SYNTACTIC AND MORPHO-SYNTACTIC PHENOMENA IN MODERN GREEK DIALECTS: THE STATE OF THE ART*

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▣ ABSTRACT

In Modern Greek linguistics, there has been a tendency to exclude dialectal phenomena from investigation. There are various motives for such neglect, mostly extra-linguistic, which go back to an official state policy to promote the so-called 'Standard Modern Greek Koine'.

In spite of the general negative context, there are certain important descriptive works dealing with various dialectal phenomena (e.g. Hatzidakis 1892, 1905-1907, Mirambel 1963) or with some major dialectal systems (e.g. Dawkins 1916, Newton 1972b). However, most of these works focus on the phonology and the morphology of the particular dialects, while giving only scarce elementary observations regarding syntax. It is only in recent years that dialectal syntax has attracted the interest of several linguists, and has been the focus of research in theoretical linguistics.

In this paper, I give an overview of several syntactic and morpho-syntactic phenomena applying to a range of Modern Greek dialects. I present a descriptive account of these phenomena, and refer to some possible theoretical analyses, put forward by a number of well-known linguists. In certain cases, I offer evidence for the cross-dialectal occurrence of a phenomenon as a contribution to the establishment of syntactic isoglosses, and report some hints of its diachronic development when the available sources allow such an enterprise.

My data are drawn not only from written sources, but also from the oral material that has been collected in the last six years from several Greek areas, and stored in the *Modern Greek Dialects Laboratory* (MGDL) of the University of Patras.

The paper has the following structure: section 1 contains some general observations with respect to the study and development of Modern Greek dialects. Dialectal word order is presented next, followed by certain observations on the use of complementizers (section 3), negation (section 4), and sentential particles (section 5). The issues of infinitival forms and periphrastic tenses (perfect and future) are examined in section 6, while elements appearing in wh-questions constitute the topic of section 7. The case form of the indirect object is tackled next (section 8), and the paper ends with the well-described topic of verbal clitics, which is presented in section 9. The

paper concludes with remarks stressing the importance of research in the field of Modern Greek dialectology.

1 ▣ Modern Greek Dialects: General Remarks

Ancient Greek had five major dialectal groups: Attic/Ionic, Aeolic, Doric, Northwest Greek, and Arcado-Cypriot. During the Hellenistic period (approximately 3rd c. BC – 3rd c. AD), ancient dialectal differences were gradually erased, and dialects were supplanted by a common language form, called Koine, which was mainly based on the Attic dialect.[1] After the Hellenistic period, the Koine split into several dialectal groups that gave rise to the Modern Greek dialects (Hatzidakis 1892, 1905-1907).[2] Our first dialectal texts come from Cyprus, around the 12th c. (Tzitzilis 2000: 16), which was cut off earlier than other areas from the body of the Byzantine Empire, although the first extensive dialectal texts date only from the 15th c., also from Cyprus.

The main criteria of differentiation between dialects have traditionally been phonological isoglosses. The first to postulate a basic phonological criterion was Hatzidakis (1892: 342), who proposed a distinction between Northern and Southern Dialects, depending on the realization of unstressed mid and high vowels. Today, the Modern Greek dialects are also divided into two major groups on the basis of more or less the same phonological criteria (Triantaphyllidis 1938, Newton 1972a, Contossopoulos 2001, Trudgill 2004):[3] unstressed /i/ and /u/ are deleted and unstressed /e/ and /o/ become /i/ and /u/ respectively in the so-called "Northern Greek Dialects". This phenomenon occurs in Sterea Ellada (except Attica), Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, Lefkada, Northern Euboea, Northern Sporades, Thassos, Samothraki, Lesbos, Limnos, Imbros, Tenedos, and in certain areas of Asia Minor (e.g. Kydonies (Aivali)), but is absent from Peloponnese, Cyclades, Dodecanese, Crete, Cyprus, the Ionian Islands, Attica, and Southern Euboea. There are some exceptions to this classification though. For instance, Tsakonian, spoken by 8000 speakers in nine villages on the Parnon mountain (Contossopoulos 1994: 3) is a unique case of Ancient Laconian descent, since it did not undergo Koineization in the Hellenistic period.[4] Also, the dialect spoken in most parts of the island of Samos, belongs to the northern dialectal group for historical reasons.[5]

Other phonological isoglosses lead to the division of further sub-groups: a) Peloponnesian-Ionian, the closest to Standard Modern Greek (hereafter SMG). b) Old Athenian, an almost extinct dialect spoken in Attica and Southern Euboea, with a still living branch in the Peloponnese (Mani). c) Cretan-Cycladic, spoken in the Southern Aegean and characterized by phenomena such as palatalization of

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[1] For more details, see Horrocks (1997, ch. 1, "Ancient Greek and its dialects").

[2] Note that there are challenges to the division Ancient Dialects > Hellenistic Koine > Modern Dialects (e.g. Niehoff-Panagiotidis 1994), but, as observed by an anonymous reviewer, they are not convincing.

[3] A first attempt to draw a dialectal map is due to Triantaphyllidis (1938).

[4] However, according to Pernot (1934) there is a lot more Koine in Tsakonian than it is usually thought of. For a comprehensive on-line bibliography on Tsakonian see http://www.tlg.uci.edu/~opoudjis/Work/tsakbib.html

[5] A large part of Samos was deserted in the 17th century, and inhabited again by people from the island of Lesbos (Zafeiriou 1995).

velars when followed by front vowels ([k] > [ts]). d) South-Eastern, including Cyprus, the Dodecanese, part of the Cyclades and the Southern Asia Minor coast (the most conservative group maintaining features such as geminate consonants and final –n, which have disappeared from most other dialects, together with innovations such as velar palatalization). e) Pontic, another isolated conservative dialect spoken extensively until 1922 on the southern coast of the Black Sea, and Pontic Ophitic in present-day North-east Turkey. f) Cappadocian, spoken until 1922 in central Anatolia. g) Italiot (Grico and Grecanico), surviving vestigially in Puglia and Calabria. h) Roumeic in Southern Ukraine (Mariupol area). i) Tsakonian, spoken in Southern Peloponnese and two enclaves in Asia Minor.

However, phonological dialectal groupings are not significant with respect to other phenomena, morphological and syntactic, according to which other isoglosses cut across this division.

Since 1919-1922, communities speaking Pontic, Cappadocian, and other Asia Minor dialects (e.g. the dialect of Kydonies (Aivaliot) and Moschonisia) can be traced in various parts of Greece that have accepted refugees from the former Ottoman areas of Asia Minor, Cappadocia and Pontus.[6] These linguistic systems, together with Cypriot, Tsakonian, Italiot, and the now extinct dialect of Cargese in Corsica (Blanken 1951)[7] are the most 'deviant' compared to SMG. It is not very clear whether they are true dialects or languages of Greek origin, since there is no systematic study of mutual intelligibility of Greek dialects.[8] Besides, the borderline between the notions of 'dialect' and 'language' is not always very clear, and the criterion for such a distinction is often political. There are certainly linguists ready to speak of some dialects as distinct languages of Greek origin (cf. among them, Drettas 1997 for Pontic and Janse forthcoming for Cappadocian).

The attitude of linguists towards the Modern Greek dialects is a varied one: in the 19th c., Modern Greek dialectology formed the focus of linguistic research, which was mainly historical in nature, and aimed to establish the origin of the language (its evolution from the Koine to the Modern Standard Language), and the possible archaism of its variant dialectal forms, which would lend them a direct connection and continuity with Classical Greek.[9] With the advent of synchronic linguistics in Greece, the study of dialects waned and persisted mainly as vocabulary collections, supported principally by the Academy of Athens, with some important exceptions (see below). In recent years, interest in the dialects has known a resurgence, with a more theoretical orientation, as witnessed by the sheer number of conference papers and journal articles on the topic, and even a brief perusal of the *International Linguistic Bibliography* or the *Studies in Greek Linguistics* published annually by the Department of Linguistics in Thessaloniki.

A survey of older research (its phases, types, aims, scope, and problems) can be found in Tzitzilis (2000), whereas the main bibliographical guides to the

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[6] Since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Hodja regime in Southern Albania, populations of Pontians, Mariupolitans, and Greek Albanians have been resettled in Greece.

[7] According to Nicholas (2006) the last native speaker of Cargese Greek died in 1976.

