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The Cappadocian Phrasal Compound παρ-παίνω [per-réno] “Take Away” as an Example of Turkish Pattern Replication

Abstract: In this chapter we investigate παρ-παίνω [per-réno], a unique phrasal compound attested in Cappadocian, but not in any other Modern Greek dialect. It is very different from the productive Modern Greek verbal dvandva compounds: it lacks a compound marker and, most importantly, the first member is inflected for TMA as opposed to verbal dvandvas like Modern Greek μπαίνω-οβγαίνω [benovjéno], where the verbal stem of the first member is always imperfective. By contrast, the first member of the perfective indicative πηρ-πήγα [pir-ríga] and subjunctive παρ-πάγω [par-rágo] have the ablaut of the independent forms πήρα [rúra] and πάρω [páro]. Research on the basis of the Turkish National Corpus revealed that a parallel structure exists in Turkish, consisting of the verbal- “take” and a following deictic verb. The most frequent combination is *al-ıp götür-* “take and carry away”, a converb construction with a transitive deictic verb παρ-παίνω [per-réno], however, is a phrasal compound with suspended affixation and an intransitive deictic verb. Turkish has a perfect match: *al-git-* “take and go”, with an intransitive deictic verb and a construction very similar to παρ-παίνω [per-réno]. As such, παρ-παίνω [per-réno] is an example of Turkish pattern replication (PAT) in Cappadocian.

The bulk of the research for this chapter was done within the framework of a collaborative research project funded by the HERA network entitled “Multilingualism and Minority Languages in Ancient Europe” (HERA.15.029). A preliminary version of this chapter was presented at the 8th International Conference on Greek Linguistics in Ioannina (Janse 2007). The authors would like to thank Eline Daveloose for her careful reading of the text.

1 Introduction

The history of Cappadocian has been told many times, so we will restrict ourselves to what is strictly relevant for the purpose of the present chapter.¹ Cappadocian is an East Asia Minor Greek dialect (Fig. 4), which developed after the Hellenization of Cappadocia in the Hellenistic and Roman periods from the Asia Minor Koine.² After the defeat of the Byzantine army by the Seljuk Turks in the battle at Manzikert in 1071, Cappadocia was cut off from the rest of the Greek-speaking world and Cappadocian became increasingly turkicized during the Ottoman period. The result of this Turkicisation is what has come to be known in the literature as a bilingual mixed language.³

The Greek component of Cappadocian is essentially an East Asia Minor variety of Late Medieval Greek.⁴ The Turkish component is a variety of Central Anatolian Turkish, with features of both Western and Eastern Anatolian Turkish.⁵ The Turkicisation of Cappadocian was such that Thomason and Kaufman presented it as the first case study in their classic study of language contact, labelling it “an excellent example of heavy borrowing” (1988: 215), category 5 (the highest) in their borrowing scale (1988: 74 ff.).⁶

In this chapter we will focus on a hitherto poorly understood case of heavy borrowing, labelled pattern replication (PAT) by Matras and Sakel.⁷ It is defined as follows: “PAT describes the case where only the patterns of the other language are replicated, i.e., the organization, distribution and mapping of grammatical or semantic meaning, while the form itself is not borrowed” (Sakel 2007: 15). The case in question is the compound verb *παίρπαινώ* [perpéno] “take away”, which at first sight looks like a coordinative or co-compound, called *dvaṇḍva* in the Pāṇinian tradition,⁸ but on closer inspection turns out to be something fundamentally different.

¹ The classic work on Cappadocian and other varieties of East Asia Minor Greek is Dawkins (1916); for recent accounts with further references see Janse (2002: 347–359; 2020a; 2023: §1), Karatsareas (2011: 10–64).

² On the definition of East Asia Minor Greek see Janse (2008: 190; 2020b: 202f.); cf. Dawkins (1916: 213).

³ See Janse (2009: 104) with further references.

⁴ See Janse (2020b) for a detailed study of Late Medieval Greek features in Cappadocian.

⁵ On the problematic classification of the Anatolian Turkish dialects, see Kowalski (1931); Korkmaz (1975–76; 1990); Boeschoten (1991); Brendemoen (1998).

⁶ Cappadocian is also assigned a prominent position in Winford (2005: 401–409).

⁷ See Matras and Sakel (2007); Sakel (2007); Matras (2009: 234–74).

⁸ Sanskrit *dvaṇḍvā* (Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 2.4.2).

2 The Cappadocian data

The verb παρπαίνω [perpéno] “take away” is uniquely attested in Cappadocian. It is not found in the other East Asia Minor dialects Phrasiot, Pontic, and Silliot (Lycaonian), nor in any other Greek dialect for that matter. It is quite obviously some sort of compound composed of the verbs παίρω [péro] “take” and παίνω [péno] “go” (Dawkins 1916: 631).⁹ Mavrochalyvidis, Kesisoglou and Phosteris gloss the verb as “παίρνω κάτι και τὸ πηγαίνω”,¹⁰ with the latter verb used transitively, as is very common in Modern Greek, which immediately raises an interesting question: who needs a mysterious compound verb meaning “take away”, if you already have the two constituent parts as separate verbs to express the same meaning? Consider the following example from Delmeso:¹¹

(1)	πατιῶάχ-ῖς	τῶη	ναίκα-τ	πήρ-εν	do
	patifáx-us	tʃi	néka-t	pír-en	do
	king-nom.sg.	the.f.acc.sg.	wife.acc.sg.- 3sg.poss.	take.pfv- ind.3sg.	3sg.acc.
	“the king took his wife”				
	και	πήγ-εν	do	σ-ο	μειδέν
	ce	píj-en	do	s-o	meidén
	and	go.pfv.-ind.3sg.	3sg.acc.	to-the.n.acc.sg.	public space
	“and he took her to the public space” (Delmeso, D316)				

The verb πήγεν [píjen] is here used transitively, but this use is extremely rare in Cappadocian and (1) is actually the only example in the folktales recorded by Dawkins (1916: 304–464), Kesisoglou (136–160), Mavrochalyvidis & Kesisoglou

⁹ Alektoridis (1883: 501), Archelaos (1899: 258 s.v. παγαίνω), Krinopoulos (1889: 59), Pharasopoulos (1895: 122) and Karphopoulos (2008: 125) write περπαίνω, deriving it from an otherwise unattested περιπηγαίνω, an etymology rightly rejected for semantic reasons by Dawkins (1916: 631) with reference to Krinopoulos and Pharasopoulos.

