Revisiting ‘agglutinative’ inflection in Cappadocian Greek

Petros Karatsareas (University of Cambridge/British School at Athens)
pk299@cam.ac.uk
1. Cappadocian ‘agglutinative’ noun inflection
1. Cappadocian ‘agglutinative’ noun inflection: traits

I. -ιου and -ια, two inflectional endings identifying of the ι-neuter inflectional class that prototypically contains inanimate nouns such as σπιτ ‘house’ and φτι ‘ear’ are used to form the GEN.SG/PL and the NOM/ACC.PL of nouns that do not historically belong to the ι-neuter class.

II. -ιου and -ια attach to what appear to be NOM.SG forms of nouns.
1. Cappadocian ‘agglutinative’ noun inflection: traits

(1) Ulaghátsh Cappadocian
   απ’ τύρα-γιου ντο ντελίκα [GEN.SG]
   ‘from the hole of the door’ (KESISOGLOU 1951: 140)

(2) Phloïtá Cappadocian
   ασά καλόγεροσ-ια πήρε το μετόχι-τνε [ACC.PL]
   ‘he took the dependency from the monks’ (TSITSOPOULOS 1962: 98)
1. Cappadocian ‘agglutinative’ noun inflection: traits

• In the case of α-feminine nouns in some varieties, -ιου has lost its number specification and attaches to forms consisting of the nouns’ stems and original α-feminine NOM/ACC.PL ending.

(3) Phloïtá Cappadocian

\[ \pi\alpha\iota\nu\iota\varsigma\kappa\alpha\nu \sigma\alpha \ o\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\omicron\varsigma\iota\text{-}\epsilon\sigma\text{-}\iota\nu \ \tau\alpha \ \sigma\pi\iota\tau\iota\alpha \ \ [\text{GEN.PL}] \]

‘they would go to the houses that celebrated namedays’

(TSITSOPOULOS 1962: 48)
1. Cappadocian ‘agglutinative’ noun inflection: diatopy

• DAWKINS, who was the first to use the term ‘agglutinative’ (1916: 97-98), recorded such forms in the varieties of Sílata, Malakopí, Axó, Ulaghátsh, Semenderé, Araván, Ghúrzono, and Ferték.

• However, such forms are also attested in corpora of Phloïtá Cappadocian that date later than DAWKINS’s original documentation (COSTAKIS 1962; TSITSOPOULOS 1962).

• The variety developed ‘agglutinative’ forms after 1909-1911.
2. Extant literature: focus on the effect of language contact
2. The focus on the effect of language contact

• ‘Agglutinative’ inflection is most commonly treated as the outcome of heavy structural borrowing that resulted from contact with Turkish.

2. The focus on the effect of language contact

- Extant analyses (inter alia, JANSE 2009: 41, 51; RALLI 2009: 99-102) identify the ι-neuter inflectional class (e.g., ζωνάρ ‘belt’, Table 1) as the origin of -ιου and -ια, which they take to have spread to “all nouns and inflectional paradigms” (RALLI 2009: 101).

- This spread resulted in forms such as γύπνοζιου and γύπνοζια from originally ος-masculine γύπνος ‘sleep’ (Table 1).
2. The focus on the effect of language contact

- The two endings are treated as functioning in exactly the same way as the Turkish genitive ending -nun and plural ending -lar in the corresponding inflected forms uykunun and uykular (Table 1), that is, as cases of single exponence:

(4) $-\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\prime \iff \text{[genitive]} \parallel -(n)In$

$-\omega \iff \text{[plural]} \parallel -LAr$
2. The focus on the effect of language contact

- The use of the NOM./ACC.SG form γύπνος as the element to which -ιου and -ια attach "in the Turkish fashion" (HORROCKS 2010: 404)—similarly to uyku—is further identified by RALLI (2009: 102) as another point of structural convergence between Cappadocian and Turkish.

