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R. E. Asher

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On a par with the fast cultural development, the written standard language underwent a deep renewal and enrichment. Language planning was highly successful: the vocabulary was intentionally developed by taking in direct loans as well as calques, by using old dialect words in new, sophisticated meanings, and by making new derivations and compounds. Eastern Finnish dialects not only gave words, but also provided the standard language with morphological and morphophonemic innovations. The orthography was developed to its present near-perfection: an almost 100 percent phonemic script. By 1870, the beginning of Modern Finnish, the language was suitable for use in any field or activity; there was also a notable puristic tendency, which, rather paradoxically, sought to keep the language pure from foreign influences.

4. Finnish in Typological Perspective

4.1 Phonology

The phonological system of Finnish consists of eight vowels: /i e a y o u o a/ and, in the indigenous vocabulary, thirteen consonants: /k t p d m n r s h j v/. The system furthermore makes use of the quantity opposition in the majority of phonemes (no long *dd, *hh, *ji, *tv are allowed): tuli 'fire,' tuuli 'wind' versus tulli 'customs'; tullen 'I come' versus tuuleen 'into the wind'; lakki 'law' versus lakki 'cap.' The majority of word stems are bisyllabic; monosyllables mainly consist of pronouns (see 'it'), or conjunctions (ja 'and'). Word initial consonant clusters are not allowed (cf. koulu < schola); in word-final position, only dental consonants are allowed. Further characteristics of the phonotactic structure include vowel harmony (front vowels /á y õ/, back vowels /a u o/, and neutral vowels /i e/, which get the value of a front vowel if two of them occur in the stem): saare-ssa 'island + INE' ('in an island') versus sääre-ssä 'leg + INE' ('in the leg'); asu-vaat 'live + 3pl' ('they live') versus meni-vät 'went + 3pl' ('they went'). This, together with the word stress which is exclusively placed on the first syllable, make words phonologically highly cohesive. Stops undergo a so-called 'consonant gradation,' which is to a large extent morphologically conditioned: katu 'street,' kadulla 'street + ADE' ('in the street'); Pekka 'Peter,' Pekka-lle 'Peter + ALL' ('to Peter').

4.2 Morphology

Words in Finnish are generally polysyllabic, as both derivational and inflectional suffixes are attached to word stems:

- Kirja + sto-issa-mme-kin 'in our libraries, too'
- Book + coll-pl-INE-POSS-CLIT

There are 150–180 derivational suffixes in Finnish; less than 10 percent of them are actively used in producing coinages. Word formation by the 'domestic' means of deriving and compounding form a counterbalance to the influx of direct loans; the latter, until recently, were at least partly adjusted to the phonotactic restrictions of Finnish; see, for example, pankki 'bank,' kennraali 'general.'

Finnish has 14 morphological cases; morphosyntactically they amount to 15. The FU protolanguage is estimated to have had five cases. Verbs take suffixes for mood, tense, and person. There is also a rich system of nominalizations: four ininitive and two participle suffixes. Two additional morphological features should be mentioned: possessive suffixes are preferred to possessive pronouns (Tyttö pesi kasvo-nsa 'The girl washed her face'); neither nouns nor personal pronouns have a category of gender (3rd person hän meaning 'he or she').

4.3 Syntax

As a former SOV language, Finnish still predominantly uses postpositions and preposed adjectival modifiers: Saure-n puu-n takana 'big-of tree-of behind' ('Behind a big tree'). Due to the richness of the inflectional morphology, the SVO-order predominant in the early 1990s does not impose a verb-second restriction on sentences; word order is predominantly a device for thematic and contrastive purposes: Poika näki tytö-n 'The boy saw the girl' ≈ Tytö-n näki poika 'It was the boy who saw the girl.' Correspondingly, no formal subject is required as a place holder, and sentences are free to have a verb or a complement as an unmarked initial constituent: Sataa 'It is raining'; Minulla on nälkää 'me-at is hunger' ('I am hungry'). With these features, a third one is related: passive sentences are agentless and subjectless: Naapuri-ssa nuku-vaan 'Neighbor's-in is being slept' ('They are asleep next door').

5. From Rural to Urban

In the early 1950s, only 25 percent of the population of four million lived in towns. By the early 1990s, almost two-thirds of the five million inhabitants lived in towns. Rural dialects have given way to social varieties; the variant spoken in Helsinki enjoys high prestige. Spoken language has become more analytic than the highly normative written standard; whether the spoken standard should be kept close to the written one or left to spontaneous development is a topic which is heatedly debated.

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A. Hakulinen

Firbas, Jan (1921— )

Jan Firbas is a prominent representative of the Prague School linguistic tradition in the second half of the twentieth century. He developed Matthews’s idea of the theme–rheme analysis of the sentence (see Mathesis, Vilém) into a complex theory of Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP).

Firbas was born in Brno, Czechoslovakia, on March 25, 1921. He studied English and philosophy at Masaryk University in Brno (1947), spent a year in London with A. C. Gimson (see Gimson, Alfred Charles) and J. D. O’Connor, and became assistant to Professor Josef Váchek (see Váchek, Josef), who inspired him with the ideas of
4. A Sketch of the Structure of Arabic

It is not possible in a survey article of this kind to give anything more than the briefest of sketches of the morphology and syntax of Arabic. For more detailed accounts of MSA accessible to the non-Arabist, see Yushmanov (1961), Bateson (1967), Beeston (1970); for detailed descriptions of individual dialects, see, for example, Abdel-Masih (1975) (Cairene), Erwin (1963) (Baghdadi), Cowell (1964) (Damascene), Holes (1990) (Gulf).

Perhaps the most striking feature of Arabic, whether MSA or dialectal, is its interdigitated morphology. By this is meant that the basic morphological resource in word building is a large set of (mostly) triconsonantal roots, and a relatively small set of highly productive fixed consonant-vowel patterns or templates which are applied to these roots to generate various categories of word and noun stems. There are a few examples from MSA. From the triconsonantal root s-l-m, which has the basic meaning of 'cognition' one can derive the past tense verb stem sâlim- 'to know' by applying the pattern CaC,C- (where C = consonant). If the pattern taCaCCaC- is applied, in which the middle radical is doubled, and which (generally) indicates causativity, taâlam- is generated, the past tense verb stem meaning 'to teach' (= 'to cause to know'). If the pattern taCaCCaC- is applied, that is, the causative pattern with a ta-prefix, usually gets a passivized or reflexive meaning: thus taâlîm- 'to learn' (= 'to teach oneself, to be taught'). In applying the pattern istâCCaC- which (amongst other possibilities) often has desiderative meaning, one gets istâlîm- 'to enquire' (= 'to want or ask for knowledge'). Nouns are generated on similar principles. Thus Ca:C,C- is the 'agent noun' pattern applied to all verbs which have a CaC,C- past stem, so sâlim- means 'one who knows' or 'scientist'; mûCaCCaC is the agent noun for causative verbs of the CaCCaC stem, so mûtaâlîm- is 'teacher, and so on. To these noun and verb stems are added inflections to indicate person, number, gender, and case: thus sâlim-ta 'I knew, sâlim-ta 'you (masc sg) knew,' etc.; sâlim-an 'a scientist (nom),' sâlim-an 'a scientist (acc),' sâlim-an 'a scientist (gen).

The root-pattern system of derivation is still highly productive in both MSA and the dialects. In MSA, the Arabic Language Academies have coined huge numbers of words by applying these derivational principles in order to enable the language to keep pace with developments in science and technology. Thus miCCaC, a pattern indicating 'noun of instrument' was applied to the root s-t-s-d with a basic meaning of 'ascent' to generate mîstâd- 'elevator' (= 'device for ascending'). In the dialects, the same process has occurred but in a less controlled, more haphazard fashion and with no concern for language purity. Thus, in Gulf Arabic, the English word 'finish' was borrowed and adapted, as if it were a triconsonantal root, to the CaCCaC- causative pattern exemplified above, to give fâmi'a:q 'to fire, dismiss.' Secondary derivations followed in the normal way, giving the verbal noun tâfni:'j 'firing, dismissal' (verbal noun pattern ta(C:C,C) and the plural tâfni:'a:il 'redundancies.'

