

External vs. Internal Factors in the Development of Agglutinative Inflections in Cappadocian (Asia Minor Greek)

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‘Do you know Greek?’, a *centurio* asks Paul in surprise in Acts (21:37). Whoever hears or reads Cappadocian Greek might ask the same question upon encountering remarkable forms like the following from Ulağaç (Southeast Cappadocian in Janse’s classification): **ναίκ-εζ-ιου** [nék-ez-ju] ‘woman-PL-GEN’ instead of Medieval or Modern Greek **γυναικ-ών** [(ton) jinek-ón] ‘woman-FEM.GEN.PL’ or even more remarkable forms like **άτρωποζ-ια-ιου** [átropoz-ja-ju] ‘man-PL-GEN’ instead of **ανθρώπ-ων** [anθróp-on] ‘man-MASC.GEN.PL’. The Cappadocian forms have traditionally been considered agglutinative, because their internal makeup is no longer inflectional (fusional) as in their Modern Greek equivalents, but rather mirrors the structure of their Turkish equivalents: *nek-ez-ju* :: *kadın-lar-in*, *átropoz-ja-ju* :: *adam-lar-in*. The development of such agglutinative inflections has been considered a case of external change through structural borrowing (Thomason & Kaufman) or pattern replication (Matras).

The North and Central Cappadocian dialects exhibit a wide variety of apparently competing forms in the inflection of the inherited masculine *o*-stems. Not all the different forms are attested simultaneously in every single dialect, so we have to reconstruct a stage which I call ‘not-so-Proto-Cappadocian’, as we know what the situation must have been in Proto-Cappadocian:

		not-so-Proto-Cappadocian		Medieval-Modern Greek	
SG	NOM	άθρωπ-ος	áθrop-os	άνθρωπ-ος	ánθrop-os
	ACC	άθρωπ-ος άθρωπ-ο	áθrop-os áθrop-o	άνθρωπ-ος	ánθrop-o
	GEN	αθρόπ-(ου) αθρωπ-ιού	aθróp -(u) aθrop-jú	ανθρόπ-ου	anθróp-u
PL	NOM	αθρόπ-(οι)	aθróp-(i)	άνθρωπ-οι	ánθrop-i
	ACC	αθρόπ-(οι) αθρόπ-ους αθρωπ-ιους	aθróp-(i) aθróp-us aθrop-jús	ανθρόπ-ους	anθróp-us
	GEN	αθρόπ-(ου(ν)) αθρωπ-ιού(ν)	aθróp-(u(n)) aθrop-jú(n)	αθρόπ-ων	anθróp-on

In my presentation, I will discuss the origins of this bewildering variation and show that one can reconstruct a relative chronology for the various changes, all of which can be explained as internal changes. I will then argue that the most innovative forms of the plural, acc. **αθρωπ-ιους** [aθrop-jús], gen. **αθρωπ-ιού** [aθrop-jú], can be reconstructed as having an agglutinative structure: **αθρωπ-οι-ους** [aθrop-j-ús] ‘man-PL-ACC’, gen. **αθρωπ-οι-ού** [aθrop-j-ú] ‘man-PL-GEN’ on the analogy of the intermediate syncretic nom.-acc. pl. **αθρόπ-(οι)-Ο** [aθróp-(i)] ‘man-PL-NOM’. Although the development of these forms can be explained as internal, the end result is equivalent to their Turkish counterparts: nom. pl. *aθróp-(i)-Ο* :: *adam-lar-Ο*, acc. pl. **aθrop-i-us* > *aθrop-j-ús* (synizesis) :: *adam-lar-in*, gen. pl. **aθrop-i-u(n)* > *aθrop-j-ú* (synizesis) :: *adam-lar-i*.

References

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