inflectional behavior of masculine nouns in *-o* or of neuter nouns in *-o* due to their formal similarity. Thus, diamorphemic structural schemata, in this particular case what we would call *diaclasses*, are proven to influence the direction of reorganization in Italiot in a very important way. The role of *diaforms* in general seems to be crucial in the maintenance and strengthening of specific inflection classes and the loss of others, especially in circumstances of structural compatibility among the involved systems.

In Cappadocian on the other hand, the reorganization of nominal inflection, although also headed towards simplification in the paradigmatic organization, is realized differently under the prevailing influence of Turkish. In this dialect, the prevailing tendency is towards the establishment of a unique inflectional paradigm which is facilitated by the loss of formal grammatical gender distinctions and the generalization of the mostly productive paradigm of neuter nouns in *-i*, the so called agglutinative inflection²⁸. Furthermore, although research suffers from lack of sources from earlier stages of the dialect, we cannot be in an insecure ground if we hypothesize that apart from reasons of repair of semantic or other prototypicality deviations by assigning the inanimate nouns to the appropriate (neuter) class (for which see Karatsareas, 2011: 8-9, 208) the generalization of these specific markers cannot but have been triggered -or triggered as well- by the massive influx of consonant-ending Turkish nominal loans into this class (i.e. due to reasons of formal correspondences cf. Melissaropoulou, in preparation).

The above mentioned changes do not imply that contact induced systems move towards becoming identical with the systems of the dominant languages or that all occurring divergences are accounted for in terms of contact²⁹. In other words, languages in contact do not lose necessarily their distinct typological profile and identical grammars, i.e. isomorphism of grammatical structures, do not necessarily emerge. Our data show that the direction of linguistic

²⁷ Following Selinker (1992:43) diaforms are “[...] forms [...] identified consistently as same in translation and function from the source language to the target. The smallest dialinguistic unit is the ‘diamorpheme’ and the largest is the ‘diasentence’”. Diaforms can be established on the basis of similarity in function, isomorphism in structure or phonological isomorphism as well.

²⁸ This tendency offers further support to the claim made by Dressler and Thornton (1996: 23) “that languages without gender tend to have no more than one productive declension (microclass) and therefore no distinction of macroclasses”. Like Turkish, Cappadocian has gradually become a genderless system and the vast majority of nouns inflect via the attachment of the same small set of inflectional markers.

²⁹ Some of the cross-paradigmatic levelling phenomena that are observed in the above mentioned varieties are common tendencies of other Modern Greek dialects as well and are interpreted are not thought to be triggered by contact factors. These kind of phenomena are already mentioned in the data section and involve for example the levelling of the plural of nouns in *-is* to the *-os* group and the reanalysis and expansion of the allomorphic *-λ-* as part of the inflectional marker for a large group of nouns (cf. Melissaropoulou, 2012, in print).

change, complexification and / or simplification is heavily influenced by intense contact situations as are those occurring in both Cappadocian and Italiot dialects. However, all the relevant rearrangements are filtered by and adjusted in the system main intra-linguistic characteristics and tendencies in the spirit of Sasse (1992) that rearrangements aim to balance out the system.

However, the specific realizations of restructuring cannot but be accounted in terms of indirect (grammatical) influence from the dominant languages since in both cases, they seem to be headed towards the same direction, i.e. towards the emergence of a unique paradigm (on the basis of neuters in *-i*) in Cappadocian, as is the case in Turkish, and towards a one marker per number inflection classes in Italiot, as is the case in Italian.

Thus, we align with Kuster's (2003: 359) thesis claiming that languages experiencing a long history of intense contact show greater degrees of simplification, associating thus the amount of contact with the amount of simplification and we account for the observed complexity phenomena as intermediate stages in an on-going simplification process. The amount and the type of temporary complexification phenomena diverge significantly depending on the compatibility or incompatibility factor among the systems in contact.

In the case of Italiot dialects, less temporary complexifications are attested (involving mainly alternations between old and innovative forms of the same typological nature, or alternation between synthetic forms and analytic ones) since the two systems have many resemblances in their inflectional organization and in some extent share common tendencies. Namely, grammatical gender values are realized and different inflection classes are distinguished in which the notion of gender serves as an inflectional classifier.

On the contrary, in the case of Cappadocian, due to structural incompatibility new oppositions - categories are temporarily introduced which further complicate the system, i.e. definiteness and animacy, while alternations offer extra burden in the system, since they entail not only variation in terms of vacillating between different inflectional markers, but also in terms of vacillating between fusional and quasi agglutinative structural patterns.

In this spirit, reshaping the debate on the borrowability between structurally compatible and structurally incompatible systems, we would claim that in cases of structural compatibility (Meillet, 1921: 84-87; Weinreich, 1953: 25; Field, 2002: 42), i.e. contact among systems with typological affinity, complexification phenomena are expected to be more restricted in terms of number and repertoire and to involve mainly instances of alternation between old and innovative patterns or other intra-linguistic process (e.g. old vs. innovative allomorphy etc). Furthermore, in this case the role of *diaforms* or *diapatterns* is expected to be more prominent or generally more easily alerted.

On the contrary, in cases of contact between typologically divergent systems, increased and more intense complexification phenomena are expected to occur during the process of system reorganizing so as to balance the new-coming elements and / or patterns, let us the non compatible competing motivations.

In terms of loss, addition and replacement of grammatical categories, our data show that although replacement and loss are admittedly the commonest strategies on the level of morphology (cf. Gardani, 2008 on direct inflectional borrowing), addition is also very likely to appear when structural incompatibility is involved. More specifically, in the case of structurally compatible systems, i.e. the Italiot varieties, reorganization of nominal inflection involves feature loss and feature replacement. Both of them are accounted in terms of simplification. In the case of structurally incompatible systems, except for loss (gender distinctions, inflection classes,

inflectional markers) and replacement, feature addition (definiteness, animacy) was attested as well, offering extra distinctions, i.e. burden to the system, which, however, was accounted for as temporary complexification. In this case, addition was proved to be an intermediate stage, a transitory path towards replacement. The most striking innovation was the rearrangement of the notion of inflection class and inflectional paradigm, headed in both systems towards regularity, transparency and loss of redundancies, i.e. less inflection classes, in terms of Trudgill (2009: 100) simplification phenomena without repair.

It is true, that with respect to the well known debate on whether entire inflectional paradigms can be directly borrowed as a piece of structure, this study has nothing to offer. Nevertheless, in terms of indirect transfer, it can positively argue that the notion and the structure of inflection classes and inflectional paradigms can be affected by contact. Relating oppositions and distinctions can be introduced or lost in the recipient system inflection classes and certainly the lack thereof in the donor language may heavily influence the recipient system towards this direction.

However, the above mentioned claims do not entail that language changes in a mono-directional way, i.e. gets simpler and simpler. Under specific circumstances, the opposite direction, i.e. complexification may be preferred. So the question that remains to be answered is what may trigger language change in the opposite direction, i.e. complexification especially within a language continuum.

This brings us to future research. Given that this kind of research on the Greek dialectal landscape is at its starters, a wide scale comparative study is needed among all different dialectal varieties of Greek -Standard Modern Greek, high contact vs. low contact varieties, systems in isolation, immigrant Greek, prestige and not prestige varieties etc- in order to investigate what types of language -other than the widely discussed in the literature, pidgins and creoles- favour complexification or simplification phenomena.

Appendix: Subgroupings of Cappadocian

- **North Cappadocian**
 - ✓ *Northwest Cappadocian*: Sílata, Anakú, Floyitá, Malakopí
 - ✓ *Northeast Cappadocian*: Sinasós, Potámya, Delmesó
- **Central Cappadocian**
 - ✓ Axó
 - ✓ Mistí
- **South Cappadocian**
 - ✓ *Southwest Cappadocian*: Araván, Ferték
 - ✓ *Southeast Cappadocian*: Ulağaç, Semenderé

(from Janse, forthcoming)

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ACCUSATIVE-GENITIVE SYNCRETISM IN THE NOMINAL INFLECTION OF MODERN GREEK DIALECTS*

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This article deals with the replacement of the genitive by the accusative plural in the nominal inflection of various Modern Greek dialects. The aim of the article is to provide an explanation of the factors that triggered this unusual development that is not found in the majority of the Modern Greek dialects and Common Modern Greek. Apart from presenting the data on its dialectal distribution, it will be argued that the phenomenon is an extension of the already established pattern of the accusative-genitive syncretism in the personal pronouns that can be found almost everywhere in the Modern Greek-speaking world.

1 Introduction

As can be seen in the following example, Cypriot Greek has lost the distinction between genitive and accusative plurals of masculine nouns, as the latter can function as possessives (Menardos, 1896: 440):

- (1) τα βελόνια τους ράφτες
the:N/A.PL.N needle:N/A.PL.N the:ACC.PL.M tailor:N/A.PL.M
“the needles of the tailors”
Common Modern Greek τα βελόνια των [GEN.PL] ραφτών [GEN.PL]

This is an instance of contextual case syncretism following Calabrese (2008), i.e. a type of syncretism that does not apply to all paradigms, as feminine and neuter nouns have maintained their genitive plural forms in Cypriot. This type of syncretism is opposed to absolute syncretism, cf. the complete loss of the dative and the use of the genitive for its functions in the “southern” dialects.

Furthermore, the accusative-genitive syncretism discussed here needs to be distinguished from the phenomena of phonological overlap and the indeclinable use of nouns with the genitive

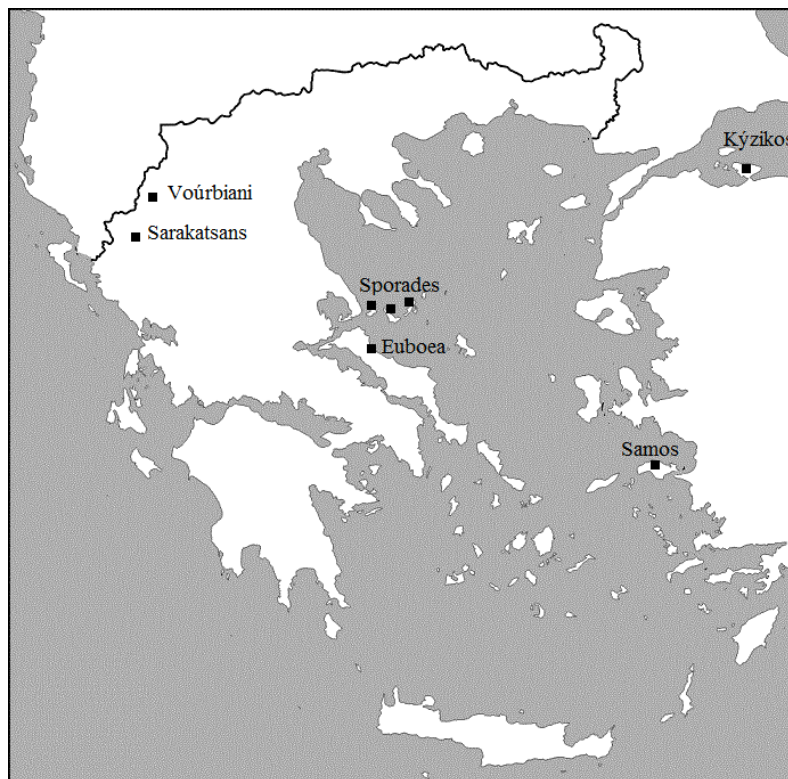
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forms of the definite article. As regards the former, phonological overlap between case forms does not constitute a true instance of syncretism (cf. Luraghi, 1987: 355) and will not be dealt with here; thus, the homophony between genitive and accusative singulars of α - η -masculines - caused by the loss of final /n/ of the accusatives during Medieval Greek - is a distinct phenomenon, as can be demonstrated by the use of determiners that mark the genitive-accusative distinction, e.g. του ναύτη vs. τον ναύτη.

Turning to the latter, the use of the genitive forms of the definite article with a noun that does not have a genitive suffix is not related to accusative-genitive syncretism, as it does not affect both the determiner and the noun, cf. τ' αγγά τως [GEN.PL] όρνιτε [NOM/ACC.PL] "the eggs of the hens" (Salento, Southern Italy; Italia & Lambroyorgu, 2001: 30) vs. Cypriot το σπίτιν τους [ACC.PL] γειτόνους [ACC.PL] "the house of the neighbours".

2 The dialectal range of the phenomenon

Even though the Cypriot syncretism has received a lot of attention by previous researchers, it is by no means the only instance in dialectal Modern Greek. The phenomenon seems to be established in the village Voúrbiani (Anagnostopoulos, 1928-9), the dialect of Epirot and Thessalian Sarakatsans (Høeg, 1925), in Samos (Zafiriou, 1914), the Sporades (Sampson, 1972) and northern Euboea (Settas, 1960) in the Aegean, the dialect of Corsican Maniots (Blanken, 1951) and the peninsula of Kýzikos in north-western Asia Minor (Sgouridis, 1968).



Map 1. The dialectal range of accusative-genitive syncretism in the Greek-speaking world

2.1 Cyprus

As shown in example (1), Cypriot exhibits loss of the genitive plural of masculine nouns and the masculine form of the definite article, a development also found with masculine adjectives and pronouns, e.g.: gen/acc.pl κακούς “bad”, gen/acc.pl άλλους “others” (Newton, 1972). As noted earlier, feminine and neuter nouns have maintained morphologically distinct genitive plural forms. It is actually remarkable that Cypriot feminines and neuters have genitive forms that are defective in Common Modern Greek and other dialects, e.g. των πατάτων (πατάτα “potato”) or του κοπελλουκιού (κοπελλούιν “little boy”). What is more, Cypriot has maintained a great number of the ancient functions of the genitive that are not found in most modern dialects, e.g. αγγονίστηκεν των πανάνων “he acquired the bananas” (Menardos, 1896: 447).

2.2 Epirus and Thessaly

The region of Epirus exhibits some very interesting phenomena of accusative-genitive syncretism. First, the semi-northern dialect (+/-deletion of /i, u/, -raising of /e, o/) of the village Vourbiani has syncretic masculine accusatives (Anagnostopoulos, 1928-9: 453):

- (2) ετουτνούς
 this:ACC.PL.M
 “of these”

The syncretism has also affected feminine and neuter nouns, as the accusative plural of the definite article τς has replaced the genitive *των and is used with all genders. This resulted in the formation of innovative feminine and neuter genitive plurals that later began to be used as accusatives following the pattern in the plural of masculines:

	MASCULINES	FEMININES
NEUTERS		
nom.pl	οι κληρονόμ’	οι γυναίκες
gen.pl	τς κληρονόμ’ς	τς γυναικιούς
acc.pl	τς κληρονόμ’ς “inheritors”	τς γυναίκες/ τς γυναικιούς “women”
		τα χωριά / τς χωριούς
		τα χωριά/ τς χωριούς
		“villages”

Table 1. The plural of the nominal inflection in the dialect of Vourbiani

Second, Høeg (1925: 231) mentions in his grammatical description of the proper northern dialect (+deletion, +raising) of the Sarakatsans of Pápingo that the syncretism can be found with both masculine and feminine accusatives:

- (3) a. οι φουλιές τς αϊτούς / αϊτοί
 the:NOM.PL.F nest:N/A.PL.F the:ACC.PL.M eagle:ACC.PL.M / eagle:N/A.PL.M
 “the nests of the eagles”
- b. τα φσάνια τς γναίικς
 the:N/A.PL.N dress:N/A.PL.N the:ACC.PL.F woman:N/A.PL.F
 “the dresses of the women”

The syncretism can also be found in the dialect of Thessalian Sarakatsans (Høeg 1925: 288):

- (4) τα σκλια τς τςουμπαναραίοι
 the:N/A.PL.N dog:N/A.PL.N the:ACC.PL.M shepherd:N/A.PL.M
 “the dogs of the shepherds”

Even though most studies of Thessalian dialects do not refer to syncretic phenomena, Tzárztanos’ (1909: 233) study on the varieties of Lárisa and Tírnavos provides the following example:

- (5) η γιουρτή τς γουναράικς
 the:NOM.SG.F festivity:N/A.SG.F the:ACC.PL.M furrier:N/A.PL.M
 “the festival of the furriers”

2.3 Aegean islands

The insular dialects of Samos, the Sporades and Northern Euboea will be examined together due to their northern vocalism (+deletion, +raising) and the possible common origin of their syncretism, since the Sporades and Northern Euboea are neighbouring areas, while it is possible that the Samian dialect originated from Euboean settlers after the island was depopulated during the 15th c. (Promponás, 1998: 378). Furthermore, they exhibit the same syncretic phenomena: i) the syncretism can be found with both masculine and feminine nouns, ii) the accusative plural τς of the definite article has replaced the original genitive *των obsolete with all genders and iii) neuter nouns have distinct genitive plural forms that end in the innovative suffix -ουικς, e.g. τς παιδίουικς¹ “of the children”. The following examples depict this situation:

- (6) a. ήτανι ιπουχή τσι κράμπικς
 be:3SG.PST season:N/A.SG.F the:ACC.PL.F cabbage:N/A.PL.F
 “it was the harvest time of cabbage (lit. of the cabbages)”
 Samos (Dimitriou 1993: 275)

¹ <*παιδι-ών → *παιδι-ώνε (addition of -ε to avoid the closed syllable) → *πιδι-ώνι (+northern vocalism) → *πιδι-ούικς (shift of -ων to -ουικς by analogy to the genitive singular -ου and the definite article τουικς) → παιδι-ούικς (addition of -ικς by analogy to the syncretic accusative-genitive τς of the definite article, cf. Kretschmer 1905: 402).

b. τα μάτια τς ανθρώπ’
 the:N/A.PL.N eye:N/A.PL.N the:ACC.PL.M human:N/A.PL.M
 “the eyes of the people”
 Skiathos, Sporades (Rigas 1962: 149)

c. είναι τς δυο ανθρώπ’
 be:3 the:ACC.PL.M two human:N/A.PL.M
 “They belong to these two men (lit. they are of the two men)”
 Agia Anna, Northern Euboea (Settas 1960: 119)

In these dialects, the masculine and feminine forms of non-personal pronouns have maintained distinct genitive plurals which are formed with the unusual ending -ούνις (Zafiriou, 1914: 49), e.g. gen.pl αφνούνις “of these” vs. acc.pl αφνούς “these” (M)/ nom./acc.pl αφνές “these” (F).

2.4 Kýzikos

According to the description of the nominal inflection of the variety that used to be spoken before 1922 in the village Péramos in the peninsula of Kýzikos in north-western Asia Minor, syncretic accusatives are used interchangeably with the original genitives of masculine and feminine nouns².

	MASCULINES	FEMININES
nom.pl	οι δασκάλοι	οι μουριές
gen.pl	των δασκάλων/ τς δασκάλοι	των μουριών/ τς μουριές
acc.pl	τς δασκάλοι “teachers”	τς μουριές “mulberry trees”

Table 2. The plural of masculine and feminine paradigms in Kýzikos

Data from the variety of the village Artaki verify the above description (ILNE 767: 27 & 44):

(7) a. το σουρί ετούτο τς ανθρώπ’
 the:N/A.SG.N pack N/A.SG.N this: N/A.SG.N the:ACC.PL.M human:ACC.PL.M
 “this pack of people”

b. το χάσιμο τσι πεντακόσιες λίρες
 the:N/A.SG.N loss:N/A.SG.N the:ACC.PL.F 500:N/A.PL.F pound:N/A.PL.F
 “the loss of 500 pounds”

² Neuter nouns have maintained distinct genitive plural forms, but similarly to the previous cases they are used with the masculine/ feminine accusative τς of the definite article, e.g. τς χωριούς “of the villages” vs. Common Modern Greek των χωριών.

2.5 Corsican Maniot

The phenomenon can also be found with Corsican Maniot, a dialect that used to be spoken since the establishment of settlers from Mani in the region of Cargèse in Corsica during the 17th c. until the first half of the 20th c. The syncretism only affected masculine nouns similarly to Cyprus and Voúrbiani (Blanken, 1951: 95):

(8) το μεγάλο μερντικό τους ανθρώπους
 the:N/A.SG.N big:N/A.SG.N share:N/A.SG.N the:ACC.PL.M human:ACC.PL.M
 “the big share of the people”

Due to the gradual loss of this Greek dialect in Corsica, it can be argued that language shift was a crucial factor for the simplification of the case system. Moreover, Blanken (1951) mentions that the syncretism could be attributed to a possible overlap of the genitive plural τουν³ and the accusative plural τους of the masculine definite article:

gen.pl τουν φίλωνε → του φίλωνε [deletion of final /n/ before fricatives]
 acc.pl τους φίλους → του φίλους [deletion of final /s/ before
 consonants⁴]
 → τους ανθρώπους → τους ανθρώπων [extension of τους to genitives]
 → τους ανθρώπους [GEN/ACC.PL.M]

2.6 Syncretic accusatives in the dialects of Central Asia Minor?

Dawkins (1916: 169) claims that the genitive plural was extremely rare in the dialect of Fáraša and “the accusative is generally used in its place”. His view is based on the following two structures that are found in his collection of narratives (Dawkins, 1916: 516 & 520).

(9) έφαγε τα περτσέματα του Τζερκέζοι
 eat:3SG.PST.PFV the:N/A.PL.N remainder:N/A.PL.N the:GEN Circassian:N/A.PL.M
 “he ate the leavings of the Circassians”

(10) j’ όψες αντά ντο γεμέκι
 NEG roast:2SG.PST.PFV here the:N/A.SG.N food:N/A.SG.N
 τις μισαφούροι
 the:ACC.PL.M guest:N/A.PL.M
 “you have not cooked food here for the guests”

Example (9) does not constitute an instance of accusative-genitive syncretism, but the indeclinable use of Τζερκέζοι with the genitive του (common for both numbers) of the definite article, which is a distinct phenomenon as noted earlier. The indeclinable use of nouns with genitives of the definite article can be found in other Farasiot texts as well, e.g. του [GEN] χωρίον [NOM/ACC.SG] τη στράτα “the road of the village” (Thumb, 1912: 310). As regards example (10), it involves the use of an accusative plural as a benefactive and not as a possessive, since Farasiot

³ By analogy to the genitive singular του, cf. του στραϊτιώτου “of the soldiers” (Mani; Kassis 1983: 180).

⁴ Cf. τη γυναίκος “of the woman” (Mani; Kassis 1983: 190).

belongs to the group of Modern Greek dialects that employ the accusative to mark the indirect object; this is verified by Dawkins himself who translates this accusative with the preposition “for” and not the possessive “of”.

Apart from these examples, in the Farasiot translation of the Gospels (Lagarde, 1886), the forms νοματούς “of men” and Γιοδαιούς “of Jews” are found. As Dawkins (1932) explains, even though these forms resemble accusatives, they do not reflect an instance of accusative-genitive syncretism. More precisely, these forms constitute morphologically distinct genitives, since the masculine accusative plural suffix –ους has been replaced by the nominative suffix –οι like in many Modern Greek dialects: nom./acc.pl νομάτοι # gen.pl νοματούς. Consequently, these forms exhibit the addition of –ς as an attempt to eliminate the overlap between the genitive singular and the genitive plural due to the loss of final /n/ and the shift of –ω- to –ου (also found in some of the aforementioned dialects): gen.sg νοματού = gen.pl νοματού (<*νοματούν <*νοματών) → gen.sg νοματού # gen.pl νοματού-ς.

A similar development can be found in the dialect of Silli (Kostakis, 1968) where the genitives αυτουνούς “of these” and κεινουνούς “of those” either reflect the addition of –ς for the formal differentiation from the genitive singular forms αυτουνού and κεινουνού respectively or constitute another instance of accusative-genitive syncretism. It seems that the syncretism could occur with modifiers and determiners more often, as the following example indicates (Kostakis, 1968: 126):

- (11) ούλοι τους μισαφιριώ τα φέρια
 all:N/A.PL.M 3pl:ACC.PL.M guest:GEN.PL.M the: N/A.PL.N hand: N/A.PL.N
 “all the guests’ hands”

Apart from syncretic phenomena, Silliot also exhibits juxtapositional possessive structures (Kostakis 1968: 67 and 122): e.g. ούλα [NOM./ACC.PL] ρούχα [NOM./ACC.PL] του κουτσάκια “the buttons of all his clothes”, χεκέμηροι [NOM./ACC.PL] τα ιλάτζα “doctors’ medicines”; this is a clear indication that genitive plural forms were highly problematic in the dialect.

Consequently, it can be said that the syncretism did not take place in Fárasa, while its status in Silli remains uncertain, especially since Dawkins (1916) does not mention such phenomena in his grammatical description and collection of dialectal texts.

2.7 Summary

According to the data presented so far, a few matters can be observed. The syncretism only occurs with plural forms of nouns, adjectives or non-personal pronouns, even though Tzártanos (1909: 233) provides a very interesting example from Thessaly, the only one that involves the possessive use of an accusative singular: για τονν [ACC.SG.M] άντρα [ACC.SG.M] τς του σόι “for her husband’s kin”. However, this seems to be an isolated instance rather than an established pattern in the dialect.

Also, the syncretism does not take place with neuter nouns; the use of the common nominative/ accusative plural form of ρούχα in Silliot above does not constitute accusative-genitive syncretism, but a juxtapositional possessive structure (cf. Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 2003). As regards the degree of extension, two types of accusative-genitive syncretism can be found:

Type I (only with masculine nouns):

Cyprus, Corsican Maniot, Voúrbiani, (Silli?)

Type II (masculine and feminine nouns):

Sarakatsans, Samos, Sporades, Northern Euboea, Kýzikos

Moreover, in many of these dialects the syncretic accusative forms of o-masculines exhibit the nominative suffix *-οι*, as it has replaced *-ους*, a development found in a few regions of the Modern Greek-speaking world. The difference between their use and juxtapositions or the indeclinable use of nouns lies in the morphology of the definite article. The distinction between the various phenomena can be understood in the following way:

DETERMINER_{GEN} + NOUN_{GEN}: expected use (as in Common Modern Greek and most dialects)
e.g. των ανθρώπων “of the people”

DETERMINER_{GEN} + NOUN_{NOM(=ACC)}: indeclinable use of the noun
e.g. του Τσερκέζοι “of Circassians”

DETERMINER_{ACC} + NOUN_{ACC}: accusative-genitive syncretism
e.g. τους ανθρώπους “of the people”

DETERMINER_{ACC} + NOUN_{GEN}: early stage of the accusative-genitive syncretism
e.g. τους μισαφιριώ “of the guests”

[DETERMINER_{NOM(=ACC)} +] NOUN_{NOM(=ACC)}: juxtaposition
e.g. ρούχα “of the clothes”

*DETERMINER_{GEN} + NOUN_{ACC}: not attested

3 Previous accounts on the Cypriot syncretism

The accusative-genitive syncretism in Cypriot has received a lot of attention in previous studies, not only because it constitutes one of the major Modern Greek dialects with a quite large number of speakers, but mainly due to the fact that it is the best attested, since it can already be found in Medieval Cypriot texts. The most important extant analyses on the matter can be summarized as follows:

- i. **Menardos (1896)**: The syncretism was developed by the addition of *-ς* as a plural marker to the genitive singular: του ανθρώπου + *-ς* → τους ανθρώπους.
- ii. **Sitaridou and Terkourafi (2007)**: Contact with Old French (during the occupation of Cyprus by the Lusignan dynasty between 1192 and 1473) resulted in the development of a single oblique case in the plural of masculine nouns following the pattern of the Old French nominal system in which the plural of its masculine paradigms has a nominative vs. oblique case distinction, e.g. nom.pl *li baron* vs. obl.pl *les barons* <ber “baron”.
- iii. **Markopoulos (2010)**: Phonological overlap between the accusative and the dative during Medieval Greek resulted in the development of the syncretism, e.g. τους ανθρώπους /tus an'θropus/ ≈ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις /tys an'θropys/, while medieval inscriptions from the Middle East also exhibit similar structures with the possessive use of accusatives, e.g. IGL Syr

XXI 2: 100, l. a.1-4 (Belqa-Makhayyat, Jordan, 535-536 AD) τὸν κάματος τοὺς [ACC.PL] ἄνθρώπους [ACC.PL] “the hard work of the people”.

Even though these approaches point out some interesting matters, it will be shown that they cannot fully explain the phenomenon.

3.1 Agglutinative construction

Menardos' (1896) approach resembles the development seen earlier in the data from Fárasa and Silli; however, there is a significant difference between Cypriot and these dialects, as the former does not exhibit an overlap between genitive singular and genitive plural forms. Therefore, it does not explain what motivated the formation of such agglutinative genitives.

3.2 Language contact with Old French

Apart from the fact that the syncretism in the rest of the dialects mentioned here cannot be attributed to language contact, it is not very likely that contact with Old French was the driving force behind this morphological change in Cypriot. More precisely, the Old French case system exhibits the exact opposite situation, as its masculine nouns had a two case-distinction in the plural and feminines had a single form for all cases.

3.3 Overlap with the medieval dative

Despite the fact that the grammaticalization of recipients as possessors is an interesting element in Markopoulos' (2010) analysis, there are a few problems with this approach. Even though homophony between accusative and dative plural forms of feminine nouns was definitely more likely than the respective forms of masculine nouns during Medieval Greek, e.g. ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς = τὲς ἀδελφές /tes adel' fes/, syncretic feminine accusatives are not found in Cypriot Greek⁵.

Furthermore, given the fact that there is a quite large temporal and spatial gap between the data from inscriptions of the 6th-7th c. from Jordan and Palestine and the first attestation of the phenomenon in Medieval Cypriot texts (13th c.), the proposal that the syncretism took place in Cypriot through dialect contact is not thoroughly supported. Quite clearly, as Cyprus has been predominantly Greek-speaking since ancient times, it cannot be compared to regions where Greek was either a minority language or served as a lingua franca, especially when it is kept in mind that data from inscriptions and non-literary papyri from such areas should always be treated with caution due to the high frequency of “solecisms”, cf. εκυμιθι τον (δ)ουλον [ACC.SG] του Θ(ε)ου “The servant of God passed away” (Crimea, 1622 AD; Latyshev 1896: 66).

It is extremely unlikely that the possessive use of the Cypriot accusative is a remnant of the ancient dative which was most likely lost during the first centuries of Medieval Greek (6th-9th c.) and has not left any vestiges in any modern dialects. Therefore, Markopoulos' (2010: 107) remark that such structures as εἰς φυλακὴν τοῖς [DAT.PL.M] Ἀγαρηνοῖς [DAT.PL.M] “in a prison of the Saracens” (*Assises A 228*; 14th c./ ms. 16th c.) reflect an earlier stage of Medieval Cypriot is highly arbitrary, as they clearly constitute an unsuccessful attempt by the editor or scribe to

⁵ Terkourafi (2005: 313) mentions the only example of such a use: ο αριθμός τις σωλήνες που ννα βάλουμε στο δρόμο “the number of the pipes that we should put on the street”. Apart from the fact that this seems to be an isolated attestation, it can be said that in this particular utterance the case of the possessor was attracted by the direct object function of the relativizer που.

archaicize a pattern of the vernacular. If the accusative-genitive syncretism had such deep roots, we would not expect to find masculine genitive plurals in the Medieval Cypriot texts, since they would have already been lost by that time, but as will be shown, this is not the case.

4 Proposed analysis

There are two very important elements that have not been mentioned by extant accounts on the matter. First, the Cypriot syncretism is not linked to any of the dialects mentioned here. Second, the accusative-genitive syncretism in the personal pronouns has also been neglected by previous studies, apart from Hadjioannou (1988) and Henrich (2002) who simply point out the homophony between the third person syncretic clitic *τους* and the accusative *τους* of the definite article.

Consequently, it is important at this point to examine the relationship between the syncretic syncretism in the personal pronouns and the nominal possessive accusatives, given the fact that in all dialects under discussion here *τους* has replaced *των*⁶.

4.1 The diachrony of the accusative-genitive syncretism in the personal pronouns

As shown in Mertyris (2011), the first and second person accusative plurals *εμάς/ μας*, *εσάς/ σας* have replaced the ancient genitives *ἡμῶν/ ὑμῶν* since the 10th c. in all modern dialects apart from Pontic. Regarding the diachrony of the third person syncretic accusative *τους*, its first attestation with a possessive use comes from medieval texts of the 12th c., e.g. *τὰ ροῦχα τους* (*Ptochoprodromica*, poem 2, l. 86), while it has replaced *των* in most modern dialects. The following table summarizes the diachrony of the syncretism in the pronominal inflection:

	Ancient Greek - 10 th c.		10 th -12 th c.		12 th c. -
	GEN	ACC	GEN	ACC	ACC-GEN
1PL	ἡμῶν	ἡμᾶς	εμάς/ μας		εμάς/ μας
2PL	ὑμῶν	ὑμᾶς	εσάς/ σας		εσάς/ σας
3PL.M	(των) ⁷	(τους)	των	τους	τους

Table 3. Accusative-genitive syncretism in the personal pronouns of Medieval Greek

In order to examine the connection of the pronominal case syncretism to the Cypriot nominal accusatives, the presence of the third person *τους* should be examined in the Medieval Cypriot texts. As the following table shows, *των* was almost entirely absent in Medieval Cypriot⁸, while masculine genitive plurals were still present in the language apart from the *Chronicle* of Boustronios which is the latest text:

⁶ Farasiot has maintained the genitive-accusative distinction in the third person [gen.pl *τινε* (<**τουνε* <**τωνε* <**των*) # acc.pl *τα* (for all genders)], but as was shown earlier, it does not exhibit the syncretism in the nominal inflection.

⁷ The third person clitics of Modern Greek date back to late Hellenistic and early Medieval Greek.

⁸ The presence of the syncretic *τους* in these texts is so frequent that a detailed statistical comparison to the presence of *των* would be unnecessary.

TEXT	masculine gen.pl	των
<i>Greek Laws</i> (13 th c./ ms. 13 th c.)	55.1%	twice
<i>Assises</i> (B) (14 th c./ ms. 15 th c.)	27.7%	once
<i>Assises</i> (A) (14 th c./ ms. 16 th c.)	23%	twice
<i>Chronicle</i> of Machairas (15 th c./ ms. 16 th c.)	13.4 %	none
<i>Chronicle</i> of Boustronios (15 th -16 th c./ ms. 16 th c.)	once	none

Table 4. The occurrence of nominal and pronominal genitives in Medieval Cypriot texts [the data on masculine genitives are taken from Markopoulos (2010)]

According to these data, it is unambiguous that the syncretism in the third person was established before the development of the syncretism in the masculine paradigms.

4.2 The extension of the syncretic pattern to the nominal inflection

Even though it is clear that the possessive use of the accusative τους preceded the replacement of masculine genitive by accusative plurals, it has not been explained how these two phenomena are linked with each other.

Thus, it can be proposed at this point that the development originated in structures with indirect object reduplication. It must be noted that all dialects discussed here employ the genitive to mark indirect objects, apart from Kýzikos and Silli. In such structures, the case of the noun or the determiner that would function as a recipient would be attracted by the morphologically accusative case of the syncretic pronoun:

Stage 0:	λαλώ σας/ “I talk to you”	λαλώ των → λαλώ τους “I talk to them”
Stage I:	λαλώ τους εκείνων → λαλώ τους εκείνους → λαλώ εκείνους “I talk to those”	

Quite interestingly, such structures can easily be traced in Medieval Cypriot texts, e.g. ἀρέσκει τους καὶ κείνους “It pleases those as well” (Machairas §304). This development should not surprise, as similar structures can be found in other dialects where indirect objects are marked with the genitive. The following example from Aetolia (Loukopoulos 1921: 31) demonstrates the use of an accusative where the genitive των αλλνών would be expected:

(12) πάει	χιριτήματα	τς	αλλνούς
go:3SG	greeting:N/A.PL.N	the:ACC.PL.M	other:ACC.PL.M
“he sends greetings to others”			

Even in Common Modern Greek, structures where the demonstrative pronoun is attracted by the morphologically accusative clitic are not entirely uncommon, cf. the use of an accusative instead of the expected genitive αυτών/ αυτωνών:

(13) αυτούς	τους	έχεις	δώσει	λεφτά;
this:ACC.PL.M	3PL:ACC.PL.M	have:2SG	give:INF.PFV	money:N/A.PL.N
“have you given them money?” (personal recording)				

The genitives of feminine and neuter nouns in Cypriot and other dialects remained in full use as indirect objects and consequently as possessives, since the maintenance of the two-case distinction in the third person clitics of these genders (FEMININE gen.pl τους/ acc.pl τες, NEUTER gen.pl τους/ acc.pl τα) could not trigger the syncretism in the feminine and neuter paradigms through case attraction, cf. τόσα ἔδωκεν τῶν μαυλιστριῶν [GEN.PL.F] “he gave so much to the seducers” (Machairas §239) and ἐμηνῶσαν τῶν κατέργων [GEN.PL.N] “they announced to the galleons” (Machairas §414).

After the syncretic pattern was established with indirect objects, it was extended to possessive structures with double marking where both the third pronoun and a demonstrative pronoun or noun would be used:

Stage II: το σπίτιν τους εκείνων → το σπίτιν τους εκείνους
 “The house of those”

In dialects with accusative indirect objects, such as Kýzikos and Silli, the development most likely occurred in possessive structures with double marking or in structures where experiencers and benefactives could be reanalysed as possessives. The following examples from Bithynia and Samothraki show how this could take place:

(14) κόπηκε γουλουνοῦς η καρδιά τους
 cut:3SG.PASS.PST all:ACC.PL.M the:NOM.SG.F heart:N/A.SG.F 3PL:ACC.PL.M
 “Their hearts were hurt (lit. their heart was cut to all of them)”
 Armutli, Bithynia (ILNE 424: 120)

(15) μπαίνει μες στου ματ τς χαμουφάδις
 enter:3SG inside in.the:N/A.SG.N eye:N/A.SG.N the:ACC.PL.M wastrel:N/A.PL.M
 “He makes the wastrels jealous (lit. he gets in the eyes of/ to the wastrels)”
 Samothraki (Heisenberg 1918: 40)

A final issue that needs to be addressed is the course of the syncretism. More precisely, it can be proposed that the syncretism in the definite article was established before the one in the nominal inflection, as can be seen in example (11) from Silli and the Cypriot τοὺς ἐγκυτάδων “his guarantors” (*Assises* B 254). Another element that constitutes solid evidence for this is the fact that some Corfiot varieties exhibit this stage of the syncretism, as the masculine accusative plural τσου (<*τους) has replaced των, e.g. τσου ανθρώπωνε “of the people” (Salvanos 1918: 13).

4.3 The extension of the syncretism to feminine nouns

A very crucial matter that has not been dealt with yet is the occurrence of the accusative-genitive syncretism with feminine nouns in the dialects of Sarakatsans, Kýzikos, Samos, the Sporades and Northern Euboea. This development can be clearly understood if it is kept in mind that the deletion of unstressed /i, u/ in these dialects eliminated the distinction between the third person masculine and feminine accusative clitics and the respective forms of the definite article. This development extended the syncretism to the third person feminine clitics and the two-case distinction was maintained only in the neuter gender:

THIRD PERSON MASCULINE:	gen/acc.pl τους	→	gen/acc.pl τς
THIRD PERSON FEMININE:	gen.pl τους/ acc.pl τις	→	gen/acc.pl τς
THID PERSON NEUTER:	gen.pl τους/ acc.pl τα	→	gen.pl τς/ acc.pl τα

This element was decisive for the further extension of the syncretism to feminine accusative plurals, especially when it is kept in mind that the forms of the accusative plural of the definite article for the two genders became identical:

	THIRD PERSON	→	DEFINITE ARTICLE AND NOUNS ⁹
M/F	gen/acc.pl τς		gen/acc.pl τς ανθρώπ “people”/ τς γυναίκες “women”
N	gen.pl τς/ acc.pl τα		gen.pl παιδιούνης/ acc.pl τα παιδιά “children”

Table 5. The extension of the syncretism to feminine nouns

4.4 Other factors

The proposed analysis can explain the phenomena of all these dialects, given the fact that in all of them the syncretism took place in the personal pronouns before its development in the nominal inflection. It seems that the syncretism occurred independently in each dialect under the spirit of Sapir’s drift (Sapir 1921), since contact could only occur between Voúrbiani and Sarakatsans in Epirus and between the aforementioned Aegean varieties. However, there are a few matters that need to be discussed.

Quite possibly, the extension of the syncretic pattern to the nominal inflection was reinforced by dialect-specific factors in each case. Corsican Maniot is a great example, as it exhibits language shift towards French and Corsican and a possible overlap between the genitive plural του(v) and the accusative του(ς) of the definite article, as noted earlier. Regarding Silli, juxtapositional structures caused by the retreat of the case morphology and the addition of -ς to raise the homonymy between genitive singular and genitive plural forms should also be taken into consideration.

Another factor that requires special attention is paradigmatic symmetry. The paradigm of o-masculines is the only one that has maintained a three-case distinction in the plural almost everywhere in the Modern Greek-speaking world¹⁰. While some dialects treat this asymmetry by replacing the suffix -ους with -οι, as seen in a few of the dialects examined here, Cypriot, Corsican Maniot and Voúrbiani achieved a more balanced case distinction through the development of the accusative-genitive syncretism:

⁹ The examples are taken from Samian, but the pattern applies also for the Sporades, northern Euboea, Kyzikos and Sarakatsans.

¹⁰ The maintenance of the distinction between the nominative suffix -ες and the accusative -ας with α-/η-masculines and feminines is very rare, e.g. τας γυναίκας (Icaria; Hatzidakis, 1907: 438-9).

STAGE I	NOM # ACC # GEN	NOM=ACC # GEN	
	O-MASCULINES άνθρωποι	FEMININES μητέρες	NEUTERS δώρα
	ανθρώπους		
	ανθρώπων	μητέρων	δώρων
STAGE II	NOM # ACC=GEN	NOM=ACC # GEN	
	MASCULINES άνθρωποι	FEMININES μητέρες	NEUTERS δώρα
	ανθρώπους		
		μητέρων	δώρων

Table 6: Three-case vs. two-case distinction in the plural of the nominal inflection

Finally, it would not be impossible to find such syncretic phenomena in the nominal inflection of dialects where the distinction between the third person *των* and *τους* has been maintained. According to Ralli (personal communication), syncretic phenomena can also be found in the dialect of Lesbos where the masculine genitive *ντων* is distinct from the accusative *τς* of the third person. Even though such phenomena are not attested at all in grammatical descriptions (e.g. Kretschmer, 1905) and collections of narratives from this dialect, the following example shows the use of a genitive of the definite article with an undeclined noun:

- (16) βρουντά πα στ' δράτς' ντ' πόρτα
 /vro'nda 'panu stu 'ðraki tin 'porta/
 [vru'nda pa st ðrats d borta
 knock:3SG on in.the:GEN dragon:N/A.PL.M the:ACC.SG.F door:N/A.SG.F
 "he knocks on the door of the dragons"
 Mantamados, Lesbos (Anagnostou 1994: 5)

Such structures could trigger the development of a full accusative-genitive syncretism that would involve the possessive use of the accusative *τς* of the definite article.

Thus, it would not be impossible to encounter syncretic phenomena in dialects where the genitive-accusative distinction has been maintained in the plural clitics of the third person, since the syncretism examined here is undoubtedly related to the reduction of case marking and the overall quite problematic nature of the genitive plural in the Modern Greek-speaking world; in any case, it is a very frequent phenomenon crosslinguistically that either creates a nominative vs. oblique case distinction or eliminates any case distinction, e.g. nom.pl *άνθρωποι* vs. gen/acc.pl *ανθρώπους* (Cyprus) or nom/acc/gen.pl *ανθρώποι* (Samos).

5 Conclusions

As has been shown by the analysis proposed here, the earlier establishment of the syncretism in the personal pronouns (found in every part of the Modern Greek-speaking world apart from Pontic Greek) and especially the third person clitics triggered the syncretism in the nominal inflection of these dialects.

This analysis explains why the syncretism always involves masculine nouns, but it does not occur with feminine and neuter nouns in the dialects of Type I and with neuter nouns in the

dialects of Type II, as in the former case the third person plural clitics maintained the distinction between the third person accusative $\tau\iota\varsigma$ (F)/ $\tau\alpha$ (N) and the genitive $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (common for all genders), while in the latter the third person genitive $\tau\varsigma$ (common for all genders) remained distinct from the neuter nominative/ accusative plural $\tau\alpha$.

third person plural clitics	Type I			Type II	
	Masculine acc/gen. $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$	Feminine gen. $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ acc. $\tau\iota\varsigma$	Neuter gen. $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ acc. $\tau\alpha$	Masc./Fem. acc/gen. $\tau\varsigma$	Neuter gen. $\tau\varsigma$ acc. $\tau\alpha$
Nominal inflection	ACC < GEN	GEN # ACC		ACC < GEN	GEN # ACC

Table 7. The maintenance of feminine and neuter genitives in the dialects of Type I and Type II

Regarding the diachrony of these phenomena, even though diachronic data are only available for the Cypriot syncretism, it can be proposed that the developments in the rest of the dialects are more recent and most likely date back to early Modern Greek (16th - 19th c.), given the fact that the dialects of Kýzikos and Sarakatsans the original genitive forms are used interchangeably with syncretic accusatives.

Finally, the following table summarizes the presence of accusative-genitive syncretism in the Modern Greek-speaking world:

	1PL/ 2PL	3PL	DEF.ART	Masculines	Feminines	Neuters
AG ¹¹ - 10 th c.	ἡμῶν/ ὑμῶν	αὐτῶν	τῶν	GEN	GEN	GEN
Pontic	εμουν/ εσουν	ατουν	τι/ τ'			
Group I ¹²	μας/ σας	των	των			
Group II ¹³	μας/ σας	τους	των			
Corfiot ¹⁴	μας/ σας	τσου	τσου			
Type I ¹⁵	μας/ σας	τους	τους	ACC=GEN	ACC=GEN	
Type II ¹⁶	μας/ σας	τς	τς	ACC=GEN		

Table 8: The presence of accusative-genitive syncretism in the Greek-speaking world

Primary Sources

Assises: Sathas, Konstantinos 1877. *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi VI*. Venice: Phoenix.

¹¹ Ancient Greek.

¹² Post 10th c. In Cappadocia, Fárasa, Mariupol, Bithynia, Lesbos/ Kydonies, Skyros, Chios, Smyrna, Icaria, Kýthera, the Cyclades, Crete, the Dodecanese and Southern Italy.

¹³ Post 12th c. In the Peloponnese and the Ionian islands (hence Common Modern Greek), Central Greece, the northern Aegean, Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia and Thrace.

¹⁴ The varieties of Argyrades and Liapades.

¹⁵ Cyprus, Voúrbiani, Corsican Maniot and possibly Silli.

¹⁶ Kýzikos, Sarakatsans, Samos, the Sporades and Northern Euboea.

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MULTIPLE WH-FRONTING ACROSS PONTIC GREEK VARIETIES*

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In this article we discuss some previously unknown dimensions of variation in the syntax of multiple questions in Pontic Greek varieties, focusing on novel data from Romeyka of Of and Pontic Greek as spoken in Northern Greece. In doing so, we revisit and revise the typology of multiple questions and multiple *wh*-fronting (MWF) in light of the Romeyka data. It is claimed that Bošković's (2002) typology has to be expanded to include (at least) a fourth pair, namely SMG/Romeyka (and TPG to varying degrees), since SMG is not exactly of the English type, nor does Romeyka correlate to the Bulgarian type. Our micro/nano-comparative data also revealed several other factors potentially subject to parametric variation (e.g. sensitivity of Superiority to D-linking, single-pair readings etc.) which might also yield new conceivable types of *wh*- and multiple *wh*-fronting.

1 Introduction

The aim of this article is twofold: (a) To discuss some previously unknown dimensions of variation in the syntax of multiple questions in Pontic Greek varieties, focusing on novel data from Romeyka (as spoken in Pontus, Turkey) and from another Pontic Greek variety (as spoken in northern Greece); (b) to revisit and revise the typology of multiple questions and multiple *wh*-fronting (MWF) in light of the Romeyka data.

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According to Bošković's (2002) typology of *wh*-movement, there are apparently four language types (see also Simpson, 2000):

- (a) No *wh*-phrase moves before Spell Out, i.e. all *wh*-phrases appear in their original/thematic positions (Chinese);
- (b) One and only one *wh*-phrase moves before Spell Out, i.e. in multiple *wh*-questions only one *wh*-phrase appears in the left periphery (English);
- (c) Movement of one *wh*-phrase is optional, i.e. at most one *wh*-phrase, if any, can appear in the left periphery in multiple *wh*-questions (French);
- (d) Movement of all *wh*-phrases by Spell Out is obligatory, i.e. all *wh*-phrases obligatorily appear in the left periphery (Russian)

Standard Modern Greek (henceforth SMG), at least *prima facie*, behaves like English – a language of the second type according to the above-mentioned typology – since both English and SMG behave alike with regard to: (i) *wh*-in-situ in multiple questions, as shown in (1) and (2); and (ii) in terms of Superiority, as shown in (1) and (2):

(1)a. [_{CP} Who_i [_{TP} t_i brought what]]?

b. * [_{CP} Who_i what_k [_{TP} t_i brought t_k]]?

c. * [_{CP} What_k will [_{TP} who_i bring t_k]]?

(2)a. Pços efere ti?
 who.NOM brought.3sg what.ACC
 'Who brought what?' [SMG]

b. *Pços ti efere?
 who.NOM what.ACC brought.3sg

c. pços filise pçon?
 who.NOM kissed.3sg who.ACC
 'Who kissed whom?'

d. ?*pçon filise pços?
 who.ACC kissed.3sg who.NOM

However, in the absence of almost any work on *wh*-formation across Greek dialects (but see Contossopoulos (1981) and Tsiplakou et al (2006) on Cypriot Greek), very little is known about the fact that Pontic Greek varieties are the only Greek varieties which seem to fall under the fourth type, namely MWF languages, where all *wh*-phrases move (but see Michelioudakis and Sitaridou, 2012:220 for a brief discussion). Consider (3) from the Romeyka variety of Of (henceforth ROf), as spoken in the region of Of in Turkey, and (4) from Pontic Greek (henceforth TPG), as spoken in Thessaloniki and Northern Greece but also elsewhere – note that both varieties belong to the Asian Minor Greek Group (see Sitaridou 2013):

(3) Tinan doxna eŋdžes?
 who.ACC.HUM what.ACC brought.2sg
 ‘What did you bring for whom?’ [ROf]

(4) Tinan do eferes?
 who.ACC.HUM what.ACC brought.2sg
 ‘What did you bring for whom?’ [TPG]

Crucially, Pontic Greek seems to exhibit Superiority effects (5), which show that multiple *wh*-movement is order-preserving, as e.g. in Bulgarian (6) (see Bošković, 1997), putting aside D-linked *wh*-phrases for the time being:

(5)a. Pios tinan ayapai?
 who.NOM who.ACC.HUM love.3sg
 ‘Who loves whom?’ [ROf]

b. *Tinan pios ayapai?
 who.ACC.HUM who.NOM love.3sg

c. Pios tinan ayapa?
 who.NOM who.ACC.HUM love.3sg
 ‘Who loves whom?’ [TPG]

d. *Tinan pios ayapa?
 who.ACC.HUM who.NOM love.3sg
 (Michelioudakis and Sitaridou 2012:221)

(6)a. Koj kogo obia?
 who.NOM who.ACC love.3sg
 ‘Who loves whom?’ [Bulgarian]

b. *Kogo koj obia?
 who.ACC who.NOM love.3sg

In this article, on the basis of the Romyka data, we claim that, in line with Bošković’s (2002) proposal, there is no reason for treating all MWF languages as one uniform type since MWF languages such as Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian and Russian have distinct *wh*-fronting patterns. Romyka/TPG MWF provides, in fact, further evidence for a distinct type of MWF language. Furthermore, Bošković’s (2002) idea that each type of MWF language has its non-MWF counterpart is further reinforced by correlating/coupling the understudied Romyka/Pontic MWF with a non-MWF, namely Standard Modern Greek.

The article is organised as follows. In section 2.1 we present our methodology whilst in section 2.2 micro-variation found across the Greek varieties is considered. In section 3.1 we analyse the *wh*-patterns attested in Romyka and in section 3.2 we discuss nano-variation across the Pontic Greek varieties. In section 4 we put forward our analysis of MWF in Romyka. We conclude our findings in section 5.

2 Micro-variation in Greek *wh*-fronting

The goal of this section is twofold: (a) to provide some necessary information on the methodology of data collection; (b) to discuss micro-variation, as is demonstrated by various differences between the Pontic Greek language group on the one hand and SMG on the other;

2.1 Methodology of data collection

The dialectal data examined in this article derive from two Pontic Greek varieties: (a) Pontic Greek as spoken in Thessaloniki and Northern Greece (henceforth, TPG); and (b) Romeyka as spoken in the Of region of Pontus in Turkey (henceforth ROF). When we use the term Pontic Greek in this article we refer to both ROF and TPG. In both cases, the data derive exclusively from fieldwork conducted by one of the authors. In particular: (a) for TPG, two informants have been consulted, two females, one (67 years) and one female (55 years old) from Thessaloniki (although the 55 year old was born in Komotini) who have been exposed to Pontic Greek from birth; (b) as for the Romeyka data, data collection was carried out in the village of Anasta, in the Of (Çaykara) region of Pontus in Turkey (see Sitaridou, 2013). Data was obtained, principally, from three informants: three females (20 years old, 42 year old and 65 years old respectively), and occasionally from one male (45 years old). In all cases, the data were elicited using a structured questionnaire on *wh*-formation and multiple *wh*-fronting comprising ca. 30 tokens (for more information regarding the field techniques employed, see Sitaridou, 2013).

2.2 Micro-variation in Greek *wh*-fronting

As we have already seen in the introduction, the main parametric difference between SMG on the one hand and Pontic Greek on the other is that the latter allows for MWF. Other micro-variation between SMG and Pontic Greek includes different *wh*-words especially in ROF – consider Table 1:

<i>wh</i> -words	ROF	TPG	SMG
‘when?’	<i>Pote?</i> When	<i>Pote?</i> When	<i>Pote?</i> When
‘where/wh ich place?’	<i>Pu merea/tšeka?</i> where side/there e.g.: (i) <i>Pote pu merea epies?</i> when where side went.2sg ‘When and where did you you go?’ (ii) <i>Pote motinan pu merea epies?</i> when with.who.ACC.HUM where side went.2sg ‘When, where and with whom did you go?’	<i>Poθen merean/pion merean?</i> where side/which side e.g.: (v) <i>Poθen merean epies pote?</i> where side went.2sg when ‘When and where did you go?’ (vi) <i>Pote me tinan se pion merean epies?</i> when with who.ACC.HUM to which side went.2sg ‘When, where and with whom did you go?’	<i>Pu?</i> Where
‘from where?’	<i>Apoxen?</i> from.where e.g.: (iii) <i>Apoxen erθes?</i> from.where came.2sg	<i>Poθen?</i> from.where e.g.: (vii) <i>poθen erθes?</i> from.where came.2sg	<i>Apo pu?</i> from where

	‘Where did you come from?’ (iv) (pote) apoxen (pote) erθes? when from.where when came.2sg ‘Where did you come from?’	‘Where did you come from?’ (viii) Poθen pote erθes? from.where when came.2sg ‘When and from where did you come?’	
‘How many?’	<i>Kaškiši/Kaškišus?</i> how.many.NOM.pl/ how.many.ACC.pl	<i>Pos’ nomat/pos’ nomats?</i> how.many person.NOM/how.many person.ACC.pl	<i>Posi/Posus?</i> how.many.N OM.pl/ how.many.A CC.pl
‘with whom?’	<i>Motinan?</i> with.who.ACC.HUM	<i>Me tinan?</i> with who.ACC.HUM	<i>Me pçion?</i> with who.ACC

Table 1. *wh*-words in Pontic Greek and SMG

Second, in SMG, fronting of more than one *wh*-phrase is possible with the use of spurious coordinators (see Anagnostopoulou, 2003; Merchant, 2008 for Turkish), as shown in (7), whereas these are absent in Pontic Greek, as shown in (8):

- (7)background: ‘One student came and got a book out of your library’
 boris na mu pis [pços ke ti] / [pjø (vivlio) kai pços *(to)]
 can.2sg SUBJ.PRT me tell.2sg who.NOM and what/which (book) and who.NOM it
 pire?
 took.3sg
 ‘Can you tell me who took which book?’ [SMG]
 (adapted from Anagnostopoulou 2003:142)
- (8)a. *Pios tše tinan efilise?
 who.NOM and who.ACC.HUM kissed.3sg
 ‘Who kissed whom?’ [ROf]
- b. *Pios ce tinan efilise?
 who.NOM and who.ACC.HUM kissed.3sg
 ‘Who kissed whom?’ [TPG]

Third, Pontic Greek lacks number/gender distinctions on the interrogative pronoun, i.e., there is no plural/gender form of ‘who’ (9), in sharp contrast to SMG (10). Instead, we observe that Pontic Greek either (i) uses the same form (underspecified) as in the singular; or (ii) uses alternative devices: (a) ROf uses a Turkish loanword to optionally mark plurality (9). However, it should be noted that the use of the morpheme *kaš(i)kisi* when used alone/not accompanying ‘*pios*’ also expresses ‘how many’ and becomes obligatory in the accusative, as shown in (11) where, however, we also note the Greek inflection; and (b) TPG uses a periphrastic expression (9):

- (9)a. Pios erθen?
 who.NOM came.3sg
 ‘Who came?’ [ROf/TPG]

- b. Pios erθen?
who.NOM came.3sg
'Who (=many) came?' [ROf]
- c. Pios kaš(i)kisi erθen
who NOM.PL came.3sg
'Who (=many) came?' [ROf]
- d. Posi nomat erθane?
how.many.NOM.PL person came.3pl
'Who (=many) came?' [TPG]
- (10)a. Pços irθe?
who.NOM.sg came.3sg
'Who came?' [SMG]
- b. Pxi irθan?
who.NOM.pl came.3pl
'Who (=many) came?' [SMG]
- (11)a. Esi kaškišus ayapas?
you.NOM how.many love.2sg
'How many/who (=many) do you love?' [ROf]
- b. Eyo ekikišus ayapo.
I.NOM two love.1sg
'I love two people.'