In their inflectional morphology, the dialects as a whole are much simpler than MSA, with fewer categories of number and gender in the verb, a total loss of mood distinctions carried by short final vowels, and the loss of case endings in the noun phrase. These changes all seem to have had a phonological origin, as the loss of final vowels, which seems to have happened in the spoken language soon after the Islamic conquests (seventh century), collapsed many morphological distinctions. In syntax, dialectal word order is generally fixed as SVO in contrast to the rather more
flexible ordering which was possible in an inflectional language like Classical Arabic (and remains possible in its modern descendant, MSA). The dialectal systems of negation, and subject-verb and noun-adjective agreement are also simpler (in the sense that they involve a smaller number of distinctions) than in MSA. The dialects also show a tendency toward a more 'analytic' structure: for example, relationships of possession between two nouns in the dialects have a linking particle (usually a decayed lexical item which originally meant something like 'property' or 'belonging') whereas in MSA the two nouns are directly juxtaposed with the relationship indicated by short-vowel case endings; in the expression of modality and aspect, the dialects have all developed similar systems of preverbal particles (again, seemingly decayed lexical items) in contrast to MSA, which preserves the original system of indicating such distinctions by short-vowel endings.

The Arabic writing system goes from right to left. Normally, only the consonants and long vowels of a word are written, the short vowels and other orthographic marks (such as those indicating doubled consonants or a consonant which is syllable-final) being omitted. The only exceptions to this are children's or other learners' primers and the Qur'an, in which vowels, etc. are written, superscript and subscript. Thus a written Arabic word typically consists of a consonant (and long vowel) skeleton only. Decontextualized graphemes are therefore highly ambiguous, since the quality of the unwritten short vowels, as well as the length of consonants (similarly unmarked in the normal case) is meaning-bearing. Thus the grapheme ی-t-d could be read, out of context, as یارِدا 'he arrives,' یارِد 'he answers,' یارِد 'it is returned,' یارِد 'may he want!' یارِد 'may he perish!' and in several other ways. Context disambiguates.

Phonologically, all varieties of Arabic are characterized by contrasting sets of 'emphatized' versus 'plain' consonants (which differ slightly from dialect to dialect but which in MSA are /d/-/d/, /t/-/t/, /s/-/s/ and /θ/-/θ/); by a pair of velar fricatives /x/ and /ɣ/; and by a pair of pharyngeal fricatives (/ṣ/ and /ḥ/). It is these sounds in particular which create the unique auditory impression of spoken Arabic. The Arabs themselves sometimes refer to their language as ِِلْوِتْأُ الْأَلْيَأُ ِِلْوِتْأُ the language of ِِلْوِتْأُ, ِِلْوِتْأُ being the Arabic name for the sound /d/, which historically was a voiced emphatized dental plosive with a lateral release (in modern Arabic the lateral release has been lost), apparently in the belief that this sound was unique to Arabic.

See also: Afroasiatic Languages; Semitic Languages; Arabic Script: Adaptation for Other Languages; Maltese; Semitic Scripts, North and South; Qur'an; Sibawayhi.

Arabic Linguistic Tradition

The Arabic linguistic tradition spans centuries of intellectual activity and covers a wide range of topics, all pertaining to the Arabic language in its capacity as, primarily, the medium of religious expression (in the form of the Qur'an) as well as a vast body of poetry. Participants in this tradition came from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, for example, al-Khalili (d. 791); see Al-Khalili/Sibawayhi (d. 804; see Sibawayhi) and Ibn Jinni (d. 1002; see Ibn Jinni), the three most important scholars in the core disciplines of this tradition, were Arab, Persian, and Byzantine by origin respectively. But they all engaged in their work from a position which recognizes the centrality of Arabic and Islam in the life of the community of which they were a part.

In addition to the ethnic diversity of the major participants in the Arabic linguistic tradition, this tradition was not shaped just by scholars whose expertise lay only in the field of linguistic studies, but extended to include contributors from outside the strict confines of this domain. Ibn Sina's Treatise (Risāla) on the points of articulation of the Arabic speech sounds (Semaan 1963) shows that linguistic science was not the exclusive preserve of linguists, but that a philosopher and medical scholar could contribute to aspects of this field, drawing, obviously, on his expertise in his primary field of research.

As understood here, the Arabic linguistic tradition covers two major areas: grammar in the wide sense (including phonetics/phonology, morphology, and syntax) and lexicography which deals with the compilation of lexicon. Serious research in these two areas dates back to the eighth century. It was al-Khalili who, together with his student Sibawayhi, laid down the foundations of grammar: but the credit for the development of lexicographic work is al-Khalili's.

This article will concentrate on grammar—minus phonetics/phonology which will be dealt with elsewhere—and lexicography. Also, aspects of semantics and pragmatics...
Chinese

1. Location and Number of Speakers
Chinese is spoken in continental China, in Taiwan, and by a majority of the population in Singapore. In addition, Chinese is spoken by important minorities in all other countries of Southeast Asia as well as by Chinese immigrants in most parts of the world, especially in Oceania and in North and South America. The total number of speakers amounts to well over a billion people, far more than that of any other language in the world.

2. Genealogical Roots and Typological Links
Chinese is one part—and in terms of number of speakers by far the most important part—of the Sino-Tibetan language family, the other part being Tibeto-Karen, a group consisting of the Karen and the Tibeto-Burman languages (postulated by P. Benedict 1972). Some sort of genetic affinity between these language groups, notably between Chinese and Tibeto-Burman, has been recognized since the nineteenth century; the hypothesis is based on phonological correspondences found in their lexicons and is still broadly accepted.

3. Writing Systems
The traditional Chinese script is the oldest of all the writing systems used in the world today and the only one in common use among the Chinese for everyday written communication. It is a nonalphabetic system of graphs called characters, each representing a syllable. Since most syllables are meaningful, i.e., morphemes, and many characters represent phonetically identical morphemes (homonyms), the script may most accurately be characterized as a basically morphemic writing system.

In addition to the character script, various phonemic writing systems have been devised first by Christian missionaries, beginning soon after 1600 with the Jesuits in Beijing, then by foreign and Chinese scholars from the late nineteenth century on. The two most widely used transcription systems (romanizations) are that of Wade-Giles (first created by Sir Thomas Francis Wade in 1867 and modified by Herbert A. Giles, 1912) and the official Chinese transcription system known as Pinyin (i.e., Pinyin Zimu, 'The Phonetic Alphabet,' adopted in 1958). A third system, created in 1918 from elements and simplified forms of traditional Chinese characters, is the Gùyù Zhūyín Fǎhuà 'National Phonetic Symbols'; like Pinyin, it is used in China mainly for glossing characters in dictionaries (see Chinese Writing System).

Below, MSC sounds are all transcribed in Pinyin.

4. Common Characteristics of the Modern Chinese Dialects
All modern Chinese dialects (or Sinitic languages) share a number of important typological features as discussed below.

4.1 Syllabic Structure
Common to the Chinese dialects is a relatively simple syllabic structure, the maximum pattern of which is consonant-vowel-consonant, or (C)V(C), brackets denoting occurrence that such occurrence is not obligatory; V, the vocalic part, may be a simple vowel, a diphthong of the ascending or descending type, or a triphong; some dialects lack one type of diphthong, and so lack triphongs as well.

4.2 Tonality
Chinese is a tone language, each syllable being characterized by a fixed pitch pattern which may be level or oblique—rising, falling, or some combination of the two.
The tones are phonemic, serving to differentiate meaning just as consonantal and vocalic segments do. For the most part, tones in Chinese are lexical (i.e., they distinguish otherwise similar words); in some Chinese dialects tones also carry grammatical meaning.

