



# Contact-induced grammatical changes in Pontic Greek spoken in Georgia

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# Contact-induced grammatical changes in PNT

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The paper presents an empirical study on contact-induced grammatical changes in Romeika, endangered variety of Pontic Greek (PNT), spoken by Pontic community of Georgia. The discussed topics include contact-related influences of Georgian (KAT), Turkish (TUR) and Russian (RUS) as donor languages on the grammar of this genetically unrelated language variety, spoken by relatively small number of speakers.

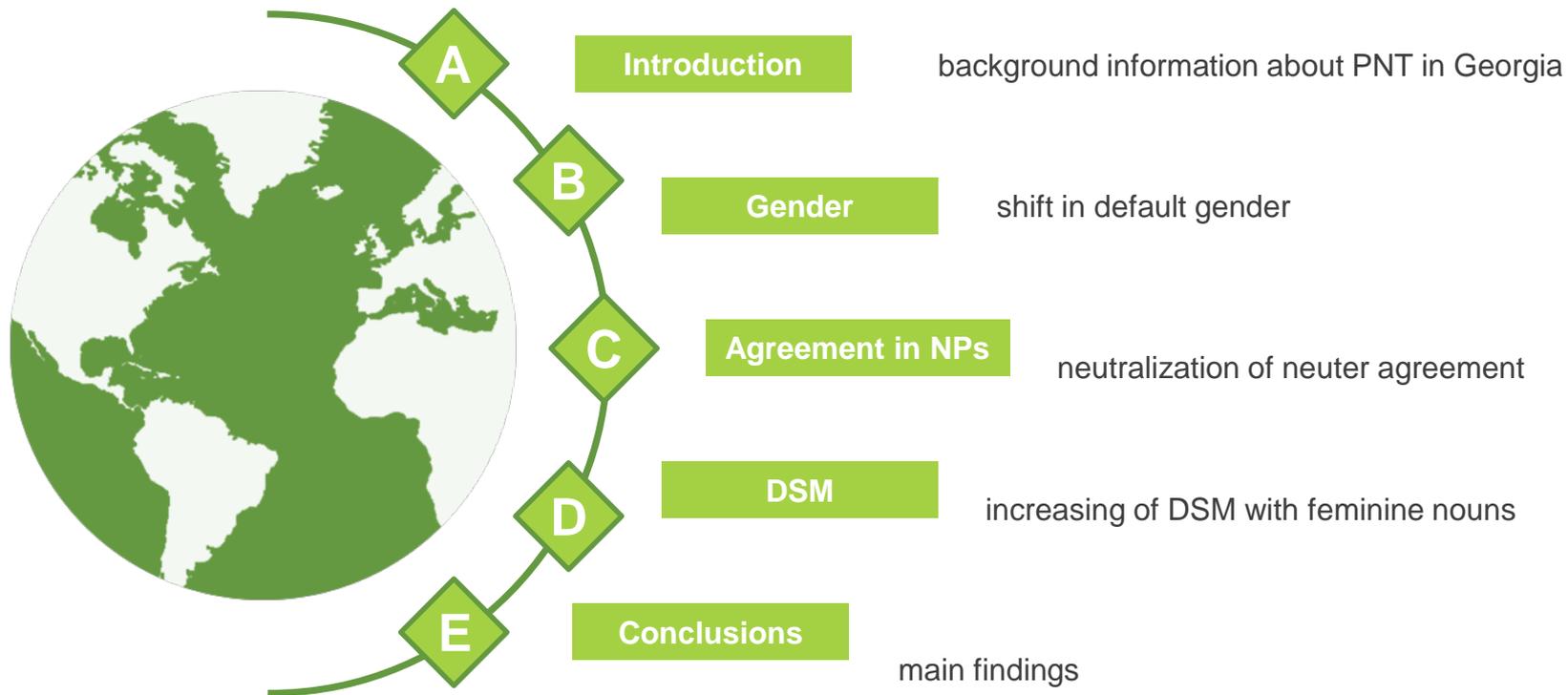
# Contact-induced grammatical changes in PNT

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PNT as spoken in Georgia has different examples of structural interference:

- (a) shift in default gender;
- (b) neutralization of neuter agreement in NPs;
- (c) the increasing of putative cases of differential subject marking (DSM) with feminine nouns;
- (d) selective limitation of definiteness marking;
- (e) agglutination of personal suffixes in verbs; and
- (f) verbal agreement in number with [ $\pm$ animate] nouns.

# Outline





# Introduction

# Introduction

## Pontic Greek

Pontic Greek (PNT) belongs to the **Anatolian group of Greek dialects** together with such dialects as Cappadocian, Pharasiot, Silliot, Greek-Crimean (spoken in Mariupolis of the Ukraine) and the dialect of Lycaonia (Triandaphyllidis 1938: 273–278, Drettas 1999: 91, Horrocks 2010: 398–404, Revithiadou and Spyropoulos 2009: 17, Karatsareas 2016: 48–49, etc.).

Among the **shared features** are such innovations as breakdown of the grammatical-gender distinction and declension system based on the animacy, caused by the combination of language-internal and language-external factors (see Dawkins 1916, Janse 2004, Karatsareas 2009, 2011, 2014, Spyropoulos and Kakarikos 2009, Horrocks 2010 etc.).