For a summary of the gender/number distinctions in Pontic Greek and SMG, consider Table 2:

Number	Case	ROf/TPG		SMG
Singular		+Human	-Human	
	Nom	Pios	pios/pion	pços
	Acc	Tinan	do/doxna ¹ (ROf only) pion	pçon
Plural	Nom	pios /pios kašikisi (ROf only)/ pios nomat (TPG only)	Pios	pçi
	Acc	Tinan	do/doxna (ROf only) Pion	pça

Table 2. Number/gender distinctions on interrogatives in Pontic Greek and SMG

¹ The form *doxnan/doxna(n)* is also possible. The diachronic trajectory of *doxna* indicates amalgamation with an interrogative C-head 'na'. Given the strictly synchronic goal of this article we leave this and other diachronic issues aside.

Third, Pontic Greek *do* is genuinely non-D-linked (12) as shown by its contrast to D-linked *pion fai* ‘what (food)’ (12). ROF *doxna* however, is aggressively non-D-linked (in the sense of Pesetsky’s (1982) ‘aggressively non-D-linked *wh*-phrases’) as shown in (13), whereas Pontic Greek *do* is less so. For us ‘aggressively non-D-linked’ means that the answer cannot be a concrete action, but rather a more generic state of affairs, thus why *doxna* could never be selected with a verb such as “make” – compare (12) with (12). In other words, ROF has lexicalized the D-linking properties to the maximum. Crucially, in SMG this distinction does not hold, as shown in (14), since the same *wh*-word is used regardless of the D-linking properties:

(12)a. Esi d’ epitšes?
 you.NOM what.ACC made.2sg
 ‘What did you make?’ [ROf]

a’. ?*Doxna epitšes?
 what.ACC made.2sg

b. Pion fai epitše?
 which food.ACC made.3sg
 ‘Which food did she make?’

c. Esi do fai epitšes?
 you.NOM what food.ACC made.2sg
 ‘What food did you make?’

d. Do enjen?
 what brought.3sg
 ‘What did he bring?’ [TPG]

e. Pion fai epices?
 which food.ACC made.3sg
 ‘What food did she make?’

(13)a. –Esi doxna ayapas?
 you.NOM what.ACC love.2sg
 ‘What do you love?’ [ROf]

b. –Eyo ayapo to porpatima, to tšimiθin=emuneθe, to maireman...
 I.NOM love.1sg the walking the sleep.INFIN.its the cooking
 ‘I love walking, sleeping, cooking...’

c. *Esi doxna fai epitšes?
 you.NOM what food.ACC made.2sg
 ‘What food did you make?’

- (14)a. Ti forema evales telika?
 what dress.ACC wore.2sg finally
 ‘Which dress did you put on in the end?’ [SMG]
- b. –Ti ekanes telika?
 what made.2sg finally
 ‘What did you do in the end?’
- c. –Perpatisa, majirepsa ce kimiθika.
 walked.1sg cooked.1sg and slept.1sg
 ‘I walked, cooked and slept.’

3 *Wh*-patterns and nano-variation in Pontic Greek

In this section, we focus on: (a) a detailed description of all attested patterns in the syntax of multiple *wh*-phrases in ROF; and (b) the differences in the syntax of MWF between ROF and TPG.

3.1 *Wh*-patterns in Romeyka

The major empirical generalisations regarding the distribution of *wh*-items are: first, all *wh*-phrases move obligatorily to the left periphery where two (15) or more *wh*-phrases (16) can be fronted with no option to leave any *wh*-phrase *in situ*:

- (15)a. Pios tinan eṅdže?
 who.NOM who.ACC.HUM brought.3sg
 ‘Who brought whom?’ [ROF]
- b. *Pios eṅdže tinan?
 who.NOM brought.3sg who.ACC.HUM
- c. Tinan doxna eṅdžes?
 who.ACC.HUM what.ACC brought.2sg
 ‘What did you bring to whom?’
- d. *doxna eṅdžes tinan?
 what.ACC brought.2sg who.ACC.HUM
- e. Pios motinan erθe?
 who.NOM with.who.ACC.HUM came.3sg
 ‘Who came with whom?’
- f. *pios erθe motinan?
 who.NOM came.3sg with.who.ACC.HUM

- b. Q:Pion fai(=D-linked) pios(=D-linked in the context) epitšen(-æj)?
 which food.ACC who.NOM made.3sg.it
 ‘Who made what food?’
- c. A:To havitšin epika eyo, to kartoflin epitšen i Aiše,
 the pudding.ACC made.1sg I.NOM the potato made.3SG the Aise-NOM
 to seker-pare epitšen i Miriam
 the cake.ACC made.3SG the Miriam.NOM
 ‘I made the pudding, Aise made the potato dish, Miriam made the cake.’

Fourth, *echo* questions too require *wh*-movement (23); therefore, there appears to be no *wh*-*in-situ* in RO_f at all.

(23) Context A: ‘Mehmet loves Aiše’

- a. Pios tinan ayapai? (ok on both default and echo interpretation)
 who.NOM who.ACC.HUM love.3sg
 ‘Who loves whom?’ [RO_f]
- b. *Pios ayapai tinan? (*on both default and echo interpretation)
 who.NOM love.3sg who.ACC.HUM
 ‘Who loves whom?’

Context B: ‘Aise brought milk to Mehmet.’

- c. Tinan doxna enđzen? Kala utš ekusa. (ok on echo interpretation)
 who.ACC.HUM what.ACC brought.3sg? well not heard.1sg
 ‘Who brought what? I didn’t hear well enough.’

Fifth, with regard to Superiority effects in RO_f, these are sensitive to D-linking. More specifically, when all fronted *wh*-phrases are non-D-linked, *wh*-fronting is strictly order preserving, as shown in (24):

- (24)a. Pios tinan pote efilise?
 who.NOM who.ACC.HUM when kissed.3sg
 ‘Who kissed whom and when?’ [RO_f]
- b. *Tinan > pios
 who.ACC.HUM > who.NOM
- c. *Pote > pios
 when > who.NOM
- d. *Pote > tinan
 when > who.ACC.HUM
- e. *doxna > tinan?
 what.ACC > who.ACC/DAT.HUM

Interestingly, as (24) shows, ROF exhibits Superiority effects even between the second highest and other lower *wh*-phrases. Moreover, in ROF, *echo wh*-phrases also exhibit Superiority effects, as shown in (25):

(25) Context: ‘Mehmet brought many cows to Aiše’

- a. Q: Tinan doxna eņdžes? Kala utš ekusa.
 who.ACC.HUM what.ACC brought.2sg well not heard.1sg
 ‘What did you bring to whom? I didn’t hear well enough.’ [ROf]
- b. Q: *Doxna tinan eņdžes? Kala utš ekusa.
 who.ACC what.ACC.HUM brought.2sg well not heard.1sg

Furthermore, (26) and (27) illustrate the possibility of having Superiority effects in embedded environments in Romeyka, which is compatible with Bošković’s tacit assumption that a language may lack a strong [+wh] in C (and, therefore, obligatory fronting/Superiority) in short-distance/null-C matrix questions (like French/Serbo-Croatian), but not in either overt-C, embedded or long-distance contexts, and not vice-versa, i.e., obligatory fronting/Superiority in null-C/short matrix questions also entails such effects in the latter contexts.

(26) Embedded questions

- a. As terume pios tinan iđe.
 HORT.PRT see.1pl who.NOM who.ACC.HUM saw.3sg
 ‘Let us see who saw whom.’ [ROf]
- b. Eyo tši ksero pios tinan eņdže.
 I.NOM not know.1sg who.NOM who.ACC.HUM brought.3sg
 ‘I don’t know who brought whom.’
- c. Eyo tši ksero pion kitapin pios eņdže.
 I.NOM not know.1sg which book.ACC who.NOM brought.3sg
 ‘I don’t know who brought which book.’
- d. Eyo tši ksero pion kitapin pion patši eņdže.
 I.NOM not know.1sg what book.ACC which girl.NOM brought.3sg
 ‘I don’t know which girl brought which book.’

(27) Long distance (multiple) *wh*-questions

- Tinan pote ipes iđes?
 who.ACC.HUM when said.2sg saw.2sg
 ‘Whom did you say you saw when?’ [ROf]

Moreover, when more than one/all fronted *wh*-phrases are D-linked (in which case they obligatorily give rise to pair-list readings), then Superiority effects are suspended/cancelled altogether – consider (28):

(28)a. Pion peðan doxna eñdžes?

which boy.ACC what.ACC brought.3sg
‘Which boy brought what?’

[ROf]

b. *Doxna pion peðan eñdžes
what.ACC which boy.ACC brought.3sg

3.2 Nano-variation in Pontic Greek *wh*-fronting

Turning our attention now to nano-variation within the Pontic Greek varieties, namely ROf and TPG (but see Michelioudakis and Sitaridou, 2012 for other Romeyka varieties and Sitaridou 2013 for a phylogenetic tree of the Pontic Greek language group), we note, first, that there are strong grammaticalised +/-human restrictions in ROf (29) and (31), whereas these are absent from TPG (30) and (32):

(29)a. Tinan ayapas?

who.ACC.HUM love.2sg
‘Whom do you love?’

[ROf]

b. –Ayapo ton tširi=m
love.1sg the father.ACC=my
‘I love my father’

(30)a. –Tinan ayapas?

who.ACC love.2sg
‘Whom do you love?’

[TPG]

b. –Ton kiri=m ayapo.
the.ACC father=my love.1sg
‘I love my father’

(31)a. –Pion ayapas?

what.ACC love.2sg
‘What do you love?’

[ROf]

b. –Ayapo ta za.
love.1sg the cows.ACC
‘I love the cows’

(32)a. –Tinan ayapas?

what.ACC.HUM love.2sg
‘What do you love?’

[TPG]

- b. –Ta vuðæ ayapo.
 the cows.ACC love.1sg
 ‘I love cows.’

For a summary of the animacy distinctions in the Pontic Greek varieties, consider Table 3. This is consistent with +/- human restrictions found in the Romeyka Case system.³

Pontic Greek Variety	Case	+Human	-Human	-Animate	D-linked
ROf	Nom	Pios who.NOM.MAS C.HUM	Pion what.NOM.NE UT	Do what.NOM.NE UT	Doxna what.NOM.NE UT
	Acc	Tinan who.ACC.MASC .HUM	Pion what.ACC.NE UT		
	Gen	Tinos	--		
TPG	Nom	Pios	pios	Do	Do
	Acc	Tinan	Tinan	Do	Do
	Gen	Tinos	--		

Table 3. ±human/±animate distinctions in *wh*-elements across Pontic Greek varieties

Second, we observe the presence of Turkish interrogative particle *mI* in ROf (though without vowel harmony) in questions of total ignorance (33), although *mI* seems to be optional in (33). Crucially, this interrogative particle is completely absent from TPG (34):

³ Alongside the agreement system — according to which (targets) articles, adjectives, some numerals, participles, pronouns agree with the morphologically-assigned gender value of their controllers (masculine, feminine, neuter) —, Pontic also exhibits a semantic agreement system (see Karatsareas 2011, forth.). The distribution of the two agreement systems is conditioned by the morphological and semantic properties of agreement controllers, *viz.* their morphologically-assigned gender value and the position their referents occupy on the Animacy Hierarchy as well as by the position agreement targets occupy on the Agreement Hierarchy. As shown below, human nouns, whose referents are found at the high end of the Animacy Hierarchy, trigger syntactic agreement on all kinds of agreement targets (ia). On the contrary, the overwhelming majority of targets controlled by low-end, inanimate nouns – which can be morphologically assigned to either the masculine or the feminine gender – appear in their neuter form to agree with the semantic properties of their controllers (ib). The singular forms of the definite article that agree with their controllers syntactically when immediately preceding them are the only exception (although close apposition cannot be excluded as an explanation) to this pattern that is otherwise found in all agreement domains, stretching from attributives within the NP to pronominal anaphora beyond it.

- (i) a. i mikresa i nifā eton ki alo poniresa
 the.F small.F the.F daughter-in-law.F was and more crafty.F
 ‘the younger daughter-in-law was even craftier’ (Drettas 1997: 684)
- b. t’(o) asimenion o mastrapas pali kremete
 the.N silver.N the.M tankard.M again hang.PASS.3sg
 ‘the silver tankard is hanging again’ (Lianidis 2007 [1962]: 228)

(33)a. Esi ekseris mi pios tinan ayapai?
 you.NOM know.2sg INTER.PRT who.NOM who.ACC.HUM love.3sg
 ‘Do you know who loves whom?’ [ROf]

b. Esi ekseris pios tinan enđže?
 you.NOM know.2sg who.NOM who.ACC.HUM brought.3sg
 ‘Do you know who brought whom?’

(34)Esi ekseris pios tinan ayapa?
 you.NOM know.2sg who.NOM who.ACC.HUM love.3sg
 ‘Do you know who loves whom?’ [TPG]

Third and most interestingly, TPG shows optional MWF in the context of *who*>*whom* (35) and *who*>*with whom* (35) and, therefore, contrasts with ROF where MWF is obligatory. The optionality, albeit striking *prima facie*, is most likely a case of competing grammars, namely TPG and SMG. This observation seems to receive confirmation from other works (Michelioudakis and Sitaridou, 2012; Sitaridou and Kaltsa, submitted) which reached the conclusion that the TPG informants’ judgments were severely affected by SMG, indicating that we are dealing either with heritage speakers (in the sense of Silva-Corvalán, 2003) of Pontic Greek or with attrited TPG-speakers because of interference of SMG.

(35)a. Pios tinan efilise?
 who.NOM who.ACC kissed.3sg
 ‘Who kissed whom?’ [TPG]

b. Pios efilise tinan?
 who.NOM kissed.3sg who.ACC
 ‘Who kissed whom?’

c. Pios me tinan erθen?
 who.NOM with who.ACC came.3sg
 ‘Who came with whom?’

d. Pios erθen me tinan?
 who.NOM came.3sg with who.ACC
 ‘Who came with whom?’

However, in (36) any optionality is cancelled and instead *wh-in situ* is the only option for the prepositional indirect object *wh*-phrase. This sharply contrasts with the ROF where MWF trivially obtains in the same context.

(36)a. Do enjes se katinan?
 what.ACC brought.3sg to someone.ACC
 ‘What did you bring to whom?’ [TPG]

- b. *Do se katinan eŋjes?
 what.ACC to someone.ACC brought.3sg
- c. *Se katinan eŋjes do?
 to someone.ACC brought.3sg what.ACC

Crucially, in ROF the equivalent of TPG (36) triggers MWF as seen in (15). Moreover, *tinan* ‘whom’ is not used – rather unsurprisingly given that ROF does not use prepositional indirect objects as TPG does (see Michelioudakis and Sitaridou, 2012). Further evidence that the difference in the syntax of double-object constructions influences MWF is demonstrated in (37) where we observe that *tinan* ‘whom’ is not preferred as the accusative case-marked indirect object and, instead, is replaced by *aton* ‘him’ (37), a strategy also compatible with doubling (37). Similarly, *do* is replaced by *kat* in *wh*-double object constructions in TPG (37).

- (37) a. *Do eŋjen tinan?
 what.ACC brought.3sg who.ACC
- b. *Pios kat’ eŋjen se tinan?
 who.NOM something brought.3sg to who.ACC
- c. Do eŋjes aton?
 what.ACC brought.2sg him
 ‘What did you bring him’ [TPG]
- d. Pios kat’ eŋjen aton (=D-linked)?
 who.NOM something brought.3sg him
 ‘Who brought it to whom (=D-linked) and what was it?’
- e. Aton pios eferen aton (=D-linked)?
 who.ACC who.NOM brought.3sg him
 ‘Who brought whom (=D-linked)?’

Crucially, *tinan* ‘whom’ becomes possible again when there is another D-linked *wh*-phrase as in (38), whereas, in its D-linked form, it goes back to the prepositional form (*se pion peđan* ‘to which boy’ rather than *pion peđan* ‘which boy’) – compare (38) and the barely grammatical (38c); interestingly the bare D-linked form is fine in the IO-DO order in (38).

- (38) a. Pion fain tinan eđeces?
 which.ACC food.ACC who.ACC gave.2sg
 ‘What food did you give to whom?’ [TPG]
- b. Pion fain se pion peđan eđeces?
 which.ACC food.ACC to which.ACC boy.ACC gave.2sg
 ‘What food did you give to which boy?’

- c. ?Pion fain pion patšin eðeces?
 which.ACC food.ACC which.ACC woman.ACC gave.2sg
 ‘What food did you give to which woman?’
- d. Pion patši pion fain eðeces?
 which.ACC girl.ACC which.ACC food.ACC gave.2sg
 ‘What food did you give to which girl?’
- e. *Pios kat’ engen se tinan?
 who.NOM something brought.3sg to who.ACC
- f. Pios kat’ engen aton (=D-linked)?
 who.NOM something brought.3sg him
 ‘Who brought what for whom (=D-linked)?’

Regarding D-linked *wh*-phrases, we observe: first, *pios* always moves in TPG and is the highest *wh*-phrase (39):

- (39)a. ?Pion fain epiken pios?
 which.ACC food.ACC made.3sg who.NOM
 ‘Who made what food?’ [TPG]
- b. *To fain pios epiken?
 the.ACC food.ACC who.NOM made.3sg
- c. Pios epiken to fain?
 who.NOM made.3sg the.ACC food.ACC
 ‘Who made the food?’

Second, in the presence of a D-linked *wh*-phrase, only *pios* ‘who’ moves whereas the D-linked *wh*-phrase stays *in situ* – resulting from interference of the SMG pattern:

- (40)a. Aðaceka pola faia in, pola yariðes in.
 here many.NOM foods.NOM are.3pl many.NOM women.NOM are.3pl
 ‘Here there are many foods, there are many women’ [TPG]
- b. ?Pion fain pios epicen?
 which.ACC food.ACC who.NOM made.3sg
- c. Pios epicen pion fain?
 who.NOM made.3sg which.ACC food.ACC
 ‘Who made what food?’

- d. To xavits epik=ato eyo, to kartoflin epicen=ato i Paresa,
 the pudding.ACC made.1sg I.NOM the potato made.3SG the Paresa.NOM
 to pirox epicen=ato i Kleona.
 the dumpling.ACC made.3SG the Kleona.NOM
 ‘I made the pudding, Paresa made the potato dish, Kleona made the dumpling.’

Third, when there are two D-linked *wh*-phrases: (i) a subject *wh*-D-linked phrase always precedes any other D-linked phrase (41); and (ii) they both have to be obligatorily fronted and albeit subtle the contrast in (41), they exhibit superiority effects:

- (41)a. Pios yari pion fain epicen?
 who.NOM woman.NOM which.ACC food.ACC made.3sg
 ‘Which woman made what food?’ [TPG]
- b. ?Pion fain pion patšin eðeces?
 which.ACC food.ACC which.ACC woman.ACC gave.2sg
 ‘What food did you give to which woman?’
- c. Pion patši pion fain eðeces?
 which.ACC woman.ACC which.ACC food.ACC gave.2sg
 ‘What food did you give to which woman?’

Fourth, a direct object D-linked *wh*-phrase always precedes a bare non-D-linked *wh*-phrase (42) or prepositional indirect object D-linked *wh*-phrase (42), but follows any bare indirect object D-linked *wh*-phrase (42):

- (42)a. Pion fain tinan eðeces?
 which.ACC food.ACC who.ACC gave.2sg
 ‘What food did you give to whom?’ [TPG]
- b. Pion fain se pion peðan eðeces?
 which.ACC food.ACC to who.ACC boy.ACC gave.2sg
 ‘What food did you give to which boy?’
- c. ?Pion fain pion patši eðeces?
 which.ACC food.ACC which.ACC woman.ACC gave.3sg
 ‘What food was given by which woman?’
- d. Pion patši pion fain eðeces?
 which.ACC woman.ACC which.ACC food.ACC gave.2sg
 ‘What food did you give to which woman?’

- (43)a. Do eñjes aton (=D-linked)?
 what.ACC brought.2sg him
 ‘What did you bring to whom (=D-linked)?’ [TPG]

- b. Pios peðas do enjen?
 which.NOM boy.NOM what brought.3sg
 ‘Which boy brought what?’
- c. *Do pios peðas enjen?
 what.ACC who.ACC boy.ACC brought.3sg

To sum up, it was shown that although both TPG and ROF exhibit MWF superficially, the former shows a considerable degree of optionality, possibly due to contact with SMG. In the analysis which follows we focus on the Romeyka data.

4 Recasting existing MWF typology: Evidence from Romeyka

As a first step we need to establish whether ROF can fit under the existing MWF typology or whether ROF is different from other known types of MWF. Towards this end, consider Table 4 which presents the properties for each type of known MWF languages as well as what we have already demonstrated for Romeyka in section 3:

Properties	Russian	Serbo-Croatian	Bulgarian	Romeyka
Superiority with Short-distance matrix, null C	No	No	Yes	Yes
Superiority with Long-distance/Embedded/Overt C	No	Yes	Yes	yes
Superiority with second-third etc. <i>wh</i> -phrases	No	No	No	Yes
Obligatory fronting of D-linked <i>wh</i> -phrases	No	No	No	Yes
Single-pair readings	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Superiority with single-pair readings	No	No	N/A	Yes

Table 4. Romeyka against the existing MWF typology

According to Table 4, it becomes clear that, although Bulgarian would be the closest MWF language to which ROF aligns (44)-(45), still ROF does not pattern perfectly with Bulgarian because first, in ROF, a D-linked *wh*-phrase can move over a *pios*-subject (47), whereas the same is not possible over a *koj*-subject in Bulgarian (see. Krapova, 2002 and Jaeger, 2004), as shown in (46):

- (44) *Kakvo koj kupuva
 what who.NOM buy.3sg
 ‘Who buys what?’ [Bulgarian]
- (45) *Tinan pios efilise?
 who.ACC.HUM who.NOM kissed.3sg
 ‘Who kissed whom?’ [ROf]
- (46)a. *?Koja studentka koj šte izpita?
 which student who will examine
- b. Koj koja studentka šte izpita?
 who which student will examine
 ‘Who will examine which student?’ [Bulgarian]
 (Krapova and Cinque 2008)
- (47)a. pion fai pios epitšen (-æi)?
 which food who.NOM made.3sg.it
 ‘Who made what food?’ [ROf]
- b. *pios pion fai piosepitšen?
 who.NOM which food.ACC made.3sg

Second, like other MWF languages, ROf also allows single pair readings, but unlike many of these languages (e.g. Serbo-Croatian, Russian, Polish, Romanian, see Bošković, 2002), these readings (like all constructions with exclusively non-D-linked *wh*-phrases) are characterised by strict Superiority effects ((48) and (49) vs. (50)).

- (48) Context: Ego ekusa is kat’ aγorasen
 I.NOM heard.1sg one something bought.3sg
 ama utš eporesa evrini {pios doxna}
 but not could.1sg find-out.INFIN {who what} [ROf, -Superiority, +single-pair]
 /{*doxna pios} aγorasen
 /{*what who} bought.3sg [ROf, +Superiority, +single-pair]
 ‘I heard someone bought something but I couldn’t find out who bought what’
- (49)a. Kto co kupił? [Polish, -Superiority, +single-pair]
 who what bought
 ‘Who bought what?’
- b. Co kto kupił?
 what who bought
 ‘What was bought and by who?’
 (from Bošković, 2002)

- (50)a. Cine ce a cumpărat?
 who what has.3sg bought
 ‘Who bought what?’ [Romanian, +Superiority, -single-pair]
- b. *Ce cine a cumpărat?
 what who has.3sg bought.3sg
 ‘What was bought and by who?’
 (from Bošković, 2002)

At this stage, we are led to postulate another type of MWF language in order to accommodate the ROF results. Such a solution appears to be challenging for the existing typology since the postulation of another MWF type would create a gap in the otherwise symmetric pairing between MWF and their non-MWF counterparts. It follows that the crucial question is whether ROF can be found to correspond to any known non-MWF language, since such a finding would offer further motivation for expanding the existing MWF typology. We claim that there is such a language: ROF, in fact, correlates with SMG. In what follows we argue that SMG is not like other non-MWF languages such as English. First, in SMG, Superiority is sensitive to D-linking:

- (51) Context A: Simera to vradi exume na pame se ena parti ke prepri
 today the evening have.1pl SUBJ.PRT go.1pl to a party and must
 na ayorasume fajita i pota ja na ferume mazi mas.
 SUBJ.PRT buy.1pl foods and drinks for SUBJ.PRT bring.1pl with us
 ‘Tonight we have to go to a party and we need to buy food and drink to take along.’
 [SMG]

Q: Mipos kseris pços θa ayorasi ti? / ?*ti
 perhaps know.2sg who.NOM PRT.FUT buy.3sg what.ACC/ what.ACC
 θa ayorasi pços?
 PRT.FUT buy.3sg who.NOM

‘Do you know who will buy what? / ?*what will who buy?’ (non-D-linked)

Context B: Sto trapezi iparxun tria ðora ja ta jeneθlia mu, pu mu ta
 on table exist.3PL three gifts for the birthday mine which me them
 eferan i Maria, o Janis ce o Joryos: ena vivlio, ena
 brought.3sg The Maria.NOM the John.NOM and the George.NOM: one book, one
 CD ce ena bluzaci.
 CD and one T-shirt

‘There are three presents on the table for my birthday, which were brought to me by Maria, John and George: a book, a CD and a T-shirt.’

Q: Boris na mu pis ti ayorase pços? (D-linked)
 can.2sg SUBJ.PRT me tell.2sg what.ACC bought.3sg who.NOM

‘Can you tell me who bought what (lit. ‘what did who buy?’)?’

(from Anagnostopoulou, 2003:331)

Second, in SMG, an ‘*in situ*’ *wh*-element is not really *in situ*. As Sinopoulou (2008) convincingly shows, the *in situ wh*-phrases in Greek multiple questions precede all vP-internal constituents regardless of D-linking, as shown in (52) to (54):

(52) Pote ayorase (?*o Janis) ti (o Janis)?
 when bought.3sg the Janis.NOM what.ACC the Janis.NOM
 ‘When did John buy what?’ [SMG]

(53) Pote doulepse (?*i Anna) pu (i Anna)?
 when worked.3sg the Anna.NOM where the Anna.NOM
 ‘When did Anna work where?’ [SMG]

(54) Pços iðe (?*tin tenia) pu (tin tenia)?
 who.NOM watched.3sg the movie.ACC where the movie.ACC
 ‘Where did who watch the movie?’ [SMG]

Crucially, in English we observe that the low *wh*-phrase has to follow all vP-internal constituents, as shown in (55):

(55) Who saw (*where) the movie (where)?

Third, like ROF, SMG exhibits Superiority effects even beyond the second highest *wh*-phrase (56):

(56)a. Pços ayorase ti pu?
 who bought.3sg what where
 ‘Who bought what where?’ [SMG]

b. ?*Pços ayorase pu ti?
 who bought.3sg where what
 ‘Who bought where what?’

Importantly, on this occasion, ROF aligns with SMG (57):

(57) Pios doxna putšeka ayorase?
 who.NOM what.ACC where bought.3sg
 ‘Who bought where what?’ [ROF]

Therefore, on the basis of the above argumentation, SMG and ROF may constitute a fourth non-MWF/MWF pair. According to Bošković (2002), MWF languages exhibit Superiority effects, where their non-MWF languages require *wh*-movement. If we disregard the precise target of what Boskovic calls ‘*wh*-movement’ (i.e. if this not a unique C_[+wh] position), then there is a clear parallelism between SMG and ROF: (i) in SMG, all *wh*-phrases necessarily move, even echoic ones (which, at most, are moved to the left periphery); in ROF, all *wh*-phrases are fronted,

even echoic ones; (ii) in SMG, Superiority is sensitive to D-linking, i.e. D-linked *wh*-phrases in multiple questions tend to stay low, no matter how high their base position is; in ROF, D-linked *wh*-phrases are fronted, but are not subject to Superiority; (iii) single-pair questions in SMG require fronting of the highest *wh*-phrase; likewise, in ROF single-pair questions obey Superiority. This would lead us to revise the existing *wh*-typology as shown in Table 5:

Non-MWF	MWF
Chinese	Russian
French	Serbo-Croatian
English	Bulgarian
SMG	Romeyka

Table 5. Four types of *wh*-languages

On the strength of the ROF data we claim that Bošković's typology of three language counter-pairs, namely Bulgarian-English, Russian-Chinese, and Serbo-Croatian-French has to be extended to include a fourth pair, namely Romeyka-SMG. Their equivalence lies in that: (a) nothing is really left *in situ*; and (b) all *wh*-movement is sensitive to Superiority, except with D-linking. More specifically, we put forward the proposal that in both dialectal groups, namely SMG and Pontic Greek, all phrases which are inherently (narrowly) focused necessarily move to designated peripheral positions. Sinopoulou's (2008) analysis relies on the assumption that '*in situ*' *wh*-phrases actually move to the low/vP-periphery (see Belletti, 2004), in fact, to the same position that postverbal foci move to (58):

- (58) Filise (TON JANI) i Maria (*TON JANI)
 kissed.3sg the Janis.ACC the Maria.NOM the Janis.ACC
 'Mary kissed JOHN.'
 [SMG]

An important prediction of our analysis is then that in ROF the Focus position in the low periphery above the low vP should be unavailable. The prediction is indeed borne out for ROF (for the same claim in Pontic Greek see Sitaridou and Kaltsa, submitted). Consider some of the diagnostics in (59) and (60):

- (59)a. –Pios erθe?
 who.NOM came.3sg
 'Who came?' [ROF]
- b. –O Mehmetis erθe.
 the Mehmet.NOM came.3sg
 'Mehmet came'
- c. –Irθe o Mehmet.
 came.3sg the Mehmet.NOM
 'Mehmet came' [SMG]

- (60)a. –Opse pios epie?
 yesterday who.NOM left.3sg
 ‘Who left yesterday?’ [ROf]
- b. –Opse o ađelfo=m epie
 yesterday the brother.NOM=my left.3sg
 ‘Yesterday my brother left’
- c. –Xθes efije o ađelfos mu.
 yesterday left.3sg the brother.NOM mine
 ‘Yesterday my brother left’ [SMG]

If the existence/activation of the low periphery is indeed subject to parametric variation, then the only difference between SMG and ROf/TPG is the availability of a vP-periphery in the former but not in the latter.

As for the asymmetry between non-D-linked and D-linked *wh*-phrases with regards to Superiority, it would be reasonable to argue that D-linked *wh*-phrases are in fact *wh*-topics (in the spirit of Grohmann, 2000, 2003, 2006), which simply target different peripheral positions, namely topic-positions, which are known to be possible both above and below projections, in both peripheries. Compelling evidence from this comes from the fact that D-linked *wh*-phrases in ROf may license resumptive clitics even in short-distance matrix questions (cf.(22)); but even in SMG, for some speakers, when a *wh*-phrase is clearly D-linked, although in general ungrammatical, clitic resumption in such contexts becomes slightly more tolerable:

- (61)?ðes afta ta vivlia. Pes=mu, pço vivlio to aporiptis
 look.IMPER.2sg these the books.ACC tell.IMPER.2sg=me which book it reject.2sg
 endelos?
 completely
 ‘Look at these books. Tell me, which one would you refuse to read?’ [SMG]

5 Conclusions

In this article we have discussed the formation of *wh*-questions in different diatopic varieties of Greek, for which we have shown that there is significant micro- and nano-variation. In particular, we discussed Pontic Greek varieties, especially Romeyka, which exhibits MWF, in sharp contrast to SMG. On the basis of strong empirical evidence from Romeyka, it was claimed that Bošković’s (2002) typology has to be expanded to include (at least) a fourth pair, namely SMG/Romeyka (and TPG to varying degrees) since neither SMG is exactly of the English type neither Romeyka of the Bulgarian one. Our micro/nano-comparative data also revealed several other factors that, potentially, could be subject to parametric variation (e.g. sensitivity of Superiority to D-linking, single-pair readings etc.) which might also yield new conceivable types of *wh*- and multiple *wh*-fronting.

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DIFFERENT DEVELOPMENTAL PATHWAYS FOR CLITIC L1 ACQUISITION CYPRIOT GREEK AND STANDARD MODERN GREEK

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Cliticisation in Standard Modern Greek (SMG) is accounted for in syntactic terms: proclisis is the default pattern and enclisis correlates with finiteness. For Cypriot Greek, however, there is no consensus in the literature as regards the nature of cliticisation. Different types of approaches have been put forward so far, including syntactic, prosodic and syntax-PF interface accounts. This paper discusses the first language (L1A) acquisition of clitic pronouns in CG and SMG and discusses the implications developmental patterns have for formal accounts on cliticisation in the two varieties. Acquisition data reveal two distinct developmental trajectories: SMG-speaking children are adult-like in both clitic production and placement, while CG-speaking children exhibit an exceptional pattern of clitic (mis)placement. The different developmental patterns for clitic L1A in the two varieties support their classification in two typologically distinct categories of clitic languages.

1 Introduction

One area of considerable divergence between Cypriot Greek (CG) and Standard Modern Greek (SMG) is clitic placement, even though they share the morphological paradigm of clitic pronouns. CG and SMG only have pronominal object clitics as they lack the reflexive and auxiliary clitics of the Spanish/Italian and Serbo-Croatian type respectively (Terzi, 1999a: 86, footnote 2). Clitics in both CG and SMG appear verb-adjacent in both pre- and post-verbal position. In this paper I will use the terms *proclisis* and *enclisis* descriptively to refer to the pre-verbal and post-verbal clitic placement respectively, regardless of the prosodic dependence of the clitic to its host.

SMG clitics appear pre-verbally in all contexts (1) with the exception of imperatives and gerundive constructions in which clitic placement is obligatorily post-verbal (2). In CG, on the other hand, clitics appear post-verbally in imperatives (2) and root clauses (both declaratives and interrogatives) (3), while clitics obligatorily precede the finite verb in the following contexts: negatives (4), wh-questions, clauses headed by the modal particles *na* (5) and *as*, the future

particles *enna* and *tha*, the factive complementizer *pu*, complementizers *an/otan/ama/afu* and constituents that appear in the left periphery of the CG CP and receive emphatic/contrastive focus or narrow/new information focus (see Neokleous, 2013 for a comprehensive review).

- (1) Su epes-e (?) (SMG)
 you-CL.GEN fell-3SG
 “You dropped it / Did you drop it?”
- (2) Fer(e) to! (SMG/CG)
 bring-2s it-CL.ACC
 “Bring it!”
- (3) Epese su (?) (CG)
 fell-3s you-CL.GEN
 “You dropped it / Did you drop it?”
- (4) (Dh)en su epese. (SMG/CG)
 NEG you-CL.GEN fell-3s
 “You didn’t drop it”
- (5) Na su pesi. (SMG/CG)
 MOD you-CL.GEN fell-3s
 “To drop it”

A number of syntactic accounts have been put forward to accommodate clitic placement in SMG (Mavrogiorgos, 2009; Philippaki-Warburton, 1998; Terzi 1999a) all of which share the assumption that the proclisis-enclisis alternation in SMG is the result of syntactic operations and, specifically, of verb movement that is manifested in gerundive constructions and imperatives. Mavrogiorgos (2009) and Terzi (1999a) have suggested that both the gerund and the imperative verb involve a defective T. I follow Mavrogiorgos (2009) in assuming that the imperative verb in SMG has an unvalued person feature in T. Hence, the correlation of clitic placement in SMG with finiteness. For CG, on the other hand, there is no consensus as for the nature of cliticisation. Three types of approaches have been put forward for clitic placement in CG: purely syntactic accounts (Agouraki, 2001; Terzi, 1999a, 1999b), purely prosodic accounts (Condoravdi and Kiparsky, 2001) and interface accounts (Mavrogiorgos, 2012; Revithiadou, 2006). Acquisition data is a good tool for assessing these three types of approaches.

The current paper discusses the nature of cliticisation of CG and SMG on the basis of acquisition data and suggests that the developmental patterns attested support Mavrogiorgos’ (2012) proposal as regards the typological classification of the two varieties in two distinct categories. The paper is organised as follows: the second and third part offer a comprehensive review of a number of studies investigating the first language (L1) acquisition of clitic pronouns in CG and SMG respectively and the fourth part discusses the main findings and draws the concluding remarks.

2 L1A of SMG clitic pronouns

The L1 acquisition of clitic pronouns in typically developing (TD) SMG-speaking children has been studied by Marinis (2000), Stephany (1997), Tsakali (2006) and Tzakosta (2003, 2004a, 2004b) among others. Stephany’s (1997) seminal work on the L1 acquisition of SMG involved

Age	MLU	Pre- / Post-verbal		Total	Age	Total	Rates of clitic omission
Christofidou Corpus (Marinis 2000) ¹					Doukas Corpus (Tsakali 2006)		
1;11	1.4	0	1	1	–	–	–
2;0	2.0	0	0	0	2;0.24	6	.041
2;1	2.1	23	3	26	–	–	–
2;2	2.2	13	3	16	2;2.8	39	.025
2;3	2.2	22	5	27	2;3.18	46	.037
2;4	2.0	26	6	32	–	–	–
2;5	2.4	49	4	53	2;5.4	46	.020
2;6	2.6	79	2	81	2;5.24	36	0.0
2;7	2.6	134	6	140	2;7.1	37	0.0
2;8	2.9	181	14	195	2;8.27	35	0.0

Table 2. Clitic production in early SMG: the Christofidou corpus and the Doukas corpus

The conclusion that can be drawn from both studies is that clitic production in SMG-speaking children is target-like from around age 2 onwards. Corroborative evidence for this outcome is offered by Tzakosta (2003, 2004a, 2004b). Tzakosta's study is based on longitudinal data from 6 children from two different corpora: Tzakosta's and Metaxaki's. The raw numbers of produced and omitted enclitics and proclitics are reported in table 3 (based on tables 1 and 2 in Tzakosta, 2003).

Child (Age)	Enclitics		Proclitics	
	Produced	Omitted	Produced	Omitted
Melitini (1;07.05–2;04.27)	90/94 (.96)	4/94 (.04)	304/328 (.92)	24/328 (.07)
Bebis 1 (1;09.22–2;10.23)	107/110 (.97)	3/110 (.03)	332/376 (.88)	44/376 (.12)
Bebis 2 (1;10–2;01.05)	16/16 (1.0)	0/16 (0.0)	9/26 (.35)	17/26 (.65)
Felina (1;11.07–3;09.19)	67/71 (.94)	4/71 (.06)	369/387 (.95)	18/387 (.05)
Dionisis (2;01–2;09)	23/23 (1.0)	0/23 (0.0)	205/220 (.93)	15/220 (.07)
Marilia (2;07.06–3;05.23)	38/38 (1.0)	0/38 (0.0)	195/195 (1.0)	0/195 (0.0)

Table 3. Clitic production in early SMG: the Tzakosta and Metaxaki corpus

The general finding of all the longitudinal studies is that SMG-speaking children have good clitic production from early on. This is confirmed on the basis of experimental data as well. Tsakali (2006) performed an elicited production task modeled after Schaeffer (2000) in 25 monolingual Greek children aged 2;4 to 3;6 to test clitic production in obligatory contexts. She reports ceiling percentages (124/125) of target-like clitic production with a single instance of clitic omission (1/125).

Tzakosta (2003, 2004a, 2004b) observes an asymmetry in the acquisition of proclisis as compared to enclisis: enclitics, both single clitics and clitic clusters, emerge first, while proclitics

¹ Even though the Christofidou corpus examined by Marinis (2000) includes recordings from age 1;7, no clitics have emerged before age 1;11, thus I report clitic production from age 1;11 onwards.

emerge in a subsequent stage. In particular, she reports that from age 1;07.05 to age 1;10 SMG-speaking children produce exclusively post-verbal clitics. This supports Stephany's (1997) observation that enclitics are correctly used by Spiros already at age 1;10, a developmental stage at which he often omit proclitics.

To recapitulate, on the basis of a number of studies (Marinis, 2000; Stephany, 1997; Tsakali, 2006; Tzakosta, 2003, 2004a, 2004b) conducted on clitic L1A in SMG children have good clitic production from around age 2 onwards, with low rates of clitic omission. Tzakosta's (2003, 2004a, 2004b) data indicate that enclitics emerge earlier than proclitics. Children's clitic placement is adult-like from the onset in both proclisis and enclisis contexts. No instances of clitic misplacement have been reported in either study with the exception of the 3 misplacement errors in proclisis contexts reported in Stephany (1997).

3 L1A of CG clitic pronouns

The first study on clitic L1 acquisition in CG was carried out by Petinou and Terzi (2002) and focused on clitic placement in proclisis contexts. Grohmann (2011) and colleagues (Grohmann et al. 2012) investigated clitic production and placement in different age groups in *jati*-clauses and the most recent study on clitic placement in early CG in both enclisis and proclisis contexts was carried out by Neokleous (2013).

Petinou and Terzi (2002) were the first to report the phenomenon of clitic misplacement in early CG. They studied clitic placement on the basis of a longitudinal corpus consisting of data from 5 typically developing (TD) children, while they also performed a follow-up test with 3 younger children. The 5 children that took part in their original study were followed longitudinally and recorded bimonthly over a period of 4 months (at 32, 34, and 36 months). Petinou and Terzi studied clitic placement in two proclisis triggering contexts: in *na*-clauses and negatives and calculated misplaced clitics out of children's overall clitic production. Since both contexts require a pre-verbal clitic in adult grammar, the use of post-verbal clitics in *na*-clauses and negatives constituted instances of clitic misplacement. Table 4 (based on table 2 in Petinou and Terzi, 2002:13) reports the Proportion of Clitic Misplacement (PCM) in the corpora examined per developmental stage, which is represented by the age in months and the Mean Length of Utterance in words (MLU/w). A follow-up study included data from 3 younger children. The children were recorded once and the same procedure was followed. The results are reported in table 5 (based on table 4 in Petinou & Terzi 2002:15).

Child	32 months		34 months		36 months	
	PCM	MLU/w	PCM	MLU/w	PCM	MLU/w
OX	0.10 (3/30)	3.0	0.02 (1/52)	3.6	0.0 (0/61)	3.3
NA	0.66 (16/24)	2.8	0.28 (5/18)	3.1	0.12 (4/33)	3.3
AM	0.07 (2/26)	2.8	0.0 (0/17)	3.2	0.0 (0/34)	4.0
AI	0.21 (3/14)	2.4	0.14 (3/21)	3.0	0.5 (2/37)	3.4
AX	0.62 (20/32)	2.9	0.44 (13/29)	3.1	0.0 (0/38)	4.0

Table 4. Clitic misplacement in CG (Petinou and Terzi, 2002; original study)

Child	Age	PCM	MLU
AI	28 mo.	1.0 (0/4)	2.8
IP	28 mo.	1.0 (0/7)	3.0
OK	28 mo.	1.0 (0/11)	3.0

Table 5. Clitic misplacement in CG (Petinou and Terzi, 2002; follow-up study)

The most important finding of Petinou and Terzi's (2002) study is an exceptional pattern of clitic placement with the clitic pronoun following the finite verb in negatives and *na*-clauses attested in CG-speaking children aged 32-34 months. Based on the results reported in table 4, the proportion of clitic misplacement in proclisis contexts at the age of 32 months ranges between 7-66%, while at age 34 it drops to 0-44%, with most children performing adult-like by the age of 36 months.

However, there are two important drawbacks of this study. First, the small sample, since the original study is based on data from 5 children and the follow-up study on data from 3 children. Secondly, the pattern attested in the data of all the children examined in the original study was not attested in the data of the 3 additional children in the post-hoc investigation, as no instances of clitic misplacement were reported for the follow-up study. These two parameters challenge the generalisability of the results obtained.

Grohmann (2011) and colleagues (Grohmann et al. 2012) investigated clitic production and clitic placement in *jati*-clauses. They administered the COST Action A33's clitics-in-islands test (adapted for CG), an elicited production task for 3rd person singular accusative object clitics in *jati*-clauses, to CG-speaking children. Grohmann (2011) administered the test to 24 TD children aged 5 to 6 years, as well as to a group of 10 TD children aged 3 to 4 years. The results of the study are reported in table 6 (based on tables 1 and 2 in Grohmann, 2011). Grohmann et al. (2012) administered the same test to 117 TD children aged 2 to 7 years.

Age Group	N	Clitics	Omission	NP	No answer	Other
3;0-4;0 (N=10)	120	110 (.92)	2 (.02)	3 (.02)	0 (0.0)	5 (.04)
5;0-6;0 (N=24)	288	276 (.96)	2 (.01)	2 (.01)	1 (0.0)	7 (.02)

Table 6. Clitic production in CG (Grohmann, 2011)

As shown in table 6, CG-speaking children have ceiling percentages of clitic production from age 3 onwards. Grohmann (2011) reports that all the clitic pronouns produced by 3- to 4-year-olds were placed post-verbally (110/110), while a different picture emerged for 5- to 6-year-olds, with half of them placing the clitic pre-verbally (137/276) and the other half (139/276) placing the clitic post-verbally. The outcome of the follow-up study carried out by Grohmann et al. (2012) who administered the same test to a larger population replicated the results of the original study. The results of the follow-up study are reported in table 7 (taken from Grohmann et al., 2012: table 3).

Clitic	2;0–2;11	3;0–3;11	4;0–4;11	5;0–5;11	6;0–6;11	Adults
Overall	.986	.867	.885	.943	.873	1.0
Post-verbal	.90	.89	.88	.68	.47	1.0

Table 7. Clitic production and clitic placement in CG (Grohmann et al., 2012)

As shown in table 7, CG-speaking children have adult-like clitic production from as early as age 2. As regards clitic placement, children older than 5 prefer to place clitics pre-verbally unlike younger children who place clitics post-verbally. The latter is not a surprising result since *jati*-clauses in CG allow for both patterns of placement. Pappas (2011) reports that 38 CG-speaking adults who performed an acceptability judgment task accepted both enclisis and proclisis in *jati*-clauses depending on whether the pre-verbal subject carried contrastive or new information focus or not. Grohmann suggests that the preference for pre-verbal placement by 5- and 6-year-olds in *jati*-clauses unlike in younger children and adults is the result of the “schooling” effect, namely the result of the interference from Standard Modern Greek, a mainly proclitic language, used as the language of instruction in Cyprus government schools. This observation is relevant for issues pertaining to code-switching or to sociolinguistic parameters in linguistic environments such as that of Greek-speaking Cyprus, which Grohmann (2011) calls “bi-x”.

Neokleous (2013) carried out the most recent study on the L1 acquisition of clitic pronouns in CG and investigated clitic placement in enclisis and proclisis contexts. She administered an elicited production task for the elicitation of 3rd person object clitics in two experimental conditions: root clauses, which constitute enclisis context, and clauses headed by the modality markers *na* and *enna* (the CG future particle), which constitute proclisis context. Fifty monolingual Greek Cypriot children aged 2;6 to 4, grouped together into three age groups: age group A (2;6-3), age group B (3-3;6) and age group C (3;6-4), performed the task. The results obtained are reported in table 8 (taken from Neokleous, 2013).

Context	Age Group (N)	Clitic Placement	
		COR	INCOR
Root Clauses	A (N=18)	48/48 (1.0)	0/48 (0.0)
	B (N=22)	61/62 (.98)	1/62 (.02)
	C (N=10)	28/28 (1.0)	0/28 (0.0)
	Overall (N=50)	137/138 (.99)	1/138 (.01)
Modality Markers	A (N=18)	25/38 (.66)	13/38 (.34)
	B (N=22)	55/58 (.95)	3/58 (.05)
	C (N=10)	27/27 (1.0)	0/27 (0.0)
	Overall (N=50)	107/123 (.87)	16/123 (.13)

Table 8. Clitic placement in CG (Neokleous, 2013)

The data in table 8 reveal an interesting discrepancy between the two types of contexts. While children of all age groups place clitics in an adult-like manner in root clauses, for clauses headed by the modality markers *na* and *enna* a different picture emerges. Children aged 2;6 to 3 (age group A) place the clitic in the adult-like position only 66% of the time. In age group B this proportion raises to 95% and as for age group C, no child produces any misplaced clitics.

To recapitulate, CG-speaking children have good clitic production from as early as age 2 (Grohmann, 2011; Grohmann et al., 2012) resembling SMG-speaking children in this respect. As for clitic placement, Neokleous (2013) reports a different pattern for the acquisition of enclisis and proclisis contexts: only enclisis contexts are adult-like from the onset. Clitic placement in proclisis contexts in children younger than 3 shows a bi-modal distribution: some children perform adult-like, while a subset of them misplaces clitics, namely they use post-verbal clitics irrespectively of the presence of proclisis triggers. The attested clitic misplacement in proclisis contexts alone replicates Petinou and Terzi's (2002) findings.

3 Discussion

The previous discussion has revealed that children acquiring CG and SMG follow two different developmental pathways for clitic L1 acquisition. SMG-speaking children have adult-like clitic production and clitic placement from the earliest stages of L1 acquisition, namely by age 2 (Marinis, 2000; Stephany, 1997; Tsakali, 2006; Tzakosta, 2003, 2004a, 2004b). Enclitics seem to emerge earlier than proclitics (Stephany, 1997; Tzakosta, 2003 *et seq.*) but clitics are placed in an adult-like fashion in both proclisis and enclisis contexts². CG-speaking children resemble their SMG peers in exhibiting good clitic production from around age 2 with very low rates of clitic omissions (Grohmann, 2011; Grohmann et al., 2012). As regards clitic placement, however, an exceptional pattern is attested in early CG. Children acquiring CG misplace clitics in proclisis contexts alone (Neokleous, 2013; Petinou and Terzi, 2002) before the age of 3. The question is how can this divergence regarding the acquisition of enclisis and proclisis in CG be accounted for.

There is no consensus in the literature regarding the nature of cliticisation in CG. Agouraki (2001) and Terzi (1999a, 1999b) argue in favor of a syntactic account and propose that enclisis in CG derives from proclisis with the manifestation of verb movement past the clitic (V-to-C according to Agouraki, 2001 and V-to-M according to Terzi, 1999a, 1999b). Condoravdi and Kiparsky (2001), on the other hand, assume that enclisis derives upon the manifestation of the Prosodic Inversion (Halpern, 1995) when no suitable host is available for the clitic pronoun. The basic tenet of a third type of approaches suggested by Mavrogiorgos (2012) and Revithiadou (2006) is that cliticisation in CG involves both syntactic and PF operations. Acquisition data seem to provide clear and strong indications regarding the nature of cliticisation in CG.

Following Neokleous (2013), I take the syntax-PF interface to be the domain of cliticisation in CG. Neokleous (2013) building on ideas in Revithiadou (2006) and Bošković (2001) argues that clitic placement in CG is regulated by both syntax and prosody as follows: the syntactic

² Stephany (1997) mentions 3 misplacement errors attested in proclisis contexts. However, this finding is not replicated by any other follow-up study.

output is filtered out by language-specific prosodic constraints. Moreover, the way enclitics and proclitics prosodify differs, with enclitics alone forming a single prosodic word with their verbal host, while pre-verbal clitics can appear either as affixal proclitics or as different prosodic words. This difference in prosodification may explain the dominance of enclisis over proclisis in CG reflected in the overgeneralisation of enclisis at the initial stages of L1 acquisition.

Let us turn, now, to the attested divergence between CG and SMG regarding L1 acquisition of clitics: SMG-speaking children perform target-like in both clitic production and clitic placement, while CG-speaking children of the same age misplace clitic pronouns. As suggested in Mavrogiorgos (2009), Philippaki-Warbuton (1998) and Terzi (1999a) the proclisis-enclisis alternation in SMG is the result of syntactic operations. Mavrogiorgos (2009) argues that the imperative verb in SMG has an unvalued person feature in T. Hence, the correlation of enclisis in SMG with that unvalued person feature in T. As regards the developmental trajectory, once this correlation is established in the grammar of SMG-speaking children, clitic placement is target-like. Based on the findings of Marinis (2000), Stephany (1997), Tsakali (2006) and Tzakosta (2003, 2004a, 2004b) this correlation seems to be established from very early on.

In CG, on the other hand, clitic placement is regulated by syntactic operations as well as by prosodic constraints. Clitic placement in CG is the result of the complex interaction of syntax and prosody. Therefore, CG-speaking children need to acquire both the syntactic and the prosodic operations involved. This causes an extra burden that results in a delay in the acquisition of clitic placement, hence the misplacement errors.

In sum, despite the similarities in the morphological paradigm of clitic pronouns in CG and SMG, the two varieties represent two different categories of clitic languages. The different developmental pathways attested in CG- and SMG-speaking children mirrors the typological classification of CG and SMG by Mavrogiorgos (2012): SMG is a finiteness-sensitive language in which clitic placement correlates with finiteness, in the form of the presence of a (un)valued person feature in T, while CG is a Tobler-Mussafia language in which clitic placement is regulated by the syntax-PF interface.

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THE POSITION OF THE NORTHERN GREEK DIALECTS OF KASTORIA AMONG THE MODERN GREEK DIALECTS*

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This paper aims at reviewing the Northern dialects of Kastoria and their position among the Modern Greek dialects in general. The examination is based on the 24 key characteristics used by Tzitzilis (forth.) for the classification of the Greek dialects, on other selected features, and on phenomena attributed to language contact.

1 Introduction

The linguistic landscape of Kastoria is determined by the coexistence of the Northern Greek dialects, the Greek dialects of Asia Minor refugees, the Slavic dialects, and, to a lesser extent, the Aromunian dialects of the area. In most cases, these dialects are spoken in different villages, although mixed villages are not a rare occurrence. This survey does not include the city of Kastoria, where a semi-Northern Greek dialect is spoken, and other suburban centers such as Argos Orestiko.

Until recently, the Northern Greek dialects of Kastoria have not been systematically studied. In this paper, based on extensive fieldwork by Eleni Papadamou (Papadamou under prep.), a first attempt to determine their position in the landscape of Modern Greek dialects is made, according to the 24 isoglosses proposed by Tzitzilis (forth.) for the division and the description of the Modern Greek dialects, in combination with a number of other isoglosses arising from the analysis of the dialects in question, which have proved very helpful in determining small dialectal groups and in highlighting local contact zones. Among the latter, isoglosses attributed

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to language contact hold a prominent position, and are included in Tzitzilis' (forth.) set of relevant morphosyntactic phenomena. Kastoria, as well as the entire region of Western Macedonia, has been an area of intense language contact; more specifically, it has been an area of intense language contact between Northern Greek dialects, Slavic dialects and, to a lesser extent, Aromunian dialects. It has also been an area of more recent language contact between Northern Greek dialects and the dialects of Greek refugees, and finally, an area of earlier contact between local Greek dialects and other Greek dialects of neighboring areas. From this perspective, the Northern dialects of Western Macedonia, and especially those of Kastoria, are very interesting, not only as members of the group of Northern Greek dialects in general, but also as dialects located in the core of the Balkan linguistic union.

The key questions that need to be addressed are: (a) Do the dialects of the area constitute one homogeneous group with no internal differences, or do they form smaller subgroups, which present such a great number of common features that they can be regarded as separate groups in their own right, distinct from those of neighboring dialects? (b) Does the geographical and administrative position of Kastoria on the border between two broader regions, i.e. Western Macedonia and Epirus, correspond to the position of the Northern dialects of Kastoria as dialects occupying a transitional space between the dialects of Western Macedonia and those of Epirus, or are they the tip of the dialects of Western Macedonia? (c) Are bundles of isoglosses present or not? If not, the position of the local dialects will be difficult to determine.