4.3 Monosyllability

In all stages of its development, Chinese was and still is a monosyllabic language in the sense that the overwhelming majority of its morphemes are represented by single syllables. In Modern Chinese there are many polysyllabic words, but these almost always consist of strings of monosyllabic morphemes. Words, therefore, can consist of one syllable, of two or more syllables each carrying an element of meaning, or of two or more syllables that individually carry no meaning. For example, MSC mà ‘horse’ is a one-syllable word; huò-chē ‘train’ is made up of two otherwise free words meaning ‘fire-car’; yǐ-zì ‘chair’ is composed of yǐ ‘chair’, a morpheme that can no longer occur alone as a word, and a noun suffix zì: old and genuinely polysyllabic morphemes such as hūdī ‘butterfly’ and gēdā ‘pimple, lump, knot’ are rare and mostly of foreign origin. During the twentieth century, however, borrowings from foreign languages, notably of proper names, have led to a considerable number of rather long monomorphic words, e.g., Shàxǐ ‘Shakespeare.’ Generally, the old Chinese language had more monosyllabic words than Modern Chinese, while among the modern dialects, the southern ones have more monosyllabic words and morphemes than the dialects of the north.

4.4 Lack of Inflections

Chinese is usually cited as an analytic or isolating language, i.e., grammatical relationships are shown either by word order or by the use of independent grammatical particles. With certain reservations, this is a reasonably accurate way of characterizing the language at all its historical stages. Old or Archaic Chinese had phonalional or tonal derivation and morphology, e.g., hāo~hào~*hao~ ‘*hao’-h, and Modern Chinese dialects have developed a smaller number of (in some cases subsyllabic) affixes which function as grammatical determinatives; still, grammatical relationships are mostly shown by word order and particles.

4.5 Indistinct Borderlines between Morphology and Syntax

This is largely due to the fact that the arrangement of root morphemes within MSC compounds is a reflection of the arrangement of words in simple syntactic constructions, MSC morphology being to some extent petrified earlier syntax. Adding to the problem are cases of discontinuous morphological constructions such as nà-xià shí lài ‘take down a book,’ from the verb compound nà-xià-lái take-descend- come ‘take down’ and shí ‘book’.

4.6 Use of Noun Measures

The Chinese noun is typically a collective term, designating all members of its class, ‘man’ meaning ‘all human beings.’ Such a noun can be counted or modified by a determinative such as ‘this’ or ‘that’ only indirectly through a smaller number of noncollective nouns, called measures, in constructions such as yī-gè rén ‘one (-item) person,’ sān-gē běnzǐ ‘three (-items) notebook,’ zhè-tiáo yú ‘this (-strip) fish,’ nà-tiáo hé ‘that (-strip) river.’ The phenomenon appears relatively late in Chinese; when used at all in Classical and Literary Chinese (which also permitted numerical and other determinatives directly before nouns without any intervening element) the measure construction followed the noun; in Modern Chinese it precedes it.

4.7 Word Order

Like many languages to the south of China, the Chinese dialects have SVO order, although preclassical and classical Chinese show remnants of the Tibeto–Burman SOV order, common also to the Altaic language family. On the other hand, Chinese and Altaic both place the modifier before the noun as opposed to the noun-modifier order of Tai and many other languages of East Asia.

5. Dialects, North and South

The Chinese dialects fall into a northern and a southern group (see Fig. 1). A great part of the lexicon, especially at the morphemic level, is common to all dialects, differences among them being most conspicuous in phonology, less remarkable in grammar. Generally, the northern speech forms, also known as the Mandarin dialects, are much closer to each other than the southern ones.

5.1 Northern Chinese Dialects

The Mandarin dialects are further divided into four subgroups: the northern, the northwestern, the southwestern, and the lower Yangtze River dialects. They are spoken in China north of the Yangtze River; in Sichuán, Yunnán, Gúizhōu, and small parts of Húnán, as well as in a narrow belt south of the Yangtze River in Jiāngxī, Ēnhūi, and Jiāngsū. The ratio of speakers of these northern dialects to the total Chinese-speaking population is estimated at 71.5 percent.

On the whole, the Mandarin dialects are remarkably homogenous, a person from northern Manchuria, for instance, having little difficulty in understanding the speech of a native of Yúnnán some 3,000 kilometers away. In fact, the Mandarin dialects of the southwest are the most uniform, the area having been settled or resettled by northerners fairly recently, from the thirteenth century on while the northwestern group, especially in Shānxi province, display the highest degree of diversity among the northern speech forms.

Characteristics common to most Mandarin dialects include the devoicing of all voiced obstruents, i.e., stops, affricates, and fricatives, found in Middle Chinese (the literary pronunciation of the sixth century AD; see Sect. 8) as well as the simplification of Middle Chinese finals, its set of final consonants, n, m, ng, p, t, k, for instance, having been drastically reduced, only n and ng being retained in the 1990s.

The Mandarin dialects are exceptional because of their vast number of speakers, the extensive territory they occupy, and because the present national language, MSC, is based on the phonology of a northern speech form.

5.1.1 Modern Standard Chinese (MSC) or Pǔtōnghuà: Phonology

The phonology of MSC is based on that of the Bēijīng dialect. It employs a little less than 1,300 different syllables
consonants by means of letters for voiceless sounds (e.g., p, t); the palatal initials are retained as a separate series; the three varieties of i are all written i with the distinction to be inferred from the nature of the preceding consonant; and tones are indicated by accent markers (e.g., mā, mā, mā, mā).

5.1.2 Modern Standard Chinese (MSC) or Pātōnghù: Grammar

As Chinese is to a very large extent an isolating language, parts of speech are defined primarily on the basis of syntactic behavior. Substantives include nouns, proper names, place and time words, numerals and other determinatives, measures, pronouns, etc. Other parts of speech are verbs and adjectives, prepositions, adverbs, conjunctions, particles, and interjections. Adjectives have important properties in common with verbs, e.g., hào ‘to be good’ rather than just ‘good,’ and they are therefore also often termed stative verbs or intransitive verbs of state. Measures are subdivided into classifiers (or individual measures), group measures, partitive measures, etc. Pronouns behave like nouns but are not normally modal, expressions such as kělǎn de wǒ pitiable part I/me ‘poor me’ being rare, an import from abroad.

Word order, prepositions, and particles do most of the job of showing how the elements of a sentence relate to one another. Thus, definite reference may be overtly marked by various modifiers but is most often shown by word order, elements occurring before the verb being normally construed as definite. Number may be expressed morphologically by means of the suffix -men, which can, however, refer only to human beings and is obligatory only for the pronouns; in other cases, number is shown by lexical means, or simply ignored. Modifiers precede heads in nominal as well as verbal constructions; in case of complex modifiers, a particle de is required between modifier and head to mark the relationship. Subjects occur in the periphrastic, mostly in the postverbal, position; on certain conditions, definite direct objects may also occur in front of the verb, introduced by the preposition bā: dà-liè-de bā láng dá-si-le strike-hunt-part prep wolf strike-dead-pret ‘the hunter killed the wolf.’ (The bā construction has been the object of much discussion; by some grammarians it is considered part of a sentence type known as ergative, in which all nominals are marked for their function). Other prepositions, bēi, ràng, and jiào, may be employed to introduce the agent in a passive sentence, especially in case of unpleasant experiences: láng bēi dà-liè-de dā-si-le wolf prep strike-hunt-part strike-dead-pret ‘the wolf was killed by the hunter’; most often, however, the distinction of active and passive voice is unmarked, to be inferred from the context. Certain verbs, chiefly verbs of giving, may be followed by both an indirect and a direct object, in that order; otherwise the indirect object is marked by the preposition gěi and placed preverbally.