¹⁰ Cf. Mavrochalyvidis/Kesisoglou (1960: 115); Phosteris/Kesisoglou (1960: 37); Mavrochalyvidis (1990: 636).

¹¹ For the geographical distribution and subgrouping of the Cappadocian dialects see Figure 2 and Table 1. Abbreviations follow the Leipzig glossing rules (www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php), with the following additions: AUGM = augment, CM = compound marker (Ralli 2008), CONV = converb, IPFV = imperfective, PERS = person, Pfv = perfective, PROJ = projection suffix (van Schaaik 2020: 271), TMA = tense-mood-aspect.

(1960: 186–220) and Phosteris & Kesisoglou (1960: 98–126). In other cases where παίρω [péro] and παίνω [péno] are combined, the latter is used intransitively, as in the following example, where all the verbs have an overt object clitic pronoun except πήγεν [píjen]:

(2)	πήρ-εν	τῆν	και	πήγ-εν	σ-ο	χαμάμ
	pír-en	tʃin	ce	píj-en	s-o	xamáμ
	take.pfv.-ind.3sg.	3sg.f.acc.	and	go.pfv-ind.3sg.	to-the.n.acc.sg.	ham-mam

“he took her and went to the hammam”

	και	λούσ-εν	τῆν	και	έ-πλυν-έν	τῆν
	ce	lús-en	tʃin	ce	é-pl.in-én	tʃin
	and	bath.pfv-ind.3sg.	3sg.f.acc.	and	augm.-wash.pfv-ind.3sg.	3sg.f.acc.

“and he bathed her and washed her” (Delmeso, D324f.)

Instead of transitive παίνω [péno], παρπαίνω [perpéno] is used throughout. The difference between the two verbs, the former intransitive and the latter transitive, is particularly evident in the following example, where (3b) is the girl’s reply to the boy’s initial statement (3a):

(3a)	να	σε	πάρ-ω
	na	se	pár-o
	prt	2sg.acc.	take.pfv-subj.1sg.

“I will take you”

	να	πέγ-ω ¹²	σ-ο	βαβά-μ
	na	pég-o	s-o	vavá-m
	prt	go.pfv.-ind.1sg.	to-the.m.acc.sg.	father-1sg.poss.

“I will go to my father” (Delmeso, D310)

¹² The raising of [a] to [e] in πέγω [pégo] instead of πάγω [págo] at Delmeso originated in the third person singular as a result of palatalization (Dawkins 1916: 65 f.): πάγει [páji] → páιχ [páιç] → péχ [péç], which resulted in paradigmatic levelling (Hock/Joseph 2009: 152): 1sg. πέγω [pégo], 2sg. πές [pés], 1pl. πέμ [pém], 2pl. πέτε [péte], 3pl. πέν [pén] (Dawkins 1916: 63).

- (3b) εμένα αν με παρ-θά-ς¹³
 eména an me par-ǰá-s
 1sg.acc. if 1sg.acc. take-go.pfv.subj.-2sg.
 “as for myself, if you take me away”

να με πάρ-ουν άσ-α χέρι-α-ς
 na me pár-un ás-a çérj-a-s
 prt 1sg.acc. take.pfv.-subj.3pl. from-the.n.acc.pl. hand-pl.-2sg.poss.
 “they will take me from your hands” (Delmeso, D310)

The following examples further illustrate the use of παρπαίνω [per-réno]:

- (4) σ-το τσεσμέ ποτισμέν-ο παρ-παίν-ω σε
 s-to ǰeǰmé potizmén-o per-rén-o se
 to-the.n.acc.sg. fountain watered-acc.sg. take-go.ipfv.-ind.1sg. 2sg.acc.
 “watered I take you to the fountain”

και λιψασμέν-ο¹⁴ φέρ-ω σε
 ce lipsazmén-o fer-o se
 and thirsty-acc.sg. bring.ipfv.-ind.1sg. 2sg.acc.
 “and thirsty I bring you back” (Axo, MK177)

- (5) παρ-παίν-ιθκ-εν δα σ-ο λουτρ-ό
 per-rén-ǰc-en da s-o lutr-ó
 take-go.ipfv.-ipf.-ind.3sg. 3pl.acc. to-the.n.acc.sg. bath-acc.sg.
 “he used to take them to the bath” (Aravan, PK114)

13 On the peculiar form of the perfective subjunctive 1sg. παρ-θά-ω, 2sg. παρ-θά-ς etc. see Dawkins (1916: 137 f.) and especially Janse (2020b: 217 f.).

