Structural Convergence

in

Cyprus

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List of Abbreviations

1	first person	PL	plural
2	second person	POSS	possessive
3	third person	PRF	perfect
ACC	accusative	PRIO	Peace Research Institute Oslo
ADVR	adverbializer	PRN	pronoun
AOR	aorist	PRS	present
ART	article	PST	past
CL	clitic	PURP	purpisove
COMP	complementizer	REL	relative
CONJ	conjunction	SG	singular
COP	copula	SPART	subject participle
DAT	dative	SUBJ	subjunctive
DEM	demonstrative	SUBR	subordinator
DPAR	discourse particle	WALS	World Atlas of Language Structures
DUR	durative		
EXST	existence		
F	feminine		
FUT	future		
GEN	genitive		
HAB	habilitative		
IMP	imperative		
IMPF	imperfective		
INF	infinitive		
LOC	locative		
M	masculine		
N	neuter		
NEC	necessitative		
NEG	negation, negative		
NOM	nominative		
NR	nominalizer		
OPART	object participle		
OPT	optative		
PART	participle		
PRF	perfective		

Acknowledgements

Finally, I would like to express my appreciation to may parents, Ahmet and Tijen Gulle for promoting my education since my birth, and I would like to dedicate this dissertation to them. I alone am responsible for any shortcomings or errors.

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Ozan Gulle

Munich, 11/04/2014

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Throughout its history, Cyprus had always been a bridge between Asia, Europe and Africa due to its geographical location. Many peoples passed through Cyprus and left their traces, some more than the others. It is an island in the East Mediterranean, in the Levant region, where cultures meet. Where cultures meet, so do languages. This study is concerned chiefly with language contact. Due to the nature of language contact as a phenomenon, it is indirectly also about culture contact.

The aim of the study is manifold, the ultimate goal being the documentation of morphosyntactic borrowings and understanding how they came to emerge. In order to achieve this goal, there are certain linguistic and non-linguistic problems to be tackled. First and foremost, it is necessary to form a theoretical framework to work with. Since Weinreich (1967), it has been accepted that language contact is not only a linguistic but also a sociological issue. This approach necessitates collecting a lot of historical and socio-linguistic data and investigating how socio-linguistic parameters correlate with the linguistic findings. Thus, it is necessary to form a theory which on the one hand includes a grammatical model that allows cross-linguistic comparison, and on the other hand explains how socio-linguistic factors affect the morphosyntactic structure of a language.

Before starting to discuss the methodology needed for this work, I would like to explain an important detail, namely the term "languages of Cyprus" which will be used throughout this work. It is a problematic one, since this work only stud-

ies three of them linguistically (these being Cypriot Greek, Cypriot Turkish and Kormakiti Arabic), and additionally one linguistic community, Cypriot Armenians, as a part of the socio-linguistic mosaic on the island. Cypriot Armenians are only included as a linguistic community for the practical reason that I was unable to collect enough linguistic data on Cypriot Armenian to compile a corpus large enough for quantitative purposes. For qualitative research, I was also unable to find any concrete examples that could be presented as an instance of morphosyntactic borrowing. Although the Armenians on the island always welcomed me, my short visits there throughout the preparation of this work were not long enough to collect enough linguistic data. I was, however, successful in gathering data on (and often by) Cypriot Armenians about their current situation on the island now, along with their history. The historical data on Armenian Cypriots is in chapter 4.1.1. Another linguistic community is the Roma community, or "Gurbet" as they call themselves, which will only be briefly mentioned in chapter 4.1.5 as there is very little information on their community and their language. My own attempts to contact Roma directly were declined and there is little first hand information on their current situation. Apart from these two communities, it is virtually impossible to narrow down the meaning of LANGUAGES OF CYPRUS as one could easily count every language spoken on the island as a LANGUAGE OF CYPRUS, as well as every language which was spoken during its history but is not being spoken anymore. In addition, one could easily argue that for example English should be considered as languages of Cyprus, and they would be right.

Choosing Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish was obvious as these two languages (and communities) are the largest in Cyprus (also they are the two official languages of the Republic of Cyprus; Cypriot Turkish is also the only official language of the de facto government in Northern Cyprus). Other religious communities which are constitutionally recognized as such in the Republic of Cyprus are alphabetically Armenians, Latins and Maronites. All three of these communities have roots in Cypriot history, and they all played a role in the social and linguistic history of the island. Though the Armenians and Maronites of Cyprus remain not only religious but also linguistic minorities, the Latins seem to have given up their language entirely long ago (as discussed in chapter 4.1.2) and are classified by Karyolemou (2009: 332) as "a religious minority without a minority

language". Gurbet were considered during the initial stages of my work as a research candidate, but the history of the Gurbets on the island is speculative and very little is known about them. Due to these reasons, the term LANGUAGES OF CYPRUS (if not mentioned otherwise) refers to Cypriot Greek, Cypriot Turkish and Kormakiti Arabic; and the term LANGUAGE COMMUNITIES OF CYPRUS refers to Armenians, Greek, Maronites and Turks on Cyprus. The question of what constitutes a dialect, a variety or a language will be discussed further in section 2.1.

In this study, the "double quotation marks" are used for quotations, whereas 'single quotation marks' are used for the purpose of translation. *Italics* is for writing language data, and for the purpose of expressing (SCIENTIFIC) TERMS, I used small caps.

1.1 Motivation

The scope of this research is an extension of an already existing previous project done in 2010 which concentrated solely on morphosyntactical borrowings in Cypriot Turkish from Cypriot Greek. Conducting this research led me to realise that Cypriot Turkish was not the only language influenced by contact related effects. Cypriot Greek was reciprocally affected by language contact and this would mean that other languages on the island must have also been affected by it. Further study of the literature such as Borg (1985) and Tsiapera (1969) on another language of Cyprus, Kormakiti Arabic, proved this suspicion probable.

An interesting aspect of this research is that Kormakiti Arabic is a moribund language with a handful of speakers and semi-speakers, and there is evidence of language levelling of Cypriot Turkish (as mentioned in Demir and Johanson 2006) and probably also of Cypriot Greek due to influence from mass media. This means that with each passing of year, a portion of the dialectal and also probably language contact features Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish is disappearing, and within a generation, there will not be any speakers of Kormakiti Arabic left to conduct field work with (unless the revitalization efforts of its speakers succeed). For these reasons, this study is not only an interesting one for language contact research, but it involves research that had to be conducted as soon as possible.

1.2   Previous Research

Only little research was done on language contact in Cyprus in regard to morphosyntax, and according to my knowledge, there is not a single study on language contact among all the languages of Cyprus. There are, however, some works worth mentioning on language contact on the island.

Language contact in Cypriot Greek has been discussed in different works. Varella (2006) studied past contacts of Cypriot Greek with many different languages, listing various lexical borrowings from different languages like French, Venetian, Turkish, English, etc. Symeōnidēs (2006) mentions lexical borrowings from French, Italian and Turkish.

Concerning Cypriot Turkish, many of the research projects concentrated on the lexicon. One of the most serious (if not the most serious one) about the use of lexical borrowings in Cypriot Turkish from Cypriot Greek and English is the book by Pehlivan (2003). In this book, Pehlivan presents his interviews with speakers of Cypriot Turkish of different age groups to determine which lexical borrowings they use in their daily lives. The research shows that the use of lexical borrowings is very high among the elderly speakers and the amount of these borrowings diminishes in each generation. İmer and Çelebi (2006) take a look at the phonetics of the Cypriot Turkish and how it differs from Standard Turkish. Johanson (2006), on the other hand, points out the fact that Cypriot Turkish is currently in close contact with other Anatolian dialects of continental Turkish and new forms of speech are emerging from this contact with different dialects. Nurettin Demir wrote a series of papers (Demir, 2002a, b, c) which contain documentations on verb constructions – which differ from those in Standard Turkish – difference in the word order, lack of the interrogation particle and unusual usage of the evidential marker. He also mentions that other Turkic languages like Karaim and Gagauz also exhibit similar structures due to a high level of contact with Slavic languages.

A very important study about the structural borrowings was done by Kappler (2008). Kappler is the first scholar I have come across to openly state that the structural borrowings in Cypriot Turkish are most probably borrowed from Cypriot Greek. The paper contains comparisons of structures between Cypriot

Turkish and Cypriot Greek, thus showing the structural similarities between both structures and preparing the ground for the evidence that these unusual structures in Cypriot Turkish may originate only from Cypriot Greek and not from English, thus answering the claims of Demir (2002a) who claims the relative and complement clauses might also be a borrowing from English.

The reason why most researchers were interested in Kormakiti Arabic is actually its extensive use of borrowings on every possible linguistic level. As far as I know, there are no studies of Kormakiti Arabic which do not mention borrowings and language contact in some way. Newton (1964) mentions language contact (it is already in the title) and Borg (1985) mentions that certain constructions are probably borrowings from Greek, apart from illustrating the effects of language contact in phonology, morphology and the lexicon.

There were also works mentioning efforts to revitalise Kormakiti Arabic, such as Hadjidemetriou (2008) which unfortunately does not go much in detail. Hadjidementriou also did some research (see Hadjidemetriou (2009)) on the contemporary language contact situation in the Republic of Cyprus, concentrating on the attitudes of the speakers of the minority languages (these being Kormakiti Arabic and Armenian) as well as the interference effects in the speeches of these speakers.

1.3 On Cyprus in General and the Focus of this Research

As a Cypriot, one can easily underestimate how little the rest of the world knows about the island. It is certainly only Cypriots who see their homeland as the centre of the universe and expect certain background information on the island to be known by everyone. I suffered from this mistake and had to be reminded of the fact that not everyone possesses the knowledge required to understand certain aspects of the social life on the island. I intend to clarify some of these historical and social aspects here, which I shall not go into detail in the chapter on the history of the island. The reason for avoiding these aspects is the difficulty of separating history from politics. It was never my intention to mix politics into

linguistics, but it is unavoidable concerning certain events where anything one writes about them entails a political statement, however one may formulate it.

The most famous fact about Cyprus is unfortunately the Cypriot conflict. It has its roots in the ethnic conflicts on the island beginning from the 1950s. One could call the Cypriot conflict "the Greek-Turkish conflict" for the simple reason that these ethnic communities were the main actors in the conflict. The period between the beginning of the conflicts in 1950s and 1974 is quite a bloody page in the history of the island and is accompanied by ethnic and political murders. The armed conflict ended in 1974 with the military occupation of the Northern part of the island by the Republic of Turkey. This also marks the beginning of the unavoidable involvement of politics in the historical narrative, even though calling this event a military occupation is probably the most neutral way of writing about it. The official position of Turkey and the current authority in Northern Cyprus is to call it a "peace operation", whereas the Republic of Cyprus views it as an invasion. This military occupation, which was as bloody as the ethnic conflict that preceded it, lead to the ethnic division of the island when most (but not all) Greek Cypriots living in the occupied northern part were forced to flee to the southern part, and Turkish Cypriots living in the southern part to the north. Today, the island is divided into two parts by a United Nations buffer zone which is commonly referred to as "the Green Line". The northern part of the island (commonly referred to as "the Turkish side") is since 1983 a self claimed republic ("Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus") recognised only by Turkey and it is mainly inhabited by Turkish Cypriots, whereas the southern part (commonly referred to as "the Greek side") is the Republic of Cyprus which claims to represent all of Cyprus on an international level and is inhabited mainly by Greek Cypriots. I shall refer to these two parts of the island as North Cyprus and South Cyprus respectively, in order to draw the reader's attention away from the ethnic separation and to the linguistic separation, even though they go hand in hand today.

This ethnic and political division of the island also meant the end of language contact for the majority of the speakers in both parts. Passing through the Green Line from one part into another was only possible with special permission which was usually only issued to diplomats and journalists under certain conditions.

The Maronites of Kormakitis were also given special permissions to cross this border. It was not until 2003 that the authorities of North Cyprus decided to open their borders (checkpoints) for crossing again. This marks the beginning of a new language contact period, with a new generation of speakers who did not experience language contact firsthand before. It is a completely new kind of language and social contact situation today, which exhibits clear differences from the historical language contact this research project is concerned with, such as the fact of today's lingua franca being English and not Greek anymore. Due to these differences, the focus of my research is on the **historical language contact** and contact induced changes in the languages involved, which has endured until today. This time frame encompasses a period of time from the emergence of the individual languages on the island until 1950s and will be discussed in detail in chapter 4. In order to investigate how today's language contact influences the speech of the new generation of speakers, it is necessary to apply another approach and do new research.

1.4 Overview

This paper is organized in the following fashion: The theoretical questions will be discussed in chapter 2. This chapter includes not only the linguistic theories applied for the language data but also the contact linguistics theory. How the language contact situation of Cyprus was approached will be discussed in chapter 3. The historical aspect is not only crucial from a socio-linguistic perspective but also from a purely linguistic perspective: We need to know what the language contact situation was historically, as language contact is a diachronic process, and if we accept that the past socio-linguistic structure of Cyprus shaped the languages which are spoken now on the island, we have to examine how this structure used to be. This will be discussed in chapter 4. After the chapter on history, I shall turn in chapter 5 to explain certain important features of the languages of Cyprus and to give general information about them. This chapter also includes how I chose to analyze them in this research. The aim here is not to document the languages but to note their distinctive features. Finally, in chapter 6, I shall demonstrate my findings and explain them by applying the historical

knowledge and language contact theory from previous chapters. These results and their implications will then be discussed in chapter 7.

Chapter 2

Theory

In a research study on contact induced language change, there are many questions which beg not only for an answer but for a clarification before they can be answered at all. This need for clarification starts with the very matter which is the focus of this research, i.e. the languages being investigated, and extends to its outcome and non-linguistic dimensions. Apart from laying down the theoretical basis of this study, I shall also define and fix the terminology which will be used in this work. Linguistics is a subject which suffers from terminological pollution – many terms used for the same phenomenon as well as the same term used for different phenomena – due to different approaches by linguists themselves and due to the philological heritage of the western linguistics whose terms or concepts are not applicable to other languages.

One of the first points I shall clarify is the definition of language, standard language, dialect and variety. My sole aim here will be to define these terms with the scope of this research. Then, assuming that the language data as well as necessary socio-linguistic data are present, the following questions must be answered in order to be able to put the data to good use:

1. What kind of phenomenon is language contact and how would one expect contact induced change to occur in a certain scenario? In other words, what does the socio-linguistic data foresee about language contact? This point breaks down into

   (a) What is contact induced language change?

    (b) Which non-linguistic factors affect contact induced language change and how do they affect it?

2. What are the structures of language's morphosyntax which we should consider are affected by language contact and how do these structures work? Since the languages involved originate from different language families, the grammar model should be compatible with these structural differences and explain these structures while making it possible to compare them.

3. Through which specific mechanisms does contact induced change occur and how does it spread among a speech community?

In the following chapters, these questions listed here will be discussed and I shall form a framework which is compatible with the goals of this work.

2.1   Variety, Language and Dialect

One of the most difficult questions to answer in the field of linguistics is the difference between languages and dialects. There is no straight answer to this question, but it should still be addressed, as the difference between language, dialect and variety is fundamental in this research. The question is further complicated by various approaches to it by different language traditions and ideologies. In this section, I shall review these different approaches and establish a basis terminology which I will be used throughout this work.

In the Turkish language tradition, almost any variation from the standard is called *ağız* as can be seen in the works written on Cypriot Turkish in this tradition such as Gökçeoğlu (2004) and Saracoğlu (2004). The features of an *ağız* are its geographical character and the fact that it is not written but only spoken according to Saracoğlu (2004: 21f.), whereas the standard is the Istanbul variety (*İstanbul ağzı*) which is the written variety of Turkey Turkish (*Türkiye Türkçesi*). It is not true, that the Istanbul variety is the written Turkish, but this approach shows the source of linguistic taxonomy the Turkish linguistics is based upon. The language is called Turkey Turkish, because every other Turkic language is also considered Turkish (there is no Turkic vs. Turkish distinction in Turkish).

The reason the Istanbul variety is considered the standard language is due to the roots of current Turkish linguistics in the nation building process in the Republic of Turkey. The written Turkish of today is in fact not a variety from anywhere but a product of language purism and engineering. A more variational approach to this issue was done by Nurettin Demir, who writes about *Kıbrıs Ağızları* and *Die türkischen Dialekte von Zypern* ('the Turkish dialects of Cyprus'), reflecting the fact that there is variation inside the assumed single Turkish Cypriot dialect (Demir, 2002a, c).

Also following a tradition, the Greek spoken in Cyprus since Classical times has always been referred to as *διάλεκτος* ('dialect'). Unsurprisingly, many works on Cypriot Greek like Symeōnidēs (2006), Chatzēiōannu (1999) and Varella (2006) call it a dialect. Greek Cypriots usually refer to their dialect as *κυπριακά* ('Cypriot'). The relationship of Cypriot Greek to Standard Greek used to be more different in the past than it is now. Just like the varieties of Greek on the mainland, Greek Cypriots used to use *καθαρεύουσα* (a solely written artificial form of Greek) for writing while they called their spoken language *δημοτική* (literally 'the people's language') regardless of their dialect. This changed after 1976 when after the end of the military dictatorship in Greece, δημοτική became the only language used, while καθαρεύουσα was abandoned. Since δημοτική is closer to Cypriot Greek (or generally to any variety of spoken Greek), being exposed to the same language in the school (as written language) and although the impact of mass media should increase the degree and probability of Cypriot Greek being influenced by Standard Greek.

Kormakiti Arabic was not affected by nation building or nationalist ideas at all, unlike Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek. It has been called both a dialect (for example by Newton (1964)) and a language (by Borg, 1985) by linguists. Based on extensive research done by Borg, it is fairly safe to categorize Kormakiti Arabic as belonging to the Levantine Arabic group, i.e. the varieties spoken in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine. The speakers of Kormakiti Arabic usually think of it as a language of its own, thus they call it *sanna* ('our language') or *luɣa tel-đeʕa* ('language of the village'). They back up their claims by stating that Kormakiti Arabic and other varieties of Levantine Arabic are not mutually intelligible. Speakers of Kormakiti Arabic (or Maronites in Cyprus in general) have

Language

Standard Variety   Social Variety

Regional Variety
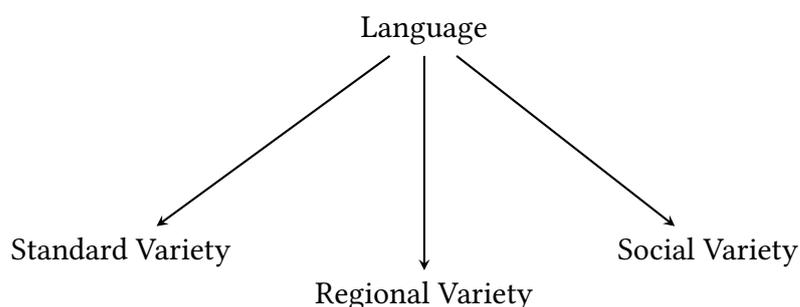
Figure 2.1: Language and its varieties

very little to do with the Arabic speaking world. The only ties they have are with Lebanon, and these ties are religious and symbolic in nature. These differences, especially the morpho-syntactic ones, will be investigated partially in chapter 6. The mutual unintelligibility is most probably due to the contact influence Kormakiti Arabic underwent and not due to the genealogical differences between the varieties. Kormakiti Arabic is thus an interesting example of how language contact can lead to divergence, rendering two related varieties of a language mutually unintelligible.

I follow Ammon in his definition of the terms *language* and *variety* as two different levels of abstraction (Ammon, 1986: 11). *Language*, in this sense, is one level more abstract than *variety*. Different varieties constitute a language; in other words, varieties are subclasses of the class language. As Ammon mentions, it is possible for one variety alone to constitute a language. Therefore, the relationship between language and its varieties can be represented as in figure 2.1. A language is thus an abstract construct which is made up by different varieties, the standard (or written) variety being one of these. This one-level branching is not final, however, and it does not eliminate the possibility of a regional variety having its own social varieties and vice versa. It is also possible to have more than one standard variety, as Ammon (1986: 12) illustrates with the example of German which has different standard varieties in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Regarding the term *dialect*, I prefer not to use it throughout this work at all.

Based on this fundamental taxonomy principle, the term *languages of Cyprus*

mentioned in the introduction actually refers to the *native varieties of Cyprus*, i.e., every regional and social variety spoken on the island. The varieties used in Cyprus in each language are as follows:

- Armenian

- Cypriot Greek

    - Standard Greek variety (written language)

    - Regional varieties of Cypriot Greek

    - Social varieties of Cypriot Greek (e.g. youth's language)

- Cypriot Turkish

    - Standard Turkish variety (written language)

    - Regional varieties of Cypriot Turkish

    - Social varieties of Cypriot Turkish

- Kormakiti Arabic (no regional or social varieties)

These listed varieties are all used on Cyprus by its natives. In the case of Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish, my research is mainly concerned with the regional varieties of these languages. As far as I know, little work has been done on the social varieties in Cyprus. As the current state of data points out the fact that contact induced language change happened regionally and not in specific social varieties, I focused mainly on these regional varieties of these languages while gathering linguistic data. Needless to say, these two languages were involved in a two-way language contact: with each other regionally, as well as with their own standard varieties.

The empirical knowledge of languages of Cyprus tempts me to include a Standard Cypriot variety for both Greek and Turkish, i.e. a variety of Cyprus which is accepted as neutral by the speakers of the regional varieties but not by the speakers from the mainland. This intuition was however not tested by me and this work is not about the dialectology of the island.

2.2   Grammar Theory

As previously mentioned, there is a need for tools, i.e., a grammar model, which we can work with in order to a) observe how the languages involved function, and b) which structures are influenced by each other in language contact. I chose to use radical construction grammar developed by William Croft in order to answer these questions. In his theory, he suggests that "constructions and not categories are the primitive units of syntactic representation" (Croft, 2001: 47?), whereas he defines *primitive units* as "units […] whose structure and behavior cannot be defined in terms of other units in the theory". Radical construction grammar is a nonreductionist theory, meaning that instead of defining atomic units and then trying to explain more complex structures, it starts the definition process from the largest units (constructions) and then move on to simpler constructions "in terms of their relation to larger units". Using this model for the purposes of this work is advantageous over other reductionist models of grammar, since it is more compatible with comparing structures of different languages. As it will be illustrated on examples from languages of Cyprus (in chapter 6), starting from classical defined units or grammatical categories proves to be very challenging as these units or grammatical categories are sometimes not found in other languages in a form in which they are comparable with each other. The method of focusing on a morphosyntactic construction as a whole, comparing it with the constructions in other languages and then step by step moving into the detail of these constructions not only allows an easier comparison of morphosyntactic constructions but through the part-whole-analysis enables a better understanding of the smaller units/categories of constructions and how these are borrowed among languages.

With this kind of top-down approach the question arises as to where one should begin analyzing; since one could easily argue that a whole narrative itself is a construction (which Croft actually never argues against). To the question of where one should start defining constructions, Croft answers with "utterances" (Croft, 2001: 52). Utterances are also the starting blocks which I use in analyzing the linguistic data in this work. Utterances are, according to Croft, "instances of constructions" which linguists study and children learn. Further-

more, Croft writes that "[a]ny construction with unique, idiosyncratic morphological, syntactic, lexical, semantic, pragmatic, OR discourse-functional properties must be represented as an independent node in the constructional network in order to capture a speaker's knowledge of their language" (capitalization in original) [25]. Even though we accept a whole narrative (or possibly even every speaker's part of a dialogue) as an instance of construction, we can divide it into smaller instances of constructions which have the unique property of carrying chunks of semantic information which belong to a larger discourse. We could call these CLAUSE CONSTRUCTIONS, thus resembling what linguists would usually call a CLAUSE (cf. the definition of a simple clause by (Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997: 26) consisting of a CORE and PERIPHERY). These clause constructions are then what a linguist would classify as a complex or simple clause, but also much more. By definition, an interjection or an idiosyncratic construction lacking any verbal or nominal predication (such as "hello!") can also be an instance of clause construction. The language data gathered for this research was analysed through this categorization formula for clause constructions, which I shall simply call CLAUSE throughout this work.
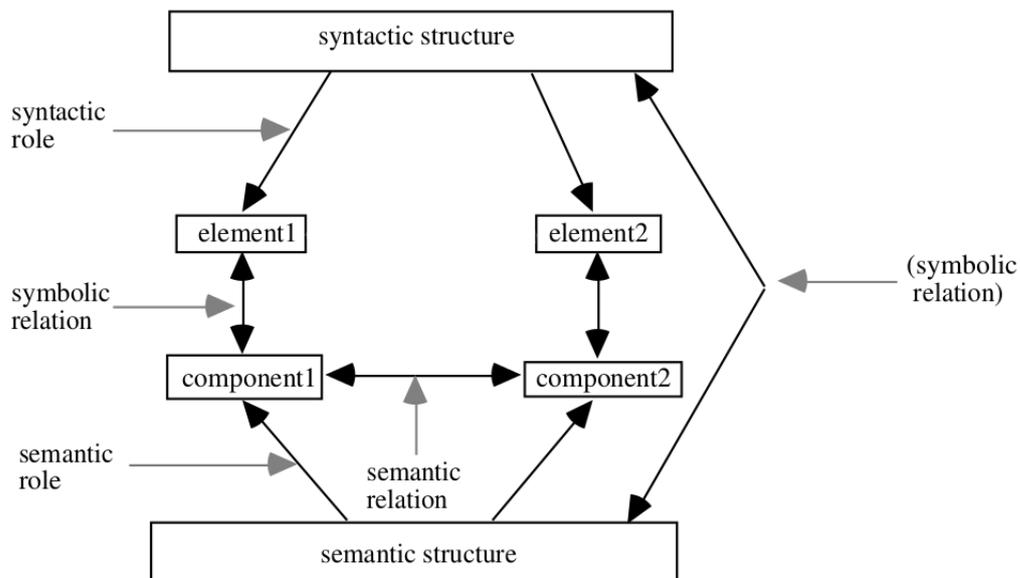
Figure 2.2: The internal structure of a construction (Croft, 2001: 204)

Figure 2.2 shows the internal structure of a construction. When a speaker hears an utterance (i.e. construction) the speaker hears the syntactic structure and symbolic structure between the syntactic and the semantic structures help him understand the semantics of the structure. Then the speaker can understand the relation of semantic components to the semantic structure and the relation between the components. With the help of syntactic roles, the speaker also identifies the syntactic elements of the structure, which he then finally links to the corresponding semantic components with the symbolic relation between the two (Croft, 2001: 205). Using this structure, I will argue that the symbolic bonds between syntactic and semantic structures, as well as syntactic elements and semantic components are the basis for contact induced language change.

One of the important implications of the use of this theory is that when a construction X is borrowed by language A from language B, not only the syntactic hierarchy of the elements is borrowed, but also the semantic components and the relationship between these components as well as the general relationship between the syntactic and the semantic structures. Since syntactic categories and roles are construction specific, when a construction is borrowed, are these syntactic categories and roles also borrowed through this process?

2.3   Contact Induced Language Change

LANGUAGE CONTACT can be defined as "[...] the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time" (Thomason, 2001: 1) for the purpose of this research. This definition does not presuppose language contact to be spoken and in a very broad sense, a Turkish speaker seeing a text in Greek written in the Greek alphabet is already a language contact, though an extremely superficial one. This study is chiefly on CONTACT INDUCED LANGUAGE CHANGE, which I define as any kind of language change due to language contact. This definition is rather difficult to apply as it is very challenging to prove whether a language change took place due to language contact. Thomason (2001: 61) writes that "any linguistic change that would have been less likely to occur outside a particular contact situation is due at least in part to language contact." She emphasises "at least in part" , since not every unusual linguistic change need be contact induced and this def-

inition is in fact more open to speculation as one should define the likelihood of a language change taking place. Since language contact is ultimately also culture contact, i.e., contact of speech communities, different factors can influence the contact situation. I follow Thomason's notion of dividing the contact situations into two: stable and unstable (Thomason, 2001: 21). The stability of a language contact situation refers to the balance of influence between two or more speech communities. I accept the main notion of Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 19) that the outcomes of language contact are not much affected by the linguistic property of the languages involved but by the social context of the contact situation and divide language contact scenarios into two main groups: language maintenance and language shift. Briefly, when the speakers of L1 come into contact with speakers of L2 it leads to language maintenance, if they do not give up L1, and to language shift, if they shift from L1 to L2. According to this theory, language maintenance leads to borrowing, which they define as the incorporation of some foreign elements into a language by its native speakers from another language (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 21). Stability of language contact situation thus leads to a language maintenance scenario where two languages continue to influence each other, whereas an unstable contact situation might ultimately lead to language shift.

Although language contact is about contact of speech communities, this is only one dimension of this phenomenon. The second dimension of language contact is the speaker's cognition. This second dimension can be approached by placing the bilingual individual in the centre of the theory instead of languages themselves in his work. This approach is taken by Matras who notes that his approach to language contact is mainly functional (Matras, 2009: 2). According to Matras, bilinguals (or multilinguals) do not categorise their knowledge of different languages as "language" or "language systems" and they do not switch between these language systems but rather they have a complete and complex "linguistic repertoire" which they can use any time according to the need of communication (Matras, 2009: 3-4).

At this point it is necessary to define what is meant by BILINGUALISM or MULTILINGUALISM. Thomason notes that being in language contact need not mean a case of multilingualism and the speakers need not be fluent in every language

involved in the contact situation. Still, bilingualism (or multilingualism) is a central motif in language contact. She discusses the two possible definitions of bilingualism: The first definition is a functional one and defines a bilingual as anyone using two languages, whereas the second definition requires the bilingual person to have full fluency in speaking, listening, reading and writing two languages (Thomason, 2001: 3). The reasons for being bilingual can be social, political or religious according to Thomason (2001: 49). Thomason also distinguishes between two types of bilingualism: Symmetrical and asymmetrical. Symmetrical bilingualism (or mutual bilingualism or multilingualism) is the case, in which speakers of different languages in a community are also bilinguals in other languages spoken in that community. This means the speakers of the language A are bilingual and also speak the language B and the speakers of B are also bilingual in A. In the case ofassymetrical bilingualism, the speakers of A are also bilingual in B but the speakers of B are monolinguals. This last pattern is usually a sign of language shift, notes Thomason (2001: 4), but this study serves as a proof that this is not necessarily so.

Language contact is an interesting phenomenon which is best understood and observed through its results. We cannot observe language contact as it is happening (in the sense that it is happening in one's mind, not on a community-level), but we can observe its outcomes and other relevant data to analyze what might have happened. This feature of language contact is observable in Thomasons' work in which she suggests the following strategy in proving whether contact-induced change took place: The first step is to look at the receiving language as a whole. The second step is to identify a source language. The third step is identifying shared features which are suspected of being borrowed. The fourth step is proving that these features were not present in the receiving language before the language contact and the last step is proving that these features were present in the source language before the language contact (Thomason, 2001: 93-94).

Concerning language maintenance, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) introduce a scalar system by which they try to generalise which type of language contact leads to which kinds of borrowing and to what extend. This scale in figure 2.3 will be referred to as the "Thomason & Kaufman Scale" throughout this thesis,

Type of contact	Results
Casual contact	Direct borrowing happens only at the lexical level and the direct borrowing of the non-basic vocabulary is more often than the direct borrowing of the basic vocabulary.
Slightly more intense contact	"Slight structural direct borrowing". Direct borrowings both in lexical and structural level, including new functions and new orderings "that cause little or no typological disruption".
More intense contact	"Slightly more structural direct borrowing." Stress rules and other phonological rules can be borrowed directly. In some aspects of the language, the word order may be changed.
Strong cultural pressure	"Moderate structural direct borrowing." New word order changes and direct borrowing of new categories may happen in this stage, which still cause "relatively little typological change".
Very strong cultural pressure	In this last stage basically anything can be borrowed directly and the direct borrowings cause a "significant typological disruption".

Table 2.1: Thomason & Kaufman Borrowing Scale (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 74-6) (Shortened slightly by me)

and it can be summarised in their own words:

> "*The more intense the contact situation is, the more likely it is that extensive structural borrowing will occur.*" *(Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 67)*

Concerning language shift, Thomason & Kaufmann differentiate between shift without contact induced change (or INTERFERENCE as they call it) and shift with contact induced change. In the first case, the language of the community shifting from L1 to L2 exhibits no trace of L1 in the end of the shifting process,

except for "a few loanwords" (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 120). In language shift with contact induced change, the shifting speakers bring certain features of L1 in L2, e.g. phonological, lexical and/or syntactical features. In addition, Thomason & Kaufman note that the outcome of language shift is affected by the size of the shifting group. If the size of the shifting group is small relative to the group of speakers of the language L1, one would expect little or no interference in L1 as a whole. This is due to two reasons: First, in a language shift situation, one of the factors that determine the interference is the access of the shifting speakers to L1. If the access is direct, then the expectancy of substrate effects decreases, and a small group of speakers will likely have a direct access to L1. The second factor is the size of the group itself, because even if the speakers of the shifting group change the structure of L1 (Thomason & Kaufman refer to this as "producing errors") the native speakers of L1 would unlikely generally accept these changes (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 47).

Contact induced language change is thus a very complex phenomenon in its linguistic as well as socio-cultural aspects. I prefer to study it by splitting it into two main processes following Croft (2000: 4): *innovation* and *propagation.* These two main processes also create two different focal points, one being the speaker's mind and the second one being the speech community. According to Croft, these are general processes of language change; contact induced language change is only a subclass of language change. It is often the case in language contact research that either the innovation part is heavily emphasised (e.g. Matras (2009)) or the propagation part (e.g. Thomason and Kaufman (1988)). Note that Croft (2000) is about language change in general and not about contact induced language change in particular. Although contact induced language change has certain aspects which distinguish it from language change (without contact), they nevertheless have a lot in common. Milroy and Milroy (1985: 348) also differentiate between speaker innovation (in the speaker's mind) and language change (spread of the innovation in the speech community).

2.3.1 Innovation

At this point, it is necessary to explain what kind of effects of contact induced changes are being observed in the chosen languages. I divide language into two main parts when observing contact induced change. These two parts are MATTER and PATTERN, matter being the lexicon and pattern the "structure" in a general sense (Matras, 2009: 148). Pattern can be observed on different linguistic levels; on the lexical level, for example, pattern borrowing would be called *calquing* or *loan borrowing* (Matras, 2009: 245), but it can also happen on clausal, phrasal or morphological levels. When combining this theory with radical construction grammar, patterns of numerous constructions can influence constructions in other languages. In this work, the focus is on patterns alone or for pattern + matter combinations, but never for matter alone.

Furthermore, there will be a differentiation between *replication* and *borrowing*, as follows. Replication will be used whenever the pattern of language A influences the pattern of language B; and borrowing will be used to describe the transfer of matter from one language into another. This study is primarily about replication, although sometimes borrowing occurs simultaneously with replication.

It is also necessary to define the tools with which to analyse replications. While it is possible that in some cases a syntactical pattern, e.g. constituent order, is simply adopted, most of the cases are more complex and thus require more complex analyses. Heine & Kuteva suggested the notion of CONTACT-INDUCED GRAMMATICALIZATION, which consists of two different mechanisms: ORDINARY CONTACT-INDUCED GRAMMATICALIZATION and REPLICA GRAMMATICALIZATION by Heine and Kuteva (2005: 80). The notion of contact-induced grammaticalization states that instead of mere adoption, the languages sometimes develop series of grammaticalization processes in order to replicate certain patterns (also called "use patterns" by Heine and Kuteva, 2005: 41). I shall briefly explain how the above mentioned mechanisms work, but first it is necessary to define what is meant by grammaticalization.

Grammaticalization   Grammaticalization and its status is a rather controversial topic. Linguists like Haspelmath (1998) and Heine and Kuteva (2005) accept grammaticalization, whereas others like Campbell (2001) refuse to accept its status as a mechanism on its own, and Harris and Campbell (1995) do not accept grammaticalization as a basic mechanism for language change. In the light of the discussion led by Campbell (2001), I am inclined not to see grammaticalization as a mechanism with a status of its own, but as more of an umbrella term for certain operations which may interactively constitute a mechanism important in language change. On the other hand, grammaticalization is a useful umbrella term and the concern of this work is not to develop a language change theory, but to examine certain kinds of language change. Grammaticalization usually includes operations like 1) SEMANTIC BLEACHING, which leads a morpheme to lose its *lexical meaning* and gain a (more) *grammatical meaning*; 2) PHONOLOGICAL REDUCTION, which describes the loss of phonetic content of a morpheme as it becomes semantically more grammatical and less lexical. These operations are not central to my work, and in most of the cases of structural borrowing, they are not present. Campbell (2001: 124) also discusses UNIDIRECTIONALITY – which is accepted as an important notion of grammaticalization – is not without exceptions and it cannot be a part of grammaticalization.

Harris and Campbell (1995: 50-51) suggest three primary mechanisms of syntactic change: REANALYSIS, EXTENSION and BORROWING. Reanalysis refers to a new syntactic analysis happening in the speaker's mind. It "changes the underlying structure of a syntactic pattern and [...] does not involve any modification to surface manifestation", whereas underlying structure includes "at least (i) constituency. (ii) hierarchical structure, (iii) category labels, and (iv) grammatical relations" (Harris and Campbell, 1995: 50). Croft calls reanalysis FORM-FUNCTION REANALYSIS which has four subtypes as explained in table 2.2. Thinking in terms of radical construction grammar, reanalysis changes the symbolic relations of the syntactic elements with the semantic components, without a change in the utterance of the syntactic structure itself.

Extension, on the other hand, changes this surface manifestation and not the underlying structure. It is similar to analogy and generalization. Harris and Campbell (1995: 97) write "extension [...] operates to change the syntax

Subtype	Explanation
Hyperanalysis	Reanalysis of an inherent semantic/functional property of a syntactic unit as a contextual property (Croft, 2000: 121)
Hypoanalysis	Reanalysis of a contextual semantic/functional property as an inherent property of the syntactic unit (Croft, 2000: 126)
Metanalysis	Simultaneous occurrence of hyperanalysis and hypoanalysis (Croft, 2000: 130)
Cryptanalysis	Reanalysis of a covert semantic/functional property of a syntactic unit as not grammatically marked and insertion of an overt marker expressing its semantic value. (Croft, 2000: 134)

Table 2.2: Subtypes of reanalysis according to Croft (2000)

of a language by generalizing a rule". Concerning borrowing, Campbell writes "[g]rammatical elements can be borrowed from other languages. This in effect constitutes a kind of 'grammaticalization'" (Campbell, 2001: 143). Both Campbell (2001) and Harris and Campbell (1995) accept borrowing as an important aspect of language change, but they do not define how it it works, which is crucial for the purpose of this work. I am convinced that contact induced change cannot be explained by one mechanism alone but requires a series of them. Most of the discussion on language change due to grammaticalization concentrates on internal language change and not on contact influenced language change. I shall employ the following contact induced grammaticalization mechanisms suggested by Heine and Kuteva (2005) and illustrate how these mechanisms can be used to explain contact induced language change on morphosyntactic level. The term grammaticalization from here on refers, as an umbrella term, to at least reanalysis and extension.

Heine and Kuteva (2005: 40p) use the term GRAMMATICAL USE PATTERN (or short USE PATTERN) in the sense of linguistic strucutre having the properties of a) being associate with some specific grammatical meaning, b) being recurrent pieces of linguistic discourse, c) being optional, and d) being primary units figuring in the initial stage of grammatical replication. The grammaticalization process causes a MINOR USE PATTERN to be a MAJOR USE PATTERN, whereas the terms minor and major refer to a use pattern being used more frequently, in a com-

pletely new context or having a new grammatical function (Heine and Kuteva, 2005: 45). The term use pattern is employed to indicate the locus of contact induced grammaticalization. I shall not employ the term use pattern in this work as I already make use of the term pattern in the sense of syntactic configuration of morphemes and grammaticalization is expected to occur in the constructions defined previously. A less frequently used construction, which is becoming more frequent or developing a new grammatical meaning is the idea behind contact induced change: but I do not see the necessity to express this change through this term.

Ordinary grammaticalization   Ordinary grammaticalization is the process with which a category x is created in the replica language using a similar category in the model language. The only thing created in R is the category x, according to the model Mx. R uses however its own existing construction Ry and grammaticalises it to the replicated category Rx. One of the crucial points of this process is that the speakers of R "create" the category Rx, which did not exist before and grammaticalise the already-existing construction Ry to Rx (Heine and Kuteva, 2005: 81), instead of just copying the materials they see in the language M. Ordinary grammaticalization can thus be summarised with the table 2.3.

1. Speakers notice that in language M there is a grammatical category Mx.

2. They create an equivalent category Rx in language R on the basis of the use patterns available in R.

3. To this end, they draw on universal strategies of grammaticalization, using construction Ry in order to develop Rx.

4. They grammaticalise Ry to Rx.

Table 2.3: Ordinary grammaticalization (Heine and Kuteva, 2005: 81)

The important feature of this mechanism is that the speakers of language R adopt only the category Mx. The grammaticalization process itself happens in language shaping its pattern and matter.

Replica grammaticalization In replica grammaticalization, the speakers of R do not create a category Rx using the model category Mx, they rather replicate a whole grammaticalization process in M in their native language R. It is not a grammatical concept or category which is transferred, but the whole process of grammaticalization in M. According to Heine & Kuteva, this mechanism is even more common than ordinary grammaticalization (Heine and Kuteva, 2005: 92).

1. Speakers notice that in language M there is a grammatical category Mx.

2. They create an equivalent category Rx in the language R, using material available in R.

3. To this end, they replicate a grammaticalization process they assume to have taken place in language M, using an analogical formula of the kind [My > Mx]: [Ry > Rx].

4. They grammaticalise Ry to Rx.

Table 2.4: Replica grammaticalization (Heine and Kuteva, 2005: 92)

In this sense, this mechanism is actually the semantic extension of a morpheme on the basis of an already replicated category Rx. I hypothesise that replica grammaticalization requires a higher degree of bi-/multilingualism than ordinary grammaticalization. This is the same mechanism as INTRAFERENCE, as described in Croft (2000), which he explains as a word or construction from one language being used in another language for a particular meaning, which is usually expressed through another word or expression in this language.

2.3.2 Results of Contact-Induced Change in Language Maintenance Situations

Apart from contact-induced grammaticalization, in a separate chapter Heine and Kuteva (2005) also discuss the possible typological changes in a language due to contact-induced change. Heine and Kuteva (2005) list the possible outcomes of a contact-induced structural change in table 2.5. Heine & Kuteva note the categories above are not mutually exclusive and "several effects may be involved

in a given instance of grammaticalization" (Heine and Kuteva, 2005: 124).

1. There is now a new category for which previously there was no equivalent category (gap filling).

2. There has been some equivalent grammatical category and the new and the old structures encoding this category coexist side by side (coexistence).

3. The new and the old categories coexist side by side but the structure of the old category is redefinied as a result of the presence of the new category (differentiation).

4. One category of the replica language is restructured to be equivalent to a corresponding category of the model language hereby the grammatical categorization of the replica language is affected (equivalence or isomorphism).

5. The new use pattern is assigned to some old category, with the effect that the latter acquires a larger range of uses, this means, the internal structure of the category is changed (extension).

6. The new category replaces the old category (replacement).

Table 2.5: Typological changes due to language contact

Examples for such typological changes are the Turkic language Qashqay which lost the concept of verb serialization and adopted the Persian model (Heine and Kuteva, 2005: 148) and word-order change as in the case of Takia (Western Oceanic), which changed its word-order from SVO to SOV under the influence of Waskia (Papua New Guinea) (Heine and Kuteva, 2005: 158).

It is also possible to see certain outcomes as different stages in a continuum, especially concerning the stages of coexistence and replacement. As Croft (2000: 54) emphasises, language change does not happen abruptly. There is a period of time in which both the native and the replicated constructions are in use. The term (SOCIOLINGUISTIC) VARIABLE is used for explaining this phenomenon, which is employed for different constructions in a language used for the same grammatical semantics (Weinreich et al., 1968).

2.3.3   Language Shift and Language Death

When it comes to language shift, Thomason and Kaufman differentiate between three language shift situations. These are language shift without interference, language shift with slight interference and shift with moderate to heavy interference. In the first case, the language of the community shifting from L1 to L2 carries no trace of L1 in the end of the shifting process, except for "a few loanwords" (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 120). The second category, "language shift with slight interference", distinguishes itself from the first case in that the speakers of L1 bring features from the phonology and the syntax of the L1 into L2. In the last case, apart from lexicon, phonology and syntax, also the inflectional morphology of L2 may change due to interference from L1. Thomason and Kaufman divide the outcome of such an interference into three resulting situations (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 129-31). In the first, some aspects of L2 may be "simplified" due to interference, when L2 has a feature which is more complex than its counterpart in L1. Loss of phonological distinctions are an example for this. In the second outcome, the features of L2 become neither simpler nor complexer, they just change. An example would be the change of word order or the order of the nouns and adjectives in L2. In the third outcome, the speakers "complicate" the L2 grammar by bringing in a new feature which is complexer than its original L1 counterpart. Changes in phonology would again be an example for this outcome.

Thomason and Kaufman also note that the outcome of language shift is also affected by the size of the shifting group. If the size of the shifting group is small, relative to the group of speakers of the language L1, one would expect little or no interference in L1 as a whole. This is due to two reasons. First, in a language shift situation, one of the factors that determine the interference is the access of the shifting speakers to L1. If the access is direct, then the expectancy of substrate effects decreases and a small group of speakers will likely have a direct access to L1. The second factor is the size of the group itself, because even if the speakers of the shifting group change the structure of L1 (Thomason & Kaufman refer to this as "producing errors"), the native speakers of L1 would be unlikely to generally accept these changes (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 47).

Winford notes that the definition of substratum influence given by Thomason &
Kaufman is inaccurate, because they define it as "imperfect learning", whereas
imperfect learning is actually different from substratum influence. Winford also
differentiates between two cases of language shift, namely individual language
shift and group shift, whereas he agrees with Thomason & Kaufman that the size
of the group of people shifting their language does play a role in the outcome of
the language shift situation (Winford, 2003: 17).

A possible outcome of language shift is LANGUAGE DEATH, i.e., when no one
is left speaking the language. As Crystal (2002) puts it, a language is practi-
cally dead when the second last speaker dies, as there is no one else left for
the last remaining speaker to speak the language to, except for possibly a few
semi-speakers who understand it but cannot speak. With the death of its last
speaker, the language vanishes completely. As Crystal writes "[w]hen a lan-
guage dies which has never been recorded in some way, it is as if it has never
been" (Crystal, 2002: 2). Sasse (1992b: 10) describes the relevant factors for lan-
guage death as EXTERNAL SETTING (which corresponds to what I covered under
the term socio-linguistic aspects of language change), SPEECH BEHAVIOUR, i.e.,
different domains of the languages involved and their usage in social settings;
and finally STRUCTURAL CONSEQUENCES which refer to the structural linguistic
properties of a language.

