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ON DESIDERATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN NAOUSA DIALECT

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Περίληψη

Η εργασία αυτή στοχεύει σε μία πρώτη περιγραφή δομών επιθυμίας, όπως αυτές πραγματώνονται σε μία διάλεκτο της Βόρειας Ελλάδος, αυτή που μιλιέται στη Νάουσα. Σε αυτό το άρθρο θα παρουσιαστεί η δομή και θα συζητηθούν τα ζητήματα που προκύπτουν από την ανάλυση τέτοιων δομών επιθυμίας.

Keywords: desiderative/ feel-like structure, Northern Greek dialect, imperfective aspect

1. Introduction

In Naousa in Northern Greece we can find a desiderative construction or a feel like structure. What is a desiderative construction? Feel like constructions (or a Dative Impersonal) Reflexive Constructions, Dative Existential Disclosure Constructions, Desiderative Inversion, Involuntary State Constructions) (Cathcart 2010: 1, Marusic and Zaucer 2006: 1094) are constructions that have the meaning of “want to V” or “feel like V”, and can be divided in three different types: (a) periphrastic, (b) overt and (c) covert (Cathcart, 2010:1).

The periphrastic one contains an overt verb (1).

- (5) *mu pin-ete enas kafes*
 I-DAT-1SG drink-N-ACTIVE-FEELLIKE-PR a coffee
 ‘I feel like drinking coffee’
 ‘θέλω να πω καφέ’

The dative argument is an experiencer argument. The dative arguments surfaces as a clitic declined in person and number as in Table 1 below in Standard Greek.

	Singular	Plural
1 st person	mu(mi)	mas
2 nd person	su	sas
3 rd person(<i>mask/fem</i>)	tu/tis	tus/tis

Table 1 | Clitic Declination in person and number

In the Naousa dialect, the 1st person clitic surfaces as “mi” (raising)

This is a dative construction, in which an experiencer argument is realized as a DP marked with dative Case.

Such dative arguments as experiencers appear in other constructions in Modern Greek (6) that are not desideratives.

- (6) *mu aresi i maria*
 I-DAT like DET-NOM Maria-NOM
 ‘I like Maria’
 ‘μου αρέσει η Μαρία’

The Greek aspectual/tense system (Table 2) can be represented as follows (Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warburton 1997). The same typology can be found in Naousa’s dialect.

Tense/Mood	Imperfective	Perfective
Non- past	graf-o ‘I – write’ ‘I am writing’ Present	graps-o Dependent

Past	e-graf-a 'I used to write' 'I was writing' Imperfect	e-graps-a 'I wrote' Simple Past
Future	θα grafo 'I will write (often)' Imperfective Future	θα grapso 'I will write (now)' Perfective Future
Imperative	grafe 'write' (often) Imperfective Imperative	grapse 'write (now)' Perfective Imperative

Table 2 | The Greek aspectual/tense system

We already mentioned that for the Greek covert desiderative construction the verbal morphology is important. The verbs must surface with non-active voice, 3rd singular or plural and they must have imperfective aspect. The verb inflects for Present (7), Past (8) and Future (9).

(7) *mu pin-ete enas kafes*
 I-DAT-1SG drink-N-ACTIVE-FEELLIKE-PR a coffee
 'I feel like drinking coffee'
 'θέλω να πιω έναν καφέ'

(8) *mu pin-otan enas kafes*
 I-DAT-1SG drink-N-ACTIVE-FEELLIKE-PST a coffee
 'I felt like drinking coffee'
 'θα ήθελα να είχα πει έναν καφέ'

(9) *θα mu pin-ete enas kafes*
 FUT I-DAT-1SG drink-N-ACTIVE-FEELLIKE a coffee
 'I will feel like drinking coffee'
 'θα μου πινόταν ένας καφές'

In all strings (4,5, 7-9) there seems to be a DESIRE, like a hidden ‘want’, instead of the lexical item ‘θelo’ (=want) or the functional head ‘θα’ combined with the lexical item ‘ithela’, which are used in Modern Greek. The question is how this DESIRE is realized and why do we have a dative argument and non active voice morphology.

Comparing the overt DESIRE structures in Modern Greek to the covert DESIRE structures in Naousa Dialect we observe that in the former the subject of the overt verb can be different (10) or not (11). But in the latter only the meaning of the (11) is possible.

