THE AFFIXOIDS IN THE GREEK GAY ARGOT KALIARDÀ

Boris VOUNCHEV

Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”
E-mail: b.vounchev@uni-sofia.bg

ABSTRACT: This paper examines the affixoids in the Greek gay argot Kaliardà. Firstly, I propose a short theoretical framework of the process of grammaticalization through which affixoids are extracted from existing words as bound bases. Further, I analyze the affixoids in Kaliardà in respect to their origin and use in the word-formation of Kaliardà. The affixoids are divided into two groups: borrowed from Standard Modern Greek and domestic ones, i.e., originating from Kaliardà. The basic conclusions are, first, that Kaliardà uses mainly domestic affixoids, which is explained by the fact that as an anti-language Kaliardà has the tendency to differ to the maximum its vocabulary from the vocabulary of Standard Modern Greek, and, second, that the desemanticization is the basic mechanism of grammaticalization of lexical bases in Kaliardà. The absence of the other mechanisms of grammaticalization (extension, decategorization and erosion) is explained by the lack of data concerning the diachronic development of this sociolect.

KEYWORDS: gay argot, Kaliardà, Standard Modern Greek, affixoids.

1. Introduction

Kaliardà was called the secret language of the passive homosexual men who formed a social group, part of the underworld in the biggest Greek cities: Athens, Thessaloniki, etc. This secret language was registered in the form of dictionary by Ilias Petropoulos, Greek philologist and ethnologist, around and after the mid-20th century (Petropoulos, 1993). Kaliardà reaches out to us in the form of a dictionary, i.e., a list of words that amounts to at least 3000 dictionary units. Kaliardà is an example of the so called anti-languages. The anti-language is generated by an anti-society and is a mark of the so-called ‘second life’, i.e., life within an alternative society, part of a larger social system (‘normal society’). The anti-society is built by stigmatized social subgroups, the main concern of which is to preserve and isolate their social world and themselves, as its constitutive elements, from the rest of the world. Therefore, the anti-society generates and maintains its own reality, an alternative to the reality of the big, ‘normal society’. The main “tool” for this isolation is the anti-language which the social group develops, the basic characteristic of which is the differentiation, as much as possible, of the vocabulary of the anti-language from the language of the ‘normal society’. In this way, through language differentiation, the anti-society keeps the insiders inside the anti-society and retains the outsiders outside the anti-society.

One of the mechanisms for language differentiation in the vocabulary of Kaliardà is the development of a system of affixoids (bound bases), which are not found in Standard Modern Greek (below SMG).

2. Brief theoretical notes on affixoids

2.1. Grammaticalization. Morphological elements in the morphological continuum between bases and morphemes

The affixoids, also known as bound bases, occupy a specific, intermediate place between affixes and lexical bases in the morphological continuum that represents a schematic layout of the

---

1 The concept of anti-language was developed by M. Halliday (1976), see also Petropoulos, 1993, p. 220.
2 In the linguistic research on morphology there is a variety of terms that refer to this type of morphological elements: affixoids (Booij et al., 2000, p. 355–356), bound base (Lieber, 2009, p. 33), dependent morpheme (‘δεσμευμένο μόρφημα’ – Ralli, 2005, p. 40), bound root (Haspelmath, 2002, p. 21), combining form (Booij, 2005, p. 30), confix (Martinet, 1979, cited by Anastasiadi-Symeonidi, 1994, p. 39); Kleris and Babiniotis (Kleris
morphological features in the language: from the bases of full-meaning (autosemantic) words that have full lexical meaning and have no or limited grammatical function, through affixoids and derivational morphemes that may have (limited) lexical meaning and have mainly grammatical features, to inflectional morphemes that have no lexical meaning and only have grammatical functions. The affixoids are created as a result of a process called grammaticalization, which marks an ongoing language change. The grammaticalization is a diachronic, historical process by which a language change occurs: a lexical item or structure acquires grammatical characteristics, or a particular grammatical element enhances its grammatical characteristics, i.e., acquires more abstract meaning. The grammaticalization includes four interrelated mechanisms:

a) desemanticization, i.e., loss of certain semantic content from the form;

b) extension (contextual generalization), i.e., use of the new form in new contexts beyond those in which it occurred;

c) decategorization, i.e., loss of morphosyntactic properties, typical of lexical and other less grammaticalized forms and

d) erosion (phonetic reduction), i.e., loss in phonetic substance (See Heine & Kuteva, 2004, pp. 2–3).

