The history and etymology of Cappadocian *fšáx* 'child', Pharasiot *fšáxi* 'boy'

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Abstract

Cappadocian *fšáx* 'child', Pharasiot *fšáxi* 'boy' are traditionally derived from Turkish *uşak*, assuming a hitherto unexplained fricativization of [u] to [f] and of word-final [k] to [x] after the borrowing process. The latter cannot be attributed to Cappadocian or Pharasiot, however, as it is a common feature of Anatolian Turkish. In order to understand the former sound change, we have to assume an isolated case of high vowel fricativization in the articulated plural *ta ušáxja > ta fšáxja → sg. to fšáx(i)* by metanalysis, comparable to the generally acknowledged case of *ta otjá > ta utjá > ta ftjá → sg. to ftí* 'the ear'. We argue that *fšáx(i)* is an archaism in light of the parallel use of *uşak > ušák* reported in 19th-century sources and the preservation of word-final [x] even in dialects which seem to have borrowed words ending in [k] from Standard instead of Anatolian Turkish. The irregular inflection of *fšáx(i)* suggests that it was borrowed as an adjective from Old Anatolian Turkish before it was substantivized in Ottoman Turkish, perhaps even from Old Turkish *uvşak* 'little': *ta ufšáxa ta peðjá* 'the little children' > *ta fšáxa* 'the little ones' by apheresis.

1. Introduction

In his classic study on glottochronology, Morris Swadesh observed: "Though words are readily borrowed, it has long been known that borrowings take place primarily in the 'cultural' part of the vocabulary and that the 'intimate' vocabulary resists change" (1952: 455). Matras confirms "the greater stability of concepts pertaining to the immediate surroundings", i.e. "the nearest human environment", which he terms "the 'proximity' constraint" (2009: 169). Quite naturally, then, kinship terms tend to be representative of the private, intimate domain. In a recent handbook of loanwords in the languages of the world (Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009), it was concluded that kinship terms belong to the semantic fields "least amenable to borrowing" (Tadmor 2009: 65), having a borrowing rate of just 15% (p. 64). Matras suggests that the borrowing rate is likely to drop even further in the case of close as opposed to remote kin (2009: 161), particularly EGO & siblings, their children and their parents (pp. 169-171).[1] Swadesh included 'child' defined as "young person rather than as relationship term" in the original version of his list (1952: 456) and calculated its "item persistence" at 50% in a later publication (1955: 132).

In their forthcoming handbook of the Balkan languages, the classic example of a linguistic area or *Sprachbund*, Friedman and Joseph note that, despite their universally recognized resistance to borrowing, kinship terms have been borrowed extensively in the Balkans, involving close as well as more distant kin (2020: §4.3.1). They conclude that "the sort of contact needed for the acceptance of borrowed kinship terms into wide usage would thus be intense and sprachbund-conducive and thus associated with ERIC loans" (*ibid.*). ERIC loans are "Essentially Rooted In Conversation" and defined as "loans that depend crucially on speaker-to-speaker interaction of an on-going and sustained kind, the sort of contact that can be characterized as intense and at the same time intimate, as

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[1] On the basics of kinship and its relations see Dousset (2011; 2012) and Bamford (2019).

opposed to occasional and casual" (Friedman & Joseph 2020: §4.3).[2] ERIC loans crucially reflect interactions "of a playful, friendly, bantering nature, with good will among the participants in conversational exchanges" (*ibid.*). As such they are considered "sprachbund-consistent" as well as "sprachbund-conducive" (*ibid.*). It is precisely in such a sociolinguistic context that kinship terms can be borrowed more extensively than elsewhere and it is surely no surprise that they are considered a prime example of ERIC loans by Friedman and Joseph (2020: §4.3.1).

Cappadocian Greek[3] has borrowed numerous kinship terms from (Anatolian) Turkish (Janse 2019a: §11.2.1; cf. Janse, Papanikolaou & Vandewalle 2015), e.g. *abla* 'elder sister' > *ablá* (Ulağaç); *paşa* / *başa* 'elder brother' > *pašá* (Aravan) / *pašás* (Sinasos) / *bašá* (Fertek) / *bašás* (Floïta, Malakopi, Axo, Misti); *kardaş* / *gardaş* 'brother' > *kardáš* (Silata) / *gardáš* (Ulağaç) / *γardáš* (Axo, Misti, Aravan);[4] *dayı* / *deyi* 'maternal uncle' > *tají* (Malakopi) / *tajís* (Sinasos) / *daí* (Misti) / *daís* (Anaku, Sinasos) / *dejí* (Axo), *deí* (Aravan, Ulağaç); *hala* 'paternal aunt' > *xalá* (Anaku, Misti).[5] These qualify as ERIC loans *par excellence* and, indeed, it has been suggested that many of them were originally borrowed as terms of address (Janse, Papanikolaou & Vandewalle 2015).[6] Particularly instructive in this respect is the vocative accentuation of *(do) pása* in the post-exchange speech of refugees from Ulağaç, which is glossed as 'form of address (προσφώνηση) for the father or for elder males by younger males' (Kesisoglou 1951: 105); similarly *(do) xála*, glossed as 'aunt' (θεία) (p. 107). For reasons of space, the question whether Cappadocia can be considered a linguistic area will not detain us here.[7] Suffice it to say that the sociolinguistic conditions stipulated by Friedman and Joseph would fit the Cappadocian context very well.[8]

Within its kinship system, Cappadocian has borrowed several words to refer to children (Janse & Vandewalle 2018): (Anatolian) Turkish *evlat* > *evlát* (Axo, Ulağaç) / *ævlǽt* (Misti) / *evláš* (Aravan); *taze* / *teze* 'new' > *teze* 'young(ster)' (Aravan) / *tæzǽ* 'baby' (Misti); *yavru* 'young (of an animal); child' > *javrú* (Delmeso, Silata, Anaku, Axo, Misti, Aravan), usually used as an affectionate form of address when referring to children: *javrú-m* 'my child' (Anaku, Misti) or, with vocative accentuation, *jávru-m* (Axo, Aravan, Ulağaç). In addition to these, Cappadocian has inherited the Greek word παιδί, which occurs in a variety of forms in the various dialects accoding to the treatment of the voiced fricative [ð]: *peðí* (North Cappadocian), *pedí* (Fertek), *pe(j)í* (Axo, Misti, Ulağaç,

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[2] The term 'ERIC loan' was first introduced in Friedman & Joseph (2014: 15).

[3] On Cappadocian Greek and its history see Dawkins (1916), Janse (2002, 2007, 2019a). The geographical distribution of the Cappadocian dialects is represented in figure 1, their classification in table 1.

[4] On the voicing / fricativization of word-initial [k] see Janse (2019a: §6.2.2.3; 2019b: XXX).

[5] Dawkins (1916) and Janse (2019a) are the general references for Cappadocian; references for individual dialects: Anaku (Kostakis 1963; Costakis 1964), Aravan (Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960), Axo (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960; Mavrochalyvidis 1990), Fertek (Krinopoulos 1889), Malakopi (Karphopoulos 2008), Misti (Kostakis 1977, 1990; Koimisoglou 2006; Kotsanidis 2006; Phates 2012), Sinasos (Archelaos 1899), Ulağaç (Kesisoglou 1951).

[6] Note that postalveolar [š] occasionally changes to alveolar [s] in the post-exchange speech of refugees from Ulağaç (Kesisoglou 1951: 98).

[7] On Ancient Anatolia as a linguistic area see Watkins (2001); on East Anatolia as a linguistic area (excluding Asia Minor Greek) see Haig (2014).

[8] Numerous testimonies collected in the gripping collection *The Exodus* (Mourelos 1982) testify to the warm and friendly relationships between Greeks and Turks in Cappadocia at the time of the population exchange. The *Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations* was signed at Lausanne on 30 January 1923, but executed in 1924 as far as Cappadocia was concerned (Mourelos 1982: 4).

Semendere), *perí* (Aravan, Ghurzono). As in Medieval (Kriaras 1968-) and Modern Greek (Triantafyllidis 1998; Babiniotis 2002), Cappadocian *peðí* and its variants can be used in a wider sense to refer to children in general and in a narrower sense to refer to male children. The former sense predominates in the plural, the latter in the singular. Dawkins translates the word uncompromisingly as 'boy' (1916: 630), Archelaos as 'male child' (ἄρρεν παιδίον, 1899: 258), Karphopoulos as 'boy' (ἀγόρι) and 'son' (υἱός) (2008: 123), Phosteris & Kesisoglou as 'child' (παιδί) and 'boy' (ἀγόρι) (1960: 36), the other Cappadocian glossaries simply as 'child' (παιδί, but with the ambiguity inherent in the word). A typical example from an equally typical beginning of a folktale from Axo is the following: *íçtan djó bedjá, tóna pejí ce tálo korítš* 'there were two children, (the) one a boy and the other a girl' (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 186).[9]

There is another word for 'child', which is used all over Cappadocia and the etymology of which is the topic of this paper: *fšáx(i)*. Its meaning is almost identical with that of *peðí vel sim.* Dawkins translates it simply as 'boy' (1916: 658), but the other glossaries generally have 'child' (παιδί, again with the already mentioned ambiguity, although there is no unambiguous evidence for the narrower sense 'boy'). In a folktale from Delmeso, a princess is about to give birth to two children repeatedly referred to as *fšáxa*, but her two sisters envy her because of her marriage to a prince and bribe the midwife to replace the children with pups alternatively referred to as *šcüljǘ javrúðja* and *šcüljǘ kulákja*, both meaning 'dog's pups' (Dawkins 1916: 316).[10] The abandoned children are adopted by a man: *ce sa fšáxa-t ce léç: peðjá-m* 'and to his children he says: my children' (p. 318), from which it can already be deduced that *peðjá* may be used as a form of address in contrast with *fšáxa*. The two children are later identified as a boy (*peðí*) and a girl (*korítš*) (*ibid.*). In this particular folktale, the newborn children are once described as *ta mikrá ta fšáxa* 'the little children' (p. 316), but even when they have grown up to be tall, they are still called *fšáxa* (*ibid.*). In several glossaries, however, the translation 'child' (παιδί) is further specified as 'little child' (παιδάκι, Karphopoulos 2008: 143; μικρό παιδί, Kotsanidis 2006: 160 *s.v.* παιδί), 'newborn child' (βρέφος, Krinopoulos 1889: 66), 'newborn' (βρέφος) or 'infant child' (νήπιον παιδίον, Archelaos 1899: 277), 'baby' (μωρό, Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 142; Koimisoglou 2006: 219; Phates 2012: 168). Another, less typical but more hilarious, example comes from Aravan: *néka pómne so fšáx ... én sonundá néka jénse ámma né perí épce né koríš, manaxó épce ena cötšékos* 'the woman was expecting a baby (*fšáx*) … at long last the woman gave birth, but she produced neither a boy (*perí*) nor a girl (*koríš*), but she produced a camel calf (*cötšékos*)' (Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960: 98).

In contemporary Mišótika, a distinction is sometimes made between *fšáx* as a 'child before coming of age' (πριν την ενηλικίωση) and *klátš* as a 'child after coming of age' (μετά την ενηλικίωση, Kotsanidis 2006: 12 *s.v.* αγόρι), in a biological rather than a legal sense, but in pre-exchange Misti the distinction seems to have been between *fšáx* as a 'preschool' and *klátš* as a 'school child'. Compare the phrase *ta skóljas klátša* 'the school children' in Kostakis' chapter on education, where the pupils are invariably referred to as *klátša* (1977: 171-181, phrase on p. 173). The same Kostakis, however, insists that 'children' are generally (γενικὰ) called *fšáxa* or *klátša* (p. 322), and the stock phrase when someone was lying in their deathbed was either *vreištét ta fšáxa* or *vreištét ta klátša* 'call

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[9] The morphonological variation in the inflection of *pejí*, gen. *bedjú*, pl. *bedjá* is peculiar to Axo (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 48; Mavrochalyvidis 1990: 636).

[10] Gen. *šcüljǘ* < *šciljú*, nom. *šcilí* < Greek σκυλί 'dog', is very remarkable for its palatal harmony (Janse 2019a: §6.2.1.4.1).

the children', although the latter is used as the heading of the section (p. 233). In any case, *klátš* is never used to refer to a newborn or little child, whereas *fšáx* and *ævlǽt* are used interchangeably in certain expressions, although the latter is much rarer than the former, e.g. *pósa fšáxa é(x)is? = pósa ævlǽtja é(x)is?* 'how many children do you have?' (Kotsanidis 2006: 160 *s.v.* παιδί).