As to how language death occurs, Sasse writes that it is first the external fac-
tors which affect the whole situation that causes the speech behaviour to change,
which then leads to changes in the linguistic structure (Sasse, 1992b: 13f.). Lan-
guage death is caused primarily by language shift (excluding a handful of other
completely non-linguistic factors which also cause it such as genocide), and Sasse
defines language shift as an interruption in LANGUAGE TRANSMISSION, i.e., the
speakers stop passing on the language. In a process which he calls PRIMARY
LANGUAGE SHIFT, the speakers make the L2 their PRIMARY LANGUAGE and L1 their
SECONDARY LANGUAGE. This may be followed by speakers giving the abandoned
language a negative value, or sometimes considering it to be positive (when it is
seen as a feature of identification) and in other cases to be negative, e.g., as a tool
for communication. At this point, the linguistic changes in the abandoned lan-
guage can be observed as it goes under a process called LANGUAGE DECAY (some-

times also called LANGUAGE ATTRITION). This stage is named thus as certain features of the language begin to disappear and a new kind of speakers arise. These speakers, called SEMI-SPEAKERS, have an IMPERFECT KNOWLEDGE of the language since they were never fully exposed to it. Following Sasse in his theory (Sasse, 1992a), I categorise the semi-speakers in the following groups. The first group of semi-speakers are the ones with good language proficiency but who never became full speakers due to the lack of a regular use of the language. Sasse calls them FORGETTERS and RUSTY SPEAKERS who have gaps in the lexical repository but otherwise know the language. This type of semi-speakers can be found in situations where a rapid language shift took place or the language is dying, and many of the speakers ceased transmitting the language whereas some of them still do. Type 2 constitutes the group of semi-speakers who are also called SEMI-SPEAKER PROPER who grew up in families with no language transmission to its children. The children can pick up some of the language by listening to the elderly speaking among themselves and maybe occasionally talking it themselves with their elders (Sasse, 1992a: 62). The whole point of this categorization is to emphasise that there is a continuum of semi-speakers with different proficiencies.

Language decay occurs in several ways such as tense-aspect-mode (TAM) categories or person marking on verbs slowly disappearing (Sasse, 1992b: 16). NEGATIVE LOSS can also happen, meaning that an entire category in the abandoned language disappears due to its lack of a counterpart in the model language. This whole model is called the Gaelic-Arvanitika-Model (GAM), and it is a model of gradual language death.

As long as a language does not suffer from a sudden death, i.e., all of its speakers dying out due to war, disease or another non-linguistic reason, there is always a certain time period in which the dying language undergoes certain changes. Naturally, the mechanisms involved in language death are different than are those in language maintenance. Although there it is difficult to define "the" mechanisms of language death, as it is with language contact in general since "anything goes" (see Thomason (2001)), we should be able to observe similar changes in dying languages. Sasse (1992a) provides us with certain changes in *Arvanitika*, the Albanian dialect in Greek (its very name stands for "Albanian" in

Greek), which died out due to its speakers' shift to Greek, very similar to the case of Kormakiti Arabic. By observing the changes in Arvanitika, it may be possible to observe some similarities with the changes in Kormakiti Arabic.

1. The first change was the loss of subordinative mechanisms. As Sasse explains it: "Arvanitika semi-speakers do not use gerund forms of the verb in spite of the fact that there is an exact parallel form in Greek. The most frequent type of subordinate clause is the short relative clause. Adverbial clauses are avoided except for those introduced by 'when' or 'if'. At the phrase level, modifiers are rare; genitives and adjectives are not frequently used. (Sasse, 1992a: 70)"

2. The second change is the loss of systematic integration. What is meant is that the lexical items from Greek were not integrated into the Arvanitika phonetical and phonological system and were used in the exact same form as in Greek. For example, *tileoras* was the Greek borrowing for 'television' in Arvanitika, but the semi-speakers were using the original Greek form *tileorasi*.

3. The third change was the breakdown of grammatical categories, as the whole TAM system was coming apart and the semi-speakers did not differentiate between forms like the future particle *do* and the subjunctive particle *tə*, even inventing mixed forms such as *de* or *də* (Sasse, 1992a: 70p).

4. The final change was agrammatism as Sasse calls it. He defines this as "the total disintegration of the morphological system" with effects such as the suppletive forms in paradigms being lost, personal markers in verbs being mixed up, plural forms of nouns being regularised and the syntax getting mixed up. Sasse also notes that although semi-speakers were making these mistakes in their language, there were utterances which they were producing perfectly. This is due to the fact that the speakers know certain utterances by heart and can repeat them. The mistakes that were listed usually occurred when these semi-speakers were asked to be creative and form spontaneous utterances (Sasse, 1992a: 72).

5. Semi-speakers also had problems finding the lexical items.

6. Extreme phonological variation and distortion can be observed in semi-speakers' speech.

7. Lastly, semi-speakers use phonological hypercorrections. In the case of Arvanitika, a lexical item like *herə* became *çerə* under the influence of Greek phonology, where the same phoneme is /x/ before back vowels and /ç/ before front vowels. Then in an "attempt to imitate the 'something different'" 'the semi-speakers pronounced it as *xerə* (Sasse, 1992a: 72p).

Although these may not be the exact changes in Kormakiti Arabic, the Arvanitika examples show an overall tendency towards both generalization/standardization, confusion and loss in language usage. These examples and tendencies will be the basis for comparing language death in Kormakiti Arabic with Arvanitika. In general, the aspects of language decay should be easy to observe, and I follow Sasse in his notion that "the bulk of typical decay phenomena, especially agrammatism, syntactic reduction, and extreme variability, is so different from what happens in normal contact-induced change, that it can be clearly set off from the latter (Sasse, 1992a: 75)".

This list of features of language decay by Sasse is very similar of what other scholars wrote on this topic. Dressler lists several structural and functional changes during language decay (Dressler, 1988). These are the list of language decay features: 1) Borrowing of several lexical items without necessary phonological and phonetic integration. Dressler calls these lexical items "Gastwörter" (lit. guest words) (1552); 2) Loss or change in the phonology and intonation of the language by semi-speakers; 3) The native "productive processes" of the language are lost and replicated with those of the replicated language; 4) Too much phonological/lexical variation; 5) Loss of the stylistic registers of the language which leads to a monostylistic language.

2.4   Propagation and Sociolinguistic Theory

A theory of contact induced language change should also be able to explain how and why certain innovations are accepted and widespread in a language community, whereas many other innovation (or innovation possibilities) are ignored. The theory and mechanics of propagation, defined as the diffusion of contact induced elements in a speech community, cannot be separated from sociolinguistic theory. Propagation is how certain innovations become widespread in a language or variety. Croft writes that "[...] the basic mechanism for propagation is the speaker identifying with a social group [...]" (Croft, 2000: 166). A SPEECH COMMUNITY is the "[...]grouping of individuals by their participation in a social domain" and SOCIAL DOMAIN is defined "by the shared expertise of the members of the community, by the virtue of which the members of the community share common ground (mutual knowledge and beliefs)". Individual speakers can (and very often do) belong to different speech communities, which are not based on languages and are homogeneous, (what Croft (2000: 166) calls a "naïve view of a speech community"), but are defined by different factors such as residence, ethnicity, language, gender, age, education, etc.

In an example of this notion of belonging to different speech communities, a Turkish Cypriot farmer living in a bilingual village thus belongs to speech communities of both Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek. Furthermore, he belongs to the speech communities of farmers' Cypriot Turkish and farmer's Cypriot Greek. He may also use Cypriot Turkish at home in the domain of the family, and thus, he would not be so competent in this domain in Cypriot Greek. The same is also true for other domains like religion and education (if at all). The competence of these speech communities are acquired slowly and unconsciously as explained in Fishman (1972: 4) (Fishman calls them SOCIOLINGUISTIC COMMUNITIES) through participation. The speakers are usually not aware of these facts, though I would hypothesise that due to the increase in education level of everyone in Cyprus (and through political propaganda accompanying the division of the island), people are more aware of the language boundaries than they used to be. The sociolinguistic boundaries inside one language are however probably still invisible to the majority of the speakers. The ties between the concepts

of language and identity are much more complex and will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4.5.

One of the key aspects to consider is how speakers are connected to each other. The term SOCIAL NETWORK is used to explain how speakers are connected to the members of their own speech community as well as those of others (see Boissevain (1987)). Please note that social interaction is an extremely complex field and whenever it is mention in the framework of this research, social interaction means social interaction on a linguistic level. Other kinds of social interaction, such as between an employer and an employee or between a citizen of higher class and a citizen of a lower class are all important, but not directly relevant for this research. In Boissevain's terms, we are speaking about a MULTIPLEX INTERACTION (Boissevain, 1987: 165). It is possible to argue against this choice on the basis that society is a huge complex construct and it is an artificial approach to try to separate one kind of social interaction from the others. However artificial it may be, such a holistic approach is unfortunately beyond the possibilities of a one-person study such as this one.

One of the reasons why the sociolinguistic history is so important for language contact research is because the interactions of a speaker with speakers of other languages influences his world view, which in turn is influenced by these interactions. As Palmer (1996: 114) writes, "language and world view are mutually constitutive". However diverse the term WORLD VIEW might be defined, in this project I am concerned about the world view of speakers in regard to other languages and its speakers, i.e., world view here means how a speaker perceives another language and how he chooses to interact with its speakers, as well as the ethnicity linked to this language. The term world view here should not be taken in a Whorfian meaning.

The speakers thus exhibit a certain behaviour pattern when they interact with each other. Berger and Luckmann write that humans tend to imitate the behaviour which was successful repeatedly. They generalize this type of behaviour as a pattern, which is called HABITUS and this process of generalization is called HABITUALIZATION. The outcome of a habitualization process is then called *institutionalization* (182). Generally speaking, institutions are thus generalized patterns of behaviour acknowledged by the members of the society. This

broad definition of institution is also harmonious with Durkheim's SOCIAL FACTS (FAIT SOCIAL) which are opinions on what one should do in a society, how the world is and how it should be (154). One example for such institutionalization is multilingualism, e.g., if the speakers of Cypriot Turkish realise that they gain certain benefits by speaking Cypriot Greek they start speaking it. If this behaviour is successful, then speaking Cypriot Greek becomes a habitus, and later when it becomes widely accepted in the region, speaking Greek, thus bilingualism, becomes institutionalised.

From this stance of the theory, we could easily derive a certain expectation; namely that we should be expecting a different habitus and different forms of institutionalization in different regions and in different time periods. To give some examples from the history which is going to be discussed in the next chapter (chapter 4), a Cypriot Maronite would not have had the same behaviour pattern towards Cypriot Greeks right after the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus, with Catholicism being banned and Catholic churches confiscated by the Orthodox church, as he would after 1950 when the bicommunal clashes heated up, and in 1974 when Turkey invaded Turkey and many Cypriot Maronites had to leave their homes, fleeing to the Cypriot Greek part of the island. Thus, language contact proceeds through different stages of institutionalization throughout history and the speakers' behaviours go along with this institutionalization. The institutions are no more permanent than the grammars of languages.

It is thus quite possible that the propagation of innovations begins with individuals who make ad-hoc replications of the pattern of language X in language Y. I assume that such ad-hoc replications would happen with more ease if they were to be produced by a speaker talking with someone from the same domains as the speaker or when they are talking about events they experienced in another language. In fact, I observed such ad-hoc replications in field research and even one interviewee from Lurucina admitted to me that they often switch to Cypriot Greek when they talk about events they experienced in the domain of Cypriot Greek. Thus, a speaker is more likely to accept a foreign pattern as grammatical if he knows the existence of such a pattern in another language. Once the replicated pattern is accepted in one speech community of language X, it might spread to other communities or it might stay limited to one speech community
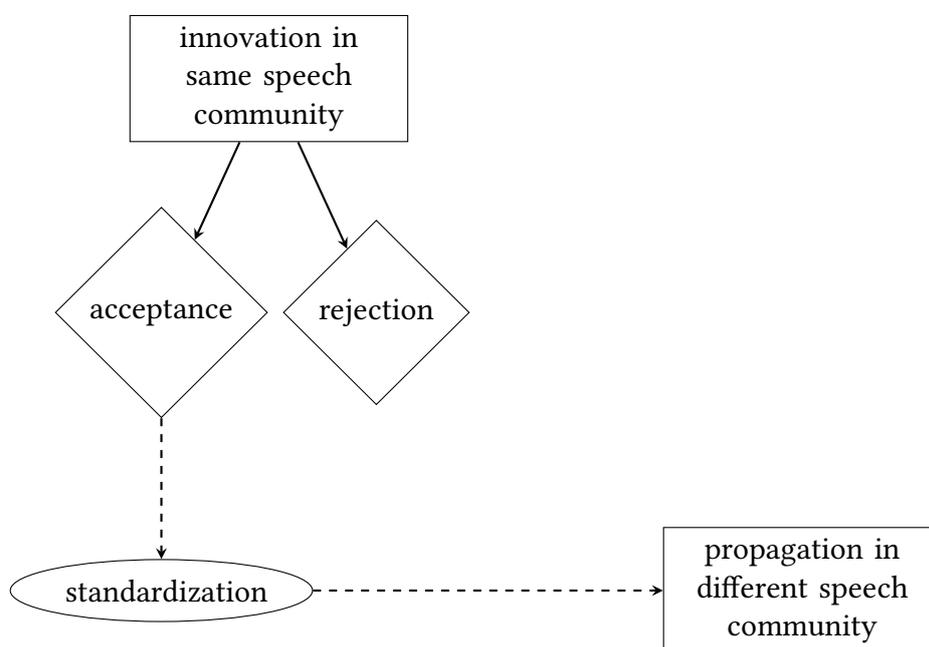
Table 2.6: Propagation of innovations in one language

(for example the use of indirective in Limassol Cypriot Turkish as seen in example 11 in chapter 6) or even die out due to other sociolinguistic reasons (such a standard language influence, mass media, mass education, etc.).

An important step in propagation is the step between INNOVATORS and EARLY ADOPTERS (Milroy and Milroy, 1985: 367). Innovators, according to (Milroy and Milroy, 1985) have a marginal status in the group adopting the innovation whereas the early adopters are highly conforming members of the group norms. According to this plan, society consists of several smaller groups whose members have STRONG TIES (also called CLOSEKNIT) among each other. These small groups are connected to other groups through WEAK TIES (also called LOOSEKNIT) (Milroy and Milroy, 1985: 364p). The definition of strong and weak ties are somewhat vague, though it suffices to say that strong ties are the ties between the members of a group whose members are very closely related and weak ties are what hold the society together. Milroy and Milroy note that multiplex ties are always strong. Although strong ties are what hold people close to each other, this theory suggests that propagation always occurs through weak ties. The reason behind this is the lack of susceptibility of people with strong ties in a network to outside

influence. Since strong ties conform to the norms and strengthen them, they also build up a certain resistance to innovations. This is why a large number of innovations using individuals are required to affect a network with strong ties with each other. Also, every speaker has more weak ties which he shares with several people than strong ties which he does with a few. One of the important parameters relevant to the strength of a tie is MOBILITY, as mobility reduces the strength of ties between its members. As a general rule, (Milroy and Milroy, 1985: 375) write that "Linguistic change is slow to the extent that the relevant populations are well established and bound by strong ties, whereas it is rapid to the extent that weak ties exist in populations (original in capital letters)". Milroy and Milroy note that their research show closeknit ties in a defined territory to be a mechanism of maintenance. Weinreich et al. write that "[l]inguistic change is transmitted within the community as a whole; it is not confined to discrete steps within the family. Whatever discontinuities are found in linguistic change are the products of specific discontinuities within the community, rather than inevitable products of the generational gap between parent and child" (Weinreich et al., 1968: 188). If we thus assume that discontinuities in language change (here: propagation) are due to discontinuities within the community, we should assume that the speech community as a whole is made up of smaller groups; not small groups of individuals but smaller groups of speech communities.

Another concept to be introduced here is the concept of INVISIBILITY. The structures of morphosyntax and especially of syntax without any MATTER borrowing are rather invisible for the speaker. The speakers perceive lexical borrowings from other languages as belonging to other languages and might try to use or avoid them depending on their habitus. The replication of syntactical structures, on the other hand, can be affected (i.e. hastened and halted) multilingualism, but the speakers do not intentionally use or avoid these structures. In this sense, they are affected only indirectly by habitus and institutions. This feature causes propagation of replicated morphosyntax (without matter borrowing) to act like a diffusion of features in language change without contact, since the speakers are not aware of the replicated nature of the constructions they use. Unlike morphosyntax, matter borrowings can be easily identified to originate from other sources (even if the speaker does not know that the matter is from

another specific language, they can almost always identify it as being foreign), and the propagation might be halted due to different sociolinguistic factors such as ethnic clashes.

Using all of the theories in this section, I hypothesise the following model of propagation. The primary units of this model are the speech communities which have three different levels and different kinds of social interaction. On the macro level, we have the general speech communities such as the Cypriot Greek speech community in Cyprus. Moving on the spectrum to the direction of the micro level, we then have the speech communities in different areas. These speech communities may vary in size depending on their position on the SPEECH COMMUNITIES SCALE, e.g., the Cypriot Turkish speech community in south west Cyprus as well as the Cypriot Turkish speech community in the village of Avtepe. Since this is a scale, it is quite difficult to draw precise borders for different levels. As the focus of the sociolinguistic part of this research is mainly on certain speech communities in contact (see chapter 4), these communities will constitute the middle level on this scale. On the micro level, we have speakers, i.e., individuals, who interact with each other. Each speech community level may display differences in social interaction and in the ties they are bound with. In order to understand how strong and weak ties among the individuals work, it may be useful to think in the terms of how Croft (2000) defines different speech communities. The innovations are produced and propagated at first on the micro level, where we have the innovators and the early adopters. They may then spread to the speech community in the contact area and ultimately to the whole speech community on the island. Please note that this model does not view identity as a prerequisite to belonging to a speech community. Thus, a bilingual Turkish Cypriot can trigger an innovation as a member of a Cypriot Greek speech community.

Although it is possible to discuss and develop theories on what can be propagated and how the propagation process happens, it is very speculative why propagation happens. The same problem is also present for innovations. This problem is noted by Weinreich et al., who call it ACTUACTION PROBLEM: "What factors can account for the actuation of changes? Why do changes in a structural feature take place in a particular language at a given time, but not in other

languages with the same feature, or in the same language at other times? This *actuation problem* can be regarded as the very heart of matter." (Weinreich et al. (1968: 102), italics in the original). Weinreich et al. write about language change in general, but it can clearly but applied to contact induced language change as well. Concerning propagation, there is no clear answer for why certain replications are accepted and propagated while others are simply ignored. Weinreich et al. also conclude that if linguistic change is change in social behaviour, as they propose, than the difficulties we are facing in predicting it are not only limited to linguistics but common to all social sciences.

2.4.1   Convergence

In a scenario where two or more languages come into contact and influence each other, it is to be expected that these languages display certain similarities among each other. Especially changes in morphosyntax may cause the languages to become typologically more similar, at least more similar than they were before language contact. This phenomenon is usually called CONVERGENCE or LANGUAGE AREA[1].

Many linguists are quite liberal in discussing convergence without defining it thoroughly. Matras (2009) calls it PATTERN SHARING AMONG LANGUAGES. This means that every single example of pattern replication is also convergence. Croft (2001) uses the same term for roughly describing structural (that is syntactic or morphosyntactic) similarities among two or more languages. Another term used for convergence is STRUCTURAL DIFFUSION, which describes the case in which two or more languages start resembling each other structurally due to the high number of bilinguals (Winford, 2003: 13). Although they vary slightly, all of these definitions describe the same event: structural similarity due to language contact. This is also the definition of convergence adopted for this research. Whenever there is a structural similarity between two or more languages of Cyprus due to language contact, we can talk about structural convergence. This definition raises the question of whether there are different types of structural convergence, as many linguists would agree that only two shared features should weight less

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[1]The term SPRACHBUND is also used though it seems to have fallen out of use in the last years.

for convergence than, say, ten or more shared features. I shall return back to this problem after discussing linguistic areas, as they also suffer from the same definition problem.

According to Campbell et al. (1986), we can speak about a linguistic area when two or more language share one or more common features in a defined geographical region. This notion of one or more common features has been subject to much dispute as one shared feature does not constitute a linguistic area for many linguists, but any other boundary is also arbitrary. Campbell et al. (1986: 532) draw analogies at this point and argue with counter-questions such as "How many grains of sand does it take to make a heap? How many birds are needed to constitute a flock?". The importance of a linguistic area can be evaluated through certain scales or through a simple "more-the-merrier" approach, or through the examination of the historical data. Campbell et al. (1986) note here that while complete historical facts are necessary in order to define a linguistic area, the scholar sometimes use what they call the CIRCUMSTANTIALIST EVIDENCE, which is cataloging the similarities between the languages and letting these similarities suggest a diffusion. The reader should note that this study also partially relies on circumstantial evidence due to the lack of historical data. The emphasis on the whatever historical data I could acquire in this research should serve as a reminder that the circumstantial approaches here originate from the lack of historical evidence and documentation. Please note that the term linguistic area does not necessarily requires morphosyntactic similarities; other linguistic similarities such as phonetic or lexical ones might constitute a linguistic area as well.

Bickel and Nichols (2006) choose a different approach to linguistic areas which they define as a distribution of features that overlap in a non-accidental way. The difference in their approach lies in the definition of areality, which is in their case a property of the linguistic features involved in an area and not of the languages themselves. They call this approach PREDICTIVE AREALITY THEORY.

Contact induced structural convergence (simply convergence from now on) is thus not a new mechanism of language contact but a concept defining a certain type of outcome of language contact, this outcome being structural replication. As to the question of how many shared features constitute convergence:

this question is not strictly relevant for the purpose of this research. What is more important is to detect the cases of structural replication. After this phase, it is possible to compare the languages of Cyprus to other documented cases of convergence in order to discuss whether we have something similar here. This argument also goes for linguistic areas. Whether Cyprus is a linguistic area or not, can be discussed after studying the structural replications. In order to define the linguistic area, I shall adopt the notion of Bickel and Nichols (2006) which proposes defining it with features instead of languages. The reader will realize in the following chapters that it is almost impossible to adopt the notion of isoglosses when considering Cyprus as a linguistic area due to huge waves of migration and lack of historical linguistic data. For this reason, I shall investigate whether the whole island can be called a single linguistic area where we can observe structural convergence and which features are present in this linguistic area.

Chapter 3

Hypotheses and Methodology

After reviewing previous research and theories of language contact and studying the history of the island, I shall present my hypotheses based on the linguistic theories reviewed and the information from previous studies. Then I shall elaborate on the methodology employed in testing these hypotheses as well as for the documentation purposes of this research.

3.1 Hypotheses and Predictions

Based on previous research and language contact theories, my hypotheses for this research are the following:

Hypothesis of language contact in Cyprus: Every language of Cyprus displays structural contact induced changes from other languages of Cyprus.

Hypothesis on the origin of contact induced change: If we are to observe any contact induced changes in languages of Cyprus, these phenomena should be originating mainly from Cypriot Greek, due to this language's strong position on the island. This would even be true for Armenian speakers who originally arrived in Cyprus from Turkey and Lebanon, since they reside on the Greek speaking part of the island. But why Cypriot Armenian as a variety will not be a part of this research has already been discussed.

Hypothesis of areality: With morphosyntactic replications in Cypriot Turkish
   and Kormakiti Arabic from Cypriot Greek, we should be able to observe
   that all languages of Cyprus behave similarly from a typological point of
   view concerning the morphosyntactic constructions, i.e., one can speak of
   areality of certain features in Cyprus.

Hypothesis of language contact from standard varieties: In Cypriot Greek and
   Cypriot Turkish, we should not only find contact induced replications from
   each other but also from their own standard varieties.

Hypothesis on the tendencies in language contact: Similar scenarios of language
   contact between languages with certain typological properties lead to sim-
   ilar replications.

3.2   Methodology

In order to test my hypotheses, I employ the following methods in conducting
my research. The methodology can be divided into roughly two different parts:
the theoretical methods and the practical ones.

3.2.1   Theoretical Methodology

For detecting and explaining morphosyntactic replications, I use the Thoma-
son method described by Thomason (2001: 93-94). The main problem with this
method is that it is designed for detecting replications in varieties with well doc-
umented structures diachronically. As this is not the case in Cyprus, I had to
modify the method as follows:

1. In order to detect the morphosyntactic replications, one requires an open
   eye and good knowledge of the languages involved. The constructions are
   constantly compared to the standard variety in order to detect any kind
   of variation. Concerning Kormakiti Arabic, this requires looking at the
   structures of the closely related Levantine varieties.

2. Once a construction is suspected of being replicated in language A, it is compared with similar constructions in the neighbouring languages. If there are similarities, this construction is a candidate for replication.

3. This construction is then compared with other varieties of language A for detecting whether it is a feature which the standard variety lacks and somehow lost but other varieties do have. For the effort involved in a one-person project like this one, other varieties refer to the well documented variety groups of language A. Unfortunately, many varieties of Greek and Turkish are barely documented or poorly documented concerning the morphosyntax.

4. If the suspicious construction is not found in other varieties, then it is plausible that this construction is a replicated one. The more complex the construction is, the more likely is the possibility that a replication took place, as complexity decreases the chances of a similar construction appearing by chance.

5. Replication of constructions can in certain cases cause replication of construction specific syntactic categories and an introduction of them in the replicating language (as discussed in chapter 2.2).

3.2.2 Practical Methodology

The goal of documenting and understanding borrowings in different languages requires collecting a large amount of language data for the following reason: the morpho-syntactic borrowings among languages of Cyprus can be categorized into three main types: a) The known, well documented findings. These are sometimes prominent features of the languages which are known by its speakers or they have been documented well by previous researchers, b) already documented borrowings which are not fully investigated. There are sometimes notes about certain features where the author thinks these features might have emerged due to language contact, without further investigation; and finally, there are c) undocumented and unknown borrowings. These unknown borrowings constitute quite a challenge as it is not known – per definition – how large the group is

Figure 3.1: Origins of data in Cyprus

and where to look for these borrowings. In fact, the whole assumption of this group is of a speculative nature, but it is a necessary one, as one should always assume that there are contact features which have not been documented or discovered before. The aim of this work is to include all of these types. Collecting data and generating corpora was the first step of scanning the languages for morphosyntactic borrowings. The results of this step showed that a sole collection of narrations cannot reflect the full extent of these borrowings, as expected. According to my own observations, some of the borrowed structures only come up in ad-hoc dialogues (the question of ad-hoc code mixing vs. borrowing). In order to capture these ad-hoc usages of borrowings, I used field notes and conducted elicitation sessions with several speakers. The methodology of this work covers 1) how the data was collected (language data as well as sociological data) and processed, and 2) how the linguistic and socio-linguistic data was analyzed. This leaves out the main theoretical questions of how to conduct language contact research, which will be discussed in its own chapter.

3.2.3 Collecting Data

The map in figure 3.2.3 shows the locations of the field work done in Cyprus. The reader will recognize that the recordings and otherwise collected data originate from similar regions, especially the Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish data[1]. This was intentional, as these regions were (and two of them still are) interesting language contact areas with widespread bilingualism. The intention behind this was to detect as many replicated morphosyntactic constructions as possible. Since these constructions are most likely to be observed in bilingual areas, the data was collected from there. None of the recordings (whether recorded by myself or someone else) are older than 30-40 years, which means that in this research, we can only observe what was left of an intense language contact situation which ended with the war and a separation of most of the speech communities.

Table 3.2.3 shows a list of the author's own recordings used in this research. Instead of the speakers' names, numbers were used due to privacy issues. Although all of the speakers consented to being recorded and they always knew when I started or stopped recording with a visible recording device, a few of them did not consent for their private information (especially names) to be used. Instead of publishing the names of some and anonymising those of the few, I decided to anonymise all of them since the names are not relevant to this work in any way. The most relevant meta data for this research are the age group, speakers' origins and whether they received higher education. There are three age groups. The first age group, ranging from 0 to 50 years olds[2] are people who have never experienced a multilingual Cyprus before its separation to ethnic areas. Speakers between 50 to 60 years old only experienced the multilingualism as children and then witnessed the separation. The last group of speakers are the ones above 60, who grew up and lived on Cyprus while it was still pretty much multilingual. These were the speakers I was especially aiming to record since they are the ones who fully experienced the language contact this work is studying. The higher education level is measured in binary, 0 meaning no formal

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[1] All of the maps used in the thesis are from `http://www.mapsopensource.com`

[2] During the time of recording, which spans over a short time period from 2010 to 2014

Speaker (initials)	Age Group	Rec. Location	Speaker's Origin	Rec. Date	Higher Education	Mode
Cypriot Greek						
Speaker 1	1	Nicosia	Agros	08/09/2011	1	Narration
Speaker 2	3	Nicosia	Nicosia	28/05/2012	1	Narration
Speaker 3	2	Larnaca, Pyla	Pyla	18/09/2011	1	Narration
Speaker 4	3	Sipahi	Sipahi	25/09/2011	0	Narration
Speaker 5	3	Larnaca	Vitsada	26/09/2011	0	Narration
Cypriot Arabic						
Speaker 1	3	Kormakitis	Kormakitis	25/12/2010	0	Narration
Speaker 2	1	Kormakitis	Kormakitis	25/12/2010	1	Narration
Speaker 3	3	Kormakitis	Kormakitis	16/08/2011	0	Dialogue
Speaker 4	3	Kormakitis	Kormakitis	16/08/2011	0	Dialogue
Cypriot Turkish						
Speaker 1	3	Avtepe	Avtepe	25/09/2011	0	Narration
Speaker 2	3	Nicosia	Nicosia	16/05/2012	0	Narration
Speaker 3	2	Famagusta	Famagusta	05/11/2012	1	Dialogue
Speaker 4	3	Pyla	Pyla	18/09/2011	0	Narration
Speaker 5	3	Görnec	Görnec	26/08/2011	0	Narration
Speaker 6	3	Serdarli	Serdarli	26/08/2011	0	Narration
Speaker 7	2	Lurucina	Lurucina	01/01/2009	0	Narration
Speaker 8	2	Lurucina	Lurucina	01/01/2009	1	Narration
Speaker 9	3	Nicosia	Evretou	27/12/2009	0	Dialogue
Speaker 10	3	Nicosia	Evretou	27/12/2009	0	Dialogue
Speaker 11	3	Nicosia	Evretou	27/12/2009	0	Dialogue
(Cypriot) Armenian						
Speaker 1	3	Nicosia	Nicosia	06/11/2012	1	Narration

Legend
Age Groups: 0–50: 1, 50-60: 2, 60 upwards: 3
Higher Education: 0 = no formal higher education, 1 = formal higher education

Table 3.1: Recordings Done by the Author

higher education (all of the speakers were literate, meaning they all had at least some formal education) and 1 meaning a higher education corresponding to a university or college degree. This usually indicates time spent abroad[3] (usually in the respective land of the standard language) and a higher level of exposure to the standard language.

The recordings from 2009 predate the beginning of this particular work. These were done for another research in order to study certain morphosyntactic structures in Cypriot Turkish. They were also used in Gulle (2011). Even though these recordings were not conducted specifically for this particular research, they are still included in the list for the sake of completeness. While working on this research, I received the news in 2011 that one of the speakers I recorded back in 2009 had passed away. Events like this also support my choice giving elder speakers a precedence to collect their speech data over younger speakers. Not only are they the only ones, who fully experienced the multilingualism being studied here, but they are also not going to be around for a long time.

The reader will realise that my own recordings are unevenly distributed among the languages. During the phase of data acquisition, there were certain problems with each language. In practice, it proved to be simultaneously easier and more difficult to collect data in Kormakiti Arabic than in other varieties. Unlike Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish which have different varieties depending on region, social status, place of usage etc. Kormakiti Arabic is one entity and its usage is binary: One either speaks it or one does not. Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish speakers, on the other hand, sometimes tend to mix the standard in their speech, sometimes even switching between varieties. Many speakers of Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish indeed started speaking in more or less "standardised" variety as soon as I turned on the recording device. This lead to different approaches to language data acquisition in this research. Since it is my mother tongue, I spoke in Cypriot Turkish with Turkish Cypriots. As they realized that they were speaking with a compatriot they usually spoke back in Cypriot Turkish to me, although I usually had to wait about 30 minutes in each recording for the speakers to relax and speak naturally. The data I collected is not a result of direct elicitation: I asked the speakers to tell me something about the village or

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[3]Since Cyprus' first university *Cyprus College* was founded in 1961

about their childhood. What they began talking about was not necessarily how they continued. After collecting 30-60 minutes of raw language data, I picked certain narrations out of the whole which were about a certain topic.

In Cypriot Greek, I had to use other methods beside one-on-one interview, as I am not a native speaker of Cypriot Greek and I noticed in some interviews that the speakers were definitely speaking in a more standardized manner to my microphone than to the people around them. One method I succeeded in implementing was bringing another native speaker of Cypriot Greek whom I knew with me to the interviews. The interviewee would mostly speak with the native speaker I brought with me, whom I instructed for this task. The interview was very successful in terms of data acquisition, although I cannot verify that it was due to the native speaker I brought with me and not just a matter of personal nature of different speakers. This method was very exhausting due to its nature of finding interviewees in different parts of the island and organizing people to accompany me voluntarily. I thus complemented the corpus of Cypriot Greek using data which a Greek Cypriot linguist, Charalampos Symeonides, documented in his book Symeōnidēs (2006). The book comes with a CD with recordings of these Cypriot Greek texts. The recordings, unfortunately, all sound as if they were recorded very recently by speakers reading these previously documented texts, i.e., they sound staged. There is no mention in the book of whether these recordings are originals or – if not – who are the people reading them on the CD?

The difficulty in gather linguistic data in Kormakiti Arabic lies solely in the number of fluent active speakers in the speech community. I managed collecting speech data from four fluent speakers of the language. All of the inhabitants of Kormakitis I have met before, during and after my research are very hospitable and kind people. Regardless, many of them refused giving linguistic samples due to – as they stated – insecurity about their competence. I have also visited the summer camp for children *Xki Fi Sanna* to revitalise the language and had the chance to make recordings of the children singing and conversing[4] in Kormakiti Arabic. This particular language is also affected by language attrition (see 5.3.3).

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[4]The children were not nearly fluent in Kormakiti Arabic enough to converse with each other in this language. They were merely repeating what they have learnt from their teachers.

This is why I decided to use Borg (1985)'s linguistic corpus additional to my own recordings. This corpus consists of transcribed Kormakiti Arabic and translation with additional linguistic remarks in certain cases.

Only one recording of Cypriot Armenian was possible throughout this research. Although this language was not planned as a part it, certain fortunate situations allowed me to record a native of Nicosia whose ancestors came to Cyprus after the Armenian Genocide. Although a single recording cannot make any statement about the language as a whole, I have used it in order to outline certain facts about the sociolinguistic situation of the island.

Concerning the historical data, I worked with various sources, starting with general history books on Cyprus, such as the three volume history by George Francis Hill (especially the last two volumes Hill (1948b) and Hill (1952)) and the history book by Kostas Kyrres (Kyrrēs, 1996). Such history books provide an enormous amount of historical data on the island but they unfortunately do not always mention the social changes which accompany with important historical events. Also, the history books tend to mention the minorities only superficially. Fortunately, there are enough studies which concentrate on minorities and their history on Cyprus, e.g., Beckingham (1957) on Turkish Cypriots, Hourani (2007) and Gemayel (2009) on Maronite Cypriots, and Hadjilyra (2009) and Dedeyan (2009) on Armenian Cypriots.

The rest of the historical and sociolinguistic data was collected by myself. Speech data as well as the the socio-linguistic and historical data was collected through my field work. As such documentaries and research on the recent history of Cyprus is becomingly quite popular these days, people usually started telling their past experiences with other speech communities on the island, even if I did not ask for it. My usual questions were about the kind of games the speakers used to play when they were children, the history of their village (or city) and the notable things they can remember. Since many of the Cypriots are over the age of sixty, the most notable thing they experienced was the civil unrest in the 50s, 60s and the intervention of Turkey in 1974, gathering of the linguistic and socio-historical data overlapped well.

Although the experiences related by a single person from a village can be misleading or at worst, completely false, after gathering data from various set-

tlements and studying other works about the civil unrest, a big picture was created of the socio-historical and linguistic history of the island where every single piece of history contributed by the informants fit into its place. Another very important source of information was the data gathered by PRIO Cyprus Center (Gürel et al., 2011), which I used extensively in chapter 4.4.

3.2.4   Analyzing Data

The data was collected in various villages and cities in Cyprus using a voice recorder in .wav Format, together with metadata such as speaker's name, origin, age, (former) occupation etc. From my own field work alone, I gathered a total of over 10 hours of raw data. These raw data were later transcribed and analyzed using The Field Linguist's Toolbox (from now on just Toolbox), a software developed by SIL[5]. These analyzed texts were then converted into a database to enable quantitative analysis. The analyzed corpus in Toolbox contained the following elements: Every record has an ID marked by \id and a title marked by \tit. The ID is in English and is used to refer to the records whereas the title contains a title in the record's language. The text collection is broken down into different utterances (under which theoretical considerations this was done is explained in chapter 2.2) which were marked by the field \ref (reference name), which is simply put on the ID plus a number. The raw language data itself is in the field marked with \txt), followed by the field \morph which is a field required by Toolbox to automatically gloss the language data. Simply put, it indicates into which morphemes the language data is broken into. These morphemes are then glossed in the field marked by \eng. The field \lan marks which language a single morpheme belongs to. Every reference unit also contains translations marked by \tran and syntactical annotations marked by. (\syn). The language section was designed from the beginning on, especially for Kormakiti Arabic, in order to be able to measure how much foreign lexical elements (grammatical words, as well as affixes or cases of code switching) are used in the languages of Cyprus. The interlinear glossings are done using the conventions of Leipzig Glossing Rules developed by Max

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[5]Which can be found here: `http://www-01.sil.org/computIng/catalog/show_software.asp?id=79` last access on 11/11/2013.

Plank Institute of Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig, which can be found under `http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php`[6]. The syntactical annotations are done using a system based on Grammatical Relations and Animacy in Discourse (GRAID) developed by Geoffrey Haig and Stefan Schnell[7]. A segment from the Toolbox corpus is shown in example

(1) \ref I learnt Greek much later.08

    \txt   *Zamanınan babam öğrendi Türkceyi*
    \morph zaman-nan   baba-m öğren-di Türkce-i

    \gloss time-COM father-1SG learn-PST Turkish.language-ACC
    \lan TR-TR TR-TR TR-TR TR-TR

    \trans In time, my father learned Turkish.
    \syn # other np:A v:tr:pred np:P

The reader will recognize several changes on GRAID modified for the purpose of this research. The usefulness of GRAID lies in its simple system which is open for modifications. As this study intended to obtain certain results from the syntactical analysis, such as the constituent order in different verbal constructions and the distributive use of markers for subordinate clauses, the modifications were done to cover these topics. A list of the modified GRAID symbols can be found in the appendix.

In addition, the detail level of the interlinear glossings in the examples was kept simple and minimalistic in order to help the reading the examples. Thus, for example, the Greek lexeme *anθropos* is glossed simply as [human], instead of *anθrop-os* [human-NOM.SG]. The main goal was to keep a balance between giving enough information to the reader and preserve the clarity of the linguistic data. Furthermore, several efforts were made for separating the Arabic linguistic data into single morphemes. Unfortunately, some of the grammatical informations gets lost through the method of analyzing Arabic speech data by interlinear glossing.

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[6]Last accessed on 11/11/2013.

[7]It can be found under `http://bamling-research.de/data/graid/graid-manual_2013-03-17_Ver-6.0.pdf`, last accessed on 11/11/2013.

Language	Entries in the Toolbox dictionary	Utterances	Morphemes
Cypriot Greek	582	263	2396
Cypriot Turkish	679	483	2527
Kormakiti Arabic	931	273	2744

Table 3.2: Language Corpora

These Toolbox corpora were then parsed with an automated process developed by me and put into a MySQL database consisting of three tables. The first table comprised of the raw data, its glossing and the reference name. The second table consists of the reference name, translation and syntactic annotation. The third table consists of the ID of the narrative and the metadata. The metadata contain the speaker's name and age, the place of recording, the speaker's (former) occupation... This way, the data gathered in this research are not only important for this particular work, but can be reused later even by different scholars. The use of this data for documentary purposes, especially for Kormakiti Arabic, is not only important for linguists but for the speech community as well. Examples of sample data analysis can be found in the appendix.

The high number of entries in the Toolbox dictionary of Kormakiti Arabic are due the nature of the language. The technical method for analysing morphemes in Toolbox is not optimised for the structure of Semitic languages. This caused multiple homophonic entries with different grammatical functions and these "multiple entries" are reflected in the number in 3.2.4. The same is also true for utterances in Cypriot Turkish, as Turkish tends to heavily use short utterances or verbal predications in juxtaposition.

Chapter 4

Historical Background

4.1   A Brief History of Speech Communities in Cyprus

An historical approach to the 'sociology of language' (see Labov, 1991: 183) is difficult and suffers from the same problem as any historical approach on Cyprus: History is seldom written from an independent point of view. It is debatable how objectively one can approach history, even more so when it is the history of one's own homeland. From the very beginning, it was clear to me that I could somehow change the outcome of this study with certain choices regarding the historical sources used in the study, as there are enough "historical sources" which twist the facts for their own ideological purpose. Due to the sensitivity of this issue, I have tried to use a variety of sources for sociolinguistic details throughout this paper, whenever it was possible. These sources are usually written by someone belonging to the respective speech community, i.e., the historical sources of Cypriot Maronites by Maronites and those of Turkish Cypriots by Turkish Cypriots or Turks. Of course, every history is written from the speech community's own point of view and there is therefore no single history of Cyprus. Thus, it is very important to remind the reader to take any historical event or fact cited in this paper with a grain of salt.

In this section, I shall provide the necessary background for the language contact situation. While doing this, the focus will be on the sociological side of the speech communities as long as the necessary data is available. The scope of

this chapter is limited to the five speech communities mentioned earlier. Each one will be covered in its own subsection, which will follow each other in a relative chronological manner, although this is not always possible as it is difficult to set a date of appearance for certain speech communities, and not all of them have a history of a stable presence on the island, at least according to the available historical sources.

4.1.1 Armenian Cypriots

Armenians living in Cyprus today constitute a stable minority with a culture, national identity, religion and language of their own (Mavratsas, 2000: 199). Historically, Armenians are mentioned as early as the sixth century in Cyprus (Hill, 1948b: 2). Around 578, Maurice Tiberius sent his share of captives from Arzanene in Great Armenia to Cyprus (Hill, 1948a: 281). As Hill notes, the number of captives is not clear from the historical sources. It can be assumed that Maurice received approximately 10,090 captives as his share. Whether he sent all of them to Cyprus or only on third is unclear. Most of these captives were probably Christian Armenians. Hadjilyra (2009: 10) claims that these 10,090 captives were Armenians and 3,350 of them were transferred to Cyprus. According to Hadjilyra, there were other waves of Armenians to Cyprus in the following centuries. Hill (1948a: 305) maintains that the whole population of Tell Hamdun in Little Armenia (also called: *Lesser Armenia*) was transferred to Cyprus by John II Comnenus when he captured it form its Armenian ruler. Hill (1948b: 2) compares Armenians with Syrians, who became integrated into the Greek society in Cyprus, and writes that they "never lost their national identity".

Under the Lusignan and Venetian rules, Armenians stablized their position on the island. Socially, there are records that Armenians living on the island belonged to the *parici* class. As explained by Hill (1948b: 8f.), *parici* ("neighbours") or *paroikoi* belonged to the lowest class for native Cypriots "...who paid an annual tax per head, rendered a corvée (*angarion*) of two days' labour a week to their lords, who also took one-third of the produce (excluding the seed) of their fields." These *parici* were not free and their lords had full jurisdiction over them. Nevertheless, it is also recorded that some Armenians from the Kingdom of Ce-

cilia entered the Lusignan nobility during the Frankish rule through knighthood, and this allegedly led to an improvement of the Armenians conditions in Cyprus (Dedeyan, 2009: 52p). After the fall of the kingdom of Armenian Cicilia, many Armenians – including the nobles of this kingdom – fled to Cyprus (but also to other Christian states) (Dedeyan, 2009: 54). In the same work, it is also argued that Armenians living in various states, but especially the ones in Venice, created a network which led Armenian merchants to be quite successful. The importance of the Armenian network between Cyprus and Venice is highlighted by the example of a merchant named Delphinus, originating from or residing in Famagusta, who was designated *habitator Venetias* ("resident of Venice"), a title usually given to native Venitians and very rarely to foreigners. This privilege allows one to trade within and outside of Venice (Dedeyan, 2009: 64).

After the Ottoman conquest, there are records of an Armenian quarter in Nicosia close to the Paphos Gate. This quarter was already known as being inhabited by Armenians before the Ottoman conquest and had the name *Armenia*. This continued under the Ottoman rule and the gate was even referred to as *Ermeni Kapusu* ("Armenian Gate") (Dedeyan, 2009: 86). However, Dedeyan states that the number of Armenians decreased after the Ottoman conquest. One of the most disputed facts about the history of Armenians in Cyprus is whether they helped the Ottomans during their conquest of Cyprus. Dedeyan (2009) maintains that on the contrary, Armenians helped Venetians defend the city, whereas An (2009: 283) claims that Armenians "[...]disliked the Latins and on account of this many of them helped the Ottoman Turks during the siege of Nicosia[...]". The reader should note that due to the current status of Armenian-Turkish relations, Armenians helping Ottomans has implications beyond the mere scope of Cyprus and advocating for or against this fact carries a certain political statement.

It is known that around 1738, when Richard Pococke visited Cyprus, he wrote that the Armenian residents of Nicosia were poor and their numbers were few (An, 2009: 285). After the British took over Cyprus, there were around 150 Armenians left living on the island. It seems that Armenians started prospering again under the British rule. Their knowledge of Ottoman Turkish and English allowed them to work as translators of Ottoman documents due to the lack of Turkish Cypriot officials who knew English. It is worth noting that the first

Turkish newspaper printed in Cyprus was published by an Armenian, Alexan
Sarafian, in 1880, who originally came from Anatolia An (2009: 286). There were
thus already Armenians coming to Cyprus from Anatolia, which was later has-
tened and gained in momentum after the Armenian Genocide. In the newspaper
Söz, an Armenian wrote "Until one hundred years ago, the Armenians in Anatolia
and the Greeks in Karamania did not know the languages of Armenian or Greek
and they used to speak in Turkish because both the Armenians and the Greeks
were Turkish (citizens). Only because their religions were Christian were they
called Armenians and Greeks. We heard this from our father and mothers... It is
wrong to emigrate to the Erivan Republic" (An, 2009: 288p). Although they had
very strong ties with Turkish Cypriots, after the division of Nicosia and then the
whole island, all Cypriot Armenians were forced to leave the Turkish sector, cut-
ting off the ties between the two communities; which was the intention behind
this action.

