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Contents

Articles

- Stefan Bojowald
Zu einigen Wortspielen mit dem altägyptischen Götternamen „inpw“ „Anubis“ 1
- Fruma Zachs & Aharon Geva-Kleinberger
On the Path to Obsolescence: Children's Songs and Nursery Rhymes from the Galilean Muslim Village of Nah^ef 7
- Gisela Procházka-Eisl
A Suffix on the Move – Forms and Functions of the Turkish Suffix /-ci/ in Arabic Dialects 21
- Dina Tsagari & Christina Nicole Giannikas
Early Language Learning in Private Language Schools in the Republic of Cyprus: Teaching Methods in Modern Times 53
- Matthias Kappler & Stavroula Tsiplakou
Two Cypriot koinai? Structural and Sociolinguistic Considerations 75
- Walter Puchner
Studien zur Geschichte und Sprache des traditionellen Schattentheaters im Mittelmeerraum 97

Book Reviews

- Jennifer Cromwell & Eitan Grossman (eds.)
Scribal Repertoires in Egypt from the New Kingdom to the Early Islamic Period
(Stefan Bojowald) 179
- Lutz Edzard (ed.)
The Morpho-Syntactic and Lexical Encoding of Tense and Aspect in Semitic
(GWilhelm Nebe) 182
- Bo Isaksson & Maria Persson (eds.)
Clause Combining in Semitic: The Circumstantial Clause and Beyond
(Assaf Bar-Moshe) 200
- Ablahad Lahdo
A Traitor among us. The Story of Father Yusuf Akbulut
(Michael Waltisberg) 204

Two Cypriot *koinai*? Structural and Sociolinguistic Considerations

Matthias Kappler (Ca' Foscari University of Venice) &
Stavroula Tsiplakou (Open University of Cyprus)

1 Introduction*

Research on Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish has long pointed out aspects of a linguistic process that both varieties are undergoing: the ‘homogenization’ of Cypriot Greek and the ‘mixing’ of Standard and Cypriot Greek which has yielded the ‘urban’ or ‘metropolitan’ Greek variety of Cyprus or, in other words, its partial convergence to Standard Greek (Karyolemou & Pavlou 2001), and the ‘standardization’ of Cypriot Turkish (Pehlivan 1998, 2003; Menteşoğlu 2009), which again is treated as partial convergence to the standard variety together with loss of local or basilectal features. In this paper we adopt recent proposals suggesting that such developments point to koineization in both varieties (Theocharous 2009; Tsiplakou & al. 2006, 2016), a process that goes hand-in hand with the levelling of local features. We examine phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic properties of the two *koinai* which have arisen (a) as a result of levelling of older, geographically contained or basilectal features (or both) and the spread of more ‘pancypriot’ ones for each variety and (b) as a result of convergence to the corresponding standard languages (Demir & Johanson 2006; Theocharous 2009; Tsiplakou & Kontogiorgi 2016). We also discuss aspects of the sociolinguistic situation in the two communities, which have arguably triggered koineization in both cases. What is of central importance for this discussion is that koineization involves only *partial* convergence to the standard varieties but also the maintenance and spread of specific dialect features, depending on whether these are construed as unmarked or ‘pancypriot’, and, crucially, the emergence of hybrid, mixed forms, which give the two *koinai* their partially standard-like and partially dialectal flavour. As has also been argued extensively elsewhere (Tsiplakou 2017; Tsiplakou & al. 2016; Tsiplakou & Armostis [forthc.]), such structural mixing may account for the covert, or even overt, prestige of the *koinai* (Rowe & Grohmann 2013) and it may also explain why full convergence to the standard varieties is ‘arrested’ (Tsiplakou 2014a, b). However,

* The names of the authors are in alphabetical order. Matthias Kappler wrote Section 2 and Stavroula Tsiplakou wrote Section 3. The authors are grateful to Andri Theocharous and Spyros Armostis for their invaluable help. All errors remain ours.

the *koinai* still stand in a diglossic relationship to the corresponding standard varieties; whether a change from *diglossia* to *diaglossia* (Bellmann 1998) is taking place is still uncertain.

2 Cypriot Turkish

2.1 *The sociolinguistic situation*

In the seminal study by Demir & Johanson (2006), the authors state that the sociolinguistic situation as regards the relationship between Cypriot and Standard Turkish is “reminiscent of diglossia in Swiss German or Arabic” (Demir & Johanson 2006: 3), thereby making express reference to diglossia in Fergusonian terms. Diglossia between Cypriot and Standard Turkish has, indeed, been discussed rather extensively in the literature (see, e.g. Kizilyürek & Gautier-Kizilyürek 2004; Evripidou & Çavuşoğlu 2015). The literature shows that Cypriot Turkish has traditionally been associated with diminished prestige, also due to the formation of a common “Turkish” identity (Trudgill 1986; Siegel 1985, 2001), and hence characterizations of Cypriot Turkish as *köylü* “village talk”, or “Turkish pidgin” (Theocharous 2009: 34–35, 37; Mehmet Ali 1991: 203–204), or simply as “broken Turkish”, still abound.

