

The Romeyka infinitive

Continuity, contact and change in the Hellenic varieties of Pontus*

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One Pontic Greek variety, Romeyka of Of, Turkey, today preserves a robust infinitive usage. Comparing the current infinitival distribution in Romeyka with previous stages of Greek, I argue that: (a) the Romeyka infinitive has roots in Ancient Greek due to preservation of the construction *prin* “before” with infinitive, which remains extremely productive, but which did not survive in other varieties into early medieval times and is only found as a learned construction in ‘high’ registers of the Medieval Greek record; (b) neither the survival of the plain and personal infinitive, nor the emergence of the inflected one can be due to contact with Turkish; (c) the Romeyka infinitive, part of a conservative medieval variety with Hellenistic features, once cut off from other medieval varieties (as

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early as the 11th c. CE and as late as the 16th c. CE), was reanalyzed as a negative polarity item. Such reanalysis feeds into the discussion that NPIs belong to various syntactic categories, such as nominal NPIs, NPI adverbs, NPI verbs, NPI focus particles, minimizers and now an infinitive, too.

Keywords: Romeyka, Pontic Greek, Hellenistic Greek, infinitive, negative polarity item

1. Introduction

Key changes in (non)finiteness in the history of Greek are the loss of Ancient Greek (AG) active participles, development of verbal periphrases and, mainly, loss of the infinitive (Hesseling 1892; Burguière 1960; Jannaris 1897; Joseph 1978, 1980; Mackridge 1987; Horrocks 2010; Kavčič 2005; Markopoulos 2009; Reis Meira 2010) and subsequent replacement by *na*-clauses (1):

- (1) a. ἡ γυνή παλιν φρούδη, πρὶν εἰπεῖν ἐσθλὸν
 he: gune: palin phroude: prin eipein esthlon (AG)
 the.NOM woman.NOM again gone before say.AOR.INF good
 ἢ κακὸν λόγον
 e: kakon logon
 or bad.ACC speech.ACC
 “The woman left, before saying either a good or a bad word”
 (Sophocles, *Antigone*, 1245)
- b. I jineka efije prin na pi ute (MG)
 the NOM woman.NOM left.3SG before PRT.SUBJ say.PFV.3SG neither
 kalo ute kako logo
 good.ACC nor bad.ACC word.ACC
 “The woman left before saying either a good or a bad word”

Infinitive loss has been a major index for language affiliation to the Balkan sprachbund (Joseph 1978), marking the transition from Ancient to (Standard) Modern Greek ((S)MG), and triggering a significant syntactic change given the subsequent replacement by *na*-clauses which, in turn, affected the control properties of the clauses as well as the overall reorganization of (non)finiteness. According to Joseph (1981b:49–55), infinitival complements were gradually replaced by *hina* clauses from Hellenistic Greek (HelGr) (New Testament Greek (NTK), in particular) onwards, as the structures in (2) show:

- (2) a. οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν ἀδελφοί, ὅτι πολλάκις
 ou thelo: de huma:s agnoein adelfoi, hoti pollakis
 not want.1SG but you.ACC be.ignorant.INF brothers.VOC that often
 προεθέμην ἐλθεῖν (HelGr)
 proetheme:n elthein
 planned.1SG come.AOR.INF
 “But I don’t want you to be unaware, brothers, that many times I
 planned to come” (Rom. 1:13)
- b. καὶ οὐκ ᾔθελεν ἵνα τις γνῶ
 kai ouk e:thelen hina tis gno:i
 and not wanted.3SG COMP anyone know.AOR.SUBJ.3SG
 “And he didn’t want anyone to know” (Mk. 9:30 *apud* Beck 2011:3)

Furthermore, infinitive loss occurs in all Hellenic varieties except Southern Italian Greek (SIG), which retained a limited distribution of the Medieval Greek (MedGr) infinitive (e.g. Rohlfs 1969, Katsoyannou 1995, Chatzikyriakidis 2010), and, depending on the analysis, the SMG infinitive survives as a perfect participle (e.g. *παίξει* “played”) in the present and past perfect (Moser 1988). In (3a–b) the SIG infinitive shows reduced infinitival endings (cf. Salento Greek *erti* “to come”) identical to the MG perfect participle (3c):

- (3) a. sónnite érti (Calabrian Greek)
 can.2SG come.AOR.INF
 “You can come” (Rohlfs 1977:191)
- b. To sotzi avorasi (Salento Greek)
 it can.3SG buy.AOR.INF
 “S/he/It wants to buy it” (Chatzikyriakidis 2010:194)
- c. Exi erθi (MG)
 have.3SG come.PRT
 “S/he has come”

However, one living variety shows a robust use of the infinitive with a non-reduced infinitival ending: Romeyka in Pontus, Turkey, as in (4), from the Of (Çaykara)¹ variety:

1. For glossonymic comments, see Sitaridou (2013:99), www.romeyka.org. Key to language labels in this article: *Proto-Pontic* for Greek in Pontus during Hellenistic times; *medieval Pontic* for Greek in Pontus till 14th c. CE; *Romeyka* for Greek spoken by Muslims in Pontus from medieval times to present (although this was historically the only way to refer to Greek in Asia Minor); *Pontic Greek* for all Greek spoken by Christians in Pontus since medieval times and in Greece to present; *Ophitic* for past and present Greek varieties (spoken by Muslims and Christians in the region of Of (encompassing Çaykara, see Figure 2); *Romeyka of Of (ROf)* for Ophitic varieties

- (4) Prin pisini fain, prin spudzisini so mandrin, tši pao (ROf)
 before make.INF food, before clean.INF at.the barn.ACC not go.1SG
 “Before I cook and before I’ve cleaned the barn, I am not going”
 (Sitaridou forthcoming: 15)

The continuity between (1a) and (4) is obvious. (1a) has not survived into SIG, as in (5), which is essentially the same as SMG (1b).²

- (5) a. prita ka na stili ixē (Calabrian Greek, Galliciano)
 before COMP PRT.SUBJ send.3SG had.3SG
 na pentsessi pri:ta
 PRT.SUBJ think.3SG before
 “He first had to think before sending it” (Katsoyannou 1995: 378)
- b. proti ppiri na pai tela (Salento Greek, Sternatia)
 before COMP PRT.SUBJ go.3SG come.IMPER.2SG
 aputtu
 from-here
 “Before you go, pass by” (Lamprogiorgou 2001: 154)

While the Romeyka infinitive’s survival is first mentioned in Parcharidis 1880, 1888; Deffner 1878 and Dawkins 1914, 1937, significant attention comes only with Mackridge 1987, 1995, 1996 — over a century later (save mention in Bortone 2009). Especially Mackridge’s work was met with skepticism, given the claim that the infinitive had been lost long before from Pontic Greek (PG) (Tombaidis 1996, Joseph 1985, Kavčič 2005: 11). The issue remains controversial, especially (a) whether Pontic has infinitives and, if so, which varieties preserve them; (b) which structural conditions have made this possible; (c) how the survival of the infinitive differentiates Romeyka in terms of participation in the koineization process and (d) how infinitive constructions should be typologized since some types often bear agreement and their subjects have disjoint reference from the subject of the matrix

spoken only by Muslims. For toponymic engineering in Pontus, see Mackridge (1999: 101) and Brendemoen (2002: 19, fn. 7) — we follow their nomenclature.

2. Both Calabrian Greek (3a) and Salento Greek (3b) allow the modal “can” to subcategorize for an infinitive; in Salento Greek aspectual verbs also select for an infinitive (i); finally, only in Calabrian Greek do we find infinitives as complements to perception verbs (ii):

- (i) To spicceo tse torisi avri (Salento Greek, Calimera)
 it finish.1SG COMP see.AOR.INF tomorrow
 “I’ll finish having a look at it tomorrow” (Chatzikyriakidis 2010: 77)
- (ii) `on ikusa erti (Calabrian Greek, Bova)
 him heard.1SG come.AOR.INF
 “I heard him coming” (Rohlf 1977: 191)

verb. Sitaridou (2007b) answered (d), analysing Deffner's and Dawkins' infinitives as inflected or personal infinitives (also Hesselung 1892: 40).

This article addresses all four issues on the basis of extensive data from Of (Çaykara) in Pontus — the first of its kind, to our knowledge. As such, this article contributes to our understanding of (non)finiteness in Greek by providing a greater breadth and wealth of data, offering a diachronic account for the survival of the infinitive (still partial though when compared to AG), casting light on possible triggers for its loss in other varieties and offering theoretical insights into the evolution of nonfiniteness in Greek and the interaction between modality and negation in general. We argue that: (a) continuity since AG exists with the Romeyka infinitive surviving in the construction *prin* “before”+infinitive, an extremely productive construction in HelGr, and which became obsolete by medieval times; (b) Neither the plain, nor the inflected, nor the personal infinitive can be claimed to have survived due to contact with Turkish, although such contact has otherwise induced syntactic change in Romeyka (Sitaridou 2012); (c) Romeyka, a conservative variety of PG, once isolated from other varieties of MedGr/PG around the 14–16th c. CE, had its infinitive reanalyzed as a negative polarity item (NPI) due to antiveridicality, the attribute shared by all surviving infinitival contexts (Sitaridou forthcoming). This analysis contributes to the understanding (i) that the category ‘polarity item’ is quite broad; and (ii) of how we can formally capture the development of non-traditional NPI patterns such as German *brauchen* “need” — another item usually categorized with those having an inherent propensity to develop into NPIs due to relatively frequent use with negation, as with the classic case of verbs of indifference, e.g. English *mind* or *care*.

The article is organized as follows. §2 presents historical and sociolinguistic background on the Romeyka infinitive's evolution. §3 characterizes Romeyka typologically within Asia Minor Greek. §4.1 discusses the Romeyka verbal paradigm; §4.2 compares the distribution of the Romeyka infinitive with that of Hellenistic and MedGr; §4.3 examines whether infinitive survival is due to contact with Turkish; §4.4 proposes a scenario where the Romeyka infinitive was reanalyzed as an NPI. §5 considers the loss of the infinitive in mainland Greek varieties in light of its survival in Romeyka.

2. (Dis-)continuity, contact and the linguistic landscape of Pontus: A brief sketch

Greek speakers in the Southern Black Sea date to the 7th c. BCE when the first colonization efforts are recorded (Tsetschladze 2008). Miletus founded Sinope, which, in turn, colonized Trebizond (Bryer 1991: 316). In the Pontus, the language

of the first Greek colonizers of Trebizond was the Ionic Greek of Sinope. Despite economic and linguistic hegemony along the coast it is doubtful whether the extinction of the area's native languages (for instance, Hittite and Luvian) was due to hellenization. Still, prolonged contact between Greek speakers and other autochthonous/adstrate languages, though, seems very plausible. Indeed, Kartvelian languages such as Laz spoken in Pontus, which along with Mingrelian once formed a dialect continuum and are both genetically related to Georgian (Boeder 2005), must have existed at the time of colonization since Laz survives today and has escaped (complete) hellenization.

The next important phase for hellenophonia in the region sees the creation of another Greek pole in the area immediately adjacent to Pontus, namely Cappadocia, largely due to the passage of the Macedonian army on its way to Afghanistan and India. It is possible that from Cappadocia Greek spread northwards towards Pontus.

The decisive phase for the expansion of Greek however, seems to be Christianization. Mentioned three times in the New Testament, the inhabitants of Pontus were among the first converts. Indicative of the spread, fervor and efficiency of the region's Christianization is the fact that one of the largest economic centers of the Church, the Soumela monastery, was founded in 386 CE, ca. 20 years after the region officially adopted Christianity. For reasons discussed in §3, the Greek of Pontus began to deviate from the rest of Greek varieties around this time.

Pontus remained relatively stable in the margins of the Byzantine Empire between the 4th and 10th c. CE. Greek in Pontus was undoubtedly given a boost by the dissolution of Byzantine rule in Constantinople, due to the fourth Crusade in 1204, and the move of some of the members of the Byzantine Imperial family to Trebizond, shown by the marriage between Grand Komnenos Alexios III of Trebizond and Empress Theodora Kantakouzene (Bryer 1975). Local tribes and clans were also in contact with Greeks during this time, e.g. Theodore Tzanichites, an autochthonous Tzan whose clan had undergone hellenization and who became an official of the Grand Komnenos. The *Acts of Vazelon* (§4) provide 30 Tzan surnames (Bryer 1991:190), indicating bilingualism and possibly an emerging Greco-Lazic social pattern of clanism and localism, important to PG identity to this day (Meeker 2002).