Verbs may occur in compounds in which the second element indicates result or direction: xiě-qíngchu write-clear, i.e., ‘write clearly’; nà-lái take-come, i.e., ‘bring.’ Such constructions may be further enlarged by the infixes de or bu, investing them with a notion of potentiality: xiě-de-qíngchu ‘can write clearly’; nà-bu-lái ‘cannot bring.’ Verbs are not characterized as far as time is concerned, but various markers are employed to indicate the aspect of actions and events, for instance verb suffixes such as -le, -zhe, -guo, and -qilai, indicating the perfect, the durative, the experiential, and the inchoative aspect respectively; e.g., cì-le xìng zài dòng-shén! take-prf leave then move-body ‘don’t depart without having taken leave!’; tā chī-zhe fàn kàn bào he eat-dur food read newspaper ‘he reads the newspaper while eating’; wūmen měi qù-guo Chāngchēng we (non-inclusive) go-exp long-wall ‘we have never been to the Great Wall’; xiăohăi hārăn kū-qilai le child suddenly cry-inch part ‘the child suddenly started to cry.’

Various particles may occur at the end of a sentence, coloring its meaning; ma, for example, turns an otherwise declarative sentence into a question: nǐ qù-guo Chāngchēng ma you go-exp long-wall-part ‘have you ever been to the Great Wall?’; ba produces a command or suggestion: zānmên zōu ba we (inclusive) leave part ‘let’s go’; le marks a new situation, e.g., bū xìà yì le not descend rain part ‘it doesn’t rain any more/it stopped raining’ versus bū xìà yì le not descend rain ‘it doesn’t rain.’

5.2 Southern Chinese Dialects

The southern dialects are usually classified into six major groups:

5.2.1 Wú

Wú is spoken in southern Jiāngsū (including Shānghǎi), southeastern Anhūi, and by the majority in Zhèjiāng. His estimated 8.5 percent of the total Chinese-speaking population speak WE dialects.

The Wú dialects are characterized by a three-way division of almost all initial stop contrasts into sets of voiceless aspirated and unaspirated and voiced consonants, the dialect group having retained the voiced obstruents found in Middle Chinese. Most dialects have seven or eight tones including two rù tones ending in glottal stop, and all employ intricate rules of tone sandhi. In grammar, Wú differs from northern Chinese in several important ways, for instance in having the direct object placed before the indirect object, a feature typical of southern syntax.

5.2.1.1 Shānghǎi dialect

The dialect of Shānghǎi is rich in initial consonants, with a contrast of voiced and voiceless stops as well as palatalized and nonpalatalized alveolar affricates and fricatives, making 27 consonants in all; the voiced consonants are pronounced with a breathy quality, or murmur. There are two medial semivowels, w and j, 12 vowels, and no diphthongs of the descending type (ai, ou, etc.). Syllables may end in a vowel, in ng, or in glottal stop. The tonal system is not typical for Wú dialects phonetically, Shānghǎi has five tones, but they are related in an automatic way to the initial consonant type (voiceless and voiced) and to the occurrence or nonoccurrence of final glottal stop (rù tones), with the effect that only two of the tones actually have a phonemic function.

5.2.2 Gǎn

Gǎn is spoken in most of Jiāngxī, southern Anhūi, and southeastern Hùběi; Gain speakers are estimated to form 2.4 percent of the total Chinese-speaking population.
The lapse, from the twelfth century, of two ultra-
muted vowels in certain positions initiated the development
of a system of five vowe phonemes, many more
consonant phonemes, many clusters and closed syllables,
and a system in which palatalization is largely independent
of the following vowel, i.e., is largely phonemic.
The vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ have several allophones each,
depending on location of stress, consonantal environment
or the two combined. For example, /a/-/dast/ [dast] ‘he
will give,’ [dal] [da + l] ‘give’ /a/, /jast/ [jast] ‘five,’ /dala
[ja]- /a/- ‘give’ /fem, /yarat/ [yarat] ‘to give out.’

The accent is not fixed and is mobile, shifting in regular
patterns both in declension and conjugation, e.g., stornó
stornó, DAT PL stornó, ACC stornó, NOM stornó, GEN stornó
sorok, PL stornó, etc.

Except as described below, /o/ is replaced in unstressed
syllables by /a/, in a system known as ank é ‘a-saying’
operating also in southern dialects and Belorussian but
not in northern dialects or Ukrainian. Thus ‘town’ appears
as goro /gora/ NOM sing, goroda /gara/ NOM PL,
mezhdugorodny /mezhdugorodny/ /mezhdugorodny/ ‘interurban.’ The last
example illustrates ankan e ‘saying,’ in which /e/ is
replaced in unstressed positions by /i/ (cf. mezhd /mez-
gorod /mezhdugorodny /mezhdugorodny/ /mezhdugorodny/)
‘among, between.’ Ankan e also affects in pretonic pos-
tions, /a/ after palatalized consonants and /i/ and /o/
after palatalized consonants, /y/ and the palatalals /l/ and
let /lét/ /lit/ ‘to fly,’ zheny /joni/ ‘wives’
< zheny /joni/ ‘wife.’ The orthography ignores both
ankan e and ankan e.

There are thirteen pairs of distinctively non-
palatalized-palatalized consonants: /b-n/, /b-ň/, /m-
/m/, /f-f/, /v-x/, /t-t/, /d-ň/, /s-š/, /z-ž/, /n-ň/, /l-
l/, /r-ř/, /k-k/, /g-g/. Consonants /g/ and /x/ have palatalized
allophones, /j/ and /k/ (realized as [ĵ] [k]) are nondistin-
ctively palatalized. In addition there are /tš/, /ť/, /ľ/ and
/ĺ/.

Voiced consonants except sonants are devoiced word-
finally and before voiceless consonants. Conversely, voice-
less consonants are voiced before voiced consonants except
sonsants, /v/ and /x/. Nonpalatalized consonants are
frequently replaced by corresponding palatalized consonants
before palatalized consonants, especially homorganic ones.
Apart from a very few items and the devoicing of /z/ in
prefixes, e.g., ras ~ ras-; iz- ~ is-), the orthography enti-
ably ignores the various consonant assimilations and final
devoicing. Thus: odat ‘to give back,’ sedat ‘
č, /č, čeňat/ ‘to do,’ gorod /gora/.

4. Grammar
4.1 Nouns
The Old Russian system of eight declensions, three numbers
and seven cases has been simplified into a system of three
principal declensions and a vestigial consonant-stem declen-
sion, two numbers and six cases, the dual number and the
vocative case having been discarded.
The feminine declension in -a/-ja declines in the singular
thus: NOM komnata ‘room,’ GEN komnaty, DAT komnate,
ACC komnataj, INSTR komnatoj, PREP (s) komnatoj. A few
masculine nouns are found in this declension. A typical
noun of the ‘masculine’ declension is: stol ‘table,’ stola,
stol, stolom, (na) stole. Neuters decline as masculines
except for nominative and accusative, e.g., okno ‘window,’
PL okna (cf. stol) and, usually, GEN PL —cf. stolov —okon.
One masculine noun is still found in the declension which
is now otherwise feminine, illustrated by chast ‘part,’ chastii,
chastii, chastju, (o) chast.

Nouns of the masculine declension denoting animate
beings use the genitive as an accusative, thus tuzhu ‘hus-
band,’ GEN and ACC tuzhu. The genitive-accusative also
applies to all nouns denoting animate beings in the plural,
of whatever gender: zheny —GEN ACC PL zheny (‘women’).

Remnants of old declensions include an additional geniti-
ve in -u of some masculine nouns (usually partitive in
function): kilo chukiho ‘a kilo of sugar,’ cf. vikus chukiho
‘taste of sugar’; and an extra PREP case in -u of some mas-
culine nouns, having purely locative function: v lesu ‘in the
wood’ (cf. o lese ‘about the wood’).