(5)  γύπνος-Ø    ||    uyku-Ø
     -ιου           -nun
     -ια            -lar
     ...            ...
2. The focus on the effect of language contact

- *Pace* SASSE (1992: 65) and JANSE (2004: 11, 12) no form combining the two endings in such a GEN.PL as *γύπνος-ια-γιου* (cf. Turkish *uyku-lar-in*) is attested in the Cappadocian texts.

- The GEN.PL is—in most cases—formally *identical* to the GEN.SG:

\[(6) \text{ Axό Cappadocian}\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\pi\acute{e}nte \upsilon\acute{e}kka \varphia\ra-\gammaiou \; \omicron\gammao & \quad \text{[GEN.PL]} \\
\text{‘five-ten paras’ worth of work’} \\
\text{(MAVR\textsc{o}CH\textsc{h}ALY\textsc{v}IDIS \& K\textsc{e}SI\textsc{o}GLOU 1960: 194)}
\end{align*}
\]
2. The focus on the effect of language contact

• Extant analyses of ‘agglutinative’ inflection rely far too heavily on the superficial similarity and linear intermorphemic correspondence between GEN.SG and NOM/ACC.PL inflected forms in Cappadocian and Turkish.

• The two are employed as evidence to establish language contact with the latter as the only cause for the development of ‘agglutinative’ inflection in the former.

• Such approaches are generally ahistorical.
2. The focus on the effect of language contact

- No account is given of the actual linguistic mechanisms and processes of change whereby NOM.SG forms of nouns such as γύπνος were reanalysed as stems or of those that allowed for -ιον and -ια to be attached to such morphemic units.

- The development is generally portrayed as having been abrupt and as not having undergone intermediate stages of change.

- No reference is made to the general typological profile of Cappadocian noun inflection either before or after the change.
3. A synchronic analysis of ‘agglutinative’ inflection
3. A synchronic analysis: endings’ exponence

• If -ιου and -ια in forms such as γύπνοζιου and γύπνοζια (Table 1) are cases of single exponence, the same must hold in the corresponding forms of τ-neuter nouns, in which the two endings originate:

(7) SG NOM/ACC γύπνος-Ø ζωνάρ-Ø  
     GEN γύπνοζ-ιου ζωναρ-ιού

    PL NOM/ACC γύπνοζ-ια ζωνάρ-ια  
     GEN γύπνοζ-ιου ζωναρ-ιού
3. A synchronic analysis: endings’ exponence

- RALLI asserts that -ου and -α “are still used as fusional morphemes [i.e., they express both case and number] for some Cappadocian nouns” (2009: 102).

- There is no reason to analyse the same endings as cases of cumulative exponence in ι-neuter noun forms (ζωναρίού, ζωνάρια) but as cases of single exponence in inflected forms of nouns that appear to have historically belonged to other inflectional classes such as γύπνοζιου and γύπνοζια.
3. A synchronic analysis: endings’ exponence

- The hypothesis that -ιου and -ια in forms such as γύπνοζιου and γύπνοζια are single exponents is based on the apparent neutralisation of the specification for case and number affecting the two endings within the inflectional paradigms of nouns such as γύπνος (Table 1).

- In the case of -ιου, the raising of [o] to [u] and the loss of word-final -ν in the original GEN.PL ending -ιων resulted in the formal coincidence of the formerly distinct GEN.SG and GEN.PL endings into a single form:

  (8) GEN.PL -ιων > -ιου > -ιου = GEN.SG -ιου
3. A synchronic analysis: endings’ exponence

- This kind of trans-number syncretism may be typologically rare (BAERMAN et al. 2005: 92-95) but is, nonetheless, found in Cappadocian:

(6) Ἀξό Cappadocian
πέντε ντέεκκα παραγιού όργο [GEN.PL]
‘five-ten paras’ worth of work’
(MAVROCHALYVIDIS & KESISOGLOU 1960: 194)
3. A synchronic analysis: endings’ exponence

- In the case of -ια, case neutralisation is the result of NOM/ACC syncretism in the plural of all neuter classes, which has been distinctive of them since the earliest recorded stages in the history of Greek in all its dialects:

(9) SMGr (RALLI 2005: 121)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a. IC5</th>
<th>b. IC6</th>
<th>c. IC7</th>
<th>d. IC8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PL NOM/ACC</td>
<td>βουν-ά</td>
<td>σπίτι-α</td>
<td>σώματ-α</td>
<td>κράτ-η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>βουν-ών</td>
<td>σπίτι-ών</td>
<td>σώματ-ών</td>
<td>κρατών</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


3. A synchronic analysis: endings’ exponence

• In SMGr, NOM and ACC are syncretically expressed either by -α and -η. According to ALEXIADOU & MÜLLER’s analysis (2008: 119-125), the two endings express plural number and non-oblique case, and contrast within the plural paradigm with -ων that expresses plural number and oblique (genitive) case.

• There is no reason to assume that Cappadocian -ια under the same paradigmatic conditions as SMGr -α and -η solely expresses number; it expresses plural number and non-oblique case.
3. A synchronic analysis: endings’ exponence

- Besides case and number, endings in Cappadocian are marked for inflectional class—as are noun stems (SPYROPOULOS & KAKARIKOS 2011; also RALLI 2000, 2005).
- In stems, the inflectional class feature is inherently specified.
- In endings, it can be either inherently specified (stem-ending combinations) or underspecified (default endings).
3. A synchronic analysis: endings’ exponence

• In most Cappadocian varieties, both -ιου and -ια are inherently specified for inflectional class and bear the value ι-neuter. They—in principle—only combine with noun stems that are specified for this class.

• ARONOFF (1994) and CARSTAIRS-MCCARTHY (1994) consider inflectional class specification to be part of the endings’ information content in the cases in which they bear an inherent value.
3. A synchronic analysis: endings’ exponence

-ιου and -ια in forms such as γύπνοζιου, γύπνοζια, ζωναριού, ζωνάρια exhibit cumulative exponence by virtue of their additional inflectional class specification, which ALEXIADOU & MÜLLER characterise as “the very device that brings about fusional inflection” (2008: 101) that is in stark contrast with noun inflection in typical agglutinative languages like Turkish.
3. A synchronic analysis: bound stems vs. free bases

- RALLI considers ‘agglutinative’ forms such as γύπνοζιου and γύπνοζια to be “reminiscent of the Turkish nominal inflectional paradigms, where the inflected forms are shaped on the basis of a nominative singular word form” (2009: 102).

- γύπνος- is treated as a free base, a monomorphemic form that is unmarked compared with other inflected forms within the inflectional paradigm and which is systematically used as the unit to which endings are attached in word formation (inflection, derivation).
3. A synchronic analysis: bound stems vs. free bases

- RALLI contrasts this to SMGr stem-based inflection, in which endings and other formatives are attached to **bound stems** that do not in principle formally coincide with either the base form or any other inflected form of nouns.

- In SMGr, all inflected forms, including **NOM.SG** forms, are always analysed as **bimorphemic** and morphologically structured into a stem and ending:

  \[(10) \text{SMGr} \quad ύπνος \quad ‘sleep.NOM.SG’ < ύπν- + -ος\]
3. A synchronic analysis: bound stems vs. free bases

- WURZEL (1989: 44-50, 74-82) and CARSTAIRS-MCCARTHY (2000: 603-605) make clear that inflectional systems do not always fall neatly within one of the two typological types with respect to the unit used as the basis of inflection—base inflection of the Turkish type vs. stem inflection of the Greek type.

- In inflectional systems in which nouns are divided in inflectional classes, the majority of nouns (or classes) and of inflected forms within the paradigm exhibit one of the two inflectional types.
3. A synchronic analysis: bound stems vs. free bases

- A smaller number of nouns (or inflectional classes) and possibly some inflected forms within the paradigm of some or even all inflectional classes may display the other inflectional type.