These questions are directly related to the wider question regarding the formation of the Greek Northern dialects of Kastoria: are they part of an earlier dialectal continuum interrupted by the emergence of Slavic and Aromunian dialects or even the emergence of Greek dialects from other areas, neighboring or not, or are they the end result of later displacements of people, and if so, did these populations come from one particular region or more, and which ones (see Tzitzilis forth.)? Pursuing the former line of inquiry, i.e. the postulation of the existence of an earlier dialectal continuum, which seems to be the most promising one, we need to examine whether we can identify earlier Northern dialects that emerged in the area, and, in particular, we need to investigate if some Northern dialects of Kastoria which share common features with neighboring Northern dialects of Epirus present these features because their speakers came from Epirus or because they form part of isoglosses dominant in the area of Epirus, which end in what are known as Grammochoria [villages of Grammos] (Kotili, Langa, Pefko, Chrisi, etc.); cf. the ending *-κα* in verbs like *έφτιακα* 'I made', *έφτακα* 'I arrived', *έπιακα* 'I caught', which is common in Epirus and also appears in Grammochoria in Kastoria, but not in the other dialects of Kastoria (Vogatsiko, Germa, Kostarazi, etc.).

Thomason (2005: 108), speaking of the dialect map of the Serbo-Croatian territory, states that "it shows extensive crosshatching of isoglosses rather than the more orderly bundled or parallel isoglosses that are characteristic of more settled regions". However, she also states that "the Serbo-Croatian dialect picture is not total chaos". Tzitzilis' findings are similar; according to him, the dialectal landscape, even in areas of intense language contact such as Western Macedonia, is far from chaotic. The internal 'homogeneity' of groups which speak the Northern dialects of Kastoria is interrupted by pockets of foreigners as well as pockets of Greek refugees displaced during the population exchange between Greece and Turkey. These pockets can easily be found. In contrast, areas in which populations settled years or perhaps centuries ago, are very difficult to detect since it is hard to identify the relationship between certain isoglosses and population movements for which there is no information.

2 The landscape of the Northern dialects of Kastoria based on the 24 key characteristics

According to Tzitzilis and Margariti-Ronga (forth.), the group of the 24 key characteristics used by Tzitzilis (forth.) for the classification of the Greek dialects can be divided into two subgroups: the first subgroup includes features which occur with or without exception in all Northern dialects, and thus, does not contribute anything either to the demarcation of Northern dialects in general or to the determination of their subgroups in particular. These features are:

(1) the narrowing of the unstressed /e/ and /o/ to /i/ and /u/ respectively, and the deletion of the unstressed /i/ and /u/. Narrowing is found everywhere in Kastoria. The elimination of the unstressed /i/ and /u/ is common at the end of words and in other morpheme boundaries, but occurs less frequently in root morphemes (Margariti-Ronga 1985: 163, Tzitzilis 1997-1998: 20).

(2) lack of discrimination between simple and double consonants. Double consonants are unknown to all Northern dialects, including those of Kastoria.

(3) the retention of /k/ and /x/ before front vowels. Peripheral Northern dialects, such as those of Tenedos, Kydonies, Moschonisia, etc., have been cited as exceptions. A specific form of tsitacism, sporadically documented in Western Macedonia, is the evolution of /k/ as the second member of primary and secondary /sk/ in /štš/. This phenomenon has already been observed in some dialects of Voio and we have also found it in a few words in Grammochoria. Regarding it as a special case of tsitacism, we rank it in the second subset of our second group of isoglosses (see *infra*).

(4) synizesis of the sequences /io/, /ia/ and /eo/, /ea/. The evolution of the sequences /io/, /ia/ and /eo/, /ea/ being different in some areas of Kastoria, we consider these developments to be special cases of synizesis, and we examine them in the second subset of our second group of isoglosses (see *infra*).

(5) no tendency towards open syllables, which is reinforced by the commonly occurring elimination of the unstressed /i/ and /u/.

(6) the elimination of the final -v in neuter nouns. The elimination of -v in this position is universal. If we take the general treatment of the final -v in other morphological categories into account, we can observe that in some dialects of the area the final -v occurs in the 3rd singular of the active past tenses and in the accusative singular of masculine and feminine nouns. However, given that this is a special case of final -v retention, we regard it as one of the isoglosses belonging to the second subset of our second group of isoglosses.

(7) the lack of epenthesis of -γ- in verbs ending in -εύω (common characteristic of the Northern dialects of continental Greece).

(8) the use of the neuter interrogative pronoun τῖ (common characteristic of the Northern dialects of continental Greece, which generally ignore the form εἴντα).

(9) the formation of the passive aorist in -κα.

(10) the use of the verbal suffixes -ουv(ε) and -αv(ε) in the 3rd plural.

(11) the preposing of the weak forms of personal pronouns.

(12) the elimination of the unaccented augment.

(13) the use of the diminutive forms of certain words in place of the original ones (common characteristic of the Northern dialects of continental Greece).

The second subgroup includes features that are differentiated in the Northern Greek dialects themselves, thus enabling us to determine subdialects. With only one exception, the phenomena

of this subgroup are common in all Northern dialects of Kastoria as well as in the other neighboring dialects of Western Macedonia and Epirus. The features of the second subgroup are:

(1) the preservation of the nasal element in the clusters [mb], [nd], [ng], π.χ. αμπόλ' [ambóλ] 'part of a shoot used for grafting', ντύνου [ndínu] 'to dress', etc.

(2) the presence of palatoalveolar consonants, e.g. šάλ' [šáλ] 'a square fabric folded triangularly', but σάλ' [sáλ] 'saliva'. This feature is common to all dialects of Kastoria, and places them in the broader group to which all continental Northern dialects belong.

(3) the presence of columnar stress and the violation of the trisyllabic rule of stress or the evolution of secondary stress, e.g. έκουφτέτι [ékuftéti] 'you cut (2nd plural, past)'.
(4) the absence of a morphological distinction between the nominative and the accusative plural in masculine nouns ending in -ος, e.g. οι δασκάλ' 'the teachers (nom.)' – τ'ς δασκάλ' 'the teachers (acc.)'.

(5) the use of the sigmatic imperfect in -ούσα for the old contracted verbs in -άω > -ώ, e.g. αγαπούσα 'I loved'. The sigmatic imperfect is found in all dialects of Western Macedonia and in one part of Epirus (Konitsa, Zagori, etc.), but not in Ioannina, where the suffix -αγα is used.

(6) the use of the suffix -ετε, usually in the form -ετι, for the active past tenses, e.g. έτριψέτι 'you rubbed'.

(7) the use of vocalic extensions in the 3rd sing. of oxytona, e.g. αγαπάει 'he/she loves'.

(8) the use of negative adjectives in -στος, e.g. αξούρ'στους 'unshaven'.

(9) the use of a system with three demonstrative pronouns αυτός, τούτους 'this one', κείνους 'that one', without a clear distinction between the pronouns αυτός και τούτους, denoting near deixis. Instead, the tripartite distinction is clear in the case of the demonstrative adverbs εδώ 'here', κεί 'there', αυτού 'there (close to the listener)'.
(10) the expression of the irrealis by the marker χάννα and the less common ones χάλ'να and θάνα, e.g. άμα δεν έβριχιν, χάννα πάου στου χουράφ' 'if it weren't raining, I would go to the field', which, as is the case with the majority of the Northern dialects, are past tense markers.

One of the isoglosses of the second subgroup presents dialectal differentiation. It involves the introduction of the indirect object by the accusative in the Northern dialects of the area, with the exception of the dialects of Chrisi and Eptachori, where the genitive is used instead, e.g. μου 'πι 'he/she told me'. Given that the indirect object is introduced by the genitive in Siatista and Katafygi, the question arises as to whether the dialects of Chrisi and Eptachori are exceptions, or pockets in the continuum of Western Macedonia, where the introduction of the indirect object by the accusative is prevalent, or, alternatively, whether they should be regarded as transition areas, given that in Epirus the indirect object is marked with the genitive case.

For a more detailed distribution of these isoglosses in the area of Northern Greece see Tzitzilis & Margariti-Ronga (forth.).

For a more detailed distribution of these isoglosses in the area of Northern Greece see Tzitzilis & Margariti-Ronga (forth.).

3 The landscape of the Northern dialects of Kastoria based on selected features

The second group includes isoglosses that do not belong to the aforementioned 24 ones and have been selected because we think that they can contribute to the internal categorization of the Northern Greek dialects of Kastoria into subgroups and can facilitate the determination of the position of the Northern Greek dialects of Kastoria in the wider landscape of Modern Greek

dialects. Data for the geographical distribution of these phenomena come from Tzitzilis & Margariti-Ronga (forth.). They can be divided into two subgroups. The first subgroup includes features that are common to all Northern dialects of Kastoria, e.g.:

(a) the formation of the 1st pl. of the mediopassive voice in *-μέστι*, e.g. *ακού(γ)ουμέστι* ‘we are being heard’.

(b) the formation of the comparative with the suffix *-τιρους* and rarely with the particle *πιο*, e.g. *τρανύτιρους* ‘bigger’, *βαρύτιρους* ‘heavier’.

(c) the use of the article *ου* for the nominative sing. of the masculine before both proper and common nouns (not *ι* or *ο* as in other Northern dialects), e.g. *ου Γιάντζ*, *ου γαμπρός*.

(d) the formation of the plural in *-αράι(οι)* and not in *-αροί*, e.g. *δζουμπαναράι* ‘shepherds’, *ππ’ναράι* ‘roosters’.

(e) the formation of the feminine nouns in *-άρου* (and not in *-άρα*) for the masculine in *-άρης*, e.g. *γκρινιάρου* ‘nagging woman’.

The second subgroup is more important because it includes features that are differentiated in the individual dialects of Kastoria and can therefore contribute to the internal categorization of this group of dialects. This subgroup consists of the following features:

(1) morphology:

(a) the choice of the ending *-ένιους* or *-ένουζ/-ένιουζ* for the formation of adjectives denoting material. In the Northern dialects, the suffix *-ένιος* of Standard Modern Greek is found in two forms: the earlier form *-ένουζ* (< *-εα* + *-ιουζ*) together with the more recent one *-ένιουζ* resulting from metathesis, and the form *-ένιουζ*, which derives from the contamination of the last two, e.g. *τινικιδένιουζ* ‘tinny’, but *τινικιδένιουζ* and *τινικιδένιουζ*. The earlier form *-ένουζ* is also found in Kozani and Grevena. In the examined dialects, the distribution of these suffixes is as follows: the suffix *-ένουζ/-ένιουζ* is found in Vogatsiko, Germa and Kostarazi, while it is absent in Grammochoria, where the suffix *-ένιουζ* is used instead. Andriotis (1976: 224) considers *-ένουζ* to be an archaism and locates it mainly in Thrace.

(b) the use of the suffix *-αμι* or *-αμαν* in the 1st plural of the active past tenses, e.g. *είχαμι/είχαμαν* ‘we had’. In the Northern dialects, we find the allomorphs *-αμι* και *-αμαν* in the 1st plural of the active past tenses. The suffix *-αμι* is more widespread, whereas *-αμαν* is mainly used in Epirus and the nearby areas. In the Northern Greek dialects of Kastoria, the distribution of these suffixes is as follows: the suffix *-αμαν* is found in Grammochoria, while the rest of the Northern Greek dialects of Kastoria ignore it. In this respect, the idioms of Grammochoria should be regarded as an expansion of those of Epirus.

(c) the formation of the active aorist in *-κα* or *-σα* of a particular group of verbs, e.g. *έπιασα/έπιακα* ‘I caught’, *έφτασα/έφτακα* ‘I arrived’, *έφτιασα/έφτιακα* ‘I made’. The aorist formation in *-κα* of those verbs is found in Epirus and in the dialects of Grammochoria, while the other Northern Greek dialects of Kastoria form these aorists in *-σα*.

(d) the tripartite distinction of the possessive pronoun in the 3rd plural according to the gender of the owner: *τ’ς* (when the owner is masculine), e.g. *οι άντρες ήπιρναν τα πιδιά τ’ς* ‘the men were taking their children’, *τις* (when the owner is feminine), e.g. *οι γυναίκες ήπιρναν τα κουρίτσα τις* ‘the women were taking their girls’, *τα* (when the owner is neuter), e.g. *τα πιδιά κάθουνταν στα γουνιά τα* ‘the children were sitting in their corner’ (Germa, Kostarazi) (Georgiou, 1962: 377). This system is also found in some dialects of Kozani. In Grammochoria, it seems that a system with a common form for the masculine and the feminine and a different one for the neuter is used although the speakers do not fully reject the forms of the tripartite

gender distinction. The use of the pronoun *τα* when the owner is neuter has become generalized in the Northern Greek dialects of Kastoria.

(2) phonetics:

(a) the different evolution of the vowel sequences /io/, /ia/ και /eo/, /ea/ (Newton 1972: 47). In some places, namely in the Grammochoria group, the aforementioned sequences have the same evolution, e.g. *χωρία* > *χωριά* [xorjá] ‘villages’, *παλαμαρέα* > *παλαμαριά* [palamarjá] ‘harvesting tool’, whereas in the other idioms of the county the evolution is different, e.g. *χωρία* > *χωριά* [xorjá], but *παλαμαρέα* > *παλαμαρ’ά* [palamar’á]. The latter is also found in dialects of Kozani.

(b) tsitacism of the cluster /sk/ before front vowels, e.g. *σκούβω* > *στούβου* [štšívu], etc. As previously mentioned in 2 (feature 3 of the first subgroup), in the examined area tsitacism has a special form, i.e. the evolution of the cluster /sk/ into /štš/. The phenomenon is not widespread as it occurs only in specific words, e.g. *Παρασκευή* > *Παραστšουβή* [paraštšuví] ‘Friday’, *σκεπάρι* > *στούπάρ* [štšipár] ‘adz’, *σκούβω* > *στούβου* [štšívu] ‘stoop’, etc. This special case of tsitacism is also sporadically attested in Western Macedonia. It is unknown among the idioms of Kozani and Grevena, but it is found in some dialects of Voio. In Kastoria, it is found in Grammochoria, cf. *στυλλί* [stsilí] ‘dog’ in villages of Pogonio (Xirovaltos, etc.), where its range is also very limited (Bongas 1964: 12).

(c) Based on the presence or absence of final -v in the 3rd sing. of past tenses, the dialects of Kastoria can be divided into two groups: (1) Grammochoria, where no final -v appears in the 3rd sing. of past tenses and in the accusative sing. of masculine and feminine nouns, (2) the remaining dialects of Kastoria, where final -v appears in the 3rd sing. of past tenses, e.g. *είχιν* ‘he/she had’, and in the accusative sing. of masculine and feminine nouns, e.g. *μάζουνάμι κόζμουν* ‘we brought people together’, as is the case for most of the Northern dialects of Western Macedonia.

4 The picture of the dialects of Kastoria based on phenomena attributed to language contact

Particularly important for determining the position of the Northern Greek dialects of the area and that of the Modern Greek dialects in general is the group of isoglosses attributed to language contact. These consist of morphosyntactic features that, according to their geographical distribution, can be distinguished into three groups: (a) those that occur only in the Northern dialects of Kastoria and, more specifically, in a small number of these dialects in Grammochoria and in some other villages (e.g. Ampelokipi, Ammoudara), e.g. the prohibitive structures with *φτάν* ‘enough’, (b) those that occur in the Northern dialects of Kastoria and in nearby dialects of Western Macedonia, e.g. the presence of ethical genitive/accusative, (c) those that also appear in other Northern dialects, e.g. desire denoting impersonal structures and the suffix -αβουζ.

All these morphosyntactic phenomena (with the possible exception of the ethical genitive/accusative) are due to Slavic influence. We should note that the influence of the Slavic languages on the other Greek dialects is usually confined to vocabulary, with the exception of the morphosyntactic borrowing of the diminutive suffix -ίτσα, which has multiple origins. The Slavic influence at the morphosyntactic level seems to be confined to some Northern dialects,

especially those of Western Macedonia and some dialects of Central Macedonia (see Tzitzilis & Margariti-Ronga forth.).

The picture of the Northern dialects of Kastoria based on phenomena attributed to language contact confirms what Joseph (2007: 119) states: “there can be dialect divisions within a language that indicate that one dialect or dialect area of a language has been influenced by neighboring Balkan languages while other dialects have not, or have not to the same extent”.

4.1 Morphosyntactic phenomena found only in Grammochoria

4.2.1 Prohibitive structures with φτάν’

In Grammochoria and in some other villages (e.g. Ampelokipi, Ammoudara) we find the prohibitive structures φτάν’ κρέντς ‘you talked enough, do not talk (sing.)’ and φτάν’ κρέν’τι ‘you talked enough, do not talk (plur.)’. Along with these second-person forms, however, which seem to correspond to μη κρέντς ‘do not talk (sing.)’ and μη κρέν’τι ‘do not talk (plur.)’, there are the less frequent structures φτάν’ κρένου ‘I should not talk anymore’, φτάν’ κρέν’ ‘he/she should not talk anymore’, φτάν’ κρένουμι ‘we should not talk anymore’, φτάν’ κρένουν ‘they should not talk anymore’, namely the form φτάν’ with the whole paradigm of the present indicative. We also find structures in which the form φτάν’ is combined with the aorist, such as φτάν’ έκρινα ‘I spoke enough, I should not talk anymore’, φτάν’ έκρινις ‘do not talk anymore’, φτάν’ έκρινι ‘he/she should not talk anymore’, φτάν’ έκρινάμι, φτάν’ έκρινέτι, φτάν’ έκριναν. Finally, we find φτάν’ in combination with the perfect: φτάν’ έχου φάει ‘I should not eat more’.

The structures with second-person forms are reminiscent of similar structures in other Modern Greek dialects, examined by Tzitzilis (forth.), in which κανεί, a synonym of φτάν’, is used. Thus, in Silli we find the structure κανεί παίζεις ‘you played enough, do not play’. Moreover, as Tzitzilis (forth.) states, “a parallel semantic and typological behavior is observed for the adverb αγάλια (γάλια, γάλι) ‘bit by bit’, gradually evolving into a deterrent adverb-interjection meaning ‘stop, shut up’ and then into a negative particle, for example γάλια πσίνεις ‘do not drink’, γάλι ανοίξεις ‘do not open’ (Axos, Cappadocia)”.

One could therefore come to the conclusion that the prohibitive structures of this type found in Kastoria are the result of internal evolution. However, these structures are reminiscent of similar structures with the same function in the local Slavic dialects, where instead of the verb φτάν’ the adverb *dósta* ‘enough’ is used. In these Slavic dialects we find the following structures, which, in terms of meaning and function, correspond to the Greek structures under consideration: (1) *dósta* + 2nd sing. and plur. imperative, e.g. *dósta zborvi*, *dósta zborvite*, corresponding to the second-person negative forms φτάν’ κρέντς and φτάν’ κρέν’τι, (2) *dósta* + present indicative, e.g. *dósta zborvam* = φτάν’ κρένου ‘I should not talk anymore’, (3) *dósta* + aorist indicative, e.g. *dósta zborvá* = φτάν’ έκρινα ‘I spoke enough, I should not talk anymore’, (4) *dósta* + perfect indicative, e.g. *dósta ímam zborváno* = φτάν’ έχου κρέν’ ‘I spoke enough, I should not talk anymore’. We should note that in the local Slavic dialects the verb *ftásvam* (< Greek φτάνω) ‘I arrive’ is used, but the 3rd sing. *ftásvi* ‘he/she arrives’ is not grammaticalized and is not used in the sense ‘(that’s) enough’, in contrast to Bulgarian, where *stígam* ‘I arrive’ is used in the 3rd sing. *stíga* in the sense ‘(that’s) enough’.

According to Tzitzilis (forth.), in some cases the same syntactic structure can be the result of language contact in one area and the result of internal evolution in another. Therefore, the structure φτάν’ κρέντς (and φτάν’ κρέν’τι) in the Northern dialects of Grammochoria in Kastoria

must be the result of Slavic influence, cf. *dósta zborvi* and *dósta zborvite* (*dósta* ‘enough’, *zborvi* ‘talk [2nd sing.-imperative]’, *zborvite* ‘talk [2nd plur.-imperative]’) in the local Slavic dialects, and *stiga govori* and *stiga govorite* (*stiga* ‘enough’, *govori* ‘talk [2nd sing.-imperative]’, *govorite* ‘talk [2nd plur.-imperative]’) in Bulgarian, whereas in Silli the structure *κανεί παίζεις* is the result of internal evolution. As Tzitzilis (forth.) states, the starting point of grammaticalization is common in both cases: the 3rd sing. of a verb or an adverb whose meaning is ‘enough’ evolves into a negative particle equivalent to *μη*, which is used in negative imperatives. It is noteworthy that in both cases the imperative is formed through reanalysis of infinitival forms.

Cross-linguistic research in the dialects of Kastoria has proved that similar structures are also found in the Aromunian dialects of the area, where, for the formation of second-person negative imperatives *dúre* (*dúri*) ‘enough’ (Papahagi, 1974: 509) is used as an index of negation, a form which goes back to Turkish *dur* ‘stop’ and the forms of the 2nd sing. and plur. of the present; e.g., *dúri zb(ə)rés’* (and *zb(ə)résts’*) = φτάν’ κρέντζ and *dúri zb(ə)ráts* = φτάν’ κρέν’τι. We should also note that, in the case of the local Aromunian dialects, *dúri* is also used with the paradigm of the present and the aorist indicative, albeit less frequently. In this case, the grammaticalization process is reversed: a structure denoting dissuasion (Turkish *dur* ‘stop’) comes to mean ‘repleteness’ (*dúri zb(ə)rés’* ‘do not talk anymore’), whereas in the case of φτάν’ and *dósta* a structure meaning ‘repleteness’, ‘termination’, ‘no more, that’s enough’ acquires the meaning of ‘dissuasion’: φτάν’ κρέντζ = *dósta zborvi* ‘do not talk’ (Tzitzilis, forth.).

In addition, Papadamou’s fieldwork in Grammochoria has shown that the use of φτάν’, in a way similar to that of the Slavic *dósta* ‘enough’, exceeds the deterrent function and is also used with other functions such as the oppositional one: φτάν’ έχουν παράδεις κλαίγουντι κιόλας = *dósta íme páre i se plátše* ‘it’s not just that they have money; they have to whine about it’ (Papadamou under prep.).

4.2 Morphosyntactic phenomena in neighboring Northern dialects

4.2.1 Ethical accusative

Tzitzilis and Margariti-Ronga (forth.) refer to some verbs which are followed by a direct object in Koine, but in the dialects of Kozani they are also accompanied by weak forms of the personal pronouns in the accusative case; these serve the function either of possessives or of the ethical accusative, e.g. *δεν τ’ς ξέρου τα παρανόμια* ‘I don’t know the nicknames they use for them’, *δε σ’ το κατάλαβα αυτό που λες* ‘I do not understand what you are saying’. Similar structures are also found in the dialects of Kastoria: *δεν τ’ς ξέρου (σ)τα παρατσούκλια πώς τ’ς λ’έν* ‘I don’t know the nicknames by which they call them’, *δε σ’ του κατάλαβα αυτό που λ’ες* ‘I don’t understand what you are saying’ and *αυτό που μί’πες δε σ’ του κατάλαβα* ‘I did not understand what you said to me’. In the variety used by the bilingual speakers of the area, the following phrases are found: *δεν τους ξέρω (σ)τα ονόματα*, and *δε σ’ το κατάλαβα αυτό που λες*. The former corresponds to the phrase *ne mu i znam imenístšata* of the local Slavic dialect (cf. *ne gi znam imenata* in Bulgarian), whereas the latter corresponds to the local Slavic phrase *ne ti gu rázbra mabiétut*.

These structures are but one aspect of the phenomenon of the wider use of the ethical genitive/accusative, which has been observed in the Aromunian dialect (see Katsanis & Dinas 1986: 183) and which seems to hold for the area’s Greek and Slavic dialects as well, at least up to a point (see Tzitzilis, forth.).

4.3 Morphosyntactic phenomena with a wider distribution in Western dialects

4.3.1 Impersonal structures denoting desire

The most characteristic impersonal structure is of the type ethical accusative + verb in the 3rd sing. mediopassive voice, e.g. *μι πίνιτι* ‘I want to drink’, *μι τρώγιτι* ‘I want to eat’, *μι κοιμάτι* ‘I want to sleep’. This construction is a loan translation from the Slavic impersonal structure *mi* (ethical dative) *se pie* (3rd sing. mediopassive voice of the verb), *mi se jade*, which is formed by the ethical dative and the verb in the 3rd sing. mediopassive voice and is used to denote desire (‘I want to drink’, ‘I want to eat’). This structure, attested in all the dialects of the area, is more widely used in Central and Western Macedonia, and is also found in other Balkan languages belonging to the core of the Balkan linguistic union such as the Aromunian dialect. More specifically, with regard to the Greek area it seems to be widespread in the western part of Central Macedonia, i.e. the dialects of Thessaloniki and those farther west, as well as the dialects of Western Macedonia, with the dialect of Kozani being an exception. It is noteworthy that the dative of the Slavic structure is replaced by the accusative in Greek, as the Greek language lacks the dative case, and the Northern Greek dialects use the ethical accusative in the place of the ethical dative of the Modern Greek. The structurally closest syntactic form in Modern Greek is the accusative + the verb in 3rd sing. active voice, e.g. *με διψάει* ‘I’m thirsty’, *με πινάει* ‘I’m hungry’ (the Ionian Islands and the area around Mesolongi, see Triandaphyllidis 1993: 249).

Bousboukis (1982: 209) notes that he traced similar syntactic forms in the Aromunian idiom of Imathia, but points out that these are not used in other areas. Regarding the formation of this impersonal structure, he observes that Aromunian uses a personal pronoun in genitive-dative and the 3rd sing. of the middle voice: *ni si biá un kafé* = *μας πίνουνταν ένας καφές* ‘we wanted to drink a cup of coffee’, *nu l’ⁱ si fudj* = *δεν τουν φεύγιτι* ‘he doesn’t want to leave’. Papadamou’s personal fieldwork has proved that the phenomenon is also known in the Aromunian dialects of Kastoria, cf. *n’i si bjáu un kafé* = *μι πίνιτι ένας καφές* ‘I want to drink a cup of coffee’, *nu lu si fúđži di^uá* = *δεν τ’ς φεύγιτι απ’ τ’ ιδώ* ‘they don’t want to leave the area’, etc.

Sandfeld (1930: 151) implies that the phenomenon had a wider distribution in Aromunian and Meglenitic. He also observes that the same phenomenon is also found in the Albanians of Skopje, and he notes: “M. Skok a observé la même construction chez les Albanais de Skopje: *uji m pijet* ‘j’ai envie de boire de l’eau’”, whereas for Albanian he notes “et elle se trouve aussi ailleurs en albanais: *më qeshet* ‘j’ai envie de rire’”. These examples correspond to the structures *μι πίνιτι* and *μι γλιέτι* of the Northern Greek dialects.

The occurrence of this phenomenon in all the Balkan languages found in the core of the Balkan Sprachbund has led Tzitzilis (forth.) to pose the question as to whether the phenomenon needs to be examined in the narrow context of the Greek-Slavic language contact or whether it should be investigated as a characteristic regarding the entire Balkan Sprachbund, and more precisely the core of the Balkan Linguistic union, where contact is much more intense. As Tzitzilis states, consideration of the Balkan dimension of the phenomenon is necessary because in conditions of multilingual contact it is difficult to exclude the possibility of indirect effects, in this case interference by the Aromunian dialect, at least in areas where the latter is prevalent.

4.3.2 The suffix -αβουζ

The suffix *-αβους* is usually used to form adjectives denoting negative qualities. Despite efforts (Promponas, 1989) for a Greek interpretation of the suffix, it is now widely accepted that it derives from the Slavic suffix *-av*. As concerns its distribution, it is found: (1) in words of Slavic origin, most of which are denominative adjectives: *liga* ‘saliva’ > *ligav* > *λίγκαβους* ‘impure, dirty’, *kora* ‘crust’ > *korav* > *κόραβους* ‘tough’, (2) in other adjectives of Slavic origin: *χάβαβους* ‘soft’, *προύχαβους* ‘soft and bulgy’, *ζούδαβους* ‘peaky’, (3) in adjectives of unknown origin: *τσούκραβους* ‘frizzy’, *μπάγκαβους* ‘gaudy’, (4) in adjectives formed from Greek nouns: *μύξα* > *μύξαβους* ‘snotty’, *πρέκνα* > *πρέκναβους* ‘freckled’, *ζγκουριά* > *ζγκούραβους* ‘rusty’, *κλάψα* > *κλάψαβους* ‘crybaby’, *ψώρα* > *ψώραβους* ‘mangy’, *στάχτ* > *στάχταβους* ‘ash-like’, *κουρκούτ* > *κουρκούταβους* ‘mush-like’, (5) in adjectives formed from other Greek adjectives: *νιρουλός* > *νιρούλαβους* ‘watery’, *κ’τχ’άρ’ς* > *κ’τχ’άραβους* ‘box-shaped’, etc.

Of particular interest for language contact and its importance for determining the position of the dialects of the area is the case of a small group of adjectives denoting colour or colour-related qualities, in which borrowing is not limited to the suffix *-av*, but concerns the entire derivational model according to which these adjectives are formed. According to Tzitzilis (1997-1998: 22), by analogy with the Slavic color adjectives, which are formed with adjective + the diminutive suffix + the suffix *-av*, similar adjectives are found in the Greek dialects of the area. Thus, in a manner similar to that of the formation of the adjective *zelen* ‘green’ > *zelen-ik* ‘a little green’ > *zelen-ik-av* ‘greenish’, its Greek counterpart *πρασνούλ’αβους* is formed, in which the diminutive suffix *-ούλ’* corresponds to the Slavic suffix *-ik*, i.e. *zelen-ik-av* = *πρασ’v-ούλ’-αβους*. The following adjectives, found in the Northern dialects of Kastoria, are formed in the same way: *κιτρινούλ’αβους* ‘yellowish’, *κουκκ’νούλ’αβους* ‘reddish’, *ασπρούλ’αβους* ‘sort of white’, *μαυρούλ’αβους* ‘sort of black’. We should note that this model, known from Bulgarian, is also found in local Slavic dialects.

The case of *πόταβους* ‘what kind’ (Germa, Vogatsiko, Kostarazi, Ampelokipi, etc.) is particularly interesting; it is the only pronoun formed with this suffix. It is obvious that the formation of *πόταβους* is the same as that of the above-mentioned adjectives and, in particular, it is a different form of the adjective *ποταπός* / *πόταπους* (< Med. Gr. *πόταπος* < AGr. *ποταπός*), which is also found with the same meaning in other Greek dialects. According to Tzitzilis (forth.), the word *πόταβους* was formed by folk etymology or by partial loan translation on the basis of its Slavic equivalent *kakav*.

Taking Tzitzilis (2001) into account, who views morpheme borrowing as a procedure of partial translation in which the stem (base) is translated and the derivational element remains unmodified, we tried to find the Slavic derivational ‘models’ of the adjectives in *-αβους* with a Greek base. Our work revealed that most local Slavic dialects have forms that could be regarded as the direct ‘models’ for the Greek forms: *krasta* = *ψώρα* > *krastav* = *ψώραβους*, etc. Some of these forms seem to be repatriated loans, e.g. *σούφρα* > dial. Slav. *šúfra* > *šúfrav* > *σούφραβους*, *πρέκνα* > dial. Slav. *prénkl’a* ‘freckle’ > *prénkl’av* = *πρέκναβους*, etc.

Regarding the geographical distribution of the suffix outside Kastoria, which is particularly important in determining the position of the Northern dialects of the area, it is found in some parts of Central Macedonia and in Western Macedonia (Kozani, Grevena, Kastoria); the form *-av* is also found in Aromunian, e.g. *bágav*, *prúhav*, *búhav*, *žúdav* (Papahagi, 1974 s.vv.).

5 Conclusion

As we have already mentioned, the position of the Northern Greek dialects of Kastoria is determined by three sets of isoglosses:

(1) those based on the 24 features used by Tzitzilis (forth.) for the classification of Modern Greek dialects. As expected, all the main phonetic and morphological characteristics of the first subgroup of this set, namely those that are common to all Northern Greek dialects, are found in Kastoria, and therefore they do not contribute much to the classification of the Northern Greek dialects themselves and to the determination of their dialectal subgroups. The isoglosses of the second subgroup of this set, namely the ones that differentiate the Northern Greek dialects themselves, are common to all the dialects of the region with the exception of one: the marking of the indirect object by the accusative case, which is common to all the dialects of the region except for the dialects of Chrisi and Eptachori, in which the indirect object is marked by the genitive case. The similarities of this subgroup of isoglosses ensures that all the dialects of the area constitute a homogeneous subgroup, which, together with neighboring dialects, form a larger group, different from that of other Northern dialects.

(2) a set of characteristics selected on the basis of special criteria, which, as the analysis of the data has proved, can give us useful information about the position of the Northern dialects of Kastoria. The analysis of the isoglosses of this set, in combination with the analysis of the isoglosses of the third set, i.e. those attributed to language contact, leads us to the conclusion that there is internal differentiation, but there are also many common characteristics that allow us to view the Northern dialects of Kastoria as a group. More precisely, the analysis of the aforementioned data leads us to the conclusion that the dialects of Kastoria can be divided into two subgroups: (a) the dialects of Grammochoria, and (b) the remaining dialects of Kastoria. Certainly, there are also internal differences in both subgroups, but, the stage of our research does not allow us to proceed to a more detailed classification of these dialects (cf. the transitional position of the dialect of Eptachori, which, though belonging to Grammochoria, presents features of both subgroups, or the position of the dialect of Ammoudara, which, though geographically belonging to the eastern area of the Prefecture of Kastoria, presents the basic characteristics of Grammochoria).

The question, then, as to whether the geographical and administrative position of Kastoria on the border between two broader regions, i.e. Western Macedonia and Epirus, corresponds to the dialectal position of the Northern dialects of Kastoria as dialects occupying a transitional space between the dialects of Western Macedonia and those of Epirus, can be given a positive answer. More precisely, the subgroup of Grammochoria can be regarded as the tip of the dialects of Epirus, while the subgroup of the remaining dialects can be viewed as the tip of the dialects of Western Macedonia. We should note that the term 'tip' in both cases is used conventionally as we do not know the direction of the isoglosses' spread.

(3) an equally important third set of isoglosses, on which we focused our attention, is the one regarding phenomena attributed to language contact and, more precisely, contact with the Slavic dialects of the area. These phenomena prove to be very illuminating as concerns the determination of the position of the Northern dialects of Kastoria, since they confirm the categorization of these dialects into two subgroups, one consisting of the dialects of Grammochoria and the other the consisting of remaining Northern dialects of Kastoria. A specific syntactic isogloss differentiates the group of Grammochoria and some other dialects which are under strong Slavic influence from the remaining Northern dialects of Kastoria as well as from the Northern dialects of Western Macedonia in general: this is the prohibitive structure

with φτάν', but also the oppositional structure with φτάν', corresponding, as we mentioned above, to the Slavic structures with *dósta*.

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MORPHOSYNTACTIC PROPERTIES OF THE CYPRIOT GREEK -NDE*

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This paper explores the morphosyntax of a rather unusual suffix used by specific populations in the variety of Cypriot Greek, in order to present in detail its distribution in the clause, as well as provide some suggestions with regard to its possible syntax. Among other phenomena in the literature of the Cypriot Greek syntax, the behavior of the Cypriot Greek suffix *-nde* in the clause is unique to the variety in question when compared to the close variety of Standard Modern Greek. The interesting implications as discussed in the paper concern its blocking with post-verbal clitic placement, while the fact that no other similar phenomena of this type appear in this variety suggest a possible borrowing from other languages in contact.

1 Introduction

The linguistic situation in Cyprus is not irrelevant to the appearance of this unusual suffix on the verb, as phonologically similar cases appear in Standard Modern Greek (hence SMG) and Turkish. The linguistic status of the Republic of Cyprus is traditionally described as diglossic, with a sociolinguistically ‘low’ variety of CG co-existing with the ‘high’ Standard Modern Greek, the variety spoken in mainland Greece. Cyprus shows *de jure* bilingualism (Greek, Turkish; referring to the standard varieties in both cases) and *de facto* trilingualism in Greek, Turkish and English (Arvaniti, 2002) or bilingualism in SMG and CG (Newton, 1972; Vassiliou, 1995) or bidialectism in SMG and CG (e.g. Pavlou and Christodoulou, 2001; Yiakoumetti et al, 2005) or more generally a ‘bi-x’ context (Grohmann, 2011; Grohmann and Leivada, 2012; Grohmann et al, 2012) proposed to cover any possible combination of language-dialect. Another approach (Rowe and Grohmann, 2012) suggests that a *co-overt prestige* of CG has prevented its

· This topic was firstly discussed in Pavlou and Panagiotidis (in press), where the focus was on the possible borrowing of *-nde* and some of the syntactic restrictions mentioned in the current paper. I would like to thank Phoebos Panagiotidis for encouraging me to think about this topic and Karlos Arregi for a long fruitful discussion of the data. I also thank Anastasia Giannakidou for her suggestions and the audiences of the MGDLT 5 and the Challenging Clitics workshop, where an earlier version of this paper was presented.

death and that diglossia in Cyprus relates to a type B diglossia. In this sense, the individual speakers of this society are identified as (discrete) ‘bilectal’.

The defined linguistic environment clarifies that we have at least two linguistic codes (whatever their status is), whose grammars, even if not clearly defined, can intervene with one another, as SMG input is provided through the medium of television programs, books, and education. As Grohmann and Leivada (2012) point out, in contexts involving the coexistence of a standard and a regional variety, syntactic differences fade away with the passing of time in favor of an intermediate (Cornips, 2006) or ‘diglossic’ speech repertoire (Auer, 2000, 2005), based on a more standard/dialect continuum.

The morphological productivity of the verb with regard to *-nde* in Cypriot Greek (hence, CG) as presented in this paper is particularly interesting, because it seems to deviate from the usual verb paradigm that could be constructed for CG. In (1), the optionality of the *-nde* suffix on the verb is acceptable by speakers, while its presence can be related to a lack of a significant function (inflectional vs. derivational) on the morphological structure of the verb.

- (1) E fame(-nde) to fain.
ate.1PL-nde the.ACC food.ACC
 ‘We ate the food’

Apart from its importance in the morphosyntax of CG, it can be observed that *-nde* is used less among younger populations and avoided by speakers that associate it with the *xorkatika* ‘peasantry’ register. This term is used by speakers nowadays to refer to a particular way of speech characterized by features of non-formal way of speaking, irrelevant to an urban vs. rural dialect (Tsiplakou et al, 2006). CG undergoes ‘dialect moribundity’, in the sense of ‘dialect loss’ associated with loss of specific features (Rowe and Grohmann, 2012), so it could also be the case that the synchronic point of view of this paper may lack a more diachronic use of the particular item in the absence of previous literature.

The morphological restrictions of the appearance of *-nde* on the verb and the syntactic consequences of its presence in the clause will be discussed in Section 2. One of the motivating factors to believe that *-nde* is not restricted to the morphological representation, but rather extends, or even just concerns certain syntactic aspects will be mainly based on its interaction with clitic placement. Clitic placement in CG, a well-studied phenomenon by now (Grohmann et al, 2012, among others), has been argued to target post-verbal positions except in a few cases. The ungrammaticality of a post-verbal clitic with *-nde*, following the speakers’ judgments, and the insignificant role of it in the morphology of the verb provide the grounds to argue for a more complex syntactic analysis.

Even for elements appearing as affixes on a host, it is not always the case that one could not treat them as syntactic items. Languages that use post-verbal clitics can allow their affixation in certain environments, as discussed in Section 3, but what does that imply for the word/affix nature of clitics?

In Section 4, the suggestions follow the data from the previous sections and propose that this phenomenon can be viewed either as morphological by finding a way to explain the ungrammaticality with post-verbal clitics or as a true case of affixation/fusion by treating *-nde* as a syntactic item that affixes on the verb.

2 Morphology or syntax?

The appearance of *-nde* as a verb suffix creates the first question concerning the morphology of the verb. The optionality of it suggests that this is not a necessary morpheme that takes a particular function for the usual inflectional or derivational part of morphology. In fact, as will be seen below *-nde* appears after the inflectional morphemes have attached to the stem, satisfying any relevant person and tense features. No other similar cases in CG have been recorded or can be observed to show a similar type of morphological productivity, suggesting that the case of *-nde* may be a case of true affixation of an element to the verb.

The verb paradigm for a verb like *ðino* ‘tie’ in the and a second conjugation a verb like *ayapo* ‘love’ in the second conjugation are given in Table 1 below.¹ At large, the verb paradigm for these two cases follows the verb paradigm on SMG with the exception of the suffix *-usin* for the 3rd person plural and the past tense prefixed augment *e-*, which has been preserved from Ancient Greek (Joseph and Tserdanelis, 2003).

	First Conjugation			Second Conjugation		
	Non-Past. Imperfective	Past. Perfective	Non-Past. Perfective	Non-Past. Imperfective	Past. Perfective	Non-Past. Perfective
1 sg	'ðin-o	'e-ðis-a	'ðis-o	aya' p-o	a' yapis-a	aya' pis-o
2 sg	'ðin-is	'e-ðis-es	'ðis-is	aya' p-as	a' yapis-es	aya' pis-is
3 sg	'ðin-i	'e-ðis-e	'ðis-i	aya' p-a	a' yapis-e	aya' pis-i
1 pl	'ðin-ume(n)	e-'ðis- ame(n)	'ðis-ume(n)	aya' p- ume(n)	aya' pis- ame(n)	aya' pis- ume(n)
2 pl	'ðin-ete	e-'ðis-ete	'ðis-ete	aya' p-ate	aya' pis-ete	aya' pis- ete
3 pl	'ðin-usin/ 'ðin-un	e-'ðis-asin/ 'e-ðis-an	'ðis-usin/ 'ðis-un	aya' p-usin/ aya' p-un	aya' pis- asin/ aya' pis-an	aya' pis- usin/ aya' p-un

Table 1. The CG verb paradigm

The CG *-nde* shows morphological restrictions in its distribution. As already mentioned, it always appears as a bound form and can only take a verb as its host.

- (2) Eðisame-nde ti varkan
tied.1PL-nde the boat
 ‘We tied the boat’

¹ The distinction follows the one usually assumed for Modern Greek. Verb conjugation in Modern Greek depends mainly on stress: verbs in the first conjugation have the stress on the penultimate syllable, while verbs in the second conjugation take stress on the last syllable.

One of the main restrictions is that *-nde* can only attach to a verb with 1st person plural morphology. For example, if *-nde* attaches to a verb carrying 1st person singular morphology, then the sentence is ungrammatical:

- (3) * Eðisa-nde ti varkan
tied.ISG-nde the boat
 ‘I tied the boat’

Even though, it does not appear in the verb paradigm of CG, the restriction of *-nde* with regard to number could indicate either a preference to attach on the *-me* suffix for phonological or other related reasons or for semantic reasons that could be related with the direct access to the speaker.

Further, it does not show any restriction to tense, as it can be used to refer to the past (4), the present (5) or the future (6).

- (4) Eðisame-nde ti varkan.
tied.nde-1PL the-ACC boat-ACC
 ‘We tied the boat’
- (5) ðinume-nde ti varkan.
tie.nde-1PL to-the-ACC boat-ACC
 ‘We are tying the boat’
- (6) Enna ðisume-nde ti varkan.
will tie.nde-1PL to-the-ACC boat-ACC
 ‘We will tie the boat’

SMG also uses *(n)de*, as a prosodically prominent lexical item, which plays an important role in the meaning of the sentence (data taken from Pavlou and Panagiotidis, in press). Consider the following:

- (7) a. Kala
fine-ADV
 ‘Fine’
- b. Kala de!
fine-ADV de
 ‘Yeah, fine.’
- (8) a. Ela mu?
come me-DAT.CLI
 ‘Excuse me?’
- b. Ela mu de!
come me-DAT.CLI de
 ‘Fancy that!’
- (9) a. Siya
slowly-ADV
 ‘Slowly’
- b. Siya de
slowly-ADV de
 ‘Take it easy!’

(SMG)

SMG *(n)de* could possibly be related to *lipon* (which has a direct translation ‘so’) (Leivada, pc), but is uttered in contexts where it appears at the clause-final position and comes as an objection to the previously uttered statement. In SMG, *(n)de* is purely a discourse particle

which possibly adds emphasis to the context in certain occasions. In all the examples above, it is used in the final position in the clause and does not appear to be affected by the preceding item. However, these sentences form fixed phrases and its use in a more productive way has not been documented. The SMG *(n)de* can also be found in initial positions in the clause as the following examples show:

(10) a. De ke kala (na vɣo mazi su)
de and well-ADV (to go-1SG with you.GEN)
 ‘I should go out with you in any case’²

b. De ke soni
de and enough-ADV
 ‘whatever happens’

(Leivada, pc)
 (SMG)

It seems from the example in (10) that *(n)de* imposes a certain meaning in initial positions in the clause. Apart from a phonological similarity with the CG *-nde*, the SMG *(n)de* also adds or alters the meaning of the sentence. The two, though, are fundamentally different- and possibly irrelevant to each other- when compared with the more complex restrictions that the CG *-nde* imposes.

Based on what was said above, *-nde* cannot be assumed to be an inflectional suffix, since the 1st person plural suffix *-me* already carries the inflection features. It should also be noted that *-nde* cannot appear before *-me* (e.g. *ipcandeme), so it always needs to appear after inflection has taken place (either that is a procedure in the lexicon or the syntax). Inflectional clitics are argued to be lexical clitics, only if they can interact with canonically distributed inflectional affixes and appear inside of other inflections (Halpern, 1995). By arguing that *-nde* is an inflectional affix, there are two problems occurring. One problem is the redundancy of the assumption that there are two suffixes for 1st person plural suffixes in Cypriot Greek, with one of them appearing optionally or with both of them appearing at the same time. Two different suffixes can appear in the 3rd person plural, namely *-usin* and *-un* or *-asin* and *-an*, but the two can never appear at the same time. Another problem is that, if *-nde* is an inflectional affix and can affect the distribution of pronominal clitics as will be discussed later, then this should be the case for other inflectional affixes as well.

The grammatical properties of *-nde* can be revealing with regard to its semantic or pragmatic function. The data considered so far cannot provide any strong support to the idea that *-nde* has a particular role to play in the verb morphology. Before considering its interaction with syntax, the pragmatic use of *(n)de* in SMG in the way that it interacts with the meaning of the sentence, will also be extended for the CG *-nde* as well.

It is clear from the morphosyntactic restriction on agreement that *-nde* carries a certain meaning or relation to semantics. A possible argument is that *-nde* carries some feature or rather that it behaves in a speaker-oriented manner. Speaker-oriented suffixes, as appearing in Korean (Chung, 1999) for example, are argued to be associated with the speech acts that the speaker is directing towards the addressee. In Pavlou and Panagiotidis (in press), it is argued that *-nde* is a validation marker that shares the property of ‘unspecified’ direct experience that relates to the

² *De ke kala* and *de ke soni*, (‘no matter what’) can be translated as ‘willy-nilly’, to express that an action will happen whether you desire it or not.

direct experience coming from the speaker. CG *-nde* assigns the speaker/speakers himself/themselves as a reliable source of information, gained in unspecified time, who believes in the proposition expressed. The actual time of the action is irrelevant for the truth value of the proposition, hence there is no restriction on the use of the *-nde* suffix.

A validational marker in the sense assumed in Pavlou and Panagiotidis (in press) does not fall under the same category with evidentials, as evidentials are usually assumed to denote an already experienced event and *-nde* can be used for events not yet experienced. Given that an evidential marker designates a grammatical element that indicates the speaker's source of information (Anderson 1986) and it requires direct experience, *-nde* is not included in this classification based on its lack of tense restrictions. Consider the following example where a speaker, who has not experienced an action, can use *-nde* for a future event:

- (11) Enna pame-nde sto yamon
will go.nde-1PL to-the-ACC wedding-ACC
 'We will go to the wedding.'

In addition, the example in (12) appears in a context where the speaker refers to the future in the present context by using the past form of the verb to express that the action has supposedly been completed:

- (12) Ate efiame-nde!
come.on left.nde-1PL.
 'Let's go' [lit. 'We left']

This section gave the environments where *-nde* is allowed and the restrictions appearing with morphology or agreement. The restriction appearing with its appearance after no other inflection other than 1st person singular is believed to be associated with its semantic function in the clause, which is strongly associated with the speaker and the common experience she is referring to when describing the event. The data presented here, however, do not seem to suggest a strong relation of *-nde* with a morphological function and further suggests that it could interact with syntax and other structural restrictions. The following section investigates exactly the behavior of *-nde* in the clause with special reference to clitic placement in CG.

2.1 Implications from post-verbal clitic placement

Object clitic placement in CG is characterized by post-verbal placement of the clitic in simple declarative sentences and pre-verbal clitic placement in wh-questions, negation and *na*-clauses.

- (13) To akuse SMG declarative
it-CLI.3SG listened-3SG
 'S/he drank it'
- (14) Akuse ⁿdo CG declarative
lsitened-3SG it-CLI.3SG
 'S/he drank it'

- (15) Thelo na to akuso (*to) CG *na*-clause
want-1SG to it-CLI.3SG listen-1SG it-CLI.3SG
 ‘I want to hear it’
- (16) En to akuo (*to) CG negation
not-NEG it-CLI.3SG listen-1SG it-CLI.3SG
 ‘I am not listening it’
- (17) Pcos/Pu/Pote/Jati to akui (*to)? CG *wh*-question
who/where/when/why it-CLI.3SG listen-3SG it-CLI.3SG
 ‘Who is drinking it/ Where/when/why is he listening it?’

Post-verbal clitics³ are obligatory in the context of *en dze*:

- (18) En dze (*to) akusa to
not and it-CLI.3SG listened-1sg it-cli.3sg
 ‘I didn’t hear it’

Moreover, both placement options are possible with the complementizers *oti* ‘that’ and *jati* ‘because’ (19–20).

- (19) Kseri oti (to) akuses (to) CG *oti*-complementizer
knows-3SG that it-CLI.3SG listened-2SG it-CLI.3SG
 ‘She knows that you heard it’
- (20) Kseri jati (to) akuses (to) CG *jati*-complementizer
knows-3SG because it-CLI.3SG listened-2SG it-CLI.3SG
 ‘She knows because you heard it’

Finally, just like in SMG, only post-verbal clitics are allowed in imperative sentences⁴ (21).

- (21) Aku to CG imperative
eat-2SG it-CLI.3SG
 ‘Hear it’
- (22) *To aku
it-CLI.3SG listen-2SG
 ‘Hear it’

³ Other elements, like pronouns, can appear post-verbally in phrasal comparatives (see Merchant 2012 for a discussion on SMG). The following is an example for CG:

(1) En pcjo psilos tu
is.3SG more tall him-3P.GEN
 ‘He is taller than him’

⁴ Bošković (2006) argues that ‘affix hopping + copy and delete’ accounts for postverbal clitics in imperatives, with special reference to the possible appearance of dative-accusative and accusative-dative clitic orders in Greek. Postverbal clitic placement in imperatives is a matter of a switch forced by PF considerations, and not syntax.

Syntactic analyses of mixed clitic placement in CG (Agouraki, 2001; Terzi 1999a, 1999b) have suggested that the verb in CG moves to a higher position (CG is pro-drop) and generates the verb-clitic order. Agouraki proposes that the verb moves to C^0 in order to satisfy the ‘filled C' -criterion in CG. On a feature-based account, Terzi suggests that the verb needs to move to the Mood^o to satisfy strong V features. In both cases though, verb movement is assumed for the possibility of generating both positions.

When *-nde* appears on the verb, it is not allowed in the presence of a post-verbal clitic, as follows:

- (23) *Akusame-nde to
listened.nde-IPL. it-CLI.ACC
 ‘We listened it’

However, the same restriction does not appear in proclisis contexts, when *-nde* is not adjacent to a clitic.

- (24) Speaker A: Idete to ergo?
saw-2PL the-ACC movie-ACC
 ‘Have you seen the movie?’

Speaker B: Theloume na to dume-nde.
want-IPL to it-CLI.ACC see.nde-IPL
 ‘We want to see it’

(Neocleous, pc)

In other proclisis environments, like *wh*-questions, *-nde* can also be used:

- (25) a. Pci efame-nde sto trapezi?
who ate.nde-IPL at-the dinner
 ‘Who ate at the dinner?’
- b. Pci embu efame-nde sto trapezi?
who embu ate.nde-IPL at-the dinner
 ‘Who ate at the dinner?’

In the same context, *wh*-questions can appear with clitics with the use of *-nde*:

- (26) Pci to akusame-nde?
who it-CLI.ACC listened.nde-IPL
 ‘Who heard it?’

In negative environments, *-nde* can appear with a full DP (27).

- (27) En akusame-nde to trayuđi
not-NEG listened.nde-IPL the song-ACC
 ‘We did not listen the song’

With regard to clitic appearance and negation, variation can appear among the speakers (28).

- (28)(?) En to akusame-nde
not-NEG it-CLI.ACC listened.nde-1PL
 ‘We did not hear it’

These data show that *-nde* interacts with the syntactic environment and more particularly with post-verbal object clitic placement. Clitics can appear in the clause, if they do not appear adjacent to *-nde*, as in *wh*-questions, negation and *na*-clauses. What are the implications of this behavior? Could one say that a post-verbal clitic and *-nde* compete for the same position? Could it be a phonological restriction that originates from the adjacency of the two? Some possible suggestions will be outlined in Section 4, arguing for possible position of *-nde* in the clause. Importantly though, *-nde* does not seem to contribute to the morphological structure of the verb, but rather appears as part of the verb and affects syntactic elements positioned closed to it.

3 Affixation

Affixation of post-verbal clitics on the verb is not an unusual concept for languages that allow this. In a language like European Portuguese, also a mixed clitic placement language with certain restrictions on the syntactic environment (see Lobo and Costa 2012 for a more detailed discussion), has pronominal object clitics as mentioned for CG, but can also have clitics attaching to auxiliary verbs in the following contexts:

- (29) a. *tinha-me dado*
had-me-CLI given
 ‘has given me’
- b. *Vai-me dar*
go-me-CLIGive-INF
 ‘is going to give me’
- c. *vai dar-me*
go give-me-CLI

(Lobo, pc)

In Galves, Ribeiro and Moraes (2005) clitics in European Portuguese are defined as Infl-clitics and have a morpho-phonological property, subject to word formation rules like any other affixes. The clitic attachment to an auxiliary also appears as a possibility:

- (30) *tinham-se entendido perfeitamente*
and had-CLI.3SG understood perfectly
 ‘and they had understood each other perfectly’

(Galves, Ribeiro and Moraes 2005)

Enclitics attaching to auxiliaries in cases with a preposition appearing before the verb are also reported for European Portuguese.

- (31) O senhor está-me a guiar em silêncio
the sir is-CLI.ISG to lead in silence
 ‘You are leading me in silence’

(Galves, Ribeiro and Moraes 2005)

Given these examples, a late syntactic or post-syntactic process is assumed to reorder the syntax so that the phonological or morphological criteria are satisfied and that the special feature involved is responsible for this. In this analysis, the position of clitics is defined by morphological rules, like word affixes.

It is often the case that research on the topic has focused on arguing that post-verbal clitics in certain environments behave as suffixes (see Pycha, 2013 for a discussion on Spanish pronouns) on the verb. If clitics in this environment needs to fulfil a particular adjacency condition, or are thought as affixes than lexically prominent items, then the presence of *-nde* on the verb seems to act as an intervener between the clitic and the verb. Such an argument has not been supported for CG and there is no strong data to support this in a direct way as this would appear in Portuguese. However, it is necessary to emphasize that already existed literature (see also Mavrogiorgos, 2010) has emphasized in showing the possibility of affixation of a clitic following the verb in order to indicate the close relation of the post-verbal clitic and its host.

4 Possible scenarios

In this section, two possible scenarios will be discussed to argue for the position of the CG *-nde* following its distribution with object clitics, as discussed in the previous section. It has been argued in Section 2 that *-nde* does not contribute morphologically to the verb and in other words it does not carry any morphological features (i.e. inflectional features). The agreement restriction with 1st person plural is assumed to be a semantic restriction of the type met in other languages and referred to as speaker-oriented modality. It is further implied that *-nde* interacts with the syntax of the CG clause in a way discussed in the previous section and it therefore needs to be given a syntactic account for its distribution in the clause.