The origin of the word *klátš* is clear: κουλάκι 'pup' > Cappadocian *kulák* > *klák* (Silata, Axo), *klátš* (Misti), but the etymology is not. It is generally derived from σκυλάκι 'little dog, pup' > *κυλάκι > κουλάκι (Krinopoulos 1889: 52, quoted by Dawkins 1916: 612 and accepted in the other glossaries), but the cluster [sk] is generally preserved instead of being reduced, most notably in the common word for dog σκυλί > Cappadocian *šcilí*. The parallel use of the above quoted phrases *šcüljú javrúðja* and *šcüljú kulákja* indicates that the borrowed and the inherited words are synonymous.[11] In the remainder of this paper we will investigate the history and etymology of *fšáx* which, apart from Cappadocian, is attested only in the related Asia Minor Greek variety Pharasiot (located in the far southeast of Cappadocia, see figure 1), where it occurs as *fšáxi*, diminutive **fšax-ókko > fšókko* (Dawkins 1916: 658; Anastasiadis 1980: 80; cf. Andriotis 1948: 78). The meaning of Pharasiot *fšáxi* is identical with Cappadocian *peðí* with the ambiguity inherent in the word mentioned above. Dawkins glosses it as 'boy' (1916: 658), Andriotis as παιδί (1948: 78), Anastasiadis as παλικάρι 'lad' (1980: 80). The word *peðí* itself is "not used at Ph[arasa]" (Dawkins 1916: 630). Whereas Cappadocian uses *peðí* versus *korí(t)š* to distinguish between boys and girls, Pharasiot uses the diminutives *fšókko* versus **korits-ókko > kordzókko* (Dawkins 1916: 612, for examples see 478, 484; cf. Andriotis 1948: 23, 42).[12]

2. The received etymology of *fšáx(i)*

The most fanciful etymology for *fšáx(i)* is put forward by Krinopoulos: "perhaps from βυζαστάκιον, βυζαστάκ, βυζαστάχ" (1889: 66). None of these words is actually attested, as far as we know, and Archelaos perceptively concludes that "Krinopoulos' βυζαστάχ is rashly derived (βεβιασμένον) from βυζάνω", i.e. 'suckle' (1899: 277). Archelaos notes that "some compare Turkish *uşak* (οὐσάκ) from which, however, it does not seem to be derived, since that word is being used as well, and in any case, as a known word, *uşak* would not be changed to *fšáx*" (*ibid.*). Dawkins has the following to say: "Perhaps from Turk[ish] *ušaq*, أوشاق, boy, although the parallel use of this word, pointed out by Arkh[elaos], is against this" (1916: 658).

Ignoring the parallel use of *fšáx(i)* and *uşak*, Andriotis squarely derives Pharasiot *fšáxi* from *uşak* by assuming two changes. The first of these involves the fricativization of word-final [k] to [x] (1948: 75), i.e. *uşak > *ušax*, which is integrated in the inflectional class of the inherited neuter nouns in *-i* by means of the 'integrator' *-i* (for the term see Ralli et al. 2015; Ralli 2016; Janse 2019b: XXX): **ušaxi* with velar [x] instead of palatal

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[11] Note, however, that as a term of address *javrú* is affectionate, *kulák* reproachful, as in a phrase from Ghurzono: *Túrk kulák, šciljú kulák* 'a Turk's young [is] a dog's young' (Dawkins 1916: 612). In his ethnographic study of Anaku, Kostakis specifies that *javrú* has 'affectionate meaning' (θωπευτικὴ σημασία, 1963: 153 fn. 1); *kulák* is only once used to address a boy who had farted in church after having been warned by his grandmother not to fart in the street: *kulák, sin ekklišá mí ertis, klánis!* 'you cur, don't come into the church [because] you're farting!' (p. 131).

[12] Note that *fšáxi* is never used to refer to a baby, for which Arabic *maʿṣūm* (مَعْصُوم) 'innocent' → Turkish *ma'sum*, Anatolian Turkish *mahsum* (*Derleme Sözlüğü*, vol. IX *s.v.*) → Pharasiot *máx(t)súmi* is used (Dawkins 1916: 686; Andriotis 1948: 77; Anastasiadis 1980: 66).

[ç], hence transcribed as φ0σά1χι by Andriotis (p. 76). The second one involves the sporadic change (κάποτε τρέπεται, p. 19) of word-initial [u] to [v] before a voiced consonant and to [f] before an unvoiced consonant. Andriotis quotes just two examples of this change: *uşak > fšáxi* and *uráði > vráði* (*ibid.*), the latter a diminutive of οὐρά 'tail' > οὐράδι(ν), securely attested in Medieval Greek (Kriaras 1968-). Andriotis' etymology of Cappadocian *fšáx* and Pharasiot *fšáxi* is accepted by his pupil Kesisoglou (1951: 10, 107; cf. Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 142; Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960: 57) and repeated without further discussion by others (Kostakis 1963: 457, 1977: 154; Anastasiadis 1980: 80; Koimisoglou 2006: 219; Kotsanidis 2006: 160 *s.v.* παιδί; Rizos 2007: 154 fn. 148; Karphopoulos 2008: 143).

The first thing to note is the fact that both Dawkins and Andriotis seem to assume that the source of *fšáx* is *uşak* (أوشاق), i.e. the non-dialectal form of the word in Ottoman Turkish. Dawkins observes that "the Turkish *q* (*qaf*, ق) medially and initially, except for an occasional confusion with γ […], keeps it Turkish sound, a hard back *k*; finally almost everywhere becomes χ", except at Ulağaç and "to a less extent" also in Northwest Cappadocian (1916: 86). Andriotis notes "the regular change" (κανονικὴ ἀλλοίωση, 1948: 75) of word-initial [k] to [γ] and of medial and word-final [k] to [x] (p. 76). For example, Ottoman Turkish *konak* (قۇناق) 'palace, mansion' appears as *konak* at Floïta (Dawkins 1916: 424) and at Ulağaç (pp. 348, 354-8, twelve times). Kesisoglou notes the regular voicing of word-initial [k] to [g] in the post-exchange speech of refugees from Ulağaç (1951: 97-8): *gonák* (pp. 9, 14, 31, 102). The 'occasional confusion with γ' in word-initial position seems to have become the rule in the post-exchange speech of refugees from Aravan (Fosteris & Kesisoglou 1960: 47f.), Axo (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 130) and Misti, where *konak* appears as *γonáx* (Kostakis 1977: 59; Kotsanidis 2005: 161 *s.v.* παλάτι; Koimisoglou 2006: 208). Dawkins records Pharasiot *konáxi* (1916: 683), but Andriotis has *γonáxi* (1948: 76).

Now it is well-known that the voicing of word-initial [k] to [g] and the fricativization of medial and word-final [k] to [x] is a characteristic feature of Anatolian Turkish dialects (Kowalski 1934: 1001; Caferoğlu 1959: 251; Lewis 2000: 4; Brendemoen 1998: 237f.). For instance, Ottomsn Turkish *konak* appears as *gonaḫ* in Niğde Province (*Derleme Sözlüğü*, vol. VI *s.v. gonah* II), *uşak* as *uşaḫ* in Kırşehir Province (*Derleme Sözlüğü*, vol. XI *s.v. uşaḫ*; cf. Günşen 2000: 279, XXVII/21: *uşaḫlarınıñ*) and *çocuk*, another word for 'child', as *çocuḫ* in Nevşehir Province (Korkmaz 1994: 182, 65/2-4: *çocuḫ bis*). This last word is not borrowed in Cappadocian, but within Pharasiot it is attested at *tšodžúki* at Avşar and Kiska (Dawkins 1916: 672). Given the fact that *fšáx* is found "everwhere in Cappadocia" (Dawkins 1916: 658), we have to assume that if *uşak* is the Turkish source of the word, it would have to be in its Anatolian form *uşaḫ*. We then need to understand how *uşaḫ* changed to *fšáx*, i.e. how word-initial [u] changed to [f].

As mentioned above, Andriotis assumes a sporadic but otherwise unexplained change of word-initial [u] to [v] in *uráði > vráði* and to [f] in *uşak > fšáxi* (1948: 19). Now the fricativization of [u] to [v] before voiced and to [f] before unvoiced consonants is of course extremely well documented in the history of Greek in the case of the diphthongs [au], [eu] and [iu] (for the early history of the change see Horrocks 2010: 163ff.). Crucially, therefore, we would need a (mor)phonological environment in which the vowels [a], [e] or [i] are involved to allow for this particular change. As a matter of fact, Andriotis provides three examples in which the vowel sequence [ao] changes to [au] and then to [av] before voiced consonants in Pharasiot: ἄωρος > ἄουρος > ἄβρος 'unripe',

ἄλογο > ἄογο > ἄουγο > ἄβγο 'horse', ἄλλο > ἄο > ἄου > ἄβ 'other' (1948: 19). The last two involve the deletion of intervocalic [l], which is a characteristic feature of Pharasiot. Both Dawkins (1916: 154ff.) and Andriotis (1948: 30) describe it in great detail, but fail to provide a phonetic explanation for the phenomenon. It is actually a well-known sound change attested in Romance, Germanic and Slavic languages involving L-velarization before back vowels followed by L-vocalization and / or L-deletion. Recasens (2012) shows how several prominent articulatory and / or acoustic cues may be responsible for L-velarization, L-vocalization and L-deletion in Romance. It may be accordingly explained as involving the velarization of [l] to [ł] before back vowels, followed by the vocalization of [ł] to [w], which is subsequently deleted: *álogo* > *áłogo* > *á(w)ogo* > *áuɣo* > *ávɣo* 'horse'. The vocalization of [ł] to [w] is still apparent in cases where [l] was preceded by a velar consonant, e.g. γλῶσσα > *ɣłósa* > *ɣwósa* 'tongue' (Dawkins 1916: 158; Andriotis 1948: 30).

Anastasiadis, a native speaker of Pharasiot, lists another example unrecorded by Dawkins and Andriotis: αβ'πός < ἀλωπός 'fox' (2003: 55), which may be reconstructed as *alopós* > *ałopós* > *a(w)opós* > *aupós* > *afpós* (for αβ'πός). Dawkins quotes *aopós* from Avşar, but *após* from Pharasa (1916: 583; cf. Andriotis 1948: 86, 1974: 88). He notes that if the loss of intervocalic [l] results in a sequence of two different vowels, "they are generally kept apart [b]ut sometimes the vowels coalesce" (1916: 156). Avşar *aopós* is an example of the former, Pharasa *após* of the latter. A common hiatus resolution strategy is the insertion of a voiced fricative, either [ɣ] or [v]. Dawkins quotes a telling example: "διέβος (διάβολος) *devil*, gen. δεβοοῦ (odd accent) or δεβόβου or δεβόγου" (*ibid.*; cf. Karolidis 1885: 158; Lagarde 1886: 49). He also mentions the coexistence of ἄγου and ἄβου as variants of ἄου < ἄλλο 'other', listed under "λ is changed to γ" and "λ is changed to β" respectively (p. 158), but correctly explained previously:"the forms of ἄλλος in use, ἄγου, ἄβου, ἄου, suggest that the γ and β are later fillings of the hiatus, as they certainly are in the ending of the -άω verbs, which appears generally as -άγω, but sometimes as -άβω as well as -άω" (p. 155).

It is therefore likely that the raising of unstressed [o] to [u] in these examples is due to the vocalization of intervocalic [l] to [w] via [ł] before its ultimate deletion: *álo* > *áło* > *á(w)o* > *áu*. This is confirmed by cases like πολλά > πουά (Dawkins 1916: 157; Andriotis 1948: 19), which may be reconstructed as *polá* > *połá* > *po(w)á* > *puá*. These are the only instances where unstressed [o] is raised to [u] in Pharasiot according to Dawkins: "At Pharasa these changes do not occur, except that it is difficult to explain ἄβου for ἄλλου otherwise" (1916: 149). The only apparent exception is the above mentioned ἄωρος > ἄουρος > ἄβρος, quoted by Andriotis (1948: 19), but not recorded by Anastasiadis (2003) nor, quite surprisingly, by Andriotis in his lexicon of archaisms in the Modern Greek dialects, who instead lists ἄγωρος, attested in several Modern Greek dialects including Cappadocian (Silata) and Pontic (Ophis) (1974: 170).[13] In this particular case, the change of [o] to [u] is unexpected, Ancient Greek {ω} being normally preserved in Pharasiot (Andriotis 1948: 10 and 18 for exceptions; cf. Dawkins 1916: 149). Andriotis quotes evidence from Rhodian to further illustrate the change of [ao] to [au] and of [au] to [av]: ἀγουρίδα > ἀουρία > ἀβρία 'sour grape', μάγουλο > μάουλο > μάβλο 'cheek', σάγονο > σάουνο > σάβνο (1948: 19; cf. Tsopanakis 1940: 54).

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[13] Compare Modern Greek αγόρι 'boy' < Medieval ἀγόριν / ἀγουριν (diminutive) < Post-classical ἄγωρος < Classical ἄωρος (Andriotis 1983: 5; cf. Triantafyllidis 1998; Babiniotis 2002, 2011).

