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LEFT-HEADEDNESS IN COMPOUNDS OF A RIGHT-HEADED LANGUAGE

1. HEADEDNESS IN MORPHOLOGY: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

The term "head" is a basic notion in most morphological approaches. It refers to the most prominent unit of morphologically-complex structures consisting of two constituents, α and β, where one of the constituents is the head and the other is the non-head (see, among others, Scalise, 1988; Hoeksema, 1992; Plag, 2003). In the literature, a number of formal and semantic criteria have been proposed to identify the head of a morphologically-complex word (see, among others, Zwicky, 1985; Scalise, 1988; Bauer, 1990; Lieber, 2010). According to these criteria, the head

(a) gives its category to the formation;
(b) it assigns the basic meaning;
(c) it is the morphosyntactic locus of the formation and transmits its morphosyntactic features.

As far as compounds are concerned, Scalise and Fábregas (2010) have pointed out that the formal head and the semantic head must coincide. Nevertheless, some of the criteria listed above cannot be considered as representative for defining the notion of

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I am much indebted to Dr. George Chairetakis, researcher at the Academy of Athens, for his precious assistance with the retrieval of data from the Greek electronic database of dialectal compounds (see DComp below). I also thank my PhD student Stavros Bobolas for his help with the drawing of the map and graph.

Sections 3 and 4 of this work contain parts of the data and some explanations that are included in Chairetakis and Ralli (2022).

headedness in compounding, since they do not always apply across languages. That is why, a number of scholars, for instance, Hoeksema (1992) and Kageyama (2009), take the feature of category to be the basic property for defining the head of a morphological structure. For illustration, consider an English nominal compound like *black bird,* which takes its category from the noun *bird*, because the other constituent, *black*, is an adjective. However, in another English compound, such as *apple pie,* both constituents are nouns, and the categorial feature could be transmitted from any of the constituents. For these cases, Ralli (2013a, p. 105) has assumed that, when both constituents share the same grammatical category with the formation as a whole, the semantic criterion can serve as the only test to identify the head. For instance, since the basic meaning of *apple pie* is expressed by the noun *pie,* the latter assumes the role of the head. Sometimes though, the compound may have a meaning which is entirely different from the meanings of its constituents, such as the Italian compound *cassa-forte,* which means 'safe', while its literal meaning is 'box-strong'. The situation is even more complex in the so-called "exocentric" compounds, such as the Italian *porta-lettere*, lit. carry-letters, 'postman', where the agentive meaning comes from outside the composition of the two members and the grammatical distribution of the compound does not correspond to that of any of the members. With respect to the third criterion, Namiki (2001) and Scalise and Fábregas (2010) have proposed that, in languages with overt and rich inflection, gender and inflection class (IC) are usually assigned by the head of the formation. Again, Ralli (2013a) has shown that in a headed compound, the morphological information with respect to gender and inflection class does not always derive from its constituents. Take, for instance, the Greek compounds of [stem stem] structure, that is, those which are created via the combination of two stems, where inflection is independently added to the compounded stem and sometimes may be different from that of the two members when taken in isolation. The Greek compound *cefalóvriso*$_{\text{N.NEU.IC5}}$ 'headspring', consisting of the constituents *cefál(i)*$_{\text{N.NEU.IC6}}$ 'head' and *vrís(i)*$_{\text{N.FEM.IC3}}$ 'spring', typically illustrates this case:[1] the compound is neuter and is inflected according to IC5, while its head, that is, the second constituent, *vrís(i)* 'spring', is feminine, inflected according to IC3 as an autonomous word.[2] As for the first constituent, *cefál(i),* it also belongs to a different inflection class (IC6) from the entire compound, also used as an autonomous word.

[1] Medieval and Modern Greek examples in this article are given in a broad phonological transcription and strings that are not part of compounds are put in parentheses. These strings surface when the constituents they belong to are used as autonomous words.

[2] Modern Greek nouns are inflected according to eight inflection classes: IC1 and IC2 are for masculine nouns, IC3 and IC4 for feminine and IC5-8 for neuter. See Ralli (2000, 2022b) for details.

In fact, identifying the head of a formation is not an easy task. That is why, Di Sciullo and Williams (1987) have questioned the idea to have one single element in a structure that has a higher prominence over the others, and have proposed the *Relativized Head Hypothesis*, according to which, what counts as a head depends on the feature one wants to consider. Thus, in a formation *αβ*, a head with respect to inflection may be the element *β* and with respect to the meaning the element *α*. In other words, in this approach, in a morphologically-complex structure, there are different types of heads, morphological, semantic and categorial, and all these types are not always represented by the same constituent. Di Sciullo and Williams' (1987) suggestion was further elaborated by Scalise, Fábregas, and Forza (2009), Scalise and Fábregas (2010), and Fábregas and Masini (2015). Contrary to Di Sciullo and Willliams, they gave up the idea to attribute a particular position to the head in morphologically-complex words, for instance the right-hand position that was formulated by Williams (1981, pp. 247–248) as the Righthand Head Rule, according to which, in a morphological structure, the head is the righthand member. The latter was subject to severe criticism, especially with respect to its universal application (see, among others, Joseph & Wallace, 1984). As argued by Ralli (2022b), the position of the head varies from one language to another and depends on the word-formation process one deals with. For instance, in Italian, words derived by suffixation are usually right-headed (e.g., *felicità* 'happiness' < *felice* 'happy' + *-ita*), but most compounds are left headed (e.g., *capostazione* 'station master' < *capo* 'head, master' + *stazione* 'station', see Scalise, 1984, 1992 for more examples). In contrast, in English, in both derivational suffixation (e.g., *happiness*) and compounding (e.g., *station master*) the structures are predominantly right-headed (Lieber, 1992). As far as Modern Greek is concerned, Ralli (2022b) has proposed that in a big number of binary word structures (derived and compound), the head is usually at the right-hand side, fulfilling criteria (a) and (b) reported above, but only partly criterion (c); in formations involving a derivational suffix, the suffix assumes the role of the head, while in most endocentric compounds, the head is usually the right member of the construction. However, inflected structures consisting of a stem and an inflectional suffix deviate from this pattern, in that stems are heads, while the only function of the inflectional suffix is to complete information required by the stem, as for instance, specific values for case and number for nominal stems.