14 Medieval Greek δψασμένος.

- (6) πηρ-πήγ-αν do σ ενα τζαδί καρά
 pír-píγ-an do s ena džaduí kará
 take-go.pfv.-ind.3pl. 3sg.acc. to a.acc.sg. witch wife
 “they took her to a witch-wife” (Ghurzono, D344)

- (7) βασιλι-ός κίρεψ-εν¹⁵ καμβηλι-ού κριάς¹⁶
 vařil-ós kίreps-en kambilí-ú cirjás
 king-nom.sg. want.pfv.-ind.3g. camel-gen.sg. meat
 “the king asked for camel-flesh”

και να do παρ-πά-ω
 ce na do par-pá-o
 and prt 3sg.acc. take-go.pfv.-subj.1sg.
 “and I will take it [to him]” (Flořta, D424)

- (8) ας γιομός-ω ενα σανδίχ λίρ-ες
 as jomós-o ena sanduíx lír-es
 prt fill.pfv.-subj.1sg. a.acc.sg. chest lira-pl.
 “let me fill a chest with liras”

και ας παρ-πά-με τα
 ce as par-pá-me ta
 and prt take-go.pfv.-subj.1pl. 3pl.acc.
 “and let us take it away [to her]” (Axo, D392)

- (9) έπαρ-∅ το χαιβάνι-ς
 épar-∅ to xarváni-s
 take.pfv-imp.2sg. the.acc.sg. animal-2sg.poss.
 “take your animal”

¹⁵ Medieval Greek γυρεύω.

¹⁶ Medieval Greek κρέας, κρεάς, κριάς.

και	παρ-πάγ-ε	το	ας	το	λουτρό	οπίσω
ce	par-páj-e	to	as	to	lutró	opíso
and	take-go.pfv.-imp.2sg.	3sg.acc.	from	the.acc.sg.	bath	behind

“and take it away from behind the bath” (Aravan, PK122)

In a characteristically lucid and concise account, Dawkins explains the formation of παρπαίνω [per-réno] as follows:

“The word is [...] likely to be a compound of παίρω and παίνω in its transitive sense “I take and carry off” like such words as μπαινοβγαίνω, άνοιγοκλείνω etc. with the -ο- after παρ- missing owing to the influence of the use of the Turkish *aləp gel* “bring (i.e., taking come)”, or, still closer, the Turki *alip barmaq* [...] “to take away”, i.e., *alip* “having taken” and *barmaq* “to go” [...], and *apkitmak* (= Turkish *aləp gitmek*) with the same meaning” (Dawkins 1916: 631 s.v. παρπαίνω)¹⁷

We will discuss the Greek and Turkish comparanda in the next sections.

3 The Greek perspective: verbal dvandva compounds

At first sight, παρ-παίνω [per-réno] looks indeed very similar to Modern Greek verbal dvandva compounds like ανοιγο-κλίνω [aníγ-o-klíno] “open-CM-close”, τρωγο-πίνω [troγ-o-ríno] “eat-CM-drink”, μπαιν-ο-βγαίνω [ben-o-vjéno] “go in-CM-go out” or πηγαιν-ο-έρχομαι [pijen-o-érxome] “go-CM-come”, which have the following properties c.q. constraints (Ralli 2009: 53 ff.):¹⁸

(i) Phonologically and morphologically, they behave like true compounds in that they have a single stress, are inflected at the right-hand edge, and its members are linked by the compound marker [o]:

πηγαιν-ο-έρχ-εται	[pijen-o-érç-ete]	“go.ipfv-cm-come.ipfv.-ind.3sg.” ~
*πηγαίν-ει-έρχ-εται	[pijén-i-érç-ete]	“go.ipfv-3sg.-come.ipfv.-ind.3sg.”

¹⁷ We have adapted Dawkins’ use of italics and quotation marks to the style of the present chapter.

¹⁸ On verbal dvandva compounds in Modern Greek see Kiparsky (2009); Manolessou and Tsolakidis (2009); Nicholas/Joseph (2009); Ralli (2009); Ralli/Karasimos (2010); Janse (forthcoming).

(ii) Semantically, the two members express compatible, often synonymous, or opposite meanings, have parallel argument structures, and the meaning of the compound is a conjunction of the meanings of its subparts:

ανοίγ-ο-κλί-ν-ει	[aniy-o-klín-i]	“open-cm-close.ipfv.-ind.3sg.”
μπαι-ν-ο-βγαίν-ει	[ben-o-vyé-n-i]	“go in-cm-go out.ipfv.-ind.3sg.”
τρωγ-ο-πί-ν-ει	[troy-o-pín-i]	“eat-cm-drink.ipfv.-ind.3sg.”

Ralli mentions a few other properties which are not directly relevant for our purposes, with the exception of the “bare-stem constraint” (Ralli/Karasimos 2010), which “requires the first constituent of a compound to be a bare stem” (Ralli 2009: 54). The phenomenon is described in similar terms by Kiparsky: “The first member must be a bare stem unspecified for any functional features”, which in the case of verbal *dvandva* compounds means that it has “[n]o (perfective) Aspect, hence invariant stem in first member” (2009: 190). Likewise, Nicholas and Joseph note that “the first member is morphologically unmarked” in the sense that “there is no derivational morphology [...] and no tense-mood-aspect marking” (2009: 176).

The details of the bare-stem constraint are irrelevant for the purpose of the present chapter and will be discussed elsewhere (Janse forthcoming). What is important to note, however, is that the bare stem in the case of the Modern Greek verbal *dvandva* compounds is always the imperfective stem, which remains invariable, even if the perfective stem is used in the second member:¹⁹

(10a)	πηγαίν-ο-ήρθ-ε	[pijéno-íρθ-e]	“go.ipfv-cm-come.pfv-ind.3sg.”
	*πηγ-ο-ήρθ-ε	[piy-o-íρθ-e]	“go.pfv-cm-come.pfv-ind.3sg.”
	~ πήγ-ε	~ [píj-e]	~ “go.pfv-ind.3sg.”
(10b)	πηγαίν-ο-έρθ-ει	[pijéno-érθ-i]	“go.ipfv-cm-come.pfv-subj.3sg.”
	*πα-ο-έρθ-ει	[pa-o-érθ-i]	“go.pfv-cm-come.pfv-subj.3sg.”
	~ πά-ει	~ [pá-i]	~ “go.pfv-subj.3sg.”

