CHAPTER 2

Agglutinative Noun Inflection in Cappadocian[1]

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Abstract

Cappadocian is well-known for having two types of agglutinative inflections: (1) *mílos* 'mill', gen. *míloz-ju*, pl. *míloz-ja*; (2) *néka*, pl. *néc-es*, gen. *néc-ez-ju*. This chapter shows on the basis of a detailed investigation of the dialectal evidence how these agglutinative inflections originated in the plural of the inherited masculine nouns in *-os* due to a number of specifically Cappadocian innovations involving deletion of unstressed [i] and [u], differential object marking and the distinction between animate and inanimate nouns and, last but not least, pattern replication from Turkish. It is argued that the two types traditionally recognized as being agglutinative are actually analogical extensions of innovations which originated in the novel plural inflection of animate masculine nouns in *-os*.

Keywords

Cappadocian Greek, Central Anatolian Turkish, language contact, pattern replication, fusional morphology, agglutinative morphology, noun inflection

1 Research for this chapter is part of a project entitled "Asia Minor as a Linguistic Area: Greek-Turkish-Armenian Language Contacts in Cappadocia and the Anatolian Substrate", which is part of a collaborative research project funded by the HERA network entitled "Multilingualism and Minority Languages in Ancient Europe" (HERA 15.029). I would like to thank my MuMiL-EU colleagues Albio Cesare Cassio (Rome), Marina Benedetti (Siena), Emilio Crespo (Madrid) and Sascha Lubotsky (Leiden) for their support. Much of the material is taken from Janse (2018), the English proto-version of which wsubmitted in 2004, and is briefly discussed in Janse (2001: 475f., 2004: 9ff., 2009: 41f.). My sincerest thanks go to volume editor Angela Ralli and series editor Brian D. Joseph for their helpful comments and patience

1 Introduction

Cappadocian is one of the most remarkable Modern Greek dialects and certainly one of the most famous in text- and handbooks on language contact (Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Thomason 2001; Winford 2003; Matras 2009; Hickey 2010). The Cappadocian dialects are characterized by a number of distinctive linguistic archaisms which Dawkins calls "the Greek substratum of the [*sic*] Cappadocian" (1916: 212) and "the residue [of] the Greek of at least eastern Asia Minor … before the Turkish conquest" (1916: 213).[2] In addition, the Cappadocian dialects are characterized by a number of extraordinary linguistic innovations which are largely, but not exclusively, due to heavy borrowing from (Central Anatolian) Turkish following the lightning conquest of Cappadocia and the rest of Asia Minor in the last quarter of the 11th century (Dawkins 1910, 1916; Janse 2002, 2009a, 2018; Karatsareas 2011).[3]

One of the most spectacular of the contact-induced innovations is the development of agglutinative noun inflections. Dawkins (1916) identified two types of agglutinative inflection: (1) *mílos* 'mill', gen. *mílozju* instead of inherited *míl(u)*, pl. *mílozja* instead of inherited *míl(i)*; (2) *jinéka* 'woman' > Cappadocian *néka*, gen. *nékaju* instead of inherited *nékas*, pl. *néces*, gen. *nécezju* instead of inherited *nekón*. These have received a lot of interest since Thomason and Kaufman called this textbook example of "heavy borrowing" "startling in an Indo-European language" (1988: 219). Apart from stray references in the text- and handbooks mentioned above the following detailed studies have appeared in recent years: Janse (2004), Karatsareas (2011, 2016) and Revithiadou, Spyropoulos & Markopoulos (2017).

In this chapter I discuss the origin and spread of such forms in Cappadocian on the basis of a fresh examination of the available data, including hitherto neglected and overlooked evidence. Specifically, I show how a number of linguistic innovations provided the basis for a partial morphological reorganization in Cappadocian involving agglutinative pattern replication from (Central Anatolian) Turkish: (1) the regular deletion of final unstressed [u] and [i] which resulted in a dramatic increase in case syncretism and a proliferation of inflected forms ending in a consonant;

2 Compare Vryonis' "Byzantine residue in Trk. Anatolia" (1971: 444ff., esp. 451f.; cf. Karatsareas 2013: 195ff.).

3 The qualification "largely, but certainly not exclusively" refers to the hypothesis that (south)eastern Asia Minor constituted a *Sprachbund* during the Ottoman Empire which included not only Asia Minor Greek and Anatolian Turkish but also (Western) Armenian and a number of Northwest Iranian languages such as Zaza and Kurdish.

(2) the distinction between animate and inanimate nouns in the inflectional clases of the inherited masculine nouns in *-os*, *-as* and *-is* and the development of syncretic nominative-accusative plurals in *-(i)* in the case of the animate and in *-us* in the case of the inanimate nouns, which lead to a further increase in the number of syncretic cases; (3) its possible correlation with the development of indefinite as opposed to definite accusatives in the singular as a result of pattern replication from Turkish.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 2 offers a brief discussion of the Cappadocian dialects and its classification. Section 3 presents the basic facts about Cappadocian noun inflection and its striking variation in the various inflectional classes across and even within dialects. Section 4 contains an in-depth analysis of the data in light of the recent studies mentioned above and offers a novel interpretation of the origin and diffusion of agglutinative inflections on the basis of a number specifically Cappadocian innovations in the inflection of the inherited masculine nouns in *-os* which had been assigned to the inflectional subclass of animate nouns.

2 The Cappadocian Dialects

The classification of the Cappadocian (sub)dialects[4] adopted here is taken from Jansen' observations (1916: 208ff., esp. 221ff.). It is based on shared archaisms and on shared innovationsis more or less geographic, the main exceptions being Delmeso, geographically southwest but dialectologically northeast (Dawkins 1916: 10), and Dila (Dawkins 1916: 21-2). Two varieties have been left out of consideration: Andaval did his fieldwork (1916: 11), and Arabison did his fieldwork (1916: 11), and Arabigraphical distribution of the various Cappadocian dialects (and of the ation "likely under such urban conditions to have lost a good deal of its Cappadocian character" (1916: 30). The map shows the geographical distribution of the various Cappadocian dialects (and of the Pharasiot dialects in the far southeast of Cappadocia), the subgrouping of which is as follows:[5]

4 In the remainder of the text I will use the term 'dialect' both to refer to Cappadocian as a Modern Greek dialect and to its individual subdialects.

5 The villages listed in the table are the ones described in more or less detail in Dawkins (1910; 1916), with the exception of Çarikli, for which see below.

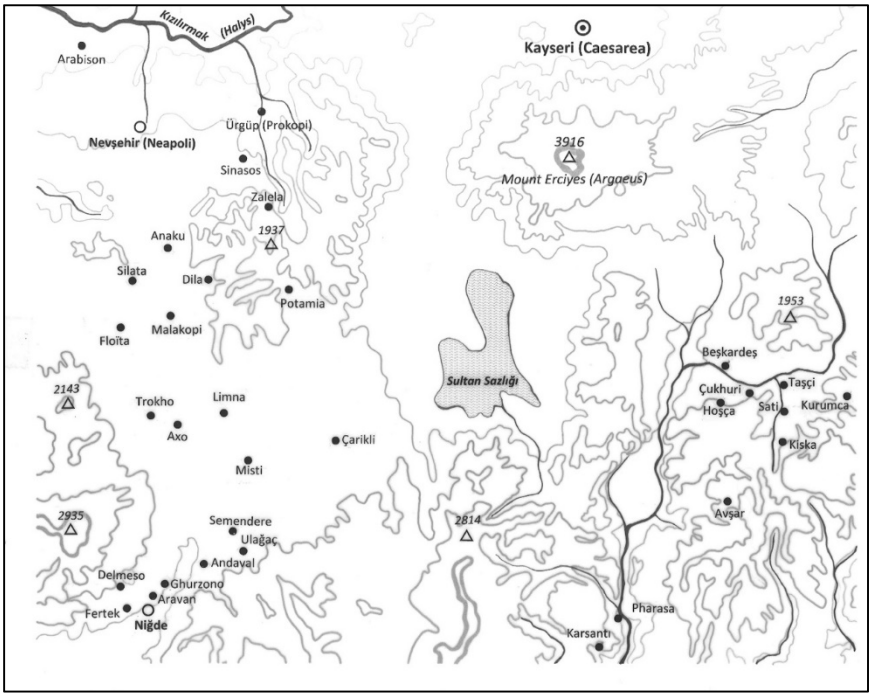

TABLE 1: Classification of the Cappadocian dialects

North Cappadocian

NORTHWEST	NORTHEAST
• Silata	• Sinasos
• Anaku	• Potamia
• Floïta	• Delmeso
• Malakopi	

Central Cappadocian

• Axo	• Misti

South Cappadocian

SOUTHWEST	SOUTHEAST
• Aravan	• Ulağaç
• Ghurzono	• Semendere
• Fertek	

It is important to note that our knowledge of the Cappadocian dialects is limited, both synchronically and diachronically. There are practically no data to work with before the 19th century (cf. Manolessou, this volume) and the only reliable data on the varieties spoken in Cappadocia before the population exchange come from Dawkins (1910; 1916), who conducted fieldwork in the years 1909-1911.[6] Unfortunately, not all of the dialects are equally well covered, as Dawkins himself acknowledges: his notes from Semendere are "scanty" (1916: 18) and he only spent "a few hours" in Anaku (p. 27). The same holds for the folktales published by Dawkins which can be used for further research: none from Semendere and just one from Fertek and Misti, as opposed to twelve from Ulağaç, which "forms a group" with Semendere (Dawkins 1916: 18) and seven from Axo, which forms a group with Misti "on the border between the [northern and the southern] groups" (p. 211).

For a number of dialects we have grammatical and/or lexicographical descriptions written after the population exchange: Ulağaç (Kesisoglou 1951), Axo (Mavrochalividis & Kesisoglou 1960), Aravan (Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960), Anaku (Costakis 1964), Malakopi (Karphopoulos 2008: 91-146). To these can be added a number of historical and/or ethnographical descriptions containing important lexicographical and phraseological information, e.g. Anaku (Kostakis 1963), Misti (Kostakis 1977), Sinasos (Takadopoulos 1982), Axo (Mavrochalividis 1990), Çarikli (Karalidis 2005). Misti takes a special position as the dialect is still spoken to some extent in a number of villages in central and northern Greece (Janse 2009c). It is the only dialect of which we have contemporary recordings and grammatical and/or lexicographical descriptions by native speakers (Kostakis 1990; Kotsanidis 2005; Koimisoglou 2006: 158-259; Phates 2012).

Given the wild variety between and even within the various Cappadocian dialects, it is impossible to reconstruct a single, uniform morphology for 'the' Cappadocian dialect of around 1910.[7] As will become clear

6 Brief discussions of the 19th-century publications can be found in Dawkins (1916: 11f.) and Janse (2018: §2).

7 To be honest, I had attempted such a uniform description in the 2004 English proto-version of Janse (2018), which resulted in paradigms containing shapes and forms which were not attested in any of the Cappadocian dialects, e.g. *áθropozja*, a form only attested in South Cappadocian dialects where, however, the dental fricative was lost, resulting in *átropozja* at Ulağaç and *áropozja* at Aravan. I am immensely grateful to Christos Tzitzilis for pointing out this fundamental mistake which was remedied in the throughly revised Greek version. Details on the merger of the dental fricatives, in Central and South Cappadocian, can be found in Dawkins (1916: 74-80) and Janse (2018: §6.2.2.6).

in the next section, it is even impossible to reconstruct a single, uniform noun inflection for any individual subdialect. The differences between the noun inflection of the dialect of Misti described by Dawkins (1916), the variation in the shapes and inflections of the words in context recorded in the 1960s by Kostakis (1977) and the variation in contemporary Mišótika are immense, but at least we have enough material to reconstruct the changes that seem to have affected the various forms. The only other Cappadocian dialect for which we have both a lot of data and reliable and detailed grammatical descriptions is Axo, which happens to be the dialect most closely related to Mišótika.

3 Cappadocian Noun Inflection

Cappadocian noun inflection is characterized by two very distinctive features for which (partial) analogs can be found only in Pharasiot and Pontic: the distinction between animate and inanimate nouns and beween definite and indefinite accusatives in the inherited masculine nouns in *-os*, inflectional classes IC1a (animate) and IC1b (inanimate) in Karatsareas' classification (2016: 44), based on criteria proposed Ralli (2000; 2005). Both distinctions operate on the morphosyntactic level with regard to differential object marking and to a certain extent also to differential subject marking, as I have explained in detail elsewhere (Janse 2004).[8] The semantic distribution of noun types among the Cappadocian inflectional classes is discussed in Karatsareas (2016: 46-50; cf. Melissaropoulou 2017: 17-22) with reference to the animacy hierarchy: human < animate < inanimate (Janse 2004: 3), "animals naturally belonging sometimes to one, sometimes to the other class", as Dawkins already observed (1916: 94). The complexity and gradual breakdown of the system is discussed with reference to loanword integration by Melissaropoulou (2013: 371-3; 2016: 162-6; cf. Karatsareas 2016: 49). In this chapter, I will not be concerned with the semantic rationale, if any, for assigning nouns to one class or the other in various dialects, but will focus instead on morphological and morphonological aspects of Cappadocian noun inflection.

In his presentation of the inflection of the inherited masculine nouns in *-os*, Dawkins starts with the "words with personality" in the Northeast Cappadocian dialects of Potamia and Delmeso, because in these villages

8 On differential object marking in Cappadocian see also Spyropoulos & Tiliopoulou (2006), Karatsareas (2011: 65-127) and Spyropoulos (2016).

the "system is least corrupt" (1916: 94). Although there is considerable variation in the inflection even of individual words, the following types can be distinguished (1916: 95-6; cf. Janse 2018: §7.2.2.1):[9]

(1)		**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM		*pištik-ós*[10]	*pištic-í*	*áθrop-os*[11]	*aθróp-Ø*
ACC	INDEF	***pištik-ós***	***pištic-jús***	***áθrop-os***	***aθrop-jús***
	DEF	*pištik-ó*	*pištik-ús*	*áθrop-o*	*aθróp-us*
GEN		*pištik-ú* ***pištic-jú***	—	*aθróp-Ø* ***aθrop-jú***	—
		'shepherd'	(NEC)	'man'	(NEC)

The words in regular type belong to what Dawkins calls "the old declension", the ones in bold type exhibit the "specifically Cappadocian features", namely "the morphological distinction between the def. and indef. acc. in the sg. and the appearance of the gen. in *-jú* and the acc. pl. in *-jús*" (1916: 95). The zero endings in the genitive singular and nominative plural of (pro)paroxytone nouns like *áθropos* are the result of the regular deletion of final unstressed [u] and [i] respectively, as can be gathered from the equivalent forms of oxytone nouns such as *pištikós* (Dawkins 1916: 62, 95; Janse 2018: §6.2.1.1, §7.2.2.1). It is surely no coincidence that the inherited inflection is preserved, partly or entirely, in words which are particularly frequent such as *áθropos*, *pištikós*, *ðáskalos* 'teacher, schoolmaster', *ðjávolos* 'devil' etc.

The inflectional distinction between definite and indefinite accusatives is a feature which is contact-induced: Turkish marks definite objects with the accusative suffix *-I* as opposed to indefinite objects, which are not marked with a case suffix or, alternatively, with a zero case suffix *-Ø*, and are thus identical with the nominative (Janse 2004: 7-10; Karatsareas 2011: 75-9).[12] Compare the Delmeso examples (2a-b) with their Turkish equivalents (3a-b):

9 The hyphenation of the inflected forms is tentative as well as suggestive and will be further discussed in section 4.

10 MedGr *(e)mpistikós* 'dedicated, trustworthy' > 'shepherd' = ModGr *(m)pistikós*.

11 MedGr *ánθropos* as well as *áθropos*.

12 Differential object marking in Turkish is slightly more complicated (Heusinger & Kornfilt 2005; cf. Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 322-3).