(10) (ejo) θelo i Maria napçi ne`ro
 pro-1SG want-1SG-PR DET-NOM mariaNOM to drink water
 ‘I want Maria to drink water’
 ‘εγώ θέλω η Μαρία να πει νερό’

(11) (ejo) θelo (ejo) napço ne`ro
 pro-1SG want-1SG pro-1SG to drink water
 ‘I want to drink water’
 ‘εγώ θέλω (εγώ) να πιω νερό’

3. Review of the literature on desiderative constructions

Contemporary research on desiderative structures focuses on the monoclausality or biclausality of the structure and the source of the DESIRE. The literature is outlined as follows (Table 3).

	Monoclausal Analysis	Biclausal analysis
Source of modality		a phonological null desiderative element (Marusic & Zaucer 2006)
	null desiderative functional head (Cathcart, 2010)	
	imperfect operator (Rivero 2003; 2004; 2009)	

	non active morphology (Kallulli 2006)	
--	--	--

Table 3 | The literature on desiderative constructions

3.1 Bicausal or monocausal analysis

Marusic and Zaucer (2006) investigated desiderative structures in Slovenian and used the non-agreeing adverbs test to prove that each adverb is attested in different Verbs. In a ‘want to V structure’ the one adverb is attested to the null phonological element ‘want’ and the other to the Verb.

In that test two conflicting adverbs cannot be monocausal (McCawley, 1979). For example in (12) each adverb modifies one verb; ‘jutri’ modifies the verb ‘slo’ and ‘vceraj’ modifies the null phonologically desiderative verb (Marusic and Zaucer, 2006).

- (12) *Vceraj se mi ni slo jutri domov*
 Yesterday SE I-DAT AUX-NEG- PST go tomorrow home
 ‘Yesterday, I didn’t feel like going home tomorrow’
 ‘Χθες (ένιωθα πως) δεν ήθελα να πάω σπίτι την επόμενη μέρα’

The Albanian desiderative behaves in the same way (13) (Cathart, 2010)

- (13) *Dje më kërcëhej sot*
 Yesterday me.DAT dance-N-ACTIVE-PST today
 ‘Yesterday I felt like dancing today’
 ‘Χθες (ένιωθα πως) δεν ήθελα να χορέψω σήμερα’

The structure is grammatical in Naousa’s dialect but it is a marked structure, because after Χθες (yesterday) the speaker stops (14).

- (14) *?Χθες, mu pinotan enas kafes simera to proi*
 Yesterday DAT-1SG drink-N-ACTIVE-FEELLIKE-PST a coffee this morning
 ‘Yesterday, I felt like drinking a (cup) of coffee this morning’
 ‘Χθες, ήθελα να πιω (μια κούπα) καφέ την επόμενη μέρα το πρωί’

Cathcart (2010: 3) underlines that this test is weak, since conflicting time adverbs can co-occur with modals (15).

Therefore she keeps the phonological null element but she argues in favor of the mo-

- (15) *As of now, I would play baseball tomorrow, but if it snows, I will not*
'Προς το παρόν, θα έπαιζα μπέιζμπολ αύριο, αλλά αν χιονίσει δεν θα θέλω'

noclausality of the structure.

Another argument in favor of the biclausal analysis is the test with *again*. In Albanian (16) the same structure provides two different meanings. The adverb *again* modifies the overt verb (2nd meaning) or the phonological null element (1st meaning) Cathcart (2010).

- (16) *Më kërchehej sërish*
me.DAT dance.N-ACTIVE-PST again
I feel like dancing again' (1st I 've felt like this before)
'θέλω να χορέψω ξανά' (1^η Έχω νιώσει το ίδιο ξανά)
'I felt like dancing again' (2nd I 've danced before)
'θέλω να χορέψω ξανά' (2^η έχω ξαναχορέψει)

That test applies for the Naoussa Dialect (17) with the two different meanings.

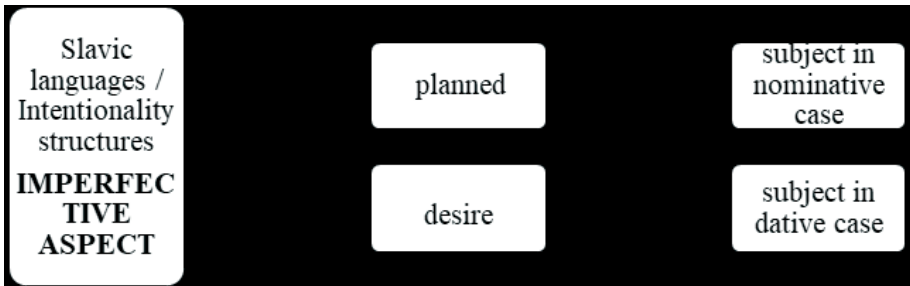
- (17) *mu çorevotan ksana*
I-DAT-1SG dance-FEELLIKE-PST again
I feel like dancing again' (1st I 've felt like this before)
'θέλω να χορέψω ξανά' (1^η Έχω νιώσει το ίδιο ξανά)
'I felt like dancing again' (2nd I 've danced before)
'θέλω να χορέψω ξανά' (2^η έχω ξαναχορέψει)

