Adpositional systems in contact: the case of Cappadocian Greek

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Cappadocian Greek: the language

- Greek in Cappadocia developed for a significant amount of time

  (a) in (relative) isolation from that of the contiguous Greek-speaking areas of the west

  (b) in the context of intense language contact with Turkish.
Cappadocian Greek: the language

• Cappadocian presents

  \((a)\) numerous grammatical features reminiscent of earlier states in the history of Greek (Late Medieval period, *i.e.* 1100–1500 CE)

  \((b)\) a significant number of linguistic innovations that distinguish it from other Modern Greek dialects
    
    i. internally motivated
    ii. contact-induced
    iii. a combination of internal and external factors
# Cappadocian Greek: the language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modern Greek (other)</th>
<th>Cappadocian</th>
<th>Turkish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. interdental fricatives $[\theta , \delta]$</td>
<td>no interdental fricatives $[t , d]$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. three genders</td>
<td>no grammatical gender*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ACC-NEUTER marking</td>
<td>DOM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. head-initial $(N + \text{GEN}, N + \text{REL})$</td>
<td>head-final $(\text{GEN} + N, \text{REL} + N)$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. SVO (?)</td>
<td>SOV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. no Q-particle</td>
<td>Q-particle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. prepositions</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>postpositions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Matter and pattern replication

• MATRAS 2009; MATRAS & SAKEL 2007; SAKEL 2007:

I. Matter replication:
   incorporation of sounds and sound shapes of words and morphs alongside their grammatical meaning and function

II. Pattern replication:
   replication of the organisation, distribution and mapping of grammatical patterns using native linguistic material (without borrowing actual forms)
Today’s talk

1. The adpositional systems of
   a. Medieval Greek (MedGr)
   b. Ottoman Turkish

2. Pattern replication in Cappadocian

3. Matter replication in Cappadocian

4. Concluding remarks
The MedGr adpositional system


  I. Simple prepositions

  II. Compound prepositions (adverb + simple preposition)
The MedGr adpositional system

I. Simple prepositions:
the older set of MedGr adpositional elements that encode
a wide range of both spatial and non-spatial meanings

ἐἰς/σέ ‘at, to’
ἀπό ‘from’
γιά ‘for’
µέ ‘with’
χωρίς ‘without’
ὡς ‘because of’
The MedGr adpositional system

I. Simple prepositions:

(1) EIS/S(E)

a. direction

ἐσέβην στὸν κοιτῶνάν του

‘he went into his chamber’                      (Imperius 155)

b. location

δὲν εἶν’ κοράσια εἰς τὸν Παδά, εἰς τοῦ Παστρᾶ τὸ κάστρον

‘are there no girls in Baghdad, in the fortress of Basra?’      (Digenis E 232)
The MedGr adpositional system

I. Simple prepositions:

(1) εἰς/σ(ε)

(c. recipient)

πάλιν γραφὴν ἀπέστειλεν ὁ Λίβιστρος τῆν κόρην

‘Libistrus sent a letter to the girl again’ (Libistrus 1352)

d. limitation

ἦτον καὶ ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος μέγας στὴν ἡλικίαν

‘Neoptolemus was old in age’ (Troy 2139)
I. Simple prepositions

- are always preposed to their complements
- cannot appear without a complement (transitive)
- all govern the accusative case only
- combine with the strong accusative forms of personal pronouns:

\[
\begin{align*}
(2) & \quad \varepsilon\textit{i}s \ \varepsilon\textit{m}\acute{e}n\alpha(n) \quad \text{‘to me (ACC)’} \\
& \quad \acute{a}p\textit{o} \ \varepsilon\textit{s}\acute{e}n\alpha(n) \quad \text{‘from you (SG.ACC)’} \\
& \quad \varepsilon\textit{i}s \ \varepsilon\textit{m}\acute{a}z \quad \text{‘to us (ACC)’} \\
& \quad \mu\textit{e}t’ \ \varepsilon\textit{s}\acute{a}z \quad \text{‘with you (PL.ACC)’}
\end{align*}
\]
The MedGr adpositional system

