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COMPOUND FORMATION IN RHODIAN GREEK: A DATA-BASED STUDY

This study offers an overview of Rhodian Greek compounding. Based on a dataset of 2000 single-word dialectal compounds, it provides a detailed description and classification of the compounds attested in this southern variety of Modern Greek. The main types of dialectal compounds are presented emphasizing observations on their (a) morphological structure, (b) headedness, and (c) morphosyntactic and semantic relations between their constituents. The examination of the dataset revealed a variety of compound patterns, some of which are not common in Standard Modern Greek. Specifically, the discussion focuses, *inter alia*, on (i) left-headedness in endocentric compounds, (ii) the high productivity of exocentric compounds, and (iii) the presence of loan constituents.

Keywords: compounding, Rhodian Greek, left-headedness, exocentricity, compound-internal relations

1. INTRODUCTION

This study explores the process of compounding in the geographical variety of Modern Greek spoken in Rhodes (henceforth RhoGr). In Standard Modern Greek (henceforth SMG), compounding appears to be a very productive process (Ralli [2007] 2013a: 12, 2013b: 1), while even higher productivity is attested in southern dialectal varieties of Modern Greek (Giannouloupoulou 2006: 68, 77). These varieties display structures which are either absent or less represented in SMG (Ralli 2013b: 90, 112, 157, 218).

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In recent years, research studies (see Ralli & Andreou 2012, for Cypriot Greek; Nikolou et al. 2014, for Cycladic Greek; Chairetakis 2015, for Cretan Greek, among many others) have investigated compounding in southern dialectal varieties of Modern Greek, contributing thus to the scientific study of Modern Greek morphology and dialectology. Nevertheless, the research interest in southern Greek compounding only recently included RhoGr (see Lyriotakis 2021). The majority of linguistic studies on RhoGr focuses on the phonological analysis of regional phenomena (see Tsopanakis 1940; Nikolou, Lengeris & Frantzi 2021, among others). This allows us to investigate the process under consideration, describing and analyzing not only the morphological aspects of compounding, but also issues related to morphosyntax and lexical semantics.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1. Rhodian Greek

RhoGr is the geographical linguistic variety of Modern Greek spoken in Rhodes, the largest island of Dodecanese, located in the southeastern part of the Aegean Sea. RhoGr is classified among the southeastern varieties of MG, based on both phonological and morphological criteria which are unattested in SMG (see Trudgill 2003; Kontossopoulos 2008, among others).

Specifically, as for phonology, RhoGr features consonant gemination (1a), aspiration of voiceless stops /p, t, k/ (1b), and velar palatalization and affrication (1c). Regarding morphology, a distinctive characteristic is the retention of word-final /n/ in nouns (2a), adjectives (2b) and verbs (2c)³.

- (1a) [aθ:ótiron] ‘farmer cheese’
N.NEU.NOM.SG⁴
- (1b) [xlorap^h:íðes] ‘stupid men’
N.MASC.NOM.PL
- (1c) [sfixtot^héfal:ðos]⁵ ‘wild lavender’
N.NEU.NOM.SG
- (2a) [artoplasían] ‘kneading’
N.FEM.ACC.SG
- (2b) [kakómiron] ‘poor, miserable’
ADJ.NEU.NOM.SG
- (2c) [éferen] ‘bring’
V.3SG.PAST

³ For an accurate depiction of the dialectal realizations, RhoGr compounds are phonetically transcribed according to the International Phonetic Alphabet.

⁴ Abbreviations (in alphabetical order): ADJ (Adjective), ADV (Adverb), CM (Compound Marker), FEM (Feminine), H (Head), IT (Italian), MASC (Masculine), N (Noun), NEU (Neuter), NOM (Nominative), PL (Plural), SG (Singular), TR (Turkish), V (Verb).

⁵ In RhoGr the underlying /k/ displays a dialectal alveolo-palatal affricate realization [tʃ] when preceding the high front vowel /i/ and mid front vowel /e/ (Nikolou, Lengeris & Frantzi 2021: 921–923).

However, the term RhoGr is an umbrella term. Tsopanakis (1940) discerned two main dialectal zones within Rhodes, a northeastern one and a southwestern one, noting that the Rhodian linguistic variation should be more complicated and the actual zones may be seven (Tsopanakis 1940: 251–255). Furthermore, Rhodes includes two *linguistic islands* (see Tsopanakis 1940; Kontossopoulos 2008), namely the local variety spoken in the village Apollona and the one spoken in the village Archangelos.

Moreover, the long-lasting contact with Turkish, during the Ottoman Occupation of Rhodes, from 1522 to 1912, led to numerous lexical borrowings which are still in use. RhoGr was also in contact with Italian during the Italian Occupation of Rhodes, from 1912 to 1943. Notwithstanding this relatively short period of time, the contact was strong due to the designation of Italian as the only official language and its omnipresence in education and administration (Sifopoulos 2000: 53–68).

