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*EXTRAIT*

**Transformations of Emotive Meaning  
in Modern Greek *Koine*.**

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## **Transformations of Emotive Meaning in Modern Greek *Koine*.**

1. In this paper I intend to deal with transformations serving to lexicalization or grammaticalization of affective elements as actualized in a number of cases in Modern Greek *Koine* (MGK). There is in MGK a series of derivation endings (suffixes), classes of compounds, special uses of different styles and lexicological units etc., which serve as indicators of an affective load (connotations, attitudes, etc.) and result in certain stylistic effects. In the following I will examine a number of cases out of them before arriving at some tentative conclusions.

### 2.0. Diminutives.

The nature of diminutives has been expressed with sufficient clearness in the words of the late professor M. TRIANTAPHYLIDIS (1963, 146 and 148) : „ The ancients left us definitions of diminutives but the concept of diminutive is not so clear and uniform as to be included in the few words that usually serve to define them. We could of course say in general that, in contrast with augmentatives, by the use of diminutives we „ diminish ” the primitive word, but in reality a great variety reveals itself. The diminution of the meaning of the primitive word can be more subjective or more objective, it can reside in the things themselves or in our personal estimation and disposition, when we see or find them charming and feel a sympathy for them or when on the contrary we despise them ; and again in that case the use of diminutives can concern the diminished word or the whole sentence... Because in order to form a right opinion on diminutives it is necessary to remember that we speak with a certain aim, i.e. to suggest, to beg, to flatter, to impose, to impart and to be imparted. Our weapon is our language with all small nuances it makes us a present of. We usually do not use diminutives in the dry formulation of scientific thoughts, in an official and dignified speech, in a matter-of-fact service understanding, but in our most personal and direct relations from man to man and from soul to soul, in the hearty and pre-eminently affective language that expresses not our ideas but our self with its inseparable emotional world ; and then it happens that in the same breath with diminutive words and meanings we express ourselves. ”

This points to the well known opposition between cognitive and emotive meaning and could enable us to form temporarily the following model for a transformation of the sentence /to mikró spíti pulípíke/ 'the little house has been sold' taken as an example :

## PS rules

- S → NP + VP (EM)                    EM = emotive meaning  
 VP → V  
 NP → T (A) + N  
 A → Adj. (Adj. and/or EM)  
 V → /pulípíke/ 'has been sold'  
 T → /to/ 'the'  
 N → /spíti/ 'house'  
 Adj. → /mikró/ 'little' + EM  
 EM → suprasegmental features, intonation

## TS rules

- SD → Adj. + EM - N  
 SC → X<sub>1</sub> - X<sub>2</sub> → # X<sub>2</sub> + {-áki} #

## P rules

- $$\# s + p + i + t + i + \{-áki\} \rightarrow \# s + p + i + t + á + k + i \#$$

Through this transform (ignoring matrices of distinctive features) we obtain the new sentence /to spitáki pulípíke/.

2.1. Diminutives in /-áki/ (or /-aráki/), an example of which we saw in 2.0, form one of the largest classes of diminutives and are very frequent in MGK. In contrast with nouns formed by the same suffix or having the same termination but lacking the function of diminutives, they do not form a genitive case (whose formation reveals sometimes a foreigner in his otherwise perfect Greek). We find e.g. /avláki/ 'ditch', /γeráki/ 'falcon', /dzáki/ 'hearth', /kapáki/ 'lid', /riáki/ 'brook', /sakáki/ 'coat' etc., all forming a genitive in /-iú/ vs. /γatáki/ 'kitten', /spitáki/ 'little house' etc. (cf. for further examples KOURMOULES, 1967) without genitive. Some nouns belonging to the former group seem to form with difficulty their genitive, considered unnatural (perhaps owing to their rare use in this case) but not impossible by the speakers, e.g. /badzáki/ 'leg of trousers', /koráki/ 'raven' and some others.

