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Modern Greek ts : beyond sound symbolism¹

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15.1. Introductory remarks

The phenomenon of sound symbolism in language in general and in individual languages is undeniably noteworthy and of interest in its own right. However, it is often the case that sound symbolism is but one facet of a more comprehensive and extensive set of expressive linguistic domains. It therefore turns out that in order to fully understand this phenomenon, one must view it within such a broader context.

In this paper, a detailed case study from Modern Greek is presented in order to document the complexity of the interaction between a language's sound-symbolic elements and its other exponents of expressivity. This complexity is apparent not only in the synchronic intertwining of various expressive elements but also in the nature of the diachronic developments that give rise to the synchronic state. The lesson to be learned from this is that the identification of a given element as a sound symbol generally yields just the tip of the phonosemantic iceberg, a point of departure for an investigation of the workings and origins of the more iconic and expressive realms in a language.

It is useful at this point to introduce some terminology for referring collectively to the various aspects of a language which contribute to a language's expressivity through the iconicity, the colour, the connotative value, and the like that they display. Following Wescott (1975: 497), the expressive domains in a language can be lumped together as "allolanguage," and characterized as those aspects "that [are] alienated from conventionally structured speech," so-called "microlanguage."² Allolanguage includes non-human communication systems, child language, interjections, language play, and the like, and is expressive, affective, connotative, colorful, and iconic, while microlanguage has none of these properties. Although nothing in the discussion of Greek to follow hinges crucially on the terminology just introduced, it does provide a convenient labeling for the lexical domains beyond mere sound symbolism in which the Greek phonological elements to be considered here range and are to be found.

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The particular elements in Greek in question are the voiceless dental affricate [ts] and, to a somewhat lesser extent, its voiced counterpart [dz]. As far as the standard language is concerned, at least, these sounds can be shown to be sound-symbolic elements, occurring in a wide-ranging and well-represented set of sound symbols. However, as noted above, they are also much more than that. In particular, the basic hypothesis to be developed here is that [ts] and [dz] are the primary phonic exponents of Greek allolanguage. The main evidence to support this contention is the fact that the vast majority of lexical occurrences of [ts]/[dz] falls into word classes which fit Wescott's criteria for allolanguage. Under the assumption that this distribution is not just accidental, it becomes apparent that [ts]/[dz] occupy a special place in the overall system of phonic expressivity in Greek.

As the survey of the relevant evidence concerning the role of [ts]/[dz] in Modern Greek phonology and phonosemantics begins, two important points must be borne in mind. First, while it might seem that the preponderance of allolinguistic occurrences of [ts]/[dz] is simply the result of selectivity of presentation, it turns out that no other sounds in the language have the same lexical distribution as [ts]/[dz] and that, moreover, the frequency of [ts]/[dz] in these expressive lexical domains is greater than that of any other sound that might happen to occur in them and also greater than the frequency of [ts]/[dz] in non-allolinguistic domains (Greek "microlanguage"). Thus, even though the sounds [ts]/[dz] do occur in non-expressive lexical items, such as the borrowings *tsiménto* "cement" and *dzáz* "jazz" or the native word *vutsí* "cask," their disproportionate representation in expressive domains is striking and reveals something significant about their status in the phonological system. Second, while it is usually the case that only one of the two sounds occurs in a particular word or group of words cited here in support of the basic hypothesis, in some of them both [ts] and [dz] are to be found, with one and the same word occasionally showing a fluctuation between a [ts]-pronunciation and a [dz]-pronunciation; because of this, [ts]/[dz] can be considered together as a unit in terms of their functional status.

15.2. [ts]/[dz] as a sound symbol (in Standard Modern Greek)

The evidence for sound-symbolic value for [ts]/[dz] in Standard Modern Greek comes from the existence of groups of words which share a formal element – in this case [ts] or [dz], with or without some additional material – and are related in meaning. Three such groups can be identified.³

The first group shows a clustering of words and morphemes with the general meaning of "small; narrow"⁴ and the formal characteristic of an initial sequence #*tsi*-. Relevant forms are given in (1), with the sound-symbolic portion in italics:

- (1) *tsítóno* "I stretch"
tsíta-tsíta "just, barely" (said of a tight fit)
tsíma-tsíma "right up to the edge; close"
tsíxla "thin, woman" (primary meaning: "thrush")
tsilivíθra "thin woman" (primary meaning: "wagtail")
tsíros "thin person" (primary meaning: "dried mackerel").