The Fall of Trebizond in 1461 saw the city becoming majority Muslim a century later (Bryer & Winfield 1985) and this drove many Greeks inland (see, for instance, how Chaldia was populated). Extensive Islamization of Greek speakers in Of, Sürmene, Rize and Matsuka is reported in the 16th/17th centuries (Lowry 1977:209–247, Vryonis 1986). The degree of contact between Christian and Muslim speakers of Greek in Pontus from Islamization onwards remains controversial (§3): although religion did not impede contact in the Ottoman Empire, in the Balkans it correlates with dialectal differentiation (e.g., Jewish Greek).

‘Anasta’³, the village from which the present data come, was Islamized wholesale around the 16th c. CE⁴ and contact with Christian speakers was at best limited. The view taken here advocates that this religious separation led to further isolation and thus survival of archaic features in these varieties.

Nonetheless, the most important event following Islamization leading to the infinitive’s survival today, was — ironically — the exclusion of Muslim Romeyka speakers, on the basis of religion, from large-scale population exchange between Greece and Turkey, stipulated in the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne. If Muslim Pontic speakers had been displaced in Greece, they would have suffered language shift like Christian Pontic speakers and likely would have lost the infinitive too (e.g., PG speakers originally from Of now living in Katerini, Greece, who have not retained the inflected infinitive (§4.3, Sitaridou & Chatzikiriakidis 2012).

3. Romeyka in the typological context of Asia Minor Greek

Romeyka belongs genetically to the PG group, along with Cappadocian, Rumeic (‘Marioupol’ Greek) and Pharasiot, at the core of the Asia Minor Greek group, which encompasses more peripheral Silliot (Andriotis 1995:100–107, Arapopoulou 2001:175, Drettas 1999:15, Horrocks 2010:398–404, Kontossopoulos 1981, Triantafyllides 2002:273–295, Karatsareas 2011). The critical questions are to what extent Romeyka participated in the koineization process and to what extent Romeyka contributed to the processes resulting in the emergence of major MG dialects.

Affinities among Asia Minor Greek varieties led Dawkins (1931:399) to hypothesize that a medieval Asia Minor Greek koine must have existed, whose idiosyncratic development possibly preceded, and was facilitated by the incipient Seljuq invasions of the 11th c. CE (Dawkins 1916:205, 213, 1940:6, 14; also Browning 1983:130, Horrocks 2010:382, Triantafyllides 2002:277, Karatsareas 2011). Some claim, however, that at least some distinctive Asia Minor Greek developments originate in the regional koine Greek spoken in Asia Minor and

3. I call the location where I conducted fieldwork ‘Anasta’ to preserve the anonymity of informants and the village.

4. Consider: ‘ANASTA. Hane: 5. ‘Bu köyde 961[1554]’de Şatoz [Hamza] adında bir Müslüman evi vardır. 991’de 54 hanede Durmuş, Ali, Mustafa adlarında 4 Müslüman evi vardır.’ (Umur 1951:61) (‘The Village ANASTA. Houses: 5. In this village there is one Muslim house of Shatoz in 961 [1554 AD], and [in] 991 [1583/1584 CE] among 54 houses there are 4 Muslim ones, namely those of Durmush, Ali, Mostafa [and Shatoz]’). Warmest thanks to Halil Hacımuftuoğlu for this reference.

adjacent islands, e.g. Cyprus, during Hellenistic and Roman times (Thumb 1914: 199, Kapsomenos 2003: 63, also Drettas 1999: 15). Nevertheless, according to Horrocks (2010: 113–114), there is little relation between the grammatical innovations shared by the modern dialects and the region-specific characteristics of the Hellenistic Koine of Asia Minor recorded by Brixhe (1987) and Bubenik (1989: 237–252; see Karatsareas 2011: 47).

Using Romeyka data, I also argue that Asia Minor Greek participated partially in the processes that resulted in the major MG dialect formations; in particular, for Proto-Pontic (see Figure 1 below), I claim that the *terminus ante quem* is the Hellenistic times (strong thesis), not the middle of the Late Medieval period, as claimed by Horrocks (2010: 382, also Holton & Manolessou 2010) for other MG dialects. The weak thesis suggests that the *terminus post quem* was the 11th c. CE, with Dawkins (1931).

In support of the strong thesis, consider some of the most archaic retentions in Romeyka of Of (ROf) within Asia Minor Greek (Table 1):

Table 1. The typology of Romeyka within Asia Minor Greek varieties (Sitaridou 2013: 100).

AG/HelGr	ROf (Çaykara)	Cappadocian	Other PG varieties today	SMG
Use of AG aorist infinitive	✓	x	x	x
Sporadic retention of the pronunciation of ancient η [ɛ:] as [ɛ], and not as [i], mainly in unstressed syllables (Dawkins 1916: 67, Manolessou & Pantelidis 2011)	✓	✓	✓	x
Use of negators with the same allomorphic distribution for NEG1 as in AG (Sitaridou, forthcoming: 5–6)	<i>u, (u)tš(i) (<ouk)</i> <i>(u)x (<oukhi)</i> <i>mi (<me:)</i>	x (but yes in Pharasiot)	✓	x
Use of AG relativisers	<i>pe < ὅπερ</i> <i>itina < οἵτινα</i>	x	x	x
Retention of AG <i>ώς</i> as a purpose complementizer	✓	x	x	x
Retention of AG preposition <i>διά</i>	<i>ðæ</i>	x	x	x
Retention of AG <i>wh</i> -elements	<i>hoθen < ὅθεν</i>	✓	(✓)	x
Use of various forms of possessive pronouns for the first and second person originating in AG possessive pronouns	<i>temon, teson, etc.</i>	✓	✓	x

Second, Romeyka has referential null objects, enclisis of pronominal objects and situation aspect (Sitaridou 2012). These properties are also found in HelGr

(Lavidas 2012), most notably enclisis in PG, which is difficult to account for diachronically if MedGr was the initial-state grammar. Alternatively, strict enclisis in PG receives a straightforward explanation if it derives from HelGr enclisis (which was constrained to the same degree as in Pontic/Romeyka).

Figure 1 presents a tentative taxonomy of Romeyka within Asia Minor Greek:

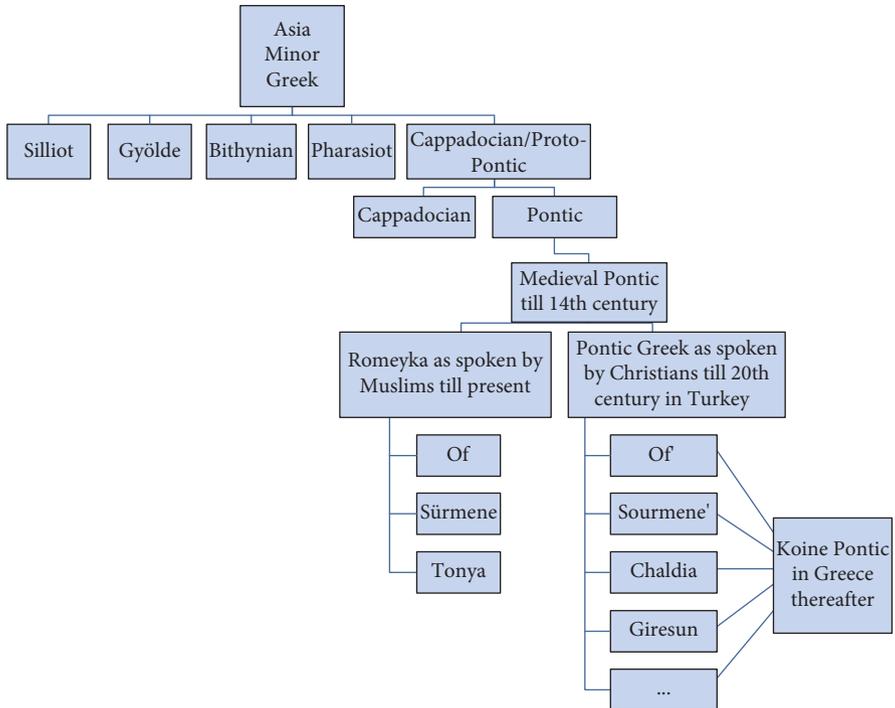


Figure 1. A genealogical tree for Romeyka (Sitaridou 2013: 101, based on Dawkins 1916: 204ff.).

Although Figure 1 captures the geographical distribution of today's varieties, it is debatable whether it correctly depicts the evolution of Pontic as branching in medieval times into one variety, exclusively spoken by Muslims, and another one spoken by Christians. The key to solving this puzzle is by showing whether PG shares the same features as Romeyka and, if not, whether it lost them due to contact with other mainland/PG varieties and 'high' Greek post-1922 or prior to the expulsion (because of immigration to Russia in the 19th c. CE and consequent contact with other Greek varieties). Using the infinitive as a taxonomic index, I argue that Figure 1 is also genealogical: Romeyka, as spoken in Pontus today, and PG, as spoken in Greece today, diverged significantly earlier than the expulsion of the latter from Pontus.

R.M. Dawkins (1871–1955), the scholar from the British School at Athens who visited PG speakers (Ophis, Sourmena, Imera and Santa) during the summer of 1914, collected data directly from speakers in Krinita, Zourel, Kourits, Xalt, Kofkia and Giga. These neighboring villages form a sub-region in the eastern valley of the river Ophis, west of the Kalopotamos, within the wider Of area east of Trebizond and near the coast. They are far removed from Of villages in the Çaykara region (*ilçe*), namely Sarahos, visited by Mackridge in 1985 and Anasta, first visited by Sitaridou in 2009 (Sitaridou 2013). In particular, Anasta lies further inland than Sarahos. See Figure 2:

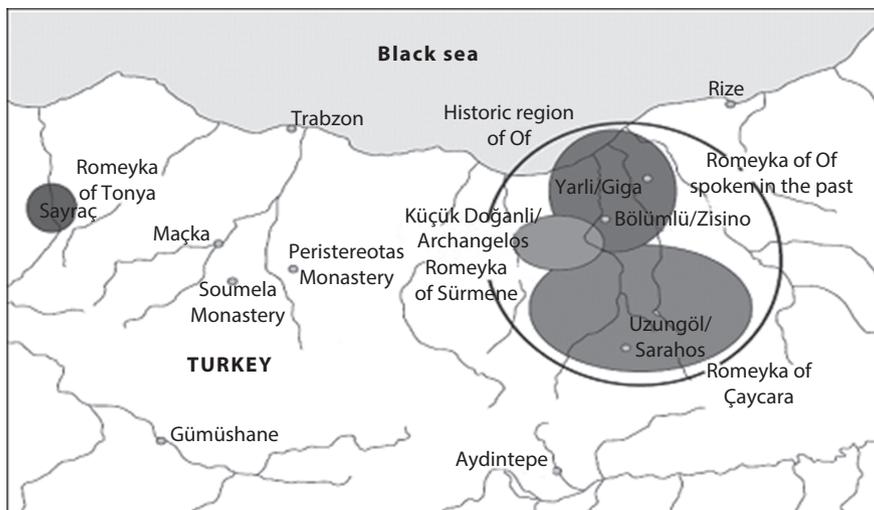


Figure 2. The historical region of Of in Pontus and current hellenophone enclaves (Sitaridou 2013: 99, © Cambridge University Press 2013).

In Dawkins’s (1914a) Oxford Notebook from Of, one finds: (a) no instance of a canonical (= plain, uninflected) infinitive in either his notes or texts; (b) recorded instances of an inflected infinitive (§4.3, Mackridge 1996: 198, Dawkins 1937: 25, Deffner 1878), but only in his grammatical notes, not texts; (c) indisputable evidence in his notes for competition between the inflected infinitive and *na*-subjunctive (in the form of minimal pairs, e.g. *κεπόρεσα να σκοῦμαι/σκοθήνα* ‘I couldn’t get up’ (Dawkins 1914a: 127)). Christian speakers of PG in Of had thus lost the plain infinitive prior to the emergence of an inflected form which behaves like a finite form and enjoys a different distribution from that typically constraining inflected infinitives in the Romance languages (*pace* Sitaridou 2007b, Sitaridou 2011). Therefore, the plain infinitive in both Sarahos and Anasta is evidence that the tree in Figure 1 is genealogical.