(2a)	*íða ton áϑrop-o* I.saw the man-ACC.DEF		(3a)	*adam-ı gördüm* man-ACC.DEF I.saw	
(2b)	*íða ena áϑrop-os* I.saw a man-ACC.INDEF		(3b)	*bir adam-Ø gördüm* a man-ACC.INDEF I.saw	

It should be noted that the distinction between definite and indefinite accusatives is ackowledged only for the singular, not for the plural. The coexistence of two separate forms for the accusative plural can be related to this distinction as well, although not exactly in the same way, as I will argue in more detail in section 4.

The other "specifically Cappadocian feature" is the secondary accusative plural ending *-jús* which is generally assumed to be "a new analogical formation" based on the secondary genitive singular ending *-jú* which in turn is "based upon the decl. of diminutives in *-í* and *-i*" (Dawkins 1916: 95; cf. Janse 2004: 8, 2018: §7.2.2.1). This secondary genitive ending is found at Delmeso, the "least corrupt" of the North Cappadocian dialects according to Dawkins (1916: 94), exclusively in the inflection of *xerífos*, which is borrowed from Turkish *herif* and identical in meaning with *áϑropos*. Quite naturally, then, *xerífos* is integrated in the inflectional class of the inherited masculine nouns in *-os*, more specifically in Karatsareas' IC1a (2016: 44), because it has the semantic properties [human] and [male] (Melissaropoulou 2013: 372, 2016: 163; Karatsareas 2016: 49). It should be noted that *xerífos* at Delmeso does not follow the inherited inflection in the genitive singular and accusative plural and that the indefinite accusative is not attested according to Dawkins (which does not necessarily mean that these inflections did not exist)

(4)		**sg**	**pl**
NOM		*xeríf-os*	*xeríf-Ø*
ACC	INDEF	*(xeríf-os)*	***xerif-jús***
	DEF	*xeríf-o*	*(xeríf-us)*
GEN		*(xeríf-Ø)* ***xerif-jú***	—
		'man'	(Delmeso)

In the Northwest Cappadocian dialects of Silata, Anaku and Floita the accusative plural of animate nouns in *-os* has become syncretic with the

nominative plural. In these dialects, there is no trace of the "old declension" and the "special form of the acc. pl. [in *-jús* – MJ] seems to be entirely absent" (Dawkins 1916: 97-9; cf. Janse 2018: §2.2.2.1),[13] so we have the following types:

(5)		**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM		*pondik-ós*[14]	*pondic-í*	*ðáskal-os*	*ðaskál-Ø*
ACC	INDEF	***pondik-ós***	***pondic-í***	***ðáskal-os***	***ðaskál-Ø***
	DEF	*pondik-ó*		*ðáskal-o*	
GEN		*pondik-ú*	—	*ðaskál-Ø*	—
		pondic-jú		***ðaskál-jú***	
		'mouse'	(NWC)	'teacher'	(NWC)

At Malakopi the secondary accusative plural in *-jús* "is never more than optional", according to Dawkins (1916: 99), yet Karphopoulous (2008: 92) gives *aθróp* as the only form for the accusative plural of *áθrupus* 'man' (2005: 92), but *Turkjús* for *Túrkus* 'Turk' (p. 93).[15] At Axo, the syncretic accusative plural in *-í*/*-Ø* is in "occasional use" but "less common than at Malakopi" (Dawkins 1916: 100). It is therefore not surprising that Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou only quote plural accusatives in *-jús* (1960: 40). At Misti, however, Dawkins notes the opposite: "Special forms for the acc. pl. are not very common" (1916: 101). The situation circa 1910 was therefore as follows, at Axo and Misti respectively (Dawkins 1916: 100-1; cf. Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 40):[16]

13 Dawkins acknowledges that his data for Anaku are "very scanty" (1916: 97), but his impression is confirmed by Costakis (1964: 38).

14 AncGr *pontikòs (mûs)* 'Pontic mouse: weasel' > MedGr *pondikós* 'mouse'.

15 The raising of unstressed /o/ to /u/ is an isogloss that cuts across the North -South division of the Cappadocian dialects and is characteristic of the dialects of Malakopi, Misti and Semendere (Dawkins 1916: 64; cf. Janse 2018: §6.2.1.3).

16 I use the older form *árapus* (Dawkins 1916: 101; cf. Kostakis 1990: 179); for contemporary *árupus* (see previous note for the vowel raising at Misti). Because it has no relevance for our purpose here, I ignore the alternative accusative singular *árçope*, unrecorded by Dawkins (1916: 90, 100) but quoted and explained as derived from the vocative by Mavrochalyvidis and Kesisoglou (1960: 37, 40). The change of /θ/ to /ç/ before the back vowels /a, o/ is limited to certain words and peculiar to the dialect of Axo (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 19). Dawkins does not mention this particular change of /θ/ in the section on Axo (1916: 77-8), but mentions *árçopos* in the glossary as attested at Axo and Ghurzono (p. 584).

(6)		**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM		*árçop-os*	*arçóp-Ø*	*árap-us*	*aróp-Ø*
ACC	INDEF	***árçop-os***	***arçóp-Ø***	***árap-us***	***aróp-Ø***
	DEF	*árçop-o*	***arçop-jús***	*árap-u*	***arap-jús***
GEN		*arçóp-Ø* ***arçop-jú***	***árçopoz-ju*** ***arçop-jú***	*aróp-Ø* ***arap-jú***	—
		‘man’	(Axo)	‘man’	(Misti)

There is a lot to be said about these forms, which will be further discussed in the next section. For the time being, it should be noted that two separate forms of the genitive plural are identified by Mavrochalyvidis and Kesisoglou (1960: 39): one which is identical with the innovative genitive singular *arçopjú* and another one, which is of an entirely different type called “agglutinative” by Dawkins (1916: 90 *et passim*), although this particular example is not identified by him as a separate form of the genitive plural, which is usually syncretic with the genitive singular in Cappadocian (1916: 90 *et passim*; cf. Janse 2018: §7.2). The distinction between the syncretic and the innovative accusative plural is for now only tentatively related to the distinction between definite and indefinite accusatives in the singular.

Before giving more examples of the ‘agglutinative inflection’, we need to turn back to Dawkins’ “words without personality” (1916: 95), which follow what he calls “the imperfect declension” (p. 96). In the Northeast Cappadocian dialects of Delmeso and Potamia the inflection of inanimate nouns belonging to Karatsareas’ IC1b (2016: 44) is the same in the singular as that of the animate nouns, with one notable exception: at Potamia a distinction is made between definite and indefinite nominatives as well (Dawkins 1916: 96). In the plural, however, the nominative has become syncretic with the accusative, as in the following types (Dawkins 1916: 96-7; cf. Janse 2018: §7.2.1.4).

(7)		**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM	INDEF	*vrex-ós* [17]	***vrex-ús***	*γám-os*	***γám-us***
	DEF	***vrex-ó***		***γám-o***	
ACC	INDEF	***vrex-ós***	*vrex-ús*	***γám-os***	*γám-us*
	DEF	*vrex-ó*		*γám-o*	
GEN		*vrexú*	—	*γám-Ø*	—
		‘rain’	(Potamia)	‘wedding’	(Potamia)

Elsewhere (Janse 2004: 9), I have explained the generalization of the nominative plural of animate nouns and of the accusative plural of inanimate nouns in *-os* with reference to the animacy hierarchy, according to which subjects are cross-linguistically more likely to be animate than objects. This explains the syncretism of the accusative with the nominative in the case of the animate nouns and of the nominative with the accusative in the case of the inanimate nouns in the Northwest Cappadocian dialects of Silata, Anaku and Floïta and the coexistence of these syncretic forms with either inherited ‘old’ or innovative ‘new’ forms at Malakopi and in the Central Cappadocian dialects of Axo and Misti. As a matter of fact, such syncretic forms are also found in Northeast Cappadocian, e.g. the syncretic nominative-accusative plurals *líc* < *líci*, sg. *líkos* ‘wolf’, or *lají*, sg. *layós* ‘hare’, in the “mixed declension” at Delmeso (Dawkins 1916: 96). The relative chronology of the development of syncretic nominative-accusative plurals and of accusative plurals in *-jús* will be discussed in the next section.

In Northwest Cappadocian the genitive singular and the syncretic nominative-accusative plural of the inherited inflection begin to alternate with forms of what Dawkins calls the “agglutinative declension” (1916: 97-100), in which the genitive singular ending *-jú* (and its unstressed counterpart *-ju*, by analogy with the plural), already used as an innovative alternative to the inherited ending *-ú/-(u)*, and the nominative-accusative plural endings *-já/-ja* are attached to what appears to be the nominative singular form of the words affected (cf. section 4 for further discussion). As a result, the variation in the inflection of the inanimate nouns in the Northwest Cappadocian dialects is remarkable:

17 AncGr *brokhḗ* > MedGr > ModGr *vroçí* ‘rain’. Forms with [e]: **vreçí* > Pharasiot *vreší,* **vrexós* > Cappadocian *vrexós* (Dawkins 1916: 590).

(8)		**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM		*lay-ós*	***lay-ús*** ***layóz-ja***	*míl-os*	***míl-us*** ***míloz-ja***
ACC	INDEF	***lay-ós***	*lay-ús*	***míl-os***	*míl-us*
	DEF	***lay-ó(s)***	***layóz-ja***	***míl-o(s)***	***míloz-ja***
GEN		***layoz-jú***	—	***mil-jú*** ***míloz-ju***	—
		‘hare’	(NWC)	‘mill’	(NWC)

This agglutinative inflection begins to diffuse into IC1a of the animate nouns in the Central Cappadocian dialects. The following examples from Axo are illustrative and noteworthy for their preantepenultimate stress (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 33-9):

(9)		**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM		*lípsand-os*[18]	***lípsandoz-ja***	*šíndekn-os*[19]	***šíndeknoz-ja***
ACC	INDEF	***lípsand-os***	***lípsandoz-ja***	***šíndekn-os***	***šíndeknoz-ja***
	DEF	*lípsand-o*		*šíndekn-o*	
GEN		***lípsandoz-ju***	***lípsandoz-ju***	*šindék-Ø* ***šíndeknoz-ju***	***šindeknoz-ju***
		‘remains, relics’		‘best man; godfather’	

Dawkins notes that at Misti two different types of this agglutinative inflection had developed: one with and the other one without the voiced [s] of the nominative singular form. He observes a “curious” [*sic*] preference for oxytone nouns to be inflected in the latter way (1916: 102) and similarly at Fertek (p. 106). The genitive singular suffix *-jú* is (almost) always stressed in the case of oxytone nouns in these dialects and, without loss of the voiced [s] of the nominative singular, also at Semendere and

18 AncGr *leípsanon* ‘remnant’, pl. ‘remains’ (of the dead) > MedGr *leípsano(n)* > ModGr *lípsano* ‘corpse, remains; relics’. Cappadocian *lípsando(s)*, pl. *lípsanda* may be a remnant (no pun intended) of the AncGr aorist participle *leípsas* (*tòn bíon*) ‘he who left, lost his life’? It is of course debatable whether the remains of a human being (even a saint) can still be considered animate.

19 AncGr *súnteknos* ‘adopted son’ > MedGr ‘best man; godfather’ (usually the same person). The word is used in several Modern Greek dialects (Dawkins 1916: 646), but in ModGr usually replaced by *kubáros*.

Ulağaç (p. 102-3; cf. Kesisoglou 1951: 32) and similarly at Aravan (Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960: 10). The nouns exemplified in (10) are inflected as follows at Misti (Dawkins 1916: 102 – note that the unstressed [o] in the genitive singular is not raised to [u]):

(10)		**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM		*laγ-ós*	***laγó-ja***	*míl-us*	***míluz-ja***
ACC	INDEF	***laγ-ós***	***laγó-ja***	***míl-us***	***míluz-ja***
	DEF	*laγ-ó*		*míl-u*	
GEN		***laγo-jú***	—	***míluz-ju***	—
		‘hare’	(Misti)	‘mill’	(Misti)

In contemporary Mišótika, the forms without *-s* and with stressed *-jú* have completely absorbed both IC1a and IC1b, so now even animate (pro)paroxytone nouns are inflected this way (although the retention of inherited forms occurs more in frequently used animate nouns which sometimes seem to be interchangeable with the newer forms and are often considered to be viable alternatives by native speakers). Compare the inflectional type according to Dawkins (1916: 102) in the left columns with the contemporary Mišótika inflection in the right ones (note again that the unstressed [o] in the genitive singular is not raised to [u] in the latter):

(11)	**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM	*lóγ-us*	***lóγuz-ja***	*lóγ-us*[20]	***lóγu-ja***
ACC	*lóγ-u*	***lóγuz-ja***	*lóγ-u*	***lóγu-ja***
GEN	***lóγuz-ju***	—	***loγu-jú***	—
	‘word’	(Misti 1910)	‘word’	(Mišótika)

The following examples, of which the first is an animate noun, illustrate the striking variation between inherited and innovative forms in Mišótika:

20 Intervocalic /γ/ is often deleted in fast speech (Kostakis 1990: 180; cf. Dawkins 1916: 70; Janse 2018: §6.2.2.1), resulting in *lóus,* gen. sg. *loujú*, nom.-acc. pl. *lóuja*.

(12)	**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM	*lík-us*	*lítš-Ø*	*xrón-us*	*xrón-ja* ***xrónu-ja***
ACC	*lík-u*	***lítš-Ø*** ***liku-jús***	*xrón-u(s)*	*xrón-ja* ***xrónu-ja***
GEN	*lík-u*[21] ***liku-jú***	—	*xron-ú*	*xron-ú*
	‘wolf’	(Mišótika)	‘year’	(Mišótika)

The agglutinative inflection has been generalized to include nouns with animate, including human, referents, with few remnants of the inherited inflection (mostly in frequently used nouns), in the Southeast and especially in the Southwest Cappadocian dialects (Dawkins 1916: 102-6), as in the following examples from Ghurzono (p. 106):

(13)	**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM	*jáskal-os*	***jaskál-Ø*** ***jáskaloz-ja***	*árop-os*	*aróp-Ø* ***áropoz-ja***
ACC	*jáskal-o*	***jaskál-Ø*** ***jáskaloz-ja***	*áropo*[22]	***aróp-Ø*** ***áropoz-ja***
GEN	*jaskál-Ø* ***jáskaloz-ju***	—	*aróp-Ø* ***áropoz-ju***	—
	‘teacher’	(Ghurzono)	‘man’	(Ghurzono)

The agglutinative inflection has invaded the other inflectional classes as well, e.g. the inherited neuter nouns in *-o* – Karatsareas’ IC5 (2016: 45) which, however, only includes oxytone neuter nouns, not the (pro)paroxytone ones whose inflection differs in certain respects from the former. Dawkins notes that this inflectional class “closely follows the words in -oç, and is often confused with them, suffering the same corruption” (1916: 106). As in IC1a and IC1b, inherited and innovative forms often co-occur in the same paradigms, as in the inflection of *áloγo* at Malakopi (Dawkins

21 Dawkins quotes *lik-ú* for the genitive singular (1916: 101).

22 Dawkins mentions a secondary form of the accusative singular of animate nouns in *-on*, e.g. *árop-ona*, “a form hard to explain” (1916: 103), which need not concern us here.

1916: 107; Karphopoulos 2008: 92), Aravan (Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960: 34, 85), Ulağaç (Kesisoglou 1951: 31, 33), and Mišótika (field notes).