[8] "Traditional" Modern Greek dialectology makes also a distinction between a "dialect" and an "idiom", depending on whether there exists mutual intelligibility between a speaker of SMG and a speaker of the language form in question.

[9] This contrasted with the actively negative attitude of the Greek state towards the use of dialects, which contributed to the obsolescence of several Modern Greek dialects.

dialects, listing all descriptions and arranged by geographical area, are Vayacacos (1972) and Contossopoulos (2001). However, the most important comprehensive theoretical study of Modern Greek dialects remains Newton (1972a). A major new contribution to Modern Greek dialectology, with a long descriptive essay on each dialect written by a specialist, is the volume edited by Tzitzilis (forthcoming). Two periodicals are especially dedicated to Modern Greek dialectology, *Leksikographikon Deltion*, regularly published by the Academy of Athens (1939-), and *Elliniki Dialektologia* (1989-), sporadically published in Thessaloniki. Two series of conference proceedings on Modern Greek dialects are a) *Praktika Neoellinikis Dialektologias* (6 volumes up to now), published by the Academy of Athens, and b) *Proceedings of the International Conference on Modern Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory* (2 volumes up to now, edited by M. Janse, B.D. Joseph and A. Ralli), published by the University of Patras. There is only one dictionary of all Modern Greek dialects, the *Istorikon Leksikon tis Neas Ellinikis, tis te Koinos Omiloumenis kai ton Dialekton* (Academy of Athens 1931-), and several hundreds of local dialect dictionaries of variable length and quality.

Archives of primary dialectal data (local glossaries, recorded interviews, transcriptions of interviews, collections of folktales, folksongs and dialectal literature can be found at:

1) The *Research Center for Modern Greek Dialects* of the Academy of Athens, the oldest and largest Greek institution dedicated to dialect research, with an enormous archive ranging as far back as the 19th c. (more details to be found at their website, http://www.academyofathens/ksil).

2) The *Modern Greek Dialects Laboratory* (MGDL) of the Department of Philology (Linguistics Section) of the University of Patras, with digitally recorded material from various areas.

3) The *Research Center for Folklore* of the Academy of Athens, with a rich corpus of data collected for non-linguistic purposes.

4) The *Folklore Library* (Spoudastirion) of the Department of Philology of the University of Athens, with material collected over decades by students.

5) The *Institute of Modern Greek Studies [Institouto Neoellinikon Spoudon* - Idryma Triantafyllidi).

6) The *Center of Asia Minor Studies*, with material only from the Asia Minor dialects.

It is important to note that Greece is one of the few European countries with no dialectal atlas (with the exception of the island of Crete, Contossopoulos 1988),[10] and there are entire geographic areas with no dialectal description.

Below are listed the most important descriptive works of the major dialectal systems: the Asia-Minor Dialects of Kydonies (Sakkaris 1940), Dermidesi (Danguitsis 1943), and Livisi (Andriotis 1961), Cappadocian (Dawkins 1916, Anastasiadis 1976, Janse forthcoming), Cargese Greek of Corsica (Blanken 1951), Chiot (Pernot 1907-1946), Cretan (Pangalos 1955, Contossopoulos 1994, 1997), Cypriot (Newton 1972b, Symeonidis 2006), Dodecanesian (Pantelidis 1929, Tsopanakis 1940) with Rhodian (Papachristodoulou 1958) and Karpathian (Minas 1970), Imbriot (Andriotis 1930), Italiot (Rohlfs 1977, Karanastasis 1984, 86, 88, 91, 92, Profili 1984-1985, Katsoyannou 1995), Kozaniot (Dinas 2005), Lesbian

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10 For instance, Germany and France had already their first dialectal atlas in the 19th century.

(Kretschmer 1905), Maniot (Mirambel 1929), Northern Greek Dialects (Papadopoulos 1927), Pontic (Papadopoulos 1955, Oikonomides 1958, Koutita-Kaimaki 1984, Drettas 1997), Roumeic (Pappou-Zouravliova 1999, Symeonidis & Tombaidis 1999), Samothracian (Katsanis 1996), Thracian (Psaltes 1905), and Tsakonian (Pernot 1934, Kostakis 1951, Charalambopoulos 1980).

Most of these works focus on the phonology or the morphology of the particular dialects, while giving only elementary observations regarding syntax.[11] This is not only due to the fact that syntactic dialectal phenomena are fewer than the morphological and phonological ones, but as Manolessou & Beis (2006) correctly state, syntactic analyses face the difficulty of requiring a running text of some length, as well as grammaticality judgments from native speakers, which are not easily available.

In this paper, I give an overview of several syntactic, morpho-syntactic, and in a sense semantic phenomena, applying to a range of Modern Greek dialects, and briefly report on the theoretical analyses that have been put forward by a number of scholars. In many instances, this overview shows that dialects share a number of similarities that are crucial to the study of the Greek linguistic phenomena, and are worth to future research. For example, as pointed out by one of the anonymous reviewers, most of the dialects allow for multiple preposed topics, have preverbal focus, and display a strong preference for clitic doubling.

The major syntactic or morpho-syntactic phenomena that are studied in Greek dialectal literature, or may be detected in the limited number of existing written sources and in the collected oral material, fall into the following major themes: word order, complementizers, negation, sentential particles, periphrastic tenses, wh-questions, the case form of the indirect object and the well-investigated topic of verbal clitics.

2 □ Word order

Word order is an interesting topic in the syntax of Modern Greek dialects, especially with respect to the issues of topicalization and focus. However, with the exception of the seminal survey of Cappadocian by Dawkins (1916) and Janse (forthcoming), and Pontic by Drettas (1997), dialectal word order has never been sufficiently described. In this section, I give some hints on Cappadocian word order, mostly taken from Janse (forthcoming). As in SMG, it appears flexible, depending on the issues of topic and focus:

(1)   Cappadocian
   a. miteram   išen   ta   xorafja, ta fšaxa eγo   ta   merona.
      mother.my had.3SG the   fields   the kids I   them   was-taking-care-of
      'My mother had the fields, the kids I used to take care of'
   b. eγo   merona   ta peδja ke   manam   šo   xoraf pijenen.
      I   was-taking-care-of the kids and   mother.my to-the field was going
      'I used to take care of the children and my mom used to go to the field.'

Janse remarks that SVO is the typical word order of sentences which display the following basic characteristics:
   a) They do not present unpredictable information, and their subject is an
      animate definite noun phrase referring to someone known to the speaker.

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[11] With the exception of Mirambel (1963) who focuses on syntax.

b) Their object is indefinite.

Moreover, as in SMG, the verb of subordinate clauses occurs in second position, after the complementizer, and can only be preceded by clitic pronouns:

(2) Ipan   na δok patišaxos to koritšit šo   kamil.
    said.3PL to give king.NOM the girl.his to-the camel
    'They said that the king should give his girl to the camel.'

A crucial difference between SMG and Cappadocian concerns the pre-nominal position of nominal modifiers (noun phrases in the genitive, adjectives and relative clauses), which does not require any contrastive focus. Janse claims that it is a Turkish influence, altogether. It should be noticed that with respect to the location of adjectives and genitive noun phrases, this word order is not unknown in the Greek language. On the one hand, the construction [genitive noun phrase – head noun] is used for emphatic purposes (c), contrasting with the unmarked order that we find in SMG (3b), as the following examples illustrate:

(3) a. Cappadocian
       Τopeδi pen   koritšju to sokax   na puliš šikes.
       the boy goes girl.GEN the street to sell figs
       'The boy goes to the girl's street to sell figs.'   vs.
    b. SMG
       Τopeδi pije sto   sokaki tu   koritsju na pulisi sika.
       the boy went to-the street the.GEN girl.GEN to sell   figs
       'The boy went to the girl's street to sell figs.'
    c. Τopeδi pije stu   koritsju to sokaki na pulisi sika.
       the boy went to-the.GEN girl.GEN the street to sell   figs
       'The boy went to the girl's street to sell figs.'