In all these cases unstressed [u] changes to [v] when preceded by (stressed or unstressed) [a] and followed by a voiced consonant, just as the older diphthong [au] changed to [av] in this particular context. The phenomenon is called 'frication' by Horrocks (2010: 165ff.) and, with reference to Sino-Tibetan and Grassfield Bantu languages, 'high vowel fricativization' by Faytak (2014), whose 'report' is probably the most detailed phonetic-phonological study published in recent years. But how are we to imagine high vowel fricativization in the case of *vráði* and *fšáx(i)*? The only plausible explanation would be to invoke the definite article, more specifically the neuter plural article *ta*, which would provide the preceding [a] necessary for the fricativization of the [u]. As a matter of fact, there are two well-known examples of metanalysis involving the prefixation of the definite article which have made the inherited words almost unrecognizable in their modern shape. The first one is Ancient Greek ᾠόν 'egg', articulated pl. τὰ ᾠά > Post-classical Greek *ta oá* (monophthongization) > *ta oγá* (hiatus resolution) > *ta uγá* (mid vowel raising) > *ta vγá* (high vowel fricativization) > *t'avγá* (metanalysis) > *ta avγá* → sg. *to avγó* (Andriotis 1983: 2; cf. Triantafyllidis 1998; Babiniotis 2002, 2011).[14] The second example is Ancient Greek ὠτίον 'ear', articulated pl. τὰ ὠτία > Post-classical Greek *ta otjá* > *ta utjá* (mid vowel raising) > *ta ftjá* (high vowel fricativization) > *t'aftjá* (metanalysis) > *ta aftjá* → sg. *to aftí* (Andriotis 1983: 45; cf. Triantafyllidis 1998; Babiniotis 2002, 2011).

To explain *vráði* this way, one would have to presuppose a metanalysis from the articulated pl. *ta uráðja* > *ta vráðja* → sg. *to vráði*. Whereas it is easy to see how the frequent use of the articulated plurals *ta óa* 'the eggs' and *ta otjá* 'the ears' led to the metanalyzed singulars *avγó* and *aftí*, it is rather difficult to envisage a world in which it should be more common to refer to a plurality of tails rather than to indivual tails. This appears from the various shapes of the word which is preserved as an archaism in several Modern Greek dialects, e.g. Pontic *uráð(in)*, *uðár(in)*, *ráði* and, significantly *turáðin* (Papadopoulos 1958-61 *s.v.* οὐράδιν).[15] The last variant is particularly instructive as it is metanalyzed from *to uráðin* > *t' uráðin* → *to turáðin*, pl. *ta turáðja*. It is also recorded at Sinasos by Archelaos (1899: 271 *s.v.* τουράδι; cf. Takadopoulos 1982: 190; Rizos 2007: 215). Another diminutive variant is *trátsa*, listed by Karolidis for Misti and other Cappadocian varieties (1885: 216), or *trádza*, listed by Archelaos for 'Bagdaonian' (1899: 271), which refers to Cappadocian minus Sinasos (Dawkins 1916: 10). According to Dawkins, *trátsa* "seems to be for τ(ου)ράδ(ι)τσα" (1916: 630), i.e. *t' uráðitsa* > *turáðitsa* > *trátsa* or *trádza* (with regular syncope of unstressed [u] and [i], cf. Dawkins 1916: 62; Janse 2019a: §6.2.1.1). In contemporary Mišótika, *trádza* is simplified to *tráza* (Kostakis 1977: 271, 457; Kotsanidis 2006: 158 *s.v.* ουρά; Phates 2012: 167).

The case of Pharasiot *vráði* thus becomes be crucial, as it appears to be the only evidence for the putative fricativation of unstressed [u] to [v] before a voiced consonant, to wit the rhotic liquid [r]. In this respect, it is noteworthy that several 19th-century sources record *varáði* instead of *vráði* for Pharasiot (Karolidis 1885: 144; Lagarde 1886: 44; Archealos 1899: 271), suggesting that the latter is a syncopated form of the former. This further complicates an analysis in terms of high vowel fricativation, especially since

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[14] Cappadocian *ovγó* (Dawkins 1916: 663 *s.v.* ᾠόν) is the result of a similar metanalysis, whereas Pharasiot *vó* is more likely the result of hiatus resolution: τὸ ᾠόν > *t(o) oó* > *t' ovó* > *to vó*, pl. *ta vá* (Andriotis 1948: 55).

[15] Compare Ikariot *ráði* and Karpathian *rái* (Andriotis 1974: 422).

there are no other examples of a change from unstressed [u] to [v] before [r] in Pharasiot (nor in any other Greek variety we are aware of).

3. The history and etymology of *fšáx*

This brings us back to the putative fricativization of [u] to [f] in *uşaḫ > fšáx(i)*. In this particular case, it is not very difficult to imagine a world in which references to a plurality of children would be as frequent as references to individual children. Compare, for instance, the beginning of a folktale from Ulağaç: *ándra néka éjiškan dójoka fšáɣja. da fšéa-t épan ci* 'A man [and] a woman had twelve children. The children said' (Dawkins 1916: 346). Here we have the necessary context for the putative high vowel fricativization: articulated nom.-acc. pl. **ta ušáxi-a > ta fšáxja > ta fšáɣja > ta fšája > ta fšéja > ta fšéa*, the raising of [a] to [e] before [i] or [j] in *fšé(j)a* being optional (Dawkins 1916: 65; cf. Kesisoglou 1951: 9). The numeral *dójoka* 'twelve' provides another context in which [u] is preceded by [a], as would other numerals like *tría* 'three', *tésera* 'four', *eftá* 'seven', *enjá* 'nine', *éndeka* 'eleven' and, indeed, *polá* 'many'. Even singular *ena fšáx* could be derived from **ena ušáx* 'a, one child'.

In the case of Pharasiot this would result in the following scenario: *uşaḫ → *ušáxi*, articulated pl. **ta ušáxja > ta fšáxe → sg. to fšáxi*, gen. *tu fšáxu*.[16] As noted above, the integrator *-i* is used to integrate the loan noun in the inflectional class of the neuter nouns. It was originally a diminutive suffix, which was very productive in Post-classical Greek (Horrocks 2010: 175), but became "semantically neuter" in Medieval Greek (p. 262).[17] It is the regular integrator of Turkish loan nouns ending in a consonant, especially of "Turkish names of things" (*sic*), as Dawkins notes with reference to Pharasiot (1916: 164), but more accurately of "Turkish substantives […] the meaning of which does not involve the idea of personality" with reference to Cappadocian (p. 90). Inherited diminutives like παιδίον > Cappadocian *peðí vel sim.* naturally belong here and so it seems to make sense that Turkish *uşaḫ* should be integrated in this inflectional class.

Due to the regular apocope of final unstressed [i] in Cappadocian (Dawkins 1916: 62; Janse 2019: §6.2.1.1), the integrator *-i* does not appear in the nom.-acc. sg. of loan nouns such as *fšáx*, but it reappears in the nom.-acc. pl. *fšáxi-ja > fšáxja > fšáɣja > fšéja* and in the gen. sg.-pl. *fšaxí-u > fšaxjú > fšaɣjú > fšejú*. Quite surprisingly, however, the endings gen. *-jú*, pl. *-ja* are only attested in three Capopadocian dialects: *fšáxja-fšáɣja* are found at Ghurzono (Dawkins 1916: 338), *fšáɣja-fšája-fšéja-fšéa* and *fšaɣjú-fšajú-fšejú* at Ulağaç (Dawkins 1916: 65, 658, *passim*; Kesisoglou 1951: 32, *passim*) and *fšéja* and *fšejú* at Aravan (Dawkins 1916: 330; Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960: 148). Instead of *fšáxja* we find *fšáxa* at Anaku (Kostakis 1964: 84), Malakopi (Karphopoulos 2008: 143), Sinasos (Archelaos 1899: 141) and Silata, where *fšáɣa* is recorded as an alternative to *fšáxa* by Dawkins (1916: 448, 658). At Floïta (Dawkins 1916: 412, 426), Delmeso (1916: 314, 318ff.), Akso (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 218) and Misti (Kostakis 1977: 154) *fšaxú* is attested in addition to *fšáxa*. These forms resemble *fšaxú* at Pharasa and *fšáxa* at Avşar (Dawkins 1916: 574), where the endings *-ú* and *-a* are regular for the inflectional class to which *fšáxi* belongs (Dawkins 1916: 152; Andriotis 1948: 36). In Cappadocian,

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[16] For the change ('synizesis') of [ia] to [e] in Pharasiot see Dawkins (1916: 152), Andriotis (1948: 17f.); the change of [iú] to [ú] is explained as 'synizesis' by the former (1916: 152), as 'apocope' by the latter (1948: 23).

[17] The diminutive of *fšáxi* is **fša(x)ókko > fšókko* in Pharasiot (Dawkins 1916: 658; Andriotis 1948: 42; Anastasiadis 1980: 80).

on the other hand, one would expect the endings *-jú* and *-ja*, i.e. *fšaxjú* and *fšáxja* and later developments of these forms. Compare, for instance, Anatolian Turkish *konaḫ* > *konáx*, *konáxja* at Fertek and Floïta (Dawkins 1916: 328,418) and *γonáx*, *γonaxjú* at Akso (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 196), *γonaxjú* and *γonáxja* at Misti (Janse 2019b). Being isolated forms, it looks as if *fšaxú* and *fšáxa* are archaisms and *fšaxjú* and *fšáxja* analogical innovations.

As already noted above, the fricativization of word-final [k] to [x] is a characteristic feature of Anatolian Turkish, which is normally not found at Ulağaç, where Ottoman Turkish *konak* (قوناق) is borrowed as *konák*, gen. *konakjú*, pl. *konákja* (Dawkins 1916: 348) or, in the speech of refugees from Ulağaç, *gonák*, gen. *gonakjú*, pl. *gonákja* (Kesisoglou 1951: 9, 31). Likewise, *kabak* 'pumpkin' > *gabák*, *kaymak* 'cream' > *gaimák*, *kapak* 'lid' > *gapák*, listed by Kesisoglou to illustrate the regular voicing of word-initial [k] to [g] before back vowels (1951: 97). He also mentions the fricativization of [k] to [x], which is introduced as follows: "In Turkish mouths maybe also the following changes took place" (Σὲ τουρκικὰ στόματα ἔγιναν ἴσως καὶ οἱ πιὸ κάτω ἀλλοιώσεις, p. 98). The only example of word-final [k] quoted there is *uşak* > *fšáx* (*ibid.*), but there is one other listed in the glossary: *merak* 'anxiety' > *meráx* (p. 104). This is remarkable, as *merák* is attested at Malakopi (Karphopoulos 2008: 119), where word-final [k] is also regularly preserved in Turkish loan nouns (Dawkins 1916: 86).[18] It is difficult to decide whether the isolated *fšáx* and *meráx* are archaisms rather than innovations at Ulağaç or the other way around. The fact that *fšáx* is used instead of the expected **fšák* at Malakopi as well is at Silata and Floïta, two other dialects where word-final [k] is preserved, albeit "to a less degree" in the case of the former and "probably also to some extent" in the case of the latter (Dawkins 1916: 86), suggests that it is more likely to be a pan-Cappadocian archaism. This would explain the parallel use of *uşak* > *ušák*, noted by Archelaos, whose astute observations is repeated here: "as a known word, *uşak* would not be changed to *fšáx*" (1899: 277).[19]

Dawkins seems to agree with Archelaos and tentatively explains *fšáx* as "a singular formed from the Turk[ish] plural *ev-ušaq-larə*, 'the household', 'the boys of the house'" (1916: 658). A derivation by metanalysis from an indefinite *izafet* construction (Lewis 2000: 41) such as *ev uşak-lar-ı* is not very likely in light of the existence of such forms in Cappadocian (for discussion see Janse 2019b: XXX fn. 39), e.g. Turkish *hamam sahibi* 'bathowner' > Ulağaç *do xamamjú do sábïsï* (Dawkins 1916: 376), Turkish *oda sahibi* 'room owner' > Akso *odá sáabïs* (p. 402). We would have to assume that singular *ev uşağ-ı* would have been borrowed as **evušáγï* > **efšáγï* (syncope) > **efšáγi* (integration) > **efšáx* (apocope and final devoicing) > *fšáx* (apheresis). Apheresis of initial unstressed [e] is rare in Cappadocian (Kesisoglou 1951: 14; Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 10; Kostakis 1990: 177) as in Pharasiot (Andriotis 1948: 22), though attested in a few words, e.g. τὸ ἐγγόνι 'grandchild' > *to (ŋ)gón*, τὸ ἐρίφι 'kid' > *to ríf*, but Turkish *evlat* > *to evlát vel sim.* (cf. supra). Phonologically, then, Dawkins etymology is certainly imagineable, but semantically it doesn't make sense, given the fact that *ev uşağı* is used

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[18] Kotsanidis records *merák* (2006: 138) instead of the expected *meráx*, listed by Koimisoglou (2006: 211); compare *meráx* at Akso (Mavrochalyvidis 1990: 632). It is likely that *meráx* is sometimes replaced by *merák* in contemporary Mišótika under the influence of Modern Greek *meráki*. The Pharasiot equivalent is *meráxi* (Andriotis 1948: 76).

