MEDITERRANEAN LANGUAGE REVIEW

edited by
Matthias Kappler, Werner Arnold,
Till Stellino and Christian Voß

with the editorial assistance of
Ingeborg Hauenschild

22 (2015)

The MEDITERRANEAN LANGUAGE REVIEW is an interdisciplinary peer-reviewed forum for the investigation of language and culture in the Mediterranean, South-Eastern Europe and the Black Sea region. The editors of this periodical welcome articles, reviews, review articles and bibliographical surveys in English, French, German, Italian and Spanish relating to the following aspects of Mediterranean languages, past and present:

– linguistic contact and diffusion in the Mediterranean and Black Sea area, its hinterland and the Balkan Peninsula;
– interaction of language and culture in the region; cases studies of linguistic relativity; culturally determined language behaviour;
– sociolinguistic aspects: dialectology, language policy, koiné and levelling, sociolects, diglossia and bilingualism;
– the historical evolution and present state of languages spoken by small nations and ethnic minorities (e. g. Berber, Albanian in Italy and Greece, Neo-Aramaic, Judeo-Arabic, Judezmo, the languages of Gypsies, etc.); language problems endemic to small speaker communities in the region; ethnolinguistic research on Bedouin;
– religion and language: confessional affiliation and language use; liturgical languages;
– ethnolinguistic studies on island communities in the Mediterranean (Corsica, Sardinia, Cyprus, Malta, the Greek islands, etc.); linguistic obsolescence;
– linguistic stratification: areal typology and the languages of the Mediterranean and Black Sea littoral and of South-Eastern Europe; substratal phenomena;
– interlinguas: Kultursprachen of the Mediterranean (Greek, Latin, Italian, Arabic, etc.); the lexical impact of globalisation; Mediterranean Lingua Franca; maritime linguistics; lexical convergence; relics of colonial and maritime English, e. g. in Maltese, Egyptian Arabic, Cypriot Greek, etc.; marginal language;
– approaches to Mediterranean lexicology (Wörter und Sachen); ethnolinguistic studies of traditional professions; the levelling linguistic impact of globalisation.

Contents

Is There a Common Cypriot Subjunctive?

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

1   Preamble

The aim of this paper is to discuss similarities between the Cypriot Turkish and the Cypriot Greek subjunctive/optative paradigm(s), to account for these similarities in terms of a theory of language contact, and to suggest an explanation for the similarities in the paradigms of the two dialects that can also account for the points of divergence from the respective standard languages. Modal complement clauses in Turkic languages are usually nominal infinitive constructions or, in very restricted instances, adverbial clauses of purpose with imperative-optative, while in some Turkic languages (Gagauz, some Azeri and Uzbek dialects, Karaim), as well as in several Turkish dialects (Balkan Turkish, Eastern Anatolian Turkish) the imperative-voluntative and the second person singular & plural optative are used in non-matrix clauses, following models of non-Turkic languages with which they are in contact. Cypriot Turkish is a Turkish variety which displays very regular use of this mixed paradigm to express various types of modality in complement clauses with a broad range of matrix verbs and nominal predicates as well as in some temporal clauses; moreover the paradigm is used for optative constructions in matrix clauses, as in Standard Turkish. Through contrastive analysis of these particular semantic and syntactic properties of the Cypriot Turkish subjunctive in comparison with the corresponding Cypriot Greek structures, the paper aims to show that Turkish Cypriot, like other Turkic varieties under strong syntactic influence from Indo-European languages, has developed the subjunctive possibly through influence from Cypriot Greek, rather than from Standard Greek, where the use of the subjunctive is more restricted. The paper further discusses the various types of modality associated with the Cypriot Turkish 'subjunctive' and their Greek Cypriot parallels.

2   The subjunctive-optative paradigm

It is generally accepted that the morphological paradigm *(y)AyIm, y)AsIn, sIn / (y)AlIm, (y)AsInIz, sInlAr* consists of the old optative forms in the second person singular and plural and the imperative forms in the first and third persons (or, adopting a different terminology, voluntative-volitive in the first persons and imperative in the third persons[1]).

---

[1]   For a formal discussion of the first singular and plural forms see Ercilasun 1995; the term voluntative-volitive is preferred in diachronic analyses, e.g. Adamović 1985.