II. Compound prepositions:
   combinations of adverbs of mainly spatial (or, dimensional) meanings with simple prepositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUPERIOR</th>
<th>(ε/ἀ)πάνω(θεν)</th>
<th>‘on, above’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>ANTERIOR</td>
<td>ἐμπρός(θεν)</td>
<td>‘in front of’</td>
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<tr>
<td>POSTERIOR</td>
<td>ὀπίσω(θεν)</td>
<td>‘behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERIOR</td>
<td>ἔσω(θεν), μέσα/-ον</td>
<td>‘in(side)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXTERIOR</td>
<td>ἔξω(θεν)</td>
<td>‘out(side)’</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The MedGr adpositional system

II. Compound prepositions:
combinations of adverbs of mainly spatial (or,
dimensional) meanings with simple prepositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROXIMATE</th>
<th>κοντά</th>
<th>‘near’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MEDIAL</td>
<td>ἀνάμεσα/-ον</td>
<td>‘between’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIRCUMFERENTIAL</td>
<td>(τρι)γύρῳ(θεν)</td>
<td>‘around’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ULTERIOR</td>
<td>(αντι)περα</td>
<td>‘beyond’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CITERIOR-</td>
<td>ἀντικρυ</td>
<td>‘opposite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANTERIOR</td>
<td>μαζί, ἀντάμα</td>
<td>‘together with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMITATIVE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The MedGr adpositional system

II. Compound prepositions: emerged in order to strengthen highly grammaticalised and semantically bleached simple prepositions (BORTONE 2010; THEOPHANOPPOULO-KOINTOU 1992)
II. Compound prepositions:

- adverbs combine mainly with εἰς/σέ ‘at, to’
- adverbs can combine also with ἀπό ‘from’, but only when an ablative is licenced by the verb
- comitative adverbs combine with μέ ‘with’
The MedGr adpositional system

II. Compound prepositions:

(3) a. inferior

ἐκεῖ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐκείτονταν ἀποκάτω εἰς τὰ φύλλα
‘people lay under the leaves there’ (HistAlex E 80, 3, 3)

b. superior

πέντε πουλιὰ ἐπέτουντα ἀπάνω εἰς τὸν θρόνον
‘five birds flew above the throne’ (Ilias Byz 56)
The MedGr adpositional system

II. Compound prepositions:

• are predominantly prepositional though they may also be positioned after the complement

(4) καὶ εἰς τὸ σπαθὶ σου ὀμνύω σε, εἰς τ’ ἀρματὰ σου ἀπάνου

‘I swear to you by your sword and by your chariots’

(Libistrus 3148)

• this leads to a surfacing circumposition
II. Compound prepositions:

- adverbs combine with the weak genitive forms of personal pronouns

\(5\) μέσα της 'inside her (GEN)'
κοντά μου 'near me (GEN)'
τριγύρωθέν του 'around it (GEN)’
μαζί σου 'with you (GEN)'
### The MedGr adpositional system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Simple prepositions</th>
<th>Adverbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SET</td>
<td>small, closed</td>
<td>large, open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIZE</td>
<td>short</td>
<td>long</td>
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<tr>
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<td>spatial, non-spatial</td>
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<tr>
<td>SYNTAX</td>
<td>preposed</td>
<td>pre-, postposed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pr + ACC</td>
<td>Adv + P + ACC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pr + ACC pronouns</td>
<td>Adv + GEN pronouns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Functional** — Lexical
The Ottoman Turkish adpositional system

- Two sets of postpositional elements (DENY 1921; GILSON 1987; GÖKSEL & KERSLAKE 2011; KABAK 2006; KORNFILT 1997; LEWIS 2000; VAUGHAN 1709):

  I. Bare postpositions

  II. Possessive-marked postpositions
The Ottoman Turkish adpositional system

I. Bare postpositions:
invariable in form, they require different kinds of case marking on their complements

-Ø or GENITIVE  içın, içün  ‘for’
(-nIn)  gibi  ‘like’
  qadar  ‘as ... as’

DATIVE (-)(y)A  qadar  ‘until’
  dek  ‘up to’
  doğru  ‘towards’
  qarşı  ‘against’
  göre  ‘according to’
The Ottoman Turkish adpositional system

I. Bare postpositions:
invariable in form, they require different kinds of case marking on their complements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABLATIVE (-DA\n)</th>
<th>evvel</th>
<th>‘before’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>soñra</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beri</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘since’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dolayi</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘because of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>başqa</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘except for’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mada</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘except for’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Ottoman Turkish adpositional system