# Introduction

## Greek Community in Georgia

### Greek community in Georgia

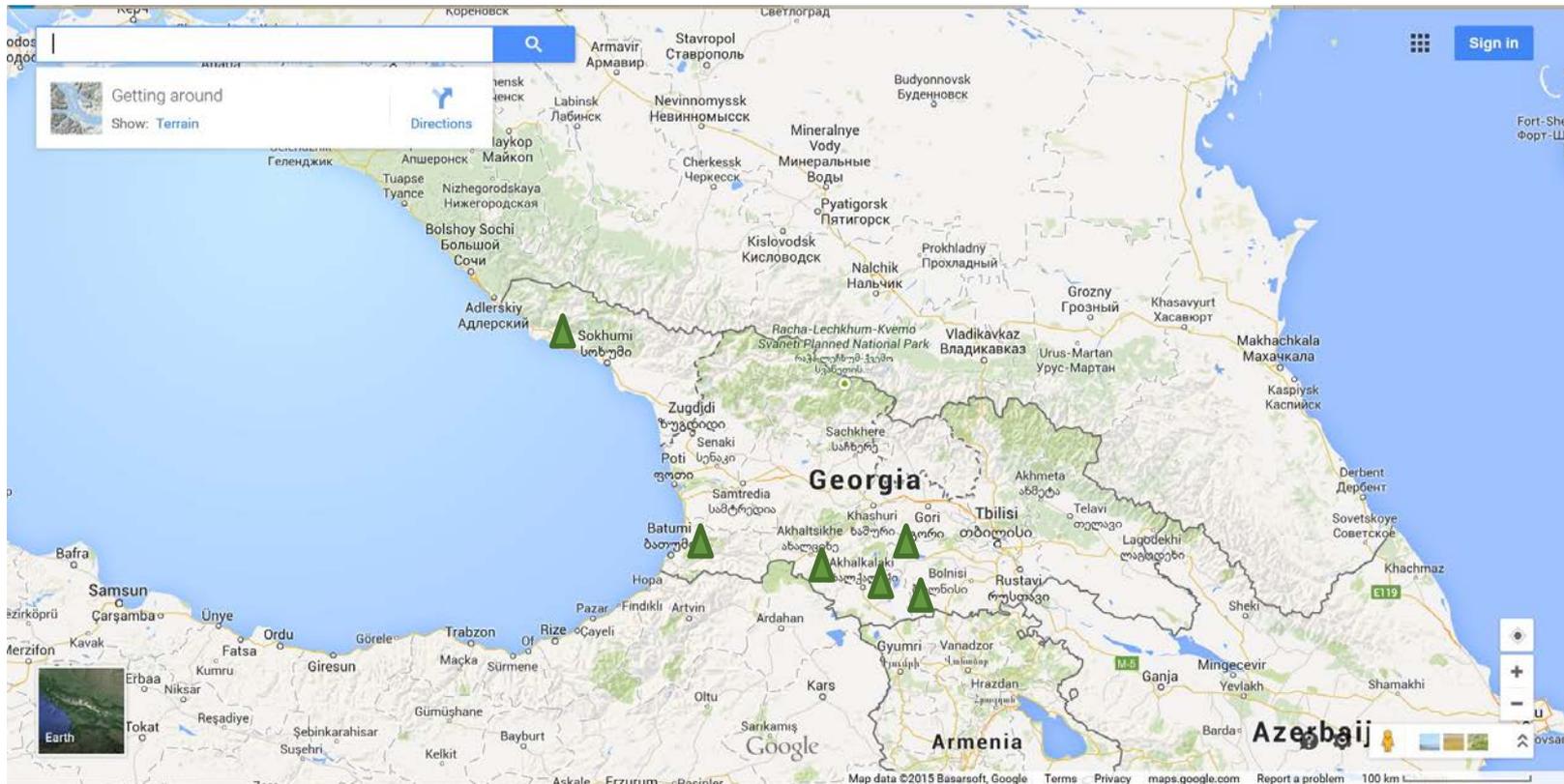
- Urum speakers;
- Pontic Greek speakers;

### Three different stages

- Stage A: Homeland – original settlements of Pontic Greek speakers in Georgia
- Stage B: Internal migration – from original settlements to the cities, generally to capital of Georgia, Tbilisi
- Stage C: Emigration – to the countries of European Union, mostly in Greece

# Introduction

## Greek Community in Georgia



# Introduction

## Data

### Project

*The impact of current transformational processes on language and ethnic identity: Urum and Pontic Greeks in Georgia*

Bielefeld University, Volkswagen Foundation

### Data

- multimedia corpus, uploaded to the TLA archive;
- spontaneous and semi-spontaneous speech;
- 57 native-speaking informants;
- the average word count per speaker is 936 words, the whole corpus contains 53 295 words;
- corpus resource: TLA, Donated Corpora, XTYP Lab available at <https://tla.mpi.nl/resources/data-archive/>

# Introduction

## Contact languages

### PNT in Georgia

Georgian community of Pontic Greeks speak a conservative variety of Greek called Romeika, that maintains some properties of Ancient and Medieval Greek, and many embedded elements from different languages.

### Contact languages

- of concatenative morphology: Turkish (TUR), Georgian (KAT)
- of non-concatenative morphology: Russian (RUS), Standard Greek (ELL)

# Research question

How grammatical category of gender is affected under the influence of contact languages?





# Animacy hierarchy

## Animacy hierarchy

PNT is characterized by the tripartite gender distinction (masculine, feminine and neuter), which controls the choice of the definite article in NP, as in ELL. However, unlike ELL it is also sensitive to the animacy hierarchy:

humans > other animates > inanimates (see Dahl 2000: 99), which is inflectionally active.

The animacy hierarchy entails:

- a) case syncretism in plural, i.e. identical form of the core grammatical cases: nominative/accusative, that have different morphosyntactic features,
- b) neuterization of gender in plural, which covers not only the replacement of the morphological formatives, but also the choice of the definite article, i.e. syntactic feature of gender, and,
- c) selection of gender in the nominals agreement and in predicate argument domain.

In some other AMG dialects, as for instance in Cappadocian (see Spyropoulos & Kakarikos 2009: 52) the [ $\pm$  human] feature has undertaken the role of gender. In PNT both features: grammatical gender and the animacy hierarchy are active.

# Animacy hierarchy

## Case syncretism in PL

In PNT case syncretism occurs with all neuters in singular and in plural. Furthermore, it applies to all nouns of masculine and feminine gender in plural, though it is restricted to some inflectional classes in masculine according to the animacy hierarchy.