In this article, I deal with the issue of the position of head in Greek headed compounds, where the head is taken to be determined on categorial and semantic criteria (criteria a and b), since, as noted above, criterion c is much questioned, at least with

respect to Greek.[3] In particular, I show that in this language that is predominantly right-headed with respect to both derivational and compounding structures, there is a number of left-headed compounds, the existence of which require an explanation.

The article is structured as follows: in Section 1 the notion of headedness is presented and several problems that this notion poses are briefly presented. Section 2 contains a general description of compounding in Greek. It is followed by Section 3, where the existence of left-headed compounds is investigated, beside that of right-headed compounds. Examples are given from the earlier stages of Greek, as well as from the Modern Greek dialectal varieties. Section 4 offers a tentative explanation for the actual existence of left-headed compounds in certain varieties and the article concludes (Section 5) with a summary of the major proposals.

2. COMPOUNDING IN MODERN GREEK

According to Ralli (2013a), compounding is a very productive word-formation process in Modern Greek, producing compounds of major grammatical categories, nouns (e.g., *psarósupa* 'fish soup' < *psár(i)* 'fish' + *súpa* 'soup'), adjectives (*kozmoksákustos* 'world known' < *kózm(os)* 'world' + *ksakustós* 'known') and verbs (*afisokoló* 'to stick posters (on the wall)' < *afís(a)* 'poster' + *koló* 'to stick').

The basic constituents of compounds are stems and words, the combination of which produces four possible structures, [stem stem] (e.g., *rizóyalo* '(pudding with) rice (and) milk' < *ríz(i)* 'rice' + *ɣál(a)* 'milk'), [stem word] (e.g., *domatosaláta* 'tomato salad' < *domát(a)* 'tomato' + *saláta* 'salad'), [word stem] (e.g., *eksóθiro* 'entrance' < *ékso* 'out' + *θír(a)* 'door') and [word word] (e.g., *ksanavrísko* 'to find again' < *ksaná* 'again' + *vrísko* 'to find').[4] The first two structures are the most productively built, while there are some occurrences for the third and the fourth category.

When the first constituent is a stem, the two compound members are linked together by a linking vowel -o-, which marks the compounding process and is, thus, called by Ralli (2008) "compound marker" (e.g., *aɣri-o-ɣúruno* 'wild pig, boar' < *áɣri(o)* 'wild' + *ɣurún(i)* 'pig').

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[3] Unless noted differently, the term "Greek" will be used for the Modern Greek language. Standard Modern Greek denotes today's official language and Ancient Greek the language before our era. Other terms in use, depending on the period, are: Hellenistic Koiné (ca. 3rd c. BC–3rd c. AD) and Medieval Greek, Early and Late (ca. 4th c.–16th c. AD). See Ralli (2012) for a periodization of the Greek language.

[4] Some phrasal compounds such as *emfílios pólemos* 'civil war' < *emfílios* 'civil' + *pólemos* 'war' have recently become productive, mainly in the domain of term formation. Their frequency is mainly due to the influx of English terms during the 20th century (see Ralli, 2013b for details).

Greek compounds are single phonological words but do not have a uniform stress pattern. Nespor and Ralli (1996) have related the position of stress to the internal structure: [stem stem] and [word stem] compounds are stressed on the antepenultimate syllable, while [stem word] and [word word] ones have their stress on the right-hand member, on the same position of their word constituent. In addition, the inflectional ending, which is always at the right-hand side of compounds, may sometimes be different from that of the second member, when taken in isolation, on condition that this member is a stem. For example, compare the -o ending of *rizóɣalo* 'pudding with rice and milk' with the ending of the second constituent *ɣála* 'milk'. This is not the case when the second member is a word, which, beside its stress, always preserves the inflectional ending. For illustration, compare *xartopézo* 'to play cards' (< *xart(i)* 'card' + *pézo* 'to play') with the verb *pézo* 'to play'

Many Greek compounds are endocentric, with the categorial head at the right side, obeying Williams' (1981) Right-hand Head Rule. Endocentric compounds generally display a dependency relation between their members, a subordinate (e.g., *oryanopéktis* 'instrument player' < *óryan(o)* 'instrument' + *péktis* 'player') or an attributive relation (*kocinóxoma* 'clay earth' < *kócin(o)* 'red' + *xóma* 'earth'). Among endocentric compounds, one could also classify the coordinative ones. The categories of the latter are Noun Noun (e.g., *alatopípero* 'salt (and) pepper' < *alát(i)* 'salt' + *pipér(i)* 'pepper'), Verb Verb (e.g., *aniɣoklíno* 'open (and) close' < *aníɣ(o)* 'open' + *klíno* 'close') or Adjective Adjective (e.g., *mavróaspros* 'black (and) white' < *mávr(os)* 'black' + *áspr(os)* 'white').[5] Coordinative compounds often carry the inflection of the second member, although this is not always the case (see, for instance, *alatopípero* 'salt (and) pepper' < *alát(i)* 'salt' + *pipér(i)* 'pepper'). In these compounds, it is not clear whether one of the members is the head, since both constituents can act as source for the grammatical category and the basic meaning of the construction. In fact, linguists do not agree on this matter. Coordinative compounds are often analyzed as having two heads or are conventionally taken to be right-headed in languages with right-hand heads (see Kageyama, 2009 and Ralli, 2021 for a summary of these views).

