

The Apocope of /s/ in Greco-Corsican¹

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1 Introduction

The Greek spoken in Corsica from 1676 until 1976 (Blanken 1951) is characterised by the deletion of final /s/:

- (1) Το βράδυ ένε αέρα της θάλασσα
to 'vraði 'ene a'era tis 'thalasa,
“at night there is a wind from the sea”
Standard Greek: Το βράδυ είναι αέρας της θάλασσας
to 'vraði 'ine a'eras tis 'thalasas. (Blanken 1951: 280)

This apocope is reminiscent of the behaviour of Greek in Southern Italy (Rohlf 1977: 47–49), and recapitulates the development within Italian from Latin. This has led several observers to assume that the Corsican phenomenon, like the Italiot, is the result of Romance influence on Greek (e.g. Papadopoulos 1864: 415; Dawkins 1926–1927: 376–378) – especially given the overwhelming tendency in Corsican towards open final syllables (see Fusina 1999: 76, 78 for the very few exceptions to this).

However, several Greek dialects also feature apocope of /s/ without any influence from Romance. This is the case in Maniot, the mother dialect of the Corsican colony. Given the remarkable conservatism of Corsican Greek, it is more plausible to ascribe the phenomenon to a tendency already extant in Greek.

The issue of /s/-apocope in Greek has not been addressed recently, and the extent to which it may have been influenced by Romance has been approached in impressionistic terms. In particular, reflecting the linguistic orientation of the times, accounts of /s/-apocope have been phonological – whereas the diachronic accounts for /s/-apocope make more sense in terms of syntactic conditioning. In this paper, I summarise the existing accounts of /s/-apocope, before investigating the conditioning of /s/-apocope in Maniot and Corsican, and whether there are any differences between the two that may point to Romance influence. To do this, I compare their apocope to that of Italiot, where I argue Romance influence should be assumed.

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2 Background

2.1 *Global Accounts*

/s/ undergoes apocope in several dialects of Modern Greek (Pernot 1907: 425–429; Triantafyllides 1927–1928: 304–306); these include the dialects of Chios, western Crete, the Cyclades (Naxos, Andros and Ios), Skopelos, Thessaly (Karditsa), Roumeli (Eurytania, Aetolia, Phocis, Boeotia), and the Peloponnese (Corinthia, Achaia, Tsakonia, Mani) – as well as Southern Italian and Corsican Greek. Of these dialects, /s/ apocope is regular only in Tsakonian; indeed, Tsakonian has no final consonants, other than the use of /r/ as a liaison and a few function words (Haralambopoulos 1980: 132–133 gives *moλis* ‘as soon as’, *xoris* ‘without’, *otan* ‘when’, *as* ‘let’, *os* ‘until’, and *an* ‘if’). It has been assumed (Anagnostopoulos 1926b: 21) that Tsakonian /s/ apocope occurred through rhotacism – *s* > *r* is attested in late Laconian, and final *r* presumably lenited to zero.² But the advanced degree of /s/ loss in Tsakonian means it is of little use in recovering the pathway for /s/ loss elsewhere in Greek.

In all other dialects, an underlying final /s/ is preserved, and is deleted only in certain phonological contexts – usually before a word beginning with a consonant. At first sight, this may appear to be a result of degemination: *mas na* > *man.a* > *mana*. This is how Psichari (1889: 13) had accounted for it, and Mirambel (1929a: 173) regarded this as the more plausible account. But gemination is attested only in Chios and Southern Italy out of the dialects in question; and Pernot reports that in Chios such degemination was only incipient. (Pernot 1934: 120, refuting Mirambel, details how Psichari was led astray in Chios through overeager elicitation.)

The mainstream account of the phenomenon in Greek linguistics since Hatzi-dakis (1975 [1892]: 275, 352) has instead involved dissimilation. Such an account fits particularly well with West Cretan, where in most locales /s/ is deleted before an enclitic possessive ending in /s/, but not before a possessive ending in a vowel: *o aδerfo mas* ‘our brother’ but *o aδerfos mu* ‘my brother’ (Anagnostopoulos 1926a: 152, 160).³ Most dialects of Greek with apocope present a similar picture: the apo-

2 While Pernot (1934: 116–121) admits remnants of such rhotacism in the verb system, he is sceptical that it is necessary in order to account for /s/ deletion in Tsakonian overall, and suspects that the apocope is linked to that occurring elsewhere in the Peloponnese (by which he means Mani). Pernot’s scepticism on ancient dialect survivals is a welcome respite from the occasionally far-fetched speculations on the topic, but the picture that emerges of Maniot apocope, as I detail it below, is too restricted to account for Tsakonian.

3 There are other possible phonological accounts for an apocope before a possessive, as conference participants suggested to me. (1) An analogical extension from the degemination before 2nd person possessives: *o aδerfos su* [oαδerfosu] > *o aδerfo su* ‘your.sg brother’, *o aδerfos sas* [oαδerfosas] > *o aδerfo sas* ‘your.pl brother’. But in that case the restriction against *o aδerfo mu* in most dialects would be unmotivated. (2) Lenition of /s/ [z] before /m/: /o aδerfos mas/ [oαδerfozmas] > [oαδerfomas]. But while there is precedent for such lenition elsewhere in Greece (Contossopoulos 2001: 37, 38: Apokorona, Crete: [zm], [z#m] > [jm]; [z#n] > [jn], [n]), the apocope is well attested before the third person *tu* possessive as well, at least in Triantafyllides’ data. And once more, the restriction against *o aδerfo mu* would be unmotivated.

cope occurs before an enclitic or at the end of a proclitic (see discussion of Maniot below), and so does not involve the end of a phonological word. Although I still refer to such deletion as apocope, to distinguish it from the kinds of /s/-syncope discussed in Pernot (1905), such a phenomenon is clearly conditioned syntactically, even though the motivation for this is phonological and intonational (the delimitation of the phonological word). Apocope at the end of a phonological word – a noun phrase, for instance – is rather more rare. Pernot found /s/-apocope was regular in Chios before the clusters /ks, ps, ts/, except when a pause intervened; he concluded that here, too, the phenomenon was primarily one of dissimilation.

Where /s/ apocope is more widely attested, it appears to be an analogical extension. Hatzidakis (1975 [1892]: 232–233) had already identified morphologically conditioned apocope for nouns with what had become an irregular /s/: e.g. *i theoti(s)* ‘divinity’ and *to daso(s)* ‘forest’ losing their /s/ to match the usual paradigm for feminine and neuter nouns. Likewise Minas (1992–1993: 179) explains the apocope in the Maniot adverbs *xte(s)* ‘yesterday’ and *bro(s)* ‘in front’ by analogy with *opse(s)* ‘last night’ and *kato* ‘below’ (in a context where Mirambel 1929a: 172 had rejected the possibility of dissimilation). But as Filindas (1902: 61) and Triantafyllides (1927–1928: 305) conclude, the unconditioned instances of apocope in individual dialects of Greek may also be explained by analogy from apocopated instances. This explains *o aderfo mu* ‘my brother’ in Agia Varvara, Crete (Anagnostopoulos 1926a) and *o pateras mu* > *o patera mu* ‘my father’ in Boeotia and Corinthia (Triantafyllides 1927–1928); the presence of the imperative *dos mu* > *do mu* ‘give me’ alongside *dos mas* > *do mas* ‘give us’. Analogy may also explain the rare occurrence of /s/ deletion phrase finally, as in *i pateres* > *i patere* ‘the fathers’ in Achaea and *tis panayias* > *ts panaja* ‘the Virgin Mary’s’ in Karditsa (progressive dissimilation?) (Triantafyllides 1927–1928), which has become regular in individual villages of Crete, such as Kalamafka (Kourmoulis 1938).