4.1 *-nde* as directly merged on the verb

By assuming that the originating position of a post-verbal pronominal clitic and *-nde* is definitely a different one, we cannot argue that the ungrammaticality found when the two exist in the same clause originates from competition for the same position. In fact, if post-verbal clitics placement is derived by verb movement, then the clitic position or any position associated with it is already occupied with the clitic.

One possible assumption argued in Pavlou and Panagiotidis (in press) is that *-nde* attaches to the verb before verb movement, and not after movement to a higher position like C (Agouraki, 2010) or Mood (Terzi, 1999a, 1999b), since it can appear with preverbal object clitics. Generating the clitic-verb or verb-clitic structure has been argued to depend on the movement of the verb to higher projections, which is commonly found in feature-driven verb movements in

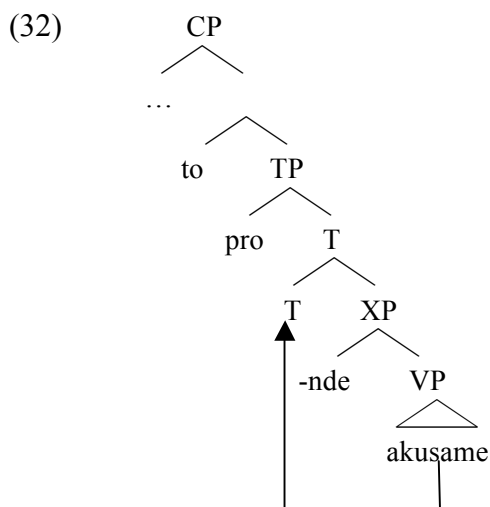
null-subject languages. The grammaticality of *-nde* with a pre-verbal clitic indicates that *-nde* can be merged with the verb while still in the vP and not in any other particular position to satisfy any features (Agouraki, 2010). If verb movement triggers the post-verbal placement in Cypriot Greek, it could be argued that the merge of *-nde* on the verb prevents verb movement to a higher position and only proclisis is allowed. The insertion of *-nde* may be a late insertion, since it does not satisfy any morphological features on the verb.

The other environments showing restrictions to post-verbal clitic placement, such as wh-questions, *na*-clause and negative environments, differ from the case of *-nde* in deriving obligatory proclitic environments. It should also be noted that all the environments restricting post-verbal clitic placement are found pre-verbally (wh-phrases, negation, *na*-head), but the restriction speakers claim to have with *-nde* can be seen only post-verbally, as *-nde* appears as a suffix on the verb. It could be, however, that another scenario argues better for the position of *-nde* in the syntax of CG and it is not actually post-verbally positioned as it appears to be.

4.2. *-nde* as a different projection

The assumption that *-nde* is inserted directly on the verb when treated solely as a morphological phenomenon firstly does not explain the assumption that the verb does not move in that case, and secondly the lack of theoretical motivation for morphology to assume that *-nde* is inserted to contribute to the morphological structure of the verb. Another possible scenario would want *-nde* to be inserted below T so that when the verb moves to T, it triggers fusion of the verb. The *-nde* head possibly blocks further movement of the verb to a higher projection, hence disallowing the overt appearance of a post-verbal clitic that is usually assumed to be in a higher position⁵ than TP in CG. In this scenario, post-verbal clitic placement in the presence of *-nde* is not disallowed because of an adjacency condition between the object clitic and the verb while *-nde* is intervening, but because of no movement of the verb to a higher position than the clitic.

For a proclitic environment involving an object clitic *to* ‘it’ appearing before the verb ...*to akusamende* ‘(we) heard it’, the following structure applies:



⁵ I will not discuss here whether this is a derived position or not, as this is a topic that deserves its own investigation and I will just focus on verb movement and how the latter interacts with the clitic in that higher position. Verb movement has been assumed also in Agouraki (2001) and Terzi (1999a, 1999b) to predict the possibility of post-verbal clitic placement.

In (32), the verb moves to T, hence deriving the linear order of the verb and *-nde*. Fusion of the two heads takes place then (whether this would be a phonological effect or a result of syntactic movement will not be discussed here). This assumption gives the correct order for other structures, such as negation, where proclisis is also observed.

This analysis gives a different view on the position of *-nde* in the clause, not as a morphological suffix, but rather an item (whatever category that is) that affixes on the verb and stops its movement to a higher position.

5 Conclusion

This paper investigates the distribution of the Cypriot Greek *-nde*, which appears as a suffix on the verb. It shows certain agreement restrictions, but these are assumed to originate from a possible speaker-oriented interpretation that it imposes to the semantics of the clause. Even though it appears as part of the CG verb, it is argued that this is actually a syntactic matter. One of the main reasons for this argument is the lack of relevant (overt) features functioning in the morphological derivation of the verb.

This phenomenon has been addressed with regard to post-verbal object clitics that CG allows in declarative contexts, but disallows in the presence of *-nde*. Two proposed analyses suggest that *-nde* actually targets the verb (Pavlou and Panagiotidis) or that it actually affixes to the verb by fusion, as long as the two appear in the relevant environment that allows them to do so. The latter follows the argument that the verb moves in CG, which gives the result of post-verbal clitic placement, but the fusion of *-nde* with the verb blocks further movement to a higher position. The most interesting point though is that following the speakers' intuitions the CG *-nde* interacts with the syntax of the clause, even if it does not form a syntactic element that can appear on its own.

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THE CYPRIOT GREEK *EMBU* AND CLEFT SENTENCES: AN INVESTIGATION OF THEIR (NON-)EXHAUSTIVE PROPERTIES

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The present research addresses exhaustivity effects in Cypriot Greek from an experimental point of view. It presents acceptability judgments of 187 native speakers, who were asked to provide answers that indicated exhaustivity effects in clefts and sentences employing the *embu*-strategy '(it)-is-(it)-that'. Our results suggest that *embu* is in the process of syntactic change which leads to receiving non-exhaustive interpretations of it. This finding implies that *embu* might not be analyzed as an underlying form of cleft, but rather as a fossilized item (Papadopoulou, in progress). The second finding is that clefts in Cypriot Greek are not unequivocally eliciting an exhaustive interpretation across speakers either. We discuss these results in relation to previous literature on *embu* and clefts in Cypriot Greek (Grohmann et al, 2006; Panagidou, 2009), as well as by establishing cross-linguistic comparisons with the status of clefts in other languages.

1 Introduction

This paper aims to provide a detailed examination of exhaustivity effects in cleft sentences and *embu*-structures in Cypriot Greek (hence, CG) in order to further assess claims related to their grammatical properties from a theoretical point of view. We first investigate the hypothesis that the CG *embu* has an underlying cleft structure (it)-is-(it)-that (Grohmann et al, 2006), which could possibly appear with an exhaustivity property that clefts are usually assumed to carry.¹ Contrasting the *embu*-structures with cleft sentences on the basis of exhaustivity, the results aimed to show the differences between the two based on speaker's judgments. More specifically, a written task using acceptability judgments based on short stories was carried out online. The

¹ CG is the variety of Modern Greek spoken in the southern territories of Cyprus. This variety has been frequently described as a dialect of Modern Greek and further classified as a southeastern dialect of Greek (Contossopoulos, 2000). It is not constitutionally recognized as an official language, hence the use of Standard Modern Greek in certain high registers.

results showed an unexpected variation of exhaustivity effects not only in relation to *embu*-structures, but also with respect to cleft sentences. Challenging the availability of bona fide clefts in CG, this paper will present experimental evidence in order to support the claim that prototypically exhaustive structures vary cross-linguistically.

It could be said that under standard assumptions the interpretation of a subject cleft (1) and an object cleft (2) should be exhaustive and presume that only the denotation of XP participates in the YP event.

- (1) En o andras pu pezi mappa.
is.3SG the.NOM man.ACC that play.2SG football.ACC
 ‘It is the man who plays football.’

- (2) En ton andra pu ides.
is.3SG the.ACC man.ACC that saw.2SG
 ‘It is the man that you saw.’

In the examples above, the ‘man’ is the unique individual that is reported by the speaker as being the object of the ‘seeing action’ in (2), while he is the individual identified as playing football in (1). This means that one cannot make an assumption that a ‘man’, a ‘woman’ or anyone else can be assumed to participate in the described events.

Embu ‘(it-)is-(it-)that’ is an element that appears optionally in *wh*-questions as well as declarative sentences, as in (3)-(4).

- (3) O Yannis embu eklotsisen tin mappan.
the.NOM John.NOM embu kicked.3SG the.ACC ball.ACC
 ‘It is John that kicked the ball.’

- (4) Tin mappan embu eklotsisen o Yannis.
the.ACC ball.ACC embu kicked.3SG the.NOM John.NOM
 ‘It is the ball that John kicked.’

Its syntactic representation has been addressed in two ways in the literature of CG syntax. In interrogative environments, Grohmann et al. (2006) adopt a split-CP analysis with a focus projection FocP whose specifier is filled by the cleft where the matrix clause is the complement of the C-head. The CP-domain remains empty and *pu* ‘that’ introduces the matrix clause in declarative contexts. Agouraki (2010) treats examples like (3) and (4) as clefts with pre-copular clefted constituents, which would be re-written as (5) and (6), while what will be referred to in this paper as *embu* in *wh*-question is suggested in her words as a case of *wh*-clefts (7).

- (5) O Yannis en pu eklotsisen tin mappan.
the.NOM John.NOM is that kicked.3SG the.ACC ball.ACC
 ‘It is John that kicked the ball.’

- (6) Tin mappan en pu eklotsisen o Yannis.
the.ACC ball.ACC is that kicked.3SG the.NOM John.NOM
 ‘It is the ball that John kicked.’

- (7) Pcus en pu θoris?
 who is.3SG that see.2SG
 ‘Who is it that you see?’

As argued by Papadopoulou (in progress), this analysis becomes problematic when we take into consideration that *embu* cannot inflect for Tense (**itabu* ‘was-(it)-that’) or be negated (**ennembu* ‘not-is-(it)-that’) in *wh*-questions, even though the copula in cleft sentences can show these properties. Papadopoulou suggests that *embu* has been grammaticalised as a fossilized focus element merged directly in C^0 .

The syntactic explorations of *embu* in CG have left the issue unresolved, as there are different reasons for supporting one or the other analysis from a theoretical point of view. The experiment presented here aimed at providing a novel test for understanding how *embu* works, by taking into consideration speaker’s judgments. If clefts, according to standard assumptions, are taken to always be exhaustive, then exhaustivity is a valid argument to support or not the hypothesis that *embu* forms a cleft.

In the following sections, we will discuss a cross-linguistic investigation of exhaustivity in clefts in pre-verbal positions, as has been reported in the literature so far. We challenge the standard claims about exhaustivity in such positions by presenting arguments pointing towards the direction of non-exhaustive clefts in CG. In Section 3, we will present the experimental material used, the methodology adopted and the results that support the idea that CG clefts should not be assumed as strictly exhaustive. The experimental approach followed is innovative for a linguistic study asking judgments in a written form from speakers of a variety without standard orthography, hence defining this study as very informative from different points of view.

2 Exhaustivity

The semantic composition of ‘it’-clefts in CG was proposed to consist of: a) the cleft clause that denotes a complex property, b) the property of the cleft clause that is saturated by the cleft constituent, c) the interpretation of the clefted constituent as new information, d) a vacuous copula (Agouraki, 2010). Delin and Oberlander (1995, 2005) support the idea that clefts are argued to convey uniqueness/exhaustive listing and presuppositional readings. We will, however, consider here the property of exhaustivity in CG clefts in an attempt to validate the current experiment as the one addressing the underlying structure of the CG *embu*.

The concept of exhaustivity in cleft structures discussed here is often referred to in the literature as the presuppositional (or ‘Focus-driven’) reading of the cleft. In fact, clefts are only one of the many environments such as focus positions, aspectual verbs, *again*, *too* etc. associated with presupposition. We will retain the term ‘exhaustivity’ though for clarification purposes as presuppositions can be used in many ways as well as be associated with many different structural positions. Exhaustivity, therefore, is the property identified in the interpretation of a sentence in which there is (usually) an individual *x* such that *x* is the unique salient individual in the domain of discourse that participates in the described event. In case that an individual *y* is also participating in the described event, then the interpretation of the sentence as exhaustive should be impossible or, in other words, the truth conditions of the proposition should come out as false.

For example, in the following sentence, ‘John’ is the unique individual in the domain such that ‘John’ is the argument of the function of ‘eating cake’.

(8) It is John that ate a cake.

Exhaustivity is often related, if not confused at times, with focus. Focus, however, can exist without exhaustivity. Kiss (1998) identified two types of focus, namely identificational and informational focus. One of them is expressing quantification-like operation, and the other expressing non-presupposed information. In her paper, she claims that identificational focus expresses exhaustive identification, but information focus marks the non-presupposed nature of the information it carries. Exhaustive identification can be expressed only by a constituent that is given in the preverbal identificational slot. Based on examples from Hungarian, it is argued that preverbal identificational focus expresses the exhaustive set of focused items/individuals, whereas postverbal focus does not express exhaustive identification. Identificational focus is defined as:

(9) Identificational focus

It represents a subset of the set of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold; It is identified as the exhaustive subset of this set for which the predicate phrase actually holds.

(Kiss, 1998: 249)

A further test is given in Kiss (1998), where the Hungarian example can be contradicted with the sentence in (10b), but the same would not apply to an English cleft, prototypically thought as exhaustive:

(10)a. Mari EGY KALAPOT nezett ki maganak
Mary a hat.ACC picked out herself.DAT

b. Nem, egy kabatot is kinezett
no a coat.ACC also out-picked

CG clefts can also take this contradiction, possibly suggesting that exhaustivity is not very strong.

(11)a. En to kapelo pu egorasen i Maria.
is the.ACC hat.ACC that buy.3SG the.NOM Maria.NOM
 ‘It is the hat that Maria bought.’

b. Oi, egorase tzie sakuin.
no, buy.3SG and coat.ACC
 ‘No, she bought a coat, too.’

Another well-known test is the ‘among others’ use with the focused phrase.

- (12) Péter többek között MARIT csókolta meg.
Peter among others Mary.ACC kissed PRF
 ‘Peter kissed Mary, among others’ (Onea and Beaver 2011: 17)

The pre-verbal focus here is clearly not exhaustive, as the focused argument is found with the ‘among others’ phrase, which clearly defined the existence of more individuals than the specified argument claims to be. Similarly, the CG cleft would succeed in this test:

- (13) En tin Maria anamesa/mazi me alus pu efilisen
is.3SG the.ACC Mary.ACC between/together with others that kiss.3SG
 o Petros
the.NOM Peter.NOM
 ‘It is Mary among others that Peter kissed’.

It-clefts in CG have been studied in the past (Agouraki, 2010) as constructed by ‘late’ merging of the clefted constituent that completes the missing part of the property denoted by the cleft sentence. Agouraki also notes that it-clefts in CG do not necessarily mark presuppositions, contrary to the general accepted assumption. These claims are based on the fact that cleft sentences can be uttered in contexts without any presupposition of already existent information or contradiction to already known information. Gryllia and Lekakou (2006) and Fotiou (2009) though support the claim that clefted constituents can have new information or contrastive information.

A challenge on the semantic properties of CG clefts which suggests that the clefted XP is not always linked to an exhaustive interpretation (Panagidou, 2009: 18), follows similar claims made by Prince (1978) and Doetjes et al. (2004) for English and French. Following Prince’s terminology, Panagidou provides examples of “informative-presupposition clefts” that intend to present statements as facts without an exhaustive interpretation. However, Panagidou’s examples of non-exhaustive clefts involve PP rather than DP as the clefted constituent. Yet, following standard assumptions, these PPs denote properties of entities and not entities in the discourse world.

The discussion above shows that there is a complex interplay between focus and exhaustivity. In fact, exhaustivity is often related to a separate feature that performs identification (Kenesei, 1986; Szabolcsi, 1994) or an Exhaustive Identification Operator merged with a focus phrase (Horvath 2005) that takes place in the syntax-semantics interface. Exhaustivity can be thought as part of focus, given that the latter functions as a main predicate specifying the reference of the set as defined by the backgrounded focus expressed (Kiss, 1998).

There are certain environments that exhaustivity can be restricted, such as the one with the distribution of adverbs. Bende-Farkas (2009) discusses that the appearance of focus structures in the clause provide semantic partition, which can be tested with the placement of an adverb in the focus position. Following a Focus-frame-Focus-division approach, the appearance of an adverb in the focus position restricts focus to strict exhaustivity, while its absence allows the clefted constituent to be non-exhaustive. We give a similar example to the one cited in Bende-Farkas (2009), but in CG:

- (14) a. En ton Yanni pu nika sti mappa
is.3SG the.ACC John.ACC that win.3SG to-the.ACC football.ACC
 i Maria.
the.NOM Maria.NOM
 ‘It is John that Maria beats in football.’

- b. En panda ton Yanni pu nika sti
is.3SG always the.ACC John.ACC that win.3SG to-the.ACC
 mappa i Maria.
football.ACC the.NOM Maria.NOM.
 ‘It is always John that Maria beats in the football.’

According to this observation, it should not be the case that (14a) defined *Yanni* as the only person beaten by *Maria*, but *Maria* can be the winner of a football game with other people, too (perhaps, in a different time and place setting). The use of the panda ‘always’ in (14b) restricts the exhaustivity property in the use of *Yanni* only; any assumption of other individuals beaten by *Maria* should give the wrong truth conditions for the sentence.

A further observation with regard to exhaustivity and adverb placement can be seen in (15). The post-verbal placement of adverbs can have narrow scope as in (15b), where the interpretation of the sentence is that *Maria* beats *Yanni* always in football, but not necessarily in other sports. However, *Yannis* cannot form the exhaustive set of individuals beaten by *Maria* in football; In fact, we cannot know who else is beaten by her. In (15a) though, the exhaustivity on *Yannis* as the unique individual beaten by *Maria* is still existent, even though a short pause before the adverb in the same sentence changes the scope of the adverb and gives it a narrow scope over *Maria*. A third interpretation scoping over football is given if *sti mappa* ‘at football’ is pronounced with focus, hence contradicting the lack of availability of other sports in our domain.

- (15) a. En ton Yanni pu nika sti mappa
is.3SG the.ACC John.ACC that win.3SG to-the.ACC football.ACC
 panda i Maria.
always the.NOM Maria.NOM.
 ‘It is John that Maria always beats in the football’.

- b. En ton Yanni pu nika panda sti mappa
is.3SG the.ACC John.ACC that beat.3SG always to-the.ACC football.ACC
 i Maria.
the.NOM Maria.NOM
 ‘It is John that Maria always beats in the football.’

More recent work has focused not only on isolating the environments in which exhaustivity exists without any doubt, but also showing that some languages do not necessarily have exhaustivity with pre-verbal focus. More specifically, Onea and Beaver (2011) show that Hungarian speakers tend not to deny utterances with pre-verbal foci when the associated exhaustivity claim is false (does not correspond to the truth conditions of the event), hence contradicting previous claims for the direct link between exhaustivity and pre-verbal focus (Kiss, 1998, among others).

Pursuing this argument shows that research on exhaustivity and its different distribution throughout the clause is yet understudied and that common assumptions, such as the one standardly assumed about focus and exhaustivity especially in the environment of a cleft is significantly challenged. Our experimental approach aims not only to address language-specific exhaustivity patterns with reference to the variety in question, but also to make a contribution to the literature of cross-linguistic discussion on exhaustivity.

3 Our experimental approach

In an attempt to test the hypothesis mentioned in section 1 above we have designed the Cypriot Greek Exhaustive (**Embu*) Clefts (CyGEEC) experiment. This truth value judgement task focused on teasing apart *embu* and cleft structures' exhaustivity through the presentation of 6 stories. A description of the participants is found in section 3.1 with a brief description of the methodology used in section 3.2, followed by a detailed description of the results in section 3.3.

3.1 Participants

CyGEEG was administered to 187 participants aged 18 – 45+, who were divided in three age groups (AG). 148 participated in the youngest AG (age range of 18-30) namely AG1, 25 in the second AG (age range of 30-45) namely AG2, and, 14 in the third AG (age range of 45+) namely AG3 (Table 1 below). Most participants across AGs were female, 115 in total, and 128 in total have had university level education.

Age group	Age range	Number of participants	Gender		Education		
			male	female	Lyceum	College	University
AG1	18 – 30	148	33	115	39	5	104
AG2	30 – 45	25	32	68	1	3	21
AG3	45 +	14	7	7	10	1	3
	Total	187	72	115	50	9	128

Table 1. Participants

Since number of participants across AGs was not balanced, a proportional approach is provided in section 3.3 below.

3.2 Methodology

The CyGEEG experiment involved the presentation of six stories, namely, three object (O) and three subject (S) stories, with 40 test and 12 control items, across three pairs of verbs, agents and nouns (see Leivada et al. 2013 for a detailed description of the experiment and the stimuli presented). The six stories were divided in three categories namely,

- (i) 2, one S and one O, stories that allowed for *embu* (non)exhaustive interpretations as in (16a) and (16b) respectively
- (ii) 2, one S and one O, stories that allowed for cleft (non)exhaustive interpretations as in (17a) and (17b) respectively
- (iii) 2, one S and one O, stories that allowed for both *embu* and cleft (non)exhaustive interpretations.

(16) a. I Lena *embu* epetaksen tin mappan mes
the.NOM Lena.NOM (it)-is-(it)-that throw.3SG the.ACC ball.ACC in
ton kalathon.
the.ACC bin.ACC

‘It is Lena that threw the ball in the bin’

b. Tin mappan *embu* epetaksen mes ton kalathon
the.ACC ball.ACC (it)-is-(it)-that throw.3S in the.ACC bin.ACC
i Lena.
the.NOM Lena.NOM

‘It is the ball Lena threw in the bin’

(17) a. **En** i Lena **pu** epetaksen tin mappan mes
is.3SG the.NOM Lena.NOM that throw.3SG the.ACC ball.ACC in
ton kalathon.
the.ACC bin.ACC

‘It is Lena that threw the ball in the bin.’

b. **En** tin mappan **pu** epetaksen mes ton kalathon
is.3SG the.ACC ball.ACC that throw.3SG in the.ACC bin.ACC
i Lena.
the.NOM Lena.NOM

‘It is the ball that Lena threw in the bin.’

All conditions were distributed within age groups and randomized, resulting in 5 test items and 2 controls for categories (i) and (ii) above and 10 test items and 2 controls for category (iii).

Participants were presented with a story and then were asked to judge whether the sentence following was ‘true according to the story’ or not. One sentence corresponding to one interpretation (exhaustive or not) was showed on the screen at a time. The task was administered online through the research tool Survey Monkey (<http://www.surveymonkey.com>) and promoted through social networking, mainly Facebook. For this reason the Facebook writing, a rather spontaneous orthographical system used by Greek Cypriot speakers, was used. In particular, this is represented by the Latin alphabet with the simplest phonological adaptation with regard to more complex sounds in CG, while at the same time avoiding any possible effects from written CG and the non-existence of an official CG-writing system (see Leivada et al, 2013 for a detailed description).

3.3 Results

This section provides a description and a short analysis of the results obtained. All graphs and tables are divided in the three AGs mentioned in section 3.1, namely, AG1 18-30, AG2 30-45 and AG3 45 and above and all scores correspond to percentage calculated for the “Correct according to the story” answers. Number of the story always corresponds to the order of presentation of each story with story 1 being the first story and story 6 being the last one presented to the participants. Stories are always presented in pairs according to the three categories mentioned in the previous section (category (i) refers to stories 1 and 6, category (ii) to stories 2 and 4 and category (iii) to stories 3 and 5) and the items correspond to the actual item order presentation. Following Figure 1 and the options available, story items were re-coded according to the number of nouns serving as subjects or objects (either Ss or Os) involved in the action. Precisely, when one subject or one object was involved in the action (as already given in the brief story setting provided to the speakers) the item was renamed as *embu* 1 (E1) or cleft 1 (C1), when two nouns were used *embu* 2 (E2) and cleft 2 (C2) and when 3 nouns were involved were renamed as *embu* 3 (E3) and cleft 3 (C3).

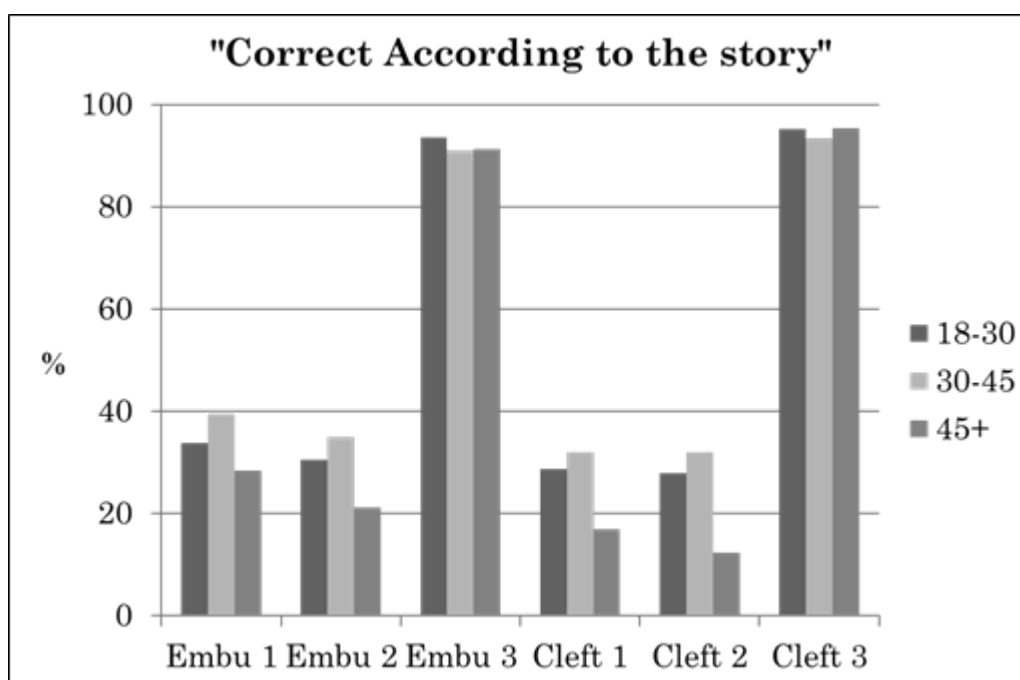


Figure 1. Overall acceptance in all stories

As expected, all participants across all stories accepted *embu* 3 and cleft 3 at the highest rate, since these are the exhaustive interpretations and are always true according to the story. AG1 and AG2 accept at similar rates (28% - 39.5%) *embu* 1, *embu* 2, cleft 1 and cleft 2 whereas, AG3 accepts less all conditions (13% - 29%) with all conditions involving two nouns, namely *embu* 2 and cleft 2, always being lower than *embu* 1 and cleft 1 respectively.

Even though, AG3 accepts *embu* 1 less than any other two AGs as depicted in Figure 1 above, in the overall acceptance of all stories, it seems to be the group with the highest (64.2%) acceptance for the first appearance of *embu* 1 in the first story (Story 1) of the experiment (Table 2).

Condition		E1	E2	E3	E2	E1		
Item order		1	2	3	4	5		
Story 1	18-30	58.8	44.6	93.2	38.5	40.5		
	30-45	56	44	96	44	44		
	45+	64.2	50	86	21	29		
Condition				E3	E2	E1	E1	E2
Item order				1	2	3	4	5
Story 6	18-30			95.3	25.7	25.7	26.4	27.7
	30-45			92	32	36	36	36
	45+			93	14.2	14.2	21	21

Table 2. Category (i) – Stories 1 and 6

The first *embu* 1 appearance receives the highest acceptance rates (58.8% for AG1, 56% for AG2 and 64.2% for AG3) of all other *embu* 1 and *embu* 2 of the two stories of category (i); since it is the only item that is not biased by any other option. All other *embu* 1 and *embu* 2 instances are of lower acceptance rates than the first *embu* 1 and *embu* 2 appearance. All *embu* 2 instances are lower than *embu* 1 cases across all AGs and all stories. This alone suggests participants are more eager to accept non-exhaustive interpretation for *embu* rather than an exhaustive one; for category (i) stories.

Importantly, acceptance rates for cleft 1 and cleft 2 are lower than *embu* acceptance rates across all AGs, with AG2 showing the highest acceptance, 36% for Cleft 2, story 5 (Table 3 below) suggesting a possible difference between *embu* and cleft structures. Again AG3 seems to be the most conservative of the three groups by accepting Cleft 1 at maximum 14.2% and Cleft 2 at maximum 21%. As noted earlier the sentence with 3 nouns, namely, cleft 3 is accepted at nearly 100% (95.9% -100%).

Condition		C3	C2	C1	C1	C2			
Items order		1	2	3	4	5			
Story 3	18-30	95.9	25.7	25.7	25.7	25.7			
	30-45	96	32	32	32	32			
	45+	100	7.1	7.1	7.1	7.1			
Condition					C1	C2	C3*	C2	C1
Item order					1	2	3	4	5
Story 5	18-30				29.7	27.7	8.8	28.4	28.4
	30-45				32	36	23	32	32
	45+				14.2	21	14.2	14.2	14.2

*This item had 3 nouns but it had the wrong ones hence it had to be noted as wrong.

Table 3. Category (ii) Stories 3 and 5

Category (iii) stories (Table 4 below) with both *embu* and cleft structures within the same story did not deviate from previous results with *embu* 1 and 2, and cleft 1 and 2, receiving the lowest acceptance rates across all AGs when compared to *embu* 3 and cleft 3. AG3 seems to be again the most conservative group of all hence accepts as true less any *embu* 1 and 2 and cleft 1 and 2 option.

Condition	C1	E1	C2	C1	E1	E2	C3	E1	E3	C2	
Items order	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Story 2	18–30	32.4	27	29.1	30.4	29.7	27	93.9	27.7	91.9	28.4
	30–45	32	28	28	32	36	32	92	40	84	32
	45+	36	7.1	0	21	21	14.2	93	36	93	7.1
Condition	E1	C2	E2	E1	C1	C2	E3	C1	C3	E2	
Item order	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Story 4	18–30	32.4	27.7	26.4	29.1	29.7	30.4	93.9	27	95.9	27.7
	30–45	36	32	36	32	28	32	92	36	92	28
	45+	21	21	21	21	14.2	21	93	21	93	21

Table 4. Category (iii) – Stories 2 and 4

The data indicate a complex approach to clefts and the CG *embu* as exhaustive or non-exhaustive that varies depending on the age groups involved in the experiment. The interpretation of these data with regard to the underlying syntax of clefts and *embu* in CG as well as the contribution to the literature of exhaustivity will be discussed in the following section.

4 Discussion

The starting point of this research was to provide a valid means of challenging the two syntactic hypotheses for the underlying structure of the Cypriot Greek *embu*, as these have been described in section 1. Surprisingly enough, not only the results presented in the previous section put us in a crossroad of possible scenarios, but also provided much more implications about the possible interpretations of these sentences by Greek Cypriot speakers. This section will be structured in a way that first addresses the main point of this paper, namely, the consequences of our finding for the syntax of *embu* and clefts in CG. We will then expand on possible external factors, as these seem to appear in the data presented. Last, one of the key contributions of this research is considered to be the finding that clefts in CG do not necessarily appear as exhaustive, hence validating some of the previous research mentioned in Section 2.

The two hypotheses regarding the underlying structure of *embu* in CG, an element optionally appearing in both *wh*-questions and declarative sentences, were contradictive with regard to the underlying structure of it. Grohmann et al. (2006) supported the idea that *embu* is an underlying form of a cleft, by assuming a more complex structure in a bi-clausal form. A much simpler

account (Papadopoulou, in progress) wants this interesting phenomenon in CG to be a fossilized form of a more complex structure, possibly a cleft, which occupies a focus position and acts as a focus marker. While different theoretical arguments favor different approaches, our results suggest that, from a synchronic point of view, the analysis offered in Papadopoulou (in progress), whose claims are based on the unacceptability of an inflected copula in the *embu* form (lit. *en + pu* ‘is+ that’), could perhaps be a simpler way to explain the issue at stake. Other factors, however, might also intervene such as the labelling of that copula as ‘vacuous’ (Agouraki, 2010), which might suggest that semantic restrictions can also impose morphosyntactic restrictions, such as inflections.

Our hypotheses were based on the exhaustivity condition as prototypically assumed to exist in clefts. If clefts in CG are exhaustive, then *embu* has an underlying form of a cleft, if speakers always provide the exhaustive set of possible individuals (incl. persons and objects) as a response to that utterance. If speakers do not follow this pattern, then *embu* is not necessarily exhaustive and hence, the theory might lead us to claim that *embu* is a fossilized focus complementizer as argued by Papadopoulou (in progress). The question still remains: Do we have strong evidence to support one theory over another?

The results presented in Section 3 may lead the reader to think that the answer to this question is still not clear. In these results, one can observe a very interesting pattern. Older populations of Greek Cypriot speakers have shown a tendency for the acceptance of *embu* as exhaustive (Figures 2.1 and 2.2), hence supporting an underlying cleft analysis. Younger populations though tend to take *embu* as non-exhaustive, suggesting its possible fossilization or simplification. This leads us to think of a possibly syntactic change for *embu*, from a more complex cleft structure to a more simplified lexical item. If this claim is valid, then both theories are accordingly on the right way, with the Grohmann et al. (2006) study observing the similarity of *embu* with a cleft structure and Papadopoulou (in progress) carefully considering restrictions of *embu* in the clausal domain.

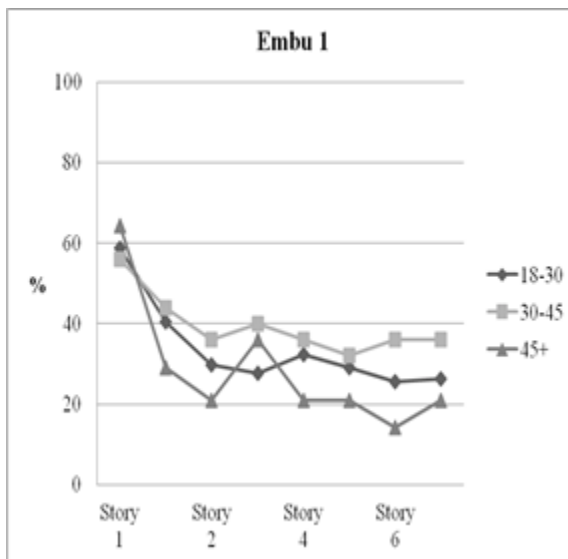


Figure 2.1 Embu 1

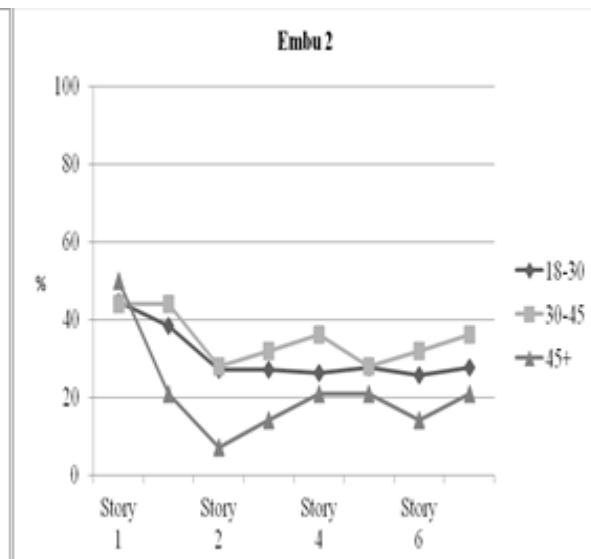


Figure 2.2 Embu 2

The story, however, does not end here, as our data suggest that clefts are not what we might have assumed them to be. In other words, clefts in CG are shown to be both exhaustive and non-

exhaustive. As indicated in Figures 4.3 and 4.4 below it is clear that 45+ accept less non-exhaustive clefts with one (cleft 1) and/or two (cleft 2) arguments, whereas 18-30 and 30-45 accept at similar rates both cleft 1 and cleft 2.

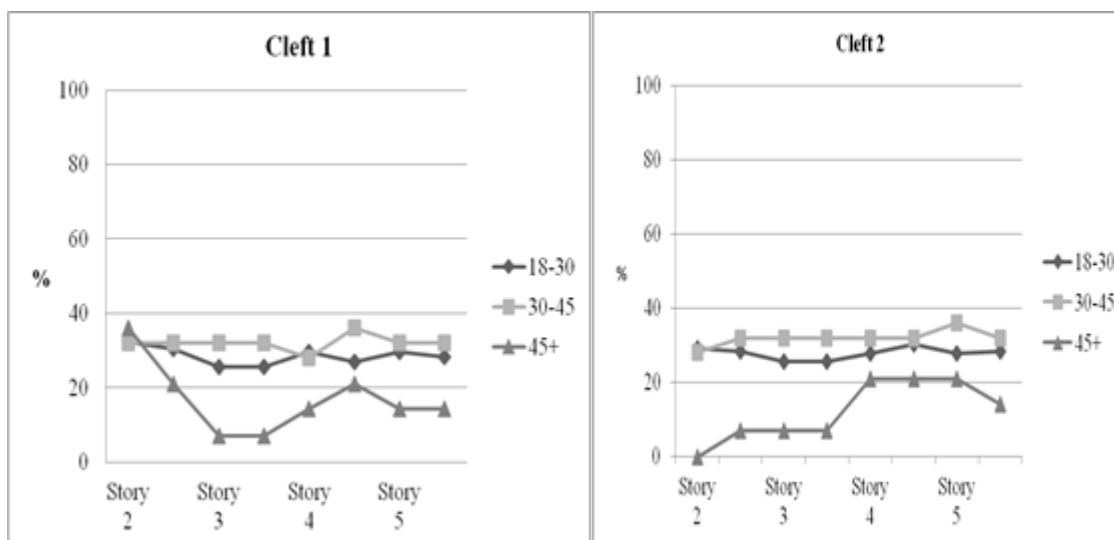


Figure 2.3 Cleft 1

Figure 2.4 Cleft 2

While this has not been clearly indicated before for CG, it has certainly been a claim for languages like Hungarian. The discussion on the relation of focus, clefts and exhaustivity in Section 2 comes to play its role here. Pre-verbal focus has been shown to be non-exhaustive in Hungarian and clefts form an example of well-attested pre-verbal focus. The data in this paper provided the ground for our second major claim; that is, clefts in CG are not necessarily exhaustive, but variation seems to exist among the speakers. This related to the case of Hungarian, where exhaustivity is not found in structural positions prototypically assumed as the first candidates. This consequently leads to the following question: If exhaustivity is not a necessary property of clefts in CG, what are the positions that obligatorily impose the exhaustivity conditions (if there are any)? A more general question should also address the similarities between Hungarian and Cypriot Greek in allowing optionality in the appearance of the exhaustivity condition in pre-verbal focus positions, such as clefts or the degree to which similar analyses can be provided for other languages, as well.

In fact, recent work (Destruel, 2012) has shown that French clefts are non-exhaustive either. Following Onea and Beaver (2011), Destruel studied the meaning and use of French *C'est* clefts and showed that exhaustivity in the particular constructions is not as strong as in an exclusive canonical sentence. These supports only confirm the initial observation for the lack of association of exhaustivity and pre-verbal focus in Hungarian for other languages, too; In fact, it would not be surprising if clefts do not show a strong expression of exhaustivity in other languages than those already mentioned.

The study started out by investigating a language-specific structure using a universal condition as its measurement, but the results strongly suggest that exhaustivity is incorrectly perceived as a condition often associated with particular syntax. Exhaustivity appears to be much more complex than simply word orders and structure, given that prosody can also intervene with it- as in the case of *wh*-questions, and also different degrees of its use by speakers.

5 Conclusion

This paper aimed to address the hypothesis that *embu* '(it-)is-(it-)that' is an underlying form of cleft as well as deciphering exhaustivity effects between cleft and *embu*-structures in CG. Participants were asked to judge, in an online written task, whether 12 declarative sentences were true in relation to each of 6 stories provided. The hypotheses were targeting to show that if *embu* is a focus Complementizer, it should allow for a non-exhaustive interpretation. In case it unequivocally allows for a non-exhaustive interpretation then it should be analysed as a grammaticalised focus Complementiser in line with what Papadopoulou (in progress) has proposed. Second, if *embu* is an underlying form of cleft, it should only allow for an exhaustive interpretation. Given the lack of previous literature on acceptability of cleft sentences in CG, the initial hypothesis was that the structure 'it is XP that YP' is a bona fide 'English type' cleft and it should only allow for an exhaustive interpretation. If both 'it is XP that YP' and *embu* allow for non-exhaustive interpretation, then neither of them could arguably be analyzed as a bona fide cleft.

The results showed that both 'it is XP that YP' and *embu* allow for non-exhaustive interpretation, hence neither can be analyzed as a bona fide cleft. This finding relates to the first hypothesis that since 'it is XP that YP' is not a bona fide 'English type' cleft, it does *not only* allow for an exhaustive interpretation. Given this finding, the universality of the exhaustivity condition as always present in cleft structures is challenged and the exploration of the different interpretations in terms of exhaustivity effects that speakers give, as well as the hypothesis that particular syntactic configurations can predict, remains to be further studied.

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ROMANCE VERBAL LOANS IN MODERN GREEK DIALECTS*

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1 Premises and Assumptions

The notion of loan word is particularly complex, more than one can think of. A language does not borrow a word in a mechanic or uniform way, or just because an equivalent term is missing from its vocabulary. Loan words are adopted under different and variable conditions, depending on various factors, such as the properties of the two languages in contact, the historical circumstances, the geographic area, the socio-linguistic context, the degree of bilingualism.

In this paper, I will examine the ‘accommodation’ of Romance loan verbs in those Modern Greek (MG) dialects which, in certain periods of their history, underwent change due to contact with specific Romance dialects. The Greek dialects are those of South Italy, Ionian islands, Crete, Cyprus and Lesbos, and the Romance dialects are principally Salentino and Venetian.

I will show that the integration of verbs of foreign origin in the recipient language, that is, MG dialects, follows more than one strategy and is constrained by several both internal and external factors:

- (a) The major characteristics of Greek native morphology, namely, the structure of Greek verbs to contain a stem and an overt inflectional ending as well as the basic property of most Greek verbs to display two stem allomorphs, one for the -perfective context and another for the +perfective one.

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- (b) The degree of productivity of the derivational suffix which may be used as an integrating element.
- (c) High command of the dominant language and the speaker's consciousness of its structure, which do not necessarily imply extensive borrowing.

2 The Dialectal Data

In this section, I will examine the Greek dialects which have been affected by Romance, either because the dialect has been spoken in Italy, since ancient times, or because its speakers and geographic area have been under Italian rule, namely Venetian (or Genovese), for more than one century. I will begin the description with the two most affected dialects due to language contact, Grekanico and Heptanesian. I will continue with Cypriot and Cretan which underwent a minor influence, and will conclude with Lesbian where the Romance influence is also noticeable but in a lesser extent.

2.1 Grekanico (Griko and Bovese)

The Greek speaking dialectal enclaves in Italy are located in Puglia (area of Salento, the so-called Grecia Salentina) and Calabria (the Bovese area), and the dialect (the so-called Grekanico) competes with both the local Romance varieties and Italian, the official language of the state (Fanciullo, 2001; Manolessou, 2005: 106). Grekanico in Calabria presents a rapid decrease and Katsoyannou (1995) mentions that there are no more than 500 native speakers left, while several villages are deserted. In contrast, in Puglia (Griko), it seems to be resisting, although native competence has been confined to elderly people. Today, there are about nine Griko-speaking villages (Calimera, Castrignano dei Greci, Corigliano di Otranto, Martano, Martignano, Melpignano, Soleto, Sternatia, and Zollino), where speakers communicate in Griko mostly in family (Profili, 1985).¹

Griko and Bovese present a number of differences (see, among others, Rohlf's, 1933, 1997; Karanastasis, 1997). These differences, however, are not as significant as to consider Griko and Bovese to be different dialectal systems; they constitute varieties of the same dialect, Grekanico. For the purpose of this paper, I will restrict my attention to Griko, some verbal loans of which are listed below. All of them originate from Salentino, the local Romance dialect of the area.

(1) <i>Loan</i>	<i>Salentino</i>	<i>Greek integrating element</i>
kunteo 'to narrate'	kuntare	-e(v)-
nutrieko 'to feed'	nutricare	
resceo 'to succeed'	riuscire	
vombikeo 'to vomit'	vombikare	

¹ See Profili (1985), Telmon (1992), Katsoyannou (1995) and Manolessou (2005) for details about the socio-linguistic situation in the Greek speaking areas of South Italy.

As illustrated in (1), Griko verbal loans retain only the Romance root; the Romance ending is truncated and replaced by the corresponding Greek one. The use of Greek inflection with loan roots finds an explanation in several studies dealing with language contact (Thomason 2001, Matras, 2009), where it is stated that for a recipient language, it is relatively easy to borrow a lexical item but particularly difficult to adopt a functional element, since the latter is relevant to structure which is hard to change. The link between the Salentino root and the Greek ending is established by an integrating element *-e-*. Thus, Griko has followed the so-called *indirect strategy* for accommodating verbs into its system (Wichmann and Wohlgemuth, 2008: 97), according to which an affix is usually required in order for the verb to inflect according to the inflectional pattern of the recipient.

Crucially, the verbalizer *-e-* is nothing but the well-known derivational suffix, *-ev-*, which is used in Greek derivational structures to create verbs out of nouns or adjectives, since ancient times, as shown by Ralli (2012b) and illustrated by the following examples:

(2) *Standard Modern Greek* (SMG)

- a. xor(os)² > xor-ev-o
 'dance' 'I dance'
 b. ayri(os) ayri-ev-o
 'wild' 'I become wild'

In Griko, *-ev-* has lost its final /v/ due to a phonological law which erases voiced fricative consonants in intervocalic position (Karanastasis, 1997: 34-35):

- | | | |
|--------------------|------------|-----------|
| (3) <i>Griko</i> | <i>SMG</i> | |
| leome | leyome | 'we say' |
| strao ³ | stravos | 'twisted' |
| simai | simaði | 'mark' |

However, this /v/ surfaces when it is followed by a consonant, as is the case of the past tense (aorist), where the stem ending in /v/ is combined with the perfective marker *-s-*.⁴ As further noticed by Karanastasis (1997: 34), the cluster /vs/ becomes by assimilation /fs/ and ultimately /ts/ being subject to the so-called 'tsitacism' phenomenon:

- (4) *Griko*
- a. kore-o
 dance-IMPERF.PRES.1sg
 'I dance'
- b. korev-s-a > korefsa > koretsa
 dance-PERF.PAST.1sg
 'I danced'

² *-os* in parenthesis is the inflectional ending expressing case (nominative) and number (singular). Note that in Greek, the nominative singular form is the citation form for nouns and adjectives.

³ In Griko, there is no word-final /s/ due to the dialect's preference for open syllables.

⁴ In Greek, there is no difference between stems and roots on synchronic grounds (Ralli, 2005). Thus, in this paper, the term 'stem' covers both historical roots and stems.

2.2 Heptanesian

Heptanesian is the dialect spoken on the islands of the Ionian sea, Corfu, Kephallonia, Zante, Ithaca and Paksí (Kontosopoulos. 2001: 67), which were under Venetian rule for almost four or five centuries (ca end of 14th – end of 18th c.), depending on the island.⁵ The inhabitants of Leukada, another Ionian island, speak a dialect which shares many similarities with the group of northern Greek dialects due to the proximity of the island to the Greek mainland and also because it was under Venetian rule for a shorter period of time (it was taken by Venice only in 1664).

Heptanesian displays features imported through contact with Venetian, and also through contact with Italian, the official language used in administration and education (Fanciullo, 2008).⁶ During a long period that goes from the end of the 14th c. to 1847, Venetian and Italian remained the dominant language of the upper class. However, peasants and people of the lower class kept communicating in Greek (Salvanos, 1918), and only few had some command of Venetian. According to some statistic figures of 1849 (Soldatos, 1967-8: 100), in Corfu, 200.000 people were Greek speakers, 6000 were bilingual, 1000 spoke basically Venetian and/or Italian but had some knowledge of Greek, and only 100 people were reported to be exclusively Venetian/Italian speakers. Crucially, the contact effects on Heptanesian are mostly visible in the vocabulary, and to some extent in phonology (mainly in intonation) and morphology (introduction of certain affixes, like the noun forming suffix *-ada* < Venetian *-ada*), while there are almost no changes on the syntactic level. Many loanwords of Venetian/Italian origin are items related to registers of trade, administration, culture, and social life. In contrast, basic vocabulary items and terms referring to nature, religion, and emotions remained Greek. Nowadays, Heptanesian is slowly abandoned by its speakers and is dying out under the pressure of SMG.

(5) <i>Loan</i>	<i>Venetian</i>	<i>Greek integrating element</i>
desponero 'to dispose'	dispóner /despóner	ø
fioriro 'to blossom'	fiorir	
patiro 'to suffer'	patir	
imitaro 'to imitate'	imitar	
jarbujaro 'to confuse'	ingarbugiar	
protestaro 'to protest'	protestar	

Interestingly, while the Griko speakers seem to have analyzed the Salentino verbal loans and this analysis has led to the retention of the root and the substitution of the Romance endings for the

⁵ Corfu was the first to undergo Venetian domination, as early as 1387, while Venetians occupied the other islands during the 15th century.

⁶ According to Fanciullo (2008), from the 16th century, a sort of diglossia was used in the Republic of Venice. Italian was the language of administration, while Venetian was the variety used for daily communication. This situation was also transferred to areas ruled by Venice, among which, the Ionian islands.

Greek ones, Heptanesian speakers follow a different path in borrowing Venetian verbs: as shown in (5), the entire infinitival word, i.e. root and ending (*-ar*, *-er/-ír*), is retained. For example, the Venetian verbs *protestár* ‘protest’, *despóner* ‘dispose’ and *patír* ‘suffer’ appear in Heptanesian as *protestaro*, *desponero* and *patiro*, respectively. This strategy of accommodating verbs could be considered to belong to the so-called *direct insertion* (Wichmann and Wohlgenuth, 2008: 99), according to which verbs of the donor language are plugged directly into the verbal morphology of the recipient, while occasionally, there may be only slight phonological modifications.

2.3 Cretan

For more than four centuries (1211–1669), the island of Crete was ruled by Venice. During this period, and due to contact with the Italian renaissance, the island experienced an impressive bourgeoning of the arts, but only in the 15th and 16th c. because Venice proved to be a particularly despotic ruler: Cretans were not allowed to be educated in Greek or practice their religion and often revolted against foreign domination (Maltezou, 1988). From the beginning of the 15th century, this flourishing is mainly depicted in literature and painting and as far as the language is concerned several Venetian words entered the Cretan vocabulary. It should be noticed that similarly to Griko and Heptanesian, these words underwent hellenicization, that is, nouns, adjectives and verbs accepted a Greek inflectional ending. With respect to verbs, some occurrences are still in use, typical examples of which are listed below:

(6) a. <i>Cretan</i>	<i>Venetian</i>	<i>Greek integrating element</i>
tsetaro ‘to accept’	acctetar	∅
stimaro ‘to estimate’	stimar	
ruvaro ‘to steal’	rubar	
riyosiro ‘to succeed’	riuscir	
stupiro ‘to amaze’	stupir	
<i>but also</i>		
b. aviserno ‘to advise’	avisar	–n– (?)
skapeterno ‘to escape’	scapar	
and		
c. abonderevo ‘to abound’	abbondar	–ev–
vistirizo ‘to invest’	investir	–iz–

(from Pangalos, 1983)

Like in Heptanesian and contrary to Griko, the vast majority of verbal loans appear hellenicised as *-aro* forms (occasionally *-erno*), while there are also examples in *-iro* or *-ero*, depending on the original Venetian/Italian verb. Again, this may also be considered as a case of direct insertion, since the entire infinitival form is inserted in the recipient language as a stem and the inflectional ending is the only Greek element added to it. However, contrary to Heptanesian, there are also instances with a Greek integrating element, that is, occurrences which show a derivational suffix, *-ev-* or *-iz-*, inserted between the form in *-ar/-er/-ir* and the inflectional ending (6c). Thus, Cretan shows the application of both accommodation strategies, direct and indirect ones. Crucially though, the integrator is not as systematic as in Griko and is added to the entire Romance infinitival form, while in Griko, it substitutes the infinitival suffix. Moreover, there are also examples where an epenthetic segment *-n-* appears between the /r/ and the inflectional ending (see the *-erno* forms in 6b). This element will be explained in detail in the section dedicated to Lesbian (section 2.5), since, in this dialect, it applies to all Romance verbal loans.

2.4 Cypriot

Cyprus was under Venetian rule for almost one century (1489 – 1571), but Cypriots had been in close contact with Venetians since the 12th c. (that is, since the French dominion of the Lusignan family) with whom they had many trade relations (Dendias, 1923). As a result, Cypriot displays a considerable number of loan words of Venetian origin, mostly nouns, but also verbs. In fact, many of them have replaced the older French forms and nowadays, they are still in use. Venetian verbs are accommodated in Cypriot following the direct strategy, that is, no Greek-based integrator appears between the stem and the inflectional ending, similarly to Heptanesian and to some Cretan occurrences. As illustrated in (7), entire Venetian infinitives were transferred to Cypriot, where they underwent hellenicization by accepting Greek inflection.

(7) Cypriot	Venetian	Greek integrating element
trattaro 'to treat'	trattar	∅
siyuraro 'to secure'	assicurar	
kastiyaro 'to punish'	castigar	
δισπjazaro 'to be sorry'	dispiacer	
δifendero 'to defend'	difender	
proveδero 'to foresee'	proveder	

(from Dendias, 1923)

Curiously though, direct insertion is not the case for verbal loans originating from French during the Lusignan dominion (12th–15th c.), where, similarly to Griko, an integrating Greek derivational suffix, *-iaz-*, appears between the Romance stem and the Greek inflectional ending:

(8) <i>Cypriot</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>Greek integrating element</i>
finiazo 'to finish'	finir	–iaz–
manteniazo 'to maintain'	maintenir	
protestiazo 'to protest'	protester	
soufriazo 'to suffer'	souffrir	

2.5 Lesbian

A significant Romance influence can be detected on the dialect of Lesbos, originating from the period that the island was governed by the Genovese Gatelusi family (1355 – 1462). According to Paraskevaidis (2005), the Genovese rule was not as despotic as the Venetian one on Cyprus and Crete, but with the exception of the upper class, the Greek inhabitants of the island did not receive any education. During this period, several Romance verbs entered the common vocabulary, while some of them are still frequently used. As is the case with the other dialects, loan words underwent hellenicization, that is, they received a Greek inflectional ending. Consider the following examples:

(9) <i>Lesbian</i>	<i>Venetian</i> ⁷	<i>Greek integrating element</i>
salternu 'to jump'	saltar	–n– (?)
arivernu 'to arrive'	arrivar	
kurernu 'to cure'	curar	
sirvernun 'to serve'	servir	
siyurnun 'to secure'	assigurar	

(from Ralli. to appear)

As shown in (9), all loan verbs end in *–ernu*, that is, they display an *–n–* between the Romance infinitival form and the Greek inflectional ending *–u* (SMG *–o*)⁸ denoting the first person singular. Recall that the same *–n–* has also been detected in Cretan, although not systematically, affecting only a small number of Cretan verbs. In both dialects, *–n–* appears before the Greek inflectional ending, while the original Romance thematic vowels /a/, /e/ or /i/ are all leveled into /e/.

⁷ I give the Venetian verbs since Venetian was used on Lesbos during the 14th and the 15th centuries, although the island was ruled by a Genovese family. I should also add that it has been particularly difficult to find information on the specific Genovese verbs of this period.

⁸ In Lesbian, as well as in other Northern Greek Dialects, unstressed /o/ and /e/ are raised to /u/ and /i/, respectively.

Historically, it is important to note that in the early middle ages (ca 6th–12th c.) the insertion of *-n-* between stems ending in *-o-* and the inflectional ending had become a very productive process in Greek; it assisted the Ancient Greek contract verbs in *-oo-*: to transform their present stem (stem used in the *-perfective* context) and change conjugation, shifting from the less productive inflection class (IC) II to the most productive IC I:

- (10) *Ancient Greek* δῖλό-ο: > SMG δῖλόν-ο
 declare-1sg
 ‘I declare’

Browning (1969: 70) states that the productivity rate of *-n-* had even more increased around the 12th c., to such an extent that *-n-* was responsible for the formation of many native present stems, which were molded on the aorist ones (stems used in the *+perfective* context). Thus, it is not surprising that during the 14th and 15th centuries Romance verbs in *-ar/-er/-ir* are accommodated in Lesbian as verbs in *-ern(u)*. Moreover, according to Hatzidakis (1905: 287–288), analogy had also played a role for the final shaping of the *-ern-* form. For him, the appearance of /e/ before the consonant cluster /rn/ was triggered by the phonological similarity with the native verbs in *-ern(o)*, like *δερνο* ‘to beat’, *φερνο* ‘to bring’, *γδερνο* ‘to skin’.