In Greek, there is also a considerable number of compounds that are exocentric, that is, compounds where none of the two members is the head (e.g., *kalótixos* 'lucky' < *kal(i)* 'good' + *tíç(i)* 'luck'). Exocentric compounds characterize the Greek

[5] Noun Noun and Adjective Adjective coordinative compounds are common since the Early Medieval Greek (Manolessou and Tsolakidis, 2009). In contrast, Verb Verb compounds are creations of Late Medieval Greek, since they were unknown before the 12th century. As argued by Ralli (2009), Verb Verb compounds are not equally frequent in all the Modern Greek dialects; for instance, they are absent in the Italiot varieties.

language since the Homeric period, as shown by many examples provided by Tserepis (1902) (e.g., *vrak^{h}umogɛ:s* 'tireless' < *vrak^{h}u(s)* 'short' + *mog(os)* 'labour') and, in today's language, they continue to be productively built.[6] According to Ralli (2007, 2013a), the structure of exocentric formations is not entirely headless. She has proposed that the role of the head is assumed by a derivational suffix, which is responsible for the grammatical category of the compound and its basic meaning. By examining compounding in Standard Modern Greek, Cypriot and South Italian Greek, Ralli and Andreou (2012) and Andreou (2014) have suggested that this suffix can be either zero (1a) or overtly realized (1b) and, more importantly, it is always added after compounding has taken place. Consider the following examples for an illustration of this proposal:

(1) Exocentric compounds (Standard Modern Greek)

a. ipsilómisθos$_{A}$ [[[ipsil$_{A}$ -o- misθ$_{N}$] -Ø$_{A}$]$_{A}$ -os]$_{A}$
high-salaried high salary

b. anixtoçéris$_{A}$ [[[anixt$_{A}$ -o- çer$_{N}$] -i$_{A}$]$_{A}$ -s]$_{A}$
open handed open hand
'generous'

3. HEADEDNESS IN GREEK DIALECTAL COMPOUNDS

As already mentioned in Section 2, it is generally accepted that Standard Modern Greek is a predominantly right-hand head language and most of its endocentric compounds are right-headed. This property also characterizes all Modern Greek dialectal varieties, typical examples of which are provided in (2) below. These examples display the properties that are described in Section 2 and are drawn from a corpus of 17,019 compounds, which are stored in a dialectal database (DComp) at the Laboratory of Modern Greek dialects of the University of Patras. DComp is the product of a research conducted by Angela Ralli and George Chairetakis in a seven-year span. It includes data from 14 Greek dialects and dialectal groups, namely, Cappadocian (together with Farasiot and Silliot), Chiot, Cretan, Cycladic, Cypriot, Cytherian,[7] Dodecanesian, Heptanesian, Maniot, Northern Greek dialects

[6] In this article, Ancient Greek examples are given in a phonological transcription according to the Ancient Greek pronunciation, which is different from that in Medieval and Modern Greek.

[7] Among Greek linguists, there is disagreement as to where Cythera (written also as Kythera) and Cytherian belong. Some linguists list the island and its linguistic variety together with the Ionian islands and their varieties, while others propose an independent status (see Katsouda, 2020 for relevant discussion).

(e.g., Lesbian and others), Peloponnesian (from areas other than Mani and Tsakonia), Pontic, Italiot (South Italian Greek covering the Griko and Greko varieties), and Tsakonian. Every compound is listed in the citation form (nominative singular for nouns and adjectives and first person singular of the present tense for verbs); it contains information about the phonological and morphological structure, meaning, constituency, headedness, the type of compound it belongs to (e.g., endocentric or exocentric), the dialect it comes from, and the source from where it is extracted.[8] Eighty-two existing written sources (dictionaries, glossaries, grammars and other documents) have been taken into account, dating from the end of the 19th century onwards,[9] but also oral corpora collected via field work by A. Ralli's research team, which consist of about 300 hours of dialectal narratives.

(2) Right-headed compounds in Modern Greek dialectal varieties

a. Cappadocian

tiflokodiló	<	tifl(á)	+	kodiló
stumble blindly		blindly		stumble

b. Chiot

psarokaséla	<	psár(i)	+	kaséla
fish box		fish		box

c. Cretan

bagaðofevɣála	<	bagá(s)	+	fevɣála
lit. foot-disease run		foot disease		run
'fast run'				

d. Cycladic

scinókukha	<	scín(os)	+	kukh(í)
schinus seed		schinus		seed

[8] For a detailed description of DComp's content and technical features, see Ralli, Chairetakis, and Tsimpouris (2020), Chairetakis and Ralli (2022). Accessibility to DComp (http://dcomp.philology.upatras.gr) is currently granted to researchers working on it, but DComp is planned to be freely accessible in 2024, that is, at the end of the project responsible for its development.