On the other hand, Cappadocian is similar to SMG as far as the pre-nominal order of the adjectives is concerned:

(4) a. Cappadocian
       ena kalo neka
       a   good woman   vs.
    b. SMG
       mia kali jineka
       a   good woman

Crucially though Cappadocian differs from SMG with respect to the pre-nominal position of relative clauses (see also Janse 1997b):

(5) a. Cappadocian
       tu   ekopši   tu tširax.
       him killed.3SG the servant
       'the servant (s)he killed'   vs.
    b. SMG
       to tsiraki pu   skotose.
       the servant whom killed.3SG
       'the servant (s)he killed'

According to Janse (forthcoming), in Cappadocian the relative pronoun is formally identical with the definite article, and is not declined for case or gender. There is also an indefinite relative pronoun *otis, oti*, which is derived from Ancient

Greek (*ostis, oti*), and is inflected for case, but not for number. Moreover, the indeclinable *opu* is used as an indefinite relative pronoun as well.

In addition, it is worth mentioning that there are differences with respect to the presence of the definite article, in that in noun phrases containing an adjective and a noun it precedes the adjective if the noun is masculine or feminine, and is repeated if the noun has neuter gender:

(6) Cappadocian

   a. Tomeγa aδelfos
     the big   brother.MASC
     'the eldest brother'

   b. T' alo   neka
     the other woman.FEM
     'the other woman'.

   c. T' alo   to koritš
     the other the girl.NEUT
     'the other girl'

The situation is different in SMG, where the article can be optionally repeated before the noun, even if the latter has masculine or feminine gender:

(7) SMG

   a. O meγalos o aδelfos.
     the big   the brother. MASC
     'the eldest brother'

   b. I ali   i   jineka.
     the other the woman.FEM
     'the other woman'.

   c. Toalo   to koritsi.
     the other the girl.NEUT
     'the other girl'

According to Janse, the definite article appears generally in the accusative case (*to / ta*, depending on the number), while under the genitive form it is used in the singular, and only in North-east and Central Cappadocia. Moreover, the definite article is put in the nominative case with inanimate and neuter animate nouns, but it is generally omitted with masculine and feminine animate ones. The examples below depict this use contrasting Cappadocian with SMG.

(8) Cappadocian

   a. Eto neka   aγorašen ena   xtino.
     that woman bought   a   cow
     'That woman bought a cow.'

   b. Eto   aropos ituta ta pramata vula ta   pirin.
     that man   these the things all   them took
     'This man took all these things.'   vs.

   a'. SMG
     Afti i   jineka   aγorase mia   ajelaδa.
     that the woman bought a   cow
     'That woman bought a cow.'

b'. Aftos o anθropos   tuta ta praγmata ola   ta   pire.
   that the man   these the things   all   them took
   'This man took all these things'

3 ▢ Complementizers

A semantic study of complementation in Modern Greek dialects is due to Nicholas (2001), particularly with respect to *pu* as opposed to *oti/pos*. The distribution of *pu* with respect to the other two complementizers has attracted considerable discussion as far as SMG is concerned (see, among others, Christidis 1981, 1982, Nicholas 1998), and grosso modo has been described in terms of factivity, in that *pu* is obligatory following factive predicates (e.g. *xerome* 'be glad'), while *oti/pos* follow non-factive ones (e.g. *nomizo* 'think'). As for the predicates whose factivity does not hold under certain conditions (e.g. *thimame* 'remember'), *pu* is held to be the marked case, and *oti/pos* the unmarked:

(9)   SMG (Nicholas 2001)
   a. Xerome   pu   irθe   / *xerome pos/oti irθe.
      be.glad.1SG that came.3SG
      'I am glad that (s)he came.'
   b. θimame   pu   irθe   / θimame pos/oti irθe.
      remember.1SG that came.3SG
      'I remember that (s)he came.'
   c. *Nomizo   pu   irθe   / nomizo pos/oti irθe.
      think.1SG   that came.3SG
      'I think   that (s)he came.'

Nicholas approaches the distribution of *pu* complements in Modern Greek dialects by using a vector space (Ransom 1986), consisting of three dimensions, 'semantic class' (the semantic domain of a predicate), 'evaluation modality' (how strong is the validity of the complement), and 'information modality' (the ontology of the complement). Deviation from SMG is found in all three axes.

A spread in semantic class regarding *pu* (marginal in SMG, and restricted to given topicalized contexts)[12] is attested with varying degrees of frequency in Thracian, Corfiot, Livisiot, Western Greek Macedonian, Italiot and Tsakonian:

(10) Corfiot (Nicholas 2001)
   Psemata lene   pu   vrikolakiase   o jero Dios.
   lies   say.3PL that turn-vampire.3SG the old   Dios
   'They are lying that old Dios turned Vampire.'

Weak assertive *pu* complements are found in Thracian, Western Greek Macedonian, Corfiot, Livisiot and Italiot:

(11) Asia Minor dialect of Vithynia (Nicholas 2001)
   Nomizi   pu   vroma i folia tu.
   think.3SG   that stinks the nest his
   '(S)he thinks that his nest stinks.'

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[12] The other semantic values are emotive (e.g. *xerome* 'be glad'), and physical/cognitive (e.g. *ksero* 'know', Nicholas 2001: 195).

With respect to the axis of information modality, where *pu* has a low frequency in SMG, Nicholas (2001: 199) claims that occurrence and action *pu* complements are certain only in Italiot.

(12) Grecanico (Calabria, Nicholas 2001)
ileane <u>pu</u> gleune ta pedia.
say.PROGR.PAST.3PL that cry.3PL the children
'They were saying that children are crying.'

Generally, Nicholas observes a tendency of *pu* to spread in the dialects at the expense of *oti/pos*. However, there are instances of the opposite phenomenon. For example, *pu* is totally absent from Roumeic. In addition, there are also dialects where there are no complementizers such as *oti/pos* and *pu*. According to Janse (forthcoming) Cappadocian is such an example where complement clauses resort to syndetic or asyndetic strategies, which are common to Modern Greek dialects:[13]

(13) Cappadocian (Janse forthcoming)
Akum ksevriške ke ulo to kozmos to zefklendine.
still knew.3SG and whole the world him make.fun.PROGR.PAST.3SG
'(S)he also knew that the whole world was making fun of him.'

4 ◻ Negation

The use and formation of negative elements in Modern Greek dialects have been studied in detail by Kiparsky & Condoravdi (2006). They show that all dialects at all stages distinguish two types of negation, emphatic and plain. Emphatic negation consists of a negative head and either a degree/manner adverb, or a focussed indefinite NP that is drawn from a relatively small stock of items. The additional item has the function of a minimizer or that of a generalizer. For the authors, a nominal minimizer denotes a negligible amount, or part of something, and strengthens the force of negation quantitavely by making it stricter:

(14) Cycladic island of Kea (Salvanos 1918, K&C 2006)
δen exume kloni nero.
not have.1PL twig water
'We do not have a drop of water.'

A generalizer denotes a maximally general type or class, and strengthens the negation qualitatively by extending its scope.

(15) Cycladic island of Thira (Contossopoulos 1994, K&C 2006)
Vriski mian kopela…. pu δen iksere prama.
finds a girl who not knew thing
'(S)he finds a girl who had no clue.'

In their examination of the historical development of plain negation,[14] K&C (2006) show that it derives from emphatic negation by a process recalling

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13 Cappadocian uses also a *to*, which is not a complementizer like *pu* or *oti/pos*:
  (ii) ksevriške xerifos to ixe ena kamil ke tšíɣɑl to epke
  'He knew that the man had a camel and how he had made it' (Janse forthcoming)

14 See section 6.2 for the relation of negation to modality.

Jespersen's cycle.[15] However, differing from Jespersen, they deny the crucial role of the phonetic reduction of negative elements, which results into their strengthening by additional words, and propose that pragmatics and semantics are the driving force for changing an emphatic element into plain negation.[16] The change implies two processes, which are antagonistic, in that one adds an expressive resource to the language, while the other eliminates it:

"a. *Morphological/syntactic strengthening*, where a plain negation element is emphasized with a focussed indefinite, and

b. *Semantic weakening*, where the emphatic negation loses its compositional, original meaning, and becomes a plain negative polarity item." (from K&C 2006: 177-178)

The Greek dialectal data and evolution from Medieval Greek to modern dialects provide support for these claims, where the change in negation involves primarily semantics, and, in certain cases, it is accompanied by syntactic changes. K&C (2006) also consider the liberation of negative polarity items, which become regular indefinites (16b), or negators (16a, see also the French *personne* 'person' that gave rise to 'no-one').[17] This development is attested with the Greek word *kanenas* 'nobody', as shown by the following examples from SMG and Cretan:

(16) a. SMG

irθe   ke   δe vrike kanena.
came.3SG   and   notfound nobody
'(S)he came and found nobody.'