These processes do not usually occur independently, but they are interrelated: after the desemanticization, i.e., the acquisition of a more abstract meaning, a language form tends to differentiate from its previous, more specific uses, triggering other language mechanisms of grammaticalization: the form is used more often (extension), loses categorical properties (decategorization) and undergoes certain phonetic changes (erosion). The grammaticalization results in morphological change, since the language change at the level of morphemes is carried out within the framework of word-formation.

2.2. Grammatical properties of the affixoids

As it was mentioned above, the affixoids are a result of the process of grammaticalization and, in particular, of morphologization, during which a base of a full-meaning word gradually turns into a derivational morpheme, a process that from synchronic point of view is considered incomplete. The morphemes that become affixoids change their properties and from the class of morphemes with specific lexical meaning, components in the process of compounding, move to the class of abstract morphemes with grammatical function, that are part of the word-formation inventory of the derivation (See also Koliopoulou, 2013, pp. 152–153). From a synchronic point of view, the most important characteristics of the affixoids are the following:

a) an increased productivity;

b) a decreased semantic specifiveness and

c) an etymological and formal link to an existing free base.

The first two criteria distinguish affixoids from free bases and the third – from affixes (Booij et al., 2000, p. 355).
Affixoids are usually classified as morphemes (lexical bases) that are unable to independently form a word through combination with an inflectional suffix and that are not classified as affixes. This property of the affixoids is called by Ralli unfreeability ('μη ελευθερωσιμότητα') and is considered by her as their most important feature. Ralli examines a relatively limited number of morphemes as affixoids, that have been isolated from Ancient Greek verbs and have already appeared in classical Greek texts, even in the Homeric epics: -λογ(ος), -γραφ(ος), -φορ(ος), -τροφ(ος), -νομ(ος), -κομ(ος), -κομ(ος), etc.

3. The affixoids in Kaliardà

Because of the lack of written texts and diachronic data, it has been possible to identify only some of the four mechanisms of grammaticalization, mainly desemanticization and extension in Kaliardà. In the analysis that follows the affixoids in Kaliardà are divided, according to their origin, in two groups: borrowed from SMG and domestic, i.e., created in Kaliardà.

3.1. Affixoids borrowed from Standard Modern Greek

In Kaliardà there are only four borrowed morphological elements from SMG, which appear in prefix position, with the exception of -κουτ(ο), -κουτ(ι).

Prefixoid θεο-

Bound base with intensifying semantics that originates from Greek θεός 'god'. In SMG this affixoid is used to form nouns with general meaning ‘big X’: θεογκόμενα 'gorgeous chick', and adjectives having general meaning ‘very, completely X’: θεότρελος ‘very crazy’, θεόγυμνος ‘totally naked’.

In Kaliardà this prefixoid is used with the same function, but only to form adjectives, derivatives from other adjectives, or derivatives from past mediopassive particles, formed in Kaliardà: θεοκάλιαρντος 'extremely ugly', θεοκομπάνες 'fucked from everywhere', θεόλατσος 'very pretty', θεομιλιονάρης / θεομιλιονάρω 'extremely rich man / woman', θεομπαρός 'very fat'.

Prefixoid καρα-

This prefixoid, originating from the Turkish adjective kara 'black', is rarely used in compounding in SMG: καραμπογιά 'black paint'. It is mainly used as prefixoid with intensifying meaning in the formation of derived nouns: καρακελεύτης 'complete idiot' (for woman), καρακιτσαριό 'awful kitsch', adjectives: καραδεξιός 'very right-wing person' and verbs: καραπειδώ 'check carefully'. The prefixoid is often used in the Greek slang, also with intensifying meaning: καραλεάκιo 'Lesbian with masculine features', καραπουτάνα 'big whore', etc.