(14a)	**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM-ACC	*áluɣ-u*	*alóɣat-a*	*áloɣ-o*	*alóɣat-a*
GEN	*alóx-Ø*[23] ***aluɣat-jú***	—	***aloɣ-jú***	—
	‘horse’	(Malakopi)	‘horse’	(Aravan)

(14b)	**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM-ACC	*áloxo*	*áloxat-a*	*áluɣ-u*	*alóɣað-a*[24]
GEN	***áloxo-ju***	—	***aluɣu-jú***	—
	‘horse’	(Ulağaç)	‘horse’	(Mišótika)

In the remainder of this section, I will concentrate on the more spectacular cases, with particular attention to the Central Cappadocian dialect of Axo, as other cases are easily comparable to the ones discussed above. I start with the inherited parisyllabic nouns in *-is*, Karatsareas’ IC2 (2016: 44), the inflection of which is in many dialects “a good deal contaminated by the forms of the -oç nouns” (Dawkins 1916: 112). The inflection of *kléftis* is representative of this ‘contamination’, particularly in the nominative and accusative plural, whereas the inflection of *aféndis* is almost entirely agglutinative (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 34-40; cf. Dawkins 1916: 113):

(15)	**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM	*kléft-is*	***kléft-Ø***	*afénd-is*	***aféndiz-ja***
ACC	*kléft-Ø*	***kleft-jús***	*afénd-i*	***aféndiz-ja***
GEN	***kleft-jú***	***kléftiz-ju***	***aféndiz-ju***	***aféndiz-ju***
	‘thief’	(Axo)	‘master’	(Axo)

23 For the final devoicing of /ɣ/ > /x/ see Dawkins (1916: 70) and Janse (2018: §6.2.2.3).

24 Unvoiced [t] is regularly voiced in the ending *-ata* (Kostakis 1990: 184), but in contemporary Mišótika the resulting /d/ is often fricativized to /ð/ (1990: 183) and then frequently deleted, e.g. *prámata* > *prámada* > *prámaða* > *prámaa* ‘things’.

The genitive singular and the nominative, accusative and genitive plural of *kléftis* are in many respects comparable to that of *árçopos* in (6). The remarkable opposition between the genitive singular *kleftjú* and the genitive plural *kléftizju* at Axo is unique among the Cappadocian dialects. Even more spectacular is the inflection of the parisyllabic *numátis* and the imparisyllabic *papás* at Axo (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 40):

(16)	**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM	*numát-is*[25]	*numát-e*	*papá-s*	*papá(j)-e*
ACC	*numát-Ø*	***numat-jús***	*papá-Ø*	*papá(j)-es*
GEN	*numát-Ø*	***numát-ez-ju***	*papá-Ø* ***papa-jú***	***papá(j)-ez-ju*** ***papa-jú***
	‘person’	(Axo)	‘priest’	(Axo)

The allomorphy in the inflection of *papás* is explained by Dawkins as the result of the change of intervocalic [ð] to [j], “which easily drops and gives the ending *-á(j)e(s*, e.g. *papáe(s*” (1916: 108). Likewise, *papa-jú* < *papað-jú*, the latter being the form of the genitive singular attested in North Cappadocian (Dawkins 1916: 109). Mavrochalyvidis and Kesisoglou, on the other hand, assume that intervocalic [ð] is deleted directly, after which [j] is inserted as a hiatus filler: “*Asfalós apo ton típo: papáðes* > *papáes* > *papáje*” (1960: 38 fn. 1). The deletion of the final [s] in the nominative plural is presented as optional by Dawkins (1916: 108) but as obligatory and hence distinctive by Mavrochalyvidis and Kesisoglou (1960: 38). In contemporary Mišótika the syncretic nominative-accusative plural *papái* seems to alternate freely with the innovative accusative plural *papajús*.

The most intriguing forms are of course those of the genitive plural which are again unique to Axo for these inflectional classes (IC2 & IC3 in Karatsareas’ classification). The only parallel for this agglutinative genitive plural, consisting of a separate suffix *-es* for the number feature [plural] and a separate suffix for the case feature [genitive], is found in the inflection of the inherited feminine nouns in *-á*/*-a* and *-í*/*-(i)* (Karatsareas’ IC4a and 4b, which exclude, however, oxyton nouns, which take a different

25 MedGr *onomátoi*, gen. *onomatôn* ‘people, persons’ > Cappadocian *nomát(i)* (Silata, Sinasos), *nomáte* (Ghurzono, Fertek), sg. *nomátis* (Dawkins 1916: 627); *numáte*, sg. *númatis* (Axo; Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 40), sg. *numátšis* (Aravan; Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960: 169).

inflection). This type is again firmly attested at Axo (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 39-41), but also at Fertek (Krinopoulos 1889: 35; Dawkins 1916: 114) as well as at Ulağaç, unrecorded by Dawkins but reported by Kesisoglou with the qualification "*spánja*" (1951: 33). One could ponder about the reasons why at Fertek and Ulağaç the only agglutinative genitive plural that made it to the quotation stage is the one for 'woman', but it is interesting to compare the inflections of *néka* from Malakopi (Karphopoulos 2008: 92) and Ulağaç (Kesisoglou 1951: 31-3):

(17)	**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM-ACC	*nék-a*	*néc-es*	*néka*	*néc-es*
GEN	***nec-jú***	***nec-jú***	*néka-ju*	***néc-ez-ju***
	'woman'	(Malakopi)	'woman'	(Ulağaç)

Words belonging to the inflectional class of the inherited feminine nouns in *-i* have the peculiarity of dropping the final unstressed [i], making them "indistinguishable" (Dawkins 1916: 114) from neuter nouns in *-i*, resulting in "occasional confusion in declension, and the infinitely greater commonness of the neuter nouns tends to impose their endings upon the feminine nouns" (p. 114-5). Compare, for instance, the inflection of *níf* at Delmeso vs. Malakopi (Dawkins 1916: 115):

(18)	**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM-ACC	*níf-Ø*	*nífáð-es*	*níf-Ø*	***níf-ja***
GEN	*níf-is* ***nifað-jú***	***nif-jú***	***nif-jú***	***nif-jú***
	'bride'	(Delmeso)	'bride'	(Malakopi)

It is not entirely clear from Dawkins' description whether the distribution of the two genitives at Malakopi is as represented in the above table, but the difference between the agglutinative genitive singular and plural is secured (p. 115). The agglutinative genitive plural is again securely attested at Axo according to Mavrochalyvidis and Kesisoglou (1960: 35-41), the inflection of which may be compared with that of *nejél* (p. 41):

(19)	**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM-ACC	*níf-Ø*	*nífáj-es*	*nejél-Ø* [26]	*nejél-es*
GEN	*níf-s*	***nifáj-ez-ju***	***nejel-jú***	***nejél-ez-ju***
	‘bride’	(Axo)	‘flock’	(Axo)

Finally, mention should be made of a unique extension of the agglutinative genitive plural reported by Sasse, who elicited the following paradigm from one of the last speakers of Ulağaç in Athens in 1968 and compares it with its Turkish equivalent (1992: 66):

(20)	**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM	*átropos*	***átropoz-ja***	*adam*	*adam-lar*
ACC	*átropos*	***átropoz-ja***	*adam*	*adam-lar*
GEN	***átropoz-ju***	***átropoz-ja-ju***	*adam-ın*	*adam-lar-ın*
	‘man’	(Ulağaç)	‘man’	(Turkish)

The type *átropoz-ja-ju* is unrecorded by Dawkins and Kesisoglou but clearly constructed on the analogy of *nék-ez-ju* (17). It is accepted by Janse (2004: 10; 2009a: 41; 2018: §7.2.2.1), Ralli (2009: 101-2) and Melissaropoulou (2017: 20, 29), but excluded by Karatsareas (2011: 256; 2016: 40). Revithiadou, Spyropoulos and Markopoulos do not quote *átropozjaju*, but instead the unattested *lírajaju* from Ulağaç (2017: 308).

These are the basic facts about Cappadocian noun inflection insofar as they relate to the inflections that have tentatively been identified as agglutinative. I will now turn to the analysis of the data and its implications for the interpretation of the inflectional types in the various Cappadocian dialects.

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26 AncGr *agélē* > ByzGr *ajéli* > Cappadocian *ajél* (Potamia; Dawkins 1916: 581), *aél* (Anaku; Kostakis 1963: 334), *a(j)íl* (Aravan; Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960: 17), *najél* (Malakopi; Karphopoulos 2008: 121), *naél* (Misti; Kotsanidis 2005: 11 *s.v.* αγέλη; Koimisoglou 2006: 191 *s.v.* ναέλ), *nejél* (Axo; Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 41), with prosthetic [n] by metanalysis: *stin ajéli* > **s(t)i najél(i)*, cf. *Márt toxuzú vγáliškam t’ aeláđes sin aél* ‘on the nineth of March we brought out the cows to the flock’ (Kostakis 1963: 334). The phenomenon is widespread all over Cappadocia (Dawkins 1916: 1916: 80-1; Janse 2018: §6.2.2.2), e.g. *(s)tin ekklisía* > *nekliš́á* ‘church’, *(s)tin Aksó* > *Naksó*, variant of *Aksó* ‘Axo’ (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 17; Mavrochalyvidis 1990: 341-2).

4 Discussion

As we have seen in the previous section, Dawkins identified two types of agglutinative inflections. The first type comprises the inherited masculine nouns in *-os* with, at least originally, inanimate referents, which occur in two subtypes: (pro)paroxytone nouns such as *mílos*, gen. sg. *míloz-ju*, nom.-acc. pl. *míloz-ja* and oxytone nouns such as *laɣós*, gen. sg. *laɣoz-jú*, nom.-acc. pl. *laɣóz-ja*, both exemplified in (8), the latter occuring as *laɣo-jú* and *laɣó-ja* respectively at Misti, as exemplified in (10), which has become the generalized inflection for these nouns in contemporary Mišótika, as seen in (11). This type spread to animate nouns in *-os* in Southwest and Southeast Cappadocian (with very few remnants of the inherited inflection, mostly nouns used frequently), as exemplified in (13). The second type identified by Dawkins comprises the inherited feminine nouns in *-a*, which at Fertek, Ulağaç and Semendere have an agglutinative genitive singular and an agglutinative genitive plural as well: *néka*, gen. sg. *néka-ju*, pl. *néc-es*, gen. *néc-ez-ju* (17). This type is also found in other inflectional classes at Axo, where such forms are found as *nifáj-ez-ju* and *nejél-ez-ju* (19), *numát-ez-ju* and *papáj-ez-ju* (16) and forms even more extraordinary such as *árçopoz-ju* (6) and *kléftiz-ju* (15).

Dawkins explains the rise of forms of the first type like *míloz-ju* and *míloz-ja* (8) as follows: "Paroxytone neuters of the 2nd decl. such as *spít* are extremely common, and are swelled by the number of borrowed Turkish words declined in this way. *Spít* then forms its plural as *spít-ja* and its gen. *spit-jú*, apparently, and thus to the consciousness of the speaker really, by adding *-ja* and *-jú* to the nominative, just as Turkish does the same by adding *-ler* and *-in*. As Turkish does this universally, so the Greek has done in his own language what he habitually does when he talks Turkish, and used his own endings *-ja* and *-ju* in the Turkish agglutinative way" (1916: 98). Dawkins' line of reasoning is followed by Janse (2001; 2004; 2018: §7.2), Ralli (2009), Spyropoulos and Kakarikos (2009; 2011), Karatsareas (2011; 2016), Melissaropoulou (2017) and, implicitly, Revithiadou, Spyropoulos and Markopoulos (2017).

Karatsareas analyzes agglutinative inflections like *mílos*, gen. *míloz-ju*, pl. *míloz-ja* as the "[word + {-i̯u, -i̯a}] type" (2016: 50-2) as opposed to agglutinative inflections like *néc-es*, *néc-ez-ju* which are analyzed as the "[stem + {-*es* + -i̯u }] type" (p. 52-4). The latter is considered a "typologically innovative formation" (p. 50), whereas the former is a "typologically

conservative formation" (p. 52). He argues that the analogy of the agglutinative inflection of IC1b nouns like *mílos* with the inherited inflection of IC7 nouns like *spít* shows that "these agglutinative traits" already existed before the rise of the agglutinative inflection under consideration and that both conform to the morphological structure of any noun in Cappadocian, viz. [stem/word + inflectional suffix] (p. 51). He concludes that such nouns belonging diachronically to IC1b belong synchronically to IC7 and this holds for nouns from any other inflectional class which displays the IC7-type inflection [word + {*-i̯u, -i̯a*}]. The question is whether *spít* should be analyzed as a word instead of a base or, alternatively, as "a full word form, which is that of the nominative singular, and is taken to be a default base form" (Ralli 2009: 102). I think Ralli's description is more accurate and applies to any noun inflected 'agglutinatively'.

This is not just an argument for argument's sake, as it begs the question whether *spít* is a full word, a stem or a base.[27] Karatsareas invokes the parallelism between the inflection of *spít* and its Turkish equivalent *ev* 'house' (2016: 51):

(21a)	**base**	**NUMBER: singular**	**CASE: genitive**
	spit	*-Ø*	*-jú*
	ev	*-Ø*	*-in*
(21b)	**base**	**NUMBER: plural**	**CASE: genitive**
	spít	*-ja*	*-Ø*
	ev	*-ler*	*-in*

In his dissertation, Karatsareas explains how *-jú* and *-ja* evolved from poly- to mono-exponential suffixes (2011: 230): gen. sg. *spití-u* and nom.-acc. pl. *spíti-a* (stage I) were reanalyzed as *spit-jú* and *spít-ja* (stage III) with regular synizesis of [i] to [j] and shift from penultimate to ultimate stress in *-íu* > *-jú* (stage II), by analogy with the nominative *spíti* > *spít-Ø* (stage II), which was itself reanalyzed as the base form (stage III). To be sure, this is a restatement of Dawkins' interpretation quoted at the beginning of this section, as Karatsareas himself acknowledges (p. 230). There is, however, a potential problem with this analysis which should be addressed as a matter of principle. Karatsareas explicitly distinguishes IC7 nouns from the related inherited neuter nouns in *-í* (IC6), as in the following examples, which illustrate stage III (2011: 45):

27 To be honest, I have never considered the arguments put forward here in earlier work, including Janse (2018).

(22a)	**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM-ACC	*spit-Ø*	*spít-ja*	*ftí-Ø*	*ftj-á*
GEN	*spit-jú*		*ftj-ú*	
	‘house’	(IC7)	‘ear’	(IC6)

Given the obvious parallelism between IC6 and IC7,[28] the question should at least in principle be asked whether the inflection of IC7 nouns is actually still in stage II instead of stage III, as suggested by Karatsareas:

(22b)	**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM-ACC	*spíti(-Ø)*	*spítj-a* < *spíti-a*	*ftí(-Ø)*	*ftj-á* < *ftí-a*
GEN	*spitj-ú* < *spití-u*		*ftj-ú* < *ftí-u*	
	‘house’	(IC7)	‘ear’	(IC6)

To be more specific, the question is whether *spít* is a ‘word’, as Karatsareas has it (2016: 45), or rather the nominative singular which is taken as the base form, as Dawkins defines it (1916: 98). The fact of the matter is that final unstressed [i] is occasionally preserved after two consonants “when its dropping would make pronunciation difficult” (Dawkins 1916: 62), e.g. *alétri* ‘plough’ at Aravan and Ulağaç as opposed to *alétir* at Delmeso (and elsewhere), the latter with epenthetic [i] (*ibid.*). More importantly, Dawkins observes that the deleted final unstressed [i] reappears in combination with the possessive suffixes 1sg *m(u)*, 2sg *s(u)*, 3sg *t(u)* and 3pl *-tun*/*-tne*, e.g. “*to spít*, but *to spíti m*’, because the substantive and the enclitic count as one word” (*ibid.*). Elsewhere, he notes: “The *-i* termination dropped in diminutives and the *-i* of feminines before this enclitic possessive count as medial, and are therefore not dropped, unless the

28 It is unclear to me why Karatsareas distinguishes inherited oxytone neuter nouns like *ftí* (IC6) from inherited paroxytone neuter nouns like *spít* (IC7), but treats inherited oxytone masculine nouns like *pištikós* and inherited (pro)paroxytone masculine nouns like *áθropos* as a single inflectional class (IC1) (2016: 44). Equally problematical is the distinction of inherited paroxytone feminine nouns like *néka* (IC4a) from inherited paroxytone feminine nouns like *níf(i)* (IC4b) to the exclusion of inherited oxytone feminine nouns like *aðerfí* (ibid.). A comparison between the oxytone types and their (par)oxytone counterparts tells us a great deal about the evolution and distribution of inherited and innovative forms in the Cappadocian dialects.

pronunciation is easy without them" (p. 121). Compare the following examples from Axo (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 53; cf. Dawkins 1916: 121):[29]

(23)

	sg		**pl**	
1	*spíti-m*	< *spíti-m(u)*	*spít-mas*	< *spíti-mas*
2	*spíti-s*	< *spíti-s(u)*	*spít-sas*	< *spíti-sas*
3	*spíti-t*	< *spíti-t(u)*	*spíti-tne*	< *spíti-t(u)n*
	'my house'		(Axo)	

Dawkins also points to cases of final cluster reduction at Aravan and Ghurzono, where [tʃ] is reduced to [ʃ] but "treated as in medial position under these circumstances", e.g. *mátš* > *máš* vs. *mátši-m* 'my eye' (p. 121) or *spítš* > *spíš* vs. *spítši-m* 'my house' (p. 74). It is important to add, however, that *mátš* and *spítš* are themselves the result of the palatalization of [t] before [i] in these particular dialects, a sound change which must have preceded the deletion of final unstressed [i]. Compare *korítsi* 'girl' > Cappadocian *korítši* > *korítš* > *koríš* vs. *korítši-m* at Aravan, Ghurzono and Ulağaç (Dawkins 1916: 612), gen. *koritší-u* > *koritšú*, pl. *korítši-a* > *korítša* (Kesisoglou 1951: 9; Phosteris & Kesisoglou 19160: 161).