Kanenas   δe δjavase afto to vivlio.
nobody   notread   this   thebook
'Nobody read this book.'

b. Cretan (K&C 2006)

Kanenas   perastikos δa   perase   ki   ekopse ta portokalia.
some   passerby   here   passed-by   and   cut   theoranges
'Some passerby must have passed by and cut the oranges.'

O vasilias katalave   oti   iparxi   kanenas jerondas.
theking   understood   that   exists   some   old-man
'The king understood that there is some old man.'

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[15] "The original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in the course of time be subject to the same development as the original word" (Jespersen 1917: 4), cited by K&C (2006: 175).

[16] In K&C's terms (2006: 176), "Emphatic negation tends to increase in frequency due to pragmatically motivated overuse which is characteristic of *inherently bounded evaluative scales*. This rise in frequency at the expense of plain negation has an inflationary effect, well attested also in politeness system, hypocoristics, pejoratives, and scalar adjectives of all kinds (Dahl 2001). Uncontroversially, an obligatory element cannot be emphatic, for to emphase everything is to emphasize nothing. Therefore, when emphatic negation rises in frequency to the point where it approaches obligatoriness, it necessarily weakens to regular negation".

[17] The Cretan use of *kanenas* as an indefinite element is paralleled in colloquial SMG by *tipota*:

(iii) exis tipota ruxa
    'Got any clothes?'

5. Sentential particles

Ancient Greek, like most Wackernagel languages, was rich in different sentential enclitics like *μεν, δέ, γάρ*, etc. A dialectal trace of such elements, under the form of *pa,* is found in Pontic (see Drettas 1997) and Roumeic (Kisilier forthcoming). As shown by Kisilier, Roumeic *pa* occurs in the context of focalized noun phrases including pronouns and adverbs:

(17) Roumeic (Kisilier forthcoming)

    a. Atos δjav'   arta makra, <u>ɣo pa</u> na paɣu.
    he has gone far   away   I pa to go
    'He's gone far away, and I have to go as well.'

    b. Ta kam ta ɣakis   <u>panda   pa</u> ferni mi čindir'ax.
    the my the brothers always   pa bring me sunflower-seed oil
    'My brothers always bring me sunflower-seed oil.'

    c. <u>Kaθais pa</u> θel'   na to kser   aftu.
    everyone pa want.3SG   to it know.3SG   this
    'Everyone wants to know it.'

There are exceptions to the *pa* use though. For instance, it is absent in fixed expressions containing the pronoun *úl* 'all' and the adverb *pánda* 'always':

(18) <u>Ula</u> kala ki   <u>panda</u> kala.
    all   well and always well
    'All is well and always is wel.'   (Kisilier forthcoming)

Moreover, there are some rare examples, where the appearance of *pa* does not seem to be related to emphasis:

(19) Kunaniškum <u>pa</u> su   kunaneja.
    swing.1SG   on-the   swing
    'I swing on the swing.'
    Mis kunaniškumits <u>pa</u> su   kunaneis.
    we   swing.1PL   on-the   swings
    'We swing on the swing.   (Kisilier forthcoming)

The presence or absence of *pa* in the Roumeic dialect requires a thorough investigation.

6 ▣ Infinitival Forms and Periphrastic Tenses

Contrary to Ancient Greek, SMG has no morphologically expressed infinitives, a change which originates in the early medieval period (Schwyzer 1939, Joseph 1990). There are two peripheral dialects though, Pontic and Italiot, where infinitival forms are still attested, in both the active and the passive voice. As noted by Rohlfs (1977), in Italiot Grecanico, the use of infinitival forms is lexically conditioned, since they appear after auxiliary and modal verbs ('be', 'have', 'can', 'do'), as well as after the verbs 'know', 'hear', 'see', and 'leave', and more rarely after the verbs 'want' and 'come':

(20) Grecanico (Calabria, Rohlfs 1977)   SMG
    en   issona   pai.   vs.   δen borusa   na   pao.
    NEG be.IMP.1SG go   *NEG can.IMP.1SG to.SUBJ go.1SG*
    'I could not go.'

me	kanni	klazzi.	vs.	me	kani	na	kleo.

me | *∂o.PR3SG* | cry | | *me* | *∂o.PR.3SG* | *to.SUBJ* | *cry.1SG*

'(S)he makes me cry.'

This use, although limited, has led Rohlfs (1977) to claim that the Greek dialects of South Italy did not undergo Koinezation in the Hellenistic period, but directly derive from Ancient Greek. This is inexact since Italiot is descended from the Koine, as all other Modern Greek dialects, although it can be claimed that it preserves some traces of an ancient Doric substratum, which could point to the continuous uninterrupted presence of Greek speakers in South Italy (Manolessou 2005).

According to Manolessou, what is interesting about the behavior of the infinitive in Italiot (as well as in Pontic) is that the structures in which it is preserved correspond exactly to the structures which retain the infinitive in Medieval Greek. Crucially, Joseph (1990) has established that the distribution of the infinitive in Early Modern Greek – after the Byzantines left South Italy – was pretty much the same as in contemporary Italiot. Thus, even if Italiot was imported by Byzantine colonists, as Rohlfs opponents have contended (e.g. Paralangeli 1953), we could have the same outcome with the infinitive. It should be noted that the infinitive is one of the cases where the Modern Greek dialects can shed some light on the syntax of Medieval Greek, as Mackridge (1996) has very aptly pointed out.

6.1 ▢ PERFECT TENSE

It is known that an invariable infinitival form occurs as second constituent in SMG periphrastic tenses of perfect and pluperfect, in combination with a finite form of the auxiliary *exo* 'have':

(21) SMG
   a. Exo   klapsi.
      have.1SG   cry
      'I have cried.'
   b. Ixate   klapsi.
      ha∂.2PL   cry
      'You had cried.'

However, perfect tense formation differs in the dialects, where it is built with the past participle of the verb and the auxiliary verb *exo* 'have' or *ime* 'be' in their finite forms, depending on the voice (see, among others, Moser 2003, Agouraki 2006, Ralli, Melissaropoulou & Tsolakidis to appear, Ralli, Manolessou, Melissaropoulou, Tsolakidis in preparation).[18]

(22) a. Lesbian, Asia Minor Dialect of Kydonies/Moschonisia
      Tun exu   dimenu.
      him have.1SG   ∂resse∂.PPART.MASC.ACC.SG (past participle)
      'I have him dressed.'   (Ralli in preparation)

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[18] In these dialects, the combination ['have' + infinitival form] appears only in the pluperfect tense, a form which originates in the 13th c. (Browning 1983, Horrocks 1997). As observed in several studies, the SMG form of the perfect tense is an innovative formation, which is first attested in the 16th c. (see, among others, Moser 2003, and Ralli, Melissaropoulou & Tsolakidis to appear, Ralli, Manolessou, Melissaropoulou & Tsolakidis in preparation).

Imi   dimenus.
be.1SG   dressed.PPART.MASC.NOM.SG (past participle)
'I have been dressed'

b. Grico (Salento, Collected material of MGDL)
Exo   famena.
have.1SG   eaten
'I have eaten.'

Ime   artomena.
be.1SG   come.PPART
'I have come.'

c. Cypriot (Agouraki 2006)
exo   ta   mairemena   ta faja.
have.1SG   them cooked.PPART.NEUT.ACC.PL   the dishes.ACC.
'I finished cooking the dishes. (They are ready for us.)'

All works agree that the dialectal perfect periphrastic forms with the passive participle have a resultative function (see, among others, Veloudis 1990, 1991, 2003, Agouraki 2006, Ralli, Melissaropoulou & Tsolakidis to appear, Ralli, Manolessou, Melissaropolou, Tsolakidis in preparation), whereas the aorist non-periphrastic forms have an existential reading:

(23) a. Lesbian, Asia Minor dialect of Kydonies/Moschonisia (MGDL archive)
efaγa
'I ate.' and 'I have eaten.'
b. Grico (Salento, Collected material of MGDL)
egrazza
'I wrote.' and 'I have written.'
c. Cypriot (Agouraki 2006)
alaksen   γrafion.
moved.3SG   office.ACC
'(S)he moved to another office.'