(1) Oturdum [ki bir dakika dinleneyim]
     'I sat down so that I might rest a minute.'
     [Lewis 1967: 264]

(2) Çantamı dolaba koydum [ki kimse almasın (diye)]
     'I've put my bag in the cupboard, so that no one will take it.'
     [Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 464]

(3) Pencereyi aç, [oda havalansın]
     'Open the window, so that the room may air.'
     [Lewis 1967: 264]

(4) [Ödevlerinizi kolayca yazasınız diye] bu açıklamayı yapıyorum
     'I am giving you this explanation so that you can do your homework more
     easily.'
     [Gencan 1975: 266]

(5) a. [bu kitab-ı oku-yasın] isti-yor-um
         this book.ACC read.OPT.2S want.PR.PROGR.1S
         'I want that you should read this book.'
         [Kornfilt 1997: 373]

     b. [bu kitab-ı oku-ma-n-ı] isti-yor-um
         this book.ACC read.VN.POSS2S.ACC want.PR.PROGR.1S
         'I want for you to read this book.'
         [Kornfilt 1997: 373]

(6) a. İsteniyormuş [ki birer birer girelim]
         'Apparently what they want is for us to go in one by one.'
         [Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 411]

(7) b. [Birer birer girelim] isteniyormuş
         'Apparently they want us to go in one by one.'
         [Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 407]

Grammarians usually term this mixed paradigm 'optative' (Kornfilt 1997, Göksel &
Kerslake 2005) or 'istek kipi' (Gencan 1975, Ergin 2000), although from a diachro-
nic point of view this is not correct, since only two forms, the second person sin-
gular and the second person plural, are true/genuine historical optative forms, which,
furthermore, are used in very restricted ways in Standard Modern Turkish (hence-
forth SMT) and are becoming obsolete. Interestingly, Lewis (1967) calls the para-
digm 'subjunctive', a term which is usually absent from descriptive grammars of
Turkish and, more generally, of Turkic languages, because of the nominalized
structure of embedded clauses in Turkic; in contrast, in Indo-European languages the
subjunctive occurs mostly in subordinate clauses, although matrix clauses with
subjunctive (or optative) marking, are also frequent. On the other hand, SMT does
use the paradigm we are examining in subordinate clauses of purpose (with or

without the complementizer *ki* (Lewis 1967: 264, Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 464), as well as in adverbial phrases of purpose, where the optative-subjunctive form is usually followed by the subordinator *diye* (Gencan 1975: 266). Apart from purpose clauses, SMT partly also uses the subjunctive-optative in embedded clauses when the matrix verb is *iste-* 'want' (Kornfilt 1997: 373, Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 407, 411).[2]

2.1 *The subjunctive-optative paradigm in Turkic varieties*

While in SMT these restricted instances are usually characterized as colloquial and/or literary/obsolete, other varieties of South Western Turkic use the subjunctive-optative paradigm extensively in clauses expressing purpose as well as in complements of *iste-*, with two basic points of syntactic divergence from SMT: (i) these varieties have right-branching structures without a conjunction and (ii) co-reference between the matrix and the embedded subject is possible. In (8)–(10) below we provide examples from Gagauz, Azeri and Cypriot Turkish[3]:

(8) isterim öleyim ama dir diri
     want.PRES.1S die.OPT.1S but say.PRES.3S alive
     mezara girilmir
     tomb.DAT enter.PASS.NEG.PRES.3S
     'I want to die, but, he says, one can not enter the tomb alive.'
     [Menz 1999: 50]

(9) istir öldürä
     want.PRES.3S kill.OPT.3S
     '(S)he wants to kill.'
     [Johanson 1992: 263]

(10) istersiŋiz ölesiŋiz?
     want.PRES.2P die.OPT.2P
     'Do you want to die?'

Similar structures can be found in Rhodian Turkish (Kaili, Çeltek & Georgalidou 2012). It is generally accepted that these structures are contact-induced phenomena[4] due to the extensive language contact between the Turkic varieties in question and Indo-European languages of the Balkan Sprachbund (and Kurdish or Persian in the case of Eastern Anatolian Turkish and Azeri), where infinitive constructions have

---

2 Kornfilt (1997: 372) notes that such forms are 'rare instances'; apart from Lewis (1967), Kornfilt is the only grammarian who uses the term 'subjunctive', albeit only for such cases and together with the term 'optative'.
3 Cf. examples in Demir 2002.
4 Demir 2002 does not examine the impact of language contact specifically for CT, while for Gagauz it is amply documented in Menz 1999.

been replaced with what are traditionally called 'subjunctive' forms, also known as 'Balkan infinitives' (cf. Rivero & Terzi 1995).

This paper attempts to show not only that Cypriot Turkish (henceforth CT) 'subjunctive' forms are contact-induced copies, but, crucially, that the subjunctive structures in CT are the result of a local development through contact with Cypriot Greek (henceforth CG) rather than Standard Greek; that the 'common Cypriot subjunctive' is a local development is evidenced by the availability of Cypriot-specific morphological variants of the optative-subjunctive which are non-existent in SMT and Standard Modern Greek (henceforth SMG).