Also possibly belonging with this group is *dzudzés* "dwarf," which, however, shows the voiced [dz] instead of [ts] and a high back vowel instead of the high front vowel found in (1). A related subgroup is the cluster of morphemes and forms with diminutive value, i.e. indicating that an object or epithet is "small" along some dimension.⁵ This includes two types of forms: a set of suffixes used in the derivation of diminutive nouns and adjectives, given in (2a) with some examples, and several independent diminutives and hypocoristics, as in (2b):⁶

- (2) a. Diminutive suffixes (with affective value, for the adjectives):
-ítsa, e.g. *fuskítsa* "little bubble," *lemonítsa* "little lemon-tree," *voltítsa* "a little walk"
-ítsi, e.g. *korítsi* "(little) girl," *lemonítsi* "little lemon"
-útsikos, e.g. *kalútsikos* "goodish" (cf. *kalós* "good"), *γλικútsikos* "cute" (cf. *γλικός* "sweet")
-fázikos, e.g. *maskaradzikos* "scoundrel-like" (cf. *maskarás* "scoundrel"), *kaváfadzikos* "quarrelsome" (cf. *kavγάς* "quarrel")

- b. Independent diminutives:
Kótsos (from *Konstandínos*)
Mítsos (from *Dimítrios*)
Mítsis (from *Dimítrios*, dialectally).

If, as suggested above, *dzudzés* "dwarf" is included in the "small" group in (1), then both subgroups illustrated here show both [ts] and [dz] (cf. *-fázikos* in 2a) and also show both [i] and [u] vocalism (cf. *-útsikos* in 2a).

The second group shows forms with #*tsV-*, with the general meaning "sting; bite; tease; burn." Some examples of members of this group are given in (3), with the sound-symbolic sequence in italics:

- (3) *tsúzo* "sting" (and derivatives *tsuxterós* "stinging," *tsúxtra* "jellyfish")
tsukníða "nettle"
tsimbó "pinch"
tsím(b)úri "tick" (biting insect)
tsivíki "tick"
tsíngló "goad"
tsatízo "tease"
tsatsára "comb"

<i>tsungrána</i>	"rake" (and derivative <i>tsungranízo</i> "I rake")
<i>tsitsirízo</i>	"sizzle; torment slowly"
<i>tsiyarízo</i>	"fry lightly; brown"
<i>tsurufízo</i>	"singe; burn"
<i>tsíkna</i>	"smell of meat or hair burning" (and derivative <i>tsiknízo</i> "I burn (e.g. in cooking).")

The third group of words is characterized by reference to some sort of deformity or deficiency and by the occurrence of [ts] or [dz] in the word.⁷ Some examples of members of this group are given in (4), with the sound-symbolic sequence in italics:

- (4) *tsevdós* "lisp" (and derivatives *tsevðízo* "I lisp," *tsevðizma* "lisp")
tsátra-pátra "after a fashion; stumblingly (especially of speech)" (so Pring 1975: 196)
tsimbliáris "bleary-eyed" (and cf. base word *tsimbla* "eye-mucus")
dzudzés "dwarf."

Though the examples with initial [ts] or [dz] are few, the group in general is expanded by the inclusion of a subgroup having the shape [kVts-], exemplified in (5):

- (5) Deficiency/deformity subgroup with #kVts-
kutsós "lame" (and derivatives *kútsa* "limp," *kútsa kútsa* "limpingly")
kutso- "(prefix indicating) deficiency"
katsso- "wrinkledy-"
katsída "balding, scurvy head"
katsipodjá "bad luck" (dialectal) R47

which itself overlaps with a group characterized formally by #kuC-ó-:

- (6) *kuts-ós* "lame"
kut-ós "stupid"
kuf-ós "deaf"
kul-ós "one-armed."