However, the Cypriot Turkish varieties have undergone dramatic changes after the war in 1974 and the new geopolitical organization of the island. Cypriot Turkish, which had been in dense contact with Cypriot Greek and, moderately, with English, was isolated from its contact languages, while a massive influx of immigrants, mainly from central, eastern and northern Anatolia, who today form the majority of the population in the northern part of Cyprus, have brought various Turkish varieties to the island. Many of these speakers use varieties of Standard Turkish for inter-group communication and, moreover, there is a significant degree of exposure to Standard Turkish from the mass media. Also, the fast development of the tertiary education sector in the northern part of Cyprus led to a massive influx of university students from Turkey; moreover, many Turkish Cypriots go to Turkey for university studies (Demir 2018: 46). Another factor that had a significant influence on the Cypriot Turkish varieties since 1974 was the establishment of an education system based on curricula from Turkey with Standard Turkish as the language of instruction. In 2004 the education system was partly modified in favour of a more Cyprus-based school curriculum (cf. Kappler in Hadjioannou & al. 2011: 39), but this did not affect the almost exclusive use of Standard Turkish in the classroom.

As was mentioned in the introduction, it seems that the literature addresses the issue of the influence of Standard Turkish on Cypriot Turkish as unidirectional process leading to the ‘standardization’ of Cypriot Turkish (Caner 1996; Pehlivan 1998, 2003; Menteşoğlu 2009), i.e. to its convergence to the standard variety. No study on Cypriot Turkish has used the terms *koinization* or *levelling*, with the notable exception of an unpublished thesis by Theocharous (2009); cf. also Kappler in Hadjioannou & al. 2011: 35). Another exception is the study by Demir & Johanson (2006), whose results implicitly yet clearly suggest the emergence of a Cypriot Turkish

koine. Demir & Johanson discuss the sociolinguistic situation and they make the interesting observation that Cypriot Turkish dialect varieties are in fact more prestigious than dialects in Anatolia, and that Cypriot Turkish varieties “are not stigmatized in public life” (Demir & Johanson 2006: 3). They also mention acquisition, noting that children of immigrants from Turkey who have completed their language acquisition process in Cyprus display dominant Cypriot Turkish features in their speech, especially in phonology, in the use of the interrogative particle or in word order; as regards the acquisition of a second, related variety, Demir & Johanson mention that adult immigrant speakers use features of Cypriot Turkish when addressing Cypriots (Demir & Johanson 2006: 4, 7). We suggest that these findings point to an emergent variety used for inter-group communication which displays mixing of dialectal and standard features and to which prestige is accruing; it is very tempting to call this variety a koine. In the following sections we will discuss structural aspects of the koine, in an attempt to show that convergence to the standard (or ‘standardization’) is not the whole story, as the koine is a variety which retains some dialectal features but also displays structural mixing with the standard resulting in new, hybrid formations.

2.2 *Aspects of the phonology of the Turkish Cypriot koine: Is there convergence to the standard?*

Research indicates that some marked phonological features of local basilects have undergone drastic levelling and are used only by elderly people in rural areas. Such features include basilectal [h] in lieu of [f] (e.g. *telehon* for *telefon*, *sarhoş* for *sarfoş*) or basilectal [s] in lieu of [ʃ] (e.g. *herkes* for *herkeş*; see Vancı 1990; Saraçoğlu 1992). This is confirmed by Theocharous (2009: 77–78). The Cypriot Turkish koine thus displays a strong preference for the standard variants in these cases. The data that follow however show that this is by no means an overarching trend.

As is well-known, one of the basic phonological features of Cypriot Turkish is the voicing of Standard Turkish plosives [k], [t], [p] to [g], [d], [b], especially in word-initial position:

(1)	STANDARD TURKISH	CYPRIOT TURKISH
a.	konuş	gonuş
b.	Kıbrıs	Gıbrız
c.	Lefkoşa	Lefgoşa
d.	patates	badadez
e.	tatlı	dadlı

(Vancı 1990: 247)

Menteşoğlu (2009) conducted an apparent time study with speakers over 65 and speakers under 65, to explore whether this property of the dialect is receding in favour of the corresponding phonological property of Standard Turkish. The two age groups were based in Famagusta; the older speakers were between 65 and 86 years old, and the younger speakers were all 23 years old, as they were all university stu-

dents in the same year. The author found that the group of younger speakers would still pronounce the voiced variables in about 40% of the tokens, while the older age group would use the voiced variants almost exclusively (at 93 to 97%, depending on the sound). The study clearly points to ongoing levelling of the structural property of the dialect and a spread of the structural property of the standard, with the younger group leading the innovation; Menteşoğlu calls this phenomenon “standardization”. It should however be borne in mind that the basilectal voiced consonants are still used by young speakers in almost half of the cases.

