



UNIVERSITY OF  
CAMBRIDGE

# Revisiting the (somewhat different but nevertheless) Greek character of the dialect of Cappadocia

Petros Karatsareas  
pk299@cam.ac.uk

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## Richard MacGillivray Dawkins (1871–1955)



- Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge (1904)
- Director of the British School at Athens (1906–1914)
- Bywater and Sotheby Chair of Byzantine and Modern Greek, University of Oxford (1920)
- Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford (1922)

# 1. Definition

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- **Cappadocian:** a Modern Greek (MGr) dialect cluster
- The language of the Greek Orthodox communities indigenous to the Cappadocian *plateau* of south-eastern Asia Minor (today's Turkey).
- Beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: the use of Cappadocian had been geographically reduced to twenty villages located in the rural areas between
  - (a) Nevşehir (*Νεάπολη*)
  - (b) Kayseri (*Καισάρεια*)
  - (c) Niğde (*Νίγδη*).

*The major Greek-speaking communities of Asia Minor (beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century).*





## **2. The Cappadocian speakers and their history**

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- Cappadocian-speaking communities originate in the Byzantine people that populated Asia Minor prior to the first Turkish invasions (early 11<sup>th</sup> century).
- Cappadocia was the south-easternmost confine of that part of the Byzantine Empire in which Greek was predominantly spoken by the majority of the population.
- It was found as early as the 7<sup>th</sup> century in the heart of the confrontation between the Empire and Islam (KAEGI 2008; TREADGOLD 2002: 129-131).



## 2. The Cappadocian speakers and their history

- 1071: battle of Manzikert
- The Byzantine Empire lost control of Asia Minor. The until then heart of the Empire passed to the hands of the Seljuqs and other Turkic tribes.
- Its greater part was incorporated into Turkic political entities (Great Seljuq Empire, Seljuq Sultanate of Rûm, Ottoman Empire).

## 2. The Cappadocian speakers and their history

- A proportion of the indigenous Greek population of Asia Minor fled the Turkish invasion (mountainous areas, fortified towns, Aegean islands) (VRYONIS 1971: 169-184).
- The Greeks who remained in Asia Minor entered a four-century-long period marked by a gradual cultural transformation which ultimately led to their
  - (a) religious islamisation
  - (b) linguistic turkicisation.

## 2. The Cappadocian speakers and their history



*“Notandum est, quod in multis partibus Turcie reperiuntur clerici, episcopi et arciepiscopi, qui portant vestimenta infidelium et locuntur linguam ipsorum et nihil aliud sciunt in greco proferre nisi missam cantare et evangelium et epistolas. Alias autem orationes dicunt in lingua Turcorum.”* (30 July 1437; Terre hodie Grecorum et dominia secularia et spiritualia ipsorum)

## 2. The Cappadocian speakers and their history

- A number of Orthodox, Greek-speaking communities in northeastern and central Asia Minor were able to survive as such through the lengthy transition from the Byzantine Empire to the Ottoman Empire.
- The Byzantine residue in Turkish Anatolia (VRYONIS 1971: 451-452)

*developed local cultures derived from the particular physical and social environment that distinguished them from Greeks in other territories (AUGUSTINOS 1992: 5).*

## 2. The Cappadocian speakers and their history

- At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Greek-speaking communities considered to be indigenous to Asia Minor were found in:
  - (a) Pontus;
  - (b) the area between Pontus and Cappadocia;
  - (c) Cappadocia;
  - (d) Phárasa;
  - (e) Sílli;
  - (f) Livísi;
  - (g) Bithynia; and,
  - (h) Gyölde. (DAWKINS 1916: 5, 1940: 23-24; PAPADOPOULOS 1998 [1919])

*The major Greek-speaking communities of Asia Minor (beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century).*



## 2. The Cappadocian speakers and their history

- The preservation of the inherited language in these communities was not always favoured by historical and social circumstances.
- In certain locations such as Cappadocia, its use was seriously threatened by the parallel use of
  - (a) Turkish
  - (b) Common Greek.