### Case syncretism of [-human]/inanimate nouns, PL

	M.		F.	
	-os	-as	-i	-a
<b>NOM</b>	<i>γάμος</i> 'marriage'	<i>μήνας</i> 'month'	<i>βρέση</i> 'rain'	<i>κοσάρα</i> 'hen'
<b>ACC</b>	<i>γάμος</i>	<i>μήνας</i>	<i>βρέση</i>	<i>κοσάρα</i>

### Case syncretism of [+human] nouns, PL

	M.		F.	
	-os	-as	-i	-a
<b>NOM</b>	<i>άνθρωποι</i> 'person'	<i>άνδρες</i> 'man'	<i>αδελφίδες</i> 'sister'	<i>θευατέρες</i> 'daughter'
<b>ACC</b>	<i>ανθρώπους</i>	<i>άνδρας</i>	<i>αδελφίδες</i>	<i>θευατέρες</i>

# Animacy hierarchy

## Case syncretism in PL

(1) *ta*                      *yámus*                      *mas*                      *đen*                      *éxune*  
DEF:N.PL.NGEN              wedding:M.PL.**NOM**              CL.1.PL:GEN      NEG                      have:3.PL  
*polí*                      *điaforán*  
many:F.SG.NGEN              difference:F.SG.ACC  
'Our weddings do not have much difference'

[Kotaniđi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-MR-00000-B04]

(2) *eftáme*                      *ta*                      *yámus*                      *ta*  
make:1.PL                      DEF:N.PL.NGEN                      wedding:M.PL.**ACC**                      DEF:N.PL.NGEN  
*vaftísia*                      *óla*                      *aftá*  
christening:N.PL.NGEN      all:N.PL.NGEN      3:N.PL.NGEN  
'We celebrate wedding, christening, all these'

[Kotaniđi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-PP-00000-C07]

# Animacy hierarchy

## Case syncretism in PL

In feminine nouns case syncretism of nominative and accusative takes place with [+human] nouns as well, but it is distinguished by the use of formatives in plural. The initial nominative case formative *-es* is used with human nouns, and the initial accusative case formative *-as* with [-human] and inanimate ones.

(3) <i>ta</i>	<i>jortás</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ton</i>
DEF:N.PL.NGEN	holiday:F.PL. <b>NOM</b>	HESIT	DEF:M./F./N.PL.GEN
<i>ayíon</i>	<i>k=éxne</i>	<i>traná</i>	<i>điaforés</i>
saint:M.PL.GEN	NEG=have:3.PL	big:N.PL.NGEN	difference:F.PL.NGEN

‘there are no big differences between the feasts of saints’

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-FE-00000-C13]

(4) <i>énan</i>	<i>ap=aftá</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>traná</i>
one:N.NGEN	from=3:N.PL.NGEN	DEF:N.PL.NGEN	big:N.PL.NGEN
<i>ta</i>	<i>jjortás</i>	<i>pu</i>	<i>éxume [...]</i>
DEF:N.PL.NGEN	holiday:F.PL. <b>ACC</b>	that	have:1.PL

‘one of the biggest feasts that we have [...]

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-FE-00000-C12]

## Animacy hierarchy

In some Pontic varieties there are examples with formatives *-as* for human nouns, forms like *ta yaríðas* ‘woman’, *ta aðelfáðas* ‘sister’ and *ta nifáðas* ‘daughter-in-law’ (see Mackridge 1987: 128, Drettas 1997: 129, Janse 2002: 216), besides in inanimate nouns the distinction of formatives nowadays is not so visible, *-as/-es* are used interchangeably. The fact, that the formative *-es* can be used with inanimate nouns can be explained by the influence of ELL, as ELL reanalysed the nominative and PNT the accusative as general form for nominative/accusative.

In comparison with other PNT varieties Romeika shows more consistent use of the *-es/-as* formatives based on the animacy distinction. That is evident firstly (a) in native nouns, where the formative *-as* is exclusively used with animate [-human] and inanimate nouns, and never attested with human entities; and secondly (b) in borrowed nouns, where no instances of the interchangeable use of *-as/-es* formatives in inanimate nouns, characteristic to native words, are attested.

## Animacy hierarchy

### Neuterization of gender in PL

An interesting phenomenon attested in PNT is neuterization of gender in plural, it is evident by the choice of the neuter form of the determiners (articles, quantifiers), or sometimes by the change of formatives as well

F.				
	SG	PL with neuter article	SG	PL with neuter formatives
<b>NOM</b>	<i>i óra</i> 'hour'	<b>ta</b> óras	<i>i pshi</i> 'soul'	<b>ta</b> pshía
<b>ACC</b>	<i>tin óran</i>	<b>ta</b> óras	<i>tin pshin</i>	<b>ta</b> pshía

M.				
	inanimate		animate [-human]	
	SG	PL with neuter article	SG	PL with neuter formatives
<b>NOM</b>	<i>o mínas</i> 'month'	<b>ta</b> mínas	<i>o petinós</i> 'cock'	<b>ta</b> petiná
<b>ACC</b>	<i>ton mínan</i>	<b>ta</b> mínas	<i>ton petinón</i>	<b>ta</b> petiná

# Animacy hierarchy

## Neuterization of gender in PL



(3) <i>al</i>		<i>zun</i>	<i>s=in</i>	<i>aleksanđrúpolin</i>
other:M.PL.NOM		live:3.PL	LOC=DEF:F.SG.ACC	Alexandroupolis:F.SG.ACC
<i>ksánθi</i>	<i>s=ólā</i>		<i>ta</i>	<b><i>politías</i></b>
Ksanthi:F.SG.NGEN	LOC=all:N.PL.NGEN		DEF:N.PL.NGEN	town:F.PL.NGEN

‘some people live in Alexandroupolis, Xanthi and other cities’

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-AN-00000-C13]

# Animacy hierarchy

## Neuterization of gender in PL

(4) *as*      *olts*                      *tranón*                      *điaforán*                      *do*                      *éxumen*  
 from    all:M./F.PL.ACC                      big:N.SG.NGEN                      difference:F.SG.ACC                      what                      have:1.PL  
*ára*    *en*                      *i*                      ***kalachí***  
 id\_est    be:3.SG    DEF:F.SG.NOM                      conversation:F.SG.NOM  
*t=eméteron*  
 DEF:N.SG.NGEN=POSS.1.PL:N.SG

‘The biggest difference that we have is our language’

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-PP-00000-C14]

(5) *ta*                      ***kalachía***                      *xaláne*                      *xoría*  
 DEF:N.PL.NGEN                      conversation:N.PL.NGEN                      destroy:3.PL    village:N.PL.NGEN

‘talking destroys villages’

[Berikashvili 2016: PNT-TXT-CL-00000-B23]



# Gender assignment

# Gender assignment

Default gender



Limitation of functions of grammatical gender due to the animacy category is characteristic to PNT. It is evident from:

- (a) neuterization tendency,
- (b) the tendency of increasing number of neuters in dialect, including assignment of neuter gender to loanwords,
- (c) selection of gender in the agreement between noun and its determiners and modifiers (articles, pronouns, adjectives) and in predicate-argument domain.