Concerning the demographics and population of Armenians, Hadjilyra ex-
plains that the 1831 Ottoman census shows 114 non-Muslim males in the Arme-
nian quarter of Nicosia and later, a 1841 census recorded 150-160 Armenians in
Nicosia (Hadjilyra, 2009: 20f.). It seems the population of Armenians (at least
in Nicosia) in this century was changing, roughly between 150-200. Once cen-
tury later, in October 1956, the number of Armenian Cypriots on the island was
4,549. An interesting census took place in 1935, which was reported by Arch-
bishop Bedros Saradjian, according which there were 102 *'pnig' Gibratsi* (native
Cypriots) living in Cyprus, i.e., Armenians who do not stem from Anatolia and
who were escaping the Armenian genocide. An important thing to note is the
increasing number of mixed marriages between Armenian Cypriots and Greek
Cypriots (Hadjilyra, 2009: 17). Apart from other external institutional and social
pressures on Armenians in Cyprus, this fact will definitely play a role in the de-
crease of usage of Armenian in Cyprus in the future generations. The population
data in Hadjilyra (2012: 16) clearly shows an increase of Armenian Cypriots un-
til 1956 (4,549), which became 3,628 in 1960 and in 2011, the number of Cyriot
Armenians was 2,600. Although ethnic identity has little to say about language
use, this points to the fact that not only the number of Armenian speakers in
Cyprus is decreasing, but the total number of Armenians is decreasing. During

the municipal elections in 1946 in Nicosia, there were 5,264 Greek Cypriots, 1,460 Turkish Cypriots, 642 Armenian Cypriots, 94 Catholics (Latins and Maronites) and 20 British (An, 2009: 288)

According to Kyrris (1985: 206), the villages Armenokhori, Platani, Kornokepos and Ayios Khariton were Armenian, though it is unclear until when exactly. In his own study, Beckingham (1957: 165) writes that "[t]he Armenians are not represented in the villages". But if they really belonged to the *parici* class during the Venetian rule, we must assume that there were Armenian villagers on the island, since otherwise belonging to this particular class would not make any sense. He also mentions Armenokhori in Beckingham (1957: 166) as a Turkish Cypriot village. Hill (1948b: 2) also notes that Armenokhori used to be an Armenian village, but was then already a Turkish one. The first explanation for this may be the fact that all Armenians at some time moved to the cities. A second possibility is that Armenians in these villages converted to Islam, thus becoming Turkish Cypriots. This does not explain, however, why the Armenians in the cities did not convert and there is also no historical evidence of such a mass conversion. The first explanation is thus more plausible, but it also lacks any historical evidence of mass immigration of Armenians in the cities.

Through my Cypriot Armenian informants, I was told that a large percent of the Armenians living in Cyprus immigrated here in 1910s, 1920s and afterwards from Turkey. When they first arrived on the island, they were Turkish and Armenian bilinguals. Interestingly, many of these Armenians settled in the Turkish Cypriot quarters of the cities. It is interesting because these Armenians were fleeing from a genocide led by Turkish speaking people. It seems that the language here played a much more important role in belonging to a community than religion, as the Armenians could easily form close bonds with Greek Cypriots, who are also Orthodox Christians. In the 1950's and afterwards, with the beginning of the division of the island through a clear separation of the Turkish and Greek Cypriot quarters in the cities and in general on the island, all of the Armenians who were living in the Turkish Cypriot quarters were forced to move to the Greek Cypriot side. Due to this sudden change, the elderly Cypriot Armenians today are multilingual in Armenian, Turkish and Greek (the language of the community they live in today), while the younger generations are only

bilingual in Armenian and Greek. In Nicosia, Armenians live in the *Armenian quarter* next to the Paphos Gate. The quarter between the Konak square and the Paphos gate is also known as *Armenia* and it also contains an Armenian Church (Surp Asvadzadzin), which was captured during the Ottoman conquest but later given back to Armenians as a reward for the help of Armenians in capturing Nicosia (Hill, 1948b: 2). One of the best examples of the Cypriot Armenians' status in Cyprus was the Melkonian Institute. It was founded by brothers Krikor and Garabed Melkonian after the Armenian Genocide. It helped make Cyprus a centre for Armenians in the world. An (2009: 288) observes that there are today more than 2000 graduates of the Melkonian Institute.

4.1.2   Greek Cypriots

The earliest speech community on the island relevant for this research is that of the Greeks. According to Kyrris (1985: 13, 44), the presence of the Greek culture and language in Cyprus begins with Achaean-Mycenaean Greek colonization around 1600 BC (1400-1200 BC according to Hill, 1948a: 83). Although there had been other cultures present on the island before, such as Persians and Egyptians, as explained in Kyrris (1985), their cultural or linguistic impact is not observable today. Of course, the Greek variety on the island changed enormously over three thousand years before coming to its current state today. The current dialect is based on Koiné (*κοινή* means 'common' in Greek) and probably started regionalizing around the the fourth century AD. The twelfth century AD is considered to be the beginning of the modern period for the Cypriot dialect of Greek (Varella, 2006: 11f.), whereas Symeōnidēs (2006: 156) claims it begins with the Ottoman conquest 1571. Varella's argumentation is more interesting for this paper, however, because she perceives the isolation of Cyprus from the Eastern Roman Empire, and thus from the Koiné spoken there at the start of a period, when Cypriot Greek changed under the influence of other languages and thus acquired its current character.

An important change in the social structure of the Cypriot Greek speakers took place during and after the Crusades, when the Catholic reign began on the island. It was first Richard I of England (Richard Lionheart) who conquered the

island from the Byzantine Empire 1191. A few months later, it was sold to Guy the Lusignan and thus the Lusignan period in Cyprus began (Varella, 2006: 49). In the new Frankish society, there were three main social classes. The ruling class was French speaking and Catholic, while the merchant class was mostly Italian speaking. The Cypriot Greeks belonged to the lowest social class as farmers, and skilled or unskilled workers (Varella, 2006: 51). The Cypriot Greeks belonging to the lowest social class were, as noted, called *parici*. This may be the first time in the history of the island that there were two different strictly defined social classes with huge social differences between them. The difference between these classes was also strengthened by two separate churches, the Greek Orthodox and the Catholic church respectively.

As regards the interaction between the Frankish and the Cypriot Greek societies, Varella (2006: 51-53) explains that the contact between the two language communities was limited in the beginning. Cypriot Greeks, living mostly under slavery conditions, did not have the chance to participate language exchange to a great extent. In this case of language contact, it was the Frankish ruling class which started adapting Greek. As an anecdotal evidence, Varella mentions the Lusignan queen Charlotte (1458-60) who spoke Greek and not French. This development explains the contemporary situation in Cyprus where the Latin minority is Greek speaking but Catholic. The effects of centuries of contact with French and Venetian varieties is observable in the lexicon of Cypriot Greek, as noted in Symeōnidēs (2006: 140-155) and in Varella (2006).

After Cyprus became an Ottoman province, the status of the churches shifted drastically, as Hill (1952: 305 ff.) indicates. As the hostilities between the Ottoman empire and the Latin Catholics (mostly Knights of St. John) were taking place, the Ottoman forbade the Latin Catholic faith, converting some of the Catholics churches to mosques and using others for different purposes. The Orthodox Christian Church, on the other hand, received its freedom and was reestablished officially as an independent organization in Autumn 1571 (Kyrris, 1985: 263). Another change which came with Ottoman rule was that the agricultural land previously worked by *parici* became public. Villagers could use the land and will it to their children for a certain tax. They still did not own the land, however, they were also allowed to travel freely to other villages and also

to towns (Kyrris, 1985: 253).

4.1.3   Maronite Cypriots

Depending on the source of historical material, the history of Cyprus is usually written with a focus on the ancient history of the island (especially by Greek and European sources) and on the bicommunal unrest between Greek and Turkish Cypriots which eventually led to Turkey's intervention and occupation of the island. Other communities living on the island are largely ignored and only mentioned in a few chapters in only a few sentences. Maronites are one of these communities of the island, who seldom have their own history told. This section is a compilation of these few sentences mentioned about Maronites as well as history written by Maronite authors themselves such as Guita Hourani (Hourani, 2007, 2009) and Nasser Gemayel (Gemayel, 2009).

The Maronites are named after Saint Maron who lived near Mount Taurus, thus the name "Maronite" actually refer to a religious community rather than to an ethnic/national one (Hourani, 2007: 1). They are Eastern Syriac Christians belonging to the Eastern Catholic Church. The first appearance of Cypriot Maronites on Cyprus begins around the seventh or eight century mainly due to the Islamic conquest of the Maronites' homeland (which was mainly today's Lebanon and Syria after their dispersion from Antioch) and the inter-Christian rivalries between the Jacobites and Byzantines according to Hourani (2007: 4f). The second wave of immigrations was due to the destruction of Saint Maron's monastery in Apamea around 938, followed by the third wave upon the purchase of the island by Guy de Lusignan from the Knights Templar at the end of the twelfth century (Kyrris, 1985: 212). According to (Hourani, 2007: 5) the first establishment of Maronites on the island probably happened at that point in time. The last wave occured after the defeat of the Crusaders in Tripoli and the Holy Land. Hill (1948a: 305) also mentions migration of Maronites to Cyprus because the relationships with Christians in Syria in the twelfth century were close. In 1121 and 1141 two Maronite monks were appointed by the Maronite Patriarchs to be abbots of the St. John Chrysostom monastery at Koutzoventi. Hill (1948b: 3) mentions a lack of records for Maronites on the island between

1141 and the end of the 13th century. Reportedly, they chose not to settle in cities but in the mountains north of Nicosia. They must have had a "chief centre" called *Tala* or Attala in Karpass, but Hill remains that this place was then "no longer traceable". Hill also notes that under the last years of the Lusignan rule, the number of Maronites must have been around 7000 to 8000 (Hill, 1948b: 4). Tsoutsouki (2009: 209) notes that Maronites indeed came from different regions. Thus, inhabitants of Kormajit originated in Kur in the north of Lebanon, the inhabitants of Asomatos from Shmat in Byblos, and the people of Ayia Marina from the Qanoubine area. The ancestors of people from Karpasha are allegedly from a village close to Tripoli.

Kyrris (1985: 206) counts the villages Kormakitis (originally Krommyakites), Asomatos, Karpasia and Kambyli among Maronite villages. Apart from these, Ayia Marina (also called *Santa Marina* in Gemayel, 2009: 139) also used to be a Maronite village according to my Maronite informants[1]. It is not known, how many villages the Maronites had during the Lusignan and Venetian rule, but according to Gemayel (2009: 137), right after the Ottoman conquest, the Maronites did not have more than 33 villages[2]. Tsoutsouki (2009: 203) writes that by 196, there were 19 Maronite villages.

Lusignan rule in Cyprus caused the Maronite community in Cyprus to acquire an important social status. Maronites were Catholic just like the Lusignan rulers on the island and they received extensive freedoms and exemptions according to Hourani (2007: 8), though she does not give explicit examples. Apparently, after the Catholic rule in Cyprus, the Cypriot Maronites began losing their social status. According to Hourani (2009), "[w]hen the Orthodox Church regained its power, which it had lost during centuries of Catholic rule, its members remembered the oppression of the Catholics and since most of the Catholics who were in the island were the Maronites, they began their retaliation against them. (117-118)". Catholic churches were confiscated by the Orthodox Church and the members of the Catholic Church were accused of working against the Ottoman rule. As a result, many of the Maronite clergy were imprisoned or killed and the believers of the Catholic Church were forced to convert to the Ortho-

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[1]Tsoutsouki (2009: 204) writes that the villagers in Ayia Marina converted to Islam.
[2]Gemayel(2009) does not say whether these villages were mixed or purely Maronite.

dox faith. As a result of being under the control of the Orthodox church, the Maronite churches were closed on major religious holidays in order to punish the believers of the Catholic faith for belonging to it (Gemayel, 2009: 140). The reason for the Catholics being under the Orthodox church was the Ottoman fer-man (royal decree) of October 1571 forbidding Catholics to live or own property in Cyprus, including the churches (Kyrris, 1985: 254). The remaining Catholics were forced to belong either to the Orthodox church or the Muslim community. The Catholic church was re-established on the island after the peace treaty with Venice on 07.03.1573, but the survivors of the Ottoman conquest were already forced to abandon their religion in this brief period, and damage was done to their property.

Today, being a Maronite Cypriot has more or less the same social status as being a Greek Cypriot. Although they would go to a Catholic church on Sunday and not to an Orthodox one, they exclusively speak Cypriot Greek in public and have Greek (or at least hellenized) names. Tsoutsouki (2009: 194) writes that the Maronites are "Greek in public and Maronites at home". Since 1974, the helleniza-tion of Maronite Cypriots quickened as most of them were forced to leave their home villages, thus also their cultural centres. Tsoutsouki (2009) writes that the inhabitants of the four Maronite villages made up more than 97% of the Maronite population on the island (205). After 1974, they enjoyed a privilege granted to no other community in Cyprus, namely crossing the Green Line. After the opening of borders in 2003, this has even become easier, allowing Maronites to visit their villages more often.

4.1.4   Turkish Cypriots

The origins of the Cypriot Turkish community today date back to the first Turkish speakers who came to the island in 1571, when the Ottoman Empire conquered Cyprus, which had initially been under Lusignan and then under Venetian rule since the Third Crusade (Goffman, 2002: 157-158). After the conquest, a certain number of people were ordered on 21st September 1571 to resettle in Cyprus. The dispute among the historians begin here about who exactly was ordered to re-settle in Cyprus. According to Nazım (1997: 128-131), it was the Alevi Turkmens.

There were lots of uprisings in Anatolia by Turkmens, who were protesting the war between the Ottoman Empire and the Sassanid Empire at the time of the farman, and the Sultan was willing to relocate the Alevi Turkmens in order to dispel them from Anatolia. Kyrris (1985: 259) notes that a few thousand people were relocated in Cyprus by 1581 and many of these people were Christians who were later assimilated into the Greek Cypriot society. He notes that only 8-12,000 people were Moslems among them, the rest being Christians. The first wave of settlers consisted of 5720 people, according to Gökçeoğlu (2004: 20-21). This was not the last wave. After this date (1572), the immigration continued at a steady pace, but the Turkish Cypriots never outnumbered the Greek Cypriots. Another important event that changed the demographics on the island was the disbanding of the Ottoman armies on the island after the conquest by Mustafa Pasha (the first Ottoman governor of the island). It is reported that some twenty thousand men wished to remain on Cyprus, while the rest of the disbanded armies returned back home (Taeuber, 1955: 7). Furthermore, one should note that "*the firmans made no discrimination of Christian and Moslem in their stipulations concerning deportation to Cyprus: they just ordered the deportation of the productive population of the farmer and artisan class*[...] *[T]he purpose of the colonization was not the Turkicization of Cyprus, but the reactivation of its economy*[3] (Kyrris, 1985: 260).

Demir (2002a: 1) writes that Cypriot Turkish conforms with 13 of the 18 criteria, set by Karahan (1996) for distinguishing the Anatolian varieties of Turkish, in groups 3 and 4, which are the variety groups in Aydın-Denizli and Muğla. Gökçeoğlu (2004: 16) also categorizes Cypriot Turkish as a dialect of Turkish and notes that "the Turkish Cypriots and Turks from Turkey can understand each other in nearly every case". This is only partially true. Although it is true that the speakers can express themselves to each other, this is due to the standardization of Turkish in schools and media. Saying that Cypriot Turkish is mutually intelligible with every other Turkish dialect is not only without an evidential basis, it also ignores the variation between Standard and Cypriot Turkish, and the variation among the Turkish dialects themselves.

Interestingly, Beckingham notes that many Turkish Cypriot villages have

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[3]Italics as in the original

Greek names, and there are even purely Turkish villages named after Christian saints (Beckingham, 1957: 166). Based on this, he opposes the hypothesis that certain Turkish-speaking Cypriots might have shifted to Greek due to contact pressure (as these villages were not under any real contact pressure) and suggests that these people might have been Greek Cypriots, who converted to Islam during the Ottoman rule but remained speaking Cypriot Greek. However, most of the Turkish Cypriots originally came mainly from Anatolia, e.g, from Antalya, Konya, Izmir etc. (Beckingham, 1957: 170-172).

Hourani (2009: 129) writes that half of the village of Kambyli (also spelled *Kambili*) consisted of Maronites and the other half of Muslims. According to Tsoutsouki (2009: 204), Kambyli is a converted village, along with Tellyria, Ayia Marina, Skillouras, Platani and Kornokepos. Today, this village is completely Turkish speaking. It is possible that the Maronites in this village did shift to Turkish. Kyrris states that after the British rule some of the converted Moslems tempted to convert back to Christianity, without giving any number (Kyrris, 1985: 312). According to him, these Crypto-Christians feared a possible return of the island to the Ottoman Empire during its provisional stage; but the negative attitude of Greek Cypriots and the Church against these people caused many of them to embrace Islam. Tsoutsouki (2009: 204) explains that the Maronites who converted to Islam and became *Linobambaki* concentrated in Lurucina.

In the end, this phenomenon of Crypto-Christians is quite challenging to analyse due to its secretive nature. There are no exact (or often even vague) numbers as to how many Crypto-Christians there were and how many converted back to Christianity. It is a part of Cyprus where myths and history are difficult to distinguish from each other. It is still an important point though, as the possibility of such Crypto-Christians might help explain why many Turkish Cypriots used to speak Cypriot Greek before the division of the island and they could be an important step in spreading the contact influences in Cypriot Turkish.

4.1.5 Cypriot Roma/Gurbet

Cypriot Roma are an ethnic minority unlike any other minority in Cyprus. They are usually called *Roma*, *Kurbet* or *Gurbet*, the latter being the term referring

to themselves. Unlike other minorities, Cypriot Roma are not recognized as an ethnic or religious minority in either the northern or the southern part of Cyprus. This is due to the fact that most of them are Turkish speaking and Muslim, thus belonging to the Cypriot Turkish community officially; or Greek speaking and Christians, belonging to the Cypriot Greek community (Triminkliniotis and Demetriou, 2009: 242). The Greek speaking Cypriot Roma are also referred to in Greek as *Mantides* Triminkliniotis and Demetriou (2009: 243). Pehlivan (2009: 150) writes that there is not much information about the origins of Roma in Cyprus. Even their language may not be a Roma one, but he does not go further into this language question. What he mentions is that the Cypriot Roma often give false information to non-Roma about their language or language competency. In Pehlivan's research, every Gurbet who answered his questionaire stated that he knew both Gurbet[4] and Turkish, and 81.8% of them stated that they were fluent in Gurbet (Pehlivan, 2009: 153). It is also interesting that 66.7% of the speakers stated that they speak both Gurbet and Turkish with their elders. Also, 55.6% of them stated that they also use both languages when speaking among other Gurbet friends. These numbers are a strong indication that the language is still alive (in fact, if these figures are representative for the whole community, Gurbet probably has a higher chance of survival than Maronite Arabic).

Socially, Roma in Cyprus "have to a large extent been ignored, avoided and marginalized in society, never recognized as a national minority, religious group or anything that refers to their identity and culture" (Triminkliniotis and Demetriou, 2009: 243). They seem to be well aware of this situation, as some Roma stated in the research of Pehlivan that they do not teach their language to their children since they are ashamed of it. One of them even said "If someone speaks it [Gurbet], I get angry and get my child away from there. [I do this] so that my child would not get alienated in your [talking to Pehlivan, referring to the Cypriot Turkish society] society. I do not teach this language to my daughter." (Pehlivan, 2009: 154).

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[4]Confusing as it may be, both the people and the language are often referred to as *Gurbet*

4.1.6   Overview

During the Ottoman rule, the population of the island was gradually increasing. In 1815, Cyprus had 60-70,000 inhabitants whereas in 1881, the number of inhabitants was 185,630. Of these 185,630, 73.9% (137,631) were Greek Cypriots, 24.4% (45,458) were Moslems and 1.7% were "others" (Kyrris, 1985: 300). Kyrres writes that this last group consisted of Europeans, 830 Maronites, 174 Armenians, 173 Protestants, 5 Copts, 68 Jews, 15 Gypsies and 1 other.

Beckingham (1957: 165) quotes the census from 1946 and observes that a total of 627 villages in Cyprus, 112 were purely Turkish, 369 were purely Greek and 146 were mixed. Also, Beckingham (1957: 173) mentions that intermarriage between ethnic groups used not to be very rare in the past, a fact which was also confirmed by my informants. Taeuber, on the other hand, draws another picture of the Cypriot society. According to her portrayal, Greek and Turkish Cypriots did not mix with each other and they form "separate groups in society and economy" (Taeuber, 1955: 12). Unfortunately, the information provided by Taeuber on the Cypriot society is vague and insufficient. This difference between Beckingham (1957) and Taeuber (1955) is a very good example of how different sources draw a completely different picture of the situation on the island.

Figure[5] 4.1 shows a timeline of speech communities (which are still present today) appearing on Cyprus in chronological order. This is, however, a very idealized timeline with a problem: the history of the speech communities is not linear. The most problematic case is the Armenian speech community. It is clear that there have been Armenians on Cyprus since the 6th century, but migration of Armenians to and out of Cyprus continued through the centuries, the last large one being before and during the Armenian genocide. Since Armenians are one of the largest diaspora people, the backgrounds of Armenians on Cyprus tend to vary. This is also true for other speech communities, as seen in the previous sections.

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[5]In this figure, the the 12th century marks the emergence of Cypriot Greek as a variety of Koine, not the emergence of Greek Cypriots as an ethnic group.

Greek Cypriots	Armenian Cypriots	Maronite Cypriots	Turkish Cypriots
$\Longrightarrow$12th century	6th century/1910s	7/8th centuries	1571$\Longrightarrow$

Figure 4.1: Timeline of speech communities on Cyprus

4.2   Typology of Demographics

In spite of the supporting historical evidence, drawing a sketch of the demographics of the island as it was one century – or even half a century – ago is extremely difficult. The historical sources are very limited and usually not detailed enough for such a purpose, which is why I also used the testimonies of the speakers themselves.

When studying the demographics of Cyprus, I distinguish between the two large demographic types: 1) the urban type, and 2) the rural type. Although the terms are quite self-explanatory, I must note that the urban type only applies to cities and large towns, whereas the rural type consists of other remaining settlements, i.e. small towns and villages. According to this categorization, Turkish and Greek Cypriots may fall into urban or rural types, whereas all Armenian Cypriots belong to the urban type and the speakers of Cypriot Maronite Arabic to the rural type[6].

Considering the Turkish and Greek Cypriots, speakers who constitute the rural type were usually farmers who had a very intensive contact with people in their immediate vicinity, but they had much less contact with everyone else. The speakers from the cities, on the other hand, enjoyed a much wider contact with people from a larger pool: Not only did they have a chance to get into contact with other speakers living in the same city, but also the population from villages who visited the cities (some more often than the others). On the other hand, in general, it was not necessary for the inhabitants of the cities to be in contact with speakers of other languages. A Greek or Turkish Cypriot could theoretically get on with her life just by staying in her own speech community. However, I shall consider all cities as multicultural/multilingual language areas, as most of the city inhabitants were in fact in contact with each other, even if on a superficial level.

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[6]This feature of these later speech communities is discussed in more detail in chapter 4.5

The rural type can furthermore be subdivided into two types, namely 1) the monolingual type and 2) the bilingual type. The terms MONOLINGUAL and BILINGUAL refer to the languages spoken by the residents of the village, thus are more or less equivalent to the common terms PURE TURKISH/GREEK CYPRIOT VILLAGE and MIXED VILLAGE, which are often used in Cyprus, referring to the demographic nature of the villages. Of course, the terms monolingual and bilingual are independent of the demographic nature of the village, i.e. a "pure Turkish Cypriot village" can be monolingual in Cypriot Greek[7]. I understand BILINGUALISM here as being fluent in two languages. One further step in this categorization would be the introduction of the types CONTACT VILLAGE and NON-CONTACT VILLAGE, referring to the fact of whether the inhabitants of the village were in casual or more than casual contact with the speakers of other speech communities. This categorization would only apply to the Greek Cypriot villages however, since I have yet to hear of a Turkish Cypriot village where the inhabitants had not at least some kind of casual contact with the speakers of other speech communities. For this reason, I chose not to consider these last two types in this study, as the effect of a few non-contact Greek Cypriot villages (if there were really any) would be considerably small and since this is a work on language contact, the non-contact villages are not interesting in this case. Thus, the following typology of the demographics of Cyprus according to the contact of speech communities emerges:

1. Urban Type: Always considered multilingual

2. Rural Type

    (a) Monolingual Type

        i. Contact village

        ii. Non-contact village

    (b) Bilingual/Multilingual Type

        i. Contact village

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[7]It is debatable whether this case ever existed. The accounts of some informants mention such cases, but it is difficult to rule out exaggeration.

By using this typology, it is possible to classify every settlement in Cyprus regarding the type of language contact. Please note that this categorization makes no statement on the intensity of language contact. Such a categorization is highly challenging since there are lots of variables concerning the intensity of language contact and every case of language contact should be considered unique.

Here, I should elucidate how I understand language contact on two different levels, those being the top and the low levels. The top level of language contact is contact between language communities. This is the socio-linguistic level of the language contact where all the factors like social status, prestige, etc. shape the whole contact situation and which has different sub-levels in itself. In the case of Cyprus, on the upper most level, the language contact is between the language communities of Cypriot Greek, Cypriot Turkish, Cypriot Maronite Arabic etc. If we go one step further, it is the language contact in specific regions of the island which differ from other regions in terms of the number of speakers of certain languages, the dominant language in the area, etc. Section 4.4 is on this level of language contact. There are hardly any rigid borders between these different sub-levels; one can theoretically narrow it down to a village or to a neighbourhood in one certain village.

The bottom level of language contact is the language contact of a bi-/multilingual person's mind. This is language contact more in the sense of Matras (2009) and explained briefly in Matras (2007: 34) as "...borrowing is motivated by cognitive pressure on the speaker to reduce the mental processing load by allowing the structural manifestation of certain mental processing operations in the two languages to merge" as he was referring to some of his previous research. This is the level where the borrowings do actually occur and these ad-hoc borrowings may be accepted and repeated by the whole community on the top level, where they then become established. Thus, both levels of language contact are not isolated but always in interaction with each other. Though I accept this concept of "borrowing in a speaker's mind", I shall not investigate further as to how and under what circumstances these borrowings actually occur. A study on this scale is beyond the possibilities of a project like this one.

It is important to note that these demographic types are true only for a specific time period. Cypriot Armenians, for example, belong to the urban type only

under today's conditions. Historically, we would assume two different types of
Cypriots Armenians during the Venetian rule: the urban type and the bilingual
or monolingual contact village type (there is no linguistic information on the
Armenian villages; thus, it is impossible to come to a conclusion here).

4.3   Contact of the Speech Communities

Since language contact is actually a contact of the speech communities, the social
status of the communities becomes interesting, and there is a need for a sociolog-
ical framework in order to explain some of the phenomena and answer certain
questions. Identity here is understood in a broad sense and can be rewritten
as ETHNICAL IDENTITY. I understand ETHNICITY as Fishman (1985: 70) defines
it as "peopleness", i.e., "belonging or pertaining to a phenomenologically com-
plete, separate, historically deep cultural collectivity, a collectivity polarized on
perceived authenticity". A modern version of it, NATIONALISM is conscious and
mobilized ethnicity Fishman (1985: 71). Chríost (2003: 45) lists important factors
for ethno-linguistic vitality as in Figure 4.2[8]. Chríost assumes here that ethnic
identity and language go hand in hand, though this need not be the case, i.e.,
an ethnic identity may live on long after a language shift scenario. As May
(2001: 129) puts it "[...] membership of an ethnic group does not necessarily
entail association with a particular language, either for individual members or
for the group itself". For this reason, the factors in this list are assumed to be
determiners for ethnic vitality only in this paper.

Some of the factors listed in fact overlap with Weinreich's list of features of
bilingual groups relevant for the study of language contact (or INTERFERENCE as
he calls it). According to Weinreich (1967: 3-4), some relevant features[9] are 1)
size of bilingual group and its socio-cultural homogeneity or differentiation, 2)
stereotyped attitudes toward each language (PRESTIGE), 3) attitude toward the
culture of each language community, and 4) attitudes toward bilingualism as
such.

As the only feature required to preserve the ethnic identity, i.e., the PEOPLE-

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[8]Slightly altered by me

[9]This list is slightly shortened and simplified by the author.

1. Status/Prestige
   - Economic Status
   - Social-Status
   - Socio-Historical Status
   - Language Status
2. Demography
   - Distribution
     - National Territory
     - Concentration
     - Proportion
   - Numbers
     - Absolute Birthrate
     - Mixed Marriage
     - Migration
3. Institutional Support
   - Mass Media
   - Education
   - Industry
   - Religion
   - etc.

Figure 4.2: List of factors important to ethnic vitality (Chríost (2003: 45))

ness, is the religion in Cyprus, one could see the factors important to ethnic vitality for Chríost as factors important to linguistic vitality. Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish score the best regarding the status of the language. Both languages are socially, culturally and economically important to its speakers, and they are a fundamental part of their national identity today. For Cypriot Armenians, the ties of their language to their ethnicity are more symbolic in nature. Armenian is the language of Armenians, but Cypriot Armenians do not necessarily need it for economic reasons. It is perceived as a part of their culture, religion and history, but not necessarily their everyday lives. Cypriot Maronites from Kormakitis also see their language as a part of their history and culture, but the importance of the language ceases at this point. It is not a language which the speakers need. It is also not a language which they can speak with anyone, even with any Cypriot Maronite, if they wanted to. Only a slight portion of the Cypriot Maronite population speaks Kormakiti Arabic. There are certain territo-

ries, such as Kormakitis and the cultural centres of Maronites in Nicosia where one could speak Kormakiti Arabic. This is also true for Armenian, whose territory is somewhat limited. Cypriot Armenians can speak it with other Armenians (if they know it) and the speakers can assume that it is spoken in centres of Armenian cultures such as culture houses, Armenian schools and churches. The speakers of these two language need a different mindset for their language than Greek and Turkish Cypriots, though, who automatically assume that their language is spoken in the part of the island they live in. The whole country they live in is the territory of their languages for these speakers. This attitude is backed up by the institutional support Cypriot Greek and Turkish receive in every aspect possible. The only aspect of concurrence would be the one with their respective standard variety. Armenian, on the other hand, has its newspapers but no television or radio channel of its own as far as I know. Kormakiti Arabic does not even have newspaper support[10] and it is also not the language of liturgy in the church.

4.4   Description of Language Contact in Selected Regions

This section, I will concentrate on what I discussed last in the previous chapter, the language contact among the individuals of certain regions. In this case, the language contact is not about two or more language communities in general, but specific individuals in a specific region and under specific conditions. Rather than focusing on language data, I shall sketch the conditions of social interactions.

Since it is difficult to describe the socio-linguistic context in every settlement in Cyprus in this project, I shall select specific sample regions in order to show the diversity of socio-linguistic contexts in Cyprus. Focusing on the regions in Nicosia, Larnaca and Famagusta districts[11], I would like to describe the population around the neighbouring villages of *Lurucina* (*Akıncılar*), *Avtepe* (*Agios Simeon*), *Vitsada* and *Kormakitis*. The former two are Turkish Cypriot

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[10]It was brought to my attention that the Maronite newspaper *κοινοτικό βήμα*, which is a monthly newspaper, has one page dedicated to Kormakiti Arabic.

[11]Districts according to the 1960 constitution of Republic of Cyprus

villages, both heavily under the influence of Cypriot Greek but with different demographics. *Vitsada* was a mixed village, where Greek Cypriots living there were also fluent in Cypriot Turkish. *Kormakitis* is of course the centre of the Maronite culture in Cyprus at the moment, and there is no other village in Cyprus so representative for the Cypriot Maronites as *Kormakitis.* The population data presented below are all from PRIO Cyprus Center (Gürel et al., 2011), unless otherwise noted. The project is called "Internal Displacement in Cyprus: Mapping the Consequences of Civil and Military Strife" and its original purpose is to give data on migration inside Cyprus due to inner conflicts. These data are, however, also well suited for linguistic purposes, as the illustrate how the population in the selected settlements changed throughout the years.

Region: Lurucina

The village of Lurucina, which is today a village inhabited by Turkish Cypriots only, is quite a peculiar one, as it is one of the few villages in which Turkish Cypriots still also speak Greek with each other. During my fieldwork, people of the village always noted that the village used to be a mixed one. The population data in 4.3 proves this.

There were in fact Greek Cypriots living in this village until the 1960s, although they were never the majority. This is an important point, since it means that the Turkish Cypriots living in Lurucina were not under any kind of demographic pressure to speak Greek. In fact, it is quite peculiar to observe that at least some of the elderly people (Turkish Cypriots) living in Lurucina today barely speak Turkish but are fluent in Greek. This observation and the stories told by people in Lurucina today reveal that the Turkish Cypriots living in the village actually hardly spoke Turkish at all. Their mother tongue was Greek. Two possible historic scenarios can explain this phenomenon: a) These people were always speakers of Greek, i.e. Greek Cypriots, but converted to Islam (hence becoming the "Turkish Cypriots") in order to pay less taxes, or b) although there was no demographic pressure, it was more advantageous for the Turkish Cypriots of the village to speak Greek, so they shifted to Greek. Then there is also the hypothesis already mentioned before that the Turkish Cypriots in Lurucina are

Years	TC	GC	Total
1831*	104	25	129
1891	621	87	708
1901	808	114	922
1911	946	144	1090
1921	1079	158	1237
1931	1235	150	1385
1946	1717	99	1816
1960	1547	3	1550
1973	1963	-	1963
1978	*ns*	*ns*	*ns*
1996	513**	*ns*	513
2006	462**	*ns*	462

* In the 1831 census only males were counted
** De jure population (including other nationals)

Figure 4.3: Historical population of the village Lurucina

converted Maronites.

It is probable that the Turkish Cypriots of the village shifted to Greek because of it was more practical to do so. This notion is hard to grasp without looking at the demographics of the whole region. Below are population data of the neighbouring villages: Dali, Potamia (Dereliköy) and Athienou (Kiracıköy). Three villages which are also very close, namely Petrofani (Esendağ) and Lympia are not mentioned below. Petrofani used to be a very small mixed village, which does not exist any longer today. Pyrogi (Gaziler) was also a small mixed village, which is nowadays a military camp for the Turkish army. The other village, Lympia, has always been a Greek Cypriot village. Though Athienou might seem to be somewhat far from Lurucina, my informants emphasized that they used to have (and still do have) an important relationship with Athienou.

The data in figure 4.4 show that though Lurucina did not have much of a Greek speaking population, the nearby villages, especially Dali, Athienou and Lympia did have many Greek Cypriots. According to my informants in Lurucina, the village used to be a merchant hub in the region where people from villages in the region came to trade their goods. There also used to be a small hospital in

	Dali			Potamia			Athienou		
Years	TC	GC	Total	TC	GC	Total	TC	GC	Total
1831*	-	176	176	35	25	60	*ns*	*ns*	*ns*
1891	139	816	955	108	112	220	8	1359	1367
1901	120	989	1109	121	136	257	1	1568	1569
1911	124	1221	1345	140	140	280	7	1907	1914
1921	138	1275	1413	167	137	304	3	2220	2223
1931	131	1355	1486	181	165	346	8	2443	2451
1946	151	1814	1965	213	220	433	2	3165	3167
1960	206	2403	2609	319	220	539	1	3416	3417
1973	74	2978	3056***	*n/a*	*n/a*	*n/a*	-	3739	3739
1976	*ns*	4185**	4185	20	300	320	-	3403**	3403
1982	*ns*	3882**	3882	*ns*	*ns*	465**	-	3574**	3574
2001	*ns*	5834**	5834	*ns*	*ns*	415**	-	4261**	4261

* In the 1831 census only males were counted
** De jure population (including other nationals)
*** Including 4 "others"

Figure 4.4: Historical population of the villages Dali, Potamia and Athienou in the vicinity of Lurucina

the village, according to one of the elder speakers. Since the lingua franca of the island is Greek, as mentioned many times in this work, it would be only natural for the Turkish Cypriots in Lurucina to start speaking Greek with each other, a language they use everyday anyway.

IDENTITY SHIFT due to conversion to Islam is still a possibility. It may be the case that the inhabitants (or at least most of them) converted to Islam, thus becoming Turks, at some point, but they never gave up their language. One argument against this hypothesis is the Greek *accent* of the inhabitants in Lurucina. Though they are mostly fluent in Greek, many Greek Cypriots who are in contact with them informed me that the inhabitants of the village have a distinct accent. Another Greek Cypriot informant of mine told me a short story during an interview[12] which was about a Turkish Cypriot he met at a hospital. He knew this person he met was a Turkish Cypriot, because although he was very fluent in Greek, he had an accent "like the inhabitants of Lurucina" according to my

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[12]Recorded in Pyla during my field research.

informant. I already discussed the claims of Lurucina being a centre of Linobambakis, Maronites who converted to Islam (Tsoutsouki, 2009: 204) in the previous sections. If this truly happened, the conversion process must have taken place in the few years after the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus. Since the earliest data we have on the village population is from 1831, it is not possible to prove or disprove this claim. Interestingly, it is often mentioned in the folkloric works on Turkish Cypriots that the inhabitants of Lurucina descent from Latins and that they have a Latin ancestry. This is a well known speculation and Lurucina is not the only Turkish Cypriot town with such claims of its origin. However, there is not a single bit of hard evidence in favour of such a story.

Thus, according to the typology of demographics, Lurucina is a rural type bilingual contact village, whereas Athineou is a monolingual one. The informants' statements in Lurucina concerning the attitudes of speech communities toward each other show that there was little tension between communities. The fact that the elder inhabitants of Lurucina still talk Cypriot Greek with each other also proves this attitude. Though we do not know how the behaviour of Turkish Cypriots in villages like Dali and Potamia was, it is rather safe to assume that they were also at least bilingual in Cypriot Greek (possibly even monolingual). Such an area where Cypriot Greek is institutionalized as the lingua franca and contact between communities are common is an ideal place for morphosyntactic replications to emerge. Please note that Cypriot Greek was so widespread in Lurucina that there are anecdotes of its speakers not being able to speak Turkish properly. Although it is still bilingualism, the speakers' (or at least some of the speakers') lack of proficiency could have worked in favour of replications and borrowing.

Today, the speakers of Lurucina are primarily farmers and locals who did not leave the village yet, in spite of its difficult political status and the hardship of living in a remote village. One needs to pass through military control points in order to reach Lurucina, or to get out of the village. Its people have quite strong bonds with each other and their ties with other speech communities can be categorized as weak, according to the Milroy and Milroy model.

Region: Avtepe - Agios Symeon

Another similar case is that of the village Avtepe. Inhabited by Turkish Cypriots throughout its documented history, many of the native villagers (except those families from mainland Turkey which immigrated after 1974) still speak Greek with each other. On the other hand, this village differs from Lurucina socially. First of all, Avtepe was not a merchant hub like Lurucina was. On the contrary, it was as small village with a small population (see figure 4.5). Just like Lurucina, though, it was surrounded by Greek speaking villages as seen in figure 4.6.

Years	TC	GC	Total
1831*	30	-	30
1891	268	3	271
1901	180	-	180
1911	207	-	207
1921	199	-	199
1946	240	1	241
1960	333	-	333
1973	360	-	360
1978	305	*ns*	305
1996	150**	*ns*	150
2006	151**	*ns*	151

* In the 1831 census only males were counted
** De jure population (including other nationals)

Figure 4.5: Historical population of the village Avtepe

The most possible scenario in Avtepe is the one of a language shift, i.e. being surrounded by a Greek speaking population, the people living in Avtepe had to learn Cypriot Greek, becoming bilinguals. Thus, Avtepe was a bilingual contact village. Though there are anecdotes from the area of Turkish Cypriots not being able to speak Turkish (or "proper Turkish", whatever this may be in the context of Cyprus), I did not meet a single Turkish Cypriot in the village who was not able to speak Turkish. It may provide some anecdotal evidence, though, to mention that the mother of my informant in Avtepe was fluent in Cypriot Turkish, but sometimes unable to understand certain expressions which were used

when we were speaking with each other. Her son had to translate the expressions into Cypriot Greek for her to understand. According to the information I collected from the people of the region, the whole Karpaz region seems to have been heavily under the influence of Cypriot Greek, probably due to demographic reasons, since the sheer population of Greek Cypriots was much higher than of the Turkish Cypriots.

	Derince			Kuruova			Adaçay			Taşlıca		
Years	TC	GC	Total	TC	GC	Total	TC	GC	Total	TC	GC	Total
1831*	n/a	n/a	n/a	65	-	65	12	19	31	-	19	19
1891	-	224	224	136	-	136	53	75	128	-	81	81
1901	-	241	241	273	-	273	54	94	148	-	111	111
1911	-	300	300	258	23	291	37	124	161	1	120	121
1921	-	385	385	213	-	213	39	141	180	1	138	139
1931	-	466	466	192	19	211	41	164	205	-	150	150
1946	5	572	577	261	2	263	54	195	249	-	222	222
1960	-	509	509	280	-	280	-	175	175	-	224	224
1973	-	503	503	300	-	300	-	158	158	-	205	205
1976	493*	-	493	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1978	n/a	n/a	n/a	140**	-	140	64**	-	64	n/a	74**	74
1982	513*	-	513	*n/a*	*n/a*	*n/a*	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1996	*n/a*	*n/a*	*n/a*	80**	-	80	95**	-	95			
2001	n/a	n/a	n/a	*n/a*	*n/a*	*n/a*	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2006	524*	-	524	145**	-	145	88**	-	88	99*	-	99

* In the 1831 census only males were counted
** De jure population (including other nationals)

Figure 4.6: Historical population of the villages Derince, Kuruova, Adaçay and Taşlıca

Linguistically, this area behaves very much like the Lurucina-Athineou region, although the attitudes of speech communities were different from each other in the recent history. The bi-communal clashes were fierce and bloody in this region, causing the speakers' attitudes towards each to change drastically. The reader can easily notice that the villages Derince and Taslica did not have any Turkish Cypriot population before 1973 and do not have any Greek Cypriot population today, as seen in figure 4.6. This is due to the fact that Greeks Cypriots

in these villages were driven out to the southern part of the island after Turkey's invasion. There are still Turkish Cypriots living in Avtepe who are bilingual, but there is no tendency among its youth to learn this language. This implies that the replications from this region must have emerged prior to the bi-communal clashes which roughly started around the 1950s. In this habitus, it would be even expected from the speakers to avoid lexical borrowings from Greek[13]. Patterns, on the other hand, can still survive due to their invisibility and indeed, I did find many morphosyntactic replications in this region. Another important thing to note is that the villages that were empty due to the deportation of Greek Cypriots are now inhabited by Turkish settlers, who of course speak their own Anatolian varieties.

Region: Vitsada

Another interesting area where massive language contact took place is the village Vitsada. In this case, it was Greek Cypriots who were under the influence of Cypriot Turkish. Vitsada used to be a mixed village as can be seen in figure 4.7. As the village was surrounded by many other villages which were exclusively Cypriot Turkish speaking (for the population of these villages see figure 4.8, many (if not all) Greek Cypriots in Vitsada had to learn Cypriot Turkish. My Greek Cypriot informant from this village possessed a very good knowledge and fluency in Cypriot Turkish; which is quite seldom among Greek Cypriots.

Beginning from the unrest in the 1963's until the intervention of the Turkish in 1974, the region north of Vitsada (i.e. the villages Gonedra, Catoz and Ipsillat) became a Turkish Cypriot enclave[14]. This supports the fact that the region was under very heavy Turkish Cypriot (not only Cypriot Turkish) influence. This is also the time period when the Turkish Cypriots in Vitsada had to leave the village. This is the reason why Vitsada was only inhabited by Greek Cypriots in the year 1973. In 1974, though, after the intervention of the Turkish, the Turkish Cypriot population came back and the Greek Cypriot population had to leave the village.

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[13]In fact, speaking Greek was forbidden in Northern Cyprus in the 1960s with a fine per word.

[14]The Turkish word for these enclaves is actually *kanton* ("canton") and they are referred to exclusively as such.

Years	TC	GC	Total
1831*	56	10	66
1891	121	115	236
1901	120	152	272
1911	128	174	302
1921	131	140	271
1931	127	166	293
1946	120	225	345
1960	136	266	402
1973	-	317	317
1978	173**	-	
1996	213**	-	
2006	202**	-	

* In the 1831 census only males were counted
** De jure population (including other nationals)

Figure 4.7: Historical population of the village Vitsada

According to my informant from Vitsada, the social interaction between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in Vitsada and other villages around the area was quite advanced. The most important aspect of the social interaction in this area between the two speech communities is that Cypriot Turkish was the lingua franca here, which is quite a rare phenomenon in Cyprus. It might be the case that the main factors determining the lingua franca in a mixed village is the language of the neighbouring villages. The reason why Cypriot Greek is usually the lingua franca in mixed villages could be then explained by the fact that statistically there were more Cypriot Greek speaking villages than Cypriot Turkish speaking ones.

The habitus of this area must have been completely different than other regions, as not only there were Turkish speaking Greek Cypriots living here, but many Turkish Cypriots in these villages are oblivious to the fact that there were Greek Cypriots. Interestingly, this still does not invalidate the general tendency on the island that non-Turkish speakers never shift to Cypriot Turkish. They might become bi- or multilingual, but there is not a single bit of evidence that they ever shifted to Cypriot Turkish.

During my field research, I also heard from inhabitants that there used to be

	Gonedra			Çatoz			Ipsillat		
Years	TC	GC	Total	TC	GC	Total	TC	GC	Total
1831*	124	14	138	148	-	148	75	-	75
1891	479	8	487	415	5	420	360	3	363
1901	502	8	510	479	5	484	359	2	361
1911	536	-	536	522	2	524	374	1	375
1921	545	-	545	533	10	543	409	-	409
1931	505	14	519	514	3	517	457	3	460
1946	518	-	518	721	-	721	452	3	455
1960	623	-	623	842	2	842	455	-	455
1973	670	-	670	907	-	907	493	-	493
1978	519**	-	519**	869**	-	869	371**	-	371
1996	403**	-	403**	994**	-	994	336**	-	336
2006	394**	-	394	1041**	-	1041	349**	-	349

* In the 1831 census only males were counted
** De jure population (including other nationals)

Figure 4.8: Historical population of the villages Gonedra, Çatoz and Ipsillat

other Greek Cypriots in other villages, too, who were fluent in Cypriot Turkish. Without any further information, it is only a speculation as to how many such bilingual speakers there were and what kind of sociological factors caused this bilingualism.

Region: Kormakitis

Kormakitis is the largest centre of Cypriot Maronite culture and language in Cyprus, being the only village in Cyprus in which Cypriot Maronite Arabic is still spoken. The recorded history of Kormakitis shows that the village has always been inhabited by Maronites, but also by Turkish and Greek Cypriots in certain eras (though never simultaneously). From the villagers themselves, I have never heard of any non-Maronites living in Kormakitis, making these numbers interesting (but not necessarily interesting for this work).

The villages around Kormakitis are Karpasia, Myrtou and Liveras. Karpasia was another (albeit smaller) Maronite village. Allegedly, there are still a few Cypriot Maronites living in Karpasia, but it is hard to visit the village since the

Years	TC	Maronite	GC	Total
1831*	-	91	-	
1891	7	423	-	
1901	10	503	-	
1911	11	617	-	
1921	10	666	-	
1931	6	730	-	
1946	-	889	5	
1960	-	1093	18	
1973	-	1257	ns	
1978	ns	ns	ns	
1996	ns	220**	ns	
2006	ns	195**	ns	

* In the 1831 census only males were counted
** De jure population (including other nationals)

Figure 4.9: Historical population of the village Kormakitis

rest of the village is being used by the Turkish Army, making the access to the village difficult. The other two villages, Myrtou and Liveras were predominantly Greek. Today, they are inhabited by Turkish settlers from Turkey.

