

RESEARCH GROUP ΔIALING

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VARIATION IN CAPPADOCIAN GREEK RELATIVE CLAUSES: PATTERN REPLICATION AND DIATOPY



Cappadocian Greek, its relative clauses and its corpus

- Critically endangered dialect, spoken in Cappadocia (Türkiye) until 1923-4 (Greek-Turkish Population Exchange) → Thoroughly influenced by Turkish
- Hypernym for the subdialects of 20 villages, which show considerable variation, but also share a large number of features
- Until now: syntax understudied and little attention to differentiation of the subdialects
→ **Analysis of the Cappadocian relative clause (RC) with an emphasis on Turkish influence and diatopic variation; focus on headed RCs**
- Corpus: 58 folktales and 345 proverbs (ca. 53,000 words) from the 20th century
- Collected data: 208 RCs, of which 97 headed and 111 headless

Geographical spread of the Cappadocian subdialects (Janse 2019: 68)

1) Word order variation in the Cappadocian Greek relative clause

1a) Clause position

- Both postnominal and prenominal (due to pattern replication from Turkish) are possible
- Nuancing of distribution: postnominal position significantly more frequent than previously thought (>< Janse 2002: 367; Bağrıaçık 2020: 66 n.2)
- **Non-restrictive**: almost always postnominal
- Restrictive**: prenominal (83.1%) or postnominal (16.9%)



1b) Internal word order

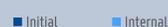
i. Position of the verb

- Variation between verb-final (pattern replication) and not verb-final (>< Janse 1999: 457; 2002: 367)
- Of all 45 RCs that have constituents that could occur in pre/postverbal position: 35 not verb-final vs. 10 verb-final



ii. Position of the subordinator

- In 69.5% of the cases: relativizer initial
- In the remaining 30.5% of the cases: relativizer internal
- Both initial and internal relativizers occur in prenominal and postnominal RCs
- Origin unclear



Feature	Value
1) Subordinator type	Free
2) Finiteness	Finite
3) Clause position	Postnominal (26) / Prenominal (61)
4) Subordinator position	Initial (19) / Internal (4) / Initial (20) / Internal (14)
5) Internal word order	Not V-final (13) / V-final (1) / Not V-final (1) / V-final (2) / Not V-final (17) / V-final (7)

Frequencies of the different X-clause combinations in Cappadocian RCs

2) The Cappadocian relative clause as a case of 'X-clauses'

- Subordination in Balkan Turkic: 2 different typologies: Indo-European type & Turkic type. Additionally, frequent use of hybrid constructions, which are a mixture of both extreme strategies → "X-clauses" (Keskin 2023)
- X-clauses show variation in **4 features**: 1) finiteness, 2) clause position, 3) subordinator type, 4) subordinator position
- "**Oscillations**" between the two extreme values → several different combinations, indicating "transient behaviour" caused by shift from Turkic to Indo-European (Standard Average European, 'SAE') model
- Abovementioned variation in Cappadocian RC → X-clause framework can be applied: **Cappadocian RCs as X-clauses**
- Features 'finiteness' and 'subordinator type' are fixed: finite and free subordinator
- Oscillation of 'clause position' (pre/postnominal) and 'subordinator position' (initial/internal)
- Introduction of **5th feature**: verb position (verb-final/not verb-final)

3) Does diatopic variation confirm transient behaviour?

- Keskin (2023: 178-83): presence of hybrid constructions indicates shift from Turkic to IE/SAE model, as proven by historical data
- For Cappadocian Greek: no historical data available → "**diatopy-as-diachrony method**" (Dawkins 1940: 12; Karatsareas & Georgakopoulos 2016)
- North Cappadocian = more archaic >> South Cappadocian = more progressive (Dawkins 1916: 212)
- Next step: Diatopic differences as to clause position, verb position and subordinator position? Does this diatopic variation confirm the shift from IE/SAE model to Turkic model, as indicated by transient behaviour of X-clauses?
- **Hypothesis**: Northern subdialects closer to IE model, Southern subdialects (more recent stadia) more Turkish values.

North Cappadocian			
Northwest	Silata	Anaku	Floita
Northeast	Sinasos	Potamia	Delmeso
Central Cappadocian			
	Axo		Misti
South Cappadocian			
Southwest	Aravan	Ghurzono	Fertek
Southeast	Ulağaç	Semendere	

Classification of the Cappadocian subdialects (Janse 2019: 69)

Conclusion

- The Cappadocian RC shows clear variation in word order on various levels and consequently fits within the X-clause framework by Keskin (2023).
- The Cappadocian X-clause RCs and their oscillations are signs of transient behaviour within a shift from a SAE model to a Turkic model of subordination.
- Further research should determine whether diatopic variation, as an indicator of diachronic evolution, confirms this shift.

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