A vestige of the dual probably explains the NOM PL MASC
in -a instead of -v, e.g., goroda, cf. stoly. The graphic identi-
yty of the old nom dual MASC in -a with the GEN SING in
-a of the same declension has led to the use of the GEN SING
of a noun of any gender with the numerals da da ‘two,’ tri
‘three,’ chetyre ‘four’ and higher numerals ending in these
elements. Numerical syntax is much more complicated by the use
of NOM sing with all numerals ending in odin ‘one’ and
GEN PL with all other numerals: da sta ‘two tables,’ tri-
stit’ tri stola ‘33 tables,’ sorok chetyre stola ‘44 tables,’ sto
odin stol ‘101 tables,’ pijat stol ‘five tables.’

The genitive is not only obligatory in negative partitive
expressions —Net otvo (GEN SING) ‘There is no reply,’
Deneg (GEN PL) ne khvataet ‘There isn’t enough money,’
but is more frequent than the accusative with negated transi-
tive verbs —Skoly (GEN SING) one na brossit / Skolu (ACC
SING) one na brossit ‘She will not give up school.’

Syntactically interesting too is the predicative instru-
mental, standard with certain copula-like verbs and the future
of bit ‘to be’: Ona okazalas / stala / budet sirotoj ‘She turned
out to be / became / will be an orphan.’ With the past tense
of bit both the instrumental and the nominative are found:
V to vremja ja byl studeotom ‘At that time I was a student,’
the nominative being more colloquial. Bit’ has no present
tense: Ona sirotla ‘She is an orphan.’

There is no article, definite or indefinite. The ‘long’ form
of the adjective, with a declension different from that of
nouns, originally expressed ‘definiteness’ but is now simply
the basic form of the adjective and the only attributive
form. The ‘short’ form no longer declines and is restricted to
predicative function, where it simply assigns a property
to a subject —Sohsne velika, a Zenfija mala ‘The Sun
is big but the Earth is small.’ The long form is also used
predicatively, assigning the subject to a class of like entities.
Compare: Vera ochen’ umna (short form) ‘Vera is very
clever’ and Vera ochen’ umnaja (long form) ‘Vera is (a)
very clever (person).’ This distinction, while still active, is
being eroded, especially in colloquial Russian, in favor of
the long form.

4.2 Verbs
The aspect system of imperfective versus perfective, already
active in Old Russian, has led to the reduction of the multi-
ples tenses of Old Russian to just three: past, IMPFV of PREV,
present, IMPFV, only, and future, IMPFV of PREV. The past,
originally a periphrastic participial form, is now reduced to
what was the participle and so changes according to gender and number, while present and future have 'true' conjugations of three persons and two numbers, the future imperfective being periphrastic. Thus: 'to infringe'—IMPVF narushat', PREVF narushit'; past masc narushal/narushil, fem narushala/narushila, neut narushalo/narushilo, pl narushali/narushili; present narushaja, narushaesh', naru-
shtaat, narushaem, narushaete, narushajut; fut IMPVF budu/budesh'/budet/budem/budete/budat narushat', fut PREVF
narushu, narushish', narushi, narushim, narushite, narushat. The two aspects are differentiated formally by prefixation, suffixal changes or a combination of the two and occasionally by suppletion. A complication is the existence of many verbs which are not members of minimal pairs, distin-
guished only by aspect. These form the groups known as sposoby dejstviia, Aktionsarten, 'modes of action.' While associated with a base verb, each Aktionsart, appearing in one aspect only, adds a nuance to the base verb, without forming a plain aspectual counterpart. For instance, stuchat' 'to knock' and has no plain PREVF coun-
terpart: postuchat' PREVF is diminutive or attenuative—'to knock a little / for a short time' and may have to serve in lieu of a plain PREVF; stuknut' PREVF is semelfactive—to give a single knock'; zauchat' PREVF is imperative—to start to
knock'; prostuchat' PREVF is periphrastic—to knock for a certain period of time'; postukivat' IMPVF is intermittent (diminutive)—'to knock (a little) from time to time.' The dozen or so pairs of 'verbs of motion,' while participating in the aspect system, also distinguish between determine (motion in a single direction) and indeterminate (motion not restricted so): On letel v Moskву 'He was flying to Moscow'—On letel v Moskву 'He flew to Moscow
(and back, or several times).'

There are five participles: pres act narushajashchij 'infringing,' pres pass narushaemuj 'being infringed,' past act IMPVF narushaeshhij 'were infringing' and PREVF naru-
shtashhij 'having infringed' and past pass PREVF narushennyj
'infringed.' They decline as adjectives and the two passive ones have short forms, the PREVF pass short form being an indispensable component of the passive voice: Zakon byl
narushen 'The law was infringed.' The two indeclinable adverbial participles, often called gerunds, are, for example, IMPVF narushaja 'infringing' and PREVF narushiv (shi) 'having infringed.' Subordination by means of participles and gerunds, instead of relative and adverbial clauses, is common.

6. Influence of Russian

In varying degrees, Russian has provided loanwords, especially relating to twentieth century life, of technological and cultural significance, for many non-Slavonic languages of the former Soviet Union. An extreme case of such bor-
rrowing from Russian is provided by Chukchi. In Altaic, North Caucasian and easterly Uralic languages subordinating constructions on the Russian model have become common. The languages of many small speech-communities (Ingrin, Veps, Vot, Mordvinian, Siberian languages, etc.) have retreated or are retreating in the face of Russian.

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D. Ward

Russian Federation: Language Situation

Following the collapse of the USSR in 1991 the Russian Federation, consisting of Russia and 16 autonomous republics, became a component of the Commonwealth of Independent States. The vast majority of the population of Russia (approximately 130 million in 1992) are speakers of Russian. At the time of the 1979 census, the main ethnic groups in the other republics, with percentages of the total population of each, were as shown in Table 1. Even apart from the fact that the figures are not recent, they can be taken to give only an approximate indication of the num-
bers of speakers of the languages. In the former USSR the percentage of speakers of the language associated with a given ethnic group varied from 99.8 percent for Russian to about 70 percent for some other languages, with Kazakh

at 47.8 percent being exceptionally low.
phonemes as /β, ð, γ/. Preconsonantal nasals are homorganic. /s/ is realized [z] before a voiced consonant. In most of Andalucía and all America there is no distinction made between /θ/ and /s/; usually they merge as syllable-initial [s] and syllable-final [θ] (or s), but in parts of rural Andalucía as [θ]. The phonemic status of the two semi-vowels /w/ and /j/ is controversial; they might be allophones of /u/ and /i/ respectively. There are only five vowels: /a, e, i, o, u/. Rising diphthongs are much more common than falling. Schwä is not found, but synalepha at word boundaries is normal (diez y once /djiesi θΟνθι/ [djẽjõñẽ] 'ten and eleven'). The preferred syllable structure is CV (ca.56 percent of syllables), which overrides word boundaries (e.g., cual es, 'which is' [kwa+les]), Stress is largely predictable, given morphological information; many monosyllables are clitic. Intonation rarely varies more than an octave.

3. Morphology

The only nominal inflection is plural marking [-s] (post-consonantally [-es]). All nouns in use have to be either masculine or feminine gender, and adjectives display number and gender concord. There is an extensive system of verbal inflections; verbs are marked for number and person concord with their subjects; several paradigms are in opposition according to mood, aspect, relative time, and subjective attitude, in ways still not entirely understood. The citation form is the infinitive, which always ends in a stressed theme vowel [-i]. The majority end in [-a], including all neologisms other than those with the inchoative affix -ecer; the rest end in [-e] or [-i], conjugations most of whose other inflections are shared. Second-person singulars tend to end in [-s], first-person plurals always in [-mos] and third person plurals always in [-n]. Several verbs have systematically patterned variation in their stems: e.g., stressed [je] versus unstressed [e] (tener [tenẽ] 'to have'; tienne [Ψjenẽ] 'he has'), or stem-final [o] before front vowels versus [ok] before others (conocer [konõẽ] 'to know'; conocen [konõko] 'I know'). Irregular verbs usually belong to the [-e] or [-i] category, combining irregular stems with regular inflections. Many verb forms employ auxiliaries, whose repertoire is numerous for progressives, while only haber is available for the perfect (thus he venido pensando 'I've been thinking'; venir 'come'); perects are rarely used at all in Northern Spain. Adverbs are formed off feminine adjectives with -mente. Derivational morphology is widely used; ostensible diminutives (-illo, -ito and others) can be added to any nominal form with almost any meaning (depending on context and intonation); class-changing suffixes are used uninhibitedly (e.g., al turns nouns into adjectives); meaningful prefixes are common, and the fashion for Verb + Plural direct object compounds with agente meaning is spreading (e.g., el tocadiscos, literally 'the play-records,' 'the recordplayer').