2.2. Compounding in Modern Greek

Compounding constitutes the word-formation process in which two or more lexemes, that is, stems and/or words, are combined to form a morphologically complex structure, a new word, the compound (Bauer 2001: 695; Ralli [2007] 2013a: 18, 2013b: 1, 10, among many others). The constituents of the morphologically complex structure are in the great majority of cases *stems* [Stem + Stem] (3a), or a combination of *stems* and *words* [Stem + Word] (3b), [Word + Stem] (3c). [Word + Word] single-word compounds are rare in Modern Greek (3d).

(3a) [Stem + Stem]	kakomírís _{ADJ.MASC.NOM.SG} 'miserable'	<	kac(i) _{ADJ.FEM.NOM.SG} 'bad'	+	mír(a) _{N.FEM.NOM.SG} 'fate'
(3b) [Stem + Word]	pseftokléo _{V.1SG.PRESENT} 'pretend to cry'	<	pséft(ika) _{ADV} 'affectedly'	+	kléo _{V.1SG.PRESENT} 'cry'
(3c) [Word + Stem]	panofóri _{N.NEU.NOM.SG} 'overcoat'	<	páno _{ADV} 'up, above'	+	for(áo) _{V.1SG.PRESENT} 'wear'
(3d) [Word + Word]	ksanamiláo _{V.1SG.PRESENT} 'talk again'	<	ksaná _{ADV} 'again'	+	miláo _{V.1SG.PRESENT} 'talk'

Modern Greek compounds feature three primal characteristics:

1. *One main stress*: Even though the two (or more) constituents (*stems* and/or *words*) bared each a stress, the new structure bares only one main stress. That confers the status of a *prosodic word* (ω) (Bauer 2009: 345) upon the compound. The stress of the compound may coincide with the stress of one of the constituents (4a) or be assigned to a different syllable (4b) (Ralli [2005] 2018: 164, [2007] 2013a: 22, 2013b: 13).

- (4a) agurosaláta_{N.FEM.NOM.SG} < agúr(i)_{N.NEU.NOM.SG} + saláta_{N.FEM.NOM.SG}
 'cucumber salad' 'cucumber' 'salad'
- (4b) xortópita_{N.FEM.NOM.SG} < xórt(o)_{N.NEU.NOM.SG} + píta_{N.FEM.NOM.SG}
 'herb pie' 'herb' 'pie'

II. *Compound marker (CM)*: A distinctive feature of single-word compounds is the presence of a semantically empty *linking element* which takes the default value /o/ and it is placed between the constituents (Ralli [2005] 2018: 31, [2007] 2013a: 165, 2013b: 17). CM is not to be confused with a phonetically similar [o] which may occupy the last segment position of the left-hand constituent as (part of) an inflectional suffix (5a). However, CM may be absent or deleted due to phonological (Nikolou 2003: 58–59) or morphological reasons, or when a stem is lexically marked (Ralli 2013b: 47–54). There are also cases where a different vowel, namely /a/, /e/, or /u/, assumes the role of CM (for the CM in RhoGr see Lyriotakis 2021: 68). An illustrative example of that case is presented under (5b).

- (5a) yalanomátis_{ADJ.MASC.NOM.SG} < yalan(ó)_{ADJ.NEU.NOM.SG} + o_{CM} + máti_{N.NEU.NOM.SG}
 'blue-eyed' 'blue' 'eye'
- (5b) psomaθíka_{N.FEM.NOM.SG}⁶ < psom(i)_{N.NEU.NOM.SG} + a_{CM} + θíka_{N.FEM.NOM.SG}
 'bread box' 'bread' 'case, box'

III. *Semantic opacity*: Contrary to syntactic structures which are semantically transparent as the meaning of the whole is the sum of the meanings of its components, compounds are not always transparent (Ralli [2005] 2018: 165, [2007] 2013a: 23–24, 2013b: 18–19). Thus, in terms of lexical semantics, compounds can be transparent, semi-transparent, or opaque.

Compounding in Modern Greek has been primarily explored within *lexical integrity principle* (Bresnan & Mchombo 1995: 181). According to this, syntax has no access to the internal structure of the word. Word-formation is exclusively up to morphology and this latter is an autonomous component of the grammar.

3. PRESENT STUDY

3.1. Methodology

RhoGr compounds were elicited from both written sources and fieldwork recordings. As for the written sources, the data were drawn from the *Dictionary of Rhodian Idioms* (Papachristodoulou 1986), consisting of dialectal entries attested in Rhodes from 1933 to 1986, and from *The language of Archangelos* (Psaras [2016] 2018), a synchronic glossary of the RhoGr variety of Archangelos.

⁶ The RhoGr example is drawn from Papachristodoulou 1986: 693.