A puzzle, however, still remains unresolved: if the Ophitic plain infinitive was long gone by the 1922 expulsion of Christian Pontic speakers, how do we explain use of the plain infinitive in Papadopoulos (1955:86–87) and Oikonomidis (1958:272–273), attributed to Christian speakers from Of in Greece in 1950? Although Papadopoulos and Oikonomidis may have found the last occurrences of the Ophitic inflected infinitive among Pontic speakers, it must not have survived beyond the 1960s because even in the Dawkins (1914) Oxford archive, inflected infinitives appear in the notes, never in the texts (where evidence shows intense contact with MG).⁵ Due to attrition and normative pressures on Pontic Greek speakers after resettlement, the subjunctive, already in competition as evidenced in Dawkins's (1914) Oxford archive, wins. See Tombaidis's (1996:53) findings from a survey published in 1973 confirming that PG speakers recognized no infinitive form by then.

This, however, does not explain why Papadopoulos's (1955) and Oikonomidis's⁶ (1958) grammars contain plain infinitives albeit these are absent from Dawkins's (1914) Oxford archive. I believe this is simply because, in writing a grammar book, the scholars had to canonize the paradigm (e.g., the entry of verb is always its infinitival form in the grammar books of the classical languages). If plain infinitives were used by Christian speakers from Of in Pontus until 1912, it is impossible that: (a) Dawkins would have omitted them; (b) the appointed *didaskaloi* “teachers”, from Greece employed in the numerous schools in Pontus since the 19th c. CE and who were teaching the ‘high’ register, had not identified them and, if so, did not reinforce their use for nationalistic reasons: in order to boost the continuity hypothesis of the Greek race, popular at the time (*contra* Fallmerayer 1830, 1845:451 for a special mention regarding the ideological weight of the AG infinitive). This was not the case, leading us to conclude that the plain infinitive was not preserved among Christian Greek speakers, who instead developed an inflected infinitive in competition with *na*-clauses that was already on its way out by the time of Dawkins's visit.

We thus advocate early linguistic separation of the two religious communities, which has sociolinguistic support as well: while the Christians (e.g., Chaldiot)

5. Italicized elements indicate Modern Greek/+high register/non-PG words into Ophitic speech. Dawkins's spelling has been preserved here and for all data deriving from said source. Original page numbers in parentheses. Only italicized items are translated: Κ' ὑστὲρ ἄμε ἄνοιξο τὸ κατῶγι νὰ τερῆς πῶς (*how*) νὰ γομοῦται λίρας καὶ μεζίτια (28); ἔρθεν ὁ ἄρχοντας καὶ ἔμαθε τὴν αἰτία (*reason*) (64); ἀτός εἶπε ευχαριστω (*thank you*) (48); Πράβο (*bravo*) (54); Ἀτόσα χρόνια στέκω ἀδὰ καὶ κανεὶς ἀκόμα (*still*) χωρὶς νὰ ἐρωτᾶ με (54); Ἀτόσα χρόνια στέκω ἀδὰ καὶ κανεὶς ἀκόμα χωρὶς (*without*) νὰ ἐρωτᾶ με (54); ἐγὼ εἶμαι ὀρκωμένος ὅποιος (*whoever*) ἔρται (54); Καλὰ (*well*) λέγι ὁ φουρουῆς; Σωστά (*correctly*), ἐσύ πα πρέπ νὰ γβάλῃς τ' ἀτεινοῦ τ' ὀμάτ' (142–144). (Dawkins (1914a) Oxford Notebook from Of)

6. For Oikonomidis's ideological bias, see Brendemoen (2002:20).

strengthened contacts with Russia (because of the Russo-Turkish War, 1828–1829 and for work) and mainland Greece (e.g., Sevastos Kyminites (Σεβαστός Κυμνίτης), the founder of *Phrontisterion* (Φροντιστήριο) in Trebizond in 1683), the Muslim Romeyka speakers in Çaykara became increasingly isolated.

4. Diachronic evolution of infinitival constructions in Romeyka

PG grammars exist (e.g. Papadopoulos 1955, Oikonomidis 1958, Drettas 1997), but little work exists on the Romeyka varieties (but cf. Parcharidis 1880; Deffner 1878; Papadopoulos 1955; Mackridge 1987, 1995, 1999; Sitaridou 2007b, 2013; Bortone 2009).

To reconstruct the Romeyka infinitive, I draw on several sources. The first comprises original data collected in Anasta in Of (Çaykara), Turkey. Romeyka is still spoken today in Sürmene and Tonya,⁷ but Of serves as a starting point, the same region in Pontus, namely Çaykara, where previous researchers (Parcharidis, Dawkins and Mackridge)⁸ worked, thus creating comparable data sets. Unless otherwise stated (§4.3), we use data from Anasta, at a significant distance from Sarahos, which has since become touristy and thus, potentially, resulted in attrition (Sitaridou 2013). Second, I draw on HelGr data, either from existing literature or original research into NTK. MedGr data all come from existing literature, with few exceptions, most notably on *prin* constructions which derive from corpus research (Marjolijne Janssen, p.c.). Interestingly, the oldest text from Pontus, namely *The Acts of Vazelon*, which would have provided the first written record of PG, displays few dialectal features and maintains a ‘high’ register. For this reason, its use would likely not provide new insights compared to other medieval texts.⁹ Third, I use the Dawkins (1914) Oxford archive.

7. Among the locations where Romeyka is still spoken, Tonya stands out because it is coastal and not isolated. According to Meeker (2002: 180), it did not receive many Turkic settlers.

8. Deffner (1878) never collected data, but used data collected by Parcharidis (1879, 1888; Deffner 1877, Mackridge 1999: 101).

9. It is curious, philologically and historically, that *The Acts of Vazelon*, the first PG text, has so few Pontic features whereas, for instance, the first Cypriot text, namely the *Assizes*, is so distinctively Cypriot. An explanation may have to do with how the varieties have emerged and their sociolinguistic status at the time (Cypriot Greek emerging from top-down (Terkourafi 2005) vs. Pontic Greek emerging bottom-up).

4.1 Survival of the aorist infinitive in Romeyka

The morphological makeup of the Ophitic infinitive consists of:¹⁰

- (6) aorist active/passive stem + ending */-ini/*

The ending */-ini/*, from the AG present infinitive suffix *-ειν*, has generalized across all Romeyka verb conjugations. For instance, the sigmatic aorist active ending, originally in *-αι /-e/* was also replaced by this */-ini/* ending. Janssen (forthc.) argues that from Hellenistic times onwards all aorist infinitives adopted the */in(i)/* ending. The morphology of the Romeyka infinitive thus seems to fall within wider changes attested in HelGr. However, Romeyka differs from other Greek varieties in two ways. First, stress on the Romeyka infinitive falls on the */ini/* ending. In all other varieties, past and contemporary (e.g., SIG), the accent is on the penult, namely on stem/root and not the (monosyllabic) ending (e.g., */(exo) tréksi/*); this may indicate that the Romeyka infinitive derives from the ‘strong aorist’ (second aorist) infinitive¹¹ with accent on the infinitival ending rather than the root¹² (Deffner 1878:193). Support for this comes from the survival of past tense forms in Romeyka which derive historically from the strong aorist stem, e.g. *eŋga ksila* ‘I brought some wood’ (*eŋga* < AG *e:neŋka*), and which do not survive in other Greek varieties to this extent (§1). Second, contrary to both Hellenistic (and Medieval) Greek, the Pontic aorist infinitive was not replaced by perfective *na*-clauses. This situation — if poorly understood — is shown in (7):

- (7) a. Tši poro na *mairepso/ mairevo (ROf)
not can.1SG PRT.SUBJ cook.PFV.1SG/cook.IMPF.1SG¹³
‘I cannot cook’
- b. Ki poro na *mairepso/ mairevo (PG)
not can.1SG PRT.SUBJ cook.PFV.1SG/cook.IMPF.1SG
‘I cannot cook’
- c. Ńen boro na majirepso/majirevo (SMG)
not can.1SG PRT.SUBJ cook.PFV.1SG/cook.IMPF.1SG
‘I cannot cook’

10. In Tonya the infinitive has a reduced ending: *porpati* ‘to walk’, *pinin* ‘to say’, *xtisin* ‘to build’, *evin* ‘to go out’ (data from a Tonya speaker in February 2012 in Oslo, thanks to Bernt Brendemoen).

11. Consider also the possible influence of AG aorist passive infinitive ending *-ῆναι* (Deffner 1878).

12. From the 11–12th c. CE the strong aorist develops a variant with a stress on the penult, which may weaken this explanation, unless it did not take hold in the Pontus.

13. This is the last time I indicate the PFV vs IMPF on the *na*-complements since Romeyka/PG does not make the distinction.

There are two possible scenarios for (Proto-)Pontic: (a) either they lost the *na*-PFV-clauses or (b) whilst the present infinitive was replaced by *na*-IMPF-clauses, the Aorist infinitive encroached thus preventing replacement with *na*-PVF-clauses. If (a) is true, the loss of aspectual distinctions is not unique cross-linguistically (although the motives/triggers may vary). In general, there are often fewer tense-aspect distinctions in non-indicative moods than in the indicative, and those may get lost over time.¹⁴ A pragmatic explanation could be that the completed/ongoing distinction becomes less relevant when the event is not ‘actual’ (Dag Haug, p.c.). If (b), then given the restricted distribution of complement *na*-clauses (due to other complementation strategies), an aspectual distinction within the *na*-complement did not encroach. Although Dawkins (1931:27) claims that the ‘aorist subjunctive’ survived in Samsoun Pontic, which he considers the most archaic Pontic variety, it is not clear (i) whether Samsoun Pontic had infinitives; (ii) why he would consider this the most ‘archaic’ variety of PG, given that it was much more accessible to both Istanbulite and Trebizond Greek and therefore, more prone to koineization and (iii) in Romeyka, *na*-clauses are mainly used as future tense and more marginally as a complementation strategy (Sitaridou forthcoming), thus impinging upon the development of aspectual distinctions. Although the issue clearly awaits further investigation, (Proto-)Pontic may have been isolated before the completion of the substitution of aorist infinitives by perfective *na*-clauses, leaving Romeyka no other option than to continue using the infinitives (8) especially since certain environments would rule out any imperfective *na*-clauses (9):

- (8) a. prin mairepsini/ *na mairevo (ROf)
 before cook.AOR.INF PRT.SUBJ cook.1SG
 “Before cooking”
 b. utš eporesa mairepsini/ *na mairevo
 not could.1SG cook.AOR.INF PRT.SUBJ cook.1SG
 “I was not able to/did not manage to cook”
- (9) a. Prin (na) majirepso, θa kaθariso (SMG)
 before PRT.SUBJ cook.PFV.1SG PRT.FUT clean.PFV.1SG
 “Before cooking, I will clean”
 b. *Prin na majirevo, θa kaθariso
 before PRT.SUBJ cook.IMPF.1SG PRT.FUT clean.PFV.1SG
 “Before cooking, I will clean”

14. For instance, (written) French has four simple tenses in the indicative, but only two in the subjunctive, whereas Latin had six in the indicative and four in the subjunctive (Clackson & Horrocks 2007:280).

- c. **ḡ*en boresa na majirevo
 not could.1SG PRT.SUBJ cook.1SG
 “I was not able to/did not manage to cook”

As a counter-argument however, other PG varieties generalized imperfective *na*-clauses across the board, even in environments such as in (10), in which we find infinitives in Romeyka (8):

- (10) a. prin na mairevo (PG)
 before PRT.SUBJ cook.1SG
 “Before cooking/I cook”
 b. k' eporesa na mairevo
 not could.1SG PRT.SUBJ cook.1SG
 “I was not able to/did not manage to cook”

4.2 Continuity: Why the Romeyka infinitive is Hellenistic and not Medieval Greek

First, we compare the Romeyka infinitive to the Hellenistic¹⁵ infinitive to determine whether its use matches the Hellenistic one; second, we compare the distribution of the Romeyka infinitive with the infinitive in MedGr since it retained some residual infinitival use; the prediction is that if Romeyka emerged out of a medieval koine, the Romeyka use of the infinitive should be similar or identical to the medieval one. The latter, as we shall see, is not borne out.