4. Syntax

Sentences need no overt subject: e.g., contamos 'we were eating.' llueve 'it's raining.' Some linguists unhelpfully postulate an underlying subject here. Adjectives follow nouns if clarifying the reference of the NP, and precede it if the reference is already clear; in doubt, listeners take the order to be NA. There is no general fixed order of verb and noun phrases; in general, the known precedes the unknown; thus Juan llegó 'John arrived,' if John has already been discussed, and llegó Juan if arrivals but not John have been discussed. SV order is never obligatory; VS is obligatory in wh-questions, outside the Caribbean, and normal in subordinate clauses (la casa en que vivía mi madre 'the house my mother lived in'). OV order is obligatory when clitic pronouns accompany finite verbs (la vi, 'I saw her'). A preposed nominal direct object requires a clitic copy, and in speech an indirect object in any position often has the same effect. Direct objects with particular reference, if misidentifiable otherwise as subjects, take a preposed a (a la reina la vio, vio a la reina, both 'he saw the Queen'); since a marks both direct and indirect objects, and several Spanish speakers make no formal differentiation between direct and indirect object pronouns either, this direct/indirect distinction may be lapsing. The only preposition that can normally link nouns within a noun phrase is a correspondingly meaningless de. Articles are preposed: the so-called 'definite' article (el, la, los, las) is also used in generalizations; partitive use is often marked by the lack of any article.

The use of subjunctive or indicative mood is usually grammatically determined (e.g., pido que 'I ask for,' is always followed by subjunctive), but the so-called 'past subjunctive' can also be used in subordinate clauses for already-known material; the 'past' subjunctive (which has two usually interchangeable paradigms) is in fact atemporal. Grammatically reflexive se is often used with passive or 'impersonal middle' meaning (se abrió la puerta 'the door was opened'); occasionally, in VS sentences of this type but not SV, a plural subject is preceded by a verb with singular concord (sometimes se vende manzanas; usually se venden manzanas; never *manzanas se vende, 'apples for sale'); but this is nowhere the normal usage; linguists have tried and signaled failed to analyze this se as a subject.

5. Vocabulary

The most startling fact about Spanish for an English speaker is the presence of two words for 'to be': estar (<Latin stare 'stand') and ser (suppletively <edere 'sit,' and esse 'be'), only approximately distinguishable as being used for individual circumstances and general statements respectively (and roughly vice versa when used as passive auxiliaries). Linguistic atlases, currently fashionable, show that lexical usage is noticeably not geographically standardized; fish have different names, and the same word may be applied to different fish, in different ports, for example. Latin America has naturally adopted many local words of Indian provenance. Although the inherited vocabulary has been enriched by borrowings from Basque, Arabic, Catalan, French, Italian, Renaissance Latin, Nahua, Quechua, English, etc., most neologisms are more commonly formed via derivational morphology or semantic shift.

6. The Future

Spanish has wide geographical variation but remains a single speech community with a general standard for all to style-shift towards in formal situations; for the Latin-American standard is very similar to the European, and will remain so, given mass communications. Local variations grow beneath the standards, however. For example,
less well than in other Romance languages, and more reliance is placed on clitic elements, like subject personal pronouns and noun determiners. However, it retains remnants of Romance morphological make-up and syntactic structures.

3. History
French continues the Latin import into Northern Gaul by Roman conquerors in the first century BC. It is assumed that the original Celtic inhabitants (substratum) and the Frankish invaders (superstratum) of the fifth century AD influenced the development of the language. Evidence that the ‘Roman’ language differed substantively from Latin dates from the eighth century, although Latin continued to be used for some purposes until the seventeenth century. The very earliest distinctively French texts are mostly hagiographical. Norman England is the source of some of the early literary texts. In the twelfth century, verse texts and also, in the thirteenth century, charters and prose texts, abound. During this Old French period, the written koine allows for regional variation. The Middle French period is seen as transitional, between highly inflected, word-stress Old French and analytic, breath-group-stress Modern French, which triumphed in the sixteenth century, when efforts were made to codify and standardize the language and to extend its scope. In the seventeenth century the usage of the royal court was accepted as the norm, and with few modifications was eventually imposed as the national language, at the time of the Revolution, and in the education system. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries efforts were made to suppress other varieties. In the late twentieth century, less purist attitudes prevailed and the need of a wider francophone were recognized.

There remained, however, a resistance to foreign influences, and to loanwords. Throughout the history of French, there has been moderate lexical borrowing, especially from Celtic (Gaulish) in the Roman period, Germanic (Frankish) in the Dark Ages, Italian in the sixteenth century, and English in the modern period, but most neologisms have derived from Latin or native sources.

4. Earliest Written Records
The first French text is the Strasbourg Oaths, sworn in 842 between two grandsons of Charlemagne, in ‘Romance’ and German respectively, and quoted in a later history. The texts are vernacular translations of Latin formulae, and the Latinizing French version poses problems of localization and interpretation. The short cantilena on St. Eulalia dating from about 880 is less problematic, in that it is clearly a Northern text, in a contemporary manuscript. It contains a number of features not attested later. These may have been written down for non-native (perhaps Germanic) speakers to recite or chant.

5. Writing System
The Latin alphabet is used, with adaptation of superfluous letters, like h, z, j, to depict non-Latin sounds (e.g., ch originally [tʃ], now [ʒ]; z for [ts], now lost; j for [dʒ], now [ʒ]). Modern spelling represents, mainly, twelfth century pronunciation (e.g., oi [œi], now [wæ]; eu [ew], now [ø]). Because of phonetic attrition of word finals through history, spelling today causes problems (e.g., verb forms aimer/aimé ‘(he) loves/(they) love,’ sound the same, as do the inf aimer and the past part aimé). Etymological spelling was often imposed in the early modern period. Moves to reform spelling have usually been resisted (although accents were accepted as the norm in the eighteenth century, to distinguish [e], [ɛ], and [æ]). A new attempt to remedy some of the worst defects of the system has official encouragement.

6. Individual Characteristics
More analytic constructions are preferred to the synthetic constructions of other Romance languages: this is particularly noticeable with the finite verb, which must be accompanied by an overt subject. The placing of object clitic pronouns is subject to strict rule—e.g., the pronoun must be juxtaposed to the verb which governs it, rather than to the main verb of the sentence. Synthetic past and future forms give way to compound (have–perfect) and periphrastic (go–future) forms. The subjunctive mood is reduced almost to a servitudo grammaticale, categorical in certain constructions, and forbidden in others. Written morphological markers are often inaudible in speech, so that, for instance, gender or number agreement is often absent in spoken usage. Noun phrase determiners are usually obligatory and serve to mark gender and number. Freestanding pronouns differ from their clitic counterparts. Negation is expressed principally by postverbal negators, with preverbal ne often omitted in speech. Interrogation, in writing, is usually expressed by inverting the verb and pronoun subject, but in speech more normally by inonation changes only. The acoustic impression given by French in its standard form is of sonority and clarity, with a somewhat monotonous intonation and staccato rapid delivery. As emphasis is not normally secured by word stress, dislocation to the right or left, of items to be highlighted, is frequent. The use of palatal [j], u, of uvular [ʁ], and of nasal vowels, sets French off from most other Romance languages. The first may have always been present—and some ascribe it to Celtic pronunciation. The r grassepé of modern French was ‘vulgar’ before the Revolution. Phonetic nasal vowels may always have existed in French, but were probably not phonologically distinct before the sixteenth century. ‘Mute’ e is a ‘shwa’ sound pronounced only in certain consonantal environments; liaison refers to the pronunciation of some word-final consonants before initial vowels in certain syntactic constructions. Clarity and concision of expression is highly valued in French and the standard remains that of the Classical (seventeenth century) period, in which the use of the mot juste, ‘right word,’ is preferred to flowery phrases, archaisms are rejected, and sentence structures are subject to strict rules, based on reason. Nominalization are often preferred to the use of finite verb forms, as more concise, and permitting the avoidance of subordinate clauses.