Interestingly, the results in Menteşoğlu 2009 do not match those of Theocharous (2009: 68–74), who found that the voicing of plosives (in all positions, although most of her examples have a word-initial plosive) is still one of the most salient features of the Cypriot Turkish koine. The phenomenon is prevalent in all three age groups examined (17–40, 41–60, and over 60 years old; Theocharous 2009: 54). In the table below (data from Theocharous 2009: 68–74) we present the numbers of speakers from the capital, Nicosia, who report that they use the respective word in their daily speech (the total number of speakers is 25):

Table: Voicing of plosives by Turkish Cypriot speakers

Phenomenon	Number of speakers	%
k > g		
kendi > gendi	23/25	92
kardeş > gardaş / gardeş	20/25	80
kadar > gadar	22/25	88
kabul > gabul	22/25	88
t > d		
tane > dane	19/25	76
anlatayım > anladayım	23/25	92
süt > süd	17/25	68
p > b		
patates > badadez	25/25	100

The situation is therefore typical of levelling and koineization: some marked, local, basilectal variants are levelled out but at the same time variants which belong to the dialect but are arguably not particularly marked as geographically confined or stigmatized as basilectal find their way into the koine. The voicing of plosives is one such typical case; it can be argued that this property of the dialect survives in the koine as it does not index a particular geographical origin and it is not sociolinguistically stigmatized or marked in any other way but as a generic indexical of the ‘Cypriotness’ of the variety (on identity work and its impact on koine formation see Trudgill 1986; Siegel 1985, 2001).

2.3 *Convergence to Standard Turkish in morphophonology?*

According to Güven (2009: 383), “... educated Turkish Cypriots prefer to speak ST in formal register, though with distinctive CT phonology”. This claim is borne out by some types of data: typically, in Cypriot Turkish the phonological assimilation process in suffixes observed in Standard Turkish as well as in all other Turkic languages does not take place in some suffixes, especially in clitics (Duman 1999: 119–123):

	STANDARD TURKISH	CYPRIO T TURKISH
a.	dA: ben de “me too”	da: ben da
b.	sA: gelirse “if (s)he comes”	sa: gelirsa
c.	(y)lA: benimle “with me”	nan: benimnan
d.	(y)IncA: gelince “coming”	(y)Inca: gelinca

Theocharous (2009: 80–81, 85–87, 91) documents the common use of these forms in the daily speech of all age groups and in all urban contexts (Nicosia, Famagusta, Kyrenia, Morphou), observing a particularly high spread of the form *da*, which, together with the voicing of plosive consonants, has become a trademark feature of Cypriot Turkish, also for Standard Turkish speakers.

Another phonological feature of this kind is the velar nasal /ŋ/, an old Turkic phoneme, which has survived in many words and suffixes, especially in 2nd person singular personal and possessive markers in Cypriot Turkish (as well as in Western and Central Anatolian dialects) but has disappeared from modern Standard Turkish.

	STANDARD TURKISH	CYPRIO T TURKISH
a.	aldın “you took”	aldıŋ
b.	bin “thousand”	biŋ
c.	hatırlarsın “you remember”	hatırlaŋ

(data from Kappler 2008: 206)

On the basis of such data it appears yet again that convergence to the standard variety is only partial in the koine.

2.4 *Morphological convergence or hybridity?*

Demir & Johanson (2006: 5–6) mention examples of code-switching between Cypriot and Standard Turkish, focusing on what they call “code-switching” in forms of

the present tense. Originally, in Cypriot Turkish basilects the old *Ir/Ar-*form was preferred, while the newer focal present tense with *yor* was practically absent:

- (4) a. CYPRIOT TURKISH
 gelirim gelirig
 come.PRES.1S come.PRES.1P
 “I come” “we come”
- b. STANDARD TURKISH
 gelirim geliriz
 come.PRES.1S come.PRES.1P
 “I come” “we come”
- c. STANDARD TURKISH
 geliyorum geliyoruz
 come.PRES.1S come.PRES.1P
 “I am coming” “we are coming”

Demir & Johanson’s examples involve instances of the use of the focal *yor*-present tense and the copying of the 1P suffix (*y*)*ız* from Standard Turkish, but phonologically the verbs maintain the voicing of plosives, which, as mentioned above, remains a salient feature of the Cypriot Turkish koine:

- (5) a. CYPRIOT TURKISH
 gelirik
 come.PRES.1P
 “we come / we are coming”
- b. CYPRIOT TURKISH WITH STANDARD TURKISH 1P SUFFIX
 konuşuruz
 talk.PRES.1P
 “we talk”
- c. CYPRIOT TURKISH WITH STANDARD TURKISH *YOR*-PRESENT TENSE
 kaçıyorum
 escape.yor-PRES.1S
 “I escape / I am escaping”

(Demir & Johanson 2006: 5)

As mentioned above, Demir & Johanson treat such cases as instances of “code-switching” from Cypriot to Standard Turkish at the morphological level. Another way of looking at such data would be to treat them as instances of incorporation of this aspect of the morphology of the standard variety into Cypriot Turkish. In other words, these ‘mixed’ forms are a *bona fide* part of the Cypriot koine (and not instances of ‘switching’ to the standard), as is indicated by their Cypriot phonology. Indeed, in the process of koineization, other such types of ‘mixed’ forms are emerging, for example present tense forms with Standard Turkish *yor*-present tense and Cypriot Turkish personal suffixes, which are blends of the two varieties. Both

forms have been recorded and commented on by Theocharous (2009: 92, 96). Examples (6) and (7) below present these mixed forms, which contain the Standard Turkish *yor*-present tense and the Cypriot Turkish 2S and 1P morphemes respectively).