[9] Note that earlier dialectal sources, where compounds can be obtained, go back to the eleventh century. See for instance Kriaras' (1968–2015) dictionary of Medieval and Early Modern Greek, which, however, does not cover all dialects included in DComp. Some medieval compounds are still frequent in the vocabulary of dialectal speakers, while others have disappeared. A separate database containing Medieval and Early Modern Greek dialectal compounds will be available at the end of the DComp project.

e. Cypriot

anarópita	<	anár(i)	+	píta
cheese pie		kind of cheese		pie

f. Cytherian

alatovárelo	<	alát(i)	+	varél(i)
barrel for salt		salt		barrel

g. Dodecanesian

plizinokúna	<	plizín(a)	+	kúna
watermelon seed		watermelon		seed

h. Heptanesian

tubuloperivóli	<	túbul(o)	+	perivóli
lit. brick garden		brick		garden
‘garden with bricks’				

i. Maniot

ksilóɣata	<	ksíl(o)	+	ɣáta
lit. wooden cat		wood		cat
‘mouse trap’				

j. Northern Greek Dialects (e.g., Lesbian)

aɣrijuðámalu	<	áɣrij(u)	+	ðamáλ
wild beef		wild		beef

k. Peloponnesian (from areas other than Mani and Tsakonia)

jiðofoɲás	<	jíð(a)	+	foɲás
goat killer		goat		killer

l. Pontic

kartofotópin	<	kartóf(in)	+	tóp(os)
place with potatoes		potato		place

m. Italiot

rusoxúma	<	rús(o)	+	xúma
red soil		red		soil

n. Tsakonian

strugoliθí	<	strúg(a)	+	líθ(os)
lit. livestock stone		livestock		stone/rock
'rock as a seat'				

With respect to headedness, Greek differs from Romance languages like Italian (Scalise, 1984, 1988, 1992), French (Zwanenburg, 1992) and Spanish (Rainer & Varela, 1992), where compounds are predominantly left-headed. For illustration, consider the following examples, which weaken Williams' (1981) statement that, in morphologically-complex structures, the head is always at the right-hand side.

(3) Romance languages

a. Italian

capostazione	<	capo	+	stazione
station master		head		station

b. French

timbre-poste	<	timbre	+	poste
postage stamp		stamp		postage

c. Spanish

papel moneda	<	papel	+	moneda
money paper		paper		money

Note now that Andreou (2013, 2014) has pointed out that left-headed structures exist in the Greek language as well. He provided some left-headed formations from both Ancient Greek and two Modern Greek dialects, Cypriot and Italiot, concluding that left-headedness has not been unknown in Greek since Ancient Times and continues to exist in certain dialectal varieties. The following examples are drawn from Andreou (2013, pp. 48, 53), but see Tserepis (1902) for some more:

(4) a. Ancient Greek

aŋgulóglo:sson	<	aŋgúl(ɛ:)	+	gló:ss(a)
tongue's bridle		bridle		tongue
theóoinos	<	t^heó(s)	+	óinos
God of wine		God		wine

b. Cypriot

axnarópoðon	<	axnár(in)	+	póð(in)
foot print		trace		foot
fillokrómiðon	<	fíll(on)	+	krommíð(in)
onion leaf		leaf		onion

c. Italiot

fiḍḍámbelo	<	fíḍḍ(o)	+	ambél(i)
vine leaf		leaf		grapevine
ššilopótamo	<	ššíl(o)	+	potamó
river wood		wood		river

Interestingly, a small number of left-headed compounds is also attested in Late Medieval Greek, in sources of various areas, although to a much lesser extent than the right-headed ones, corroborating the hypothesis that left-headedness did not disappear throughout the history of the Greek language.[10] For illustration, consider the examples in (5), taken from Chairetakis and Ralli (2022, p. 36):

(5) Late Medieval Greek left-headed compounds

a. ǰirábelo < ǰír(os) + abél(i)
perimeter of grapevine perimeter grapevine
(Sources: Maras, 1549; Kastrofilakas, 1558; Katzaras, 1622, from Crete)[11]

b. karpováls amon < karp(ós) + válsamon
balsam seed seed balsam
(Source: Ierakosophion medical text of the 13th c., from Constantinople)

c. palamóçiron < palám(i) + çír(a)
palm of the hand palm hand
(Source: playful story about Quadrupeds of the 14th c., from unknown area)

As far as Standard Modern Greek is concerned, the right position of head in compounds is indisputable, since there are no instances of left-headedness. Never-

[10] It would be interesting to delimit the areas where medieval left-headed compounds are detected. This is a difficult, if not impossible, task because there are no medieval texts from all areas of the Greek-speaking world and for some existing sources the author and the area of production are unknown.

[11] See Drakakis (2004), Mavromatis and Georgakopoulos (2008), and Panopoulou (2015) for the publication of these texts.

theless, as Chairetakis and Ralli (2022) have demonstrated, it could be questioned by some limited evidence drawn from several Modern Greek dialects, not only from Cypriot and Italiot that were already mentioned by Andreou (2013, 2014). In fact, the DComp database currently includes about 211 occurrences of left-headed endocentric formations out of a total of 17,019 dialectal compounds. The rest of the database consists of right-headed endocentric compounds (10,456), exocentric compounds with a derivational suffix as head (5,490) and coordinative compounds (862).[12]

Some representative left-headed formations drawn from DComp are listed in (6):