7. Sample—A Spoken Text
Nous, on n’a pas pu y aller; toutefois les petits enfants veulent qu’on me lá, mais moi, je ne vais plus me déranger.
‘We couldn’t go; yet the little children want us to be there, but I shan’t put myself out anymore.’

8. Sociocultural Considerations
Spoken also has for stigmati
Louisian features are used in one, and are spoken in the Low in Mauriin the contact the con

9. Overview
In its tendency to be French, the Low in Mauriin the contact the com

1300

Stress on
pronoun
‘one’ co
a pu ‘ce
déranger’
future je
from ne
nunciati
liaison c
e is inde
in je ‘I’,
‘adverbi
correspond
verb.
Th
after for
between
an infini
want to

Within

Adapted

Within

Adapted

Within

Adapted
2.1 Graphology

The Middle English yogh ⟨ȝ⟩ was abandoned early in the period, being replaced by ⟨gh⟩, ⟨y⟩, or ⟨s⟩. Middle English thorn ⟨þ⟩ lasted longer, but by the seventeenth century it had become identical in shape to ⟨y⟩ and was being used only to represent /θ/ or /ð/ in abbreviations or function words like thou or that. It dropped completely soon thereafter.

Throughout the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth, ⟨i⟩ and ⟨j⟩ and also ⟨u⟩ and ⟨v⟩ were allographs of a single grapheme. The ⟨j⟩ was rarely used, and ⟨i⟩ (or ⟨I⟩ in its capital version) represented both the vowel and the consonant /dʒ/. During the same period, ⟨v⟩ stood for both consonant and vowel at the beginning of a word, and ⟨u⟩ for both vowel and consonant elsewhere.

Throughout most of the Early Modern English period, the allograph ⟨i⟩ was used everywhere except at the end of a word, where ⟨s⟩ appeared. The 'long s' was abandoned in the eighteenth century.

After the advent of printing and partly as a result of it, the rules of English spelling and capitalization became fixed, and the modern marks of punctuation were adopted. The comma replaced the virgule in the sixteenth century, and in the eighteenth century the apostrophe became regular for marking noun possessives. The heavier punctuation of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and especially the extensive use of the colon, have gradually given way to the lighter punctuation of today.

2.2 Phonology

For the early part of the period, knowledge about pronunciation is in some ways more limited than about Middle English. Though sources are plentiful, most of them are printed in a standardized spelling, so deviant orthography cannot serve as a clue to pronunciation. Late in Early Modern English the first reliable statements about pronunciation appear, and in the early 1990s there are sound recordings as well as detailed descriptions written in conventional terminology.

2.2.1 Consonants

The major systemic change in the consonant system has been the addition of phonemic /ʒ/ and /s/. Assibilation of poststress /z/ created /ʒ/; /θ/ resulted from the phonemicization of the previously existing allophone [ŋ].

One important change in the distribution of consonants was the late Early Modern English loss of /r/ finally or before a consonant in southern England. This phenomenon was carried to most British colonies, but in American English, -ness was restricted to the eastern seaboard and the South, where it is regressive. Although not characteristic of RP, the voicing of poststress, intervocalic /t/, is virtually universal in American English and can also be heard in Ireland and South Africa. An analogous voicing of intervocalic /k/ is heard sporadically in the USA, suggesting that all voiceless stops in this position may eventually become voiced.

2.2.2 Vowels

Although there are vast differences among dialects, the vowel phonemes of English have remained remarkably stable over the centuries. One of the more obvious distributional changes took place in the eighteenth century, when /æ/ was replaced by /a/ before voiceless fricatives in southern England. This change, however, did not spread to all versions of English and is heard, for example, in the USA only in parts of New England (where it is regressive in the late twentieth century).

The most important phonological event in modern times has been the so-called 'Great Vowel Shift.' Beginning in late Middle English and continuing down to the eighteenth century (longer in some dialects), the long vowels of Middle English came to be pronounced in a higher position, while the highest vowels became diphthongs. In summary, Middle English /æ/ → /aɪ/; /e/ → /eɪ/; /ɛ/ → /eɪ/; /ʌ/ → /u/; /ə/ → /ʊ/; /ɔ/ → /u/; and /ʌ/ → /əʊ/; /ɔ/ → /o/ (various substages and exceptions are omitted here). As a result, any residual phonic distinction between long and short vowels was completely lost.

2.3 Morphosyntax

After the heavy loss of inflections in Middle English, there have been few inflectional changes in the language. In general, the modern period is characterized by standardization and limitation of grammatical options.

Nouns are still inflected for number and the possessive (genitive) case, though the philas possessive with of continues to increase at the expense of the inflected possessive. Similarly, comparative and superlative -er and -est of adjectives remain, but analytic more and most are steadily encroaching on their domain.

Personal pronouns, still the most heavily inflected of all parts of speech, lost the second-person singular thou (thee, thy, thine) and the second-person nominative plural ye during Early Modern English. Its has replaced earlier his as a neuter pronoun. The use of oblique forms of personal pronouns as reflexives has given way to compounds in -self. Among other types of pronouns, the pattern of restriction of function continues: for example, in Present-Day English every cannot be used as an absolute, whether and somewhat are no longer pronouns, and which does not refer to human beings.

The steady change of strong verbs to weak continues in the modern period. By the end of Early Modern English, such verbs as care, climb, and wash were weak; today shave and swell are among the formerly strong verbs becoming weak. The most significant change in verbal inflections during the period has been the complete replacement of -th by -s as the third-person singular present indicative ending.

As English has become more analytic, the number of prepositions has increased greatly. Especially important are the many new phrasal prepositions (e.g., in spite of, with regard to, on the basis of). Although the number of markers distinguishing word classes has declined in the language as a whole, most plain adverbs have become unacceptable, and the -ly ending is obligatory on all but a handful of plain adverbs (hard, fast).

The basic word-orders of English have changed little over the centuries; the modern period has seen primarily minor changes at the phrasal level. One of the most striking developments in modern English has been the great increase in noun adjunct constructions—the very phrase 'noun adjunct
constructions' illustrates the phenomenon. The group genitive, in which the genitive inflection is attached to the final word of the noun phrase (e.g., the woman across the street's cat) is another modern phenomenon.

The most salient feature of the modern verb phrase is its complexity. Although the language had the categories of perfect and passive in earlier periods, the progressive is a modern development. Even more modern is the combination of various aspects within one phrase; a phrase such as should have been been watched would have been impossible two centuries ago. Contributing to complexity has been the rise of various quasi-modal s like have to, keep on, and be going to. These can even be used together, producing long strings such as I don't like to have to keep on nagging you.

The number of phrasal verbs (e.g., wear out, look forward to) has mushroomed in the modern period. The use of do as an auxiliary in interrogative and negative constructions has become universal, but periphrastic do as an alternative to the simple indicative has been lost. To be can no longer be used as a perfect auxiliary, but get has developed as a passive auxiliary, alongside the more formal to be. The inflected subjunctive is almost extinct, though it is marginally less moribund in American than in British English.