How are we to explain this absence of a genitive case for diminutives in /-áki/? They cannot be considered indeclinables, although linguists have noted forms like /tu peðáki/ 'of the child' (which could be the g. sg. of a noun in /-áki/ m., cf. TRIANTAPHYLLIDES, 1963, 151-2), for there is always a plural form, e.g. /ta peðákia/ 'the children'. The cause of this phenomenon has been sought in the irregularity of accentua-

tion (cf. TRIANTAPHYLLIDES, 1963, 152, and 150: 'the morphological element /-akiú/ conceals something incompatible with the declension system of our language'). In relation to 2.0 we can better say that diminutive endings lose their function when not supported by an immovable accent (cf. diminutive formations in: m. /-ákis/, /-ákos/, /-úlis/, /-arákos/, /-dzíkos/, /-ákas/, /-ókas/; f. /-ítsa/, /-fka/, /-opúla/, /-úða/, /-úla/ etc.), because otherwise they could be confused with nouns in /-áki/ of the first group. Diminutives in /-áki/ do not conform to the paradigmatic system of other nouns in /-áki/, because they correspond to Adj. + EM + N in deep structure. In order to form the genitive of such diminutives MGK seeks a solution in periphrasis, in synonyms, in transformations by transferring of diminutive endings etc. (cf. TRIANTAPHYLLIDES, 1963, 151), e.g. instead of \* /peðakiú/ we can say /mikrú kalú peðiú/, /mikrúliku peðiú/, etc. or instead of \* /ta aftiá tu peðakiú/ we find /ta aftákia tu peðiú/ 'the child's little ears'. This could be considered as one of the causes contributing to the formation of diminutive adjectives in /-útsikos/, /-úlis, -úla, -úliko/, /-ulós/, etc.

2.2. Other neuter diminutive endings present the same difficulties in the formation of a genitive, namely

2.21. /-éli/ (or /-aréli/). Cf. e.g. /ambéli/ 'vineyard', /bizéli/ 'a pea', /karvéli/ 'a loaf', /kuréli/ 'rag', /méli/ 'honey', /varéli/ 'cask', etc. forming a g.sg. in /-eliú/ vs. /kokinéli/ 'red wine', /moruðéli/ 'a tiny baby', /peðaréli/ 'a mite of a child', etc., diminutive formations from /kókino/ 'red', /moró/ 'baby', /peði/ 'child', etc. (doubtful: /tsiftetéli/ 'belly-dance', etc.).

2.22. /-úði/ (or /-arúði/). Cf. e.g. /lulúði/ 'flower', /mamúði/ 'small insect, grub', /traγúði/ 'song', /xnúði/ 'down', etc. forming a g.sg. in /-uðiú/ vs. /ksepetarúði/ 'bird beginning to fly' from /ksepetó/ 'to fly off', /mapitúði/ 'little schoolboy' from /mapítis/ 'schoolboy', /zúði/ 'living thing, creature', etc. without a genitive (doubtful: /angelúði/ 'little angel', /musúði/ 'little muzzle', etc.).

2.23. /-úli/. Cf. e.g. /karúli/ 'reel', /marúli/ 'lettuce', /meðúli/ 'marrow', /pezúli/ 'bench of stone', /sakúli/ 'sack', /xerúli/ 'handle', etc. forming a g.sg. in /-uliú/ vs. /kondúli/ 'little short one' from /kondó/ 'short', /kriftúli/ 'hide and seek' from /kriftó/ 'id. ; hidden', /nostimúli/ 'rather pretty' from /nóstimo/ 'pretty ; savory', /omorfúli/ 'rather beautiful' from /ómorfo/ 'beautiful', etc. lacking a genitive formation (doubtful: /túli/ 'tulle', etc.).

2.3. The same lack of a genitive case is found in a number of compounds or derivatives of compounds ending in /-áki/, /-eli/, /-úði/, /-úli/, e.g. /aγriómeli/ 'wild honey', /apofaγúði/ 'a leaving of a meal', /kondovráki/ 'a kind of breeches', /mavropúli/ 'starling', etc. (cf. 5.).

3. In opposition to the above-mentioned diminutives, augmentatives in MGK form a genitive case, because there is no need to displace accent

and by so doing confuse them with other classes of words as in 2.1, 2.2. This is a possible explanation to the absence of augmentative adjectives derived from adjectives (contrasting with the situation of diminutive adjectives, cf. 2.1). Compound adjectives of course could be used but they would correspond to a different deep structure.