(6) Left-headed compounds in Modern Greek dialects

a. Cretan

rizótixos	<	ríz(a)	+	tíxos
wall base		base, root		wall

b. Cycladic

karðjoçímono	<	karðj(á)	+	çimón(as)
winter's heart		heart		winter

c. Cytherian

patófurnos	<	pát(os)	+	fúrnos
bottom of oven		bottom		oven

d. Dodecanesian

nevrokútala	<	névr(o)	+	kutála
scapula's nerves		nerve		scapula

e. Heptanesian

afedábelos	<	aféd(is)	+	abél(i)
owner of grapevine		owner		grapevine

f. Maniot

plakolíθi	<	plák(a)	+	líθ(os)
block from stone		block		stone

[12] The work on this database is still ongoing and the number of entries is still growing. However, the rate of left-headed compounds does not seem to change drastically. Only sources from Chiot could provide a small increase of the number of left-headed formations (see argumentation below).

g. Peloponnesian (from areas other than Mani and Tsakonia)

staxtopíri	<	stáxt(i)	+	pir(á)
ash from fire		ash		fire

h. Italiot

klonósparto	<	klon(í)	+	spartó
broom stick		stick		broom

i. Tsakonian

xortaropótam(o)	<	xortár(i)	+	potam(ós)
grass which grows around river		grass		river

It is worth stressing that in the sources available to DComp, left-headed formations are absent from the Northern Greek dialects and the Asia Minor Greek ones, but in Pontic, Cappadocian and Chiot the following scarce instances can be detected:

(7) a. Cappadocian

akróðoma	<	ákr(i)	+	ðóma (Cypriot akróðoman, Cretan akróðoma)
edge of roof		edge		roof

b. Chiot

kormoʎá	<	korm(ós)	+	(e)ʎá
trunk of olive tree		trunk		olive tree

c. Pontic

soróliθos	<	sor(ós)	+	líθoς
pile of stones		pile		stone

In a total of 3,657 Pontic compounds, the overwhelming majority of which (2,235 compounds) belongs to right-headed structures, there is only one example of left-headed formation (7c). The remaining data belong to exocentric (1,247) and coordinative (174) structures. The scarcity of left-headed compounds proves that left-headedness does not productively occur in this variety. Moreover, given the fact that Pontic is a very conservative dialect preserving several Ancient and Medieval Greek features (see, among others, Manolessou & Pantelidis, 2011), one would expect more than one left-headed formation. Therefore, I am tempted to propose that the ancient left-headedness has disappeared from Pontic, as it has disappeared in other Greek varieties, and that this example is nothing but a lexicalization of a N(oun) $N(oun)_{GEN}$

phrase, *sorós líθon* ‘pile of stones’. The lexicalized phrase has undergone some form changes but keeps the unmarked constituent order of its syntactic structure, that is, head — nonhead. As pointed out by Ralli (2013a, 2022b), compounding is different from lexicalization. In compounding, there are specific patterns and word-formation principles that systematically create compound words. In contrast, in lexicalization, any syntactic structure may lose its structural transparency, for various reasons, and thus enters the lexicon with its original syntactic form.

The Chiot example under (7b) could also be interpreted as an instance of lexicalization of the noun phrase *kormós eʎás* ‘trunk of olive tree’. In fact, in a total of 164 compounds that are currently listed, (7b) is the only left-headed structure among 98 right-headed instances. Again, the remaining 66 compounds are exocentric (58) and coordinative (8). Nevertheless, I expect the number of Chiot compounds in DComp to be increased because more written sources are planned to be taken into consideration. As a consequence, the number of left-headed compounds may also rise, since Chiot shares similarities with the Dodecanesian dialect, where left-headedness is relatively frequent (both varieties belong to the so-called “eastern group”, see Trudgill, 2003, p. 60).

As for Cappadocian, the *akróðoma* example (7a) may be due to an intra-dialectal transfer, because the same compound appears in Cypriot and Cretan too. Again, in Cappadocian right-headedness applies to most compounds (156 instances in a total of 171 occurrences). Contrary to what is suggested for Chiot, the total number of 171 Cappadocian compounds in DComp is not expected to change, since all available written and oral sources have been taken into consideration. I believe that the small number of Cappadocian compound formations is due to the influence of the dominant language, which has heavily affected Cappadocian, that is, Turkish, where compounds are sparser than those in Greek and, as shown by Göksel (2009) and Ralli (2013b), the existing compound structures differ from the Greek ones.

On the basis of the examples provided in (6), the basic questions which arise are why there are traces of left-headedness in a right-headed language and why there is an uneven distribution of left-headed compounds in the Modern Greek dialectal varieties. A tentative answer is given in Section 4, where I focus on endocentric compounds, that is, on headed compound structures. From the argumentation, I exclude exocentric formations (5,490), since, as mentioned in Section 2, I assume that the role of their head is taken by a derivational suffix, which is added after the compounding structure has taken place. Moreover, I also exclude the 862 coordinative structures, because, as also mentioned in Section 2, their structure is unclear with respect to headedness, and these compounds are only conventionally considered to have a head. From what is left (10,667 endocentric compounds), 10,456 are right-headed and only 211 are left-headed.

For clarity reasons, I present the distribution of left-headed compounds cross-dialectally with the help of a statistical graph and depict this distribution on the geographic map of the Greek speaking world. Again, both the distribution of dialectal compounds and its mapping are based on the corpus of 17,019 occurrences that are stored in DComp. Figure 1 describes the distribution of left-headed formations cross-dialectally and Figure 2 marks the areas where the latter are detected.