The sound-symbolic effect displayed by [ts] and [dz] in these groups is most evident in the standard language, but there are relevant dialectal forms, a few of which have already been mentioned, that fit into the above groups and thus are deserving of mention here. A small sampling of these forms is given in (7):

- (7) a. West Crete (cf. Xanthoudides 1918):
dzíngra "eye-mucus" (cf. Std. *tsimbla*, in (4))
dzúngra "claw" (cf. Std. *tsungrána*, in (3))
dzíngu-dzíngu "drop-by-drop" (cf. SMALL group in (1))
dzíngazo "flow out in drops" (cf. SMALL group in (1))

Brian D. Joseph

b. Cypriot:

katsurízo "sting; burn" (cf. STING group in (3)).

These words become especially important in section 15.2, where other relevant dialectal forms are also mentioned.

15.3. Interrelatedness of sound-symbolic groups

That [ts] and [dz] should function in three such well-defined and well-represented sound-symbolic groups is certainly significant regarding the status of these sounds in Greek phonology, but even more remarkable and striking is the fact that these three groups seem to be interrelated subgroups of a more all-encompassing sound symbol. There are several lines of evidence attesting to the connections among these groups.

First, there is the semantic evidence of words which arguably could be assigned to more than one group, based on their meaning. For example, as already given in the data above, *dzudzés* "dwarf" fits in with the SMALL group (cf. (1)), based on the criterion of size, but also with the DEFORMITY group (cf. (4)). Similarly, *tsímbla* "eye-mucus" can be seen as belonging both to the DEFORMITY-group (cf. especially the derivative *tsimblíaris* "bleary-eyed") and, when viewed as an irritant in the eye, to the STING group (as in (2)) as well. An additional example is provided by two words for "miser; stingy," *tsingúnis* and *tsifútis*, both of which, based on possible metaphors in which the notion of "miserliness; stinginess" can participate cross-linguistically, are assignable to both the STING group (cf. the derivation of Eng. *stingy* from *sting*) and the SMALL group (cf. Eng. *tightwad*, *tightfisted*, *closefisted*, etc.).

Such words provide links between the various groups, but at the same time clearly show that the boundaries between any of these groups are not rigid. This lack of semantic discreteness plays a role too in the second piece of evidence for interrelatedness, namely the fluidity shown by members of these groups from an etymological standpoint. That is, based on some reasonable etymological conjectures,⁸ it seems that words of one group can move rather readily into others of other groups. One example is *kutsós* "lame," in the DEFORMITY group, which plausibly derives from *kopsós* "cut" via an irregular change of *-ps-* to *-ts-* (an etymology accepted by Andriotis 1967: 177), and so is literally "cut short" and therefore connected (originally) with the SMALL group. A somewhat more interesting – but also more controversial – example in terms of interconnectedness is the West Cretan form *dzíngra*, noted in (7) above as the equivalent of standard *tsímbla* "eye-mucus." Based on its meaning and its form, it belongs in the DEFORMITY group, but it seems to be connected etymologically with an adverb, *dzíngu-dzíngu* "drop-by-drop," which can be assigned to the SMALL group; moreover, this adverb

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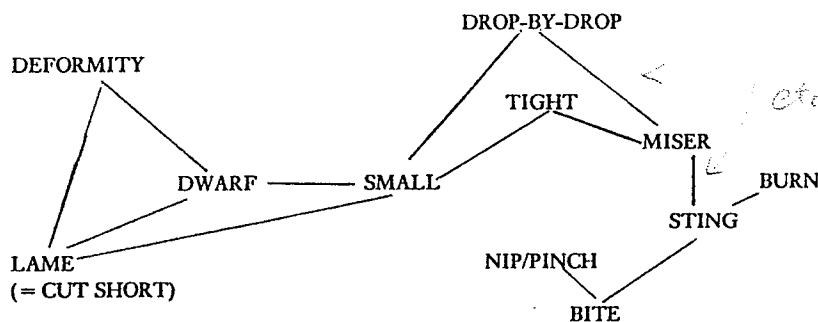
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is (supposedly) the source of *tsingúnis* "stingy; miserly," which, as noted above, belongs in both the SMALL and the STING group.⁹