It is of major importance to specify that in the medieval period, or even before, *-n-* did not have the status of derivational suffix, since it did not fulfill the basic criteria of such a functional element. For instance, contrary to other verbal derivational suffixes (e.g., *-ev-*, *-iz-*) it was not used to build new items (items belonging to a new grammatical category). Therefore, it can be considered as a simple formative, creating new stem allomorphs out of old ones, that is, stem allomorphs to be used in the *-perfective* context (stems of present and imperfect tenses) which were shaped on the basis of stems utilized in the *+perfective* context (aorist stems).

Being a simple formative, I do not consider *-n-* to be a true integrating element, at least like those appearing in verbal loans of indirect insertion, for instance, *-e(v)-* in Griko (1). Substantial proof to this observation comes from the fact that in Lesbian, as well as in Cretan, *-n-* is confined to specific stem allomorphs appearing in the paradigms of present tense, imperfect and the periphrastic imperfective future. For an illustration, consider the following verbal types of the Lesbian loan verb *saltérnu* ‘to jump’, where for clarity reasons a hyphen separates the stem from the Greek inflectional ending:

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| (11) | <i>Present</i> | <i>Imperfect</i> | <i>Imperfective future</i> |
| | 1sg saltérn-u ⁹ | sáltirn-a | na saltérn-u |
| | 1pl saltérn-umi | saltérn-ami | na saltérn-umi |

In contrast, *-n-* is completely absent from the paradigms of the so-called perfective tenses, that is, from the aorist and the periphrastic perfect, pluperfect and perfective future:¹⁰

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| (12) | <i>Aorist</i> | <i>Perfect</i> | <i>Pluperfect</i> | <i>Perfective future</i> |
| | 1sg saltár-sa | éx-u saltár | íx-a saltar | θα saltár-u |
| | 1pl saltár-ami | éx-umi saltár | íx-ami saltar | θα saltár-umi |

⁹ *sáltirna* results from *sáltirna*. Compare also *sáltirna* with *saltérnami*. For an explanation, see ft. 8.

¹⁰ The particular form of the periphrastic tenses of perfect and pluperfect is due to a SMG influence. The true dialectal forms are with the auxiliary *ime* (Lesbian *imi*) ‘to be’ and the past participle *saltarsmenus* ‘jumped’

3 Facts and Proposals

The data described above show that borrowing is not limited to pure transfer of words, but raises a number of questions referring to aspects of word structure in general, as for instance:

- why certain dialects use the indirect strategy, that is, they borrow a stem (a sub-lexical element) as is the case with Griko, while others adopt the direct strategy, that is, they borrow an entire word;
- why in some dialects (Lesbian and Cretan) there is creation of a particular stem allomorph with the use of the formative *-n-*;
- why *-ev-* is used as an integrator in borrowing Romance verbs, while Medieval Greek had a range of verbalizers, *-iz-*, *-ev-*, *-en-*.

A possible answer to these issues may raise further questions of more general nature. For example, one may wonder about

- the role of productivity and language-dependent constraints in the accommodation of verbs of foreign origin and
- the way extra-linguistic factors trigger or inhibit borrowing.

3.1 Borrowing stems or word forms

According to the so called “diffusionist” position (e.g. Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 67; Thomason, 2001: 70-71), external factors, such as long duration of contact, socio-economic dominance from the part of one group upon the other, and high-level bilingualism induce heavy borrowing. In fact, in South Italy, borrowing can be seen on all linguistic levels, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics (see, among others, Rohlf, 1933 and Fanciullo, 2008). However, along the lines of Ralli (2012b), I would also like to suggest that intense contact, presupposing extensive bilingualism can explain not only heavy borrowing, but also a possible resistance to it.

I believe that the Griko speakers who had and have high competence skills in Romance, and were under an excessive pressure of the dominant language on every aspect of life, i.e. social, economic, cultural and religious, had subconsciously tried to restrict heavy borrowing by hellenicizing Romance verbs as much as possible with the help of the very productively used derivational suffix *-ev-* and the Greek inflectional endings. Being well aware of the Italian *-are* or *-ere/-ire* as infinitival markers, they subtracted these markers from the verb and replaced them with the Greek suffixes. In contrast, speakers of the other Greek dialects who had either a low command of Romance or no command at all during the Venetian or Genovese domination—as reported in many studies (see section 2.2)—did not seem to have any difficulties in importing the entire word and hellenicizing it with the only addition of the appropriate inflectional endings (see (7) above). In other words, in a language-contact situation, high bilingualism may trigger, but also forbid the amount and type of the transferred material; it may facilitate, and at the same time constrain borrowability. Andres Enrique-Arias (2010: 97) has reached a more or less similar conclusion. He has stated that while a widespread assumption in the linguistic literature is that language change is an expected, or even unavoidable, result of language contact, very little

attention has been paid to the opposite scenario, that is, to the possibility that the presence of two languages in the same speech community may constitute a factor promoting the retention of native features.

It should be noticed that according to a different hypothesis, Griko speakers select to borrow stems instead of entire word forms because the linguistic properties of the donor language play a major role in the choice of the integration strategy.¹¹ As has been mentioned in several works (see Calabrese, 1993; Ledgeway, 1998, among others), Southern Italian dialects, among which Salentino, do not display an extensive use of infinitives, as the following example clearly depicts:

- (13) *Salentino*: lu Karlu ole ku bbene kra
 lit. Il Carlo vuole che viene domani
 ‘Carlo wants to come tomorrow’

Thus, limited access to infinitival forms could have led the Griko speakers to borrow Romance stems. Note now that contrary to the Southern Italian dialects, Venetian, like other Northern Italian dialects, has preserved the infinitival forms. Within the same spirit, one could suggest that frequent access to Venetian infinitives made the Greek speakers of the other dialects to borrow and hellenicize the entire infinitival words.

Although promising, this hypothesis seems to fade by evidence drawn from the incorporation of Turkish verbs in MG dialects, where, in spite of the fact that infinitives are frequently used in Turkish, the dialectal speakers do not adopt them. For an illustration, consider the following Pontic examples which contain a Turkish stem, a Greek integrator *-ev-* (the same suffix used in Griko) and the Greek inflectional ending:¹²

- | | | |
|--------------------|---|-------------------------|
| (14) <i>Pontic</i> | | <i>Turkish</i> |
| γazan-ev-o | < | kazan-mak ¹³ |
| ‘to earn’ | | ‘to earn, profit’ |
| axtar-ev-o | | aktar-mak |
| ‘to overturn’ | | ‘to relocate/transfer’ |
| pašla-ev-o | | başla-mak |
| ‘to begin’ | | ‘to begin’ |

(from Papadopoulos, 1955)

The linguistic situation with respect to Romance loans in Cypriot (7)–(8) is particularly interesting and argues in favor of the hypothesis put forward above. According to Dendias (1923: 157) during the French rule (12th–15th c.), there was a revival of the Greek culture in Cyprus as everywhere in Greece, and the Greek language was taught at schools. As a consequence, when borrowing occurred, loan words were heavily hellenicized by combining the French stem with

¹¹ I am indebted to Franco Fanciullo for giving me this piece of information.

¹² Pontic was spoken in Pontus (north-east Turkey) till the beginning of 20th century, when Christian Pontic speakers were forced to abandon their land. Nowadays, they can be found all over Greece, but primarily in dialectal enclaves in Epirus, Macedonia and Western Thrace. Interestingly, the dialect is still spoken in Pontus by a small number of Muslim inhabitants (Mackridge, 1987), as well as in certain areas of Georgia and the Northern Caucasus.

¹³ *-mak* is the infinitival marker in Turkish.

the integrating Greek suffix *-iaz-* and a Greek inflectional ending, as exhibited in (8) and repeated below for convenience:¹⁴

(15) <i>Cypriot</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>Greek integrating element</i>
finiazo 'to finish'	finir	<i>-iaz-</i>
manteniazo 'to maintain'	maintenir	
protestiazo 'to protest'	protester	
soufriazo 'to suffer'	souffrir	

In contrast, during the subsequent Venetian period, schools were closed and there was a severe pursuit of the Greek language and education in general. I suppose that educational deficiency led the speakers to borrow entire infinitival words. In other words, I propose that, similarly to Heptanesian and Cretan, there was no use of Greek integrator for the adoption of Romance loans, and the entire verbal infinitives were hellenicized with the simple addition of the Greek inflectional ending.

3.2 The role of stem and stem allomorphy in Greek contact morphology

It is usually asserted that in borrowing, words are transferred first and that the transfer of structure comes at a later stage (King, 2000). With the exception of Griko (and Pontic as shown in (14)), where stems, i.e. sub-lexical elements are borrowed, the data from the other dialects confirm this assertion: the entire infinitival forms of Romance verbs are inserted in the dialectal vocabulary and since they need inflection in order to be incorporated into the Greek verbal system, they are morphologically reanalyzed/recategorized as stems ending in *-ar-*, *-er-*, or *-ir-* depending on the case. As such, they are combined with the proper Greek inflectional endings of the least marked IC I.¹⁵ Therefore, independently of whether the borrowed items are full-word forms or not, they end up by being stems, because only stems can fit the general structural pattern of Greek inflected words consisting of a stem and an inflectional suffix.

The important role that the morphological category of stem plays in Greek morphology finds its absolute confirmation in Griko (and Grekanico in general), where direct transfer of stems occurs, without the mediation of the reanalysis of the infinitival words. It is also substantiated by the dialectal data of the island of Lesbos. As conveyed in 2.5, in this dialect, the infinitival loans are not simply reanalyzed as stems, as is the case with the other dialects, but transform the *-ar-*/*-er-*/*-ir-* forms into the *-ern-* ones with the insertion of the productively used formative *-n-*, which also triggers the change of the vowel /a/ into /e/ (see (9) above). Along the lines of Hatzidakis (1905) and Ralli (2012b), this change finds its justification within the framework of a general tendency of the Greek language to have its verbal system built on two stem allomorphs in complementary distribution, one used for the -perfective forms and the other for the +perfective ones. Regarding this property, it is of crucial importance to stress that the innovative

¹⁴ According to Menardos (1900) at the end of the 19th century, the old French loans had almost disappeared and only four verbs of French origin were still in use.

¹⁵ IC II contains the ancient contract verbs and is less productive compared to IC I.

–*ern*– form appears only in the -perfective context (11). In the +perfective context (12), the stem displays its original –*ar*– form. Thus, verb borrowing in Lesbian not only depicts how loan verbs are integrated in a dialectal system but adds a confirmation to the hypothesis about the crucial role of stem and stem allomorphy in verb conjugation as well.

3.3 Grammaticalization and productivity

As already maintained (section 2.1), the derivational suffix –*ev*– is used to accommodate in Griko the Salentino verbs. In this context, –*ev*– does not provide the verbal category, as is its usual role when added to nominal bases, but flags a particular class of verbs, those of Romance origin, and assigns these verbs to a specific conjugation (IC I). From the range of Greek verbalizers it is the only one to be used as an integrating element. Therefore, I suggest that in the particular setting of accommodating Romance verbs, it has lost its verbalizing properties (creation of verbs from nouns) and has become a class marker. In other words, in the Griko loan morphology, –*ev*– seems to have acquired a more functional status, the status to indicate a particular class of verbs. This change is a typical case of grammaticalization in Kuryłowicz’s (1975: 69) sense, who has defined grammaticalization as “the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a grammatical to a more grammatical status”. However, it is important to stress that –*ev*– as a loan integrator has not lost its old derivational character. It is still productively added to nominal bases in order to form verbs. The coexistence of the old status together with a new, more functional one, is what to be expected, since during the grammaticalization process, the old and the new properties may co-exist (Heine, 2003).

As already noted in (14), the use of the verbalizer –*ev*– can also be found in Pontic, which has been affected by Turkish. In fact, Pontic accommodates its loan verbs with the assistance of –*ev*–, as opposed to other dialects influenced by Turkish, e.g. Aivaliot,¹⁶ where another derivational suffix, –*iz*– is more susceptible to act as an integrating element. For an illustration, consider the data in (16):

- (16) a. *Griko* nat-e-o ‘to swim’ (< *Salentino* nat-are)
 b. *Pontic* kazan-ev-o ‘to earn, become rich’ (< *Turkish* kazan-mak)
 c. *Aivaliot* kazad-iz-u ‘to earn, become rich’ (< *Turkish* kazan-mak)

In my opinion, the choice of a specific integrating element across dialects relates to the varying degree of productivity between the verb-forming derivational operations. I would like to suggest that derivation with –*ev*– is particularly productive in Pontic and Grekanico, while derivation with –*iz*– is productive in other dialects, among which, Aivaliot. However, it seems to be more to this: Pontic is one of the first attested and most conservative MG dialects; it has kept a number of ancient features and shows traces of modern dialectal phenomena already in the 5th c. AD (Manolessou and Pantelidis, 2011).¹⁷ In fact, Pontic verb formation with –*ev*– could also be one of these features, since derived verbs in –*ev*– belonged to a very productively built category in

¹⁶ Aivaliot was once spoken in western Asia Minor. After 1922, most Aivaliot refugees moved to Greece. Today, few hundreds of speakers can be found in refugee enclaves on the island of Lesbos. See Ralli (2012a) for details on the formation of verbal loans in Aivaliot.

¹⁷ Manolessou and Pantelidis (2011) have investigated the presence of /e/ in Pontic, which originates from the Ancient Greek ‘η’ (pronounced as /ɛ:/).

Classical Greek (5th–4th c. BC).¹⁸ Along the same lines, in Griko, the high productivity of verb formation in *-ev-* could also be considered as a phenomenon originating from Ancient Greek, similarly to other phenomena of the same type, which have been pointed out in works, such as those by Rohlf's (1933), Caratzas (1958) and Karanastasis (1997). Thus, there is good reason to suppose that Griko and Pontic had followed a parallel development into adapting verbal loans in their system, while they still preserve features from Ancient Greek.

4 Conclusions

In this paper, I have dealt with the issue of Romance verb integration in several MG dialects. In particular, I have examined data from Griko, Heptanesian, Cretan, Cypriot and Lesbian, which underwent varying degrees of Romance influence, resulting to a variety of loan-integration phenomena. This investigation led to the following conclusions:

- (a) The accommodation of loan verbs in MG dialects is subject to both intra-linguistic and extra-linguistic factors.
- (b) Morphological borrowing is heavily constrained by linguistic features of the recipient language, in our case by the prominent role of stems and stem allomorphy in Greek morphology, while properties of the donor language may also play a role.
- (c) Borrowed words are modified/hellenicized to fit the native Greek word pattern which combines a stem and an inflectional ending.
- (d) Productivity may act as catalyst for the selection of a particular suffix as an integrator.
- (e) Social factors may cause but also restrict heavy borrowing.

Obviously, the entire topic and mechanisms of Romance verb integration in MG dialects is far from being completely understood. I hope to have shed some light on the different factors involved in the incorporation of loan verbs in Greek and the importance of contact-induced change in morphology.

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¹⁸ See Chantraine (1945: 244) for details on the productivity of the formation of verbs in *-ev(o)*.

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HIGH RISING TERMINALS IN CYPRIOT GREEK: CHARTING ‘URBAN’ INTONATION*

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Recent variationist research on Cypriot Greek indicates that ‘Nicosian’ is an identifiable acrolectal urban register or speech style of the Cypriot Greek *koiné*. This study examines two distinct intonation contours which are identifiable as partly indexing a distinctly ‘Nicosian’ identity, namely the ‘hello!’ tune and the High Rising Terminal (HRT) contour in statements. The ‘hello’ and HRT tunes are strikingly absent from both Standard Greek, the *H* variety in Greek-speaking Cyprus, and from more mesolectal or basilectal registers of Cypriot Greek. We explore the structure of the tonal pattern of the ‘hello!’ and the HRT tunes and compare them to the CG polar question tonal pattern; a perception and a rating experiment exploring attitudes towards these two melodic patterns are presented, the results of which indicate that both melodies are identified as ‘Nicosian’ innovations, i.e. as part of the arguably emergent Cypriot Greek ‘urban’ register.

1 Introduction

In this paper we argue for the availability of an emergent ‘urban’ register or speech style in Cypriot Greek that is (perceived as) distinctly Nicosian, despite its numerous overlaps with the Cypriot Greek *koiné*. Based on findings from the ongoing *Mapping the Linguistic Landscape of Cyprus* project, we show that ‘new Nicosian’ is not the substratal geographical subvariety of the capital and the surrounding Mesaoria area. Rather, new Nicosian can be viewed as an acrolectal register or speech style of the Cypriot Greek *koiné* in some respects, in the sense that it approximates Standard Greek (the *H* variety) in certain aspects of its phonology and

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morphosyntax, e.g. in (a) the availability of palatal stops in words such as [ce] ‘and’ *in lieu of* the Cypriot *koiné* palatoalveolar affricate [tʃ]; (b) the avoidance of hardening or stop formation in words such as [ˈerxume] ‘I am coming (Standard Greek: [ˈerxome], Cypriot *koiné*: [ˈerkume]); (c) hypercorrective Standard-like Present Perfect A (Melissaropoulou et al, in press); (d) pronominal proclisis in enclitic contexts (Tsiplakou, 2009b); (d) future/counterfactual marker [θa] *in lieu of* the *koiné* [ˈen:a] (Tsiplakou, 2009b), etc. Such approximations to Standard Greek are coupled with features such as avoidance of intervocalic fricative elision, e.g. [koˈruðes] ‘girlies’ *in lieu of* Cypriot Greek *koiné* [koˈrues], which gives the impression of ‘carefully enunciated’ speech, and two distinctive intonation contours, the High Rising Terminal (HRT) contour in statements (Nicosian ‘uptalk’) and what we shall term the ‘hello!’ intonation contour. In this paper, in order to contextualize the discussion, we mention briefly results from a broader study exploring other phonological and morphosyntactic features that arguably index a ‘Nicosian’ register of the acrolect, but we discuss exclusively the two arguably innovative intonation contours, their phonetic properties and their sociolinguistic ‘valuing’ by speakers of Cypriot Greek as indexicals of an ‘urban’ lifestyle, through an examination of the ways in which they correlate with extralinguistic variables such as age, gender, education, ‘urbanity’, perceptions of ‘modernity’, ‘politeness’, ‘affectedness’ etc. The paper reports on findings from a perception and a rating experiment, which indicate that ‘Nicosian’ is indeed perceived as a distinct register or speech style, that the two intonation contours are interpreted as ‘Nicosian’, but also that attitudes towards them are mixed: while both carry overt prestige, the HRT tune appears to be merely viewed as ‘polite’, while the ‘hello!’ tune may on occasion come across as ‘affected’, as is also indicated by its association with the slangy term *vutyrika* ‘Nicosian’/‘poncey’/‘foo-foo’ or *psonistika* ‘la-di-da’, which indexes both an urban register and (perceptions of) the Cypriot urban lifestyle.

2 Diglossia, the dialect continuum, emergent registers or speech styles

Cypriot Greek stands in a diglossic relationship to Standard Modern Greek; this still by-and-large prevalent (socio)linguistic situation has led to the folk linguistic construction of Cypriot Greek as a unitary variety, usually termed *kypriaka* ‘Cypriot’ or even *xorkatika* ‘peasantry’. This perception may well reflect an ‘older’ (socio)linguistic situation involving a diglossic ‘split’ between regional, geographical ‘basilects’, collectively termed *xorkatika*, and *ellinika* ‘Greek’ (cf. the eighteen regional varieties mentioned in Contosopoulos, 1969 or the lexical and structural isoglosses in Newton, 1972; but see Terkourafi, 2005 for arguments in favour of early *koinéization(s)* in the history of Cypriot Greek). Interestingly, Newton (1972) mentions a Cypriot ‘metropolitan’ variety, that of the central plane of Mesaoria and the capital, Nicosia, which his informants term ‘town speech’, i.e. a more standard or formal Cypriot Greek. Recent variationist research (Tsiplakou, 2006a, b, 2007; Tsiplakou et al, 2006; Tsiplakou, 2009a) indicates that contemporary Cypriot Greek is in fact a dialect continuum still comprising a host of geographical basilects, which however are undergoing, or have undergone, heavy leveling, especially as compared to data from previous variationist research (Contosopoulos, 1969; Newton, 1972; see also Menardos, 1925[1969]), but also an emergent *koiné*, which is divested of identifiable local features (Tsiplakou et al, forthc.) but may involve register variation; the ongoing shift is therefore arguably from a geographical dialect continuum to a register/stylistic one (Papapavlou

and Sophocleous, 2009; Tsiplakou et al, 2006). The *koinéized* variety is sometimes treated as identical to ‘Nicosian’, the variety of the capital, and hence it is also termed a ‘metropolitan’ or ‘urban’ *koiné* (Karyolemou, 2000); however, in this paper we want to make the case that the *koiné* is in fact a pancypriot variety and ‘Nicosian’ is constructed differently.

Leveling and *koinéization* in present-day Cypriot Greek can be attributed to a host of geopolitical, economic, demographic and social factors, such as the *de facto* separation of the island and forced population movements following the events of 1974, but also increased economic mobility, the spread of literacy and the mass media, increased contact with Greece etc. (see, e.g. Kerswill and Williams, 2000, 2005; Siegel, 2010; Terkourafi, 2005; Tuten, 2003, Tsiplakou et al, 2006; Tsiplakou, 2009a). The argument for levelling and *koinéization* on the basis of structural criteria is also quite conclusive: it seems that (i) all extant geographical basilects are fast losing marked or infrequent variants (to give but one example, local allophone [ç] in, e.g., [ˈçelo] ‘I want’, is yielding in favour of the pancypriot allophone [θ], [ˈθelo] thus being the recognizably *koiné* form); (ii) pancypriot/*koiné* forms emerge which are structurally akin to both Cypriot and Standard Greek. Let us give a couple of examples, one involving the *irrealis* forms and the other one involving periphrastic Present Perfect A. It looks like the *irrealis* form for ‘I would have come’ can be realized either as a morphosyntactically *bona fide* Cypriot structure consisting of the impersonal verb *itan* was-3sg or *ifen* had-3sg and the ‘subjunctive’ form of the verb ‘come’ (*na ’rto* NA come-PERF.1sg), as in (1a); alternatively, it may be realized as a ‘hybrid’ structure, syntactically modeled on the Standard Greek *irrealis* construction *tha erxomun* FUT come-PAST.IMPF.1sg, but couched in Cypriot morphology and phonology, as in (1b):

- (1) a. 'itan/ifen na rto
was/had.3sg NA come.PERF.1sg
'I would (have) come'
- b. e'n:a rkumun
FUT come-PAST.IMPF.1sg

The periphrastic Present Perfect A is another structural innovation in the pancypriot *koiné* that brings it closer to Standard Greek but, crucially, it does not display full transfer of the properties of the Standard Greek Present Perfect A. According to older accounts (Menardos 1925 [1969]), Present Perfect A was absent from Cypriot Greek; however, in the *koiné* Present Perfect A forms such as *éxo to θcavási* have-1sg it-CL.NEUT.ACC.sg read-PPL.PERF ‘I have read it’ are gaining ground, alongside *bona fide* Cypriot Present Perfect B forms such as *éxo to θcavazméno* have-1sg it-CL.NEUT.ACC.sg read.PPL.NEUT.ACC.sg ‘I have read it’ or *íne θcavazméni* be-PRES.3sg read-PPL.FEM.ACC.sg ‘she has studied’, as is indicated by naturally-occurring data such as (2a) and (2b):

- (2) a. 'exumen to en'daksi
have-PRES.1pl it-CL.NEUT.ACC.sg include-PPL.PERF
'kato a'po tin o'mbrel:a ton prosfo'ron
under from the-umbrella-ACC.sg the-offer-GEN.pl
'We have included it under the Offers umbrella'

- b. en ta jī 'xasi
 NEG them-CL.NEUT.ACC.pl have-3sg lost-PPL.PERF
 a'l:a san to'ra ksi'xan:i.
 but like now forget- PRES.3sg
 'She hasn't lost it, but, like, nowadays she forgets stuff'

(Melissaropoulou et al, forthc.: 161-162)

As can be seen from the data above, and as is also shown in Melissaropoulou et al. (forthc.), such innovative Present Perfect A structures may display Cypriot phonology (e.g. [e]/i rather than eçi 'has' in (2b), hybrid morphosyntax (e.g. pronominal enclisis together with the use of the standard-like Present Perfect A perfective uninflected 'participle' *endaksi* 'included' in (2a)), but also indeterminate semantics, in that these innovative structures of the *koiné* do not readily allow for the experiential/existential reading of Present Perfect A, but are rather seen as Simple Past forms of a higher register (Melissaropoulou et al, forthc.: 169-171).

In short, then, the *koiné* displays *partial*, but certainly not full, convergence to Standard Modern Greek; having shed basilectal, arguably sociolinguistically stigmatized, features, it emerges as a variety of almost overt prestige; being both partly convergent to, and divergent enough from, Standard Modern Greek may also account for the prestige accruing to it as a local regiolect, and thus for its ability to act as a barrier to full de-dialectization.

It must be noted that speakers of Cypriot Greek are aware that there is an ongoing shift from a geographical to a register continuum, with the Cypriot Greek *koiné* and another speech style or register, which has been termed 'Cypriot Standard Greek' (Arvaniti, 2010) taking up the 'top' layers of the dialect continuum. Speakers invariably use the term *xorkatika* 'peasantry' to refer to local, basilectal varieties collectively, but at least younger speakers are typically unable to describe consistently local features of purported subvarieties, other than making general impressionistic statements such as *stin Pafon sirnun tin fonin allos pos* 'in Paphos they speak with a different kind of lilt' (cf. Katsoyannou et al, 2006; Tsiplakou et al, 2006). As has been argued in previous work, this is very good indirect evidence for levelling, together with hyperdialectism in youth slangs (Tsiplakou, 2003/forthc.) and dialect stylization in the popular media. In hyperdialectal slangy production and in stylized dialect production in sitcoms, obsolete dialect forms from are revived or novel, basilectal-sounding forms are constructed for reasons having to do with different types of performativities, e.g. in order to achieve a comedic effect or for more complex reasons having to do with the performance and the dismantling of notions of 'local identity' (Tsiplakou and Ioannidou, 2012); but such resurrection, stylization and playful reappropriation of basilectal forms can only point to one thing, namely that these no longer belong to speakers' active repertoires, as a result of leveling. If *xorkatika* 'peasantry' is the generalized lowest register (sometimes also called *vareta kipriaka* 'heavy Cypriot' (or interestingly, just *kipriaka* 'Cypriot'), we may assume that the *koiné* occupies an intermediate sociolinguistic space, described by the *emic* term *sistarismena/evjenika* 'tidied-up'/'polite' Cypriot Greek, while the new *emic* term *ellinika tis Kyprou* 'Greek of Cyprus' refers to Standard Modern Greek as spoken in Cyprus (Arvaniti, 2010), i.e. a register with Cypriot phonetic (segmental and suprasegmental) features but (felt to be) identical to Standard Greek in other respects. Arvaniti (2010) has showed conclusively that Standard Greek as spoken in Cyprus is in fact a regional standard with phonological and lexical features (e.g. 'false friends') that distinguish it from Standard Greek as spoken in Greece, although speakers may not be aware of

the full gamut of differences to Standard Greek; see also Rowe and Grohmann, 2013). The term is distinguishable from *kalamaristika* ‘pen-pusher-speak’ (‘pen-pusher’ being a slightly pejorative term for ‘Greek from the mainland’); *kalamaristika* refers to Standard Greek and the verb *kalamarizo* ‘to speak like a pen-pusher’ refers to being able to emulate Standard Greek fully, not only in terms of morphosyntax but also in terms of phonetics.

2.1 *Voutyrika*?

In this paper we describe yet another register or speech style, which younger speakers describe with the novel *emic* term *voutyrika* or *psonistika* (‘poncey’/‘foo-foo’, ‘la-di-da’ Cypriot), which is almost synonymous to *xoraitika* ‘of the capital’, ‘Nicosian’. The term refers to a register or speech style of the *koiné* with phonological, morphological and syntactic features that index urban lifestyles or youth identities; this Cypriot register is more heavily ‘mixed’, at least as regards certain structural variants, than the arguably structurally partially hybrid baseline *koiné*, but, ultimately, it does not converge to Standard Greek (i.e. speaking *voutyrika* is different from *kalamarizo*) as *voutyrika* retains its hybrid flavour and partial convergence to Standard Greek is indexical of age and lifestyle. In fact, *voutyrika* contains two innovations which are exclusively Cypriot, in the sense that they do not occur in any other varieties of Greek, namely the ‘hello!’ and the HRT intonation patterns, on which our discussion will focus; ultimately, what is crucial from a sociolinguistic perspective, is not convergence or ‘non-convergence’ to Standard Greek *per se*, but, rather, innovation *qua* departure from both ‘Standard’ and ‘dialect’, which allows for novel indexicalities associated with modernity, urbanity, lifestyle, identity work etc. to be achieved outside of the Standard-dialect dichotomy (which, as we saw above, the *koiné* has gone a long way towards resolving, at least as far as issues of prestige are concerned).

So, who speaks *voutyrika* or *psonistika*? According to popular perceptions, a *voutyros* (masc.) or a *voutyra* (fem.)¹ is a (young) city dweller, who is certainly not working class and who is heavily into ‘lifestyle, Nicosia style’, which involves certain dress/fashion codes and participation in a particular car/café/club culture.² Linguistic variants identified as *voutyrika* may be associated with all sorts of indexicalities/indexical orders (youth, modernity, refinement, an urban lifestyle, but also snobbishness and pretentiousness), as evidenced by the pejorative connotations of the terms *psonistika* ‘la-di-da’ or *vutyrika* ‘poncey’, ‘foo-foo’. Gender biases may also be prevalent, e.g. *voutyrika* may be associated with being effete and effeminate in young males and with the ‘dumb blonde’ (the Cypriot equivalent of ‘Valley girl’) stereotype in females (see section 3.2 below for details).

Charting *voutyrika* necessarily gives rise to a set of open questions, which we will attempt to answer only partly in this paper. A crucial question is whether we may legitimately treat *voutyrika* as a distinct register or speech style, or whether it is more realistic to argue that we are faced with yet another case of *enregistrement* of a few selected variants as indexicals of speaker status linked to a specific scheme of cultural values (cf. Agha, 2003, 2007; Johnstone et al, 2006; Johnstone and Kiesling, 2008; one wonders whether a similar point cannot be made for the

¹ The equivalent Standard Greek terms are *voutyropeðo*, *floros*, *psonio/psonara* (see, e.g., http://www.slang.gr/lemma/show/floros_3723).

² In fact a booklet came out a few years ago called *Xoraitikon ine* ‘Nicosian is...’, which put together a bunch of stereotypical jokes about Nicosians which had been circulating on the internet for years; interestingly, the book came out as a sequel to *Xorkatikon ine* ‘Peasantry is...’ (cf. <http://xorkatikon.blogspot.gr/>), which shows that the *xorkatiko/xoraitiko* binary opposition is by now firmly entrenched in the Cypriot Greek imaginary (cf. also Mavratsas, 2012; Tsiplakou and Ioannidou, 2012).

construct of ‘Athenian’ Greek). The second, related question is how constellations of variants collectively form a register or speech style; alternatively, what variants ‘count’ for the formation/identification of a register and in what types of configurations (Auer, 1997; Irvine, 2008). More to the point, and perhaps more realistically for our purposes, what types of variants are associated with what types of indexicalities? What is the relation of these variants and their related indexical values to the construct of an ‘urban’ register/speech style?

2.2 Some variants and their sociolinguistic valuing

In order to answer (at least) the latter question, we designed a perception and rating experiment which involved a matched-guise test. An online questionnaire with sounds was provided to participants. The sounds were utterances provided with relevant contexts, e.g.

- (3) a. [context:] Spyros’ mom is trying to force-feed him a cheese-pie; Spyros says:
- b. 'efaa eθ 'θelo 'al:o
eat-PAST.1sg NEG want.PRES.1sg more
‘I ate already, I don’t want any more’

The utterances were provided in a male and a female guise and moreover they were each provided twice, each time with one of the two alternative realizations of the variable under investigation, but keeping everything else identical, and, of course, non-sequentially; for example, the utterance in (3b) was provided with a falling (statement) and with a ‘hello!’ intonation.

We investigated seven phonological, morphological and syntactic variables with two alternative realizations each (presumably ‘Nicosian’/vs ‘non-Nicosian’, according to our working hypothesis), plus the two intonation patterns which we will discuss at length below. The linguistic variables investigated were:

- (i) -/+ intervocalic fricative elision, e.g. ‘Nicosian’ [e'piyamen] vs. Cypriot *koiné* [e'piamen] ‘we went’;
- (ii) +/- prenasalization and voicing of stops, e.g. ‘Nicosian’ [mba'mbas] vs. Cypriot *koiné* [pa'pas] ‘dad’;
- (iii) -/+ hardening in words such as ['erxume] ‘I am coming’ vs. Cypriot *koiné* ['erkume];³
- (iv) -/+ intervocalic fricative elision in one category of diminutives, e.g. [ko'ruðes] vs. Cypriot *koiné* [ko'rues] ‘girlies’;
- (v) standard-like diminutive ['acin] vs. Cypriot *koiné* ['uin];
- (vi) hypercorrective/innovative Present Perfect A vs. Simple Past: ['exumen pci ka'fen e'pses] vs. ['ipcamen ka'fen epses] ‘we (have) drunk coffee yesterday’; (Melissaropoulou et al. *forthc.*)
- (vii) pronominal proclisis vs. enclisis (in enclitic environments, e.g. without the presence of elements such as FUT, NEG, WH- etc., which induce clitic-second effects): [ton e'θorun] vs. [e'θorun ton] ‘I was looking at him’;
- (viii) two distinctive intonation contours with a high-rising terminal in statements (‘Nicosian uptalk’), on which more below.

³ On hardening in Cypriot Greek see Tsiplakou and Papanicola, 2009.

All variants under investigation were sampled from recordings of naturally-occurring conversations among (young) Nicosians and had been previously identified as *voutyrika* by a number of informants. In the questionnaire, participants were asked to characterize speakers as ‘Nicosian’ or ‘non-Nicosian’; furthermore, participants were asked to characterize speakers as younger/older, educated/uneducated, modern/traditional, more intelligent/less intelligent, snobbish/not snobbish, on a Likert scale (1...5). We added two additional speaker variables, ‘effeminate’ for men and ‘blonde’ for women, having first made sure that these variables were meaningful to participants. The preliminary analysis presented here is based on data from 41 completed questionnaires by 26 female and 14 male participants, most of whom have a university education and come from, or live in, Nicosia, Limassol and Larnaka. Given the relative paucity of the data, we treat this as a pilot study, whose results we hope to refine in subsequent research.

2.2.1 Some preliminary results

In this section we will briefly mention some of the most interesting results for the seven phonological and morphosyntactic variables, before turning to the main focus of this paper, i.e. the two intonation curves under investigation. As mentioned earlier, variants were evaluated on a Likert scale; here we report on means with more than 10% difference. In brief, despite the relative paucity of the data, our first hypothesis is confirmed, in that all seven variants which we assumed would be perceived as more ‘Nicosian’ (i.e. -intervocalic fricative elision, e.g. [e'piyamen] ‘we went’; +prenasalization and voicing of stops, e.g. [mba'mbas] ‘dad’; -hardening in words such as [erxume] ‘I am coming’; -intervocalic fricative elision in one category of diminutives, e.g. [ko'ruðes] ‘girlies’; standard-like diminutive ['acin]; hypercorrective/innovative Present Perfect A, e.g. [exumen pci ka'fen e'pses] ‘we (have) drunk coffee yesterday’; and pronominal proclisis in enclitic contexts, e.g. [ton e'θorun] ‘I was looking at him’) were indeed, perceived as ‘more Nicosian’. Interestingly, most of the above were also consistently rated as ‘younger’.⁴ As regards their function as indexicals of speaker traits, lifestyle etc., there was greater dispersion, a full description of which must lie outside the scope of the paper, also pending further research, but at first blush the results indicate that certain variants are associated with certain purported speaker traits: for example, prenasalization was associated with ‘intelligence’, but also with ‘snobbishness’, while pronominal proclisis and the retention of the fricative in diminutives of the [uðes] type were associated with ‘snobbishness’ but not with ‘intelligence’; interesting, prenasalized stops were also associated with ‘effeminacy’ in men, as was intervocalic fricative retention in verbs, while avoidance of hardening, retention of the fricative in diminutives of the [uðes] type and, surprisingly, Present Perfect A, were associated with the ‘blonde’ stereotype in women.

3 ‘Nicosian’ intonation patterns

⁴ There were two notable exceptions, namely innovative Present Perfect A and pronominal proclisis, where differences in rating with regard to age were minimal. This result comes as no surprise, as it confirms findings from previous research which indicate that pronominal proclisis and the Present Perfect A are by now a *bona fide* part of the *koiné* and therefore not recent innovations indexing age or lifestyle, although they may signal a higher register (Melissaropoulou et al, *forthc.*; Tsipakou, 2009a, 2010).

As was mentioned earlier, this study also investigated two very distinctive intonation contours, in an attempt to gauge whether these index a distinctly ‘Nicosian’ identity, namely the ‘hello!’ tune and the High Rising Terminal (HRT) contour in statements. The ‘hello’ and HRT tunes are strikingly absent from both Standard Greek and from more mesolectal or basilectal registers of Cypriot Greek. In this section we explore the structure of the tonal pattern of the ‘hello!’ and the HRT tunes and compare them to the Cypriot Greek polar question tonal pattern; results from the perception and rating survey study exploring attitudes towards these two melodic patterns are presented, the results of which indicate that both melodies are identified as ‘Nicosian’ innovations, but that sociolinguistically each is valued differently as an indexical pointing to specific speaker traits and ‘lifestyles’, as was the case with many of the segmental (phonological and morphosyntactic) variants discussed in section 2.1.1.

3.1 The HRT, or ‘uptalk’

The rising tune in statements is known as the High Rising Terminal (HRT) contour (also popularly known as ‘uptalk’), and it is a fairly recent phenomenon in Cypriot Greek. A tonal pattern that superficially sounds interrogative is used with utterances that are clearly intended as statements (cf. Ladd, 2008: 125-7). Arguably the HRT is a fast-spreading innovation, especially among younger dwellers of Nicosia.

3.1.1 Phonological properties

A phonological representation of the HRT contour is provided in Figure 1:

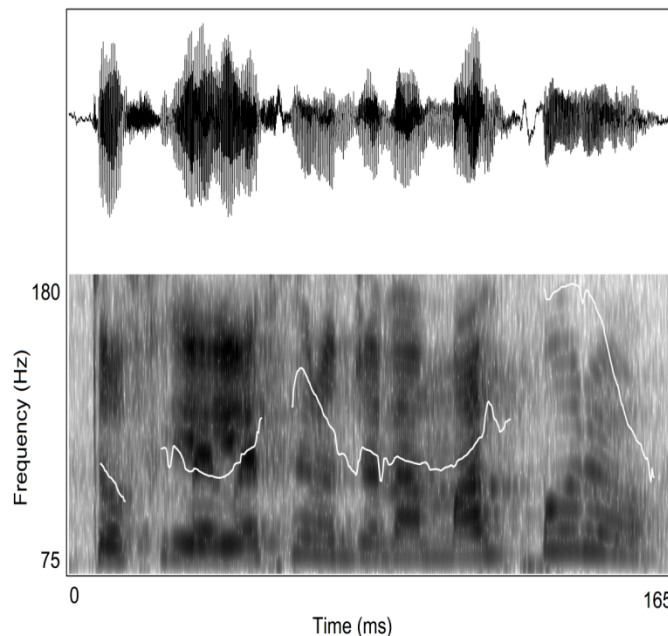


Figure 1. The tonal contour of a HRT for *tof file 'lefθeron tf 'ena 'marporo* ‘the Philelefttheros newspaper and a pack of Marlboros’, uttered by a male speaker of Cypriot Greek. The contour in Figure 1 is the ‘Nicosian’ or ‘polite’ way of expressing a request when the syntactic structure is not interrogative; in effect, this is a statement with what superficially

sounds like a ‘question’ intonation contour, pretheoretically known as ‘uptalk’. Interestingly, a possible response to this request, e.g. *o'xto e'vro* ‘eight euro’, can also be in exactly the same intonation pattern.⁵

The difference to the intonation contour of polar questions in Cypriot Greek can be seen if we compare the representation in Figure 1 and that in Figure 2.

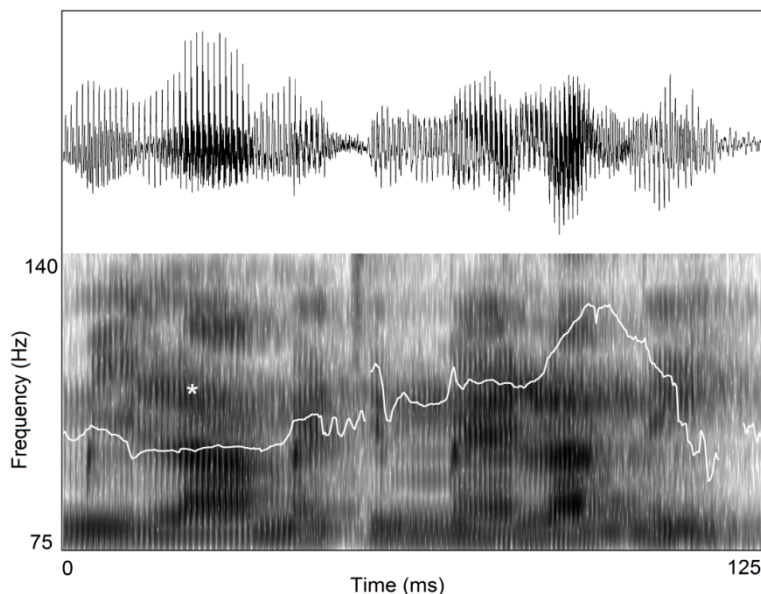


Figure 2. Tonal contour of the yes/no question *mi'la me ti 'melani* ‘is s/he talking to Melanie?’, uttered by a male speaker of Cypriot Greek.

Specifically, the Cypriot Greek question tune consists of a low (L*) nuclear pitch accent that aligns at the most prominent syllable of the utterance, an H- phrase accent and a low (L%) boundary tone (Arvaniti et al, 2006; Baltazani, 2007; Grice et al, 2000; Themistocleous, 2011). The HRT contour in Figure 1 consists of two intonation phrases; the first comprises the first lexical constituent, *tof file 'lefθeron* and it bears a prenuclear pitch accent, whereas the second one contains the phrase *tf'ena 'marporo*, uttered with a HRT; this pattern can also be phonemically analyzed as L*+H-L%, but the final rise-fall in the HRT contour has a wider pitch range than the one in polar questions and its most prominent constituent lies at the right edge of the utterance.

3.1.2 Pragmatic properties

It would appear that the Nicosian HRT has similar functions to the HRT statement contour found in New Zealand, Australian, Canadian and Californian ‘Valley’ English, known as Valspeak (cf. Britain 1992; Ching, 1982; Hay et al, 2008; Warren, 2005; Warren and Britain, 2000). Generally ‘uptalk’, i.e. the use of an HRT, can be said to mitigate the strength of a statement, possibly

⁵ To a Standard Greek speaker an answer in this intonation contour would sound like the interlocutor, in this context the salesperson, was not sure about the price of the newspaper and the cigarettes, as personal experience and anecdotal evidence confirms.

because the question-like intonation pragmatically functions as a (*meta*)request to the interlocutor to confirm or accept the veridicality of the speaker's statement; the connotations of politeness hence arise as a result of the HRT functioning as an index of respect towards the interlocutor's (discourse) status or 'face' (see Brown and Levinson, 1987).⁶

Naturally, such connotations of 'politeness' can be defeasible in context, given that they arise as contextual implicatures.⁷ Terkourafi (2001) mentions the following instance of the use of a 'rising pitch', in Terkourafi's terms, indicated by a question mark in her transcription. The episode took place at the workplace, between a female customer and a male salesperson:

- (4) ta 'exo propli'rosi prin ðjo 'mines? (.) paraka'lo na mu ta 'ðosete
'I have prepaid for them two months ago? Please give them to me'

(Terkourafi, 2001: 58)

The HRT in this instance is obviously not intended to be 'polite'; rather, it is intended as a (*meta*)request for the hearer to confirm the veridicality of the speaker's statement (just as a question tag would do, e.g. 'I paid for them two months ago, **didn't I?**'), i.e. as a request to the hearer to admit what he already knows to be true. In this case, the HRT again mitigates the strength of the statement, but in fact it makes it stronger and more forceful, rather than weaker.⁸

⁶ This general pragmatic approach can account for a number of superficially disparate functions of the HRT proposed in relevant literature, e.g. *checking* whether the speaker provides the information that the listener wants and that the listener understands what the speaker is saying; *establishing rapport* with the listener, especially in narratives, as HRTs seem to be checking whether the listener shares the same contextual assumptions as the speaker, etc. (Hay et al, 2008: 27-29; cf. also Warren, 2005; Warren and Britain, 2000).

⁷ A pragmatic approach that assigns particular 'meanings' or 'functions' to specific intonation contours would indeed be very hard to argue for (contra, e.g., Hirschberg, 2006; Pierrehumbert and Hirschberg, 1990), given precisely the defeasibility or cancellability of such meanings in varying contexts. We opt for a radical pragmatic approach to intonation, in the spirit of, e.g., Relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995), whereby an intonation contour may be semantically rather underdetermined, or, rather, have as much of semantic content as would be adequate for it to act as a constraint on interpretation *qua* implicature generation in different contexts; in the case of the HRT, such minimal semantic 'content' could be a (*meta*)request for confirmation of the veridicality of a statement by the hearer, which, in context, could yield either implications of politeness or their exact opposite, as is shown by example (4).

⁸ Similar reinforcement of the strength of the statement is achieved through the HRT in the following naturally-occurring examples and through similar pragmatic processes, i.e. the generation of implicatures to the effect that the interlocutor should confirm what s/he already knows to be true (the HRT contour is marked as ↑ ↓):

- (i) en apa'raðekton, en aθli'tes tʃe 'pernun anavoli'ka, na 'fefkun ka'lit^he↑ra↓
'It is unacceptable, they are athletes and yet they take substances, they had better leave'
- (ii) 'piramen isi'tiri↑a↓, e'klisamen ksenoðo'çi↑on↓, e'pcasamen tʃe tes ko'ru↑es↓, en 'eʃi pe'riptosin na men 'pa↑men↓.
'We bought the tickets, we booked the hotel, we phoned the girls, there's no way we aren't going'

3.2 The ‘hello!’ tune, or more ‘uptalk’

There is another type of rising tune in statements, again a fairly recent phenomenon in Cypriot Greek, which we will term the ‘hello!’ tune. Arguably the ‘hello!’ tune is also a fast-spreading innovation, especially among young(er) Nicosians.

3.2.1 Phonological properties

A phonological representation of the ‘hello!’ contour is provided in Figure 3:

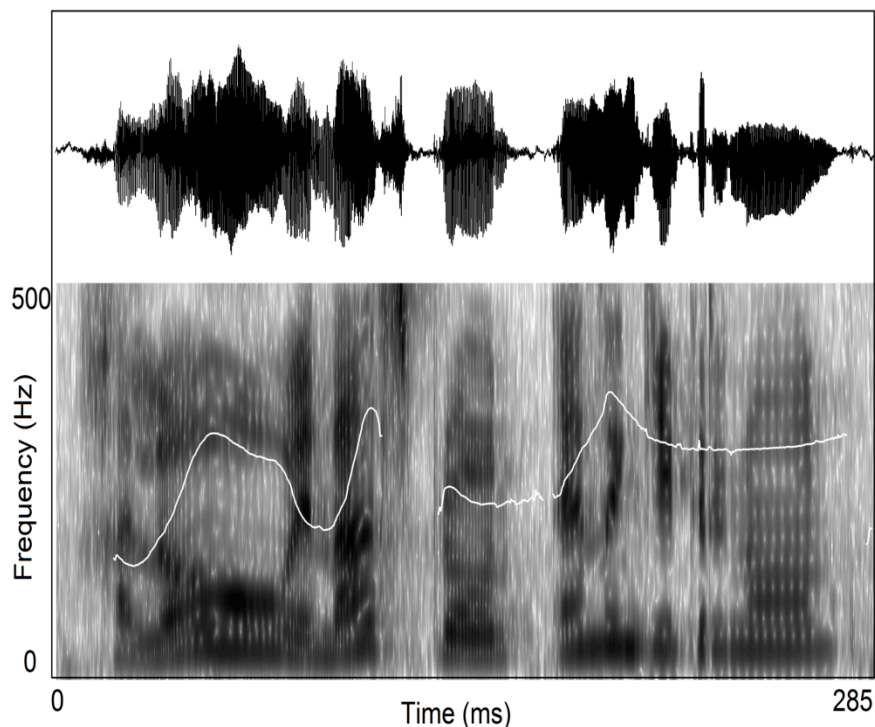


Figure 3. Tonal contour of the ‘hello!’ tune for *xa 'lou en 'aspron, en en 'citrinon* ‘Hello, it’s white, it’s not yellow!’, uttered by a female speaker of Cypriot Greek.

Interestingly, having a different tonal composition from the HRT (which is L*H-L%) and because it usually associates with two intonational phrases, the ‘hello!’ tune provides an instance of a more complex tune. Specifically, the tune’s first component, analyzed autosegmentally as L+H*!H%, is associated with the utterance’s first phrase, *xa 'lou en 'aspron*, whereas the second one, analyzed as (L+)H*!H%, is associated with the second phrase, *en en 'citrinon*. Consequently, both parts share a similar tune; nevertheless, the latter associates with greater degrees of final lengthening. The ‘hello tune’ resembles the *calling contour* in that it comprises a low tone associated with the stressed syllable, a rise up to the speaker’s mid frequency, and a steady mid ending (Varga, 2008). Interestingly, the *hello* phrase can also be omitted.

3.2.2 Pragmatic properties

This unusual intonation contour has rather distinctive pragmatic properties, as well as a very interesting history of how these properties arguably emerged. As is well known, besides its function as a greeting, ‘hello’ in (American) English can be “used as an emphatic interjection serving other functions, such as presenting a counterpoint framed as obvious” (Chun, 1997: 158). It appears that the ‘hello!’ intonation contour performs this very function in new Nicosian/*voutyrika*, and this with or without the interjection *xa'lou* ‘hello’; this can be seen from the data in (3) above, repeated here for convenience:

(3) a. [context:] Spyros’ mom is trying to force-feed him a cheese-pie; Spyros says:

- b. {*xa'lou*} 'efaa eθ 'θelo 'al:o
 {hello} eat-PAST.1sg NEG want.PRES.1sg more
 ‘{Hello,} I already ate, I don’t want any more’

In (3), the ‘hello!’ intonation contour (coupled with, but even without, the *xa'lou* interjection) indexes a shared contextual assumption (in this case, the premise that the speaker has already eaten) that should be glaringly obvious to the interlocutor.⁹

Interestingly, this tune may have originated in ‘dumb blonde’ jokes, which were very popular in Cyprus in the 2000s and in which the blonde typically prefaces the punchline with ‘hello!’ and, moreover, the punchline, which invariably frames an assumption as a piece of information that ought to have been obvious to the interlocutor, is delivered with a ‘hello!’ intonation contour.¹⁰ It remains unclear what the origins of this intonation contour are; almost identical ‘hello!’ blonde jokes were popular for a time in Greece, but the punchline is not delivered with this type of ‘uptalk’. We may then suggest tentatively that, together with the HRT, this is a Cypriot innovation loosely modeled on (perceptions of) ‘Valspeak’ or other media-propounded equivalents thereof, that found its way into a speech style (*voutyrika*) through jokes.

4. Results from the perception and rating survey

As with the segmental (phonological and morphosyntactic) variables discussed briefly in section 2.1, the purpose of the perception and rating survey was to detect speaker attitudes towards these

⁹ Again, if we want to aim for a unitary pragmatic account, we may put forward the argument that this type of ‘uptalk’ also reinforces the strength of the statement as the interlocutor is ‘invited’ to confirm the truth of the statement, the implicature being that s/he is in a position to access the veridicality of the statement, this being a shared and possibly salient contextual assumption.

¹⁰ A typical (Cypriot) blonde joke is something along these lines,

ksa'θ:i A: 'kori, o pa'pas en 'spiti?
 ksa'θ:i B: xa'lou, o pa'pas en 'aθropos!

Blonde A: Girl, is dad home?
 Blonde B: Hello, dad’s a man!

two tunes, and, more specifically, to test whether these are associated with aspects of an ‘urban’ lifestyle, as preliminary informant comments and intuitions suggested. As with the segmental variables, the tunes were provided in a male and a female guise; moreover, relevant utterances were provided twice, one token displaying the HRT or the ‘hello!’ intonation and the other displaying a regular statement intonation but keeping everything else identical, and, of course, non-sequentially. As with the rest of the variables, participants were asked to characterize the guises as ‘Nicosian’ or ‘non-Nicosian’; furthermore, participants were asked to characterize the guises as younger/older, educated/uneducated, modern/traditional, more intelligent/less intelligent, snobbish/not snobbish, aggressive/non-aggressive on a Likert scale (1...5). The two additional speaker variables, ‘effeminate’ for men and ‘blonde’ for women, were added for obvious reasons: if ‘uptalk’ is considered a trait of female speech, then it might be taken to index effeminate *qua* effeminacy in men; and if ‘uptalk’, and especially the ‘hello!’ tune is associated with the ‘blonde’ stereotype, a lifestyle-related stereotype *par excellence*, then including that variable made sense, also because it was readily understood as a lifestyle-related variable by participants.

Results were however surprisingly univocal as regards the variables younger/older, educated/uneducated and more intelligent/less intelligent, and this for both tunes and for both the male and the female guise. One notable exception was the association of both tunes with the trait ‘modern’, but this only for the female guises. Even more surprisingly, as regards the variables snobbish/not snobbish, aggressive/non-aggressive, effeminate/non-effeminate and ‘blonde’, the results ran contrary to our expectations, as none of the tunes were rated as such. These are results that require explanation, but given the relevant paucity of the responses, the explanation will have to remain tentative at best, pending further research.

As regards the variable ‘Nicosian’/‘non-Nicosian’, however, a much clearer picture emerged for both tunes:

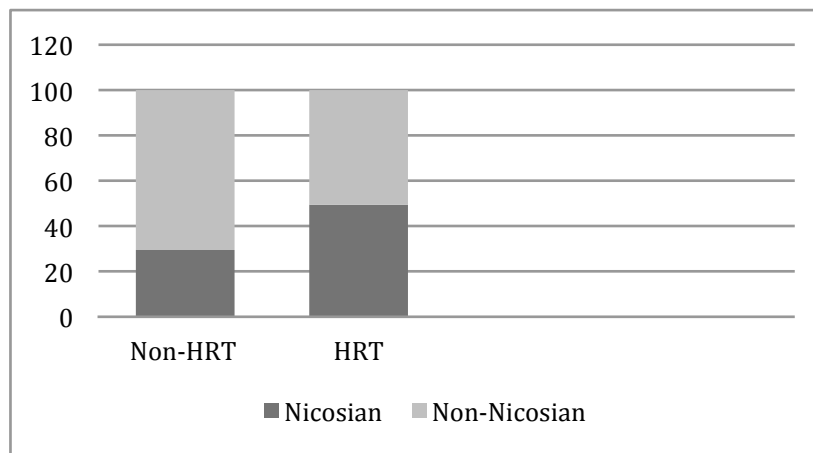


Figure 4. Rating of the HRT and non-HRT tunes as ‘Nicosian’

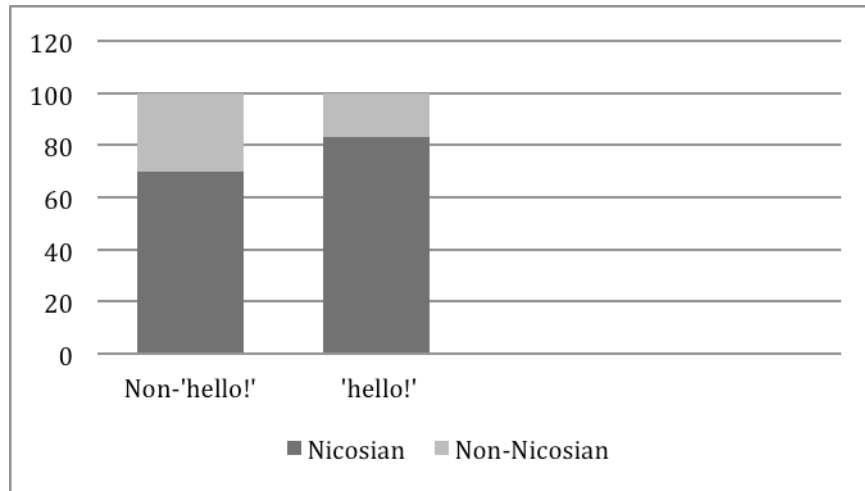


Figure 5. Rating of the 'hello!' and non-'hello!' tunes as 'Nicosian'

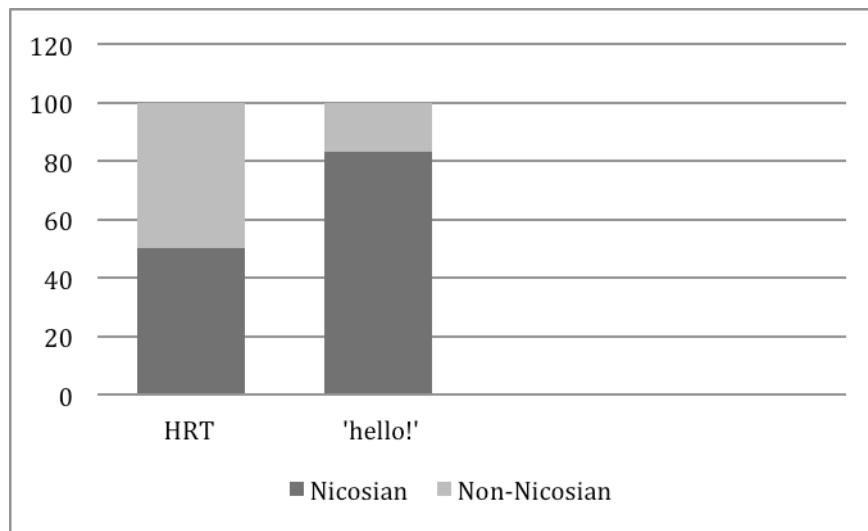


Figure 6. Rating of the HRT and the 'hello!' tunes as 'Nicosian'

As can be seen from Figures 4-6, both the 'hello!' and the HRT tunes were rated as 'more Nicosian' than their non-'uptalky' counterparts. Interestingly, though, the 'hello!' tune was rated as far more 'Nicosian' than the HRT tune, as shown in Figure 6.