Elsewhere, Dawkins notes that, in comparison with IC6, IC7 "is by far the commoner, and to it always belong the numerous Turkish substantives ending in a consonant, the meaning of which does not involve the idea of personality" (1916: 90). Interestingly, the example quoted by Dawkins is *deŋgíš* at Delmeso, which is borrowed from Turkish *deniz* in its Ottoman form *deŋiz* 'sea' (1916: 674 *s.v. deṇiz*). At Aravan it is recorded as *deŋíš* (Dawkins 1916: 674), *deŋíž* or *deŋgíš* (Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960: 52). The palatalization of the final [z] of *deŋiz* must be the result of its integration in IC7 by means of the derivational suffix *-i* as the integrating element or 'integrator' (for the term see Ralli et al. 2015; Ralli 2016):

29 Unstressed [i] is syncopated in the first and second person plural forms, while unstressed [u] is syncopated in the third person plural (Dawkins 1916: 121; Janse 2018: §7.4.2.1).

(24)	**sg**	**pl**
NOM-ACC	*deŋgíš* < *deŋgíž* < *deŋgíži* < *deŋgíz-i*	*deŋgíž(j)a*
GEN	*deŋgiž(j)ú*	
	‘sea’	(IC7)

Note that the palatalization cannot be explained from the inflected forms, as final [s] is regularly voiced and the resulting [z] regularly preserved before the endings *-jú* and *-ja* (Dawkins 1916: 80), e.g. *layozjú* and *layózja* in (8) and (11) instead of **layož(j)ú* and **layóž(j)a*.

It may be added that final-obstruent devoicing is responsible for the change of [ʒ] to [ʃ] in *deŋgíš*, but it also applies to other obstruants, particularly fricatives, e.g. *vóði* ‘ox’ > *vóð* at Delmeso, but *vóθ*, pl. *vóðja* at Malakopi (Dawkins 1916: 91; Janse 2018: §6.2.2.3). The final-obstruent devoicing observed in nom. sg. *deŋgíš* as opposed to gen. sg. *deŋgiž(j)ú*, nom.-acc. pl. *deŋgíž(j)a* has its counterpart in words in which the final consonant is inherently unvoiced. Compare, for instance, *kerási* ‘cherry’ > *ceráši* > *ceráš*, gen. *ceraž(j)ú*, pl. *ceráž(j)a* (Dawkins 1916: 91). The voicing of unvoiced obstruents before the voiced palatal fricative [j̰] of the endings *-jú* and *-ja* is regular (Dawkins 1916: 70; Janse 2018: §6.2.2.3) and is also observed in the corresponding endings of the inherited masculine nouns in *-os*, *-is* and *-as* (see examples in section 3).

These nouns have the peculiarity that the final [s] of the nominative singular and plural is often deleted when followed by a possessive suffix, especially when the noun is oxytone (Dawkins 1916: 121). Compare, for instance, the following examples with *vavás* ‘father’ from Axo (p. 121):

(25)		**sg**	**pl**
	1	*vavá-m*	*vavá-mas*
	2	*vavá-s*	*vavá-sas*
	3	*vavá-t*	*vavá-tne*
		‘father’	(Axo)

The deletion of the [s] has been explained in different ways. Dawkins notes: “Oxytone words generally drop the -ç” (1916: 91), which makes the phenomenon reminiscent of the inflection of oxytone IC1 nouns at Fertek and Misti such as *layojú* and *layója* in (10). However, it should be recalled that the [s] is often deleted in the nominative plural (Dawkins 1916: 108;

Janse 2018: §7.4.2.1), e.g. *papái* at Misti and *papáje* at Axo in (16). From this one could argue that the base form without [s] was generalized throughout the paradigm, perhaps due to differential object marking (cf. section 3). Elsewhere, I have explained the generalization of base forms without [s] as evidence for the reanalysis of [s] as a marker of indefiniteness, which is incompatible with nouns marked as definite by a possessive pronoun (Janse 2004: 12-6). It is important, however, to note that this applies to animate nouns in particular, because inanimate nouns seem to follow the Turkish agglutinative pattern when combined with the singular possessive suffixes (Janse 2004: 15). This type is only attested in Central and South Cappadocian, particularly at Axo, Fertek and Ulağaç.[30] It is conveniently illustrated by the following example from Axo (Mavroxalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 53-4) and its Turkish counterpart (Lewis 2000: 37-8; Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 66):

(26a)		**sg**	**pl**	(26b)		**sg**	**pl**
	1	***melóz-um***	*meló-mas*		1	*akıl-ım*	*akıl-ımız*
	2	***melóz-us***	*meló-sas*		2	*akıl-ın*	*akıl-ınız*
	3	***melóz-ut***	*meló-tne*		3	*akıl-ı*	*akıl-lar-ı*
		‘brain’	(Axo)			‘brain’	(Turkish)

This example is particularly illuminating, as the nominative-accusative singular form melós has lost its final [s] at Axo as in all the other Cappadocian dialects except at Sinasos (Dawkins 1916: 625).[31] It reappears in combination with the singular possessive suffixes and with the agglutinative inflections *-jú* and *-ja*. Compare the inherited and innovative inflections at Axo (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 33-8) with those in contemporary Mišótika (fieldwork notes):

30 For more details on this complicated issue see Dawkins (1916: 121-2) and Janse (2018: §7.4.2.1).

31 AncGr *muelós* ‘marrow’ > MedGr *muelós* & *mueló* ‘brain’ next to Postclassical *mualós* > MedGr *mualós* & *mualó* > ModGr *mñaló* ‘brain’.

(26b)	**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM-ACC	***meló***	***mel-ús*** ***melóz-ja***	*meló*	*mel-á* ***meló-ja***
GEN	***mel-jú*** ***meloz-jú***	***meloz-jú***	*mel-ú* ***melo-jú***	**—**
	‘brain’	(Axo)	‘brain’	(Mišótika)

At Axo the possessive suffixes of the type illustrated in (26a) always have the vowel [u]. In addition to these examples, Mavrochalyvidis and Kesisoglou document the following cases: *to vrómoz-ut* ‘its stench’ (pp. 172, 179), *sto lóɣoz-ut apáno* ‘on his word’ (p. 181), *érete jípnoz-ut* ‘his sleep comes’ (p. 210), *šán to stavróz-ut* ‘he makes his cross’ (p. 216), *as to fóvoz-ut xán to meló-t* (*sic*)[32] ‘from his fear he loses his mind’ (p. 216), *t’ misefir-júz-um* ‘my visitors’ (acc. pl., p. 202). It is tempting to interpret these examples in terms of vowel harmony, but Mavrochalyvidis and Kesisoglou also quote the following: *xïzmedžíj-ez-ut* [xɯzmeˈdʒi̯ezut] ‘his servants’ (p. 196; Turkish *hizmetçi-ler-i*), *ta fortš-éz-ut* ‘his clothes’ (p. 204) and, paradigmatically, *ta lír-ez-um*, *-us*, *-ut* ‘my, your, his liras’ (p. 54). The examples from Axo quoted by Dawkins confirm the generalization of the [u] in the possessive suffixes (1916: 121): *omušús*, *omušúz-um*, *-ut* ‘my, his neighbour’ vs. *omušíj-ez-ut* ‘his neighbours’ (Turkish *komşu-lar-ı*), and compare *bašás* ‘older brother’ with its Turkish source *paşa*:

(27a)		**sg**		**pl**	
	1	*bašá-m*	*bašá-mas*	***bašáj-ez-um***	*bašáj-e-mas*
	2	*bašá-s*	*bašá-sas*	***bašáj-ez-us***	*bašáj-e-sas*
	3	*bašá-t*	*baša-tne*	***bašáj-ez-ut***	*bašáj-e-tne*
		‘older brother’	(Axo)	‘older brothers’	(Axo)

32 Compare *melóz-ut* in (26a), quoted by Mavrochalyvidis and Kesisoglou (1960: 54).

(27b)

	sg		pl	
1	*paşa-m*	*paşa-mız*	*paşa-lar-ım*	*paşa-lar-ımız*
2	*paşa-n*	*paşa-nız*	*paşa-lar-ın*	*paşa-lar-ınız*
3	*paşa-sı*	*paşa-lar-ı*	*paşa-lar-ı*	*paşa-lar-ı*[33]
	'older brother'	(Turkish)	'older brothers'	(Turkish)

Dawkins' examples from Fertek, on the other hand, seem to involve vowel harmony (p. 121-2): *adelfád-es-im* 'my sisters' (*aðelfí*), *kundír-es-im*, *-itne* 'my, their boots' (Turkish *kundura-lar-ım*, *-lar-ı*), *filád-es-itne* 'their books' (*filáða*). The examples from Ulağaç display variation (p. 121): *sábïs-ït* [ɯt] (written σάbəσə τ) 'his master' (Turkish *sahab-ı*)[34] and *topúz-ut* [ut] 'his club' (Turkish *topuz-u*), which follow the rules of Turkish vowel harmony, but *xerífos-it* [it] 'her husband' (Dawkins's translation) and *γámos-ït* [ɯt] 'his wedding', where one would expect [ut]. Kesisoglou specifies that the vowel is normally [i] after closed (*kleistá*) vowels and [ɯ] after open (*anoixtá*) vowels (1951: 14). This suggests that the vowel harmony at Ulağaç (and perhaps also at Fertek) is restricted to 'palatal assimilation' (Lewis 2000: 14), also called 'fronting harmony' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 21-2): front vowels are followed by the closed front vowel [i] and back vowels are followed by the closed back vowel [ɯ]. Kesisoglou's examples (p. 14) include *bilezíc*, *bilezí(γ)-im* 'my bracelet' (Turkish *bilezik*, *bileziğ-im*) and *jastḯk*, *jastḯ(γ)-ït* [ɯt] 'his pillow' (Turkish *yastık*, *yastığ-ı*). His folktales contains further instances: *arkadáš-ït*, Turkish *arkadaş-ı* 'his friend' (p. 160), *gardáš-ït* [ɯt], Turkish *kardaş-ı* 'her brother (p. 152), voc. *gárdaš-ïm* [ɯm] 'my brother' (pp. 150, 152, 154), but also *buinúz-im* [im] instead of *buinúz-ïm* [ɯm], Turkish *boynuz-um* 'my horn' (p. 150) and *jípnos-it* [it] 'his sleep' instead of *jípnos-ït* [ɯt] (p. 146), as in *xerífos-it* vs. *γámos-ït* (Dawkins 1916: 121, quoted above).

Kesisoglou's first examples *bilezí(γ)-im* and *jastḯ(γ)-ït* are interesting for other reasons, as they involve the Turkish '*k*/*ğ* alternation' (Lewis 2000: 10; Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 15-6): [k] and its palatal counterpart [c] are voiced and fricativized to [ɣ] in postvocalic position at the end of polysyllabic nouns when followed by a suffix beginning with a vowel. This [ɣ] is deleted in standard Turkish, but "audible as a 'Northumbrian burr' of varying intensity in dialect" (Lewis 2000: 5; cf. Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 7).

33 **paşa-lar-lar-ı* is blocked (Lewis 2000 : 38; Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 154) because of of a 'stuttering constraint' (many thanks to Brian Joseph for pointing this out).

34 On *sábïs* 'master' and similar forms see footnote 39.

The phenomenon is recorded at Ulağaç, Malakopi, Floïta and Misti by Dawkins, who quotes *kapák*, *kapáγ-ït*, Turkish *kapak*, *kapağ-ı* 'its cover' (Floïta, pp. 86, 91), *patišaxlĺ́k*, *patišaxlĺ́γ-im*, Turkish *padişahlık*, *padişahlığ-ım* 'my kingdom' (Ulağaç, pp. 86, 121) and *tširáx*, *tširáγ-ït*, Turkish *çirak*, *çirağ-ı* 'his servant' (Misti, pp. 388, 671 *s.v. čiraq*).

At Ulagaç, the *k*/*ğ* alternation has reached the next stage of the lenition process called '*k*/*Ø* alternation' by Göksel and Kerslake (2005: 21-2), in which intervocalic fricatives are deleted altogether, a more general phenomenon encountered not only at Ulağaç, but at Axo and Misti as well (Dawkins 1916: 70; Janse 2018: §6.2.2.1). Kesisoglou does not seem to be aware of either *k*/*ğ* or *k*/*Ø* alternation, as is clear from his description of the changes: "after the deletion (*apovolí*) of the final [c]/[k] and [h] of Turkish words and the adjoining (*epítaksi*) of the possessive pronoun *m(u)*, *(s)u*, *t(u)* the vowel [i] is inserted (*anaptíssetai*) which, when preceded by closed (*kleistá*) [i.e. front] vowels, is pronounced as [i], when preceded by open (*anoixtá*) [i.e. back] vowels, as [ɯ]" (1951: 14). A good example is *gonák* 'palace' at Ulağaç (Kesisoglou 1951: 9, 14, 31), with its Turkish equivalent *konak*:

(28a)		**sg**		**pl**	
NOM-ACC		*gonák-Ø*		*gonák-ja*	
	1	***goná(γ)-ïm***	*gonák-mas*	*gonák-ja-m*	*gonák-ja-mas*
	2	***goná(γ)-ïs***	*gonák-sas*	*gonák-ja-s*	*gonák-ja-sas*
	3	***goná(γ)-ït***	***goná(γ)-ïtne***	*gonák-ja-t*	*gonák-ja-tne*
GEN		*gonak-jú*		**—**	
		'mansion'	(Ulağaç)	'mansions'	(Ulağaç)

(28b)		**sg**		**pl**	
NOM-ACC		*konak-Ø*		*konak-lar-Ø*	
	1	***konağ-ım***	***konağ-ımız***	*konak-lar-ım*	*konak-lar-ımız*
	2	***konağ-ın***	***konağ-ınız***	*konak-lar-ın*	*konak-lar-ınız*
	3	***konağ-ı***	*konak-lar-ı*	*konak-lar-ı*	*konak-lar-ı*
GEN		***konağ-ın***		*konak-lar-ın*	
		'mansion'	(Turkish)	'mansions'	(Turkish)

Kesisoglou records a few other instances: *analḯγ-ït* 'her stepmother' and *analḯ-ïtne* 'their stepmother' from Turkish *analık* (p. 148, with *k*/*ğ* and *k*/*Ø* alternation respectively), *sayl'ḯ-ïs* 'your health' from Turkish *sağlık* (p. 105), *sandḯ-ït* 'his chest, trunk' from Turkish *sandık* (p. 144-6, *bis*). Interestingly, Kesisoglou seems to interpret his data differently (p. 14), as he writes ἀναλάγə τ', ἀναλάə τνε, σαγλάə σ', σανδάə τ' etc. This is not really consistent with his idea of an 'epenthetic' [i], but rather suggest that the Turkish words are integrated in IC7 by means of the integrator *-i* or, rather, *-I*, as in the case of *deŋgíš* at Delmeso discussed above. This seems unlikely, however, as the outcome of this process would have been different in the case of *gonák*: **gonák-i* > **gonáγ-i* (*k*/ğ alternation) > *gonáγ-Ø* (final-unstressed [i] deletion] > *gonáx* (final-obstruent devoicing) – ignoring the fronting harmony for the time being.