A third piece of evidence relating these three groups to one another is the existence of formal links, in which a word has the form of one group but the meaning of another. For example, Cypriot *katsurízo* "burn," noted in (7) above, has the form of the #kVts- DEFORMITY subgroup (cf. (5) above) but the meaning of the STING/BURN group (of (3)). More widely ranging is the initial sequence *kuts-*, which, while figuring in the DEFORMITY subgroup (through *kutsós* "lame" and prefix *kutso-*), is also the basis for the dialectal *kútsikos* "little" (cf. Verveniotis 1976: 66), with a meaning appropriate for the SMALL group, and for the dialectal *kutsmída* "nettle" (from Imbros, cf. Favis 1939), a metathesized variant of *tsukmída*, from the STING group (with initial #tsV-). It therefore provides an especially important formal link connecting three groups.

Finally, the various interconnections evident from the above considerations can be put together into what may be termed a "relatedness network," in which the paths uniting the various groups and subgroups are laid out together:



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conceptually, such a network is akin to the radial view of the meaning of a category espoused by Lakoff (1986), and while "small" has been put at the hub of the network, it need not be taken to be the basic meaning of the whole unit defined by the network (see also note 4).¹⁰ It does, however, demonstrate clearly how the various sound-symbolic groups enumerated here can be taken to represent different facets of the same gem.

The extensiveness of this network of sound symbolism involving [ts] and [dz] indicates that they are not just elements that happen to participate in a few sound-symbolic sequences, but much more. In particular, since what all these related groups have in common from a formal standpoint is the occurrence of [ts] or [dz], these sounds can be identified as the primary carriers of the sound-symbolic function by which the groups are united. As such, they are the primary exponents of phonic symbolism in Modern Greek.

15.4. ts/dz in other expressive domains

The interrelatedness of the various sound symbols involving [ts] and [dz] shows that these sounds are the sound symbols *par excellence* in Greek. However, their special role in Greek expressivity goes far beyond this sound-symbolic value, for they are to be found in the full range of expressive lexical domains, i.e. in all the categories which would be allolinguistic, in Wescott's terms. To be sure, sounds other than [ts] and [dz] occur in these categories, just as [ts] and [dz] themselves occur in non-expressive lexical items (see above, section 15.2), but no sounds other than [ts] and [dz] occur with so great a frequency in expressive categories, and no other sounds show the overall somewhat restricted lexical distribution that [ts] and [dz] do, occurring primarily in these expressive categories.

One such class of words is interjections. Some of the interjectional elements of Greek containing [ts] or [dz] are given in (8):

- (8) *príts* "no way; oh yeah?!" (also onomatope for breaking wind)
ts NEGATION (actually an apico-dental click, but conventionally represented in this way; cf. also *tsuk* as conventionalization of this noise)
dzá "noise used in peek-a-boo game" (with variant *tsá*).

A subclass of interjections is the set of calls to animals, those noises used in a situation – talking to non-humans – that by its very nature is outside the realm of microlanguage;¹¹ here, too, [ts] and [dz] are well represented:

- (9) *gúts* "call to pigs"
tsús "call to donkeys"
tsúnks "call to donkeys" (cf. Kalojeras 1975)
óts "whoa!"
íts "whoa!"

Another class of expressive words belonging to allolanguage by virtue of their iconicity is the onomatopoeic words of the language and their derivatives. Again, one finds [ts] and [dz] well in evidence in this group:

- (10) *tsák* "crack!" (cf. *tsakízo* "I break")
kríts-kríts "crunch" (cf. *kritisánízo* "I crunch")
máts-múts "kissing noise"
tsiú-tsiú "bird's chirp"
plíts-pláts "splish-splash!"
γράts scratching sound (with variants *xráts*, *kráts*, and *kráts kríts*, and derivative *γratsumízo* "I scratch")
dzi-dzi "noise of a cicada" (cf. *dzifikas* "cicada").