Neuter can be regarded as the default gender value in PNT. The areas of gender where the notion of defaults might apply, are the followings: gender assignment and gender agreement (Corbett & Fraser 2000: 74).

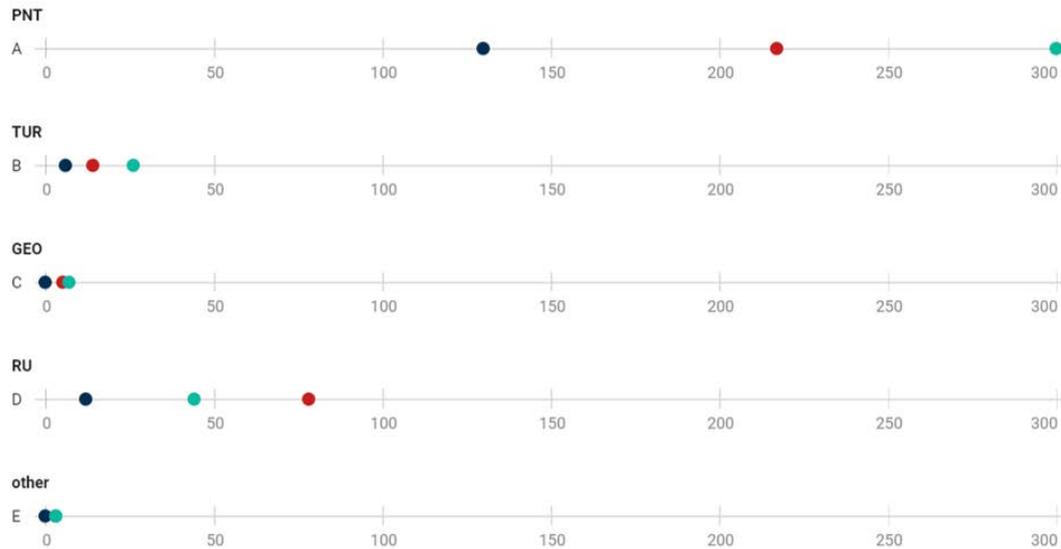
In PNT numerical preponderance of neuter nouns is attested. Native nouns as well as borrowings show mostly neuter assignment. The same situation can be observed in Romeika as well, if statistics of borrowings is measured without Russian loans. In this case developments caused by the Russian influence in the understudied variety are excluded.

# Numerical Statistics of gender assignment in Romeika

	Native nouns		Loanwords	
	n	%	n	%
N.	300	46.36	38	57.57
F.	217	33.54	22	33.33
M.	130	20.10	6	9.10
Total	647	100.00	66	100.00

## [ Gender Assignment ]

● Gender:M ● Gender:F ● Gender:N



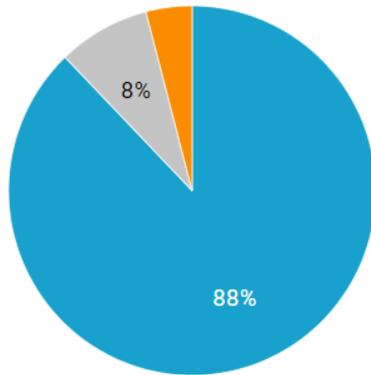
After incorporating Russian loans the results change drastically, the majority of loan nouns herein are feminines, cf. statistics for Russian loans: feminines – 58.20% (78 words), neuters – 32.83% (44 words), and masculines – 8.95% (12 words).