[19] Archelaos obviously quotes the Ottoman Turkish form *uşak* (أوشاق), which would correspond with *uşaḫ* in the local Anatolian Turkish (*Derleme Sözlüğü*, vol. XI *s.v. uşaḫ*; cf. Günşen 2000: 279, XXVII/21: *uşaḫlarınıñ*).

to refer to a male servant, i.e. a 'boy' in a specialized sense, not to a 'boy' in its primary sense of 'male child', let alone to a 'little boy' or even a 'little child, baby' without regard to sex.

We believe that the parallell use of *ušák* and *fšáx* observed by Archelaos together with the phonological and inflectional peculiarities of the latter indicate that *fšáx(i)* is indeed an archaism. This does not preclude the possibility that *fšáx* derives from *to ušáx* < Anatolian Turkish *uşaḫ*, along the lines sketched above, although word-initial high vowel fricativization is not particularly well documented in either Cappadocian or Pharasiot, the only trustworthy witness being precisely *fšáx(i)*.[20] Elsewhere, we have tentatively suggested a slightly different etymology and, indeed, chronology, which would better explain its phonological peculiarities and also accounts for its deviant inflection (Janse & Vandewalle 2018: 87; cf. Janse 2019a: §11.2.1). Turkish *uşak*, Anatolian Turkish *uşaḫ* is derived from Old Turkish *uvšak* 'small' (Nadeljaev *et al.* 1969: 619 *s.v. uvšaq*; Clauson 1973: 16 *s.v. uşa:k*). Clauson notes that *uvšak* is "very rare in its original form and soon replaced by *uşak*" (*ibid.*; cf. Nadeljaev *et al.* 1969: 617). As there is no trace of the word in documents written in Old Anatolian Turkish, a direct derivation of Cappadocian *fšáx* / Pharasiot *fšáxi* from *uvšak* cannot be proven, but neither can it be excluded altogether, as it would offer an alternative explanation of the initial [f] in both words: *uvşak* > Anatolian Turkish *ufşaḫ* > *ufšáx* > articulated *to ufšáx* > *to fšáx* (apheresis). The development would be comparable to *to uráði* > *to rá(ð)i*, attested in several Pontic and Dodecanese dialects, and also to Chian *to urjáði* > *to rjáði* > *t' orjáði* by metanalysis (Andriotis 1974: 422).

It should be noted, however, that *uvşak* / *uşak* is an adjective, so we must assume that it was borrowed as such in Cappadocian and Pharasiot. This explains the irregular inflection of the word in the North and Central Cappadocian dialects. The 11th-century Qarakhanid scholar Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī, who does not record *uvšak*, writes: "Things that are small (*ṣiɣār*) are called *ušaq nāṇ*. Hence babies (*ṣibyān*) are called *ušaq oɣlān*" (1982: 108), i.e. 'little boy' (*malen'kij mal'čik*, Nadeljaev *et al.* 1969: 617). Kāšġarī adds: "This word is not used for the singular but only for the plural" (*ibid.*), so the latter example should actually have been *u(v)şak oğlanlar* 'little boys'. Translated into Cappadocian this would have been **u(f)šáxa peðjá*, with obligatory marking of the plural in the adjective, articulated **ta fšáxa ta peðjá*, with adjectival instead of nominal inflection of *fšáx*, by analogy with *ta mikrá ta peðjá* 'the little boys'.[21] The gen. sg. would be **tu fšáxu tu peðjú*, a construction which had become rare in early 20th-century Cappadocian but still attested at Potamia, e.g. *tu kalú tu nékas* 'of the good wife' (Dawkins 1916: 115).

We believe that this scenario is the only plausible explanation for the adjectival inflection of *fšáx*, which is another indication that it is indeed an archaic loan noun. Due to the regular apocope of final unstressed [u] in Cappadocian, gen. *fšáxu* ended up being syncretic with nom. *fšáx*, which resulted in two different 'repair strategies' (Janse 2019b): the North and Central Cappadocian dialects copied the ending of the gen. pl. *-ún* > *-ú* in the singular: *fšáxu* > *fšáx* > *fšaxú*, whereas the South Cappadocian dialects adopted the so-called 'agglutinative inflection' (Janse 2019b) which would become the regular inflection of Turkish loan adjectives ending in a consonant, e.g. *zengin* 'rich' > *zeŋgín*,

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[20] As pointed out above, *vráði* < *varáði* is a doubtful case.

[21] The doubling of the article is obligatory in the case of inherited neuter nouns like *peðí* (Janse 2019a: §8.1.2.1). The phenomenon is ofted called 'determiner spreading' or 'polydefininiteness' (Lekakou & Karatsareas 2016).

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pl. *zeŋgínja* (Dawkins 1916: 115). As this was also the regular inflection of substantivized adjectives (*ibid.*), *fšáx* was integrated in the inflectional class of the inherited neuter nouns in -*i* in South Cappadocian as well as in Pharasiot: *fšáx(i)*, gen. *fšaxí-u > fšaxjú > fšaɣjú > fšejú*, pl. *fšáxi-ja > fšáxja > fšáɣja > fšéja*. In North and Central Cappadocian, however, *fšáx* preserved its archaic adjectival inflection: gen. *fšaxú*, nom. *fšáxa*. The substantivization of *fšáx(i)* in Cappadocian and Pharasiot runs parallel with the substantivization of *uşak* which meant both 'small' (without connotation of plurality) and 'small boy' in Ottoman Turkish from the 14th century onwards (Clauson 1972: 16).

4. Conclusion

In this paper we reassessed the etymology of Cappadocian *fšáx* 'child' and Pharasiot *fšáx(i)* 'boy'. We argued that Anatolian Turkish *uşaḫ* was the source of the borrowing instead of Ottoman Turkish *uşak* (أوشاق), as hitherto assumed. We also investigated the alledged change of word-initial [u] to [f] before unvoiced consonants and concluded that the change from *uşaḫ* to *fšáx(i)* could be explained as an isolated case of word-initial high vowel fricativization in the articulated plural **ta ušáxa > ta fšáxa*, comparable to *ta otjá* 'the ears' > *ta utjá* (mid-vowel raising) > *ta ftjá* (high vowel fricativization) > *t' aftjá* (metanalysis), sg. *to aftí* in Modern Greek. We compared the alledged change of word-initial [u] to [v] in *uráði* 'tail' to *vráði* in Pharasiot with the comparable change of *ta oɣá* 'the eggs' > *ta uɣá > ta vɣá > t' avɣá*, sg. *to avɣó* in Modern Greek, but concluded that Pharasiot *vráði* must be considered a syncopated variant of an older variant *váraði*. We also concluded that it was difficult to imagine an articulated plural context in the case of *v(a)ráði* in light of the many dialect forms based on the articulated singular *to uráði* > Pontic and Dodecanese *to ráði*, Chian *t' orjáði* and again Pontic *turáðin*. We further argued that *fšáx(i)* has to be considered an archaism in light of the parallel use of *uşak* > *ušák* reported in 19th-century sources. The fact that *fšáx* instead of *fšák is securely attested in Cappadocian dialects where word-final [k] does not change to [x] in Turkish loan nouns is another argument in favour of the archaism of *fšáx*. Finally, we argued that the irregular inflection of *fšáx* in North and Central Cappadocian – gen. *fšaxú* instead of *fšaxjú*, pl. *fšáxa* instead of *fšáxja* – is another sign of the archaic character of the word which was probably borrowed as an adjective from Old Anatolian Turkish before it became substantivized in Ottoman Turkish. Finally, we suggested an alternative etymology for *fšáx(i)* from *uvşak*, an adjective attested in Old Turkic, although unattested in Old Anatolian Turkish: *ta ufšáxa ta peðjá* 'the little children' > *ta fšáxa* 'the little ones' by apheresis. We believe that our little exercise in historical linguistics offers a better explanation of the etymology of *fšáx(i)* and a more secure establishment of the chronology of its borrowing from Old Anatolian Turkish.

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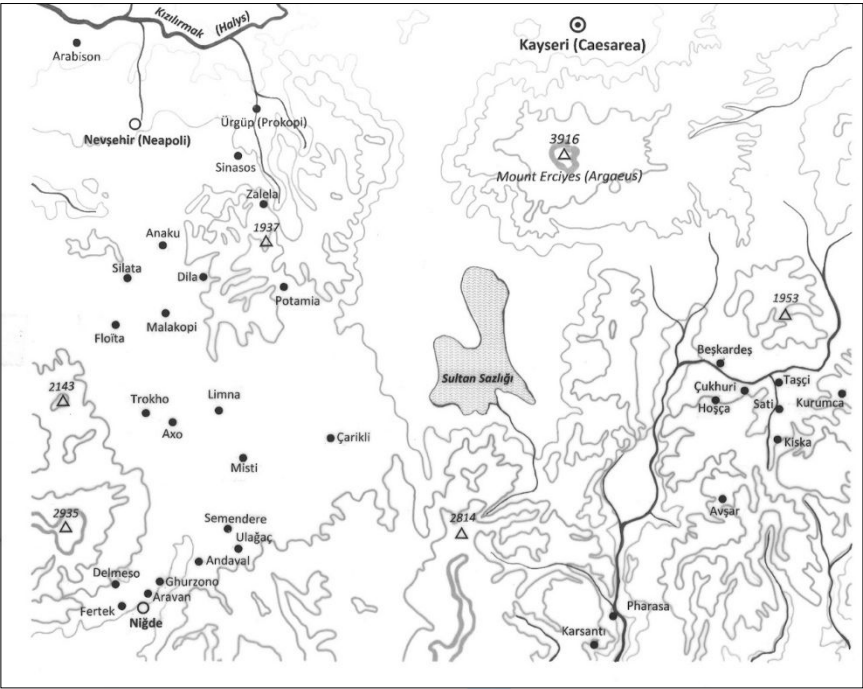FIGURE 1: Geographical Distribution of the Cappadocian and Pharasiot dialects

TABLE 1: Classification of the Cappadocian dialects[22]

North Cappadocian

NORTHWEST

- Silata
- Anaku
- Floïta
- Malakopi

NORTHEAST

- Sinasos
- Potamia
- Delmeso

Central Cappadocian

- Axo
- Misti

South Cappadocian

SOUTHWEST

- Aravan
- Ghurzono
- Fertek

SOUTHEAST

- Ulağaç
- Semendere

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[22] Cf. Janse (2008: 191; 2019a: §4; 2019b).

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The History and Etymology of Cappadocian *fšáx* 'child', Pharasiot *fšáxi* 'boy'

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Abstract

Cappadocian *fšáx* 'child' and Pharasiot *fšáxi* 'boy' are traditionally derived from Turkish *uşak*, assuming a hitherto unexplained fricativization of [u] to [f] and of word-final [k] to [x] after the borrowing process. The latter cannot be attributed to Cappadocian or Pharasiot, however, as it is a common feature of Anatolian Turkish. In order to understand the former sound change, we have to assume an isolated case of high vowel fricativization in the articulated plural *ta ušáxja > ta fšáxja → sg. to fšáx(i)* by metanalysis, comparable to the generally acknowledged case of *ta otjá > ta utjá > ta ftjá → sg. to ftí* 'the ear'. We argue that *fšáx(i)* is an archaism in light of the parallel use of *uşak → ušák* reported in 19th-century sources and the preservation of word-final [x] even in dialects which seem to have borrowed words ending in [k] from Standard instead of Anatolian Turkish. The irregular inflection of Cappadocian *fšáx* suggests that it was borrowed as an adjective from Old Anatolian Turkish before it was substantivized in Ottoman Turkish, perhaps even from Old Turkish *uvşak* 'little': *ta ufšáxa ta peðjá* 'the little children' > *ta fšáxa* 'the little ones' by apheresis.

1. Introduction

Cappadocian,[1] a variety of East Asia Minor Greek (figure 1),[2] has borrowed numerous kinship terms from Anatolian Turkish (Janse 2020b: §11.2.1), e.g. *abla* 'elder sister' → *ablá* (Ulağaç); *paşa/başa* 'elder brother' → *pašá* (Aravan), *pašás* (Sinasos), *bašá*

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[2] On East Asia Minor Greek as a dialectal subgroup of Medieval and Modern Greek see Janse (2008: 190; 2020c: 182-3). On Cappadocian Greek and its history see, e.g., Dawkins (1916), Janse (2002; 2007; 2020b), Karatsareas (2009; 2011). The geographical distribution of the Cappadocian dialects is represented in map 1, their classification in table 1.