Figure 1
Distribution of Left-Headedness Across Modern Greek Dialectal Varieties

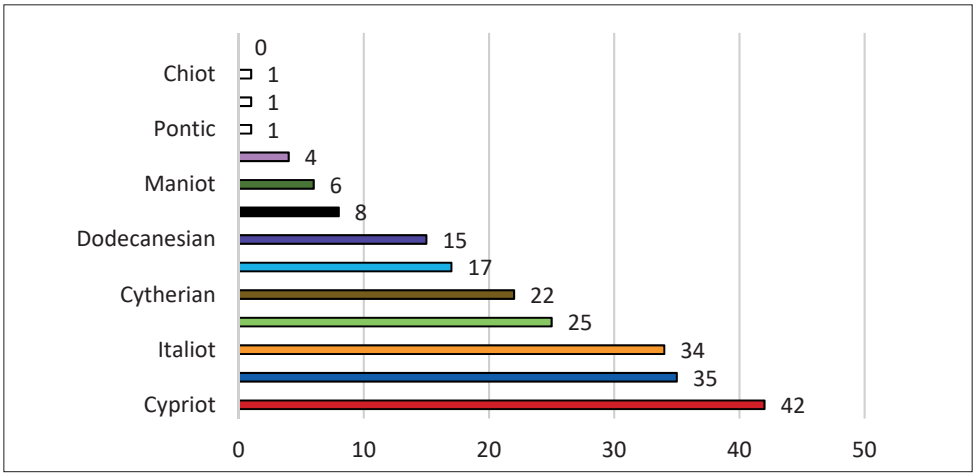
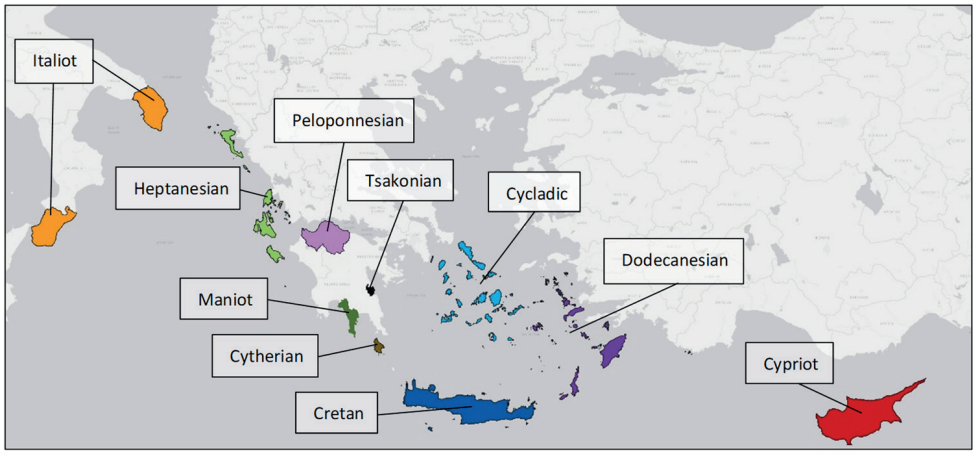


Figure 2
Geographic Areas With Left-Headed Compounds



In Figure 1, Italiot, which has been in the longest and heaviest contact with the predominantly left-headed Romance system, appears to have fewer left-headed formations (34) than Cypriot (42) or Cretan (35). It is worth noting that the actual numbers are rather misleading because the Italiot compounds in the present form of DComp have been drawn from Karanastasis' (1984, 1997) work, where many Romance-based words and structures are not included. I expect the number of Italiot compounds to rise, among them the number of left-headed formations, when more written sources will be taken into consideration, such as Rohlfs (1933, 1977) and various Italiot documents.

4. DISCUSSION

We have seen in Section 3 that left-headedness existed in Ancient Greek (see examples in (4)), although to a much lesser extent than right-headedness, and that it continued to be present throughout the medieval period, as the evidence in (5) illustrates. We could, thus, assume that left-headedness is a pattern diachronically available to compound formation in the Greek language, less frequent though than the pattern of right-headedness. This has driven Andreou (2013, 2014) to claim that left-headedness in Italiot and Cypriot is an endogenous property. Nevertheless, this viewpoint does not explain why left-headedness has disappeared from the varieties of several parts of the Greek speaking world (e.g., from the Northern Greek dialects).

Note now that, on the basis of what is depicted in Figure 2, it is particularly intriguing that almost all left-headed compounds are located in South Aegean, the Ionian and Cycladic islands, Cythera, Crete, Cyprus and South Italy, while there are few occurrences in the Peloponnese as well. Therefore, as already mentioned in Section 3, the basic question that requires an answer is why there are left-headed compounds in these areas, while the varieties of other areas (e.g., Northern Greece and Asia Minor) do not contain such structures. Moreover, an explanation is needed about the nature of factors preserving or triggering left-headedness in Greek, a linguistic system that is largely right-headed. Are these factors endogenous, exogenous, or both?

A careful look at the history of the areas where left-headed compounds occur reveals that these geographic places are exactly those that have been under a long Romance domination, although this domination differs from region to region in terms of time and type (see, among others, Ralli, 2019, 2022a; Minervini, 2019). The Greek speaking part of South Italy, the so-called "Magna Grecia", dates since Ancient Times, and it has been in incessant contact with Latin-based systems since then. Cyprus was under a French regime from the 12th c. to the end of 15th c., when

the Republic of Venice took over. The Venetian rule lasted almost one century, before the conquest of Cyprus by the Ottomans, in 1571. Crete was dominated by the Republic of Venice from the 13th to mid-17th c., while on the Ionian islands, the Venetian dominion lasted from the 14th c. to the end of 18th c. (Corfu and Cythera were conquered first, while Lefkada was the last to be captured). In several parts of the Peloponnese and the Cycladic islands, Frankish supremacy and Venetian control of the ports begun in the early 13th c. and lasted till the mid-15th c. As for the Dodecanese, it was the seat of the Knights Hospitaller from the beginning of 14th c. to the first quarter of 16th c.