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of a definite, easily characterizable meaning so much as expressive of an attitude (understood in its broadest sense). These attitudinal expressions tend to be more or less integrated into the syntax of a sentence, and correspond to what have been called ideophones in other languages. By virtue of their perceived non-arbitrary connection between form and meaning, ideophonic expressions in general are allolinguistic in nature. Among the ideophones of Greek are the following containing [ts] or [dz]:

- (11) *tsáka-tsáka* "immediate quick action; straightaway; directly"
tsúku-tsúku "steadily and surely, with a hint of secretive activity"
tsáf-tsáf "in an instant."

Yet another lexical realm in which [ts] and [dz] occur and which is also, by dint of its very nature, expressive and part of allolanguage is the set of conventionalized child-language forms (see note 11). By this is meant those forms which children use but do not necessarily create themselves; rather they arise from adults' expectations of children's usage. A sampling of forms with [ts] or [dz] in this group is given in (12):

- (12) *tsatsá* "aunty" (cf. Andriotis 1983: 380, where a variant *tsátsa* is also given; note meaning of "madam [in a brothel]" in adult slang)
tsísi "meat" (also "breast" in adult slang)
tsís(i)a "peepee" (with variants *dzís(i)a*)
pítsi-pítsi "(act of) washing" (cf. Kalojeras 1975)
dzá "noise used in peek-a-boo game" (with variant *tsá*).

A final group of lexical items relevant to the hypothesis concerning [ts] and [dz] is a miscellaneous group, composed of the words which are themselves highly expressive, iconic, privatized, connotative, and playful – in short, words with "allolinguistic" properties, which add color to the language, but which do not have any common thread beyond that to unite them. The sounds [ts] and [dz] are well represented here, although, as in all the other groups, other sounds occur as well. Some examples include:

- (13) *tsambunó* "whimper; prate; bullshit"
tsalavutó "do a slovenly job; splash around in shallow, muddy water"
tsapatsúlis "slovenly in one's work"
tsurápi "vulgar woman" (primary meaning: "woolen sock")
tsókaró "vulgar woman" (primary meaning: "wooden shoe")
tsírízo "screech"
tsílimburðó "gallivant; fart about; whore around"
tsítsíði "(stark) naked"

Brian D. Joseph

<i>pitilízo</i>	“sprinkle, especially with dirty water”
<i>dzámba</i>	“for free”
<i>dziridzándzules</i>	“evasiveness; coquettish airs”
<i>dzándzala-mándzala</i>	“this and that.” ¹²

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This completes the survey of expressive lexical groups that contain [ts] and [dz]. One of the main points, as noted earlier, concerning the occurrence of these sounds in such words is the strikingly high frequency with which [ts] and [dz] occur in these and only these types of lexical items. Although it is hard to develop meaningful statistics on such a frequency, so that the claims on that score that have been made are largely impressionistically based, two rudimentary measures can be cited here. A count was made of the occurrence of these sounds in a corpus that is inherently allolinguistic in nature – the set of interjections and onomatopes given in one standard description of Modern Greek (Householder *et al.* 1964). Tokens of [ts] were taken together with those of [dz] – a reasonable step, considering the interchange often found between these two sounds in expressive words – and a frequency of occurrence of 4.1% for these sounds was found. What is striking about this result is that it is so much more than the percentage reported in Householder *et al.* 1964 for a count they made, together with one made by Mirambel (1959); based on a “normal” corpus of lengthy passages of connected prose, they reported a frequency of occurrence of 0.07% for [ts] and [dz] combined, lower than any other sounds in Greek. Similarly, a count of the initial segments of entries in a listing of nicknames from Kefallonia (Lorendzatos 1923) – a corpus of inherently allolinguistic items – yielded a frequency of 6.4% for [ts] and [dz] combined. Though there are some inherent difficulties with such counts,¹³ the results here are suggestive and are what would be expected, given the basic hypothesis under consideration here about the special allolinguistic status of [ts] and [dz] in Greek.

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At the end of the previous section, it was stated that the evidence of the interrelatedness of the various sound-symbolic groups leads to the conclusion that [ts] and [dz] are the primary phonosemantic exponents in Greek. Given the evidence cited in this section concerning the overall lexical distribution of [ts] and [dz], it seems that this conclusion can be expanded: [ts] and [dz] are the primary exponents of phonic expressivity in general in Greek.