(Fertek), *bašás* (Floïta, Malakopi, Axo, Misti); *kardaş / gardaş* 'brother' → *kardáš* (Silata), *gardáš* (Ulağaç), *γardáš* (Axo, Misti, Aravan); *dayi / deyi* 'maternal uncle' → *tají* (Malakopi), *tajís* (Sinasos), *daí* (Misti), *daís* (Anaku, Sinasos), *dejí* (Axo), *deí* (Aravan, Ulağaç); *hala* 'paternal aunt' → *xalá* (Anaku, Misti).[3] Within its kinship system, Cappadocian has borrowed several words to refer to children (Janse & Vandewalle 2018): Anatolian Turkish *evlat* → *evlát* (Axo, Ulağaç), *ævlǽt* (Misti), *evláš* (Aravan); *taze / teze* 'new' → *teze* 'young(ster)' (Aravan), *tǽzǽ* 'baby' (Misti); *yavru* 'young (of an animal); child' → *javrú* (Delmeso, Silata, Anaku, Axo, Misti, Aravan). In addition to these, Cappadocian has inherited the Greek word παιδί,[4] which occurs in a variety of forms in the various dialects accoding to the treatment of the voiced alveolar fricative [ð]: *peðí* (Northeast & Northwest Cappadocian), *pe(j)í* (Axo, Misti, Ulağaç, Semendere), *pedí* (Fertek), *perí* (Aravan, Ghurzono). Just as in Medieval Greek (*LME*) and Modern Greek (Triantafyllidis 1998; Babiniotis 2002), Cappadocian *peðí* and its variants can be used in a wider sense to refer to children in general and in a narrower sense to refer to male children. The former sense predominates in the plural, the latter in the singular. Dawkins translates the word uncompromisingly as 'boy' (D630), Archelaos as 'male child' (ἄρρεν παιδίον, 1899: 258), Karphopoulos as 'boy' (ἀγόρι) and 'son' (υἱός) (2008: 123), Phosteris & Kesisoglou as 'child' (παιδί) and 'boy' (ἀγόρι) (1960: 36), the other Cappadocian glossaries simply as 'child' (παιδί, but with the ambiguity inherent in the word). A typical example from an equally typical beginning of a folktale from Axo is the following: *íçtan djó bedjá, t'óna pejí ce t'álo korítš* 'there were two children, the one a boy and the other a girl' (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 186).[5]

There is another word for 'child', used all over Cappadocia, the etymology of which is the topic of this paper: *fšáx(i)* with a variety of plural forms according to the dialects. Its meaning is almost identical with that of *peðí*. Dawkins translates it simply as 'boy' (D658), but the other glossaries generally have 'child' (παιδί, again with the already mentioned ambiguity, although there is no unambiguous evidence for the narrower sense 'boy'). In a folktale from Delmeso, a princess is about to give birth to two children repeatedly referred to as *fšáxa*, but her two sisters envy her because of her marriage to a prince and bribe the midwife to replace the children with pups alternatively referred to as *šcüljú javrúðja* and *šcüljú kulákja*, both meaning 'dog's pups' (D316).[6] The abandoned children are adopted by a man: *ce sa fšáxa-t ce léç: peðjá-m* 'and to his children he says: my children' (D318), from which it can already be deduced that *peðjá* may be used as a form of address in contrast with *fšáxa*. The two children are later identified as a boy (*peðí*) and a girl (*korítš*) (*ibid.*). In this particular folktale, the newborn children are once described as *ta mikrá ta fšáxa* 'the little children' (D316), but even when they have grown up, they are still called *fšáxa* (*ibid.*). In several glossaries, however, the translation 'child'

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[3] Dawkins (1916) and Janse (2020b) are the reference grammars of Cappadocian; references for individual dialects: Anaku (Kostakis 1963; Costakis 1964), Aravan (Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960), Axo (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960; Mavrochalyvidis 1990), Fertek (Krinopoulos 1889), Malakopi (Karphopoulos 2008), Misti (Kostakis 1977, 1990; Koimisoglou 2006; Kotsanidis 2006; Phates 2012), Sinasos (Archelaos 1899), Ulağaç (Kesisoglou 1951).

[4] Ancient, Medieval and Modern Greek words are written in the Greek alphabet, whereas Cappadocian, Pharasiot and other Asia Minor Greek words are transcribed, except in quotations from other sources in which the Greek alphabet is used.

[5] The morphonological variation in the inflection of *pejí*, gen. *bedjú*, pl. *bedjá* is peculiar to Axo (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 48; Mavrochalyvidis 1990: 636).

[6] Gen. *šcüljú* [ʃcyʎý] < *šciljú* [ʃciʎú], nom. *šcilí* [ʃcilí] < Greek σκυλί 'dog', is noteworthy for its palatal harmony (Janse 2020b: §6.2.1.4.1).

(παιδί) is further specified as 'little child' (παιδάκι, Karphopoulos 2008: 143; μικρό παιδί, Kotsanidis 2006: 160 *s.v.* παιδί), 'newborn child' (βρέφος, Krinopoulos 1889: 66), 'newborn' (βρέφος) or 'infant child' (νήπιον παιδίον, Archelaos 1899: 277), 'baby' (μωρό, Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 142; Koimisoglou 2006: 219; Phates 2012: 168). Another, less typical but more hilarious, example comes from Aravan: *néka pómne so fšáx ... én sonundá néka jénse, ámma né perí épce né koríš, manaxó épce ena cötšékos* 'the woman was expecting a baby (*fšáx*) … at long last the woman gave birth, but she produced neither a boy (*perí*) nor a girl (*koríš*), but she produced a baby camel (*cötšékos*)' (Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960: 98).

In contemporary Mišótika, a distinction is sometimes made between *fšáx* as a 'child before coming of age' (πριν την ενηλικίωση) and *klátš* as a 'child after coming of age' (μετά την ενηλικίωση, Kotsanidis 2006: 12 *s.v.* αγόρι), in a biological rather than a legal sense, but in pre-exchange Misti the distinction seems to have been between *fšáx* as a 'preschool child' and *klátš* as a 'school child'. Compare the phrase *ta skóljas klátša* 'the school children' in Kostakis' chapter on education, where the pupils are invariably referred to as *klátša* (1977: 171-181, phrase on p. 173). The same Kostakis, however, insists that 'children' are generally (γενικά) called *fšáxa* or *klátša* (p. 322), and the stock phrase when someone was lying in their deathbed was either *vreištét ta fšáxa* or *vreištét ta klátša* 'call the children', although the latter is used as the heading of the section (p. 233). In any case, *klátš* is never used to refer to a newborn or little child, whereas *fšáx* and *ævlǽt* are used interchangeably in certain expressions, although the latter is much rarer than the former, e.g. *pósa fšáxa é(x)is? = posa ævlǽtja é(x)is?* 'how many children do you have?' (Kotsanidis 2006: 160 *s.v.* παιδί).

The origin of the word *klátš* is clear enough: *κουλάκι 'pup' > Cappadocian *kulák* > *klák* (Silata, Axo) > *klátš* (Misti), but the etymology is obscure.[7] Krinopoulos (1889: 52) derives it from σκυλάκι, the Late Medieval and Modern Greek form of Ancient Greek σκυλάκιον, a diminutive of σκύλαξ.[8] In other Cappadocian glossaries, however, the word *kulák > klak* is listed under the heading «Λέξεις ἀνετυμολόγητες».[9] Dawkins quotes Krinopoulos' etymology, but notes that "the usual word for puppy is κουλούκι" (D612). This is a curious observation, as *kulúki* is attested in Livisiot (Andriotis 1961: 93) and Pontic (Papadopoulos 1958-61: vol. 1, 481), but not in any of the Cappadocian dialects nor, for that matter, in Pharasiot.[10] Papadopoulos derives it from Anatolian Turkish *kuluk* 'puppy' (*ibid.*; cf. *DS s.v.*). The etymology of this word is problematical, as there is no obvious Turkish source for it.[11] Interestingly, however, κουλούκι(ν) is attested in Late

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[7] We would like to thank one of the reviewers for encouraging us to elaborate on the etymology of Cappadocian *kulák*. One of the reviewers' question whether Pharasiot *kuladžókko*, recorded by Dawkins in a folktale and translated as "little snake" (D506), belongs here is unclear. *κουλάκι would change to *kulátši > *kuládži in Pharasiot (D154; A27-9), the diminutive form of which would be *kuladžókko*, with the Pharasiot diminutive suffix -*okko* [ók:o] (A41-2). The word is used several times in a folktale recorded by Dawkins and translated as 'little snake' (D508-8), but he analyzes the word as having a mysterious Turkish diminutive suffix *ǰoq* [*sic*] (D612), perhaps by confusion with the regular diminutive suffix -*çIk* (Lewis 2000: 54). From a derivational perspective *kuladžókko* makes perfect sense, cf. κορίτσι > Pharasiot *korítsi > korídzi*, diminutive *kordzókko* (D612; A23); cf. Cappadocian *korítš*, diminutive *koritšóppo* (Axo; Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 46).

[8] For Medieval Greek see *LBG & LME ss.vv.*

[9] Cf. Kesisoglou (1951: 118), Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou (1960: 148), Phosteris & Kesisoglou (1960: 61), Mavrochalyvidis (1990: 626).

[10] It may be noted that Dawkins' glossary does not have a separate entry for κουλούκι.

[11] One of our reviewers suggests two sources: (1) Anatolian Turkish *küçük / güdük* 'small, whelp', appearing in various Turkish dialects today as *guduk / güduk* etc. with the meaning 'whelp, puppy'

Medieval Greek and is etymologically also derived from σκυλάκιον by Kriaras (*LME*) as well as Trapp (*LBG*). The backing of [i] to [u] between velar and liquid consonants is well attested in Late Medieval Greek (Manolessou in Holton et al. 2019: vol. 1, 76-8) and sporadically in Cappadocian (Kesisoglou 1951: 8; Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 4; Costakis 1963: 25), but the details of the remaining sound changes remain unexplained and can at best be reconstructed as follows: σκυλάκι > *(σ)κουλάκι (backing) > *(σ)κουλούκι (progressive assimilation). If this chronology is correct, it suggests that Cappadocian *kulák* is older than Late Medieval κουλούκι(ν), the earliest attestations of which are, quite interestingly, from the Late Byzantine epic *Digenis Akritis*,[12] whose origins are to be sought in East Asia Minor if not in Cappadocia itself.[13] As κουλούκιον is also found in the work of the eleventh-century Constantinopolitan savant Michael Psellus (PselMB V 568.21),[14] it is unlikely that the word was borrowed from Anatolian Turkish into Late Medieval Greek but rather the other way around. The apheresis of the initial [s] remains problematic, as there are no other examples of a cluster reduction [sk] > [k], as is most eloquently illustrated by the common word for 'dog': σκυλί > *scilí* (Malakopi, Silata) > *šcilí* in the other dialects (D644). The parallel existence of words for 'dog' with and without backing of [i] to [u] and with or without initial [s], although not entirely impossible, seems to invalidate the proposed etymologies of κουλάκι and κουλούκι, especially since both can be combined in a single phrase, e.g. *sciljú klák* 'dog pup', used as an insult at Malakopi (Karphopoulos 2008: 111). The parallel use of the above quoted phrases *šcüljǘ javrúðja* and *šcüljǘ kulákja* from Delmeso indicates that the borrowed word *javrú* and the inherited (?) word *kulák* are synonymous.[15]

In the remainder of this paper we will investigate the history and etymology of *fšáx* which, apart from Cappadocian, is attested only in Pharasiot (located in the far southeast of Cappadocia, see map 1), where it occurs as *fšáxi*, diminutive *fšax-ókko > *fšókko* (D658; A78; Anastasiadis 1980: 80). The meaning of Pharasiot *fšáxi* is identical with Cappadocian *peðí* with the ambiguity inherent in the word mentioned above. Dawkins glosses it as 'boy' (D658), Andriotis as παιδί (A78), Anastasiadis as παλικάρι 'lad' (1980: 80). The word *peðí* itself is "not used at Ph[arasa]" (D630). Whereas Cappadocian uses *peðí* versus *korí(t)š* to distinguish between boys and girls, Pharasiot uses the diminutives *fšókko* versus *korits-ókko > *kordzókko* (D612, for examples see D478, D484; cf. A23, A42).[16]

(Nadeljaev et al. 1969: 306); (2) Anatolian Turkish *kulun*, appearing as *kulu(k)* / *kulukulu* in various Turkish dialects, but with the meaning 'foal'. The former has the required meaning, but it is difficult to connect *guduk* with *kuluk(i)* phonologically, whereas the latter has the required form, at least in some dialects, but a different meaning (but compare *kuladžókko*, fn. 6).

[12] *DA* 757 & 766 (Escorial), where the κουλούκια are bear cubs.

[13] For more detail see Jeffreys (1998) and Janse (2020c).

[14] The reference is taken from *LBG s.v.* κουλούκιον.