On the basis of the Romance dominance in these areas, one wonders whether contact with Romance has contributed to the existence of left-headed patterns in their compounds. Note that, in the literature, it is usually accepted that, in a language-contact situation, a transfer of morphological features is facilitated if these features conform to the native tendencies of the recipient system (see Gardani, 2020a,b for relevant discussion).[13] In accordance with Chairetakis and Ralli (2022), I could, thus, suppose that left-headedness, which was not unknown in the Greek language, has resisted disappearing or has been reintroduced in the particular areas because of contact with Romance languages, since Romance compounding is principally left-headed (see (3) for relevant examples). In contrast, in the other areas, left-headedness has vanished under the pressure of the overwhelming productiveness of right-headedness. According to this suggestion, in certain parts of the Greek-speaking world, the presence of left-headedness parallel to the right-headedness of Greek dialectal compounds is, thus, due to an interplay of endogenous and exogenous factors. On the one hand, the exogenous contact factor has contributed to the maintenance or to the reintroduction of an old native phenomenon, and on the other hand, the creation of new left-headed formations has been facilitated by the endogenous factor referring to the existence of the old left-headed structures.

Further support to the hypothesis that in the Romance-affected Modern Greek varieties the dominant donor language (Romance) has affected the recipient (Greek) comes from the existence of several left-headed compounds, which are directly transferred from Italo-Romance (Venetian). For illustration, consider the following items, drawn from Cretan and Heptanesian:

[13] According to Meillet (1921), a transfer of morphological features is possible if donor and recipient languages share the same morphology. A weakened view of this claim has been put forward by Jakobson (1938), who rejected the idea of "overall identity" and spoke about "morphological tendencies". The same position has been reformulated as "morphological congruence" by Myers-Scotton (2002) and Field (2002).

(8) a. Cretan: setacrúda/satacrúda < Italo-Romance seta cruda
lit. silk raw lit. silk raw silk
'silk cloth' 'silk cloth'
(attested in a legal document of 1457)

b. Heptanesian: kapobándos < Italo-Romance capobanda
director of philharmonic orchestra chief of orchestra

(Gasparinatos & Gasparinatou, 2004)

These loans are fully integrated in the two dialects, in that they display Greek stress and Greek inflection: -a of *setacrúda* has been reanalyzed as the Greek feminine ending and the -os ending of masculine nouns is added to *capobanda* to produce *capobándos*.

The adoption of compounds like those under (8) is a case of matter borrowing, in terms of Sakel (2007), that is, it involves transfer of lexical material, since both the compounds and their constituent members are Romance items. In contrast, left-headed compounds such as those listed in (6) involve Greek lexical material and only the left-headed structure could be assumed to have been transferred by the left-headed Romance. This can be considered as a case of pattern borrowing (Sakel, 2007) in the broad sense, that is, transfer of structure, something which in contact situations is generally believed to be difficult to occur. In the relevant literature, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) have argued that structural borrowing is very low on the borrowing scale, and that it occurs in cases of heavy bilingualism and long-lasting contact (on this, see also Field, 2002; Gardani, 2020a,b). In fact, instances of structural borrowing are attested in Greek of South Italy, a dialect under the heaviest Romance influence (Rohlfs, 1933, 1977). For illustration, consider the loss of the Greek ±perfective aspectual opposition in verbal forms preceded by the complementizer *na* (Squillaci, 2017). The following example belongs to Griko (Italiot of the Salento area) and is drawn from Filieri (2001):

(9) a. Standard Modern Greek

θelo	na fonazo	vs.	θelo	na fonakso
I.want	to I.call.IMPF		I.want	to I.call.PERF
'I want to be calling'			'I want to call'	

b. Griko

*telo	na fonazzo	vs.	telo	na fonaso
			I.want	to I.call.IMPERF/PERF
			'I want to be calling/call'	

Another piece of evidence in favour of the proposal for the substantial Romance influence on those Modern Greek dialects which have undergone a long-lasting contact with Romance is a pattern borrowing involving Verb Noun exocentric compounds. The structure of these compounds displays the principal compounding pattern of Romance languages in general, as attested in several works, as for instance in Scalise (1992), Zwanenburg (1992), and Rainer and Varela (1992) for Italian, French and Spanish, respectively:

(10) a.	Italian portacenere	<	porta	+	cenere
	lit. bring ashes		bring		ash
	‘astray’				
b.	French porteparole	<	porte	+	parole
	lit. bring word		bring		word
	‘spokesman’				
c.	Spanish saltamontes	<	salta	+	montes
	lit. hop mountains		hop		mountains
	‘grasshopper’				

Although rare, this pattern is also known in Greek. It was common in Ancient Greek, as depicted by examples such as *pʰilómusos* ‘who loves arts’ (< stem *pʰil-* of the verb *pʰilo:* ‘to love’ + stem *mus-* of the noun *musa* ‘muse’) and *misántʰro:pos* ‘who hates people’ (< stem *mis-* of the verb *miso:* ‘to hate’ + stem *antʰrop-* of the noun *ántʰro:pos* ‘man’). Some of these exocentric compound patterns are still found in both Standard Modern Greek and several dialectal varieties. It is worth noting that most recent exocentric compound creations, containing a first verbal constituent, use the form of the aorist stem, something which was not necessarily the case in Ancient Greek. A typical example of this case is the modern compound *xasoméris* ‘who loses time’, consisting of the aorist stem *xas-* of the verb *xáno* ‘to lose’ and the stem *mer-* of the noun *méra* ‘day’. Crucially now, in the dialects affected by Romance languages the first verbal constituent of Verb Noun compounds does not come from the aorist stem, but it is a type of the present stem, in compliance with the verbal forms employed in the Romance corresponding formations. The data in DComp reveal that the rate of these compound structures is higher in South Italian Greek, Cypriot, Cretan and Heptanesian, that is, in the heaviest affected dialects by Romance languages. The following Heptanesian examples illustrate this case (see also Theodoridou, 2019):