Augmentative endings are (cf. TRIANTAPHYLIDIS, 1941, § 275-9): /-a/, /-os/, /-ára/, /-aros/, /-aklas/, /-úkla/, /-(ar)óna/, /-úra/, etc. Ex.: /varéla/ 'barrel' from /varéli/ 'cask', /mítos/ 'big nose' from /míti/ 'nose', /fonára/ 'loud voice' from /foní/ 'voice', /γátaros/ 'big cat' from /γáta/ 'cat', /ándraklas/ 'tall and corpulent man' from /ándras/ 'man', /poðarúkla/ 'big foot' (cf. 5.32), /spitaróna/ 'big house', /miðenikúra/ 'big zero' (ironically as a school mark), etc.

Intensives are formed by the following endings: /-ákas/, /-alás/, /-arás/, /-ás, -as/, /-úliakas/, e.g. /mepístakas/ 'drunkard, tippler', /kremandalás/ 'tall, hulking fellow', /ipnárás/ 'sleepyhead', /γλοςás/ 'prattler', /kefálas/ 'bigheaded', /kutúliakas/ 'completely foolish person', etc.

Other formations in /-ákias/, /-ás/, /-as/ etc., e.g. /γiálákias/ 'person bearing eye-glasses' (ironical) from /γiáliá/ 'eye-glasses', /kortákias/ 'male flirt, spoon' from /kórte/ 'flirt', /eksipnákias/ 'a sapient' from /éksipnos/ 'intelligent', /tixerákias/ 'a lucky dog, lucky-beggar' from /tixerós/ 'lucky', /γínekás/ 'worshipper of women, rake' from /γínéka/ 'woman', /saxlamáras/ 'twaddler, silly person' from /saxlamára/ 'nonsense', /fiγúras/ 'ostentacious, dashing person' from /fiγúra/ 'figure', etc.

All augmentatives have a function similar to that of diminutives, i.e. the expression of emotive meaning.

4.0. We find the same lack of a genitive formation in another (more or less coherent) group of derivative nouns, which comprises several subclasses showing the same functions (expression of affective connotations, emotional implications etc.). Cf. for instance the sentence /ðé þa ksexáso to tréksimo pu káname/ 'I won't forget how we ran', where any special emotional attitude can be expressed by suprasegmental features (intonation or accentuation, e.g. emphatic accentuation of the syllables /ðé/ and /tré-/ in our example), with the sentence /ðé þa ksexáso to treksíði pu káname/, where the same emotional elements are expressed by the noun in /-íði/ in a transformation of the first sentence. Supplementary suprasegmental features can be added to the transform sentence if more emphasis is desirable. Examples of such subclasses are given below:

4.1. Neuter frequentatives in /-íði/ (cf. TRIANTAPHYLIDIS, 1941, § 364-5, and HATZIDAKIS, 1934, 418-9). Cf. e.g. /ðaxtilíði/ 'ring', /ksíði/ 'vinegar', /peγníði/ 'play; toy', /psalíði/ 'scissors', /saníði/ 'board, plank', /stolíði/ 'ornament', /taksíði/ 'travel, trip', etc., forming a



g.sg. in /-iðíú/ vs. a series of derivatives from nouns or verbs denoting 'excess of', e.g. /tufekíði/ 'excess of rifle shots' from /tuféki/ 'rifle', /klotsíði/ 'excessive kicking' from /klotsiá/ 'a kick' or /klotsó/ 'to kick', /muskíði/ 'wet to the skin' from /muskévo/ 'to soak', /treksíði/ 'breathless running', /vrisíði/ 'torrents of insults' etc., all lacking a genitive. Compounds or derivatives of compounds in /-iði/ have no genitive, e.g. /andiklíði/ 'pass-key', /apolusíði/ 'dirty water left after bath' (cf. 5.).

4.2. Neuter collectives in /-ló(γ)í/, /-pémi/, /-lási/, /-máni/ etc. (cf. HATZIDAKIS, 1915, 305-6, and TRIANTAPHYLIDES, 1941, § 289-90). Cf. e.g. /aγóγi/ 'fare, portorage', /kombolói/ 'rosary', /mirolói/ 'dirge, funeral song', /rolói/ 'clock, watch', etc. forming a g.sg. in /-γiú/ vs. /kuvendolói/ 'chat, tattle', /peðolói/ 'swarm of children', /singenolói/ 'relatives, kinsfolk', /skilolói/ 'pack of hounds; rabble', etc. without genitive.