Contact with standard Greek has restored final /s/ in apocoping dialects, as Mirambel (1929a: 170–171) had already remarked for Maniot. As a result, the distribution of final /s/ has become irregular in those dialects – though as Dawkins (1929–1930: 680) points out, that distribution was likely quite irregular already: “[Mirambel] is too fond of thinking that any observed phenomenon must have cut its way sheer through the entire dialect, that some dropped sigmas means that all sigmas were dropped, and so on.” But however pervasive the influence of the standard was in Greece, it was totally absent in Italy, and almost totally in Corsica. So one would expect that Corsica displays a picture of /s/ apocope unaffected by standard Greek – though conversely more affected by Romance.

Blanken (1951: 85) raises two further factors which could have led to /s/ apocope: the lenis pronunciation of final /s/ in Greek in general (reminiscent of Minas’ 1984 claims for Doric – though these are impressionistic observations), and the markedness of final /s/ in Greek morphology:

Table 1

	Masc nouns	Fem nouns	Neut nouns
Nom.sg	+	–	–
Gen.sg	–	+	–
Acc.sg	–	–	–
Nom.pl	–/+	+	–
Gen.pl	–	–	–
Acc.pl	–/+	+	–

Table 2

	Active		Passive	
	Imperfective	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfective
1sg	–	–	–	–
2sg	+	+	–	+
3sg	–	–	–	–
1pl	–	–	–	–
2pl	–	–	–	–
3pl	–	–	–	–

2.2 Extant descriptions of Maniot

The extent and conditioning of /s/-apocope in Maniot has not been settled, and has occasioned controversy. Mirambel (1929a: 170–174), the fullest grammar of Maniot available, explains /s/ apocope as an avoidance of closed syllables. He reports that /s/ was deleted frequently before fricatives, almost always before stops, at phrase ends and before pauses – and was preserved only before vowels. In the few cases where /s/ was preserved before stops, the /s/+C cluster is phonotactically plausible in the dialect as a syllable onset – consistent with the avoidance of closed syllables: *tus perni* ‘he takes them’ > *tu.sperni*. Mirambel (1929a: 208, 211) adds that /s/ is deleted in 2sg verb endings, and that this apocope is less frequent than for nouns because it has been restored analogically; he names this restoration (Mirambel 1929a: 253) as one of the instances of standard Greek pressure on the dialect. Mirambel dates /s/ apocope to some time between 1582 (the date of a document from Mani with no /s/ apocope) and the 18th century.

Hatzidakis’ (1930: 99–101) review of Mirambel is a long attack – not devoid of personal animus against Mirambel’s doctoral supervisor and Hatzidakis’ *bête noir*, Jean Psichari. Hatzidakis rejects Mirambel’s interpretation that the apocope of both /s/ and /n/ originates in an avoidance of closed syllables, because such apocope of /s/

has not occurred in standard Greek (an unconvincing counterargument). Hatzidakis also mistrusts the data reported by Mirambel, and suspects that Maniot resembles his native Cretan in apocoping /s/ through enclitic dissimilation. He admits, however, that “unfortunately I cannot prove this in its various aspects today, as neither what the author has said nor what information I been supplied on this dialect by locals appears to be adequate.”

Dawkins’ (1929–1930) review is more charitable, though still questioning some of Mirambel’s conclusions. Unlike Hatzidakis, Dawkins had the advantage of conducting fieldwork in Mani and (for a few hours: Dawkins 1926–1927) Cargèse. Dawkins (1929–1930: 682) finds that in both Cargèse and Mani there was a tendency to apocope /s/ in nouns, although he did not find apocope in verbs; and he notes that the apocope occurred only before another consonant. Dawkins (1929–1930: 687–688) uses the fact that “the condition of the final sigma at Cargese seems to be much the same as in Mani” to conclude that Mani displays a “permanent instability of the final sigma”, predating the Corsican colony.

As Mirambel and his contemporaries wrote before syntax as we know it, their accounts are couched in phonological rather than syntactic terms. Extrapolating, however, one can derive the following rules:

- /s/ apocope is obligatory in Maniot at a phrase boundary, be it a noun phrase, verb phrase, or adverbial phrase (including the sentence adverb *omo(s)* ‘however’). Dawkins’ comment may indicate that verbs were less liable to apocope than nouns; but it is not clear whether this is because of transitive verbs being VP-medial, semantic conditioning, or the functional overload caused by conflating 2sg and 3sg verbs. (As seen below, the latter has not proven to be a deterrent.)
- /s/ apocope is phonologically conditioned in Maniot within the phrase, but without much difference from phrase boundaries: apocope is less likely before a fricative, and more likely before a stop – except where the /s/-stop cluster could serve as an onset.

The obligatory phrase-final apocope of /s/ is syntactically motivated: Maniot has acquired a rule whereby phonological words cannot end in closed syllables. (Cf. Mirambel 1929a: 168–170, who believes that even where final /n/ is retained before a vowel, the /n/ is reanalysed to belong to the following word.) If that is the only syntactic rule in place, we would predict for Maniot *o aḍerfos tus* ‘their brother’ > *o aḍerfos tu*: the enclitic *tu(s)* is at the end of the phonological word, while the phrase-internal cluster /s#t/ is a phonotactically plausible onset. This is distinct from West Cretan, where dissimilation eliminates the phrase-internal /s/, giving *o aḍerfo tos* (actually *o aḍerfo dos*, by analogy with the accusative *ton aḍerfon tos* > *ton aḍerfo dos*). But Mirambel’s formulation is misleading: the dissimilation-driven apocope of /s/ also operates in Maniot, which has phrases like *o aḍerfo tus*. In fact, dissimilation is more pervasive in Maniot than deletion conditioned syntactically, and has become

even more so through the 20th century, suggesting that dissimilation was more firmly established in the dialect as a phonological rule.

There are several pieces of evidence for this. One is the sketch grammar of Maniot in Kassis (1982). By any account, Kassis' 20-page grammar is unsatisfactory: it has been written long after the effect of the standard has become irrevocable; it includes only a few pages of observations; and it is linguistically naive. What little mention of /s/ apocope it does make, therefore, is likely to involve only the most salient such apocopes surviving in the dialect. But the one instance of /s/ apocope Kassis (1982: 38) mentions explicitly is before possessives – the same dissimilatory context as in West Cretan, though he describes it as applicable to all possessives, not just those ending with /s/. In fact, when an enclitic possessive is homonymous with a proclitic personal pronoun, Kassis reports that the proclitic does not trigger /s/ apocope: *{o jani mu}*_{NP} ‘my John’ vs. *{o janis}*_{NP} *{mu}*_{NP} *pe* ‘John told me’.

This means that the one instance of /s/ apocope Kassis names is phrase-internal – the phrase-final instance of /s/ in *{o janis}*_{NP} *{mu}*_{NP} *pe* has its apocope blocked. Kassis (1982: 59) also implies that there is /s/ apocope at the end of definite articles; again, this indicates phrase-internal apocope, as articles are proclitic, and articles ending in /s/ are likely to precede nouns ending in /s/ (*tus pateres* ‘the fathers’ > *tu pateres*). So /s/ apocope in articles also likely originates in dissimilation, and follows the same pattern as possessives of deleting the first /s/ rather than the phrase-final /s/.

Mandouvalos' commentary on Mirambel (1929b) (Mirambel 1992) provides even more explicit evidence of the persistence of dissimilatory loss: Mandouvalos is adamant on several occasions (e.g. Mirambel 1992: 16, 20, 76, 92, 117) that Maniot has obligatory apocope in phrase-medial dissimilatory contexts (determiners, nouns before possessives), and no apocope phrase-finally (even including proclitics). Mirambel's record of /s/ apocope, he insists, is grossly mistaken, and he emends just about every non-dissimilatory instance.⁴ Mandouvalos is a native speaker of Maniot, and would have been born in the 1920s; so we should take his intuition on Maniot as reliable. Moreover, it is well known that Mirambel made many mistakes in his transcription.⁵

But Mirambel clearly did not just imagine phrase-final apocope, and would not have recorded it so systematically if he had. Dawkins (1929–1930: 681–682) cautiously confirms /s/ apocope; his observation that the apocope was conditioned by a consonant beginning the next word sounds like a pattern of apocope rather

4 Vayacacos does the same in his personal communications to Minas (1992–1993: 179–180, footnotes), rejecting Mirambel's reports of apocope of /s/ in adverbs, neuter nouns and verbs, though not proclitics.