It is not clear, whether the Maronites in Karpasia also spoke Cypriot Maronite Arabic. The villagers today in Kormakitis say that they did not. From my informants in Nicosia, I also know that there were also Maronites living in the city who were probably speakers of Cypriot Greek. Taking into account that in the villages around Kormakitis (and around other Maronite villages) Cypriot Greek was the dominant language, it is clear why the inhabitants of these villages might have wanted to shift to Greek.

Another interesting village, not far away from Kormakitis and close to the "Maronite region" is Kambyli. The population history as described in figure 4.11 shows that the Maronite population made up around 30% of the population of the village. The elderly in the village today relate rumours of many Turkish Cypriots actually belonging to the Latins, who came to the island during the Lusignan/Venetian rule, and later converted to Islam. The presence of Maronites proves that the village had at least a connection to Catholicism, but everything

	Myrtou			Karpasia			Liveras	
Years	TC	GC	others	TC	Maronite	GC	TC	GC
1831*	-	44	-	7	26	-	ns	ns
1891	2	315	-	1	64	-	1	33
1901	2	379	-	-	67	-	-	54
1911	-	430	-	1	111	-	13	86
1921	-	537	-	-	119	-	-	112
1931	3	584	-	3	129	-	-	121
1946	-	673	-	-	179	4	29	160
1960	-	706	-	-	190	3	12	165
1973	-	820	8	-	245		-	123
1978**	521	-	-	73	-	-	97	-
1996**	955	-	-	87	-	-	145	-
2006**	1037	-	-	89	-	-	166	-

* In the 1831 census only males were counted
** De jure population (including other nationals)

Figure 4.10: Historical population of the villages Myrtou, Karpasia, Liveras

else remains pure rumour unless proved to be otherwise. Nevertheless, the data do prove that there has been a direct contact between Cypriot Maronites and Turkish Cypriots during the course of history in Cyprus.

4.5   Language & Identity

A description of the contact situation remains incomplete without comprehending how the speech communities distinguish between each other, i.e., how they define themselves and each other. Language has a distinct role in the self-identity of the speakers, though it does not have to be the only or the main criteria for defining self-identity.

Identification is bidirectional; by identifying one group (themselves), the speakers automatically create a second group of the "others" (cf. Tabouret-Keller, 1998: 315-316). This identification of the others becomes more important when there is a language conflict situation. In Cyprus, the main language conflict has been (and still is) between Turkish and Greek Cypriots, whereas this language conflict is

Years	TC	Maronite	Total
1831*	30	12	42
1891	104	9	113
1901	141	10	151
1911	148	7	155
1921	150	4	154
1931	159	3	162
1946	222	-	222
1960	208	-	208
1973	344	-	344
1978**	234	-	234
1996**	218	-	218
2006**	194	-	194

* In the 1831 census only males were counted
** De jure population (including other nationals)

Figure 4.11: Historical population of the village Kambyli

only one part of a greater political conflict between the two ethnic groups. It is a matter of "natural" language conflict as described by Hans-Nelde (1998: 294) (regardless how artificial the political conflict might be) with a historical twist. Nowadays, with the help of *nation-building* on both sides, it appears only natural for people that Turkish Cypriots speak Turkish[15] and Greek Cypriots speak Greek. Historically, and according to the testimonies of my informants, there were numerous Turkish Cypriots who spoke Cypriot Greek as their mother tongue. Kizilyurek mentions that in 1881, 5.4% of the Turkish Cypriots stated Greek as their native language (Kizilyurek and Gautier-Kizilyurek, 2004: 46). There were still regions where Turkish Cypriots occasionally speak Cypriot Greek even among themselves, even though it was theoretically illegal to do so in North Cyprus. Even some elderly Turkish Cypriots who still view Greek Cypriots as a threat and enemy have no problems speaking Greek with each other. In addition, (as far as I know) all of the Cypriot Maronites and many of the Cypriot Armenians speak Cypriot Greek as their mother tongue. This case of multilingualism did

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[15]The terms 'Cypriot Turkish' and 'Cypriot Greek' do not exist in everyday life. Cypriots usually refer to these languages as 'Turkish' and 'Greek'.

not cause any real problems with self-identification, however, which is a possible indication of the fact that language is not the primary factor in self-identification.

Another crucial factor in identifying one's own group and distinguishing it from the "others" is religion. Unlike language, religion is more stable over generations, i.e., it is highly unlikely (at least regarding the social structures in Cyprus) that someone would change his religion or that the believer of one religion also starts participating in the practices of the neighbouring religion; but it is quite normal for a Turkish Cypriot to learn Greek Cypriot or even shift to Cypriot Greek. This point is also emphasized by An (2009). He argues that this feature of identification is the reason why there were so many multilinguals in the area.

Thus, the speech communities of Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish were and are still in a "natural" conflict with each other regarding the prestige and the use of these languages. This conflict is currently in equilibrium for both languages, and it indicates a stable language contact in the Thomasonian sense (cf. Thomason, 2001: 21). But the cases of Cypriot Armenians and Cypriot Maronites is much different in nature, making them interesting for the current status of language contact theory.

The Armenians of Cyprus have distinct characteristics which separate them from every other speech community on the island. Cypriot Armenians have the sense of belonging to the Armenian Diaspora, and they define themselves through this belonging to Diaspora and with the notion of "Armenianness" (Mavratsas, 2003: 209). Since the Armenian Cypriots belong to a greater Armenian nation, they have little connection to the island; and according to Mavratsas (2000), they do not perceive Cyprus as their "homeland", as opposed to other speech communities. Mavratsas notes that: "For Cypriot Armenians, Cyprus has never been what we may call an exclusive homeland - in the sense of the Greek $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\iota\delta\alpha$ - but has always been part of a much wider frame of reference (or social network), that of the Armenian Diaspora." (Mavratsas, 2000: 202). This sense of not belonging to Cyprus but to the Armenian diaspora manifests itself in many ways, such as not presenting any wish to return to their lost properties in 1974, as opposed to the Greek Cypriots whose society and politics was shaped around this idea of "returning" (Mavratsas, 2003: 209). Moreover, although the presence of Armenians on the island can be traced back to the sixth century, there were many

Armenian waves of immigration and emigration to and from Cyprus and many of the Armenians living in Cyprus today are descendants of those who escaped from the Armenian Genocide in 1915 (Varnava, 2010: 209). Thus the ties of Armenian Cypriots to Cyprus are relatively new. This is not to say that Armenian Cypriots lack a Cypriot identity, but the centre of their personal identification is "being Armenian" and not "being an Armenian of Cyprus", as opposed to Greek, Turkish or Maronite Cypriots, who also recognize belonging to different cultures, religions, etc., but "being Cypriot" plays a very important role in their self-perception.

The case of Cypriot Maronites is in many ways similar to the that of Cypriot Armenians, but these two are also very different from each other in a few important points. Maronites, just like Armenians, are a small minority on the island, their religion is different from the "mainstream" religions on Cyprus and they have their own language. In fact, the language, Kormakiti Arabic, is much more important to the Maronite Cypriot identity than Armenian to the Armenian Cypriot identity: Kormakiti Arabic is only spoken in Cyprus, today only in the village of Kormakitis, whereas Western Armenian as it is spoken in Cyprus today is spoken throughout the Armenian diaspora. Thus the handful of speakers of Kormakiti Arabic are not only the sole speakers of this language but due to the lack of interest of the Maronite youth in Kormakiti Arabic, the whole Cypriot Maronite identity is in a crisis, since it could mean the extinction of Kormakiti Arabic. This is clearly not the case with Western Armenian; and even if every Armenian Cypriot would cease to speak Armenian, the language would still survive. Mavratsas (2003: 207) also notes that unlike Armenians who have a long literary tradition, Kormakiti Arabic is a non-literate language. Furthermore, Cypriot Maronites lack the possibility of passing on their language (except for the St. Maron school in Lakadamia, Nicosia according to my knowledge), whereas Cypriot Armenians have schools with an Armenian curriculum in many major Cypriot cities. Another important distinction mentioned by Mavratsas (2003) is the notion of a homeland. As opposed to the Armenians in Cyprus who belong to a wider network, Cypriot Maronites have only loose (or symbolic as expressed by Varnava 2010: 209) connections to Lebanon. The notion of language playing a vital role in the lives of Armenian Cypriots (as opposed to Kormakiti Arabic

in the lives of Cypriot Maronites) is also noted in (Hadjidemetriou, 2009), albeit without any reference to the works of Mavratsas.

How a linguistic minority is not recognizable as such has been coined by Karyolemou (2009) as "sociolinguistic invisibility". Communities such as Cypriot Maronites are invisible to Cypriot Greeks at the first glance, as there are no features to identify them as Maronites. Their names, their speech and their social status is identical to that of Cypriot Greeks. Cypriot Armenians are still recognizable as Armenians since their names are usually Armenian, and the Gurbet are recognizable as such due to their distinct way of life.

4.6 Recapitulation

In order to examine the socio-linguistic situation and the interaction between the speech communities, I first gave an historical overview of the Greek Cypriot, Turkish Cypriot, Cypriot Maronite Arabic and Armenian speech communities in section 4.1 in order to illustrate the social setting of language contact. I then developed a system for categorizing different social situations on the island in section 4.2, distinguishing between rural and urban, contact and non-contact, and finally bilingual and monolingual areas. This was followed by section 4.3, which explains different factors that may play a role in social interactions between speech communities.

After providing a short history of the island and developing the necessary theories to explain and describe them, I then focused in section 4.4 on several different regions in Cyprus, that differ in certain aspects of social interaction. The main goal of this section was to show the diverse contact situations a linguist can find on a relatively small island under the general subject of language contact. Apart from the "bare" socio-historical data, I also provided census data on specific places of contact, where I also conducted my field research. Together with the bare historical and census data, it is now possible to imagine in what kind of setting language contact took place. It is possible to categorize these regions as sources of both innovation and propagation. These are, of course, not the only contact areas in Cyprus.

I also showed how Cypriot Maronite and Armenian communities behave

differently, and for what possible socio-linguistic reasons, and why this phenomenon is interesting. Although they are both considered religious minorities in Cyprus, and thus classified as being similar, their history as well as their social structures are completely different; and they react to a language contact situation differently. These sociolinguistics factors are possibly the only reason why these speech communities behave differently and not the linguistic features of the languages.

Figure 4.12 shows the dominant languages in the studied areas. Although the general behaviour pattern across Cyprus is to use Cypriot Greek as lingua franca, there is at least one region where Cypriot Turkish was used for this function. In section 2.4 I already discussed how replications not only need an emergence point, but also a way of being distributed. I in no way claim that these areas I studied are the only contact areas or the only regions where propagation might have started. The reason for studying these areas is the assumption that morphosyntactic replications not only need a source to emerge from, but they also ways to be accepted by the speech community. The way multilingualism was institutionalized in these areas serves as an example of how grammaticalization and propagation might have occurred. Unlike grammaticalization, propagation cannot be proven or shown, which does not mean that it should not be included in language contact research.

Figure 4.12: Dominant languages in the studied regions

Chapter 5

Language Information and Analysis

In this section, I shall elucidate how I analyzed the languages involved. In a multilingual setting, the use of language is a functional one. The use of one language over another in any discourse signalizes a certain meaning. I am also convinced that not only the language as a whole and its use has a function, but also every part of language serves a function a) within its own language and b) in another language in this multilingual setting. I, thus, not only see the part-whole relation in language as a functional one but also consider the outcome of language contact to be based on functional properties.

As the varieties in this study often differ from their standard (concerning Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek) or neighbouring varieties (concerning Kormakiti Arabic), I shall briefly explain how I analyzed certain constructions in these languages and why I came to these conclusions.

The difference between a standard language and a variety is not always very clear, especially because a) the boundaries of the standard language are usually not well defined and b) the boundaries of the dialects or varieties are not defined. It is also difficult to collect data about dialects or varieties. The observations in Krefeld (2011: 107p) are correct that less educated or uneducated speakers tend to incorporate more standard elements into their speech when they are asked to speak dialect, since they do not know how to identify their dialect. I also observed that well educated speakers tend to do the opposite: when they are asked, they exaggerate their dialect usage, sometimes even producing forms that

the dialect speakers never would.

5.1 Cypriot Greek

5.1.1 Basic Information

Cypriot Greek is the group of varieties spoken chiefly in the southern part of Cyprus today, with the exception of a few villages such as Rizokarpaso on the Karpass peninsula in the North, which still have Greek Cypriot Cypriot Greek speakers and a few other villages where the elderly Turkish Cypriots speak Cypriot Greek. Although Standard Greek is the written variety, every other domain is dominated by Cypriot Greek. Even the language of politics (the oral, not the written use) and the spoken language in the schools is Cypriot Greek. Greek is one of the two official languages of the Republic of Cyprus[1]. According to Lewis et al. (2013: last accessed on 05/04/2013), the 2002 census shows 689,000 speakers of Greek in Cyprus.

Although a Greek variety of the ancient Arcadocypriot dialect was spoken since around the fourth century BC on the island of Cyprus, the current dialect is based on Koiné (*κοινή* means 'common' in Greek) and probably started regionalizing around forth century AD. The twelfth century AD is considered to be the beginning of the modern period for the Cypriot dialect of Greek (Varella, 2006: 11-12). Speakers of Cypriot Greek usually refer to their variety as *kipriaka*, 'Cypriot'.

Cypriot Greek data was transliterated in the Latin scripts with a few additional characters, such as the IPA characters θ and ð for their respective phonetic values, as well as š for /ʃ/, š for /ʧ/ and y for /j/. The usage of the last two letters is chiefly due to convenience; as it increased the pace of transliteration and it is easier for the reader.

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[1]Today it is de facto the only official language as Turkish is only used on paper and not everywhere.

5.1.2 Linguistic Information

Cypriot Greek differs from Standard Greek in almost every linguistic aspect explained comprehensively in the literature previously mentioned. According to Symeōnidēs (2006: 165) there are (or were) 18 dialectal zones of Cypriot Greek. These are 1) Mesaria, 2) West Mesaria, 3) Kyrenia, 4) Karpasia, 5) Larnaca, 6) Limassol, 7) Episkopi near Limassol, 8) Krasochoria in Troodos, 9) South Paphos, 10) Central Paphos, 11) Northwest Paphos, 12) Tylleria, 13) Marathasa, 14) Solea, 15) Pitsylia, 16) Oreine, 17) Kokkinochoria, 18) Paralimni. According to his listing, the differences between these languages are phonological (and only a few items display slight morphological variation). There is little information as to how these sub-varieties differ from each other morpho-syntactically, which eliminates the possibility of region specific language contact study as far as this research is concerned. Furthermore, it is not know how many of the sub-varieties which used to be spoken in the northern part of the island survived the massive displacement of its speakers. For more information on the phonological difference between these varieties see Symeōnidēs (2006). Linguistically, the Modern Greek dialects are divided into Northern Greek dialects and Southern Greek dialects. The Cypriot Greek dialect belongs to the southern group distinguished by certain phonological rules. One phonological feature, however, is the main characteristic of this variety on the island, and it is not found in any Northern or Southern Greek dialect. This feature is the conservation of the Ancient Greek gemini consonants (Chatzēiōannu, 1999: 13).

One of the interesting phonological features of Cypriot Greek is devoicing of fricatives and the epenthesis of voiceless velar plosives in certain positions. This feature is worth mentioning as Kormakiti Arabic also took it over. Thus *poδja* becomes *poθkja* ('feet') and *δulevo* becomes *δulefko* ('to read') (Symeōnidēs, 2006: 166). It also differs morphologically from Standard Greek, for example in its usage of the accusative plural forms for the genitive plural in masculine nouns: *i stoles tus straijotes* instead of *i stoles ton stratijoton* ('the uniforms of the soldiers') (Symeōnidēs, 2006: 246).

Another important syntactical feature of Cypriot Greek is enclitic usage of pronouns, e.g., *lali tu* ('He/she tells him') instead of *tu leγi* (Symeōnidēs, 2006: 245).

In Standard Greek, the pronouns precede the verb, whereas the nouns follow it. This feature is not limited to Cypriot Greek. Pontic Greek, for example, has the same syntax for pronouns (Papadopoulos, 1955: 159), which is also noted by Symeōnidēs (2006). There is also evidence for this pattern from Medieval Greek, strengthening the fact that this is not a contact feature (at least not a recent one).

5.2 Cypriot Turkish

5.2.1 Basic Information

Cypriot Turkish is the variety of Turkish spoken in Cyprus, which has its own sub-varieties. As far as the literature on Cypriot Turkish goes, there is no complete categorization of these sub-varieties. Several such varieties are mentioned here and there, such as the Paphian variety and the variety of Limassol. It is, however, unknown how many of these varieties there were and what the clear differences between them were. The history of this variety in general has been discussed in a previous chapter. In order to better understand the language contact situation, I shall explain the current status of this variety.

It is unclear how many speakers Cypriot Turkish has today. The population living in the northern part of the island is probably between 260,000 and 300,000. Not every Turkish speaker living in the northern part speaks Cypriot Turkish, however, as some of its inhabitants came from various parts of Turkey in the last decades, they speak their variety of Turkish or the standard variety. Furthermore, not every speaker of Cypriot Turkish lives in Cyprus. There are Turkish Cypriot communities in other countries such as England, Australia, etc. who speak Cypriot Turkish. These people mostly fled Cyprus during the civil unrest during the 50s and 60s, and since they have had less exposure to Standard Turkish than Turkish Cypriots living in Cyprus, they usually speak in dialect (often with heavy contact influence from English, but this is outside of the scope of this work). The number of speakers worldwide can be estimated to be around 300,000 in total.

Cypriot Turkish has a different status as a variety than other varieties of mainland Turkish (Demir, 2002a). Although the local, the regional, and the so-

cial varieties on the mainland are only spoken in certain social domains such as with family and friends, Cypriot Turkish is spoken in many other domains, such as in schools, in administrative domains, etc.

Throughout this work, Standard Turkish language data is written in the Turkish alphabet according to the standard orthography and Cypriot Turkish examples are also written with the Turkish alphabet, but not according to the orthography, but according to their phonetics, i.e., quite similar to how speakers pronounced them. This method would have overpopulated the dictionary of Cypriot Turkish without helping analyze or understand the variety. The only exception to the Turkish alphabet rule is the voiced velar nasal /ŋ/. The Turkish alphabet has no letter corresponding to this sound. For transliterating this phoneme, I used the IPA sign *ŋ*.

5.2.2 Linguistic Information

Karahan (1996) found in her research about the dialects of Turkish, which consisted of 18 criteria, that Cypriot Turkish matches in 13 of these criteria other dialects of Turkey. These dialects are those of Afyon, Ankara, Antalya, Aydın, Balıkesir, Burdur, Denizli, Eskişehir, Isparta, İçel, İzmir, Kayseri, Kırşehir, Konya, Manisa, Muğla, Nevşehir, Uşak and Yozgat (as cited in Demir (2002a: 1)). Gökçeoğlu also categorizes Cypriot Turkish as a dialect of Turkish and notes that "the Turkish Cypriots and Turks from Turkey can understand each other in nearly every case"[2] (Gökçeoğlu, 2004: 16). This is only partially true. Although it is true that the speakers can express themselves to each other, this is due to the standardization of Turkish in schools and media. Saying that Cypriot Turkish is mutually intelligible with every other Turkish dialect not only lacks an evidential basis but also ignores the variation between Standard and Cypriot Turkish, and the variation among the Turkish dialects themselves.

An important distinction between Cypriot Turkish and Standard Turkish is the use of tense and aspect, which is evident in many examples throughout this work and might confuse some readers. This distinction becomes even more confusing due to the descriptive grammars on Turkish not being up-to-date any

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[2]author's translation

more. Kornfilt (1997: 357) writes that the tense suffix *-(I)yor* marks the continuous aspect. She criticizes the term 'progressive' as it denotes the continuous aspect of a nonstative verb, whereas the continuous marker in Turkish can also be used with stative verbs. The suffix *-(A)r*, on the hand, is defined both as a marker for habitual aspect (Kornfilt, 1997: 356) and as aorist or 'general present tense' (Kornfilt, 1997: 336p). This is may be true for the written language, but for the spoken standard Turkish it is no longer true. Even in written texts the marker *-(I)yor* is very often used as a simple present marker, also in the habitual sense. This is illustrated in example 2. For this reason, I chose to define the suffix *-(I)yor* as the default present suffix and the suffix *-(A)r* as the habitual marker which can be employed to emphasize the habitual aspect. I am fully aware that the suffix *-(A)r* can also be used in a sense beyond the habitual aspect (one of them being the abilitative function, as far as I know, not studied in any work before), but the aim of this work is not to analyze the TAM use in Standard Turkish.

(2)   TSCorpus search for Morph Tag "Prog1", hit number 7037095 last accessed 5.6.2013 (Sezer, 2013)

   Pamukkale Şarapçılık yıllık 200-300 bin   şişe   ihracat yap-ıyor
   P.   Ş.   yearly 200-300   thousand bottle export   make-PRS

   'Pamukkale Şarapçılık exports 200-300 thousand bottles every year.'

Cypriot Turkish, on the other hand, has another TAM system. The suffix *-(A)r* in Cypriot Turkish marks the present tense, whereas the suffix *-(I)yor* usually marks the progressive case (and not the continuous, as Kornfilt (1997) suggests for Standard Turkish, since it cannot be used with stative verbs). Used with a past tense marker, however, *-(A)r* in Cypriot Turkish still marks the durative/habitual aspect just like in Standard Turkish.

5.3   Kormakiti Arabic

5.3.1   Basic Information

Kormakiti Arabic is usually presented as a variety of Arabic spoken only in the village Kormakitis, though this is only partially true. Kormakiti Arabic did origi-

nate from the village Kormakitis and many of its speakers live there, but there are also speakers of Kormakiti Arabic not living (at least permanently) in Kormakitis. As the census data of 2006 show, 195 people resided in Kormakitis. Although not everyone in Kormakitis can speak Kormakiti Arabic, most of the residents can. There are also a few speakers of Kormakiti Arabic residing and working in cities in the southern part of the island; they visit Kormakitis on the weekends. Although these few people can speak Kormakiti Arabic, there is no domain for speaking the language outside of Kormakitis, except for teaching purposes.

There is only one school in Cyprus, St. Maron's School, where Kormakiti Arabic is taught in afternoon classes. It can only be taught in afternoon classes due to the lack of educational material, which prevents the language from being a part of the curriculum. According to my knowledge, around 80 children learn Kormakiti Arabic in these afternoon classes. There are also summer camps organized in Kormakitis by the NGO *xki fi sanna* ("speak in our language"). In 2013, 54 children participated in this summer camp, where they learn songs and stage plays in Kormakiti Arabic. They later performed what they learnt in the village.

The Republic of Cyprus signed the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* on 12.11.1992 and ratified it on 26.08.2002[3], but recognized Kormakiti Arabic on 12.08.2008 with the following statement:

> Further to its Declaration of 3 August 2005, the Republic of Cyprus declares that the Cypriot Maronite Arabic is a language within the meaning of the European Charter for Regional on[sic] Minority Languages, to which it will apply the provisions of Part II of the Charter in accordance with Article 2, paragraph 1.
>
> In doing so, the Republic of Cyprus further declares that, since the Cypriot Maronite Arabic is also used in the village of Kormakitis, cradle of the said language, situated in an area of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus under Turkish military occupation since 1974 in which the Republic does not exercise effective control, it excludes

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[3]Source: `http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/Commun/ChercheSig.asp?NT=148&CM=8&DF=&CL=ENG` and `http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/Commun/ListeDeclarations.asp?NT=148&CM=1&DF=&CL=ENG&VL=1` last accessed on 15.12.2013.

any interpretation of the Charter's provision in this regard that would
be contrary to it, particularly its Article 5.

There is one hour reserved for Kormakiti Arabic in the national radio station
of the Republic of Cyprus. Beside this, little is being done to preserve Kormakiti
Arabic by both authorities in Cyprus. According to the informants, the gov-
ernment accepted the teaching of Kormakiti Arabic in schools. However, it is
expected of the speakers themselves that they prepare the necessary educational
material in order to incorporate language courses into the school curriculum.
St. Maron's school, unfortunately, lacks the financial means and linguistic back-
ground to prepare and produce the educational material.

Since both government authorities in Cyprus are quite indifferent to the vi-
tality of Kormakiti Arabic, Maronites from Kormakitis are organizing the revital-
ization efforts themselves. Their status under the European Charter for Regional
or Minority Languages helps them in getting financial support from the Euro-
pean Union for projects and for networking with other linguistic minorities in
Europe, such as the Sámi people in Norway.

5.3.2   Linguistic Information

Most of the descriptive work on Kormakiti Arabic has been done by Alexander
Borg which he published in his description of Kormakiti Arabic (Borg, 1985) and
the comparative dictionary of the language (Borg, 2004) in which he discusses
the etymology of the lexemes he found during his field research. Borg's research
focuses mostly on phonological and morphological aspects of the language.

The reader should note one peculiarity of the Kormakiti Arabic interlinear
glossings I employed in this study. Whenever a Greek phrase was used in a Kor-
makiti Arabic narrative in the corpus, it was glossed only with its translation,
i.e., it was not broken down into its morphemes and glossed. One reason for
doing this was to hinder interference of Greek glossings while analyzing Kor-
makiti Arabic. This way, there are no third person pronouns in the Accusative
in Kormakiti Arabic interlinear glossings. The second reason was a technical
one: every single morpheme of every language is entered into a Toolbox dic-
tionary which is then used to gloss the texts automatically (manual correction

is still almost always necessary). Although it is impossible to entirely hinder code-switching phenomena from entering the dictionary, by not glossing the morphemes separately, I tried to prevent Cypriot Greek entries from flooding the Kormakiti Arabic dictionary. Note that this method was employed only in the Kormakiti Arabic corpus and not in the interlinear glossings presented in this thesis.

For the purpose of writing Kormakiti Arabic, I used the transliteration alphabet codified in Borg (1985), with the exception of marking the word accent which Borg notes in his transliterations systematically when it differs from the Arabic word accent patterns. Since word accent is completely irrelevant for the purpose of this research, I eliminated the word accents in the examples from Borg (1985) for the sake of simplicity. Since the phonetics of Kormakiti Arabic is almost completely identical to Cypriot Greek, the characters θ, ð, š, č and y were used for describing the exactly same phonetic qualities. The only exception is the voiced pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/, for which I used the IPA symbol.

5.3.3   Language Decay in Kormakiti Arabic

Kormakiti Arabic is not only a moribund language but every bit of knowledge we have on this language comes from the last three-four decades, when the language had already started dying out. Which features of Kormakiti Arabic are the result of language maintenance and which are due to language decay are will be discussed in the following chapter. Here, I shall illustrate those features of Kormakiti Arabic which exhibit parallels with the language decay of Arvanitika as explained in the Gaelic-Arvanitika-Model of language death by Sasse and discuss that these features are in fact due to language decay. The chief reason for comparing Arvanitika withe Kormakiti Arabic is that Arvanitika is the origin of the examples for the GAM in Sasse (1992a). The Model is meant to be useful for languages suffering from language death due to same socio-economic conditions and indeed, it is based on language data from several languages (Sasse, 1992b: 11p). Concerning the similarities in the language death scenario, Arvanitika and Kormakiti Arabic have much in common. Language decay in Arvanitika started at the beginning of the 20th century when the derivational system of

the language started breaking down (Sasse, 1992a: 69). This breakdown started
not long before the speakers stopped passing on the language to the younger
generation. The reason for transmitting their language was the "extreme im-
portance" of Greek. No doubt the stigmatization of Albanian and Albanians
in Greece also played a role in this process. There are thus important parallels
between the beginning of language death in Arvanitika and Kormakiti Arabic,
and although both languages are linguistically different, they underwent similar
socio-linguistic changes. Moreover, the language they were influenced by are
the variations of the same language, Greek. Here, I shall investigate in what way
language decay in Kormakiti Arabic conforms with the Gaelic-Arvanitika-Model
and if it differs in any way, I shall elaborate on how it does.

Loss of systematic integration   is one of the most visible signs of language de-
cay in Kormakiti Arabic. There are still lexical items which testifies to a previous
stage of language contact when the lexical borrowings were integrated into the
Arabic system, e.g., the plural forms of nouns. Thus, the speakers borrowed the
lexeme *ksinari* ("axe") from Greek as *kšinar* by integrating itto in an Arabic sin-
gular pattern and then derived its plural form using the same Arabic patterns as
kšenir[4] (Borg, 1985: 69). Another example for this kind of lexical integration of
nouns is the Greek lexeme *kammini* which became *kammin* in Kormakiti Arabic
and the plural form is *kmemin*. This kind of integration is apparently not the
case anymore as can be seen in example (3).

(3)   A story.02

    *allik p-**petrokopi**,   n-tamme-t*   *l-**ispiriđkya** ta*
    those ART-stonecutters PASS/MED-end-PST.3SG.F ART-matches   REL
    kan-yišelu   **fayyes**
    PROG/HAB.PST-set.fire.PRS.3PL dynamite.holes

    'While those stonecutters were igniting sticks of dynamite, the matches
    got used up.'

The lexemes *petrokopi*, *ispiriđkya* and *fayyes* are all Greek and are embedded
into the Kormakiti Arabic clause much as in code switching. All three lexemes

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[4]Although Borg provides the Greek origin of the lexeme as *ksinari*, in Cypriot Greek it is in
fact *kšinari* which explains the /ʃ/ phoneme in Kormakiti Arabic

are inflected in Greek with the appropriate plural morphemes. This clause is not from recent field work but from Borg (1985), meaning it must have been recorded previously. If such examples are to be considered a feature of language decay, then we must assume that language decay in Kormakiti Arabic began well before the 1980s. This should not come as a surprise as the speakers whom I conducted interviews with stated that the language shift began in the 1950s. We do not know what the proficiency of this speaker was, whether he was fully proficient or a rusty speaker in Sasse's terms.

A weak point of this feature as an argument for language decay is the difficulty in distinguishing between the loss of systematic integration due to language decay and casual (or even systematic) code-switching. One can see various other signs of language decay in Kormakiti Arabic that would suggest accepting these examples as a loss of integration but this kind of argumentation is somewhat circular. It is certainly important to note whether these lexemes never had any counterparts in Kormakiti Arabic or whether their counterparts are lost. We could easily include another feature of language decay by Sasse here, namely the fact that the semi-speakers have difficulties finding lexical items in their language.

The remaining speakers of Kormakiti Arabic often complain that many modern words such as *car* and *computer* are not present in their language, which they see as a problem in the way of revitalizing the language. Should we also assume that the language never had the words for stonecutter, matches and fire? Even if we do, example (4) should make it rather clear that we can assume a systematic loss of lexical material in the language as well as a loss of systematic integration.

(4) Lexical Borrowings in Kormakiti Arabic (Borg, 1985: 182)

kun-na-ll-u   *đ-**đikasti** l-**istoria** šait-na*   *u*
say-PST.1PL-IO-3SG ART-judge   ART-story POSS.F-1PL and
kan-yitxak   *uv uo*
PROG/HAB.PST-PRS.3SG.M-laugh too PRN.3SG.M

'We told the judge our story and he too had a good laugh.'

It is quite understandable for the speakers of Kormakiti Arabic to have borrowed the lexeme *đikasti* since this lexeme is a part of the administrative register

which was never in Kormakiti Arabic in the history of Cyprus. It is difficult to judge whether there is a phonological integration. The original Greek form in the nominative singular would be *dikastis*, so we can observe a slight change in the lexeme which is not always the case, as many other examples from my own recent recordings do indicate other lexemes with the final /s/ intact. Concerning the lexeme *istoria*, one can argue without a doubt that it is a strong evidence for loss of lexical material, as it is difficult to imagine that Kormakiti Arabic lacked the word for *story.*

Throughout the Kormakiti Arabic language corpus, there were 3530 tokens which were marked for being of Kormakiti Arabic origin and 350 tokens for being from Cypriot Greek. It should be clear without any further quantitative analysis that although Cypriot Greek is used in Kormakiti Arabic, the usage is in no way excessive. There is also no basis for a claim about Kormakiti Arabic being a mixed language.

Loss of subordinative mechanisms was another feature of language decay in Arvanitika. It is possible to note several unusual features in the subordinative system of Kormakiti Arabic, and language contact must have had an influence on this aspect of the language. Whether one could speak of a loss, requires detailed further investigation of the language. For this reason, I shall present a short overview of clause subordination in Kormakiti Arabic.

Sasse writes that the subordinated clauses in Arvanitika are usually short relative clauses, and the only adverbial clauses are the conditional and temporal clauses. Relative clauses in Kormakiti Arabic are introduced through the relativizer *ta* and are quite productive. A quick search for the relativizer shows that relative clauses were used 63 times in my corpus of Kormakiti Arabic. I am not aware of any universal average of relative clauses per main clause ratio, and therefore it is difficult to measure whether this number is high, normal or low. The adverbial clauses are a different case due to their formal nature. Though these clauses are often used in Kormakiti Arabic, they are often introduced through Greek adverbials as can be seen in example (5), where the adverbial clause marker *molis* is used.

(5)   Adverbial clauses in Kormakiti Arabic (Borg, 1985: 182)

> *molis   rkaʔa-t   ižr-i   u   rux-t   ta-tlaʔa   parra*
> as.soon.as hit-PST.1SG feet-1SG and go-PST.1SG SUBJ-exit.PRS.1SG outisde

'Just as I stamped my foot and was about to go out.'

This is not an individual case or a spontaneous code-switching as *molis* is used systematically in Kormakiti Arabic. There are in fact various Greek adverbials being used systematically in Kormakiti Arabic such as *istera* ("afterwards") and *amma* ("when"), alongside native adverbials. Even though many of the native adverbials were replaced by Greek ones, I argue that this is a case of massive borrowing and not of language decay, as subordination is still being used widely in Kormakiti Arabic speech. Even the complement clauses are used widely although they are introduced through the Greek complementizer *oti*. I thus consider such cases as replication and language maintenance, which shall be investigated further in chapter 6.1.3.

As regards the loss of subordinative mechanisms on the phrasal level, i.e., the modification and the possessive constructions being rare, this is simply not true for Kormakiti Arabic.

Breakdown of grammatical categories is the third feature of language decay described by Sasse, one of its implications being the breakdown of the TAM system. This is not the case in Kormakiti Arabic, as the TAM system is surprisingly almost completely intact. Tense and aspect consist entirely of native Arabic morphemes, whereas there are a few cases of loss in the modal system. One example is the necessitative modal verb *prepi* which is Greek and is inflected in Greek for the third person present. The necessitative seems to be expressed only in this fashion, at least in the corpus. Elicitation with speakers often wields different results. For elicitation of the abilitative (as well as complementation), a few speakers in Kormakitis were asked to translate "my friend told me that he can swim". The questions were asked in English and not in Greek in order to minimize Greek influence by me. The first answer was as in example (6).

(6)   Kormakiti Arabic: Abilitative (Elicitation)

> *barea   tel-i   kal-ni   ʔaref   na kalimp-a*
> close.friend POSS-1SG tell.PST.3SG-1SG know.PRS.3SG na swim-3SG

'My friend told me that he can swim.'

Right after uttering the example, the speaker himself realized that the last part of the utterance, *na kalimpa*, is Greek. Then, searching for a Kormakiti Arabic equivalent, he provided me with the alternatives (7a) and (7b).

(7)   Kormakiti Arabic: Abilitative (Elicitation)

   a. Alternative 1

   barea   tel-i   kal-ni   ʔaref   ta-rux
   close.friend POST-1SG tell.PST.3SG-1SG know.PRS.3SG SUBJ-go.PRS.3SG
   l-baxr   ta-nit-ʔassel
   ART-sea SUBJ-REF-wash.3SG

   'Approximately: My friend told me that he knows how to go to sea to swim.'

   b. Alternative 2

   barea   tel-i   kal-ni   ʔaref   ʔaxter
   close.friend POST-1SG tell.PST.3SG-1SG to.know.PRS.3SG be.able.PST.3SG
   terrux   il-baxr ta-nit-ʔassel
   SUBJ-go.PRS.3SG ART-sea SUBJ-REF-wash.3SG

   'Approximately: My friend told me that he can go to the sea to swim.'

The struggle of the speakers to come up with Kormakiti Arabic constructions is worth noting as it emphasizes the speakers' tendencies to use Greek not as a last resort but as a default first choice. Following Sasse's notion of categorizing semi-speakers in different classes, it may be possible to categorize these speakers as rusty speakers. It is, however, more important to note the general tendency to use Greek among the speakers of Kormakiti Arabic today.

Another interesting fact is that, although *prepi* is used for necessitative purposes, its negative form (prohibitive) is in Kormakiti Arabic as can be seen in example (89a). This construction looks native but it is probably a replication of the Greek construction in (89b).

(8)   Prohibitive (Elicitation)

   a. Kormakiti Arabic

   ma pi-ssir   ta   ti-žri   annaxula
   NEG PRS-happen.3SG SUBR PRS.3SG-run here

'You must not run here.'

b. Cypriot Greek

en   jin-ete   na kolimp-is-is
NEG happen-PASS.3SG na swim-PRF-2SG

'You must not swim here.'

The same can be said for **agrammatism**, where we cannot observe the radical lack of proficiency and "the total disintegration of the morphological system" in Kormakiti Arabic. The examples above should be clear examples of the complex morphological system in Kormakiti Arabic.

Phonological variation, distortion and hypercorrections   in Arvanitika cannot be observed directly in Kormakiti Arabic, as I could not observe any variation or distortion of any kind in my corpus. What could be considered a similar change is the complete adoption of the Greek phonology except for the retention of the Arabic ain (/ʕ/) phoneme. The loss of its own phonetics and phonology can be seen as a kind of distortion, but it is much more radical. However, this aspect could be

Summary   The comparison above shows that language death in Arvanitika and in Kormakiti Arabic constitutes itself in different ways, although the context of language contact shows certain parallels. This summary illustrates that language shift and language decay in Kormakiti Arabic must be new phenomena; or at least we must assume that there was a period of language maintenance before the language shift set in. The main reason why these two dying languages behave differently from each other during language death and decay could be the semi-speakers. Sasse places the semi-speaker in the middle of his language decay theory. The semi-speaker is the reason why the language decay occurs in the first place and without the semi-speaker we would have language death without decay. The lack of semi-speakers could be the reason why we do not observe much more language decay in Kormakiti Arabic. There are certainly speakers who can be categorized as rusty speakers, i.e., speakers with full proficiency who did not or do not speak Kormakiti Arabic for long periods of time due to several reasons such as moving away from Kormakitis because of work or for the family. We

would indeed expect these rusty speakers to have problems retrieving the lexical items from their Kormakiti Arabic repository and using more and more Greek borrowings in their speech. There are, however, almost no type 2 semi-speakers of Kormakiti Arabic. The language shift happened very suddenly and changed the balance of power for the languages in Kormakitis. Here is an informant who went to school before the language shift explaining his school years[5]:

> "When we first went to school, we could not speak Greek. We did not know anything and we used to speak only Arabic. We could not speak Greek and our teacher was getting tired of us.He was strict with us until we learnt to speak Greek. So at home, with my family, we used to speak only Arabic. So it was very hard and every morning when we went there [to school] the teacher asked us - to teach us Greek [lit. to put us on the road] - he asked us 'what did you eat today?' And we hat to answer in Greek. But we could not speak Greek and answered in Arabic."

The speakers of Kormakiti Arabic were becoming bilinguals after the school age, as they were going to the Greek schools. The language was being transmitted to the young speakers who were speaking it in the village. When the language shift came and the language was not transmitted at home, the children did not have any other opportunity to learn the language. This shift somehow hindered the emergence of semi-speakers. There are a few passive speakers I met, who claim that they can understand some Kormakiti Arabic but they cannot speak it. These passive speakers (and also other full speakers) usually perceive Kormakiti Arabic proficiency in a binary style: One is either fluent in it or one cannot speak it at all.

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[5]Original in Kormakiti Arabic, translation by author

5.4 Standards of the Varieties and Language Engineering

As a research hypothesis, it should be interesting to study whether one can speak of the emergence of VARIETY STANDARDS concerning the two languages of Cyprus with several varieties: Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish. The independence of the island from the British as well as the separation of these two ethnicities and languages on two different parts of the island prepares the foundation for language engineering and standardization as discussed in Foley (1997: 403-6), based on examples from Belgian Dutch and Norwegian language standards. The two important aspects of forming a language standard seem to be political independence and economic power. Applying this theory to both Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish, we observe that both varieties fulfill these requirements: Both varieties are politically independent (Cypriot Greek even more than Cypriot Turkish), and both varieties are used by the political and economical elite in their respective parts of the island. Nevertheless, it is not known to me whether any of these varieties are developing towards a standard unofficially. Officially, standardization and distancing themselves from the mainland standards are out of question for both varieties.

On the other hand, language engineering in the respective countries, namely Turkey and Greece, play a role for both varieties. Both in Greek and Turkish educating schools, pupils are exposed to the standard varieties. According to personal experience and Cypriot Greek informants, teachers nevertheless speak in the respective local varieties rather than standard ones (as long as the teachers are locals). Every written material, on the other hand, is in the standard language. The mass media, especially newspapers, are in the standard language. Television channels tend to have a mix of the respective Cypriot variety and the standard language, depending on the degree of formality of the programme. Regarding these facts, it is more plausible to expect the local Cypriot varieties to converge with the standard ones than to diverge and form their own standards.

Chapter 6

Replications

This section contains various morphosyntactic replications found in the three languages of Cyprus: Cypriot Greek, Cypriot Turkish and Kormakiti Arabic. Some of the evidence for the replications comes from the recorded speech data, the rest is from various elicitations. The instances of structural replications will be illustrated using a comparative method, i.e., for each instance of replication in a variety I shall give contrastive examples from other varieties of this language or from closely related varieties/languages. This method was discussed previously in chapter 3.2.1.

The replications found throughout the research were divided into two distinct categories: SYSTEMATIC REPLICATIONS and NON-SYSTEMATIC REPLICATIONS. The fundamental difference between these two groups is self-explanatory. Systematic replications are the replications of a morpho-syntactic construction which can be used systematically and productively throughout the replicating language. Non-systematic replications, on the other hand, are again morpho-syntactic constructions whose usage is limited to certain patterns and/or semantics. The usage of the word "systematic" can be confusing, since some of the non-systematic replications I shall present are used systematically. The main reasoning behind this categorization is that systematic replications should have a deeper impact on a language than non-systematic replications. Furthermore, systematic replications are easier to document and study than some non-systematic replications which appear only once or twice in the whole corpus. In those cases, one could

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easily argue whether they are replications or ad-hoc structural patterns.

6.1   Systematic Replications

6.1.1   Cypriot Greek

Indirective

Cypriot Greek is known to have borrowed the indirective marker *imiš* or *-miš* from Cypriot Turkish, *imiš* being a phonologically free particle following the verb (seldom used in spoken language) and *-miš* is a verbal suffix. Interestingly, Cypriot Greek exhibits two different similar cases of indirective replication. Whether or not this distinction between phonologically free word *imiš* and the suffix *-miš* played a role here, is unclear.

The first replication of the Cypriot Turkish indirective is *mišimu* in Cypriot Greek, also noted by Kappler (2008: 216), which displays more or less a distribution similar to the Greek native indirective *ðiθen*.

(9)   Usage of indirectives in Cypriot Greek (informant elicitation)

    a.   Original Greek Indirective *ðiθen*

        mu   *i-p-en*   *oti*   ***ðiθen*** *enna pantref-θ-i*
        1SG.POSS PST-say-PST.3SG COMP IND   FUT   marry-PASS.PRF-3SG

    b.   Borrowed Greek Indirective *mišimu*

        mu   *i-p-en*   *oti*   **[*mišimu*]** *enna pantref-θ-i*
        1SG.POSS PST-say-PST.3SG COMP [IND]   FUT marry-PASS.PRF-3SG
        [*mišimu*]
        [IND]

        'He told me that apparently he is getting married.'

The particle *mišimu* as seen in the example (9b) is a clear replication of the Turkish indirective, though it seems to have been modified further through *imu* or *mu* (1st person possessive pronoun), probably constituting a semantic structure like "according to what I've heard". It has the same distribution pattern as the Greek *ðiθen*, though it can also follow the verb similar to the of Turkish indirective suffix, which is not a possible syntactical slot for *ðiθen*. This seems to

be the only distributional pattern difference between the replicated and native particles. Except for a similarity of distribution as in (10a), there is no reason to categorize *mišimu* as a pattern replication; as such a morphosyntactic structure already exists in Greek, rendering it actually a lexical borrowing. It is, however, interesting for the convergence between the languages, since in some dialects of Cypriot Turkish, this distribution of *mišimu* was replicated for the native suffix *-miš*. It is far more interesting from a morphosyntactic point of view to discover that there is a second replicated indirective form *imiš*, which functions as an enclitic or a free morpheme following the verb, and follows the Turkish pattern as shown in example (10a).

(10) The Indirective in Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish

　　a. Replicated Greek Indirective *imiš* (informant elicitation)

　　　mu　　　*i-p-en*　　　*oti*　*enna pantref-θ-i*　　**imiš**
　　　1SG.POSS PST-say-PST.3SG COMP FUT　marry-PASS.PRF-3SG IND

　　　'He told me that apparently he is getting married.'

　　b. Turkish Cypriot Indirective (author's knowledge)

　　　de-di　*ban-a*　*(ki/şu) evlen-eceğ-**miş***
　　　say-PST 1SG-DAT (COMP) marry-FUT-IND

　　　'He/She told me that apparently he/she is getting married.'

Example (10b) serves the purpose of comparing the borrowed Greek Cypriot *imiš* with its original source. The indirective in a suffix position has the structure [VERB-(TAM)-mIş-(Tense)]. If used as a free morpheme such as *evlenecek imiş*, it is [VERB-Tense/Aspect imiş]. Considering that the Cypriot Greek construction in (10a) has a very similar structure, namely [VERB.TAM + imiš], it becomes clear that this is more than a mere lexical borrowing and a substitute for the native particle *ðiθen*. It is an example for matter and pattern replication in a very peculiar fashion. Since the free morpheme *imiş* only very seldom occurs in spoken language, it should be very difficult for non-natives of Turkish to pick up and it is safe to assume that this replication requires bilinguals of both languages. As the common trend in Cyprus in general as well as in Limassol in particular, was for Turkish Cypriots to become bilingual in Cypriot Greek, this implies the propagation of a construction replicated by Turkish Cypriots in Cypriot Greek.

This structure thus is not only interesting due to the morphosyntax alone but due to its implications of how replicated structures can be propagated, in this case through new speakers of a languages (bilinguals) into the speech of the mono-linguals. That this kind structural borrowing requires bilingualism of native-like proficiency is also supported by another structure in Cypriot Turkish as can be seen in example (11), which indicates a new scope of syntactic possibilities for the indirective in Cypriot Turkish.