Moreover, to enrich the data and to ensure the synchronic usage of the compounds in question, fieldwork recordings were undertaken. Specifically, everyday conversations with 21 native speakers of RhoGr were recorded, using a professional microphone (Tascam DR-40), in five villages of the island of Rhodes, namely, Afandou, Apollona, Archangelos, Messanagros and Salakos. All speakers are permanent residents of the villages and they use only RhoGr in their oral communication. The topics covered included childhood memories, family, work and matters of daily concern. Native speakers were also asked to confirm or deny the usage of several compounds drawn from Papachristodoulou (1986) and explicitly given to them by the interviewer. In case of confirmation, they were asked to provide a phrase featuring the compound in question. This method further ensured the synchronic usage of these compounds.

3.2. Dataset

The relevant language material elicited from all sources presented in 3.1., that is, single-word compounds, was segregated from the other linguistic data. This enabled the creation of a dataset of 2000 compounds. Notwithstanding, this dataset is not exhaustive; on the contrary, it has a dynamic character, as provision has been made for a constant update.

In the dataset, the compounds were alphabetically listed, followed by their phonetic transcription and their (a) intralinguistic translation into SMG, and (b) interlinguistic translation into English.

4. COMPOUNDING IN RHODIAN GREEK

4.1. Compounding Schemes

For Modern Greek compounding, four primal compounding schemes have been suggested to depict the internal structure of compounds (see Ralli [2005] 2018, [2007] 2013a, 2013b, Nespor & Ralli 1996): (a) [[Stem + Stem] + Inflectional Suffix], (b) [Stem + Word], (c) [Word + Word], (d) [[Word + Stem] + Inflectional Suffix]. In addition to these schemes, Revithiadou (1997) and Nikolou (2003, 2008) propose a “hybrid” type based on phonological criteria. Specifically, they suggest a compounding type [Stem + Word]_ω as its prosodic structure coincide with [[Stem + Stem] + Inflectional Suffix] where the stress is assigned to the antepenultimate syllable, while its morphological structure coincides with [Stem + Word] as the inflectional suffix of the second constituent rests intact.

Following a bottom-up approach, we detect all four primal schemes in RhoGr (see Lyriotakis 2021: 36–48). Each one includes one or two sub-schemes following the internal structure variation, such as extended stems (Ib, IIIa) or derivation (Ia), or the phonological behavior of the compounds (IIa, IVa) (Table 1, Figure 1).

I. <i>[[Stem + Stem] + Inflectional Suffix]</i> (6a) ελoxórafon ‘olive grove’ $\{\{e\lambda_{STEM} - o_{CM} - xóraf_{STEM}\} - on_{INFL.SUFF}\}_{N.NEUT.NOM.SG}$ < eλ(á)_{N.FEM.NOM.SG} ‘olive’ + xoráf(in)_{N.NEUT.NOM.SG} ‘field’
Ia. <i>[[[[Stem + Stem] + Derivational Suffix] + Inflectional Suffix]</i> (6b) kakóθreftos ‘scraggy’⁵ $\{\{\{kak_{STEM} - ó_{CM} - \theta ref_{STEM}\} - t_{DER.SUFF}\} - os_{INFL.SUFF}\}_{ADJ.MASC.NOM.SG}$ < kak(á)_{ADV} ‘badly, poorly’ + θréf(o)_{V.1SG.PRESENT} ‘feed’
Ib. <i>[[[[[Stem + Stem] + Stem] + Derivational Suffix] + Inflectional Suffix]</i> (6c) anemotíklopódīs ‘fast horse’⁶ $\{\{\{\{anem_{STEM} - o_{CM} - t^{ikl}_{STEM}\}_{STEM} - o_{CM} - pód_{STEM}\} - i_{DER.SUFF}\} - s_{INFL.SUFF}\}_{N.MASC.NOM.SG}$ < ánem(os)_{N.MASC.NOM.SG} ‘wind’ + t^{ikl}(os)_{N.MASC.NOM.SG} ‘circle’ + pód(i)_{N.NEU.NOM.SG} ‘foot’
II. <i>[Stem + Word]</i> (6d) avgofil:ḗia ‘eggshell’ $\{avg_{STEM} - o_{CM} - fil:ḗia_{WORD}\}_{N.FEM.NOM.SG}$ < avg(ó)_{N.NEU.NOM.SG} ‘egg’ + shell fil:ḗia_{N.FEM.NOM.SG}
Ila. <i>[Stem + Word]_ω</i> (6e) cerómilos ‘hand grinder’ $\{cer_{STEM} - ó_{CM} - milos_{WORD}\}_{N.MASC.NOM.SG}$ < cér(i)_{N.NEU.NOM.SG} ‘hand’ + mílos_{N.MASC.NOM.SG} ‘grinder’
III. <i>[[Word + Stem] + Inflectional Suffix]</i> (6f) eftarézilon ‘great humiliation’ $\{\{efta_{WORD} - rézil_{STEM}\} - on_{INFL.SUFF}\}_{N.NEU.NOM.SG}$ < eftá_{ADV} ‘seven’ + rezíl(i)_{N.NEU.NOM.SG} ‘humiliation’

⁷ We assume that the compounding scheme for [kakóθreftos] is the one presented under Ia, i.e. [[[Stem + Stem] + Derivational Suffix] + Inflectional Suffix], and not [[Stem + [Stem + Derivational Suffix]] + Inflectional Suffix] because the second constituent is not attested as an independent word (*[θreftós]). On the contrary, the verb [kakoθréfo] is attested in our dataset. Thus, [kakóθreftos] seems to be an adjective derived from the compound verb [kakoθréfo].