Turkish *konak* is borrowed all over Cappadocia in various forms, depending on the phonetics of the local Central Anatolian Turkish dialects. The Turkish unvoiced velar stop [k] is generally voiced to [g] in intial and fricativized to [x] in medial and final position in Anatolian dialects (Lewis 2000: 4). According to Dawkins, [k] keeps its Turkish pronunciation "medially and initially, except for an occasional confusion with γ […]; finally, it almost everywhere becomes χ", except at Ulağaç and "to a less extent" also in Northwest Cappadocian (1916: 86). In the folktales collected by Dawkins, *konak* 'palace' appears as *konáx*, pl. *konáx-ja* at Fertek (p. 328, *ter*), Misti (p. 386, *bis*) and Floïta (p. 424), but at Ulağaç as *konák*, pl. *konákja* (pp. 348, 354-8) and in one tale also as *konáx* (p. 380, *ter*). Kesisoglou, however, notes the regular voicing of [k] to [g] in initial position at Ulağaç (1951: 97-8), as in *gonák*, gen. *gonakjú*, pl. *gonákja* (pp. 9, 14, 31). Note that [k] as well as [x] keep their velar pronunciation before the endings *-jú* and *-ja* (Dawkins 1916: 86; cf. Kesisoglou 1951: 99). The 'occasional confusion with γ' in initial position seems to be or to have become the rule at Aravan (Fosteris & Kesisoglou 1960: 47-8), Axo (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 130) and also at Misti, where *konak* appears as *γonáx* (Kostakis 1977: 59; Kotsanidis 2005: 161 *s.v.* παλάτι; Koimisoglou 2006: 208 *s.v.* γονάχ). In contemporary Mišótika, [x] keeps it velar pronunciation and remains unvoiced even if the noun is combined with possessive suffixes, which is also the case at Axo where *γonáx-ït* [ɣoˈnaxɯt] (written γονά1χə τ') is recorded by Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou (1960: 220). The fronting harmony is very often ignored in Mišótika, [ɯ] being regularly replaced by [i], which results in the following paradigm:[35]

35 For the fate of [ɯ] and other 'Turkish' vowels in contemporary Mišótika see Vassalou, Papazachariou & Janse (2017; 2018).

(28c)		**sg**		**pl**	
NOM-ACC		*γonáx-Ø*		***γonáx-ja***	
	1	***γonáx-Im***	*γonáx-mas*	***γonáx-ja-m***	***γonáx-ja-mas***
	2	***γonáx-Is***	*γonáx-sas*	***γonáx-ja-s***	***γonáx-ja-sas***
	3	***γonáx-It***	***γonáx-Itni***	***γonáx-ja-t***	***γonáx-ja-tni***
GEN		***γonax-jú***		**—**	
		'mansion'	(Mišótika)	'mansions'	(Mišótika)

The examples just discussed show that the base form of loan nouns integrated in IC7 is often the Turkish nominative singular ending in a consonant to which agglutinative inflections and possessive suffixes are subsequently attached. The final [x] in *γonáx* in Mišótika (29c) and at Axo is neither voiced to [ɣ], as opposed to Ulağaç, nor palatalized to [ç] when followed by possessive suffixes beginning with [i].[36] As at Ulağaç, the velar fricative is often deleted in intervocalic position in Mišótika, but not via the Turkish *k*/*ğ* > *k*/*Ø* alternations (cf. supra): *γonáx-Im* > *γoná-Im*.[37]

The importance of loan nouns for the reorganization of inflectional paradigms is further illustrated by the borrowing of Ottoman Turkish *deŋiz* 'sea' in Cappadocian dialects other than Delmeso (cf. supra). Interestingly, the word is recorded at Aravan as *deŋgíš* or *deŋíž* by Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou (1960: 52), but as *deníš* or *daníš* by Dawkins, who contrasts these with *deŋíš* or *daŋíš* at Ghurzono (1916: 674). All these forms must ultimately derive from an 'integrated' **deŋíz-i*. At Ulağaç, on the contrary, we find both *deŋíz* (Kesisogolou 1951: 96) and, with final-fewer than three variants are recorded: *daŋís* around 1910 (Dawkins 1916: 674), *daŋgís* in the 1960s (Kostakis 1977: 383) and *dæŋgíz* in contemporary Mišótika (Kotsanidis 2005: 93 *s.v.* θάλασσα; Koimisoglou 2006:

36 It should be noted that Dawkins remarks: "This χ is palatal before ι, but in final position probably velar" (1916: 86). It is not clear whether this applies to both his examples qονάχι μ and qονάχια.

37 It is noteworthy that in Mišótika word-final [x] is also found in inherited words where one would expect [ç], e.g. ορνίθι 'hen' > **orníçi* > **orníç* > *ornís* (Kotsanidis 2005: 121 *s.v.* κότα; Koimisoglou 2006: 194 *s.v.* ορνίχι), *ornís-im*, gen. *ornix-jú*, pl. *ornís-ja*, as opposed to *orníç*, pl. **orníy-ja* > *orní-ja* at Axo (Dawkins 1916: 92). Intervocalic [x] is again often deleted: *ornís* > *orní* (Phates 2012: 163 *s.v.* ορνίχ', ορνί), *orní-im*, gen. *orni-jú*, pl. *orní-ja*.

214 *s.v.* ντεγκίζ; Phates 2012: 162 *s.v.* ν͡τε̂ν͡γκίζ).[38] As has already been observed with regard to *layozjú* and *layózja* in (8) and (11), [z] is not palatalized before the endings *-jú* and *-ja* and, importantly, neither before the possessive suffixes, so we get the following paradigm in Mišótika:

(29)		**sg**		**pl**	
NOM-ACC		*dæŋgíz-Ø*		*dæŋgíz-ja*	
	1	***dæŋgíz-im***	*dæŋgíz-mas*	*dæŋgíz-ja-m*	*dæŋgíz-ja-mas*
	2	***dæŋgíz-is***	*dæŋgís-sas*	*dæŋgíz-ja-s*	*dæŋgíz-ja-sas*
	3	***dæŋgíz-it***	***dæŋgíz-itni***	*dæŋgíz-ja-t*	*dæŋgíz-ja-tni*
GEN		*dæŋgiz-jú*		**—**	
		‘sea’	(Mišótika)	‘seas’	(Mišótika)

To these should be added Turkish animate nouns ending in a consonant referring to male entities, which are typically incorporated in the inherited inflectional class of parisyllabic masculine nouns in *-is* (Dawkins 1916: 112-3; cf. Karatsareas 2016: 49). In other words, *-is* serves as the integrator, e.g. Turkish *asker* ‘soldier’ > *ascér-is* (Dawkins 1916: 113):

(30a)	**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM	*ascér-is*	***ascér-Ø***	*ascér-is*	***ascér-Ø***
ACC	*ascér-Ø*	***ascer-jús***	*ascér-Ø*	***ascér-Ø*** ***ascér-ja***
GEN	***ascer-jú***	**—**	***ascer-jú***	**—**
	‘soldier’	(Potamia)	‘soldier’	(Silata)

As observed above, the inflection of the parisyllabic nouns in *-is* is ‘contaminated’ by that of the inherited animate masculine nouns in *-os*, as in the case of *kléftis* (15). In a folktale from Ghurzono recorded by Dawkins

38 The near-open front unrounded vowel [æ] is unrecorded by Dawkins (1916), but transcribed as {ια} by Kostakis, who quotes *celári* ‘cellar’ > κιαλάρ(ι) (1990: 178; cf. Kotsanidis 2005: 113 *s.v.* κελάρι). The forms recorded and elicited by Vassalou, Papazachariou & Janse (2017: 1148) are [kʰelǽr] and, by regressive vowel harmony, [kʰælǽr] (cf. Dawkins’ κελέρ, pp. 65, 608). Phates transcribes [æ] as {ε̂} (2012: 12). The variants transcribed with {α} by Dawkins (1916) and Kostakis (1977) may reflect this [æ].

(1916: 342), the nominative-accusative plural of *kléftis* > *kléftšis* is *kléftes* > *kléfte* and that of *nomátis* > *nomátšis* is *nomátes* > *nomáte*, while the nominative-accusative plural of *ascéris* is *ascér*, as if from *ascéri*. In a folktale from Aravan recorded by Phosteris & Kesisoglou (1960: 110), on the other hand, the nominative-accusative plural of *ascéris* is *ascérja*.

The integrator *-is* is occasionally subject to the fronting harmony identified earlier, but it should be noted that the few attested cases almost always have a more frequently attested variant in either *-os* or *-Ø*.[39] Examples are *aslan* 'lion' > *aslán* (Axo) > *aslánis* (Ghurzono) > *aslános* (Delmeso) and *kaplan* 'leopard' > *kaplánis* (Ghurzono) > *kaplános* (Delmeso) (Dawkins 1916: 113, 664 *s.v. arslan*, 681 *s.v. qaplan*). Turkish *padişah* 'king' is integrated as *patišáxïs* as well as *patišáxos* at Delmeso (Dawkins 1916: 668 *s.v. padišah*), the former occurring four times in folktale 2 (pp. 316-26), the latter five times in folktale 1 (pp. 304-16), which is noteworthy as both are from the same narrator. At Aravan the default form is *patišáxïs* according to Dawkins (1916: 113), but the glossary lists *patišáxïs* as well as *patišáxos* (*loc. cit.*). Phosteris and Kesisoglou list only *patišáxos* in their glossary (1960: 55), which occurs 22 times in their folktale (pp. 98-126), next to an entirely Turkish vocative with possessive suffix *patišax-ĭm* (πατιŏαχə́ μ') = *padişah-im* (p. 104). At Misti the default form is *patišáxïs* according to Dawkins (1916: 113), which is the only form listed in the glossary (*loc. cit.*) and occurs three times in folktale 1 (pp. 384-8). In contemporary Mišótika only *patišáxus* [pʰatiˈʃaxus] is recorded (Kotsanidis 2005: 46 *s.v.* βασιλιάς; Koimisoglou 2006: 215 *s.v.* πατισιάχους), which is the expected form as "at Misti the passage to to the *-os* decl. is complete, the nom. in *-ous* being the local vowel-weakened form of *-os*" (Dawkins 1916:

39 I have noted the following exceptions: *çolak* 'one-armed (person)' > *tšolάy-ïs* > *tšolá-ïs* (Ulağaç; Kesisoglou 1960: 31 *s.v.* τσολάκ), *sahip* 'master' > **saxáp* > *saáp* (Aravan; Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960: 66) > *saáb-ïs* > *sáb-ïs*, with possessive suffix *saáb-ïs-ï* > *sáb-ïs-ï* 'his master', quoted as the nominative form by Kesisoglou (1951: 31, 105 *s.v.* σαάbəσə), with Greek possessive suffix *sábïsï-t* (Dawkins 1916: 121, quoted above), perhaps for *sábïs-ït*. The nominative *sábïsï* originated in phrases where the possessum is expressed, e.g. *xamam-jú do sábïs-ï*, lit. 'bathhouse-GEN the owner-3SG', which is a replication of the Turkish definite or possessive *izafet* construction (Lewis 2000: 41): *hamam-ın sahib-i*, lit. 'bathhouse-GEN owner-3SG'. Dawkins explains the Turkish construction without calling it *izafet* (1916: 201). The nominative form *saabĭ́s* from Axo quoted by Dawkins (p. 677) may be an integrated form of the Turkish indefinite *izafet* construction (Lewis 2000: 41), as it occurs only once in the phrase *odá saab-ĭ́-s*, Turkish *ev sahib-i*, lit. 'house owner-3SG'. Compare *yüz-baş-ı* 'centurion, captain (of a century)', lit. 'hundred head-3SG' > *júzbašï* (Ulağaç; Kesisoglou 1951: 10). A similar integrated *izafet* construction at Axo is *insan oğl-u*, lit. 'man son-3SG' > *insan oγl-ú-s* (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 137 *s.v.* ἰνσάνος).

112; cf. p. 98), e.g. *kléftus* ‘thief’, *pséftus* ‘liar’, *aloγátus* ‘horseman’, *kandiláftus* ‘candle-lighter’ (p. 113), hence also *ascærus* ‘soldier’ (Kotsanidis 2005: 198 *s.v.* στρατιώτης; Koimisoglou 2006: 205 *s.v.* ασκέρους):

(30b)	**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM	*ascǽr-us*	***ascǽr-ja***	*kléft-us*	***kléft-Ø***
ACC	*ascǽr-u*	***ascǽr-ja***	*kléft-u*	***kléft-jús***
GEN	***ascær-jú***	**—**	***kleft-jú***	**—**
	‘soldier’	(Mišótika)	‘thief’	(Mišótika)

Two Turkish loan nouns are only attested with the integrator *-os* in all the Cappadocian dialects. The first one is *herif* ‘man’ > *xeríf-os*, “used in Capp. generally when the vocabulary is very Turkish in place of *ánropos*” (Dawkins 1916: 672 *s.v. herif*). Compare the inflections at Delmeso (4), repeated here as (31), and Ulağaç (Dawkins 1916: 102; Kesisoglou 1951: 34):

(31)		**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM		*xeríf-os*	*xeríf-Ø*	*xeríf-os*	***xeríf-ja***
ACC	INDEF DEF	*xeríf-os* *xeríf-o*	***xerif-jús***	***xeríf-os***	***xeríf-ja***
GEN		***xerif-jú***	—	***xerif-jú***	—
		‘man’	(Delmeso)	‘man’	(Ulağaç)

The second one is *insan* ‘person’ > *insán-os*, *insán-us* (Misti; Dawkins 1916: 665 *s.v. insan*), contemporary Mišótika *intšánus* (Koimisoglou 2006: 209 *s.v.* ιντσιάνους; Phates 2012: 159 *s.v.* ιντŏάνους) or *indžánus* (Kotsanidis 2005: 31 *s.v.* άνθρωπος). Compare the inflections at Axo and Malakopi (Dawkins 1916: 99-100):

(32)		**sg**	**pl**	**sg**	**pl**
NOM		*insán-os*	*insán-Ø*	*insán-us*	***insán-ja***
ACC	INDEF	***insán-os***	***insán-Ø***	***insán-us***	***insán-ja***
	DEF	*insán-o*	***insan-jús***	*insán-u*	
GEN		***insan-jú***	—	***insan-jú***	—
		'person'	(Axo)	'person'	(Malakopi)

The ways in which Turkish loan nouns are integrated in the various inflectional classes of the Cappadocian dialects and the remarkable inter- and even intradialectal variation are very instructive for our understanding of the origin and spread of the agglutinative inflections. First of all, it seems reasonable to assume that in the mind of bilingual speakers – "when the vocabularies of two languages have reached a high degree of fusion" in the words of Dawkins (1916: 197) – both inflections, Greek and Turkish, are activated. Speakers from Ulağaç, for instance, would know that the local Turkish equivalents of *gonak, gonak-jú*, *goná(γ)-ïm*, *gonák-ja* and *gonák-ja-m* (28a) are *gonak, gonağ-ın*, *gonağ-ım*, *gonak-lar* and *gonak-lar-ım* (28b). Likewise, they would know that the Turkish equivalents of *xeríf-os*, *xerif-jú* and *xeríf-ja* (31) are *herif*, *herif-in* and *herif-ler* – the only difference being the integrator *-os*, which is attached to the (Turkish) base form *xeríf*, as are the endings *-jú* and *-ja*. This is worthy of note because *xeríf-os* is the only integrated loan noun listed in Kesisoglou's glossary (1951: 100-8), cf. *arkadaş* 'friend' > *arkadáš* (p. 100), *kardaş* 'brother' > *gardáš* (p. 203), *misafir* 'visitor' > *misafír* (p. 104), *çoban* 'shepherd' > *tsobán* (p. 106).[40]

Upon closer inspection, the case of *xerífos* at Ulağaç becomes even more interesting, as the integrator *-os* remains uninflected in the accusative singular, which is identical with the nominative, whereas the genitive singular in *-jú* and the nominative-accusative plural in *-ja* are the agglutinative inflections attached to the (Turkish) base form. On the basis of the inflections of *áθropos* (1) at Delmeso and *átropos* (20) at Ulağaç we can now attempt a reconstruction of the development of the Cappadocian noun inflections. The first stage can be represented as follows:

40 The glossary also contains *padişah* 'king' > *patisáx* (p. 105), but Kesisoglou mentions an integrated variant *patisá(x)-ïs* (p. 31, written πατισάəς), as well as two others: *sarhoş* 'drunk(ard)' > *serxó(s)-is* and *çolak* 'one-handed, -armed' > *tsolá(γ)-ïs* (p. 31, written τσολάəς and σερχό(σ)ης; cf. p. 109 *ss.vv.* σερχός and τσολάκ). Note that postalveolar [ʃ] occasionally changes to alveolar [s] in the post-exchange speech of speakers from Ulağaç (Kesisoglou 1951: 98).