4.1 Discussion

This study was an attempt to provide an initial report on the HRT and the 'hello!' tunes in Cypriot Greek, their phonetic description and their tonal composition. The matched-guise test deployed for the purpose of studying attitudes towards the HRT and the 'hello!' tunes yielded

some rather interesting, albeit preliminary, results. As we saw, none of the two tunes were associated with negative values such as snobbishness, aggressiveness, etc. On the other hand, none was actively associated with positive values such as modernity, education, etc. Interestingly, the two novel variables we controlled for, namely ‘effeminate’ and ‘blonde’, did not seem to be associated with these tunes either. On the other hand, both tunes were clearly rated as ‘Nicosian’, i.e. ‘urban’, the ‘hello!’ tune far more so than the HRT tune.

In fact, as is indicated by the preliminary results in Figures 4 and 6, the HRT is rated as much ‘Nicosian’ as ‘non-Nicosian’ (although it is rated as more ‘Nicosian’ than its non-‘uptalky’ counterpart). We take this result to indicate that the HRT is perceived as not exclusively ‘Nicosian’ but rather as a pancypriot tune, a *bona fide* part of the *koiné*, at least for a subset of our participants. Arguably we are faced with the case of an innovation originating as a marker of an ‘urban’ speech style that is however fast spreading, and hence losing specific lifestyle-related connotations, functioning instead as a generalized politeness marker. This is clearly not the case with the ‘hello!’ tune, which is felt to be distinctly ‘Nicosian’. As was mentioned in section 4, however, the fact that the tune does not seem to be overtly associated with lifestyle-related categories such as snobbishness, aggressiveness, effeminate etc., despite its origins and therefore contrary to our initial hypothesis, requires some explanation, which must however be proffered tentatively at this stage. We might speculate that (*meta*)pragmatically the ‘hello!’ tune indexes ingroup solidarity and a ‘young’ lifestyle, hence it was not evaluated negatively, at least not by participants in this study, since the overwhelming majority belonged to younger age groups.¹¹ It would therefore be interesting to see whether the ‘hello!’ tune would be rated differently by older participants.

5. Conclusions

We wrap up this paper with some preliminary speculations, rather than full-blown conclusions. We may speculate that new ‘Nicosian’ is ultimately not a geographical term, although the geographical connotations perhaps have their own significance as lifestyle indicators. In this context, ‘urban’ refers to lifestyle(s) and their linguistic indexing, and what has emerged from this study is that different variants index different aspects of purported identities/lifestyles, albeit with some significant overlaps.

To reiterate a question posed earlier, it remains an open issue whether new ‘Nicosian’ is a readily identifiable, distinct register or speech style within the Cypriot Greek *koiné*, or, given its significant overlaps with the *koiné* (as revealed by this study as regards both the segmental and the suprasegmental features examined), whether new ‘Nicosian’/*voutyrika* is in fact a result of rapid *enregistment* (or even stylization) on the basis of some distinctive variants (such as the ‘hello!’ tune), which are treated as salient or load-bearing in terms of their indexical load or valuing(s). If this is the case, then the (real and imagined) relationship between ‘Nicosian’, the pancypriot *koiné* and Standard Greek invites an analysis in terms of indexical orders (Silverstein, 2003; Tsipakou and Ioannidou, 2012) and their reshuffling in the exciting sociolinguistic context of present-day Cyprus.

¹¹ As a 27-year old participant in the study aptly notes, “I don’t think it sounds snobbish or aggressive; it’s how I talk with my friends. Why would I be aggressive or snobbish towards my friends?”. She adds, though, that the ‘hello!’ intonation contour may well be ‘misunderstood’ by older speakers, so “we wouldn’t use it outside the *parea* [ingroup]”.

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ISSUES IN THE DIAGNOSIS OF SLI IN GREEK CYPRIOT BILECTAL CHILDREN

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It is important to investigate children's language skills in their native linguistic variety because diagnosis, and intervention (therapy), cannot be based on findings from other languages or varieties which have different properties. Likewise, all first language assessments must be appropriate for children who acquire their native variety — in the present study, Cypriot Greek (CG). This paper assesses the utility of existing tools in the diagnosis of specific language impairment (SLI) in CG. In total, 16 children with SLI ranging from 5 to 9 years of age and 22 age-matched typically developing children participated in this study. Results showed that the existing tools can be used to identify children with SLI, but only when the comparison is between children that use the same variety. However, a proper adaptation to CG is needed, given that due to cultural and linguistic differences, not all the stimuli from the Standard Greek versions were equally appropriate for Greek Cypriot children, who are here termed bilectal in the two linguistic varieties.

1. Specific Language Impairment

Language acquisition is one of the most robust yet intrinsic processes of early childhood. However, not all children acquire language fully or even effortlessly. The term 'specific language impairment' (henceforth, SLI), the main interest of the current study, is applied to children who exhibit a significant deficit in language ability yet display normal hearing, age-appropriate scores on tests of non-verbal intelligence, and no obvious signs of neurological damage or social-emotional deprivation.

Many tools and multiple resources have been employed by both clinicians and researchers in order to integrate information and then to set the diagnosis of SLI. So information might be collected either from clinical observation and informal test administration or from interviews of parents and teachers. In addition, they assemble clues from norm-referenced language tests that tap into the different language components (such as morphology, phonology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics as well as the lexicon), when and if there are available. In combination with established knowledge about atypical and delayed language development, this leads to the diagnosis of the language impairment.

It is possible to diagnose SLI adequately only after the age of 4, given that many children presenting signs of a ‘delay’ in language development are ‘late bloomers’ who manage to catch up with typically developing children (Rescorla, 1989). An epidemiological study showed that the incidence of SLI is around 7% among preschoolers, with males more affected than females (Tomblin et al., 1997), whereas only 29% of the parents of children with SLI had been previously informed about their children’s language problem (Tallal et al., 1989). Thus, 70% of affected children were not identified or diagnosed, and thus not enrolled in clinical services. The risk of not diagnosing the disorder, in populations where there are no available norm-referenced tests, becomes even higher. For many individuals, language deficits persist in later childhood, adolescence, and even adulthood (e.g. Aram and Nation, 1980; Paul et al, 1983; Nippold and Fey; 1983; Ullman and Gopnik, 1994). In addition, follow-up studies have shown that language problems are associated with social difficulties which are still evident in adolescence and adulthood (Clegg et al, 2005) as well as general learning difficulties (Snowling et al, 2001).

1.1. Diagnosing SLI in Greek Cypriot children

Due to a lack of standardized testing tools that are valid and reliable, diagnosing language impairment in Greek Cypriot children is not straightforward. These children are considered ‘(discrete) bilingual’ (Rowe & Grohmann, 2012), growing up with Cypriot Greek (CG) as their native variety alongside Standard Modern Greek as the official language. The lack of language assessment tools for CG language capabilities, particularly in the preschool and early school years, often creates difficulties in credible and objective diagnosis of speech, in assessing the severity of language impairment, in the documentation of progress of speech therapy treatment, and finally in completion of the language services. This problem is well known among speech and language therapists, as well as to scientists who conduct research.

A number of norm-referenced tests have been published in order to evaluate language abilities of (Standard) Greek-speaking children. These include the Diagnostic Verbal IQ Test (Tsimpli & Stavrakaki, 2000), the Word Finding Test (Vogindroukas et al., 2009a), the Test of Language Comprehension and Production (Vogindroukas et al, 2009b), Action Pictures (Vogindroukas et al, 2011), the Greek Phonological Test (Levanti et al, 1998), the Metaphon Test (Giannetopoulou and Kirpotin, 2007), and the Athina Test (Paraskevopoulos et al, 1999). In addition to these, several translations and adaptations of English tests with no Greek norms are in use in clinical practice, but their results are (or should be) taken only as indicative. These tests are used extensively by speech and language therapists in Cyprus, but the use of these tests is disputed because of the difference in dialect and culture. However, Thordardottir et al. (2011) suggested the differences may not always be so important so as to rule out the use of such tests, and that only some modifications would be required, this suggestion cannot be blindly adopted. Thus, in order for this suggestion to be applied an examination of these tests is needed even though the issue was not addressed for the language on which the measurements were designed.

Consequently, diagnostic practices with CG-speaking children do not rely on standardized tests. Due to the absence of relevant measures, clinicians who evaluate the language skills of CG-speaking children are conveyed to diagnosis grounding on subjective criteria, informal tests and translations of standardized tests. Thus their recommendations comprise the interpretation of informal and subjective assessment. Given that the diagnosis is based on descriptive information and clinicians’ subjective judgment, the consistency of diagnosis thus cannot always be achieved.

All in all, the diagnostic practices with Greek Cypriot children differ markedly from those used with speakers of other languages, especially English, where specialists can rely on test measurements. Instead, emphasis is placed on qualitative assessments as well as on subjective judgment of clinicians as well as researchers. These procedures are based not only on clinical experience but on the knowledge that therapists gain during their formal training regarding SLI.

Therefore it is essential to investigate Greek Cypriot children with SLI. There is a great need to avoid confusion between language variation attested in dialectal situations and those which are the result of language impairment. The tests which were designed to assess the language abilities of children speaking the standard variety have been (rightly) criticized (Battle, 1996; McGregor et al, 1997; Seymour et al, 1998; Wyatt, 2002), and the necessity for developing appropriate diagnostic tools which would differentiate the dialectal variation from language impairment has emerged. Furthermore, these tests are essential to take into account linguistic characteristics of the dialect under evaluation and potential cultural differences (Oetting & McDonald, 2001; Washington and Craig, 2004).

2. The Study

In this study, we aim to contribute to the investigation on the identification of appropriate language diagnostic tools that can diagnose SLI. Thus the objectives of this study are: (i) to identify which of the existing tools can identify children with SLI, and (ii) to define the differences between children with SLI and typically developing chronological age-matched children in a group of diagnostic measurements.

2.1. Participants

A total of 38 CG-speaking children aged 5 to 9 years participated in this study. The children were divided into four groups: two groups each of children with SLI and age-matched typically developing (TD) children. The younger group of children with SLI included 9 (7 boys and 2 girls, mean age 5;6, SD 0;3), and the older group 7 children (3 boys and 4 girls, mean age 7;8, SD 0;8). The younger group of TD children included 10 (6 boys and 4 girls, mean age 5;8, SD 0;6), and the older group 12 children (6 boys and 6 girls, mean age 7;10, SD 0;6). See table 1.

Group	Age Range	Num. of Participants	Mean	Stand. Dev.	Gender
TD1	4;5–6;6	10	5;8	0;6	6M, 4F
TD2	6;7–8;7	12	7;10	0;6	6M, 6F
SLI1	4;11–5;11	9	5;6	0;3	7M, 2F
SLI2	6;7–8;1	7	7;8	0;8	3M, 4F

Table 1: Participant details

Subject selection criteria included: (i) a ‘monolingual’ CG-speaking background (i.e. bilingual in CG and SMG), (ii) no history of neurological, emotional, developmental, or behavioral problems, (iii) hearing and vision adequate for test purposes, (iv) normal performance on a measure of non-verbal intelligence, (v) no gross motor difficulties, and (vi) medium to high socio-economic status. All the above information was obtained either from their speech therapists and teachers or from their parents.

All children were from urban Limassol and surrounding areas. Parental consent forms and an informative letter were distributed, and only those children whose parents approved took part in the investigation. TD children were recruited from public (pre-)primary schools with permission from the *Centre of Educational Research and Evaluation*. According to their teachers and parents, participants in the control groups were typically developing in all respects. None of the children had a referral from or underwent treatment by speech and language therapists.

Children with SLI were recruited through speech and language therapists either in private settings or in mainstream public schools. Two certified speech and language therapists who work in two private settings in Limassol were asked to refer children for this study that showed marked language impairment in the absence of any other difficulty. Given that the practices in terms of diagnosis might be different among the clinics, it is essential for researchers of SLI to document their criteria well for the diagnosis. Thus, the protocol used for the current study includes the previous identification of the participants by certified speech and language therapists based on case history, informal testing in terms of comprehension and production, analysis of language samples, and observation. Before any referral, the first author, a trained and licensed speech and language therapist with clinical experience of 11 years, thoroughly informed the therapists who referred participants for the purposes of this research about the expected difficulties of the children based on the criteria included in DSM-IV (2010) and Leonard (1998). Meetings with the therapists were also arranged to provide them with a detailed description of the research and to answer their questions. Thus, in the present study, the standard for determining each participant's status as impaired or not involved a combination of clinical judgment and informal testing.

2.2. Material

For those children whose language is primarily impaired, language evaluation is essential to ensure that they will be diagnosed correctly and then receive the appropriate services that they need. In the absence of guidelines in determining whether a child presents SLI or not, research (Theodorou et al., in progress) showed that speech therapists in Cyprus use a number of available Greek tests and tests translated from other languages for the diagnosis of language impairment.

Acknowledging the importance of assessing language skills using formal tests that target specific language domains, a group of available language tests were examined mirroring also the clinical tradition. The intention was to cover the major domains of language that are mentioned as affected in the SLI literature in order to enable an inclusive assessment.

The following paragraphs present briefly the battery of tests used which had been designed to evaluate language performance of children, evaluating both modalities, comprehension and production, and the test used to determine the intellectual abilities of participants.

2.2.1. Raven's Coloured Progressive Matrices (Raven, Raven & Court, 1998)

The use of a non-verbal IQ test is essential for the diagnosis of SLI to rule out any intellectual deficiency. The Raven Coloured Progressive Matrices was designed for use with children for anthropological studies and for clinical work. It assesses as accurately as possible a child's level of intellectual development. It has subsequently found wide application in educational, clinical, and occupational settings. The psychometric indicators of reliability and validity are high for the particular test.

The test presents the child with a series of patterns from which a piece is missing. The child

is instructed to select, among six alternative pieces, the single piece that can complete the pattern. Children's answers are scored as correct and incorrect, and the total score is compared to an age-matched population.

2.2.1. The Bus Story Test (Renfrew, 1997)

The Bus Story Test (BST) is a screening test of verbal expression that examines story retelling with picture support. It can demonstrate difficulties with verbal expression, as well as phonological, semantic, grammatical, and sequencing problems. The BST was designed to be used by speech and language therapists as well as psychologists. It can be given to children ranging from 3 to 8 years of age and to adults who have learning difficulties. The BST is a standardized procedure in the UK used frequently by speech and language therapists. It has been translated and used widely in Greece as well.

With regards to administration, the experimenter tells each child the short story of a red bus, while the child is looking through the picture book illustrating the story, and then the child is requested to retell the story as close to the original as possible. The child then retells it while looking at the pictures.

The narrative samples were transcribed and then utterances were divided into sentences and evaluated with respect to five measures, three that the BST suggests and two additional ones. The measures used are the following:

1. *Information*: The semantic complexity is measured using a norm-referenced information score that the BST provides.
2. *Subordinates Clauses*: After each narrative was divided into sentences following Scott's (1988) criteria, the produced subordinate clauses were counted.
3. *A5LS*: When the narratives were transcribed, they were divided into sentences (T-units); then the MLU-word was calculated and the mean of the five longest sentences were computed.
4. *MLU-word*: In the absence of normative data for mean length of utterances in CG, it was calculated based on words for each narrative (MLU-word); all words were added up and the sum was divided by produced sentences.
5. *T-units*: This measure forms the total number of used sentences (T-unit).

2.2.3. Developmental Verbal IQ Test (Tsimpli and Stavrakaki, 2000)

Children's language abilities were also measured using the Developmental Verbal IQ Test (DVIQ) which is the only existing test that examines language development in SMG. The DVIQ measures various aspects of language skills concerning comprehension and production. It consists of five sub-parts that test vocabulary, comprehension of morphosyntax, production of morphosyntax, metalinguistic concepts, and sentence repetition.

The DVIQ was designed to be used by language researchers and clinicians. The whole procedure of the test was presented as a game. The child was asked to name pictures, to show which picture depicted the situation that the researcher described, and to repeat sentences after the researcher. The child's answers were recorded on the answer sheets of the tests; they were then scored and analyzed later.

2.2.4. Athina Test (Paraskevopoulos et al, 1999)

The Athina Learning Disabilities Diagnostic Test is a set of individual diagnostic tests. It assesses individual level and pace of development of a child in different areas, namely in terms of intellectual ability, immediate memory sequences, completion of incomplete performances, writing-phonological awareness, and neuro-psychological maturity. For the purposes of the study, children were tested on the two tasks, vocabulary (definitional skills) and sound discrimination. Therefore, the vocabulary sub-scale, which assesses the degree of organization of concepts by the child, was selected to be used in the diagnostic part of the study. The phonological awareness was measured using the sound discrimination task. The participants were asked to judge whether pairs of non-words, spoken by the researcher are identical or different. The experimenter said each pair of non-words aloud, obscuring the view of her lips with a piece of paper while saying the non-words.

2.2.5. Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (Dunn and Dunn, 1981)

The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) was used in order to assess children's receptive vocabulary skills. The PPVT measures receptive language abilities of individuals of different ages. In addition, it provides an estimate of the individual's verbal intelligence or scholastic aptitude. For its administration, the researcher presents a series of pictures to each participant. There are four pictures to a page, and each is numbered. The researcher utters a word describing one of the pictures and asks the child to point to or say the number of the picture that the word described.

2.2.6. Greek Phonological Test (Levanti et al, 1998)

The Greek Phonological Test was used to assess phonological skills of all participants. It is an individually administered test designed to assess phonological skills in Greek-speaking children. The assessment procedure is designed in order to provide an overview of phonological abilities of a child. This measure was included because the literature suggests that the majority of children who are diagnosed as having phonological problems show problems in other components of language as well (Paul and Shriberg, 1982, Ruscello et al, 1991; Leonard, 1998). The test is the only one that appears in Greek and tests phonological skills, and it was developed and standardized in Greece (Levanti et al, 1998). No norms exist so far for CG. Participants needed to name pictures in one word. The child's answers were recorded on the answer sheets of the tests using IPA and were audio recorded to be confirmed later on. For the purposes of the study, the responses were scored as correct or incorrect.

2.2.7. Word Finding Test (Vogindroukas et al, 2009a)

In order to assess children's naming ability, the Word Finding Test was administered. It assesses the extent to which pictures of objects could be named correctly. Concepts illustrate everyday objects, known categories of objects, concepts of childhood fairy tales, and children's television programs. The responses were recorded by the researcher during testing on the score sheet and then scored as correct or incorrect. Because of the lexical differences between SMG and CG, a list with alternative correct words was used for scoring.

2.3. Procedure

Children were assessed individually in three to five sessions either within schools, in speech and language clinics, or in a quiet room in their homes across a period of one to three months. The order of task presentation varied across participants and testing on all tests was completed at the child's own pace, no time limitations were imposed. Participants could ask for breaks at any stage during any session, and they could also ask any particular visit to end. The diagnostic tools were administered either by the first author or by a certified speech and language therapist under the first author's close supervision. Scoring of the tests was conducted by the first author and then checked by the second author.

When necessary, the sessions were audio-recorded using an Olympus digital voice recorder with a high quality built-in microphone. Before starting the first session, the experimenter had a short chat with the child introducing themselves and explaining what was going to happen in order to both inform the child about the whole procedure and to become familiar with the child. At the end of each session, the child received a small token (such as a sticker or a pencil).

3. Results

The mean performance of the younger TD and SLI group on the language tests including the significant levels based on the independent t-tests are displayed in table 2.

TESTS	MEAN (Standard deviation)		Sig (2-tailed)
	TD (10)	SLI (9)	
DVIQ			
Vocabulary	22.9 (2.18)	16.78 (2.82)	0.000*
Production: Morphosyntax	19.8 (2.1)	13.89 (2.71)	0.000*
Comprehension: Metalinguistic knowledge	19.9 (1.8)	18 (3.87)	0.180
Comprehension: Morphosyntax	25.4 (2.6)	24.56 (3.84)	0.578
Sentence repetitions	45.50 (2.51)	40.89 (2.47)	0.001*
TOTAL DVIQ	133.50 (7.63)	114.11 (10.45)	0.000*
PPVT (Raw Scores)	63.80 (11.73)	54.78 (16.55)	0.185
Word Finding Test	33.30 (5.14)	21.67 (2.74)	0.000*
ATHINA Test			
Definitions	15.44 (7.50)	7.78 (2.39)	0.016*
Phonemic discrimination	18.40 (3.41)	15.56 (6.29)	0.251
Greek Phonological Test	66.9 (3.14)	48.22 (9.76)	0.000*

Bus Story Test			
Information	35.80 (11.54)	21.78 (8.94)	0.009*
A5LS	8.44 (2.12)	5.40 (0.82)	0.001*
Sub. clauses	7.80 (4.10)	1.67 (1.5)	0.001*
No. of T-units	20.60 (3.89)	15.56 (3.75)	0.011*
MLU	4.70 (1.24)	3.39 (2.76)	0.013*

Table 2. Means, standard deviations, and significant levels of the two younger groups, TD and SLI (Key: TD=Typically Developing children, SLI=children with SLI)

A clear differentiation between the children with SLI and the TD children can be observed for several measures. Concentrating on table 2, we note that the majority of the measures yielded statistical significant differences at the p level used for these comparisons ($p > 0.05$). The measures that yielded significant group differences included DVIQ Vocabulary ($t(17)=5.325$, $p=0.000$), DVIQ Production: Morphosyntax ($t(17)=5.345$, $p=0.000$), DVIQ Sentence repetitions ($t(17)=4.031$, $p=0.001$), DVIQ Total ($t(17)=4.654$, $p=0.000$), Word Finding Test ($t(17)=6.046$, $p=0.000$), Athina Test Definitions ($t(16)=2.922$, $p=0.01$), Greek Phonological Test ($t(17)=5.747$, $p=0.000$), BST Information ($t(17)=2.936$, $p=0.009$), BST A5LS ($t(17)=4.030$, $p=0.001$), BST Sub. clauses ($t(17)=4.226$, $p=0.001$), BST No. of T-units ($t(17)=2.871$, $p=0.011$), and BST MLU ($t(17)=2.764$, $p=0.013$). In contrast, no significant differences were yielded for the remaining tests: DVIQ Comprehension: Metalinguistic knowledge, DVIQ Comprehension: Morphosyntax, PPVT, and Athina Test Phonemic discrimination.

Significant differences between the two older groups of participants can also be observed, as illustrated in table 3.

TESTS	MEAN (Standard deviation)		Sig (2-tailed)
	TD (12)	SLI (7)	
Raven's (Standard Score)	94.58 (9.64)	95.71 (17.66)	0.880
DVIQ			
Vocabulary	24.67 (1.61)	20.57 (1.81)	0.000*
Morphosyntax	21.33 (1.37)	14.58 (1.9)	0.000*
Comprehension: Metalinguistic knowledge	22.58 (1.88)	19 (1.73)	0.001*
Comprehension: Morphosyntax	28.58 (1.38)	26.43 (2.23)	0.047*
Sentence repetitions	47.33 (0.985)	42.29 (2.36)	0.000*
TOTAL DVIQ	144.50 (4.17)	122.86 (6.31)	0.000*
PPVT (Raw Scores)	93.67 (25.87)	72.86 (16.59)	0.074
Word Finding Test	38.25 (3.70)	27.71 (4.82)	0.000*
ATHINA Test			
Definitions	21 (6.92)	9.17 (0.98)	0.000*
Phonemic discrimination	25.33 (3.5)	16.71 (5.38)	0.001*
Greek Phonological Test	69.67 (0.49)	66.14 (2.67)	0.000*

Bus Story Test			
Information	46.42 (8.87)	29.00 (8.21)	0.001*
A5LS	9.57 (2.36)	7.86 (1.9)	0.122
Sub. clauses	9 (3.02)	5.57 (1.9)	0.015*
No. of T-units	20.50 (3.32)	20.14 (4.02)	0.836
MLU	5.24 (1.31)	4.64 (1.14)	0.326

Table 3. Means, standard deviations, and significant levels of the two older groups, TD and SLI (Key: TD=Typically Developing children, SLI=children with SLI)

Turning to the older group, the measures that revealed significant differences are slightly different. These measures include: DVIQ Vocabulary ($t(17)=5.104$, $p=0.000$), DVIQ Production: Morphosyntax ($t(17)=9.005$, $p=0.000$), DVIQ Comprehension: Metalinguistic knowledge ($t(17)$, $p=0.001$), DVIQ Comprehension: Morphosyntax ($t(17)=2.625$, $p=0.018$), DVIQ Sentence repetitions ($t(17)=6.59$, $p=0.000$), DVIQ Total ($t(17)=9.050$, $p=0.000$), Word Finding Test ($t(17)=5.367$, $p=0.000$), Athina: Definitions ($t(17)=4.109$, $p=0.001$), Athina: Phonemic discrimination ($t(17)=4.257$, $p=0.001$), Greek Phonological Test ($t(17)=4.528$, $p=0.013$), BST Information ($t(17)=4.239$, $p=0.000$), and BST Sub. clauses ($t(17)=2.694$, $p=0.015$). Conversely, the measures that did not approach significant differences levels are PPVT, BST A5LS, BST No. of T-units, and BST MLU.

Summing up, it was observed that the attested groups differ significantly on a number of assessment tools, as was expected in view of the clinical profiles shown by participants at the time of testing. It should be noted that only the production sub-tests of the DVIQ exhibited significant differences for the younger groups, whereas all DVIQ sub-tests exhibited significant differences for the older group, even though the version of the test used was originally designed for the assessment of preschoolers. The reverse happened for the measurements of the BST: All measurements (Information, A5LS, No. of subordinated clauses, No. of T-units, MLU) yielded significant group differences for the younger but not for the older group, where significant differences were revealed for the relevant information provided and for the number of subordinated clauses used. As for the Word Finding Test and the Greek Phonological Test, the scores in both approached significant levels of differences for the younger and the older children. The performances on the definition task from the Athina Test differed significantly for the attested groups, while the performance on the Phonemic Discrimination task revealed significant differences only for older groups. Lastly, the PPVT task did not yield significant differences for any of the groups although it is the most widely used assessment tool of receptive vocabulary for children with language impairment, as evidenced by both clinical report and research investigations (e.g. Evans et al., 2009; Betz & Sullivan, 2010; Preston & Edwards, 2010).

4. Discussion

The inexistence of appropriate language assessment tools for CG not only makes the clinical assessment difficult, but it also creates confusion among policy-makers, teachers, and clinicians alike, who conceptualize the kind and nature of language impairment differently. The difficulty found in other populations as well (Thordardottir et al., 2010) constrains both the definition and the detection of the impairment. The very first step towards improving the rate of intervention for

children with SLI is the appropriate identification of the impairment. The aim of this part of the study was to place the foundations for the diagnosis of SLI in CG-speaking children. It was intended to demonstrate whether Greek Cypriot children with SLI perform differently than age-matched peers on the available language tests.

The study showed that children with SLI, as previously identified, performed significantly lower than their age-matched TD peers on the majority of the measurements under examination, as depicted in tables 2 and 3. The differences in performance between children with SLI and TD children were generally quite large. These group differences show that Greek Cypriot children diagnosed with SLI have a deficient performance across the different areas of language, including phonology, semantics, morphology, and syntax as well as in narration, which is an alloy of all the above, suggesting that language differences in SLI may be observed at different levels of language. On the other hand, this finding suggests that Greek Cypriot children who are characterized as having SLI probably experience problems at various levels of language. Consequently, the information that the tests provide to clinicians about the children's language situation can be used for therapy planning.

Overall, the results indicate that these tests can help clinicians to identify and diagnose SLI in Greek Cypriot children. Going a step further, the findings can be used as the foundation for the construction of a comprehensive diagnostic test battery. We propose that the available tests be used once they are modified to meet the needs of CG and subsequently standardized.

Several advantages arise from using standardized language tests. First, when standardized tests are used, it is feasible to know how well the provision system acts in terms of the attested impairment. The information gained allows clinicians and researchers as well as policy-makers to deliver conclusions about how many individuals present with SLI, which in turn allows making more appropriate decisions about service provision. Second, an issue that often arises has to do with the definition of SLI. Although clinicians and investigators use the term SLI to refer to a clearly defined group of children, no generally accepted definition exists. Thus, children treated by one clinician may not be similar to those seen by a second clinician. Using standardized tests, the consistency and replicability of the diagnosis is ensured.

5. Conclusion

The overall objective of the current study was to examine the available Greek language tests used so far both in clinical and research contexts. The results indicate that standardized assessment tools can support the diagnostic procedure given the fact that a number of tests showed significant differences between children with SLI and control participants. Therefore, the use of the available tests, once modified to meet the needs of the Cypriot Greek linguistic variety, and standardization can become part of a formal language assessment battery for bilingual Greek Cypriot children with SLI living in Cyprus.

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ETYMOLOGY AND DIALECTAL LEXICOGRAPHY

THE *DICTIONARY OF THE MINOR ASIA DIALECTAL VARIETIES OF KYDONIES, MOSCHONISIA AND EASTERN LESVOS (DKMEL)**

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This paper is a contribution to the study of etymology with the use of dialectal lexicography, as illustrated by the design of a medium size dictionary, such as DKMEL, which contains ca. 2.300 lemmas from the dialectal varieties of Kydonies, Moschonisia and Eastern Lesbos. In this paper, we discuss the principles of building DKMEL, its similarities and its deviations as compared to the principles set by large-scale dictionaries, such as the *Historical Dictionary of Modern Greek*, the *Dictionary of Medieval Vulgar Greek Literature* and the *Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek*. For an illustration of our choices, we provide samples of DKMEL entries, and present the criteria used for the etymological research conducted within the frame of DKMEL.

1 Introduction

1.1 Dialectal lexicography and etymology in Greece

Modern Greek (MG) dialectal lexicography has a long tradition in Greece. According to Dimela (in press), we can distinguish three periods: an early period (from the end of the 19th century until about the middle of the 20th century), a modern one (about the 2nd half of the 20th century) and the current one (in the 21st century). The last period is characterized by works that methodologically follow to a large extent the current developments in the field of lexicography¹.

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¹ On the other hand, Katsoyanou (2008: 654) argues that since the 80s, the Greek dialectal lexicography was mostly taken over by amateurs who are empirically connected with a certain dialect.

Thus, they are more systematic concerning the explanatory part, grammatical markers (noun, verbs etc.), etymology and examples.

When it comes to the etymological part of a dialectal dictionary, Xydopoulos (2011: 101) asserts its significance, since in this kind of dictionaries, etymologies can help the user understand the influence that various language systems may have on a certain dialect, either synchronically or diachronically. As Petrounias (2001: 360-361) argues, MG etymologies show particularities that are not present in other European languages due, amongst others, to the origin of MG, since it is usually considered to go back to Homeric or even to Mycenaean Greek. If the history of a language is (ideologically or scientifically) extended to a long period of more than 3.500 years, it should be taken into account in the way etymologies appear in a dictionary, because they may reflect the ideas and the attitudes that the users have developed towards their language system(s)². We believe that this holds true not only in the case of the monolingual dictionaries of Standard Modern Greek (SMG) but also in the case of dialect dictionaries, since these dictionaries have a wide range of justifications and purposes: they do not exist for purely scientific reasons but (often independently from their compilers' intentions) are considered to help the dialectal speakers be (more) aware of the richness or the remote origins of their own dialect³.

Assuming that the etymological part of a dictionary plays a crucial role in the formation of attitudes towards language, then, it is important that modern dialectal lexicography adopts a scientific methodology which depicts the history of the words included in the dictionary, as systematically and as objectively as possible. According to Katsouda (2012: 854), dialectal dictionaries compiled by professionals, are based on scientific principles, the oldest testimonies of the headwords are searched for, every phonological and morphological change is explained, etymology is given for every morphological element of a headword (suffixes, prefixes etc.), and references are given to relevant scientific works⁴.

DKMEL aims to follow this concept of design as far as its etymological part is concerned. In this paper, after a brief description of DKMEL, we focus on the presentation of the etymological principles in comparison with those of major lexicographic reference works, such as the *Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek* of the Institute of Modern Greek Studies (DSMG)⁵, the *Historical Dictionary of Modern Greek* of the Athens Academy (HD)⁶ and E. Kriaras' *Dictionary of Medieval Vulgar Greek Literature* (DMVGL)⁷. Then, we refer to the criteria which are given priority for discovering and formulating the etymologies of DKMEL.

1.2 A brief description of DKMEL

Dialectal dictionaries could be regarded either as monolingual or as bilingual⁸. Assuming that in a dialectal dictionary the entry-words do not belong to the same functional code as the language of explanation, DKMEL should be considered as a rather bilingual dictionary⁹; moreover, it is

² In our case, a big percentage of the population of Eastern Lesvos use Standard Modern Greek alongside with their dialectal varieties.

³ See Barbato and Varvaro (2004: 429) for the Italian dialect dictionaries.

⁴ See also Liberman (1998: 459-460).

⁵ See http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/modern_greek/tools/lexica/triantafyllides/etymology.html.

⁶ See vol. 1, p. ιβ-ιγ.

⁷ See vol. 1, p. ια'-ιβ' and ιε'-ιστ'.

⁸ Geeraerts (1989: 294), Béjoint (2000: 39)

⁹ See also Xydopoulos (2011: 96-97; 2012).

not a synchronic one (in the sense of Rey-Debove 1971, 98), because it contains entries from different time periods of the dialects of Kydonies, Moschonisia and Eastern Lesvos (KMEL)¹⁰. Its macrostructure includes collected dialectal material from the oral language tradition (ca. 2,300 entries) regardless of its age.

The microstructure of DKMEL includes indications about the pronunciation, grammar, origin, meaning and usage. DKMEL uses the IPA characters for each entry, together with the orthographic form¹¹ spelled with lowercase letters and stress diacritics. The MG spelling of the headwords and the citations is canonized and, consequently, user-friendly to anyone familiar with the SMG spelling¹². Grammar in DKMEL microstructure contains information about category, inflection and syntax. Usage labels indicate, whenever necessary, the thematic area for each entry, as well as pragmatic information¹³. Entry definitions in DKMEL are synonymic (with equivalent words in SMG) or sentential (for entries with dialect-specific meaning)¹⁴.

The following examples illustrate two sample entries of DKMEL:

απίζιρβα (Επ) /a'pizirva/ Παμφ: παράμερα, πιο πέρα, απόμερα. «Καθόνταν απίζιρβα για να μλουν τσι να μη τς βλέπιν». [απι-+μσν. ζερβά «αριστερά» (<ζερβ(ός) (<ζαρβός (με [a>e] ίσως από επιδρ. του [r])<*ζαβρός (με μεταθ. του [r])<ζαβός «άμυαλος, ανόητος, τρελός, παλαβός, αγκύλος, κυρτός»<τουρκ. *sav(a)* «αφελής, βλάκας, ανόητος» (με ηχηροπ. του αρχικού [s>z] από συμπροφ. με το άρθρο στην αιτ. [ton-s>ton-z]))+(-ός)+(-ά)].

απουλ'(υ)τό (Ο, ουδ) /apuɫ'to/: ειδ.λεξ. απλό σχέδιο ύφανσης στον αργαλειό. «Απουλ'τό να φάν'ς, όχ' βαγιόφλου». [ουσιαστικοπ. ουδ. του μσν. ε. *απολυτός* «ελεύθερος, αδέσμευτος» <αρχ. *ἀπολυ-* (ἀπολύω)+(-τός)].

1.3 The etymology in major Greek dictionaries

1.3.1 HD

The ultimate objective of HD was to illuminate the history, folklore and culture of the Greek people by means of their language¹⁵. So, the scope of HD was the spoken MG language, "both the commonly spoken one and its dialects". According to G. Chatzidakis, the founder of HD, the historical overview of each lexical item should be provided. Thus, the investigation of MG dialects was judged to be essential, since linguistic history is often more easily detectable through dialectal material, whereas it is obscured in the standard language. Through spatial linguistic variation it is possible to establish the changes that affect a language, not only on the level of lexicon and semantics, but also on the phonological and morphological levels. Consequently, for the compilation of HD a double form of investigation was adopted, both historical and comparative dialectal¹⁶. Since the content of HD was not reduced only to the commonly spoken language, it should be considered as a dialectal dictionary. As far as we know, it is the first of its kind in Greece, where the etymological principles are relatively clearly

¹⁰ See also Giakoumaki, Karantzi and Manolessou (2004), Xydopoulos (2012).

¹¹ See also Giakoumaki, Karantzi and Manolessou (2004), Atkins and Rundell (2008: 206).

¹² For the advantages of orthographic canonicity of the headwords, see Xydopoulos (2011: 100; 2012).

¹³ See also Markus and Heuberger (2007: 357-358), Xydopoulos (2012).

¹⁴ See also Geeraerts (2003: 91), Xydopoulos (2012).

¹⁵ Charalambakis (2003: 208)

¹⁶ Bassea-Bezantakou (2010: 10, 12, 13), Giakoumaki, Karantzi and Manolessou (2004)

described in its introduction¹⁷ and for every headword, data is provided, concerning its predecessor(s), derivation or compounding, and sometimes the phonological changes which led to its appearance. This dictionary is important for the Greek lexicography, because one of the main problems of older etymological dictionaries was the lack of etymological principles. Besides, the analysis of Modern Greek words was usually either rudimentary or non-existent, though quite often a rudimentary analysis of words inherited from Ancient Greek (AG) was offered¹⁸. On the contrary, the etymology of every HD word is given, independently from the period of its formation¹⁹.

1.3.2 DMVGL

DMVGL is a lexicon of the vocabulary employed in the text of vulgar literature of the period that goes between 1100 AD and 1669 AD. According to Baker (1974: 171), from 1100 AD, the under-current of “vulgar” Greek slowly comes to surface, even though in the form of writing. E. Kriaras, the founder of DMVGL, believes that around 1100 AD the Greek language starts developing into MG and until 1669 AD an important part of the Greek literature reflects the byzantine tradition²⁰. Therefore, DMVGL could be related with MG and this relation is obvious in the etymological section, where the history of the (head)words is tracked down, whenever possible, to Common MG or to MG dialects. For this purpose, HD and the N. Andriotis’ *Etymological Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek*, as well as works published after HD, are utilised.

1.3.3 DSMG

DSMG was compiled under the supervision of the *Institute of Modern Greek Studies* of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and it is intended to be a dictionary of MG, as spoken by today’s average Greek, written in Modern Greek prose and the daily and periodical press, as heard on the radio and television. Apart from those words making up the core of MG, it includes all grammatical words, prefixes, suffixes, as well as first and second parts of compound words. In the etymological part, every headword is annotated, in its phonological, morphological and semantic aspects. It is always clarified whether the word originates from AG or from the Hellenistic period or even from Medieval Greek (MedG), and whether it is a borrowing of Medieval or Modern Greek. DSMG pays particular attention to derivational affixes as well as to the rules or patterns governing the development of the forms involved, so that the user could better understand how SMG evolved and continues to develop. There is always the danger of someone being intimidated by the amount of quite scholarly information provided, but this information seems appropriate for a dictionary intended not only for medium users who want to know in a simple, straightforward manner where the words of their language come from, but also for scholars²¹.

¹⁷ see vol. 1, pp. ιβ-ιγ.

¹⁸ Petrounias (2001: 364)

¹⁹ For a criticism of the way that the etymological principles of HD are applied, see Charalambakis (2003: 209). See also Petrounias (1985: 352).

²⁰ see vol. 1, pp. ι’, ια’.

²¹ Tzivanopoulou (2003: 201, 204). See also Mackridge (2001: 257-258) and Burke (1989: 160, 162-164).

1.3.4 Summarizing

The above mentioned Greek dictionaries are characterized by the following basic similarities: a) the adopted etymological principles which are described in their introductions, and b) the etymology of every word which is given, independently from the period where the word was formatted. In the following chapter, we will describe in detail how (b) is applied in DKMEL, and which elements of these major dictionaries have been used.

2 The etymologies in DKMEL

2.1 Basic elements of the etymological part of DKMEL

For every headword of DKMEL an etymological part is provided, where (i) its predecessor(s), (ii) derivation or compounding, and (iii) phonological or semantic changes which led to its appearance, are presented. With respect to the etymological part, DKMEL mainly follows DSMG. Reference to DMVGL is only indirectly made with respect to (iii), by mentioning works which provide details about the etymology of certain headwords. HD entries are also taken into account, also with respect to (iii).

2.1.1 The predecessor(s) of the words

According to Petrounias (1985: 308-309, 378-381), MG vocabulary is made up of words of popular and learned origin²². The headword list of DKMEL consists almost exclusively of the former ones, the majority of them being of AG, Hellenistic Greek (HG) or MedG origin. Concerning the time limit between MedG and MG, DKMEL follows E. Kriaras' view that until 1669 an important part of the Greek literature reflects the Byzantine tradition (see ch. 1.3.2). Consequently, language elements characterized in DKMEL as *μσν* are attributed to the period after the 15th century and up to 1669.

Following DSMG, if a MedG or MG predecessor does not appear as a headword, its etymology is listed in the etymological part of the entry where it appears²³. Compare the following examples²⁴:

απουμουν'(ι)κός (E) /apumun'kos/ Παμφ: υπομονετικός. «Τί τραβά αυτός-η-γ' -άθριπους έ λέγιτι. Πουλ'ύ απουμουν'κός είνυ». [*απουμουν(ή)+-ικός*]

and

πλουμ(ι)δάτους (E) /plu'mdatus/: χρωματιστός και λουλουδάτος. «Φόργι ένα πλουμδάτου πκάμσου» [νελ. *πλουμίδ(ι)* «διακοσμητικό σχέδιο, συνήθως κεντητό ή ζωγραφιστό» (<μσν. *πλουμ(ίον)* (υποκορ. του ελνστ. *πλοῦμον*)+-ίδι)+-άτος].

In *απουμουν'(ι)κός*, there is no etymology of its predecessor, because users can see it in the entry of *απουμουν'ή*²⁵, while in *πλουμ(ι)δάτους*, the etymology of its predecessor *πλουμίδι* is provided,

²² See also Petrounias (1999: 363).

²³ See Petrounias (1985: 371-372).

²⁴ From now on, due to shortage of space, we will not provide full entries as examples, but only those parts related to the topics under discussion.

²⁵ *απουμουν'ή* (O, θηλ) /apumun'i/ Παμφ: υπομονή. «Η-γ' -απουμουν'ή έχ' τσι τα όρια-τς». [μσν. *απομονή* <αρχ. ὑπομονή (με [i>a] από συμπροφ. με το αόριστο άρθρο και ανασυλλ. [mia-ip>miar>mi-ap])]

since there is no independent entry *πλουμίδι* (as in the case of DSMG). This way of etymological statement sometimes leads to entries with a relatively extended etymological part, which could not be considered as user-friendly, as in the following cases:

δειχνουκόλ'(ης) (Ο, αρσ) /δίχτυ'kols/: αυτός που του αρέσει να γυρνά με τολμηρά ρούχα. «Μουρή δειχνουκόλα, έ ντρέπισι λ'ίγου να γυρίγ'ς γυμν'ή;». [μσν. *δείχν(ω)* (<αρχ. *δεικνύω* (με αλλαγή με βάση το συνοπτ. Θ))+ο-+μσν. *κόλ(ος)* (ελνστ. σημ. 'πρωκτός')<αρχ. κῶλον 'μέλος του σώματος' (με αλλαγή με βάση την αιτ.)+-ης]

and

έδουνα (Επ) /'eðuna/: εδώ πέρα. «Έδουνα πάτσα τσι γλ'ύστρησα». [μσν. *εδώ* (<ίσως ελνστ. ὤδε (αρχ. σημ. 'προς τα εδώ') και μετακ. του τόνου αν. προς άλλα επιρρήματα όπως το *έδιου*)+μσν. *να* (<*ηνά (με αποβολή του αρχικού ατ. φων.)<αρχ. ἦν. Οι μετασχηματισμοί που οδήγησαν από το ἦν στο να ίσως οφείλονται σε αναλογική επίδραση του ἴνα (από το οποίο προήλθε ο σύνδεσμος *να*, όταν κατά τη μεσαιωνική περίοδο το ἴνα είχε εξελιχθεί σε *ινά*, οπότε και αποβλήθηκε το αρχικό άτονο φωνήεν). Η αναλογία, που κινητοποιήσε τόσο τη μετακίνηση του τόνου *ἦνα>*ηνά όσο και την προσθήκη του τελικού -α, οφείλεται στο ότι πιθανό κοινό χαρακτηριστικό των ἴνα και ἦν είναι ο δεικτικός τους χαρακτήρας (στην περίπτωση του ἴνα (που προέρχεται από ένα δεικτικό/κατευθυντικό τοπικό επίρρημα) έχουμε ενδογλωσσική/ενδοφορική δείξη). Μια άλλη πιθανή εκδοχή για την προέλευση του -α είναι να οφείλεται σε επίδραση του παρακελευσματικού *για*)].

However, it serves the purpose of familiarizing users with the processes of language creativity by which KMEL (or generally MG) evolved. For example, in the case of

αγγαρεύγου (Ρ) /aga'renɣu/: αγγαρεύω, επιβάλλω σε κάποιον εργασία. «Τούτου του μουρό είνι πουλ'ύ άξου, ούλου τ-αγγαρεύγιν τσι δε βγάζ άχνα». [μσν. *αγγαρεύγω* <ελνστ. ἄγγαρεύω (με [w>vɣ])],

by mentioning data such as the MedG mid-stage *αγγαρεύγω* or the development [w>vɣ], users obtain a clear view about the developments which led from HelG forms to their MG counterparts (through MedG).

Besides, with this kind of etymological statement, the user who wishes to follow the history of KMEL words does not need a separate etymological dictionary of MedG or MG. On the other hand, according to dictionaries mentioned in ch. 1.3, there are no data about the formation of AG or HelG predecessors. For example in the case of

βόλους [...] [αρχ. βῶλος 'σβόλος χῶμα'].

and

βουρδουνάρ(ι) [...] [ελνστ. *βουρδωνάριον* "μουλαράκι" (με [o>u] από επιδρ. του [r], -ιον>-ιν και αποβολή του τελικού -ν)],

the etymology of *βῶλος* and *βουρδωνάριον* is absent.

The different treatment of the predecessors, on the basis of the era of their formation, reflects the fact that the immediate predecessor of MG and its dialects (one of them being KMEL) is MedG, which is based on HelG and is indirectly related to AG. Consequently, in a medium size dialectal dictionary such as DKMEL, the etymological history of Modern Greek and Medieval

predecessors should be given priority; the more we diverge to the Greek linguistic past, the less etymological details should be given²⁶.

2.1.2 Derivation and compounding

Derivation and compounding are the two major processes of Greek word formation²⁷. According to Petrounias (1985, 310), in an etymological dictionary, word formation should be clearly presented and lexemes should be given, as well as prefixes and suffixes. In every compound headword of DKMEL, etymological information is provided for the whole, as well as for its components. For example, in the case of *βαγιόφ(υ)λλου*

βαγιόφ(υ)λλου [...] [νελ. *βάγι(ο)* (εν. του *βάγια* πληθ. του ελνστ. *βάϊον*, υποκορ. του *βάϊς* 'φύλλο φοινικιάς' με συνιζ. για αποφυγή της χασμωδ.)+ο-+μσν. *φύλλο* (<αρχ. *φύλλον* (με αποβ. του τελ. [n]))]

there is etymology for the components, *βάγιο* and *φύλλο*.

On the other hand, since DKMEL is not intended to be a morphological dictionary, there is no etymology for bound morphemes. For example, in

βάθλακας [...] [<μσν. *βαθουλ(ός)* (αρχ. *βαθ(ύς)*+*ουλός*)+*ακας*],

no reference is made to the origin of the suffix *-ακας*.

2.1.2 Phonological and semantic changes

Following Petrounias (1985, 309-310), in an etymological dictionary, reference should be made to phonological rules, and semantic changes should be highlighted. In DKMEL, in accordance with DSMG, every headword is accompanied by information about the phonological and the semantic changes. For example,

αγκαθούρα [...] [μσν. *αγκάθ(ι)* (<*ακάθιν* με ηχηροπ. του μεσοφ. [k>g])<αρχ. *άκάνθιον* (με αφομ. [nθ>θθ], απλοπ. του διπλού συμφ. [θθ>θ] και *-ίον>-ιν*) υποκορ. του *άκανθα*)+*ούρα*]

is presented as created by combining the theme of *αγκάθι* and the productive suffix *-ούρα*. Moreover, there is reference to the phonological change which led to the development of AG *άκάνθιον* into *αγκάθι* (voicing of intervocalic [k] and assimilation of [n] to [θ], followed by a simplification of the double [θ:]).

As for

βιζιγάντ(ι) (Ο, ουδ) /vizi'ɣad/ Αϊβ/Μοσχ: είδος μικρού έμπλαστρου [...] [βεν. *vesigant(e)* "φλυκταινογόνοσ ουσία, εκδόριο"+*-ι*. Μαρτυρία για το ενδιάμεσο στάδιο της σημασιολογικής εξέλιξης μας παρέχει το κοζανίτικο *βιζικατόρι* (<ιτ. *vescicatorio* «εκδόριο») «χόρτο που χρησιμοποιούταν προκειμένου να προκληθεί πληγή σε πονεμένο

²⁶ For DSMG, see Petrounias' (1985, 390) etymological statement and see also Liberman (1998, 460).

²⁷ Ralli (2005; 2013)

σημείο του σώματος, η οποία πίστευαν ότι θα βοηθούσε να φύγει ο πόνος μαζί με τα υγρά που θα έτρεχαν»],

there is explanation about how the meaning “kind of small patch” came from “vescicant”, i.e. from its Venetian predecessor *vesigante*, by assuming an intermediate stage meaning “a weed used in order to cause blisters on a sore spot of body, because it was believed that the blisters would also drain out the pain”, like *βιζικατόρι* (from Kozani), coming from the Italian *vescicatorio* “vescicant”²⁸.

In such cases, DKMEL benefits from previous works like HD, Andriotis (1974), or other dialectal sources (mentioned in one of the appendices of DKMEL), where phonological, morphological and semantic information is detected concerning dialectal data. Thus, for example, in

ανιλώ (P) /ani'lo/ [...] [νελ. *ανελώ* <*αναλώ* (μαρτυρείται στη Στερεά Ελλάδα, τη Θεσσαλία και την Ήπειρο) (με σχηματισμό ενός καινούργιου ενεστώτα *ανελώ* με βάση τον αόριστο *ανέλυσσα* κατά το σχήμα *αμέλησα-αμελώ*) <ελνστ. ή μσν. *ἀναλύω* (αρχ. σημ. “χαλαρώνω, ελευθερώνω”) (με αλλαγή -ώ με βάση το συνοπτ. Θ)],

the MG regional form *αναλώ* is mentioned, as the intermediate phase between KMEL *ανιλώ* and HelG or MedG *ἀναλύω*, and a clear picture of the phonological and morphological changes which led to the appearance of KMEL form²⁹ is given. For this type of etymological statement, HD and DMVGL are taken into consideration, which often relate the headwords to some of their MG dialectal counterparts.

Concerning the phonological changes, there is no mention of every single change that led to a particular KMEL form. For instance, no reference is made to developments which systematically led to the MG pronunciation of a word of AG or HelG origin³⁰, such as the monophthongisation of diphthongs, the shortening of long vowels, the change of aspirates to fricatives, the change of voiced stops to voiced continuants and that of double consonants to simple ones³¹. Following Petrounias (1985, 312), reference to general rules related to the phonological development of AG (only the HelG is added) – such as the ones just mentioned above – could be omitted from the description of the etymological history of a headword. Besides, an etymological statement such as

αντήλιους (O, αρσ) /a'dílius/: μικρό φίδι. «Του δάγκασι αντήλιους τσ-έπισι στον στρώμα». [αρχ. *ἀντήλιος* “στραμμένος προς τον ήλιο” (με [e:>i])]

would probably seem peculiar to the vast majority of Greek users of DKMEL, since (with the exception of the ending which changed from *-ος του* *-ους* because of the raising of unstressed [o]) the form of the word had remained orthographically unaltered and thus, users do not feel the necessity of being informed about the raising of [e:]. However, in the introductory part, all these changes are briefly presented, since, as already said, a dictionary should reflect ideas and

²⁸ HD, vol. 3, p. 531

²⁹ See also Rys and Van Keymeulen (2009, 131).

³⁰ After the Hellenistic period, the evolution of Greek was relatively slow, to such an extent that in 19th century the fundamentals of MG pronunciation are already found in HG (Petrounias 2007, 601).

³¹ See Petrounias (2007, 602, 606, 607).

attitudes that the users develop towards their language system, and it should avoid creating false impressions about changes from older stages. For instance, there will be reference to three basic developments which took place after the Ancient or Hellenistic Greek period and appear as highly systematic in KMEL, i.e. deletion of unstressed high vowels, raising of unstressed mid vowels and palatalization of [l] and [n]³².

2.2 Hierarchy of the etymological criteria applied in DKMEL

Moisiadis (2011, 46) points out that in order to judge an etymological conjecture, the etymologist could or should have in his disposal a hierarchy of criteria of his/her etymological research. Giannakis (2005, 90) considers as very important the principles of: (i) economy (the best etymological solution is the one which presupposes the simplest developments), (ii) complement (the best etymological solution is the one which explains the most of the data under investigation), and (iii) historicity (the best etymological solution agrees with the data concerning the historical development of the language). We believe that (ii) and (iii) are hierarchically superior to (i). More specifically, the solutions adopted for DKMEL would not be the simplest ones if they do not take into account the regularities of the development of KMEL and MG for the majority of data. A typical illustration of this hierarchy is the entry

σ(ι)ντιρουσίν'(ι) (Ο, ουδ) /zdiru'sijn/ (Αϊβ./ Μοσχ.): ανοιχτό ταψί μεγάλου μεγέθους [...] [σιδερο- (με κώφωση, ηχηροπ. [s>z] από επιδρ. του ηχηρού [δ] και ανομ. τρόπου αρθρ. [zδ>zδ])+σινί με μετακ. τόνου για ένδειξη συνθ.].