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15.5. Diachronic perspectives on [ts] and [dz]

Further evidence of the special status of [ts] and [dz] comes from the diachronic developments which have given rise to them in the standard language. As would be expected for sounds that function primarily in highly iconic and expressive ways, the paths by which [ts] and [dz] have entered Greek are generally irregular types of changes.

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For example, a number of sporadic and irregular sound changes¹⁴ have yielded allolinguistic occurrences of [ts] and [dz]. A sampling of these, with some relevant examples, is given in (14):

- (14) a. ps → ts, e.g. *kopsós* "cut" → *kutsós* "lame" (DEFORMITY group), *psevðós* "lisping" → *tsevðós* "idem" (DEFORMITY group)
- b. s → ts, e.g. (AGk) *sízo*: "hiss" → *tsízo* "sting" (STING group), (AGk) *syrízo*: "whistle" → *tsirízo* "screech" (cf. 13), (AGk) *sile:porðō*: "behave with vulgar arrogance" → *tsilimburðó* "gallivant; fart about" (cf. 13))
- c. t → ts, e.g. (AGk) *pitylízo*: "dart about with oars" → *pitsilízo* "sprinkle, especially with dirty water" (cf. 13))
- d. k → ts, e.g. (Hell.Gk [Hesychius]) *kímmyros* "counting trifles" → (via diminutive **kimmyrion*) *tsim(b)úri* "tick" (STING group); (AGk) *kimbíks* "skinflint" → (via diminutive **kimbíkion*) *tsivíki* "tick" (STING group).

Similarly, there have been morphological reshapings in the direction of an allolinguistic form. For example, Ancient Greek *kni:sa* "savor of burnt offerings" yielded Modern Greek *tsíkna* "(pungent) smell of meat or hair burning" (STING/BURN group), where the changes are so drastic (multiple metatheses as well as creation of [ts]) as to suggest morphological processes rather than purely phonological ones. Also, Ancient Greek *knide*: "nettle" yielded Modern Greek *tsukníða* "nettle" (STING/BURN group) via the "prefixation" of *tsu-*, bringing it in line formally with the sting group (cf. *tsízo* "sting").¹⁵

Also, many instances of expressive [ts] and [dz] occur in loanwords, especially loans from Turkish, as in (15), but also neighboring Slavic languages and Italian:

- (15) *dzámba* "for free" ← Turkish *caba*
dzudzés ← Turkish *cüce*
tsifútis "miser" ← Turkish *çift* "Jew"
kútsikos "little" ← Turkish *küçük*.

The fact that many of these loanwords are marked stylistically by being expressive and are also marked by the occurrence of [ts] or [dz] seems not to be accidental; this semiologico-stylistic dimension of [ts] and [dz] is taken up in the next section.

15.6. The semiologico-stylistic dimension of [ts] and [dz]

Based on the view of the role of [ts] and [dz] in Greek expressivity that has emerged here, it is fair to say that words with these sounds in general have a marked stylistic

Brian D. Joseph

status, in that they are (generally) expressive while words without these sounds are (generally) not. This becomes especially clear when synonyms which differ formally in the presence or absence of [ts]/[dz] are compared with one another. For example, when confronted by a synonymous pair such as *kritisánizo* and *trayanízo*, both meaning "I crunch," native speakers of Greek typically label the former more "lively" or "vivid"; this result is not unexpected, for *kritisánizo* is derived from the sound-word *kritis* for a crunchy noise (see (10) above), and as such is more iconic and more expressive in nature. The existence of synonyms with one member marked stylistically in some way has come about in other ways as well, so that, internal to Greek, there are other stylistic dimensions – at least three more – by which a word can be opposed to a synonymous word; moreover, they all interact with the stylistic dimension defined by the presence of [ts] or [dz] in a word.