- (6) a. CYPRIOT TURKISH
geleñ > geliyoñ
come.PRES.2S
“you come / you are coming”
- b. STANDARD TURKISH
geliyorsun
come.yor-PRES.2S
“you are coming”
- (7) a. CYPRIOT TURKISH
giderig > gidiy**oruk**
go.PRES.1P
“we go / we are going”
- b. STANDARD TURKISH
gidiyoruz
go.yor-PRES.1P
“we are going”

The same type of mixing can be observed in another area of Cypriot Turkish morphology: in Cypriot Turkish basilects the Standard Turkish interrogative suffix *mI*, used obligatorily in yes/no-questions, is substituted by intonation (which has also been shown to display contact effects, cf. İmer & Çelebi 2006). What happens in the Cypriot Turkish koine is that, especially in the 2P singular, the Cypriot Turkish person marker *-ŋ* blends with the interrogative suffix *mI*, resulting in highly productive mixed forms:

- (8) a. CYPRIOT TURKISH
geleceñ? > gelecek miñ?
come.FUT.INT.2S
“will you come?”
- b. STANDARD TURKISH
gelecek misin?
come.FUT.INT.2S
“will you come?”

According to Theocharous (2009: 104–105), both of these forms have similar distribution patterns in all age groups. She also provides the following sentence, where the same phenomenon occurs in the 1P morpheme:

- (9) Soru sorayım senda cevap ver bakalım bir yerlere gelecek miyiz?
question ask.VOL.1S you too answer give.IMP.2S look.VOL.1P somewhere
come.FUT.INT.1P
“Let me ask you, and you do answer, come on, do we get somewhere?”
(Theocharous 2009: 105)

Examples of such morphological hybridity, as discussed in Theocharous (2009), include:

- (10) biz da hala anlayamay**ıyoruk** [sic]
“we, too, still cannot understand”
- (11) amerika-ingiltere ve işgal yüzünden ve tabiki garasakalar yüzünden gidi-
yoruz
“we go to America and England because of the occupation, and, of course,
(because of) the Turks” [*garasakal* “black-beard” is a pejorative term for
Turks]
(Theocharous 2009: 116)

2.5 Code-switching

Theocharous (2009) has gathered a series of texts from social networks, especially Facebook, mostly about politics, Cypriot identity, and attitudes toward immigrants from Turkey. Although these texts do not offer reliable evidence for the phonetics of the koine, they still constitute evidence in support of dense code-switching on various levels, connected to the points above:

(i) The voicing of plosives, especially in initial position:

- (12) ne *kadar* samimi yazdıklarında ... facebook ta *kaç kıprızlı* var diye *kıprızda kaç gişi galdık* onu soralım. *gendine* ait edebiyatı ve yazını da vardır. bu guruba politika *garışdırmaylım* demek
“how much honesty is there in what they write on facebook ..., how many Cypriots are there on facebook, how many of us remained in Cyprus, let’s ask this. There is its own [i.e. Cypriot] literature, which means we shouldn’t mix up politics with this group”
(Theocharous 2009: 117)

In the following example the use of the voiced anlaut occurs in the word “Cypriot”, although the speaker considers her/his speech as “formal Turkish”:

- (13) bizim şimdiki konuştuğumuz formal türkçedir. gıbrızlıca daha farklı...
“what we are speaking now is formal Turkish. The Cypriot (dialect) is different...”
(Theocharous 2009: 116)

(ii) The use of enclitic suffixes without vowel assimilation:

- (14) evet aynen hocaların söyledikleri şey **bizda** sizin gibi okula gitmek istemeyiz.

“yes, exactly, it’s what the teachers say, we, too, like you, don’t want to go to school”

(Theocharous 2009: 141)

The following sentence is phonetically and morphologically Standard Turkish, but it is introduced by the dialectal non-assimilated topic marker *neysa* (Standard Turkish *neyse*):

- (15) neysa bu muhabbet böyle uzayıp gidecek...

“anyway, this chat will go on longer and longer like this...”

(Theocharous 2009: 122)

2.6 Syntax

Syntactic aspects of Cypriot Turkish have not yet been approached from the perspective of koineization and dialect levelling, but Theocharous’ data contain material that should be analyzed taking koineization into account. In particular, the well-known Cypriot Turkish finite subjunctive construction with the verb ‘want’ and coreference with the matrix subject (Demir 2002; Kappler 2008; Gulle 2011: 99–100; Tsiprakou & Kappler 2015), which is induced by contact with Cypriot Greek, instead of the Standard Turkish infinitival form, is frequent in the koine:

- (16) istersiniz ölesiniz?
want.PRES.2P die.SUBJ.2P
“Do you want to die?”