# Gender assignment

in Romeika

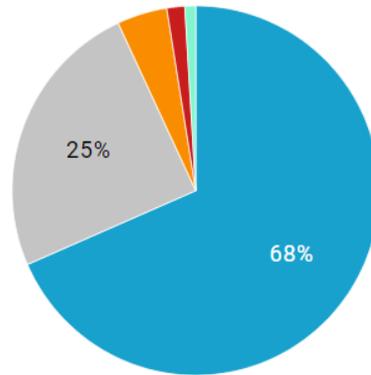
## Gender Assignment

■ PNT ■ RU ■ TUR ■ GEO ■ other



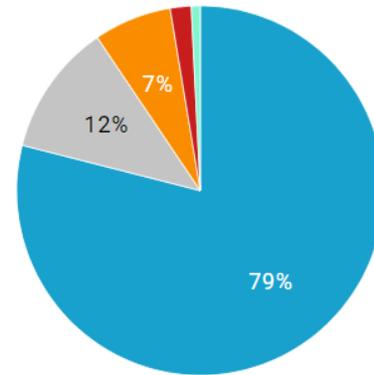
**Gender:M**

Total:  
148



**Gender:F**

Total:  
317



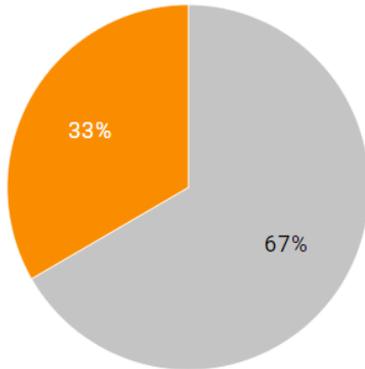
**Gender:N**

Total:  
380

# Gender assignment

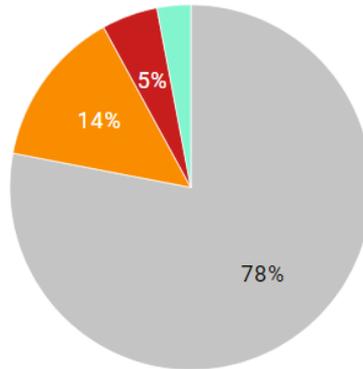
in loan nouns in Romeika

## Gender Assignment in Loanwords



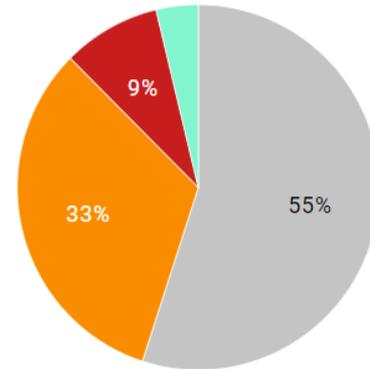
**Gender:M**

Total:  
18



**Gender:F**

Total:  
100



**Gender:N**

Total:  
80

# Gender assignment

Gender assignment in Pontic is subject to different criteria, namely semantic, phonological and morphological criteria. In loanwords

- (a) human nouns are assigned gender according to sex, with some exceptions<sup>1</sup> when the phonological form has a priority, i.e. it is semantically driven gender priority,
- (b) in non-human nouns gender is elicited by inflectional class, i.e. morphological priority is dominant, though it is decreased by the influence of the language internal factor of neuterization,
- (c) words ending in *-a* in the SL (they can be either animate [ $\pm$ human] or inanimate) are by default feminines, with some very rare exceptions<sup>2</sup>, in this case there is a phonological priority in gender assignment.

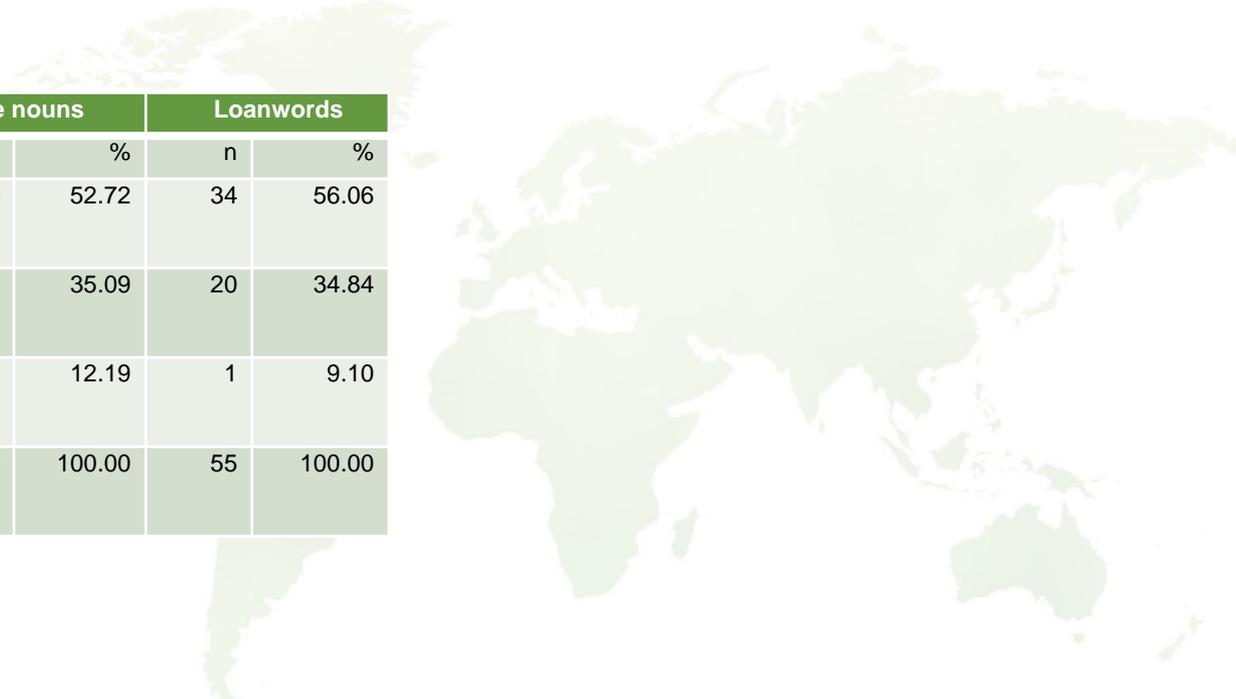
<sup>1</sup> Thus the form-matching factor (stem-final consonant) is so strong in the example like *brat*:N.SG.NGEN 'brother', that it overrides the semantically driven gender assignment.

<sup>2</sup> One of such exceptions is word *gazéta* 'newspaper' which is assigned neuter gender in Pontic, despite of the final stem ending *-a*. The forms attested are *gazétin*:N.SG.NGEN, *gazét*:N.SG.NGEN, *gazétä*:N.PL.NGEN.

# Gender assignment

## Neuterization tendency

Despite the fact that in [-human]/inanimate nouns gender is elicited by the inflectional class, the most of these nouns tend to be neuters.



	Native nouns		Loanwords	
	n	%	n	%
N.	290	52.72	34	56.06
F.	193	35.09	20	34.84
M.	67	12.19	1	9.10
Total	550	100.00	55	100.00

# Gender assignment

## Neuterization tendency

The neuterization tendency is also evident in the formation of plural forms and the derivation of diminutives. Thus there are examples that have double-gender formation in plural, where generally neuter should not be expected.

(6) *metá*    *stérä*    *stérä*  
after    slowly    slowly  
'Then, step by step they made roads'

*epíkane*  
make:PFV.PST:3.PL

*tus*    *đrómus*  
DEF:M.PL.ACC    road:M.PL.ACC

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-AN-00000-C07]

(7) *eđulévame*    *s=ta*  
work:IPFV.PST:1.PL    LOC=DEF:N.PL.NGEN  
'We were working on the roads'

*đrómata*  
road:N.PL.NGEN

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-VL-00000-A03]

## Gender assignment

### Neuterization tendency

Diminutives are also distributed among neuters and feminines, but the most productive is that with the suffix *-ópon:N*, regarded as the most widespread suffix in all varieties of Pontic (see Tombaidis 1970: 13–29, 1988: 47), cf. statistic data from the corpus: DIM.F – 26.09 % of nouns (number 6), DIM.N – 73.91 % of nouns (number 17).