(11)   Syntactically free *miş* in Cypriot Turkish (Kappler, 2008: 216)

       miş *Hüseyin diyet-de*
       IND   Hüseyin   diet-LOC

       'Hüseyin pretends to be on a diet (but I doubt that he really is on a diet.)'[1]

(11) is a good example for the reciprocity of language contact effects. The indirective in Cypriot Turkish influenced Cypriot Greek, which then developed its own structures, which then influenced Cypriot Turkish. The example of the indirective in Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek is a very iconic representation of how structural convergence can happen, and language contact is not necessarily one language influence on the other, but two languages influencing each other, causing similar constructions in both. The reader should note here that this structure are not common today; the only evidence for these possibilities are found in Kappler and Tsiplakou (2014), who also write that this structure is native to Limassol. Why this structure was not (or could not) be propagated in Cypriot Turkish is also an interesting question. One could try to provide an easy answer by stating that it was a too radical change for speakers of Cypriot Turkish elsewhere to use a free morpheme such es *miş* at an initial position in a clause. On the other hand, the grammaticalization which occurred in Cypriot Greek was also quite radical. The answer might be that it is a sole pattern replication in Cypriot Turkish whereas it was a matter and pattern replication in Cypriot Greek. Although a matter and pattern construction is possibly perceived as being something new, a sole pattern replication with a native morpheme might be

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[1]Translation is left as in the original. Please note that this is only one of the many possible readings of this utterance.

perceived as simply wrong, especially under the influence of the standard variety.

Usage of *etsi*

Another interesting feature of Cypriot Greek is the usage of *etsi*, which means "such". A pro-clause in Greek, *etsi* can also be used as a demonstrative/adjective in Cypriot Greek. This usage of *etsi* is very similar to that of Turkish Cypriot *öyle*. In Standard Greek, one would use the proper inflected form of *tetios* in example 12a instead of *etsi*. This feature has also been documented in Symeōnidēs (2006: 247). Symeōnidēs (2006) mentions (citing Papastavrou 2000: 124) that *etsi* could have been an adjective before with the forms (*etsi-os*, *etsi-a*, *etsi-o*). As far as I know, there is no evidence that such an adjective ever existed.

(12)   Usage of *etsi* and *öyle* as semantic amplifiers

    a.   Cypriot Greek (Symeōnidēs, 2006: 247)

       etsi *anθropos eimai*   *γo*
       such human   COP.1SG.PRS I

    b.   Cypriot Turkish

       öyle *bir insan-ım*   *ben*
       such   one human-1SG I

       'I am such a person (This is my personality).'

It is also possible to omit the indefinite article *bir*, though this construction is on the one hand more vulgar and on the other hand more emphasized then in (13).

(13)   Usage of *öyle* without indefinite article

       öyle *insan-ım*   *ben*
       such   human-1SG I

       'I am such a person (I am either a very negative or very positive person).'

The most striking feature of this new Cypriot Greek construction is the lack of inflection for the adjective. The Standard Greek *tetios* would be inflected for

number, case and gender (as is almost every other Greek adjective [2]), whereas
there are no inflected forms of *etsi*. One way of explaining this is to assume a pat-
tern replication of the Turkish non-inflected adjective pattern in Cypriot Greek.
What we see is definitely a replication of this pattern but it does not explain
alone why we do not find other adjectives behaving the same way. It is, thus,
more plausible to assume that this is not the replication of the general adjec-
tive pattern but the replication of a very specific construction. The construction
which was replicated is the usage of *öyle* with a noun (usually "person", "man",
or "woman") after a narrative to emphasize that the narrated event is due to the
personality of a specific person. This is more or less a fixed construction used in
a specific context and its usage is part of the social setting in Cyprus, i.e., this is a
part of how one expresses himself/herself in Cyprus. The replicated construction
is thus ["such"(without inflection) + noun (usually "person")]. The replica gram-
maticalization process can be utilized to explain what is going on here: Repli-
cation of the non-inflection of the adjective is the creation of a new adjective
pattern category in Cypriot Greek for a specific construction. After this creation
process, the speakers grammaticalized *etsi*, causing an extension in its semantics.
On the other hand, one could argue that the weight of the argument for replica-
tion is diminished by the possibility of inner mechanics of Cypriot Greek in this
issue. It would not be an extreme assumption to think that an adverb with high
frequency in the spoken language could be grammaticalized to a particle with-
out inflection. The fact that this feature is not found in other Greek varieties,
according to my knowledge, makes replication a viable possibility, though one
under the shadow of the possibility of inner mechanics.

Negative Correlative *me*...*me*

Symeōnidēs (2006: 247) also mentions the negation with *me*...*me*. There is al-
ready a similar construction in Greek with *ute*. According to Symeōnidēs (2006)
this *me* could originate from *miδe* (citing Xatzidakis MNE 2: 419). There is al-

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[2]There are few adjectives in Greek which are not inflected, such as the adjective *ble*, "blue".
The reason they are not inflected is because they are foreign words and foreign nouns or adjec-
tives are usually not inflected in Greek. This does not apply to *etsi*, though, since it is a native
Greek lexeme.

legedly a similar marker in Marista of Rhodes. An alternative explanation would be a Cypriot Turkish influence, which uses the particle *ne* for negative correlatives. Obviously, *me* in Cypriot Greek is not a direct borrowing. There exists, however, a possibility of (Cypriot) Turkish *ne* being the motivator for the grammaticalization of Cypriot Greek *me(n)* to a negative correlative. The fact that this feature only exists in Rhodes outside of Cyprus, which used to be an island under Turkish influence, can be an argument both for and against a replica grammaticalization, thus more or less nullifying its persuasive argumentative character. Let us compare the Cypriot Greek example (14a) with its reconstructed Cypriot Turkish counterpart.

(14)   Negative Correlative

    a.   Cypriot Greek (Symeōnidēs, 2006: 247)

        *o   jos   mu   δistixos   me kronn-etai   mu   **me***
        ART son.M POSS.1SG unfortunately NEG obey-PASS.PRS.3SG 1SG.ACC NEG

        *aku-i   mu   **me** sev-ete   me   **me** tipote*
        listen-PRS.3SG 1SG.ACC NEG respect-PASS.PRS.3SG 1SG.ACC NEG nothing

    b.   Cypriot Turkish

        *oğl-um ben-i   **ne** say-ar   **ne** dinn-er   **ne** saygı duy-ar **ne***
        son-1SG 1SG-ACC NEG obey-PRS NEG listen-PRS NEG respect feel-PRS NEG

        bişey
        something

        'My son neither obeys to me nor listens to me nor does he respect me or anything.'

Overall, this replication is not exciting, as such conjunctions* with reduplication are often used in Standard Greek, too. Regarding the pattern, there is nothing new. The identical construction with *ute* is in fact so old that it can be found in the New Testament.

(15)   Matthew 22:30

    *ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀναστάσει **οὔτε** γαμοῦσιν **οὔτε** γαμίζονται, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄγγελοι ἐν*
    en γar ti anastasi   ute   γamusin ute   γamizonte   all   os   aŋeli   en

    τῷ οὐρανῷ εἰσιν.
    to urano   isin

    From the New International Version "At the resurrection people will neither marry nor be given in marriage; they will be like the angels in heaven."

Recapitulation

As is expected from language contact theory, Cypriot Greek did not borrow many structures from neighbouring languages. Factors like being a lingua franca for a long time, having the most populous speech community represented in both urban centres and on the land, and having economic and political power made the language more resistant to contact-induced pattern change than other languages. Since there are many reports of language shift towards Cypriot Greek, it is natural to expect a certain level of substrate influence on it. In fact, the presence of complicated structures in Cypriot Greek like the indirective and the *etsi* construction requires either the Greek Cypriots are bilingual in Cypriot Turkish or a language shift from Cypriot Turkish to Cypriot Greek. The historical sources mention Greek Cypriots converting to Islam (thus becoming Turkish Cypriots) and at some point having to shift to Turkish and becoming bilingual; but there are no sources of numerous Turkish Cypriots shifting to Greek. This is quite normal, however, since the writers of Cypriot history had little interest in such linguistic changes. Both Turkish Cypriots shifting to Greek and bringing these constructions as substrate material as well as Greek Cypriots becoming bilingual in Cypriot Turkish and replicating these constructions in Cypriot Greek are possible scenarios.

Also interesting is the absence of such substrate influences from other languages. A possible explanation in the framework of modern language contact theory could be the following. Although the speakers of many communities like Latins, Maronites and Armenians shifted to Cypriot Greek, this happened in different waves in different regions. Thus, there was obviously enough time between the waves of language shift to integrate the new speakers into the speech community. According to my research, the influence of Romance languages, English, Cypriot Turkish and Armenian can be seen on Cypriot Greek on a lexical level as matter, but there is little evidence of influences of these language on its pattern.

6.1.2 Cypriot Turkish

Constituent Order

Constituent order in Cypriot Turkish has been a topic of discussion for some time. For example, Demir (2002a) mentions there are patterns of constituent order in Cypriot Turkish which are not found in other varieties of Turkish in Turkey. Vancı-Osam (2006: 29) calls it "inverted sentences", obviously approaching the subject from a Standard Turkish point of view, and writes that this constituent order (described as verb preceding the complement, object and adverbial) could be due to the influence of the English language. This claim is unacceptable for two reasons. First of all, only a handful of Turkish Cypriots were bilingual or even fluent in English, which is necessary condition for a structural replication. Most of the English lexemes which were borrowed by Cypriot Turkish (and generally by the languages of Cyprus) usually belong to technologies that were introduced in Cyprus during the British rule or the administrative terms for which there was no equivalent before. Secondly, the research clearly shows that "the constituent order" does not exists as such. The constituent order depends on the clause type (intransitive, transitive or ditransitive), whether the argument positions are filled with nouns or pronouns (if at all, since any argument in Turkish is omitted if it is clear from the context). Using quantitative data from my corpora, I investigated how the constituent order in various clauses differ from the standard, and whether it is possible to speak about a pattern influence from Cypriot Greek.

A possible factor affecting the constituent order is focus, since focus can be not only expressed in the prosody with a high pitch but also by constituent order. Since it is up to debate whether Turkish has any syntactic focus position or whether focus can only be expressed prosodically (see (İşsever, 2003: 1032p) for an overview of this discussion), such clauses with focus were excluded here. My aim was to eliminate the question whether these constituent orders were due to focus. Consider the following example:

(16)   Focus in CT

      a.   dried meat.03

> *go-r-du-n*   *bir tekne-nin iç-i-ne*
> put-PROG/HAB-PST-2SG one sink-GEN   inside-3 -DAT
>
> 'You would put it in a sink.'

    b. dried meat.04

> *böyük tekne-ye go-r-du-n*
> large   sink-DAT put-PROG/HAB-PST-2SG
>
> 'In a large sink.'

Example 16b is a clear case of focus. The topic is dried meat, and the meat has to be put in a large sink, not in a usual sink. The same object "sink" succeeds the verb in the first example, but precedes it in the second one when it is focused on. It is, however, also prosodically marked with a higher pitch.

Linguistic Data   In regard to the intransitive clauses, there are 137 in the Cypriot Turkish corpus. Out of these intransitive clauses, 48 had the pattern [subject verb], 9 had the pattern [verb subject], 18 are the cases with focused pronoun and the rest are with zero pronouns.

There are 140 transitive clauses in the same corpus. For the position of the agent expressed as a noun, there are 6 [agent verb] constructions and only 1 [verb agent] one. As regards the position of the patient, there were 64 [patient verb] constructions against 21 [verb patient] constructions with nouns; and 4 [patient verb] constructions against 15 [verb patient] constructions with pronouns.

In the ditransitive clauses, I mainly focused on the position of the patient and the goal arguments. There were in total 85 ditranstive clause constructions. Concerning the patient, there were 15 [patient verb] constructions against 5 [verb patient] constructions of nouns, while 0 [patient verb] constructions against 9 [verb patient] constructions of pronouns. For the goal argument, there were 12 [goal verb] constructions against 20 [verb goal] constructions in nouns, while there were 2 [goal verb] constructions against 19 [verb goal] constructions. The ditranstive verb with the highest frequency was the verb "tell" which can explain the quite low number of patient arguments. They were not coded as such, since the patient argument of the verb "tell" is usually a complement clause itself.

Figure 6.1 shows an overview of the constituent order in different verb constructions. It is fairly safe to accept [Subject Verb] as the dominant pattern in

	Intransitive	Transitive	Ditransitive
SV - VS	48-9	NA	NA
AV - VA	NA	6-1	NA
PV - VP (Nouns)	NA	64-21	15-5
PV - VP (Pronouns)	NA	4-15	0-9
GV - VG (Nouns)	NA	NA	12-20
GV - VG (Pronouns)	NA	NA	2-19

Figure 6.1: Overview of constituent order in different verb constructions

intransitive verb constructions. As regards the agent in transitive constructions, it is not possible to come to a conclusion. 6 [Agent Verb] patterns against 1 [Verb Agent] pattern is not very representative. The Subject is almost exclusively omitted in Turkish in general when it is clear from discourse. Since most of the agents were clear from the discourse in the narrations, they were not expressed overtly by the speakers. The patient of the transitive verb was expressed overtly more often, and the tendency is [Patient Verb] for nouns and [Verb Patient] for pronouns. Regarding the goal arguments of ditransitive verbs, Cypriot Turkish clearly prefers [VERB GOAL] pattern with both nouns and pronouns. Below are some examples from the Cypriot Turkish corpus.

(17) Ditransitive Noun in VG Constituent Order (memories of war.10)

at-dı   beni   bir oda-cığ-ın   iç-i-ne
throw-PST PRN.1SG-ACC one room-DIM-POSS.3SG inside-POSS.something-DAT

'He put (lit. threw) me in a small room.'

(18) Transitive Noun PV Constituent Order (on Nicosia.07)

hatta ben   o-nun   papaz-ı-nı hatırla-r-ım
even   PRN.1SG DEM-GEN priest-3-ACC remember-PROG/HAB-1SG

'I even remember its priest (of the neighbourhood Ag. Loukas).'

(19) Ditransitive Pronoun in VG Constituent Order (shepherd's story.17)

komutan-ı   gör-ece-m de-di   gendi-si-ne
commanding.officer-ACC see-FUT-1SG say-PST PRN.3SG-DAT

"'I will see the commanding officer" he told him.'

The variation between different constituent orders in Cypriot Turkish clauses hint of language contact. Especially interesting is the [VERB GOAL] pattern with pronouns. The data indicate a clear preference for this pattern over the [GOAL VERB] one, which is the pattern in Standard Turkish[3]. As discussed before in chapter 5.1, pronouns in Cypriot Greek succeed the verb as a norm. In the Cypriot Greek corpus, the most frequent ditransitive verb used with pronouns is the verb "to tell". There are many instances of *ipen tus* ('He/she told them') and *lali mu* ('He/she tells me') in this corpus, much as in other corpora, since these phrases are much common in everyday narratives. Every verb pronoun pattern in my corpus was a [VERB GOAL] one without a single exception.

(20)   the new priest.13

    le-i   *tis*   *en*   *e-pantref-tik-a*
    say-3SG.PRS POSS.F NEG PST-marry-PASS.PRF.PST-PST.1SG

    'He told her (the woman from the television channel) "I have never got married".'

It is therefore plausible to assume that such phrases are at the heart of replication of the constituent order in this case. The fact that there is a lot of variation in some cases (especially with nouns, less so with pronouns) could be interpreted as a case of ongoing or interrupted replication. A possible scenario would be the replication of the pattern [VERB GOAL] from Cypriot Greek especially under the influence of highly frequent narration patterns such as "I told him/her", and then the extension of this pattern and almost replacing the original one. This replication of everyday patterns suggests not only bilingualism but also a shared everyday life, i.e., that the speakers of both communities were in interaction daily, sharing stories and narrations with each other, and often using reported speech phrases. Unlike Standard Greek which has transitive [VERB PATIENT] pattern in nouns but [PATIENT VERB] pattern in pronouns, Cypriot Greek has a strict [VERB PATIENT] pattern in both, causing it to have a high verb initial pattern frequency. This fact may have helped the replication process in Cypriot Turkish.

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[3]Again, clauses with focus are not considered here.

It is equally important to note that there is no single dominant order in nouns. This may be due to a interrupted replication process, due to the influence of the standard variety or (most likely) both. There is, however, no reason why these factors should affect nouns more than pronouns. This can be accepted as a strong hint that the pronoun pattern is the origin of the replication process, which was later on extended to nouns to some degree, but not fully.

Conditional *ama*

There is a usage of *ama* which could come from Greek. In example (21), *ama* (meaning 'but') cannot be used in its original meaning. Instead, it is used in a conditional sense; in fact, in the same sense that the Greek *ama* (meaning 'if') would be used.

(21)   The conditional *ama* in Cypriot Turkish (Old traditions.02)

> *ama gave-ye   gel-ecek, ama başga bir-in-in   ev-e*
> if   cofee.house-DAT come-FUT if   other   one-POSS.3SG-GEN house-DAT
> *misafir git-diğ-i   zaman, misafir da   ol-ma-sa   uzak yer-den*
> guest   go-PART-ACC time   guest   even be-NEG-COND far   place-ABL
> *var-dığ-ı   zaman o-na   illa   ki   biz,   o-nun*
> arrive-PART-ACC time   3SG-DAT always RPRN PRN.1PL 3SG-GEN
> *garn-ı-nı   doy-ur-ma-dan   bırak-maz-dı-k*
> stomach-3SG-ACC feed-PRS-NEG-ABL let-NEG-PST-1PL

> "…if he comes to the coffee house or goes as a visitor to someone's house, even if he is not a guest, when he comes from a long trip, we never let him go without giving him food."

This construction can be analyzed as replication since it is a different conditional construction than the Turkish one. The native Turkish conditional clauses mark the verb for conditional (the clitic *-sA*), which cannot be seen in this replicated construction. Furthermore, I shall argue that the conditional marker in this construction, *ama* is not a borrowing from Cypriot Greek but the grammaticalization of the Turkish *ama*. Both the Turkish *ama* and the Greek conditional *ama* are stressed initially (['ama]). Mackridge writes that Greek *ama* is "not considered correct by grammarians as a conditional conjunction, but very frequent

in less educated speech" (Mackridge, 1985: 301). In Cypriot Greek, it has the variants *ama, amma, aman* and *amman* (personal communication with Maria Petrou). An example of its usage is shown in the example (22).

(22)   The conditional *ama* in Cypriot Greek

aman enna fta-s-is
COND FUT   come-PRF-2SG

'If you arrive.'

This replication belongs to a step between ordinary grammaticalization and replica grammaticalization suggested by Heine and Kuteva, but to neither of them exactly. The lexical similarities between the constructions, between the conditionalizers to be specific, are extremely similar which suggests the direction of replica grammaticalization instead of ordinary grammaticalization. It cannot be replica grammaticalization, though, since the Greek *ama* does not have the function of a coordinative conjunction 'but'. Thus, it is not plausible to expect from the speakers to have drawn parallels between the conjunction and the conditionalizer. It is far more plausible to suggest that the parallel between two functions was drawn solely from phonetic similarities. As far as I know, there is no specific replication mechanism which works in this way.

Clause Initial Particle *ma*

ma in Greek is a clause initial discourse particle used to express wonder and curiosity. The usage of this particle in Cypriot Turkish is an interesting one, as it can be analyzed as matter and pattern replication, or a replica grammaticalization. Please compare the two Cypriot Turkish examples in (23a) and (23b).

(23)   *ma* in Cypriot Turkish

   a.   (We were the first ones to go to Larnaca.69)

      ma   bu ara-da   söyle-di-ler şu   türk-ük
      DPAR this between-LOC say-PST-PL   COMP Turk-1PL

      'By the way, they told [them] that we are Turks.'

   b.   (Dried meat.19)

> *ma haşl-al-lar-dı genni?*
> DPAR boil-HAB-PL-PST 3SG.ACC
> 'Did they really boil it?'

Example (23a) shows the usage of *ma* as a discourse marker, and it can be considered a change in the phonetic shape of the marker due to contact with Cypriot Greek, since the same clause can also be introduced through the Turkish conjunction *ama*. These two conjunctions are almost identical to begin with. Example (23b), on the other hand, cannot be marked with the Standard Turkish *ama*. The construction itself is a Greek one and is clearly a replication. Interestingly, the same construction in Cypriot Turkish can also be formed with *ama*, e.g. *ama haşlallardı genni?*. This interchangeability is not very surprising due to the similarity between the two markers. Another interesting aspect of this interchangeability is the existence of two homophonous *ma* in Greek. While the clause initial particle can be traced back to Ancient Greek, the second *ma*, meaning 'but', is a borrowing from Italian Andriotis (1990: 193). The interchangeability of Cypriot Turkish *ama* and *ma* can be therefore due to the phonetic similarities or due to their homophonous nature in Greek. In the second case, it could be possible to hypothesize that the speakers of Cypriot Turkish, not knowing the etymology behind these two lexical items, assumed that they were the same morpheme and thus grammaticalized their own morpheme *ama* to this function. This possibility is rather unlikely since there is a coexistence of *ma* and *ama* for the same function in Cypriot Turkish. It is more plausible to assume that this construction was originally a matter and pattern replication.

Polar Questions

The lack of the usual Standard Turkish marker for polar questions was already attested by Demir (2002a: 7-8). The Standard Turkish marks polar questions by using the clitic *-mI* (see Kornfilt, 1997: 5 and Göksel and Kerslake, 2005: 112-114 for this clitic). Cypriot Turkish, on the other hand, differentiates between declarative and interrogative clauses usually only by intonation, as can be seen in example (24).

 (24)   Cypriot Turkish: Declarative/Interrogative

gel-di-ŋ
come-PST-2SG

'You came.' (with intonation: 'did you come?')

Intonation for marking the polar questions is also the strategy used in Cypriot Greek (along with other Greek varieties). Holton et al. write that the interrogative sentences which are not marked with any interrogative pronoun are marked only with sentential intonation. While the declarative sentences have a falling tone at the end of the sentence, the interrogative sentences have a rising intonation (Holton et al., 1999: 29). Compare the Cypriot Turkish example (24) with the Cypriot Greek example (25).

(25)   Cypriot Greek: Declarative/Interrogative

irθ-es
come.PRF-2SG.PST

'You came. (with intonation: 'did you come?')'

Although this feature looks like loss due to contact, from a theoretical point of view, this is still replication. There is the native Turkish morphosyntactic construction [clause + question marker] which is linked to the semantic meaning of being a question and the Greek structure [clause + raising intonation] for the same pragmatic role. The replication in this sense is the shift of the semantic structure from one morphosyntactic structure to another one. This adaptation of Croft's theory can be seen in figure 6.2. This replication of a foreign pattern is an example of replica grammaticalization.

Thus, it is plausible to assume that Cypriot Turkish borrowed the marking of the interrogative clauses from Cypriot Greek due to centuries of language contact. Demir (2002a) also notes that this feature is not unique to Cypriot Turkish and can also be found in Eastern Anatolian dialects of Turkish and in Azeri, even though he never mentions why. This type of interrogative marking is most probably due to language contact with Kurdish (in the case of Eastern Anatolian Turkish) and Persian (in the case of Azeri) which also mark interrogative clauses only with intonation, as pointed out by Geoffrey Haig (personal communication).
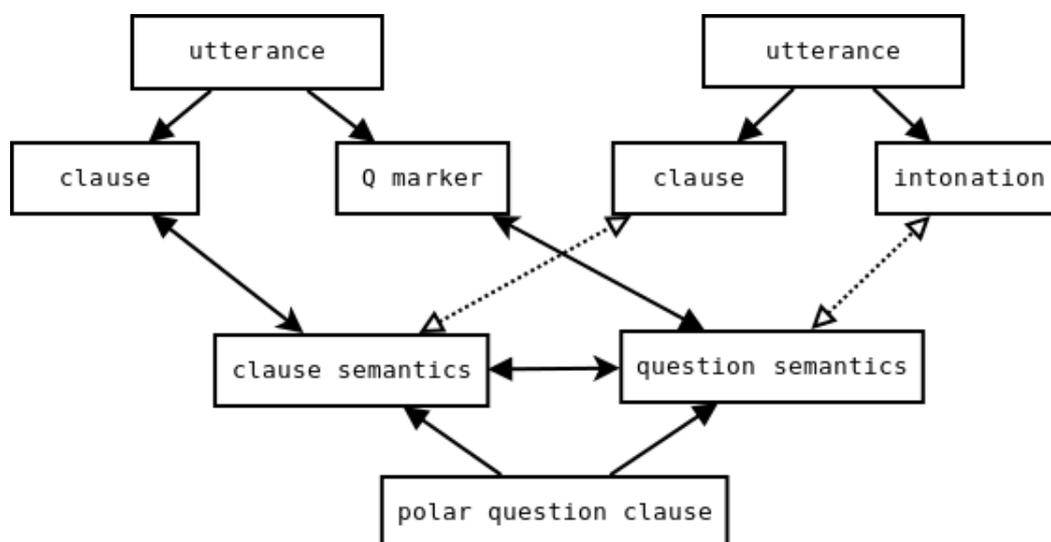
Figure 6.2: Replication process in Cypriot Turkish polar questions

It is also important to note that the native Turkish polar question pattern is still in use. These two patterns can be used by the same speaker in the same narration, the standard pattern having a somewhat more official and serious, the replicated pattern a dialectal and familiar overtone. Overall in the Cypriot Turkish corpus, the Greek construction was used 21 times, whereas the question particle *mI* was used 12 times. Some of the instances in which the question particle was used were marked in the corpus as an unusual speech pattern, i.e., the speaker was trying to speak in Standard Turkish as much as he could due to the recording effect discussed in the previous chapter. Nevertheless, based on my own empirical observations, there is an increase in the usage of the question particle, possibly due to the influence of mass media. This can be an interesting instance of standard variety and influencing the local variety, and thus further research needs to be done on this subject.

Complement and Relative Clauses

The usual way of using a clause as an attribute for a noun in Standard Turkish is achieved by forming participles using one of the two participle forming suffixes, *-An* and *-DIK*, the first being called the subject participle and the latter the object

participle by Kornfilt (1997)[4]. The tense in these structures can be past or present (simply non-future), depending on the context. The relative constructions for the future tense are slightly different but they will not be covered here. A second way is using the relative/complement marker *ki* borrowed from Persian along with its structure. This type of construction is considerably rare and mostly used in the written language (see Moser-Weithmann, 2001: 67, 192). Apart from the relativizer/complementizer *ki*, the verb in the subordinate clause does not carry any marking indicating that it is subordinate. Relative clauses with *ki*, like relativizer in Standard Turkish, are usually perceived as belonging to the written language and relative clauses with participles are used much more often. The use of *ki* as a relativizer is rather limited to certain phrases such as [sen ki] (you REL) etc. and cannot be used as a substitute for the participial formed relative clauses in many cases (see Haig, 1998: 122 for discussion on the use of *ki* as complementizer and relativizer).

Complement clauses, on the other hand, are achieved by nominalizing the whole clause, which is typical for Turkic languages. Standard Turkish possesses two different nominalization markers: *-mA* and *-DIK* (see object participle above). Kornfilt calls the first one 'action nominal' and the second one 'factive nominal' (Kornfilt, 1997: 50). The distinction between them will not be discussed here, since it is a semantic one irrelevant to the focus of this paper. In addition, the subordination marker *ki* can also be used for complement clauses. My impression was, that the speakers of Standard Turkish perceive the use of *ki* as a complementizer to be more natural than as a relativizer.

The "unusual" constructions for relative and complement clauses in Cypriot Turkish are already noted by Demir (2002a, 2007) and Kappler (2008). Below in example (26) there are two examples of complement clauses from Cypriot Turkish. Please note especially the usage of *şu*, originally a demonstrative pronoun, in exactly the same pattern as *ki*, i.e., the verb is conjugated normally in both the main and the subordinate clause, and the complement clause is only marked with the complementizer.

(26)   Cypriot Turkish: Complement clauses

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[4]The terms ACTIVE PARTICIPLE and PASSIVE PARTICIPLE are also popular, but I will follow Kornfilt's terminology for Standard Turkish.

    a. *de-di ba-na **ki** gid-di-ŋ okul-a*
       say-PST 1SG-DAT COMP go-PST-2SG school-DAT

    b. *de-di ba-na **şu** gid-di-ŋ okul-a*
       say-PST 1SG-DAT COMP go-PST-2SG school-DAT

    'He/she told me that you went to school'

Exactly the same pattern can also be used to form relative clauses in Cypriot Turkish. Apart from *ki*[5] and *şu*, a third possibility to form a relative clause also exists, namely *hani* as in (27a).

(27) Cypriot Turkish - Relative clauses

    a. (Pehlivan, 2003: 55)

    *o gondo **hani** de-r-ler o-nun gocas-ı-na şukri*
    DEM short.one REL say-PRS-PL 3SG-GEN husband-3SG-DAT şukri

    'The short one, whose husband is called Şukri'

    b. (Paphos)

    *o zaman **şu** asker-e gid-ecey-di da hazırlan-ır-dı*
    that time REL military-DAT go-FUT-PST CONJ get.ready-HAB-PST
    git-diy-dim K.-nan da gör-düy-düm gendi-ni
    go-PST-PST K-COM CONJ see-PST-PST PRN.3SG-ACC

    'That time as he was getting ready to go to the military, I went with K. and saw him.'

    c. (Paphos)

    *ben zaman-ı-nda ne zaman **ki** çocuk-lar böyü-dü*
    PRN.1SG time-3SG-LOC what time REL child-PL grow.up-PST

    'I, at that time, as the children grew up,...'

    d. (Saraçoğlu 1992: 73 through Demir (2007: 163))

    *o gelin **ki** al-dı-ŋ hiş yara-ma-z*
    DEM bride REL take-PST-2SG never be.worth-NEG-PRS

    'The bride you married is not worth anything.'

The first striking similarity between relative and complement clauses in Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek is that both types of clauses are marked with the same pattern: relativizer or complementizer + the rest of the clause without any other

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[5]In Cypriot Turkish its use as a relativizer is quite normal.

marking in the morphology or the syntax of the clause. Standard Greek possesses three complementizers: *pos*, *pu* and *oti* (Triandaphyllidis, 1997: 237). According to Kappler (2008), Cypriot Greek only makes use of the latter two, namely *oti* and *pu*, whereas *pu* is also used as relativizer.

(28)   Cypriot Greek: Complement clauses (Kappler, 2008: 207)

     i-p-e   ***oti/pu*** *pi-e*   *sxolio*
     PST-say-PST.3SG COMP   go.PRF-PST.3SG school

     'He/she said that he/she went to school.'

(29)   Cypriot Greek: Relative clause (Kappler, 2008: 207)

     tuti i   *niffi **pu** e-pkja-es*   *en   aksiz-i*
     this   ART bride REL PST-take.PRF-2SG.PST NEG is.worth-3SG

     'The bride you married is not worth anything.'

The usage of *hani* as a relativizer may not be a completely new concept in Turkish. It is an adverb, as well as a discourse marker, which can be used in different contexts. In certain constructions, different discourse markers such as *hani*, *hani...ya*, and *ya* (marked at the end of the clause) can be utilized in Standard Turkish, especially in the spoken language, to form certain attributive clauses. Please compare the standard Turkish examples in (30) with the Cypriot Turkish usage of *hani*. Note that these constructions are not relative clauses in the Cypriot Greek sense, but are more like clauses with certain attributive function.

(30)   Different usages of *hani* in Standard Turkish (Sezer, 2013, from newspaper columns)

    a. *bu aydın-lar-ımız-ın*   ***hani*** *çok eleştir-dik-ler-i siyasetçi-ler*
       this enlightened-PL-1PL-GEN where very criticize-PART-PL-3 politician-PL
       *var **ya**, on-lar gibi kandırıkçılık yap-tık-lar-ı-nı düşün-üyor-um*
       EXST DPAR 3-PL   such mischief   do-PART-PL-3-ACC think-PRS-1SG

       'I think that these enlightened ones of ours are being mischievous just like the politicians they are criticizing.'

   b. *ism-i-ni   chevrolet koy-du. **hani** amerika-nın klasik*
      name-3-ACC C.   put-PST REL   America-GEN classic
     otomobil-ler-i-nden.
     car-PL-3-ABL

     "(S)he called it Chevrolet, (the name of the) classic cars of America."

Table 6.1 is a list of markers for complementation and relativation in Cypriot Turkish which I found in the literature and during my own research. I categorized these markers as 'simple' and 'compound' markers. The difference between these two categories will be explained further in this section.

Table 6.1: List of complementizers/relativizers in Cypriot Turkish

Simple	
hani	Interrogative "where", only relativizer
şu	Originally demonstrative
ki	Complementizer/relativizer, Persian loan [6]
Compound	
o şu	Demonstrative/third person pronoun + *şu*
o ki	Demonstrative/third person pronoun + *ki*
hani şu	*hani* + *şu*
şu ki	*şu* + *ki* [7]

At this point, there are some remarks to be made. It is important to note that the pattern of complement/relative clauses with a subordinate marker + finite verb is not new in Turkish. As I already mentioned, this pattern, together with the marker *ki*, was borrowed from Persian centuries ago. What is new in Cypriot Turkish is 1) the grammaticalization process of words like *şu* and *hani* as subordinate markers, 2) the complex subordinate markers like *hani şu* which, as I shall demonstrate next, can be split into two parts, and 3) the use of not only then replications such as *şu*, but also *ki* in the same distributional pattern as in Cypriot Greek. Another important fact to bear in mind is that the Greek pattern of complementation/relativization does not replace the native participle strategy, i.e., the use of participles is still present in Cypriot Turkish.

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[12]Some of the young speakers stated that they find the use of *ki* 'odd'.
[13]Some of the speakers accept the use of *şu ki* as a complementizer but not as a relativizer.

What must be accounted for is that the composite marker *o şu* basically consists of a demonstrative *o* (which unlike *şu* cannot be used alone as a complementizer/relativizer) and the complementizer/relativizer *şu*. There are also the two markers *hani şu* and *şu ki*, which consist of two complementizer/relativizer elements. One should note that there are no differences between the markers listed above, and they can all be used interchangably except for the one case mentioned in footnote 13.

Although the compound markers are semantically equivalent to the simple ones, there is one syntactic peculiarity of the 'compound' complement/relative markers. This peculiarity is the 'splitability' of these compound markers, a feature which has not been documented before. For a demonstration of this splitability feature, please see the examples below.

(31)   Cypriot Turkish: Splittable complex relativizers

    a.   *o   gelin **hani şu** al-dı-ŋ   hiş   yara-ma-z*
         that bride REL   take-PST-2SG never be.worth-NEG-3

    b.   *o   gelin **hani** al-dı-ŋ   **şu** hiş   yara-ma-z*
         that bride REL   take-PST-2SG REL never be.worth-NEG-3

    c.   *o   gelin **o şu** al-dı-ŋ   hiş   yara-ma-z*
         that bride REL   take-PST-2SG never be.worth-NEG-3

    d.   *o   gelin **o**   al-dı-ŋ   **şu** hiş   yara-ma-z*
         that bride REL take-PST-2SG REL never be.worth-NEG-3

    'The bride you married is not worth anything.'

It is necessary to emphasize once more that the sentences above are all semantically the same and there is no change in focus whatsoever. On first glance it may appear as if the splitting of the compound marker is used to mark the beginning and the end of the relative or complement clause. Further analysis shows that this is not necessarily the case, as the split part can also be inserted in the middle of the clause.

(32)   Cypriot Turkish: Splitability

*o   gelin **hani** al-dı-ŋ   **şu** geç-en   sene hiş   yara-ma-z*
that bride REL   take-PST-2SG REL pass-PART year never be.worth-NEG-3

'The bride you married last year is not worth anything.'

Please bear in mind that it is not grammatical to split a phrase and insert the split part of the compound marker in it, as in (33a). Also, the flexibility of this part is apparently limited, as it cannot be inserted anywhere outside of the clause as in (33b).

(33)   Cypriot Turkish: Splitability

    a.   * *o   gelin **o**   al-dı-ŋ   geç-en   şu sene hiş yara-ma-z*
           that bride REL take-PST-2SG pass-PART REL year never be.worth-NEG-3

    b.   * *o   gelin **o**   al-dı-ŋ   geç-en   sene hiş **şu** yara-ma-z*
           that bride REL take-PST-2SG pass-PART year never REL to.be.worth-NEG-3

        'The bride you married last year is not worth anything.'

Complex Predicates

Complex Predicates in Cypriot Turkish were affected by Cypriot Greek in many ways. In this section, I will examine the various ways the complex predicates can be formed in Cypriot Turkish and provide a discussion about which aspects are different from the ones in Standard Turkish, both in general and concerning specific constructions. The terms COMPLEX PREDICATE and VERBAL SUBORDINATION are used interchangeably in this thesis for the same phenomenon: the use of a verb with a special marker (be it subjunctive or nominalization) within another matrix verb.

Modal Constructions   It was documented in Demir (2002c) and Kappler (2008) that the patterns of modal verbs in Cypriot Turkish differ from the patterns in Standard Turkish. I shall focus here on three constructions: desiderative, neccessitative and possibility.

    Desiderative   The desiderative constructions in Cypriot Turkish consist of the inflected modal verb (*istemek*, as in Standard Turkish) and the main verb in the optative. Notice in example (34) how the modal verb *iste-* is conjugated normally with negation and the main verb *git-* is marked for the third person optative.

(34)   Cypriot Turkish: Desiderative

iste-*me-z* *git-**sin***   *okul-a*
want-NEG-3 go-OPT.3SG school-DAT

'He/she doesn't want to go to school.'

The difference between this construction and the usual desiderative construc-
tions in Standard Turkish is that the latter are formed using the fully inflected
matrix verb, namely *istemek* ('to want'), which takes a nominalized clause as ob-
ject. The optative marking in Cypriot Turkish, instead of nominalization, may
be derived from the *na*-constructions of Greek. At this point, I need to explain
the *na*-constructions and their origin in Greek.

One of the hallmarks of Modern Greek is the *na*-construction, which fortu-
nately also has a well-documented history. Classical Greek used different suf-
fixes to express optative, infinitive and subjunctive moods (Lindemann and Fär-
ber, 2003: 108). Lindemann and Färber provide the information about the tran-
sition from the old suffixal optative to the modern *na*-construction. The change
began with Koine Greek. Since the subjunctive and indicative became syncretic
in many verbs, speakers started using different particles to mark the subjunctive.
Among many other, the particle *ina* was used, which later became *na* in Modern
Greek. The disctinction between the subjunctive and optative also started fading
away at this stage. The optative suffix was rarely used and it was replaced by
the subjunctive form. Also the infinitive form started fading away. In "clauses of
statement" it was replaced by the subordinators *oti* and *os* and in all other cases
with *ina* (Lindemann and Färber, 2003: 147). This historical scenario explains
why the subjunctive/optative and the "infinitives" in Modern Greek possess the
same form. Thus, in Modern Greek today, the *na*-construction alone marks the
optative but with different modal verbs it also serves the function of infinitive as
in other Europaen languages such as English and German.

As regards the desiderative mood in Modern Greek: In Greek, the desider-
ative function is mainly expressed by the modal verb *θelo* ('to want') and the
so called *na* construction, which consists of the particle *na* and a fully inflected
verb, is nearly always in the perfective. There is in fact a certain relationship be-
tween perfective non-past verb forms and *na*-constructions in Greek. As (Mack-
ridge, 1985: 274) writes that "[...] the perfective non-past may appear only in

subjunctive uses; conversely, the perfective past is not normally found in sub-
junctive clauses[...]". This tendency is also noted by Hesse, who writes "[...] gen-
erally speaking, it may be said that να combines with simplex forms (meaning
aorist/perfective simplex - author's note), in unreal and potential contexts also
with ImpfP, and in a small number of cases also with AorP." (Hesse, 1980: 69).

(35) Cypriot Greek: Desiderative

en θel-i na pa-i sxoli-o
NEG want-3SG na go.PRF-3SG school

'He/she doesn't want to go to school.'

It is crucial to note here that there are similar constructions used in Stan-
dard Turkish. Example (36) shows a construction almost identical to the ones in
Cypriot Greek, with the addition of *ki*. This [VERB *ki* VERB-OPT] construction
is closer to the Greek [VERB *na* VERB-PRF] constructions than the Cypriot Turk-
ish [VERB VERB-OPT] constructions. The origin of this construction in Standard
Turkish is unknown to me, but the reader should keep in mind that even Turkish
in Turkey was in contact with Greek for a very long time. After the national
borders of the present Greece and Turkey were drawn, Muslims in Greece were
forced to move to Turkey and vica versa. It is possible that this was another
replication process which took place in those times in contact areas.

(36) Complex Predicate with *ki* in Standard Turkish [8]

*Ben ist-iyor-um **ki** bu ülke-de kimse fail-i meçhul*
I want-PRS-1SG COMP this country-LOC noone attacker-3SG unknown
*kal-ma-**sın**.*
stay-NEG-OPT.3SG

'I do not want [any murders] in this country to remain unsolved.'

Based on desiderative constructions alone, it is difficult to see how the [VERB
VERB-OPT] complex predicate constructions in Cypriot Turkish are supposed

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[8]This was heard being said on the television. A transcription of what the speaker said here
can be found on the newspaper webpage at `http://skorer.milliyet.com.tr/euroleague/`
`omer-onan-dan-anlamli-mesaj/fenerbahce/detay/1851314/default.htm` [Last ac-
cessed on 15.03.2014.]

to be replications of the Greek *na* constructions. Further examination of similar constructions will show that there are several parallels between these constructions when they are used in other constructions and distributionally.

Necessitative   The necessitative (also called 'debitive' by Kornfilt, 1997) in Standard Turkish can be expressed in two different ways. The first method is attaching the necessitative suffix *-mAlI* on the verb (Kornfilt, 1997: 373). The second way is forming a predicate with words like *gerek* or *lazım*, meaning 'necessary'. These words form the predicate of the sentence and the nominalized main verb becomes the subject.

The use of a necessitative marker as seen in Standard Turkish on verbs is considerably rare in Cypriot Turkish. The most frequent construction is using the words *lazım* or *luzum* as a predicate, somtimes with the copula marker. Cypriot Turkish differs from Standard Turkish in that instead of nominalizing the verb phrase, it marks it with the optative marker.

(37)   Cypriot Turkish: Necessitative

   lazım/luzum*-(dır/dur) gid-**e**-yim*
   necessary-(COP)   go-OPT-1SG

   'I must go.'

The necessitative in Greek is expressed with the impersonal verb *prepi*, which is always in the third person singular, which is followed by a *na*-construction (Holton et al., 1999: 210). One can assume that this impersonal verb has a meaning similar to 'to be necessary'.

(38)   Greek: Necessitative

   prep*-i   **na pa**-o*
   must-3SG na   go.PRF -1SG

   'I must go.'

It is very probable that the speakers of Cypriot Turkish drew an analogy between the the verb *prepi*, which is almost like a particle as it is never inflected for number, person or tense, except for past tense as *eprepe*, and the

words *lazım*/*luzum*. Though it is possible that the Cypriot Turkish pattern is copied from Cypriot Greek, there are certain differences between the two patterns. One of these differences is the constituent order. The pattern in Cypriot Turkish exhibits a higher syntactic flexibility, whereas the Cypriot Greek pattern requires a fixed constituent order in a *na*-construction. However, this can be easily explained by the fact that the Cypriot Turkish marker is an adverb, while the Cypriot Greek one is a verb.

(39) a. Cypriot Turkish: Constituent order

    *gid-**e**-yim **luzum***
    go-OPT-1SG necessary

    'I must go.'

    b. Cypriot Greek: Constituent order

    * ***na pa**-o   **prep**-i*
     na go.PRF-1SG must-3SG

    'I must go.'

This flexibility for constituent order is also true for the desiderative pattern in Cypriot Turkish. As mentioned above, the *na*-constructions in Greek always have a fixed constituent order. This behaviour can be observed in example (40).

(40) a. Cypriot Turkish: Constituent order

    *git-**sin**   **iste**-me-z   okul-a*
    go-OPT.3SG want-NEG-3SG school-DAT

    b. Cypriot Greek: Constituent order

    * ***na** **pa**-i   en **θel**-i   sxoli-o*
     PART go.PRF-3SG.PRS NEG want-3SG.PRS school-3SG.N.ACC

    'He/she doesn't want to go to school'

Another difference between the original Cypriot Greek constructions and the replicated Cypriot Turkish ones is the past tense marking. While in Cypriot Turkish it does not matter where the past tense is marked, this causes a distinction in the semantics in Cypriot Greek. I observed at this point that some of my informants told me that the sentences (41a) and (41b) do sound semantically different, although they could not explain what the real difference would

be. Other informants assured me that the sentences are semantically identical. The reaction of the first group was probably due to the fact that a different locus of marking usually signals a semantic difference, but apparently not in this case.

(41)   Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek: Past marking

    a. *luzum-**du** gel-sin*
       NEC-PST   come-OPT.3SG

       'He had to come'

    b. *luzum gel-sin-**di***
       NEC   come-OPT.3SG-PST

       'He had to come'

    c. ***e**-prep-**e**   na erth-ei*
       PST-be.necessary-3SG.PST na come.PRF-3SG

       'He had to come'

    d. *prep-i   na **i**-rth-e*
       be.necessary-3SG na PST-come.PRF-3SG.PST

       'He must have come'

According to Kappler and Tsiplakou (Forthcoming), Cypriot Greek does have varieties, in which double past marking in a *na*-construction is possible. Such double past markings are not grammatical in Cypriot Turkish, in fact, the grammaticality of such a verb which is marked for the optative as a replication of the *na*-construction is questionable when marked for the past tense.

(42)   Double past marking

    a. Cypriot Greek (Kappler and Tsiplakou, Forthcoming: 4)

       *pu imun   mitʃa   **e**-prospaθ-un   na **e**-pienn-**a***
       when COP.PST.1SG little.NOM PST-try.IMPF-PST.1SG na PST-go.IMPF-PST.1SG
       sxolio
       school.ACC

    b. Cypriot Turkish

       *? güçüğ-kana   uğraş-ır-**dı**-m   gid-e-**ydi**-im okul-a*
       little-ADVR-DAT try-HAB-PAST-1SG go-PST-OPT-1SG school-DAT

       'When I was little, I tried to go to school'

An interesting observation I would like to point out here was the case that one of the informants from Lurucina negated a necessitative structure with the

negation *değil* (example (43a)) instead of the usual negation as in (43b). One could argue that the usage of the stand-alone negation particle *değil* instead of the suffix *-ma* is due to contact influence from Cypriot Greek, where the negation is expressed with *en*, which is also a stand-alone particle. The possibility of such an influence is rather high, considering that the speaker was talking about a conversation he had with a Greek Cypriot, thus translating the whole conversation from Cypriot Greek to Cypriot Turkish.

(43) Cypriot Turkish: Negation

    a. (Lurucina 3)

        *? bu hata-yı   lazım değil-**di** yap-asıŋ de-di bana*
        DEM mistake-ACC NEC   NEG-PST do-OPT.2SG say-PST PRN.1SG.DAT

    b. *bu hata-yı   lazım-dı yap-**ma**-yasıŋ de-di bana*
       DEM mistake-ACC NEC-PST do-NEG-OPT.2SG say-PST PRN.1SG.DAT

       'He told me "you should not have made this mistake"'

Possibility   Another pattern which seems to be borrowed from Cypriot Greek is the possibility construction in Cypriot Turkish. Kappler (2008: 213) assumes that this construction is a replication of the possibility construction in Cypriot Greek, which consists of the predicate *ime etimos* (lit. 'I am ready') plus a *na-*construction and has the modal meaning 'almost'.

