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ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΤΟΥ ICGL12

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για την τεράστια προσφορά τους στην ελληνική γλωσσολογία
και την αγάπη τους για την ελληνική γλώσσα*

ΣΗΜΕΙΩΜΑ ΕΚΔΟΤΩΝ

Το 12ο Διεθνές Συνέδριο Ελληνικής Γλωσσολογίας (International Conference on Greek Linguistics/ICGL12) πραγματοποιήθηκε στο Κέντρο Νέου Ελληνισμού του Ελεύθερου Πανεπιστημίου του Βερολίνου (Centrum Modernes Griechenland, Freie Universität Berlin) στις 16-19 Σεπτεμβρίου 2015 με τη συμμετοχή περίπου τετρακοσίων συνέδρων απ' όλον τον κόσμο.

Την Επιστημονική Επιτροπή του ICGL12 στελέχωσαν οι Θανάσης Γεωργακόπουλος, Θεοδοσία-Σούλα Παυλίδου, Μίλτος Πεχλιβάνος, Άρτεμις Αλεξιάδου, Δώρα Αλεξοπούλου, Γιάννης Ανδρουτσόπουλος, Αμαλία Αρβανίτη, Σταύρος Ασημακόπουλος, Αλεξάνδρα Γεωργακοπούλου, Κλεάνθης Γκρώμαν, Σαβίνα Ιατρίδου, Mark Janse, Brian Joseph, Αλέξης Καλοκαιρινός, Ναπολέον Κάτσος, Ευαγγελία Κορδώνη, Αμαλία Μόζερ, Ελένη Μπουτουλούση, Κική Νικηφορίδου, Αγγελική Ράλλη, Άννα Ρούσσου, Αθηνά Σιούπη, Σταύρος Σκοπετέας, Κατερίνα Στάθη, Μελίτα Σταύρου, Αρχόντω Τερζή, Νίνα Τοπιντζή, Ιάνθη Τσιμπλή και Σταυρούλα Τσιπλάκου.

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Παρότι στο συνέδριο οι ανακοινώσεις είχαν ταξινομηθεί σύμφωνα με θεματικούς άξονες, τα κείμενα των ανακοινώσεων παρατίθενται σε αλφαβητική σειρά, σύμφωνα με το λατινικό αλφάβητο· εξαίρεση αποτελούν οι εναρκτήριες ομιλίες, οι οποίες βρίσκονται στην αρχή του πρώτου τόμου.

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SYSTEMS IN DISRUPTION: PROPONTIS TSAKONIAN*

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Περίληψη

Η τσακωνική της Προποντίδας προσφέρεται για τη μελέτη των γλωσσικών συνεπειών έντονης επαφής και γλωσσικής/διαλεκτικής συρρίκνωσης. Ελέγχεται η υπόθεση εργασίας ότι αμέσως πριν την μη ανακλήσιμη απώλεια των βασικών και την τελική κατάρρευση του υπό συρρίκνωση συστήματος παρατηρείται δραματική αύξηση της ποικιλότητας: οι διαθέσιμες παραλλαγές συνυπάρχουν ελεύθερα ή “τακτοποιούνται” στο σύστημα μέσω κατάργησης, απλοποίησης, υβριδιοποίησης, αναδιανομής. Η ισχυρή επίδρασή των θρακοβιθυνιακών διαλέκτων και της τουρκικής δεν περιορίζεται στο λεξιλόγιο αλλά επεκτείνεται και στη δομή: νέα φωνήματα και προσωδιακά χαρακτηριστικά, προσθήκη μορφοφωνολογικών κανόνων, δανεισμός κλιτικών κατηγοριών, αντικατάσταση ρηματικών περιφράσεων, αλλαγές στη σειρά όρων, μεταβολές συμφωνίας.