## 2. The Cappadocian speakers and their history

- Cappadocian speakers spent most of their history in societies in which the language of the dominant political authorities was Turkish.
- Turkish was spoken by the overwhelming majority of the population in all aspects of life: political, economic, social, cultural.
- This gave rise to a considerable amount of Greek-Turkish bilingualism, which came to define the Greek-speaking communities of Asia Minor almost without exception (VRYONIS 1971: 457-459).



## 2. The Cappadocian speakers and their history

- By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in some Cappadocian communities the use of Turkish alongside Greek had been so pervasive as to oust the use of the latter (Andavál, Límna).
- In other villages, the shift from Greek to Turkish appears to have been well on its way to completion. In Ulaghátsh,  
DAWKINS

*even heard women talking Turkish to their children, a sure sign of the approaching extinction of the Greek dialect (1916: 18).*

## 2. The Cappadocian speakers and their history

- In other cases, there is no safe indication that Greek-Turkish bilingualism posed a very serious threat to the continuous use of Greek. In Axó,

*there being no Turks and the population large and not given to going abroad, the dialect is in no danger of disappearance either by giving way to Turkish or by being purified by the influence of common Greek (DAWKINS 1916: 22).*

## 2. The Cappadocian speakers and their history

- **Common Greek:** a linguistic version of MGr based on *Δημοτική* containing a good deal of grammatical and lexical archaisms characteristic of *Καθαρεύουσα* (MACKRIDGE 2009: 81).
- Common Greek reached Cappadocia more intensely after the establishment of the first Greek state and the contemporaneous “rediscovery” of the Cappadocian Greeks in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century (BALTA & ANAGNOSTAKIS 1994; SAPKIDI 2003a, b).
- At that time, Greek schools were founded in many Cappadocian villages.

## 2. The Cappadocian speakers and their history

- In certain cases, the invasion of Common Greek had the same effects as Greek-Turkish bilingualism. DAWKINS reports for Sinasós that

*at present the old dialect largely gives way to the common Greek (...) Its schools and its flourishing condition have now at all events set it firmly on the path of the modern Greek κοινή, and it is, as the inhabitants boast, an Hellenic oasis, where even some Moslems know Greek (1916: 27-28).*

## 2. The Cappadocian speakers and their history

- The continuous use of Greek in Asia Minor was brought to an abrupt end as a consequence of the defeat of the Greek army in the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922).
- *Ανταλλαγή*: according to Article 1 of the *Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations* (Lausanne, 30 January 1923),

*there shall take place a compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory, and of Greek nationals of the Moslem religion established in Greek territory.*

## 2. The Cappadocian speakers and their history

- Cappadocian speakers were forced to relocate in Greece.
- Cappadocian refugees did not manage to establish many large, homogeneous communities within Greece and were scattered around the country.

Refugees from Mistí moved to villages and towns in Macedonia (*Νέο Αγιονέρι* and *Ξηροχώρι Κιλκίς, Καβάλα*), Thrace (*Αλεξανδρούπολη, Ξάνθη*), Thessaly (*Μάνδρα Λαρίσης*), Epirus (*Κόνιτσα*).

## 2. The Cappadocian speakers and their history

- In Greece, Cappadocian speakers experienced new cultural and linguistic assimilation pressures, this time exerted by Standard MGr (SMGr) and the various MGr dialects native to their new homes.
- By the end of the 20th century, Cappadocian was considered extinct (KONTOSSOPOULOS 1981: 7; SASSE 1992: 66).

## 2. The Cappadocian speakers and their history

- In 2005, Mark Janse (University of Ghent) and Dimitris Papazachariou (University of Patras) drew international attention to the fact that *Μιῶτ'κα*, the variety of Mistí, is still spoken in Greece in a number of dialect enclaves in mainly rural areas of the north of the country.
- At present, *Μιῶτ'κα* is used not only by elderly people who came to Greece with the *Ανταλλαγή* but also by second and third generation refugees of middle age.
- It is seriously facing the prospect of extinction (JANSE 2007: 71-74, 2008: 125-129, 2009: 38-39).



