

THE AFFIXOIDS IN THE GREEK GAY ARGOT KALIARDÀ

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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 in 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-society¹.

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 bases², 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 functions³. 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 meaning⁴. 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 affixoids⁵ 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 morpheme⁶, 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 specificity 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).

& Babiniotis, 2005, pp. 80–81, pp. 92–95) divide the affixoids to prefixoids and suffixoids, called by the authors lexical prefixes (*λεξικά προθήματα*) and lexical suffixes (*λεξικά επιθήματα*) respectively.

³ See Pάλλη 2005, pp. 60–61, Pάλλη 2007, pp. 151, Lieber, 2009, p. 34. Similar classification of ‘grammatical forms’ is proposed by Hopper and Traugott (Hopper & Traugott, 2003, pp. 4–6).

⁴ Hopper & Traugott, 2003, p. 2. Some researchers believe that the grammaticalization is a contextually driven semantic process and for this reason define it as “context-induced reinterpretation”. This approach assumes that only the context may outline the structure of grammatical forms, in the sense that grammatical forms may express meaning that cannot be retrieved from the source forms, see Heine & Kuteva, 2004, p. 2.

⁵ The term *affixoids* covers the prefixoids, i.e., affixoids in prefix position, and the suffixoids, i.e., affixoids in suffix position. It is also used for bound bases that have no fixed position in the compound and take position to the left or to the right of the base.

⁶ See Booij, 2004, p. 114, 116, Booij, 2005, p. 85, Trips, 2009, pp. 21–26, among many others.

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 affixes⁷. This property of the affixoids is called by Ralli *unfreability* (‘μη ελευθερωσιμότητα’) and is considered by her as their most important feature⁸. 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), 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-⁹

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’, θεοκουλικωμένος ‘terribly made up’, θεοκουραβαλμένος ‘fucked from everywhere’, θεόλαττος ‘very pretty’, θεομιλιονάρης / θεομιλιονάρω ‘extremely rich man / woman’, θεόμπαρος ‘very fat’.

Prefixoid кара-

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: καραβλάχος ‘hillbilly’, καρρηλίθια ‘complete idiot’ (for woman), καρακιτσαριό ‘awful kitsch’, adjectives: καραδεξιός ‘very right-wing person’ and verbs: καρασκεκάρω ‘check carefully’. The prefixoid is often used in the Greek slang, also with intensifying meaning: καραλέσβιο ‘Lesbian with masculine features’, καρπουτάνα ‘big whore’, etc.

In Kaliardà кара- is a productive prefixoid with intensifying semantics, meaning ‘very, extremely, completely X’, that forms mainly nouns: καραφροδίτω ‘prostitute’, καρாலουμπού ‘bad gay’, καρामουτζού ‘prostitute’, καραπαλούκω ‘fat and tough woman’ or impersonal: καραγιακάς ‘fine’, καραγκλασομολού ‘demijohn’, καραδικελού ‘telescope’, καρακόρα ‘palpitation’, καραλαφάρισμα ‘tickle’, καραμποντού ‘beautiful body’, καραντουλάδικο ‘ministry of finance’, καραπία ‘piety’, καραπλατού ‘scarf’, καραπουρόλιγκα ‘Ancient Greek’, καραταμπού ‘long pipe’,

⁷ See Lieber, 2009, p. 33.

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’: θεοφρούρητος ‘guarded by God’, θεομάχος ‘fighter against god’, θεοσοφώ ‘have knowledge of divine things’, etc., see also Giannouloupoulou, 2005, p. 2, pp. 6–8.

καράτσαρδο ‘mansion house’, καράφιγκρο ‘snake’, καραφλορότοπος ‘wood’. Rarely *καρα-* is used to form adjectives: *καραμυλιονάρης* / *καραμυλιονάρω* ‘very rich man / woman’ and verbs: *καραλαφάρω* ‘tickle’, *καραμπάζω* ‘screw’.