Keywords: dialect contraction, contact-induced change, variability, leveling, simplification, hybridization, borrowability

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1. Introduction: defining the external setting

The Tsakonian dialect of the Propontis (PrTs) is considered to be a separate subdialect of Tsakonian. It was spoken from the 18th to the 20th century by Tsakonian migrants and their descendants in two villages, Vatika and Havutsi, near Gönen in north-west Asia Minor (map 1). Nearly all the demographic, geographical and historical information we possess about the Tsakonians of the Propontis comes from their own personal accounts, collected by Costakis (1951, 1979). On the eve of the exchange of populations of 1922 they numbered less than 500 people. Dialect speakers from neighbouring areas of Bithynia (Biga, Pasaciflik, Sarikoy etc.), the islands of the Propontis, and the facing shores of Thrace (Myriofyto, Ganochora, Peristasi) had long been permanently settled among them. With all the above areas, and especially with the two big Greek-speaking centres of the region, Artaki and Panormos, they had also developed a tight network of trade and occupational links, and intermarriage was frequent. They also had economic relations with the Muslim inhabitants of neighbouring villages, who were speakers of Turkish, which was of course the official state administrative language. These facts (small number of speakers, mixed population, tight links with the wider area, different roofing language), as well as the influence of the church and the foundation of schools where Standard Modern Greek (SMG) was taught, led to external conditions which



Map 1 | *The Tsakonian subdialects*

created a situation of unequal linguistic competition to the disadvantage of Tsakonian, and favoured heavy contact-induced linguistic changes. These were not confined to the vocabulary and mechanisms of derivation and compounding, but had extensive structural repercussions, affecting the phonology, inflectional morphology and syntax of the dialect.

Costakis also notes the adoption of negative attitudes towards Tsakonian, and the

stigmatization of its speakers by speakers of other Greek dialects in the area, due to the fact that it did not fulfil the criterion of mutual intelligibility. The result was that the decline of the dialect had already begun prior to the exchange of populations. The picture described by Costakis (1979:28, 1986–7:1) is as follows: almost until the end of the 19th century, monolingualism in Tsakonian was the rule. Then, however, the situation underwent rapid and radical change. With the outbreak of the First World War, the population of the two villages was displaced to the interior of Asia Minor; by the time those who had survived returned (in 1919), Tsakonian was no longer the language of everyday communication, and by 1922, when Turkey and Greece exchanged populations, it was spoken only by the elderly. The fortunes of Tsakonian fell still further after the exchange; the speakers were scattered across different areas of mainland Greece (Chionato of Kastoria, Servia of Kozani, Nea Artaki of Euboea, Chalkidiki, Athens), and gradually moved towards the now one and only encroaching language, SMG. Today the dialect is considered extinct.

2. Material, method, theoretical framework

Almost all the primary linguistic material in PrTs was collected by Costakis during the 30-year period 1950-1980, and published in a series of papers in the form of narratives and fairy tales (Costakis 1956, 1957, 1983, 1992). It was also included in his three-volume dictionary (1986–7) together with the equivalent material in Peloponnesian Tsakonian (PelTs). As far as I am aware, there are no surviving sound recordings of the dialect, and therefore the investigation is confined to qualitative analysis of the available texts. However, the comparative and contrastive examination of PrTs with PelTs, which developed *in situ* under entirely different conditions (fairly large and stable population, relative isolation, etc.), is extremely useful, helping to establish what is old in PrTs, and what is the result of internal or contact-induced change.

PrTs is approached here from the point of view of contact linguistics and, specifically, the theory of language death (Sasse 1992a) and dialect death (Schilling-Estes & Wolfram 1999). As we shall see, it shows many of the linguistic consequences of contact at the highest level, according to the basic borrowing scales that have been proposed (Thomason 2001:70-1, Matras 2007, among others). In addition, it is also possible to follow in the texts the emergence of semi-speakers, i.e. people who have not acquired the language fully from the previous generation. The language attrition that

characterises the speech of semi-speakers is considered the basic route to language death (cf. Thomason 2001:227-232), in the sense that ever more essential elements of vocabulary and structure are lost, without any form of compensation. Our hypothesis is that between the results of extreme contact, which could theoretically be encountered in a completely healthy language, and the start of irreversible language attrition and the communicational breakdown of a dying language, there is a moment where we find a dramatic increase in variability. The material for this linguistic “explosion” or shake-up, as preserved in the available texts, can come, as I have already said when describing the external setting, from four different sources: the Thraco-Bithynian dialects and Turkish before the exchange of populations, and the local dialects and SMG after the transplantation of the dialect to Greece. A fifth source is changes that could take place dialect-internally, i.e. without the use of loaned material: note, however, that such changes taking place in a situation of intense language contact and attrition could also, according to Thomason (2001:230), be considered indirect contact-related changes, as they would have been much less likely to take place if there had been no contact. The available variants, the source of which is not always possible to determine with any degree of certainty, either coexist freely, or are “fitted” into the system using various mechanisms (i.e. leveling, simplification, hybridization, reallocation; Trudgill 1986, Hinskens 1998, Thomason 2001, Andersen 2004/5, Chambers & Trudgill 2011, among others; for Greek, Tzitzilis 2000). Such emerging varieties have been described in the literature as “interdialects” (Trudgill 1986); however, in the case of PrT, the contact-induced changes are also due to influence from Turkish, a language that is genetically and typologically very different from Greek and this process did not lead ultimately to the creation of a new, viable and stable language variety, but rather to dialect shift. We are dealing with the final flickers of a language about to be extinguished.