In Kaliardà καρα- is a productive prefixoid with intensifying semantics, meaning ‘very, extremely, completely X’, that forms mainly nouns: καραφροδίτο 'prostitute', καραλομπό 'bad gay', καραμποπό 'prostitute', καραπαλοκέ 'fat and tough woman' or impersonal: καραγιαζά 'fine', καραγκλασμολεύ 'demijohn', καραδεξιόσκεπο 'telescope', καραψυχόσπερμα 'tickle', καραμπουλτάρα 'beautiful body', καραντολάδικο 'ministry of finance', καραπία 'piety', καραπλατό 'scarf', καραπουρόλιγκα 'Ancient Greek', καραππάμπο 'long pipe',

---

8 See Ralli, 2005, pp. 56–60 and Ralli, 2007, pp. 145–150. This feature is not valid in the case of the domestic affixoids in Kaliardà, see below.
9 The prefixoid θεο- should not be confused with the lexical base θεο-, which occurs as a left constituent in compounds, formed in previous stages of Greek language where it retains the original meaning ‘god’: θεοφρονήτος 'guarded by God', θεομάχος 'fighter against god', θεοσοφό 'have knowledge of divine things', etc., see also Giannouloupolou, 2005, p. 2, pp. 6–8.

**Suffixoid -κουτ(ο), -κουτ(ι)**

This affixoid originates from the SMG noun κουτί ‘box’. In Kaliardà it is used exclusively as a right constituent in compounding. The desemanticization and extension of this bound base are overt with the following meanings:

a) ‘box, chest’: αδικοκούτι ‘coffin’ [unfair-box], τζαστιραχόκουτο ‘coffin’ [dead man’s-box], τσουμπανόκουτο ‘coffin’ [wounded-box];

b) ‘device with square shape’: καβγαδοκουτού ‘radio set’ [scandal-box], μπουρόκουτο ‘radio set’ [song-box], σκομπαχόκουτο ‘tape recorder’ [comprehend-box];

c) ‘music organ with large internal capacity’: κουλόκουτο ‘chamber pot’ [shit-box], μολόκουτο ‘vessel’ [water-box], τσαϊνοφλοκόκουτο ‘ink pot’ [ink-box], φλορόκουτο ‘vase; flowerpot’ [flower-box];

d) ‘furniture or object with square shape and large internal capacity’: ματσομετο κουτού ‘safe’ [batch of dough-box], νισεστόκουτο ‘wardrobe’ [clothing-box];

e) ‘room’: ντοροπούροκουτο ‘door keeper’s room’ [door keeper-box], χουμσοκούτι ‘cell’ [prison-box].

**Prefixoid πρωτο-**

This prefixoid is used as a left constituent in the compounding of Ancient Greek. In SMG word-formation the prefixoid is used with the meaning ‘first, main’ in compounds – nouns and adjectives: πρωτοτόρος ‘pioneer’, πρωτοδικείο ‘court of first instance’, πρωτοβάθμιος ‘first-rate, primary’, or with the meaning ‘for the first time’ in the verb-formation: πρωτογεννώ ‘give birth for the first time’, πρωτοβλέπω ‘see for the first time’. As morphological material of neoclassical compounding this prefixoid is found in neologisms, part of terminological vocabularies: πρωτόπλασμα ‘protoplasm’.

In Kaliardà this prefixoid has only one use, in a word from SMG, borrowed in Kaliardà with invention,[10] where the prefixoid is a constituent of a compound of a complex base: Πρωτοπρέσβειρα ‘Macedonia’ (SMG ‘dean’s wife’). This morphological segment is also found as a full-meaning left constituent of compounds: πρωτόπλακα ‘first floor’ [first-slate],[11] πρωτοσιδερού ‘official appearance’ [first-iron], πρωτοκαθιστίκη ‘prize’ [first-chamber-pot], as well as in compounds and derivatives formed by the complex base πρωτοκαθιστικο-: πρωτοκαθιστικομερή ‘festival’, πρωτοκαθιστικομοριός ‘athloithete, person who presides over the public games’, πρωτοκαθιστικόνω ‘award a prize’, πρωτοκαθιστικομένος ‘prize winner’. I suggest a particular grammaticalization of this morphological segment in the word πρωτοκαθαρμοσ ‘prime minister’ [first-souteneur], where the segment shows desemanticization, similar with its desemanticization in SMG: πρώτο- ‘first’ > ‘main, primary’.

---

10 The term *invention* denotes a process of verbal distinction, specific for various sociolects, where existing words (e.g. in English, Greek) are given a different, unique meaning not to be found outside the social group creator of the specific sociolect, see Sonenschein, 2006, pp. 42–43.