Interestingly, as observed by Rohlfs (1977), the participial form in the Italiot dialects has an adverbial/gerundial value, and does not inflect for gender, case and number, as opposed to the corresponding types of the other dialects, which regularly bear the appropriate morphosyntactic features.

It is worth noticing that the phenomenon of the aorist-perfect syncretism is very old. It originates in the Hellenistic period, when the Ancient Greek perfect forms (the ones with reduplication, e.g. *lelyka* 'I have solved' < *lyein* 'to solve') disappeared, and their function was taken over by the aorist types, before the appearance of the new periphrastic ones (Horrocks 1997).

The use of periphrasis in tense formation is particularly developed in Tsakonian. In this dialect, not only the perfect and the pluperfect tenses are periphrastically expressed, with the use of an auxiliary and a participial form, but also the present and the imperfect tenses. The following examples illustrate this observation:

(24) Tsakonian (Lekkas 1920, Pernot 1934)
Eni   γrafu.
be.PR.1SG   written.PRPART.MASC.NOM.SG
'I write.'

Ema   γrafu.
be.PAST.1SG   written.PRPART.MASC.NOM.SG
'I was writing.'

Crucially, while the auxiliary verb is 'be', the present participle changes form, according to the voice. For instance, in passive voice the periphrasis is formed with the passive present participle:

(25) Tsakonian (Pernot 1934)
Eni   γrafumene.
be.PR.1SG   written.PASSPRPART.MASC.NOM.SG
'I am written.'

Sometimes, the inverse order is attested, where an epenthetic /r/ appears between the participle and the auxiliary verb. This order is more common in Tsakonian of Propontis, a dialect brought there in the 18th c.):

(26) Tsakonian of Propontis (Kostakis 1950)
Grafu –r-eni.
'I write.'

Grafu-r-ema.
'I was writing.'

As for the perfect and pluperfect tenses, they are formed with the use of the present (or the imperfect) tense of the auxiliary 'have', and a deverbal adjective in –*te*, which corresponds to the SMG form –*to(s)*:

(27) Tsakonian (Lekkas 1920)
Eni   exu   γrafte.   (SMG form *γrafto*)
be.PR.1SG   have.PRPART   written
'I have written.'

Eme   exunte   orate.
be.PR.1PL   have.PRPART   seen
'We have seen.'

In fact, the perfect and pluperfect periphrastic forms with the use of the deverbal adjective in –*to(s)* are not unknown in the other Greek dialects, as shown by the following Lesbian example.[19] However, they are less common than the ones with the passive participial form in –*menos*.

(28) Lesbian, Asia Minor Dialect of Kydonies / Moschonisia
Tun exu   dito   / dimenu.
him   have.1SG dressed.MASC.ACC.SG   /   dressed.PASSPART.MASC.ACC.SG
'I have him dressed.'   (Ralli in preparation)

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[19] As an anonymous reviewer has observed, given the high productivity throughout the history of Greek of –*tos* adjectives, its overlap with passive participles is not surprising.

6.2 □ Future tense

SMG future tense is also periphrastic, combining the particle *θa* and a finite verbal form. *θa* originates from the verb *θelo* 'want' (see, among others, Browning 1983, Joseph & Pappas 2002, Markopoulos 2006b), the development of which goes back to late medieval period.

(29) SMG
    θa   γrafo   /   γrapso
    will   *write.IMP.1SG*   *write.PERF.1SG*
    'I will be writing / I will write'

The majority of studies concerning the form and the properties of future tense refer to SMG, and as Markopoulos (2006a) correctly states, there is no comprehensive account with respect to its syntactic and semantic behavior in the dialects. In what follows, I report the interaction of the construction [*θa* + verb] with the complementizers, negation, and auxiliaries, in a number of Greek dialects, as dealt with by Markopoulos (2006a). The interesting cases are exemplified below:

(30) (From Markopoulos 2006a)

  a. *na + θa'*
    Ma ontas δis   kati γoulia sto piato <u>na</u>   <u>θa</u>   tim
    but *when see.2SG* *some* *beetroot* *in-the plate* *that.SUBJ* *will* *it*
    piaso...[20]
    catch.1SG
    'But when you see in the plate some beetroots that I'm about to catch…'
                          (Crete)

  b. *negation + tha*
    δostona more pe**y**i m' to γa**y**ro, **δa**   ton faj!
    give.him you kið *mythe ðonkey* *will.not* *him* *eat*
    'My kid, give him the donkey, he won't eat it!'   (Thrace)

(δa < δen 'not' + θa)

    Ane kami mia neruxa sia ti broxθesini,   <u>δa</u> <u>min</u> afisi
    if *make one* *storm* *like* *the ðay.before-yesterday* *will* *not* *spare*
    mia elia![21]
    one *olive*
    'If it rains like it did the day before yesterday, not one olive will be left.'
                          (Crete)

  c. *tha + Verb + Auxiliary thelo* 'want' / *prepei* ' must'
    <u>A</u>   pao <u>θeli</u>.
    will *go* *want.3SG*
    'I will go'   (Nisyros)

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[20] Note that (30a) is odd because of the lack of agreement between *γoulia* (neuter plural) and *tim* (< *tin* feminine singular). According to an anonymous reviewer, in this particular example *na* seems to be a complementizer introducing a relative clause, which is reminiscent of the SMG *pu*. An interesting subject of investigation would be a cross-dialectal study of the functions on *na*, independently of the issue of future marker.

[21] SMG: *en a afisi.*

θa	na	staθike	prepi i nikokera …
will	*that.SUBJ*	*stopped*	*must the housewife*

'The housewife must have stopped…' (Crete)

As opposed to SMG, where *θa* and the subjunctive marker *na* do not co-occur within the same clause (see Roussou 2000 for a syntactic analysis), we observe a co-occurrence in Cretan (30a), which is attested since the 17th c. The solution that is proposed by Markopoulos (2006a) is that *na* may occasionally function as a complementizer, in that it appears without any modal features. This status allows *na* to combine with another modal marker, i.e. with *θa*. On the contrary, this combination cannot be grammatical in SMG because *na* has a double role, functioning as a modal marker and as a complementizer.

With respect to the co-occurrence of *θa* and negation (30b), we observe that the phonological reduction of the cluster *θen* 'not' and *θa* combines with the negative particle *min*. This pattern is not allowed by the SMG grammar, where *min* combines with the subjunctive marker *na.* According to Markopoulos, the Cretan situation may depict a stage prior to the one attested in SMG, where the difference in negation marking between *θa* and *na* is not yet fixed. Furthermore, the common behavior between the two with respect to the use of *min* may be due to their close semantic affinity, since both of them have modal properties.

The combination between *θa,* the verbal form, and another auxiliary, depicted in (30c), is another instance of differentiation between SMG and some dialects, namely those of the South Aegean (south of Lesbos), Crete, and the south coast of Asia Minor. Following a proposal by Tsangalidis (1999), on the inherent ambiguity of the future marker *θa* (expressing modal (epistemic) and future properties), which is resolved by the tense and the aspectual features of the verb, Markopoulos suggests that the presence of the auxiliary may be due to disambiguation purposes. Apart from this, the pattern in question is also intriguing in that the auxiliary follows the verb, as opposed to the presence of the auxiliary in SMG and other dialects. Along the lines of Tomic (2004), who adopts a mono-clausal analysis for similar data in Slavic languages, Markopoulos assumes a mono-clausal account for the Greek dialectal cases as well, at least for those including the constituents *θa* and the volitional *θelo,* where these elements are considered to be parts of a discontinuous morpheme.[22] However, this solution does not deal with the problem of the word order, according to which the auxiliary always follows the main verb. There are two proposals that can be adopted for this, namely: a) the long head-movement (Roberts 1992, Rivero 1994), according to which the verb moves to T, skipping the auxiliary. b) Head-adjunction (Boščovič 1997), with the auxiliary being an adjunct with Agr features. Markopoulos observes that both solutions are problematic, and there is no conclusive evidence for the most appropriate account.[23]

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[22] As Markopoulos correctly observes, this approach is against Alexiadou's (1997) proposal for a bi-clausal analysis of constructions involving complex tenses, since the word order of the dialectal data would presuppose numerous movements of dubious plausibility.

[23] As Markopoulos states, long head-movement violates cyclicity, and adjunction constitutes a long-standing problem in the syntactic literature.