5 The most entertaining of these (Mirambel 1992: 137, 145 = Mirambel 1929b: 86) is *t efi zelaða stin avli tfe mugapete za tai* ‘for he has a cow in the yard and it moos for food’, which Mirambel transcribed as *tfe mu kanete zatazi* ‘à me donner des ordres’.

more general than dissimilation would allow. There is more explicit confirmation in Parnassus Philological Society (1870: 125–127), two Maniot folk song transcriptions cited by Pernot (1907: 429); these contain not only the familiar dissimilatory apocope (*i levede_mas* “our braves”, *tis ađerfula_mu peđi* “my dear sister’s child”), but also the verse *kj eskotone tu_bavaru_kj olu_tu_ksiomatiku* “and he was killing the Bavarians and all the officers” – with /s/ apocopated everywhere: in determiners and adjectives within an NP, and nouns at the end of NP, with no dissimilatory motivation for any of them. While this is the only passage in the songs with apocope (though it is repeated), it shows that apocope had already spread outside the dissimilatory paradigm. So, clearly, just as Mirambel claimed, Standard Greek influence restored final /s/ outside that paradigm rapidly in the 20th century – so rapidly that Mandouvalos could not recall anything else. And for all Mandouvalos’ bemoaning Mirambel’s insensitivity to metre in his song transcriptions, his own emendations restoring /s/ clearly disrupt the songs’ rhyme – e.g. *tfe du fragaku don izo, / pu ne du đimarxu yabro(s)* “and [to beat] Fragakos’ son (acc), who is the mayor’s son-in-law (nom)” (Mirambel 1929b: 36 = Mirambel 1992: 62, 74). Similar rhyme disruptions because of restored /s/ are to be seen in all Maniot songs published by Greeks this past century.⁶

So Maniot has dissimilation-motivated /s/ apocope, like the other Greek dialects. It has extended such apocope to the ends of phonological words, and to a lesser extent to the ends of words in general, although this extension has been undone under Standard Greek influence. This means that there are two main triggers of apocope in the dialect, one phrase-final and one phrase-internal.

In order to establish the extent of the two triggers, I tabulate /s/ loss against /s/ retention before consonants and pauses⁷ in the folk and eponymous songs transcribed in Mirambel (1929b). For all its shortcomings as a corpus of spontaneous Maniot, and the errors pointed out by several linguists (Mandouvalos was only one), Mirambel’s collection is the most phonetically accurate we have for the dialect. As the patriotic songs and political satires in the collection have undergone more influence from standard Greek, they are counted separately; Kassis (1983: 10) also notes that the language of satires in general – with which he includes patriotic songs – is more influenced by standard Greek than that of laments. I have counted personal satires in Mirambel’s sample with the non-satirical songs.

6 Kassis (1983) is an extensive corpus of satires from Mani, which includes the eponymous originals of several songs in Mirambel (1929b). But like all other recent collections of Maniot text, Kassis restores /s/ consistently, even when the written originals lacked it. For instance, the manuscript he reproduces of a satire by his own mother has an /s/ apocope in the first verse (on his father’s name *Mitso_*), which he transcribes with the /s/ restored.

7 A pause is counted as a full stop or semicolon, or end of verse. /s/ loss or retention before vowels has not been counted as apocope does not occur in that context in Mani.

Table 3

Mirambel:	- patriotic		+ patriotic		total	
End of AP	8:0	100%	1:1	50%	9:1	90%
End of NP (noun/pronoun)	73:5	94%	37:9	80%	110:14	86%
End of NP (enclitic possessive)	16:5	76%	6:1	86%	22:6	79%
End of NP/AP total	97:10	91%	44:11	80%	141:21	87%
End of NP (proclitic pronoun)	4:2	66%	1:5	17%	5:7	42%
Middle of NP (Det)	8:3	73%	4:5	80%	12:8	60%
Middle of NP (Adj)	3:0	100%	0:1	0%	3:1	75%
Middle of NP (N followed by POSS)	5:0	100%	3:0	100%	8:0	100%
Middle of NP (N followed by other)	5:4	56%	2:0	100%	7:4	63%
Middle of NP total	25:9	74%	10:11	48%	35:20	64%
V	34:5	82%	3:5	60%	37:10	79%
Num	3:0	100%	2:0	100%	5:0	100%
Other	2:0	100%	5:4	56%	7:4	64%
Total	161:24	87%	64:31	67%	225:55	80%

The first thing worth noting is that the encroachment of standard Greek in 1929 on Maniot had only started to have an effect on restoring /s/, at least according to Mirambel's transcription. /s/ is apocopated even in archaic clichés and terms taken from newspapers:

- (2) Για πέ μου, κρατεότατε, για όλα κατα κράτο,
 γιατί η μεταρύθμιση εγίνηκε στο κράτο;
za pe(s) mu, krateotate, za ola kata krato(s),
zati i metarithmisi ezinitze sto krato(s)?
 Do tell me, mighty one [the dictator Pangalos], about everything in all its breadth;
 why has this reform taken place in the State? (Mirambel 1929b: 62)

There is clearly more apocope at the end of a nominal phrase according to Mirambel than inside it. The adjective instances counted as phrase-final are predicatives, which are sentence-final. If we count these as NP-final, and proclitic pronouns as NP-medial (they never occur at the end of a phonological word), there are 20% more NP-final than NP-medial apocopes in the corpus; verbs occupy a position intermediate between the two. Dawkins' observation that apocope is more frequent for nouns is also confirmed.

Yet the context with the most consistent /s/ apocope, even when the more standardised patriotic songs are included, are numerals (which can be both proclitic and their own noun phrases) – and nouns preceding possessives. Dissimilatory loss of the type *o ađerfos mas > o ađerfo mas*, which Mirambel’s grammar does not even mention (and Hatzidakis second-guesses), is exceptionless in Mirambel’s corpus. The next strongest domains are predicative adjectives, and nouns at the end of NPs. If the frequency of apocope reflects the ontogeny of /s/ apocope (admittedly a risky surmise), we can posit apocope at (N-s)_{NP} as an analogical extension of (N-s POSS)_{NP}.

That said, /s/ apocope is strong in all syntactic domains in the corpus; the apocope of /s/ at the end of enclitic possessives (N POSS-s)_{NP} shows that the dissimilatory rule applying to N POSS has not blocked the phrase-final rule from applying in the same syntactic context. The weakest domains for /s/ apocope are (N-OTHER)_{NP} (typically N followed by a possessor NP), and proclitic pronouns (as Kassis confirms); this emphasises the importance of the phonological word in conditioning /s/ apocope. The domain where standard Greek influence has had the greatest effect – as quantified by the contrast between the corpora excluding and including patriotic songs – are the ‘other’ category (adverbs and interjections) and proclitic pronouns. The ‘other’ words are often of learned origin, which may explain their conservatism. The proclitics, in turn, suggest that /s/ apocope was being undone in a rule-bound fashion: proclitics are the first to be exempted from /s/ apocope, and this matches a global tendency to eliminate /s/ from the end of phonological words rather than the middle.

2.3 Romance and /s/ apocope: Southern Italy

It is usually assumed that /s/ apocope in Southern Italian Greek arose through Italian influence (Hatzidakis 1989 [1905]: 368 accepts this without hesitation, Triandafyllides 1981 [1938]: 298 is more tentative). The presence of /s/ apocope in Greek dialect has made scholars question whether its occurrence in Southern Italy is owed to Romance influence at all. In order to investigate this, it is useful to establish how /s/ apocope in Southern Italy differs from that in Mani.