I. Bare postpositions:

(6) a. *ak aqče qara gün-∅ ičün-dür*
white money black day-∅ for-COP
‘white money is for the black days’ (DENY 1921: 589)

b. *siz-e göre*
you.PL-DAT according.to
‘according to you’ (DENY 1921: 620)

c. *bu-n-dan soñra*
this-ABL after
‘after this’ (DENY 1921: 624)
The Ottoman Turkish adpositional system

II. Possessive-marked postpositions: derived from nouns, they bear a possessive suffix agreeing with the complement and an oblique case marker

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUPERIOR</th>
<th>üst, üzer-</th>
<th>‘on, above’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INFERIOR</td>
<td>alt</td>
<td>‘under’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANTERIOR</td>
<td>ön</td>
<td>‘in front of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSTERIOR</td>
<td>arqa, art</td>
<td>‘behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERIOR</td>
<td>ič</td>
<td>‘in(side)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXTERIOR</td>
<td>(diš)</td>
<td>‘out(side)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEDIAL</td>
<td>ara</td>
<td>‘between’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATERAL</td>
<td>yan</td>
<td>‘next to’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II. Possessive-marked postpositions:

(7)  a. öküz-üñ alt-in-da buzağ-ı arayor
    ox-GEN bottom-POSS.3SG-LOC calf-ACC looks.for
    ‘he looks for the calf under the ox’  (DENY 1921: 655)

    b. bir magara-ñuñ ič-in-e girmek
    a cave-GEN interior-POSS.3SG-DAT to.go.in
    ‘to enter a cave’  (DENY 1921: 657)

    c. üst-üm-de
    top-POSS.1SG-LOC
    ‘on (top of) me’  (DENY 1921: 650)
The Cappadocian adpositional system

- Essentially, an adpositional system of the MedGr type:

I. Functional prepositions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>σε, σ_, ζ</td>
<td>'at, to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APO</td>
<td>από, απού, απ’, αβ’, ας, ας_, αζ</td>
<td>'from'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA</td>
<td>για</td>
<td>'for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ME(TA)</td>
<td>μετ’, με, μι, μ’</td>
<td>'with'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XORIS</td>
<td>χωρίς, χωρ’ς</td>
<td>'without'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS</td>
<td>ως, ους</td>
<td>'up to, until'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSAX</td>
<td>τόαχ, τόάους</td>
<td>'up to, until'</td>
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</table>
The Cappadocian adpositional system

- Essentially, an adpositional system of the MedGr type:

## II. Lexical adpositions (spatial):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Greek Words</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>απάνω, αθάνω, επάνω</td>
<td>‘on, above’</td>
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<td>INFERIOR</td>
<td>αποκάτω, απκάτω, κάτω, κάδω</td>
<td>‘under’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANTERIOR</td>
<td>εμπρό, ομπρό</td>
<td>‘in front of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSTERIOR</td>
<td>οπίσω, πίσω</td>
<td>‘behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERIOR</td>
<td>απέσω, απέσ’, μέσα, εμέσα, μέδη</td>
<td>‘in(side)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXTERIOR</td>
<td>όξω</td>
<td>‘out(side)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROXIMATE</td>
<td>κοντά, κουντά</td>
<td>‘near’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Cappadocian adpositional system

• Essentially, an adpositional system of the MedGr type:

II. Lexical adpositions (non-spatial):

  COMITATIVE  ḏάμα  ‘with’
  TEMPORAL    ύστερα  ‘after’
The Cappadocian adpositional system

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<td>Pr + NPACC</td>
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FUNCTIONAL | LEXICAL
Pattern replication in Cappadocian

• In Cappadocian, adverbs are regularly positioned after their complements.