¹⁹ On apparent counterexamples such as ανεβ-ο-κατεβαίνω [anev-o-katevéno] instead of *ανεβαιν-ο-κατεβαίνω [aneven-o-katevéno] “go up-cm-go down” see Ralli/Karasimos (2010: 10 ff.) and Janse (forthcoming).

It now becomes clear that the inflection of *παρπαίνω* [perpéno] is very different from the inflection of Modern Greek verbal dvandva compounds like *πηγαίνο-ερχομαι* [pijénoérxome] (10a-b):

(11a)	<i>παρ-παίν-ω</i>	[per-pén-o]	“take-go.ipfv-ind.1sg.”
(11b)	<i>παρ-παίν-ιθκ-α</i>	[per-pén-ɪθk-a]	“take-go.ipfv-ipf-ind.1sg.”
(11c)	<i>πηρ-πήγ-α</i>	[pir-píγ-a]	“take-go.pfv-ind.1sg.”
(11d)	<i>παρ-πάγ-ω</i>	[par-páy-o]	“take-go.pfv-subj.1sg.”

More specifically, the first member is not inflected for person, but it is inflected for tense, aspect and perhaps even for mood. Compare, for instance, *πηρ-πή-α* [pir-píγ-a] (11c) with *πήρα* [píra] “take.pfv-ind.1sg.” and *πήγα* [píγ-a] “go.pfv-ind.1sg.” and *παρ-πάγ-ω* [par-páy-o] (11d) with *πάρω* [páro] “take.pfv.(subj.)-subj.1sg.” and *πάγω* [páy-o] “go.pfv.(subj.)-subj.1sg.”.²⁰

Two other points are noteworthy. First of all, the word stress does not fall on the antepenultimate syllable in cases like *πηρ-πήγαν* [pir-píγ-an] (6), as opposed to **πήρ-πηγαν* [pír-píγ-an], and *παρ-πάγε* [par-páje] (9), as opposed to **πάρ-παγε* [pár-paje]. The second point concerns the parallelism between the members of a verbal dvandva compound: “the two basic members are of the same grammatical category, display parallel argument structures, and the meaning of the construction is a conjunction of the meanings of its subparts” (Ralli 2009: 55).²¹ The two members of *πηγαίν-ο-έρχομαι* [pijén-o-érxomai] “go-CM-come” are both intransitive – or to be more precise: the first member is here used in the intransitive sense of “go”, as opposed to *πηγαίν-ο-φέρνω* [pijén-o-férno] “take-CM-bring”, where both members are transitive. As already remarked above, there is thus a crucial difference between Standard Modern Greek *πηγαίνω* [pijéno], which is a labile verb, and Cappadocian *παίνω* [péno], which is (almost) exclusively used intransitively.

²⁰ The perfective stems *πηρ-* [pir-] / *παρ-* [par-] and *πηγ-* [piγ-] / *παγ-* [pay-] may be considered allomorphs of the same perfective stem.

²¹ Kiparsky also emphasizes the parallel argument structure as a distinctive feature of what he prefers to call “co-compounds” (2009: 187, 190).

4 The Turkish perspective: suspended affixation

In light of the conclusion of the preceding section, it is remarkable that Dawkins, in his above quoted account of *παιρπαίνω* [perpéno], takes *παίνω* [péno] in the transitive sense of “take” which, as we have seen, is attested only once in Dawkins’ folktales. The examples of the Turkish and Turki constructions to which he compares *παιρπαίνω* [perpéno], however, all contain intransitive motion verbs. Dawkins’ use of the words “still closer” does not refer to expressions with transitive motion verbs, but to intransitive motion verbs like *bar-* “go” and *kit-* “go” (Turkish *git-*), which express the same direction as *παίνω* [péno], i.c. “away from the deictic centre”, as opposed to *to gel-* “come”, which expresses the opposite direction, i.c. “towards the deictic centre”. Curiously, Dawkins does not immediately compare *παιρ-παίν-ω* [per-pén-o] to the also existing Turkish compound verb *al-ıp git-*, litt. “having-taken go”, which he only gives between brackets as the Turkish equivalent of Turki *ap- kit-*.

In order to explain the meaning of *παιρπαίνω* [perpéno], it is not necessary to take *παίνω* [péno] in the transitive sense, as Dawkins does. The original semantics of both *παιρπαίνω* [perpéno] and *al-ıp git-* can be reconstructed as follows: the first verb expresses the act of taking possession of the object that will be moved, whereas the second verb, if used intransitively, expresses the subsequent motion of the agent who took possession of the object. In this case, the motion of the agent immediately implies the motion of the object as well. Another possibility is the combination of *al-ıp* with a transitive motion verb, directly expressing the caused motion which the object undergoes.