3   The subjunctive in Greek

The term 'subjunctive' is variously used in grammars of Modern Greek (cf. Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warburton 1997) as a cover term for two arguably distinct phenomena:

(i) The morphology of the verb in complement clauses introduced by *na* 'to', which is analyzed either as a complementizer (Agouraki 1991) or as an 'infinitivizer'/ modality marker (Giannakidou 2009, Philippaki-Warburton 1994, 1998, Philippaki & Spyropoulos 2004, Roussou 2000, Tsoulas 1993). As can be seen from the data in (11) and (12), the embedded verb has quasi-infinitival properties, in that it is morphologically marked for perfective or imperfective aspect, it is morphologically marked for subject agreement, but it is *not* morphologically marked for tense.

(11)   arçizo/arçisa na ɣrafo/ɣrapso
      begin.PRES.1S/begin.PAST.1S to write.IMPF.1S/write.PERF.1S
      'I begin/began writing/to write.'

(12)   *arçizo/arçisa na eɣrafa/eɣrapsa
      begin.PRES.1S/begin.PAST.1S to write.PAST.IMPF.1S/write.PAST.
      PERF.1S

(ii) The second type of 'subjunctive' is morphologically marked for *both* aspect and tense [cf. (13a) and (13b)]; it can occur in both matrix and embedded clauses [cf. (14)]; crucially, it expresses various kinds of modality [deontic or epistemic, cf. (13)]; naturally, it is also used to express non-factivity or contra-factivity in conditionals [cf. (15)]; (13a) and (14) indicate that this type of subjunctive also encodes optative (which is morphologically unavailable in Modern Greek):

(13)   a.   na linotan to cipriako!
          to solve.PASS.PAST.IMPF.3S the.NOM Cypriot.NOM
          'If only the Cyprus problem could be resolved!'

       b.   na liθice to cipriako?
          to solve.PASS.PAST.PERF.3S the.NOM Cypriot.NOM
          'Was the Cyprus problem resolved, I wonder?'

(14) θa iθela na linotan to cipriako
      MOD like.PAST.IMPF.1S to solve.PASS.PAST.IMPF.3S the.NOM Cypriot.
      NOM
      'I would like for the Cyprus problem to be resolved.'

(15) na/an linotan to cipriako,
      to/if solve.PASS.PAST.IMPF.3S the.NOM Cypriot.NOM
      θa kaname parti
      MOD do.PAST.IMPF.2P party.ACC
      'If the Cyprus problem were resolved, we'd have a party.'

3.1   *The subjunctive in Cypriot Greek*

The CG subjunctive is mostly identical to that of SMG, with two major differences: (i) as noted in the section above, in SMG the quasi-infinitival embedded 'subjunctive' obeys the major constraint that the embedded verb be untensed. CG does not obey this restriction (although it must be noted that there is some variation in speaker judgements as to the acceptability of the tensed forms):

(16) pu imun mitʃa eprospaθun
      when was.1S little.FEM.NOM try.PAST.IMPF.1S
      na epien:a sxolio
      to go.PAST.IMPF.1S school.ACC
      'When I was a little girl, I would try to go to school.'

This type of embedded past tense subjunctive is not available in SMG, as is indicated by the ungrammaticality of (17a) [unless the matrix verb is also modalized, as in (14a) above].

(17) a. *otan imun mikri prospaθusa
          when was.1S little.FEM.NOM try.PAST.IMPF.1S
          na pijena sxolio
          to go.PAST.IMPF.1S school.ACC

      b. otan imun mikri prospaθusa
          when was.1S little.FEM.NOM try.PAST.IMPF.1S
          na pijeno sxolio
          to go.1S school.ACC

Crucially, both CG and SMG display an identical restriction, namely that the embedded past tense subjunctive (which is only allowed with modalized verbs in SMG but does not require embedding under a modalized matrix verb in CG) cannot have perfective aspect (even when the matrix verb does):

Standard Modern Greek

(18) a. *θa prospaθusa na piɣa sxolio
          MOD try.PAST.IMPF.1S to go.PAST.PERF.1S school.ACC
          'I would try to go to school.'

b. *θa prospaθisa na piγa sxolio
MOD try.PAST.PERF.1S to go.PAST.PERF.1S school.ACC

Cypriot Greek

(18) c. *eprospaθun na epia sxolio
try.PAST.IMPF.1S to go.PAST.PERF.1S school.ACC
'I would try to go to school.'

d. *eprospaθisa na epia sxolio
try.PAST.PERF.1S to go.PAST.PERF.1S school.ACC
'I tried to go to school.'

(ii) CG subjunctive forms denoting optative and various other types of modality as well as future and conditional non-factive and contra-factive/*irrealis* forms are morphologically distinct from their SMG equivalents in that they contain a reduced form of the copula, namely the present or past tense third person singular (or plural) copula or, alternatively, the past third person singular of the verb *exo* 'have' (in reality an existential):

Standard Greek

(19) θa erθo/erxomun
FUT come.PERF.1S/come.PAST.IMPF.1S
'I will/would come.'