Rohlf (1997: 47) claims the apocope of /s/ in Southern Italy is later than the 11th–13th century written texts from the area. This is not true, as Minas (1994: 72) finds; the examples he gives, from 1094 to 1339, frequently precede possessives, reminiscent of the dissimilatory apocope seen in Mani (e.g. *psixiki_mu* ‘of my soul’s’), but there are also instances with no dissimilatory motivation (*tu iđato_đi on* ‘of the water through which’). We cannot guarantee that the apocope in Italy is unrelated to that in Greece; its outcome, however, has been quite different. Rohlf finds the following rules to apply for Calabria, the more archaic dialect; he does not detail the rules for Salento, but implies they are similar.

- At a phrasal boundary, /s/ apocope is regular in Bova. Elsewhere in Calabria, /s/ is retained – more often in verbs than nouns; but where /s/ is retained, an open-

thetic /e/ is added to preserve the final open syllable. Thus, Bova has *o ximonas* > *o ximona* ‘winter’ and *troγis* > *trojji* ‘you eat’ (Rohlf 1977: 134); Corigliano has both *o ximona* and *o ximonase*, and *trojise* (Rohlf 1977: 48).

- Within the phrase (when the word is “closely connected to the preceding syntactically”), final /s/ is retained without epenthesis before a vowel: Bova *tes eyes* > *tes eje* ‘the goats’, Gallicianò *olos o kosmos* > *ullos o kosmo* ‘the whole world’. /s/ is also retained before consonants, but is assimilated to the following initial: Bova *o filomas* > *o filomma* ‘our friend’, *posus lykus* > *possu lliku* ‘how many wolves’, *tes nyxtes* > *te nniste* ‘the nights’.
- The cluster /s#t/ within the phrase is exceptional. /s/ is unassimilated in Calabria: *o kyris tu* > *o t̄firistu* ‘his father’ – although this is optional in Salento: Zollino *tus tixus* > *us tixu* ‘the walls’, but *o kyris tu* > *o t̄furittu*. Calabria also has /s#t/ > /nd/: *epeθane o kyris tu* > *epeθane o t̄furin du* ‘his father died’, *ivra tes θyγateres tu* > *ivra te ddixaterendu* ‘I saw his daughters’. This makes the masculine nominatives look like accusatives (*kyris* > *kyrin*), though in the feminine plural the form with *-n* does not exist; Rohlf (1977: 49) attributes this to analogical influence from Italian, which makes no nominative–accusative distinction.

The conditioning of final /s/ is very similar in Southern Italian to that of /n/ (Rohlf 1977: 38–40): deleted phrase-finally, but retained or assimilated phrase-internally. In the latter context, /n/ is even expanded analogically (*ime eyo* > *immen ego* ‘it is I’). Calabrian also has an epenthetic vowel after /n#/ (*tin kefaln* > *tin gefaline* ‘the head’, *me enan allon* > *me nan aq̄one* ‘with another one’) – an expansion widely known in standard Greek (*m enan alone*; *piyenun* > *piyenune* ‘they go’). This contrasts with /s#/ > /se/, which is unknown in Greek outside of proclitic pronouns (Cretan, Maniot: Mirambel 1929a: 121–123) and, in additional contexts, the dialect of Chios (Pernot 1907: 93–95).

The behaviour of finals in Italiot Greek, as Rohlf describes it, results in open syllables at the end of syntactic phrases. Within the syntactic phrase, by contrast, nothing prevents word-final /s/, subject to the phonologically regular requirements of assimilation. This differentiates Italiot from the dialects in Greece, where /s/ apocope is driven by dissimilation, and results in deletion within the phrase, rather than at the end. Both Pernot (1907: 429) and Blanken (1951: 84) enumerate the Salentine forms retaining final /s/ (articles *tis*, *tes*, *tus*, pronouns *mas*, *sas*, the numeral *tris/tres*, the preposition *is*) as instances of a “slight difference” between Italiot and Balkan Greek. But they fail to point out that these forms are all proclitic, meaning Italiot is subject to a syntactic criterion of avoiding phrase-internal apocope, which does not apply in Balkan Greece. Italian Greek is also at variance with Mani: though Maniot has phrase-final apocope, it also has dissimilatory apocope, which is absent in Italiot:

Table 4

	Dissimilatory apocope	Phrase-final apocope	<i>o aðerfos tus ></i>
Cretan	+	–	<i>o aðerfo tus</i>
Maniot	+	(+)	<i>o aðerfo tu(s)</i>
Italiot	–	+	<i>o aðerfos tu(se)</i>

2.4 Why Southern Italian involves Romance

At this stage, we need to confirm that the phrase-final requirement for apocope in Italiot is indeed a result of contact with Italian. This is necessary because of the recent hypothesis advanced by Minas (1984: 121–128) and Karanastasis (1997: 44–45) that the assimilation of /s/ before a consonant is a Doric inheritance, which Southern Italian Greek shares with Tsakonian and Maniot, and which is unrelated to Romance influence.

The Southern Italian instances Minas discusses are the phrase-medial assimilations seen above, e.g. *posus lykus > possu lliku*, which have correlates word-medially (Rohlf's 1977: 47): *yirisma > jirimma* ‘turn’. Minas is mostly careful to distinguish such cases from apocope proper, which would involve /s/ deletion at a phrasal boundary, or a word in isolation: he makes no mention of Rohlf's discussion of deletion at phrasal boundaries, and attributes known instances of /s/ apocope elsewhere in Greek to analogy (Minas 1984: 122). He also acknowledges dissimilatory loss as explaining the apocope before possessives (Minas 1984: 125) – although by leaving open the possibility of degemination in Mani, he still allows assimilation rather than dissimilation to cause deletion there (*o pateras mu > *o pateram mu > o patera mu*). The examples he cites from Doric, to support his contention of a Doric ‘weak articulation of /s/’ underlying its preconsonantal assimilation (Minas 1984: 126–127), are likewise either within the word or between a word and an enclitic. And although Minas mentions rhotacism, which affected *s# > r* in Elis, Argolis and late Laconia (and presumably was continued in Tsakonian), he does so in order to support his claim of ‘weak articulation’ – not to claim that /s/- apocope in general, such as can be found in Southern Italian Greek, is of Doric origin.

Although Minas phrases his objections carefully, restricting them to syncope and phrase-medial contexts, he leaves the impression that he is speaking more generally; his arguments against established thinking on the topic mostly concern apocope proper (Minas 1984: 124–125). Karanastasis (1997: 44–45), following suit, does not adequately distinguish between the two processes. Likewise Minas (1992–1993: 179), abandoning his earlier caution, posits assimilation and degemination of final /s/ in Maniot before any consonant, whatever the syntactic status of the words. He thus considers *ti(s) kamaras* ‘of the room’, *i filake(s) tis* ‘her guardians’, *tus lo yu(s)* ‘the words’, and *layu(s), perðitfe(s) za na vri* ‘to find hares and quails’ as all instances of the same phenomenon. This ignores the successful application of the

dissimilatory model (which accounts for the first two instances, and which we have seen is a distinct and persistent rule in Mani); and it posits assimilation across a phonologically strong boundary in *layu(s)*, *perðitje(s)*, with no independent evidence. The Psichari-Mirambel assimilatory account for apocope has been rejected, as seen; and the one medial instance Mirambel (1929b: 175) adduces, **travismata* > *travimata* ‘pulling’, is unconvincing: the regular form is *traviymata*, and *ym* > *m* is commonplace in Greek.