I will not take a definite position at that moment because I believe that more tests should be invented to support the biclausal or the monoclausal analysis.

3.2. The source of modality

Rivero(2009) claims that the imperfect operator is the source of the modality. She investigated a variety of Slavic languages and she based especially in the complicated Bulgarian system of Tense /Aspect. The main idea is outlined as follows in Graph (1).

In Slavic languages imperfective aspect expresses intentionality. If the intentionality is preplanned nominative case is assigned to the subject (18). If the intention is desired



Graph 1 | Intentionality structures in Slavic languages

the dative case is assigned (19).

Indication of the desire intentionality is the dative argument.

(18) *Utre zaminavam za selo*
 Tomorrow go-PRS-1SG to village
 ‘I am going to the village tomorrow’
 ‘Πρόκειται να πάω στο χωριό αύριο’

(19) *Na decata im Se raboti*
 children-PL DAT-3PL REFL work-PRS-3SG
 ‘he children {are in a working mood/feel like working}’
 ‘Τα παιδιά {είναι σε διάθεση/θέλουν να δουλέψουν}’

The research on the biclausal/monoclausal analysis and the phonological null element is still open since more diagnostic tests are needed. The imperfect operator explains the Slavic language intentionality system.

Kallulli(2006) examines the above accounts and provides a new one focusing in various functions of non-active morphology in Albanian. She discusses what Embic(2004) suggested for non active morphology. Non-active morphology is a reflection of unaccusative syntax and unaccusative syntax is any syntactic structure where the external argument is not projected.

4. Discussion

This presentation focuses on the preliminary description of the feel like structure. On the biclausal/monoclausal analysis and for the phonological null element as the source of the DESIRE more diagnostic tests are needed. In this part I will discuss how important non active morphology and imperfective aspect is for Modern Greek Language and the language contact between Greek and Slavic as two elements that can shed more light in the description of Naousa's desiderative structure.

4.1 Non active morphology in Modern Greek Language

Middles (20b) always surface with non – active morphology differing from passives (20a) morphologically only in that they surface obligatory with imperfective aspect”(Τσιμπλή 2006; Sioupi 1997; Sioupi 1998).

Lekakou (2005) suggests

- (20) (a) *Afto to vivlio diavastike ctes* (passive)
This is the book read-N-ACTIVE yesterday
'This book was read yesterday'
'Αυτό το βιβλίο διαβάστηκε χθες'
- (b) *Afto to vivlio diavazete efkola* (middle)
This book reads-N-ACTIVE easily
'This book reads easily'
'Αυτό το βιβλίο διαβάζεται εύκολα'

'that non active morphology necessarily signifies the Greek middle and in addition Greek middles are passives. There is no linguistically uniform construction middle syntactically. In contrast, semantically middles are a uniform category. Middles ascribe a dispositional property to the understood object. Crosslinguistically the properties of middles (and unergatives) depend on whether languages encode genericity by means of imperfective aspect (underlined by author), among other factors.

Naousa's desiderative construction seems to confirm the connection between the non active morphology and the genericity, which is ascribed by the imperfective aspect.

4.2 Language contact with Slavic languages

Another crucial factor is the language contact between Naousa dialect and Slavic language. Around Naousa there are still villages where the citizens speak Old Church Slavonic. This language belongs to the South Slavic languages and it is close to the Bulgarian language. Similar desiderative constructions can be found in Old Church Slavonic language. More research is needed to the area to identify similarities and differences between the desiderative construction found in Naousa and the one in Old Church Slavonic.

5. Conclusion

To sum up, desiderative constructions in Naousa consist of a dative argument (Experiencer), a verb in Non active Morphology, 3rd singular or plural and imperfective Aspect which ascribes genericity and a logical object in nominative case if the verb is transitive. Diagnostic tests are needed to prove if the structure is monoclausal or biclausal and which is exactly the source of modality. Comparison with the nearby Slavic languages might shed more light.

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