11 In this article I put in square brackets the verbal image of certain Kaliardà lexemes. I use the term *verbal image* to denote the literal meaning of the metaphorical word in Kaliardà, resulting from the interpretation of its constituents – lexical base(s), affixes (or words in the case of phrasemes). The verbal image forms a linguistic sign that metaphorically replaces a linguistic sign of SMG in Kaliardà or introduces a new concept by new-formed linguistic sign.
3.2. Domestic affixoids in Kaliardà

The domestic affixoids in Kaliardà are usually isolated from full-meaning words – nouns, adjectives or adverbs, which, when used in compounds, demonstrate partial grammaticalization under the form of desemanticization. It is worth noting that in Kaliardà almost all the domestic affixoids have uses in their literal meaning as lexical bases of full-meaning words.

The main domestic affixoids in Kaliardà are the following:

**Prefixoid γκραν-**
This prefixoid is isolated from the Kaliardà adjective γκραν 'big' (< French grand ‘tall; big’). This segment is a metaphorical variant of the SMG prefixoid μεγαλο- and is used in a small number of personal nouns: γκραν-βακουλονταβατζής ‘patriarch’ [big-church-souteneur], γκραν-βακουλοπουρός ‘bishop’ [big-priest].

**Prefixoid γκροσο-**
This prefixoid is isolated from the Kaliardà adjective γκροσός 'big' (< Italian grosso ‘big’). It is a metaphorical variant of the SMG prefixoid μεγαλο- and is used in a small number of impersonal nouns: γκροσοκαγκελόκαρο ‘tank’ [big-armoured car], γκροσοκουάκης ‘frog’ [big-croacking-animal], γκροσοκουάκι 'frog' [little-croacking-animal].

**Prefixoid καλιαρντ(ο)-**
Bound base, originating from the Kaliardà adjective καλιαρντός 'ugly; strange; big'. It is found in compounding as a left and very rarely as a right constituent with its standard semantics: καλιαρντό-μολ ‘water’ [ugly-water], καρτ-καλιαρντ ‘photo’ [card-ugly], as well as desemantised and extended lexical component, meaning ‘tough, very big’: καλιαρντό-ντουπ ‘good thrashing’ [ugly-thrashing] and ‘very, greatly’: καλιαρντοκιοτεύω ‘be afraid’ [ugly-be afraid].

**Suffixoid -καχνι**
This bound base, isolated from the Kaliardà noun κακνό ‘chicken’, occurs in one single occasion, the word φρισοκάχνι ‘fish-chicken’, where the extension of the meaning follows the semantic analogy ‘chicken’ = ‘hens’s baby’ > ‘cub’ = ‘animal’s baby’.

**Prefixoid λατσο-**
This prefixoid is isolated from Kaliardà λατσός ‘nice, beautiful’. It is used as a left constituent in compounds with its literal meaning: λατσολίθαρο ‘diamond’ [beautiful-stone], λατσοσέπι ‘summer’ [nice-weather], λατσοίλα ‘beautiful flower’ [beautiful-flower], as well as a desemantised morphological segment with the following meanings:  
   a) ‘nice’: λατσο-ντουπ ‘massage’ [nice-thrashing], λατσο-μολ ‘booze’ [nice-fluid];  
   b) ‘official’: λατσολίγκα ‘katharevousa’ (the standard language in Greece till 1976) [nice-language];  
   c) ‘successful, positive’: λατσοκαζάντω ‘good luck’ [nice-big profit], λατσοφουρτούνας ‘lucky man’ [nice-good luck-man];  
   d) ‘reasonable, clever’: λατσομπενάβω ‘advise; construe’ [nice-speak].

**Prefixoid μπαλο-**
The prefixoid originates from Kaliardà adjective μπαλός ‘fat’. It is found as a left constituent in compounds with its basic meaning: μπαλομούσκουλος ‘brawny’ [fat-brawny], μπαλοκάρνα ‘krava’ [fat-meat-animal], but it is usually used as a left constituent with desemantised meaning ‘big’: μπαλοκουάκι ‘male frog’ [fat-croak-animal], μπαλόφρισσα ‘big fish’ [fat-fish], μπαλογουγούφλω ‘she-bear’ [fat-she-wolf], μπαλοφουσφούσης ‘elephant’ [fat-puffing-animal], μπαλόφρισο ‘shark’ [fat-fish], μπαλοχοργόρα ‘bomb; projectile’ [fat-fire] or ‘strong’: μπαλομπόντης ‘strong man’ [fat-body-man].