First, there is the distinction of (roughly) high style versus low style – usually referred to as *Katharevousa* (i.e. "puristic") versus *Dhimotiki* (i.e. "colloquial") – brought on by years of diglossia in Greek. This has led to the coexistence of stylistic doublets – pairs of synonymous words of quite different stylistic values – e.g. *líθος* (of *Katharevousa* origin) vs. *pétra* (of *Dhimotiki* origin), both meaning "stone." Another stylistic distinction within Greek is native versus foreign, and again there are stylistic doublets, e.g. native *tíxos* vs. *duvári* (of Turkish origin), both meaning "wall." Last, there is the dimension of Standard forms versus (regional) dialectal, evident in a pair such as Standard *ótan* versus dialectal *óndas*, both meaning "when."

The [ts]/[dz] stylistic dimension is relevant here in two ways. First, within any given dimension, the [ts]/[dz] dimension can serve to distinguish members and, as might be expected given the nature of [ts] and [dz] argued for here, generally yields a more marked form. This is evident in the native pair *kritisánizo* and *trayanízo* given above, and also in pairs of synonymous non-native words, e.g. *vólta* (of Italian origin) versus *tsárka* (of Turkish origin), where both words mean "walk; stroll," but the one with [ts] is felt by Greek speakers to be "slangier." Another pair involving words which are both of native origin is *gimnós* versus *tsitsíði*, where both mean "naked," but the *ts*-word is felt to be more evocative (e.g. "stark-naked" versus merely "without clothing").

Second, the [ts]/[dz] stylistic dimension cuts across the other three, thereby adding an extra stylistic distinction to the ways in which members of stylistic doublets can differ from one another. In most cases, as expected and as with the examples *kritisánizo/trayanízo* and *vólta/tsárka* mentioned above, the word containing [ds] or [dz] is the marked member of the doublet. These doublets with multiple stylistic distinctions can involve non-allolinguistic occurrences of [ts] or [dz], as in (16):

- (16) a. [Katharevousa vs. Dhimotiki] and [- ts vs. + ts]: *astráyalos* vs. *kótsi*
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- b. [Native vs. Foreign] and [- ts vs. + ts]: *flíði* vs. *tsófi* "skin; peel"
- c. [Standard vs. Dialectal] and [- ts vs. + ts]: *kóskino* vs. *tsíla* "sieve,"
or allolinguistic occurrences of [ts] or [dz], as in (17):
- (17) a. [Katharevousa vs. Dhimotiki] and [- ts vs. + ts]: *xolós* vs. *kutsós*
"lame" (cf. (5))
- b. [Native vs. Foreign] and [- ts vs. + ts]: *nanós* vs. *dzudzés* "dwarf"
(from Turkish; cf. (4))
- c. [Native vs. Foreign] and [- ts vs. + ts]: *ðoreán* vs. *dzám̄ba* "free" (from
Turkish; cf. (13))
- d. [Standard vs. Dialectal] and [- ts vs. + ts]: *mikerós* vs. *mitsós* "small"
(cf. (1) and (2)).

In some of these doublets, there are added dimensions of a non-oppositional nature as well; for example, in (17c), the Greek word *ðoreán*, while in common use and really only high-style when opposed to the non-native *dzám̄ba*, is actually of Katharevousa origin (a fact evident in the presence of a final *-n*, which generally does not occur in words of Dhimotiki origin).

The sounds [ts] and [dz], therefore, make a contribution to the stylistic oppositions otherwise present in the language. This contribution complements their overall role in Greek expressivity.

15.7. Conclusion

The facts presented here give a very detailed look at the multiple parameters of expressivity that are relevant for two sounds, [ts] and [dz], in Greek. In order to fully understand the ways in which these sounds function in the phonosemantics of Greek, one must go beyond their functions as sound symbols and examine them in the full range of affective and stylistic domains in the language. Although just one language has been investigated here, it is safe to suggest that this situation is likely to be typical of expressive phonological units cross-linguistically, and therefore investigators must be sensitive to the broader expressive context into which sound symbols in any language may fit.

NOTES

- 1 This paper draws on findings concerning Greek [ts]/[dz] reported on in Joseph 1982 [1985], 1983, 1984a, 1984b, 1987, 1991, and 1992, and in Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton 1987:

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Chapter 4. At the same time, though, those findings are expanded upon here, with additional supporting data and argumentation given that was not discussed in these earlier works. There is even more yet to be said, and all relevant material is being collected in a monograph in preparation on Greek [ts] and [dz] from a synchronic and diachronic perspective.