(8)  a. ξέβαλαν δο ἀσο τὸσουβάλ ὥξω
    ‘they took it out of the sack’
    (Phloïtá, DAWKINS 1916: 438)

b. παίνει του αδελφό τ’ μι του Κελ Ογλάν δάμα
    ‘his brother goes with the Scalhead’
    (Malakopí, DAWKINS 1916: 406)
Pattern replication in Cappadocian

• Adverbs were originally preposed, combining with simple prepositions to form compound prepositions.

\[(9)\]

\(a. \quad και \ ανέβην \ απάνω \ σο οπίτο\]
‘and he went up to the house’
(Delmesó, DAWKINS 1916: 316)

\(b. \quad παρπαίν\quad \) do \ κουντά \ σο \ δεγίθ\]
‘she takes her close to the sea’
(Ghúrzono, DAWKINS 1916: 340)
Pattern replication in Cappadocian

compound prepositions > circumpositions

$\text{ADVERB} + \text{P} + \text{NP} \quad \text{P} + \text{NP} + \text{ADVERB}$

$\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}n\omega \quad \sigma(\epsilon) \quad (\tau)o\;\sigma\pi\acute{\iota}t' \quad \sigma(\epsilon) \quad (\tau)o\;\sigma\pi\acute{\iota}t' \quad \alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}n\omega$

- **HAGÈGE (2010: 115)**: “a rather uncommon phenomenon”
- **HARRIS & CAMPBELL (1995)**: language contact can result in typologically rare or uncommon word-order patterns
- **STILO (2005, 2009)**: circumpositions often emerge in intersection zone areas between VO-type features (prepositions) and OV-type features (postpositions)
# Pattern replication in Cappadocian

| Language  | Word Order | Genitive | Relative | Preposition/
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>SVO/VSO</td>
<td>N + GEN</td>
<td>N + REL</td>
<td>prep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cappadocian</td>
<td>SOV</td>
<td>GEN + N</td>
<td>REL + N</td>
<td>post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish</td>
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Pattern replication in Cappadocian

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<td>prep + circum</td>
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<td>REL + N</td>
<td>post</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Pattern replication in Cappadocian

- Circumpositional ordering was available as a (marked, marginal) option in MedGr.
- Contact with Turkish favoured this option in Cappadocian, promoting it to the status of unmarked default.

**MedGr**

απάνω στο σπίτι ~ στο σπίτι απάνω

on at.the house at.the house on

**Turkish**

ev-in üst-ün-de

house-GEN top-3SG.POSS-LOC

**Cappadocian**

σο σπίτ’ απάνω

at.the house on
Pattern replication in Cappadocian

1. Identifying constructions with parallel functions: expressions of dimensional space

MedGr :: Turkish
PPs with compound Ps possessive-marked PPs

2. Identifying a pivot: possessive marking

MedGr :: Turkish
μέσα μου iç-im-{e/de/den}
πίσω του arka-sun-{a/da/dan}
Pattern replication in Cappadocian

- Doing away with junk

(10) a. μούλωνεν σα κομίρια αποκάτω
   ‘he was hiding under the charcoal’
   (Sílata, DAWKINS 1916: 446)

b. πήγεν πάλι σο παλάτι αποκάτω
   ‘she went again under the palace’
   (Potámia, DAWKINS 1916: 460)

c. ας τα παβάχια αποκάτω ξέβαλα το λερό
   ‘I took out the water from under the poplar trees’
   (Axó, DAWKINS 1916: 390)
Pattern replication in Cappadocian

(11) a. παδά το βαχτόλα μέσα ήρτει ένα τόιρέχ
    ‘a lamp burns in the pasha’s garden’
    (Phloïtá, DAWKINS 1916: 434)

b. ήρτε ένα δινάρ κουντά
    ‘he came near a spring’
    (Ulaghátsh, DAWKINS 1916: 366)

c. απ’ δο ραζάν μέσα επήρε ένα διρέμ κιριάς
    ‘he took a dirham of meat from inside the cauldron’
    (Ulaghátsh, DAWKINS 1916: 356)
## Pattern replication in Cappadocian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Gen</th>
<th>Rel</th>
<th>Prep</th>
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<td>REL + N</td>
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Matter replication in Cappadocian

- A number of Turkish postpositions have been added to the Cappadocian adpositional inventory:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turkish</th>
<th>Cappadocian</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beraber</td>
<td>бαραμπάρι</td>
<td>‘together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>için</td>
<td>ιτόιν</td>
<td>‘for’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>göre</td>
<td>göрέ</td>
<td>‘according to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mada</td>
<td>μεδέ</td>
<td>‘except for’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beri</td>
<td>бαρί</td>
<td>‘since’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soñra</td>
<td>σογά</td>
<td>‘after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qarşi</td>
<td>χαρδού, χαρδί</td>
<td>‘opposite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rast</td>
<td>ιράς, ιράστια, ιρέστια, ιρέσια</td>
<td>‘across’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Matter replication in Cappadocian

• All Turkish postpositions are added to the lexical set of the Cappadocian adpositional system, *i.e.* they combine with a simple preposition to form circumpositions.