Cypriot Greek

(20) en/itan/iʃen
is.PRES.3S/was.PAST.3S/had.PAST.3S
na rto/rkumun
to come.PERF.1S/come.PAST.IMPF.1S
'I will/would come.'

It is clear, then, that CG has at its disposal a larger array of morphological options for marking the subjunctive-optative and its functions; it should be noted that the reduced copular forms are also quite widespread in CG, as they also surface in *wh*-questions and focus clefts (Grohmann, Panagiotidis & Tsiplakou 2006).[5]

4   The subjunctive in Cypriot Turkish

In CT the optative-subjunctive is far more productive than in SMT; in CT embedded clauses the optative-subjunctive forms appear in all persons and numbers, as well as with all kinds of matrix verbs, unlike in SMT, where their use is highly restricted (cf. section 2 above):

---

5   The analysis of focus clefts and *wh*-questions in Grohmann, Panagiotidis & Tsiplakou (2006) pinpoints the similarities between the Cypriot Greek reduced copula and its equivalent in similar structures in Romance, especially French.

A. Complements of *iste-* with or without obligatory subject co-reference (cf. also example (3) above)

(21) istedi söylemeyelim genne
       want.PAST.3S say.NEG.SUBJ.1P (s)he.DAT
       '(S)he wanted us not to tell her/him.'

B. Other clauses without subject co-reference

(22) sanmam ders versin Üniversitede
       think.NEG.PRES.1S class give.SUBJ.3S University.LOC
       'I don't think (s)he teaches at the University.'

(23) hiç değmez böyle yapasıŋ
       at all is worth.NEG.PRES.3S like this do.SUBJ.2S
       'There is no point you doing this.'

(24) beş dakika galdı filim başlasın
       five minute remain.PAST.3S film begin.SUBJ.3S
       'There are five minutes left before the film begins.'

(25) burakmadıŋ beni alayım genni
       let.NEG.PAST.2S me.ACC take.SUBJ.1S (s)he.ACC
       'You didn't let me take her/him.'

(26) bir türlü varmadı elim alayım yeni bir tabak
       at all reach.NEG.PAST.3S hand.POSS.1S buy.SUBJ.1S new a plate
       'I really couldn't manage to buy a new plate.'

C. Other clauses with subject co-reference

(27) unutdum garajı gapadayım
       forget.PAST.1S garage.ACC close.SUBJ.1S
       'I forgot to close the garage.'

(28) denedim makyaj yapayım
       try.PAST.1S make-up do.SUBJ.1S
       'I tried to put make-up on.'

(29) gorkarım alayım
       fear.PRES.1S take.SUBJ.1S
       'I am afraid to take (it).'

D. Clauses embedded in a nominal matrix

(30) yok yapmasın daha iyi(yidi)
       not do.NEG.SUBJ.3S better(PAST.COP)
       'It is (would be) better if he doesn't (didn't) do it.'

(31) hakkıŋ yok(tu) gonuşasıŋ
      right.POSS.2S not(PAST.COP) talk.SUBJ.2S
      'You have (had) no right to talk.'

4.1 *Restrictions on aspect and tense*

Things get slightly more complicated when we look at aspect and tense. A sentence such as (32) [(25) above]

(32) burakmadıŋ beni alayımıdı genni
      let.NEG.PAST.2S me.ACC take.SUBJ.1S.COP (s)he.ACC
      'You didn't let me take her/him.'

is also possible with the matrix verb in the past imperfect, but it is ungrammatical with the embedded verb in the past subjunctive:

(33) burakmazdıŋ beni alayımıdı genni
      let.NEG.IMPF.2S me.ACC take.SUBJ.1S.COP (s)he.ACC

(34) *burakmadıŋ beni alaydım genni
       let.NEG.PAST.2S me.ACC take.SUBJ.PAST.1S (s)he.ACC

However, structures like (34) become grammatical when the matrix verb has imperfective aspect:

(35) burakmazdıŋ beni alaydım genni
      let.NEG.IMPF.2S me.ACC take.SUBJ.PAST.1S (s)he.ACC

Note that imperfective aspect in the matrix verb allows for the use of the past subjunctive, while the perfective past does not allow *(y)AydI*; however, the aspect and tense of the matrix verb do not restrict the use of the *IdI/(y)dI* copula.

4.2 *The 'copula'* IdI/(y)dI *as an intensifier*

To complicate matters even further, CT displays an interesting morphological option, namely the affixation of an undeclinable copula *IdI* or *(y)dI* to the subjunctive forms; this type of affixation appears to be unconstrained:

(36) istedi söylemeyelimidi genne
      want.PAST.3S say.NEG.SUBJ.1P.COP (s)he.DAT
      '(S)he really wanted us to tell her.'