(Tsiprakou & Kappler 2015: 141)

Below is an example from Theocharous’ material:

- (17) arkadaşlar ben hangi öğretmennan konuşsam onlar da
isdemez **okula** **gidsin**
want.NEG.PRES3 school.DAT go.SUBJ3
“Friends, whatever teacher I speak with, they, too, do not want to go to school.”

(Theocharous 2009: 141)

These structures co-occur with the Standard Turkish infinitival ones in the koine. The sentence in (17) was produced by the same speaker who produced (14) above (repeated as [18] below), where the Standard Turkish non-finite construction was used:

- (18) bizda sizin gibi okula **gitmek istemeyiz**
 we too ... school.DAT go.INF want.NEG.PRES.1P
 “... we, too, like you, don’t want to go to school”
 (Theocharous 2009: 141)

The availability of both structures thus attests to the syntactically mixed nature of the koine.

2.7 *Lexicon*

Pehlivan (2003) examines changes in the lexicon through the observation of three age groups (group 1: over 70 years old, group 2: 45–50 years old, group 3: 11–15 years old). His findings are typical of what he calls “standardization”: while words borrowed from English are widely used by the age group that lived under colonial rule, it has diminished in the other two age groups. The same can be said for words borrowed from Cypriot Greek, but in this case the intermediate age group, who were born and raised on the undivided island, still use Greek words frequently in their daily speech. As regards words which are specific to Cypriot Turkish without being loans from other languages, the trend is comparable to those in the previous two groups, with almost exclusively local dishes and vegetable names featuring in the youngest group.

3 **Cypriot Greek: Levelling and koineization**

3.1 *Levelling*

Variation within Cypriot Greek has been the object of study since at least the 1960s. Newton’s classic book on Cypriot Greek reports on data collected during that decade from 128 villages of Cyprus (Newton 1972: 177) and plots in great detail a host of geographical variants, which are, however, exclusively phonological (Newton 1972: 177–185). It is worth noting that most of Newton’s variants are spread in ways that do not allow for the delineation of particular geographical dialect areas, and hence they cannot be treated as distinguishing isoglosses *stricto sensu*; for example, allophones [x]/[ç] of /θ/ (e.g. in words such as [ˈçelo] in lieu of [ˈθelo] ‘I want’) can be found in several areas (Newton 1972: 194, map 8). Also, although Newton did not run quantitative analyses, it does not seem that particular variants in his data cluster together *qua* exponents of a particular local sub-variety, as can be deduced from the almost ‘criss-crossing’ distribution of variants in his dialect maps (Newton 1972: 178–208; cf. also Contossopoulos 1969: 105; Terkourafi 2005: 372). Interestingly, older studies of Cypriot Greek (Newton 1983; Contossopoulos 1969) also make reference to *registers* of Cypriot Greek (cf. Newton’s “stylistic levels”), and they distinguish between basilectal ones, these being the more local, geographical ones, and a more ‘urban’ or ‘metropolitan’ one (Newton’s “town speech”), which displays (greater) approximation to Standard Greek. Such suggestions in the early studies point to the fact that “internal variation in Cypriot Greek was not just geographical,

but that speakers may have always had at their disposal a more varied repertoire, including a register that was supra-local, i.e. not geographically situated or constrained and socio-linguistically more prestigious due to its (partial) parity with Standard Greek, the ‘H’ variety in Cyprus’s diglossic context” (Tsiplakou & al. 2016: 11, on diglossia in Cyprus see Arvaniti 2010; Hadjioannou & al. 2011; Papapavlou 1998; Rowe & Grohmann 2013; Tsiplakou 2011); in other words, geographical and socio-linguistic variation were both at play, and variants from the same pool may well have functioned as indices of both geographical provenance of the speaker and of sociolinguistic status (cf. the implicit identification between geographically and sociolinguistically ‘basilectal’).

This situation has now changed drastically, as levelling of extant local sub-varieties or of marked, basilectal features thereof, has taken place or is still ongoing; the process has been expedited by the war of 1974 and the subsequent *de facto* division of the island; the main reasons (as put forward in Tsiplakou & al. 2016) arguably were

- (i) sudden dense contact among populations from different areas of the island, which must have induced speakers to shed identifiably local, basilectal variants for the purposes of mutual intelligibility;
- (ii) the building of new social networks;
- (iii) increased contact among social groups, social mobility, internal migration to urban centres;
- (iv) increased literacy in Standard Greek, the ‘H’ variety (Tsiplakou & al. 2016: 11; see also Hadjioannou & al. 2011; Ioannidou 2012; Terkourafi 2005; Tsiplakou 2017).