(33a)		**sg**			
NOM		*áθrop-os*			
ACC	INDEF	*áθrop-o*	→ ***áθrop-os***		
	DEF		→ *áθrop-o*		
GEN		*aθróp-u*	→ *aθróp-Ø*	→ ***aθrop-jú***	

(33b)		**pl**			
NOM		*aθróp-i*	→ *aθróp-Ø*		
ACC	INDEF	*aθróp-us*	→ ***aθróp-Ø***	→ ***aθróp-Ø***	→ ***aθrop-jús***
	DEF		→ *aθróp-us*		
GEN		*aθróp-o(n)*	→ *aθróp-u(n)*	→ ***aθróp-Ø***	→ ***aθrop-jú(n)***
		‘man’	(Delmeso)		

The innovations in the second column are the indefinite accusative singular *áθropos* and plural *aθróp*, which are identical with the nominative singular and plural respectively, and the genitive plural *aθróp-u(n)*, with raising of unstressed [o] to [u] (Karatsareas 2011: 224).[41] For reasons to be explained later on I assume a stage in which the use of the inherited nominative plural *aθróp* was extended to mark indefinite objects on the analogy of the nominative singular *aθrópos*. This was followed by a stage in which the inherited accusative plural *aθrópus* gave way to the generalized syncretic nominative-accusative plural *aθróp* found in Northwest Cappadocian (5), which in turn led to the development of the innovative accusative plural *aθropjús*, “a new analogical formation” based on the secondary genitive singular ending *-jú* according to Dawkins (1916: 95, quoted in section 3), on which I will have more to say below. Due to the deletion of final unstressed [u] in the genitive singular and plural and of

41 Dawkins’ second folktale from Floïta seems to exhibit both forms: *xristjanú ta peðjá* ‘the children of the Christians’ and *xristianó sxoljú ta fšáxa* ‘the children of the school of the Christians’ (1916: 426; cf. p. 98 for Dawkins’ identification of both forms). In the same folktale, the genitive plural of *Túrkos* ‘Turk’ is *Turkú*, recorded at Fertek by Dawkins (p. 106): *Turkú skoljú ta fšáxa* ‘the children of the school of the Turks’, *Turkú ta fšáxa* ‘the children of the Turks’ and *Turkú fšaxú ta mátja* ‘the eyes of the children of the Turks’ (p. 426), where *fšaxú* seems to be the genitive plural of *fšáx*, although the same form is used for the genitive singular in folktale 1: *egí so fšaxú do kifál* ‘on the head of that child’, which rephrases *egí peðjú do kifál* ‘the head of that boy’ (both on p. 412).

final unstressed [i] in the nominative(-accusative) plural, theses cases became syncretic: *aϑróp*. The genitive plural in *-jún* is attested in Cappadocian (Dawkins 1916: 90), albeit very rarely due to the regular deletion of word-final [n] (Karatsareas 2011: 224). This in turn occasioned the innovative marking of the genitive singular and plural by the generalized genitive suffix *-jú*, which was borrowed from the inherited neuter nouns in *-i* like *spít(i)* and *ftí* (22a)-(22b).

Karatsareas has a different interpretation of this "repair strategy" (2011: 237). He believes it is due to "stress uncertainty" as a result of a tendency towards columnar stress (pp. 234-8). This tendency is evident in the nominative plural *aϑróp(i)* instead of inherited *áϑrop(i)* and abounds in the agglutinative inflection of proparoxytone nouns with violation of the three-syllable rule, e.g. *jáskaloz-ju* and *jáskaloz-ja* at Ghurzono (13), *áropoz-ju* and *áropoz-ja* at Aravan (13), *átropoz-ju*, *átropoz-ja* and *átropoz-ja-ju* at Ulağaç (20). There is, however, no evidence whatsoever of stress uncertainty in the genitive singular in Cappadocian, where forms such as **áϑrop(u)* instead of inherited *aϑróp(u)* are not attested.

Karatsareas also invokes the principle of diagrammaticity by which "marked values for case and number tend to be expressed by more complex material than that used to express unmarked values" (2011: 240). The expression of the marked genitive by a zero marker *-Ø* as opposed to the expression of the unmarked nominative-indefinite accusative by a more complex marker *-os* would go against this principle (pp. 238-41). It is important to realize that the principle of diagrammaticity is a typological tendency, not a rule, let alone a law. This is most clearly shown in the borrowing of differential object marking in Cappadocian, one of many instances of 'pattern borrowing' (Sakel 2007) or, more accurately, 'pattern replication' (Matras 2009: 234-74; 2010: 70-2). Whereas Turkish uses the unmarked nominative case to mark indefinite objects as opposed to the marked accusative case to mark definite objects, Cappadocian has replicated the Turkish pattern by using the morphologically more complex nominative of the inherited masculine nouns to mark indefinite objects as opposed to the morphologically less complex accusative. Compare, for instance, *adam-Ø* (3b) and *adam-ı* (3a) with *áϑrop-os* (2b) and *áϑrop-o* (2a), or nominative-indefinite accusative *kléft-is* and *numát-is* with definite accusative *kléft-Ø* (15) and *numát-Ø* (16).

My point is that the innovative marking of the inherited genitive singular and plural in *-u* > *-Ø* was triggered by the syncretism of the former with the inherited nominative plural in *-i* > *-Ø*. Both cases now ending in a consonant or, technically, in *-C-Ø*, a 'repair strategy' was invoked by analogy

with the inherited neuter nouns in *-i* > *-Ø*. As already remarked, the inherited nouns in *-í* (IC6) and *-i* > *-Ø* (IC7) are "very common" and the latter type is "by far the commoner, and to it always belong the numerous substantives ending in a consonant, the meaning of which does not involve the idea of personality" (Dawkins 1916: 90). It will be useful to repeat another quotation from Dawkins in the same context: "Paroxytone neuters of the 2nd decl. such as *spít* are extremely common, and are swelled by the number of borrowed Turkish words declined in this way. *Spít* then forms its plural as *spít-ja* and its gen. *spit-jú*, apparently, and thus to the consciousness of the speaker really, by adding *-ja* and *-jú* to the nominative, just as Turkish does the same by adding *-ler* and *-in*. As Turkish does this universally, so the Greek has done in his own language what he habitually does when he talks Turkish, and used his own endings *-ja* and *-jú* in the Turkish agglutinative way" (1916: 98).

Before I go on to explain why I think these intuitive observations by Dawkins are so important for our correct understanding of the development of agglutinative inflections in Cappadocian, I need to address the 'potential problem' addressed above with regard to the analysis of the inflection of *spít(i)* in (22a) as opposed to (22b). It was argued there that a number of changes in the final consonant of nouns from IC7 can only be explained through the original final unstressed [i], that is before it was deleted, e.g. *spíti* > *spítši* > *spítš* > *spíš*. It was also argued that this [i] reappears if the noun is combined with possessive suffixes, e.g. *spítši-m.* Now as correct as this analysis may be diachronically, there are actually good reasons to doubt its synchronic validity and these reasons have to do with the workings of the bilingual mind and, more particularly, with pattern replication. Examples like *melóz-um* (26a), instead of *meló-m*, *γonáx-Im* (28c), with its occasional vowel harmony, and even more so *goná(γ)-ïm* (28a), with both vowel harmony and the *k*/*ğ* > ğ/*Ø* alternation, suggest that *spít(š)i-m* could equally well be analyzed synchronically as *spít(š)-im* by analogy with its Turkish equivalent *ev-im*, as in Karatsareas' analysis (21a-b), which now has a much more secure grounding. The formal similarity of the Turkish possessive sufixes 1sg *-(I)m*, 2sg *-(I)n*, 3sg *-(s)I* etc. with their Cappadocian equivalents 1sg *-(I)m*, 2sg *-(I)s*, 3sg *-(I)t* etc. as in (27a-b) and (28a-b) must have played a significant role in this reanalysis, as already argued by Hatzidakis (1911-12: 34), albeit on internal, not on external (i.e. contact-induced) grounds.[42]

42 Dawkins seems to exclude pattern replication in such cases, for instance when he suggests that "the position of the accent is an important factor" (1916: 122), while

From these examples it becomes clear how important the integration of Turkish loan nouns is for the reanalysis of the inflectional system of Cappadocian. Consider, for instance, the reconstructed development of the inflection of *xerífos* at Ulağaç (31):[43]

(34a)		**sg**		
NOM		*xeríf-os*		
ACC	INDEF	*xeríf-o*	→ ***xeríf-os***	→ ***xeríf-os***
	DEF		→ *xeríf-o*	
GEN		*xeríf-u*	→ *xeríf-Ø*	→ ***xerif-jú***

(34b)		**pl**			
NOM		*xeríf-i*	→ *xeríf-Ø*	→ ***xeríf-ja***	
ACC	INDEF DEF	*xeríf-us*	→ ***xeríf-Ø***	→ ***xeríf-ja***	
GEN		*xeríf-o(n)*	→ *xeríf-u(n)*	→ ***xeríf-Ø***	→ ***xerif-jú(n)***
		‘man’	(Ulağaç)		

Looking at the paradigm of *xerífos* in (34), we see how the agglutinative inflections genitive *-jú* and plural *-ja* attach to the (Turkish) base, which is the form of the (nonintegrated) nominative singular in Turkish. In other words, the inflections are based entirely on the Turkish pattern: gen. *xerif-jú* :: *herif-in*, pl. *xeríf-ja* :: *herif-ler.* The integrator *-os*, on the other hand, is an archaism at Ulağaç, where it is no longer perceived as an inflectional suffix. This appears from the fact that the accusative singular, whether indefinite or definite, is always *xerífos*, and that possessive suffixes are attached directly to *xerífos* as if it were the base form, e.g. *do xerífos-it* ‘her husband’ (Dawkins 1916: 376, quoted above), instead of **xeríf-it* :: *herif-i*. It also appears from the fact that *xerífos* is always used in the nominative with the neuter definite article *to*/*do* at Ulağaç (Dawkins 1916: 378-82, thirteen times; Kesisoglou 1951: 156, once). If the integrator *-os* in *xerífos* had still been recognized as a marker of IC1a, the inflectional

acknowledging the variation of the “developed vowel”: “one determining factor is no doubt the Turkish vowel-harmony” (*ibid.*).

43 It should be noted that some of the intermediate stages are attested elsewhere, e.g. gen. sg. *xerïf* at Axo (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 36), nom. pl. *xeríf* at Delmeso (Dawkins 1916: 95), cf. (4) and (31).

class of the inherited animate masculine nouns in *-os*, the (masculine) definite article would have been omitted, as at Delmeso (Dawkins 1916: 318, once), Floïta (Dawkins 1916: 430, once), Axo (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 206, once) and Aravan (Dawkins 1916: 336, eight times; Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960: 100-6, thirteen times).

It is revealing to compare the distribution of *xerífos* with that of *patišáx* at Ulağaç. Dawkins' folktales contain thirteen examples of nominative *to*/*do patišáx* (1916: 358-82) and ten examples of the agglutinative genitive *patišax-jú* (pp. 358-82), two of which occur in folktale five which, however, also contains two examples of the inherited genitive *patišáx-Ø* (pp. 360-2). The same folktale also features the loan noun *hoca* 'schoolmaster' > *xodžá*, which is used twice in the nominative *to*/*do xodžá*, twice in the accusative *to*/*do xodžá*, but also twice in the integrated definite nominative *xodžá-s*, without the (masculine) definite article.[44] It is very remarkable that we should find instances of integrated and nonintegrated loan nouns apparently used interchangeably in the same text, including nominative *do xerífos* (p. 360), with the neuter article, instead of *xerífos* or *to*/*do xeríf*.

It is even more remarkable that Kesisoglou's folktales from Ulağaç contain five instances of the integrated nominative *patisá(x)-ïs* (πατισάəς), again without the (masculine) article,[45] as opposed to more than sixty instances of nominative(-accusative) *do patisáx* (1951: 136-60). The second folktale also contains three examples of the nonintegrated loan noun with possessive suffix: *patisá(x)-ïm* (πατισάə μ') 'my king' (pp. 144-6), as opposed to the already quoted *do xerífos-it* instead of **xeríf-it* or **xerífo-t*. This gives us the following tentative reconstruction of the development of the inflection of *patišáx-Ø* at Ulağaç:

44 The same folktale contains four instances of nominative *vavá-t* 'her father', without the (masculine) article as opposed to one instance of accusative *do vavá-t* (pp. 360-2), on which see Dawkins (1916: 87) and Kesisoglou (1951: 49).

45 There is one case where the integrated noun seems at first sight to have the neuter article, but here do is the enclitic third person pronoun: *éferan ena godžá néka gi épen do patišáïs* 'they brought in an old woman and the king said to her' (Kesisoglou 1951: 150).

(35a)		**sg**		
NOM		*patišáx-ls* → ***patišáx-ïs***	→ ***patišáx-Ø***	
		patišax-Ø → ***patišáx-Ø***		
ACC	INDEF	*patišáx-ls* → ***patišáx-ïs***	→ *patišáx-Ø*	
	DEF	*patišáx-I* → ***patišáx-ï***		
GEN		*patišáx-u* → *patišáx-Ø*	→ ***patišax-jú***	

(35b)		**pl**			
NOM		*patišáx-i*	→ *patišáx-Ø*	→ ***patišáx-ja***	
ACC	INDEF	*patišáx-us*	→ ***patišáx-Ø***	→ ***patišáx-Ø***	→ ***patišáx-ja***
	DEF		→ *patišáx-us*		
GEN		*patišáx-o(n)*	→ *patišáx-u(n)*	→ ***patišáx-Ø***	→ ***patišax-jú(n)***
		‘king’	(Ulağaç)		

The examples from Ulağaç in (34) and (35) reveal the importance of the base form of the Turkish nouns for their integration in the local inflectional class. It is therefore important to understand that the historical development of the inflection of the Turkish loan nouns in (34) and (35) could be synchronically based for any new loan noun on the eventual outcomes of the diachronic process of integration hypothetically sketched here. In other words, a word like *kardaş* ‘brother’, or *gardaş* in the local Turkish variety, could be synchronically integrated directly as an IC7 instead of an IC1a noun (Karatsareas 2016: 54-9): *gardáš-Ø*, gen. *gardáš-(j)u*, pl. *gardáš-(j)a* and, with possessive suffixes, *gardáš-ït* ‘her brother’ (Kesisoglou 1951: 152), voc. *gárdaš-ïm* ‘my brother’ (pp. 150-4).