(37) söyledim gene gelsindi,
      tell.PAST.1S (s)he.DAT come.SUBJ.3S.COP
      da gelmedi
      but come.NEG.PAST.3S
      'I persistently told her/him to come, but (s)he didn't.'

(38) sanmam ders versindi Üniversitede
      think.NEG.PRES.1S class give.SUBJ.3S.COP University.LOC
      'I definitely don't think she teaches at the University.'

(39) hiç değmez böyle yapasıŋdı
      at all is worth.NEG.PRES.3S like this do.SUBJ.2S.COP
      'There is absolutely no point you doing this.'

(40) gorkarım alayımdı
      fear.PRES.1S take.SUBJ.1S.COP
      'I am very much afraid to take it.'

(41) bilmezdi sürsündü
      know.NEG.IMPF.3S drive.SUBJ.3S.COP
      'She didn't know at all how to drive.'

(42) yok yapmasındı daha iyiyidi
      not do.NEG.SUBJ.3S.COP better.PAST.COP
      'It is (would be) definitely better if he doesn't (didn't) do it.'

(43) hakkıŋ yok gonuşasıŋdı
      right.POSS.2S not talk.SUBJ.2S.COP
      'You have absolutely no right to talk.'

Although the *IdI/(y)dI* copula seems to be morphologically marked for past tense, it does not have any specific tense reference: (43) can mean either 'you have no right to talk (in the past)' or 'you have no right to talk (now or in the future)'. As can be seen from the translations, the copula seems to serve as an 'intensifier' of the matrix verb, i.e. as some kind of 'speaker attitude' marker.

   It should also be noted that, although the paradigm does not exist in SMT, a similar copula can be added to 3S imperative forms (which are identical to the third person optative-subjunctive forms in CT), though they are felt to be obsolete or fossilized in contemporary SMT:

(44) onun gizli fikirlerini halk ne bilsindi?
      'How should the common people know his secret thoughts?'
      [Lewis 1967: 138]

Lewis does not explain the exact semantics of the form; Tietze (1962: 341ff.) characterizes the form as "erlebte Rede". Lewis also mentions the possibility of affixation of unstressed *dI* to second person plural imperative forms,

(45) a. dúrundu
          'hey, stop!'

      b. bákındı
          'hey, look here!'
          [Lewis 1967: 138]

where the translation indicates that the copula has an intensifying function similar to that of the CT copula. These (obsolete) standard forms are restricted morphologically and pragmatically, whereas the CT copula is highly productive.

Evidence in favor of the hypothesis that *IdI/(y)dI* is an intensifier comes from examples such as (46) [(26) above], where the intensifying adverb *bir türlü* is felt to be redundant when *IdI/(y)dI* is affixed:

(46) *bir türlü varmadı elim alayımıdı yeni bir tabak

Further evidence that the *IdI/(y)dI* copula is untensed comes from its use in matrix clauses: like SMG and CG, CT uses the full optative-subjunctive paradigm in matrix clauses expressing wish:

(47) a. gelesiŋ! (CT)
     b. na rtis! (CG)
     c. *gelesin! (SMT)
     d. na rθis! (SMG)
        'May you come!'
     e. gelsin!
        come.IMP.3S
        'May (s)he come!'

As can be seen from (47e), SMT uses only the so-called imperative forms in the third person singular and plural.

Now, the equivalent structures in the past tense subjunctive are non-factive or contra-factive:

(48) a. {keşke} geleydiŋ! (CT)
     b. {makari} na erkesun! (CG)
     c. {keşke} geleydin! (SMT)
     d. {makari} na erxosun! (SMG)
        'If only you came!'

As would be expected, CT also allows the *IdI/(y)dI* 'copula' in structures such as (47a):

(49) gelesiŋdi!

Interestingly, though, it also allows the 'copula' after the past subjunctive (though not in embedded clauses):

(50) geleydiŋdi!

The semantics of (49) and (50) are identical, i.e. the structures can be interpreted either as non-factive or as contra-factive. Such data provide further evidence to the effect that CT *IdI/(y)dI* is something other than a tense marker.