(44) Cypriot Greek: Possibility (Kappler, 2008: 213)

    *imun   **etimos na** p^{h}e-s-o*
    COP.PST.1SG ready   to   fall-PRF-1SG

    'I was about to fall down.'

The equivalent of the same construction in Cypriot Turkish is constructed with the adverb *hazır* (meaning 'ready') and a verb in the subjunctive.

(45) Cypriot Turkish: Possibility (Kappler, 2008: 213)

    ***hazır** düş-**e**-yim*
    ready   fall-OPT-1SG

    'I was about to fall down.'

More often, the construction is marked with the past tense. Kappler gives the example (46), where the main predicate can also be marked for the first person. The grammaticality of this pattern is questionable; many of my informants told me that they would expect such patterns from elder speakers, but they would never use them themselves. It is thus highly probable that this pattern is used by elder speakers who grew up bilingual or under the strong influence of Cypriot Greek in certain regions, but not in every Cypriot Turkish community.

(46)   Cypriot Turkish: Possibility (Kappler, 2008: 216)

> *? hazır-dı-**m**   düş-e-yim*
>   ready-PST-1SG fall-OPT-1SG

'I was about to fall down.'

The person of the verb *hazır* usually does not agree with the person as in the case of Cypriot Greek (unlike example (46), thus making it questionable), it is always in the third person singular (and almost always marked for the past tense due to the semantics of the clause), which is marked through zero marking. What Kappler does not describe (and as far as I know it has not been documented before) is that it is not only *hazır* which can be marked for tense, but also the other half of the predicate as in (47b) and it is important to note it for descriptive purposes.

(47)   Cypriot Turkish: Possibility

    a.   *hazır-dı   düş-e-yim*
        ready-PST fall-OPT-1SG

    b.   *hazır düş-e-yim-di*
        ready fall-OPT-1SG-PST
        'I was about to fall down.'

Purpose Clauses   Standard Turkish has different ways of forming purpose clauses: The first one is using the action nominal *-mA* with a case marking (mostly with dative) or using the infinitive suffix *-mAk* and the postposition *için*, meaning 'for'.

Holton et al. write that the presposition *ja* (Greek: *για*) can be used with a nominal clause, but also with a verbal clause combined with a *na*-construction

(Holton et al., 1999: 359). Triandaphyllidis states that there are two possible ways of marking the purpose clauses. The first one is a simple *na*-construction and the second one is *ja* plus *na*-construction. He notes that the second one is semantically stronger than a simple *na*-construction (Triandaphyllidis, 1997: 237).

(48)   Cypriot Greek: Purpose clause

    a. *i-rt-a*   ***na*** *ton*   *ð-o*
         PST-come.PRF-1SG.PST na   PRN.3SG.ACC see.PRF-1SG

    b. *irt-a*   ***ja na*** *ton*   *ð-o*
         PST-come.PRF-1SG.PST ja na   PRN.3SG.ACC see.PRF-1SG

        'I came to see him/her/it'

Complex verb constructions with optative marking, in other words the replication of the Greek *na*-construction, are also found in purpose clauses of Cypriot Turkish. Example (49) shows the optative marking one of the verbs; the similarity with the Cypriot Greek example (48a) should be clear.

(49)   Cypriot Turkish: Purpose clause

    *gel-di-m gör-**e**-yim   gen-ni*
    want-1SG see-OPT-1SG PRN-ACC

    'I came to see him/her/it'

Overview   The replication of the Greek *na* constructions like [VERB + VERB-OPT] constructions may seem to be unlikely due to the fact that it is not word-by-word replication or a grammaticalization process, in which Cypriot Turkish reanalyzed a particle for the same function as *na*. In fact, the Standard Turkish desiderative construction in example (36) looks like a better candidate for the replication of *na* constructions. This construction, however, is only limited to desiderative usage whereas the Cypriot Turkish construction is distributionally almost parallel to the *na* constructions. Furthermore, there is evidence for the use of Cypriot Turkish *da* in complex predicates which displays even more similarities with *na*-constructions. See example (50) for an instance of such complex predicate. This kind of construction has only been attested once in the Cypriot Turkish corpus. It is certainly not an ad-hoc replication since this use of *da* has

been observed before. The frequency of this particular construction is however rather low, suggesting that Cypriot Turkish speakers prefer complex predicates without *da* than with it.

(50)   memories of war.21

    ne **vur-ma-dı-n**   *de-di* **da** **at-a-sın**   *bir köşe-ye*   *de-di*
    why shoot-NEG-PST-2SG say-PST CONJ give-OPT-2SG one corner-DAT say-PST

    gendisi-ne da   *dut-an ba-na*   *genn-i buraş-da*
    3SG-DAT   CONJ hold-2SG 1SG-DAT 3SG-ACC here

    'He told him 'Why did not you just shoot him and throw him away? Instead of that you are keeping him here [to my displeasure].'

The parellels between Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish constructions are a good argument for accepting the Cypriot Turkish [VERB + VERB-OPT] pattern as a replication of the *na*-constructions, and this construction displays a different structure than the desiderative took place on the mainland. The same use of the optative marker in imperative negation shows that it is grammaticalized even beyond the *na*-constructions.

Prohibitive

Negation in Standard Turkish is marked by the suffix *-mA*, regardless of whether the utterance is declarative or imperative (Kornfilt, 1997: 123). Negation in Greek, on the other hand, is a more complex matter. The imperative in Greek (Standard and Cypriot alike) is built by using one of the aspect stems (punctual or non-punctual (Triandaphyllidis, 1997: 185) and the suffix *-e* for the second person singular and *-ete* for the second person plural, except for some irregular verbs (Triandaphyllidis, 1997: 200-201). These irregular forms will not be discussed here due to their irrelevance. Apart from the usual imperative form, another method is to use the optative forms with *na* (Holton et al., 1999: 206) and this is important for imperative negation in Greek.

(51)   Negation of *na*-constructions (Symeōnidēs, 2006: 418)

    evallamen   *že llion alevruin*   *ja* **na men**
    PST-to.put.PRF-PST.1PL and little-N flour-GEN.M/N-F.ACC for PRT with-IMPF

    kolla   *to*   *zimarin pano sti*   *saniθkjan*
    to.stick-3SG.PRS PRN.3SG.N dough-N above LOC/ALL-F a.kind.of.surface-F.ACC

'We used to but some flour in it so that it would not stick on the surface'.

When it comes to negating the imperatives, however, there is no way to negate the imperative form itself. The imperative negation form is identical to the negation of the *na*-construction, but without *na*. See example (51) for the negation of such a construction. The negator for these constructions is *me(n)* (*mi(n)* in Standard Greek), which is completely different from the negator for the declarative sentences, *en* (*ðe(n)* in Standard Greek).

(52)   Cypriot Greek: Declarative and Imperative Negation (Informant)

    a.   Declarative

       se   *ksex-n-o*
       PRN.2SG.ACC forget-IMPF-1SG

       'I forget you.'

    b.   Declarative negation

       en *se*   *ksex-n-o*
       NEG PRN.2SG.ACC forget-IMPF-1SG

       'I don't forget you.'

    c.   Imperative negation

       men *me*   *ksa-**as**-is*
       NEG   PRN.1SG.ACC forget-PRF-2SG

       'Don't forget me.'

Declarative clauses in Cypriot Turkish are negated with the suffix *-mA*, as in Standard Turkish. Imperative clauses, however, are negated using the particle *yok*, which is originally the negative existential expression (term used by Göksel and Kerslake (2005: 316)). yok is also used in spoken Turkish for 'no', often expressed with the phonetically reduced form *yo*. This feature of Cypriot Turkish is also mentioned by Demir (2002a).

(53)   Cypriot Turkish

    a.   Declarative

       unud-ur-um *sen-i*
       forget-PRS-1SG 2SG-ACC

       'I forget you.'

b. Declarative negation

*unut-**ma**-m   sen-i*
forget-NEG-1SG 2SG-ACC

'I don't forget you.'

c. Imperative Negation

***yok** unud-**a**-sıŋ   ben-i*
NEG forget-OPT-2SG 1SG-ACC

'Don't forget me.'

The similarities between the Cypriot Greek imperative negation and the Cypriot Turkish one are striking and obvious. It is highly probably that the Cypriot Turkish speakers grammaticalized *yok* to a prohibitive marker under the influence of Cypriot Greek. Interestingly, it is only used as a prohibitive marker and cannot negate complex predicates which are replications of the Greek *na*-construction.

Adverbial Constructions

Another interesting finding, which has not been documented before, is the use of different adverbial constructions, in particular the replication of the pattern of Cypriot Greek *opos* 'as, just like'. These clauses are marked only with the adverb of manner and apart from this marking display no difference from declarative sentences.

(54)   Cypriot Greek: Comparative Construction (Informant)

***opos** e-pi-es   esu   stin   pao, e-pi-a   ʤe*
like   PST-go.PRF-2SG.PST PRN.2SG LOC.F.ACC Paphos PST-go.PRF-1SG.PST and
jo   stin   xora
PRN.1SG LOC.F.ACC Nicosia

'Just like you went to Paphos, I went to Nicosia.'

Standard Turkish, on the other hand, makes use of participle constructions with the postposition *gibi* ('like, in that way') for the same function or marks the clause with *nasıl* 'how', but then the verb in the clause has to be marked for the conditional (see example (55b)). Cypriot Turkish has a third structure which resembles the Cypriot Greek example in (54). The difference between the

Standard Turkish and Cypriot Turkish types lies in the absence of conditional marking in Cypriot Turkish as in example (55a).

(55) Comparative Construction

    a. Cypriot Turkish

*sen **nasıl** git-ti-ŋ baf-a ben da öyle git-di-m*
PRN.2SG how go-PST-2SG Paphos-DAT PRN.1SG too so go-PST-1SG
lefgoşa-ya
Nicosia-DAT

    b. Standard Turkish

sen lefkoşaya nasıl gittiysen ben de bafa öyle
PRN.2SG Nicosia-ACC how go-CON-2SG PRN.1SG too Paphos-ACC so
gittim
go-PST-1SG

'Just as you went to Paphos, I went to Nicosia.'

An interesting development is evident in example (56a), basically the same as the previous example but with an addition of the complementizer/relativizer. This construction does not seem to have a direct counterpart neither in Standard Turkish nor in Cypriot Greek, and it should be an inner development of Cypriot Turkish. Note as well how the complementizer/relativizer can be moved to different positions in examples (56b) and (56c). This is exactly the same pattern as already mentioned in section 6.1.2.

(56) Cypriot Turkish: Adverbial Constructions

    a. *sen **nasıl** şu git-ti-ŋ baf-a ben da öyle git-di-m*
PRN.2SG how COMP go-PST-2SG Paphos-DAT PRN.1SG too so go-PST-1SG
lefgoşa-ya
Nicosia-DAT

    b. *sen **nasıl** git-ti-ŋ şu baf-a ben da öyle git-di-m*
PRN.2SG how go-PST-2SG COMP Paphos-DAT PRN.1SG too so go-PST-1SG
lefgoşa-ya
Nicosia-DAT

    c. *sen **nasıl** git-ti-ŋ baf-a şu ben da öyle git-di-m*
PRN.2SG how go-PST-2SG Paphos-DAT şu PRN.1SG too so go-PST-1SG
lefgoşa-ya
Nicosia-DAT

'Just as you went to Paphos, I went to Nicosia.'

Further analysis indicates that the adverbial clauses with *nasıl* are not the only ones which differ from the Standard Turkish counterparts. Another example is an adverb of manner *ne zaman* 'when' as in the example (57).s

(57)   Adverbial Constructions

    a. Standard Turkish

      *sen **ne zaman** gel-ir-**sen**   ben de o zaman gid-eceğ-im*
      you when   come-AOR-CON.2SG I   too then   go-FUT-1SG

    b. Cypriot Greek (Informant)

      ***opote** ena rt-is   esu tote ena fi-o   ejo*
      when   FUT come.PRF-2SG you then FUT leave.PRF-1SG I

    c. Cypriot Turkish

      *sen **ne zaman** gel-ece-ŋ   ben da o zaman gaç-aca-m*
      you when   come-FUT-2SG I   too then   leave-FUT-1SG

      'I will leave when you come'

There are two possible ways of analyzing the phenomena I presented above. One could claim that the clauses of manner in Cypriot Turkish are outcomes of pattern replication, but one can just as well assume that it was the conditional marker which got lost in the structure due to language contact with Cypriot Greek. It is quite difficult to choose one possibility over the other one and, either way, it makes little difference. There are, however, certain functional differences between the original Cypriot Greek structure and the Cypriot Turkish replication of it. The Cypriot Greek structure allows the subordinate clause *opote erθeis* to be used alone as an answer to a question, its Cypriot Turkish counterpart needs the conditional marker or otherwise becomes ungrammatical. Thus upon the question 'When are you going to leave?':

(58)   Cypriot Greek: Answering (Informant)

    ***opote** ena rt-is*
    when   FUT come.PRF-2SG

(59)   Cypriot Turkish - Answering

    a. ****ne zaman** gel-ece-ŋ*
      when   come-FUT-2SG

    b. ***ne zaman** gel-eceğ-**sa**-ŋ*
      when   come-FUT-CON-2SG

'When(ever) you come'

Dativus Commodi et Incommodi

Cypriot Turkish seems to have borrowed dativus commodi/incommodi (for the sake of brevity, only dativus commodi from here on) from Cypriot Greek, a feature clearly lacking in other Turkish mainland varieties. Example (60) shows a comparison of a basic Greek and Cypriot Turkish dativus commodi constructions.

(60)   Dativus Commodi

    a.   Cypriot Greek

       mou   *e-spa-s-e*   *to poði*
       POSS.1SG PST-break-PRF-PST.3SG ART foot

    b.   Cypriot Turkish

       gır-dı   ***ba-ŋa*** *ayağımı*
       break-PST 1SG-DAT foot

       'He/she broke my foot.'

The important difference between the two constructions is that the noun in Cypriot Greek does not need to be marked for the possessive in a dativus commodi construction, as the pronoun in the Genitive (Greek lost its dative case a long time ago and uses the genitive both for marking possession and for marking the previously used dative case) marks the undergoer as well as possession. In Cypriot Turkish, on the other hand, the noun still has to be marked for the possessive.

(61)   memories of war.21

       ne vur-ma-dı-n   *de-di da at-a-sın*   *bir köşe-ye de-di*
       why shoot-NEG-PST-2SG say-PST CONJ give-OPT-2SG one corner-DAT say-PST
       gendisi-ne da   dut-an ***ba-na*** *genn-i buraş-da*
       3SG-DAT   CONJ hold-2SG 1SG-DAT 3SG-ACC here

       'He told him 'Why did not you just shoot him and throw him away? Instead of that you are keeping him here [to my displeasure].'

Example (61) is an example of the real use of dativus incommodi in a narrative. Although the examples of this feature were all with the first person singular pronouns, it can be used in other persons and with nouns.

Extending the semantic map of the Dative case in such a way is a clear example of replica grammaticalization: The speakers of Cypriot Turkish grammaticalized the Dative in their language in order to use it in the sense of dativus commodi, replicating the use pattern known from Cypriot Greek.

Various Temporal Constructions

There are two temporal constructions I encountered while analysing the speech of my informants from Paphos, which are extremely similar to their Greek counterparts and in both cases, no such construction exists in Standard Turkish. I shall refer to these constructions from now on as temporal construction 1 and 2 respectively.

In example (62a), the clause *eʃi trianta ɣronia pu ðoulefko* contains a construction unique to Greek (It exists both in Cypriot Greek and in Standard Greek). The particular features of this costruction are the obligatory use of the verb 'to have' in the third person plural *eʃi* (It is a fixed part of the construction and must always be in the third person plural), the length of time and the relativizer *pu* followed by the main verb in the past tense. This is a rigid construction where one cannot change the places of the constituents, and it has a clear temporal meaning. Example (62b) presents the Cypriot Turkish construction which my informant used. Here, the construction consists of the existential *var* (at this point it is crucial to remind the reader that *eʃi* in Cypriot Greek not only means 'it has' but also 'there is/are', i.e. semantically very close to Cypriot Turkish *var*), the length of time, the relativizer *şu* followed by the main verb in past tense. The similarity between both constructions is impossible to overlook and the absence of a construction in Standard Turkish even slightly similar to this indicates that this construction in Cypriot Turkish is indeed a replication of the Cypriot Greek construction.

(62)   Temportal construction 1

      a.   Cypriot Greek

eʃ-i *trianta ɣron-ia* **pu** *ðulefko*
have-3SG thirty   year-PL COMP work-1SG

'I worked for thirty years.'

b. Cypriot Turkish (Paphos)

var *(bir) otus sene* **şu** *çalış-dı-m*
EXST one   thirty year COMP work-PST-1SG

'I worked for (approximately) thirty years.'

The second temporal construction I discovered is the one in example (63a)[9]. Such a construction does not exist in Standard Turkish and it resembles the Cypriot Greek one in example (63b) to a great degree. I should note here that the Greek temporal marker *ospu* can be reanalyzed as consisting of *os*, meaning 'until', and the complementizer/relativizer *pu*. Likewise, the Cypriot Turkish marker consists of *ta*, meaning 'until' in Cypriot Turkish, and *ki*, a complementizer/relativizer I already mentioned. The similarity between these constructions and the absence of such a construction in Standard Turkish convinced me that this construction is also a case of pattern replication.

(63)   Temporal construction 2

a. Cypriot Turkish

ta ki *burda-ydı-m beraber oyn-ar-dı-k*
SUBR here-PST-1SG together play-HAB-PST-1PL

b. Cypriot Greek (Informant)

ospu *imoun*   *ðame e-pe-z-amen*   *mazi*
SUBR COP.PST.1SG here   PST-play-IMPF-PST.1SG together

'As long as I was here, we played together'

Another temporal construction (example (64a)) was uttered by a younger speaker of Cypriot Turkish who was born after the division of the island. A comparison of this construction with example (64b), which is a common adverbial clause in Greek, reveals the similarity. The construction [time + verb (copula

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[9]This example is in fact one which I produced based on the original construction used by my Paphos informants. Due to the negative connotations that the original sentence might imply, I changed the meaning of this sentence before having my Cypriot Greek informants translate it. To conserve the uniformity of the sentences, I am using the sentences produced by me, instead of my informant's here.

or 'to happen') + relative clause] with the specific semantics of 'it has been a long time' could hardly have been developed in Cypriot Turkish by chance (no similar construction exists in Standard Turkish) and can easily be attested to language contact.

(64)   Temporal construction 3

  a. Cypriot Turkish

  zaman ol-duy-du   bu şarkı-yı duy-ma-ya-lı
  time   happen-PST-PST this song-ACC hear-NMNZ-DAT-ADVR

  'It has been a long time since I last heard this song.'

  b. Cypriot Greek

  itan   keros pu ðen a-ku-s-a   afto to   trayi
  COP.3SG.PST time   REL NEG PST-hear-PRF-PST.1SG DET ART song

  'It has been a long time since I last heard this song.'

Recapitulation

As expected, Cypriot Turkish replicated several patterns from Cypriot Greek. These replications are often grammatically complex and productive. Since such replications require heavy language contact, i.e. bilingualism over several generations, the historical documentation of the language contact situation and the linguistic evidence support each other. These replications such as the constituent order, relative and complement clauses, complex predicates, and question marking through intonation (and without the Turkish question marker) put Cypriot Turkish typologically in a completely different category than Standard Turkish. It is, however, extremely difficult to make this bold claim since as far as the linguistic evidence goes, Cypriot Turkish never abandoned the original Turkic patterns. All of these new patterns are additions to the already existing pattern inventory of the language, but the use of these Cypriot patterns is a hallmark of Cypriot Turkish. The polar questions are a good example of this fact: Throughout the Cypriot Turkish corpus, there are 33 instances of polar questions, 21 of these are marked with intonation, and 12 of them with the Turkish question marker. While it is important to note that the replicated pattern was used twice as often as the Turkic one, one cannot neglect the fact that the latter was also used.

This situation should not be surprise, given that it is historically well documented that Turkish Cypriots showed large differences in their frequency of communication in Cypriot Greek (these differences were extensively illustrated in section 4): On one end of the spectrum are Turkish Cypriots who were probably monolingual Cypriot Greek speakers or had only little competency in Turkish, and on the other hand Turkish Cypriots who rarely used Cypriot Greek since the neighbouring villages were to a large extend also Turkish Cypriot speaking. The second important factor is the ever growing role of the standard language since at least 1974 due to the division of the island as it a) broke off the contact to Greek Cypriots, and b) replaced many Turkish Cypriots and thus created a new geographical community with Cypriot Turkish as lingua franca. A third factor was probably the rise in literacy of the speakers, the literary language being Standard Turkish.

6.1.3 Kormakiti Arabic

Copula

Kormakiti Arabic uses overtly marked present copula, distinguishing it from its neighbouring varieties. These copula forms have obviously been grammaticalized from personal pronouns, and some of them are identical to their pronoun counterparts. Table 6.2 is a list of present tense copula forms in Kormakiti Arabic.

1SG	ana
2SG M	int
2SG F	inti
3SG M	o
3SG F	e
1PL	naxni
2PL	intu
3PL	enne

Table 6.2: List of Kormakiti Arabic Present Copula (Borg, 1985: 134)

These copula forms are used as free morphemes, almost like copular verbs, with the same syntactical position and distribution pattern as the Greek copula

verbs. Overtly marked copula in this form are found only in Siirt, Turkey, according to Borg (1985: 135) (citing Jastrow 1978: 132), outside of Cyprus. Compare the Kormakiti Arabic example (65a)[10] with the Cypriot Greek example (65b). It is therefore highly probable that these copula constructions are replications from the Greek.

(65)   Present Copula in Kormakiti Arabic and Cypriot Greek

      a. Kormakiti Arabic (Borg, 1985: 175)

         *đ-đeʕa   šait-na   **e**   plusya*
         ART-village POSS.F-1PL COP.3SG.F rich

         'Our village is rich.'

      b. Cypriot Greek

         *to xorjo mas **ine** plusjo*
         ART village POSS.1PL COP.3SG rich

         'Our village is rich.'

It is important to note that this replication process is only true for the present tense copula. Standard Modern Arabic, as well as its regional varieties, all have past copula forms. The notion of an overt copula marker is thus not new in Arabic. The innovation of the replication in Kormakiti Arabic is overt present copula markers.

Relative particle *ta*

The relative clauses in Kormakiti Arabic are introduced with the particle *ta* of an unclear origin according to Borg (1985: 145) and this indicates a similar syntactic distribution with the CG relative particle *pu*. Whatever origin the relative particle *ta* might have, it differs lexically from the relative markers of their neighbouring Arabic dialects[11]. Syrian Arabic has one relative particle *yəlli* (with a few allophones like *əlli*, əlli, *halli* und *yalli*) regardless of number or gender (Grotzfeld, 1965: 24f).

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[10]The Greek adjective is correctly inflected here for the feminine form, since "village" in Kormakiti Arabic is feminine. In the Greek example, the adjective is in the neuter form accordingly.

[11]At this point, Grotzfeld (1965: 24) points out that the origin of the Levantine relative particle *yəlli* is also unclear and it is not derived from OA *allaḏī*.

(66) Relativization in Cypriot Maronite Arabic

    a. Relativization of noun (Borg, 1985: 182)

        *allik p-petrokopi,   n-tamme-t   l-ispiriđkya **ta***
        those ART-stonecutter PASS/MED-end-PST.3SG.F ART-matches REL

        kan-yišelu   fayyes   u   vaddu-ni   đ-đeʕa
        PROG/HAB.PST-set.fire.3PL dynamite.holes and send.PST.3PL-1SG ART-village

        ta-ži   ta-xo   spiriđkya
        SUBJ-come SUBJ-get matches

        'While those stonecutters were igniting sticks of dynamite, the matches got used up, and I was sent to the village to go and fetch a box of matches.'

    b. Relativization on adverb (Borg, 1985: 182)

        *istera, **ta** ža   xaita   l-oxt,   **ta** šalu-na*
        afterwards REL to.come brother-3SG.F ART-sister REL arrest-PST.3PL-1PL

        parra, rakʕa-ll-a exen patso l-ie
        outisde? hit-IO-3SG.F one   slap   IO-3SG.F

        'Then, when the girl's brother arrived, when they had led us out (of the courtroom), he gave her a slap.'

Furthermore, as Borg notes, the relative particle is present in relative clauses, which are relativized on indefinite nouns, as opposed to other Arabic varieties in which it is not possible to relativse on indefinite nouns through the usual relativization construction (Borg, 1985: 145).

(67) Relativization on indefinite nouns

    a. Kormakiti Arabic (Borg, 1985: 145)

        *fia   exen ism **ta** ma p-axter ta-fiku*
        EXST-F one   name REL NEG PRS-able SUBJ-remember.PRS.1SG

        'There is a certain name (that) I cannot remember.'

    b. Syrian Arabic (Grotzfeld, 1965: 105)

        mnə-štrīl-ak   faras b-tərkab   ʔalēha
        PRS.1PL-buy-2SG.M horse PRS-ride.2SG.M on-F

        'Wir kaufen dir ein Pferd, auf dem du reiten wirst (lit. we will buy you a horse, you will ride on it)'

    c. Cypriot Greek (Symeōnidēs, 2006: 418)

*enan prozim-uin mitšikurin **pu** e-kamn-amen   pu tin proiɣumeni*
one   yeast-DIM   small   REL PST-make-PST.1PL from the last

fora[...]
time

'A small (piece) of yeast which we made last time...'

Thus, the difference between Kormakiti Arabic relativization and Levantine type relativization is clearly not only morphological, it also entails a different distribution pattern. Further investigation shows usage of the relative particle which is clearly a replication from Greek, such as in example (6.1.3) which illustrates relativization on the first person personal pronoun *naxni.*

(68)   Relativization on pronouns (Borg, 1985)

*e-katalav-en=to   l-ovreo oti   o   naxni **ta***
PST-understand-PST.3SG=ART ART-Jew COMP COP.3SG 1PL   REL

kwan-na-kul-on   š-šines
PROG/HAB.PST.1PL-1PL-eat-3PL ART-geese

'The Jew had understood that it was we who were eating the geese.'

Another similarity of relativization in both languages is the usage of the relative particle for temporal clauses. This usage is very productive in Greek, as can be seen in example (70), and I observed this use of temporal clauses introduced by relativizer and relativization on temporal adverbs several times in my corpus of Kormakiti Arabic.

(69)   (Borg, 1985: 174)

*istera,   **ta** ʕappeš   xaitš, kwan-ni-smaʕa   đ-đeʕa*
afterwards REL sun.set.PST.3SG a.little PROG/HAB.PST-1PL-listen ART-village

'Later, a little after sundown, we kept hearing (noise coming from) the village.'

(70)   ***pu** imun   mitsis imun   fanatikos*
REL COP.PST.1SG small   COP.PST.1SG fanatic
'When I was young, I was very fanatic.'

There are thus formal arguments as well as distributional arguments for a replication of the relative particle in Kormakiti Arabic from Cypriot Greek. The

formal shape of the relative particle *ta* differs from the relative particles in other Levantine varieties phonetically and morphologically, as it is not inflected for person or number, hence resembling the Greek relativizer *pu*. The use domains of this particle, i.e., its use for relativizing indefinite nouns, pronouns and its usage for introducing temporal clauses are very similar to the use domains of the relativizer in Greek. Based on these arguments, it is highly probable that I replication process took place.

The explanation of how the particle *ta* was grammaticalized into a relativizer and its history is rather difficult. It is known that there is a homophonous *ta* in Kormakiti Arabic which is a subordinator and that it derives from Old Arabic *ḥatta*. It is possible that the relativizer *ta* also came from the same root, but the lack of historical data over the centuries make any guess a speculation. The complete replacement of the old native relativization construction with the Greek type raises the important question of what the native construction looked like. The lack of historical data renders this question unanswerable, and we can only assume that Kormakiti Arabic used to have a relativization structure similar to those of its Levantine neighbours.

Whatever its origin may be, the lack of historical evidence limits the possibilities of the grammaticalization process which must have taken place. Replica grammaticalization as the mechanism which led to the relativizer *ta* cannot be considered a viable option. Ordinary grammaticalization seems to be more probable, i.e., in order to achieve the pattern of the Greek relativization construction, the speaker grammaticalized *ta* (whether it was the subordinizer or it had another origin which was then lost over time) into a relativizer.

Interestingly, although Greek uses the same particle for complementation and relativization, Kormakiti Arabic *ta* is only a relativizer, whereas the speakers use the other Greek complementizer *oti* for this purpose, as can be seen in example (71).

(71)   Complementation in Kormakiti Arabic (Borg, 1985: 174p)

   *kal   ir-rađyo **oti**   š-šaʕal   kanu   xaitš axsen*
   say.PST.3SG ART-radio COMP ART-situation COP.PST.3SG a.little better

   'The radio announced that the situation was a little better.'

There is, however, evidence of *ta* being used as a complementizer in a few instances, as can be seen in example (72). These instances are rare and only found in texts in Borg (1985). There is no sign of such usage from the contemporary field study. This distribution of *ta* exhibits a remarkable similarity to the distribution of the general subordinator *li* in Maltese, which can also be used as a relativizer and complementizer. This usage of *li* will be discussed further in chapter 7.5.1. It is possible that this distribution of Maltese is due to influence from Italian (whose relativizing and complementizing strategies will also be discussed in the same section), though this research does not concern itself with the replications in Maltese and no further investigation shall be done on Maltese here.

(72)   *ta* as a complementizer (Borg, 1985: 184)

    *ana   ray-t-on   **ta** xattu   m-miftax axxulla*
    PRN.1SG see-PST.1SG-3PL REL put.PST.3PL ART-key   over.there

    'I noted that they had put the key there.'

The use of *pu* as a complementizer in Greek is not uncommon, but it is disputable when exactly can *pu* be used as a complementizer and when exactly must the complementizers *oti* and *pos* be employed. The difference between these complementizers seems to be the modality of the utterance, and *pu* is said to be used as a complementizer when the clause expresses cause, result, consequence, etc. (Mackridge, 1985: 254). Whatever the difference between the complementizers may be, the fact remains that *pu* can be used as a complementizer as in example 73.

(73)   *pu* as a complementizer (Mackridge, 1985: 254)

    *i-ð-es   **pu** ðen itan   tipota*
    PST-see.PRF-PST.2SG COMP NEG COP.PST.3SG anything

    'You see, it was nothing' (i.e. 'I *told* you there was nothing to worry about.')

Is is possible to argue that the usage of *pu* not only for relativization but also for certain types of complementation and in various other constructions such as with other conjunctions (cf. Mackridge, 1985: 256p) shows a tendency towards

becoming a general subordinator. It is however not a general subordinator yet, since *oti* and *pos* are also used as complementizers as well as markers for indirect-speech (cf. example 74). Furthermore, there is only a handful instances of the usage of *ta* as a complementizer throughout the Kormakiti Arabic corpus. It is also possible that the distributional pattern of *ta* is exactly the same as the pattern of Cypriot Greek *pu* as a complementizer. It should be noted that there are not instances of the usage of *pu* as a complementizer in the Cypriot Greek corpus. Nevertheless, there are several obvious parallels between Kormakiti Arabic *ta* and Cypriot Greek *pu* which can be at least partially best explained as language contact influence.

(74)   *pos* in indirect-speech clauses (Mackridge, 1985: 269)

   panta mu   e-leɣ-e   pos   θa rθ-i
   always POSS.1SG PST-tell-PST.3SG COMP FUT come.PRF-3SG

   '(S)he always used to tell me (s)he would come.'

Complex Predicates

Kormakiti Arabic employs different strategies for forming complex predicates, including the subjunctive suffix *ta-*, the subordinating particle *ta* and seldom the optative suffix *a-*. The subjunctive proclitic *ta-* derives from OA *ḥatta* as Borg mentions (Borg, 1985: 102), differing from the neighbouring Levantine dialects which mark the subjunctive with the absence of the declarative prefix *bi-*[12]. Borg (1985: 145) also notes that there is another particle *ta*, a subordinating conjunction, homophonous with the relative particle and again derived from of OA *ḥatta*. Borg (2004: 194) entails a long list of the functions the prefix *ta-* and the particle *ta* can fulfill ranging from marking final clauses to relative and causal clauses. The use of *ḥatta* or its derivatives in various subordinating constructions are well attested in other Levantine Arabic varieties.

   In Lebanese Arabic, the particles *la* and *ta* (which can be purposive or temporal 'until') are used in subordinating structures with subjunctive verbs Jiha (1964: 178). An example for the purposive use is:

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[12]Kormakiti Arabic also uses an almost identical morpheme *pi-* for declarative clauses.

(75) (Jiha, 1964: 178)

*bi-'ṭi-k   maṣāri **ta/la** t-žibli ḫubz*
PRS-give.1SG-2SG.M money   SUBR 2SG-get bread

'I give you money, so that you will get bread.'

An example for the temporal use is:

(76) (Jiha, 1964: 178)

*ma b-rūḥ   zūrä-k   **ta** tži   tzūr-ni*
NEG PRS-go.1SG visit.1SG-2SG.M PURP come.2SG visit.2SG-1SG

'I will not visit you until you have visited me.'

Salonen notes that in the Gazan dialect, both *ḥətta* and the proclitic *ta* are used for the purposive sense (Salonen, 1980: 52p). Grotzfeld (1965: 105f.) writes that purposive clauses in Syrian Arabic are introduced with particles such as *la*, *ta*, *ḥatta*, *laḥatta* and *mənšān* together with the verb in the subjunctive. It is also possible to use only the verb in the subjunctive in a purposive sense. Cowell (1964) also lists certain verb combinations in Syrian Arabic where one can find [Verb + Verb-Subjunctive] constructions.

(77) Purposive clauses in Syrian Arabic

  a. With *ta* (Grotzfeld, 1965: 105)

  *ṣāru   y'arrfū-ni   bhalbanāt **ta**   n-ət-salla*
  become.PSt.3PL know.3PL-1SG girl   PURP 1PL-REFL-amuse.PRS
  w=nəl'ab
  and=1PL-play.PRS

  'They acquainted me with the girls so that we would have fun and play together.'

  b. With *mənšān*

  *harab   'ala ğēr balad, **mənšān** yəšəğel   fī-ha*
  go.out.PST.3SG to   other city   PURP   work.PRS.3SG in-F

  'He fled to another city to work there.'

In purposive clauses, Kormakiti Arabic uses the subjunctive prefix *ta-* and its allophone *te-*, which can be analyzed as a grammaticalized form of the native [*ta* + bare-verb] construction. The whole subordinated clause is introduced through *(m)pšan.*

(78)   Kormakiti Arabic Purposive (how we gather wood.02)

pšan ta-llaki   *xadap prepi ta-rrux*   *barra fi-l   lixkali*
for   SUBJ-find.1PL wood   NEC   SUBJ-go.1PL outside in-ART field

'In order to find wood, we need to go out to the field.'

Apart from these "non-standard" forms, there are also instances of Levantine type purposive constructions with *ta-*as can be seen in example (79).

(79)   (Borg, 1985: 173)

xassay-t   exen kan-yitfuš-ni   **ta-kum**
feel.PST-1SG one   HAB/PROG.PST-shake.3SG-1SG SUBJ-stand.1SG

'I felt someone shaking me in order to wake me up.'

According to Borg (2004: 282), *(m)pšan* derives from *mšan < min š'an* ('for the sake of') and is used in the sense of "for, in order to". The common purposive construction has the structure [*pšan + SUBJ-VERB*]. Compared with other Arabic dialects, the structure [*ta* + bare-verb-form] is not very new. The bare verb form without *bi-*, which is the subjunctive form in Levantine dialects, and the particle *ta* is probably grammaticalized together in a single form in the sense of the subjunctive in Cypriot Maronite Arabic. This construction resembles the Greek subjunctive construction quite a bit (which can also be used in the sense of purposive) [*na* + verb:perfective][13]. There is also an emphasized purposive construction in Greek; [*ja* + *na* + verb:perfective], whereas *ja* is the preposition 'for'. Although both constructions are very similar, this may be as well an inner grammaticalization process of Kormakiti Arabic. Also, the readers should know that example (78) was spoken by a younger speaker of Kormakiti Arabic. In older texts in Borg (1985) there are different constructions for the purposive,

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[13]The phonetic resemblance between *ta* and *na* is also interesting, though this may be completely coincidental.

such as example (80). Please note that this construction is also not entirely Levantine as the prefix *ma-* is an allomorph of the prefix *pi-* for first person plural. In the Levantine constructions, it is the lack of this exact prefix which marks the subjunctive.

(80)   (Borg, 1985: 167)

    *pi-žipu-on   fi mođaʕa **ta**   man-zin-on*
    PRS-bring.3PL-3PL in place   PURP PRS-weight.1PL-3PL

    'They bring them to one place so that we can weight them.'

The similarities between the purposive clauses in Cypriot Greek and Kormakiti Arabic become more interesting when they are negated. Looking at the neighbouring Arabic dialects, e.g. Syrian Arabic, we see that the negation of purposive clauses is introduced through *laḥatta ma* or *'aḥsan ma* (Grotzfeld, 1965: 106).

(81)   Negation of purposive clause (Grotzfeld, 1965: 106)

    *ḥallīna   nənzel   'aš-Šām   **'aḥsan ma** yəžu*
    PRS-let.3SG-1PL go.down.PRS.1PL ART-Damascus PURP   NEG come.PRS.3PL
    l-Yahūd   w=yāḫdūl-na   'arḍ-na
    ART-Jews and=take.PRS.3PL-1PL land-1PL

    'Let us go to Damascus so that the Jews do not come and take our land away from us.'

Kormakiti Arabic seems to have a different method of negating purposive clauses. One of the texts in Borg (1985) show the form [...]*pšan ta la-teiprot texte* ('[...]so that it does not cool too suddenly') (Borg, 1985: 170)[14]. This structure [*pšan* + *ta* + *la* + *ta*-verb-form] is much alike the Cypriot Greek structure [*ja* + *na* + *men* + verb:perfective]. The order of the components in the construction, as well as the usage of the negator *la* instead of the usual negator *ma* – exactly like the distribution of the subjunctive negator *men/min* in Cypriot Greek as opposed to the indicative negator *ðen*, display a striking similarity between the constructions of the two languages. Such a striking similarity is very unlikely to have

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[14]Translation slightly changed by the author.

occurred by pure chance. Another example for the usage of *la* for subjunctive negation is the example below.

(82) Subjunctive Negation

    a. (Borg, 1985: 173)

       *ađak kifta **ta   la te-rux**   u-v ana   ta-rux?*
       this.one why   PURP NEG SUBJ-go.3SG and PRN.1SG SUBJ-go.1SG

       'Why should I go when that (fellow) is not going?'

    b. Reconstructed in Greek

       *aftos jati **na min pa-i**   kai eɣo   na pa-o?*
       DEM why na   NEG go.PRF-3SG and PRN.1SG na go.PRF-1SG

       'Why should I go when that (fellow) is not going?'

The construction [*la* + subjunctive] is not a new one and is used in other Arabic dialects for prohibitive/imperative negation (Grotzfeld, 1965: 100). No evidence was found for the usage of *la* for subjunctive negation as in Kormakiti Arabic. In Standard Arabic, *la* is used for negating present tense clauses (Aoun et al., 2010: 110). It also has the variants *lam* and *lan*, where the former is used to negate the past tense and the latter to negate the future tense. This complex negation strategy is lost in modern Arabic varieties, especially in the Levant region, in which the negation *ma* (or sometimes *ma-š* in Lebanese Arabic) is used (Aoun et al., 2010: 96). Greek does not have a way of negating imperatives, instead the negated subjunctive forms are used for imperative negation, without the particle *na.* The difference between the negated subjunctive and the negated imperative (prohibitive) is the lack of *na* in the prohibitive constructions. The former, the negated subjunctive, can also be used in the sense of the negated optative, which can be seen example (83). This use of the construction is also a replication from Greek. Summing up, the subjunctive constructions in Kormakiti Arabic with the prefix *ta-* do not seem to be developed under contact influence. The subjunctive negation construction [*ta* + *la* + *ta*-verb-form], however, resembles the Greek structure very much; the subordinator particle *ta* correlating with the Greek *na*, *la* correlating with the Greek *me(n)/mi(n)* and the [*ta-*+verb] construction correlating with the [verb:perfective] in Greek. The resemblances between two constructions are striking, even the order of the components matches. Considering

the complexity of both constructions, the chances that the Kormakiti Arabic construction developed independently of Greek influence seems to be low. There is, however, a similar construction [*la* + Verb] in Maltese which is also used for the prohibitive (Aquilina, 1959: 342). Assuming that this construction was developed without contact influence (which would not be very probable since no similar construction is known in Italian or other Romance languages to influence Maltese), it may support the argument that Arabic languages can develop this pattern with their inner language change mechanisms.

There are other examples of subjunctive negation, though, which differ in morphology. Example (83) shows a construction very similar to example (82a), but without the subjunctive marker on the verb. More importantly, both of these constructions were used by the same speaker in the same narrative. The issue of replication of negation possibilities has a scope much wider than subjunctives and prohibitives. Other negation strategies and constructions will be discussed in a special section for this subject.

(83)   Subjunctive Negation (Borg, 1985: 174)

ta   la   rrux *mnawna t-tarp   k-kayse*
SUBR NEG go.1PL from.that   ART-road ART-good

'Let us not proceed along the good road.'

So much variation raises the question of whether these constructions are due to replication or language decay, and moreover whether it is possible to differentiate between replication and language decay during a language death scenario. Is there so much variation in Kormakiti Arabic subordination constructions because of an ongoing replication process or is this what Sasse means with agrammatism during language decay? Answering this question is rather difficult. Variation can be a sign of an ongoing replication process where the speakers are using ad-hoc replicated constructions. It is also not out of the question that replication can produce several contact induced constructions, i.e., all of the variants are replication processes. On the other hand, one could argue that these variations (especially the variations used by the same speaker in the same narration) are a sign of a lack of proficiency in language and an evidence for language decay. I tend to dismiss the arguments for language decay here, as no matter how much

variation these may be, it is still not a breakdown of the language structures. There is no 'decay' here in the sense of the morphosyntax is coming apart, but only variational products of the replication process.

The prefix *ta-* is widely used in Kormakiti Arabic in various verbal clauses (chiefly with modal verbs) for verbal subordination. The structure of such clauses is indeed very Greek. There is a good possibility that the general construction [verb + SUBJ-verb] pattern of Greek was replicated in Kormakiti Arabic and exhibits the same distributional properties as this one. In fact, in almost all of the Kormakiti Arabic examples, one can observe that the usage of the subjective in Kormakiti Arabic overlaps almost entirely with the Greek *na*-constructions.

(84)   (Borg, 1985: 173)

   xalli-ni   ***ta-nam***
   let.3SG-1SG SUBJ-sleep

   'Let me sleep.'

(85)   (Borg, 1985: 173)

   aš   ***te-saw***
   what SUBJ-do.3PL

   'What could they do.'

In addition to forming complex predicates with *ta-*, the Kormakiti Arabic has also a few instances of such a complex predicate formed with the optative marker instead as can be seen in example (86). The speaker in this particular recording switched between the optative form and the *ta-* subordinator during his speech. Since this use of the optative form can be found in the speech of other speakers, it is a systematic construction, however, not a very popular one.

(86)   Verbal subordination in Kormakiti Arabic with the Optative (when we went to school.03)

   ***an**-n-axki*   *elinika ma kwan-n-aʔref*   *u*   *đaskalo ten-na*
   OPT-1PL-speak Greek   NEG HAB.PST-1PL-know and teacher   POSS.M-1PL
   kan-it-aʔđep   *maʔ-na*
   HAB.PST-3SG.M-tire with-1PL

   'We did not know to speak Greek and our teacher was getting tired of us.'

The complex predicates in Kormakiti Arabic with the optative forms are important and interesting since they show parallels with the Cypriot Turkish complex predicates that can be formed with the optative marker. In contrast to Cypriot Turkish complex predicates, however, in which the optative marker is the only strategy, Kormakiti Arabic has more variation with a strong tendency towards complex predicates with the *ta-* subordinator.

Negation

In addition to the negation possibilities mentioned above, Kormakiti Arabic seems to have lost other means of negating which are possible in the neighbouring Levantine varieties. Thus, negations such as *miš*, *-š* and *ma ...-š* are not found in Kormakiti Arabic, but they are used in several Levantine varieties such as the Palestinian (Salonen, 1979: 59) and Lebanon (Abu-Haidar, 1979: 108ff). The loss of these possibilities and the current distributional pattern of the two remaining negation markers *ma* and *la* suggests contact influence from Greek. Please compare the examples (87a) and (87b) with the Lebanese example (87c).

(87)   Negation in Kormakiti Arabic, Greek and Lebanese Arabic

    a. Kormakiti Arabic (Borg, 1985: 149)

        ma e   *kayse*
        NEG COP.3SG.F good

        'She is not nice.'

    b. Greek (we played a variety of games.10)

        đen itan   *mesa sto*   *spitin kliđ-omen-a*
        NEG COP.PST.3 inside LOC.N house lock-PTCL-N.PL

        'They were not locked up at home.'

    c. Lebanese - Baskinta (Abu-Haidar, 1979: 108))

        hal-bint ***miš*** *ḥilwi*
        DEM-girl NEG pretty-F

        'This girl is not pretty.'

Furthermore, there are parallels with Kormakiti Arabic *la* and Greek *oçi* (Cypriot Greek *oi*) which also diverge from other Levantine varieties. For an example of

these parallels, compare Kormakiti Arabic example (88a) with Greek (88b) and Lebanese Arabic (88c).

(88)   Negation in Kormakiti Arabic, Greek and Lebanese Arabic 2

    a.   Kormakiti Arabic (Borg, 1985: 149)

       *šraf-t   xlip **la** mpit*
       drink-1SG.PST milk NEG wine

       'I drank milk not wine.'

    b.   Cypriot Greek (Elicitation)

       *i-pkj-a   γala **oi** krasi*
       PST-drink-PST.1SG milk NEG wine

       'I drank milk not wine.'

    c.   Lebanese Arabic (Abu-Haidar, 1979: 108)

       *ḥitt it-taawli hawn **miš** huniik*
       put   ART-table here   NEG there

       'Put the table here, not there.'

Based on the linguistic evidence, it is reasonable to conclude Kormakiti Arabic lost all but two markers for negation, namely *ma* and *la*. During the course of language contact, these two markers were used to replicate the distributional pattern of the Cypriot Greek negation markers *ðen*, *men* and *oçi*. According to this replication, the negator *ma* became the distributional equivalent of the Cypriot Greek negator *men*, which together with other replication processes such as the use of copula made constructions as in example (87a) possible. Depending on whether the predecessor of the current Kormakiti Arabic had the same prohibitive usage of *la* as seen in Syrian Arabic today, it can be said that Kormakiti Arabic grammaticalized *la* as an equivalent of Cypriot Greek *men*, or the already prohibitive marker *la* was used to replicate the distributional pattern of Cypriot Greek *men* which also includes subjunctive negation. Since the negator *la* also means "no", it was also used to replicate the distribution of Cypriot Greek *oçi*, as seen in example (88a).