Now consider the following example from a folktale recorded by Dawkins at Ghurzono:

(12a)	το	τῦφλ-ό	πήρ-εν	το	κορίθ-∅
	to	tʃifl-ó	pír-en	to	koríʃ-∅
	the.n.nom.sg.	blind-man.nom.sg.	take.pfv-ind.3sg.	the.n.acc.sg.	girl.acc.sg.
	“the blind man took the girl”				

(12b)	πηρ-πήγ-εν	do	σ-ο	χωρῖ-ό
	pír-píj-en	do	s-o	xorj-ó
	take-go.pfv-ind.3pl.	3sg.acc.	to-the.n.acc.sg.	village-acc.sg.
	“he took her to the village”			

(12c) *ως* *το* *παρ-παίν-ιθκ-ε*
os *to* *per-pén-ijc-e*
as *3sg.acc.* *take-go.ipfv-ipf-ind.3pl.*
 “as he was taking her [to the village]”

καρσουλάτθ-ε *το* *κλέφτθ-ης*
karsulátj-e *to* *kléftj-is*
meet.pfv-ind.3sg. *3sg.acc.* *thief-nom.sg.*
 “the thief met him” (Ghurzono, D344)

It is clear that the original semantics as described above has been altered. The fact that two clauses containing *παρπαίνω* [perpéno] (12b-c) can be preceded by a clause containing *παίρω* [péro] (12a) with referentially the same direct object, indicates that the notion of “taking possession” has disappeared from the meaning of *παρ-παίν-ω* [per-pén-o]: the same object cannot be taken in possession a second time by someone if it is already in her or his possession.

Dawkins compares *παρπαίνω* [perpéno] with Turkish and Turki constructions, all involving the *-(y)Ip* or *-(i)b* converb form of the verb *al-* “take” as the first constituent, followed by a motion verb as the second. Semantically, the relationship between the clauses resembles one of coordination. Johanson stresses the fact that in this use, the *-(y)Ip* or *-(i)b* converb does not encode temporal, causal or other relationships between the clauses: “As a matter of fact, the relation between the propositions is just as open as in European juxtapositions and coordinations such as *My horse got lost; [and] I had to walk*. It is left to the addressee to reconstruct a possibly intended logical relation (“therefore”, “thus”, “then” etc.); but no such relation is encoded in the verb forms” (1995: 328).

As Johanson (1995: 314) points out, constructions in Turkic languages consisting of two verbs linked by the *-(y)Ip* or *-(i)b* converb may undergo grammaticalization: the second verb loses its lexical content and turns into an auxiliary merely expressing aspect or Aktionsart. The combination becomes semantically uncompositional as in (13a): the meaning of the converb construction is no longer a function of the meanings the two verbs express when used on their own. In (13) the verb *dur-*, meaning “stand, stop” when used independently, has turned into an auxiliary expressing duration. Lewis (2000: 190 f.), Kornfilt (1997: 478), and van Schaaik (2020: 709) note that there is a semantically identical, parallel, construction with some of these grammaticalized

Before arguing that this alternative construction is morphologically more similar to *παρπαίνω* [perpéno] than the converb construction, we need to explain some aspects of verbal inflection in Turkish and the phenomenon of “suspended affixation”. The term was probably coined by Lewis in the first edition of his *Turkish Grammar* (1967) and defined as follows: “when one grammatical ending serves two or more parallel words” (2000: 34).²² As shown in Lewis (2000: 93), Turkish finite verb forms are mainly constructed by adding a suffix expressing tense, mood or aspect to the verb stem. In the case of the simple tenses, this suffix is immediately followed by another suffix marking person and number of the verb form or, in the case of compound tenses, by a “projection suffix” (van Schaaik 2020: 271), expressing, among other things, past, reportativeness/inferentiality and conditionality, to which a personal suffix may be attached.²³ In all of these cases two types of personal suffixes are used the choice of which depends on the preceding suffix (a zero suffix being used for the third person singular):²⁴

simple tenses:

v.-TMA-pers.	<i>götür-ür-üm</i>	<i>götür-dü-m</i>
	carry away-aor.-1sg.	carry away-pfv-1sg.
	“I use to/will carry away”	“I have carried away”

compound tenses:

v.-TMA-proj.-pers.	<i>götür-ür-dü-m</i>
	carry away-aor.-pst-2sg.
	“I used to/would carry away”

In the alternative to the converb construction, two identically inflected verb forms follow each other without any intervening conjunction. In accordance

²² The term has gained wide currency in Turkish linguistics (e.g., Kabak 2007; Broadwell 2008; Kharytonava 2012; Kornfilt 2012; Akkuş 2015) and has been applied to similar phenomena in other languages (e.g., Despić 2017 [Serbian]; Yoon 2017 [Korean]; Erschler 2018 [Ossetic]; Kuritsyna 2018 [Tocharian]). It may be noted that Kornfilt does not use the term in her grammar (1997), as opposed to Göksel and Kerslake (2005: 457–461). Van Schaaik prefers the term “postponed suffixation” (2020: 307).

²³ The projection suffix is historically derived from forms of the Turkish copula *i-*.

²⁴ The main exception to this principle is the imperative, for which specific personal endings are directly attached to the verb stem and a zero suffix is used in the second person singular instead of the third person singular (Lewis 2000: 138 f.; Kornfilt 1997: 369 f.; van Schaaik 2020: 201 f.).

with the principle of suspended affixation personal suffixes are expressed in the simple tenses only on the second verb if they are Type I (pers./I, related to the personal pronouns), but on both verbs if they are Type II (pers./II, related to the possessive suffixes). In the compound tenses, the projection and personal suffixes are attached to the second verb only:

simple tenses:

<i>al</i> -TMA + v-TMA-pers./I	<i>al-ır</i>	<i>götür-ür-üm</i>
	take-aor.	carry away-aor.-1sg.
	“I use to/will take and carry away”	

<i>al</i> -TMA-pers/II + v-TMA-pers./II	<i>al-dı-m</i>	<i>götür-dü-m</i>
	take-pfv-1sg.	carry away-pfv-1sg.
	“I took and carried away”	

compound tenses:

<i>al</i> -TMA + v-TMA-proj.-pers.	<i>al-ır</i>	<i>götür-ür-dü-m</i>
	take-aor.	carry away-aor-pst-1sg.
	“I used to/would take and carry away”	

An important difference between the Turkish and the Cappadocian inflection is that in the Cappadocian TMA is marked by ablaut in the verb stem, as can be seen in (11a-d), whereas in Turkish, a prototypical agglutinative language, a TMA suffix is attached to the phonologically invariable verb stem. As a consequence, an invariable verb stem + TMA suffix in Turkish may be equivalent to a variable verb stem in Greek, to which the personal endings are attached in both cases. Such phonological changes are observed in the stems of both *παίρω* [péro] and *παίνω* [péno] in *παρπαίνω* [perpéno], as was shown above.