### **3. The linguistic profile of the Cappadocian dialect**

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- 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; and,
  - (b) in the context of intense language contact with the Turkish of the Seljuq and Ottoman conquerors.
- Owing to (a), Cappadocian presents numerous grammatical features reminiscent of earlier stages in the history of Greek, particularly the Late Medieval period (1100-1500 CE; HOLTON & MANOLESSOU 2010: 541).

### 3. The linguistic profile of the Cappadocian dialect

- Some features represent older developmental stages in the course of long-term grammatical changes that Greek is known to have been found at during the Medieval period (use of *να* to mark the future, both enclitic and proclitic direct object pronouns, relative use of the definite article).
- Other Cappadocian features have to do with the lack of grammatical innovations that most MGr dialects underwent during or after the Medieval period (absence of periphrastic tenses, absence of the *που* relativiser).

### 3. The linguistic profile of the Cappadocian dialect

- Long linguistic isolation provided the necessary conditions for the development of a significant number of structural innovations that distinguish Cappadocian from other MGr dialects.
- In many of these innovations the effects of language contact with Turkish are particularly evident.
  - (a) Introduction into the Cappadocian phonemic inventory of Turkish phonemes such as /œ/, /y/ and /ɯ/, found mainly in Turkish loanwords:

### 3. The linguistic profile of the Cappadocian dialect

κιὸλῦ ‘villager’ (< Turkish *köylü*)

τῶαγᾶρντῶ ‘to call, to shout’ (< Turkish *çağırmaq*)

ακᾶλ-λᾶ ‘clever’ (< Turkish *akıllı*)

ὄῦπελεντίζω ‘to be suspicious’ (< Turkish *şüphelen-*)

τῶῶπ ‘rubbish’ (< Turkish *çöp*)

### 3. The linguistic profile of the Cappadocian dialect

- (b) Use of the interrogative particle *μι* (< Turkish *mİ*) to mark yes/no and alternative questions:

Ulaghátsh: *Σανό 'ναι μι ιτό ντο χερίφος;*  
'Is this man crazy?' (KESISOGLOU 1951: 156)

Phloítá: *Πεθερά σ' λιαρό 'ναι μι πέθανεν μι;*  
'Is your mother-in-law alive or is she dead?'  
(ILNE ms. 811: 26)

### 3. The linguistic profile of the Cappadocian dialect

- In other cases, contact favoured grammatical variants that are generally marginal or marked in MGr and which, in Cappadocian, have become the unmarked, default options.

In Cappadocian, adnominal genitives and relative clauses are always placed before their nominal heads:

Mistí: χωριού ντα σκυλιά (cf. SMGr τα σκυλιά  
'the dogs of the village' του χωριού)  
(ILNE ms. 755: 58)

### 3. The linguistic profile of the Cappadocian dialect

- The influence of contact is best illustrated in the case of multiple adnominal genitives, which in Cappadocian are consistently prenominal, giving rise to constructions that are ungrammatical in other MGr dialects:

Axó:            τ' βαδιλίου τ' νύφ'ς τα φορτσές  
                  'the king's bride's clothes'

SMGr:        \*του βασιλιά της νύφης οι φορεσιές

Turkish:     ✓ *padişahın gelininin elbiseleri*



## 4. The emphasis on language contact

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- In light of the interlinear correspondence between Cappadocian and Turkish with respect to constituent order in head-final constructions as well as in a good deal of idiomatic expressions calqued in the model of Turkish, Dawkins phrased the famous statement that

*[in Cappadocian] the Turkish has replaced the Greek spirit; the body has remained Greek, but the soul has become Turkish (1916: 198).*

## 4. The emphasis on language contact

- The same view was echoed much later by Kontossopoulos:

*ὅποιος ἀκούει (...) τὴν καππαδοκικὴν διάλεκτον, δὲν ξέρει ἂν ἔχει νὰ κἀνη μὲ τούρκικα σὲ ἑλληνικὸ στόμα ἢ μὲ ἑλληνικὰ σὲ στόμα τούρκικο (1981: 7).*

## 4. The emphasis on language contact

- Dawkins's proclamation became so oft-cited a quotation that the primacy of Turkish influence it conveys has become *quasi* programmatic for modern linguistic research on any aspect of Cappadocian grammar.
- Language contact is viewed as the principal, and very often the only, cause of all grammatical developments in Cappadocian.
- These are usually treated as typical instances of contact-induced language change brought about by the influence of Turkish.