Actually, a simple solution is suggested by Kretschmer (1905, 443), who argues that σ(ι)ντιρουσίν'(ι) comes from σιδηροσύνη (maybe from σίδηρ(ους) “iron”+οσύνη). However, Andriotis (1958, 37) proposes a better solution, which has been adopted by DKMEL, according to which σ(ι)ντιρουσίν'(ι) is formed by combining σιδερο- “made by iron” and σινί “a kind of pan” (σ(ι)ντιρουσίν'(ι) is an iron pan). Andriotis’ proposal is more accurate because it presupposes a formation which regularly appears in Greek, both synchronically (e.g. SMG σιδερόβεργα “a kind of iron bar” (<σιδερο-+βέργα), and regional MG σ(ι)ντιρουγούδι(ι) “an iron mortar” (<σιδερο-+γούδι)) and diachronically (e.g. HelG σιδηροτρύπανον “iron borer” (<σιδηρο-+τρύπανον), and MedG σιδηροπέδη “iron fetter” (<σιδηρο-+πέδη)). Note that a noun denoting an object could not be based on the combination of σίδηρ(ους) and -οσύνη, because the suffix –οσύνη is used for the formation of nouns denoting an attribute (e.g. AG άδαημοσύνη “ignorance, unskillfulness”, HelG αίδυμοσύνη “modesty”, MedG αγρισσύνη “savagery”, MG νοικοκυροσύνη “domesticity, housecraft”) or a job or art (e.g. AG and HelG μαντοσύνη “the art of divination”, MedG (ο)ψαραδοσύνη “the job of fisherman”, MG μαραγκοσύνη “the job of carpenter”).

Furthermore, the creation of DKMEL is based on a hierarchy of criteria related to different levels of linguistic analysis (phonology, morphology, semantics)³³. In the etymologies of DKMEL, morphology is given priority over meaning and phonological similarity. For instance, as already shown for σ(ι)ντιρουσίν'(ι), the etymologies adopted in LEKMAL should follow the regularities of the morphological evolution of (M)G, i.e. those of derivation and compounding, and there is an effort to make users be aware of these regularities by presenting the formation of

³² See Kretschmer (1905, 65-80, 84-87, 155, 156), Sakaris (1940, 79, 81, 84, 85-86)

³³ See the relevant discussion in Moisiadis (2005, 237-240; 2011, 46-49)

every headword, even in cases where the formation is so apparent that there is no need to be mentioned. For example, in

αβτζής (O, αρσ) /av'dzis/: πολύ έξυπνος. «Έ μπουρείς να τουν ξιγιάγ'ς, τσ-είνι αβτζής άθριπους». [τουρκ. *ανει* «κυνηγός, ψαράς»+*-ς*],

the user could argue that mentioning the addition of the inflectional suffix *-ς* is superfluous, since it constitutes an obvious inflectional ending.

As far as the meaning is concerned, we believe that sometimes, it should be given priority over the pure form (presupposing that there is no deviation from the morphological regularities). For example, in

πατώνου (P) /pa'tonu/: πιάνω πάτο, ακουμπώ στον πάτο. «Πουλ'ύ βαθειά είναι τούτινια η θάλασσα. Κουλ'μπώ, κουλ'μπώ τσ'ακόμα να πατώσου». [μσν. *πάτ(ος)* (αρχ. σημ. 'βήμα, πατημένος δρόμος')+*-ώνω* (διαφ. το μσν. *πατώνω* «καλύπτω, στρώνω με πλάκες το έδαφος»)],

it would be better to propose that the verb “to touch bottom” derives by combining the MedG *πάτος* “bottom” and *-ώνω*, than to consider MedG *πατώνω* “cover the ground with plates” as the predecessor of *πατώνου*. Although we agree with Szemerényi (1996, 16) that “if two forms correspond exactly or according to the rules, this compensates for some degree discrepancy in meaning”³⁴, we also believe that a different etymological solution should be invoked if a discrepancy in meaning cannot be explained³⁵.

3 Concluding remarks

In this paper, we presented the etymological principles applied in DKMEL. For the formulation of these principles, we took advantage of previous works, such as HD, DMVGL, and mainly DSMG. For building DKMEL our main goal has been that for every headword an etymology should be provided, obeying the same rules as all the other etymologies of DKMEL with respect to its content and appearance. We believe that this is of crucial importance for the future users of DKMEL (and of every dictionary with an etymological part), since they are influenced by the way the history of certain words is presented. In fact, this constitutes the basic principle on which the design of the etymological part of DKMEL was based: “treat all headwords in the same objective and scientific way, independently of their origin”.

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³⁴ See also Moisiadis (2011, 48).

³⁵ as in the case of *πατώνου-πατώνω* where the semantic shift from “to touch bottom” to “cover the ground with plates” is not explainable

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THE SPECIAL ROLE OF /s/ IN CLUSTER FORMATION: TYPOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FROM DIALECTAL VARIANTS OF GREEK

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Our paper provides a thorough and detailed investigation of the factors which influence the qualitative synthesis of two- and three-member /s/ clusters which emerge in several dialectal variants of Greek. The data are analyzed within the *Three Scales Model* which was initially proposed for two-member [obstruent + liquid] and [obstruent + obstruent] sequences as well as three-member clusters (Tzakosta, 2010, 2011, 2012, Tzakosta and Karra, 2011). The fact that /s/ clusters can be accounted for within the same model offers a new angle of seeing the role of /s/ in cluster formation. More specifically, we do not consider /s/ as an extrametrical element (Drachman, 1989; Giegerich, 1992) or part of a complex segment (Fudge, 1969; Selkirk 1982); rather /s/ is part of clusters which can be evaluated on a par with other cluster types and not on the basis of different theoretical approaches.

1 Introduction

Cluster formation is a popular topic of discussion in phonological theory because it is related to various aspects of the phonology of a language, such as the degree of cluster complexity, factors affecting stress assignment and the emergence of rhythmical patterns. Put differently, stress assignment and/ or the shape of the emergent rhythmical templates are in many languages determined by cluster complexity which, in turn, affects syllabic weight (Ewen and van der Hulst, 2001; Hayes, 1995; van der Hulst, 1984). Cluster well-formedness heavily lies on the Sonority Scale (hereafter SS) and Sonority Distance (hereafter SD) (Selkirk, 1984; Steriade, 1982).

The SS, which is depicted in figure 1 below, determines cluster well-formedness in a progressive and rightward manner. More specifically, given that phonemes rise in sonority from left to right, stops are the least sonorous whereas vowels are the most sonorous segments. Sonority was first introduced by Sievers (1901) and further developed by Jespersen (1904). Sonority is considered to be a universal principle dependent on phonological grounds. Moreover,

there are acoustic studies which further support its universal cross-linguistic character (cf. Jany et al, 2007).



Figure 1. The classical sonority scale

Sonority is a gradient notion in the sense that it is comparative. The more sonorous a segment is the more chances it has to occupy syllabic nuclei positions. Put differently, the least sonorous a segment is the more probable it is to be part of a syllabic onset or a syllabic coda. Therefore, a syllable is a contour schema rising in sonority towards the nucleus and falling in sonority towards the coda. To give an example, rightward satisfaction of the scale implies that stops may cluster with any consonant type to their right on the scale and result in well-formed clusters. On the other hand, fricatives can cluster with all consonant types except for stops which are located to their left (for detailed discussion on the SS see Tzakosta, 2010, 2011, 2012).

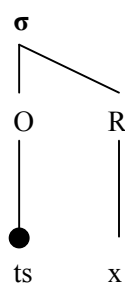
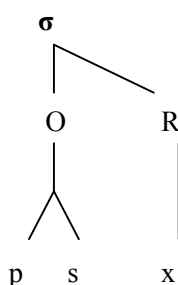
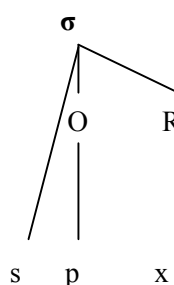
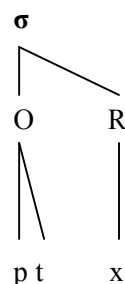
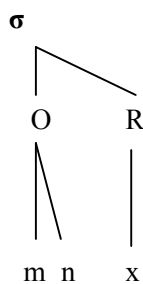
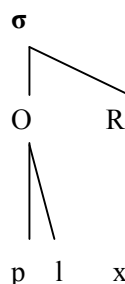
SD, on the other hand, is qualitative in nature because it determines the degree of cluster well formedness (cf. Clements, 1988, 1990, 1992). More specifically, cluster members marked by the biggest possible sonority-rising distance between them make up the best-formed clusters. Numbers on the SS signal the distance among cluster members. Consequently, a SF cluster like /px/ marked with SD (1) is less well-formed compared to SL¹ sequences like /pl/ marked with SD (4), though both are well-formed clusters (see also Tzakosta, 2011, 2012). Gradience in cluster formation is one of the cores of the present study which will be discussed in detail.

Claims like the ones discussed above allow us to make certain predictions regarding cluster perception and production. In other words, if it is true that the SS and SD govern cluster perfection, then, a perfect cluster would be perceptually more salient than a simply acceptable cluster; as a result, the former would have more chances to remain intact in its surface/ phonetic realization. In other words, we would expect that the SS and SD drive ‘clarity’ of perception which, in turn, facilitates production. Consequently, CL rather than CC or /s/ clusters are expected to emerge more frequently not only cross-linguistically but also in various aspects of a language. These assumptions are reinforced by the fact that multiple repair strategies, such as epenthesis, deletion or fusion, apply in clusters with small SD, like SF or FN, whereas clusters with big SD are characterized by vowel anaptyxis.

In addition, Tzakosta (2009) and Tzakosta and Vis (2009a, 2009b, 2009c) have proposed a structural complexity account of consonant clusters. Within their proposal, clusters are signaled by different degrees of cluster complexity and coherence. Based on diachronic evidence as well as developmental data, Tzakosta (2009) and Tzakosta and Vis (2009a, 2009b, 2009c) suggest different structural representations for different cluster types. According to these representations, which are depicted in schemas (1a-1f) below, affricates are considered to be monopositional segments, while other /s/ clusters have different representations depending on whether /s/ is the first or second member of the cluster. Therefore, when /s/ is the first member of the cluster, /s/ is shown to be extrametrical (1c), whereas /s/ is part of a complex segment when it is the second member of a consonantal sequence (see (1b)). This implies that CS clusters are more coherent compared to SC ones. In the same proposal CC, CN and CL sequences make up ‘true’ clusters.

¹ S stands for stops, F for fricatives, L for liquids, N for Nasals, C for obstruents, .i.e. stops and fricatives.

This proposal has important implications for language acquisition. More specifically, the more coherent a cluster is the more salient it is perceptually. Consequently, the less prone a coherent cluster is to repair strategies, most common of which is reduction. However, this theoretical approach does not explain, first, why /s/ is commonly found in Greek clusters and, second, why recent developmental data illustrate that /s/ clusters are the first to be produced in Greek child speech (Tzakosta, 2013).

1a. Affricates**1b. CS clusters****1c. SC clusters****1d. CC clusters****1e. NN clusters****1f. CL clusters**

Schemas 1a-1f. Structural representations of consonant clusters

The main claim of the present approach is that the SS, SD and structural complexity account are not explanatorily sufficient theoretical tools to account for the systematic emergence of /s/ clusters in Greek varieties given that /s/ clusters are non-theory-predicted clusters. Instead, in the present paper we adopt the *Three-Scales Model* which was initially proposed by Tzakosta (2010, 2011, 2012) and Tzakosta and Karra (2011), again for dialecta data. More specifically, the investigation of /s/ clusters further support the idea that clusters may be *perfect*, *acceptable* or *non-acceptable* (cf. Tzakosta, 2010, 2011, 2012, Tzakosta and Karra, 2011). Perfect, acceptable and non-acceptable cluster formation depends on and is evaluated in parallel by means of the satisfaction of three distinct scales, those of place of articulation, manner of articulation and voicing which must be satisfied in a rightward manner. Cluster perfection and acceptability are gradient notions due to SD. For example, /pl/ and /fl/ are both perfect clusters, but /pl/ is better-formed than /fl/ because the SD is bigger for /pl/ (4) than for /fl/ (3). In sum, we argue that cluster formation is driven by the parallel satisfaction of multiple scales of manner, place and voicing in combination to Distance (hereafter D). A crucial advantage for the establishment of the Three Scales Model is that scales contribute, except for well-formed cluster formation, to the establishment of principles which drive syllabification.

Although there is solid argumentation regarding the universal and parametric factors that determine the formation of consonant clusters at the level of the SS and SD, little has been said regarding the internal coherence of consonant clusters and additional factors which drive cluster acceptability and cluster perfection in different languages or different aspects of the same language. In this study, we investigate this issue focusing on Greek dialectal data, and, more specifically, /s/ clusters. The remainder of the paper is organized as follows; Section 2 discusses the data sources, the research limitations and the working hypotheses of the study, while section 3 presents the factors determining /s/ cluster formation in light of the three scales model. Finally, section 4 concludes the paper.

2 Data sources, limitations and working hypotheses

In the present paper we draw on indexed dialectal data from the major dialectal zones of northern and southern Greece (Epirus, Meleniko, Lesvos, Pontos, Thassos, Corfu, Attica, Thessalia, Kozani, Trikala, Samothraki, Thessaloniki, Koutsovlahika - Cyprus, Crete, Dodekanese, Ikaria) in order to assess the above claims. The focus is on two- and three-member consonant clusters in which /s/ emerges in all possible cluster positions. We do not consider CCJ clusters since we see [j] as product of vowel raising (cf. also Tzakosta 2011). Moreover, we will not discuss clusters which emerge both in the dialects and the norm because focus is placed on special and ‘deviant’ cluster formations

The theoretical claims discussed in the following section develop the ideas promoted in Tzakosta (2010, 2011, 2012) and Tzakosta and Karra (2011) regarding the establishment of three distinct scales of place of articulation (hereafter PoA), manner of articulation (hereafter MoA), and voicing (hereafter V) being involved in the evaluation of cluster well-formedness.

3 /s/ clusters formation and cluster well-formedness in light of the Three-Scales Model

Before we elaborate on the Three-scales Model we find it essential to roughly discuss the fundamental properties of the phonotactic constraints of Greek. Greek is rather free regarding the combination of consonants that may cluster together. However, it is conservative when it comes to the number of consonants a cluster may consist of. More specifically, Greek clusters may consist of at most three consonants (cf. Tzakosta, 2011, 2012 for detailed discussion). In three-member clusters the initial cluster member may often be /s/ (1i). Four member clusters occur in cases of morphological blending as shown in (1f-g) or loanwords (1e). /s/ may combine with any kind of consonant segments, i.e. obstruents, nasals and liquids emerging either in initial or second position. This is shown in (1a, 1b) and (1c, 1d), respectively. In the discussion that follows, we will observe that Greek dialectal variants are even freer in the formation of /s/ clusters.

(1a) [stóxos]	‘target’ ²
(1b) [ésxos]	‘shame’
(1c) [éfsima]	‘distinctions of merit’
(1d) [pséma]	‘lie’
(1e) [afstría]	‘Austria’
(1f) [éfstoxos]	‘accurate’
(1g) [efsplaxnía]	‘charity’
(1i) [stratós]	‘army’

Given the discussion in section 1 above, data such as those in (1) violate the SS although they are perfectly acceptable in Greek. In other words, the SS fails to provide a satisfactory account of the certain categories emerging in Standard Greek. Following Tzakosta (2012), we assume that the problem arises because the SS sees segments as inseparable wholes and provides information with respect to the principles which govern cluster formation and not why certain clusters are better- or worse-formed than others. According to the three scales model, the SS should be one of the dimensions of evaluating consonant clusters’ well-formedness. More specifically, all cluster types, among which /s/ clusters, should be evaluated separately with respect to MoA, PoA and V in order to assess subtle cluster differentiations. Given the cluster categorization suggested above, we suggest that perfect, acceptable and non-acceptable cluster formation depends on the degree of satisfaction of the scales of manner, place and voicing which are illustrated in figures 2, 3 and 4, respectively. Like the classical SS, all scales need to be satisfied in a rightward manner. However, not all clusters are perfect to the same extent, since, as already mentioned, cluster perfection is gradient; the bigger the D among cluster members on all scales the better-formed the cluster.

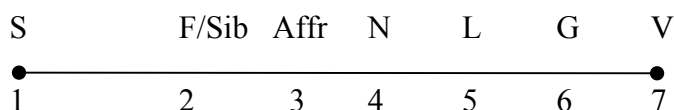


Figure 2. The MoA scale

The data in (2) will be discussed with respect to the three scales of MoA, PoA and V. It will be shown that /s/ clusters – like all other cluster types (cf. Tzakosta, 2010, 2011, 2012, Tzakosta and Karra, 2011) – violate at least one of the scales and (vacuously) satisfy another. Vacuous scale satisfaction implies that the SD is 0. In other words, all cluster members land on the same point on a scale, for example, they are all fricatives, or stops, or coronals, or voiced. Therefore, (2a) satisfies the MoA scale since the first member of the cluster is a stop and the second is a fricative. In other words, the scale is satisfied in a rightward manner. The same holds for (2b) and (2d). (2c), on the other hand, violates the scale since the selection of the cluster members is not rightward, i.e. the first member is a fricative and the second is a stop. Finally, (2e) vacuously satisfies the scale since both members of the /s/ clusters land on the same point of the MoA scale, namely they are both fricatives.

² Only surface forms of Standard Greek are provided. We assume that underlying and surface forms coincide in the standard language.

- (2a) [ksígla] ‘part of the loom-FEM.NOM.SG.’³
 (2b) [brusnós] ‘front-ADJ.MASC.NOM.SG.’
 (2c) [liščáris] ‘meat lover-MASC.NOM.SG.’
 (2d) [ksiftó] ‘date-PRES.IND.1SG.’
 (2e) [fisfisés] ‘capricious-MASC.NOM.SG.’ (Meleniko, Andriotes, 1989)

Table 1 provides examples of perfect, acceptable and non-acceptable /s/ clusters with respect to MoA.

Types	Perfect	Accept	Non-accept
Stop + L	√		
Fric + L	√		
Fric + N	√ /sn/		
Stop + Stop		√	
Fric + Fric		√ /sf/	
Stop + Fric	√		
Fric + Stop			√ /ks/
Stop + Affric	√		
Affric + Stop			√
Fric + Affric	√		
Affric + Fric			√

Table 1. Gradience in cluster formation with respect to MoA

On the other hand, the place scale depicted in fig. 4 is equivalent to the fixed place hierarchy proposed by Prince and Smolensky (1993). According to this hierarchy, velars are more marked compared to labials and labials are more marked compared to coronals. Interpreting the fixed place hierarchy into the place scale proposed here means that a velar or a labial needs to be the leftmost member of a cluster if a coronal is the rightmost one. Accordingly, in order to form a perfect cluster, if the second member of a cluster is a labial, the first member needs to be a velar.

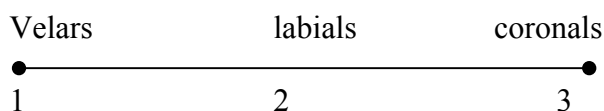


Figure 3. The PoA scale

Going back to the data in (2), we observe that (2a) and (2d) satisfy the PoA scale since the first member of the cluster is a velar and the second a coronal. On the contrary, (2c) and (2e) violate the scale, because cluster members are not selected in a rightward manner, namely the first member of both clusters is a coronal while the second is a velar for (2c) and a labial for (2e). (2b) vacuously satisfies the PoA scale, i.e. both cluster members are coronals.

Table 2 provides examples of perfect, acceptable and non-acceptable /s/ clusters with respect to PoA.

³ In cases in which it is not clear the shape of the underlying form, only the surface forms are provided in square brackets.

Types	Perfect	Accept	Non-accept
Lab + Lab		√	
Lab + Cor	√		√ /sf/
Lab + Vel			√
Cor + Cor		√ /sn/	
Cor + Lab			√
Cor + Vel			√
Vel + Vel		√	
Vel + Cor	√ /ks/		
Vel + Lab	√		

Table 2. Gradience in cluster formation with respect to PoA

Finally, the voicing scale in fig. 4 requires that segments may be either [-voiced] or [+voiced]. According to this scale, a perfect cluster is a cluster whose first member is [-voiced] and the second is [+voiced]. The converse voicing order is responsible for the formation of non-acceptable clusters. Consonants sharing the same voicing characteristics, i.e. if they are both voiceless or voiced, form acceptable clusters.



Figure 4. The V scale

The data in (2) support the rightward satisfaction of the voicing scale, which implies that the first member of the cluster is voiceless while the second is voiced. We assume that in languages like Greek in which both voiced and voiceless segments are allowed in all word positions – which means that nor voicing or devoicing is preferred – assimilation of both voicing and devoicing are allowed. Of the data in (2), (2a) and (2c)-(2e) vacuously satisfy the V scale – both cluster members are [-voi]- while (2b) clearly satisfies it.

The data in (3) display exceptional cases in which the V scale is not satisfied, still non-acceptable sequences with respect to V emerge. These are word final sequences, like those in (3a) and (3b) in which word formation processes are activated (verb conjugation). Finally, (3c) is an example V violation which signals heterosyllabicity.⁴

(3a) /le.jis/ → [ley+s#] ‘say-2nd.PRES.IND.SG.’

(3b) /ba.ka.lis/ → [bakaI+s#] ‘grocer-MASC.NOM.SG.’ (Drimos, Κατσάνης 1983)

(3c) [ku.lu.kúr.zma] ‘cutting sb’s hair from behind-NEUT.NOM.SG.’

(Kozani, Margariti-Roga 1989)

Table 3 provides examples of perfect, acceptable and non-acceptable /s/ clusters with respect to V.

⁴ Such exceptional cases would perfectly be accounted for through Government Phonology (Charett 1991, Harris 1994, Kaye 1990).

Types	Perfect	Accept	Non-accept
[-voi] + [-voi]		√	
[-voi] + [+voi]	√ /sn/		
[+voi] + [+voi]		√	
[+voi] + [-voi]			√ /γs/ ⁵

Table 3. Gradience in cluster formation with respect to V

The data in (4), (5) and (6)⁶ provide representative examples of possible three-member /s/ clusters occurring in dialectal variants in all word positions, in initial and medial syllabic onsets, in stressed and unstressed syllables. We have already mentioned that for a cluster to be perfect it needs to satisfy all scales and SSD. Given the conditions of well-formedness posed by the MoA, PoA and V scales, it is easy to understand that it becomes quite complex to evaluate well-formedness of three-member clusters. In three-member clusters, all cluster members are cross-evaluated with respect to each other, i.e. the first with second, the second with the third, the first with the third; it then becomes interesting to observe that perfect and non-acceptable clusters are not attested in the set of data under investigation. Especially when /s/ emerges in cluster initial position and another cluster member is a stop - with respect to MoA- or a velar/ labial - with respect to PoA - renders these three-member clusters acceptable. As already mentioned, acceptable clusters may violate one of the scales of place and manner and (vacuously) satisfy the other, or violate both scales of place and manner. It is crucial, though, that the V scale needs to be (at least vacuously) satisfied in acceptable clusters. It is indeed the case that all clusters satisfy or vacuously satisfy the V scale. Some representative examples are illustrated in ((3a), (3b), (3d), (3e), (4a), (4c)-(4e)) and ((3c), (4b), (4f)-(4h)), respectively.

(4a) /sti.mó.ni/ → [stmó.ni] ‘warp-NEUT.NOM.SG.’

(Kozani, Margariti-Roga, 1989)

(4b) /kló.stis/ → [gó.stris] ‘spinner-MASC.NOM.SG.’

(Drimos, Κατσάνης, 1981, 1983)

(4c) /spi.tó.γα.mbro/ → [sptó.γα.mbrus]

‘groom living in the bride’s home-MASC.NOM.SG.’

(Meleniko, Andriotes, 1989)

(4d) [strifnáði] ‘cantaceros person-MASC.NOM.SG.’

(4e) [sklibuniáris] ‘cackectic person-MASC.NOM.SG.’

(Meleniko, Andriotes, 1989)

(5a) /psi.lós/ → [pšlós] ‘tall-DJ.MASC.NOM.SG.’

(5b) /psi.xí/ → [pšÇí] ‘soul-FEM.NOM.SG.’

(5c) /ksi.nós/ → [kšnós] ‘acerbic-ADJ.MASC.NOM.SG.’

(5d) /pní.ksi.mo/ → [pŋí.kšmu] ‘chocking/ straggling-NEUT.NOM.SG.’

(Meleniko, Andriotes, 1989)

(5e) [za.nó.kslu] ‘long stick-NEUT.NOM.SG.’

⁵ Heterosyllabic sequences.

⁶ In the set of data in (3), /s/ emerges in cluster-initial position, in (4), .s. emerges in cluster-medial position, while in (5), /s/ emerges in cluster-final position.

(5f) /pi.sté.vo/ → [pšćé.vu] ‘believe-PRES.IND.1SG.’

(5g) /pi.stó.li/ → [pstól] ‘gun-NEUT.NOM.SG’

(5h) /xri.stós/ → [kstós] ‘Christ-MASC.NOM.SG.’

(Siatista, Παπαδημητρίου & Μαργαρίτη-Ρόγκα, 1983)

(6) /trá.vi.ksa/ → [trá.fksa] ‘pull-PAST.IND.1SG.’

(Siatista, Παπαδημητρίου & Μαργαρίτη-Ρόγκα 1983)

Table 4 summarizes the (dis)satisfaction of the MoA, PoA and V scales with respect to three-member clusters. SD is not considered since perfect clusters do not emerge. Multiple cell asterisks indicate the number of cross-violations of each scale. Depending on the number of incurred violations, it becomes obvious that some three-member clusters mostly fall within the category of acceptable clusters.

Clusters/ scales	PoA	MoA	V
/ksl/	**	√	√
/stm/	√	*	√
/str/	√	*	√
/spt/	*	**	√
/pšl/	**	√	√
/kšn/	**	√	√
/kšm/	**	√	√
/pšć/	*	√	√
/fks/	***	*	√

Table 4. Gradience in three-member cluster formation

Given the above discussion, according to the Three-Scales Model of cluster well-formedness clusters are perfect if they satisfy all scales at least with minimal D (1). Clusters are acceptable under certain conditions; first, if they vacuously satisfy all scales, second, if they violate one of the scales of manner or place and (vacuously) satisfy the other or, third, if they violate both MoA and PoA scales but at least vacuously satisfy the V scale. Non-acceptable clusters emerge as long as all scales are violated and/ or the V scale is violated even if the manner and place scale are at least vacuously satisfied.

It is important to note that /s/ clusters, especially two-member clusters, emerge in all word positions, i.e. initial ((7a), (7b)) or medial ((7c), (7d)) in either stressed or unstressed syllables.

(7a) ksígla ‘part of the loom-FEM.NOM.SG.’

(7b) ksiftó ‘date-PRES.IND.1SG.’

(7c) brunsós ‘front-ADJ.MASC.NOM.SG.’

(7d) fisfisés ‘capricious-MASC.NOM.SG.’

(Meleniko, Andriotes, 1989)

4 Conclusion

In this study, we proposed a typology of /s/ clusters based on their production patterns in dialectal varieties of Greek. Our proposal is that the SS and SD as well as other relevant approaches are not sufficient means to account for the acceptability and/ or perfection of consonant clusters. In the current proposal we suggest that clusters are categorized as perfect, acceptable and non-acceptable on the basis of the three distinct scales of manner, place and voicing which are involved in cluster formation.

The scales of manner, place and voicing are satisfied in a rightward manner. Clusters are perfect under one major condition: to minimally satisfy all scales. On the other hand, clusters are acceptable under three conditions: first, if they vacuously satisfy all scales, second, if they violate one of the scales of manner or place and (vacuously) satisfy the other but always (and at least vacuously) satisfy the voicing scale, and, third, if the voicing scale is at least vacuously satisfied but both scales of manner and place are violated. Vacuous satisfaction is characteristic of acceptable cluster but never of perfect clusters. Non-acceptable clusters emerge as long as, first, all scales are violated, and, second, the voicing scale is violated even if the manner and place scales are at least vacuously satisfied.

Most /s/ clusters are acceptable and emerge massively in various language aspects because they are flexible and predicted by the typology. Greek dialects – especially those of the northern dialectal zone – are less conservative regarding cluster synthesis given that clusters may appear even in coda position due to the application of phonological rules according to which high vowel loss and raising applies in unstressed syllables (Newton, 1972: 196 ff.).

There are two innovative features of the present approach; on the one hand, apart from the fact that the Three-Scales Model is more flexible regarding the definition of well-formed clusters, it can account for the formation of all cluster types. More specifically, our proposal solves the problem of the status of /s/ in consonant clusters since we do not need to characterize /s/ as extrametrical (Drachman, 1989; Giegerich, 1992) when it emerges in cluster-initial position or as part of a complex segment (Fudg,e 1969; Selkirk, 1982) when it emerges in cluster-final position. Rather, we evaluate all cluster types on a par. On the other hand, the violation of all scales is an indication that non-well-formed sequences are heterosyllabic. In other words, the Three-Scales Model further gives new insights regarding the phonotactic constraints of Greek.

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RHOTICIZATION AND GENDER STEREOTYPING IN A RURAL COMMUNITY IN CRETE*

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The so-called “sex/prestige pattern” (Trudgill, 1972; Hudson, 1980/1996: 195), according to which women use standard forms more than men, has been criticized both for its empirical validity and the explanations offered. More recently, researchers (e.g., Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992, 1999) have stressed the construction of gender at a local level and its dynamic interaction with other aspects of identity such as age. In this paper, we offer evidence supporting this second view by examining the social meanings of a rhotic found in Anogia, a rural community in Greece through various methodologies (attitudinal questionnaire, sociolinguistic interviews and a perceptual experiment). The results are interpreted as indicating that the rhotic is associated to stances and qualities attributed to the persona of the Anogian male. Women do not choose the standard variant because of its associations with supra-locality, but rather *avoid* using the local variant because of its associations with masculinity.

*Isolated up in the mountains, Anogians kept,
for so many centuries, from generation to generation,
their customs and their anthropological character uncorrupted.
They differ even in the pronunciation: They say r instead of l.
From the website of the Municipality of Anogia¹*

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¹ See http://www.anogialand.gr/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogcategory&id=15&Itemid=47 (last accessed June 21, 2012.)

1. Background

1.1 The sex/prestige pattern

Research on the expression of the social category of gender in language use has revealed differences in the linguistic behavior of men and women at various levels of linguistic structure including, among many others, word choice, the use of polite forms, and tag-questions (e.g., Lakoff, 1975; Coates, 1993; Holmes, 1993), as well as the preferential use of some phonological variants over others (e.g., Trudgill, 1972). Phonological variation has held pride of place in these sociolinguistic investigations since early on.² What numerous studies from different communities (e.g., Trudgill, 1972; Holmquist, 1985) have seemed to suggest is the generalization that, compared with male speakers of the same socioeconomic class, female speakers tend to be more sensitive to issues of prestige in language³ and that this behavior also has implications for language change. However, this so-called “sex/prestige pattern” (Hudson 1980/1996:195) has also been heavily criticized for its empirical validity, and several alternative explanations have been put forward.

Some researchers (e.g., Nichols, 1983) have argued that in modern Western societies, the pattern is due to the fact that working-class women are exposed to the standard variety more than men because their jobs put them in contact with middle class speakers (although counterexamples exist, e.g. Holmquist, 1985). This explanation may be considered a subcase of one focusing on social networks. Milroy 1980 found that in three communities in Belfast, Ireland, when women lacked close-knit networks, they adopted more standard forms than men. Close-knit networks, on the other hand, “create among their members a strong sense of solidarity and loyalty towards a community, and local non-standard speech features function as important symbols of membership in the community” (James, 1996:101). Nevertheless, this is not always the case. As Gal (1978) showed, women may participate in strong social networks and still make linguistic choices (in Gal’s study, between two different languages rather than two registers of the same language) towards the language code with the most favorable connotations in their view. Gal showed that, although the inhabitants of Oberwart, Austria, had a linguistic repertoire that ranged from standard German to standard Hungarian including various dialects of these two languages, Hungarian was symbolically associated with the poor peasantry while German represented the prestige of the new worker class, who made more money and guaranteed a better quality of life. Gal provided evidence that the crucial factor for the young women of the village was a lack of loyalty towards the peasant community and their orientation towards a lifestyle that was different from that of the peasant wife.⁴

² See Cheshire (2002) and Romaine (2003) for two recent overviews.

³ Note that the notion of prestige variety does not always coincide with that of standard variety. Writing about Arabic, Ibrahim notes there may be cases where “a locally recognized standard of prestige exists apart from the standard High variety” (1986:118).

⁴ Although Gal’s study is about code-switching, researchers such as Cheshire and Chloros (1998) have argued that the symbolic functions served by dichotomies such as standard vs. non-standard variants in monolingual speech can be equally served by different languages in bilingual speech. As Coupland 1985 points out, “the difference between monolingual and bilingual behavior lies only in the choice of linguistic symbols for socially equivalent processes” (cited in Cheshire and Chloros, 1998:6).

Probably the most influential and enduring explanation for the sex-prestige pattern has been Trudgill's (1972) own suggestion that women use a higher proportion of standard forms as a way of acquiring social status (or, what we may, following Bourdieu (1990), call "symbolic capital"), which men acquire through their occupation. Furthermore, according to Trudgill, men use non-standard forms because they are associated with the toughness of working class life, which in turn is associated with masculinity. These are not considered to be desirable feminine features, as "refinement and sophistication" are preferred instead. A related explanation has been offered by Gordon (1997), who argues that the adoption of prestige patterns by women in New Zealand English is a matter of avoidance, rather than self-promotion, constituting a self-defense mechanism against the stereotypes of promiscuity associated with lower-class women. These class-based explanations have been criticized by, among others, James (1996: 105-106) for assuming that socioeconomic class is a more fundamental variable than gender and that all women share the same social goals, i.e. the desire to appear to be of a higher socioeconomic class. For example, Milroy J., Milroy L., Hartley and Walshaw (1994) discuss evidence from various studies that show that "gender-marking may override class-marking as the underlying social mechanism whereby linguistic change is implemented" (1994: 26).

One problem with all of the explanations discussed above is that they ignore 'atypical' cases, those where the sex/prestige pattern is not borne out empirically. A number of studies have found that in non-Western societies (e.g., Bakir, 1986) but also in some Western communities (e.g., Nichols, 1983, for one of the communities she studied, and Bortoni-Ricardo, 1985, among others) men actually use more standard speech forms than women. These findings can be hard to accommodate, even allowing for the two riders to the sex/prestige pattern introduced by Hudson (1980/1996), namely, that the variable studied be socially stratified and, crucially for the present argument, that men and women have equal access to the standard variety.

Through their work, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992, 1999 and references therein) have shown that the sex/prestige pattern may be an artifact of the quantitative paradigm that necessarily treated categories such as gender in a decontextualized way. Using the notion of Communities of Practice, they have argued that gender is socially constructed even at a very local level and that only in this way can cases that do not conform to the expected pattern be accounted for. They have also emphasized the idea that gender cannot be viewed in isolation from other aspects of social identity such as life-stage, ethnicity, social class etc. — something which is exemplified in Eckert's study of adolescents in the Detroit suburban area (1989, 1999).

In more recent work, Eckert (2008) has argued that in order to capture the social meaning of linguistic variation, we have to think of categories like gender as bearing not a direct but an indirect relationship to the linguistic variables under study. Drawing on Ochs's (1992, 1993, 1996) and Silverstein's (2003) ideas about indexicality, she has suggested that variables index these categories "through their association with qualities and stances that enter into the construction of the categories" (2008: 455). Furthermore, the social meanings of variables are not "precise or fixed but rather constitute a field of potential meanings — an *indexical field*, or constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable" (2008: 454). Variationist studies have often ignored this multiplicity of meanings of linguistic variables with the result that proposed correlations between gender and specific linguistic variables were at best mediated by one monolithic, stereotyped, and ideologically laden meaning (e.g. masculinity = toughness, femininity = gentility; see, e.g., Trudgill, 1972).

The present study of gender-based linguistic patterns in Anogia, Crete, proposes a context-sensitive account of the observed gender differences that takes into account the conditions under which women came to employ a higher proportion of standard variants than men. The explanation that is offered is that young women avoid the non-standard variant as it indexes a series of stereotypical qualities perceived to be associated with the persona of the *local male*, where the latter identity is both gendered *and* local at the same time.

1.2 Dialect and gender on Crete

Before going over previous work on dialect and gender in Crete, it is useful to briefly examine the place and history of the Cretan dialect among Modern Greek dialects. Cretan belongs to the Southern group of Greek dialects, which share as one of their best known features the extreme palatalization and (af)rication of velar consonants, such that, for instance, /k, g, x, ɣ/ before /i, e, j/ are fronted to [tɕ, dz, ç, z] or to [tʃ, dʒ, ʃ, ʒ] (Fig. 1).⁵



Figure 1. Dialects of Greece (cited in Trudgill, 2003: 61). Area 8 represents the Southern dialects of Greece (Crete, Kithyra, Antikythira, Santorini).

The Cretan dialect itself is divided into Eastern Cretan and Western Cretan. The rhotic that constitutes the focus of our article is found in areas of Central and Western Crete where it occurs as an allophone of /l/ (Fig. 2) (Pangalos, 1955; Contossopoulos 1972, 1988; Mansfield, 1964/1992; Newton 1972; Trudgill, 1989, 2001). This rhotic has a special place in the Cretan

⁵ With respect to this phenomenon, Contossopoulos (2006: 30) writes that “to this rule neither Anogians nor Sfakians [the two varieties of the Cretan dialect discussed in more detail below; NV & MT] present an exception, although some authors mistakenly believe that this phenomenon does not occur in these areas” (our translation).

dialect and in Standard Modern Greek, since it is unusual both in terms of the phonetic inventory of Greek and as an allophone of /l/.

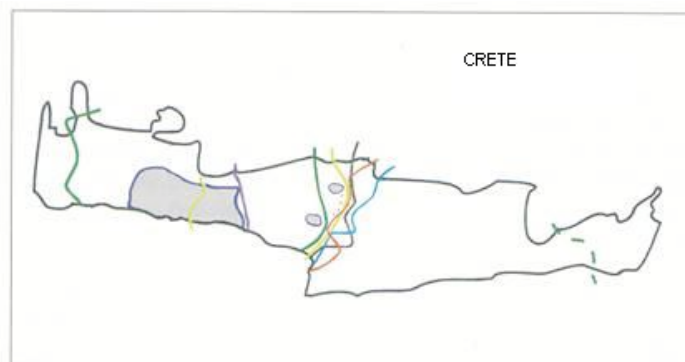


Figure 2. Cretan isoglosses. The shaded areas represent enclaves of the rhotic (cited in Contossopoulos, 2006: 36).

According to Malikouti-Drachman (1999), the Greek dialects are currently undergoing attrition. As far as Cretan is concerned, Contossopoulos (1988) claims that a weakening of dialectal phenomena has also occurred there, especially after World War II, due to higher education levels, better living conditions, and the increased mobility of the population following migration from rural to urban areas. However, he also notes that, along with the dialect of Cyprus, Cretan is considered one of the best preserved among Greek dialects (Contossopoulos 1969, 1970, 1985). Specifically, Contossopoulos (1969) argues that, compared with the lexical, syntactic and morphological levels, phonology has been the most resilient to standardization and lists several historical reasons for this: first, sustained and large-scale contact between Cretans and other Greeks did not begin until after the annexation of Crete to the Greek state in 1913. Second, unlike other parts of Greece (mainly in the North), the population exchange after the war with Turkey in 1920 did not have a major effect on the dialect, since only a small number of refugees speaking other dialects of Greek settled around urban centers in Crete. Third, the Cretan dialect is highly valued among its speakers.

To the best of our knowledge, only one prior sociolinguistic study of a Cretan community is currently available. Trudgill and Mansfield (1994) (see also Trudgill, 1989) studied a community in Western Crete, Chora Sfakion, where a rhotic (a retroflex approximant) is used exclusively by men. The purpose of their study was to show that even among European dialects, one can find structural features that are gender-specific. The authors hypothesize that, in previous stages of the variety, both males and females shared this feature, which gradually became a characteristic of male speech. They note that, even in the speech of men, it is slowly dying out mainly because of demographic changes in the community (tourism and mixed marriages). The patterns that they found are the following: younger speakers use the retroflex approximant much less than older speakers, and people tied to the tourist industry use it much less than fishermen and shepherds. Trudgill and Mansfield (1994) conclude that, because this sound is so phonetically distinct from other allophones of /l/ both in Standard Greek and in the Cretan dialect itself (even native speakers of the Sfakian variety of the Cretan dialect are very aware of that), it is becoming

heavily stigmatized given the changing demographic profile of the community. “This is especially true for younger speakers, some of whom tease older dialect speakers for being boors and peasants by imitating [ɰɰ]” (Trudgill, 1989: 20). The case of the Sfakian retroflex is in some respects similar to that of the Anogian rhotic that constitutes our focus in this article, but also different in others. Overall, in Anogia, the rhotic continues to be produced by both men and women, but it is avoided by young and middle aged women between 30 and 65 based on interview data, which we report below.

Against this background, this study examines gender and age as two factors that may influence language patterns in the Anogian speech community. The first research question is whether the sociolinguistic variables of gender and age play a role in the varying patterns of use of the rhotic. Anecdotal evidence and preliminary observation suggests that rhotic usage is lower among young females. A second research question is, then, what is the sociocultural basis of the observed gender patterns. Below, we present evidence that can help us provide some answers to these questions. In what follows, we outline how fieldwork was conducted, the variables examined, and the methods that were employed for the analysis of the data. Finally, we present the results of the analysis and discuss our findings.

2. Fieldwork

2.1 The community

The village of Anogia is a rural community of 2,500 inhabitants located in the mountains of central Crete, 30 miles southwest of the biggest urban center of the island, Iraklio. The economy of the village revolves around shepherding and farming, but over the last four decades there is a growing tourist industry.⁶ As one of the largest and oldest villages of central Crete, it attracts many tourists, both Greeks and foreigners. The reasons that are claimed to be behind this are the village’s history, especially Anogians’ resistance to various invaders (notably, Ottomans and Germans), and its cultural products (music, dance, and textiles).

A recent development in Anogia over the past few decades is an increase in educational opportunities, at the primary and secondary school level, and through private tutoring schools and foreign language institutes. The big difference from the past is that the village is no longer isolated and shows signs of modernization, despite the fact that the culture remains traditionally androcentric and a strong feeling of localism is prevalent among the villagers.

The position of women in this community has changed over the years. In the past, women used to be restricted to the home (the domestic sphere), although it was not at all uncommon for them to work in the fields or to take care of livestock (as is typical of women in rural Greek communities; Dubisch, 1986). Nowadays, women in Anogia work in the public and private sector and in the tourist industry. Unlike men, many of them continue their education beyond high school. These changes are perhaps not unrelated to changes also noted in other studies regarding the changing roles of Cretan women in family decision making and their increased autonomy. Terkenli, Bellas and Jenkins (2007: 42) note that

while Cretan women still appear in more traditional contexts to accept and uphold the dominant values, they use discourse (“loghos”) in very powerful ways in occasions of

⁶ See Koussis 1989 on how the tourist industry transformed Crete.

private association, i.e. voicing social criticism and an often severe critique of men. Increasing participation in family decision-making and the possibility of increased autonomy for women in our days (Koussis, 1989) stands in sharp contrast to the fact that traditionally women were expected not to voice opinions.

These observations point to a change in gender roles and ideologies that need further exploration in the context of Anogia.

The position of men in this community does not differ from their position in other shepherding communities of Crete (Herzfeld, 1985). If women were restricted to the domestic sphere until recently, the men's arena was — and still is — the public sphere, where they traditionally compete in dancing, rhyme-making, drinking, gambling, and even using guns on public occasions such as weddings, and occasional animal theft. In that way they perform their masculinity (Herzfeld, 1985).⁷ Men are usually shepherds (a profession traditionally associated with this mountain community), farmers or both, and/or they work in the tourist industry, in the public or in the private sector.

It is also noteworthy that among the villagers in the community of Anogia there is an aggressive localism and clashes with police authorities are not uncommon. Disobedience to the state laws is motivated by obedience to unwritten laws of the community such as resolving their differences in their own way and not resorting to the justice system. The problem for the Greek state is that these unwritten laws involve in many cases violent practices (e.g. vendettas, animal theft, threats, and abductions). These practices, *usually carried out by men*, were more developed in other areas of Crete in the past, but in Anogia they have been more recently reinforced with young men taking the lead (Astrinaki, 2003).

Recourse to community-based unwritten laws, which are found also in other mountain areas of Crete, led to the formation of a series of negative stereotypes that the Cretans of the valleys and city-dwellers attributed to the Cretans of the mountains (Astrinaki, 2003): to them, Anogians (and the rest of Cretans from mountainous regions) are arrogant, selfish and violent, bullies, sheep-thieves and show-offs, but at the same time they are heroes due to their resistance to foreign invaders in the past, and represent something 'uniquely and genuinely' Greek (manifested "in their language, their dances, their customs, and especially their hospitality, and their physique"; Astrinaki, 2003: 7). One can speculate that these stereotypes were firmly established after the end of World War II, when a huge wave of internal migration from rural areas towards the cities took place across Greece. Indirect evidence for this hypothesis is provided by a local historian of Anogia (Manousos, 2007), who describes how the urbanites of Iraklio were disturbed by the massive presence of Anogians after WWII and their uncivilized/unorthodox behavior. Of course, this does not mean that stereotyping goes only one way. Mountain Cretans view the Cretans of the valleys and the cities ("pasparites", as they call them, meaning 'those who live in the dust') as having lost their connection with tradition and "look at them from above mingling and mixing in the course of centuries with all sorts of 'others' and living 'in the dust'" (Astrinaki, 2003: 8, our translation). It has to be stressed that the target of this stereotyping are men — and this fact, as we will see below, plays a crucial role in conditioning the linguistic behavior of age and gender groups.

⁷ Additionally, see Photiadis 1965, and Papataxiarchis 1988, on the significance of *kafenio*, the traditional Greek coffee-shop found in rural areas, as a field of public display.

2.2 Methodology

The fieldwork reported in this article was conducted by the first author during the summer of 2010. For a period of a month and a half, he visited the community of Anogia about twice a week and spent several hours collecting data in the form of interviews, a questionnaire and personal observations. He arrived as a friend of a friend with no personal ties with the community. Through this friend, he was introduced to a married couple and it was with their help that he met almost all other informants. The guiding criterion in selecting informants was to have a relatively balanced sample in terms of gender and age. Before the interview, he would introduce himself as a native of Iraklio, the urban center closest to Anogia, and explain that he is conducting research on the culture of rural areas of Crete. In interactions with informants, he used the urban variety of Iraklio.

To answer the research questions outlined at the end of section 1.2 above, the linguistic variable identified for analysis (the Anogian rhotic; see the next section) was studied in relation to the independent variables of gender and age. Two methods were used to answer the research questions: a) interviews (N=12), and b) a questionnaire (N=29). These methods provided self-reports of Anogian men and women's use of the rhotic and helped establish their own perceptions and attitudes toward their local variety and the more standard variety of Iraklio. To assess the extent to which these subjective reports correlated with the individual interviewees' rates of rhoticization, a perceptual experiment was conducted.⁸ For the needs of this experiment, L1 speakers of American English rated word tokens extracted from the interviews. The results of this experiment are described in section 2.3.1 below.

2.2.1 The linguistic variable: the Anogian rhotic

As mentioned in section 1.2 above, a rhotic as a realization of a lateral /l/ has been attested in some areas of Central and Western Crete (see Fig. 2). In Trudgill and Mansfield's (1994) study in Chora Sfakion, this rhotic was identified phonetically as a retroflex approximant occurring before a back vowel as an allophone of /l/. For example, the word /ka.'la/ ('well'), which in Standard Greek and in the Cretan dialect is realized as [ka.'la],⁹ in Chora Sfakion is realized as [ka.'ɭa]. By way of an illustration, we provide below different forms of the adjective *kalos* ('good') realizing the phoneme /l/ in Standard/Cretan Greek and in the Sfakian variety (examples taken from Trudgill, 1989:19-20):

(1) Cretan dialect and Standard Greek	Sfakian variety
ka.'li	ka.'li
ka.'le	ka.'le
ka.'lo	ka.'ɭo
ka.'lu	ka.'ɭu
ka.'la	ka.'ɭa

⁸ Unfortunately, the interviews were not conducted in lab-controlled conditions, resulting in very variable sound quality that did not allow for a robust acoustic analysis.

⁹ Usually it is realized as an alveolar lateral approximant (Arvaniti, 2007:112).

Kappa and Vergis (2011) also identified the existence of this rhotic in Anogia as a retroflex approximant occurring in back vowel contexts as an allophone of /l/. It was found to occur in all prosodic conditions (stressed and unstressed syllables, word-initially and word-medially) and in single and complex onsets, as in the following examples:

(2) ['la.ði]	>	['ɣa.ði]	‘oil’
['te.los]	>	['te.ɣos]	‘end’
[pla.sti.'ko]	>	[pɣa.sti.'ko]	‘plastic’

The rhotic is expected, then, in the following environment:

(3) (C) __ [+back V]

In the present study we examine variation in the rhotic in all these positions, namely in (single and complex) onsets followed by a back vowel in word-initial and word-medial positions (in stressed and unstressed syllables).

2.2.2 The independent variables

Several independent variables are examined in relation to variation in rhotic usage in Anogia. Among them, gender and age are most relevant to our purposes, and to a lesser degree, education and occupation. Informants are broadly categorized in two age groups, younger (age 30-65) and older (66 and over).¹⁰ Although people aged 18-29 are very important as a social group, difficulties encountered during the fieldwork did not permit the collection of interview data from this group.

As explained above, gender is an important variable in this community and gender roles and discourses are clearly delineated, although changes are also taking place regarding women's place in this community (see Section 2.1). The level of education is also important. Those born before WWII did not go to school or, at most, completed elementary education. Things changed considerably for post-WWII generations. For present purposes, the level of education is also important because of its interaction with gender. During the course of the research, many informants pointed out that nowadays women tend to continue on to tertiary education, while men start working as soon as they graduate from high school. Finally, occupation is important as well. While most men follow the traditional professions of shepherding and, to a lesser extent, farming (although it is also not uncommon to combine the two),¹¹ in the case of Anogian women, things have changed compared with the past (see Section 2.1). In addition, new occupations, tied to the tourist industry (tavern, hotel and tourist-shop owner), have emerged. Informal observation suggests that these new occupations show no significant gender or age differentiation.

¹⁰ The age of 65 was chosen as a cut-off point in order to distinguish between those speakers born before and after WWII. People who were born after the war had different life-experiences from those born before the war. The post-war period for Greece is one of intense mobility of population and dramatic socio-economic changes (Vakalopoulos, 1987).

¹¹ Despite the fact that after the war many people abandoned their villages to migrate to the cities, during the 1980s, in the area of Mylopotamos that includes Anogia, traditional professions such as shepherding and farming were supported by European Union subsidies.

2.3 Interviews

Overall, 12 participants (6 women and 6 men) were recruited for the interviews. All were born and grew up in Anogia.¹² Some of the young men are shepherds/farmers and others work in the private sector, but nobody seems to rely exclusively on one mode of earning a living as evidenced by the interviews. The older men are retirees who reported shepherding and farming as their profession; one of them worked in the tourist industry. In the group of younger women, two are housewives and one works in the public sector. The group of older women consisted entirely of retirees, two of whom run small tourist shops.

Interviews were conducted at the interviewees' homes or at their workplace and lasted approximately 30 minutes, although there was considerable variation depending on the interviewee's talkativeness. The structure of the interview was the following: First, questions about their age, profession, and the like were asked. These were followed by questions about the village of Anogia, differences in the life-style between the present and the past, the professions that women and men have or used to have, whether the village attracts tourists and why. Towards the end of the interview, questions about the language variety of Anogia were asked. The first question was whether the speech of Anogians differs from that of other villages. If the answer was positive, then the next question was "What do you think is the most salient feature of the Anogian variety?". A question about the setting in which they would use the rhotic (Anogia vs. the city of Iraklio) was also included.

To analyze the interview results, the 12 interviewees were split into two age groups: 30-65 (younger) and 66 and above (older). The first aim of the analysis was to correlate the independent variables noted earlier (gender, age, level of education, and occupation) with the linguistic variable, that is, interviewees' rate of rhoticization of /l/ in expected contexts. This was assessed on the basis of a perceptual experiment, which we describe next.

2.3.1 Perceptual experiment

To assess the rate of rhoticization in each interviewee's speech production, we conducted a perceptual experiment, in which six L1 speakers of American English (3 men and 3 women) with no knowledge of Greek were recruited and asked to rate 381 word tokens containing this variable extracted from the recorded interviews. The choice of raters was made on the grounds that, by using speakers with no knowledge of Greek, semantic bias toward the content of speech could be avoided, and that the phonetic properties of the Anogian rhotic approximate those of some varieties of English (Mansfield and Trudgill 1994: 382), making it perceptually relevant to English-speaking raters.¹³

¹² Only one speaker (S5 in Table 1) moved to another village for two decades but later returned and has been living in Anogia for many decades now.

¹³ The issue is complicated by the fact that the sound that Mansfield and Trudgill (1994) compared the Sfakian retroflex to is the SW Anglo-English approximant /r/, which is widely regarded as retroflex, while our experiment was run on speakers of American English (specifically: Midwestern varieties). This raises the question whether the realizations of /r/ in the two varieties (SW Anglo-English and Midwestern American English) are similar enough to make the sound in question perceptually salient to our subjects. However, while the presence of retroflexion in American English remains a moot point, American English does seem to have a long-term articulatory setting of pharyngealisation, which has acoustic effects that mimic (and perhaps enhance) the impression of retroflexion. In other words, the key issue is not the articulation per se, but rather the acoustic cues present, which involve lowering

Materials—The experimental materials consisted of 381 word tokens extracted from interviewees' speech. The software package Praat (Boersma and Weenink, 2005) was used to isolate and segment the word tokens, which were at most three syllables long. In the rare occasion when a word token was longer than three syllables, it was shortened to three (again using Praat). The purpose of this last step was to maintain some comparability among tokens so as to facilitate raters' processing.

Raters—Six native speakers of American English were recruited for this experiment, three women and three men, ranging from 24 to 34 years old. None of them had received any linguistics training or had any knowledge of Greek, and none grew up bilingual. Some learned languages other than English after the age of 12 in a classroom environment. Most of them grew up in the Midwestern United States. Raters took part in the experiment for a small fee.

Procedure—The experiment was built in E-Prime 2 and consisted of one practice session and two trial sessions (all word tokens in each session were randomized by rater). For the main part of the experiment, each rater rated 20-40 word tokens per interviewee for a total of 381 word tokens. The procedure was the following: raters were first presented with three slides of instructions on a computer screen. The instructions asked them to listen to some words that contained a sound that was closer to an L or a sound that was closer to an R, and to rate the L-ness or the R-ness of that sound. Before the trial sessions, they took a short practice session that familiarized them with the process. The same process was followed for both the practice session and the trial sessions. They heard each word token twice and then saw a screen with a numbered scale from 1 to 5 (1 representing an L-sound and 5 representing an R-sound) as well as the option 'Do not know' to the right of the screen (Fig. 3). All options on the scale were numbered and raters used the mouse to click on one of these options. The whole task took about one hour to complete with a short break between the two trial sessions.

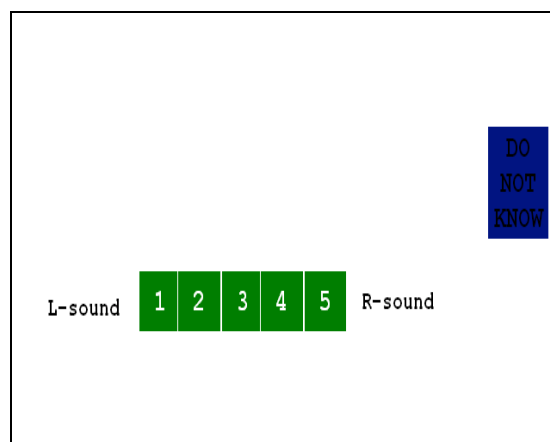


Figure 3. Computer screen where the participants of the perceptual experiment rated the interviewees' tokens.

of F3 and F4; and while F4 lowering is not universal, it is nonetheless present in American English, so our subjects should be familiar with it — indeed, their performance in the experiment seems to confirm this.

Results —Each rater rated 381 word tokens. Of these, some were rated as “Do Not Know” and some corresponded to mistakes.¹⁴ These were excluded from further analysis. The percentage of excluded items per rater is given in Table 1.

Rater	Excluded tokens (“Do Not Know”)	By mistake	(out of 381 tokens)
R1	25	3	28 (7.3%)
R2	9	0	9 (2.3%)
R3	16	0	16 (4.2%)
R4	27	1	28 (7.3%)
R5	15	0	15 (3.9%)
R6	10	2	12 (3.1%)

Table 1. Excluded Tokens by rater.