Consider infinitival use in HelGr (NTK, in particular). First, HelGr modal verbs such as *mello*: “I intend” and *dunamai* “I can” subcategorize for an infinitive (11):

- (11) πιστεύετε ὅτι δύναμαι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι;
 pisteuete hoti dunamai touto poie:sai (HelGr)
 believe.2PL that can.1SG that.ACC do.AOR.INF
 “Do you believe that I can do that?” (Matthew 9: 28)

In Romeyka, infinitives also surface with modal verbs (12):

- (12) Utš' eporesa almeksini (ROf)
 not could.1SG milk.AOR.INF
 “I couldn't milk (the cows)”

15. We use periodization as a heuristic, with the following matrix: Homeric (8th c. BCE — 6th c. BCE) — Classical (5th c. BCE — 2nd c. BCE) — Hellenistic (1st c. BCE — 5th c. CE) — Medieval (6th c. CE — 16th c. CE with the notable problem of remaining 'Attic' until the 10th c. CE, if not the 12th c. CE) — Modern (17th c. CE — today); for such a division, see Adrados 1999, Horrocks 1997, Browning 1983, but cf. Tonnet 1993 for extending the Hellenistic period well into the 7th c. CE.

However, in Romeyka we also find a *na*-clause in the context of a negated modal:

- (13) Tši poro na almeyo (ROf)
 not can.1SG PRT.SUBJ milk.1SG
 “I cannot milk (the cows)”

The alternation between an infinitive and a *na*-clause is not free in Romeyka since the environments in (12) and (13) are not identical. In fact, in (13) an infinitive in Romeyka cannot surface because the double condition [+past, NEG] is not satisfied (Mackridge 1995). Sitaridou (forthcoming) captures this theoretically as the result of infinitives functioning as NPIs in today’s Romeyka. We return to this in §4.4, but for the moment, note that the competition between the infinitive and a *na*-clause in a modal context in the history of Greek seems to appear during medieval but not Hellenistic times.

Second, a control verb such as *epeirazon* “they tried” would also subcategorize for an infinitive (Joseph 1980: 179) in HelGr (14):

- (14) ἐπείραζον εἰς τὴν Βιθυνίαν πορευθῆναι (HelGr)
 epeirazon eis te:n Bithunian poreuthe:nai
 tried.3PL to the Bithynia go.AOR.INF
 “They tried to enter Bithynia” (Acts 16:7 *apud* Joseph 2002: 14)

Unlike (14), Romeyka *oyrasev* “he tried” selects a prepositional phrase (15):

- (15) Emena so ivrisimon/*ivrisini oyrasev avutos (ROf)
 me.ACC at.the insult/insult.AOR.INF tried.3SG he.NOM
 “He tried to insult me”

Third, the best-known use of the infinitive in HelGr is when headed by the verb *thelo*: “I want” with a future tense interpretation (Markopoulos 2009). Although the construction is attested sporadically from the Classical period onwards, it spreads considerably during the Hellenistic period, particularly after the 4th c. CE:

- (16) καὶ διὰ τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτῶν, ἀσεβεῖς ὄντες, οὐ
 kai dia te:n pone:rian auto:n asebeis ontes ou (HelGr)
 and for the.ACC wickedness.ACC their.GEN impious being not
 θέλουσιν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῆναι, διὸ τὴν ἀνάστασιν διαβάλλουσιν,
 thelousin ek nekro:n anaste:nai dio te:n anastasin diaballousin
 want.3PL from dead rise.AOR.INF hence the resurrection mock.3PL
 “and because of their wickedness, as they are impious, they will not rise from
 the dead, hence they mock the resurrection”
 (Constit. Apost., 6.26.16 *apud* Markopoulos 2009:77)

Interestingly, this use is also attested in Romeyka (17) but not with a future interpretation. Instead, we observe the verb in the past tense and negated, as previously seen in (12).

- (17) Utš eθelesa mairepsini (ROf)
 not wanted.1SG cook.INF
 “I did not want to cook”

Furthermore, the construction in (16) is claimed to have given rise to the analytic future tense in SMG — a development absent from Romeyka and non-koineized PG, in general, as seen in (18), which uses *na* as a future particle:

- (18) a. θa fao (SMG)
 PRT.FUT eat.PFV.1SG
 “I will eat”
 b. na troγo (ROf)
 PRT.FUT eat.1SG
 “I will eat”

When *thelo*: “I want” is used in its non-controlled interpretation in HelGr, either an infinitive (along the lines of an *Accusativus cum Infinitivo* (AcI) construction; Joseph 1980), or a *hina*-clause is used interchangeably, as the coordination in (19) illustrates:

- (19) Θέλω δὲ πάντας ὑμᾶς λαλεῖν γλώσσαις (HelGr)
 thelo: de pantas huma:s lalein glo:ssais
 want.1SG yet all.ACC you.PL.ACC speak.IMPF.INF tongues.DAT
 μᾶλλον δὲ ἵνα προφητεύητε
 ma:llon de hina propheteute
 rather yet PRT preach.SUBJ.IMPF.2PL
 “I would like every one of you to speak in tongues, but I would rather have
 you prophesy” (1 Corinthians 14:5 *apud* Joseph 1980: 179)

This is not so in Romeyka, where a *na*-clause is obtained (marginally) with *thelo* “I want” (20a) but mostly the volitional *ayapo* “I love/like” (20b) which is trivially associated with non-obligatory control (NOC) (Sitaridou forthcoming):

- (20) a. ?*Esi θelis εγo xe na troγo (ROf)
 you want.2SG I.NOM NOT PRT.SUBJ eat.1SG
 “You don’t want me to eat”
 b. Ayapo na tšimaste
 love.1SG PRT.SUBJ sleep.2PL
 “I want you to sleep”

Fourth, infinitives as complements to perception verbs are not found in HelGr (James 2008), whilst complement *hoti/ho:s* clauses or (predicative) participles trivially serve as complements to perception verbs — here we exemplify the latter (21):

- (21) Βλέπεις τὸν ὄχλον συνθλιβοντά σε καὶ λέγεις
 Blepeis ton okhlon synthlibonta se kai legeis (HelGr)
 see.2SG the.crowd.ACC suppressing you.SG.ACC.CL and say.2SG
 “You see the crowd suppressing you and say...” (Mk. 5: 31)

Our Romeyka corpus contains an attestation of the infinitive as complement to a perception verb, but as a *hapax legomenon*:

- (22) Ἐγὼ τῷ ἰδῶ τῶν ποιμένων γάλακτος τὰ (ROf)
 I.NOM not saw.1SG the.ACC shepherds.ACC milk.AOR.INF the.ACC
 xtinaē
 animals.ACC
 “I did not see the shepherds milk the animals”

This may rather match a medieval and/or hypercorrected usage as indicated by (23) from the 1547 translation of the Old Testament by a Greek-speaking Jew:

- (23) Εἶδεν τὸν ἄγγελον
 ἰδεν ton agelon (medieval Translation of Old Testament)
 saw.3SG the.ACC angel.ACC
 τοῦ Κυρίου στέκει
 tu kiriu steki
 the.GEN lord.GEN stand.INF
 “He saw the angel of the Lord standing” (Num. 22:31 *apud* Joseph 2000: 145)

Fifth, in Greek the infinitive employed as the complement to a declarative verb is well attested from Homer onwards. Even when in AG finite clauses headed by *hoti* were used instead of an infinitive, verbs of speaking and thinking selected an infinitive/AcI. By the time of NTK, the infinitive used as the complement to a declarative verb became less common (24), but remained frequent in commands.

- (24) Ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ὀμόσαι ὅλως
 ego: de lego: humi:n me: omosai holo:s (HelGr)
 I.NOM PRT say.1SG you.DAT not swear.AOR.INF at-all
 “But I tell you, do not swear an oath at all” (Matthew 5:34)

Romeyka does not license an infinitive here; instead, the complement is either an imperative (25a) or a *na*-clause (25b), although the latter may be used to convey a communicated proposition rather than a request:

- (25) a. Εγὼ λέγο σε μι τρὸς (ROf)
 I.NOM say.1SG you.ACC.CL not eat.2SG
 “I am telling you: don’t eat”
 b. Εγὼ λέγο σε ἡε νὰ τρογυμε
 I.NOM say.1SG you.ACC.CL not PRT.SUBJ eat.1PL
 “I am telling you that we shouldn’t eat”

Sixth, so-called articular infinitives (infinitive following the neuter article) exist in HelGr (Joseph 1983, Pappas 2004):

- (26) καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξανέτειλεν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς
 kai euthus eksaneteilen dia to me ekhein bathos ges (HelGr)
 and immediately sprang-up.3SG for the not have.INF depth soil.GEN
 “It sprang up quickly, because the soil was shallow” (Mk. 4:5)

Curiously, Romeyka has preserved this construction as well as the preposition *ῥα*, but it shows further nominalization (evidenced by the possessive (pronominal) adjective, *temon*, doubled by a possessive clitic, *-m*). It also displays an interpretative difference since in Romeyka they function as purpose clauses rather than cause clauses, as was the case in HelGr:

- (27) ῥα temon t' erθanim, xavitsin eftes me (ROf)
 for my the coming.my pudding.acc make.2SG me.ACC.CL
 “For the sake of my coming, you will make me some pudding”

Seventh, infinitives were found as complements to adjectives in the so-called tough movement (or hyper-raising) constructions (28):

- (28) Καὶ εἶδεν ἡ γυνὴ ὅτι ... τὸ ξύλον ...
 kai eiden he: gune: hoti ... to ksulon ... (HelGr)
 and saw.3SG the woman.NOM that the.ACC tree.ACC
 ἀρεστὸν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν
 areston tois ophthalmois idein
 pleasing the.DAT eyes.DAT see.AOR.INF
 “And the woman saw that the tree (was) pleasant to the eyes to look upon”
 (Genesis 3:6)

Joseph (1980: 180) claims that tough movement was “one of the last, if not the very last, of the inherited constructions with an infinitive to be affected by the infinitive-loss process”. Romeyka shows nominalizations akin to those found in Turkish (see §4.3), albeit utilizing the same movement mechanism available since Hellenistic times:

- (29) Afti i ðulian to maθinimu γola en (Romeyka)
 this.NOM the.NOM job.NOM the learning.my easy be.3SG
 “It is easy for me to learn how to do this job”

Eighth, in HelGr an infinitive of purpose follows a verb of motion (Joseph 1980):

- (30) ἤλθομεν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῶ
 e:lthomen proskune:sai auto:i (HelGr)
 came.1PL pay-homage.AOR.INF him.DAT
 “We have come to worship him” (Matthew 2:2 *apud* Joseph 1980: 178)

Crucially, what we find in Romeyka today is a *na*-clause (31):

- (31) erθa na almeyo ta za (ROf)
 came.1SG PRT.SUBJ milk.1SG the.ACC animals.ACC
 “I came to milk the animals”

However, in our Romeyka corpus, there is a *hapax legomenon* of an infinitive after a negated motion verb produced by an elderly female speaker (who has died since the last recording):

- (32) tš epies almeksin ata (ROf)
 not went.2SG milk.INF them.ACC.CL
 “You didn’t go to milk them”

Finally, many examples show *prin*+infinitive from NTK (Moulton et al. 1963, Jannaris 1968); consider (33):

- (33) a. πρὶν ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι, τρὶς ἀπαρνῆση με (HelGr)
 prin alektora pho:ne:sai tris aparne:se:i me
 before cock.ACC crow.AOR.INF thrice deny.SUBJ.2SG me.SG.ACC.CL
 “before the cock crows, you will disown me three times” (Matt. 26:34)
- b. καὶ νῦν εἶρηκα ὑμῖν πρὶν γενέσθαι,
 kai nu:n eire:ka humi:n prin genesthai
 and now say.PERF.1SG you.DAT before come-about.AOR.INF
 ἵνα ὅταν γένηται πιστεύσητε
 hina hotan gene:tai pisteuse:te
 comp when happened.SUBJ.3SG believed.SUBJ.2PL
 “I have told you now before it happens, so that when it does happen you will believe” (John 14:29)