Dialectal question formation has been tackled by Contossopoulos (1983-1984), who tries to establish an isogloss on the basis of the form of the wh-word 'what'. He claims that the Greek speaking world is divided into two parts, according to the form taken by the pronoun 'what', which appears as *ti* or *inða*. *Ti* is used in mainland Greece, the Ionian islands, and some islands of the Aegean Sea (e.g. Rhodes). The rest of the geographical area, including Cyprus and Asia Minor is characterized by the *inða* form.

A syntactic approach to wh-question formation in Cypriot is provided by Grohmann, Panagiotidis and Tsiplakou (2006), who argue that it is slightly different from SMG and the other Greek dialects. The following examples illustrate that Cypriot *wh*-questions involve an alternative formation with *embu,* deriving from the combination of the copula *en* with the pronoun or adverb *pu* (32). Compare the following examples:

(31) Without *embu* (like SMG)

 a. pcos   efie?   c. pote efies?
  who.NOM left.3SG when left.2SG
  'Who went?'   'When did you leave?'

 b. pcon iðes?   d. jati efies?
  who.ACC saw.2SG why left.2SG
  'Who did you see?'   'Why did you leave?'

(32) With *embu*

 a. pcos   (embu) efie?
  who.NOM is.that left.3SG
  'Who is it that left?'

 b. pcon (embu) iðes?
  who.ACC is.that saw.2SG
  'Who is it that you saw?'

 c. pote (embu) epies?
  when is.that went.2SG
  'When did you go?'

 d. pu (embu) epies?
  where is.that went.2SG
  'Where did you go?'

 e. jati (embu) epies?
  why is.that went.2SG
  'Why did you go?'

 f. indalos (embu) epies?
  how   is.that went.2SG
  'How did you go?'

Note that the Cypriot construction is more widespread than its SMG equivalent of *ine pu* 'is-that'. For instance, the SMG sentence for (32f) *pos ine pu pijes* 'how is that you went?' is odd. According to an anonymous reviewer the selectional sense of *embu* seems to be existential in origin: its referent is presupposed because it is the subject of the copula. For G,P&T (2006) informants prefer a discourse-linked reading for the *wh*-element, when it is supported by *embu*, with the meaning of 'for which N out of a set of referents identified in the discourse'.

Interestingly, *embu* appears as *–mbu* after a bare word *–inda*. Again, it is obligatory when bare *inda* is an argument, meaning 'what', but optional when *inda* is an adjunct with the meanings of 'why' or 'what for'.

(33)   a.   Inda   *(mbu)   ipies?
           what.ACC   is.that   ∂rank.2SG
           'What did you drink?'
       b.   Inda (mbu)   erkumaste   δame?
           what is.that   come.1PL   here
           'What do we come here for?'

Moreover, when the *wh*-expression consists of *inda* and a noun, *embu*, but not *mbu*, may also appear optionally:

(34)   Inda pramata   (embu, *mbu)   kanes?
       what things.ACC is.that   ∂id.2SG
       'What things did you do?'

The analysis suggested by G,P&T. (2006) for this kind of constructions is based on a sideward movement of wh-clefts.[24] Assuming that clefts are a focusing strategy, they adopt a split-CP analysis, where there is a focus projection (FocP) whose specifier is filled by the cleft, and a C-position, which takes the matrix as its complement. According to the authors, this analysis accounts for all cases of *wh*-dependencies with *embu*. However, the clefting strategy does not account for the fact that bare *inda* never combines with *embu*, but with *-mbu* (cf. 33a).

8 ▢ Case form of the indirect object

As proposed by Manolessou & Beis (2006), a syntactically-based isogloss may be defined on the basis of the case form of the indirect object.[25] In Ancient Greek indirect objects were expressed through dative case. However, the dative was progressively lost and replaced by various prepositional constructions followed by the use of genitive or accusative case (Horrocks 1997: 216).[26] As a result, indirect objects today are in the genitive or accusative case, depending on the dialect. Indirect objects in the genitive case appear in SMG, South Italy (since the Medieval period), and in most Southern Dialects, including the Ionian islands.

(35)   SMG
       a.   mu   δini   ena   potiri krasi.
           me.GEN   give.3SG a   glass wine
           '(S)he gives me a glass of wine.'
       b.   δose   tu   patera   su   ena   potiri krasi.
           give.IMP   the.GEN   father.GEN   your.GEN   a   glass wine
           'Give your father a glass of wine.'

According to Sandfeld (1930) and Manolessou & Beis (2006), the syncretism of genitive and dative is a major characteristic of the Balkan Sprachbund. It occurs in

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[24] According to Nunes (2004), sideward movement occurs when something may appear in the main branch of a clause, may be copied, and become remerged inside a 'side clause' (adjunct, left branch).

[25] A first indication of this isogloss can be traced in Portius (1889). This isogloss is also reported by Triantaphyllidis (1938).

[26] According to Humbert (1930) the final disappearance of the dative must be dated around the 10th c. AD.

several Balkan languages (Greek, Romanian, Arumanian, Albanian, Bulgarian, and Slavic Macedonian). Curiously though the Greek dialects in closest geographical proximity to the other Balkan languages, namely the Northern Dialects, do not show this syncretism as their indirect object is expressed through the accusative[27] (Manolessou & Beis 2006: 221). Interestingly, Humbert (1930) had already pointed out that the Greek of proto-Bulgarian inscriptions has accusative indirect objects.

Indirect objects in the accusative case are also used in Asia Minor (except in the areas of Smyrna, Tsesme, and Halikarnassus (see Contossopoulos 1958: 267)[28], but also in Tsakonian, and in some areas of the Dodecanese islands. As Manolessou & Beis (2006) correctly note the limits of the use of indirect objects in genitive or accusative case do not coincide with the phonologically defined isogloss (see section 1), which divides the Greek language into Northern and Southern Dialects.

(36) Lesbian, Asia Minor Dialect of Kydonies and Moschonisia (MGDL archive)
a. mi   δin'   ena   putir krasi.
   me.ACC give   a   glass wine
   '(S)he gives me a glass of wine.'
b. δosi   tu   bateras   ena   putir krasi.
   give the.ACC father.ACC-your a   glass wine
   'Give your father a glass of wine.'

The precise limits of the isogloss, as well as the theoretical study of the particular phenomenon need a closer investigation.

9 ▢ Verbal clitics

Verbal clitics (hereafter clitics) constitute a well investigated topic in Greek linguistics, and have been studied from all points of view, phonologically (e.g. Malikouti-Drachman & Drachman 1992, Revithiadou 2006), morphologically (e.g. Joseph 2003), syntactically (e.g., among others, Drachman 1994, Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos 1999), and diachronically with particular emphasis to the dialects (e.g. Mackridge 1993, Pappas 2001, 2004a,b, forthcoming). A typology of dialects according to clitic placement can be traced in Thumb (1895) and Dawkins (1940: 22-23)[29], while another cross-dialectal typological survey is under preparation by Revithiadou & Spyropoulos.

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[27] There are some exceptions though, as for example, the dialect spoken in the area of Siatista. According to Manolessou & Beis (2006) this is due to a Vlach (Arumanian) influence.

[28] Contossopoulos (1958) notes that Halikarnassus Greek has little to do with the dialects of Western Asia Minor, and that it descends from the Dodecanesian dialect, due to a population settlement. In fact, there is a general problem for Western Asia Minor Greek in determining the extent to which these dialects are independent from those of the Aegean islands opposite to them. For instance, the dialect of Kydonies (Aivaliot) has only minor differences with respect to Lesbian (see Ralli in preparation).

[29] "… the position of the pronominal object forms a chain right across the Greek world. In Italy and on the mainland the object always precedes; in Crete and all the islands as far as Cyprus it may follow, but only in positive main clauses; in Cappadocia it must follow the verb in positive, but never in negative or dependent clauses; at Pharasa in the Taurus the object follows even in negative clauses, and lastly and finally in Pontos it always follows even in dependent clauses and one finds

A basic debate is centered on the issue of whether SMG clitics constitute syntactic elements or affixes. On the one hand, Drachman (1994) and Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos (1999) have claimed that they are syntactic items. For the latter, they are base-generated as arguments in the relevant theta-position. Then, they move to adjoin to the INFL functional projection, and cliticize on the verb which has overtly moved there. On the other hand, Joseph (1989) argues that clitics are lexical affixes that are attached to words by specific inflectional processes, and uses dialectal evidence in order to prove his position. In his response to the paper by Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos, Joseph (2003) claims that all the phonological and morphological evidence presented by them argues against a stem-level affixation analysis of clitics but not against a word-level affixation one. For Joseph, clitics are non-prototypical affixes.