⁸ We assume that the compounding scheme for [anemotíklopódīs] is the one presented under Ib, i.e. [[[Stem + Stem] + Stem] + Derivational Suffix] + Inflectional Suffix], and not [Stem + [[[Stem + Stem] + Derivational Suffix] + Inflectional Suffix]] because *[t^{ikl}lopódīs] is unattested in RhoGr. Contrariwise, the compound verb [anemotík lízo], meaning ‘run fast’ and ‘scatter’, is attested in our dataset. Thus, the compound noun [anemotíklopódīs] seems to have been built upon the derived stem of this verb with the rightward addition of the new stem [pód].

<i>IIIa. [[[Word + Stem] + Stem] + Inflectional Suffix]</i> (6g) triaⁿdaklonotⁱp^h:árisⁿon ‘cypress with thirty branches’ { { { triaⁿda_{WORD} - klon_{STEM} } - o_{CM} - tⁱp^h:áris_{STEM} } - on_{INFL,SUFF} }_{N.NEU.NOM.SG} < triáⁿda_{ADV} ‘thirty’ + klón(os)_{N.MASC.NOM.SG} ‘branch’ + tⁱp^h:áris(in)_{N.NEU.NOM.SG} ‘cypress’
<i>IV. [Word + Word]</i> (6h) bro^ph:éfto ‘to be degraded’ { bro_{WORD} - p^h:éfto_{WORD} }_{V.1SG.PRESENT} < bro(s)_{ADV} ‘forward’ + p^h:éfto_{V.1SG.PRESENT} ‘fall down’
<i>IVa. [Word + Word]_ω</i>⁷ (6i) katóstrata ‘at the bottom of the road’ { kató_{WORD} - strata_{WORD} }_{ADV} < kátō_{ADV} ‘down’ + stráta_{N.FEM.NOM.SG} ‘road’

Table 1. Compounding Schemes

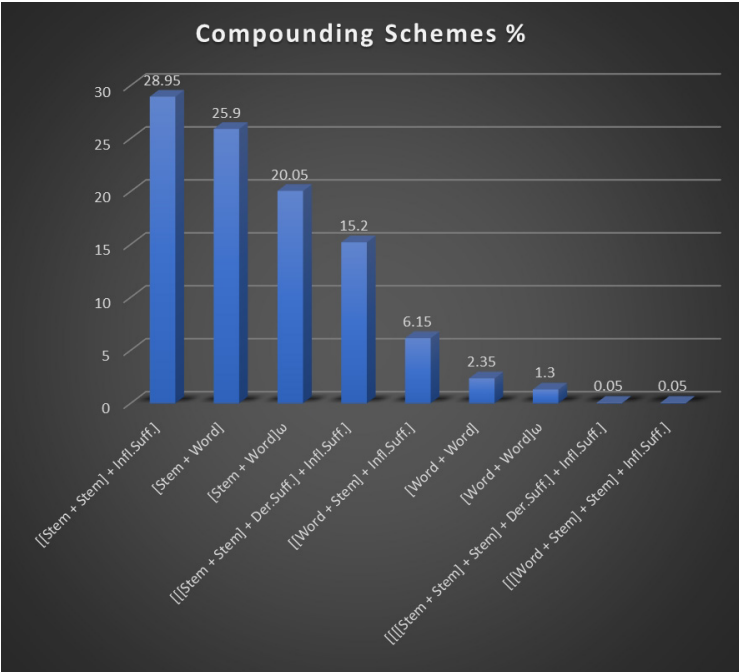


Figure 1. Productivity of Compounding Schemes %

⁹ Following Revithiadou’s (1997) and Nikolou’s (2003, 2008) reasoning concerning the “hybrid” type [Stem + Word]_ω, we assume a second “hybrid” type [Word + Word]_ω where the stress has been reassigned, as the stressed syllable of the compound does not coincide either with the stressed syllable of the first constituent or the one of the second constituent.

4.2. Headedness and Endo-/Exocentricity

The notion of *head*, that is, the component which transmits to a compound its semantic, categorial and morphosyntactic properties (Scalise & Fábregas 2010: 113), is considered to be the main criterion for the classification of compounds as *endocentric* or *exocentric* (Ralli [2007] 2013: 91–92). Scalise, Fábregas and Forza (2009: 57) propose a three-fold classification in categorial, semantic and morphological head. The semantic criterion has been exalted in many cases (Bauer 2009: 350); this approach has been disputed, though (see Ralli & Andreou 2012). To summarize, following Bauer’s reasoning, in this study we consider the *semantic head* as the main differentiating feature between *endocentric* and *exocentric* compounds. Thus, when the *semantic head* is found within the structure, the compound is *endocentric*, whereas when it is absent or related to an entity outside the structure, the compound is considered *exocentric*.