To provide but one example of the structural and sociolinguistic factors affecting levelling, Tsiplakou & Kontogiorgi (2016) examined the processes of levelling of four marked basilectal variants in Kokkinohoria, the so-called ‘Red Villages’ of the Larnaca and Famagusta districts in south-eastern Cyprus. There were 45 participants in the study, 21 women and 24 men (average age: 39). The variants, whose distribution was examined by means of a word elicitation tool, were the palatoalveolar [ʃ] vs. the palatal [ç] before the front vowels [i] and [e], e.g. [ˈtrefi] vs. [ˈtreçi] ‘runs’, the choice of [θ] over [x]/[ç], e.g. [ˈθelo] vs. [ˈçelo] ‘I want’ or [θoˈro] vs. [xoˈro] ‘I see’, and the simplification vs. non-simplification of the consonant cluster resulting from the hardening of underlying /i/ to [k]/[c], e.g. /piˈos / > [pcos] or [c:os] ‘who’; the first variant in each of these pairs is the more prestigious, pancyriot one while the second one is the local/basilectal one.

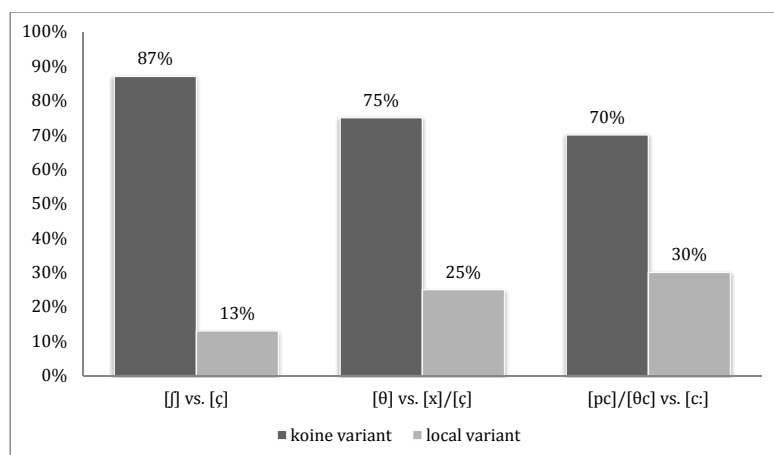


Figure 1: Levelling of [ç], [x] and [c:] in Kokkinohoria (adapted from Tsiplakou & Kontogiorgi 2016: 461)

As can be seen from Figure 1, the results point to massive levelling of the variants in question, which tend to be replaced by the pancypriot, koine forms. The analysis of extralinguistic factors affecting levelling showed that the innovation (convergence towards the koine) was led by younger educated, middle-class women (a case of ‘change from above’; cf. Labov 2001).

3.2 Koineization

As was already mentioned, in recent research a strong claim has been put forward for the emergence of a Cypriot Greek koine (Tsiplakou & al. 2006, 2016). On the sociolinguistic side, the argument has been made that the koine is by now a (c)overt prestige variety (Rowe & Grohmann 2013). One of the reasons why prestige is accruing to the koine may be the fact that *koine* is (perceived as) a hybrid, structurally mixed variety, due to prolonged and dense contact with Standard Greek (Tsiplakou 2014a, b). The nature of the mix is such that it allows for both local and standard-like features to co-occur in a form of a socio-linguistically driven ‘compromise’ that allows for the survival and the visibility of both (Tsiplakou 2014b: 164). Arguably the koine is ‘mixed’ enough and pancypriot enough to carry (overt) prestige and thus to act as a robust buffer against full convergence with Standard Greek (Rowe & Grohmann 2013; Tsiplakou 2014a, b). Below we provide examples of such structural mixing:

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| (19) | 'ep ^h :eften | i 'ora e'fta |
| | fall.PAST.IMPF.3S | o'clock seven |
| | ci e'ksipnan | i ora 'tes:eris |
| | and wake.PAST.IMPF.3S | o'clock four |

tʃ e'lalen ka'fe
 and say.PAST.IMPF.3S coffee.ACC
 ‘He’d go to bed at seven o’clock and he’d wake up at four and say ‘coffee!’”
 (data from Tsiplakou & al. 2016: 11)

In (19) the speaker uses both the more standard-like variant [c] and the Cypriot variant [tʃ] in the same stretch of talk; the shift from the one to the other cannot be treated as code-switching, as the pragmatic purpose of such a switch is not easily discernible (Auer 1984; Tsiplakou 2009). Such data indicate that a hybrid phonological system may be emerging (see Figure 2 below).