4.3. Other neuter endings:

4.31. /-áði/. Cf. e.g. /kopáði/ 'flock, herd', /láði/ 'oil', /liváði/ 'meadow', /piyáði/ 'well', /simáði/ 'sign; aim', /skotáði/ 'darkness', /xáði/ 'caress', etc., all forming a g.sg. in /-aðiú/ vs. /kitrináði/ 'yellow color; yolk', /kseráði/ 'dry branch; pl. sticks, hands or legs', /mavráði/ 'black spot', /proimáði/ 'early fruit or vegetable', etc. from /kítrino/ 'yellow', /kseró/ 'dry', /mávro/ 'black', /próimo/ 'early, premature', etc. lacking a genitive formation (doubtful: /rimáði/ 'something deserted', etc.). Compounds in /-áði/ form no genitive (cf. 5.), e.g. /xamokláði/ 'shrub', etc.

4.32. /-úri/. Cf. e.g. /angúri/ 'cucumber', /γajíðuri/ 'donkey', /kulúri/ 'a bun', /tsekúri/ 'axe', etc., forming a genitive in /-uriú/ vs. /γúri/ 'good luck', /melanúri/ 'black-tail', /mnimúri/ 'grave, tomb' (poet.), etc., lacking a genitive case (doubtful: /kivúri/ 'tomb' (poet.), etc.). Compounds form no genitive (cf. 5.), e.g. /anemosúri/ 'roaring wild wind', etc.

4.33. /-ími/. Cf. e.g. /aγrími/ 'wild beast' forming a genitive in /-imiú/ vs. /klepsími/ 'stolen object', /psófi/ 'carcass, carrion', etc. without a genitive.

4.34. /-tíri/. Cf. e.g. /monastíri/ 'monastery', /potíri/ 'glass', etc., forming a genitive in /-tiriú/ vs. /kimitíri/ 'cemetery' (poet.), /laðotíri/ 'oil can', /zvistíri/ 'eraser (personal)' from /zvistíra/ 'id. (neutral term)', etc., lacking a genitive case (but cf. /kimitírriu/ g.sg. of /kimitírrio/, a learned word).

4.4. Derivative neuters in /-í/. Cf. e.g. /klaðí/ 'branch', /kormí/ 'body', /ravðí/ 'stick, cane', /sakí/ 'sack', /skilí/ 'dog', etc., all forming a g.sg. in /-iú/ vs. /kuklí/ 'little doll' from /kúkla/, /papí/ 'duckling' from /pápia/, /piotí/ 'wine drinking' from /piotó/ 'a drink', /portí/ 'small door' from /pórta/, /stratí/ 'small road' from

/stráta/, /próni/ 'chair, stool' from /prónos/ 'throne', etc., without a genitive formation (doubtful: /psaþi/ 'mat', etc.). There is frequently a difference in material details between derivative neuters in /-í/ (used often in maxims, proverbs, etc. Cf. also diminutives, e.g. /ípe to psomí psomáki/ 'he fell on evil days' and the primitive words: e.g. /γάτος/ 'tomcat', /γάτα/ 'cat' vs. /γατί/ 'a known cat, of our home, district, immediate surroundings, homely' (which by the way exceptionally forms a genitive), /portí/ 'the door you know', /kuklí mu/ 'my dear child!', /γίνome papí/ 'to get wet through', etc.

4.5. Paroxytone neuters in /-i/. Cf. e.g. /kéfi/ 'fun, good spirits', /máti/ 'eye', /póði/ 'foot, leg', /tsái/ 'tea', etc., forming a g.sg. in /-iú or -γiú/ vs. /áti/ 'horse' (poet.), /ðíli/ 'evening' (poet.), /níki/ 'rent' (cf. /eníkio/ 'id.', a learned word), /sói/ 'race; sort' (popul.), /tópi/ 'ball', /téri/ 'one of a couple, of a pair, e.g. husband or wife', /xáli/ 'state; misery', etc., without a genitive formation (doubtful: /xáni/ 'khan, inn', etc.). Compounds lack a genitive case, e.g. /prosfái/ 'anything eaten with bread' (cf. 5.). Nouns of the latter group are more affective as a general rule, although other explanations for the absence of genitive formations could be found in individual cases (analogy, phonetically impossible formations, rare words, words not susceptible to be used in genitive, fixed members of phraseological units, etc.).