3. Testing the hypothesis

In what follows I will use examples from PrTs to demonstrate the empirical basis which confirms the hypothesis that the disruption of the system manifests itself as extreme variability on all linguistic levels, and especially as regards the structure of the language.

3.1 From phonetics to phonology: new phonemes?

The vowel system of PrTs seems to be richer than that of PelTs and SMG, being closer to that of Crimean-Azov, Pontic and the other Greek dialects of Asia Minor (Tzitzilis to appear a). In particular, it possesses a near-open front vowel [æ], which is the result of contraction of the sequence [ia] when the first member is unstressed, or, in Pontic at least, can render the open pronunciation of Turkish /e/ in loans that contain it, e.g. Turkish [nɛ] > Pontic [næ] ‘neither/nor’ (Tzitzilis to appear a). Its origin shows that it should be considered an allophone of [a] in the environment following unstressed [i], or a (marginal) phoneme. The latter interpretation is supported by the existence of minimal pairs, e.g. [tʰæˈfia] ‘smell of sulfur’ ~ [tʰaˈfia] ‘currant’, [psa] ‘yesterday’ ~ [psæ] ‘where’, [pa] ‘foot’ ~ [pæ] ‘here’, etc., as well as of inherited forms in which the presence of [æ] < [ia] cannot be straightforwardly justified, e.g. [ˈðæxtile] ‘finger’, [ðæˈði] ‘torch’, [ˈstæri] ‘grain’, [fændaˈzomne] ‘I appear’, etc. The important thing as far as our hypothesis is concerned is that this [æ] is extremely unstable in the material available to us: it is occasionally closed/fronted to [e], e.g. [ˈðevazma] < [ˈðævazma] < [ˈðiavazma] ‘reading’, or, more frequently, opened/backed to [a], e.g. [ma] < [mæ] < [mia] ‘μια’. It behaves in a similar way in the other Greek dialects of Asia Minor (Tzitzilis to appear a). In addition, almost all the lexical forms concerned also appear in Costakis’s dictionary with the sequence [ia] restored, e.g. [ˈftæno] ~ [ˈftiano] ‘do, make’, [ˈʃi]kraɛ ~ [ˈʃi]kria ‘morning’ and are designated by the author as later forms. Indeed, in some cases the restoration is hypercorrective, e.g. [ˈðæxtile] ~ [ˈðiaxtile] ‘finger’. Therefore we are dealing with multiple alternation of three or four realizations [æ], [a] ([e]) and [ia], which reveal the eventful history of the vowel system of PrTs: the inherited 5-vowel system was gradually augmented by means of internal processes by a sixth vowel, /æ/, whose presence was supported by Turkish and presumably also by other Asia Minor Greek dialects. This vowel was, however, short-lived; it later disappeared, since it was lacking in SMG and the other dialects spoken in the new environments to which PrTs had been transplanted.

3.2 From phonology to morphophonology: new rules?

One of the basic isoglosses that divide the Greek dialects is the distinction between northern and southern vocalism: most of the Northern Greek dialects categorically delete the unstressed high vowels /i, u/ and raise the unstressed mid vowels /e, o/ to /i, u/ (Newton 1972:182, Kontossopoulos 1994; cf. Trudgill 2003:53-4). PelTs has southern