It is now clear that *παρπαίνω* [perpéno] is not a morphological compound like the Modern Greek verbal dvandva compounds discussed in section 3. It is in fact a “phrasal compound” in the sense of Bağrıçık and Ralli (2019), modelled on the Turkish construction with suspended affixation *al-ır götür-ür-üm*. The first member *°παρ-* [per-] is marked for TMA, but not for person and number, the affixation of which is suspended and applied only to the second member *°παίν-* [pen-]. In other words, the first member *°παρ-* [per-] behaves exactly like its Turkish equivalent, the verb *al-*, the only difference being that the Turkish verb stem is invariable and TMA is marked by suffixation, whereas the Cappadocian verb stem is variable and TMA is marked by ablaut.

5 Cappadocian *παρπαίνω* as an example of Turkish pattern replication

Remarkably, *παρπαίνω* [per-péno] is the only phrasal compound with suspended affixation of its kind in Cappadocian. It expresses the same direction as its second member *παίνω* [péno]: “go” (away from the deictic centre). Apparently, no other instances developed, e.g., **παιρέρχουμαι* [*perérxume] with *έρχουμαι* [érxume] “come” for the opposite direction in the sense of “bring” (towards the deictic centre), for which *φερίσκω* [ferísko] is generally used (Dawkins 1916: 656). In Turkish, more than one motion verb is used as the second member of this pattern and they may be intransitive as well as transitive. As noted above, the construction itself exhibits two variants: one with the converb *al-ıp* from *al-* “take” as its first part, and one with the verb *al-* inflected identically as the second verb, with the possibility of suspended affixation in this last case.

In order to determine which one of the variants is used most and which motion verbs (transitive or intransitive) occur most in the Turkish construction, we performed searches on the basis of the TNC (Aksan et al. 2012).²⁵ These searches show that the construction consisting of *al-ıp* and a following motion verb occurs 1383 times in this corpus and the construction with two inflected verbs 539 times.²⁶ This means that of a total of 1922 constructions with *al-* as the first verb and a motion verb as the second, 72% follow the first construction, 28% the second construction. Clearly, the converb construction is used two and a half times more than the construction with two identically inflected verbs, with or without suspended affixation.

Concerning the motion verbs used in the Turkish construction, the four motion verbs which scored highest are the following:

²⁵ The TNC can be accessed at: <https://v3.tnc.org.tr/>.

²⁶ This is an estimate: the online version of the TNC does not allow for two-word-searches using wildcard symbols which would immediately yield the required results. Instead, the search has to be performed in two successive steps during the first of which the total number of hits for only one of the two words in the corpus is determined. The number of viewable contexts corresponding to these hits, which have to be searched for the presence of the other word, however, is restricted to a certain maximum and frequently not all contexts can be visualized. The proportion between the total number of hits and the number of visualised contexts was used to extrapolate the results of the second search to an estimate for the entire corpus.

Construction 1:	<i>al-ıp + götür-</i>	“carry away”	515	37%
	<i>git-</i>	“go away”	270	20%
	<i>gel-</i>	“come”	153	11%
	<i>getir-</i>	“bring”	84	6%
	other		361	26%
	total		1383	100%

Construction 2:	<i>al- + götür-</i>	“carry away”	207	38%
	<i>git-</i>	“go away”	108	20%
	<i>gel-</i>	“come”	101	19%
	<i>getir-</i>	“bring”	38	7%
	other		85	16%
	total		539	100%

It is noteworthy that the four verbs are the same for both constructions and exhibit the same order of frequency. These four verbs can be identified as the deictic verbs, transitive and intransitive, which are used in Turkish. The transitive verb expressing “motion away from the deictic centre”, *götür-*, is clearly in the lead, with nearly two times as many occurrences in the constructions as the second verb. When we compare the deictic directions which are expressed, we get the following results:

Construction 1:	<i>al-ıp + götür-/git-</i>	“away from deictic centre”	785	57%
	<i>gel-/getir-</i>	“towards deictic centre”	237	17%
	other		361	26%
	total		1383	100%

Construction 2:	<i>al- + götür-/git-</i>	“away from deictic centre”	315	58%
	<i>gel-/getir-</i>	“towards deictic centre”	139	26%
	other		85	16%
	total		539	100%

It appears that “motion away from the deictic centre” is expressed in more than half of the constructions combining *al-* “take” with a following motion verb in

the TNC. In addition, this direction is more than three times as frequent as the opposite (“motion towards the deictic centre”) in construction 1 and more than two times in construction 2. It is therefore not surprising that the “pattern” expressing “motion away from the deictic centre” was the first one, and at the same time also the only one, to be “replicated” in Cappadocian, thus constituting a clear case of PAT in the sense of Matras and Sakel.²⁷ Cappadocian *παρπαίνω* [perpéno] shares with *alıp götüř-*, the most frequent Turkish combination, the fact that the verb “take” (*παρ-/al-*) is followed by a deictic verb expressing motion away from the deictic centre (*παίνω/götür-*). However, it differs from *alıp götüř-* in selecting an intransitive deictic verb (*παίνω*) instead of a transitive one (*götür-*) and applying construction 2 with two inflected verbs and the possibility of suspended affixation instead of construction 1. Rather than a calque of *alıp götüř-*, *παρπαίνω* [perpéno] seems to be a calque from *al- git-* which has an intransitive deictic verb (*git-*) and applies construction 2, but according to our findings on the basis of the TNC is less frequent than *alıp götüř-*.