In (33), the subject of the infinitive is different from the subject of the matrix verb in the sentence. The disjoint reference between the upstairs and the downstairs subject is established through an explicit infinitival subject case-marked as accusative (which is a continuation of the AG Acl albeit its high incidence in

prin-clauses seems to be a Hellenistic innovation). Romeyka maintains this construction (34):

- (34) a. Prin pisini to fai u poris na (ROf)
 before do.AOR.INF the.ACC food.ACC not can.2SG PRT.SUBJ
 tros
 eat.2SG
 “Before you cook the meal, you cannot eat”
- b. Prin đosini ton paran Aiše/ esi,
 before give.AOR.INF the.ACC money.ACC Aise.NOM/you.NOM
 eyo pa tši pao/ pas
 I.NOM TOP not go.1SG/ go.2SG
 “I am/you are not leaving, before Aise gives the money”
- c. Prin pisini to fain, prin spudžisini to madrin,
 before do.AOR.INF the.ACC food.ACC before mop.INF the.ACC pen.ACC
 tši pao
 not go.1SG
 “I am not leaving before cooking the meal and mopping up the pen”

However, (34a/b) is no longer an ACI construction in Romeyka, but has been re-analyzed into a personal infinitive as indicated by the nominative case on the infinitival subject in (34b), whereas (34a) has an arbitrary PRO, and in (34c) there is coreference — also at work in both AG and HelGr. With regard to the case of the subject, the morphological fusion of accusative and nominative during Hellenistic times (e.g., *pater*.NOM > *patera*.ACC > *pateras*.NOM)¹⁶ led to the emergence of personal infinitives in Romeyka or, rather, to the reanalysis of the Hellenistic ACI into the Romeyka personal infinitive. The survival of the infinitive in this context with *prin* is in many ways the best evidence for claiming that Romeyka has been spoken since at least Hellenistic times.

Next, consider the evolution of the infinitival distribution in MedGr and how this compares to that in Romeyka. Despite facing competition from finite complementation constructions, especially *na*-clauses (Joseph 1978, 1981b; Browning 1983; Horrocks 1997; Pappas 2001), an infinitival complement is still possible in the texts of MedGr — albeit in a far more restricted array of contexts. First, the infinitive is still found as a complement to modals such as (*e/e*)*mporo* “I can” — a MedGr innovation, since the older form *dunamai* “I can” is no longer used (but cf. *Chronicle of Morea*, P, 7755 from the 16th c. CE) — as in (35), and volitionals such as the verb *thelo* “I want, will” with a future-tense interpretation (36):

16. The remodeling of the athematic formations of Classical Attic took place primarily on the basis of the accusative of the singular (Papanastassiou 2007:613) with an accusative-nominative levelling for specific declensions.

- (35) καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα καὶ πολλά, τὰ οὐκ ἔμπορῶ σὲ
 ke ala plista ke pola ta uk imporo se (MedGr)
 and other numerous and many, which not can.1SG you.ACC.CL
 γράφει
 grafi
 write.IMPF.INF
 “and many other things, which I cannot write to you”
 (*Chronicle of Morea*, H, 7755)

- (36) θέλεις με κοπιάσειν;
 thelis me kopiasin (MedGr)
 want.2SG me.ACC.CL tire.AOR.INF
 “Will you tire me?”
 (*Digenis*, 1390 *apud* Pappas 2001:91)

Second, sporadic use of the articular infinitive as the nominalized complement to the verb *arxizo* “I begin” is also attested in MedGr (37):

- (37) ἤρξατο τοῦ γεῶν με
 irksato tu yelan me (MedGr)
 began.3SG the.GEN laugh.INF me.ACC.CL
 “He began to make fun of me” (*Ptochoprodromos*, I 190 in Pappas 2001:90)

However, competition with bare subjunctives is also attested (as well as AND+imperfect, see *Chronicle of Morea*, Manuscript H, 1639–1640):

- (38) a. ἄρχασαν συντυχαίνειν/καὶ λέγειν
 arxasan syntyxenin/ kai leyin (MedGr)
 began.PFV.3PL converse.INF and say.IMPF.INF
 “They started to converse and say”
 (*Chronicle of Morea*, Manuscript H, l. 5261)
- b. ἄρχισαν συντυχαίνου, νὰ λέγου
 arxisan syntyxenun/ na legun
 began.PFV.3PL approach.3PL PRT.SUBJ say.3PL
 “they started to approach and say”
 (*Chronicle of Morea*, Manuscript P, l. 5261–5262)

Romeyka utilizes neither the infinitive nor a *na*-clause in the context of an aspectual such as *arxizo* “I start”, but instead exhibits the construction shown in (39):¹⁷

- (39) Sklirin tši stetš (ROf)
 harden.3SG and stand.3SG
 “(The dough) starts to harden”

17. This is reminiscent of SIG in the use of *steko* “I stand”, albeit with the innovative gerund (Manolessou 2005), completely absent in Romeyka.

Alongside the construction in (39), Romeyka also employs a nominalization construction with the verb “to start” being borrowed from Turkish (Romeyka *pašlaevo* < *başlamak*) (40):

- (40) epašlaepsa pola so đipsasinimu/đipsasimo (ROf)
 started.PFV.1SG a.lot at.the.get.thirsty.INF.my/thirst
 “I started to become very thirsty”

Third, the MedGr infinitive is also attested combined with the past tense of *exo* “I have”. The construction, however, lacks a past perfect interpretation but is instead used as a counterfactual:

- (41) Ἄν τό ἕχα ξεύρειν
 An to xa ksevrin (MedGr)
 if it.ACC.CL had.1SG know.INF
 “If I had known” (*Katalogia*, 321 *apud* Pappas 2001:91)

In Romeyka, the equivalent of (41) is attested with exactly the same counterfactual interpretation as in MedGr (42):

- (42) an ixa mairepsini, n' etroyame (apeminame afajeti) (ROf)
 if had.1SG cook.INF PRT.SUBJ eat.IMPF.1PL (left.1PL unfed)
 “If I had cooked, we would have eaten (but now, we have been left unfed)”

As with the *prin*-construction, (42) allows us some cautious dating: these constructions are first attested from the Early Medieval period onward and proliferated in Late Medieval times (Moser 1988). The MG past perfect interpretation never encroached on the Romeyka counterfactual, which overall lacks both a past perfect and a present perfect — the latter a recent development in MG. Cross-dialectally this is rather common since no MG dialect developed a present perfect until the late 17th c. CE but most developed a past perfect. As we have seen in §2 this coincides with Islamizations when Romeyka was cut off when these forms developed in other geographical varieties of Greek and is chronologically consistent with the reanalysis scenario in §4.4.

Fourth, the infinitive appears in an adjunct known as the temporal infinitive,¹⁸ an innovation in MedGr (Pappas 2006) (43):

18. From the perspective of formal syntax, both the terms articular and temporal infinitive seem redundant since the temporal infinitive is an articular infinitive in adjunct function, but with a temporal interpretation (as opposed to a purpose infinitive, for instance).

- (43) Κ'έγω, τὸ ἀκούσει το, ... ἐθλίβηκα
 K'eyo, to akusi to, ... ethlivika (MedGr)
 and I.NOM the hear.AOR.INF it.ACC.CL aggrieved.PASS.1SG
 “And, as soon as I heard it, I felt sorry”
 (*Chronicle of Morea*, 6066 *apud* Joseph 1981b: 303)

In this type of infinitival construction the articular infinitive may function as a complement to a preposition (44):

- (44) Εἰς τὸ εὐεργετήσαι σοι
 is to enerygetisai si (MedGr)
 towards the.ACC benefit.AOR.INF you.DAT.CL
 “while benefiting you” (*Spanos*, 690 *apud* Horrocks 1997:98, 280)

This use of the infinitive is not found in Romeyka. Instead, speakers produce (45), in which neither *anda* “when” nor *os* “until” selects an infinitive:¹⁹

- (45) Anda pašlaevis so fanimon os na piturevis ata, (ROf)
 when start.2SG at.the eating.ACC until PRT.SUBJ finish.2SG them.ACC.CL
 u poris na stetšis.
 not can.2SG PRT.SUBJ stop.2SG
 “Once you start eating, you can’t stop until you finish it all off”

However, note that, as seen in (29) and (40), Romeyka nominalizations abound²⁰ and, despite any Turkish influence, the source of these Romeyka uses can possibly be attributed to their incidence in HelGr. Nonetheless, it is better traced to MedGr (for instance, in the Cypriot text *Machairas*).

Finally, although there are many examples of *prin+na+subjunctive* and *prin+subjunctive* in MedGr, examples of *prin+infinitive* are rare indeed (46)–(48):²¹

- (46) *Pseudo-Sfrantzes* (152.7)
 πρὶν τοῦ τὸ μοναχικὸν σχῆμα λαβεῖν,
 prin tou to monaxikon sxima lavin
 before the.GEN the.ACC monastic.ACC schema.ACC receive.AOR.INF
 “before receiving my monastic habit (i.e., before becoming a monk)”

19. Interestingly, *ὄνταν* and *ὡς* would not select an infinitive in MedGr either.

20. We should distinguish between two kinds of nominalization in Romeyka: the one in *-imon* (cf. SMG *plisimo* “washing”) and the one with infinitive+possessive pronoun (Sitaridou forthcoming).

21. I am extremely grateful to Marjolijne Janssen for providing me with the data in (46–48).

(47) *Digenis* (Grottaferata, IV 646)

καὶ πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τὸν στρατηγὸν οὐδὲ εἷς ὑπελείφθη.
 ke prin elthin ton stratiyon ude is ipelifthi
 and before come.AOR.INF the.ACC general.ACC not one was-left.3SG
 “And before the general came, no one was left”

(48) *Digenis* (Athens)

- a. σπαθία καὶ κοντάρια ἦλθον ἂν πρὶν ἐλπῖσαι, (1060)
 spaθia ke kontaria ilthon an prin elpise
 swords.NOM and shafts.NOM came.3PL even before hope.AOR.INF
 “Swords and spears would have arrived even before hoping for them”
- b. καὶ πρὶν νὰ πλησιάσωμεν (3431)
 ke prin na plisiasomen (same in Trebizond 2342)
 before PRT.SUBJ come-closer.SUBJ.1PL
 κρύπτονται εἰς τὸ δάσος
 kriptonte is to dasos
 hide.1PL in the wood
 “and before we get any closer, they hide in the wood”

The *prin*+infinitive construction is only found (i) in Pseudo-Sfrantzes (46), which is unlikely to be a medieval text given that its author was a 16th c. CE Metropolitan of Monemvasia and that furthermore, the text is not in the vernacular; (ii) in different redactions of *Digenis*, namely Grottaferata, Athens and Trebizond. Importantly, it is absent from the Escorial manuscript which is considered the most demoticist (Jeffreys 1998). That the infinitive is present in the Trebizond manuscript is irrelevant since it displays hardly any Pontic features.²² Furthermore, the Grottaferata version (47), despite being the earliest, is a mixed-to-higher-register text. As for the Athens manuscript (48), it is a much later version from the 17th c. CE and is of a learned style. Overall, taking into account both the chronology and stylistic considerations as well as potential effects of post-Classical/MedGr diglossia, it seems that *prin*+infinitive is undoubtedly nothing more than a learned construction. It is therefore extremely unlikely that Romeyka continues a pattern of MedGr; instead, it continues the HelGr.

To recapitulate, consider Table 2, showing that distribution of the infinitive in Romeyka matches that of MedGr less well in comparison to HelGr.

22. There is only one instance in the Trebizond version of *Digenis* where we supposedly find a PG-like semantic agreement pattern: *καὶ ἀπὸ μακρῆα φωνάζουσιν ἀναίσχυντα λαλίας*, where *ἀναίσχυντα* is neuter to agree with the [-human] controller *λαλίας* (Petros Karatsareas, p.c.).

Table 2. Distribution of the infinitive in HelGr, MedGr and Romeyka.