vocalism, i.e. the system of the unstressed vowels remains largely intact, but in PrTs, things are quite different: we have deletion of final unstressed high vowels [i] and [u], e.g. [kalo'tser] 'summer', [ðe'spot] 'bishop', [ta 'γosa nam] (< ['namu]) 'our language', [a'pes] (< [a'pesu] 'in(side)' etc., as in many northern and Thraco-Bithynian dialects. Unconnected with this is the morphophonological characteristic of deletion of the final unstressed mid vowel [e] of verb endings, e.g. [ðots] < ['ðotse] '(s)he gave', ['fik^hame] < ['fik^hame] 'we left'. This phenomenon is the result of contact with the neighbouring Bithynian dialects, in which, however, it is parametrized based on person and/or position of stress (Tzitzilis to appear b). In other words, in PrTs, the phenomenon is generalized, as it appears in a wider range of morphological environments than in the source dialect, and seems to have also been extended to deletion of the final unstressed mid vowel [o]. Ultimately, the deletion of final mid and high vowels led to major upheavals in the system of verb endings, and in the end to the collapse of morphological person distinctions, which were now achieved solely by means of context. Compare on the next page the verbal paradigms of the aorist (indicative and subjunctive) from PelTs, neighboring Demirdesi of Bithynia, and PrTs.

We see that although the aorist stem *γrav-* is common to PelTs and PrTs, PrTs actually shares more endings with Demirdesi, especially those of the 1st and 2nd person plural (i.e. *-m* and *-t*), which result from the deletion of final *-e*. Its deletion in the 2nd and 3rd person singular of both moods is characteristic only of PrTs, and together with the deletion of the final *-o* or *-u* of the 1st person singular subjunctive, tends to lead to the morphological syncretism of all persons in the singular of that mood. In other words, we have a case of triple allomorphy for these persons, as the zero morpheme alternates with both mid and high variants of the vowel of the verb endings. The loss of grammatical categories such as person, case, tense, aspect, etc. is a very common characteristic of language decay (see, for example, Sasse 1992:70-2, Romaine 2010).

3.3 From morphophonology to morphology: the disruption of aspect distinctions

Just how profound was the structural influence of the Thraco-Bithynian dialects on the morphological system of Tsakonian can be seen from the fact that it is not confined simply to the deletion of final mid and high vowels, but proceeds to voice neutralization of a preceding obstruent, which now finds itself in final position. This pheno-

PelTs		Demirdesi (Danguitsis 1943:102)	
Aor. Ind.	Aor. Subj.	Aor. Ind.	Aor. Subj.
eyráv-a	na γráps-u	éγraps-a	a γráps-o
eyráv-ere	na γráps-ere	éγraps-es	a γráps-is
eyráv-e	na γráps-i	éγraps-en(a)	a γráps
eyráv-ame	na γráps-ome	éγraps-am	a γráps-om
eyráv-ate	na γráps-ete	éγraps-at	a γráps-et
eyráv-ai	na γráps-oi	éγraps-an(a)	a γráps-na

PrTs	
Aor. Ind.	Aor. Subj.
γráv-a	na γráps-(o/u)
γráv-(e)	na γráps-(e/i)
γráv-(e)	na γráps-(e/i)
γráv-am	na γráps-om
γráv-at	na γráps-et
γráv-ai	na γráps-oi

Table 1 | The mixed paradigm of PrTs

menon, which is regular in many Thracio-Bithynian dialects (Tzitzilis to appear b), appears with a high degree of consistency in PrTs too, e.g. [fiði] > [fiθ] ‘snake’, [mo’livi] > [mo’lif] ‘lead’, [na ’kray(o/u)] > [na krax] ‘that I cry’, [’γrave] > [γraf] ‘(s)he wrote’, [na pi’raz(e/i)] > [na pi’ras] ‘that you tease’, [ar’xodi] > [ar’xot] ‘lords’, etc.

This neutralization in its turn could have been one of the factors that triggered the disruption of aspect distinctions in the verbal system, a process that could have taken place in the following way: both the perfective (aorist) and imperfective (imperfect, present) stems are formed periphrastically in the dialect, with the auxiliary ‘to be’ and the aorist or present participle respectively. The endings of these participles differ only in the masculine and feminine plural (*-d(e)* for the present participle, *-t(e)* for the aorist participle) and in the neuter (*-da* and *-ta* respectively). Thus, the neutralization of the distinction [t]/[d] in final position led to the parallel use of present participles in *-t(e)* (and analogically in *-ta*), e.g. [ma ’let(e)] (= we.are saying) ‘we say’ (instead of

[‘lede]). At the next stage, the ending *-d(e)*, *-da* could be used hypercorrectively for aorist participles, e.g. [ta meɣavo ‘koda to ka ‘vɣi] (= it.is grown the child) ‘the child grew up’ (instead of [meɣavo ‘kota]).