6 Predecessors and alternatives to *παρπαίνω*

The verb *παίνω* [péno], together with its variants *πααίνω* [paéno] and *παγαίνω* [paǰéno],²⁸ is derived from (ύ)παγαίνω [(i)paǰéno], itself an innovative present based on the imperfect (ύ)πήγα [(i)riǰa], which came to be used as the aorist as well in Late Medieval Greek (Holton *et al.* 2019: 1391). Being originally a transitive verb, the intransitive use of the original present ύπάγω in the sense of “go” (away from the deictic center) is already well attested in Classical Greek,²⁹ and was generalized in Post-classical Greek, where it came to be used as the antonym of έρχομαι “come” (towards the deictic center).³⁰ In Late Medieval Greek, (ύ)πάγω [(i)paǰo] and (ύ)παγαίνω [(i)paǰéno] again developed a transitive use

²⁷ See fn. 7.

²⁸ Dawkins recorded *παγαίνω* at Potamia, but marked it as “possibly non dialectic” (1916: 634). It should be noted, however, that *παγαίνω* and its variants *πααίνω* and *παίνω* are also found at Sinasos (Archelaos 1899: 258) and Anaku (Costakis 1964: 93), as well as in Pharasiot (Dawkins 1916: 634; Andriotis 1948: 30).

²⁹ Cf., e.g., ύπαγε “go away!” (Aristoph. *Nub.* 1298, *Thesm.* 956, *Vesp.* 290 bis), ύπάγοιμί γ’ ἄρ’ ἄν “I’ll be going then” (Aristoph. *Av.* 1017).

³⁰ In New Testament Greek, for instance, ύπάγω is only used in the sense of “weggehen, hingehen, gehen” (Bauer *et al.* 1988: 1667), cf. ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ έρχόμενοι καὶ οἱ ύπάγοντες πολλοί “for there were many people coming and going” (Mc. 6.31).

alongside the intransitive one, as in the following examples from a sixteenth-century prose version of the Alexander Romance:

(15a)	ὑπῆγ-εν		εἰς	τὴν	ἐκκλησίαν
	ipj-en		is	tin	eklisían
	go.pfv-ind.3sg.		to	the.acc.sg.f.	church
	“he went to the church” (rec. E, 11.6)				

(15b)	ὑπῆγ-εν	τον	εἰς	τὴν	ἐκκλησίαν
	ipj-en	ton	is	tin	eklisían
	go.pfv-ind.3sg.	3sg.acc.m.	to	the.sg.acc.f.	church
	“he took him to the church” (rec. E, 52.1)				

The Standard Modern Greek equivalents πάω [páo] and πηγαίνω [píjéno] have firmly established both uses:

(16a)		πήγ-ε	σ'	την	ἐκκλησία
		pj-e	is	tin	eklisía
		go.pfv-ind.3sg.	to	the.acc.sg.f.	church
	“he went to the church”				

(16a)	τον	πήγ-ε	σ'	την	ἐκκλησία
	ton	pj-e	is	tin	eklisía
	3sg.acc.m	go.pfv-ind.3sg.	to	the.acc.sg.f.	church
	“he took him to the church”				

The question is now what to make of the unique example of transitive παίνω in Cappadocian. It is tempting to think that (1) is a remnant of the Late Medieval Greek use illustrated in (15b), but then why was the phrasal compound παρ-παίνω [per-péno] created in the first place? There is a reason to believe that example (1) is perhaps not dialectal or at least not traditional. The distribution of παρ-παίνω [per-péno] is restricted to the dialects of Aravan, Ghurzono, Fertek, Delmeso, Axo, Floïta and Malakopi (Dawkins 1916: 631). Geographically speaking, these dialects are roughly located in the western part of Cappadocia (Figure 2). The remaining dialects, which are roughly located in the eastern part of

Cappadocia with the exception of Silata, use another verb to express the meaning “take” (away from the deictic centre), i.c. *πα[γ]άζω* [pa[ɣ]ázo],³¹ which is also used in Phrasiot (Dawkins 1916: 630).³² Compare, for instance, the following examples from Ulağaç:

(17)	<i>πάασ-∅</i>	<i>με</i>	<i>βαβά</i>
	<i>páas-∅</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>vavá</i>
	take.pfv-imp.3sg.	1sg.acc.	father.voc.sg.
	“take me there, father”		
	<i>do</i>	<i>βαβά-τ</i>	<i>πάασ-εν</i>
	<i>do</i>	<i>ton</i>	<i>páas-en</i>
	3sg.acc.m	father.nom.sg.-3sg.poss.	take.pfv-ind.3sg.
	“his father took him there” (Ulağaç, D358)		

It is very likely that *πα[γ]άζω* [pa[ɣ]ázo] was a shared innovation of Cappadocian and Phrasiot, as the verb is not attested in the other East Asia Minor Greek varieties.³³ Apparently, the verb was later replaced by *παρ-παίνω* [per-péno] in most of the western Cappadocian dialects. It is remarkable that *παρ-παίνω* [per-péno] is used at Axo (Dawkins 1916: 631), whereas *πη(γ)άζου* [pi(ɣ)ázu] is used in the closely related Central Cappadocian dialect of the neighbouring village Misti (Dawkins 1916: 630).