- Inflected forms in MGr are built upon stems that do not generally and systematically coincide formally with particular inflected forms. The stem υπν- never surfaces *per se* but always needs an ending to form a grammatical word.
3. A synchronic analysis: bound stems vs. free bases

• The ι-neuter class is the only one in which all inflected forms of the paradigm are built upon a morphemic unit that formally coincides with the NOM/ACC.SG (base form):

(11) SMGr

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NOM/ACC</th>
<th>GEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>σπίτι-Ø</td>
<td>σπιτι-ού</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>σπίτι-α</td>
<td>σπιτι-ών</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. A synchronic analysis: bound stems vs. free bases

• The forms in (11) can be thought of as built upon a monomorphemic, free base σπίτι. The inflection of ι-neuter nouns in MGr can therefore be analysed as a case of base form inflection.

• This, however, does not take into account the system defining structural properties of MGr inflection, which is stem-based.

• Keeping in line with this general typological profile for MGr, RALLI (2000: 223, 2005: 121) considers σπιτι- to be a stem, and not a base.
3. A synchronic analysis: bound stems vs. free bases

- Cappadocian noun inflection is also stem-based.
- In Axó Cappadocian noun inflection, one finds the following stems and stem allomorphs:

\[(12)\]

a. \(\pi\text{στικ}-\)
b. \(ν\text{ουματ}- \sim ν\text{ουματη}-\)
c. \(κ\text{λωχαρ}- \sim κ\text{λωχαρα}-\)
d. \(λ\text{ερ}-\)
e. \(ζ\text{ωναρ}-\)
f. \(ορουματ- \sim ορουμα-\)
3. A synchronic analysis

- The treatment of

  (a) -ιου and -ια as single exponents of case and number; and,

  (b) that of NOM/ACC.SG forms like γύπνος as free bases

  is biased in favour of an analysis that sees the development of ‘agglutinative’ forms in Cappadocian as the outcome of contact-induced change under the influence of Turkish.

- ‘Agglutinative’ noun inflection is not in reality agglutinative.
4. A diachronic analysis of ‘agglutinative’ inflection
4. A diachronic analysis

• In DAWKINS’s (1916) documentation, ‘agglutinative’ forms have the most limited distribution within the noun inflectional system of Malakopí and Sílata Cappadocian.

• The two varieties illustrate the earliest attested stages in the development of ‘agglutinative’ inflection.

• In Sílata Cappadocian, ‘agglutinative’ forms are only found with ος-masculine nouns denoting inanimate entities, which also retain their original, fusional inflection.

• Such nouns are the locus of the innovation.
4. A diachronic analysis

(13) Sílata Cappadocian (DAWKINS 1916: 97-98)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nom</th>
<th>Gen</th>
<th>Acc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>μύλ-ος</td>
<td>μύλοζ-ιον</td>
<td>μύλ-ο / μύλ-ος</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>μύλ-οις / μύλοζ-ία</td>
<td>μύλοζ-ιον</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘windmill’
4. A diachronic analysis

- Two competing inflectional paradigms:

  (a) the original, fusional paradigm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG (NOM)</th>
<th>GEN</th>
<th>ACC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>μύλ-ος</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>μύλ-ο</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PL (NOM/ACC)</th>
<th>GEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>μύλ-οις</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. A diachronic analysis

(b) the innovative, ‘agglutinative’ paradigm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG NOM/ACC</th>
<th>GEN</th>
<th>PL NOM/ACC</th>
<th>GEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>μύλος-Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>μύλος-ια</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>μύλοζ-ιου</td>
<td></td>
<td>μύλοζ-ιου</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. A diachronic analysis

- The ‘agglutinative’ inflection of μύλος is identical to that of υ-neuter nouns such as λουλούθ ‘flower’ with respect to both endings and stem (non-)allomorphy:

(14) Sílata Cappadocian (DAWKINS 1916: 91)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NOM/ACC</th>
<th></th>
<th>GEN</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>λουλούθ-Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>λουλουδ-ιού</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>λουλούδ-ια</td>
<td></td>
<td>λουλουδ-ιού</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. A diachronic analysis

• From a synchronic point of view, μύλος and λουλούθ belong to the one and the same inflectional class. They are both ι-neuters.