The agglutination of possessive suffixes to the Turkish base form highlights the importance, for the reorganization of the Cappadocian inflectional system, of the multitude of Cappadocian case forms ending in a consonant due to the deletion of unstressed [u] and [i] and its alignment with the Turkish agglutinative system, i.c. syncretic genitive singular-plural and syncretic nominative- indefinite accusative plural. It also shows how this paved the way for the reanalysis of any nominative form ending in a consonant as the base form to which both inflectional suffixes and possessive suffixes could be attached such as animate *xerífos-it* after inanimate *méloz-um* (26a) and other examples quoted above in connection with the latter. This was certainly facilitated by the fact that forms like *gardáš-ït* and *gárdaš-ïm* are structurally very similar to their Turkish

counterparts *kardaş-ı* and *kardaş-ım*, which must have facilitated the re-analysis of forms like *spíti-m* as *spít-im* and of the inflected forms *spitj-ú* and *spítj-a* as *spit*-jú and *spít-ja* by analogy with their Turkish counterparts *ev-im*, *ev-in* and *ev-ler*, as already suggested by Dawkins with regard to the inflections (1916: 98, quoted twice above) and also, in partial agreement with Hatzidakis (1911-12: 34), with regard to the possessive suffixes (1916: 121 fn. 1, see above).

The difference between singular *vavá-m* 'my father' on the one hand and on the other hand plural *vaváj-ez-um* 'my fathers' vs. *vaváj-e-mas* 'our fathers' at Axo is explained as follows by Dawkins: "oxytone words generally drop the -ç" and "paroxytone words generally develope [*sic*] a vowel before the sg. possessive and drop the -ç before the plural" (1916: 121). Elsewhere (Janse 2004: 15-6) I have argued that the deletion of the final [s] before the possessive suffixes in cases like *vavá-m* has to do with the association of [s] with indefiniteness, which led to the incompatibility of the masculine definite article with the syncretic nominative-indefinite accusative in *-s* and the development of definite nominatives without the *-s*, especially at Fertek (Krinopoulos 1889: 35; Dawkins 1916: 106) and (post-exchange?) Ulağaç (Kesisoglou 1951: 25-6). The distinctive use of acc. *to lík-o* vs. nom. *líko* 'the wolf', without the (masculine) definite article, in a folktale from Axo recorded by Dawkins (1916: 396), was pointed out in the paper just mentioned (Janse 2004: 18). Comparable examples of inanimate nouns, which do not omit the (neuter) definite article, are given by Dawkins, who calls it a "slight tendency", e.g. definite nom.-acc. *to mílo* 'the mill' vs. indefinite nom.-acc. *(ena) mílos* (1916: 94). The existence of such syncretic doublets probably explains why we sometimes find generalized syncretic nominative-accusative forms with final [s] next to generalized syncretic nominative-accusative forms without final [s] in the same dialect, e.g. nom.-acc. *átrop-o* 'man', gen. *atrop-jú*, pl. *atróp-ja* vs. *džávol-os*, gen. *džavol-jú*, pl. *džavól-ja* at Fertek (Dawkins 1916: 106), with an interesting development in the plural of *sernik-ó*[46] 'male', which is *sernic-í* as if from masculine *sernik-ós* at Fertek (*ibid.*), but *sernik-á* as if from neuter *sernik-ó* at Ulağaç (Kesisoglou 1951: 33).

The use of the [s]-less forms with possessive pronouns will have facilitated the generalization of syncretic nominative-accusatives like *vavá* 'father', particularly in the South Cappadocian dialects of Aravan (Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960: 20), Fertek (Krinopoulos 1889: 44) and Ulağaç (Kesisoglou 1951: 66), but also at Axo (Mavrochalyidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 97) and Malakopi (Karphopoulos 2008: 102). In the case of *vavá* another

46 MedGr *arsenikós* > *asernikós* > *sernikós*.

factor may have come into play. Being a kinship term, such words are frequently used as terms of address, in which case the [s] would be absent as well (Dawkins 1916: 90). Paroxytone kinship terms have penultimate stress in the vocative, e.g. *váva(-m)* at Axo (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 14), Aravan (Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960: 4), and also at Ulağaç, where the stress remains penultimate throughout the entire paradigm (Kesisoglou 1951: 66; cf. p. 18). Other examples of [s]-less syncretic nominative-accusative kinship terms include *pápo* 'grandfather' at Ulağaç (Kesisoglou 1951: 75), but also at Axo (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 115) as well as at Malakopi and Misti, where it changes to *pápu* because of the local vowel raising (Karphopoulos 2008: 124).[47] Syncretic nominative-accusative *ándra* is also found at Aravan (Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960: 19) and Ulağaç (Kesisoglou 1951: 66), but note nominative *ándra(-m)* vs. accusative *to*/*do ándra(-m)*. Elsewhere it is nom. *ándra-s*, acc. *ándra-Ø*, and *ándra-m* 'my man', both vocative and nominative-accusative, e.g. at Axo (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 220).

It is revealing to compare the inflections of inherited kinship terms like *ándra-s*, *vavá-s* and *papá-s* (16) with those of borrowed kinship terms like *paşa* > *bašá-s*: *paşa-Ø*, *paşa-sın*, *paşa-lar*, *paşa-lar-ın*: *bašá-s*, *baša-jú*, *bašáj-e(s)*, *bašáj-ez-ju*. With possessive suffixes: *paşa-m*, *paşa-lar-ım*, *paşa-lar-ımız*: *bašá-m*, *bašáj-ez-um*, *bašáj-e-mas.* With the exception of the integrator *-s* the Turkish inflectional pattern is entirely replicated, including the use of the generalized genitive case suffix *-jú* and the generalized plural suffix *-ja* to mark the one-to-one correspondence with their Turkish equivalents *-In* and *-lEr*. The generalization was facilited by the availability of the numerous inherited masculine and feminine nouns having multiple syncretic cases ending in *-C-Ø* which reinforced the (re)-analysis of the stem as ending in *-C*, thus aligning inherited nouns like *áϑrop-os*, gen. sg.-pl. & nom.-acc. pl. *aϑróp-Ø* with loan nouns like *xeríf-os*, gen. sg.-pl. & nom.-acc. pl. *xeríf-Ø*. To repair the pervasive syncretism the generalized suffixes *-jú* and *-ja* were used to re-mark the genitive and plural respectively on the basis of the analogy *herif-in*, *herif-ler* :: *xerif-jú*, *xeríf-ja*, which in turn was based on the analogy *ev-in*, *ev-ler* :: *spit-jú*, *spít-ja* (22a). The reanalysis of inherited *spíti* > *spít(i)* as *spít-Ø* was further facilitated by the partial equivalence of the Greek and Turkish possessive suffixes: *ev-im*, *ev-in*, *ev-i* :: *spít-im*, *spít-is*, *spít-it*, hence also *meloz-um*, *melóz-us*, *melóz-ut* (26a), with the local Turkish fronting harmony, instead of inherited *meló-m*, *meló-s*, *meló-t*. Note that the latter stem was used in combination with the plural possessive suffixes: *meló-mas*, *meló-sas*,

47 AncGr *páppous* > MedGr *páppous* & *pappoús* ModGr *papús*.

meló-tne (26a), perhaps because the first and second plural suffixes *-mas* and *-sas* were also attached directly to stems ending in *-C*, e.g. *spíti-mas* > *spít(i)-mas* > *spít-mas* (23).[48]

The bewildering variation in inflectional forms due to the retention of inherited forms in various guises and the intrusion of innovative forms in various guises, both intra- and interdialectal (and in the case of contemporary Mišótika certainly also intergenerational, if not interpersonal) shows a gradual development from inherited Greek fusional to innovative contact-induced Turkish agglutinative inflections illustrated at Delmeso (1) with *áθrop-os*, *aθróp-Ø*, *áθrop-o*, pl. *aθróp-Ø*, *aθróp-Ø*, *aθróp-us*, at Ghurzono (13) with *aróp-Ø* giving way to *árop(-)oz-ju* and *árop(-)oz-ja* respectively, and finally at Ulağaç (20) with *átrop(-)os-Ø*, *átro(-)poz-ju*, *átrop(-)oz-ja*. The bracketed hyphens indicate the gradual reanalysis of *árop-os* / *átrop-os* as *áropos-Ø* / *átropos-Ø*, the new base to which case, number and also possessive suffixes could be attached. The reanalysis was gradual in the sense that, for instance, at Ghurzono there was allomorphic variation between °*arop*- and °*aropos*- (13), although we cannot decide on the basis of the available evidence whether this variation was conditioned by sociolinguistic or perhaps even other variables.

The same holds for *xeríf-os* at Ulağaç (31), where the case and number suffixes are attached to °*xerif*-, but the possessive suffixes to °*xerifos*-, i.e. *xerif-jú*, *xeríf-ja* vs. *xerífos-it*. This brings us to the status of the integrators *-os* in loan nouns like *xeríf-os* (31) and *insán-os* (32), and *-Is* in loan nouns like *ascér-is* (30a) and *patišax-ïs* (36a). It is clear that *-os* still functions as the inherited fusional case-number-gender marker at Delmeso (31) and Axo (32), gender here referring to inflectional class (1a) but also to animacy, as all the animate masculine nouns in *-os*, *-Is* and *-as* lack the (masculine) definite article in the nominative (Janse 2004: 12-3). Revithiadou, Spyropoulos and Markopoulos analyze these endings "as involving a theme element and a fused formative for number and case" (2017: 312). Although a formative [s] is used to integrate Turkish animate nouns in *-E* and *-I* such as *paşa* > *bašá-s*, it seems rather unlikely that [a] functions here as a theme vowel on the same level as [o] and [i].

To mention just two complications: *bašá-s* is integrated in Karatsareas' IC3 (2016: 47), thus aligning it with *papá-s* and its allomorphic inflection, e.g. nom.-acc. pl. *papáð-es* > *papáj-e(s)* :: *bašáð-e(s)* at Floïta (Dawkins 1916: 111) > *bašáj-e(s)* at Axo (27a). Furthermore, loan nouns in *-Is* are subject to vowel harmony, e.g. *padişah* > *patišáx-Is* > *patišáx-ïs* at Ulağaç

48 Unstressed [i] is regularly syncopated in *spíti-mas*, *spíti-sas* etc. (Dawkins 1916: 62, 121; Janse 2008: §§6.2.2.1, 7.4.2).

(36a), or shift to IC1a, either partially or entirely, e.g. *çoban* 'shepherd' > *tšobán-os* at Delmeso, which is inflected as *xeríf-os* (Dawkins 1916: 95). At Silata, the definite accusative of the latter is *tšobán-Ø*, the indefinite accusative being identical with the nominative singular, whereas the nominative plural is *tšobán-Ø* as if from **tšobán-i* (Dawkins 1916: 97). The definite accusative *tšobán-Ø* is explained by Dawkins as "probably from čobάνη from a byform čobάνης" (1916: 97).

Whether or not there ever was such a 'byform' as *tšobán-is* or, more likely, *tšobán-ïs*, it is not inconceivable that the definite accusative *tšobán-Ø* is actually the equivalent of the Turkish definite accusative *çoban-ı* on the analogy of *çoban-Ø*, *çoban-ı* :: *tšobán-os*, *tšobán-Ø*. In the other North Cappadocian dialects the definite accusative is *tšobán-o*, e.g. *tšobán-u* at Malakopi (Dawkins 1916: 99), but at Fertek only a syncretic nominative-accusative *tšobán-Ø* is attested (p. 106; cf. *tsobán-Ø* at Ulağaç, Kesisoglou 1951: 107). It will be recalled that at Ulağaç the integrated nominative *patišáx-ïs* co-occurs with the syncretic nominative-accusative *patišáx-Ø* (see above).

In any case, the tentative reconstruction of the development of the inflection of *patišáx-ïs* at Ulağaç (35) indicates that the integrator *-Is* must have been perceived at some point as a case suffix, to wit the Cappadocian equivalent of the Turkish nominative-indefinite accusative suffix *-Ø*, whereas the definite accusative *-I* > *-ï* > *-Ø* corresponded with its Turkish equivalent *-I*.[49] The syncretism of the indefinite nominative-accusative in *-Is* and of the definite nominative-accusative in *-Ø* and of the indefinite nominative-accusative in *-os* and of the definite nominative-accusative in *-(o)* in loan nouns such as *tšobán-os* eventually led to the development of syncretic nominative-accusatives in *-o* as *átrop-o*, gen. *atrop-jú*, pl. *atróp-ja* at Fertek, in *-os* as *átropos-Ø*, gen. *átropoz-ju*, pl. *átropoz-ja* at Ulağaç, or in *-Ø* as *gardáš-Ø*, gen. *gardaš-(j)ú*, pl. *gardáš-(j)a* at Ulağaç (see above).

Turning now to the agglutinative infections in which separate suffixes for case and number are involved, I would like to repeat Dawkins' observation that "the gen. pl. is rare, and has the sg. ending -i̯oũ (also -i̯oũv), rather than -ũ(v)" (1916: 90), involving deletion of final [n] and raising of [o] to [u] (Karatsareas 2011: 224). As we have seen, *-jú* is used as the generalized genitive (singular) ending everywhere in Cappadocia, but un-

49 Elsewhere (Janse 2004: 16ff., esp. 19-21), I have argued that the endings *-os*, *-Is* and *-as* could perhaps be further segmented into a (syncretic nominative-)accusative case ending -o and an indefinite ending -s, following Dawkins (1916: 92, 94).

fortunately we do not have enough information about the particular contexts of its use when alternative forms of the genitive are available, e.g. *aϑróp-Ø* vs. *aϑrop-jú* (1) and *pondik-ú* vs. *pondic-jú* (5) in Northeast Cappadocian. Were the inherited forms in *-u* / *-ú* originally used exclusively in the singular and the innovative forms in *-jú* exclusively in the plural and only secondarily both in the plural and in the singular?

More intriguing is the variation between sg. *níf-is* and *nifað-jú* vs. pl. *nif-jú* at Delmeso and sg. *nifað-jú* vs. pl. *nif-jú* at Malakopi (18). Undoubtedly the most intriguing are the various separate forms of the genitive plural found at Axo: sg. *arçóp-Ø* / *arçop-jú* vs. pl. *arçop-jú* / *árçopoz-ju* (6), sg. *kleft-jú* vs. pl. *kléftiz-ju* (15), sg. *numát-Ø* vs. pl. *numát-ez-ju* (16), and sg. *papá-Ø* / *papa-jú* vs. pl. *papa-jú* / *papáj-ez-ju* (16). Whenever there is variation at Axo, the inherited forms are used exclusively in the singular, the innovative forms in *-jú* (stressed) in both the singular and the plural and the truly agglutinative forms in *-ju* (unstressed) exclusively in the plural. Similarly, *néc-ez-ju* at Fertek and Ulağaç (17), and sg. *níf-is* vs. pl. *nifáj-ez-ju* and sg. *nejel-jú* vs. pl. *nejél-ez-ju* (19) at Axo, where the agglutinative genitive plural is extremely common with feminine nouns, e.g. *karj-á* 'heart', pl. *karj-és*, gen. *karj-ez-jú*, *norj-i*[50] 'anger', pl. *norj-és*, gen. *norj-ez-jú* (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 41).

Forms like *papáj-ez-ju* are of course constructed in exactly the same manner as its Turkish equivalent *papaz-lar-ın*, i.e. 'priest'-PL-GEN and constitute another example of pattern replication. The forms *kléftiz-ju* and *árçopoz-ju* seem to be built on the nominative singular, which seems to defy any explanation at first sight. It may well be that *kléftiz-ju* should in fact be segmented as *kléft-iz-ju*, where the 'plural' suffix *-is* is remodeled on the basis of the innovative nominative-accusative plural *kléft-i* > *kléft-Ø* with the *-s* of the original nominative-plural ending *kléft-es* by analogy with *papáj-es*, *papáj-ez-ju*.[51] Because of the superficial resemblence of *kléfiz-ju* with the nominative *kléft-is*, the genitive plural *árçopoz-ju* was perhaps constructed in the same way.