## 4. The emphasis on language contact

- THOMASON & KAUFMAN make the strong claim that, while most of the Cappadocian varieties

*clearly retain enough inherited Greek material to count as Greek dialects in the full genetic sense, a few dialects may be close to or even over the border of nongenetic development (1988: 93-94).*

- This claim was recently reaffirmed by WINFORD who identifies

*a strong and pervasive influence of Turkish on Greek (2005: 407).*

## 4. The emphasis on language contact

- THOMASON & KAUFMAN use a variety of lexical and grammatical innovations found in Cappadocian, whose development—they argue—must be attributed to borrowing, to classify Cappadocian as an

*excellent example of heavy borrowing - category 5 (1988: 215)*

- This is the result of very strong cultural pressure and involves the incorporation of major structural features that cause significant typological disruption (1988: 74-76; THOMASON 2001: 70-71).

## 4. The emphasis on language contact

- Both THOMASON & KAUFMAN's and WINFORD's accounts suffer from many of the methodological and analytical shortcomings pointed out by KING (2000: 46-48, 2005: 234-236) and POPLACK & LEVEY (2009) regarding research on contact-induced language change.
- They fail to demonstrate satisfactorily that the most defining Cappadocian innovations are indeed the product of language contact and not of language-internal processes of change.

## 4. The emphasis on language contact

- These accounts adopt an ahistorical approach to language change.
- They subject the set of innovative grammatical features in Cappadocian to typological comparisons with corresponding structures in Turkish and SMGr on a strictly synchronic level.
- The superficial structural similarity between Cappadocian and Turkish structural features is brought forth as evidence to establish language contact with the latter as the single cause for developments in the former.



## 4. The emphasis on language contact

- “Deep and pervasive” (WINFORD 2005: 408) changes are presented in a way that creates the impression they occurred abruptly, without undergoing intermediate stages of development.
- There is usually no account of the actual linguistic processes that resulted in such changes.
- There is no attempt to define the earlier linguistic form of Greek against which the Cappadocian changes are shown to have been contact-induced.
- SMGr generally serves as the point of reference.

## 4. The emphasis on language contact

- Cappadocian has lost the tripartite gender distinction into masculine, feminine and neuter nouns.
- All nouns in the dialect behave as neuters:

Araván: *το φόβος τουμ πολύ ήτουν* (cf. SMGr  
'he was very afraid' ο φόβος, πολύς)  
(PHOSTERIS & KESISOGLOU 1960: 110)

Sílata: *το θύρα ήύραν το καπαδιμένο* (cf. SMGr  
'they found the door closed' τη θύρα, την,  
(DAWKINS 1916: 444) καπαδιμένη)

## 4. The emphasis on language contact

- JANSE holds that

*the loss of gender distinctions is due to Turkish influence, since Turkish has no grammatical gender (2002: 366).*

- The reason for this lies in what POPLACK & LEVEY identify as

*the widespread but unfounded assumption that linguistic differences occurring in bilingual contexts are necessarily (...) contact-induced (2009: 397-398).*