• The distinction between bare and possessive-marked postpositions is carried over to Cappadocian:

  (a) bare postpositions do not bear possessive marking and combine with prepositions corresponding to Turkish cases

  (b) possessive-marked postpositions can bear possessive marking
Matter replication in Cappadocian

(12) a. απ’ ἕνα ερυό μέρες σοιά ἐφυγε
    ‘she went away after a couple of days’
    (Ulaghátsh, DAWKINS 1916: 362)

b. μι το παίνιδεν, ἦρτεν σ’ ἕνα σπίτιď’ ιρέσια
    ‘as he was on his way, he came across a house’
    (Delmesó, DAWKINS 1916: 306)
Matter replication in Cappadocian

(13)  a. πήγε καὶ ἐκατσε σο τῇράξ χαρδού
    ‘she went and sat opposite the light’
    (Ghúrzonο, DAWKINS 1916: 346)

b. καὶ βγὴν χαρδού τ’νε καὶ λέχ’
    ‘and he goes out to meet them and says’
    (Phloïtá, DAWKINS 1916: 426)
Matter replication in Cappadocian

MATRAS 2007: 61
nouns, conjunctions > verbs > discourse markers > adjectives > interjections > adverbs > other particles, adpositions > numerals > pronouns > derivational affixes > inflectional affixes

(cf. THOMASON & KAUFMAN’s borrowability scale)

MATRAS 2007: 42, 44
peripheral local relations > core local relations
Matter replication in Cappadocian

• Evidence from other AMGr dialects suggests that Turkish postpositions of nominal or adverbial origin are borrowed earlier than postpositions proper.

• Within Cappadocian, the functional set of prepositions is more resistant to borrowed additions than the lexical set.

... adverbs > lexical adpositions > functional adpositions > numerals ...
Matter replication in Cappadocian

- Support for the view that more lexical, less bound linguistic elements are more receptive of borrowing than more functional, more bound elements (Curnow 2001; Field 2002; Haugen 1950; Thomason 2001; Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Weinreich 1953 *inter alios*).

- The functional vs lexical adposition distinction (Cann 1993, 2000; Déchaîne 2005; Kortmann & König 1992; Rauh 1993; TseNg 2001 *inter alios*) is of key importance for our understanding of adposition borrowing.
Conclusions

• Cappadocian displays all three options for the positioning of adpositions: pre-, post-, circum-.
• Circum- and postpositional ordering came about as a result of the replication of the Turkish postpositional pattern.
• The Cappadocian adpositional inventory was expanded by the wholesale borrowing of a number of Turkish postpositions.
• All changes affected the lexical subset of Cappadocian adpositions, leaving the functional subset largely intact.
• Support for the idea that less bound, more lexical elements are less resistant to cross-linguistic influence.
Thank you for your attention!
References


References


References


References


References


References


τάχα, τάκος ‘up to, until’

(15) Mistí Cappadocian (FATES 2012: 85)

a. γκιοντέρδα δου τάχα σ’ τύρα
   ‘accompany him to the door’

b. απ’ τ’ Ατηνα μπάρι τάκος δάρα ουτάκα κλαίει
   ‘he’s been crying like this since we left from Athens until now’
τὸαχ, τὸάους ‘up to, until’

a) Language-internal:
   a fusion of the distal demonstrative (ε)τὸά ‘there’ and
   limitative ους

   (ε)τὸά ους + N ‘up to that N’ > τὸάους + N > τὸάχ + σ_ + N

b) Language-external:
   an instance of matter replication of the Anatolian Turkish
   limitative postposition-affix -čaq (DENY 1921: 614)

   (16) ärtä-din aḥšam-ġa-ča(q)
   morning-ABL evening-DAT-LIM
   ‘from morning until evening’ (DENY 1921: 615)