

Variation in the contact-induced morphosyntactic change in Asia Minor Greek: A corpus-based approach on borrowing hierarchies and the question of typological shift.

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In his valuable in-situ documentation of Asia Minor Greek (AMG) Dawkins (1916: 203) provided a list of most Turkish features that entered the AMG (sub)dialects due to language contact (LC) conditions from the 11th c. onwards and until the beginning of the 20th c. Dawkins' early account has only much later attracted the interest of scholars who mostly focused on contact-induced phenomena that challenged the idea of the “unborrowability” of features that violate the boundaries of typological shifts (cf. Thomason, 2001: 63). Hence, LG research underscored the presence of the so-called “agglutinative” traits in some AMG subdialects as a token for a typological change from typically Greek (i.e. Indo-European) fusional to untypical agglutinative flexion (ex. (1), cf. Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 219; Thomason, *ibidem*; Winford, 2003: 83; Janse, 2009; Revithiadou et al., 2016). While this emphasis on a potential contact-induced typological change is justified, it is on the one hand questionable (cf. Hovdhaugen, 1976: 149, apud Johanson, 2002: 64; cf. also Karatsareas, 2016) and, on the other hand, it does not introduce an updated typology of contact-induced morphosyntactic phenomena (CIMSP) in AMG.

With respect to the afore mentioned remarks our paper pursues three interrelated objectives:

- a) To provide a detailed typology of CIMSP in AMG. This goal is assisted by utilizing a Universal Dependency (UD) treebank exclusively dedicated to morphosyntactic features triggered by LC between Turkish and Greek varieties in the Anatolian context. The UD Treebank, which is in preparation, aims at comprising and analyzing all relevant phenomena (cf. Sampanis and Prokopidis, *forthc.*).
- b) To examine the Borrowing Hierarchies (BH) in AMG and to propose an implicational borrowing scale (cf. Matras, 2009:154). In doing so, we consult - and complete or revise - existing BH proposals regarding AMG (cf. Theodoridi, 2017; Melissaropoulou and Ralli, 2020).
- c) Some “less impressive” CIMSP may have “paved the way” for some AMG subvarieties to adopt more “untypical” grammatical features, such as the agglutination. These include the frequent introduction of right-branching adpositions or the Turkish-like usage of sentential particles as *mi* and *ki* in (2). We suggest that the introduction and incorporation of Turkish patterns in AMG led to a significant restructuring of the sentential word-order and the head-complement relationship in AMG. Thus, agglutination - and a number of related phenomena (e.g. the distribution of relative clauses in AMG, cf. Janse 2003)- should be examined not merely as an outcome triggered by intensive contact between AMG and Anatolian Turkish

speakers but as epiphenomena emerging in varieties characterized by certain - untypical for Greek varieties- typological properties.

(1)

| Ul(u)ağaç Settlement AMG | Standard MG | Standard Turkish |
|--------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| <i>néka</i> | <i>jinéka</i> | <i>kadın</i> |
| <i>néka-ju</i> | <i>jinéka-s</i> | <i>kadın-ın</i> |
| <i>néc-es</i> | <i>jinéc-es</i> | <i>kadın-lar</i> |
| <i>néc-ez-ju</i> | <i>jinek-ón</i> | <i>kadın-lar-ın</i> |

(2)

Inner AMG: Settlement of Silli

...írtis ro m' kí?
...come.2SG.AOR. here QPART EMPHPART
“...did you really come here?” (Kostakis 1968:116)

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