4.6. Proper names. They form sometimes derivatives with penultimate accentuation and affectionate overtones (which later in life fade away as the word becomes the usual name of a particular person), e.g. /Apóstolos/ vs. /Apostólis/, /ðimítrios/ vs. /Mítsos/ or /Mímis/, etc.

#### 5.0. Compounds.

A number of neuter compounds in /-i/ with penultimate accentuation do not form a genitive case and are used to express affective values in contrast with parallel formations of neuter compounds in /-o/ (or m. in /-os/) showing antepenultimate accentuation but lacking those values. Cf. for instance the following pairs of compounds in /-i/ and /-o/: /erimonísi/ 'forlorn island' vs. /erimóniso/ 'island without inhabitants', /lasponéri/ 'dirty, muddy water' vs. /laspónero/ 'water abounding in mud', /kserovúni/ 'arid, barren, dried up mountain' vs. /kseróvuno/ 'bare mountain', /kserokámbi/ 'dried up, desiccated plain' vs. /kserókambos/ 'dry plain', /voskotópi/ 'pasturing-ground' (a cattle-breeder's term) vs. /voskótopos/ 'id.' (geographical term), etc. Cf. also the following pairs of compounds with different first or second members: /kserolíþi/ 'stone wall built without mortar' vs. /ongólipòs/ 'block of stone' or /amóliþos/ 'sand-stone', /komboskíni/ 'knotted cord; chaplet' vs. /karavóskino/ 'cable', /monaxopéði/ 'an only child' vs. /xoriatópeðo/ 'village boy', /sixoroxárti/ 'absolvatory brief' and /stefanoxárti/ 'marriage document' (popul.) vs. /laðóxarto/ 'oiled paper' and /tsiγaróxarto/ 'cigarette-paper', /stenoðrómi/ 'narrow

street' vs. /monóðromos/ 'one-way street', etc. (cf. for more examples HATZIDAKIS, 1907, 170-1, 179-86, and KOURMOULES, 1967).

5.1. Compounds like those in 5.0 (both parallel forms are not always found) can be divided according to the accentuation of the free form of their last member into the following categories (a division restricted to neuters in /-i/ is found in HATZIDAKIS, 1907, 179):

5.11.  $\acute{\text{---}}$ : doubtful, e.g. /fós/ n. 'light' → /fósia/ pl. 'lights' (dial.).

5.12.  $\text{---}\acute{\text{---}}$ : e.g. /kerós/ m. 'weather' → /aγriokéri/ 'violent weather' (but cf. /kalokéri/ 'summer' forming a g.sg.) vs. /mesokalókero/ 'midsummer'; /vroxí/ f. 'rain' → /anemovróxi/ 'bad weather with wind and rain' vs. /anemónvroxo/ 'wind and rain', /ðuliá/ f. 'work' → /meroðúli/ 'one day's wages'; /vunó/ n. 'mountain' → /xomatovúni/ 'arid and barren mountain' vs. /xomatóvuno/ 'mountain of bare earth', /peðí/ n. 'child, son' → /aðerfopéði/ 'brother's son, cousin' vs. /arxondópeðo/ 'young man of noble origin', etc.

5.13.  $\acute{\text{---}}\text{---}$ : e.g. /tíxos/ m. 'wall' → /mesotíxi/ 'partition' (spoken of poorly built houses) vs. /mesótixo/ or /mesótixos/ 'id.'; /níxta/ f. 'night' → /meroníxti/ 'uninterrupted experience of 24 hours' vs. /merónixto/ '24 hours'; /ðéndro/ n. 'tree' → /meroðéndri/ 'grafted tree' vs. /aγrióðendro/ 'wild plant', /fríði/ n. 'brow' → /γaitano-fríði/ 'brow thin and regular like a ribbon' vs. /matófríðo/ 'eye-brow', etc.

5.14.  $\text{---}\text{---}\acute{\text{---}}$ : e.g. /aðerfós/ m. 'brother' → /stavraðerfi/ 'adopted brother' vs. /andráðerfos/ 'husband's brother', /potámós/ m. 'big river' (cf. /potámi/ n. 'river') → /parapótamos/ 'tributary'; /liturgyiá/ f. 'church service' → /sarandalíturyo/ 'mass after 40 days from death'; /mayazí/ n. 'shop' → /ftoxomázazo/ 'poor shop', /arxondikó/ n. 'mansion' → /arxondíki/ 'a church rank; nobility', /rizikó/ n. 'fate, destiny' → /kaloρίζiko/ 'lucky, auspicious', etc.