Moreover, degemination is still productive in Standard Greek across word boundaries (*/o pateras su/* [opaterasu] ‘your father’), and this would presumably also apply to Maniot; but without any good evidence of sC cluster avoidance in Maniot, a synchronically productive assimilation (*o pateras mu* > **o paterammu*) or even deletion ([opaterazmu] > [opateramu]) is far-fetched – given that Maniot has in fact innovated /sm/ clusters (Maniateas 2003: *murmura* > *musmula* ‘mumbling woman’, *murmuri* > *musmuli* ‘gilthead’, *vrulizome* ‘go mad’ > *vrulismara* ‘intense movement or worry’). So I see no reason to explain Maniot apocope in general in terms of assimilation and degemination, rather than as an analogical extension from dissimilatory loss. The same holds for Greco-Corsican, where as will be discussed the apocope is more advanced; this has not prevented innovative instances of /sm/ such as *kinismeni* ‘moved’ (Vayacacos 1965b: 153; standard Greek *kinimeni*). So an articulatory account, which conflates medial and final contexts, cannot address the distribution of apocope there either.

So even if we accept Minas’ hypothesis as stated, that sC > C: is of Doric origin, this does not mean that the apocope of /s/ at Italiot phrase boundaries, a distinct phenomenon, needs to be of the same origin. After all, /s/ undergoes prevocalic apocope in Italiot, which would not be predicted by s#C > C: : *kaθa kombo(s) erkete sto steni* (Calabria) / *pas:o kombo(s) ertfete sto fteni* (Salento) ‘each knot comes to the comb’ (Rohlf 1977: 222). It is possible that the prevocalic apocope is an analogical extension, such as may be posited, for example, in Kalamafka or Karditsa. But given the persistence of gemination in Southern Italy, it is difficult for such analogy to work: we would need *o patera* to be extracted from *o pateras mu* > *o paterammu*, leaving behind a geminated **mmu* possessive. Since the /s/ is not actually apocopated before a possessive, this cannot motivate its apocope in isolation.

That the motivation for the apocope in Italiot was explicitly phonotactic is underlined by the presence of epenthetic *-se* forms alongside apocopated forms in Calabria. Such epenthetic forms in Greek, where they occur at all, are normally proclitic; for them to occur phrase-finally shows that the /s/ was still underlyingly there (as we also know from the phrase-medial assimilations), and that it was not deleted there because of either lenition (the Doric ‘weak articulation’ which gave rise to rhotacism), dissimilation, or assimilation. The presence of *ximonase* alongside *ximona* as reflexes of *ximonas* can only be understood as an adaptation to a CV# phonotactic template.

It is rather more straightforward, then, to explain the phrase-final apocope in Italiot as being of Italian origin. Rohlfs (1977: 47) does so tentatively: “this is certainly a phenomenon proceeding in parallel with the deletion of final *s* in Italian (cf. Italian *mai* = *magis*, *tre* = *tres*, Old Italian *chiave* = *claves*), without being directly influenced by it.” The absolute requirement that the phonological word end in an open syllable is present in Italian, and alien to all dialects of Greek outside Tsakonian: the remainder all preserve an underlying final /s/ which can surface. (The Maniot adverbial participle in *-oda(s)* is one of the few paradigms in the dialect where the /s/ never surfaces – yet its continuing use in written Greco-Corsican undermines even that claim: see below.) So Greek does not provide a model for such a phonotactic adjustment. On the other hand, Italian allows closed syllables in proclitics, as does Italiot; so the proclitic/content word contrast in phonotactics is more pronounced in Italiot than in any other Greek dialect. Finally, whereas dissimilatory apocope is present in all Greek dialects deleting /s/ (again excepting Tsakonian), it is absent in Italiot; this shows that dissimilation had no role to play in /s/ apocope in Italy. This is all the more plausible given how late /s/ apocope is attested in Greece: 17th century in both Crete and Mani.

So /s/ apocope inherited from Greece patterns one way, whereas /s/ apocope acquired from Italian patterns another: the presence of dissimilatory apocope implies Greek influence, while the exclusive privileging of the phonological word boundary, and minimal apocope in proclitics, point to Italian. With this information, we can now turn to Corsican Greek, and work out which model /s/ apocope follows there.

3 Corsica

3.1 Historical

The Greek community of Corsica was established by colonists from Mani in 1676; the last full speaker of Greek died as late as 1976. All linguists who have visited the community have commented on the remarkable degree of preservation of Greek, even when it was restricted to four speakers (in the 1960s). While in some ways Greco-Corsican is eccentric compared to standard Greek, that is a result of its long-time isolation and restriction to a small number of speakers (Blanken 1951: 30–31); the influence of Romance has been slight (Blanken 1951: 18–21), whether from Corsican itself or from French.⁸

⁸ In other papers, I have considered other evidence for Romance influence on Greco-Corsican (Hajek & Nicholas 2008; Nicholas 2007). In claiming a Romance influence on Greco-Corsican encouraging open final syllables, I am of course privileging Corsican influence over French, which allows final closed syllables. I do not think this is unreasonable: French was established on the island only a century after the Greeks colonised it, and until recently French was not the first language of a significant subset of the population. The community which linguistically assimilated the Greco-Corsicans were Corsican settlers from the adjoining villages; and the terminal generation of Greek speakers usually spoke Corsican and admitted that, as children, they played speaking only Corsican (Vayacacos 1964: 39), and spoke of being “obliged to” speak French (Vayacacos 1964: 124).

Recanting his earlier attribution of Greco-Corsican /s/ apocope to Romance, Dawkins (1929–1930: 682) attributes it to Maniot. The circumstantial evidence for this is strong. The Greco-Corsicans had little intercourse with the Corsicans until mixed marriages became routine in the 1790s, and there were still monolingual Greeks in the 1850s (Blanken 1951: 24). So there was little opportunity for the Greeks to acquire Romance phonotactics during the first two centuries of settlement, and their dialect as attested indicates only slight shifts in that direction. The /s/ apocope of the colony was also present in the region the colonists came from, and at the right time for it to have been brought with the colonists: sometime in the 17th or 18th century.

We could readily confirm this if the earliest written records of the colony displayed the right kind of /s/ apocope. They do not: neither the 1665 letter to Genoa (Blanken 1951: 304–309), nor the agreement with Genoa in 1676 (Blanken 1951: 309–314), nor Bishop Parthenios Kalkandes’ will in 1682 (Phardys 1888: 117–120), nor the 1738 Stephanopoli chronicle (Vayacacos 1970a: 1–108) display any /s/ apocope. However, there is sporadic /s/ apocope in the baptismal (Vayacacos 1978), funeral (Vayacacos 1983) and wedding registry (Vayacacos 1970b) maintained in Corsica, becoming more frequent in the 19th century:

Baptismal:

§5, 1693–12–13: Ἐγὼ πατὴρ Ἰωάννης Στεφανόπουλος, ἐνορίτη τῆς ἐκκλησίας, *ego para ioanis stefanopulos, enoriti(s) tis eklisias*, “I Father John Stephanopoli, parishioner of the church”; cf. §4, 1693–09–24: ἐνορίτης τῆς ἐκκλησίας *enoritis tis eklisias*.