## 4. The emphasis on language contact

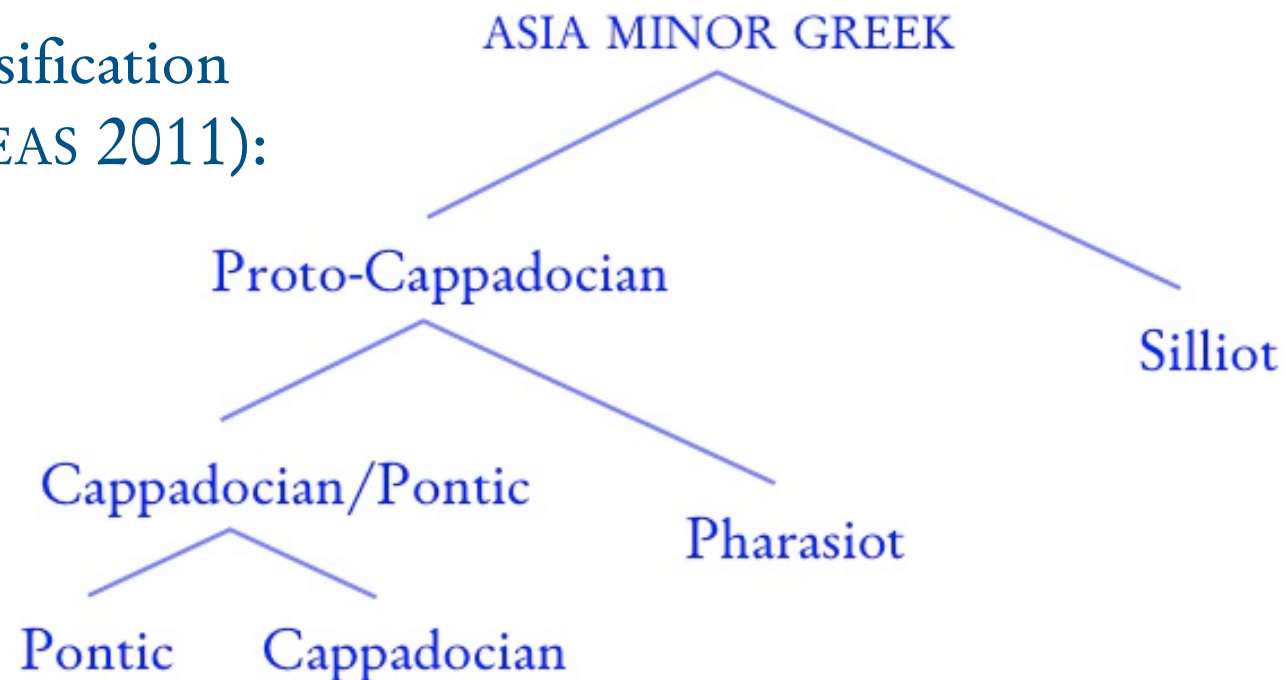
- Grammatical developments in Cappadocian are generally examined dialect-internally.
- Modern linguistic scholarship has largely ignored the connections between many Cappadocian developments and related developments in the other MGr dialects of Asia Minor.

## **5. Cappadocian in the dialectological context of Asia Minor**

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- Cappadocian along with Pontic, Rumeic, Pharasiot and Silliot belongs to the Asia Minor Greek (AMGr) dialect group.

- Genetic classification (KARATSAREAS 2011):



## 5. Cappadocian in the dialectological context of Asia Minor

- The AMGr group is defined on the basis of a set of pervasive grammatical innovations shared by all the modern dialects.
  - (a) Deletion of the high vowels /i, u/ and raising of the mid vowels /ε, ɔ/ to /i, u/ in unstressed post-tonic syllables found mainly, but not exclusively, at the end of the word:

## 5. Cappadocian in the dialectological context of Asia Minor

- Mistí Capp.: *νά του βγάλου* ‘I will fetch it out’  
(DAWKINS 1916: 386; cf. SMGr *το βγάλω*)
- Stavrín Pontic: *κανείς ’κι ξέρ’* ‘no one knows’  
(LIANIDIS 2007 [1962]: 330; cf. SMGr *ξέρει*)
- Rumeic: *του κουρίτσ’ ράφτ’* ‘the girl is sewing’  
(PAPPOU-ZHOURAVLIOVA 1995: 255; cf. SMGr *το κορίτσι ράβει*)
- Pharasiot: *πού πάτ’σες;* ‘where did you step on?’  
(DAWKINS 1916: 486; cf. SMGr *πάτησες*)