(11) a. ǰirnopórto < ǰirn(ó) + pórt(a)
lit. goes.around door go around door
'woman who goes around from door to door'

b. ǰomófeŋga < ǰom(óno) + feŋg(ári)
lit. fill moon fill moon
'full moon'

These instances prove that the Greek varieties that have been under a long-lasting Romance rule have been subject to pattern borrowing.[14] $\text{Verb}_{\text{present\_stem}}$ Noun is one of the transferred patterns and left-headedness could be another, which was either reintroduced or prevented from disappearing under the pressure exerted by an overwhelming linguistic inclination for right-headedness. It further explains why the highest rate of left-headed compounds is found in the areas where contact with Romance languages has been the heaviest and the longest, that is, in South Italy (34), Cyprus (42), Crete (35), and the Ionian islands (25), as well as why the dialects which had no significant influence from Romance languages, such as the Northern Greek dialects, display zero/no occurrences of left-headed formations.

5. SUMMARY

In this article, I have examined the presence of left-headedness in the word-formation process of compounding in a number of Modern Greek dialectal varieties. On the basis of data stored in DComp, an electronic dialectal database, consisting of 17,019 compounds, I have shown that left-headed structures exist in the varieties that have undergone a Romance domination, such as those in the areas of South Italy, Cyprus, Crete, the Ionian and the Cycladic islands, Cythera, the Dodecanese, and the Peloponnese. I have proposed that the occurrence of left-headedness can be considered as a pattern-borrowing case in the broad sense. The contact factor has aided the preservation of left-headedness, an old pattern attested in Ancient and Medieval Greek. At the same time, it has contributed to the reintroduction of the pattern that had disappeared in varieties with substantial influence from Romance. I have also suggested that the reintroduction of left-headedness was facilitated by the fact that it was not unknown in the Greek language throughout its history, although it has

[14] Note, however, that while in the Romance Verb Noun compounds the constituents are word forms, in the Greek dialects, the compound members are stems following the requirements of Greek morphology to build stem-based compounds (see Ralli, 2022b for details).

always been less frequent than right-headedness. Supporting evidence in favour of my argumentation was also brought from a number of compounds directly borrowed from Romance languages and from the transfer of Romance Verb Noun exocentric compound formations.

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LEFT-HEADEDNESS IN COMPOUNDS OF A RIGHT-HEADED LANGUAGE

Summary

This article deals with left-headedness in compounding in some dialectal varieties of Greek, a language which is predominantly right-headed. On the basis of data stored in DComp, a dialectal database of the University of Patras containing 17,019 entries, I claim that left-headedness has resulted from the interplay of endogenous and exogenous factors. Given that left-headed compounds appear in the varieties which have been under a long-lasting Romance control, and since Romance languages are mainly left-headed, the exogenous contact factor is principally responsible for the presence of left-headedness, seen as a pattern-borrowing case, in the broad sense. Nevertheless, the phenomenon was not unknown in Ancient Greek compounding, although it applied to a much lesser extent than right-headedness. In line with the view that structural transfer is possible if there is some compatibility between languages in contact, I also assume that the old endogenous property of left-headedness has facilitated the transfer of left-headed formations from Romance to Greek.

Keywords: left-headedness; compounding; linguistic contact; Modern Greek dialects; Romance.

PREPOZYCJA ELEMENTU GŁÓWNEGO W ZŁOŻENIACH W JĘZYKU TYPOWO POSTPOZYCYJNYM

Streszczenie

Niniejszy artykuł dotyczy prepozycji elementu głównego (w pozycji członu pierwszego) w złożeniach w niektórych dialektalnych odmianach języka greckiego, w którym przeważa tendencja do postpozycyjnych realizacji elementu głównego. Na podstawie danych zgromadzonych w DComp, dialektalnej bazie danych Uniwersytetu w Patras, zawierającej 17 019 wpisów, stawiam tezę, że obserwowana prepozycja jest wynikiem łącznego oddziaływania czynników endogennych i egzogennych. Biorąc pod uwagę fakt, że złożenia z elementem głównym w prepozycji pojawiają się w tych odmianach greki, które poddane były długotrwałemu oddziaływaniu języków romańskich — a języki romańskie wykazują przeważającą tendencję do prepozycji w złożeniach — egzogeniczny czynnik kontaktu językowego jest czynnikiem wiodącym, warunkującym obecność prepozycji członu głównego, postrzeganej jako przypadek reguły zapożyczenia, w szerokim jej znaczeniu. Niemniej jednak zjawisko prepozycji w złożeniach nie było zupełnie nieznane już w grece antycznej, choć w znacznie mniejszym stopniu niż postpozycja. Zgodnie z poglądem o możliwości zachodzenia transferu strukturalnego w warunkach pewnej kompatybilności pomiędzy językami w sytuacji kontaktu, zakładam również, że tradycyjna, endogenicznie występująca słaba tendencja do prepozycji ułatwiła transfer formacji prepozycyjnych z języków romańskich do greki.

Słowa kluczowe: prepozycja członu głównego; złożenia; kontakt językowy; współczesne dialekty greckie; języki romańskie.

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