Syntactic contexts for the infinitive		HelGr	MedGr	Romeyka
Counterfactual with <i>ixa</i> ‘I had’		x	✓	✓
Subject		✓	x	x
Complement	modals	✓	✓	✓
	aspectuals	x	(✓)	x
	volitionals	✓	✓	✓
	perception	x	x	(✓)
	declaratives	(✓)	x	x
	adjectives	✓	✓	(✓)
	preposition (‘articular’)	✓	✓	(✓)
Adjuncts	<i>prin</i> ‘before’ clauses	✓	(x)	✓
	temporal other than <i>prin</i>	x	✓	x
	purpose (after verbs of motion)	✓	x	(✓)

4.3 Contact: The Romeyka infinitive is not the result of contact with Turkish

Given the distributional argument that the infinitive continues the Hellenistic infinitive, we can definitely exclude the possibility that the Romeyka plain infinitive was the result of contact with Turkish — despite the fact that the latter also has an infinitive — simply because Turkic speakers did not enter Pontus before the 12th–13th centuries at the earliest. The exclusion of the contact scenario is also supported by robust morphological evidence, since the Romeyka plain infinitive’s morphology is undoubtedly Greek (as shown in §4.1).

Nevertheless, Romeyka, in addition to plain (prototypical) infinitives,²³ also has both inflected²⁴ and personal²⁵ infinitives (Deffner 1878; Mackridge 1995; Papadopoulos 1955; Sitaridou 2007b, 2011). Personal infinitives have been exemplified in (34) and their significance has already been highlighted for recordings of them appearing from Hellenistic times up to the present day, *modulo* case reassignment of the subject. Therefore, the possibility that the personal infinitive is the

23. On the concept of infinitive and the non-finite/finite dichotomy, see Sitaridou (2002: 276–277).

24. An inflected infinitive (as in Portuguese) has subject-verb agreement morphology and a nominative Case-marked subject distinct from the subject of the matrix verb (thus triggering NOC). It surfaces as a complement, subject or adjunct (Sitaridou 2002).

25. A personal infinitive (as in Spanish) is morphologically identical to the plain infinitive but has a nominative Case-marked subject distinct from the subject of the matrix verb (thus triggering NOC). It surfaces as subject or adjunct, whereas for the personal infinitive to surface as complement, it has to be introduced by a complementizer (as in Sardinian) (Sitaridou 2002).

result of contact can be ruled out since personal infinitives were also a feature of HelGr, i.e., long before any Turkic-speaking population in the area.

We turn now to whether the inflected infinitive in some Ophitic varieties (Figure 2, Table 4) — albeit not in Anasta — and, by extension in Sürmene, can be due to contact with Turkish. Consider Romeyka inflected infinitives (49–50):

- (49) a. Xtes ti nixta elepenete parpatesinete? (ROf)
 yesterday the.ACC night.ACC saw.2PL walk.AOR.INF.2PL
 “Last night could you see to walk?” (Deffner 1878: 223)
- b. Efikane sas i Turtš skapsinete (ROf)
 allowed.3PL you.ACC.PL the.NOM Turks.NOM dig.AOR.INF.2PL
 ta xorafea suna [...]?
 the.ACC fields.ACC your
 “Did the Turks allow you to dig your fields [...]?” (Deffner 1878: 212)
- (50) na ixa mairepsina etroyamen (Romeyka of Sürmene)
 PRT.SUBJ had.1SG cook.AOR.INF.1SG eat.IMP.1PL
 “If I had cooked, we would eat”

However, no single known Romeyka variety seems to have all three types of infinitival constructions at any single phase (on a par with Romance; see Sitaridou 2002, 2007a, 2009a). Consider a summary of the infinitival constructions available in each (diatopic and/or diachronic) variety of Greek (Table 3), with the exception of Of, whose intense — and relatively better documented — infinitival nano-variation is presented in Table 4.

Table 3. Infinitival macro- and micro-variation in Greek (excluding Of varieties).

Variety \ Types of infinitive	AG	HelGr	MedGr	Sürmene (Turkey) today	Tonya (Turkey) today	Santa† (Turkey)	PG koine (Greece) today	SMG
Plain infinitive	✓	✓	(✓) dying out	x	✓	✓	x	x
AcI	✓	(✓) dying out	x	x	x	x	x	x
Inflected infinitive	x	x	x	✓	x	x	x	x
Personal Infinitive	x	(✓)	x	x	✓	✓	x	x

Table 4. Infinitival nano-variation in Ophitic Pontic (see Figure 2 in §3).

Area	Çaykara (mostly Muslim)			Of (mostly Christian)		
Grammar	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6
Fieldworker	Sitaridou	Mackridge	Parcharidis	Parcharidis	Dawkins	Chatzikyriakidis
Date of data collection	2009, 2010, 1985		1876	1876	1914	2012
Variety	Anasta' (Turkey)	Sarahos (now referred to as Uzungöl, Turkey)	Sarahos (now referred to as Uzungöl, Turkey)	Zisino (now referred to as Of, Turkey)	Krinita, Zourel, Kourits, Xalt, Kofkia, Giga	Ophitic PG (Katerini, Greece)
Types of infinitives	(Sitaridou, 2013, forthcoming)	(Mackridge 1987)	(Deffner, 1878, 1877)	(Deffner 1878, 1877)	(Dawkins 1914a)	(Sitaridou & Chatzikyriakidis 2012)
Plain infinitive	✓	✓	✓	✓?	x	x
Inflected infinitive	x	x	✓	✓	✓	x
Personal Infinitive	✓	✓	x	x	x	x

The syntax of Romeyka inflected infinitives merits separate study,²⁶ but we focus on the tenability of Turkish contact to explain the inflected infinitives in Deffner's data from Of from the turn of the last century and today's Sürmene. *A priori*, the contact hypothesis does not seem plausible because the Turkish *-mA* infinitives are not inflected for verbal, but rather nominal agreement in person and number with the subject (often a possessor). Clearly, the Romeyka inflected infinitive does not bear any case agreement morphology (Table 5):

26. In (49a), coreference obtains despite the presence of the inflected infinitive, which should trigger disjoint reference by the definition in fn. 27. Still, the Romeyka infinitive is not out of line with some Romance inflected infinitives, in particular Brazilian Portuguese and Galician which allow coreference (Modesto 2010, Sitaridou 2011).

Table 5. Morphology of the inflected infinitive in Ophitic Pontic (Deffner 1878: 195 *apud* Sitaridou 2007b: 236).

Person	Singular	Plural
1	ipin+a say.AOR.INF.1SG	ipin+ame say.AOR.INF.1PL
2	ipin+es say.AOR.INF.2SG	ipin+ete say.AOR.INF.3PL
3	ipin+e say.AOR.INF.3SG	ipin+ane say.AOR.INF.3PL

Nevertheless, contact cannot be so hastily dismissed given the possibility of structural transfer from L2 grammar (Turkish) into L1 grammar (Romeyka). Consider the possibility of grammatical pattern replication (along the lines of Matras 2009) (51):

- (51) a. Turkish Root + Nominalizing Suffix + Possessive Ending
(Turkish infinitive)
- b. Greek Root (e.g. *ip-* “say”) + (reconstruction for Ophitic
Infinitive Suffix (e.g., *-ini-*) + inflected infinitive)
Personal (Subject-agreement) Ending (e.g. *-ame.1PL*)

The schema in (51a), stipulated to have served as the transferred configuration in the emergence of inflected infinitives in Romeyka (51b) could have been triggered by the following type of Turkish examples (52):

- (52) a. Mehmet’in kitap oku-ma-sı zor (Turkish)
Mehmet-GEN book read-VN-3SG.POSS difficult
“It is difficult for Mehmet to read a book”
(lit. “Mehmet’s reading of a book/Mehmet’s book-reading is difficult.”)
- b. Mehmet’in kitap oku-ma-sın-ı ist-iyor-um
Mehmet-GEN book read-VN-3SG.POSS-ACC want-IMPF-1SG
“I want Mehmet to read a book.”
(lit. “I want Mehmet’s reading of a book/Mehmet’s book-reading”)
- c. Mehmet’in kitap oku-ma-sın-a bayıl-ıyor-um
Mehmet-GEN book read-VN-3SG.POSS-DAT adore-IMPF-1SG
“I am delighted by Mehmet’s reading of a book a lot.”

Indeed, (53), the Romeyka equivalent of (52), seems to support this contact hypothesis in Romeyka, whereby the nominalized infinitive form is used with an enclitic complex possessive ((*e*)*muneθe*) (Papadopoulos 1955: 59), a seemingly necessary condition for the use of the nominalized infinitive in (53):

- (53) Afti i ðulian to maθin emuneθe γola en (ROf-G1)
 this.NOM the.NOM job.NOM the learn.AOR.INF our.its easy be.3SG
 “It is easy for us to learn how to do this job”

In light of (53), we expect some spread of this pattern from impersonal constructions to genuine disjoint reference contexts of the type in (54):

- (54) ap'aða so spitin ts' Aišes to panimon θelo (ROf-G1)
 from-here to.the house the.GEN Aise.GEN the going want.1SG
 “I want Aise to make her way from here to the house”

Indeed, this is borne out. Again the similarity of (54) with the Turkish example in (55) is striking:

- (55) Ayşe'nin bu ev-den git-me-sın-ı ist-iyor-um (Turkish)
 Ayşe-GEN this house-ABL go-VN-3SG.POSS-ACC want-IMPf-1SG
 “I want Ayşe to leave this house.” (lit. “I want Ayşe’s going (away) from this house”)

Although we may be dealing with genuine contact-induced change,²⁷ contact does not yield an inflected infinitive in (54), but rather a nominalized construction. Thus, (56) is unattested:

- (56) *uts' eθelesa esi paines (unattested ROf example)
 not wanted.1SG you go.AOR.INF.2SG
 “I didn’t want you to leave”

27. The construction in (55) must be relatively recent because until the 17th c. CE, *Ayşe* would have been nominative, not genitive, as in (52) (Bernt Brendemoen, p.c.) which essentially implies that (54) must be a post-17th c. CE innovation. Still though, no conclusive contact scenario can be established before considering the availability of the HelGr construction in (i) which allows for a genitive subject of the infinitive (Dag Haug, p.c.), although a possessive genitive interpretation cannot be ruled out if τὸ ζῆν is lexicalized, as noted by a reviewer:

- (i) τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν
 to ze:n autou ouk estin en he:mi:n (HelGr)
 the living/life.AOR.INF his not is in us.DAT
 “(The unbelieving are of this world; but the believing have, in love, the character of God the Father by Jesus Christ, by whom,) if we are not in readiness to die into his passion, his life is not in us” (Ignatius, *Letter to the Magnesians* 5.2)

Contact may simply exacerbate/reinforce existing tendencies (Sitaridou 2009b): Hellenistic and MedGr already allowed for nominalizations and, therefore, when Romeyka speakers were Islamized, this L1 option was thus reinforced by their L2, Turkish, which contained nominaliza-

If (56) is unattested, how can we explain the rise of inflected infinitives to contexts such as the one in (49b)? A more feasible explanation for the emergence of inflected infinitives in Romeyka is that the agreement endings on the inflected infinitive are the generalized set of endings for the past tense resulting from the merger of the strong aorist/imperfect endings of AG during the Hellenistic period (Horrocks 2010: 144). Compare Table 6 with Table 7.

Table 6. AG aorist endings.

Person	Singular	Plural
1	-a	-amen
2	-as	-ate
3	-e	-an

The endings in Table 6 match almost perfectly with those in Table 7:²⁸

Table 7. Aorist endings in Ophitic Pontic.

Person	Singular	Plural
1	-a	-ame
2	-es	-ate/-ete
3	-e	-an(e)

Although the match between AG and Romeyka aorist endings does not exclude a contact scenario and does not imply that the agreement endings were added to the infinitive forms during antiquity, it indicates that internally motivated analogy is far more plausible. By Occam's razor, analogy is preferable to contact, especially given the lack of sociolinguistic evidence for intense bilingualism²⁹ in Anasta before the 1930s (even the prayers at the mosque were recited in Romeyka till the early 1960s). Furthermore, the cases of an inflected infinitive in both Deffner's (1878) and Dawkins's (1914) data come before the onset of intense Turkish-Romeyka bilingualism (Sitaridou 2013).