That the starting point of this change to the participle system was purely phonological in nature is demonstrated by the following fact: weak object pronouns and the auxiliary ‘to be’ in this dialect behave as second position clitics, and are always enclitic (Liosis, to appear). Thus deletion of the mid/high vowel cannot take place when followed by a clitic, as the latter belongs to the same prosodic word as the verb or participle, and therefore the mid/high vowel is no more in word-final position (1b & 1d):

1) Non-deletion of the mid/high vowel when followed by a clitic

a) péts
said.he
‘he said’

b) [pétse m]_{prw}
said.he CL1SG
‘he said to me’

c) dé ma]_{prw} [ksér]_{prw}
NEG CLAUX1SG knowing.M.SG
‘I don’t know’

d) [kséro ma]_{prw}
knowing.M.SG CLAUX1SG
‘I know’

The occurrence of such changes in a situation of intense contact/attrition of a linguistic system supports Thomason’s view, which I referred to above, that although they appear to be internal, they are caused indirectly by contact with an encroaching language: if the deletion of final *-e* and voice neutralization had not been introduced from Thraco-Bithynian, the internal rearrangements to the participle system of PrTs would have been much less likely to have taken place.

What is certain is that the confusion of aspect in the participles of periphrastic tenses, as described above, as well as the evident pressure from all the language varieties

PrTs came into contact with that did not possess periphrastic structures for the equivalent tenses, led to the gradual replacement of the whole paradigm of the periphrastic imperfect by monolectic forms. In this case, too, the source was the neighbouring Bithynian dialects. The following table shows the inherited periphrastic paradigm of the imperfect of the verb *θoró ma* (= seeing.m.sg I.am) ‘I see’ on the left, and the borrowed monolectic paradigm on the right:

Imperfect	
analytic type	synthetic type
θoró (-á, -óda) ma	έθora
θoró (-á, -óda) sa	έθor(e)
θoró (-á, -óda) ta	έθor(e)
θoróde (-óda)ma(ni)	έθoram
θoróde (-óda) sa(ni)	έθorat
θoróde (-óda) ta(ni)	έθoran

Table 2 | *The replacement of auxiliary verb constructions by monolectic forms*

The most striking feature of the right column is the preservation of the inherited secondary endings of the singular in a verbal paradigm that is completely foreign to PrTs, not only as regards the monolectic expression of imperfectivity, but also the introduction of other new characteristics, such as fixed stress on the third from final syllable, and the presence of the augment, cf. the unaugmented aorist *γράβα* above.

3.4 Noun morphology: too many allomorhps

In the bibliography, inflectional categories and patterns are considered to be among the most conservative elements of the structure of a language, which, when borrowed, constitute evidence of intense contact (see, for example, Thomason 2001:70-1). One such pattern is the imparisyllabicity of the plural of nouns, i.e. the formation of the plural with the addition of an extra syllable between the root and the ending. This phenomenon, well-known in the history of the Greek language and in Standard Modern Greek, is much more widespread in all the Greek dialects of Asia Minor and

in Thracio-Bithynian, and points to the Ionic background of these dialects (Tzitzilis to appear a). Similarly, it is much more widespread in PrTs than in PelTs. What interests us here is the imparisyllabic plural of masculine nouns in *-os* (*-ós*), which is formed with the suffix *-oδ-* (*-óδ-*), characteristic of the Asia Minor dialects, which is also found in PrTs and in the neighbouring Bithynian dialects, such as those of Demirdesi, Palladari, Kouvouklia and elsewhere. The presence of this borrowed suffix in PrTs initially led to the reorganization of the plural of masculines in *-o/-e* & *-ó/-é* (< *-os* & *-ós*). The inherited suffix *-on-*, which has the form *-un-* in PelTs (cf. *pétʃe* ‘stone’ ~ *pétʃune*), could be added to plurals with non-final stress, e.g. *roméo* ‘Greek’ ~ *roméone*, *úko* ‘wolf’ ~ *úkone*, *kʰóle* ‘thorn’ ~ *kʰólone*, *tsákale* ‘jackal’ ~ *tsakálonge* etc., while those plurals which historically had final stress are formed with the borrowed suffix, e.g. *psilé* ‘eye’ ~ *psióde*, *ze* ‘son’ ~ *zóde* (cf. *jódes* Kouvouklia, Pharasa), and loanwords with the same stress pattern were presumably the starting point of this kind of arrangement, e.g. *kutʃarδέ* ‘goblin’ ~ *kutʃarδόde*. Thus the imparisyllabic plural of masculines in *-os* (*-ós*) is a good example of reallocation of the two competing affixes *-oδ-* and *-on-* to distinct roles in the system. However, in the texts we find a tendency for generalization of the invading affix *-oδ-* at the expense of *-on-*, e.g. *yánode* ‘hyenas’, *roméode* ‘Greeks’ and also of the affix *-iδ-*, which belongs to other classes of nouns, e.g. *roméide* ‘Greeks’, *tatáridi* ‘Tatars’ etc. This is another good example of the disruption of the nominal system of the dialect, by means of multiple variability: three different classifying suffixes (*-one*, *-ode*, *-ide*) can now coexist with the same bases.