Similar mixes occur in the syntax. Clitic placement is a case in point. In Standard Greek pronominal object clitics appear preverbally if the verb form has tense features, but postverbally if the verb form is an imperative or a gerund (which are only marked for aspect and agreement); in contrast, Cypriot Greek displays clitic-second/Wackernagel or, alternatively, Tobler-Mussafia effects (Chatzikyriakidis 2012; Mavrogiorgos 2013; Neokleous 2015):

(20)	CYPRIOT GREEK	STANDARD GREEK
a.	'iðes to saw.2S it.ACC.S “You saw it.”	to 'iðes it.ACC.S saw.2S
b.	pe mu tell.2S me.GEN.S “Tell me.”	pes mu tell.2S me.GEN.S
c.	ði' o ⁿ das to giving.it.ACC.S “giving it”	'ðinodas to giving it.ACC.S
d.	na to pis MOD it.ACC.S say.2S “You should say it.”	na to pis MOD it.ACC.S say.2S
e.	en to 'ipes NEG it.ACC.S said.2S “You didn’t say it.”	ðen to 'ipes NEG it.ACC.S said.2S
f.	'en:a to pis FUT it.ACC.S say.2S “You’ll say it.”	θa to pis FUT it.ACC.S say.2S
g.	'eθ:a to pis NEG FUT it.ACC.S tell.2S “You won’t say it.”	ðe θa to pis NEG FUT it.ACC.S say.2S

child language (see Grohmann 2014 for a summary of relevant research). The fact that preverbal clitics occur in otherwise Cypriot phonological and morphological environments suggests that exceptional clitic placement is becoming a part of the grammatical system of the koine, contributing to its hybrid character.

The innovative periphrastic perfect tenses are another classic case of morpho-syntactic and semantic hybridity. In (24) below the speaker uses an innovative periphrastic Past Perfect with the meaning of *remote past*, which is a well-established use in Standard Greek (Klairis, Babiniotis & al. 2005: 451–452). In non-koineised, non-hybrid Cypriot Greek Simple Past would have been used (Menardos 1925). The structure is couched in Cypriot phonetics (*'ifɛn* ‘had’ rather than the standard *'içe* ‘had’) and syntax (Cypriot clitic-second *'içe m.as ta 'priksi* rather than the standard, proclitic structure *mas ta içe 'priksi* ‘he had busted our balls’):

- (24) 'ixamen tʃin ton fi'loloçon
had.1P that.MASC.ACC the Greek teacher.MASC.ACC
- ton fa'sista
the fascist.MASC.ACC
- 'ifɛn mas ta 'priksi
had.3S us.CL.DAT them.CL.ACC swollen
- me tin e'oka
with the.ACC EOKA
- “We had this fascist Greek teacher; he had busted our balls about EOKA.”
(data from Tsiplakou & al. 2016: 11)

The example in (25) contains a typical case of a semantically hybrid innovative periphrastic Past Perfect. It is clear from the linguistic context that the Past Perfect does not mean *past in the past*, which is its most prototypical reading in Standard Greek; in contrast, it is used as a version of the Simple Past, with the added pragmatic function of highlighting a salient point in the narrative (Tsiplakou & al. [forthc.]).

- (25) e'kama m'u 'inth:ervju tʃe
do.PAST.3P me.CL.DAT interview and
- 'ixa tus ana'feri
have.PAST.1S them.CL.DAT mention.PERF
- tin 'erevnan pu 'ekama
the research.ACC that do.PAST.1S
- “They interviewed me, and I had mentioned (: mentioned) to them the research I did (: had done).”
(data from Tsiplakou & al. 2016: 15)

In recent research, based on data from a questionnaire survey, we show that the innovative periphrastic Past Perfect of the koine does indeed have hybrid semantics. Three questionnaires targeting innovative and non-innovative uses of the Past Perfect were administered to participants who were native speakers of Standard and Cypriot Greek; participants were asked for grammaticality judgements on readings such as *past in the past* or *remote past*, as well as on innovative uses of the Past Perfect such as the mid-sequence, focalizing one in (25). Native speakers of Standard Greek (n=83, 65 women και 18 men from 16 to 60 years old) responded to a questionnaire on Standard Greek (but not to the questionnaire on Cypriot Greek, as they are not native speakers of the dialect); a group of native speakers of Cypriot Greek (n=65, 47 women και 18 men from 22 to 67 years old) responded to the same questionnaire on Standard Greek while a different group of native speakers of Cypriot Greek (n=91, 65 women και 26 men from 16 to 72 years old) responded to a similar questionnaire on Cypriot Greek. The Cypriot Greek participants were split in two groups to avoid possible priming effects had they also responded to the questionnaire on Standard Greek or vice-versa. In Figure 2 below, the first column in each set of three shows the responses of Cypriot Greek speakers on the use of the innovative, mid-sequence Past Perfect in Cypriot Greek, the second column shows the responses of Cypriot Greek speakers on the use of the Past Perfect in Standard Greek and the third column shows the responses of Standard Greek speakers on the use of the Past Perfect in Standard Greek (see Tsiplakou & al. [forthc.] for details).