# Gender assignment

## Strategies



Neuter gender is assigned to loan words based on the following incorporation strategy: nouns with null suffixes (root ending in consonant) in the donor language add the ending *-i(n)*, thus integrating it into IC6.

That means that PNT speakers create the form that comes from language internal factors (neuterization tendency, the use of productive neuter suffix *-i(n)*).



Feminine gender is assigned to loan words based on the following incorporation strategy: words ending in *-a* in donor language are incorporated into IC3.

That means that the phonological form of the donor language is reinterpreted as suffix denoting concrete inflectional class of feminine gender.

	IC1	IC2	IC3	IC4	IC5	IC6	IC7	IC8
Gender	M.	M.	F.	F.	N.	N.	N.	N.
Animacy	+HUM	+HUM	+HUM					
	-HUM INANIM	-HUM INANIM	-HUM INANIM	INANIM	-HUM INANIM	-HUM INANIM	INANIM	INANIM
Ending	<b>-os</b>	<b>-s</b> -as, -is, -es, -us	<b>-∅</b> -i, -a, -e, -u	<b>-∅</b> -i, -si, -ksi, -psi	<b>-on, -ion</b> -opon DIM	<b>-(in)</b>	<b>-os</b>	<b>-∅</b> -man, (s)imon, -s
Example	<i>ánthrop-os</i> 'man'	<i>peḗá-s</i> 'boy'	<i>γarí</i> 'woman'		<i>kortsópon</i> 'little girl'	<i>ayúr(in)</i> 'boy'		
	<i>γám-os</i> 'wedding'	<i>aeté-s</i> 'eagle'	<i>kosára</i> 'hen'	<i>písti</i> 'faith'	<i>xorí-on</i> 'village'	<i>fa-ín</i> 'food'	<i>éθn-os</i> 'nation'	<i>lóman</i> 'clothes'

# Gender assignment

## Neuterization tendency

In the understudied variety the most productive inflectional classes are IC6 for neuter nouns and IC3 for feminines. Masculine nouns are rarely borrowed, those that are denote mostly human entities and are distributed among IC2 (more frequent option for Turkish loans) and IC1 (more frequent option for Russian loans) (Berikashvili 2017: 110–111).



	Turkish loans		Russian loans		Georgian loans	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
IC6 (N)	26	55.32	39	29.11	7	58.34
IC3 (F)	14	29.79	78	58.21	5	41.66
IC2 (M)	5	10.63	5	3.73	0	0.0
IC1(M)	1	2.13	7	5.22	0	0.0
IC5 (N)	1	2.13	5	3.73	0	0.0
Total	47	100.00	134	100.00	12	100.00

# Gender assignment

additional factors<sup>1</sup>

## Assignment of gender by semantic analogy

Applicable tendency in case of ELL, but no examples attested in PNT.

## Gender of the noun in the donor language

Instances with *-a* ending transferred from RU, could be regarded as the impact of gender category in DL, however some arguments can be provided to prove the phonological preponderance:

- (a) subset of nouns ending in *-e* in the DL of neuter gender, integrated in PNT as feminines;
- (b) Turkish and Georgian loans, without gender distinction integrated using the same strategy;
- (c) The use of Russian masculine nouns ending in *-a* as Fs.

## Assigning of loans to the unmarked gender

In PNT neuter can be regarded as unmarked to a certain degree because besides the endings in *-in*, *-an*, *-on*, it is also characterized by  $\emptyset$  ending (diachronically the result of phonological process, namely the deletion of unstressed *-i*, e.g. *xoráfi(n)* – *xoráfn* – *xoráf*:N.SG.NGEN ‘field’).

This factor cannot be distinguished as an additional factor influencing the gender assignment rules in PNT. Even in these cases the assignment can be explained with the phonological rules.

<sup>1</sup> see Corbett 1991: 75–82 for an appropriate discussion in other languages

# Gender assignment

Additional factors: gender of DL

(8) *i*                      *anθróp*                      *metaksí*      *tus*  
 DEF:M/F.PL.NOM      people:M.PL.NOM      between      3:M.PL.ACC  
*íxane*                      *kalá*                      ***atnashénias***  
 have:PST:3.PL      good:N.PL.NGEN      relation:F.PL.NGEN<sub>RUSSIAN</sub>  
 ‘People among themselves had good relations’

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-VL-00000-C07]

(9) *to*                      *potám*                      *atlávume*      *páme*      *s=i*  
 DEF:N.SG.NGEN      river:N.SG.NGEN      cross:1.PL      go:1.PL      LOC=DEF:F.SG.ACC  
***meshan***  
 forest:F.SG.ACC  
 ‘Crossing the river we can reach the forest’

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-VL-00000-B08]

## Gender assignment

In sum gender assignment in Romeika is covered by general rules of the dialect, applied both to native and loan words. It is subject of different: semantic, phonological and morphological criteria, and there is no need to define additional factors to gender assignment for loanwords. The peculiarity of PNT spoken in Georgia is a shift of default gender from neuter to feminine, and subsequently partial decrease of neuterization tendency.

This is evident from (1) numerical preponderance of feminine loans integrated into IC3, i.e. from gender assignment rules and strategy for reinterpreting the existed phonological form of the DL, and (2) in the agreement where default neuter agreement if conjoined nouns denote inanimate or [-human] entities, is replaced by the agreement with corresponding head noun, this mostly happens with feminines ending in *-a*.



# Gender agreement

## Gender agreement

PNT is characterized by an animacy-based distinction in the nominals agreement. The agreement is by default neuter if conjoined nouns denote inanimate or [-human] entities. This phenomenon could be due to the contact with TUR, a similar tendency takes place in the other Modern Greek dialects that were in contact with the Turkish language (see Revithiadou and Spyropoulos 2012: 104), however it is more likely that the neuter agreements is the result of a language internal factor, generally characteristic to AMG dialects (see Karatsareas 2009, 2014).