Table 2 presents the detailed ratings that each interviewee (S1-S12) received by all the raters. The low degree of dispersion in these data (evidenced by the low values of standard deviation) provides strong evidence that raters rated the interviewees in a fairly consistent way. Furthermore, these results are interesting because they show that listeners do not perceive sounds categorically by giving extreme ratings but as a gradient, evaluating sounds on different positions on a scale. In addition, the non-categorical ratings provide indirect evidence that raters paid attention to the sounds they heard and did not just opt for the extremes.

Rater	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12
1	4.00	3.54	3.72	4.09	4.10	3.27	1.52	1.76	2.85	4.39	3.92	4.00
2	4.28	4.25	4.35	4.39	4.31	3.82	1.25	1.60	2.74	4.61	4.16	4.52
3	4.04	3.41	3.75	4.03	4.07	3.00	1.04	1.00	2.00	4.73	2.80	3.95
4	3.84	3.57	4.08	3.92	3.96	3.41	1.54	1.73	2.70	4.27	3.54	3.21
5	4.52	4.08	4.58	4.38	4.38	3.68	1.12	1.67	2.57	4.77	4.17	4.38
6	4.31	3.55	4.15	3.95	3.97	4.03	1.59	1.52	2.65	4.52	3.44	3.90
Mean	4.17	3.73	4.11	4.13	4.13	3.54	1.34	1.55	2.59	4.55	3.67	3.99
SD	0.25	0.34	0.34	0.21	0.18	0.38	0.24	0.28	0.30	0.19	0.53	0.46

Table 2. Ratings by rater and by interviewee’s perceived production of rhoticization.

¹⁴ The category *By mistake* refers to mistakes that the raters made by clicking on the blank space of the screen.

2.3.2 Quantitative results

Table 3 correlates the mean rates of rhoticization assigned to interviewees during the perceptual experiment with their sociolinguistic profiles.

	Gender	Occupation	Education	Age Group	Age	Degree of rhoticization (1 = l-sound, 5 = r-sound)	Standard Deviation
S1	M	Shepherd	Elementary	Younger	29	4.17	0.25
S2	M	Shepherd-Farmer	Elementary	Younger	55	3.73	0.34
S3	M	Electrician	Post-secondary education	Younger	30	4.11	0.34
S4	M	Pensioner (Shepherd)	No education	Older	81	4.13	0.21
S5	M	Pensioner (Shepherd)	Elementary	Older	80	4.13	0.18
S6	M	Pensioner (Tavern owner)	Elementary	Older	85	3.54	0.38
S7	W	Public sector employee	High school	Younger	32	1.34	0.24
S8	W	Housewife	High school	Younger	38	1.55	0.28
S9	W	Housewife	Elementary	Younger	62	2.59	0.30
S10	W	Pensioner-Tourist shop owner	Elementary	Older	70	4.55	0.19
S11	W	Pensioner-Tourist shop owner	<i>missing</i>	Older	90	3.67	0.53
S12	W	Pensioner (Housewife)	<i>missing</i>	Older	80	3.99	0.46

Table 3. Sociolinguistic profile of the interviewees, and degree of perceived rhoticization in their speech.

We see here that nearly all of the interviewees were assigned a rate of perceived rhoticization higher than 3.5 by our naïve raters; however, interviewees S7, S8 and S9 were exceptional in this respect, scoring noticeably low, at 1.34, 1.55, and 2.59, respectively. Significantly, these interviewees constitute the group of younger women that were recorded in this sample. It is moreover interesting to note that, although the two youngest women (S7 and S8, who are assigned particularly low degrees of rhoticization) have a higher educational level, for men the level of education does not seem to be relevant: S3 has achieved a higher level of education (post-secondary education) than S7 and S8, but nevertheless scores considerably higher (4.11) than them.

Below are a few examples of some word tokens that received very high ratings of rhoticization:¹⁵

(4) /ka.'lo/	>	[ka.'ɭo]	“good” (S10)
/ma.la.'ka/	>	[ma.ɭa.'ka]	“softly” (S1)
/pla.'ni.ti/	>	[pɭa.'ni.ti]	“planet” (S4)
/xa.'ɭun/	>	[xa.'ɭun]	“they spoil” (S12)

Figure 4 summarizes these findings by age and gender group. The mean ratings presented here reveal that the group of younger men (S1, S2, S3) are assigned higher degrees of rhoticization, and the same holds true for the group of older men (S4, S5, S6) and the group of older women (S10, S11, S12), who score slightly higher.¹⁶

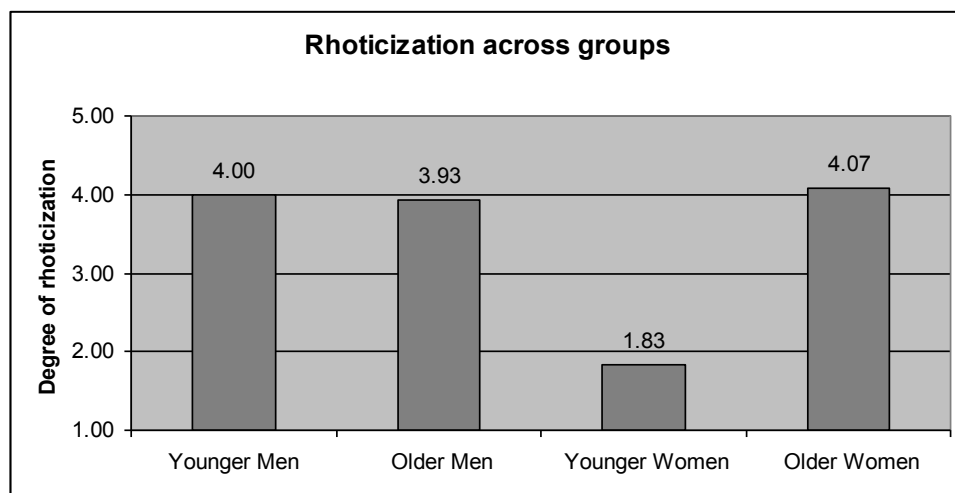


Figure 4. Group Means of degree of perceived rhoticization (1 = L-sound, 5 = R-sound).

As far as the effect of occupation is concerned, no clear pattern emerged. If we adopt Trudgill and Mansfield’s (1994) distinction between, on the one hand, professions related to the tourist industry and, on the other hand, all other professions, according to which people in the tourist industry produce fewer retroflexes than shepherds and fishermen, then we see that in the men’s group a shepherd (S2) and a tavern owner (S6) produce the lowest degrees of rhoticization. Of course, S6 belongs to the older men’s group and, in this respect, the difference from the older shepherds (S4 and S5) is more pronounced than the difference between S2 on the one hand, and S1 and S3 on the other in the younger men’s group. At any rate, a bigger sample is needed to assess reliably the effect of occupation.

¹⁵ Although we represent the rhotic phonetically as a retroflex approximant, we are not making any claims about its acoustic properties.

¹⁶ Given the small sample size, we did not run any ANOVAs.

2.3.3 Metapragmatic comments

Apart from these quantitative results regarding the degree of rhoticization and the effect of age and gender, the interviews also provided us with qualitative data in the form of participants' metapragmatic comments about the rhotic and its usage.

It is interesting to note how men in general and older women, on the one hand, and younger women, on the other, responded when they were asked towards the end of the interview about the rhotic and how they use it themselves. Men and older women did not generally elaborate on the rhotic. A leitmotif in their speech was that "Every village, even the neighboring ones, has its own particular speech". When men were asked about whether they change their speech when they go to the city of Iraklio or generally outside Anogia, a common answer was that they do not do so.

On the other hand, younger women commented extensively on the rhotic and its usage. S9, a slightly older woman, talked about how producing the rhotic is not necessarily a sign of educated, civilized behavior and that the Anogian variety is not something that the Anogians should be necessarily proud of ("It's just a thing of our village"), although "men are very proud, and even if they are educated — doctors or professors — they keep their Anogian accent. [...] They refuse to adapt." S7, a 32-year old woman, talked about how people outside Anogia ("kseni", outsiders) believe that Anogians produce the rhotic on purpose. She conveyed the accusation made by outsiders that Anogians fake the sound in question. When asked if women produce the rhotic at all, she said that women produce a light version of it: "Men say it heavier, but we women do it less, because we are delicate (*lepta*) creatures. We do say it but not as intensely as men". When asked if she changes her language outside Anogia or depending on the interlocutor, she admitted that she is careful with her language on formal occasions when "important" persons are present. Similar comments were encountered in the responses of S8, a woman in her late 30s: "So, for example, when I go to Iraklio, I don't speak with an Anogian accent, because sometimes city people laugh at me or they don't understand me. I switch automatically. I change my speech." The way she commented on the differences between young and old people when asked if people from Iraklio make fun of the Anogian accent is even more revealing:

No, I don't think that they make fun of it. It is just so strange to them. When a young person uses it, they don't really like it because *they think that young people are different nowadays*. They like it though when they hear it from the elders. They accept the Anogian accent when an old person uses it. So, young people change their speech — not here, in the neighborhood, but in the city. When I go shopping or to the doctor's, sometimes it will slip in by mistake, and other women who are present will laugh because they don't understand a word of what I say. (emphasis added)

Younger women's extensive commentary on the rhotic and the Anogian accent suggests that the rhotic has emerged above the level of consciousness to become a *stereotype* in Labov's (1971) terms, or a *third order index* in Silverstein's (2003) terms.¹⁷ Further commentary

¹⁷ In Labov's (1971) trichotomy between *indicators*, *markers* and *stereotypes*, *stereotypes* are linguistic forms that are socially marked and are subject to metapragmatic discussion because they have become very salient, rising above the level of consciousness. Stereotypes can become heavily stigmatized and may be avoided, resulting in their gradual disappearance — however the reverse is also possible. Reanalyzing Labov's (1971) trichotomy, Silverstein

confirms this: one of the female respondents to the questionnaire (see the next section) asked after completing it if she should generally use the rhotic or not, because, when she was in school, her teachers told her and her classmates to avoid it. If young women in Anogia complain about the rhotic being ridiculed by the urbanites of Iraklio, then this must mean that not only Anogians but also city-dwellers are well aware of the dialectal difference. This is corroborated by linguistic jokes that circulate in the city of Iraklio targeting this sound. But it is not only in linguistic jokes that the rhotic emerges as a stereotype and third order index. This picture is completed by jokes regarding the deeds of Anogians that circulate widely (orally in the city of Iraklio, in local printed editions on Crete,¹⁸ or even on the internet).¹⁹ Generalizing somewhat, we may say that in these jokes the Anogian character is usually presented as a cunning *male* who can turn a difficult situation around by giving a smart answer.

To summarize, the Anogian *persona* that has been constructed in contexts outside the community (presumably in urban centers like Iraklio) consists of a number of positive and negative qualities, some of which are shared with Cretans from mountain areas while others are specific to this community: Anogians are perceived as rough and violent, involved in violent practices,²⁰ cunning, ostentatious (to the point that they allegedly even fake sounds like the rhotic), rebellious, traditional and authentic. Furthermore, this persona is *gendered* referring exclusively to Anogian males.

2.4 Questionnaire

2.4.1 Participants

In addition to the 12 interviewees, 29 participants were recruited to answer an attitudinal questionnaire. Starting with the female respondents (N=17), the age range is 20-50 and the mean age is 33 ($SD = 9.3$). In terms of occupation, two are college students, six are housewives, four work in the private sector as business employees or as freelancers, and four work in the public sector (one did not answer the question). As far as their educational level is concerned, most of them (11) have completed Middle-High School, one has completed only Elementary school, four have college education (of whom two are currently students), and one went to a postsecondary technical school.

For the male respondents (N=12), the age range is 20-50 and the mean age is 33 ($SD = 8.2$). In terms of occupation, the majority are shepherds (5) or farmers (4). One works in the public sector and another in the private sector (one respondent did not provide an answer). In regard to their level of education, five have completed Elementary school, four have completed Middle school or High school, and two have postsecondary education (technical school); one of them did not provide an answer.

conceives of a *third order index* as emerging when a second order index gets reinterpreted giving rise to more social meanings.

¹⁸ Chourdakis (1990) dedicates an entire chapter to jokes on Anogians.

¹⁹ See for example <http://www.krassanakis.gr/astia.htm> (last accessed: June 20, 2012).

²⁰ The local Cretan press is contributing to this stereotyping of the Anogian male with a number of reports on clashes between the police and the Anogians in the area of Mylopotamos. See for example: <http://www.cretalive.gr/posts/view/379> (last accessed: June 21, 2012).

2.4.2 Procedure

The questionnaire consisted of two basic parts: i) Demographic information about age, gender, occupation, education, place where one grew up, any moves etc. and ii) 15 questions on the local variety and the rhotic. Although the term “Anogian speech” (*Anogiani omilia*) was used in the questionnaire, it was stressed that “when we refer to the Anogian speech, we also include the Anogian *la*”.²¹ The subjects were asked to answer these questions using a five-point Likert scale (5=Yes, very much to 1=No, not at all).

2.4.3 Results

The questions are grouped into four sets according to A) general attitudes towards the variety (Questions 1-3), B) stated preferences for production in various contexts/with outsiders (Questions 4-7), C) stated preferences for perception (Questions 8-13), and D) stated preference for the local variety over the urban variety of Iraklio (Questions 14-15). Participants’ responses to these questions reveal some important facts about younger Anogians’ attitudes towards the variety and the rhotic (Table 4). To test for significant differences between men and women, a t-test was also run.

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Q1. How do you like the Anogian Variety (AV)?	W	17	4.76	0.56
	M	12	5.00	0.00
Q2. Do you like using AV?	W	17	4.53	1.07
	M	12	4.92	0.29
Q3. Are you proud of AV?	W	17	4.94	0.24
	M	12	5.00	0.00
Q4. Do you like using AV when talking to people who are not from Anogia?	W	17	4.00	1.37
	M	12	4.83	0.39
Q5. Do you like using AV when going to Iraklio (in public services or at stores)?	W	17	3.94	1.30
	M	12	4.92	0.29
Q6. Do you think it is appropriate to use AV when talking to people who are not from Anogia?	W	17	3.88	1.36
	M	11	5.00	0.00
Q7. Do you think it is appropriate to use AV when going to Iraklio (in public services or at stores?)	W	17	4.35	1.11
	M	12	5.00	0.00
Q8. Do you like hearing AV?	W	17	4.82	0.73
	M	12	5.00	0.00
Q9. Do you like hearing AV outside Anogia (e.g. when you go to Iraklio)?	W	17	4.76	0.75
	M	12	5.00	0.00
Q10. Do you like hearing Anogian men use heavy AV?	W	17	4.71	0.77
	M	10	4.90	0.32
Q11. Do you like hearing Anogian women use heavy AV?	W	17	4.35	1.22
	M	12	4.67	0.65

²¹ This is how the locals refer to the rhotic in question.

Q12. Do you like hearing young Anogian women use heavy AV?	W	17	3.94	1.39
	M	12	4.67	0.65
Q13. Do you like hearing old Anogian women use heavy AV?	W	17	4.88	0.49
	M	12	5.00	0.00
Q14. Does AV sound more pleasant than the variety of Iraklio?	W	17	4.35	0.93
	M	12	4.83	0.58
Q15. Does AV sound more correct than the variety of Iraklio?	W	17	4.29	1.26
	M	12	4.83	0.58

Table 4. Attitudes towards the Anogian variety, and production and perception preferences by gender.

In responses to Group A (Questions 1-3), both men and women state that they like the Anogian variety (Question 1): they like to use it (Question 2) and they are very proud of it (Question 3). There is no statistically significant difference between men and women for Question 1 ($p = .104$), Question 2 ($p = .171$), or Question 3 ($p = .411$).²² In responses to Group B (Questions 4-7), unlike men, women seem relatively reserved when it comes to using the variety outside the community, and specifically in the city of Iraklio, or with outsiders both in terms of their stated usage and the degree of appropriateness (Questions 4-7). In this group of questions, the difference between men and women was found to be statistically significant for all questions (Question 4, $p = .028$; Question 5, $p = .008$; Question 6, $p = .004$; Question 7, $p = .029$). The difference is particularly pronounced in responses to Question 5: women do not feel as comfortable as men using their local variety when they go to the city to visit public services or to stores for shopping. In responses to Group C (Questions 8-13), both men and women seem to enjoy hearing their local variety (Question 8, $p = .411$), even outside the community (Question 9, $p = .216$). Both genders enjoy hearing both men and women use a heavy (*varja*)²³ version of the Anogian variety (AV) without significant difference (Question 10, $p = .458$, Question 11, $p = .425$). However, when it comes to hearing *young* women use heavy AV, these scores drop significantly, and this happens for women as well as men (Question 12, $p = .105$).²⁴ Nevertheless, this negative preference does not extend to older women using heavy AV. Both men and women equally like hearing older women use a heavy version of the variety (Question 13, $p = .411$). Finally, in responses to Group D (Questions 14-15), women score slightly lower than men when asked if the Anogian variety is more pleasant than the variety of Iraklio (Question 14, $p = .099$), or if it is less correct than the variety of Iraklio (Question 15, $p = .135$), but not to a significant degree.

To summarize, compared with men whose responses generally score high and are characterized by consensus, women display a wider range of attitudes towards the variety and the rhotic: although they are proud of, and like, their local variety, especially when heard from the lips of older women, they restrict its use in the community and among its members. In contrast, men generally score high when it comes to using and hearing the local variety outside or inside

²² The statistical analysis was done using SPSS version 17.

²³ Although the addition of the adjective *heavy* creates an asymmetry, this choice was motivated by the fact that some informants provided a distinction between the heavy rhotic that is produced by men and a lighter version produced by women. See also related comments by S7 in the section on *Metapragmatic Comments*.

²⁴ In fact, responses to questions 11 and 12 score the lowest and achieve the least consensus among all responses given by men.

the community, and they do not seem to be bothered about distinctions such as community *vs.* city, or insider *vs.* outsider. The only questions where men score lower compared with the rest of their responses concern hearing women, and young women in particular, use a heavy version of the variety. We suggest below that this last point may be crucial and may in fact hold the key to the gendered use of the rhotic observed in this community.

3. Discussion

The results of the perceptual experiment reported earlier revealed that women in the younger age range are perceived as producing lower degrees of rhoticization, in contrast to men and older women. In a study of lateral variants in Patras, Greece, Papazachariou (2006) shows that, although the younger generation of males shows a slight increase in the production of the standard alveolar lateral as compared to the previous generation, younger females exhibit a clear preference towards the standard variant regardless of educational background. According to Papazachariou, this is explained by a loss of prestige for the local variety resulting from a worsening of the economic situation in Patras over the last two decades. Results from another study, this time of lateral and nasal variables in a rural community on the Greek island of Kefalonia (Pappas, 2008), showed that young people, and especially women, preferred the more prestigious and innovative alveolar pronunciation of /li/ and /ni/ “as [do] speakers who are negatively disposed toward life in the community” (2008: 521). On the other hand, men, even those with an advanced level of education, tended to favor the less standard palatal pronunciation of these variants. Although at the descriptive level the results of these studies are reminiscent of our own, the explanation we would like to propose is slightly different.

Our starting point is the finding that the use of a heavy local accent by younger women in particular was frowned upon (in the sense of scoring lowest among all questions and achieving the least consensus) not only by women themselves but also by men. In other words, a broader social consensus appears to exist in this case, with speakers of both genders and all ages agreeing that a heavy local accent is undesirable for younger women. Why should this be the case? We would like to suggest that this is so because Anogian identity is not simply defined in local terms but also in gender-specific terms; that is, it is at once local *and* male, and this makes it inappropriate for younger women (who, contrary to older women, are of child-bearing age and therefore need to assert and display their femininity, including linguistically) to embrace without reservation. If this suggestion is along the correct lines, then younger women’s more standard-like linguistic behavior in this case could be more the unintended result of their avoidance of a male variant (which also happens to be local) than their intentional adoption of a standard one. This explanation is quite different from previous explanations of the sex/prestige pattern (see section 1 and immediately above), which rely on the assumption that women consciously orient themselves toward the overtly prestigious, standard or out-group variant in a quest for (symbolic) power, improved quality of life, etc. Although on the surface of it the outcome is the same (women use more of the standard, lateral variant, rather than the local, rhoticized, one), in the case of the Anogian rhotic, the underlying motivation may be quite different, having to do more with the undesirable connotations — linked directly to gender rather than mediated by social class — that the local variant additionally carries than with any desirable connotations that the standard variant itself carries. This conclusion can be reached if one combines the interview and questionnaire results, and specifically the findings that everyone in the community, *including young women*, is proud of the local variety and loyal to the community, while at the same time

also disproving of the use of its most salient feature, the rhotic, *by young women only*. This last point is reminiscent of identity theorists' frequent claim that "identities are never autonomous or independent but always acquire social meaning in relation to other available identity positions and other social actors" (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 598). In other words, identity is never a matter of the individual speaker's agency alone but also constrained by the roles and expectations projected upon the speaker by those around her.

Alongside this macro-social explanation, we believe that additional micro-social explanations having to do with the particular interview setting of the research situation are also possible for our data. Recall here that one of the attitudes expressed by younger women in the questionnaire is that they are more reserved than men when it comes to speaking the Anogian variety to outsiders. If the interview setting with an outsider (the researcher, in this case) plays any part in determining the female participants' linguistic behavior, then their perceived low rates of rhoticization – and, conversely, men's overall higher rates – in this particular setting should be expected. An answer as to why this happens can be traced in younger women's comments (S7, S8 and S9). They offer seemingly different explanations: using the rhotic a) is a sign of failing to adapt to the modern world on behalf of the men regardless of occupation, b) might not be acceptable as young people's speaking style, c) might generate perceptions of showiness or fakeness. These social meanings capture some of the qualities that are attributed to the Anogian persona by the urbanites, a persona that is, as we saw earlier, crucially, a gendered one. As previously discussed, men are considered to be the perpetrators of unorthodox behaviors and violent practices (lack of adaptation), the ones who fake their rhotics (because they are ostentatious), and prefer to become shepherds and farmers instead of furthering their education. These social meanings constitute, at least in part, the *indexical field* of the Anogian rhotic as defined by Eckert 2008, that is, "a constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable" (2008: 454). "Variables", Eckert argues, "have indexical fields rather than fixed meanings because speakers use variables not simply to reflect or reassert their particular pre-ordained place on the social map but to make ideological moves" (2008:464). By avoiding the rhotic, these younger women distance themselves not only from the masculinity that men perform by means of this same variant, but also from qualities that are relevant in the context of the interview such as, for example, traditionalism, understood, in this case, as lack of adaptation to the modern world. In other words, they adopt an identity that is desirable in *this* context, positioning themselves in contrast to an 'Other', represented in this case by men, who are the agents of traditional and authentic, albeit unorthodox, practices, and by older women, who can also be viewed as the bearers of tradition.²⁵

This does not mean, however, that these same women necessarily wish to distance themselves wholesale from the life-style of the community à la Gal 1978. Significantly, they might produce the rhotic in another context where they deem that traditionalism is positively evaluated. For instance, S9 admits that she speaks differently to her niece when they are by themselves, while S8 actually produces rhotics when she interrupts her father-in-law to narrate a local story from the past. Meyerhoff (1996) discusses evidence from Jabeur (1987) and Trabelsi (1991), who report on the case of a Tunisian woman who selects from a range of female

²⁵ Not surprisingly, every time the researcher asked to interview a woman, the villagers directed him to older women, who readily offered to tell stories from the past or sing traditional songs.

positions (educated woman, traditional woman) and manipulates linguistic variants from different languages to index those positions. Similarly, Holmes (1997) discusses the case of a woman who constructs different identities in different contexts — a predominantly conservative identity at one time, a less conservative one at another.

Although social meanings such as the ones discussed above in relation to the Anogian rhotic — traditional, non-adaptable etc. — are constructed at a local level, they ultimately connect to the political economy of language and broader language ideologies (Eckert, 2008: 456) that emerged in Greece in the past. To understand the construction of these meanings, we must take into account the impact of Greek state-ideological forces that, since the early 20th century, aimed at linguistic homogenization and viewed dialects as obstacles to the creation of a national Standard (Terkourafi, 2007: 77 and references therein):

Thus ‘while universal education, access to the mass media, the flight of the young to the cities, and the advent of easy mobility’ (Horrocks, 1997: 301) undoubtedly constitute practical reasons for the abandonment of regional varieties, they were decidedly not alone in bringing about Greece’s current degree of linguistic homogeneity. Rather, their impact was heightened by an ideology of linguistic homogeneity, which for a long time denied or marginalized social and/or geographical variation in the country.

In other words, top-down ideological processes cannot be ignored. The linguistic signs (both the rhotic and the standard lateral variant) are ultimately connected to such dichotomies as *urban* vs. *rural*, *educated* vs. *uneducated*, *legitimate* vs. *non-legitimate*, *distant* vs. *intimate*, and their political economy constrains local practice — but this does not mean that it always remains uncontested. The social changes that took place after World War II (the intense mobility of the population and the modernization of this community with tourism), along with the impact of nation-state ideologies (through education, for example), created the ecological conditions for the rhotic to become more salient than ever before and opened up a space of possibilities for its interpretation and the generation of varied social meanings. The young Anogian women who present themselves as the modern and adaptable part of this community in the context of the interview, are simultaneously creating new possibilities by projecting a new Anogian persona, an alternative to the heavily gendered existing one, the persona of the modern Anogian woman, who nevertheless remains loyal to the local culture.

4. Conclusions and suggestions for further research

The focus of the present study is gender differences in speech examined through a variant that is found in the village of Anogia, a rural community on the island of Crete, Greece. The results of sociolinguistic interviews, a perceptual experiment and an attitudinal questionnaire jointly reveal variation between men and women in the proportion of rhotics they are perceived to produce in the context of the interview, as well as in the attitudes they express towards the rhotic. The low degrees of rhoticization in younger women’s perceived production can be explained by suggesting that they internalize social meanings attributed to the rhotic by both those inside the community (the masculine indexicality of the rhotic) and those outside of it, specifically city-dwellers, who entertain several stereotypes not just for Anogians but for the Anogian males in particular. By avoiding the rhotic younger women dissociate themselves from undesirable qualities the persona of the Anogian male represents. But this avoidance is also a function of the

communicative event (interview) and of the interlocutor (interviewer). In principle, the possibility that younger women produce various rates of rhoticization depending on the ideological positionings they wish to claim at different times cannot be excluded. Further research could fruitfully investigate which (other) indexicalities are activated and what kind of ideological moves not only women but also men from various social categories (in terms of age, occupation etc.) make by manipulating different rates of rhoticization in different communicative events and with different types of interlocutors.

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GREEK DIALECTS IN ASIA MINOR SETTING LEXICOGRAPHIC PRINCIPLES FOR A TRIDIALECTAL DICTIONARY*

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This paper is about the lexicographic principles set and adopted for the design and development of the tridialectal dictionary of Greek dialects in Asia Minor, one of the deliverables of the THALIS research programme "Pontus, Cappadocia, Aivali: in search of Asia Minor Greek". To serve the aims and objectives of the research programme, the dictionary will be electronic (e-dictionary), available online. In macrostructural terms, it will include a total of 7,500 entries; *ca.* 2,500 entries from each of the three local dialects of Asia Minor Greek studied by the programme, namely, Pontic, Cappadocian and Aivaliot. The microstructure will be organized in accordance with international lexicographic practice and will incorporate all formal, semantic and pragmatic information that will be hyperlinked to multimedia resources, offering the user a rich and reliable reference experience on the dialectal vocabulary of Asia Minor Greek.

1 Introduction

In this paper we discuss the lexicographic principles that need to be set and adopted for the design and development of the tridialectal dictionary of Greek dialects in Asia Minor (henceforth TDGDAM). TDGDAM will be one of the deliverables of the THALIS research programme "Pontus, Cappadocia, Aivali: in search of Asia Minor Greek" (henceforth AMiGre).

More specifically, in section 2, we give some background information about the AMiGre programme, its aims and objectives as well as about TDGDAM as one of its deliverables. In section 3, we discuss how TDGDAM is typologically classified based on its particular profile. In

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section 4, we present issues regarding TDGDAM's macrostructure, policy and resources. Finally, in section 5 we examine the organization and microstructure of TDGDAM referring to the details of its formal and semantic content.

2 Preliminary remarks about AMiGre and TDGDAM

There has been very little discussion in the relevant lexicographic literature worldwide regarding the architecture of small or medium size dialectal dictionaries. The majority of the relevant papers restrict themselves to metalexigraphic comments as part of reviews of existing dialectal dictionaries in several languages. Therefore, several issues about the typological status of such dictionaries as well as the structure and content of macrostructure and microstructure have not been yet thoroughly investigated and standardized. In the following sections, we will address these issues focused on the profile we wish to attribute to TDGDAM.

In what follows, we provide some background information about the AMiGre Programme and TDGDAM as one of its deliverables.

As already stated above, the design and implementation of TDGDAM falls within the framework of AMiGre which aims at: (a) providing a systematic and comprehensive study of three linguistic systems of common origin and of parallel evolution that are faced with the threat of extinction and, (b) digitizing, archiving and processing a wide range of oral and written data, thus providing the sustainability of this longwinded cultural heritage. TDGDAM is expected to contribute to safeguarding and documenting valuable dialectal vocabulary of the area and offer a user-friendly tool for easy access by anyone interested in the Greek dialects of Asia Minor.

There is no sufficient and linguistically reliable documentation of the vocabulary of the three Asia Minor dialects studied by AMiGre, namely Pontic, Cappadocian and Aivaliot, although they are on the way to extinction. In lexicographic terms, the *Historical Dictionary of the Pontic Dialect* by Anthimos Papadopoulos (1958) is considered as the only well-documented dictionary. Otherwise, the particular dialectal vocabulary is only partially and non-exhaustively listed in areal and/or thematic glossaries (e.g. Sakkaris's glossary for Aivali, or Kotsanidis's glossary for Misti – Cappadocia; see Appendix). All glossaries available for the three dialects under investigation were compiled by "amateur" lexicographers and contain words and idiomatic phrases along with their meaning in Standard Modern Greek (SMG). Expectedly, these glossaries are lexicographically unsystematic, in many respects, as their macrostructures are non-exhaustive, not well organized and inconsistent. In addition, microstructures lack or mispresent important information about pronunciation, meaning, usages and origin. For example, some verbs are not listed in their canonical forms but instead they appear in the past or there is no distinction made between words and phrases.

Given this situation, we decided to develop TDGDAM as a linguistically-sound tri-dialectal dictionary in electronic form by applying modern lexicographic principles accepted internationally.¹ In particular, TDGDAM is expected to include all necessary lexicographic information in a consistent manner. In addition, the dictionary will offer users useful and easily-accessible information about the dialectal area or the source where the lemma was extracted from, the meaning of vocabulary under extinction properly defined and, if needed, further clarified with illustrations or video, the pronunciation through IPA transcriptions and authentic

¹ For technical details about the design and implementation of TDGDAM as an online multimedia electronic dictionary see Karanikolas *et al.* (to appear); see also Appendix II for sample screenshots.

pronunciation performance by native speakers in audio files, word meaning relations by interlinking lemmas to expand and enrich the search experience of users etc. To serve the aims and objectives of the AMiGre programme, TDGDAM will include a total of 7,500 entries; *ca.* 2,500 entries from each of the three local dialects of Asia Minor Greek studied by the programme. With all this in mind, we aspire TDGDAM to constitute an innovation not only for Greek and its Asia Minor dialects, but also a good example of a modern dialectal e-dictionary by international standards.

3 Typological issues

Dialectal dictionaries are usually treated as monolingual synchronic dictionaries due to the fact that the linguistic system of the macrostructure is the same to that of the microstructure and because the macrostructure is limited to a subtotal of the lexis (see e.g. Zgusta, 1971; Béjoint, 2000; Landau, 2001; Barbato and Varvaro, 2004; Xydopoulos, 2008: 292-294). However, given the fact that TDGDAM concerns varieties of the same linguistic system, we believe that it is methodologically more appropriate to treat it as a bilingual dictionary, its macrostructure being in different varieties to that of the microstructure which will be in SMG (see Geeraerts, 1989: 294-295; Béjoint, 2000: 39; Marellò, 2004: 351; Katsoyiannou, 2008: 659; Xydopoulos, 2011: 96-97).

TDGDAM will not be a synchronic dictionary *per se* (in the sense of Béjoint 2010: 218), as it will include entries from different time periods (Penhallurik 2009: 301ff). Keeping in mind that AMiGre's aim, among other things, is to safeguard Asia Minor's linguistic heritage, TDGDAM will have to include vocabulary without clear time-limits, in most cases not exceeding two hundred years.

We have designed TDGDAM as a proper dialectal dictionary and not as a glossary. Indeed, TDGDAM fulfills all relevant criteria for dictionaries as it will incorporate a good amount of microstructural information for each lemma of all three dialects and its (implied) macrostructure is set to reach *ca.* 7,500 entries (cf. Hartmann and James, 1998: 63).

Finally, given the size and focus of TDGDAM, it will be a local / microarea dialectal dictionary and, in the sense of Van Keymeulen and De Tier (2010: 755), will cover vocabulary found in written and oral documents geographically restricted in the Asia Minor areas of Pontus, Cappadocia and Aivali (Kydonies).

4 Macrostructure

The (implied) macrostructure of TDGDAM, in the sense of Xydopoulos (2011: 98-9), is expected to include collected vocabulary from the three local dialects concerned, regardless of its age. Expectedly, for a dictionary of this type, TDGDAM will not include vocabulary found in Standard Greek, unless it is used with a different meaning.

Given that TDGDAM is an online dictionary, its macrostructure will not be considered as physical, as in print dictionaries, but will consist of "multiple macrostructures" mirroring the various searching options it offers (Burke, 2003: 242-244). Therefore, the distinction between alphabetical and non-alphabetical organization of the macrostructure does not really apply to TDGDAM. However, TDGDAM is to be conceived as an alphabetical and not as an onomasiological dictionary, though lemmas will contain specific usage labels that refer, among other things, to thematic categories (e.g. agriculture, weaving etc.).

4.1 Policy

As mentioned above, we believe that TDGDAM has a clear lexicographic objective, that is, to safeguard valuable dialectal vocabulary from Greek spoken in Asia Minor. In addition, as we saw, TDGDAM qualifies as a microarea / local dialect dictionary not exceeding 7,500 entries in total. Therefore, the typological profile of TDGDAM will lead us to apply the contrastive method (in the sense of Zgusta, 1971: 205, cf. Orton, 1947: 4) and so we will include only vocabulary from the three dialects concerned excluding vocabulary found in SMG, unless its semantic content and usage differ from the standard dialect.

In terms of the timespan of the dialectal vocabulary, as we saw earlier, given that the dialects under investigation are under extinction, we have decided to include lemmas in TDGDAM regardless of age, as long as they are recognized by native speakers of the dialects concerned.

Finally, given that online dictionaries are, virtually, limitless in space, we decided to list multiword expressions as separate lemmas and not to embed them in other lemmas. In addition, we decided to list alternative instantiations of lemmas embedded in the lemmas concerned, so as to avoid repeating information and facilitate users in finding the piece of information they need within the shortest possible time (see Katsouda, 2012: 120-121 and references therein).²

4.2 Resources

TDGDAM's purpose, as mentioned above, is to incorporate authentic vocabulary from the Asia Minor dialects of Pontus, Cappadocia and Aivali in a digital form. Therefore, we have decided to lexicographically process and document dialectal vocabulary that is found in various wordlists, glossaries (general or thematic) and dictionaries focused on the three dialects.

Unfortunately, we were not able to locate and collect ample and reliable reference material that deals with these dialects. Our main resources include: secondary printed and secondary web resources for Pontic (mostly glossaries, wordlists and a historical dictionary), secondary printed resources for Cappadocian (glossaries and dialect descriptions) and for Aivaliot (glossaries) (see Appendix 1). All this material will be evaluated and confirmed with the help of informants, and then it will be lexicographically processed and documented by adding all necessary information (i.e. authentic examples from written and/or oral sources, encyclopedic information, multimedia etc.).³

5 Microstructure

The microstructure of TDGDAM will reflect pronunciation, grammar, origin, meaning and usage of the vocabulary and will be linked to additional information resources (internal or external to TDGDAM). In the following sections we briefly discuss the content and structure of the formal and the semantic comment in microstructure with illustrative examples from different entries.

² See Xydopoulos (2008: 315-316), and references therein, about the heuristic procedures applied by dictionary users.

³ For a discussion about the use of lexicographic resources in a historical/dialectal dictionary, see Konstantinidou and Tzamali (2012).

5.1 Headword and spelling

Let us first explore the formal comment of the microstructure (see Appendix II, Figure 1 for a sample screenshot). Headwords, as citation forms, are canonical forms (Landau, 2001: 98-9) that should also be orthographically canonical (Xydopoulos *op. cit.*). Orthographic canonicity of the headword can guarantee that there are no different and arbitrary spelling codes for the same dialect, the orthographic and phonetic forms are clearly distinct, and that any user, familiar with spelling of the standard dialect, will be able to use the dictionary (see Xydopoulos, *op. cit.*, Durkin, 2010: 46, etc.). Headwords can be spelled either with small letters and stress diacritics (Rys and Van Keymeulen, 2009) or with capital letters and stress diacritics (Penhalluric, 2009), a practice mainly followed in English dialectal dictionaries (Markus and Heuberger, 2007: 356). We believe that the capitalized version of the headword is much more advantageous as it departs from the spelling form in the standard dialect, it does not prescribe spelling rules in the dialect and allows for alternative orthographic forms in the microstructure (see Xydopoulos, *op. cit.* and Katsouda, 2012: 127.).

Given the profile of TDGDAM and the size of its macrostructure, we decided to set as headwords those orthographic forms that are the most established within the resources, on the basis of the lexicographer's intuition (see also Katsouda, 2012: 126; cf. Giakoumaki et al, 2004: 926 and references therein). Furthermore, taking into consideration the advantages of the capitalized headword as stated above, we will not transcribe headwords in a "semiphonetic" form. This way we will avoid a malpractice in the compilation of dialectal dictionaries, mostly by "amateur" lexicographers (see Barbato and Varvaro, 2004: 434, Giakoumaki et al, 2004: 926 among others).

The following entry sample illustrates headword and alternative orthographic forms for the Aivaliot noun "γυρνέλα" (gutter pipe), the Pontic verb "γυρουδζάσο" (get a swelling on the head or the body) and the Cappadocian adjective "verán" (deserted):

Headword	ΓΟΥΡΝΈΛΛΑ	ΓΟΥΡΟΥΔΙΑΖΩ	BEPÁN
Alternative Orthographic form(s)	γουρνέλλα	n/a	n/a

5.2 Phonetic form, grammar and origin

Following international practice in dialectal lexicography, a substantial component of the formal comment of TDGDAM's microstructure will be the phonetic form, transcribed in IPA (Atkins and Rundell, 2008: 206).⁴ The phonetic form will be accompanied by the authentic pronunciation performed by native informants and recorded in a sound file (WAV format). This way, the phonetic form will be clearly distinguished from the orthographic form(s) in the entry (cf. Giakoumaki et al, 2004: 927).

The following entry sample illustrates phonetic information for the above entries:

⁴ For detailed discussions about the importance of using IPA in transcribing phonetic forms in dialectal lexicography see Manolessou *et al.* (2012) and Katsouda (2012: 127-129).

Headword	ΓΟΥΠΝΈΑΑ	ΓΟΥΠΟΥΔΙΆΖΩ	ΒΕΡΆΝ
Phonetic Form	[ɣur'nela]	[ɣuru'dæzo]	[ve:'ran]
Sound File	http://amigre.gr/gurnela.wav	http://amigre.gr/gurudiazoo.wav	http://amigre.gr/veran.wav

Grammar, in TDGDAM's microstructure, will incorporate information about the lexical category (e.g. Verb, the morphological process involved (e.g. derivation), the syntactic properties (e.g. transitive) and any specific inflectional properties of the entry (see De Caluwe and Van Santen, 2003: 73ff). This way, users will be able to understand the grammatical particularities of the dialectal vocabulary, as opposed to that of SMG. The following entry sample represents grammatical information of the words we saw earlier and of the Aivaliot word "alujiristra" (a woman who goes around):

Headword	ΑΛΛΟΥΓΥΡΪΣΤΡΑ	ΓΟΥΠΝΈΑΑ	ΓΟΥΠΟΥΔΙΆΖΩ	ΒΕΡΆΝ
Lexical Category	Ουσιαστικό Θηλυκό (noun feminine)	Ουσιαστικό Θηλυκό (noun feminine)	Ρήμα, Αμετάβατο (verb, intransitive)	Επίθετο (adjective)
Morphological Process	Σύνθετο (compound)	Παράγωγο (derivative)	Παράγωγο (derivative)	n/a

As mentioned earlier, TDGDAM is as a dialectal dictionary that is expected to combine synchronic and diachronic information, so we deemed necessary to include in microstructure brief etymological information about the origin of each entry (see Barbato and Varvaro, 2004: 434):

Headword	ΓΟΥΠΝΈΑΑ	ΓΟΥΠΟΥΔΙΆΖΩ	ΒΕΡΆΝ
Etymology	[ETYM <μσν. γούρν(α) «ξύλινο ή πέτρινο δοχείο για πότισμα ζώων» + -έλα]	[ETYM <Τουρκ. gurur «φούσκωμα» γουρ + -ούδ(ι) + άζω]	[ETYM <Τουρκ. veran «ερειπωμένος»]

Furthermore, given that TDGDAM incorporates vocabulary from three dialects that can also display microdialectal variation within their domains, we decided to tag entries with the name of the dialect they belong to and specify the microdialectal region, where applicable (Barbaro and Varvato, 2004: 434):

Headword	ΓΟΥΠΝΈΑΑ	ΓΟΥΠΟΥΔΙΆΖΩ	ΒΕΡΆΝ
Dialect area	Αϊβαλί (Aivali)	Πόντος (Pontus)	Καππαδοκία (Cappadocia)
Microarea	n/a	n/a	Μιστί (Misti)

5.3 Usage, definition and examples


Let us now explore the semantic comment of TDGDAM microstructure (see Appendix II, Figure 1 for a sample screenshot). Usage labels in the dictionary will indicate the thematic area for each entry (e.g. agriculture) as well as pragmatic information that specializes and restricts its usage range, like the speaker's attitude or the register (see Markus and Heuberger, 2007: 357-8 and Bassea-Bezantakou, 2012: 252-254). Below, we give an entry sample of the Aivaliot words "γurnéla" and "alujiristra", we saw earlier, and of the Aivaliot word "vulosiru" (a flattening tool used after tillage):

Headword	ΒΟΛΌΣΥΡΟ	ΑΛΛΟΥΓΥΡΪΣΤΡΑ	ΓΟΥΠΝΈΑΑ
Usage label	ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑ (Agriculture)	ΥΠΟΤΙΜΗΤΙΚΟ (pejorative)	ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΙΚΗ (Building)

Entry definitions in TDGDAM will be mostly synonymic, with equivalent words in SMG, or sentential, for those entries which have dialect-specific or difficult meaning (in the sense of Geeraerts, 2003: 88ff; see also Bassea-Bezantakou, 2012: 251):

Headword	ΓΟΥΠΝΈΑΑ	ΓΟΥΡΟΥΔΙΑΪΩ	ΒΕΡΆΝ
Definition	υδροροή, λούκι [synonymic]	παρουσιάζω πρήξιμο στο κεφάλι ή στο σώμα [sentential]	ερειπωμένος-η-ο [synonymic]

Furthermore, definitions of selected lemmas will be encyclopedically enriched with multimedia information (audio, picture, video):

Headword	ΒΟΛΌΣΥΡΟ
Illustration	
Caption	A farmer using a “volósiro”.

As part of the semantic comment in TDGDAM, we have decided to add a small thesaurus in the microstructure so as to include Synonyms and Antonyms that we will be able to locate for specific lemmas. Below we can see an entry sample of thesaurus for the Aivaliot word “lajína” (large crock):

Headword	ΛΑΓΪΝΑ
Thesaurus	ΣΥΝ: κουμάρι, κουτρούλι

Users will be able to cross-refer to related entries, either through the thesaurus or through hyperlinks to other lemmas that are semantically / pragmatically / morphologically / etymologically related to the targeted lemma. Another option that involves cross-reference is with different lemmas in different dialects that share the same meaning. This way, individual lemmas from the three dialects in TDGDAM will be interconnected.

Authentic examples of use are essential for a dialectal dictionary. They will be collected from oral and written dialectal material from our resources and will be included in entries. Examples

will appear in standard spelling, reflecting pronunciation as closely as possible (with the use of the necessary diacritics), though avoiding “semiphonetic” transcription (see Rys and Van Keymeulen, 2009: 134 and Katsouda, 2012: 141). To assure that examples will be comprehensible to the average user, we have also decided to give their translations in SMG:

Headword	ΓΟΥΡΝΈΛΛΑ	ΓΟΥΡΟΥΔΙΆΖΩ	ΒΕΡΆΝ
Example	<i>Καθάριστ τ' γουρνέλα γιατί θα βρέξ.</i>	<i>Εγουρουδιάσεν το κεφάλι μ.</i>	<i>Ητό ντου σπίτ τσίδει βεεράν</i>
SMG Translation	“Καθάρισε τα λούκια γιατί θα βρέξει”	“Έχω ένα πρήξιμο στο κεφάλι μου”	“Αυτό το σπίτι είναι ερειπωμένο
	“It’s going to rain, so clean the gutters”	“I have a swelling on my head”	“This house is deserted”

Finally, in TDGDAM, we will treat polysemy and homonymy in the way suggested for prototypical dictionaries. More specifically, in treating polysemy we will apply the “splitter’s” approach and enumerate each sense of the given polysemous lemma (in the sense of Allen 1999: 61). This way the user will easily locate the sense s/he wishes to explore inside the lemma. Furthermore, given the profile and purpose of TDGDAM, multiple senses in polysemous lemmas will be sorted logically by examining the relevance between the senses. Moreover, any homonymous (i.e. homographs) lemmas will be identified on the basis of common etymology and semantic relevance (so as to rule out polysemy) and will be treated as separate lemmas with enumerated headwords (Zgusta, 1971: 72ff).⁵

6 Conclusion

In this paper we discussed the lexicographic principles that need to be set and adopted for the design and development of the tridialectal dictionary of Greek dialects in Asia Minor (TDGDAM). TDGDAM will be one of the deliverables of the THALIS research programme “Pontus, Cappadocia, Aivali: in search of Asia Minor Greek” (AMiGre). It will be an e-dictionary, available online and will include a total of 7,500 entries; *ca.* 2,500 entries from each of the three local dialects of Asia Minor Greek studied by the programme, namely, Pontic, Cappadocian and Aivaliot. The microstructure will be organized in accordance with international lexicographic practice and will incorporate all formal, semantic and pragmatic information linked with multimedia resources. In particular, in section 3, we described TDGDAM as a microarea / local dialectal dictionary, viewed and treated rather as a bilingual than as a monolingual dictionary. In section 4, we presented issues regarding TDGDAM’s macrostructure, policy and resources, stressing the fact that as an online dictionary it incorporates multiple macrostructures, thanks to the various heuristic options it offers to the users. Finally, in section 5 we examined the organization and microstructure of TDGDAM. In particular, in terms of its formal content, we justified the adoption of the capitalized form of the headword, the use of the IPA system in transcribing phonetic forms, along with audio files featuring authentic pronunciation. In terms of TDGDAM’s semantic content, we explained how we treated issues pertaining to definitions (synonymic *vs.* sentential), polysemy/homonymy, usage (with the use of labels for thematic, pragmatic information), authentic examples of use (printed in Standard

⁵ For a detailed discussion of the treatment of polysemy and homonymy in dialectal and/or historical dictionaries see Bassea-Bezantakou (2012: 254ff).

Modern Greek spelling with extra diacritics and translations) and to additional multimedia information for the clarification of meaning (of encyclopedic nature).

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Appendix I

List of Resources

Resource Type	Resource Subtype	Original Title	Dialect Concerned
Secondary	Printed	Σάκκαρης, Γ. 1940. Περί της διαλέκτου των Κυδωνιέων εν συγκρίσει προς τας Λεσβιακάς. <i>Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά</i> 3: 74-141	Aivaliot
Secondary	Printed	Σάκκαρης, Γ. 1948. Περί της διαλέκτου των Κυδωνιέων εν συγκρίσει προς τας Λεσβιακάς. <i>Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά</i> 4: 49-81.	Aivaliot
Secondary	Printed	Σάκκαρης, Γ. 1952. Περί της διαλέκτου των Κυδωνιέων εν συγκρίσει προς τας Λεσβιακάς. <i>Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά</i> 5: 47-102.	Aivaliot
Secondary	Printed	Ράλλη, Α. Υπό προετοιμασία. Λεξικό Κυδωνιών, Μοσχονησίων και Ανατολικής Λέσβου. Πάτρα: Εργαστήριο Νεοελληνικών Διαλέκτων.	Aivaliot
Secondary	Printed	Κεσίσογλου, Ι. Ι. 1951. <i>Το γλωσσικό ιδίωμα του Ουλαγάτς</i> . Αθήνα: Γαλλικό Ινστιτούτο	Cappadocian
Secondary	Printed	Καρολίδης, Π.Φ. 1885. <i>Γλωσσάριον Συγκριτικόν Ελληνοκαπαδοκικών λέξεων</i> . Σμύρνη: Τύπος.	Cappadocian
Secondary	Printed	Κοτσανίδης, Λ. 2004. <i>Το γλωσσικό ιδίωμα του Μιστί Καππαδοκίας</i> . Κιλκίς Γνώμη	Cappadocian
Secondary	Printed	Κοτσανίδης, Λ. 2006. <i>Το γλωσσικό ιδίωμα του Μιστί Καππαδοκίας (Λεξικό)</i> . Κιλκίς Γνώμη	Cappadocian
Secondary	Printed	Παπαδόπουλος, Α. Α. 1955. <i>Ιστορική Γραμματική της Ποντιακής Διαλέκτου</i> . Αθήνα: Επιτροπή Ποντιακών Μελετών [Παράρτημα 1 Περιοδικού Αρχείου Πόντου].	Pontic
Secondary	Printed	Παπαδόπουλος, Α. Α. 1958. <i>Ιστορικών Λεξικόν της Ποντιακής Διαλέκτου</i> , Τόμος Πρώτος Α-Λ. Αθήνα: Επιτροπή Ποντιακών Μελετών [Παράρτημα 3 Περιοδικού Αρχείου Πόντου].	Pontic
Secondary	Printed	Παπαδόπουλος, Α. Α. 1961. <i>Ιστορικών Λεξικόν της Ποντιακής Διαλέκτου</i> , Τόμος Δεύτερος Μ-Ω. Αθήνα: Επιτροπή Ποντιακών Μελετών [Παράρτημα 3 Περιοδικού Αρχείου Πόντου].	Pontic
Secondary	Printed	Κούσης, Ε. 1928. Λεξιλόγιον φυτολογικόν Τραπεζούντος. <i>Αρχείον Πόντου</i> , Τόμος 1 (1928): 98-120.	Pontic
Secondary	Printed	Σιδηροπούλου, Ε. 1929. Λεξιλόγιον Κοτυώρων. <i>Αρχείον Πόντου</i> , Τόμος 2 (1929): 153-202.	Pontic
Secondary	Printed	Σιδηροπούλου, Ε. 1931. Λεξιλόγιον Κοτυώρων. <i>Αρχείον Πόντου</i> , Τόμος 3 (1931): 123-146.	Pontic
Secondary	Printed	Σιδηροπούλου, Ε. 1934. Λεξιλόγιον Κοτυώρων. <i>Αρχείον Πόντου</i> , Τόμος 6 (1934): 173-199.	Pontic
Secondary	Printed	Σιδηροπούλου, Ε. 1937. Λεξιλόγιον Κοτυώρων. <i>Αρχείον Πόντου</i> , Τόμος 7 (1937): 151-201.	Pontic
Secondary	Printed	Σιδηροπούλου, Ε. 1938. Λεξιλόγιον Κοτυώρων. <i>Αρχείον Πόντου</i> , Τόμος 8 (1938): 84-115.	Pontic
Secondary	Printed	Φωστηρόπουλος, Α. 1941. Λεξιλόγιον Ιμέρας. <i>Αρχείον Πόντου</i> , Τόμος 11 (1941): 164-169.	Pontic
Secondary	Printed	Φωστηρόπουλος, Α. 1949. Λεξιλόγιον Ιμέρας. <i>Αρχείον Πόντου</i> , Τόμος 14 (1949): 168-191.	Pontic
Secondary	Printed	Παπαδόπουλος, Δ. 1949. Λεξιλόγιον της περιφέρειας Σταυρίν. <i>Αρχείον Πόντου</i> , Τόμος 14 (1949): 75-107	Pontic
Secondary	Printed	Αλεξιάδης, Κ. 1949. Λεξιλόγιον Ινεπόλεως. <i>Αρχείον Πόντου</i> , Τόμος 14 (1949): 204-208	Pontic
Secondary	Printed	Παπαδόπουλος, Δ. 1950. Λεξιλόγιον της περιφέρειας Σταυρίν. <i>Αρχείον Πόντου</i> , Τόμος 15 (1950):	Pontic

Secondary	Printed	Φωστηρόπουλος, Α. 1950. Λεξιλόγιον Ιμέρας. <i>Αρχαίον Πόντου</i> , Τόμος 15 (1950):	Pontic
Secondary	Printed	Παπαδόπουλος, Δ. 1951. Λεξιλόγιον της περιφέρειας Σταυρίν. <i>Αρχαίον Πόντου</i> , Τόμος 16 (1951):	Pontic
Secondary	Printed	Φωστηρόπουλος, Α. 1951. Λεξιλόγιον Ιμέρας. <i>Αρχαίον Πόντου</i> , Τόμος 16 (1951):	Pontic
Secondary	Printed	Παπαδόπουλος, Δ. 1952. Λεξιλόγιον της περιφέρειας Σταυρίν. <i>Αρχαίον Πόντου</i> , Τόμος 17 (1952):	Pontic
Secondary	Printed	Αλεξιάδης, Κ. 1953. Λεξιλόγιον Ινεπόλεως. <i>Αρχαίον Πόντου</i> , Τόμος 18 (1953):	Pontic
Secondary	Printed	Μελανοφρύδης, Π. 1955. Γλωσσάριον του χωρίου Άδισσα. <i>Αρχαίον Πόντου</i> , Τόμος 20 (1955):	Pontic
Secondary	Printed	Μελανοφρύδης, Π. 1956. Γλωσσάριον του χωρίου Άδισσα. <i>Αρχαίον Πόντου</i> , Τόμος 21 (1956):	Pontic
Secondary	Printed	Σεάτος, Μ. 2002. Προσθήκες στο «λεξικό της ποντιακής διαλέκτου» του Άνθ. Παπαδοπούλου από τα έργα του Χριστοφορίδη-Σάρπογλη <i>Αρχαίον Πόντου</i> , Τόμος 49 (2002):	Pontic
Secondary	Printed	Σεάτος, Μ. 2003-2004. Συμπλήρωμα του Λεξικού της ποντικής διαλέκτου από τα κείμενα της Συλλογής ποντιακών ανεκδότων <i>Αρχαίον Πόντου</i> , Τόμος 50 (2003-2004):	Pontic
Secondary	Printed	Λαπαρίδης, Ν. 2003-2004. Συμπλήρωμα του Ποντιακού λεξικού Άνθιμου Παπαδόπουλου με νέες ακαταχώρητες λέξεις <i>Αρχαίον Πόντου</i> , Τόμος 50 (2003-2004):	Pontic
Secondary	Web	http://www.pontos.gr/default.aspx?catid=309	Pontic
Secondary	Web	http://pontosworld.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=category&sectionid=5&id=20&Itemid=72	Pontic
Secondary	Web	http://www.pontos-news.gr/permalink/3396.html	Pontic

Appendix II

TDGDAM Sample Screenshots

* Λέξη κεφαλή:

Ετυμολογία:

Μορφολογική Διεργασία:

* Διαλεκτική Περιοχή:

Τύποι Πραγμάτωσης

Κωδικός	Φωνητικός Τύπος	Αρχείο Ήχου Προφ	Φωνητική Ορθογραφία	Μικροδιαλεκτική Περιοχή	Λεξική Κατηγορία
9	aluj'ristra		αλλουγυρίστρα		Ουσιαστικό Θηλυκό

Figure 1: Formal comment (from Karanikolas et al, to appear).

* Λέξη κεφαλή:

Ετυμολογία:

Μορφολογική Διεργασία:

* Διαλεκτική Περιοχή:

Τύποι Πραγμάτωσης

Κωδικός	Ορισμός	Χρηστικό Σημάδι	Επεξηγηματική Εικόνα	Πλήθος παραδειγ
12	γυναίκα που περιφέρεται εδώ κι εκεί			1
13	πόνος με πρήξιμο γύρω από το νύχι	Ιατρική		1

Figure 2: Semantic comment (from Karanikolas et al, to appear).