[15] Note, however, that as a term of address *javrú* is affectionate, *kulák* reproachful, as in a saying from Ghurzono: *Túrk kulák, šciljú kulák* 'a Turk's young [is] a dog's young' (D612); similarly at Malakopi: *ðjavól kulák* 'Devil's breed' (Karphopoulos 2008: 111). In his ethnographic study of Anaku, Kostakis specifies that *javrú* has 'affectionate meaning' (θωπευτικὴ σημασία, 1963: 153 fn. 1); *kulák* is only once used to address a boy who had farted in church after having been warned by his grandmother not to fart in the street: *kulák, sin eklišá mín ertis, klánis!* 'you cur, you shouldn't go to church, [as] you're farting!' (p. 131).

[16] Note that *fšáxi* is never used to refer to a baby, for which Arabic *ma'ṣūm* (مَعْصُوم) 'innocent' → Ottoman Turkish *ma'sum*, Anatolian Turkish *mahsum* (*DS* vol. IX *s.v.*) → Pharasiot *máx(t)súmi* is used (D686; A77; Anastasiadis 1980: 66).

2. The received etymology of *fšáx(i)*

The most fanciful etymology for *fšáx(i)* is put forward by Krinopoulos: "perhaps from βυζαστάκιον, βυζαστάκ, βυζαστάχ" (1889: 66). None of these words are actually attested, as far as we know, and Archelaos perceptively concludes that "Krinopoulos' βυζαστάχ is rashly derived (βεβιασμένον) from βυζάνω", i.e. 'suckle' (1899: 277). Archelaos notes that "some compare Turkish *uşak* (οὐσάκ) from which, however, it does not seem to be derived, since that word is being used as well, and in any case, as a known word, *uşak* would not be changed to *fšáx*" (*ibid.*). This is a very important observation, as the parallel use of two etymologically identical words is unlikely, as in the case of *scilí* > *šcilí* and *kulák* > *klák*, discussed in the introduction. Dawkins has the following to say: "Perhaps from Turk[ish] *ušaq*, أوشاق, boy, although the parallel use of this word, pointed out by Arkh[elaos], is against this" (D658).

Ignoring the parallel use of *fšáx(i)* and *uşak*, Andriotis squarely derives Pharasiot *fšáxi* from *uşak* by assuming two changes. The first of these involves the fricativization of word-final [k] to [x] (A75), i.e. *uşak* > **ušax*, which is integrated in the inflectional class of the inherited neuter nouns in -*i* by means of the integrator -*i*:[17] **ušax-i* with velar [x] instead of palatal [ç], hence transcribed as φ0σά1χι by Andriotis (A76). The second one involves the sporadic change (κάποτε τρέπεται, A19) of word-initial [u] to [v] before a voiced and to [f] before an unvoiced consonant. Andriotis quotes just two examples of this change: *uşak* > *fšáxi* and *uráði* > *vráði* (A19), the latter a diminutive of οὐρά 'tail' > οὐράδι(ν), itself securely attested in Medieval Greek (*LME & LBG*). Andriotis' etymology of Cappadocian *fšáx* and Pharasiot *fšáxi* is accepted by his pupil Kesisoglou (1951: 10, 107),[18] and repeated without further discussion by others.[19]

The first thing to note is the fact that both Dawkins and Andriotis assume that the source of *fšáx* is *uşak*, that is to say the non-dialectal form of the word in Ottoman and Turkey Turkish. Dawkins observes that "the Turkish *q* (*qaf*, ق) medially and initially, except for an occasional confusion with γ […], keeps it Turkish sound, a hard back *k*; finally it almost everywhere becomes χ", except at Ulağaç and "to a less extent" also in Northwest Cappadocian (D86). For example, Ottoman Turkish *qonaq* (قوناق) 'palace, mansion' appears as *konak* at Floïta (D424) and at Ulağaç (D348, 354-8, twelve times). Kesisoglou notes the regular voicing of word-initial [k] to [g] in the post-exchange speech of refugees from Ulağaç (1951: 97-8): *gonák* (pp. 9, 14, 31, 102). The "occasional confusion with γ" in word-initial position seems to have become the rule in the post-exchange speech of refugees from Aravan, Axo and Misti, where *konak* appears as *γonáx*.[20] Similarly, Dawkins records Pharasiot *konáxi* (D683), whereas Andriotis has *γonáxi* (A76).

It is commonly known that the fricativization of syllable- and word-final [k] to [x] following back vowels is a characteristic feature of Anatolian Turkish.[21] Old Turkic syllable- and word-final [k] very frequently appears as [x] in Old Anatolian Turkish, e.g. Old Turkic *yōḳ* > Old Anatolian Turkish *yoḫ* 'there is not' (Timurtaş 1976: 342, §37). In the written standard of Ottoman and Turkey Turkish, [k] has been restored (Ergin 1997:

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[17] For the term 'integrator' see Ralli et al. (2015), Ralli (2016), Janse (2019: 86).

[18] Cf. Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou (1960: 142), Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960: 57).

[19] Cf. Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou (1960: 130), Phosteris & Kesisoglou (1960: 47f.), Kostakis (1963: 457; 1977: 154), Anastasiadis (1980: 80), Koimisoglou (2006: 219), Kotsanidis (2006: 160 *s.v.* παιδί), Rizos (2007: 154 fn. 148), Karphopoulos (2008: 143).

[20] Cf. Kostakis (1977: 59), Kotsanidis (2005: 161 *s.v.* παλάτι), Koimisoglou (2006: 208).

[21] Cf. Kowalski (1934: 1001), Caferoğlu (1959: 251), Lewis (2000: 4), Brendemoen (1998: 237f.).

89), but [x] is well attested in these positions in Central and East Anatolian Turkish [x]. For instance, Standard Turkish *konak* appears as *gonaḫ* in Niğde Province (*DS*, vol. VI *s.v. gonah* II), *uşak* as *uşaḫ* in Kırşehir Province (*DS*, vol. XI *s.v. uşaḫ*),[22] and *çocuk*, another word for 'child', as *çocuḫ* in Nevşehir Province (Korkmak 1994: 182, 65/2-4: *çocuḫ bis*). Given the fact that *fšáx* is found "everywhere in Cappadocia" (D658), we have to assume that if *uşak* is the Turkish source of the word, it would have to be in its Old c.q. Central and East Anatolian form *uşaḫ*.[23] We then need to understand how *uşaḫ* changed to *fšáx*, i.e. how word-initial [u] changed to [f].

As mentioned above, Andriotis assumes a sporadic but otherwise unexplained change of word-initial [u] to [v] in *uráði > vráði* and to [f] in *uşak > fšáxi* (A19). Now the fricativization of [u] to [v] before voiced and to [f] before unvoiced consonants is of course extremely well documented in the history of Greek in the case of the diphthongs [au], [eu] and [iu].[24] Crucially, therefore, we would need a (mor)phonological environment in which the vowels [a], [e] or [i] are involved to allow for this particular change. As a matter of fact, Andriotis provides three examples in which the vowel sequence [ao] changes to [au] and then to [av] before voiced consonants in Pharasiot: ἄωρος 'unripe' > *áuros > ávros* (A19), ἄλλο 'other' > *áo > áu > áv* (A19), , ἄλογο 'horse' > *áoɣo > áuɣo > ávɣo* (A31). The last two involve the deletion of intervocalic [l], which is a characteristic feature of Pharasiot. Both Dawkins (D154ff.) and Andriotis (A30) describe it in great detail, but fail to provide a phonetic explanation for the phenomenon. It is actually a well-known sound change attested in Romance, Germanic and Slavic palatapalata involving L-velarization before back vowels followed by L-vocalization and / or L-deletion. Recasens (2012) shows how several prominent articulatory and / or acoustic cues may be responsible for L-velarization, L-vocalization and L-deletion in Romance. It may be accordingly explained as involving the velarization of [l] to [ł] before back vowels, followed by the vocalization of [ł] to [w], which is subsequently deleted: *áloɣo > áłoɣo > áwoɣo > áoɣo > áuɣo > ávɣo*. The vocalization of [ł] to [w] is still apparent in cases where [l] is preceded by a velar consonant, e.g. γλῶσσα > **ɣłósa > ɣwósa* 'tongue' (D158; A30).[25]

Anastasiadis, a native speaker of Pharasiot, lists another example unrecorded by Dawkins and Andriotis: ἀλωπός 'fox' > αβ'πός [*sic*] (2003: 55), which may be reconstructed as *alopós > ałopós > awopós > aopós > aupós > afpós* (for αβ'πός). Dawkins quotes *aopós* from Avşar, but *após* from Pharasa (D583; cf. A86, Andriotis 1974: 88).[26] He notes that if the loss of intervocalic [l] results in a sequence of two different vowels, "they are generally kept apart [b]ut sometimes the vowels coalesce"

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[22] Cf. Günşen (2000: 279, XXVII/21): *uşaḫlarınıñ*.

[23] As one of our reviewers rightly observes, neither Dawkins nor Andriotis could have deduced this from their sources, which were written in the standard variety of their time.

[24] For the early history of the change see Horrocks (2010: 163ff.).

[25] One of our reviewers points out that there is at least one putative example in Pharasiot of L-deletion before a front vowel: κέλυφος 'shell' > *tšéfos* (A56). Andriotis assumes the following changes: *célifos > tšélifos* (palatalization) > *tšéifos* (L-deletion) > *tšéfos*, with contraction of [ei] to [e] as in ἔχεις 'you have' > *éšis > éis > és* (A18). The latter form is explained by Dawkins as the result of "contraction after dissimilatory dropping of the first sibilant" (D178). Instead of *tšéfos* one would have expected *tšélifos* [tʃélifos], as in μέλισσα 'bee' > *mélisa / *mésa* (A26).

[26] The Cappadocian words for 'fox' are derived from **ἀλιπήκα*, perhaps a contamination of Ancient Greek ἀλώπηξ 'fox' > Late Medieval Greek ἀλώπεκα (*LME*) and Ancient Greek ἀλιπής 'without fat: skinny': *alipíka* (Anaku, Potamia, Silata, D583; Aravan, Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960: 18), *alibíka* (Floïta, D583), *alibíkka* [alibík:a] (Axo, Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 94), *alübúca* [alybýca] (Misti, Phates 2012: 155; cf. Kotsanidis 2005: 21 *s.v.* αλεπού).

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(D156). Avşar *aopós* is an example of the former, Pharasa *após* of the latter. A common hiatus resolution strategy is the insertion of a voiced fricative, either [γ] or [v]. Dawkins quotes a telling example: "διέβος (διάβολος) *devil*, gen. δεβοοῦ (odd accent) or δεβόβου or δεβόγου" (*ibid.*).[27] He also mentions the coexistence of *áγu* and *ávu* as variants of *áu* 'other' (cf. supra), listed under "λ is changed to γ" and "λ is changed to β" respectively (D158), but correctly explained previously: "the forms of ἄλλος in use, ἄγου, ἄβου, ἄου, suggest that the γ and β are later fillings of the hiatus, as they certainly are in the ending of the -άω verbs, which appears generally as -άγω, but sometimes as -άβω as well as -άω" (D155).

It is therefore likely that the raising of unstressed [o] to [u] in these examples is due to the vocalization of intervocalic [l] to [w] via [ɫ] before its ultimate deletion: *álo > áɫo > áwo > áo > áu*. This is confirmed by cases like πολλά 'many' > *puá* (D157; A19), which may be reconstructed as *polá > poɫá > powá > puá*. These are the only instances where unstressed [o] is raised to [u] in Pharasiot according to Dawkins: "At Pharasa these changes do not occur, except that it is difficult to explain ἄβου for ἄλλου otherwise" (D149). The only apparent exception is the above mentioned *áoros > auros > ávros*, quoted by Andriotis (A19), but not recorded by Anastasiadis (2003) nor, quite surprisingly, by Andriotis in his lexicon of archaisms in the Modern Greek dialects, who instead lists ἄγωρος, attested in several Modern Greek dialects including Cappadocian (Silata) and Pontic (Ophis) (1974: 170).[28] In this particular case, the change of [o] to [u] is unexpected, Ancient Greek {ω} being normally preserved in Pharasiot.[29] Andriotis quotes evidence from Rhodian to further illustrate the change of [ao] to [au] and of [au] to [av]: Medieval Greek ἀγουρίδα 'sour grape' > *auría > avría*, Latin *magulum* 'cheek' → Medieval Greek μάγουλο (*LBG & LME*) > *máulo > mávlo*, Ancient Greek σιάγων 'jaw' > Medieval Greek σάγονο (*LME s.v.* κατωσάγονο 'chin') > *sáuno > sávno* (A19; cf. Tsopanakis 1940: 54).