A similar position is taken by Condoravdi & Kiparsky (1998, 2001) who propose that SMG clitics are lexical affixes combining with words in the lexicon. C&K's analysis differs from Joseph's in that they consider SMG clitics to differ from inflectional material, which usually combines with stems. According to their analysis, an argument in favor of the lexical status of clitics is the fact that they are obligatorily repeated in conjoined verbs:

(37) SMG
      To pire   ke   to evale   sto   trapezi.
      it took.3SG and it put.3SG on-the table
      '(S)he took and put it on the table.'

9.1 ⊡ STRUCTURAL POSITION

According to the structural position into which they appear cross-dialectally, clitics fall into three groups, as proposed by Condoravdi & Kiparsky (1998, 2001):

a. In the first group (group a), clitics appear post-verbally. The dialects with this property are Cypriot, Cappadocian, some Cycladic and Dodecanese islands (Karpathos and Astypalaia are two of them), Cretan, two areas of Lesbos (Plomari, Agiassos), and Roumeic. The following examples are from Cappadocian, Cretan and Cypriot:

(38) a. Cappadocian (Janse forthcoming)
         Piren do,   paašen do   do domat, afiken do.
         took her   brought her the room   left   her
         '(S)he took her, brought her to the room, left her.'
     b. Cretan (Contossopoulos 1994)
         roto   se   iδes   tone?
         ask.1SG you saw.2SG him
         'I ask you. Did you see him?'
     c. Cypriot (Agouraki 1998)
         lali   tu   o alos.
         say.3SG   him the other
         'The other one says to him.'

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for example that I want to say it appears as θέλω να λέγω το, a word order absolutely unheard of and impossible anywhere else in the whole Greek world."

In these dialects, if the verb is preceded by complementizers, negation, modality markers, or wh-phrases, clitics appear in a preverbal position:[30]

(39) a. Cappadocian   (Janse forthcoming)
    Op   to   paišje   irte   ena   binar konda.
    while him take.IMPERF.PAST.3SG came.3SG   a   spring near
    'When he was taking him, he came near a spring.'
  b. Cretan (Contossopoulos 1997)
    δen exo   ti   na to kamo.
    NEG have.1SG what to it make.1SG
    'I do not know what to do it.'
  c. Cypriot   (Agouraki 1998)
    Perki su   ton   δoki.
    maybe you   it   give.3SG
    '(S)he may give it to you.'

Moreover, in most of these dialects, clitics occasionally appear preverbally after focalized emphatic pronouns and words (XP-foci):

(40) a. Cappadocian (Janse forthcoming)
    EŠI to ksevris.
    you it know.2SG
    'You know it.'

    ENA MAIMUN me   jelašen.
    a   monkey   me   made laugh
    'A monkey made me laugh.'
  b. Cretan (Contossopoulos 1994)
    ENAN KAFE mu   kami.
    a   coffee   me   make.3SG
    '(S)he makes me a coffee.'
  c. Cypriot (Agouraki 1998)
    KALA to lalun.
    rightly it say.3PL
    'They say it rightly.'

b. In the second group (group b), clitics occupy the preverbal position, and appear postverbally only in the imperative. This group includes SMG, the majority of the dialects of the Greek mainland, the Ionian islands, and Italiot.

(41) SMG
    su to δino   vs. δos   mu   to / δos   to mu
    you it give.PR.IND.1SG   give.IMP me   it   give.IMP it me
    'I give it to you'   'give it to me'

    Grico (Profili 1984-1985)
    mu   svuddhiete   e   mitti, mia bbelletza.
    me.GEN   discharge.PASS the nose one   beauty
   'My nose is clear, just like that.'

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[30] Drachman (1994) reports that young speakers from Chios show an alternation between a preverbal and a postverbal position.

C & K (1998, 2001) argue that group-a clitics are of the X^{max} type, while group-b ones are of the lexical type. X^{max} clitics are seen as maximal projections adjoining to a phrasal projection, TnsP, and are invariably enclitics.[31]

It is important to add that other syntactically-based analyses have been proposed for the Cypriot post-verbal clitics, namely by Agouraki (1998, 2001) and Terzi (1999a,b), where postposition with respect to the verb follows from verb movement over the clitic. For instance, according to Agouraki, clitic placement is an epiphenomenon of verb placement: in Cypriot, the verb raises to C°, yielding enclisis, because the dialect has a filled C° requirement. Thus, clitics precede the verb only when C° is already filled and does not require the verb to raise. With respect to Terzi's approach, clitics need a syntactic licenser. Thus, in the absence of any other licenser, the verb moves to the highest position within the IP –which in her analysis is MoodP– in order to license clitics.

c. The third group (group c) includes the Pontic dialects in Greece, spoken by first, second, and third generation refugees from Pontos, and Pontic Ophitic spoken by Moslems of Pontic origin in present-day North-East Turkey (see Mackridge 1987, 1999). In this group, clitics are always postverbal (Drettas 1997, Papadopoulos 1955, Oikonomides 1958), even in the pluperfect tense where, as opposed to group-a and group-b clitics, they follow the infinitival form, and not the finite auxiliary:

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[31] C&K posit the following phrase structure, where adjunction of topics to ΣP and to CP is not shown:
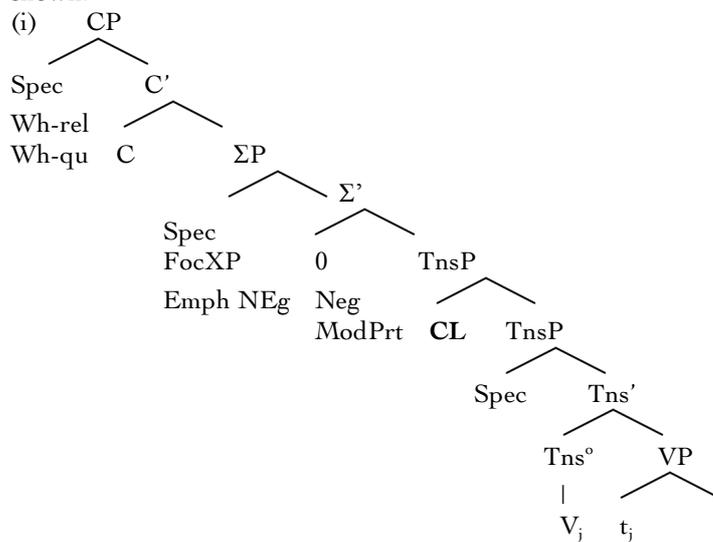
According to this phrase structure, the distribution of postverbal clitics is accounted for by the following generalization:
"Clitics are postverbal if and only if there is no non-adjoined constituent within the same CP at the left of the clitic" (C&K 2001: 6-7). In C&K's terms, clitics subcategorize for a prosodic word on their left within the same CP, i.e. they are encliticized onto the element on their left, rather than procliticized onto the verb. If there is no available prosodic host to their left, they encliticize onto the adjacent word on their right by the rule of PROSODIC INVERSION", which is seen "as an optimization strategy which ensures best satisfaction of the cliticization requirement plus the twin syntactic constraints that input order of clitics must be preserved and that clitics remain within the same CP". Following this proposal, the postverbal position of X^{max} clitics seems to be the special case and not the general one, as has been proposed by Janse (1993, 1994, 1998a,b).

(42) a. Pontic (C&K 2001: 19)

     An   ixame   ndosne <u>se</u>   ixes   maθine to maθema s.

     if   had.1PL beaten   you   had.2SG learned the lesson   yours

     'If we had beaten you, you would have learned your lesson.'

   b. Pontic Ophitic (Mackridge 1999)

     Pola   na   xarenumes alomijan   an elepume <u>sas.</u>

     much SUBJ be-glad.1PL another-time if see.1PL   you

     'We will be very glad if we see you again.'

Crucially, clitics in Pontic dialects follow the second verb in conjoined verbs, and are not repeated with every single verb, as opposed to the behavior of clitics of the first group:

(43)   Pontic (C&K 2001)

     Esegen to vutoron son furnin k   elisen k   exasen <u>a.</u>

     put.3SG the butter in-the oven   and melted and lost   it

     '(S)he put the butter in the oven and melted it and lost it.'