5.15.  $\text{---}\acute{\text{---}}\text{---}$ : e.g. /ximónas/ m. 'winter' → /mesoxímono/ 'middle of the winter', /niptíras/ m. 'wash-stand' → /niptíri/ 'portable, movable wash-stand'; /γinéka/ f. 'woman' → /asximoyíneko/ 'ugly woman'; /traγúði/ n. 'song' → /pezotráγyðo/ 'prose poem', /fortío/ n. 'burden' → /γaiðurofórti/ 'burden carried by a donkey', etc.

5.16.  $\acute{\text{---}}\text{---}\text{---}$ : e.g. /éngonos/ m. 'grandson' → /ðisengóni/ 'great grandson' (emphasis) vs. /ðiséngono/ 'id.'; /pálasa/ f. 'sea' → /akropalási/ 'end of sea by the coast' (poet.) vs. /akropálaso/ 'id.', etc.

## 5.2. Remarks.

5.21. Words accented on the penultimate syllable do not form as a general rule derivative neuters in /-i/. It seems that in regard to neuters displacement of accent is necessary to this derivation. This explains some irregularities in Modern Greek composition, e.g. /filo-kárðia/ pl. = /fíla tis karðías/ 'cockles of the heart' for \*/karðio-fli/ is impossible.

5.22. Neuters in /-i/ of the above-mentioned categories (5.1) cannot form the genitive case, because the necessary displacement of the accent to the last syllable of the word would assimilate them to nouns whose structure shows similar endings but which do not express affective elements (cf. 2., 4.).

5.23. How is this double formation found in compounds (paroxytone neuters in /-i/ being parallel to proparoxytone neuters in /-o/) to be explained? HATZIDAKIS (1907, 171-5) tried to find a solution from a neogrammarian's point of view without consideration of their function. He examines the course of these parallel formations in the history of the Greek language and stresses the following points:

1) Displacement of accent towards the first member of a compound is a necessity for the linguistic sense of the speakers.

2) Some compounds in /-i/ have a regular accentuation as ancient diminutives of compounds, e.g. /andiklíðī/ 'pass-key'.

3) Many ancient simple words displaced by their diminutives were preserved in composition. Speakers gradually acquired the feeling that at the side of a neuter noun in /-i/ they can find a compound in /-o/, e.g. /fengári/ 'moon' vs. /misoféngaro/ 'half-moon'.

4) Another source of such compounds in /-o/ were ancient compound adjectives in /-on/ which developed in nouns in /-o/, while the ending of the simple word was different, e.g. /γάλα/ 'milk' vs. /rizóγalo/ 'rice cooked with milk' and many others.

5) In this way two systems fought against each other (ancient compounds in /-i/ and new creations in /-o/) and this is why no rule for their formation can be given. This is shown by the remnants of ancient formations in /-i/ besides more recent in /-o/ ('such a variety cannot be explained otherwise than by a gradual extension of analogical formations'), by certain types of compounds in /-o/ (with /palio-/ 'old', /vromo-/ 'stinking', etc. as first members) vs. compounds in /-i/ (especially place names), by the absence in Ancient Greek of neuter nouns in /-i/ with antepenultimate accentuation in contrast with compounds in /-o/, etc.

6) The first member (from an original neuter in /-i/) of compounds ending in /o/, it was thought that the same word as a second member should also end in /o/, e.g. /peðo-mázoma/ 'recruiting of Greek boys for the Janissaries' corps' helped the formation of /αγρίο-peðo/ 'wild, naughty child' (cf. 5.12).

7) In the case of compounds of many syllables ending in /-ákion/, /-árian/, /-íðion/, etc., composition was in danger to be confused with juxtaposition, if the accent rested in the same syllable, e.g. /αγριο-peristéri/ 'wild pigeon'. This led to the formation of proparoxytone compounds in /-o/, e.g. /αγριο-perístero/ 'id.'.