4.2.1. Endocentric Compounds

Endocentric compounds occupy the vast majority of compounds in RhoGr, in line with what has been attested in Modern Greek in general (Ralli 2013b: 126; Chairetakis & Ralli 2022: 39). This is verified by RhoGr data, as headed compounds feature the highest productivity. Specifically, among the 2000 entries of our dataset, 1257 are *endocentric*.

In these compounds, the *right-hand* position is considered to be the prominent position of the *head* (Ralli 2013b: 108). The *non-head* constituent is placed on the left side of the structure, while the *head* (H) constituent on the right side (Ralli [2007] 2013a: 87), as shown in the RhoGr compounds under (7a) and (7b)¹⁰.

- (7a) *kamilagát^h:a* ‘big thorn’
 {*kamil*_{STEM} - [*agát^h:a*]_{WORD^H} }_{N.FEM.NOM.SG}
 < *kamil(a)*_{N.FEM.NOM.SG} ‘camel’ + *agát^h:a*_{N.FEM.NOM.SG} ‘thorn’

- (7b) *ast^cinólaðon* ‘mastic oil’
 {{*ast^cin*_{STEM} - *ó*_{CM} - [*lað*_{STEM^H}] } - *on*_{INFL.SUFF} }_{N.NEU.NOM.SG}
 < *ást^cin(os)*_{N.MASC.NOM.SG} ‘lentisc’ + *lað(i)*_{N.NEU.NOM.SG} ‘oil’

4.2.1.1. Left-headed Compounds

Notwithstanding the abundance of *right-headed endocentric* compounds in RhoGr, *left-headed* ones are also attested. Agathopoulou (2003: 71) points out the existence of a restricted number of *left-headed* compounds in SMG, while

¹⁰ The head constituent is depicted in **bold**.

Andreou (2014: 143, 178) relates their presence to possible inherited structures from Ancient Greek.

In their crossdialectal investigation of *left-headed* compounding in Modern Greek dialectal varieties, Chairetakis and Ralli (2022: 44) verify the extremely low productivity of *left-headedness* with only 132 compound instances. In the same study, only 8 such instances are found in Dodecanesian Greek, the overlying dialectal group which includes RhoGr. In our dataset, we detected 10 *left-headed* compounds in RhoGr alone. This suggests a higher-than-expected productivity of these structures. For illustration, prime examples are presented under (8a) and (8b).

- (8a) $\varsigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\alpha}grem:on$ ‘edge of the cliff’
 $\{ \{ [\varsigma\acute{\iota}\lambda]_{STEM+H} \} - \acute{\alpha}grem: \}_{STEM} - on \}_{INFL.SUFF} \}_{N.NEU.NOM.SG}$
 $< \varsigma\acute{\iota}\lambda(os)_{N.NEU.NOM.SG}$ ‘edge’ + $agrem:(ós)_{N.MASC.NOM.SG}$ ‘cliff’
- (8b) $rizovuná$ ‘foothills’
 $\{ \{ \{ [riz]_{STEM+H} \} - o_{CM} - \{ [vun]_{STEM} \} - (i) \}_{DER.SUFF} \} - \emptyset \}_{INFL.SUFF} \}_{N.FEM.NOM.SG}$
 $< r\acute{\iota}z(a)_{N.FEM.NOM.SG}$ ‘root’ + $vun(ó)_{N.NEU.NOM.SG}$ ‘mountain’

Strikingly, there are a few occurrences where the *head* can act either as the *left-hand* or as the *right-hand* constituent, as shown in (9a) and (9b). This means that the same two constituents can form, without any change in meaning, both a *right-headed* (9a) and a *left-headed* (9b) compound.

- (9a) $kofinókolos$ ‘bottom of the basket’
 $\{ kofin \}_{STEM} - \acute{o}_{CM} - \{ [kolos]_{WORD+H} \} \}_{N.MASC.NOM.SG}$
 $< kofin(i)_{N.NEU.NOM.SG}$ ‘basket’ + $kólos_{N.MASC.NOM.SG}$ ‘bottom’
- (9b) $kolokófinos$ ‘bottom of the basket’
 $\{ \{ [kol]_{STEM+H} \} - o_{CM} - \{ [kófin]_{STEM} \} - os \}_{INFL.SUFF} \}_{N.MASC.NOM.SG}$
 $< kól(os)_{N.MASC.NOM.SG}$ ‘bottom’ + $kofín(i)_{N.NEU.NOM.SG}$ ‘basket’

In Italian the majority of compounds are *left-headed* (Scalise 1992: 182). Nevertheless, even though the *language contact* with Italian was strong enough to lead to numerous lexical borrowings in RhoGr, we could not claim structural borrowing in this case as well (Lyriotakis 2021: 78). Thus, *left-headedness* in RhoGr emerges as a topic for further investigation from a diachronic point of view. This remark is in line with the interpretation of *left-headedness* provided by Chairetakis and Ralli (2022: 46–50).