Thus, PNT has two types of nominals agreement: syntactic – when targets agree with their controllers' gender, and semantic – when nouns denoting [-human]/inanimate entities trigger neuter agreement.

## Gender agreement

The modifiers of the **animate [+human]** nouns in Romeika agree with their head noun in grammatical gender

- (10) **ekínos**                      **ánthropos**                      *borúse*                      *na*                      *xási*  
that:M.SG.NOM                      man:M.SG.NOM                      can:IPFV.PST:3.SG                      to                      lose:DEP:3.SG  
*ke*                      *ti*                      *đuliá*                      *tu*  
and                      DEF:F.SG.ACC                      work:F.SG.NGEN                      CL.3.SG:GEN  
'that man could even lose his job'

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-FE-00000-B02]

- (11) *i*                      **áli**                      **ađelfí**                      *mu*  
DEF:F.SG.NOM                      other:F.SG.NGEN                      sister:F.SG.NGEN                      CL.3.SG:GEN  
*íne*                      *s=i*                      *mósxa*  
be:3                      LOC=DEF:F.SG.ACC                      Moscow:F.SG.NGEN  
'My other sister is in Moscow'

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-FM-00000-C02]

## Gender agreement

The modifiers of the animate [-human] nouns in Romeika are by default neuters

- (12) *ta*                      *mikrá*                      *ta*                      *kosáras*  
DEF:N.PL.NGEN      small:N.PL.NGEN      DEF:N.PL.NGEN      hen:F.PL.NGEN  
*tráninane*              *ke*              *óvazane*  
grow:IPFV.PST:3.PL      and              lay\_eggs:IPFV.PST:3.PL  
'Small hens grew up and laid eggs'

[Berikashvili 2016: PNT-TXT-VL-00000-B23]

- (13) *ke*              *ekínos*                      *kuvalí*              *meyálo*                      *kámbala*  
and              that:M.SG.NOM              bring:3.SG `      big:N.SG.NGEN              flounder:F.SG.NGEN  
'he was carrying a big flounder'

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-CL-00000-C05]

## Gender agreement

The modifiers of the inanimate nouns in Romeika are by default neuters

(14) *t=eméteron*

DEF:N.SG.NGEN=POSS.1.PL:N.SG

*i*

DEF:F.SG.NOM

'our Pontic dialect [...]

*to*

DEF:N.SG.NGEN

*ðiálektos [...]*

dialect:F.SG.NOM

*pondiakón*

Pontic:N.SG.NGEN

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-LG-00000-C13]

(15) *ke*

and

*óson*

as

'this wedding is not like it was fifty years ago'

*aftó*

3.N.SG.NGEN

*étone*

be:PST:3.SG

*yámos*

wedding:M.SG.NOM

*penínda*

fifty

*đen*

NEG

*xrónia*

year:N.PL.NGEN

*éxi*

have:3.SG

*ee [...]*

HESIT

*prin*

before

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-MR-00000-B05]



# Gender agreement

Interestingly, nor Turkish, neither Georgian loanwords integrated into the same patterns do not show this limitation. They agree in neuter with their head-noun.

(18) *as*                      *t=ults*  
 from                      DEF:N.PL.NGEN=all:M./F.PL.ACC  
*tranón*                      *odá*  
 big:N.SG.NGEN              room:F.SG.NGEN TURKISH  
*papoθór*  
 Papofor  
 ‘The biggest oda was of Papofor’

*to*  
 DEF:N.SG.NGEN  
*éton*                      *ti*  
 be:PST:3.SG    DEF:M./F./N.SG.GEN  
  
 [Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-PP-00000-C09]

(19) *ta*                      *churchxélas*  
 DEF:N.PL.NGEN              Churchkhela:F.PL.NGEN GEORGIAN  
 ‘I liked churchkhela’

*eyápana*  
 love:IPFV.PST:1.SG  
  
 [Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-VL-00000-C13]



DSM

# DSM in Romeika

One of the features characterized to PNT is Differential Subject Marking (DSM). In a broad sense DSM is a linguistic phenomenon that exists in a language if some subjects have a different case, agree differently or occur in different position than others. In a narrower sense such differences are regarded as DSM effects only if they depend on the features of the subject in some way.

In many languages DSM may take many forms and it does not constitute a unified phenomenon (see Silverstein 1976, Comrie 1984, Aissen 1999, 2003, Woolford 1997, 2008, de Hoop and de Swart 2008, Kornfilt 2008 etc.). Subjects can be differentiated on the different basis, and there are different approaches of analysing DSMs (including Functional, Optimality-based, Morphological and Syntactic approaches) (see Kalin 2018, in press).

# DSM in Romeika

It is believed that Pontic DSM is a contact-induced phenomenon from Turkish and is associated with Turkish DOM, also present in other Asia Minor Greek dialects (see Kornfilt 1997, 2008, Lewis 2000, Göksel & Kerlake 2005 for Turkish phenomenon and Drettas 1997, Janse 2002, 2004, Revithiadou and Spyropoulos 2012, Spyropoulos 2016 for DOM in AMG dialects and DSM in Pontic).

The question is whether this phenomenon is also affected by other languages, i.e. if there are some further developments that apply only to Romeika and took place after Pontic people left Anatolia and settled in the Caucasus. The expected influence could be either of KAT, which possesses DSM or of RU, which caused gender shift and subsequently increased DSM cases with feminine nouns as well.

# DSM in Romeika

- Cases of DSM are found in Pontic only in DPs and are mainly associated with [+definite] specification;
- Except of the definiteness DSM is triggered by other semantic factors, like arguments thematic role and animacy;
- It is restricted in all varieties to a certain inflectional class, namely IC1, masculine nouns ending in -os and SG number;
- In Romeika, the phenomenon is attested not only with masculines, but with feminines as well, i.e. its use is extended to IC3 and there are instances of DSM in PL number as well.

# DSM in Romeika

with masculine nouns

(20) *mílsan me ton θíon*  
 talk:PFV.PST:3.PL with DEF:M.SG.ACCuncle:M.SG.ACC  
**o θíon ípen [...]**  
 DEF:M.SG.NOM uncle:M.SG.ACC say:PFV.PST:3.SG

'they talked to uncle, the uncle said [...]