Prohibitive

This feature has already been mentioned in chapter 5.3.3 together with the fact that Kormakiti Arabic does not have a necessitative modal verb, and utilizes *prepi* instead. However, it is not possible to negate this borrowed modal verb in Kormakiti Arabic directly. For this function, the speakers use the negated Kormakiti Arabic verb for 'happen' as can be seen in example (89a). Compare this example with the Cypriot Greek one in example (89b).

(89)   Prohibitive

    a.   Kormakiti Arabic (Elicitation)

       ma pi-sir   ta   tižri   xost li-knise
       NEG PRS-happen SUBR run.2SG in   ART   church

       'You must not run in the church.'

    b.   Cypriot Greek (Elicitation)

       en   jin-ete   na vour-as mes tin   ekklisia
       NEG happen-PASS.3SG na   run-2SG in   ART church

       'You must not run in the church.'

This construction is clearly a replication, not only because of the obvious similarity between the prohibitive construction in Kormakiti Arabic and the Cypriot Greek one, but because the informants themselves stated that this structure is Greek, repeating the same utterance in Greek after giving the example in Kormakiti Arabic. Although this constructions resembled an ad-hoc replication at first glance, it is being used quite systematically in Kormakiti Arabic.

Directive/Locative Constructions

Kormakiti Arabic seems to lack any marking for the directive (describing movement to a certain place, person or item) and the locative (describing the state of being at a certain place, with a person or at an item), very similarly to spoken Greek. In written Greek, the locative or directive is usually marked with an inflected form of *stos* (which is probably a grammaticalization of the preposition for 'in', *se*, as a proclitic on the article) and noun in the accusative. In spoken Greek (in Cyprus and on the mainland), this preposition is usually missing and

the directive or locative is only marked with the accusative case. Since Kormakiti Arabic lacks any morphological case, these constructions are not marked in this language. This separates Kormakiti Arabic from other varieties of Levantine Arabic which do not only mark directive and locative, but also differentiate between these two.

(90)   a.   Directive (Borg, 1985: 173)

*ana   smaʕat oti   eprepen ta-rux   **stratyoti***
PRN.1SG hear-1SG COMP NEC   SUBJ-go.1SG army

'I heard that I was supposed to go into the army.'

     b.   Locative (Borg, 1985: 179)

*koʕot-na   exte saʕat-ayn **k-kafene***
sit.PST-1PL one   hour-DUAL ART-coffee.house

'We sat inside the café for about a couple of hours.'

This is one of the few cases where we can observe a possible loss of category due to language contact, although it is not completely clear whether this category is lost. On various occasions, I heard and noted speakers of Kormakiti Arabic use *fi* to mark the locative (as in other Arabic varieties). As I discussed my notes with the speakers, however, they insisted that *fi* is sometimes used due to the influence of Levantine Arabic, but in "true" Kormakiti Arabic the locative is not marked. There are a few instances of evidence, however, which suggest a different or "Greek" usage of *fi*, that is to say, for directive and locative purposes. See the example (91) for the locative use of *fi* in Kormakiti Arabic

(91)   Usage of *fi* in Kormakiti Arabic (How we gather wood.02)

*pšan ta-llaki   xadap prepi ta-rrux   barra **fi**-l   lixkali*
for   SUBJ-find.1PL wood   NEC   SUBJ-go.1PL outside in-ART field

"In order to find wood we go out to the field(s)."

Thus, it is possible to conclude that this category of Kormakiti Arabic was influenced by both Standard Greek and colloquial Greek, which is plausible, since all Maronites are bilingual in Greek and their education is in Greek, enabling them to master the colloquial variety as well as the standard language. It is also

possible to view this usage of *fi*, as a newer development as it was only found in the speech of one younger speaker. There is a third possibility that the usage of *fi* is due to influence of Standard Arabic or Lebanese Arabic. Some of the active members of the Maronite community (especially the ones from Kormakitis) learn some Lebanese Arabic due to their contacts with other Maronites in Lebanon. According to my knowledge, the speaker in example (91) knows some Lebanese Arabic and when I inquired of him about the usage of *fi*, he admitted that it is actually a Lebanese Arabic "word" and not a Kormakiti Arabic one, thus admitting that he formed this clause under the influence of Lebanese Arabic. This anecdote should serve as evidence that Kormakiti Arabic is not entirely isolated from the Levantine varieties, especially from Lebanese Arabic.

Furthermore, the influence of the Greek locative/directive marker *se* (usually has the clitic form [*st* + case/person/number inflection] and the whole construction is basically [*se* + article]), which also seems to have influenced Kormakiti Arabic with its locative usage. The example (), which is from Borg (1985), shows the directive usage of *fi* (probably) by a native speaker of Kormakiti Arabic, i.e., not a semi-speaker.

(92)   Directive in Kormakiti Arabic (Borg, 1985: 182)

istera vakʕa   **fi** *žrey ađak l-itšauš*
later   fall.PST.3SG **in** feet   this   ART-sergeant

'Then the sergeant fell at my feet.'

Since the Levantine Arabic varieties do not use *fi* for directive purposes, the usage of this morpheme for the locative and directive can also be attributed to Greek. (Borg, 1985: 139) describes *fi* as a locative and *xost* as a directive marker in his descriptive grammar. It is possible that Kormakiti Arabic made use of these prepositions and lost them gradually over time. The data from Borg (1985) is conflicting, since there is evidence of both usage of these prepositions, and the lack of their usage. Concerning the structure of Kormakiti Arabic now, I rely on the statements of the informants, who insisted that locative and directive constructions in Kormakiti Arabic are not marked.

This phenomenon is interesting as both the informal as well as the formal structures of Greek affected Kormakiti Arabic due to longterm bilingualism, and

possibly also due to language death. One could argue that these are effects of language death, i.e., the whole locative/directive system has collapsed and the speakers are using the Greek structures, depending on whether they feel that they are speaking more formally or completely informally. This is not a particularly strong argument, since a counter argument would be that the locative/directive system would not collapse like this in a language death scenario. Since Kormakiti Arabic speakers have little problem with direct borrowings from Greek, they would have probably used the Greek markers in such a scenario. Therefore, it is more plausible to treat this phenomenon as a replication, both from formal and informal use patterns of Greek. As regards the replication of the informal use pattern, it can be classified as loss due to language contact, whereas the replication of the formal use pattern is an extension of the semantic map of the Arabic morpheme *fi*. Using the terminology of Heine and Kuteva, this would be a case of replica grammaticalization.

Negative Correlative

Borg notes in his work that the negative correlative *me...me* is a borrowing from Cypriot Greek. It seems to be a case of matter and pattern replication as can be seen in example (93a)[15]. If one assumes that *me* in Cypriot Greek is a replica grammaticalization from Cypriot Turkish, then one could thus call this an indirect influence of Cypriot Turkish on Kormakiti Arabic. There is little reasons to consider it a direct borrowing from Cypriot Turkish as the Maronites had little contact with Cypriot Turkish and most of them still have no Turkish knowledge although they are surrounded by Turkish speaking villages today.

(93)   Negative Correlatives in Kormakiti Arabic and Cypriot Greek (Borg, 1985: 149)

    a. Kormakiti Arabic

       ma pi-šrap   me pira me mpit
       NEG PRS-drink.1SG NEG beer NEG wine

    b. Cypriot Greek

       em pinn-o   me piran me krasin
       NEG drink-PRS.1SG NEG beer   NEG wine

---

[15]Beer in Cypirot Greek is actually *bira* not *pira*.

'I drink neither beer not wine.'

Nevertheless, this is an interesting case of how languages can influence each other indirectly, although they are being spoken in the same region. The indirect influence from Cypriot Turkish through Cypriot Greek, instead of a direct one, supports the socio-linguistic data and the socio-historical claims in the sense that the Maronites of Kormakitis had little contact with Turkish Cypriots.

Recapitulation

Kormakiti Arabic has been affected exclusively by Cypriot Greek, thus confirming the hypothesis on this point. This is only natural, as Cypriot Greek was the only language the Maronites were in contact with. It is very interesting to observe how Maronites avoid Cypriot Turkish, even today. According to my own observations, there are only a few people in the village who speak Turkish, mainly for the purpose of communicating with the Turkish authorities in North Cyprus. As explained in previous chapters, all the Maronites in Kormakitis are bilingual in Greek, almost all of them also speak conversational English.

Many pattern replications in Kormakiti Arabic are observed together with matter borrowings, this should not, however, surprise anyone at this point. Kormakiti Arabic has a lot of borrowings from Greek in general and as opposed to other languages of Cyprus: where using lexical elements from other languages is an option, in Kormakiti Arabic it is obligatory, due to the lack of other immediate varieties and due to the language's oral tradition.

6.2   Non-Systematic Replications

6.2.1   Cypriot Turkish

Use of Postposition *için*

An interesting case of ad-hoc structural replication was found in the beginning of recording in Lurucina. When I asked my informant to tell me something about the village, example (94) was his response.

(94) about.life.01

yaşa-ma için?
live-NOM for

'About life (in the village?)'

This is possibly a replication of the Greek construction [*ja* + noun-ACC] which means 'about [noun]', though the preposition *ja* means 'for'. The postposition *için* is usually used with the infinitive forms in the nominative (in this case the correct form would be *yaşamak*). This would mean 'in order to live' or 'in order to survive' depending on the context. It is, however, not possible to use *için* for the meaning 'about'. The replicated construction in Cypriot Greek here is shown in example (95).

(95) Cypriot Greek: *ja*

ja tin   zoi
for ART.F.ACC life

'About life.'

Use of Accusative

Turkish has a case marking system where definite direct objects are marked for the accusative case whereas the indefinite ones are unmarked. This kind of usage is found only a few times in the whole corpus of Cypriot Turkish and in the speech of one informant, and thus categorized as non-systematic.

(96) Source: Recording 2-mani-actepe 22:30

Rumca-yı gene bil-ir-im
Greek-ACC still   know-PRS-1SG

'I still know Greek.'

The informant in this narration is talking about an event he experienced at least partially in Cypriot Greek and uses the word for military service, *asgerlik*, in the Accusative case, although the standard usage would be without any case marking. The same person also used an unusual accusative marking in another

place (but in the same narration) as follows. This could be due to an ad-hoc influence from Greek, as one would use the accusative in both cases in Greek. Furthermore, the speaker is talking about an event he experienced in Greek and the role of this fact should not be underestimated in ad-hoc interferences.

(97)   shepherd's story:23

> *ve   tesadüfen o   adam ki   asgerli-ği   yap-dı, guzu-yu al-dı,*
> and by.chance   DEM man   REL military.service-ACC do-PST   lamb-ACC take-PST
> *ben-im   restorana   gel-di   yemek yeme-ye*
> 1SG.GEN restaurant-DAT come-PST food   eat-DAT

'And by chance, that man who was doing his military service and then took my lamb, came to my restaurant to eat.'

6.2.2   On Non-systematic Replications in Cypriot Greek and Kormakiti Arabic

All of the non-systematic replications found were in Cypriot Turkish, rendering the category of non-systematic replications is a Cypriot Turkish dominated one. That there are no non-systematic replications found in Cypriot Greek is compatible with the language contact theory and the dominance of Cypriot Greek in Cyprus. This overall power relationship between the languages seems to be affecting the language use of the individuals. In none of the Cypriot Greek texts (from my own field work as well as from other sources) have I found any structural non-systematic replications. In the speech of bilinguals, especially in the speech of two bilingual informants of this work's own fieldwork, there are many lexical borrowings and even cases where the speaker completely switches to Cypriot Turkish for a few utterances.

The same can be said for Kormakiti Arabic, which exhibit lexical or phrasal code-switching on a regular basis. However, not a single evidence of an ad-hoc structural replication in Kormakiti Arabic has been found throughout this study. This surprising phenomenon could be due to speaker's attitudes when they are speaking Kormakiti Arabic with a linguist. It could also happen partially due to the reason that Kormakiti Arabic is already structurally very similar to Cypriot

Greek. The resources of this project were unfortunately exhausted without finding any relevant data. Collecting further data may be necessary to find these instances and it could be done in a later research project on interference and code-switching in Kormakiti Arabic.

6.3 General Discussion about Replications in the Languages of Cyprus

As the aim of this work is not only to illustrate the pattern replications in the languages of Cyprus but also to observe whether it is possible to speak of convergence in Cyprus. Since Cypriot Greek seems to be the main influencer on other languages on the island, is it possible that the languages all move in the same typological direction? Below in table 6.3 is an overview of the replications previously presented.

The data show that certain features such as Greek type verbal subordination and relativization are now shared by all three languages of Cyprus. The main difference between Cypriot Turkish and Kormakiti Arabic is that Kormakiti Arabic completely replaced its own constructions with the Greek ones, whereas Cypriot Turkish retains both the replicated and the native structures in its inventory. This can be explained by non-linguistic characteristics of these two language: Cypriot Turkish has a standard language (Standard Turkish) and a written norm, where its native (or language engineered) structures are codified. The speakers of this variety are exposed to these constructions through mass media and education. The speakers of Kormakiti Arabic, on the other hand, are exposed to education and mass media in Greek. Since there is no written standard, when a construction is lost over one generation, its lost forever for its speakers.

As was hypothesized, Cypriot Greek is the origin of 11 out of 12 systematical contact influenced phenomena. Cypriot Turkish only influenced Cypriot Greek in the case of the indirective and was then influenced in turn, which is why there are two different types of indirective in the table. Kormakiti Arabic did not influence any other language, which was also expected. Language contact in Cyprus seems to be revolving around Cypriot Greek. It would be important

	Cypriot Greek	Cypriot Turkish	Kormakiti Arabic
Indirective (Turkish Type)	Rep	Nat	-
Indirective (Greek Type)	Nat	Rep	-
Relative Clauses	Nat	Rep	Rep
Complement Clauses	Nat	Rep	Borr
Greek Type Complex Predicates	Nat	Rep	Rep
Necessitative	Nat	Rep	Borr
Desiderative	Nat	Rep	Rep
Purposive	Nat	Rep	Nat
Directive/Locative	Nat	-	Rep
Polar Questions	Nat	Rep	Nat
Prohibitive	Nat	Rep	Rep
Subjunctive Negation	Nat	-	Rep

Nat: native, Rep: replication, Borr: borrowing, -: non-existent

Table 6.3: Overview of pattern replications in the languages of Cyprus

to see whether this is also true for Armenian and Gurbet in further research, though there are already hints (especially due to the socio-linguistic structure of the speech community) that it will be the case for Armenian. Such research would also clarify whether it is plausible to talk about a Cypriot Armenian variety. Gurbet, on the other hand, could yield different results due to its isolated social structure and previous language contact with Turkish.

It may seem interesting to note at first sight that Cypriot Turkish replicated more structures than Kormakiti Arabic. Since Kormakiti Arabic was under more linguistic pressure than Cypriot Turkish and the language is at a dying stage, one could expect it to replicate more structures overall. This, however, need not be the case for two main reasons. First of all, Cypriot Turkish is being spoken in a larger area than Kormakiti Arabic. According to the language contact model discussed in previously chapters, in every bilingual area, there is a certain chance that replication may occur. This chance might increase or decrease according to the socio-linguistic factors. The larger the area is in which the language is being spoken, the greater is the chance that a structure will be replicated and diffuse into other speech communities. Secondly, Kormakiti Arabic has much variation in its replicated structures, especially in complex predicates, which could also be possibly related to language decay. According to the language contact theory used in this research project, replication is a mechanism of language maintenance and not language shift according to the language contact theory used in this research project and discussed in chapter 2. We do not know how long Cypriot Greek and Kormakiti Arabic were in a stable language contact situation before the speakers of Kormakiti Arabic started shifting. Another unknown fact is whether Kormakiti Arabic lost some replicated structures during the beginning of its language shift/language death process.

An interesting general feature of the replications in the languages of Cyprus is the obvious trend towards a structural resemblance to each other. This trend is not immediately visible when comparing a few clauses with each other. There are many already existing similarities due to random chance (if we take for example the similarity between Greek and Levantine Arabic verbal subordination patterns to be due to chance) or previous contact with similar structures (for example the already existing *ki* patterns in Turkish from Persian). A superfi-

cial look at these patterns would not be enough to see the similarities among the languages of Cyprus due to language contact. An exhaustive study of these structures, however, displays similarities in very specific constructions and in distribution. This study shows that the distributional patterns of the constructions is equally important as an indicator of language contact as the replication of constructions. According to the definition of convergence as discussed in chapter 2.4.1, it is possible to speak of a structural convergence among the languages of Cyprus studied in this research project, since they do display a resemblance in their structures due to the long lasting language contact that took place among them.

Chapter 7

Discussion

7.1 On the Linguistic Mechanisms of Language Contact

Throughout the analysis of replications, I have attempted to explain which mechanisms could or must have played a role in the process. It is interesting to note that many of the replications, especially the productive ones, are not one-to-one replications from the replicated language; there is a more complex grammaticalization process behind them. More often than not, the non-systematic replications are real replications of the original pattern, in the sense that almost every linguistic substance in the pattern corresponds to the respective matter in the original pattern, whereas the systematic replications resemble their original patterns, but also diverge from them in different ways.

The reason for this could be that non-systematic replications are, per definition, fixed with little room to change. They were probably developed as loan translations (cf. Matras, 2009: 245 about replication of different levels) and this is what they remain. Systematic replications, on the other hand, are not simple calques. They need to adhere to different dynamics of the replicating language due to their productive nature and they are also subject to inner change mechanics of the language. This is why several replications display structural differences to their originals and differences in pattern usage. Examples for such differences are complex relativizer/complementizers in Cypriot Turkish and negative verbal

subordinations in Kormakiti Arabic. In addition to different geographical origins of replications, the influence of internal mechanisms of language change is probably one of the most important reasons for variation.

When considering the different mechanisms of language change discussed in chapter 2, the reader has probably realized that it is often challenging to pinpoint a single specific mechanism as the main one behind the respective replication. There is no doubt that grammaticalization is the main force behind morphosyntactic replications, although grammaticalization is not a mechanism itself, but a collection of mechanisms which do not necessarily all apply in a given replication. There is, for example, hardly any (if at all) phonological reduction in contact induced grammaticalizations. Generally speaking, every replication without matter borrowing at its core is a reallocation (or new allocation) of a semantic structure to an existing syntactic structure or to a syntactic structure consisting of existing elements, in Croft's terms (as discussed in chapter 2.2). See for example figure 7.1 for semantic extension, when an existing (morpho-)syntactic structure is used for another semantic category. The use of optative marking in Cypriot Turkish for verbal subordination is an example of such semantic extension; the morpho-syntactic form of optative verb construction is not changed, but the use of this pattern has new semantics. In this particular figure, the dotted lines with blank arrowheads represent grammaticalization, whereas the straight lines with black-filled arrowheads represent the already existing links between semantic components and syntactic elements. Note that this figure represents a case of semantic extension, since the native connection between semantic components and syntactic elements is still intact. This can also be seen through the fact that the symbolic links between the native and the replicated structures are there. It is, however, also possible that the native semantics has fallen out of use, which would make it a semantic shift, rather than extension.

The opposite of semantic-extension, again according to Croft's theory, would be replication as seen in figure 7.2. Replication, in this particular case, means the use of a new replicated (morpho-)syntactic construction for an existing semantic structure. An example for this kind of grammaticalization would be polar questions in Cypriot Turkish. Just as in semantic extension, the native syntactic construction can be abandoned or used simultaneously with the replicated one. It
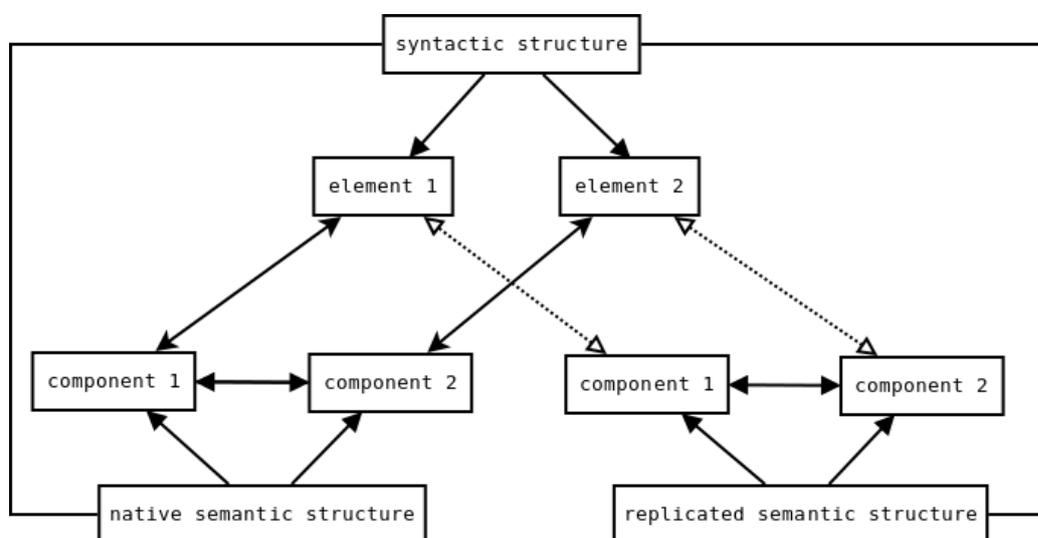
Figure 7.1: Semantic Extension

is plausible to assume that these are the two main contact-induced grammatical-ization types concerning the structure. There is, potentially, a third possibility, namely the replication of a new syntactic structure for a new semantic structure. In this work, no data was found which could be categorized in this third type. On a basic level, the first and the third type are what (Heine and Kuteva, 2005) call ordinary contact induced grammaticalization, whereas the second type is referred to as replica grammaticalization.

Briefly speaking, the basic parameters for classifying replications are fore-most the matter and pattern distinction of Matras (as discussed in chapter 2.3). Assuming there is pattern replication, then the classification above can by used to define what type of pattern replication it is. The terms ordinary and replica gram-maticalization coined by Heine and Kuteva are useful and interesting, though the term replica grammaticalization in particular is somewhat problematic, as there is no evidence that the speakers are really replicating a grammaticalization pro-cess which must have taken place in the model language.
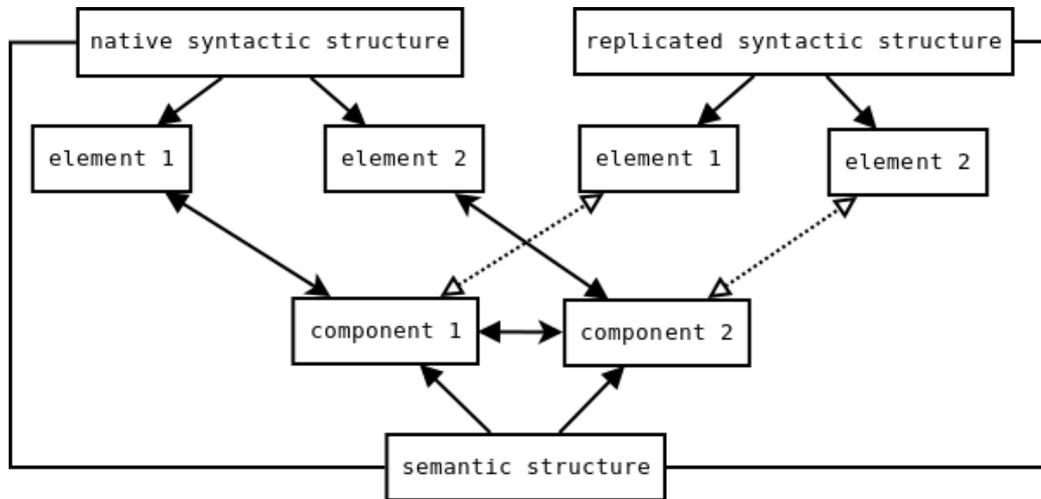
Figure 7.2: Replication

7.2   On the Propagation of the Replicated Constructions

Following the distinction between innovation and propagation in language contact, the linguistic evidence indicates that it is often challenging to try and find out which of the suggested innovation mechanisms were in effect during this phase, as discussed in chapter 2.3 must happen in the speaker's mind, rendering it impossible to be studied in this research project. Propagation, however, is the field which enables us to follow the routes the innovated constructions take. Using the data from the previous chapters, I shall try to sketch the locus of innovations and the route they probably took during propagation. This analysis here is will be strongly based on Cypriot Turkish since a) no structural replications were found in Cypriot Greek in my corpus, and b) this discussion makes no sense in Kormakiti Arabic since it is only spoken in one single village.

The most interesting finding in Cypriot Turkish concerning propagation was that replicated constructions were found almost exclusively in bilingual contact villages and not in monolingual villages or cities. This fact strengthens the hypothesis that bilingual contact villages are the centres of innovation. Since the replicated structures were found in these villages, not only are they the centres of innovation, they also use their innovations more frequently. It is legitimate at

this point to ask how come these replications are considered to be propagated, if they were not found in other regions. Elicitations with the speakers in these other regions demonstrated that they do know the replicated constructions and they can imagine themselves using these constructions. Furthermore, many of the replications presented in chapter 6 were noted to have been used by younger monolingual speakers today. Those observations were sometimes used in this research project when relevant, although there was a general preference for the use of data from the corpus for the same replications throughout this work. These observations and further elicitations with speakers do confirm that the replications documented in the (former) bilingual villages were propagated throughout the speech community. Moreover, the fact that the speakers from monolingual villages did not use these replications in the corpus should not necessarily mean that they never use them. The frequency of usage for these replications is probably lower than in the centres and it may be so low that they did not show up in this small scaled corpus. Even the replicated constructions that were discovered were not found in high frequencies and it is worth noting again that for every replicated construction, native constructions were also found in the corpus. The locus of the main replicated features found discovered during the course of this study are illustrated in figure 7.3 Please note that this map does not mean the marked replications must have originated from these locations, although the chances are high that they were innovated also (but not exclusively) in these locations. A common features of these locations is that they were all bilingual rural regions.

The reason most of the replications derive from bilingual contact villages could be explained through simple pragmatic terms of necessity. Speakers living in bilingual villages, i.e., where more than half of the village population belong to another language community, have to use the other language in order to continue their daily lives. Whether they need to buy something from a store or share information, they need to become bilinguals. In the monolingual villages, there was no necessity to learn another language for people to continue their daily lives, and in the cities, the speakers could avoid Cypriot Greek. The cities were divided into different neighbourhoods, which were sometimes bi-communal (thus
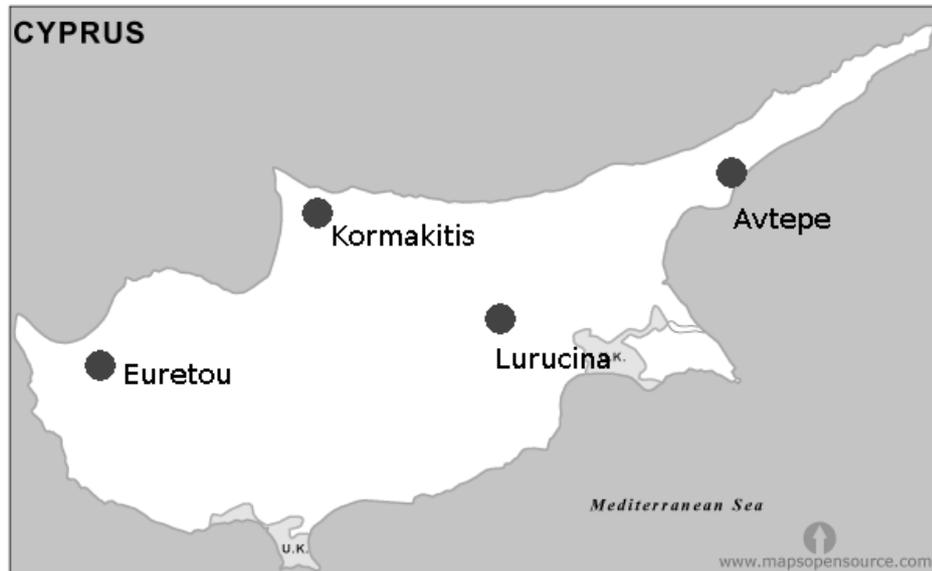
Figure 7.3: Main Loci of Replications

also bilingual) and sometimes monolingual[1]. No trade or occupation was noted to be belonging to only one speech community in any of the historical sources. One could thus argue that the speakers in the cities did have the opportunity to learn Cypriot Greek, but could avoid it as well, depending on their attitude towards it. It is important to draw the distinction between a Turkish Cypriot living in a city and using Cypriot Greek in his daily life from a Turkish Cypriot living in a bilingual village who had to speak Cypriot Greek. Furthermore, the standard language (as the language of education and administration) must have played a greater role in cities than in the rural areas.

The innovations originating from bilingual villages might then be transferred to other Cypriot Turkish speech communities through different means. Examples for contact with the speech community in cities would be speakers from bilingual contact villages travelling to cities for education or commerce; while an example for contact with monolingual speech communities would be marriage. All of these intra-community contact types were attested in the testimonies of the informants. The model of innovation and propagation in Cypriot Turkish is

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[1]There is also the example of an Armenian neighbourhood in Nicosia, though it is unknown to me whether there were also similar Armenian neighbourhoods in other cities.

shown in example (7.4).
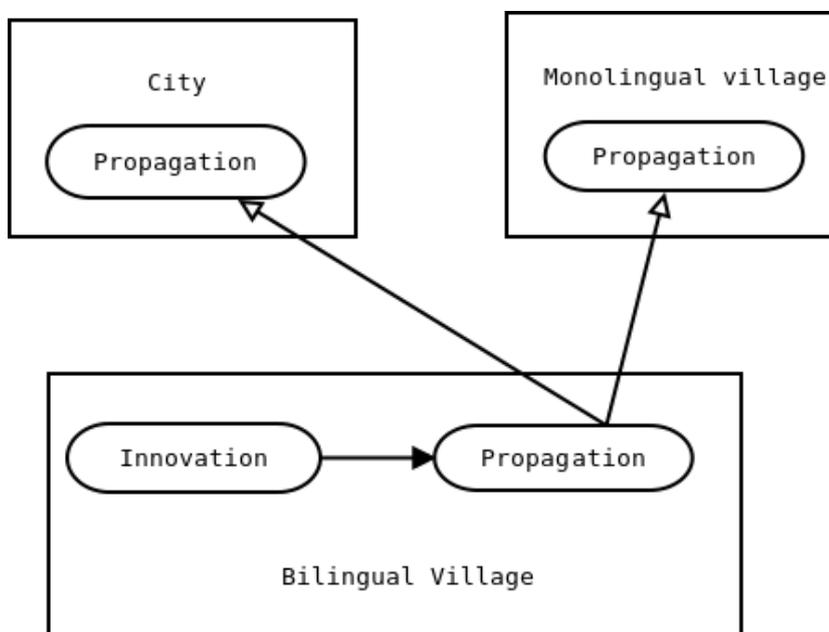
Figure 7.4: Propagation of Cypriot Turkish Innovations

7.3 Typological Implications

One of the hypotheses on this contact research was that morphosyntactic replications could cause the languages of Cyprus to behave similar typologically. I would like to make a difference here between TYPOLOGICAL SIMILARITY DUE TO CONTACT and TYPOLOGICAL SIMILARITY DUE TO COINCIDENCE. Another possibility would be TYPOLOGICAL SIMILARITY DUE TO SHARED GENEALOGY; this option is out of the question within the scope of this research, but it needs to be considered in further research if Cypriot Armenian is also included. It is necessary to elaborate at this point on what typological similarity due to coincidence in the context of this research means, since I use it as a cover term for two different kinds of circumstances. The first one is exactly what the term implies: language change completely through the language's inner mechanics and without contact influence, but still in a language contact scenario. This is a theoretical possibility which poses serious practical problems in practice. First of all, it is requires the

exact opposite of the assumption that was made in the research for detecting contact induced change in a scenario lacking historical evidence for both languages. The assumption is that if the variety A (and its closest varieties) has the feature X and the variety B develops the feature X while in contact with A (and B's closest varieties do not have this feature), then the development of the feature Bx is due to language contact. On top of this, we would now have to consider whether these changes are due to inner mechanisms or a general tendency in the world's languages. In my opinion, it is counter-intuitive to assume (and practically impossible to prove) that Bx could have been developed entirely through language internal mechanisms while still in contact with language A. Considering the general tendencies in world languages, I accept that this type of argumentation is possible under the circumstances that there is a worldwide historical database of a feature through which one can calculate whether this feature tends to be developed by a significant number of languages by sheer luck. Then one could argue that there is a high probability that Bx could have been developed due to inner mechanisms. There is no such historical linguistic database for the feature relevant in this research as far as I know, and the development of such a database is impossible due to the resources of this project. The second circumstance where one could speak of typological similarity due to coincidence is when the closest varieties of B also have the feature X. To give an example, if Kormakiti Arabic exhibits a predominant constituent order VO and Cypriot Greek also has the same predominant order VO, then one can safely assume that this similarity is due to coincidence and not due to language contact, if we also observe the same pattern in historical sources or genealogically close varieties. The second important aspect of typological change is whether the new typological structure replaced the older one (already discussed in 2.3.2).

It is interesting to observe that Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish both display a coexistence of the replicated constructions along with the native one, whereas Kormakiti Arabic completely replaces its native constructions through the replicated ones. This is possibly due to Kormakiti Arabic's lack of institutional support as was discussed previously. The absence of a standard variety, written records and education in the language causes the changes in the language to be permanent. When a feature is lost it is lost forever, as I emphasized

before. In Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish, the replicated construction poses a stylistic possibility but not a permanent change. Even if the native construction is never used orally among the speakers of the variety, they are exposed to it through education, mass media or speakers of other varieties. Thus, the corresponding linguistic knowledge is never lost. In the light of this data, it would be interesting for further research to investigate whether there is a universal tendency in this direction, i.e, whether languages with institutional support generally tend to keep the native constructions alongside the native one and languages without institutional support tend towards replacement. In the context of Cyprus, Cypriot Armenian and Gurbet could provide further arguments for these questions, the former having large institutional support and the latter having the bare minimum.

Concerning the typological similarity due to contact and similarity due to coincidence, I shall provide information beyond the scope of what was investigated in this chapter. Due to the very nature of the replication process, feature which did not emerge due to language contact are not interesting for language contact research per se. If, however, we are to talk about convergence in a linguistic area, then every similarity counts and needs to be listed. The differentiation between these two types of change are important, because while similarity due to language contact is very important, similarity due to coincidence is of little interest in this research project.

7.4 Comparison of the Results with Similar Language Contact Situations

7.4.1 On Replication of Relativization Strategies

Before discussing similar cases of replication of relativization constructions, it is essential to define the typology being used to compare the relative clauses. Comrie and Kuteva (2013) provides a typology of relativization on subject in the world languages, which is unfortunately not very suitable for this research. Their typology of relativization (the subject of the map being "relativization on subjects")

has four types, these being RELATIVE PRONOUN, NON-REDUCTION, PRONOUN-RETENTION and GAP types. Briefly explained, the relative pronoun strategy expresses relativization as well as the subject (or generally, whichever element is being relativized) of the matrix clause in the relative pronoun. In the non-reduction strategy, the relativized element is repeated as a noun phrase; in the pronoun-retention strategy, on the other hand, the relativized element is repeated as a pronoun in the relative clause. Finally, in the gap strategy, the relativized element is omitted in the relative clause. Of all 166 samples in their typology, 10 of the relative pronoun types are found in Europe, the remaining two being Georgian (Caucasus) and Acoma (North America). This type implies a pronoun (or several pronouns) for relative clauses which are inflected for person, case, etc. They categorize Greek as belonging to the relative pronoun type, which is true, if one considers the [ART + *opi*-INFLECTION] construction of relativization in Greek. The construction *pu* which is relevant for this research is not considered in theirs. Spanish belongs to the gap type, which is when "there is no overt case-marked reference to the head noun within the relative clause" (Comrie and Kuteva, 2013). Under this categorization, Standard Turkish also belongs to the gap type. This classification, although important, is not very useful alone, as it says nothing about the morphological features of the relative clauses introduced with *pu*, the most important feature of this strategy being the lack of any morphological inflection of this relativizer.

Concerning the formal properties of the relativization strategy, Cristofaro and Ramat (2007) use a slightly different typology for investigating relativization strategies in languages around the Mediterranean. They categorize INVARIABLE MARKERS, i.e., relativizers without inflection, as a distinctive feature of several Mediterranean languages such as Albanian, Catalan, French, Friulian, Greek, Italian, Hebrew, Maltese, Sardinian and Spanish. Furthermore, they view the relativization of time circumstantials as a defining feature for this region. The relativization of time circumstantials can be seen as a different relativization category altogether due to the functional differences between relativization of core arguments and relativization of temporal adverbials. They write that "[t]he functional difference between adverbial clauses and relative clauses is that the former establish a link between two events, while the latter identify a partici-

pant of some event by describing some other event in which the participant is involved. This difference is neutralized in relative clauses formed on time circumstantials, as the primary function of these clauses is to establish a link between two events rather than identify some particular time unit with respect to others. Therefore, these clauses may also function as temporal clauses." (Cristofaro and Ramat, 2007: 109). As discussed in the previous chapter, all the languages of Cyprus have the same relativization strategy and they all relativize temporal adverbials which I explained as being due to contact with Cypriot Greek. The insight from the research in Cristofaro and Ramat (2007) implies the scope of this feature to be much wider and begs the question of whether there are more similarities between the features in the languages of Cyprus and other languages in and around the Mediterranean.

There is various evidence from all over the world on the replication of relative particles or pronouns from model languages. Basque replicated the relative pronouns from Spanish by grammaticalizing its interrogatives for 'which' and 'who', *zein*, for this purpose; and so did Nahuatl (Aztecan, Uto-Aztecan) which grammaticalized *tlen* 'which', *aquin* 'who' and *canin* 'where' to relative pronouns of the Spanish pattern. Tariana (North Arawak) replicated the same pattern in Portuguese and grammaticalized its interrogative *kwana* 'who' to a relative particle, too (Heine and Kuteva, 2005: 130f.).

Various scholars have also observed similar replication processes in other Turkic languages. Matras notes that the Macedonian Turkish also borrowed relativizers from Macedonian (Matras, 2006: 53). The marker for this function in Macedonian Turkish is *ne* (meaning 'what') replicated from Macedonian *što* (also meaning 'what').

(98)   Macedonian Turkish Matras (2006: 53)

    iki jyz   elli, yʧ jyyz   mark para al-ɨr-dɨ   bir mektup ne
    two hundred fifty three hundred mark money take-AOR-PST one letter   REL
    gønder-ir-di
    send-AOR-PST

    'He used to take two hundred and fifty, three hundred marks for each letter that he sent.'

Furthermore, Gagauz developed a similar marker for the relativizer function, namely *ani* which is probably a cognate of Cypriot Turkish *hani*, which was grammaticalized through replication for the same function. This use of Gagauz *ani* has also been noted by (Johanson, 2002: 123).

(99)   Gagauz (Menz, 2006: 143)

    adam ani gel-er
    man   REL come-AOR.3SG

    'The man who comes.'

On the other hand, there is no evidence of a Standard Turkish type of relativization replicated in another language due to language contact. Although they might still influence other constructions, a replication of the Turkic type of hyoptaxis relativization has not yet been documented which could be due the difficulty of processing it cognitively and the Turkic construction itself is considered to be vulnerable in language contact situations according to Johanson (2006: 20). Matras (2009: 250) suggests that the Greek variety in Silly adopted the Turkish pattern on a syntactical level. His analysis is based on constructions such as in example (100). Several aspects of this constructions such as the constituent order of the verb and the noun, as well as the lack of article can be attributed to language contact with Turkish. However, this construction still uses a relative particle to introduce the relative construction, and the verb lacks any kind of nominalization, nor is it marked in a different way. Although this construction is heavily influenced by Turkish, it is not a strict replication of the Turkish type relativization and Johanson can be right for assuming that it is very difficult to develop this type of relativization, especially if a language is not using nominalization as heavily as Turkic languages do.

(100)   Relative constructions in Silli Greek (Dawkins, 1916: 201)

    kyat i-r-a   *peri*
    which PST-see.PRF-PST.1SG boy

    'The boy that I saw.'

As regards the relative clauses in Kormakiti Arabic, similar constructions can be found in Maltese, another semitic language which has been in contact with

Italian (and later English) for a long time. The use of the Maltese relativization and complementation marker *li* resembles the Italian marker *che* and is probably a replication from this language. The Italian relativization and complementation strategies are going to be discussed in detail further in section 7.5.1.

7.4.2   On Replication of the Indirective

In his paper Johanson (2006), Johanson describes different scenarios, including Turkic languages in language contact situations. Throughout his exhaustive list of replications, there is only one mention of the Turkish indirective *-miş* in Iranian languages which, however, is not for its indirective function. It is worth noting here that the Turkish indirective is also used for functions other than indirective. It can be used for forming participles in the past tense, and for forming other past tense constructions together with the other past marker in Turkish, *-DI*. The Iranian languages seem to prefer borrowing Turkic lexemes in their indirective form. Tajik, for example borrows the verbs in the construction [VERB-*miš kä(r)dän* ('to do')] whereas Kurmanji and Zaza use [VERB-*miš kırın* ('to do') or *bûn* ('to be, become')] (Johanson, 2006: 13). However, these are not cases of replication concerning the indirective function of *-mIş*. Overall, the indirective function of *-mIş* (and not its form) does not seem to be a popular feature to be replicated in language contact situations.

7.4.3   On Replication of Verbal Subordination

Several Turkic languages replicated the finite verbal subordination and gave up the nominalization strategy used in Standard Turkish in different contact regions. Johanson (2006: 20) writes that Gagauz underwent a similar replication and West Rumelian Turkish also replaced the infinitive with the optative (exactly like Cypriot Turkish) and participles with analytic constructions. Macedonian Turkish also displays similar developments (Johanson, 2006: 21). In this regard, Turkic languages seem to be very eager to replicate the Balkan type of verbal subordination. Even if another construction is not replicated, contact with a language with another strategy alone can influence the use of the Turkic strategy,

leading to these constructions being used less frequently than documented by Turkish-German bilinguals and noted in (Johanson, 2006: 21).

7.4.4   On Polar Questions

The marking of polar questions with interrogative intonation in Cypriot Turkish can be viewed as a replication. Greenberg writes that the final rising pitch is generally (and not only in polar questions) a widespread feature for the expression of interrogation (Greenberg, 2005: 70). Schulze (2007) approaches questions from a cognitive point of view and defines them as a memory mismatch. Concerning the interrogative intonation he hypothesizes that "[...] intonation represents the basic pattern of indicating a memory mismatch in terms of linguistic utterance and [...] intonation seems to be the most natural way to react upon such a memory mismatch" (Schulze, 2007: 259f.). In the corresponding chapter of WALS Online, Dryer (2013)[2] studies different strategies for expressing polar questions. Out of 955 languages, 585 use the question particle strategy (the most popular strategy) while only 173 use interrogative intonation only (the second most popular strategy). Although the question particle strategy seems to be the most popular one by far, one point needs further clarification. Several features are used to classify the languages, such as "question particle", "interrogative word order" and "interrogative intonation only". A language with interrogative intonation as its most frequent feature thus falls under the category of question particle if it has one or more question particles. Dryer (2013) refers to Mackridge (1985: 301) as the source of his Greek data. In the respective section, Mackridge discusses the use of Greek *mipos* (*μήπως*) and writes "In addition to these uses, *μήπως* (and, far less often, *μή*) may be used to introduce a direct question: it is especially useful in that declarative sentences in MG may normally become interrogative simply by a change of intonation (or, in the orthography, by a question mark). Thus *μήπως* may signal to the hearer/reader from the outset that the sentence expresses a question. Nevertheless, the fact that in this function *μήπως* is not normally a subjunctive marker is shown by the possibility of placing it at the end of a sentence." (Mackridge, 1985: 301). Although *mipos* can function in a few

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[2]Last accessed on 21.12.2013.

cases as a subordinating conjunction³, its meaning can roughly be translated with "maybe", i.e., it is also an adverb (which also explains why it is syntactically not fixed to a specific position). This seems to be the problem with the classification of Modern Greek as it has question particles. The frequency of usage was not considered as a factor. If it were, Modern Greek should have been categorized as using interrogative intonation.

Apart from Cypriot Turkish, interrogative intonation for marking polar questions is also a feature of the Eastern Turkish varieties. According to the data in Dryer (2013), several languages in this region such as Zazaki, Armenian, Georgian and Azari in Iran (possibly also Kourmanji even though it is not marked here) use the interrogative intonation only pattern. Therefore, the interrogative intonation only pattern is not an exotic feature in this region, nor is it unexpected for Turkic languages to adapt this pattern, not necessarily as interrogative intonation only (with emphasis on "only"), but as a general frequent interrogative intonation pattern.

On the other side of the spectrum, there is also evidence for replication of Turkish question particles in Asia Minor Greek dialects. The dialect of Silli replicated the Turkish particle *mi* as can be seen in example (101). Note that *itu* in this example is a replication of the Turkish past marker *idi* and it is used to form pluperfect. Originally, *itu* is the third person singular past form of the copula. Dawkins assumes the it was grammaticalized to the past function due to its phonetic similarity with *idi* (Dawkins, 1916: 60).

(101)   Question Particle in Greek Dialect of Silli (Dawkins, 1916: 61)

eklepsiz   mi ta   itu
steal.PST.2SG Q   PRN.N.3PL PST

'Hadst thou stolen it?'

This replication is only mentioned in the Silli dialect and not in other Asia Minor dialects, making it more unique.

Dawkins writes "[...] there was a connexion between Cyprus and Asia Minor in the period when the modern language was in process of formation, and if the

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³It is actually *mi* which can function as a subjunctive marker. *mipos* can be used as a subordinating conjunction (Mackridge, 1985: 299).

idea of an Easter *κοινή* is to be accepted, it is this form of Greek which must be regarded as the basis of the modern dialects of Asia Minor" (Dawkins, 1916: 214)

7.4.5   On Assimilation of Non-Arabic Matter

Chapter 5.3.3 discussed the fact that Kormakiti Arabic used to integrate foreign (Greek) elements into its Arabic pattern and that this practice has been abandoned today for the sake of code-switching. Another strongly contact influenced Arabic language, Maltese, systematically integrates foreign elements into its own pattern (Aquilina, 1959). There are certain patterns in integrating these matter, as listed in Aquilina (1959: 312), e.g. ground forms always ending in *a(y)*. Evidence from Maltese serves as a hint that languages with very strict morphological patterns such as Arabic can integrate foreign elements even under very strong influence, and the code-switching/not-integrating phenomena seen in Kormakiti Arabic can only be explained through language decay and death.

7.5   Cyprus: A Linguistic Area?

Based on the convergence situation on the island, it is be plausible to postulate several features which would constitute a linguistic area in Cyprus. Furthermore, there features can be compared to other neighbouring Mediterranean languages to see whether they conform to the tendencies in this greater area. In this section, the features will be discussed that conform to these Mediterranean tendencies as well as the features that make Cyprus unique as a language area.