§202, 1722–04–29: Χίλιους ἐφτακοσίου ἑκοσιδύο Ἀπριλίου εἰς τὴν ἑκοσιενέα *xilius eftakosiu(s) kosidio apriliu is tis kosienea*, “1722, on April 29”

§265, 1723–10–20: ἓνα παιδὶ ἀρσενικὸ τοῦ Ἀντώνη Γιωργουτζάκη καὶ Ἑλένης Ταμηλιτζᾶς, *ena pedi arseniko tu adoni giorgudzaki ke eleni(s) tamilidzas*, “a male child of Anthony Giorgoutzakis and Helen Tamilitza”

§340, 1726–06–10: ἓνα παιδὶ ἀρσενικὸ τοῦ Γεώργου Δρακάκη καὶ Μαρούλας Φραγκολιτζᾶ *ena pedi tu georgo drakaki ke marulas fragolidza*, “a male child of George Drakakis and Maroula Frangolitza”

§705, 1738–11–05: παιδὶ ἀρσενικὸν τοῦ μαστρο-Παναγιώτη Γαριδάκη καὶ Ἑλένης, γυναῖκα του *pedi arseniko tu mastro panayioti garidaki ke elenis, yineka(s) tu*, “a male child of Master Panayotis Garidakis and Helen, his wife”

§1611, 1768–02–10: Οἱ ἀνάδοχοι Ἰω. Πεταλιδάκης καὶ Κλάρα<ς>, θυγατέρα τοῦ Ἰνοκάντζιου Πότζο δι Μπόργου, *i anadoxi io(anis) petalidakis ke klara<s>*, *thiyatera tu inokandziu podzo di borgu*, “the godparents were John Petalidakis and Clara<s>, daughter of Innocanzio Pozzo di Borgo” (hypercorrect addition of /s/)

§2061, 1795–12–23: ἔστοντα νὰ τοῦ εἶχα δοσμένο τὸ νερό, *estoda(s) na tu ixa dosmeno to nero*, “given that I had given him the (baptismal) water” (one of the first written instances of deletion in an adverbial participle)

§2752, 1933–08–24, Ἦσαν δὲ ἀνάδοχοι ὁ Ἰωάννη Βολυμάκη καὶ ἡ Μαρία Λέκα, *isan de anadoxi o ioani(s) volimaki(s) ke i maria leka*, “and the godparents were Jean Voglimacci and Maria Leca” (one of the last acts written in Greek)

Funeral:

§78, 1721–04–15, καὶ ἐθάπητῃ εἰς τὴ Κοιμησεως τῆ Θεοτόκου τὴν ἄλλη μέρα, *ke eθapti is ti kimiseos ti(s) theotoku tin ali mera*, “and was buried in [the church] of the Dormition of the Virgin the next day”

§118, 1722–05–12, Χιλίους ἐφτακοσίους κοσιδύο Μαΐου στὶ δώδεκα, *xilius eptakosius kosiðio maiu sti(s) ðoðeka*, “1722, on May 12”

§140, 1724–05–04, δυναμωμένη μὲ τὰ ἅγια μυστήρια τῆς ἐκκλησίας μα<ς> καὶ τὴν ἄλλη ἡμέρα ἐθάπητῃ, *dinamomeni me ta aghia mistiria tis eklisias ma(s) ke tin ali imera eθapti*, “[she died] fortified with the holy sacraments of our church, and was buried the next day”

Wedding:

§307, 1762–10–18, οἱ μάρτυρες παπᾶ Ἰω. Κότη καὶ Δημάκης Κοτζυφάκης *i martires papa io. koti(s) ke ðimakis kotsifakis*, “the witnesses were Father John Coti and Dimacci Cozzifacci”

§336, 1770–10–23, Μάρτυρες Ἰωάννης Ρεγατζάκης καὶ παπᾶ καὶ ἀνάδοχος Ἰωάννης Στεφανόπουλος, *martires ioanis regatsakis ke papa(s) ke anaðoxos ioanis stefanopulos*, “the witnesses were John Regazacci and the priest and godparent John Stephanopoli”⁹

The registries show /s/ apocope frequently at the end of proper names – especially the more marked feminine genitives. Apocope occurs more rarely before possessives (Bapt §5, §705), and at the end of numerals (Bapt §202) and determiners (Fun §78, §118); and it occurs more rarely still at the end of enclitic possessives (Fun §140). As time goes on /s/ apocope becomes more entrenched: Bapt §1611 for instance shows the onset of hypercorrection. The last priest to make entries in Greek, César Coti (1882–1933), not only routinely omitted final /s/ in the names at the head of each entry, but erased final /s/ there, whether it had been correctly or incorrectly placed (Bapt §2455, 1886–05–02: Θεοδώρο(ς) Φρεμιγκάκης *theoðoro{s} fremigakis*; §2462, 1886–08–28: Μαρία Ἄννα Φρεμιγκάκη(ς) *maria ana fremigaki{s}*). Coti also uses final /s/ widely in feminine nominative proper names, though this parallels the indeclinability of surnames in the Greek diaspora of the English-speaking world (see Triantafyllides 1953: 315–316 on the early appearance of the phenomenon in the United States).

The absence of /s/ apocope from 17th century documents does not disprove it was already in place in the dialect. If /s/ apocope was brought over from Mani as a novel phenomenon, it would likely still have been a socially stigmatised variant, left out of formal documents. (The 1665 letter, by contrast, does feature /n#/ > /ne/, suggesting this was already a universal feature of the dialect.)

On the other hand, the early presence of /s/ apocope in the registries, before the routine bilingualism of the 19th century, corroborates the Greek origin of /s/ apocope. Though the apocope almost always involves proper names, the few exceptions

9 The wedding registry shows apocope much later and rarer than the other two books. This may be because weddings occurred more infrequently, so recording weddings was not as routine an activity, and the priests were more careful about their Greek.

pattern with the Greek model, deleting within the phonological word: Bapt §5 and Fun §78 are explicit instances of dissimilatory deletion.

With their highly formulaic language, the registries are not a good record of what was happening linguistically in Corsica. They nonetheless confirm the surmise that /s/ apocope in Corsica has a Maniot origin. But they do not establish whether there was a Romance contribution to /s/ apocope, once language contact intensified.

3.2 *Blanken*

We have five major sources of information on the Greek spoken in Corsica. The main source is the grammar of the dialect written by Blanken (1951), based on field-work done in the 1930s, and including a couple of dialect texts. The second are various folk songs collected in Corsica, by Papadopoulos (1864), Tozer (1872), Phardys (1888), and Blanken. The third is a sample text (a translation of the Prodigal Son) by the parish priest, Stefano Ragazzacci Stephanopoli, in 1860 (Blanken 1951: 282–286). The fourth are a few texts recorded by Oronzo Parlangèli, two decades after Blanken (Parlangèli 1952). The last are field notes collected by Vayacacos (1964, 1965b), when Greek was already down to four native speakers in Cargèse: these take the form of a glossary with short phrases, rather than a transcription of discourse – although the phrases are clearly extracted from such discourse. I have not undertaken a survey of the folksongs: we know that some were imported from Greece during the 19th century, and their language is close to standard Greek (as is typical of Greek folksong in general). Nonetheless, /s/ apocope is recorded in folksong from Corsica, as well as in descriptions by the 20th century linguists (including Dawkins 1926–1927, from his brief stay there).

The one source which does not feature /s/ apocope is the Prodigal Son – relying on which Morosi (1870: 112) reported that final /s/ was always retained in Cargèse. The persistence of final /s/ in Ragazzacci's text includes adverbial participles, though its apocope there is obligatory in both Corsica (Blanken 1951: 143–144) and Mani (Mirambel 1929a: 172) (cf. Bapt §2061 above). Stephanopoli even extends final /s/ hypercorrectly to the pronoun **ftunosðas* < *ftunos ða* 'that.one now'. The only instance of /s/ deletion in the Prodigal Son lies in the innovative Modern Greek use of the accusative plural article for indirect objects, *ipe tu(s) ðulone* 'he told the slaves': the priest's knowledge of learned Greek would not have provided him with a model through which to restore the /s/. So Ragazzacci's text is corrected, and does not shed light on /s/ apocope. It does indicate that /s/ apocope was optional for native speakers, who were capable of restoring it in more formal situations. This has taken place with the dialect texts Blanken published, as he notes expressly (Blanken 1951: 81). By way of confirmation, the speech with which Paul Versini greeted Greek dignitaries in 1965 (Vayacacos 1965a: 652) has no /s/ apocope at all: if we can trust Vayacacos' transcription, it shows Versini using his 'Sunday best' Greek.