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-FM-00000-B03]

(21) *o yambrón pái s=in*  
 DEF:M.SG.NOM groom:M.SG.ACC go:3.SG LOC=DEF:F.SG.ACC  
*eklisían*  
 church:F.SG.ACC

'the groom goes to the church'

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-MR-00000-C13]

# DSM in Romeika

with feminine nouns

(22) <i>i</i> DEF:F.SG.NOM <i>s=0</i> LOC=DEF:N.SG.ACC <i>pondiakón</i> Pontic:N.SG.NGEN <i>en</i> be:3.SG	<i>ōiaforán</i> difference:F.SG.ACC <i>xará</i> marriage:F.SG.NGEN <i>ke to</i> and DEF:N.SG.NGEN <i>polá</i> many:N.PL.NGEN	<i>s=i</i> LOC=DEF:F.SG.ACC <i>s=0</i> LOC=DEF:N.SG.ACC <i>elinikón</i> Greek: N.SG.NGEN
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'There is a big difference between Pontic and Greek wedding'

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-MR-00000-C01]

(23) <i>en</i> be:3.SG	<i>ató</i> 3:N.SG.NGEN	<i>i</i> DEF:F.SG.NOM	<i>fotían</i> light:F.SG.ACC
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'there is this light'

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-FE-00000-C14]

## DSM in Romeika

is also triggered by different syntactic contexts such as transitivity alternation and passivisation. This mostly happens with antiacusative verbs when subject denotes patient that undergoes an action.

(24) *o*                      ***jéron***                      *erúksen*  
DEF:M.SG.NOM            old\_man:M.SG.ACC            fell\_down:PFV.PST:3.SG  
*ti*                      *yréan*                      *ekúksen*  
DEF:F.SG.ACC            old\_woman:F.SG.ACC            call:PFV.PST:3.SG  
'Old man fell down and shouted to old woman'

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-CL-00000-C10]

(25) *ke*            *araéts*            *erúksene*            *i*                      ***yarín***  
and            so            fell\_down:PFV.PST:3.SG            DEF:F.SG.NOM            woman:F.SG.ACC

[Berikashvili 2016: PNT-TXT-AN-2-000-B25]

However in any case, DSM does not appear outside DP and does not affect the case properties of the whole DP, as only definite subjects take the accusative case.

# DSM in Romeika

with loan nouns from RU

(26) *t=eméteron*

DEF:N.SG.NGEN=POSS.1.PL:N.SG

*étone*

be:PST:3.SG

*i*

DEF:F.SG.NOM

*tosunánd*

Tosunidis:PL.NOM

'Our surname was Tosunidis'

*famílian*

surname:F.SG.ACC RUSSIAN

[Berikashvili 2016: PNT-TXT-FM-00000-B23]

(27) *kalón*

good:N.SG.NGEN

'it is a good surname'

*famílian*

surname:F.SG.ACC RUSSIAN

*en*

be:3.SG

[Skopeteas et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-FM-00000-B22]

# DSM

DSM in PNT proves that it can be found in nominative-accusative systems as well, in which nominative is morphologically marked/more specific form (see König 2008, 2009).

In PNT nominative of masculines is marked with *-os*, while accusative with *-n*. Thus, morphologically Nom of M is more specific. However, nominative of feminines is marked with *-a*, *-i*, while accusative with *-n*, i.e. it is less specific and should not be marked. That's why DSM is not attested with feminines in other PNT varieties.

In Romeika the phenomenon is extended to feminines as well, by the analogy with masculines, because the proportion of feminine nouns increased in understudied variety and notion of the default gender also shifted towards feminine by the influence of RU.



# Conclusion

# Main findings

- The assigning of feminine gender to loan words is decisive for keeping grammatical gender active in Romeika;
- The feminine nouns of Russian origin stimulate three processes in PNT
  - (a) increasing the amount of feminine nouns;
  - (b) increasing the examples of the modifier use in corresponding gender with inanimate nouns;
  - (c) increasing the cases of Differential Subject Marking use.

# Addressing the research question

How grammatical category of gender is affected under the influence of contact languages?

[± human]

## Animacy distinction

- PNT feature in all varieties
- intensified by the influence of TUR in PNT
- intensified by the influence of TUR and KAT in Romeika

Masculine  
Feminine  
Neuter

## Gender assignment

- follows general rules of PNT
- shift in default gender from N to F caused by contact with RU
- partial decrease of neuterization tendency caused by contact with RU

[± human]  
of the head noun

## Gender agreement

- depends on animacy distinction in PNT
- neutralization of neuter agreement in NPs in Romeika caused by proportional increase of F nouns due to the contact with RU

# Addressing the research question

The claim is that the influence of contact languages stimulates different processes in language, on the one hand the impact of TUR and KAT alongside with the internal factors causes decline of grammatical gender, whereas on the other hand the influence of RUS, namely transference of feminine nouns, reduces the tendency of gender loss in PNT variety spoken by Greek community of Georgia.

# Conclusions

Limitation of functions of the grammatical category of gender in Romeika is due to the following factors:

- (a) language internal factor: animacy-based distinction;
- (b) language internal factor: neuterization tendency;
- (c) language external factor: contact with TUR, which does not possess grammatical category of gender and therefore has no gender agreement on syntactic level in nominals and predicate argument;
- (d) language external factor: contact with KAT, which also does not possess grammatical category of gender, but has animacy based active feature, the influence of which is evident in verbal agreement in number (not discussed in this paper).

In other AMG dialects, namely in Cappadocian and Phrasiot, contact with TUR caused the loss of gender. In Romeika gender is still preserved and is active alongside with animacy distinction. Retreat of gender's functions' limitation is due to the following factors:

- (a) language external factor: incorporating of RU feminine loans into PNT patterns;
- (b) language external factor: shift in default gender caused by contact with RU;
- (c) language internal / external factor: putative cases of DSM extended by analogy of M nouns to Fs;
- (d) language external factor: influence of ELL, which has agreement when targets agree with their controllers' gender (not discussed in this paper).

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