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], *τουρμπανόκουτο* ‘coffin’ [wounded-box];
- b) ‘device with square shape’: *καβγαδοκουτού* ‘radio set’ [scandal-box], *μπουρόκουτο* ‘radio set’ [song-box], *σκαμπαζόκουτο* ‘tape recorder’ [comprehend-box];
- c) ‘music organ with large internal capacity’: *καημόκουτο* ‘bouzouki’ [trouble-box];
- d) ‘space for the execution of certain activity’: *κουελοσφαλόκουτο* ‘bed’ [sleep-box];
- e) ‘vessel, fluid container’: *κουλόκουτο* ‘chamber pot’ [shit-box], *μολόκουτο* ‘vessel’ [water-box], *τσαϊνοφλοκόκουτο* ‘ink pot’ [ink-box], *φλορόκουτο* ‘vase; flowerpot’ [flower-box];
- f) ‘furniture or object with square shape and large internal capacity’: *ματσομερντεδόκουτο* ‘safe’ [batch of dough-box], *νισεστόκουτο* ‘wardrobe’ [clothing-box];
- g) ‘room’: *ντοροπουρόκουτο* ‘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: *πρωτοπόρος* ‘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 invention¹⁰, 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], *πρωτοκαθίκι* ‘prize’ [first-chamber-pot], as well as in compounds and derivatives formed by the complex base *πρωτοκαθικο-*: *πρωτοκαθικόμπερθα* ‘festival’, *πρωτοκαθικοπουρός* ‘athlothele, person who presides over the public games’, *πρωτοκαθικόνω* ‘award a prize’, *πρωτοκαθικωμένος* ‘prize winner’. I suggest a particular grammaticalization of this morphological segment in the word *πρωτονταβός* ‘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 γκρόσος ‘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-καλιάρντ ‘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 φρισσοκάχνι ‘χαΐνερ’ [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: λατσολίθαραο ‘διαμαντ’ [beautiful-stone], λατσοτέμπα ‘summer’ [nice-weather], λατσόφλορο ‘beautiful flower’ [beautiful-flower], as well as a desemantised morphological segment with the following meanings:

- a) ‘nice’: λατσό-ντουπ ‘massage’ [nice-thrashing], λατσό-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 ‘κρaba’ [fat-meat-animal], but it is usually used as a left constituent with desemantised meaning ‘big’: μπαλοκουάκης ‘male frog’ [fat-croak-animal], μπαλόφρισα ‘big fish’ [fat-fish], μπαλογουγούφλω ‘she-bear’ [fat-she-wolf], μπαλοφουσουφούσης ‘elephant’ [fat-puffing-animal], μπαλόφρισσο ‘shark’ [fat-fish], μπαλογορχόρα ‘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 μεγαλο-. It is used in compounding for the formation of personal and impersonal nouns: μπαζ-ντουλότσαρδο ‘bank’ [big-dough-house], μπαζ-ντουλοτσαρδοπουρός ‘banker’ [bank-old man], μπαζ-γκοντοδούλης ‘archangel’ [big-angel].

Prefixoids μουσαντο-, μουσ-

These bound bases are isolated from Kaliardà nouns μουσαντό ‘lie’ and μούσι ‘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], μουσαντογλειψού ‘flattery’ [lie-licking-thing], μουσαντό-εφέ ‘moss’ [false-effect], μουσαντολατσοκαγκέλωμα ‘gilt’ [false-nice-iron-thing], μουσαντοντούπ ‘threat’ [false-thrashing], μουσαντοπατίγια ‘papion’ [false-butterfly], μουσαντοπάρσιμο ‘flirt’ [false-coitus], μουσαντόραμπα ‘rehearsal’ (in theatre) [false-theatre], μουσαντωχρομπλάντα ‘anaemia’ [pseudo-leucaemia], μους-μάσκα ‘make-up’ [false-mask] etc. Desemantised meaning ‘bad’ is found in the word μουσαντομαγκιά ‘dastardly action’ [false-bluster].

Prefixoid μπουτ(ο)-

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-λουτσολάκριμος ‘nice chandelier’ [big-light-candle-thing], μπουτ-μπατανέ ‘abundant make-up’ [big-abundant make-up], μπουτ-ποπιλόμπουσο ‘автобус’ [big-bus], μπουτ-φλουσκούνω ‘panting’ [big-breath] and adjectives: μπουτ-ντουλός ‘expensive’ [big-dough-thing], μπουτ-φλουσκούνης ‘breathless’ [big-panting-man]. There is a single use registered in a personal noun: μπουτ-πουροζελές ‘dirty old man’ [‘big-old man].