According to Drettas (1997) and Janse (1998a,b), clitics in these dialects should be seen as object agreement suffixes. C&K do not agree with this position though, and claim that agreement occurs on Greek verbal finite types, whereas these clitics follow the infinitival forms. They propose that they are phonologically enclitic (as clitics of the second group), but belong to category X^o, instead of category X^{max}, in that they are word-level affixes, i.e. they are head-adjoined to V^o rather than adjoined to a phrasal projection.[32]

Revithiadou & Spyropoulos (ms.) attempt to combine the very useful insights of all this work in an analysis and typology of Greek cliticization. Their work relies on assumptions made by Revithiadou (2006), according to which there are three main cliticization patterns in Greek: second position, non-second position, and enclitic syntactic affixation. The basic assumption is that there is a two-way distinction regarding the status of clitics, namely syntactic elements vs. affixes and that second position and non-second position clitics share the same syntactic status and structure, i.e. they are syntactic arguments (X^{max}) that move from their theta position to the INFL projection, creating a two-copy chain, but they minimally differ in the way phonology interprets this syntactic output. Their analysis is supported by a detailed typology of the prosodic structure of cliticization in Greek over a large range of dialects, which reveals certain prosodic templates, and an implicational hierarchy holding among them.

9.2 ▣ Historical developments

Clitics have been the topic of historical research as well. Mackridge (1993) and Pappas (2001, 2004a,b) have described their position in late Medieval Greek between the 12th and the 16th century. According to these works, the order between the clitic and the verb is more or less similar to what we have seen in the group-a dialects.[33] This observation makes C&K (2001) suppose that the order in the

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[32] C&K (2001: 20-22) also argue that the phonological arguments brought by Drettas (1997) in favour of the affixal agreement status of the Pontic clitics are not correct.

[33] According to Pappas (2006: 316-317), in Byzantine Medieval Greek, "postverbal pronouns are the norm when the verb is clause-initial, or if it immediately follows the negative *uk*, the

group-a dialects is the most archaic, and that the change goes in the direction from X^{max} (e.g. Cappadocian clitics) to word-level affixes (e.g. Pontic clitics) to lexical affixes (clitics of group b dialects).

(44) Group a   →   Group c   →   Group b
       X^{max} → $X°$ $X°$ →   Affix

<div align="right">(C&K 2001: 22)</div>

In fact, it is not without interest that most dialects belonging to this group are peripheral with respect to the main Greek-speaking area (mainland Greece), and some of them occur as enclaves within the group-b and –c dialects (e.g. the case of the two areas of the island of Lesbos).

However, this position has been challenged by Pappas (2004a,b, 2006) who supports his claims with evidence found in Medieval Pontic documents from the Vazelon monastery. Pappas proposes that the change in pronoun placement is linked to the change from the complementizer *ina* to the head of the verb phrase *na*, and that clitic placement is primarily defined as 'post-head'. When *na* becomes the head of the subjunctive verb phrase (cf. Veloudis and Philippaki-Warburton 1983, Philippaki-Warburton and Spyropoulos 2004), the clitic is placed after *na* and before the verb. He also proposes that there is no coherent system underlying Medieval Greek, a conclusion which is questioned by Condoravdi & Kiparsky's response (2004), on the grounds that there are good reasons to believe that the distributional pattern of cliticization he proposes (following Mackridge 1994) can be further reduced and associated with the Medieval Greek clause structure, revealing a coherent system of cliticization.

Another account of the diachronic development of Greek cliticization is also found in Revithiadou & Spyropoulos (ms.), whose basic insight refers to the dynamics of the filtering role of phonology over syntactic derivation. More specifically they argue that cliticization as a movement rule developed by the end of the Post-classical period. Medieval Greek had a second position cliticization type, the same as the second position Modern Greek dialects, and the non-second position cliticization type developed out of the former by means of a prosodic reanalysis. According to this proposal, the reanalysis was triggered by the loss of stress in certain function words, which eventually destroyed the system of prosodic constraints that regulate the filtering role of phonology over the syntactic output.

9.3 ▣ The linearization of multiple clitic pronouns

In SMG, multiple clitic pronouns make up a cluster, the order of which is fixed according to the following restrictions (see Janse 1998a,b):

a) First and second person pronouns do not co-occur.
b) First or second person pronouns precede third person ones.
c) A genitive pronoun precedes an accusative one.

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complementizer *oti*, a coordinating conjunction, or a reduplicated object. Preverbal pronouns appear when the verb immediately follows any marker (negative or subjunctive), complementizer, wh-expression or fronted constituent. Both preverbal and postverbal pronouns occur after a subject or a temporal expression."

However, there is a well-known exception to that order, namely with monosyllabic imperatives, where the order between genitive and accusative pronouns may be reversed:

(45) a. SMG

δos   mu   to   vs.   δos   to   mu
give   me   it   *give   it   me*
'I give it to you'   'give it to me'

According to Dawkins (1916) and Janse (1997a, 1998a,b, forthcoming), Capadocian does not distinguish between genitive and accusative case pronouns, and the relative order must be formulated according to the function (direct vs. indirect object) or to the person feature. Moreover, according to Janse (1998a: 266) the order is similar to that in SMG, but in the indicative mood, there is some evidence of two alternative orders, though confined to the Farasa variant of Cappadocian:

(46) Farasa Cappadocian (Janse 1998a: 268)

ifares   ta   mas   vs.   ifara   sis   ta
brought.2SG them   us   *brought.1SG you   them*
'you brought them to us'   'I brought them to you'

Crucially, an alternative order is not found in other dialects, not even in the monosyllabic imperative forms:

(47) a. Lesbian (Ralli in preparation)[34]

δo-mi-tu   vs. * δo-tu-mi
give.SG-me-it   *give-it-me*
'give it to me'

δoti-me-tu   * δoti-to-mi
give.PL-me-it   *give.PL-it-me*

     b. Grecanico (Rohlfs 1977)

dizze-tu-to   vs. * dizze-to-tu
show-him-it   *show-it-him*
'show it to him'

pe-mmu-to   * pe-to-mmu
say-me-it   *say-it-me*
'say it to me'

Finally, in some dialects there are cases of indirect-object endoclisis (clitic infixation), as observed by Joseph (1989).[35] Instances of such endoclisis we find in some variants of the northern dialectal group (e.g. Lesbian), and in Cappadocian, and most of the time with verbs whose stems are monosyllabic in the imperative form, e.g. *vres* 'find', *δes* 'see', *pes* 'say', *δo(s)* 'give':

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[34] For similar imperative forms in other Northern Dialects, see also Joseph (1989).

[35] Thavoris (1977), and Ralli (in preparation) note the same phenomenon. Moreover, Drachman (1994) gives a prosodic account of clitic infixation.

(48) Lesbian (MGDL archive)

δο-mi-te-tu   but   * δο-tu-te-mi
give-me-2PL-it   *give-it-2PL-me*

pe-mi-te-tu   * pe-tu-te-mi
say-me-2PL-it   *say-it-2PL-me*

Some traces of an endoclisis case are also found in Cappadocian, as noted by Dawkins (1916: 139) and Janse (1997a, 1998a), but to a limited extent, and may be due to borrowing from other Asia Minor dialects.

10 ▢ Conclusions

In the preceding sections we saw that Modern Greek dialects exhibit syntactic and morpho-syntactic patterns that are not attested in SMG, and a variety of constructions which are associated with several issues in syntactic theory. Beside the phenomena that I have presented here, there are a number of other rather intricate syntactic constructions, such as the genitive case of the direct object in the Cappadocian variant of Livisi (Andriotis 1961), or the different use of prepositions in Silli (Kostakis 1958). However, these phenomena are only mentioned in the literature, and primarily require a good description.

In conclusion, the purpose of a thorough and systematic investigation of dialectal syntactic and morphosyntactic issues is twofold. It is interesting from the descriptive point of view because it contributes to the preservation of the linguistic heritage. It is also intriguing from the theoretical point of view, since it provides new challenges to current syntactic theory. However, further data are needed in order to determine the actual state of the contemporary Greek dialects. More importantly, extensive research should be carried out that could help us draw a possible dialectal map of the Greek language, on the basis of various syntactic and morphosyntactic phenomena.

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