## 5. Cappadocian in the dialectological context of Asia Minor

- (b) Development of the post-alveolar fricatives /ʃ, ʒ/ and palato-alveolar affricates /tʃ, dʒ/ before the front vowels /i, ε/ as a result of the palatalisation of inherited velar consonants /k, g, x/:

## 5. Cappadocian in the dialectological context of Asia Minor

- Mistí Capp.: *τρία Τούρτῶ* (οι) ‘three Turks’  
(ILNE ms. 755: 48; cf. SMGr *Τούρκοι*)
- Áno Amisós: *εἶδε τρία παιδιά* ‘he had three children’  
(LIANIDIS 2007 [1962]: 24; cf. SMGr *εἶχε*)
- Silliot: *του θειμό ἐρῶιτι* ‘winter is coming’  
(COSTAKIS 1968: 118; cf. SMGr *χειμῶνας, ἐρχεται*).

## 5. Cappadocian in the dialectological context of Asia Minor

- (c) Replacement of the ancient dative case by the accusative for the morphological expression of indirect objects:

## 5. Cappadocian in the dialectological context of Asia Minor

Phloità Capp.: δώκεν το δυο γρούσα  
'he gave him two piastres'  
(ILNE ms. 811: 56; cf. SMGr του έδωσε)

Kerasóunta Pont.: είπεν την πεθεράν ατ's  
'she said to her mother-in-law'  
(LIANIDIS 2007 [1962]: 138; cf. SMGr της πεθεράς της)

Pharasiot: να με δωσ' α μαχσούμι  
'that he gives me a baby'  
(DAWKINS 1916: 488; cf. SMGr να μου δώσει)

## 5. Cappadocian in the dialectological context of Asia Minor

- (d) Extended use of neuter forms in gender agreement targets (articles, adjectives, participles, pronouns, numerals) controlled by masculine and feminine nouns:

## 5. Cappadocian in the dialectological context of Asia Minor

- Phloità Capp.: *σ' ένα ορφανό νεκκλησά*  
'in a deserted church'  
(ILNE ms. 812: 114; cf. SMGr *μία ορφανή*)
- Argyρούpolis: *σα πρώτα τα καιρούς*  
'in the old times'  
(ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 1955: 194; cf. SMGr  
*στους πρώτους τους*)
- Rumeic: *ρουμαίκου γλώσσα*  
'the Greek language'  
(SYMEONIDIS & TOMPAIDIS 1999: 82; cf.  
SMGr *ρωμαίικη*)

## 5. Cappadocian in the dialectological context of Asia Minor

- DAWKINS was the first one to treat these systematic similarities as evidence for the existence of a common linguistic ancestor of the modern AMGr dialects (1916: 205, 213, 1940: 6, 14; also BROWNING 1983: 130; HORROCKS 2010: 382; TRIANTAPHYLLIDES 2002 [1938]: 277).
- **Proto-AMGr:** (reconstructed) the (relatively) uniform dialectal variety of Greek that must have been spoken in an area of inner Asia Minor minimally defined by the modern AMGr-speaking pockets.

## 5. Cappadocian in the dialectological context of Asia Minor





## 5. Cappadocian in the dialectological context of Asia Minor

- Due to the lack of written records, it is difficult to say when Greek in Asia Minor started developing idiosyncratically.
- Some scholars have argued that at least some of the distinctive developments of Proto-AMGr originate in the regional form of Koiné Greek that was spoken in Asia Minor and adjacent islands such as Cyprus during Hellenistic and Roman times (THUMB 1914: 199; KAPSOMENOS 2003 [1985]: 63).
- DAWKINS (1916: 213) hypothesises that Proto-AMGr was spoken in the area during the Medieval period.

## 5. Cappadocian in the dialectological context of Asia Minor

- Questions regarding the origins and the subsequent development of diachronic innovations in the AMGr dialects cannot be adequately addressed without taking into account the grammatical characteristics of Proto-AMGr.
- Due to the almost complete dearth of written evidence on AMGr in the period before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it is difficult to carry out a systematic comparison between early, intermediate and most recent stages of development.