In all these cases unstressed [u] changes to [v] when preceded by (stressed or unstressed) [a] and followed by a voiced consonant, just as the older diphthong [au] changed to [av] in this particular context. The phenomenon is called 'frication' by Horrocks (2010: 165ff.) and, with reference to Sino-Tibetan and Grassfield Bantu languages, 'high vowel fricativization' by Faytak (2014), whose 'report' is probably the most detailed phonetic-phonological study published in recent years.[30] But how are we to imagine high vowel fricativization in the case of *vráði* and *fšáx(i)*? The only plausible explanation would be to invoke the definite article, more specifically the neuter plural article *ta*, which would provide the preceding [a] necessary for the fricativization of the following [u]. As a matter of fact, there are two well-known examples of metanalysis involving the prefixation of the definite article which have made the inherited words almost unrecognizable in their modern shape. The first one is Ancient Greek ᾠόν 'egg', articulated plural τὰ ᾠά > Post-classical Greek *ta oá* (monophthongization) > *ta oγá* (hiatus resolution) > *ta uγá* (mid vowel raising) > *ta vγá* (high vowel fricativization) > *t'avγá* (metanalysis) > *ta avγá* → sg. *to avγó* (Andriotis 1983: 2; cf. Triantafyllidis 1998;

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[27] Cf. Karolidis (1885: 158), Lagarde (1886: 49).

[28] Compare Modern Greek αγόρι 'boy' < Medieval ἀγόριν / ἀγούριν (diminutive) < Post-classical ἄγωρος < Classical ἄωρος (Andriotis 1983: 5; cf. Triantafyllidis 1998; Babiniotis 2002, 2011).

[29] For exceptions see A16 & A18; cf. D149.

[30] One of our reviewers correctly observes that Faytak's analysis is not necessarily supported by the Cappadocian and Pharasiot data presented in this paper, but the term 'high vowel fricativization' is his and at least some of the examples quoted suggest the kind of chain shift discussed by Faytak, i.c. raising of unstressed [o] to [u] and subsequent fricativization of [u] to [v].

Babiniotis 2002, 2011).[31] The second example is Ancient Greek ὠτίον 'ear', articulated pl. τὰ ὠτία > Post-classical Greek *ta otjá* > *ta utjá* (mid vowel raising) > *ta ftjá* (high vowel fricativization) > *t'aftjá* (metanalysis) > *ta aftjá* → sg. *to aftí* (Andriotis 1983: 45; cf. Triantafyllidis 1998; Babiniotis 2002, 2011).

To explain *vráði* this way, one would have to presuppose a metanalysis from the articulated pl. *ta uráðja* > *ta vráðja* → sg. *to vráði*. Whereas it is easy to see how the frequent use of the articulated plurals *ta óa* 'the eggs' and *ta otjá* 'the ears' led to the metanalyzed singulars *avjó* and *aftí*, it is rather difficult to envisage a world in which it should be more common to refer to a plurality of tails rather than to individual tails. This appears from the various shapes of the word, which is preserved as an archaism in several Modern Greek dialects, e.g. Pontic *uráð(in)*, *uðár(in)*, *ráði* and, significantly *turáðin* (Papadopoulos 1958-61 *s.v.* οὐράδιν).[32] The last variant is particularly instructive as it is metanalyzed from *to uráðin* > *t' uráðin* → *to turáðin*, pl. *ta turáðja*. It is also recorded at Sinasos by Archelaos (1899: 271 *s.v.* τουράδι; cf. Takadopoulos 1982: 190; Rizos 2007: 215). Another diminutive variant is *trátsa*, listed by Karolidis for Misti and other Cappadocian varieties (1885: 216), or *trádza*, listed by Archelaos for 'Bagdaonian' (1899: 271), which refers to Cappadocian minus Sinasos (D10). According to Dawkins, *trátsa* "seems to be for τ(ου)ράδ(ι)τσα" (D630), i.e. *t' uráðitsa* > *turáðitsa* > *trátsa* or *trádza* (with regular syncope of unstressed [u] and [i]).[33] In contemporary Mišótika, *trádza* is simplified to *tráza*.[34]

The case of Pharasiot *vráði* thus becomes crucial, as it appears to be the only evidence for the putative fricativation of unstressed [u] to [v] before a voiced consonant, to wit the rhotic liquid [r]. In this respect, it is noteworthy that several 19th-century sources record *varáði* instead of *vráði* for Pharasiot,[35] suggesting that the latter is a syncopated form of the former. This further complicates an analysis in terms of high vowel fricativation, especially since there are no other examples of a change from unstressed [u] to [v] before [r] in Pharasiot (nor in any other Greek variety we are aware of).

3. The history and etymology of *fšáx*

This brings us back to the putative fricativization of [u] to [f] in *uṣaḫ* > *fšáx(i)*. In this particular case, it is not very difficult to imagine a world in which references to a plurality of children would be as frequent as references to individual children. Compare, for instance, the beginning of a folktale from Ulağaç: *ándra néka éjiškan dójoka fšáɣja* [*ce*] *da fšéa-t épan ci* 'A man [and] a woman had twelve children [and] the children said' (D346). Here we have the necessary context for the putative high vowel fricativization: articulated nom.-acc. pl. *ta ušáxi-a > *ta fšáxja* > *ta fšáɣja* > *ta fšája* > *ta fšéja* > *ta fšéa*, the raising of [a] to [e] before [i] or [j] in *fšé(j)a* being optional.[36]

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[31] Cappadocian *ovjó* (D663 *s.v.* ᾠόν) is the result of a similar metanalysis, whereas Pharasiot *vó* is more likely the result of hiatus resolution: τὸ ᾠόν > *t(o) oó* > *t' ovó* > *to vó*, pl. *ta vá* (A55).

[32] Compare Ikariot *ráði* and Karpathian *rái* (Andriotis 1974: 422).

[33] Cf. Dawkins (D62), Janse (2020b: §6.2.1.1).

[34] Cf. Kostakis (1977: 271, 457), Kotsanidis (2006: 158 *s.v.* ουρά), Phates (2012: 167).

[35] Cf. Karolidis (1885: 144), Lagarde (1886: 44), Archelaos (1899: 271).

[36] Cf. Dawkins (D65), Kesisoglou (1951: 9).

In the case of Pharasiot this would result in the following scenario: *uşaḫ → *ušáxi*, articulated plural *ta ušáxja > ta fšáxe → sg. to fšáxi*, gen. *tu fšáxu*.[37] As noted above, the integrator *-i* is used to integrate the loan noun in the inflectional class of the neuter nouns. It was originally a diminutive suffix, which was very productive in Post-classical Greek (Horrocks 2010: 175), but became "semantically neuter" in Medieval Greek (2010: 262).[38] It is the regular integrator of Turkish loan nouns ending in a consonant, especially of "Turkish names of things" (*sic*), as Dawkins notes with reference to Pharasiot (D164), but more accurately of "Turkish substantives […] the meaning of which does not involve the idea of personality" with reference to Cappadocian (D90). Inherited diminutives like παιδίον > Cappadocian *peðí vel sim.* naturally belong here and so it seems to make sense that Turkish *uşaḫ* should be integrated in this inflectional class.

Due to the regular apocope of final unstressed [i] in Cappadocian,[39] the integrator *-i* does not appear in the nom.-acc. sg. of loan nouns such as *fšáx*, but it reappears in the nom.-acc. pl. *fšáxi-ja > fšáxja > fšáɣja > fšéja* and in the gen. sg.-pl. *fšaxí-u > fšaxjú > fšaɣjú > fšejú*. Quite surprisingly, however, the endings gen. *-jú*, pl. *-ja* are only attested in three Capopadocian dialects: *fšáxja / fšáɣja* are found at Ghurzono (D338), *fšáɣja / fšája / fšéja / fšéa* and *fšaɣjú / fšajú / fšejú* at Ulağaç (D65, D658, *passim*; Kesisoglou 1951: 32, *passim*) and *fšéja* and *fšejú* at Aravan (D330; Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960: 148). Instead of *fšáxja* we find *fšáxa* at Anaku (Kostakis 1964: 84), Malakopi (Karphopoulos 2008: 143), Sinasos (Archelaos 1899: 141) and Silata, where *fšáɣa* is recorded as an alternative to *fšáxa* by Dawkins (D448, D658). At Floïta (D412, D426), Delmeso (D314, D318ff.), Axo (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 218) and Misti (Kostakis 1977: 154) *fšaxú* is attested in addition to *fšáxa*. These forms resemble *fšaxú* at Pharasa and *fšáxa* at Avşar (D574), where the endings *-ú* and *-a* are regular for the inflectional class to which *fšáxi* belongs (D152; A36). In Cappadocian, on the other hand, one would expect the endings *-jú* and *-ja*, i.e. *fšaxjú* and *fšáxja* and later developments of these forms. Compare, for instance, Anatolian Turkish *konaḫ > konáx, konáxja* at Fertek (D328) and Floïta (D418) and *ɣonáx, ɣonaxjú* at Axo (Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou 1960: 196), *ɣonaxjú* and *ɣonáxja* at Misti (Janse 2019: 91). Being isolated forms, it looks as if *fšaxú* and *fšáxa* are archaisms and *fšaxjú* and *fšáxja* analogical innovations.

As already noted above, the fricativization of word-final [k] to [x] is a characteristic feature of Anatolian Turkish, which is normally not found at Ulağaç, where Standard Turkish *konak* is borrowed as *konák*, gen. *konakjú*, pl. *konákja* (D348) or, in the post-exchange speech of refugees from Ulağaç, *gonák*, gen. *gonakjú*, pl. *gonákja* (Kesisoglou 1951: 9, 31). Likewise, *kabak* 'pumpkin' > *gabák*, *kaymak* 'cream' > *gaimák*, *kapak* 'lid' > *gapak*, listed by Kesisoglou to illustrate the regular voicing of word-initial [k] to [g] before back vowels (1951: 97). He also mentions the fricativization of [k] to [x], which is introduced as follows: "In Turkish mouths the following changes probably also took place" (1951: 98). The only example of word-final [k] quoted there is *uşak > fšáx* (*ibid.*), but there is one other listed in the glossary: *merak* 'anxiety' > *meráx* (p. 104). This is remarkable, as *merák* is attested at Malakopi (Karphopoulos 2008: 119), where word-final [k] is also regularly preserved in Turkish loan nouns (D86).[40] It is difficult to decide

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[37] For the change ('synizesis') of [ia] to [e] in Pharasiot see Dawkins (D152), Andriotis (A17f.); the change of [iú] to [ú] is explained as 'synizesis' by the former (D152), as 'apocope' by the latter (A23).

[38] The diminutive of *fšáxi* is **fša(x)ókko > fšókko* in Pharasiot (D658; A42; Anastasiadis 1980: 80).

[39] Cf. Dawkins (D62), Janse (2020b: §6.2.1.1)

[40] Kotsanidis records *merák* (2006: 138) instead of the expected *meráx*, listed by Koimisoglou (2006: 211); compare *meráx* at Axo (Mavrochalyvidis 1990: 632). It is likely that *meráx* is sometimes replaced by *merák*

whether the isolated *fšáx* and *meráx* are archaisms rather than innovations at Ulağaç or the other way around. The fact that *fšáx* is used instead of the expected *fšák at Malakopi as well as at Silata and Floïta, two other dialects where word-final [k] is preserved, albeit "to a less degree" in the case of the former and "probably also to some extent" in the case of the latter (D86), suggests that it is more likely to be a pan-Cappadocian archaism. This would explain the parallel use of *uşak > ušák*, noted by Archelaos, whose astute observation is repeated here: "as a known word, *uşak* would not be changed to *fšáx*" (1899: 277).

Dawkins seems to agree with Archelaos and tentatively explains *fšáx* as "a singular formed from the Turk[ish] plural *ev-ušaq-larə*, 'the household', 'the boys of the house'" (D658). A derivation by metanalysis from an indefinite *izafet* construction (Lewis 2000: 41) such as *ev uşak-lar-ı* is not very likely in light of the existence of such forms in Cappadocian,[41] e.g. Turkish *hamam sahibi* 'bathowner' > Ulağaç *do xamamjú do sábïsï* (D376), Turkish *oda sahibi* 'room owner' > Axo *odá sáabïs* (D402). We would have to assume that singular *ev uşağ-ı* would have been borrowed as *evušáyï > *efšáyï (syncope) > *efšáyi (integration) > *efšáx (apocope and final devoicing) > *fšáx* (apheresis). Apheresis of initial unstressed [e] is rare in Cappadocian,[42] as in Pharasiot (A22), though attested in a few words, e.g. τὸ ἐγγόνι 'grandchild' > *to (ŋ)gón*, τὸ ἐρίφι 'kid' > *to ríf*, but Turkish *evlat* > *to evlát vel sim.* (cf. supra). Phonologically, then, Dawkins' etymology is certainly imagineable, but semantically it does not really make sense, given the fact that *ev uşağı* is used to refer to a male servant, i.e. a 'boy' in a specialized sense, not to a 'boy' in its primary sense of 'male child', let alone to a 'little boy' or even a 'little child, baby' without regard to sex.