Prefixoid πισκετο-

This bound base originates from Kaliardà noun μπισκέτ ‘детe’. It is found once with desemantised meaning based on the semantic analogy ‘child’ > ‘little man’ > ‘little’: πισκετόγούτσα ‘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: πουροκουμάντο ‘шаб квартира’ [old man-command], πουροζελές ‘old man’ [old-jelly], πουροπαλάς ‘judge’ [old-judge] etc. As a suffixoid the base exhibits desemanticization based on the analogy ‘old man’ > ‘man’ > ‘human being’ > ‘person with certain profession’. This grammaticalized meaning is found in over 20 male personal nouns with general semantics ‘human being’, ‘man’, ‘agent’ (actor of certain action), ‘worker, employee’, ‘person with certain profession’ etc.: τζαζμπερντεπουρός ‘national benefactor’ [throw-dough-old man], διακονιαρόπουρος ‘beggar’ [begging-old man], μαντοπουρός ‘baker’ [bread-old man], νεμροδόπουρος ‘hunter’ [hunting-old man], ντορόπουρος ‘door keeper’ [door-old man], πρωτοκαθικόπουρος ‘athlothete, person who presides over the public games’ [prize-old man], παγκροπουρός ‘barber’ [hair-old man], σπικραμεντόπουρος ‘orator, speaker’ [speech-old man], στατουοπουρός ‘sculptor’ [sculpture-old man] etc. The suffixoid has also the meaning ‘(kind of) gay’: μοντερνόπουρος ‘gay’ [modern-old man], ψυχοτραγόπουρος ‘active gay’ [soul-priest] etc.

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], τσαρδοκυψέλη

‘neighbourhood’ [house-hive], τσαρδοντανιά ‘earthquake’ [house-meretriciousness], τσαρδοπεργαμινή ‘business card’ [house-pergament], τσαρδοταρακούνημα ‘earthquake’ [house-shaking], τσαρδοτερμιτού ‘apartment tower’ [house-termite-thing], τσαρδόκουκος ‘bachelor’ [house-cuckoo], τσαρδοκύρης ‘owner’ [house-master], τσαρδοφατσού ‘female neighbour’ [house-face-woman], τσαρδοτερμίτης ‘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], κηφινότσαρδο ‘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]¹².

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], μπερθοτσαρδί ‘register office’ [birth-house], ματσότσαρδο ‘tax office’ [batch of money-house], ντουλοχαρτσότσαρδο ‘tax office’ [dough-tax-house], λεσονότσαρδο ‘school’ [lesson-house], μπαζ-ντουλότσαρδο ‘bank’ [big-dough-house], τζιναβοστουντότσαρδο ‘university’ [smart-house], μπερθομπαρότσαρδο ‘maternity hospital’ [birth-disease-house];

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

c) ‘place where some kind of service is performed’: καραφροδιτότσαρδο ‘brothel’ [prostitute-house], κλιναρότσαρδο ‘hammam, Turkish bath’ [clean-house], μπουλκουμεδότσαρδο ‘brothel’ [ejaculation-house], μουτζότσαρδο ‘brothel’ [vagina-house], παγκροπουρότσαρδο ‘barber shop’ [barber-house], τζουσλεσότσαρδο ‘public bath’ [wash-house];

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

e) ‘building’: τζαζμπερντεπουρότσαρδο ‘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: φλοκοντορβάρες ‘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], κομοντορόφλοκο ‘tomato paste’ [tomato-sperm], μουσαντόφλοκο ‘medulla, marrow’ [false-sperm], τεκνοκακνόφλοκο ‘beaten egg white’ [egg-sperm], τσαϊνόφλοκο ‘ink’ [china-sperm];

c) ‘gasiform 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.

¹² The term ‘Karagounides’ denotes the local people of the western plains of Thessaly.

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, πισεκετο-).

3. Desemanticization is the basic mechanism of grammaticalization of lexical bases in Kaliardà. Grammaticalization requires to be observed diachronically, which is not possible in the case of Kaliardà 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.

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