## 5. Cappadocian in the dialectological context of Asia Minor

- Fortunately, this is counterbalanced by the diversity found among the modern AMGr dialects themselves.
- Some dialects can be more conservative while others more innovative with respect to certain diachronic developments.
- This type of dialectal divergence may compensate for the lack of documentation in cases of change in which the different AMGr dialects are found to represent chronologically distinct developmental stages.

## 5. Cappadocian in the dialectological context of Asia Minor

- In such cases, the synchronic stages in which the various dialects are found can be used to reconstruct the origins and trajectories of change (DAWKINS 1940: 12).
- This approach allows us to address more readily the likelihood that—at least some—Cappadocian innovations may actually have a language-internal origin.
- It also allows us to reassess the role contact with Turkish played in language change by looking at whether it is responsible for triggering the incipient manifestations of change.

## 6. A case-in-point: the null definite article

## 6. A case-in-point: the null definite article

- In Cappadocian, the definite article is realised as null in the nominative (both singular and plural) when immediately preceding nouns that belong to formerly\* masculine and feminine inflectional classes.

\* There are no gender distinctions in Cappadocian.

- In the remaining case/number combinations as well as before nouns belonging to formerly neuter classes, the article is always overtly realised.

## 6. A case-in-point: the null definite article

- (1) Phloità Cappadocian (ILNE ms. 811: 22, 31)
- a. *τον τελειώσ' Ø λουτουργιά, Ø παπάς  
φερίσκει το νύφ' σο γαμπρό κοντά*  
'when mass is over, the priest brings the bride to  
the groom's side'
- b. *το θέρος σο χωριό μας κολά ένα μήνα και  
περσό*  
'summer in our village lasts more than one  
month'

## 6. A case-in-point: the null definite article

- Scholars have attributed the Cappadocian phenomenon in (1) to the influence of Turkish:

*In this appears the influence of Turkish, which has no definite article (DAWKINS 1916: 46).*

*...ὕπὸ τὴν ἐπίδρασιν τῆς τουρκικῆς, κατὰ τὴν ὀρθὴν γνώμην τοῦ Dawkins (ANAGNOSTOPOULOS 1922: 246)*

*There was also limited use of the definite article, apparently due to the fact that Turkish lacks one (WINFORD 2005: 406).*



## 6. A case-in-point: the null definite article

- A contact-oriented account fails to account for the distribution of null realisation in terms of case/number combinations and inflectional class membership.
- If Turkish had indeed provided the model for the development in (1), we would expect the article to be realised as null across the board.
- If the null realisation of the definite article were contact-induced, there should not be an article-like determiner expressing definiteness in Cappadocian at all.

## 6. A case-in-point: the null definite article

- The phenomenon becomes meaningful when examined in the AMGr dialectological context.
- Apart from Cappadocian, the null realisation of the definite article is also attested in Pontic (and Rumeic) and Silliot.
- The phenomenon has different distributional properties in each dialect, which sheds light on its origins and development.

## 6. A case-in-point: the null definite article

- In most Pontic varieties, the definite article is realised as null in the nominative (singular and plural) before masculine and feminine nouns that begin with a vowel.
- In the remaining case/number combinations as well as before masculine and feminine nouns beginning with a consonant, and before neuter nouns, the article is always overtly realised (HENRICH 1999: 661-667; KOUTITAKAIMAKI 1977/1978: 264-266; OECONOMIDES 1958: 154-156; PAPADOPOULOS 1933: 17-20, 1955: 10; TOMPAIDIS 1980: 225-227).

## 6. A case-in-point: the null definite article

- (2) Argyroúpolis Pontic (VALAVANIS 1937: 84, 85)
- a. *και Θ' υναίκα εποίκεν άμον ντο είπεν  
Θ άντρας ατ'ς*  
'and the woman did what her husband told her'
- b. *ύστερα ο γέρον εγροίξεν α*  
'then the old man heard it'
- c. *τερεί σο κελάρ' το κιφάλ' κι η καρδιά 'κ' εν*  
'she looks at the cellar and the head and the heart are not there'

## 6. A case-in-point: the null definite article

- The forms of the definite article that are realised as null are those consisting of a single vowel:
  - ➔ masculine nominative singular      ο [o]
  - ➔ feminine nominative singular      η [i]
  - ➔ masculine/feminine nominative plural      οι [i]
- These are realised as null precisely before another vowel.
- Forms of the definite article beginning with a τ- plus a consonant (τη, του, τοι, την, το, τα) are not affected.