The genitive singular *kleft-jú* offers us an interesting starting point for further speculations about the origins and spread of the genitive ending *-jú*. Given that the inherited parisyllabic nouns in *-is* shifted by and large to IC1a in their inflection, it might be speculated that the genitive

50 AncGr *orgḗ* 'anger, wrath', metanalyzed from acc. *tèn orgḗ(n)* > *t'n orjí* > *t' norjí* (Mavrochalividis & Kesisoglou 1960: 17), cf. footnote 26.

51 For a similar allomorphic reanalysis cf. nom. pl. *papáϑ* < *papað-i* instead of *papáð-es* at Anaku (Dawkins 1916: 108; *pace* Costakis 1964: 38) and nom. pl. *tšiftšíð* < *tšiftšíð-i*, acc. pl. *tšiftšið-jús*, instead of *tšiftšíð-es*, from Turkish *çiftçi* > *tšiftší-s* 'farmer', at Potamia (Dawkins *loc. cit.*).

plural *kleft-jú* found everywhere else in Cappadocia should in fact be reconstructed as **kleft-í-u(n)*, with the inherited ending of the genitive plural *-on* > *-u(n)* attached to the innovative ending of the nominative plural *-i*. It might even be speculated that the genitive singular *kleft-jú*, which became opposed to the genitive plural *kléft-iz-ju* at Axo, be reconstructed in a similar way as **kleft-í-u*, with the inherited ending of the genitive singular of IC1a *-u* attached to the original base °*klefti-*. Because nouns like *kléft-is* had syncretic inflections in *-Ø* due to the deletion of final unstressed [i], the base became reanalyzed as °*kleft-*, which reinforced the reanalysis of *-í-u* as *-jú* on the analogy of *kleft-jú* :: *spit-jú*.

Inherited feminine nouns in *-i* like *níf-i* drop the final unstressed [i] and are consequently very similar to neuter nouns like *spít-Ø*, which has led to "occasional confusion in declension" in the words of Dawkins (1916: 114), who goes on to say that "the infinitely greater commonness of the neuters tend to impose their endings upon the feminines" (pp. 114-5). This is certainly the case at Malakopi, where the genitive singular and plural of *níf-Ø* is *nif-jú* and the nominative-accusative plural is *níf-ja* (17). The inflection at Delmeso, however, tells us more about its history, especially the genitive plural at Delmeso *nif-jú*, which may be reconstructed as **nif-í-u(n)*, that is on the basis of the nominative singular with the inherited genitive suffix *-u(n)* attached to it. This may at first sight seem unlikely, but there are in fact similar forms which seem to corroborate this hypothesis: *nævlí*[52] '(court)yard', gen. *nævlí-s*, pl. *nævlí-es* > *nævli-és*, gen. *nævlí-u(n)* > *nævli-ú* at Çarikli (Karalidis 2005: 126; cf. Mišótika *nævli-és*, Fates 2012: 44).

If we now turn to the inherited masculine nouns in *-os*, we can reconstruct the genitive plural in *-jú* as follows: oxytone *pistik-ós*, pl. *pistic-í*, gen. *pistic-í-u(n)* > *pistic-jú(n)*, paroxytone *áϑrop-os*, pl. *aϑróp-i* > *aϑróp-Ø*, gen. *aϑrop-í-u(n)* > *aϑrop-j-ú(n)*. For Sinasos, Takadopoulos (1982: 25) even reports *aϑrop-j-ón*, with the inherited ending *-on*, in an otherwise entirely fusional paradigm. It now becomes clear that the accusative plural of IC1a in *-jus* is not "a new analogical formation" based on the secondary genitive singular ending *-jú* which in turn is "based upon the decl. of diminutives in -ί and -ι" (Dawkins 1916: 95).

The origin of this peculiar ending can be explained as follows. At some point, the inherited accusative plural of IC1 nouns became used as the definite accusative plural next to the innovative indefinite accusative plural

52 AncGr *aulḗ*, metanalyzed from acc. *(s)tin aulí* > *(s)tin evlí* > *s(t)'n evlí* > *s(t)' nevlí* (Mavrochalividis & Kesisoglou 1960: 17), cf. footnote 26.

which was, like the indefinite accusative singular, indentical with the nominative, cf. (1). Then a split occurred in the inflection of animate nouns belonging to IC1a and inanimate nouns belonging to IC1b which resulted in a syncretic nominative-accusative plural formally identical with the inherited nominative plural in the case of IC1a and with the inherited accusative plural in the case of IC1b, cf. (5) and (7). Then a secondary accusative plural was formed on the basis the syncretic nominative plural in *-í* / *-(i)*, by attaching the inherited accusative plural ending *-us* to the nominative plural. If this may again seem an unlikely analysis, consider the secondary accusative plural forms in contemporary Mišótika not mentioned in (12): paroxytone *lík-os*, pl. *lítš-i* > *lítš-Ø*, acc. *litš-í-as*, oxytone *pistik-ós*, pl. *pistitš-í*, acc. *pistitš-í-as* (Phates 2012: 43).

This leaves the innovative genitive singular of IC1 nouns as the only ending in need of an explanation. The 'repair strategy' analysis suggested above remains of course a valid explanation and it was certainly reinforced by the tendency to develop endings with a single value by analogy with the Turkish agglunative inflection. The analogy of the genitive plural may have been another factor: pl. *-jú(n)* :: sg. *-jú*, in which case the analogy worked from the plural to the singular and not the other way around. The tentative reconstruction presented in (33) may now be represented as follows:

(36a)		**sg**			
NOM		*áθrop-os*			
ACC	INDEF	***áθrop-os***			
	DEF	*áθrop-o*			
GEN		*aθróp-u*	→ *aθróp-Ø*	→ ***aθrop-jú***	

(36b)		**pl**			
NOM		*aθróp-Ø*			
ACC	INDEF	***aθróp-Ø***	→ ***aθróp-Ø***	→ ***aθrop-í-us***	→ ***aθrop-j-ús***
	DEF	*aθróp-us*			
GEN		*aθróp-u(n)*	→ ***aθróp-Ø***	→ ***aθrop-í-u(n)***	→ ***aθrop-j-ú(n)***
		'man'		(Delmeso)	

Is this an agglutinative, or at least partially agglutinative, inflection? Strictly speaking not, of course, as the endings of the genitive plural *-u(n)*

and accusative plural *-us* are formally the inherited poly-exponential, i.e. fusional inflections. The crucial question is whether the [j̯] of the plural endings *-j-ús* / *-j-ú(n)* had acquired the value of a mono-exponential plural suffix by analogy with Turkish *-lEr*, or if *-jús* / *-jú(n)* were considered to be poly-exponential suffixes which could not be further segmented.

This is a question we cannot solve unambiguously, but I do believe that we see here the emergence of a pattern that was extended in the inflection of inherited feminine nouns belonging to IC4a such as *néka*, pl. *néc-es*, gen. pl. *néc-ez-ju* (17) and those belonging to IC4b such as *níf*, pl. *nifáj-ez-ju* (19) and *nejél*, pl. *nejél-es*, gen. pl. *nejél-ez-ju* (19), and in the inflection of inherited masculine parisyllabic nouns belonging to IC2 such as *numát-is*, pl. *numát-es*, gen. pl. *numát-ez-ju* (16) or imparisyllabic nouns belonging to IC3 such as *papás*, pl. *papáj-es*, gen. pl. *papáj-ez-ju* (16).

The *tertium comparationis* is the syncretic nominative-accusative plural in *-í* / *-(i)* in the case of *áθropos* and in *-es* in that of the others, which allowed for a partial morphological reorganization of the paradigm involving agglutinative pattern replication, in which loan nouns such as *xerífos* and *patišáx(ïs)* played a crucial part. In these cases, the syncretism of the genitive singular(-plural) and nominative-accusative plural *xeríf* (34a-b) and *patišáx* (35a-b) lent itself particularly well for agglutinative reanalysis by adding *-jú* and *-ja* as genitive and plural suffixes respectively on the analogy of *herif-jú* / *heríf-ja*, *patišax-jú* / *patišáx-ja* :: *herif-in* / *herif-ler*, *padişah-ın* / *padişah-lar*.

At the same time, however, it was shown that these same loan nouns behaved differently when combined with possessive suffixes□ 'her husband' (Dawkins 1916: 376, quoted above) as opposed to *patišáx-ïm* 'my king' (p. 368; cf. *patisá(x)-ïm*, Kesisoglou 1951: 144-6). The former exhibits the reanalysis attested at Ulağaç□ in an inherited Greek word such as 'warden', gen. 53, pl. *mítrop()oz-ja* (Dawkins 1916: 102), which may have led to the ultimate agglutinative in-flection of *-átrop(-)os* elicited by Sasse (1992: 66): gen. *átropoz-ju*, pl. *átropoz-ja*, gen. pl. *átropoz-ja-ja* (20). As observed above, this was only possible once the endings *os* (and *Is-* for that matter) were no longer recognized as IC markers but reanalyzed as part of the base and the nouns had gone over entirely to IC7, the inflectional class of the neuter nouns characterized by the use of the neuter article *to -/ do* in the nominative singular, as opposed to the zero article in the case of masculine nouns, cf. the difference between nominative *patišáx-ïs* vs. *do patišáx*, discussed above. The process must have started

53 MedGr *(e)pítropos* 'trustee', acc. *tòn pítropo(n)* [tombítropo(n)] > Cappadocian *to mítropo* → nom. *mítropos.*

with IC1 nouns referring to inanimate entities, as Dawkins rightly observes (1916: 97; cf. Janse 2004: 8-9; Karatsareas 2016: 46-50) and with the gradual loss of gender distinctions which eventually led to the incorporation of the inherited masculine nouns in *as*- and *-is* as well as -the inherited feminine nouns in *í* / *i*- and *-a* in IC7.and *-a* in IC7.

5 **Conclusion**

In this chapter I have shown that a number of specifically Cappadocian innovations in the inflection of the inherited masculine nouns in *-os* belonging to IC1 have paved the way for the introduction of agglutinative inflections. The first of these was the regular deletion of final unstressed [u] and [i] which led to the syncretism of the inherited genitive singular in *-u* and plural in *-o(n)* > *-u(n)* and the inherited nominative plural in *-i* and its coalescence with the innovative accusative plural in *-i* in the case of nouns with animate referents, e.g. *aϑróp-Ø* (33a-b). The emergence of the syncretic nominative-accusative plural may have been caused by another specifically Cappadocian innovation: the distinction between definite and indefinite accusatives in the singular, the latter being morphologically identical with the nominative as a result of pattern replication from Turkish due to differential object marking, e.g. nom.-indef. acc. *áϑropos* vs. def. acc. *áϑropo*. As a repair strategy to disentangle the novel syncretic nominative-accusative-genitive plural in *-Ø* a secondary accusative plural was created using the inherited accusative plural ending *-us*, which was attached to the inherited nominative plural ending *-(i)*, e.g. *aϑrop-í-us* > *aϑrop-j-ús* by synizesis. A secondary genitive plural was created using the inherited ending *-on* > *-u(n)*, which was also attached to the inherited nominative plural ending, e.g. *aϑrop-í-u(n)* > *aϑrop-j-ú(n)*.

Another repair strategy involved the innovative genitive singular, which may have been created by analogy with the novel genitive plural: *-jú(n)* :: *-jú*, e.g. *aϑrop-jú*. This novel genitive singular ending was of course identical with that of the inherited neuter nouns in *-i* > *-Ø* belonging to IC7, e.g. *spít-i* > *spit-Ø*, gen. *spit-í-u* > *spit-jú* (22a-b). The generalization of the syncretic genitive singular-plural ending *-jú* was facilitated by the proliferation of inflected forms in *-Ø* or, more to the point, of inflected forms ending in a consonant. This may explain the emergence of forms such as *néka*, gen. *nec-jú* (17) instead of inherited *nékas*, although *nec-jú* may very well have been constructed by analogy with the plural *néc-es*, gen. *nec-jú(n)*. More important, however, was the impact of the numerous Turkish loan nouns ending in a consonant such as *herif* and *padişah*, which lent

themselves perfectly for agglutinative inflection on the analogy of *herif-jú* / *patišax-jú* :: *herif-in* / *padişah-ın* and *heríf-ja* / *patišáx-ja* :: *heríf-ler* / *padişah-lar.* The plural forms of such loan nouns may also be explained as extensions of the syncretic nominative-accusative plural in *-i* > *-Ø*, e.g. nom. pl. *heríf-i* > *heríf-Ø* → *heríf-i-a* > *heríf-j-a*, gen. pl. *herif-í-u(n)* > *herif-j-ú(n)*.

A large-scale shift from IC1 to IC7 was only possible for animate nouns when the inherited gender distinctions were lost. The final trace of gender distinctions was the omission of the masculine nominative article as illustrated by the distinction between integrated *patišáx-ïs* vs. nonintegrated *to* / *do patišáx-Ø*, which could both still be used as definite nominatives meaning 'the king' in the post-exchange speech of refugees from Ulağaç, as discussed above in section 4. The neutralization of gender resulted in the reanalysis of *-os* in IC1 nouns as part of the base as exemplified in *xerífos-it* 'her husband' instead of the expected **xerífo-t* or even **xeríf-it* :: *patišáx-ït* (see section 4). The inflection of *xerífos* (34a-b) is noteworthy, because the inflection forms are based on the Turkish base °*xeríf-*, not on °*xerífos-*, but forms like *jáskaloz-ju*, *jáskaloz-ja* and *áropoz-ju*, *áropoz-ja* at Ghurzono (13) and *mítropoz-ju*, *mítropoz-ju* and *átropoz-ju*, *átropoz-ja, átropoz-ja-ju* at (post-exchange) Ulağaç (20) illustrate the ultimate outcomes of the shift from IC1 to IC7.

It is clear that the shift started with inanimate IC1 nouns and was thus essentially a semantic shift (but see Karatsareas 2016 for further discussion). This is proven by the fact that inanimate IC1 nouns are inflected agglutinatively in Northwest, Central and South Cappadocian, animate IC1 nouns almost exclusively in South Cappadocian, e.g. *mílos*, *míloz-ju*, *míloz-ja* in Northwest (8) and Central Cappadocian (10). It is conceivable that syncretic agglutinative nominative-accusative plural inflections such as *míloz-ja* are essentially extensions of the syncretic fusional nominative-accusative plural *mílus* attested in Northeast and Northwest Cappadocian (8). The novel agglutinative nominative-accusative plural *míluz-ja* was then reanalyzed as *míloz-ja* (or remained *míluz-ja* in the vowel-raising dialects of Malakopi, Misti and Semendere) and spread to the genitive singular. The syncretism of nominative-indefinite accusative singulars such as *mílos* will have been instrumental in promoting the diffusion. There is thus an obvious analogy between the innovative plural inflections of animate IC1 nouns and those of inanimate IC1 nouns in that they are all based on the syncretic nominative-accusative plural.

The same analogy has produced agglutinative genitive plural inflections on the basis of the syncretic nominative-accusative plural in *-es* in (i) the inherited parisyllabic feminine nouns in *-a* belonging to IC4a: *néka*, pl. *néc-*

es, gen. *néc-ez-ju* (17); (ii) the inherited pari- and imparisyllabic feminine nouns in *-i* > *-Ø* belonging to IC4b: *najél*, pl. *najél-es*, gen. *najél-ez-ju* and *níf*, pl. *nifáj-es*, gen. *nifáj-ez-ju* (19); (iii) the inherited parisyllabic masculine nouns in *-is* belonging to IC2: *numátis*, pl. *numát-es*, gen. *numát-ez-ju* (16); (iv) the inherited imparisyllabic masculine nouns in *-as*, *-is* belonging to IC3: *papás*, pl. *papaj-es*, gen. *papáj-ez-ju* (16). It should be noted that IC4a genitive plurals such as *néc-ez-ju* are firmly attested only at Fertek and Axo and occasionally at Ulağaç, and IC2, IC3 and IC4b genitive plurals only at Axo.

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