In accounting for the persistence of final /s/ in Corsica, Blanken (1951: 83) points out that Cargèse was not entirely cut off from standard Greek – both because of the church and occasional arrivals from Greece. He suggests this is why /s/ apo-

cope has not progressed as far as in Southern Italy. But while Blanken (1951: 84) posits Italian contributed to the spread of /s/ apocope, he believes there is enough precedent in Maniot for it to be underlyingly Greek in origin. The compromise solution Blanken proposes – that /s/ apocope began in Mani and was reinforced through contact with Italian – is the conclusion I also arrive at; but Blanken has not provided any proof for it. I believe such proof can be had by contrasting the distribution of /s/ apocope in Mani, Corsica, and Southern Italy.

As described by Blanken (1951: 80–82), /s/ in Cargèse is usually apocopated phrase-finally, whatever the word involved; but /s/ is often retained phrase-internally and before a pause. In phrase-internal contexts, /s/ is retained particularly before possessives, and is almost never deleted at the end of definite articles, or proclitic pronouns (Blanken 1951: 101–102), with the exception of *mas* > *ma* ‘us’:

- *i ðulja tis manas mu* ‘my mother’s job’: /s/ retained before possessive and in definite article.
- *o fillos mu* ‘my friend’: /s/ retained before possessive.
- *o filo* ‘the friend’, in the same text: /s/ deleted at the end of a noun phrase.
- *aeras tis thalastas* > *aera(s) ti(s) thalasa* ‘wind from the sea’: /s/ optionally apocopated within NP, and obligatorily apocopated at the end of NP.

Nouns and 2sg verbs routinely drop final /s/ – despite the ambiguity with 3sg verbs this introduces: *na do kami(s)* ‘that you should do it’ – *na do kami* ‘that s/he should do it’. There is apocope in other words with low functional load, including the numerals *tri(s)* ‘three’ and *ena(s)* ‘one’ (also serving as the indefinite article). In colloquial use, Blanken concludes, final /s/ was heard only before vowels (with a few instances of deletion even there), and normally before /m/ and /t/ (which begin possessives and personal pronominal clitics).

The following is a table of /s/ apocope against /s/ retention before consonants and pauses in the dialect texts in Blanken (1951), Parlangèli (1952), and the first 85 pages of Vayacacos (1964), compared to Mirambel’s corpus without the patriotic songs. Parlangèli is divided into parts I–II (songs which he strongly implies were elicited from Justine Voglimacci), and parts III–IV (texts which were translated by members of the Versini family). For consistency with Maniot, /s/ apocope before vowels has not been indicated. Instances where Blanken marked the /s/ as optional have been counted as apocopes.

Table 5

	Mirambel, – patriotic	Blanken grammar	Blanken texts	Parlangèli: I–II	Parlangèli: III–IV	Vayacacos
End of AP	8:0 (100%)	usual	5:5 (50%)		1:1 (50%)	16:5 (76%)
End of NP (noun/ pronoun)	73:5 (94%)	usual	17:36 (32%)	7:0 (100%)	9:13 (41%)	99:24 (80%)
End of NP (enclitic possessive)	16:5 (76%)		1:6 (17%)	1:3 (25%)		3:2 (60%)
End of NP/AP total	97:10 (91%)		23:47 (33%)	8:3 (73%)	10:14 (42%)	118:31 (79%)
End of NP (proclitic pronoun)	4:2 (66%)	unusual	1:2 (33%)			0:2 (0%)
Middle of NP (Det)	8:3 (73%)	no	4:19 (17%)	0:1 (0%)	0:3 (0%)	15:7 (68%)
Middle of NP (Adj)	3:0 (100%)		0:8 (0%)		1:0 (100%)	1:3 (25%)
Middle of NP (N fol- lowed by POSS)	5:0 (100%)	unusual	7:10 (41%) [1:6: 14%] ¹⁰	0:0 (0%) [0:1: 0%]		24:0 (100%)
Middle of NP (N fol- lowed by other)	5:4 (56%)		3:3 (50%)			2:0 (100%)
Middle of NP total	25:9 (74%)		15:42 (26%) [9:38: 19%]	0:1 (0%) [0:2: 0%]	1:3 (25%)	42:12 (78%)
V	34:5 (82%)	usual	20:9 (69%)	3:5 (37%)	0:12 (0%)	7:5 (58%)
Num	3:0 (100%)	usual	0:2 (0%)		1:0 (0%)	5:3 (62%)
Other	2:0 (100%)	usual	0:9 (0%)			1:0 (100%)
Total	161:24 (87%)		58:109 (35%) [52:105: 33%]	11:9 (55%) [11:10: 52%]	12:29 (29%)	173:51 (77%)

The overall frequency of /s/ apocope is much reduced in Blanken's corpus compared to spontaneous speech, as Blanken himself admits. But if we assume /s/ apocope was as likely to be restored by speakers intraphrasally as interphrasally, we can still use his data in comparison with Mirambel's.

Blanken's grammar posits apocope overwhelmingly at the end of the phonological word, and his corpus confirms this: /s/ deletion is 23% likelier in NP-final than NP-medial contexts in Mirambel, but 74% likelier in Blanken (excluding possessives starting with /s/). Dissimilatory apocope, which strongly motivates intraphrasal /s/ apocope in Maniot, is largely absent from Blanken's description of the dialect, as his texts confirm:

¹⁰ The latter figure excludes possessives starting with /s/, which are subject to degemination (*o yios su* 'your son' > *o ziosu* > *o zio(s) su*).

- N-*s* POSS: 100% loss in Mirambel, only 41% in Blanken; as low as 14% if we do not count possessives starting with /s/.
- Determiner: 73% in Mirambel, 17% in Blanken.
- Proclitic pronoun: 66% in Mirambel, 33% in Blanken.
- Adjective premodifying noun: 100% in Mirambel, 0% in Blanken.

The only domain where Blanken's texts display a level of /s/ apocope comparable to Mani is in 2sg verbs, contradicting Dawkins' observation that apocope was less frequent for verbs. But most such instances arise in proverbial expressions (Blanken 1951: 286–288) rather than elicited texts; so the levels of apocope found are probably more accurate than for the other syntactic contexts, and reflect colloquial usage.

So /s/ apocope in Greco-Corsican as described by Blanken looks more like Italiot than Maniot: It privileges phrase-final and avoids phrase-medial apocope. The persistence of /s/ before possessive clitics avoiding dissimilation distinguishes apocope in Corsica from that in Greece; the one exception in Blanken's texts is from a song lyric, so it is not necessarily characteristic of the dialect (and it is analogical rather than dissimilatory anyway – Blanken 1951: 295: *emena i γοπιδε(s) mu τραυδια δε mu μαθαν*, “my parents taught me no songs”). So even if /s/ apocope was already underway when the colony was established, its elaboration in Corsica patterns with Romance. Early examples such as Fun §141 (1724), in which the final /s/ is apocopated rather than the medial (*tis eklisias mas > tis eklisias ma_* rather than *tis eklisia_ mas*), show that the potential for phrase-final apocope was long in place, and probably predates Romance contact. But its generalisation at the expense of medial dissimilation – the original context for /s/ apocope in Greece – is unlikely to have become entrenched without a contribution from Romance.

3.3 *Parlangèli*

Parlangèli's corpus, albeit small, contains two corpora from different speakers. The songs from Voglimacci were imperfectly recalled, let alone understood, and certainly do not count as spontaneous discourse. Nonetheless, Voglimacci's songs were still likely to be more spontaneous than the translations painstakingly worked on by Paul Versini, his mother and his uncle. The Versinis, who were still using Greek within a family unit, had more conservative Greek in general; for instance they did not share Voglimacci's innovation *o > u* (*Parlangèli* 1952: 337). The combination of conservatism and formality in their texts means that we would expect minimal apocope in their texts, while Voglimacci's may be accelerating apocope towards an Italian model.