• From a diachronic point of view, nouns such as Sílata Cappadocian μύλος and Axó Cappadocian γύπνος evidence the inflectional class shift to the ι-neuter class.
4. A diachronic analysis

- In all MGr dialects, the ι-neuter inflectional class
  
  (a) is the **most productive** one in the noun inflection system (ANASTASSIADIS-SYMEONIDIS & CHILA-MARKOPOULOU 2003; CHRISTOFIDOU 2003; RALLI 2009); and,

  (b) is strategically employed to implement the wider tendency for **inanimate nouns** to belong to the neuter gender and neuter inflectional classes (ANASTASSIADIS-SYMEONIDIS & CHILA-MARKOPOULOU 2003).
4. A diachronic analysis

- In MGr, gender, noun semantics and morphology correlate to form three prototypical noun classes (ANASTASSIADIS-SYMEONIDIS & CHILA-MARKOPOULOU 2003):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>I.</th>
<th>II.</th>
<th>III.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SEMANTICS</td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>neuter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MORPHOLOGY</td>
<td>-(ο/α/η)s</td>
<td>-α, -η</td>
<td>-ο, -ι, -α, indeclinable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. A diachronic analysis

- Despite the loss of grammatical gender distinctions, prototypicality correlations between inflectional class and noun semantics are preserved in Cappadocian.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEMANTICS</th>
<th>I.</th>
<th>II.</th>
<th>III.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morphology</td>
<td>-(ο/α/η)s</td>
<td>-α, -η</td>
<td>-ο, -ι, -α, indeclinable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male animate</td>
<td>female animate</td>
<td>inanimate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female animate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inanimate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. A diachronic analysis

- Formerly masculine inflectional classes do not lose their prototypical meaning and still prototypically include nouns denoting animate male entities.

- σερνικός ‘male’ and αελφός ‘brother’ are prototypical members of Class I.

- γύπνος and μύλος are non-prototypical members.
4. A diachronic analysis

- Inflectional class prototypicality was the main trigger for the development of ‘agglutinative’ inflection.

- The incipient shifts evidenced in Malakopí and Sílata Cappadocian were triggered in order to repair prototypicality deviations within the ος-masculine class by assigning inanimate—hence, non-prototypical—members of this class (μύλος, γύπνος) to the semantically appropriate and morphologically most productive ι-neuter class, of which they would be prototypical members.
4. A diachronic analysis

- The morphological coincidence of ος-masculine NOM.SG forms to ι-neuter NOM/ACC.SG forms facilitated the shifts.

- Final -ς was taken as one of the many consonants in which ι-neuter nouns ended following to the loss of word-final -ι due to high vowel deletion (λουλούδι > λουλούθ).

- Morphological reanalysis:

\[
\text{NOM.SG } \mu\upsilon\omegaς: \quad \mu\upsilon\lambda - + -\omega > \mu\upsilon\omega\sigma - + -\emptyset
\]

ος-masculine > ι-neuter
4. A diachronic analysis

- The relevance of morphological coincidence in the NOM.SG is made evident also by the shifts of non-oxytone, η-feminine nouns that lose their final -η due to high vowel deletion, such as στρωῆς ‘mattress’ (< στρώση) or ρεχ ‘back’ (< ράχη):

(16) Araván Cappadocian (DAWKINS 1916: 115)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM/ACC</td>
<td>ρεχ-Ø</td>
<td>ρέχ-ια</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>ρεχ-ιοῦ</td>
<td>ρεχ-ιοῦ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. A diachronic analysis

- Formal similarity to consonant-ending NOM/ACC.SG of ι-neuter nouns was an important factor in the generalisation of inflectional class shifts to nouns that do not fit the semantic profile of the ι-neuter class.