3.5 Syntax: syntactic borrowings and determiner agreement

Finally, syntactic borrowings are also considered to presuppose situations of intense contact (see, among others, Thomason 2001:70-1, Matras 2007). Of the many syntactic characteristics which bear witness to Turkish influence, direct or indirect (i.e. by means of Bithynian or other Asia Minor Greek dialects), due to lack of space I will confine myself to just two.

Firstly, for the expression of possession we have noun phrases with the modifier in the oblique case and the pronominal possessive *s(i)*, which mimic the equivalent *izafet* structures in Turkish (Tzitzilis to appear c), as shown in 2a. In many cases the modifier even precedes the noun, so that the word order is the same as that of the Turkish original (2b):

2) Copying the Turkish izafet structures

- a) i psilí s ta kukuvája
 the eyes POSS.3 the.OBL owl
 (Costakis 1986–7,3:423)

cf. Turkish baykuş-un göz-ler-i
 owl-GEN eye-PL-POSS
 ‘the eyes of the owl’

- b) to vasiléa a sáe s
 the.OBL king the daughter POSS.3
 ‘the king’s daughter’
 (Costakis 1957:98)

If we consider that the old inherited pattern with the modifier in the oblique case was in parallel use, e.g. *a sáe to vasiléa / to vasiléa a sáe*, cf. SMG η κόρη του βασιλιά, the result is that we get two different structures for the expression of possession multiplied by two different word orders, i.e. the noun preceding the modifier and vice versa.

Secondly, the article system of PrTs preserves very few distinctions of gender, number, and case, as can be seen from the following table:

	singular		
	masc.	fem.	neut.
nom.	o	a	to
obl.	to	ta	
	plural		
	masc.	fem.	neut.
nom.	i		ta
obl.	to		

Table 3 | The article system of PrTs

Even worse, the sporadic presence in the material of [+human] masculine and feminine nouns with the form *to* for both singular and plural nominative shows a tendency for generalization of the neuter and/or oblique form of the determiner, as in example 3:

3) Generalization of the neuter and/or oblique form of the definite article

a) **to** δjáole pekó tani (instead of *o δjáole*)
the devil said.M.SG was
'The devil said'

(Costakis, 2004:79)

b) **to** xorjaní vyázde neré (instead of *i xorjaní*)
the peasants dof.M.PL water
'The peasants were doffing water'

(Costakis, 1986–7,3:420)

c) **to** vasilópule tse **to** tri afie (instead of *i afie*)
the prince and the three sisters
'The prince and the three sisters'

(Costakis, 1992:21)

This should be attributed in part to Turkish influence, and is reminiscent of the equivalent development in the Greek dialects of Cappadocia, which were also in a situation of intense contact with Turkish (Janse to appear, Tzitzilis to appear a). The result of these turbulences is the impossibility of achieving grammatical agreement with the modified noun, the ultimate disruption of the article system and the breakdown of critical for any Greek variety grammatical distinctions, i.e. gender, number, and case.

4. Conclusions

I have analysed a selection of data which show that PrTs might be described as a bilingual mixed language, according to the terminology of Thomason 2001, to the extent that it possesses grammatical subsystems which have their sources in different languages and dialects. The coexistence of linguistic material and patterns from different sources leads to a dramatic increase in variability and heterogeneity. Competing variants can sometimes be integrated into a stable and viable linguistic system by means of mechanisms such as role redistribution, loss or simplification of pleonastic

characteristics, or the formation of new, intermediate or hybrid forms. Sometimes, however, they lead to a linguistic product which falls short of the required level of communicative adequacy, which is a symptom of a language variety in the process of extinction.

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