28. A reviewer points out that AG also had 2SG *-es* in the aorist, specifically the thematic aorist, so Romeyka shows the same blend of *-a-* endings with *-e-* endings that many other (mainland) dialects of Greek show (e.g. SMG). This is an innovative selection among variants (*-as/-es* in 2SG) that Romeyka undertook in the same way as other non-Pontic dialects.

29. If the Romeyka inflected infinitive reflects contact, it is not clear why Cappadocian did not develop one as well. A reviewer rightly remarks that contact-induced change need not be uniform, yet structural and sociolinguistic factors match: the degree of contact between Cappadocian and Turkish is higher than between Romeyka and Turkish for the period in question — clearly now the degree of contact in Romeyka is definitely comparable or higher (Hovdhaugen 1976: 143–144).

(59) demonstrates the emergence of a new invariant modality marker,³² *ixe*, from a former auxiliary (60a), suggesting the full cycle of analogical development of agreement, including elimination of duplicate information (through loss of morphology due to attrition for Sürmene speakers), as in (60b):

- (60) a. *ixa ipina > ixe ipina* (Romeyka of Sürmene)
 had.1SG say.AOR.INF.1SG > had.3SG say.AOR.INF.1SG
 “If I had said”
 b. aux.AGR + infinitive → aux.AGR + infinitive.AGR → aux + infinitive.AGR

Infinitive constructions with overt subjects in Romeyka could be reconstructed as follows: all Romeyka varieties started with a personal infinitive from the evolution of the Hellenistic AcI in the context of a *prin*-adjunct. The next step sees: (a) G5 (see Table 4) developing an inflected infinitive; (b) G1/G2 did not; whereas (c) in G3/G4 these must be buffer zones reflecting contact between (a) and (b) — the historical data are not very helpful to pursue this further. Interestingly, once type (a) varieties developed an inflected infinitive: (i) the personal infinitive was no longer maintained; (ii) the plain infinitive was not maintained; (iii) also exhibit competition with *na*-clauses, e.g., in G5.

To recapitulate: neither the plain, the inflected nor the personal infinitive in Romeyka can be explained by contact with Turkish. While this language’s contribution cannot be ruled out entirely (by virtue of the fact that it too makes use of an infinitive), it cannot be shown to be important, though contact with Turkish is claimed to have affected other areas of the grammar (Sitaridou 2012). Likewise, we cannot exclude the possibility that the inflected infinitive is a sort of ‘converber’ (in the sense of Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001) which proves to be a convergent grammatical innovation of the languages spoken in Caucasus³³, thus providing evidence that inflected infinitives are, in fact, a feature of a Caucasian sprachbund.³⁴

32. As a reviewer points out this de-personalization of the initial part of periphrastic modals has a typological parallel in the Greek of Southern Albania and is also found in the development of the future tense (*θέλει να γράψει > θένα γράψει > θα γράψει*), and elsewhere in other Balkan languages.

33. Laz, like Modern Georgian, has no infinitive. Old Georgian had no morphological infinitive either, but it had an “infinitive construction” (Kobaidze & Vamling 1997, Boeder 2010). The verbal noun (in the adverbial case, found in subject and object raising) is of course inflected for Case, but a more interesting feature is Case-marking as a device of finite clause subordination, considered a calque of Turkish (Boeder 2005: 68).

34. It is possible that we are dealing with some sort of Caucasian sprachbund (Muysken 2008: 41, but Tuite 1999 argues against a Caucasian sprachbund). Other convergent features may include OV and split ergativity.

4.4 Change: The reanalysis of the Romeyka infinitive as a negative polarity item

Having established continuity from Hellenistic times to the present and dismissed the contact scenario for the Romeyka infinitive, we now show how the Romeyka infinitive departs from the Hellenistic infinitive; in particular, it has undergone two significant changes: (a) the syntactic distribution of the infinitive as a complement in Romeyka is restricted to the most monoclausal domain, namely as a complement to modals/restructuring verbs, the prototypical licensing context for the infinitive (Wurmbrand 2001; Cinque 2002; Sitaridou 2002, 2011); diachronically, the prediction that infinitive loss progresses from more to less biclausal domains is borne out, as shown by the progression of infinitive loss in the history of Greek (Horrocks 2010: 45–46, Kavčič 2005: 190 for the claim that control constructions are retained longer, whereas AcI is lost first) and Romanian; (b) the Romeyka infinitive was reanalyzed as an NPI once Romeyka was isolated from MedGr. Given that (a) is discussed in the literature, we focus on (b): the reanalysis of the infinitive as an NPI, for which the closest comparable case is the grammaticalization of *brauchen* “need” in German (Hoeksema 1994, Wouden 2001). Importantly, the historical moment for the advocated reanalysis coincides with Islamization (§2).

Sitaridou (forthcoming) shows that the Romeyka infinitive synchronically behaves like an NPI: it can only be licensed in (i) *prin* clauses, (ii) structures headed by a negated past tense modal and (iii) counterfactuals. In all these contexts, anti-veridicality (in the sense of Giannakidou 1998) licenses the infinitive. This behaviour of the Romeyka infinitive distinguishes it significantly from previous stages of Greek, where the infinitive is not an NPI. These characteristics also set it apart from Romance languages, which display polarity subjunctives but not polarity infinitives. Instead, the Romeyka infinitive seems to align with Germanic languages, which have finite verbal forms as NPIs (e.g. German *brauchen*, see Giannakidou 1998, i.a.).

Assuming that the synchronic analysis is on the right track, let us consider the reanalysis scenario. Romeyka shows robust infinitival use with negated past tense modals, counterfactuals and *prin* clauses — the latter lost entirely by the time of grammars of other MedGr varieties. Once Romeyka became linguistically detached from changes occurring in other (medieval) Pontic and non-Pontic Greek varieties (with which it was in contact in the sociohistorical context of Trebizond, for instance), it grammaticalized the antiveridicality feature (common in all three aforementioned contexts) and reanalyzed the infinitive as an NPI. In terms of sequencing, namely whether (a) this grammaticalization caused the loss of non-polarity uses, or (b) antiveridicality was grammaticalized due to/after the loss of non-polarity uses, this analysis points towards (b).

[+interpretable] n-feature in contrast to traditional NPIs such as AG *oudheis*, MedGr *midheis* and MG *kanis* “no one”.

Three observations are in order: (a) that an uninterpretable feature is emerging is probably evidence of an internally-motivated change, especially compared to what happens in contact-induced syntactic change; for instance interpretable features are affected in attrited or SLI individuals (Tsimplici et al. 2004); (b) given that this reanalysis affected the entire syntactic category of the infinitive (and not a subclass of infinitives), it could in principle spread to other types of complements, e.g. of volitionals or perception verbs; (c) such a reanalysis, though not specific to a subclass of infinitives yet not seeing the infinitive spread in complements other than modals, is vulnerable to change. This is witnessed in the Anasta female generation of 20-year-olds for whom *na*-clauses are found as complements to negated past tense modals and for whom the infinitive endings in *prin*-constructions/counterfactuals are reduced (becoming like the Tonya ones, see fn. 10). Here, morphological loss overrides other syntactic features and is enough to destabilize the construction syntactically.

Evidence for such a reanalysis comes also from the historical record since the incidence of both the *na*-clause and the infinitive in *Digenis Akritis* (Escorial version) does not suggest that the competition is free, but rather constrained: when there is negation, the infinitive surfaces (62a, b) whereas, in the absence of negation, a *na*-clause is produced (Mackridge 1995: 159) (62c) — see (63):

- (62) a. Οὐκ ἔμποροῦν την εὔρειν
 uk imporun tin evrin (MedGr)
 not can.3PL her.ACC.CL find.INF
 “They cannot find her” (Digenis, Escorial, 124)
- b. Οὐκ ἔμπορεῖ ὑπομένει
 uk impori ipomeni
 not can.3SG endure.INF
 “He cannot endure (it).” (ibid., 1012)
- c. Κουρούνες πόσες ἔμποροῦν ἀετοῦ βρώμα νὰ
 kurunes poses imporun aetu vroma na
 crows.NOM how-many.NOM can.3PL eagle.GEN food.ACC PRT.SUBJ
 πάρουν;
 parun
 take.IMPF.3PL
 “How many crows can take/remove an eagle’s food?” (ibid., 880)
- (63) a. NEG *emporo* “I can” + infinitive (MedGr)
 b. *emporo* “I can” + *na*-clause

It follows that the condition in (63) was already operative — to some extent — in MedGr, and precisely this condition was further exploited in Romeyka through

the reanalysis of the infinitive as an NPI. We therefore deduce from (62) that the Romeyka infinitive was reanalyzed as an NPI at, around or after the same time as (62), from the Escorial manuscript; the latter was transcribed between about 1450–1500 (Beaton 1981: 11).³⁵ However, (63) aside, the key cue for reanalysis was the *prin*+infinitive construction present in medieval Pontic, but already absent in other MedGr varieties at the time of the reanalysis. Although we can only speculate why *prin*+infinitive survived in Romeyka, possibly as a collocation due to the impact of NTK, the fact that it had already become obsolete in MedGr is crucial because it explains why such a change did not occur in other MedGr varieties — they lacked a sufficient number of antiveridical contexts with infinitives.

However, reanalysis could not have taken place in Romeyka if (64) was available. According to Giannakidou (2010), the environment in (64) too is a broad NPI by virtue of being nonveridical:

- (64) *Eporesa almeksini (unattested in today's ROF)
 could.1SG milk.AOR.INF
 "I was able to/managed to milk (the cows)"

If (64) was possible in the grammar of Romeyka (and thus part of children's input) at the time of the reanalysis, it would have functioned as counterevidence to the child for reanalyzing the infinitive as an NPI because there is no antiveridical licenser present — (64) is merely nonveridical. However, (64) is ungrammatical. Crucially, Romeyka speakers today use (65) instead of (64):

- (65) Almeksa (ROF)
 milked.1SG
 "I was able to milk (the cows)."

According to our analysis, (64) could not have been available to the child at the time of the suggested reanalysis, around the 14th–16th c. CE. Although we have no direct evidence when or why (64) was replaced by (65), indirect evidence suggests this change must have taken place prior to the reanalysis of the infinitive as an NPI as the survival of *eporo* "I can"+*tš* "and"+finite verb strategy in interrogatives indicates (66). The strategy in (66a/b) exists in SMG as well (66d).

- (66) a. Eporis tš' almeyis? (ROF)
 can.2SG and cook.2SG
 "Can you milk (the cows)?"
 b. Eporeses tš' almekses?
 could.2SG and milked.2SG
 "Were you able to milk (the cows)?"

35. It remains to be seen whether the use existed before Digenis E, is attested from Digenis E onwards or is unique to Digenis E.

- c. *Eporeses n' almeyis?
could.2SG PRT.SUBJ milked.2SG
- d. Boreses ki armekses? (SMG)
could.2SG and milked.2SG
“Were you able to milk (the cows)?”