4.2.2. Exocentric Compounds

As already mentioned, *exocentric* compounds are considered headless. However, it is not uncommon for a derivational suffix to undertake the role of morphological head (Ralli 2003: 88, [2005] 2018: 265–266, [2007] 2013a: 193, 2013b: 126). Thus, a compound may be morphologically *endocentric*, but categorically and semantically *exocentric* (10a). Unlike other approaches, in this study, for the classification of compounds as *exocentric*, focus is placed on semantics. In this context, even if a compound shares its morphological and categorial properties with its right-hand constituent, it is considered *exocentric* if there is no evidence of *semantic head* within the structure (10b) (Lyriotakis 2021: 80).

(10a) *traojénis* ‘(as an insult) priest’

{{{tra_{STEM} -o_{CM} -jén_{STEM} }-i_{DER.SUFF} }-s_{INFL.SUFF} }_{N.MASC.NOM.SG}
 < trá(os)_{N.MASC.NOM.SG} ‘male goat’ + jén(a)_{N.NEU.NOM.PL} ‘beard’

(10b) *mizoθrokapetanós* ‘(as a mockery) arrogant man’

{mizoθr_{STEM} -o_{CM} -kapetanós_{WORD} }_{N.MASC.NOM.SG}
 < mizíθr(a)_{N.FEM.NOM.SG} ‘curd cheese’ + kapetanós_{N.MASC.NOM.SG} ‘captain’

Exocentric compounds feature high productivity in Modern Greek dialectal varieties (Ralli 2013b: 112, 126; Chairetakis & Ralli 2022: 40, among many others). This is true for RhoGr as well. Among the 2000 entries, 743 are *exocentric*. The productivity of both *endocentric* and *exocentric* RhoGr compounds is depicted in Figure 2.

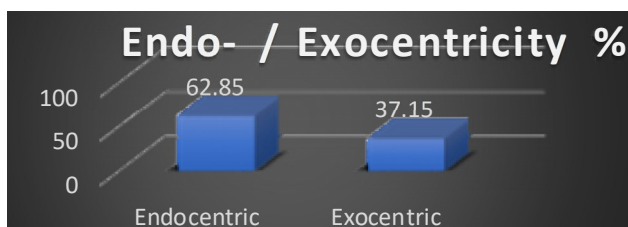


Figure 2. Percentage of Endo-/Exocentricity

4.3. Compound-internal Relations

Regarding the morphosyntactic and semantic relations between the constituents, Bisetto and Scalise (2005: 327–329) propose a tripartite classification:

a. *coordinate compounds*, the constituents of which could be lined up the one after the other and be linked together with a copulative [ce].

b. *attributive compounds*, where the *head* constituent is determined by the *non-head* constituent.

c. *subordinate compounds*, where there is a *head-complement* relation between the constituents.

4.3.1. Coordinate Compounds

Coordinate or *dvandva compounds* (see Ralli [2005] 2018: 80) comprise two constituents which belong to the same grammatical category. Thus, in RhoGr we detect [N N] (11a, 11b), [ADJ ADJ] (11c), [V V] (11d) and [ADV ADV] (11e, 11f) compounds which are mainly semantically transparent. However, occurrences of opaque *coordinate compounds* occur as well (11d), primarily due to the presence of a *loan* constituent (11e). *Coordinate compounds* are the least productive category in RhoGr with 108 occurrences in our dataset.

Ralli (2013b: 163–165) proposes a semantic sub-classification of *coordinate compounds* in:

- I. *additive compounds*, where the meaning of the whole comes from the sum of meanings (11a). This is the most productive sub-category of *coordinate compounds* in RhoGr.
- II. *collective compounds*, which are exclusively nouns. As Ralli (2013b: 164) points out the properties of the whole is the result of the properties of the constituents. In fact, they do not differ significantly from *additive compounds* (11b, 11c).
- III. *synonymic compounds*, the constituents of which carry the same or a very similar meaning (11e).
- IV. *antonymic compounds*, the constituents of which have opposite meanings (11f).

(11a) anemóvroxon ‘wind and rain’

{anem_{STEM}-ó_{CM}-vrox_{STEM}}-on_{INFL.SUFF}}_{N.NEU.NOM.SG}
 < ánem(os)_{N.MASC.NOM.SG} ‘wind’ + vroç(i)_{N.FEM.NOM.SG} ‘rain’

(11b) aⁿderosíkota ‘entrails’

{aⁿder_{STEM}-o_{CM}-síkot_{STEM}}-a_{INFL.SUFF}}_{N.NEU.NOM.PL}
 < áⁿder(a)_{N.NEU.NOM.PL} ‘intestines’ + síkót(i)_{N.NEU.NOM.SG} ‘liver’

(11c) arsenikoθílikos ‘(for animals) hermaphrodite’