We have seen that parallel formations of neuters in /-i/ and /-o/ have usually different functions (opposition of transformations expressing affective elements to transformations building ordinary terms). Why did functions divide in this way? We may answer this question by contending that compound neuter nouns in /-i/ preserve a function of Ancient Greek diminutives in /-ion/, which later lost their emotive meanings when they replaced primitive nouns. This is why they belong to the purely demotic layer of the vocabulary of MGK. We may illustrate this answer by the following transformations:

/zumí psarión/ 'broth of fish' ⇒ /psaró-zumo/ 'fish-broth'  
 /ánosto zumí psarión/ 'unsavory broth of fish' ⇒ /psaro-zúmi/  
 'a miserable fish-broth' (cf. 2.0).

### 5.3. Other cases with compounds.

5.31. Compounds vs. simple words (diminutives). Cf. e.g. /maɣazí/ 'shop' → /maɣazáki/ 'little shop' vs. /mikromáɣazo/ 'small shop', where /maɣazáki/ functions like /psarozúmi/ in 5.23.

5.32. Series of derivatives words and compounds. Ex.: /níxi/ 'nail' → /aetoníxo/ 'eagle's claw' vs. /aetoníxi/ 'id.' → /aetoníxis/ 'sly and rapacious person', /póði/ 'foot, leg' → /poðári/ 'id.' (depreciatingly), /poðára/ 'big foot', /póðaros/ 'huge foot', /xondropóðaro/ 'big, fat foot', /xondropoðára/, etc.

5.33. Unstable (loose) compounds (cf. TRIANTAPHYLIDES, 1941, § 406). They form a step towards compounds in /-o/ with regard to function. Cf. for instance /palioskúpa/ 'a wretched, old broom' vs. /tavanóskupa/ and /tavanóskupo/ 'broom for cleaning the ceiling', etc. (cf. 5.34).

5.34. Idiolect formations. Some transient, individual formations are found in performance, which do not enter the current vocabulary but have a marginal rôle in everyday communication. Ex.: besides /palioskúpa/ (cf. 5.33) we can find /palioskúpi/.

5.4. The repartition of functions we saw in 5.23 between neuter compounds in /-i/ and /-o/ is valid for the greater number of cases. However there are exceptions:

5.41. Neuter compounds in /-o/ with /palio-/ 'old', /vromo-/ 'stinking', /xondro-/ 'stout; rude', /kako-/ 'bad, ill', /sapio-/ 'rotten', /trelo-/ 'crazy', etc. as first member may express emotive meanings or replace lacking compounds in /-i/, e.g. /tomári/ 'skin, hide' → /paliotómaro/ 'rascal, scamp' vs. /arkuðotómaro/ 'bearskin', etc.

5.42. Neuter compounds in /-o/ may express emotive meanings, if formations in /-i/ are impossible.

5.43. Neuter compounds in /-i/ may express ordinary terms, e.g. /kefalotíri/ 'a kind of cheese', /psomotíri/ 'bread and cheese' (with possible emotional overtones), etc.

5.44. Neuter compounds in /-i/ and /-o/ may acquire functions according to word field dynamics. Realization of possibilities forms different levels of compounds. For instance /trelópēdi/ has more force than /trelópēðo/ 'a crazy child'. There is a climax in intensity with neuters in /-i/ showing usually a higher degree of it (cf. KARATZAS, 1954, 37, for a difference in energy between different diminutive suffixes in a dialect).

6. Feminine derivative nouns in /-iá/.

Derivatives in /-iá/ serve to express emotive meanings as neuter compounds in /-i/ from which they sometimes derive (e.g. /kserofái/ 'eating dry or poor food' → /kserofaiiá/ 'light lunch') but they also can derive from neuter compounds in /-o/ forming demotic terms (e.g. /axnó-fengo/ 'a feeble light' → /axnofengiiá/ 'dim light'). Consider the following cases: /varixímono/ 'severe winter' → /variximoniiá/ 'severe winter weather', /árnisi/ 'denial, negation' → /arnisiá/ 'oblivion' (cf. in Greek folklore /neró tis arnisiás/ 'waters of forgetfulness'), /liγopimía/ 'fainting, swooning' (a learned word) vs. /liγopimiiá/ 'dizziness' (demotic word), /kópsi/ 'cutting; edge' vs. /kopsiiá/ 'scar from a cut' vs. /kópsimo/ 'cutting; colic', /vrisiá/ 'insult, bad names' vs. /vrisimo/ 'railing' vs. /vrisiði/ (see 4.1), /íkosi/ 'twenty' → /ikosári/ '20 drachmas (coin)' → /ikosariá/ 'a score' (popul.), etc.