At this stage we have an additional — yet interlinked — puzzle: why the positive use of the modal verbs is restricted to interrogatives (Sitaridou forthcoming), as shown by the ungrammaticality of (67):

- (67) *Poro na troyo (ROf)
can.1SG PRT.SUBJ eat.1SG
“I can eat”

To add to the complexity, (67) is only acceptable in Romeyka with a negative meaning, on the “I cannot” interpretation (68):

- (68) Poro na troyo (ROf)
cannot.1SG PRT.SUBJ eat.1SG
“I cannot eat”

Interestingly, the past tense equivalent of (68) in Romeyka is not possible, as shown in (64) — instead an overt negator is necessary (69):

- (69) utš eporesa fanini (ROf)
not could.1SG eat.AOR.INF
“I couldn’t eat”

It is not clear why positive expression of modality became unavailable, but we know that modality underwent significant restructuring between Hellenistic and medieval times (Markopoulos 2009, Iakovou 2003), again coinciding with when we argue that Romeyka became isolated. And none of the HelGr verbs in (70) are found in Romeyka:

- (70) a. *mello*: “be about to” (HelGr)
b. *opheilo*: “ought”
c. *dunamai* “can”
d. *arkhomai* “begin”

Instead, Romeyka uses (71):

- (71) a. indicative with pragmatic inferencing deriving the modal reading
b. (*a*)*poro* “I cannot”
c. *exo* “I have”+ noun as in: *exo mairema* “I have cooking (to do)”; *exo almeksimo*; “I have milking (to do)”

- d. Turkish loanwords e.g., *ile* as in *Ile na porpato/porpatis/porpatun* “I/You/(S)he must walk”, e.g. *Ile na porpato, ama poro na porpato* “I must walk but I cannot walk”

Note that *aporo* “I cannot” (71b) is also attested in MedGr along with *e:/e(m)poro* “I can”. *Aporo* has the meaning “I am unable/I am in no position” in Kriaras (1969–1997):

- (72) μά τήν ἀλήθειαν ἀπορῶ νὰ σὲ τὰ
 ma tin alithian aporo na se ta (MedGr)
 PRT the.ACC truth.ACC cannot.1SG PRT.SUBJ you.ACC.CL them.ACC.CL
 καταλέξω
 katalekso
 tell/list.PFV.1SG
 “I swear, I cannot tell you them all in detail”
 (Livistros V 3091 and Livistros α 3476 *apud* Kriaras 1969–1997, vol. 3: 105)

Due to aphaeresis, (*e*)poró (i) “I can” and aporó (ii) “I cannot” could have become homonyms and *poro* (ii) was reanalyzed as inherently negative whereas for *poro* (i), other strategies were exploited (71a); in other words MedGr (72) is preserved as (68) in Romeyka. To consolidate this further, consider (73) — the last occurrence of *poro* (ii) “I cannot”: it is beyond doubt inherently negative and is crucially preceded by a word ending in /a/ (Sitaridou forthcoming):³⁶

- (73) U poro n' almeyo, u poro na tšalisevo, (ROf)
 not can.1SG PRT.SUBJ milk.1SG not can.1SG PRT.SUBJ work.1SG
 u poro na trexo, so xorafi u poro na payo,
 not can.1SG PRT.SUBJ run.1SG to.the field.ACC not can.1SG PRT.SUBJ go.1SG
 ejerasa, epemina, poro
 grew-old.1SG left.1SG cannot.1SG
 “I cannot milk (the cows), I cannot work, I cannot run, I cannot go to the fields; I grew old; my strength deserted me; I can’t (cope) anymore.”

Further support comes from Romeyka’s preservation of adjectival *aporos* “bad”:

- (74) An tše xujevun, apora (ROf)
 if not read.3PL bad.PL
 “If they don’t study, they are bad (children).”

This adjectival use of *áporos* as “bad, unworthy” bears its stress on the privative *a*, whereas the verb *aporó* “I cannot” does not — the stress is on the final.

36. A reviewer notes a similar neutralizing development between *can~can’t* in northern New Jersey; Labov (2007:356).

According to Kriaras (1969–1997), *aporos* on the interpretation of “bad, unworthy” is last found in a 14th-c. manuscript, which fits with the suggested time frame for the reanalysis discussed in this article. The ungrammaticality of (64) must then be partly due to the fact that the form of *eporesa* “I could” became homophonous to *aporesa* > **poresa* > *eporesa* “I could not”.

In the reanalysis scenario the only known points are MedGr data and present Anasta data, thus missing several steps in between; the question is to what extent Parcharidis’s 1876 data (Deffner 1878) from Sarahos (G3), the best geographical match, approximate the infinitival distribution in native speech of Anasta 137 years ago thus providing us with one of the missing links. The infinitival distribution from Anasta today and Sarahos in 1876 do not match since the 1876 Sarahos data (13 examples, unambiguously labelled from Sarahos, collected by Parcharidis for Deffner 1878) allow: (i) an inflected infinitive; (ii) far more semantic predicates selecting for a plain infinitive; (iii) the plain infinitive after *eporesa* ‘could’ in interrogatives. None of these are found in Anasta today. If these data reflect an intermediate stage for Anasta too, then our reanalysis would be either problematic since (ii) and (iii) are counter-cues to antiveridicality or the NPI-infinitive innovation is post-1876; the latter cannot be excluded yet there are counterindications for using these data reliably: (a) Parcharidis collected the Sarahos data in a single day (Deffner 1877: 548) and under threat; (b) one Sarahos example contains *sta yarðelæ* “to the children” – *sta* “to the” only found in MG, but never PG (cf. *sa yarðele*) (Deffner 1878: 218), suggesting transfer from MG (although it may well be a slip of the pen given to the haste with which he was working on the eve of the Russo-Turkish War (1877–8)); (c) the distribution of the plain infinitive in Sarahos seems to extend beyond the contexts in which it is found in HelGr/MedGr, which is highly improbable.³⁷

To conclude, I claimed that the Romeyka infinitive developed a frequency association with antiveridical contexts soon after Islamizations, and that this association of antiveridicality with the infinitive became conventionalized as a rule of the grammar. Thus, the Romeyka infinitive was reanalyzed as an NPI, which, albeit more constrained unlike traditional NPIs, is still in line with other items such as German *brauchen* that are classed as NPIs. This change stabilized the infinitive and it seems to have held off its demise: Continuity was ensured through reanalysis.

37. This overgeneration of plain infinitival contexts in G3/4, I believe is due to the existence of the inflected infinitive which behaves like a finite form and is used extensively with a variety of predicates (see §4.3 and Sitaridou 2007b). Analogically the plain infinitive may have spread in contexts otherwise lost since late HelGr. I will not pursue this further here given the nature of the available data.

5. Implications for the loss of the infinitive in mainland Greek varieties

The Romeyka infinitive's survival goes well beyond being an AG retention (*cum* innovation) in one endangered and marginal Greek variety; it can shed light on the loss of the infinitive in other varieties of Greek. Following Sandfeld (1930), it has been recognized (i) that the southerly languages Greek, Albanian and Bulgarian show no productive infinitive at all, whereas most northern ones display more extensive use of the infinitive (indirect support comes from residual infinitival use in Romanian, but cf. Frâncu 2009 on why Romanian infinitival loss must be exempted); (ii) given the cultural impact of Greek, the locus of the loss must have been Greek, and, therefore, the spread of the infinitival loss must have been from Greek northwards to other Balkan languages.

Although Sandfeld may be on the right track, especially given the prestige of Greek, the retention of the Romeyka infinitive indicates that infinitival loss in Greek must have been precipitated because of contact with the Balkan languages. During crucial periods, Greek operated within an intensely multilingual setting³⁸ (Joseph 2000: 142), whereas Romeyka was in relative isolation. Infinitive loss and generalization of *na*-clauses in all syntactic contexts (obligatory/optional control, perception, epistemic, adjuncts, hyper-raising, etc.) seem to be major taxonomic indices of affiliation to the Balkan sprachbund. Nevertheless, in Romeyka we observe the opposite, further evidenced by the absence of deictic *na* in Romeyka (75b), otherwise found in Greek and other Balkan languages (Joseph 1981a: 146) (75a):

- (75) a. Na o Janis (SMG)
 PRT the.NOM John.NOM
 "Here it is, John"
- b. *Na o Mehmetis (ROf)
 PRT the.NOM Mehmet.NOM

Within the general leapfrog manner (in the sense of Chambers & Trudgill 1980) in which MedGr innovations spread in Romeyka (for instance, although it developed and still uses (*a*)*midhen* NEG2 it never developed NEG1 in conditionals as is the case in SMG), the balkanism in (75a) is entirely absent. This is consistent with the fact that Romeyka's was never in contact with the Balkan languages and did not

38. A reviewer observes that the infinitive was also lost in Cretan and Cypriot Greek, without contact with Slavic or Albanian speakers. The key is not contact with specific languages, but rather multilingualism in general, which applies to both Cretan and Cypriot Greek since they were in contact with Venetian (Markopoulos 2009) and Lusignan French (Sitaridou & Terkourafi 2009), respectively. In fact, multilingualism may have played a role in the Central Balkans since at least Hellenistic times.

participate in the sprachbund whereas in the mainland Greek varieties language contact precipitated infinitival loss.

6. Conclusion

In this article, it was shown that there still exists one Greek variety which preserves a robust infinitive usage: Romeyka of Of in Çaykara, Turkey. I argued that: (a) this AG infinitive can be safely dated to Hellenistic times since it enjoys a productive infinitival usage, namely *prin*+infinitive which became obsolete by early MedGr in all other Greek varieties; (b) the role of contact with Turkish, albeit recently important, was shown to play no role in the preservation of the infinitive in all its forms: plain, personal or inflected; on the contrary, contact within the Balkan sprachbund must have precipitated infinitival loss in mainland varieties; (c) the Romeyka infinitive was cut off from other medieval PG and Greek varieties between the 14th and 16th c. CE and triggered a change: it reanalyzed the infinitive as an NPI; crucially, this reanalysis strengthened its chances of survival since otherwise morphological erosion could have led to its demise. Theoretically, such reanalysis feeds into the discussion that (i) there are two types of negative words, those which are inherently negative and those which enter into a negative dependency; (ii) NPIs belong to various syntactic categories: and now an infinitive too.

To paraphrase Bryer (1991:332), we have not heard the last on the Greek infinitive.

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Résumé

Dans cet article, nous démontrons qu'une variété de grec pontique, le romeyka d'Of, a conservé jusqu'à aujourd'hui un emploi vivace de l'infinitif. La comparaison de l'utilisation actuelle de l'infinitif du romeyka avec des formes plus anciennes du grec permet de soutenir que: (a) l'infinitif du romeyka trouve ses racines dans le grec hellénistique, en raison de sa préservation dans la construction "prin" ('avant') avec l'infinitif, qui reste très productive jusqu'à aujourd'hui. De manière cruciale, dans d'autres variétés de grec, cette construction n'a pas survécu au début du moyen âge et on ne la trouve que comme construction savante dans des registres 'élevés' de textes de grec médiéval; (b) ni la survivance de l'infinitif ordinaire et personnel, ni l'émergence de l'infinitive fléchi ne peuvent s'expliquer par une influence du turc; (c) l'infinitif du romeyka, qui faisait partie d'une variété médiévale très conservatrice aux traits hellénistiques importants, a été réanalysé comme terme de polarité négative forte, une fois isolé le Romeyka des autres parlers grecs médiévaux (entre le 11^e et le 16^e siècles). Une telle réanalyse s'inscrit dans les discussions sur les différents types syntaxiques auxquels peuvent appartenir les termes de polarité négative: nominal, adverbial, verbe fini, particule focalisante, minimiseurs, auxquels on peut également ajouter l'infinitif.

Zusammenfassung

In diesem Aufsatz wird gezeigt, dass eine Varietät des pontischen Griechisch, und zwar Romeyka aus Of, bis zum heutigen Tag den Gebrauch des Infinitivs fest bewahrt hat. Auf der Basis eines Vergleichs von Infinitivkonstruktionen in Romeyka mit früheren Sprachzuständen des Griechischen wurde gezeigt, (a) dass der Infinitiv in Romeyka aufgrund des Erhalts der bis heute außerordentlich produktiven Konstruktion *prin* ‚vorher‘ mit Infinitiv seine Wurzel im hellenistischen Griechisch hat. Wichtig ist, dass diese Konstruktion in anderen Varietäten nur bis in die frühmittelalterliche Zeit hinein überlebt hat und in mittelalterlichen Zeugnissen nur als gelehrte Form in ‚höheren‘ Registern vorkommt; (b) dass weder das Überleben des vollen und persönlichen Infinitivs, noch die Herausbildung des flektierten Infinitivs dem Kontakt mit dem Türkischen zugeschrieben werden kann; (c) dass der Infinitiv in Romeyka, der Teil einer sehr konservativen mittelalterlichen Varietät mit deutlich hellenistischen Eigenschaften war, nach der Trennung der Varietät von anderen mittelalterlichen Varietäten (zwischen dem 11. und dem 16. Jahrhundert) als stark negatives Polaritätselement (NPI) reanalysiert wurde. Eine solche Reanalyse fügt sich in die Diskussion um die Tatsache, dass NPIs zu verschiedenen

syntaktischen Kategorien gehören, ein: es gibt nominale NPIs, NPI-Adverben, NPI-Verben, NPI Fokuspartikeln — und nun eben auch Infinitive.

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