**Prefixoid μπασ-**
This morphological segment is a borrowed morpheme from Turkish baş ‘head; chief; big, in charge’ and serves as a metaphorical variant of the SMG prefixoid μεγαλ-. It is used in compounding for the formation of personal and impersonal nouns: μπας-ντουλόσταρό ‘bank’ [big-dough-house], μπας-ντουλόσταρό ‘banker’ [bank-old man], μπας-γκοντοσταρό ‘archangel’ [big-angel].

Prefixoids μουσαντο-, μουσ-
These bound bases are isolated from Kaliardà nouns μουσαντό ‘lie’ and μουσί ‘lie’. They appear in compounding as left elements with modified meaning ‘false; ‘unauthentic; ostensible’ and serve semantically as metaphorical variants of the SMG prefixoid ψευδο-: μουσαντοβεστίτα ‘false clothing’ [false-clothing], μουσαντογλειψο ‘flattery’ [lie-licking-thing], μουσαντό-έφε ‘moss’ [false-effect], μουσαντολατσοκαγέλουμα ‘gilt’ [false-nice-iron-thing], μουσαντοποντό ‘threat’ [false-thrashing], μουσαντοπαπίται ‘papion’ [false-butterfly], μουσαντόπολισμό ‘flirt’ [false-coitus], μουσαντόμεμπα ‘rehearsal’ (in theatre) [false-theatre], μουσαντόμορφολάτζα ‘anaemia’ [pseudo-leucaemia], μουσ-μύσκα ‘make-up’ [false-mask] etc. Desemantised meaning ‘bad’ is found in the word μουσαντομαγκό ‘dastardly action’ [false-bluster].

Prefixoid μπουτ(o)-
This bound base is isolated from Kaliardà adverb μπουτ ‘many’. It has intensifying semantics and serves as a metaphorical variant of the SMG prefixoid πολυ- ‘many, big, large’. It usually forms impersonal nouns: μπουτ-λουτσολάκριμο ‘nice chandelier’ [big-light-candle-thing], μπουτ-μπατανέ ‘abundant make-up’ [big-abundant make-up], μπουτ-ποπιλόμπουσο ‘автобус’ [big-bus], μπουτ-φλουσκού ‘panting’ [big-breath] and adjectives: μπουτ-ντουλός ‘expensive’ [big-dough-thing], μπουτ-φλουσκού ‘breathless’ [big-panting-man]. There is a single use registered in a personal noun: μπουτ-πουροζέλες ‘dirty old man’ [‘big-old man].

Prefixoid πισκετο-
This base is isolated from Kaliardà noun μπισκέτ ‘дете’. It is found once with desemantised meaning based on the semantic analogy ‘child’ > ‘little man’ > ‘little’: πισκετόγουτσα ‘second’ [child-hour-thing].

Suffixoid -πουρ(ος)
This base is isolated from Kaliardà noun πουρός ‘old man’. As a left constituent in compounding it is found in compounds, personal and impersonal nouns, with its basic semantics: πουροκομάντο ‘щаб квартира’ [old man-command], πουρομπαλτάς ‘judge’ [old-judge]. Suffixoid -σεκερι
This bound base originates from Kaliardà noun σεκέρι ‘sweet’. It is found once, desemantised on the basis of the analogy ‘sweet’ > ‘food’ > ‘substance’: τζαστιραχοσεκέρι ‘poison’ [dead man-sweet].

Suffixoid -τσαρδ(ο), -τσαρδι
This most frequent suffixoid is isolated from Kaliardà noun τσαρδί ‘house’. As a left constituent in compounding it is used with its basic semantics in various types of compounds – personal and impersonal nouns: τσαρδοκοπί ‘apartment’ [house-piece], τσαρδοκοπί ‘apartment’
‘neighbourhood’ [house-hive], τσαρδόντυνι ‘earthquake’ [house-meretriciousness], τσαρδόταγκη [business card] [house-pergament], τσαρδόταρκονέμια ‘earthquake’ [house-shaking], τσαρδότερμοτο ‘apartment tower’ [house-termite-thing], τσαρδόκουκος ‘bachelor’ [house-cuckoo], τσαρδόκυρικις ‘owner’ [house-master], τσαρδόφατσον ‘female neighbour’ [house-face-woman], τσαρδότερμιτης ‘architect’ [house-termite] etc. This morphological element is also used with its basic semantics as a right constituent in a number of compounds: γρασιδότσαρδο ‘straw shanty’ [grass-house], κηφηνότσαρδο ‘monastery’ [monk-house], καράτσαρδο ‘mansion house’ [extreme-house], μπαρότσαρδο ‘gay’s house’ [disease-house], ντουλότσαρδο ‘apartment tower; mansion house’ [dough-house], ρενότσαρδο ‘palace’ [king-house], φλορότσαρδο ‘mansion house’ [flower-house], Καραγκουνότσαρδα ‘Thessaly’ [karagounides-house].