5   Towards an analysis

5.1 *Summary of the data*

To provide a broad summary of the data, both CT and CG use the subjunctive more productively than SMT or SMG; a major difference between SMT and CT is that the latter allows for co-reference between the subject of the matrix and the embedded clause; in CT the structure is usually right-branching. Moreover, the semantics of the subjunctive in the two dialects are quite similar: the subjunctive is used to encode epistemic modality, namely non-factivity or contra-factivity, and for the expression of types of deontic modality (wishes, requests etc., hence subjunctive-optative), which, following standard semantic assumptions, could be seen as deriving from non-factivity by implicature. In both dialects the subjunctive morphology is different from that in the standard languages: in CG the subjunctive may follow the third person present or past tense of *be* or *have*, i.e. *en/itan* (or *iʃen*); in CT the subjunctive may combine with *IdI/(y)dI* (morphologically also a past tense copula). There are, however, differences in the semantics of the respective 'copulae': CT *IdI/(y)dI* is an 'intensifier'/a speaker attitude marker of some kind, while CG *en/itan/iʃen* are mood/tense markers.

That structural copying as a result of language contact has been at work is obvious (cf. Kappler 2008, Gulle 2011). Moreover, it is obvious that the dialects have influenced one another, rather than each being influenced by the (respective) standard languages, a fact that also makes sense in the Cypriot historical and cultural context.

There are however several questions remaining: why does CT use an intensifier with a non-factive or contra-factive subjunctive? What does the intensifier 'intensify'? Can intensifier *IdI/(y)dI* be treated as a copy of the CG copula despite the fact that the CG copula does not have an 'intensifying' function?

5.2   *The expression of epistemic modality and speaker attitude/illocutionary force*

5.2.1 Constraints on the distribution of the past tense subjunctive
        in the two dialects

We start off with the basic assumption that CT has been influenced by the extensive use of the subjunctive in Greek to express different types of epistemic and deontic modality. The use of the subjunctive (i.e. a generic non-factive modality) to express possibility, wish and obligation alongside epistemic modality is a well-known phenomenon in Indo-European (and other) languages; the distinction between the various modalities can be a matter of illocutionary force rather than of lexicalization/grammaticalization, i.e. the deontic interpretation arises by implicature. That contra-factivity is/may be expressed by the past tense of the subjunctive on a par with the optative is also a well-known phenomenon, relating to the modal nature of tense. The past tense may encode epistemic modality, given that it refers to a non-actual/

remote state of the world. The contra-factivity encoded by the past tense subjunctive is thus a case of modalized remote possibility (see, e.g., Lyons 1977: 819).

Now, the SMG/CG past tense subjunctive can be either non-factive or contra-factive, the latter being the preferred option but the actual interpretation arising as a result of inference in context; the same seems to hold of the CT past tense subjunctive, albeit with a preference for the contra-factive interpretation.

As was shown in section 3 above, SMG displays the following constraints on embedded past tense subjunctive:

(i) it allows for past tense subjunctive when the matrix verb is modalized [cf. (14) above];

(ii) it allows only for *imperfective* past tense subjunctive in complement clauses [cf. (18a) and (18b) above].

CG differs from SMG in that it allows for a past tense subjunctive when the past tense matrix verb is not modalized [cf. (16) above]; however, CG displays the same restriction as SMG, namely that the embedded past tense subjunctive cannot have perfective aspect [cf. (18c) and (18d) above].

So the overall restriction seems to be that the embedded past tense subjunctive must have imperfective aspect, and that optimally the matrix verb must also have imperfective aspect. The situation is strongly reminiscent of the corresponding re–striction in CT, where despite there being no aspectual distinction in the past tense subjunctive, imperfective aspect on the matrix verb is a requirement for past tense subjunctive forms in the embedded verb [cf. (33) and (34) above, repeated here]:

(33) burakmazdıŋ beni alayımıdı genni
      let.NEG.IMPF.2S me.ACC take.SUBJ.1S.COP (s)he.ACC
      'You didn't let me take her/him.'

(34) *burakmadıŋ beni alaydım genni
   let.NEG.PAST.2S me.ACC take.SUBJ.PAST.1S (s)he.ACC

It could be argued that in both dialects perfective aspect is incompatible with non-factivity or contra-factivity; a possible explanation could be the fact that, in contrast to perfective aspect, which denotes a temporally delimited event structure, imperfective aspect allows an event to be viewed as 'open-ended', which allows for a non-factive or contra-factive reading of the subjunctive.

5.2.2 What is *IdI/(y)dI* and how does it relate to the CG 'copula'?

As was indicated earlier, CT *IdI/(y)dI* is an 'intensifier' of some sort. We also saw that CG can form the subjunctive with a reduced form of the present or past tense copula, or, alternatively, the past tense third person form of the verb *have* [cf. (20) above]. The question then arises whether intensifier *IdI/(y)dI* be treated as a copy of the CG copula despite the fact that the latter does not have an 'intensifying' function, but is an epistemic modality/tense marker.