By the evidence of such examples we can see that in MGK the general functions of ordinary vocabulary item, specific term, and emotive meaning are assigned (sometimes in a gradation scale) to elements of a word field (cf. for instance the group of /vrisiá/ to the group of /kópsi/). There are some ambiguous cases of derivatives in /-iá/ when both neuter compounds (in /-i/ and /-o/) exist. In this case its function must be surmised by the context of situation or by suprasegmental features, etc., e.g. /anemovroxiá/ may correspond to /anemóvroxo/ or to /anemovróxi/ (see 5.12).

7. Phraseological units, idioms, substantard forms and expressions (colloquialisms, family language, slang, etc.), etc., serve particularly to express emotive meanings. Cf. e.g. /to neró íne polí krío/ 'the water is very cold' vs. ⇒ /to neró íne krío búzi/ 'the water is ice-cold', and the phrase /tu polí kríu nerú/ 'of the very cold water' vs. the impossibility of \*/tu kríu búzi nerú/ (cf. the lack of genitive in 2.).

The variety and continuous enrichment or replacement of outworn slang expressions having the same functions with the categories examined in the previous paragraphs is inexhaustible. I give here only one example showing a gradation of results: /páre to póði su apo tin karékla/ 'take your leg off the chair' ⇒ /páre to poðári su ap' tin karékla/ 'take your (unmanageable, insupportable, etc.) leg...', or /tráva tin aríða su ap' tin karékla/ 'draw back your leg..., you lazy-bones', or /tráva to stravó su ap' tin karékla/ 'draw back your wry leg...' (anger), etc.

## 8. Special registers.

Speakers of MGK express sometimes emotive meanings, affective attitudes, etc. through the conscious use of other written or oral forms of Greek (*katharevousa* in its different types and aspects, dialects, foreign words, etc.) or of their characteristics. By means of this they can communicate in a great number of ways their irony, contempt, cold anger, jocular disposition, etc. I deal with these phenomena more extensively in another paper to appear shortly. Here I give only some examples: /*tan lalistatos*/ 'he was very loquacious (although being guilty he should have been silent)', where we find an Ancient Greek superlative used in *katharevousa* only; /*piitis me ebnepsi*/ 'an inspired poet (ironically)', where a term reminding the language of Psychares' school is used instead of the usual learned word /*embnepsi*/ 'inspiration', etc.

## 9. Conclusions.

Transformations considered as individual symbol-creative or rule-creative activity (by re-evaluation through new analysis, composition, etc.) may be thought as the implement for the structuralization (tendency to self-regulating wholes) of a preceding chaotic stage of idiolect expression in language. Emotional and affective attitudes tend to build up highly individual, idiomatic, or irregular lexical or phraseological units or expressions, different styles, social dialects, etc., which are used without adaptation to the systematic part of language, i.e. to the grammatical system used for the expression of common relations and sentences.

Emotive meanings expressed by suprasegmental features, by use of different registers (styles, etc.), and by special transformations (as well as by other non-linguistic features, e.g. gestures, etc.) serve to increase the information load in linguistic communication. They can be absent from a certain kind of communication (simple, impersonal information, scientific jargon, etc.) or lose their special functions and be changed to elements of it during the evolution of a language (cf. e.g. the case of Ancient Greek diminutives in /-ion/, which replaced the primitive words from which they derive and are used in Modern Greek without their former function; the intonation of a language, etc.).

We could conceive the development of a language along a way of systematization of affective expressivity (which predominated initially) in pace with the growth of higher mental powers resulting from a dynamic interrelation of man and the universe, and a better control of the latter by the former. This is one of the main sources of constant evolution in language. Starting by the creation which goes on constantly, but often imperceptibly, in individual speech acts, such transformations are frequently socially accepted and finally integrated to the system of the language by grammaticalization or lexicalization. We could represent this as follows:

idiolect expressions of emotive meaning ('parole', performance, permanent source of linguistic creation) → lexicalization or grammaticalization of emotive meaning (structuralization) → neuter vocabulary, etc. ('langue', deep structure, loss of emotive overtones, scientific or impersonal language, etc.) → emotive meaning (use of different styles for special results, etc., cf. 8.).

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