We believe that the parallell use of *ušák* and *fšáx* observed by Archelaos together with the phonological and inflectional peculiarities of the latter indicate that *fšáx(i)* is indeed an archaism. This does not preclude the possibility that *fšáx* derives from *to ušáx* < Anatolian Turkish *uşaḫ*, along the lines sketched above, although word-initial high vowel fricativization is not particularly well documented in either Cappadocian or Pharasiot, the only trustworthy witness being precisely *fšáx(i)*.[43] Elsewhere, we have tentatively suggested a slightly different etymology and, indeed, chronology, which would better explain its phonological peculiarities and also accounts for its deviant inflection.[44] Turkish *uşak*, Anatolian Turkish *uşaḫ* is derived from Old Turkish *uvşak* 'small'.[45] Clauson notes that *uvşak* is "very rare in its original form and soon replaced by *uşak*" (1973: 16). As there is no trace of the word in documents written in Old Anatolian Turkish, a direct derivation of Cappadocian *fšáx* / Pharasiot *fšáxi* from *uvşak* cannot be proven, but neither can it be excluded altogether, as it would offer an alternative explanation of the initial [f] in both words: *uvşak* > Anatolian Turkish *ufşaḫ* > *ufšáx* > articulated *to ufšáx* > *to fšáx* (apheresis). The development would be comparable to *to uráði* > *to rá(ð)i*, attested in several Pontic and Dodecanese dialects, and also to Chian *to urjáði* > *to rjáði* > *t' orjáði* by metanalysis (Andriotis 1974: 422).

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in contemporary Mišótika under the influence of Modern Greek μεράκι. The Pharasiot equivalent is *meráxi* (A76).

[41] For discussion see Janse (2019: 93-4 fn. 39).

[42] Cf. Kesisoglou (1951: 14), Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou (1960: 10), Kostakis (1990: 177).

[43] As pointed out above, *vráði < varáði* is a doubtful case.

[44] Cf. Janse & Vandewalle (2018: 87)Janse (2020b: §11.2.1).

[45] Cf. Nadeljaev *et al.* (1969: 619 *s.v. uvšaq*), Clauson (1973: 16 *s.v. uşa:k*).

It should be noted, however, that *uvşak / uşak* is an adjective and it was clearly borrowed as such in Cappadocian.[46] This explains the irregular inflection of the word in the North and Central Cappadocian dialects. The 11th-century Qarakhanid scholar Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī, who does not record *uvşak*, writes: "Things that are small (*ṣiɣār*) are called *ušaq nāŋ*. Hence babies (*ṣibyān*) are called *ušaq oɣlān*" (1982: 108), i.e. 'little boys' (Nadeljaev *et al.* 1969: 617). Kāšġarī adds: "This word is not used for the singular but only for the plural" (*ibid.*). Translated into Cappadocian this would have been **u(f)šáxa peðjá*, with obligatory marking of the plural, articulated *ta fšáxa ta peðjá*, with adjectival instead of nominal inflection of *fšáx*, by analogy with *ta mikrá ta peðjá* 'the little boys'.[47] The genitive singular would be **tu fšáxu tu peðjú*, a construction which had become rare in early 20th-century Cappadocian but is still attested at Potamia, e.g. *tu kalú tu nékas* 'of the good wife' (D115).

We believe that this scenario is the only plausible explanation for the adjectival inflection of *fšáx*, which is another indication that it is indeed an archaic loan word. Due to the regular apocope of final unstressed [u] in Cappadocian, gen. *fšáxu* ended up being syncretic with nom. *fšáx*, which resulted in two different 'repair strategies' (Janse 2019: 97-8): the North and Central Cappadocian dialects copied the ending of the gen. pl. -*ún* > -*ú* in the singular: *fšáxu > fšáx > fšaxú*, whereas the South Cappadocian dialects adopted the so-called 'agglutinative inflection',[48] which would become the regular inflection of Turkish loan adjectives ending in a consonant, e.g. *zengin* 'rich' → *zeŋgín*, pl. *zeŋgínja* (D115). As this was also the regular inflection of substantivized adjectives (D115), *fšáx* was integrated in the inflectional class of the inherited neuter nouns in -*i* in South Cappadocian as well as in Pharasiot: *fšáx(i)*, gen. *fšaxí-u > fšaxjú > fšaɣjú > fšejú*, pl. *fšáxi-ja > fšáxja > fšáɣja > fšéja*. In North and Central Cappadocian, however, *fšáx* preserved its archaic adjectival inflection: gen. *fšaxú*, nom. *fšáxa*. The substantivization of *fšáx(i)* in Cappadocian and Pharasiot runs parallel with the substantivization of *uşak* which meant both 'small' (without connotation of plurality) and 'small boy' in Ottoman Turkish from the 14th century onwards (Clauson 1972: 16).

4. Conclusion

In this paper we reassessed the etymology of Cappadocian *fšáx* 'child' and Pharasiot *fšáxi* 'boy'. We argued that Anatolian Turkish *uşaḫ* was the source of the borrowing instead of Standard Turkish *uşak*, as hitherto assumed. We also investigated the alledged change of word-initial [u] to [f] before unvoiced consonants and concluded that the change from *uşaḫ* to *fšáx(i)* could be explained as an isolated case of word-initial high vowel fricativization in the articulated plural **ta ušáxa > ta fšáxa*, comparable to *ta otjá* 'the ears' > *ta utjá* (mid-vowel raising) > *ta ftjá* (high vowel fricativization) > *t' aftjá* (metanalysis), sg. *to aftí* in Modern Greek. We compared the alledged change of word-initial [u] to [v] in *uráði* 'tail' to *vráði* in Pharasiot with the comparable change of *ta oɣá*

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[46] We are aware of the controversy about the lack of categorial distinction between nouns and adjectives in Turkish, e.g. Grönbech (1936: 3), Godel (1945: 45), Baskakov (1958: 60), Erdal (1991: 132 fn. 187), Braun & Haig (2000), but see Bağrıaçık (2018) for syntactic arguments in favour of a lexical distinction between the two.

[47] The doubling of the article is obligatory in the case of inherited neuter nouns like *peðí* (Janse 2020b: §8.1.2.1). The phenomenon is ofted called 'determiner spreading' or 'polydefininiteness' (Lekakou & Karatsareas 2016).

[48] For recent discussion of agglutinative noun inflection in Cappadocian see Janse (2004; 2019), Karatsareas (2016), Revithiadou, Spyropoulos & Markopoulos (2017), Spyropoulos & Kakarikos (2011).

'the eggs' > *ta uɣá* > *ta vɣá* > *t' avɣá*, sg. *to avɣó* in Modern Greek, but concluded that Pharasiot *vráði* must be considered a syncopated variant of an older variant *varáði*. We also concluded that it was difficult to imagine an articulated plural context in the case of *v(a)ráði* in light of the many dialect forms based on the articulated singular *to uráði* > Pontic and Dodecanese *to ráði*, Chian *t' orjáði* and again Pontic *turáðin*. We further argued that *fšáx(i)* has to be considered an archaism in light of the parallel use of *uşak* > *ušák* reported in 19th-century sources. The fact that *fšáx* instead of **fšák* is securely attested in Cappadocian dialects where word-final [k] does not change to [x] in Turkish loan nouns is another argument in favour of the archaism of *fšáx*. Finally, we argued that the irregular inflection of *fšáx* in North and Central Cappadocian – gen. *fšaxú* instead of *fšaxjú*, pl. *fšáxa* instead of *fšáxja* – is another sign of the archaic character of the word which was probably borrowed as an adjective from Old Anatolian Turkish before it became substantivized in Ottoman Turkish. Finally, we suggested an alternative etymology for *fšáx(i)* from *uvşak*, an adjective attested in Old Turkic, although unattested in Old Anatolian: *ta ufšáxa ta peðjá* 'the little children' > *ta fšáxa* 'the little ones' by apheresis. We believe that our little exercise in historical linguistics offers a better explanation of the etymology of *fšáx(i)* and a more secure establishment of the chronology of its borrowing from Old Anatolian Turkish.

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D = Dawkins (1916)
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LBG = Trapp (1994-2020)
LME = Kriaras (1968-)

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MAP 1: Geographical Distribution of the Cappadocian and Pharasiot dialects

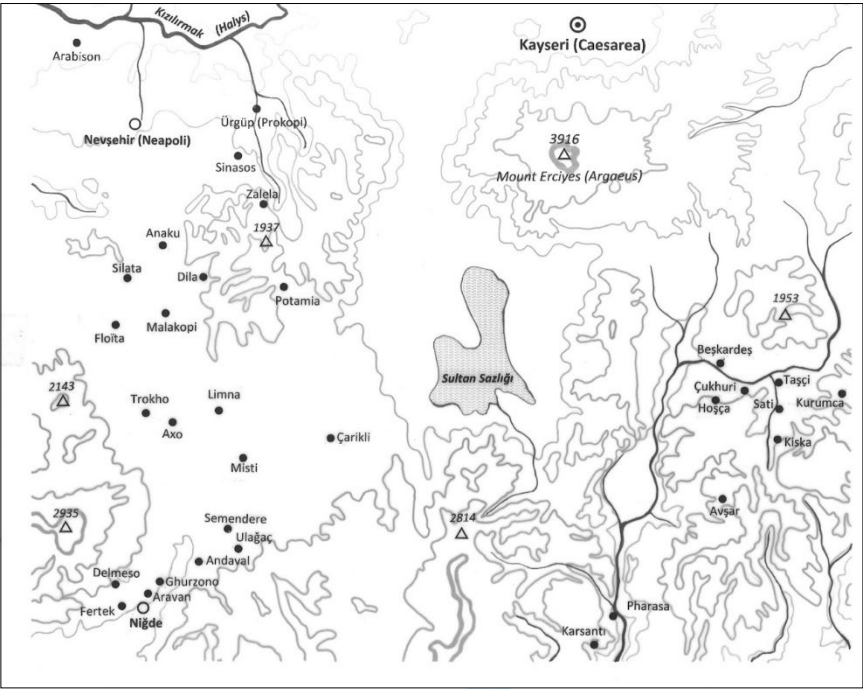TABLE 1: Classification of the Cappadocian dialects[49]

North Cappadocian

NORTHWEST

- Silata
- Anaku
- Floïta
- Malakopi

NORTHEAST

- Sinasos
- Potamia

- Delmeso

Central Cappadocian

• Axo
• Misti

South Cappadocian

SOUTHWEST

- Aravan
- Ghurzono

- Fertek

SOUTHEAST

- Ulağaç
- Semendere

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[49] Cf. Janse (2008: 191; 2019: 69; 2020b: §4). Note that Delmeso, although geographically Southwest is dialectologically Northeast Cappadocian, and that Aravan and Ghurzono constitute a subgroup within Southwest Cappadocian.

Asia Minor Koine

EAST ASIA MINOR GREEK

Proto-Cappadocian   Lycaonian

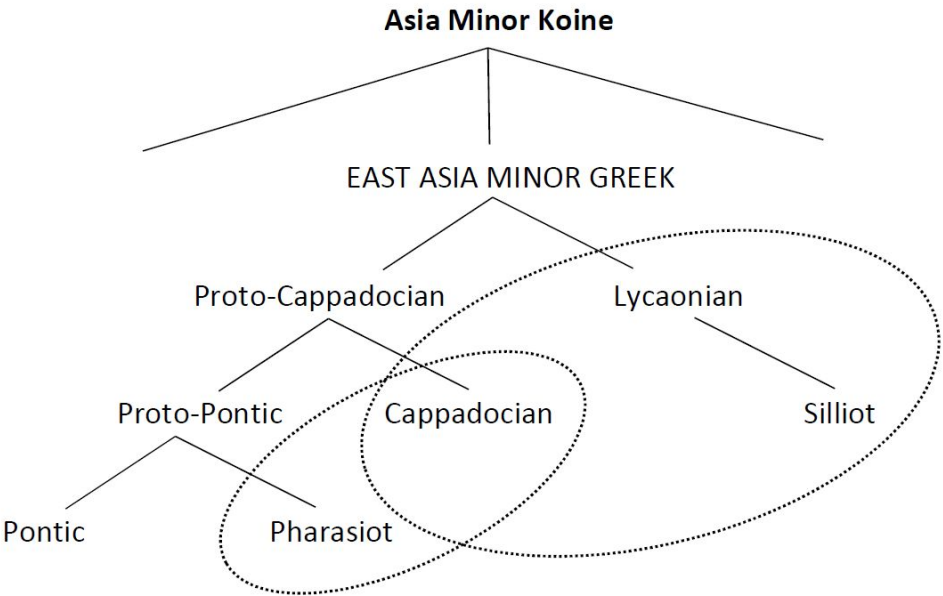Proto-Pontic   Cappadocian   Silliot

Pontic   Pharasiot

Figure 1: *The accepted genealogical classification of the East Asia Minor Greek dialects*