{arsenik_{STEM}-o_{CM}-θílikos_{WORD}}_{ADJ.MASC.NOM.SG}
 < arsenik(ós)_{ADJ.MASC.NOM.SG} ‘male’ + θílikós_{ADJ.MASC.NOM.SG} ‘female’

(11d) zjoθréfume ‘to frequent somewhere’

{zj_{STEM}-o_{CM}-θréfume_{WORD}}_{V.1SG.PRESENT}
 < zj(o)_{V.1SG.PRESENT} ‘to be alive’ + θréfume_{V.1SG.PRESENT} ‘to be nourished’

(11e) al:^dap^h:ít^h:axa ‘again and again’

{al:^d_{STEM}-a_{CM}-p^h:ít^h:axa_{WORD}}_{ADV}
 < (p)ál(e)_{ADV} ‘again’ + p^h:ít^h:axa_{ADV} (< TR. bírdaha) ‘again’

(11f) kalókaka ‘so and so’

{kal_{STEM}-ó_{CM}-kaka_{WORD}}_{ADV}
 < kal(á)_{ADV} ‘well’ + kaká_{ADV} ‘badly’

The compound in (11e) comprises a *loan* constituent of Turkish origin which is utterly accommodated to the phonological system of the recipient variety, displaying characteristics such as consonant gemination and aspiration ([p^h:], [t^h:]). Concerning morphology, the *loan* item falls into the pattern of *complete integration*, participating thus as a constituent in compounding. Even with that status though, it features a certain degree of semantic opacity.

4.3.2. Attributive Compounds

In *attributive* compounds, the two constituents are related in a modificational way; the *non-head* constituent either modifies or confers a property upon the *head* constituent. This is the most productive category in RhoGr with 1400 occurrences in our dataset.

Nikolou et al. (2014: 1220) suggest that the *non-head* constituent of nominal compounds is an adjective, while the one of verbal compounds is an adverb. These two structures, [ADJ N] (12a) and [ADV V] (12b) are the most frequent in RhoGr as well. Notwithstanding, in our dataset there are occurrences where the modifier *non-head* constituent in nominal attributive compounds is a noun [N N] (12c) or an adverb [ADV N] (12d). It is worth noting that [ADJ N] compounds are not always nominal. The [ADJ N] compound in (12e) is an adverbial exocentric compound; thus, its category differs from both constituents.

(12a) ayrjopiponá ‘squirting cucumber’

{ayrj_{STEM}-o_{CM}-piponá_{WORD}}_{N.FEM.NOM.SG}
 < ayrj(a)_{ADJ.FEM.NOM.SG} ‘wild’ + piponá_{N.FEM.NOM.SG} ‘melon’

(12b) varokúo ‘to be hard of hearing’

{var_{STEM}-o_{CM}-kúo_{WORD}}_{V.1SG.PRESENT}
 < var(já)_{ADV} ‘heavily’ + (a)kúo_{V.1SG.PRESENT} ‘to hear’

- (12c) psomop^h:áni ‘bread cover cloth’
 {psom_{STEM}-o_{CM}-p^h:áni_{WORD}}_{N.NEU.NOM.SG}
 < psom(i)_{N.NEU.NOM.SG} ‘bread’ + p^h:aní_{N.NEU.NOM.SG} ‘cloth’
- (12d) katotróçin ‘last wheel’
 {{kato_{WORD}-tróc_{STEM}}-in_{INFL.SUFF}}_{N.NEU.NOM.SG}
 < kátō_{ADV} ‘down’ + ‘trox(ós)_{N.MASC.NOM.SG}’ ‘wheel’
- (12e) misokátena ‘halfway’
 {{mis_{STEM}-o_{CM}-kátena_{WORD}}_{ADV}
 < mis(i)_{ADJ.FEM.NOM.SG} ‘half’ + katén(a)_{N.FEM.NOM.SG} ‘chain’

Yet again, *loan* constituents are present in compounding. In (12e) the Italian-origin *loan* item is also attested as an independent morphological and prosodic word [katéna]. In this example, even though both constituents, the *native* one and the *loan* one, bare a semantic value in the lexicon, when combined to form a compound, the new meaning does not result from the sum of meanings of the two constituents.

4.3.3. Subordinate Compounds

The constituents of *subordinate* compounds are related in a syntactic *head-complement* way. In most cases, the right-hand constituent, the *head*, is a verb (13a). We also consider *subordinate* the compounds featuring a noun at the place of the *head* which is in a semasiosyntactic relation of possession with the *non-head* constituent (13b) (Bisetto & Scalise 2005: 327). Among the 2000 entries, 492 are *subordinate*.