The proposed analysis hinges on the distinction between modality and illocu-tionary force, or, alternatively, on the distinction between what is sometimes called *subjective* and *objective epistemic modalization* (Lyons 1977: 795 ff.; cf. also Aksu-Koç 2006, Bybee & Fleischman 1995, Kratzer 1991). The difference can be schema-tically represented as follows:

(51)
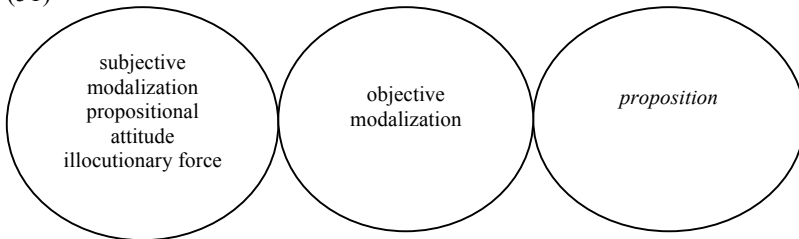
The idea is that epistemically modalized propositions are, or can be, modalized *subjectively* and *objectively*; *objective* modalization expresses the degree of factu-ality of the information given to the addressee, while *subjective* modalization ex-presses the level of speaker commitment (ranging from categorical commitment through reservations to outright disbelief) to the degree of factuality of the propo-sition (Lyons 1977: 797–800). The difference can be illustrated with the following example:

(52) Certainly he may have forgotten his keys.

In (52) the modal *may* expresses objective epistemic modalization, since it qualifies the degree of factuality of the proposition expressed; the adverb *certainly* expresses subjective epistemic modalization in that it qualifies the degree of speaker commit-ment to the level of factuality/possibility of the proposition expressed; in other words, it qualifies the "performative component of the utterance" (Lyons 1977: 808), giving it its particular illocutionary force.

Following Lyons (1977: 800) we can paraphrase the above distinction as follows:

(53) *I-say-that*   *it-is-the-case-that*   *P*
     [with a certain amount of conviction]   [with a certain degree of factivity]

This distinction between subjective and objective modalization may explain the distribution of CT *IdI/(y)dI* and its interprtation as an 'intensifier'. *IdI/(y)dI* can happily co-occur with a non-factive or contra-factive subjunctive despite its literal meaning, which implies 'factivity' or 'certainty', if we take *IdI/(y)dI* to be a *subjec-tive* epistemic modalizer expressing a high degree of speaker conviction about, or commitment to, the content of the utterance, (which may be further epistemically objectively modified as non-factive or contra-factive). The interpretation of *IdI/*

(y)dI as an 'intensifier' can then be readily explained if it is treated as a marker of illocutionary force or of speaker attitude towards what is being said.

It remains to be seen whether *IdI/(y)dI* is actually a copy from CG or a mere extension of the *IdI/(y)dI* forms found in the standard language. While the latter possibility cannot be discounted, the co-occurrence of *IdI/(y)dI* with the CT (or common Cypriot) subjunctive is evidence in favor of the 'copy' approach. The problem is that the reduced CG 'copula' *en/itan* and the past tense existential *iʃen* 'had' appear to be objective rather than subjective epistemic modalizers, as is indicated by the following examples,

(54) siura itan na rto
       certainly was.PAST.3S to come.PERF.1S
       'Certainly I would (have) come.'

(55) itan na rkumun miʃimu
       was.PAST.3S to come.PAST.IMPF.1S supposedly
       'I would (have) come, supposedly.'

where subjective epistemic modality is encoded in the adverbials *siura* 'certainly' and *miʃimu* 'supposedly', while objective epistemic modality is encoded by the subjunctive, which in these cases is morphologically composite, consisting as it does of the reduced copula, *na* 'to' and the tensed or untensed verb forms. However, *IdI/(y)dI* may have come to be used as a subjective epistemic modalizer/intensifier as a result of *syntactic/semantic reanalysis* of the CG 'copula'. Such reanalysis is certainly possible, given that:

(i) Modals are often ambiguous between subjective and objective epistemic modality. In a sentence such as *The copy theory may be correct*, the modal may qualify either the speaker's commitment to the factivity of the proposition or the degree of factivity of the proposition itself.

(ii) Not all CG subjunctive forms require the copulae; subjunctive forms such as *na rto* and *na rkumun* are possible without them. This makes it possible for the copula to be re-analyzed as somehow extraneous to the subjunctive proper.

(iii) Note also that structures such as

(56) as itan na rtis/rkesun
       let was.PAST.3S to come.PERF.2S/come.PAST.IMPF.2S
       'If only (it were the case that) you would come!'

are available in both Standard and Cypriot Greek, alongside structures such as

(57) na rtis/rkesun
       to come.PERF.2S/come.PAST.IMPF.2S
       'May you come!'

The structure containing the past tense copula expresses a more intense wish, and here the copula is arguably a subjective modalizer, on a par with *IdI/(y)dI*. The copy account thus gains further support if syntactic/semantic reanalysis of the CG copula based on the availability of such data is assumed.