Versini uses his ‘Sunday best’ Greek in his elicited text as well: none of his second person verbs or determiners apocopate. Moreover, of the nine nouns counted as apocopated, four are the irregular neuter noun *krea(s)* ‘meat’, which Blanken (1951: 92) had already noted obligatorily had dropped its /s/ in the dialect and be-

come indeclinable. Ignoring those instances, Versini apocopes the end of nouns only 28% of the time – a count comparable to that of the elicited texts in Blanken. The difference between verbs and nouns in apocope, which matches what Dawkins had found, suggests that there was still morphological conditioning of apocope.

Voglimacci's corpus, on the other hand, apocopes nouns obligatorily, though it apocopes verbs less often than in Blanken. The obligatory apocope of nouns in her text presumably reflects late colloquial Greco-Corsican. Voglimacci's first text is a carol on Lazarus also recorded in Blanken; /s/ produced in the earlier version is deleted in the latter: *kaħispera sas* > *kaħispera sa* 'good evening', *irθ ɔ lazarəs* > *irθ ɔ lazarɔ* 'Lazarus is come'. The distinction between nouns and verbs in her text again suggests a morphological conditioning which is obscured by the imbalance in Blanken's corpus.

There is too little data in Parlangèli to judge whether the apocope patterns in a more Italian way than not; but the absence of medial apocope in the data is consistent with the absence of dissimilatory apocope in Blanken.

3.4 *Vayacacos*

With Vayacacos' field notes, the picture becomes more complicated. The levels of /s/ apocope in his material are slightly greater than in Parlangèli's texts from Voglimacci (which was also Vayacacos' primary consultant), and are comparable to those of Mani, confirming that /s/ apocope was widespread in the dialect. Indeed, I have likely underestimated the proportion for verbs: there are many instances I did not count, where a verb without final /s/ was ambiguous between 2sg (impersonal) and 3sg reference, though the 2sg interpretation is likelier. But the distribution of NP-medial and NP-final apocope in Vayacacos' corpus is about the same – something which does not apply to Mani, and certainly does not apply to Blanken's corpus. The reason for this is the behaviour of N POSS. If we exclude N-s POSS, Mirambel has 20:9 apocopes (69%), Blanken has 8:32 (20%), and Vayacacos has 18:12 (60%): the proportions of NP-final to NP-medial apocopes then become 1.3, 1.6, and 1.3. In other words, Vayacacos records the same relative strength of final to medial apocope as does Mirambel, if we ignore N-s POSS.

But in Vayacacos dissimilatory apocope in N-s POSS is obligatory: all 24 instances of /s/ followed by a possessive are deleted. (These are almost all kinship terms: *o afeði_mu* 'my father', *tis kira_mu* 'my grandmother's', etc.) This contradicts Blanken's (1951: 80–81) finding that /s/ appears "régulièrement" before possessives, and indeed is analogically extended: *to spiti tu barba mu* > *to spiti tu barbas mu* 'my uncle's house'.

The reason for this discrepancy is not clear. A generalisation of apocope from NP-final to NP-medial in the intervening decades is tempting as an account; but the apocope is more systematic medially than finally (80% for nouns at the end of NP, 100% for medial nouns), which does not make sense if the apocope was originally NP-final. So the medial context supplies an independent trigger for apocope in Vayacacos' data. That Greco-Corsican started dissimilating /s/ anew, without

Maniot input, also appears unlikely, as Vayacacos still has determiners preserving /s/ (68% loss); a dissimilation which applied so thoroughly to possessives would be expected to spill over to determiners in a similar context.

The other issue raised by Vayacacos' field notes is that of /s/ apocope before a vowel. Without an intervening pause (phrase boundary), such apocope is impossible in Mani, and this accords with the general Greek avoidance of hiatus. However Blanken (1951: 82) found it occurred in Corsica sporadically; he gives the example of the song lyric *αζζως vasi- (s) erxete*, "St Basil is coming". It also occurs in Parlange's corpus – significantly, the two instances are both in the more conservative Versinis texts:

- (3) *τῷ πῶδικος ὁ μαυρούκι_ ekai ulῶ*, "the poor mouse was burned whole"
καθε κόβῶ_ erfi~~f~~ete stῶ xtepi, "each knot comes to the comb"

In the first instance, the phrase medial /s/ preceding the determiner in *πῶδικος* is retained; but the /s/ at the end of the noun phrase is deleted in both instances before a verb beginning with a vowel, as was also the case in Blanken's instance. So, prevocalic apocope follows the global tendency to prefer the end of the phonological word.

There are also occasional instances of prevocalic apocope in the funeral registry of the colony (Vayacacos 1983):

§143, 1724–10–06, Χιλίους ἐφτακοσίους ἑκοσιτέσσερους Ὀκτωβρίου στί<ς> ἔξι, *xilius eptakosius kositeserus oktovriu sti(s) eksi*, "1724, October 6"

§2082, 1900–05–04, ἔψαλα τὴν νεκρώσιμον ἀκολουθίαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀποθανούσης Ἰωάννα Ἐμμανουέλλι, *epsala tin nekrosimon akoluθian epi tis apothanousis ioana_ emanueli*, "I chanted the funeral mass on the departed Jeanne Emanuelli"

§2297, 1927–01–20: Xanto Mattei officiated, ὁ Ἀρχιμανδρίτη ἄρρωστος, *o archimanḍriti_ arostos*, "the archimandrite [Coti] being ill"

Example §2297 is significant as it is written by the Latin rite priest standing in for the Greek priest; the writer was a native Corsican, who learned Greek in Cargèse (where Corsicans still had to learn Greek to get by in the 1850s: Blanken 1951: 24). This cannot show imperfect command of Greek, as Mattei correctly produces the final /s/ of the adjective. So this indicates that prevocalic apocope was well-established in Cargèse by the start of the 20th century. But outside Fun §143, I have not found any compelling early instances of the change; so it appears to have remained a peripheral aspect of the dialect.

In Vayacacos' text, however, /s/ apocope before vowels is close to universal, regardless of where in the phonological word the /s/ lies:

- (4) *ἐκεδρώσανε τόσε ἐλιές, ἦτανε οὐλε ἄγρια, εἶχανου τόσα σπίτια*,
etfedrosane tose_ elies, itane ule_ aγrie_ ixanu tosa spitia
 "they grafted so many olive trees, they were all wild; they had so many houses"
 (Vayacacos 1964: 22)

In the first 85 pages of Vayacacos (1964b), 34 out of the 42 instances of intraclausal /s/ before a vowel are apocopated. This is a percentage of 81%, which compares with the 77% apocope of /s/ before consonants and pauses in the same corpus. In other words, in the last generation of the dialect, following vowels were no longer privileged as an environment preserving /s/. And in line with the language as recorded by Vayacacos, no distinction is made between phrase-medial and phrase-final environments.

This result is again at odds with Blanken's observations: Blanken describes apocope before vowels as marginal. We can be confident in the accuracy of Vayacacos' transcription, as /s/ apocope before vowels was a phenomenon alien to Maniot. This appears rather to be a generalisation of prevocalic apocope, as a rule simplification. Maniot privileged CV syllables, avoiding both V#V and s#C by requiring /s/ between vowels; but late Greco-Corsican relaxed that requirement, and allowed /s/ apocope whatever the following segment. So /s/ apocope was no longer phonologically conditioned within the phrase; and the segment following the phrase boundary itself never differentiated the extent of /s/ apocope. Determiners may form an exception to this trend, as likelier to retain /s/; but the uniform loss of /s/ before possessives may be the anomaly in Vayacacos' texts instead.

This implies that /s/ was starting to be apocopated universally – including in the underlying phonological representation of the words – and not only in the right phonotactic or syntactic contexts. Such uniform apocope could have followed from the established trends in Maniot and Greco-Corsican. But it was accelerated in the last generation of the dialect. This implies that the last speakers of Greek in Corsica were increasingly fitting their language to a Romance phonotactic template underlyingly, as well as at the level of the phonological word. Although at first glance the Greek recorded in Vayacacos' notes looks surprisingly unaffected by Romance, such restructuring is a significant concession by the remaining Greco-Corsicans to their linguistic environment.

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