- (13a) ⁿderolíó ‘to scary (somebody)’
 {ⁿder_{STEM}-o_{CM}-líó_{WORD}}_{V.1SG.PRESENT}
 < (á)ⁿder(o)_{N.NEU.NOM.SG} ‘intestine’ + líó_{V.1SG.PRESENT} ‘unbind’
- (13b) avgofil:^día ‘eggshell’
 {avg_{STEM}-o_{CM}-fil:^día_{WORD}}_{N.FEM.NOM.SG}
 < avg(ó)_{N.NEU.NOM.SG} ‘egg’ + fil:^día_{N.FEM.NOM.SG} ‘shell’

The productivity of the three compound-internal relations is depicted in Figure 3.

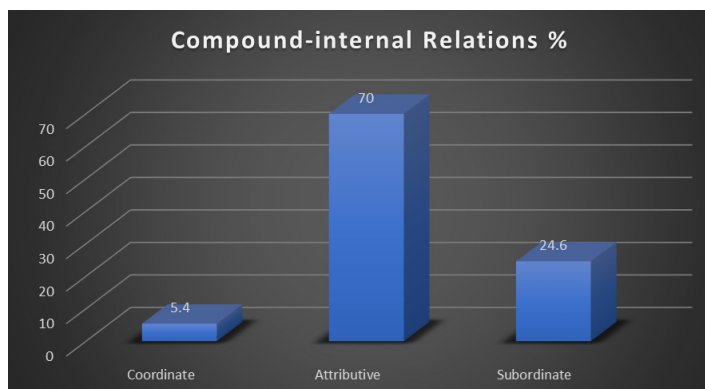


Figure 3. Percentage of Coordinate, Attributive and Subordinate Compounds

5. CONCLUSION

In this article, we examined the compound formation in RhoGr based on a dataset of 2000 single-word compounds, corroborating thus the richness of compounding in southern Modern Greek varieties. Regarding the morphological structure of RhoGr compounds, our analysis revealed four primal compounding schemes and five sub-schemes. What is remarkable is the high productivity of the scheme $[[\text{Stem} + \text{Stem}] + (\text{Derivational and/or Inflectional}) \text{ Suffix}]$ which reaches the percentage of 44,15%.

Concerning *headedness*, even though in *endocentric* compounds *right-headed* structures outbalance *left-headed* ones, the latter are particularly prevalent in RhoGr, with a greater than expected presence, as verified by our data-based study. The analysis also demonstrated the proliferation of *exocentric* compounds to such an extent which is not common in SMG.

Regarding compound-internal relations, *attributive* compounds resulted as the most productive category. What is worth mentioning is the presence of *loan* constituents in compounding, primarily from Turkish and Italian, due to the strong contact of these two languages with RhoGr. Even though some of those *loan* items are attested in RhoGr as independent words, their presence in compounding is related to instances of *semantic opacity*, mainly in *coordinate* and *attributive* compounds.

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**Η ΣΥΝΘΕΣΗ ΛΕΞΕΩΝ ΣΤΗ ΡΟΔΙΑΚΗ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ: ΜΙΑ ΚΑΘΟΔΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΗ ΑΠΟ
ΔΕΔΟΜΕΝΑ ΜΕΛΕΤΗ**

Περίληψη

Το παρόν άρθρο μελετά το φαινόμενο της σύνθεσης λέξεων στις ροδιακές γλωσσικές ποικιλίες. Αφού ορίσουμε τις ροδιακές ποικιλίες, τα βασικά χαρακτηριστικά τους, αλλά και την μικροποικιλότητα που εμφανίζουν, προβαίνουμε σε μια σύντομη ανασκόπηση του φαινομένου της σύνθεσης στη Νέα Ελληνική. Στη συνέχεια παρουσιάζουμε τη μεθοδολογία συλλογής του διαλεκτικού υλικού πριν περάσουμε στο βασικό τμήμα του άρθρου που περιγράφει, ταξινομεί και αναλύει τις σύνθετες δομές της ροδιακής ελληνικής. Συγκεκριμένα, αρχικά παρουσιάζονται τα μορφολογικά σχήματα με βάση τα οποία δομούνται οι σύνθετες λέξεις. Στη συνέχεια προσεγγίζουμε την έννοια της κεφαλής ως βασικό κριτήριο διάκρισης μεταξύ των ενδοκεντρικών και εξωκεντρικών συνθέτων και κατατάσσουμε τα υπό μελέτη σύνθετα στις δύο κατηγορίες, κάνοντας ιδιαίτερη μνεία στα αριστερόστροφα ενδοκεντρικά σύνθετα, αλλά και στην αυξημένη παραγωγικότητα των εξωκεντρικών. Η μελέτη μας εστιάζει επίσης στις μορφοσυντακτικές και σημασιολογικές σχέσεις που αναπτύσσονται ανάμεσα στα συστατικά των σύνθετων δομών ακολουθώντας την τριμερή ταξινόμηση σε παρατακτικά, προσδιοριστικά και υποτακτικά, ενώ έμφαση δίνεται και στην εμφάνιση δάνειων συστατικών.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: σύνθεση, ροδιακές γλωσσικές ποικιλίες, αριστερόστροφα σύνθετα, εξωκεντρικότητα, γραμματικές σχέσεις συστατικών