- Consider the competition between the ος-masculine and the ι-neuter class in the inflection of Ghúrzono Cappadocian γιάσκαλος ‘teacher’: 47
4. A diachronic analysis

(17) Ghúrzono Cappadocian (DAWKINS 1916: 106)

a. ος-masculine paradigm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>γιάσκαλ-ος</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>γιασκάλ( -ου )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>γιάσκαλ-ο</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>NOM/ACC</td>
<td>γιασκάλ( -οι )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>γιασκάλ( -ου )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. A diachronic analysis

(17) Ghúrzono Cappadocian (DAWKINS 1916: 106)

b. υ-neuter paradigm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>NOM/ACC</th>
<th>GEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>γιάσκαλος-Ø</td>
<td>γιάσκαλοζ-ιου</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>γιάσκαλοζ-ια</td>
<td>γιάσκαλοζ-ιου</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. A diachronic analysis

• In some varieties—most notably, Ulaghátsh, Ferték and Semenderé Cappadocian—formal similarity has lost its relevance.

• The extensive and numerous shifts to the $\iota$-neuter class and the concomitant increase in its productivity allow for NOM/ACC.SG forms that end in a vowel to be reanalysed as $\iota$-neuter NOM/ACC.SG forms.

• Inflected forms of nouns belonging to any inflectional class and semantic type shift to the $\iota$-neuter class.
4. A diachronic analysis

(18) Ferték Cappadocian (DAWKINS 1916: 107, 114)

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘woman’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM/ACC</td>
<td>ναίκα-Ø</td>
<td>ναίκ-ες</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>ναίκα-γιου</td>
<td>ναίκ-εζ-ιου</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bath’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM/ACC</td>
<td>λουτρο-Ø</td>
<td>λουτρο-για</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>λουτρο-γιου</td>
<td>λουτρογιου</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Conclusions
5. Conclusions

• The Cappadocian noun forms that are most commonly analysed as ‘agglutinative’ are not in reality agglutinative.

• In terms of exponence, the endings used in their formation —-ιου and -ια—both express a bundle of morphosyntactic features (case, number, inflectional class).

• The units used as the basis of inflection are better analysed as bound stems in the light of the system defining properties of Cappadocian noun inflection.
5. Conclusions

• All nouns that inflect according to the i-neuter inflectional class with respect to stem (non-)allomorphy and the set of endings used in inflection belong to that class, regardless of their historical origin in other masculine, feminine or neuter classes.

• Nouns that used to belong to classes other than the i-neuter one but which inflect according to it are cases of diachronic inflectional class shift.
5. Conclusions

- ος-masculine and η-feminine nouns denoting inanimate entities were the first to shift to the τ-neuter class.

- Shifts were motivated in order to repair prototypicality deviations within the masculine and feminine classes by assigning inanimate nouns to the semantically appropriate and morphologically productive τ-neuter class.

- Shifts were conditioned by the formal similarity of NOM.SG forms of nouns to consonant ending NOM/ACC.SG forms of τ-neuter nouns.
5. Conclusions

- Early shifts enhanced the productivity of the ι-neuter class, which in turn allowed for their extension to more nouns, irrespective of their inflectional class, semantics or formal similarity to ι-neuter nouns.
Acknowledgments

The research reported here was conducted with the financial support of the Greek State Scholarships Foundation (Ιδρυμα Κρατικών Υποτροφιών), of the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, and of the George and Marie Vergottis Fund of the Cambridge European Trust, which are hereby gratefully acknowledged.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the Director of the Κέντρο Ερεύνης των Νεοελληνικών Διαλέκτων και Ιδιωμάτων—Ι.Λ.Ν.Ε., Dr Christina Basea-Bezantakou, for granting me access to the Research Centre’s manuscript archive.
References


References


Costakis, A. (1962). Γλωσσικὸν ὑλικὸν ἀπὸ τὰ Φλογητὰ Χαλκιδικῆς


References


References

Cambridge, Cambridge, United Kingdom.


References


References

Greek. Academy of Athens, Athens, Greece.