6   Conclusions

In this paper we argued that the puzzling properties of the CT subjunctive can be accounted for if we assume structural copying as a result of language contact with Cypriot Greek; taking into consideration the differences in the morphosyntactic properties of the CG subjunctive to those of the corresponding SMG structure, we argued that the CT data can be accounted for as an instance of contact between the two local varieties of Cyprus rather than with the standard languages. We also showed that semantic reanalysis of *IdI/(y)dI* as an illocutionary force or subjective modality marker may account for its distribution in CT subjunctive structures and that the assumed reanalysis can be accounted for as contingent upon the surface similarity of *IdI/(y)dI* with corresponding copula-like structures in CG counter-factual structures with subjunctive.

References

Adamović, M. 1985. *Konjugationsgeschichte der türkischen Sprache*. Leiden.

Agouraki, G. 1991. A Modern Greek complementizer and its significance for Universal Grammar. *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics* 3: 1–24.

Aksu-Koç, A. 2006. *The Acquisition of Aspect and Modality: The Case of Past Reference in Turkish*. Cambridge.

Demir, N. 2002. "Wollen" im Zyperntürkischen. *Mediterranean Language Review* 14: 9–20.

Ercilasun, A. B. 1995. Türkçede Emir ve İstek Kipi Üzerinde. In: *Türk Gramerinin Sorunları Toplantısı, 22–23 Ekim 1993*. Ankara: 61–66.

Ergin, M. 2000. *Türk Dil Bilgisi*. İstanbul.

Gencan, T. N. 1975. *Dilbilgisi*. Ankara.

Giannakidou, A. 2009. The dependency of the subjunctive revisited: Temporal semantics and polarity. *Lingua* 119: 1883–1908.

Göksel, A. & Kerslake, C. 2005. *Turkish – A Comprehensive Grammar*. London.

Grohmann, K., Panagiotidis, Ph. & Tsiplakou, S. 2006. Some properties of wh-question formation in Cypriot Greek. In: Janse, M., Joseph, B. & Ralli, A. (eds.), *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Modern Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory*. Patras: 83–98.

Gulle, V. O. 2011. Structural borrowings in Cypriot Turkish from Cypriot Greek. *Mediterranean Language Review* 18: 91–113.

Holton, D., Mackridge, P. & Philippaki-Warburton, I. 1997. *Greek: a Comprehensive Grammar of the Modern Language*. London-New York.

Johanson, L. 1992. *Strukturelle Faktoren in türkischen Sprachkontakten*. Stuttgart.

Kaili, H., Çeltek, A., Georgalidou, M. 2012. Complement Clauses in the Turkish variety spoken by Greek-Turkish bilingual children on Rhodes, Greece. *Turkic Languages* 16: 106–120.

Kappler, M. 2008. Contact-induced effects in the syntax of Cypriot Turkish. *Turkic Languages* 12/2: 203–220.

Kornfilt, J. 1997. *Turkish*. London-New York.

Lewis, G. 1967. *Turkish Grammar*. Oxford.

Menz, A. 1999. *Gagausische Syntax. Eine Studie zum kontaktinduzierten Sprachwandel.* (Turcologica. 41.) Wiesbaden.

Philippaki-Warburton, I. 1994. The subjunctive mood and the syntactic status of the particle *na* in Modern Greek. *Folia Linguistica* 28: 297–328.

—. 1998. Functional categories and Modern Greek syntax. *The Linguistic Review* 15: 159–186.

Philippaki-Warburton, I. & Spyropoulos, V. 2004. A change of mood: The development of the Greek mood system. *Linguistics* 42: 791–817.

Rivero, M.-L. & Terzi, A. 1995. Imperatives, V-movement and logical mood. *Journal of Linguistics* 31: 310–332.

Roussou, A. 2000. On the left periphery: Modal particles and complementizers. *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 1: 65–94.

Tietze, A. 1962. Erlebte Rede im Türkischen**.** *Oriens* 15: 337–344.

Tsoulas, G. 1993. Remarks on the structure and interpretation of na-clauses. *Studies in Greek Linguistics* 14: 191–206.

Abbreviations

Languages:

CG	Cypriot Greek
CT	Cypriot Turkish
SMG	Standard Modern Greek
SMT	Standard Modern Turkish

Glosses:

ACC	accusative
COP	copula
DAT	dative
FEM	feminine
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfective
LOC	locative
MOD	modality marker
NOM	nominative
NEG	negative
OPT	optative
P	plural

PASS	passive
PAST	past
PERF	perfective
POSS	possessive
PRES	present
PR.PROGR	present progressive
S	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive
VN	verbal noun
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person