- 2 See Wescott 1975 for a discussion of the terminology and details on the properties of allolanguage beyond those mentioned here.
- 3 In citing these and other Greek forms, I follow standard transcription conventions; note though that [θ] is used for the voiced interdental fricative and [j] is used in its IPA value of a palatal glide. Also, the realization of nasal-plus-stop clusters is subject to socially and regionally conditioned variation between nasal-less pronunciations and pronunciations with the nasal; in representing them here with the nasal (e.g. in *tsimbo*), I mean only to indicate that the nasal is possible for at least some speakers with this word. Increasingly, one encounters only the nasal-less pronunciation within lexical items, and the absence of the nasal is categorical for younger Athenian speakers (see Arvaniti and Joseph 1993 for some discussion). In citations, AGk = Ancient Greek; Hell.Gk = Hellenic Greek.
- 4 As George Lakoff has pointed out to me, it may be misleading to refer – here and elsewhere in the discussion – to a single, basic meaning for any given sound symbol, for each category might best be characterized as a whole defined by the interrelations of meaning and metaphorical extensions that its members exhibit. An approach similar to that is taken below for unifying the various sound-symbolic groups under consideration, though at this point, reference to *the* meaning of an element is made for convenience.
- 5 This includes the focusing – i.e. narrowing – of attention along the emotional dimension, in order to account for the affectionate or endearing use of many diminutives, possible in Greek, as in many languages.
- 6 There are listed separately from (2a) because they may well involve the independent “deformation” of part of a name in a hypocoristic formation process, not unlike the creation in English of *Betsy* out of *Elizabeth* (with $\theta \rightarrow ts$). Georgacas 1982 has an extensive discussion of the diachronic development of the diminutive suffixes and other related formations.
- 7 The Northeast Caucasian languages Chechen and Ingush, as discussed by Nichols 1986, provide a typological parallel to the existence of a sound-symbolic group centering on such a meaning, for one of the word groups characterized by “adventitious” (i.e. unexpected, from an etymological standpoint) pharangealization is a set of human nouns denoting some deformity or deficiency (typical meanings include “klutz,” “hulk,” “giant”).
- 8 The wording is cautious here because not all linguists accept these etymologies and because of the general difficulties with proving proposed etymologies to be correct; often, the evaluation of etymological proposals comes down to a matter of taste.
- 9 The derivation of *tsingunis* from the West Cretan form is the proposal of Xanthoudides 1918. It has not met with much approval, being characterized by Andriotis (1983: 384) as “unlikely,” though there seem to be no actual phonological or semantic problems with the etymology; the more widely accepted derivation has *tsingunis* as a borrowing from Turkish *çingene* “gypsy” (despite the need for some phonological and semantic adjustments in the borrowing).
- 10 A similar type of schema has been employed by Matisoff 1978 for showing the semantic relations among body-part words.

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- 11 Note that Wescott, following Trager 1955, places animal communication, along with child language, into "prelanguage," as a subdomain of allolanguage.
- 12 Note also that this form shows the highly marked and affective reduplication (of Turkish origin as far as Greek is concerned) with #m- in second member.
- 13 For example, as Charles Fillmore has pointed out to me, the "normal" corpus would certainly have contained expressive words and differs in character from the word list used in my own count of allolinguistic terms. Also, the existence of polysemous words such as *tsurápi*, which is not expressive in its meaning "woolen sock" but is expressive in its meaning "vulgar woman," could skew the count somewhat. A more controlled frequency count, comparing, for example, the percentage of [ts] and [dz] obtained from a conventional dictionary with that obtained from a slang dictionary, is clearly needed here (and is planned).
- 14 Some of these changes may actually have been regular in dialects other than those of the Peloponnese which underlie the modern Standard language, and the appearance of irregularity or sporadicity may be simply the result of dialect borrowing into Standard Greek.
- 15 This is tantamount to calling *tsukniða* a blend, as first proposed by Filindas 1905 (cited in Andriotis 1983: 38f).

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183 T1

Brian D. Joseph

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