## 6. A case-in-point: the null definite article

- PAPANASTASIOU (1955: 10) identified hiatus avoidance as the motivation underlying the null realisation of the definite article in Pontic (also KOUTITA-KAIMAKI 1977/1978: 264).
- OECONOMIDES (1958: 155) postulates that the phenomenon must first have become manifest with masculine and feminine nouns beginning with a phonetic [o] and/or [i], in front of which the homophonous definite article forms *o*, *η*, *oi* were dropped due to their similarity with the word-initial vowels.

## 6. A case-in-point: the null definite article

- (3) Chaldía Pontic (DRETTAS 1997: 112)  
*ο οκνέας επήεν σ' ορμάν' και τ' ορμάν' εφορτώθεν*  
'the lazy one went to the forest and took the forest to  
his shoulders'

## 6. A case-in-point: the null definite article

- In Άνο Amisός and Sinόpe, the phenomenon generalised even further to encompass all masculine and feminine nouns irrespective of the vocalic or consonantal quality of their initial segment:

(4) Άνο Amisός Pontic (VALAVANIS 1928: 188)

*ασά έξι μήνες υστερία έρκουντάνε Ο πάππος του και  
Ο ναίκα του*

‘six months later his grandfather and his wife came’



## 6. A case-in-point: the null definite article

- Compare (1a) with (4):

(1a) Phloità Cappadocian (ILNE ms. 811: 22)

*τον τελειώσ' Ø λουτουργιά, Ø παπάς φερίσκει το  
νύφ' σο γαμπρό κοντά*

‘when mass is over, the priest brings the bride to the  
groom’s side’

(4) Άno Amisós Pontic (VALAVANIS 1928: 188)

*ασά έξι μήνες υστερία έρκουντάνε Ø πάππος του και  
Ø ναίκα του*

‘six months later his grandfather and his wife came’

## 6. A case-in-point: the null definite article

- Silliot represents the most advanced attested stage of this innovation.
- In Silliot, the definite article is realised as null in the nominative (singular and plural) before all nouns.

(5) Silliot (COSTAKIS 1968: 120)

*Ø παιρί μεγάλουσι κι ύστερ' Ø μάνα του λαγεί του*  
'the child grew up and then its mother said to it'

## 6. A case-in-point: the null definite article

- The null realisation of the definite article is not a phenomenon isolated to Cappadocian.
- Its occurrence in the dialect is but one of the many reflexes of an innovative development attested widely in the AMGr dialects.
- That these reflexes are found in such distinct dialects as Cappadocian, Pontic and Silliot shows that the origins of null realisation go back to a time before the dialects started developing idiosyncratically.

## 6. A case-in-point: the null definite article

- The differences in the distribution and extent of application of null realisation in the three dialects allow for the reconstruction of its origin and subsequent development.
- This kind of investigation also helps reassess the role Turkish is presumed to have played in this development.
- Language contact does not appear to have been a factor relevant to the early manifestation of the phenomenon.
- The null realisation of the definite article is a truly (Asia Minor) Greek innovation.

# 7. Conclusion

## 7. Conclusion

- Some of the linguistic differences that Cappadocian presents with when compared to other MGr dialects can indeed be attributed to the influence of Turkish with a relative degree of safety.
- Others, though, even some of the “deep[est] and [most] pervasive” (WINFORD 2005: 408) ones are best understood in the dialectological context of the AMGr dialects as having been internally motivated.
- These owe their development to the dialectal characteristics of Proto-AMGr, the linguistic ancestor of all the modern dialects.

## 7. Conclusion

Dawkins's “soul” of the Cappadocian dialect may be different from that of more ‘mainstream’ or familiar MGr dialects in many senses, but is nevertheless in reality truly Greek.

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