The difficulty of establishing the hypothesis of Cyprus as a linguistic area lies in choosing the right features. As previously discussed, this difficulty is not limited to this study but to linguistic areas in general. Since only three languages of Cyprus were studied, how many languages are needed to have the features to be included in the linguistic area? Since there are only a few languages involved, and Cyprus is a small island and a very specific region, only the features which are included in all three languages are included in the list here. The second criterion is that at least one of the languages must have acquired the features through language contact and not by chance. Why is it not so that both languages (the

third language has to be the source language) must have the feature in order for it to be included, one might argue. It is a good point and the argument against is not very logical. First of all, that one of the languages already had the feature prior to language contact does not change the fact that it is present in all three languages now. Furthermore, we do not know whether the specific feature is present in other languages of Cyprus which could not be included in this research project. Since this is only an attempt to develop the notion of the Cypriot linguistic area as a possibility, I shall not apply this restriction initially. When more data is collected in further research, one can start arguing in a different manner. Based on these criteria, the following are the features of Cyprus as a linguistic area:

1. Polar questions with interrogative intonation

2. Relative clauses with a relative particle and finite verb, along with the possibility of the relativization on definite and indefinite nouns as well as adverbials

3. Complement clauses with a complementation particle

4. Verbal subordination through a less finite verb form with a specific marking

5. Negation of the verbal subordination

Although the number of the shared features seems to be low, it is important to note that most of these features are very specific and fundamental. Also, these are only the morphosyntactic features which were discussed in this study. This list could easily be enriched through features from other areas of the language. There is little to add to the listed morphosyntactic features here as they were already discussed in detail. I shall now compare these features with the constructions in other Mediterranean languages in order to draw a morphosyntactic sketch of the Mediterranean region based on these features.

7.5.1   Comparison of Languages of Cyprus with other Mediterranean Languages

Polar Questions with Interrogative Intonation

Dryer (2013) is a good source on polar question strategies in Mediterranean languages, although not without problems, as discussed previously. It is difficult to argue for a predominant stress intonation only strategy in the Mediterranean according to this map. There are several languages, such as Italian, Catalan, Kabyle, and Neo-Aramaic which belong to the stress intonation only type, as well as Maltese (Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander, 1997: 3). The Lebanese varieties also seem to use the interrogative intonation for marking polar questions (cf. Abu-Haidar, 1979). It was discussed previously that Greek also uses interrogative intonation for marking polar questions. In contrast, Turkish, Hebrew, Syrian Arabic, Egyptian Arabic, Sardinian, and Albanian have question particles. It is worth noting that no question particle was found in the Syrian grammars used in this study such as Grotzfeld (1965). Spanish is the only language with an interrogative word order in this database. On this basis of knowledge, one can hardly argue whether the languages of Cypriot comply with the trend among the Mediterranean languages, since there is no apparent trend among the languages of the Mediterranean.

Relative and Complement Clauses

The section on relativization actually consists of two sub-sections. One of them, the relativization on adverbials, was discussed previously based on the study done in Cristofaro and Ramat (2007). If relativization on time adverbials is really a common structure among the Mediterranean languages, then the languages of Cyprus fit in perfectly. Concerning the [relative particle + clause with finite verb] relative clause construction type, the analysis is more complex. It is necessary to give a more precise definition of the relativization strategy here. The relativizing particle cannot be inflected for person, number or case. When relativizing on subject of the main clause, several Romance languages have several relative particles which seem to be similar. Italian, for example, relativizes with

che and Spanish with *que* which are also not inflected for person or number. There are, however, different relative particles when used in combination with prepositions. Thus, Spanish has the relative particles *quien* and *quienes*, while Italian has *cui* (Schwarze, 1988: 396). This difference can be seen in examples (102a) and (102b).

(102)   Romance and Greek Type Relativizations

    a.   Italian Relativization with Preposition (Schwarze, 1988: 399)

       l=amico   ***con cui/*con che*** *avevo*   *fatto*   *quel viaggio*
       ART=friend with REL/with REL   AUX.PST.1SG make.1SG this   journey

       'The friend, with whom I had taken this trip.'

    b.   Kormakiti Arabic (Greek Type Relativization) (Borg, 1985: 172)

       mann-irpot   xost exte rokʔa peđa xaitš milx u   mann-irmi-a   xost
       PRS.1PL-tie.up in   pne cloth   white a.bit   salt   and PRS.1PL-drop-3F in
       p-piθarui   ***ta li-ne*** *l-ixlip*
       ART-small.jar REL EXST-F ART-milk

       '[We] tie up some salt inside a white piece of cloth, and drop it into the jar containing the milk.'

French has different relative pronouns depending on whether it is the subject, direct object, or the indirect object which is relativized on, and it differs from Italian and Spanish in this aspect. The Arabic languages which constitute the other large part of the Mediterranean languages have relative pronouns which are inflected for person and number. The relativization in the Levantine Arabic varieties was discussed in the previous chapter.

Regarding the complement clauses, it is important to note that complementation is a complex subject and that there are different kinds of complementation. The focus of this research is on complement clauses of subjects and direct objects of verbs such as 'to say' or 'to see'. The languages of Cyprus and those in the Mediterranean in general usually employ other complementation strategies for other verbs such as 'to ask'. The reader should note that whenever the term COMPLEMENTATION is used in this work, it is used for the first meaning.

Spanish marks complement clauses with the particle *que* (Etxepare, 2012: 501). Disregarding the variation in Spanish in certain cases and number, one could ar-

gue that superficially the Spanish and the Greek type relativization and comple-
mentation is somewhat similar in the sense that they both use the same markers
for these two structures. Certain Spanish complement clauses can also be formed
without any markers for complementation [505]. Cristofaro (2013) writes that in
Italian, if the subject of the complement clause is the same as the subject of the
main clause, then the preposition *di* is used together with the main verb of the
complement clause in the infinitive.

(103)   Italian Cristofaro (2013)

    dic-e **di**   *non pot-er venire*
    say-3SG COMP NEG can-INF come-INF

    'S/he says s/he cannot come.'

It is, however, also possible in Italian to form complement clauses with *che.*
According to Schwarze (1988: 363), the option *di* is used with infinitive construc-
tions while constructions with *che* are clauses with a finite verb.

Unlike Levantine Arabic varieties and Romance languages, Maltese has a rel-
ativization/complementation pattern very similar to the Greek one. The particle
li is used in the "Greek" fashion, which can be observed in examples 104a and
104b. What sets *li* aside from the rest of the Arabic relativization pattern is its
not-inflected form. Unlike Kormakiti Arabic, however, and like the other Lev-
antine varieties, one cannot relativize on indefinite nouns Aquilina (1959: 338).
Furthermore, although the Romance languages have different inflections of the
relative particle depending on case marking, Maltese *li* lacks this distinction.

(104)   Maltese: Relativization and Complementation

    a.   Complement Clauses (Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander, 1997: 30)

        is-surmast   *qal*   **li**   *l-ġimħa d-dieħla*   *se*   *tkun*
        ART-headmaster say.PST.3SG.M SUBR ART-week ART-entering FUT COP.3SG.F
        vaganza
        holiday

        'The headmaster said that the following week would be a holiday.'

    b.   Relative Clauses (Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander, 1997: 35)

        rajt   *il-qattus* **li** *t-tfal*   *xtraw*   *il-bieraħ*
        see.PST.1SG ART-cat   SUBR ART-children buy.PST.3PL ART-yesterday

'I saw the cat which the children bought yesterday.'

Verbal Subordination

This structure is one of the prominent features of the Balkan language area, and thus present in the specific language area. Outside of the Balkan area, this kind of structure is also present in the Levantine Arabic varieties. Although the structures are similar, there is no evidence for language contact influence of one region on the other concerning this [VERB + VERB-SUBJ] pattern. The Romance languages use the infinite verbs for this kind of structure, and are thus very different from the languages of Cyprus in this feature. The only language of Cyprus with infinitives in verbal subordination is Cypriot Turkish, but this feature is a) inherent, and b) the Turkic type of infinitives (which it can be argued are nominalizations) are different from the Romance type.

Subjunctive Negation

There is no evidence of a Greek type of subjunctive negation in other languages around Mediterranean, except for the prohibitive constructions in Syrian Arabic. In this respect, subjunctive negation can be said to be the most prominent feature of the languages of Cyprus. Why it can be found in Kormakiti Arabic and Syrian Arabic, but not in Lebanese or Palestinian Arabic is unknown.

7.5.2   Cyprus and the Balkan Sprachbund

The origin of most of the replications in Cyprus being Cypriot Greek raises the question of how similar the languages of Cyprus are to other languages that were also under Greek influence for a long time. Although Greek does not have all of the features of the Balkan Sprachbund, many of the languages in this particular area were also under Greek influence for a long time. I would like to discuss briefly, how Balkan Cyprus is linguistically.

There are nine languages in Balkan Sprachbund according to Tomić (2006: 29f.). These are: Macedonian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Romanian, Meglleno-Romanian, Aromanian, Albanian, Greek and Balkan Romani. It is worth noting that many

features of Balkan Sprachbund are found in the dialects of these languages and not necessarily in the codified standard varieties.

Especially two Balkan Sprachbund features are interesting for the languages of Cyprus. These two features are complement clauses and purposive clauses. As regards the complement clauses, some Balkan languages, Macedonian and Albanian, use the strategy defined previously in this work as the Greek type. For the similarities in complement clauses, see the examples (105a) and (105b).

(105)   Complement Clauses

    a. Macedonian (Tomić, 2006: 418)

      reče   deka/oti ḱe   dojde
      say.PST.3SG COMP   will.MOD.CL come.3SG.PRF.PRS

      '(S)he said that (s)he would come.'

    b. Albanian (Tomić, 2006: 585)

      that   se/që do   të   vijëë
      say.AOR.3SG COMP will.MOD.CL SUBJ come.SUBJ.PRS.3SG

      '(S)he said that (s)he would come.'

In Macedonian, the use of the Greek complementizer *oti* is striking since Kormakiti Arabic also borrowed this complementizer. The other particle used for the same purpose, *deka*, is a permutation of *kade* meaning 'where'. In Albanian, the complementizer *se* means 'that' and *që* is a wh-word which used to mean 'where', but is used exclusively as a complementizer and relativizer.

For purposive clauses, Balkan languages have tended to mark these clauses with the subjunctive, although the subjunctive is sometimes a marker on its own and sometimes also the complementizer. The construction [COMP + SUBJ-VERB] is also possible. In some languages such as Albanian, Greek and Bulgarian, it is also possible to use the construction ['for' + SUBJ-VERB]. Consider the following examples (106a), (106b) and (106c).

(106)   Purposive Clauses

    a. Serbo-Croatian (Tomić, 2006: 435)

      imaat   kuče da gi   čuva
      have.3PL dog   SUBJ 3PL.ACC.CL protect.3SG

'They have a dog to protect them.'

b. Bulgarian (Tomić, 2006: 459)

i   dano   onzi čovek ne   iznikne   otnjakade   če
and hopefully that.M man   NEG crop.up.3SG.PRF.PRS from.somewhere that
da   mi   gi   obrka   smetkite
SUBJ 1SG.Dat.CL 3Pl.ACC.CL spoil.PRF.PRS.3SG accounts.ART.Pl

'Let's hope that that man will not crop up from somewhere and spoil my plans.'

c. Albanian (Tomić, 2006: 582)

e   ndërpremë   bisedën   për të   dëgjuar
3SG.ACC.CL interrupt.AOR.1PL conversation.F.SG.ACC for   SUBJ heard.Part
lajmet
news.ART.M.PL

'We interrupted the conversation in order to hear the news.'

The reason for choosing complement and purposive clauses was to make an important point about language areas and similarities in linguistic structures. Complement clauses display several similarities with the ones in the languages of Cyprus. The fact that several complementizers in the Balkan languages used to mean 'where' makes it plausible to think that one of these languages grammaticalized the wh-word for 'where' for a complementizer at some point in time, and the other languages followed the example through replica grammaticalization. Some of these languages even use the same marker also as a relativizer. In the languages of Cyprus, however, although both Cypriot Turkish and Kormakiti Arabic seem to have replicated the construction for complement and relative clauses, it was not a case of replica grammaticalization. Neither the markers in Cypriot Turkish nor in Kormakiti Arabic mean or used to mean 'where'. In these languages, the process was not semantic extension but replication. Nevertheless, the result is a very similar construction. Purposive clauses, or verbal subordination in general, also exhibit similarities between two regions. In the case of Cypriot Turkish, it is fairly obvious that both verbal subordination as well as purposive clauses in particular are replicated from Cypriot Greek. Kormakiti Arabic also has similar constructions which, however, seem to be coincidental since other Levantine Arabic varieties also have similar constructions. In fact,

one could easily see the similarities between the Bulgarian and the Syrian purposive clauses. This is rather peculiar since we have two regions with similar constructions, and they are not superficial similarities; verbal subordination is in fact one of the most prominent features of the Balkan Sprachbund. Consider the following (rather speculative yet interesting) questions as an hypothesis for further research: If this verbal subordination type in the Balkan region is of Greek origin, how plausible is it that there was a structural language contact between Arabic and Greek during the several centuries when Greek was an important language in the whole Middle East? Are the Balkans, Cyprus and the Levant parts of a greater language area? Although some of the similarities between the Balkan languages and the languages of Cyprus do display similarities due to Greek playing the role of an intermediary language, not every similarity can be explained in this narrow context.

Conclusion and Final Discussion on Linguistic Areas

In general, the common features of the languages of Cyprus investigated here differ from their variants in other Mediterranean languages. It is interesting to see that the languages of Cyprus fit into the Balkan language area more easily than into the Mediterranean context (if there is really one). This is only natural since most of the common features originate from Greek, which is in the Balkan language area. A Mediterranean language area as a whole is speculative itself and whether Cyprus is a part of this language area cannot really be answered at the moment. Nevertheless, it would not be wrong to suggest further investigation on the Balkan sprachbund to include Cyprus, at least as an extension of this region.

The comparison of the Mediterranean languages in this short chapter is in no way comprehensive. It should be noted that the data on other Mediterranean languages here belongs to the standard languages, i.e., this was a comparison of local varieties with standard languages. Further research is necessary to clarify whether there was a previous language contact before the ones which gave rise to the Balkan Sprachbund.

7.6 Expectations of Language Contact Theory and the Reality

The language contact evidence so far accords with the general direction of what the language contact theories predict: in general, because language contact theories tend to state general tendencies and do not have strict predictions. According to Thomason and Kaufmann, anything more intensive than casual language contact may cause structural changes in the involved languages. In terms of Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and Thomason (2001), it can be said that we are dealing with two cases of language maintenance and one case of language shift/deaths in this research project. In fact, even making such a simple distinction is quite difficult based on the many facets of the language contact. As demonstrated by the historical evidence, language contact took place in different places in different forms. Although there is usually no evidence of language shift in smaller regions (as there is hardly any written evidence on linguistic behaviour in these small regions), there are enough "rumours" of language shift with certain effects which can still be observed today. These signs all suggest to the direction of language shift, and although not all of them are probably true-to-fact, it is necessary to accept that a few of them are. The discussion on language shift, especially from Cypriot Turkish to Cypriot Greek, is in this regard very similar to the discussion on identity shift. Nevertheless, if we concentrate on the "big picture", it is possible to speak of language maintenance in Cypriot Greek and Turkish in general.

In regard to language maintenance, both Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek have behaved as they are expected to. They borrowed several lexical elements from each other and from a morphosyntactic point of view they both replicated certain patterns from each other. It is worth noting that Cypriot Greek has the least number of attested replications and these replications are rather superficial, i.e., they do not change the structure of the language typologically speaking. This is to be expected since Cypriot Greek was the lingua franca until the period after 1974. Cypriot Turkish, on the other hand, replicated many more patterns of Cypriot Greek, which was also to be expected according to the theory. The scope of the replications is much wider in Cypriot Turkish than in Cypriot Greek

and they are typologically more important than in Cypriot Greek. However, none of the replicated patterns replaced the native structures; or even if they did, the "native" structures were borrowed back from Standard Turkish after primary education became widespread.

The structural replications in Kormakiti Arabic are not necessarily more numerous than in Cypriot Turkish, nor are they typologically speaking more radical. The main difference between Cypriot Turkish and Kormakiti Arabic lies in the fact that the replications in Kormakiti Arabic completely replaced the native ones. This naturally changed the language in a more dramatic way. The lack of historical data makes it unclear whether the replications in Kormakiti Arabic already took place during its language maintenance period or whether they started with the language death/shift. Overall, Kormakiti Arabic also behaves in a way one would expect from a language shift scenario.

As regards the mechanism of language maintenance, the mechanisms ORDINARY GRAMMATICALIZATION and REPLICA GRAMMATICALIZATION suggested by Heine and Kuteva (2005) were usually applicable to the replications encountered in the languages of Cyprus. In a few cases such as the negation of complex predicates in Kormakiti Arabic, the replication was actually the semantic extension of the morpheme's function. In the case of the Cypriot Turkish discourse particle *ama*, it can be hypothesized that the grammaticalization process was triggered by phonetic similarity rather than semantic.

The propagation theory of Croft (2000) is rather difficult to put to a test due to reasons such as inner immigration and dialect levelling which were discussed previously. Despite these difficulties, one argument supports the hypothesis of replications starting in certain areas and spreading to other regions. This argument comprises the findings of the "more peculiar" replications, especially in Cypriot Turkish. What is meant by "more peculiar" is that there are usually structures which can be found in almost all the regions where the language is spoken, but a few features are further developments of these replicated structures or seem to be more difficult to acquire [4], such as the non-bound use of *miş* in the Limassol variety of Cypriot Turkish. In order for such a feature to emerge

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[4]Some linguists would call them MARKED, but markedness is not a topic I discussed in this work.

in this region (and not in other regions), the language contact there must have had different parameters than elsewhere.

Chapter 8

Conclusions

8.1 Recapitulation

In order to study language contact and its effect on the structures of the languages involved, I first reviewed the theories on language contact and language structures. Different theories on various aspects of language contact, such as the importance of social structures, the linguistic mechanisms of language contact, and the propagation of the replicated structures were combined in order to create a set of linguistic tools in chapter 2. Based on the data from these this chapter, hypotheses for this research project were formed in chapter 3 and the necessary methods to reach the goals of this study. Since historical and sociolinguistic data is a vital component of any research of language contact, these topics were discussed in chapter 4. Here, I did not discuss the general history and demographics of Cyprus, but focused on several regions in Cyprus in order to illustrate the contact situation in detail. Chapter 5 provided the reader with general information on the language of Cyprus as well as a detailed examination of Kormakiti Arabic concerning language decay and language death, using especially the history of language death by Sasse (1992a, b). Kormakiti Arabic was compared here to Arvanitika, a variety of Albanian which suffered language decay and language death under influence from mainland Greek. Although there were similarities between these two languages, this study also concluded that there are also serious differences between both language death scenarios. One

example for such difference is the preserved TAM system in Kormakiti Arabic, whereas Arvanitika lost most of its TAM system to language decay. The replications in each language of Cyprus were examined thoroughly and illustrated in chapter 6. The data in this chapter suggests that an intensive language contact have taken place in Cyprus. In chapter 7, I compared the results of this study with similar language contact scenarios that include languages from the same genealogical heritage, i.e., Arabic, Turkish and Greek varieties in other language contact scenarios. An evaluation of the language structures in Cyprus in regards to the structures in the other Mediterranean languages displayed limited overlapping in various structure types. Another comparison with the languages in the Balkan Sprachbund suggested that many structures in Cyprus can also be found in the other Balkan languages. This is not very surprising, however, since the source of the replications in Cyprus in mainly Greek, which is also a language in the Balkan Sprachbund. Below is a summary of this study concerning the research hypotheses and how this study answered them:

Hypothesis of language contact in Cyprus: The existence of previous research about language contact in Cyprus was mentioned in the introduction. This research project serves as another proof of large scale structural contact induced changes in the languages of Cyprus. It is possible to conclude that Cyprus is a well established language contact region, and it is plausible to expect a similar behaviour from the other languages of the island which could not be investigated in this research project.

Hypothesis on the origin of contact induced change: As can be seen in , all but one of the replications derive from Cypriot Greek. The sole replication whose origin is Cypriot Turkish was ironically reanalysed by the Cypriot Greek replication and was re-introduced back into Cypriot Turkish, which helps exemplify the strong position of Cypriot Greek on Cyprus.

Hypothesis of areality: This hypothesis was discussed in chapter 7.5 which was somewhat inconclusive not due to lack of data but rather due to the vague definition of linguistic areas in general and the rich structural variation in the languages of Cyprus. The definition problems of linguistic areas was

discussed previously in chapter 2.4.1. The rich variation means in particular that in Cypriot Turkish, it is never the case that a replicated construction replaces the native one (whether due to the influence of the standard language or the language contact mechanisms at work), whereas in Kormakiti Arabic, either the constructions in neighbouring Arabic varieties are too similar to Greek or replications are almost like code-switching, making the line between language maintenance and language shift fuzzy.

Hypothesis of language contact from standard varieties: This hypothesis is partially true, at least for Cypriot Turkish. Obvious influences from standard language are documented in Demir and Johanson (2006) as well as in my own research, such as in recording "memories of war". In Kormakiti Arabic, there is only the discussion on *fi* where it is not very clear whether it is influenced by Greek or Lebanese Arabic, though the data point to Greek more than Lebanese Arabic.

Hypothesis on the tendencies in language contact: This particular hypothesis is still open to discussion. The data in this work is not enough to prove such a general tendency universally. From the data which was analyzed within the scope of this research, it can be seen that there are a few features which have a higher tendency to be replicated. Especially the strategy of using one particle for introducing complement as well as relative clauses seems to be quite a contagious feature. A separate typological study is necessary to observe how often this feature is found in world languages and in how many cases it was replicated, in order to come to a conclusion of whether there is a general tendency towards it in language contact situations.

Linguistically, the languages of Cyprus share some features from every neighbouring region, making it a unique case of language contact. This study has been successful in finding and documenting several replications, as well as investigating several of them in detail, illustrating the similarities and the differences between the structures of the languages of Cyprus. The quantitative part of the research was unfortunately not as successful, since it was not possible to investigate every linguistic feature in detail due to resource limitations. Although they

succeeded in giving information on certain features, such as the constituent order in Cypriot Turkish, the corpora were too small to measure the frequency of more complex features, such as relativization strategies. Based on the information gathered in this work, I would like to propose further research projects.

8.2   Further Research

The results of this study suggest possibilities for further research in different aspects. A natural continuation of this research is studying language contact in Cypriot Armenian and Gurbet in the context of Cyprus. These languages could not be investigated in this study due to the reasons stated in the introduction (chapter 1). In fact, this is of utmost importance before widening the scope of language contact research to the Eastern Mediterranean. A separate project concerning contact induced effects in Cypriot Armenian is already in plan. Whether the confirmed hypotheses used for this research are also true for other languages is very interesting for language contact research in general due to the unique background of every language on Cyprus; linguistically as well as sociologically.

A quantitative approach to the replications in the languages of Cyprus could help answering vital questions such as which replicated structures are the most dominant ones. Studies which concentrate in certain regions could also help us better understand what the differences in the major use patterns of language structures in these areas are. Obviously, the theory would expect to find more replicated patterns in mixed bilingual rural areas and less in the monolingual ones or in the cities.

An interesting direction for the research to continue would also be the question of a greater linguistic area in the Eastern Mediterranean. Such research would require studying different varieties of Levantine Arabic, Egyptian Arabic, Turkish, Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic and other languages in the area. Naturally, such an intensive study requires time and resources which were not available for the current one. The idea of a Mediterranean language are is still in its infancy and a lot can be done to contribute to this research by using what was done in this work as a starting point.

Finally, the data and analyses of this project can also be used to help Cypriot

Maronites in their revitalization efforts. The speech community has been asking linguists to contribute to these efforts since years, and the findings in this research project can be combined with the previous ones on Kormakiti Arabic to help the community develop necessary tools to teach the languages to the younger generations. Such as task would require interdisciplinary cooperation with pedagogues and would contribute greatly to the revitalization of Kormakiti Arabic.

Appendices

Extended (modified) list of GRAID symbols

Clauses

#	main clause
+	subordinate/dependent clause

Dependent clause modifiers

advc	adverbial clause
cc	complement clause
cauc	causal clause
conc	conditional clause
pc	purposive clause
rc	relative clause
tc	temporal clause
vc	volitional clause
rel	Turkish type relativisation
ds	direct speech

Misc.

0	'zero': argument position not filled by an overt referring expression
1/2/3	argument with 1st/2nd/3rd referent(s)
A	transitive subject
adp	adposition
aux	auxiliary
cop	overt copular verb
f	focused NP or pronoun
G	goal argument of a goal-oriented verb of motion, transitive or intransitive, may also extend to Recipient and Addressee
h	NP has human referent(s), or referes to anthropomorphized referents
int	intransitive verb
l	locative argument of verbs of location
dtr	ditransitive verb

dt	dislocated topic
nc	'not considered'/'non-classifiable'
ncs	non-canonical subject: An argument that lacks some or all of the morphological properties associated with subjects in a language, but commands most of the syntactic properties associated with subjects in the language concerned
np	lexical NP
obl	oblique argument, excluding goals and locatives
other	other forms/words/functions which are not relevant
P	transitive object
poss	possessor
pred	function gloss for the item that constitutes the predicate of a clause
pro	free pronoun in its full form (in contrasts to -pro or =pro)
Q	question
refl	overt reflexive or reciprocal pronoun
S	intransitive subject
tr	transitive verb
v	lexical verb as the form element of a predicate
vother	verbal element, may be used in predicative function, but lacking the normal means for assigning arguments (e.g. certain types of nominalization, imperatives)
w	'weak': Indicates phonologically lighter form of a particular element (e.g. pronoun) that may, under certain conditions, be realized as clitic. Simply precedes regular gloss, e.g. wpro

Text Sample from Cypriot Greek

Id   we played a variety of games

Title   epezamen điafora pexniđja

Place of recording   Pyla/Pile

Date of recording   18/09/2011

(1)   we played a variety of games.01

e-pe-z-amen   ball-an
PST-play-IMPF-PST.1PL ball-ACC

'We played football [lit. ball].'
0.1:A v:tr:pred np:P

(2)   we played a variety of games.02

e-pe-z-amen   điafora pexniđ-ja
PST-play-IMPF-PST.1PL different game-PL

'We played a variety of games.'
0.1:A v:tr:pred np:P

(3)   we played a variety of games.03

stis   jitonj-es,   sta   alon-ja
LOC.ACC.F.PL neighbourhood-PL LOC.N.PL floor-PL

'In the neighbourhoods, on the floors.'
na

(4)   we played a variety of games.04

tora đen vlep-ume afta ta   prama-ta
now NEG see-PRS.1PL DEM ART thing-PL

'Now we do not see such things.'
0.1:A v:tr:pred np:P

(5)   we played a variety of games.05

> *mesa stis   jitonj-es   o   kaθenas ine   spitin*
> inside LOC.ACC.PL.F neighbourhood-PL ART everyone COP.PRS.3SG house
> *tu*
> POSS.3SG

'In the neighbourhoods the one (child) is at home.'
np np:S cop np:l

(6) we played a variety of games.06

> *o   kaθenas ine   sto   laptop tu*
> ART someone COP.PRS.3SG LOC.N laptop   POSS.3SG

'The other one is sitting at his laptop.'
np:S cop np:l

(7) we played a variety of games.07

> *sto   computer tu,   stin   tileorasin*
> LOC.N laptop   POSS.3SG LOC.ACC.F computer

'The other one at his computer, another one watching television.'
na

(8) we played a variety of games.08

> *tote pu mil-amen   ix-en   polla spit-ja   pu đen ix-an*
> then REL speak-PST.1PL have.PST-PST.3SG many house-PL REL NEG have-PST.3PL
> *tileorasi*
> television

'At the time that we are talking about many homes did not have television.'
0.3:A other [+rc 0.1:A v:int:pred] v:tr:pred np:P [+rc 0.3:A v:tr:pred np:P]

(9) we played a variety of games.09

> *ta   peđ-ja itan   ekso*
> ART child-PL COP.PST.3SG outside

'The children were outside.'
np:S cop other

(10)   we played a variety of games.10

        đen itan   mesa sto   spitin kliđ-omen-a
        NEG COP.PST.3 inside LOC.N house lock-PTCL-N.PL

        'They were not locked up at home.'
        # 0.3:S cop np:l other

(11)   we played a variety of games.11

        e-pe-z-ane   ball-an
        PST-play-IMPF-PST.3PL ball-ACC

        'They played ball (football).'
        # 0.3:A v:tr:pred np:P

(12)   we played a variety of games.12

        e-pe-z-ane   volleyball
        PST-play-IMPF-PST.3PL volleyball

        'They played volleyball.'
        # 0.3:A v:tr:pred np:P

(13)   we played a variety of games.13

        e-pe-z-ane   xoston
        PST-play-IMPF-PST.3PL hide.and.seek

        'They played hide and seek.'
        # 0.3:A v:tr:pred np:P

(14)   we played a variety of games.14

        to   xoston   itan
        ART hide.and.seek COP.PST.3

        'Hide and seek is...'
        # na

(15)   we played a variety of games.15

kapjos   itan   etsi ston   tixon na mi   vlepi
someone COP.PST.3 such LOC.ACC.3SG wall   na   NEG see-PRS.3SG

'One does such [speaker closes his eyes with his arms] at a wall so that he does not see [anyone].'
np:S cop other np:l vother

(16)   we played a variety of games.16

alli   pijenn-an na kript-un   kapu
other go-PST.3PL na   hide.PRF-PRS.3PL somewhere

'Others go to hide somewhere.'
np:S v:int:pred vother

(17)   we played a variety of games.17

ke   meta   e-tre-x-e   aftos na   tus vri
and afterwards PST-run-PRF-PST.3SG DEM -3SG.NOM na   PRN.3PL.ACC

find.PRF-PRS.3SG

'And afterwards this one tries [lit. runs] to find them.'
0.3:S other v:int:pred vother

(18)   we played a variety of games.18

lingri
lingri

'Lingri (a kind of game)...'
na

(19)   we played a variety of games.19

to   lingrin itan
ART lingri   COP.PST.3

'Lingri was...'
na

(20)   we placed a variety of games.20

e-va-z-a   *đio petr-es eđo ena ksilon*
PST-put-IMPF-PST.1SG two stone-PL here one wood

'I take two stones here [and] one [piece of] wood.'
0.1:A v:tr:pred np:P

(21)   we played a variety of games.21

ke opjos   to   e-xtip-us-e   me to   ksilon na
and whoever PRN.N.3SG PST-hit-IMPF-PST.3SG with ART wood   na
pa-i   pjo makria
go.PRF-PRS.3SG most far

'And whoever hits it with the stick so that it goes farthest [would win the game].'
other pro:A pro:P v:tr:pred np:obl vother

(22)   we played a variety of games.22

alla pexni itan   to   sxini
other game COP.PST.3 ART rope

'Another game was "the rope".'
other cop np:S

(23)   we played a variety of games.23

đio atoma krat-us-an ena   sxinin
rope two   person   to.hold -PST.IMPF -PST.3PL one rope

'Two people would hold one rope.'
np:A v:tr:pred np:P

(24)   we played a variety of games.24

to   a-jiri-z-an
ART PST-turn-IMPF-PST.3PL

'They turned [swung] it.'
0.3:A np:P v:tr:pred

(25)   we played a variety of games.25

ke petas-es-un   pano ja na min se   xtip-is-i   to   sxini
and jump-PRF-PRS.3PL above for na NEG PRN.2SG.ACC hit-PRF-PRS.3SG ART rope

'And they would jump high so that it does not hit them.'
0.3:S other v:int:pred vother

(26)   we played a variety of games.26

afta itan   ta pexniđ-ia pu itan   ta pjo aɣapit-a
DEM COP.PST.3 ART game-PL   REL COP.PST.3 ART most favourite-PL

'These were the most favourite games.'
pro cop np:S +rc 0.3:S cop other

Sample of Cypriot Turkish

Id	we were the first ones to go to Larnaca
Title	ilk gidenik Larnaka'ya
Place of recording	Pyla/Pile
Date of recording	18/09/2011

(1) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.52

or-dan   geç-di-k,   hastane-den geç-di-k   esir   kamp-ı-na
there-ABL pass-PST-1PL hospital-ABL   pass-PST-1PL prisoner military.base-3-DAT

'From the hospital we went to the prisoner camp.'

\# 0.1:S other v:int:pred np:g

(2) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.53

bekirpaşa falan hep onun   iç-in-de-ydi-ler
a.name   and.so all   DEM-GEN.3SG inside-3-LOC-PST-PL

'Bekirpaşa and the others were all in there.'

\# np:S other:pred

(3) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.54

bütün Larnaka
whole Larnaca

'The whole of Larnaca.'

\# na

(4) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.55

Larnaka-yı tan-ır-dı-k   hep
Larnaca-ACC know-HAB-PST-1PL all

'We knew whole Larnaca.'

\# 0.1:A np:P v:tr:pred other

(5) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.56

bütün Larnaka o-nun   iç-i-nde
whole Larnaca   DEM-GEN.3SG inside-3-LOC

'Whole Larnaca was in there.'

\# np:S other:pred

(6) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.57

gardaş-ım-ı   bul-du-k
brother-1SG-ACC find-PST-1PL

'We found my brother.'
0.1:A np:P v:tr:pred

(7) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.58

köylüleri bulduk
villager   -PL   -ACC to.find -PST -1PL

We found the villagers.
0.1:A np:P v:tr:pred

(8) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.59

geş-di-k   bir da türk taraf-ı-ndan
pass-PST-1PL one too Turk side-3-ABL

'Then we passed from the Turkish side.'
0.1:S v:int:pred np:obl

(9) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.60

insan yok
human EXST.NEG

'There was noone.'
na

(10) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.61

erkek yok
male   EXST.NEG

'There were no men.'
na

(11) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.62

bir sürü gadın yol-lar-ın   iç-i-nde
one herd   woman way-PL-GEN.3SG inside-3-LOC

'There were lots of women in the streets.'
np:S np:pred

(12) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.63

çık-dı-k   gel-di-k   böyle
leave-PST-1PL come-PST-1PL such

'We left (that place) and came this way.'
0.1:S v:int:pred v:int:pred other

(13) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.64

yol-da   dur-du-k   benzin al-a-lım
way-LOC stop-PST-1PL gasoline take-OPT-1SG

'We stopped on the way to buy gasoline.'
0.1:S other v:int:pred +pc 0.1:A np:P v:tr:pred

(14) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.65

benzin al-ır-kan   bir araba gel-di   böyle üst-ü   hep toprak
gasoline take-HAB-DUR one car   come-PST such above-3 all   earth

'While buying gasoline, a car came completely covered in dust.'
v:other np:S v:int:pred other

(15) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.66

en-di   iç-i-nden   dört gişi silah-lar-nan
descend-PST inside-3-ABL four person weapon-PL-COM

'Four people got out with weapons.'
v:int:pred other np:S other

(16) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.67

gel-di   tan-ıl-lar-dı   şoför-ü
come-PST recognise-HAB-PL-PST driver-ACC

'They came. They knew the[/our] driver.'
0.3:S v:int:pred # 0.3:A v:tr:pred np:P

(17) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.68

ner-den gel-ir-siŋ-iz   falan de-di   gendi-ne
what-ABL come-HAB-2SG-PL so   say-PST PRN-DAT

'They asked him "where do you come from?".'
+dc 0.2:S other v:int:pred # 0.3:A v:dtr:pred pro:G

(18)　we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.69

　　　ma　bu　ara-da　　söyle-di-ler şu　türk-ük
　　　DPAR DEM between-LOC say-PST-PL　REL Turk-1PL

　　　'By the way, he told them that we are Turks.'
　　　# 0.3:A other v:dtr:pred +cc np:pred

(19)　we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.70

　　　de-di　bun-nar da　türk-dür
　　　say-PST DEM-PL　DISC Turk-COP?

　　　'He said "these are Turks".'
　　　# 0.3:A v:dtr:pred +dc pro:S other np:pred

(20)　we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.71

　　　tahmin ed-er-di-m　　de-di　bir kere daha türk gör-me-yce-m
　　　guess　make-HAB-PST-1SG say-PST one time still　Turk see-NEG-FUT-1SG

　　　'He said "I was guessing I would never see a Turk again".'
　　　# 0.1:S v:int:pred +cc 0.1:A other np:P v:tr:pred

(21)　we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.72

　　　girne-den　gel-ir-ik　　de-di
　　　Kyrenia-ABL come-HAB-1PL say-PST

　　　'"We are coming from Kyrenia" he said.'
　　　+dc 0.1:S np:obl v:int:pred # 0.3:A v:dtr:pred

(22)　we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.73

　　　girne-nin　　dağ-lar-ın-dan
　　　Kyrenia-GEN.3SG mountain-PL-3-ABL

　　　'From the mountains of Kyrenia.'
　　　# na

(23)　we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.74

　　　her　taraf yan-ar
　　　every side　burn-PRS

　　　'Everywhere is burning.'
　　　# np:S v:int:pred

(24) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.75

her   taraf silah
every side   weapon

'There are weapons everywhere.'
other np:pred

(25) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.76

bu   taraf de-di   cennet-dir
DEM side   say-PST heaven-COP

'He said "it is (like in) heaven here" '.
other np:pred

(26) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.77

her   taraf-dan silah   ses-i   çık-ar,   top   ses-i   çık-ar
every side-ABL   weapon sound-3 get.out-PRS cannon sound-3 get.out-PRS

'Weapon and cannon (firing) sounds come from everywhere.'
other np:S v:int:pred # np:S v:int:pred

(27) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.78

uçak-lar   gemi-ler-i de-di   bombal-ar
aeroplane-PL ship-PL-ACC say-PST bomb-PRS

'Aeroplanes are bombing ships.'
np:A np:P v:tr:pred

(28) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.79

biz   de-di gaç-ar-ık
PRN.1PL say-PST run.away-PRS-1PL

'We are running away.'
pro:S v:int:pred

(29) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.80

üst-ler-i-nde gan da var-dı   yani   ha
above-PL-3-LOC blood too EXST-PST that.is.to.say DISC

'They had blood on them, too.'
np:G np:S other:pred other

(30) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.81

arkadaş-lar-ımız öl-dü   de-di   yara-lan-dı
friend-PL-1PL   die-PST say-PST wound-VR-PST

'Our friends are dead or wounded.'
np:S v:int:pred v:int:pred

(31) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.82

biz   de-di   gid-iyor-uk al-alım   çocuk-lar-ımız-ı gaç-alım
PRN.1PL say-PST go-DUR-1PL take-OPT.1PL child-PL-1PL-ACC run.away-OPT.1PL
baf-a
Paphos-DAT

'We are going to take our children and flee to Paphos.'
pro:S v:int:pred +pc 0.1:A v:tr:pred np:P +pc 0.1:S v:int:pred np:G

(32) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.83

kıbrıs öl-dü
Cyprus die-PST

'Cyprus is dead.'
np:S v:int:pred

(33) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.84

siz   da gid-iŋ de-di   bak-ıŋ baş-ıŋız-ın   çare-si-ne
PRN.2PL too go-2SG say-PST look-2SG head-2PL-GEN solution-3-DAT

'You, too, should go and care for yourselves.'
pro.2:S v:other # 0.2:A v:other np:P

(34) we were the first ones to go to Larnaca.85

ye-di-ler biz-i
eat-PST-PL PRN.1PL-ACC

'They destroyed us (lit. they ate us).'
0.3:A v:tr:pred pro:P

Sample of Kormakiti Arabic

Id   When we went to school

Title   lizman ta kuarux naxni sxolio

Place of recording   Kormakitis

Date of recording   25/12/2010

(1)   When we went to school.01

l-izman... l-izman ta kwar-rux   naxni   skolio ma
ART-time   ART-time REL HAB.PST.1PL-go PRON.1PL school NEG
man-n-aʕrif   elinika
HAB.1PL-1PL-know Greek

'When we went to school, we could not speak [lit. did not know] Greek.'

0.1:A np:other v:tr:pred np:P +rc v:int:pred pro:S np:G

(2)   When we went to school.02

xitš   ma kwan-n-aʕrif
nothing NEG HAB.PST-PRS.1PL-know

'We did not know anything.'

0.1:A other:P v:tr:pred

(3)   When we went to school.03

u kwan-n-axki   kullu arabika
and HAB.PST-1PL-speak only   Arabic

'And we used to speak only Arabic.'

0.1:A v:tr:pred other np:P

(4)   When we went to school.04

an-n-axki   elinika ma=kwan-n-aʕref
OPT-1PL-speak Greek   NEG=HAB.PST-1PL-know

'We did not know to speak Greek.'

0.1:A v:other np:P v:tr:pred

(5)   When we went to school.05

u đaskalo ten-na   kan-i-taʕđep   maʕ-na
and teacher   POSS.M-1PL HAB.PST-3SG.M-tire with-1PL

'And our teacher was getting tired of us.'
np:S v:int:pred other

(6) When we went to school.06

kan-it-aʕđep   maʕ-na ospu ta-nit-ʕallem   ta-nn-axki   elinika
HAB.PST-3SG.F-tire with-1PL until SUBR-1PL-teach SUBJ-1PL-speak Greek

'He was strenuous with us until we learnt to speak Greek.'
0.3:S v:int:pred other +tc v:other v:other np:P

(7) When we went to school.07

đilađi žava ma exel-na   kwan-n-axki   kullu arabika
so   home with family-1PL HAB.PST.1PL-1PL-speak only   Arabic

'So at home, with my family, we used to speak only Arabic.'
0.1:A other np:obl v:tr:pred np:P

(8) When we went to school.08

wake kan   xtir zor
and   COP.PST.3SG.M much difficult

So it was very hard
cop other

(9) When we went to school.09

u kaθi min-pukra ta kwar-rux   đaskalo kan-i-saʕil-na
and every from-morning REL HAB.PST-go teacher HAB.PST-PRS.3SG.M-ask-1PL
pšan te-xott-na   fi-l=darp.
for   SUBJ.3SG-put-1PL in-ART=road

'And every morning when we went there [to school] the teacher asked
us - to teach us Greek [lit. to put us on the road].'
np:other [+rc 0.1:S v:intr:pred] np:A v:tr:pred +pc 0.3:A v:other np:g

(10) When we went to school.10

a-n-itʕallem   elinika kan-i-saʕil-na   yaum aš   kil-tu.
OPT-PRS.1PL-learn Greek   HAB.PST-PRS.3SG.M-ask-1PL today what eat-PST.2PL

'So that we would learn Greek, he would ask us "what did you eat today?"'
0.1:A v:other np:other v:tr:pred +dc 0.2:A other v:tr:pred

(11)   When we went to school.11

yaum aš   kil-tu
today   what eat-PST.2PL

'What did you eat today?'
0.2:A other v:tr:pred

(12)   When we went to school.12

u eprepe ta-n-kul-l-u   elinika
and must.PST SUBJ-1PL-say-IO-3SG Greek

'And we hat to answer [lit. tell him] in Greek.'
0.3:S v:int:pred v:other np:other

(13)   When we went to school.13

e   naxni   ma kwan-n-aʕrif   elinika
DPAR PRON.1PL NEG HAB.PST-1PL-know Greek

'But we could not speak Greek.'
np:S v:tr:pred np:P

(14)   When we went to school.14

kwan-kul-l-u   arapika
HAB.PST.1PL-say-IO-3SG Arabic

'And answered in Arabic.'
0.1:A v:dtr:pred np:P

(15)   When we went to school.15

parađiɣmatos xari an   kwan-kul-l-u   [telos panton] e-fa-men
for.example   COND HAB.PST.1PL-say-IO-3SG in   the   end
psomin   kil-na xops
PST-eat-PST.1PL bread   say-PST.1PL bread

'For example, if we would say "we eat bread", we said "xops [Arabic for bread]".'
+conc 0.1:A v:dtr:pred v:other np:other # 0.1:A v:dtr:pred np:P

(16)   When we went to school.16

xops u   zaytun, xops u   ful, xops u   fasulya
bread and olive   bread and bean bread and kind.of.bean

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'Bread and olives, bread and beans…'
na

(17)   When we went to school.17

akke kwan-n-axki   lil-đaskalo
thus   HAB.PST-1PL-speak IOP-ART-teacher

'We used to talk like this to the teacher.'
0.1:A v:dtr:pred np:G

(18)   When we went to school.18

ma kwan-n-aʕrif
NEG HAB.PST-1PL-know

'We did not know [Greek].'
0.1:A v:tr:pred

(19)   When we went to school.19

žava ma exelna   kwan-n-axki   kullu arabika
home with family-1PL HAB.PST-1PL-speak only   Arabic

'At home, with our families, we talked only Arabic.'
0.1:A other np:obl v:tr:pred np:P

(20)   When we went to school.20

elinika ma kwan-n-axki   θeoula
Greek   NEG HAB.PST-1PL-speak goodness

We did not speak (could not speak) Greek, my God.
0.1:A np:P v:tr:pred other

(21)   When we went to school.21

katalav-es?   ne?
understand.PRF-PST.2SG yes

'Do you understand? Yes?'
na

(22)   When we went to school.22

kan-it-aʕđep   đaskalo maʕ-na
HAB.PST-3SG.M-tire teacher   with-na

'The teacher was growing weary with us.'
v:pred np:S pro:obl

(23)   When we went to school.23

osti ta-n-itʕallim pe   kwan-n-akulu xaft,   kwan-n-akulu
until SUBJ-1PL-learn INTERJ HAB.PST-1PL-say punishment HAB.PST-1PL-say
xaft
punishment

'And until we would learn it, there was punishment [lit. we would say punishment].'
+tc v:other # 0.1:A v:dtr:pred np:P

(24)   When we went to school.24

kan-akulu   re! xops!
HAB.PST-say.1SG INTJ bread

'I used to say "xops" (MA for "bread").'
0.1:A v:dtr:pred np:P

(25)   When we went to school.25

pi-kulu psomi
HAB-say bread

'He told me "psomi" (GR for 'bread').'
0.3:A v:dtr:pred np:P

(26)   When we went to school.26

naxni   pali kwan-n-intsi   xops
PRON.1PL again HAB.PST-1PL-forget bread

'We forgot it again [and said] xops.'
np:A v:tr:pred other

(27)   When we went to school.27

kwan-kullu xops.
HAB.PST-say bread

'We [still] used to say "xops".'
0.1:A v:dtr:pred np:P

(28)   When we went to school.28

ana   …   laxm
PRN.1SG meat

'I [used to say] "laxm" (MA for 'meat').'
na

(29)   When we went to school.29

kreas! re!   kreas re!
meat   INTJ meat   INTJ

'[It is] "kreas"! (GR for 'meat').'
na

(30)   When we went to school.30

ana   pali laxm!
PRN.1SG again meat

'I again [said] "laxm".'
na

(31)   When we went to school.31

šve-šve šve-šve osti ta   a-ntai-na   fi-l-θema   kwan-n-itʕallim
slowly   slowly   until SUBR OPT-go.in-1PL in-ART-subject HAB.PST-1PL-learn

'Slowly, until we could get into the subject, we learnt it (Greek).'
+tc 0.1:A v:other np:g # 0.1:A v:tr:pred

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