7 Conclusions

In this chapter we investigated *παρ-παίνω* [per-péno], a unique phrasal compound attested in Cappadocian, but not in any other Modern Greek dialect. We concluded that it is very different from the productive Modern Greek verbal *dvandva* compounds (§3): it lacks a compound marker and, most importantly, the first member is inflected for TMA as opposed to verbal *dvandvas* like *μπαίν-*

³¹ The variants *πηγάζω* [piɣázo] and *πεγάζω* [peɣázo] are attested at Silata and Misti (Dawkins 1916: 630).

³² Cf. Andriotis (1948: 70) for Phrasiot and Kesisoglou (1951: 85) for Ulağaç.

³³ Or, indeed, in any other Greek variety, whether Medieval or Modern.

ο-βγαίνω [ben-o-vjéno-] where the verbal stem of the first member is always imperfective. This appears in the forms of the perfective indicative *πῆρ-πήγα* [pír-píɣa] (11c) and the perfective subjunctive *παρ-πάγω* [par-páɣo] (11d), where the first member has the ablaut associated with the independent verb forms *πήρα* [píra] and *πάρω* [páro]. Dawkins already noted the Turkish connection and research on the basis of the Turkish National Corpus (TNC) revealed that a parallel structure exists in Turkish, consisting of the Turkish verb *al-* “take” and a following deictic verb. The findings show that the most frequent combination is *al-ıp götür-* “take and carry away”. Whereas *al-ıp götür-* is a converb construction with a transitive deictic verb, *παρ-παίνω* [per-péno] is a phrasal compound with suspended affixation and an intransitive deictic verb. However, Turkish has a perfect match: *al- git-* “take and go”, with an intransitive deictic verb and a construction very similar to *παρ-παίνω* [per-péno]. In this way, the relation between *al- git-* and *παρ-παίνω* [per-péno] can be described as an example of Turkish pattern replication (PAT).

Figures

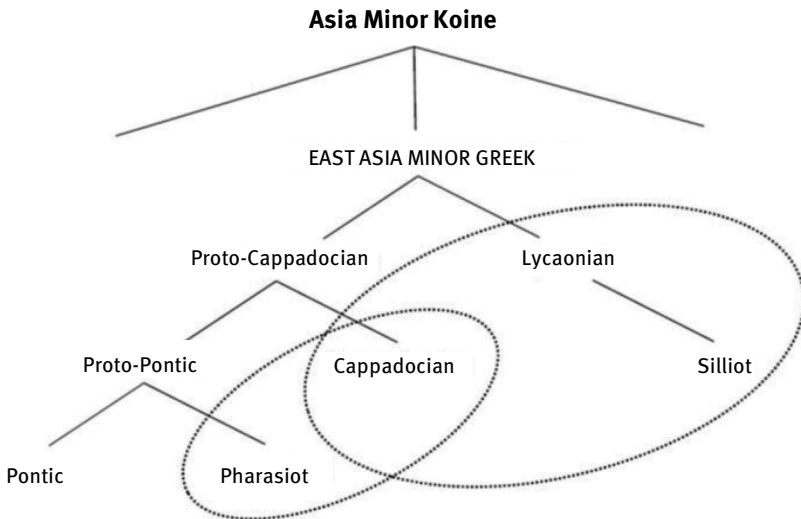


Fig. 4: East Asia Minor Greek dialects. Cf. Janse (2008: 191; 2020b: 203). The dotted lines indicate contact zones.

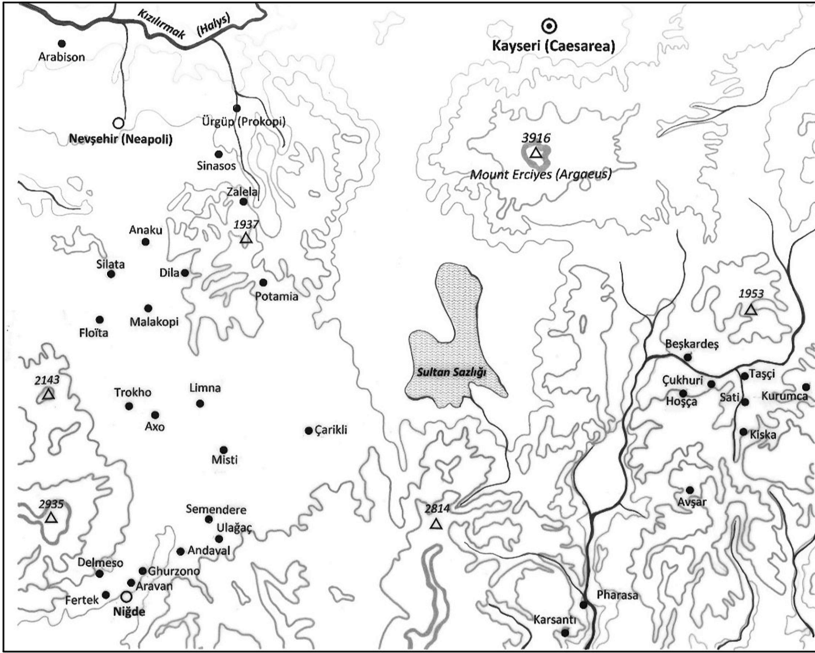


Fig. 5: Geographical distribution of Cappadocian and Phrasiot.

Tab. 3: Subgrouping of the Cappadocian dialects.

Northwest Cappadocian	Northeast Cappadocian
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Floİta • Silata • Anaku • Malakopi 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sinasos • Potamia • Delmeso
Central Cappadocian	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Axo • Misti 	
South Cappadocian	
Southwest Cappadocian	Southeast Cappadocian
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aravan • Ghurzono • Fertek 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ulağaç • Semendere

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