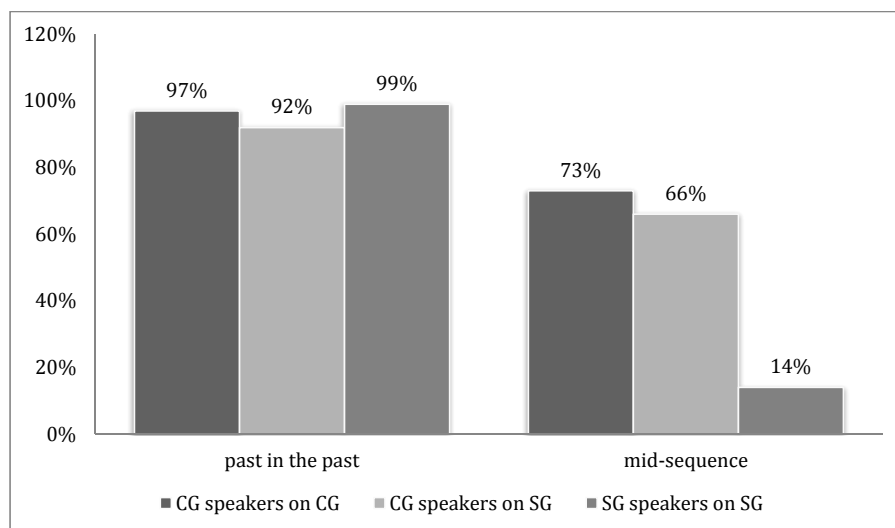


Figure 2: Functions of the Past Perfect in Standard Greek and in the Cypriot Greek koine (adapted from Tsiplakou & al. forthc).

While Cypriot Greek speakers accept the *past-in-the-past* reading to an equal extent for Standard and Cypriot Greek, reacting very similarly to the Standard Greek speakers in the sample, they also find grammatical the innovative, ‘mid-sequence’, focalizing Past Perfect as illustrated in (25), which speakers of Standard Greek accept to a significantly lesser extent. These results indicate that the semantics of the innovative Past Perfect of the Cypriot Greek koine are indeed hybrid, as the tense has partly standard-like features (*past-in-the-past*) and partly innovative Cypriot ones (the focalizing function).

In Figure 3 below we present rates of occurrence of particular variants in oral data, which bring together aspects of structural innovation in the koine. In Tsiplakou & al. 2016, data were collected from sociolinguistic interviews with 57 participants, 28 women και 29 men from 26 to 90 years old. The study focused on the analysis of rates of occurrence of phonological, syntactic and morphosyntactic/semantic variants which have already been mentioned in this paper: (i) standard-like phonetic variants vs. Cypriot ones (standard-like palatal [ç] and [ç̣] vs. Cypriot palatoalveolar [tʃ] and [ʃ]), (ii) standard-like exceptional clitic placement vs. enclisis and (iii) standard-like periphrastic Present and Past Perfect vs. Simple Past:

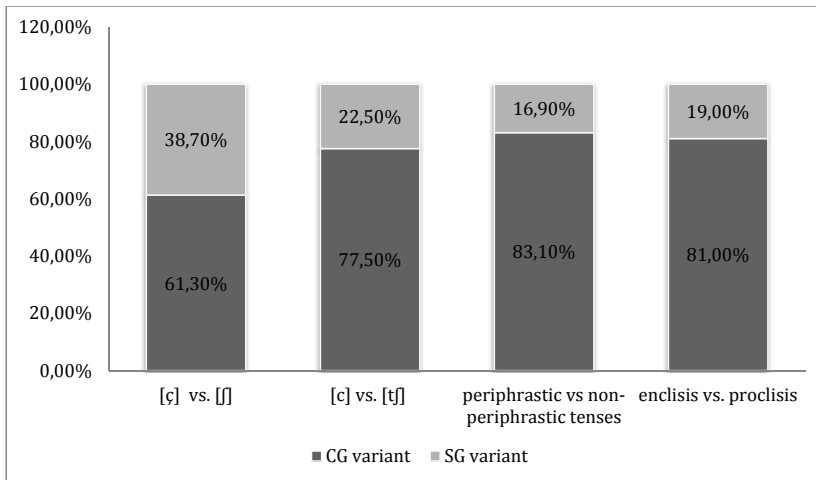


Figure 3: Structural innovation in the Cypriot Greek koine: palatals, proclisis, periphrastic tenses (Tsiplakou & al. 2016: 17)

The data show that the koine is indeed structurally mixed on all levels: standard-like variants (palatals, proclisis, periphrastic tenses) occur spontaneously in oral production, giving the koine its hybrid, mixed flavour, which may in turn account for the prestige that is slowly but surely accruing to it (Rowe & Grohmann 2013; Tsiplakou 2011).

4 Conclusions

This paper examined processes of koineization in Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish, the two major linguistic varieties of Cyprus. We examined phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical data collected from a host of sources and with various methodological tools and the argument was made that despite the linguistic difference and the separation of the two communities, developments which may be treated as parallel are taking place: levelling of local Greek and Turkish sub-varieties goes hand-in-hand with the emergence of a Cypriot Greek and a Cypriot Turkish koine, which stand in a diglossic relationship with the respective standard languages. In both cases, koineization does not mean full convergence to the respective standard varieties; rather, both koinai appear to be structurally mixed or hybrid varieties, having adopted features of the standard languages but also preserving local ones and displaying novel, hybrid structures. Salient aspects of the structural properties of the two koinai were described and an analysis was attempted of the role of structural constraints and sociolinguistic considerations in the shaping of the two varieties.

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