As a bound base it is the most frequent suffixoid in Kaliardà, found as a right constituent in more than 20 compounds with desemantised meaning based on the semantic change ‘house’ > ‘building’. The variety of meanings originates from the hyperonym ‘building’ and the respective words denote a building that houses institutions, production facilities, public bodies, etc.:

a) ‘institution’: λατσομπουρότσαρδο ‘music school; odeon’ [nice-voice-house], μπερθοσφαρόν ‘register office’ [birth-house], ματσότσαρδο ‘tax office’ [batch of money-house], ντουλοχαρατσότσαρδο ‘tax office’ [dough-tax-house], λεσον ότσαρδο ‘school’ [lesson-house];

b) ‘factory, production facility’: мαντότσαρδο ‘bakery’ [bread-house], νισεστοκολλητότσαρδο ‘tailor’s shop’ [tailor-house], пιουσότσαρδο ‘bakery’ [bread-house], τελορότσαρδο ‘tailor’s shop’ [tailor-house];

c) ‘place where some kind of service is performed’: кара фрοдитότσαρδο ‘brothel’ [prostitute-house], κλιναρότσαρδο ‘hammam, Turkish bath’ [clean-house], μπουλκουμεσότσαρδο ‘brothel’ [ejaculation-house], μουσαντόφλοκο ‘medulla, marrow’ [false-sperm], τζουσλεσότσαρδο ‘public bath’ [wash-house];

d) ‘store’: τζοβαϊρότσαρδο ‘jewellery store’ [jewel-house], χαλεμαντότσαρδο ‘grocery store’ [food-house], ματσότσαρδο ‘restaurant’ [dish-house], ντουλότσαρδο ‘tavern’ [fluid-house];

e) ‘building’: ξασμπερντευρότσαρδο ‘building, funded by a national benefactor’ [national benefactor-house].

Suffixoid -φλοκ(ο)

This bound base is isolated from Kaliardà noun φλόκι ‘sperm’. As a left constituent in compounding it is found with its literal meaning: φλοκοντο ρβάρες ‘testicle’ [sperm-bags]. As a suffixoid it is desemantised and its basic meaning ‘sperm’ is expanded to:

a) ‘fluid’: κουελοφλόκι ‘tear’ [eye-sperm], νατούρα-φλόκι ‘natural juice’ [nature-sperm];

b) ‘semifluid substance’: ζουζουνόφλοκο ‘honey’ [bug-sperm], κοινοφωρόφλοκο ‘tomato paste’ [tomato-sperm], μουσαντόφλοκο ‘medulla, marrow’ [false-sperm], τεκνοκακνόφλοκο ‘beaten egg white’ [egg-sperm], τσαϊνόφλοκο ‘ink’ [china-sperm];

c) ‘gaseous substance’: γκαζόφλοκο ‘natural gas’ [gas-sperm].

4. Conclusions

The main conclusions from the analysis so far are the following:

1. Kaliardà makes restricted use of affixoids borrowed from SMG, as the number of domestic affixoids is five times bigger. The explanation lies in the fact that as an anti-language Kaliardà has the tendency to differentiate its vocabulary from the vocabulary of SMG as much as possible, which results, among with the other particularities, in the use of domestic affixoids.
2. The distribution of domestic affixoids is unequal: affixoids such as -τσαρδο, λατσο- and -πουρ(ος) are used in ten and more new-formed words, while other affixoids are registered in a single example or in up to 3–5 words (-σεκερι, πισκετο-).

3. Desemanticization is the basic mechanism of grammaticalization of lexical bases in Kaliardá. Grammaticalization requires to be observed diachronically, which is not possible in the case of Kaliardá vocabulary. Thus, the only phenomenon of grammaticalization one is able to analyze is desemanticization, i.e., the isolation of a certain lexical base, its change of meaning in a certain direction: usually by extension to a new, closely related semantic field(s) – and its use to form new compound words.

REFERENCES:


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>