2.4 Lexis
During the entire modern English period under consideration here, there have been both external sources (loanwords) and internal sources (new formations) of new words.

2.4.1 Loan-words
Ever since the Norman Conquest, the major sources of loan-words in English have been Latin and French. After the Renaissance, however, other European languages and even many non-Indo-European languages made major contributions.

Unlike the earliest French loans, most of which are so thoroughly assimilated into English as to seem like native words, French loans into modern English are relatively specialized words like compute, jacinth, and negligence. Nearly all loans are from standard Continental French, although American French has provided a few words like bayou and toboggan.

The Renaissance and the Industrial Revolution brought vast numbers of loan-words from Latin, and the influx continues to the present day. Latin loans tend to be learned words—paralysis, carmine, intellect, and thesaurus are typical examples. In the late twentieth century, most new Latinate words entering English are not directly from Latin, but rather are created from previously borrowed Latin or Greek roots and affixes. For example, phytocidal, for which the OED's first citation is 1934, was manufactured from (1) the Greek base phyto-`plant' (first OED citation 1887), (2) -cide, borrowed in French and Latin words such as parricide as early as the sixteenth century, and (3) -al, which appeared on French loans in Middle English and can now be attached to virtually any Classical noun.

With the Renaissance, loan-words from European languages other than French began to enter English, though never in numbers comparable to those from French. Italian has contributed most heavily in the arts, especially music (andante, bel canto, tempo, viola), and the popularity of Italian cuisine has brought in loans like antipasto, minestrone, and risotto. The words borrowed from Spanish and Portuguese reflect the early importance of Iberia in exploration and colonization; many are ultimately from non-Indo-European languages (potato, canoe, mango). More loans from American Spanish include bronco, mesquite, and ranch. Dutch dominance in seafaring gave English such words as deck, smuggle, and yacht, while their school of art has provided terms like easel, landscape, and sketch. Miscellaneous loans such as gruff, uproar, and snoop illustrate the concrete nature of most Dutch borrowings. From Afrikaans have come more exotic words (apartheid, trek, and veldt). English has never borrowed many words from German; among the Early Modern English loans are quartz, noodle, and waltz. Later borrowings include kindergarten, semester, and lager.

In Early Modern English, words like galore, slogan, and trousers were borrowed from one or another of the Celtic languages; later borrowings are primarily from Irish (blarney, brogan, dolmen). Russian has provided a score or so items, from the earlier mammoth and steppe, through the later intelligentsia and vodka, down to the late twentieth century glasnost. The remaining European languages have had little effect on the English vocabulary. Most of their few contributions are highly specialized: Norwegian troll, Icelandic geysir, Swedish tungsten, Hungarian hussar, Czech robot, Polish mazurka.

Non-European loans first began to enter English in significant numbers during Early Modern English. The English settlements in the New World were responsible for such Amerindian words as moose, caucus, and anorak. From the Near and Middle East, English acquired, e.g., jackal, shawl, and yoghurt. Hindi has been the most prolific Asian contributor; a few examples are jungle, shampoo, and chutney. Chinese has provided ketchup, typhoon, and kowtow; Japanese has given soy, origami, and tycoon. Among the few words English has borrowed from African languages are okra, impala, and safari.

2.4.2 Word-formation
English continues to form new lexical items from existing resources. Affixing and compounding remain the most important processes. Functional shift, the use of one part of speech as another without a change in form (e.g., trash as a verb from the noun trash), increased greatly after the loss of most inflections in Middle English. Especially characteristic of Modern English is the verb + adverb combination, as in break up or payoff. Minor processes of word-formation include clipping (sun < vanguard), back-formation (grovel < groveling), blends (apathetic < apathy + pathetic), conversion from proper noun to common noun (pompadour), onomatopoeia (shush), folk etymology (suckeye < sucker), and calques (overtone < German Oberton). Capitalism has given the language common nouns from trade names (heroin, frisbee), while near-universal literacy in most English-speaking areas has allowed a proliferation of acronyms (sonar < so[und] navigation] Aangling).

3. Typical Texts
The texts below illustrate both the relative lack of change in written English over the past half millennium and a number of the minor changes that have occurred. The first is
Dialects which are not readily understood by people from other regions are spoken, for example, in some parts of northern Sweden.

Swedish has influenced the Finnish language (Finland was earlier part of Sweden, and the Swedish minority there is still quite influential). Swedish has also had some impact on the other Scandinavian languages, especially during the twentieth century. A well-known loanword from Swedish into many languages is ombudsmän.

In the seventeenth century, Sweden was one of the great powers of Europe and its scholars developed theories of Swedish as being one of the original languages of the world. The first grammars of Swedish were written at the end of that century. In the eighteenth century, many Swedish dictionaries and grammars appeared, and in 1786 the Swedish Academy was founded by the king to promote the 'strength, purity, and nobility' of the Swedish language.

U. Teleman

Sweet, Henry (1845–1912)

Henry Sweet, usually regarded as the greatest British linguist of the nineteenth century, was born in London on September 15, 1845, the son of a barrister. After a brief period in business, Sweet began to take an interest in languages, and attended some courses in philology at Heidelberg. He was greatly impressed by Bell’s (1867) Visible Speech (see Bell, Alexander Melville) and later took private lessons from him. Sweet did not enter university (Balliol College, Oxford) until he was over 24, but when only a first-year student published an innovative article in the Transactions of the Philological Society, in 1869. Nevertheless, astonishingly, Sweet left Oxford in 1873 with the ignominy of a fourth-class degree, presaging future tribulations in a frustrated academic life.

He then undertook a remarkable series of articles consisting of phonetic/phonological descriptions of European languages. His first book, the Handbook of Phonetics (Sweet 1877), is generally considered to be a landmark in linguistics; Wrenn (1966: 517) claims that it taught phonetics to Europe and made England the birthplace of the modern science. For the Handbook, Sweet developed two alphabets, derived from the earlier work of A. J. Ellis (see Ellis, Alexander John (né Sharpe), and termed ‘broad Romic’ and ‘narrow Romic’ because they employed exclusively Roman letters (albeit capitalized, italicized, turned, or raised). Broad Romic is notable since Sweet (independently of Baudouin de Courtenay; see Baudouin de Courtenay, Jan Ignacy Nieczlaw) identified the kernel of the phoneme concept: ‘in treating of a single language, it is necessary to have an alphabet which indicates only those broader distinctions of sound which actually correspond to distinctions of meaning in language’ (Sweet 1877: 103; see also Phonetic Transcription: History; Phoneme).

Sweet believed that linguistics demanded a thorough practical knowledge of languages, especially of their sound systems. He frequently termed (articulatory) phonetics ‘the indispensable foundation of all study of language.’ This reverence for practical abilities of recognition and imitation was something Sweet was to hand on to later generations of
contiguous German speech area includes the united Federal Republic of Germany (78,000,000 speakers), Austria (7,500,000), German-speaking Switzerland and Liechtenstein (4,500,000), and Luxembourg (330,000), in all of which German has official or national status, either alone or in conjunction with other languages. In addition, German speakers constitute significant linguistic minorities in several European countries: Denmark (20,000), Belgium (125,000), France (1,200,000), Italy (290,000), Hungary (220,000), Czechoslovakia (60,000), Poland (100,000), Romania (360,000), and the former Soviet Union (2,000,000). These numbers are largely due to the expulsion of many Germans from east central Europe after the Second World War.

Outside Europe, there are about 1,500,000 active users of German in the USA, 440,000 in Canada, 110,000 in Australia, 60,000 in Namibia and South Africa, 1,500,000 in Brazil, 300,000 in Argentina, and some 100,000 in other South and Central American countries. Almost everywhere, linguistic assimilation of German speakers has been the norm, the only exception being in relatively closed religious communities such as the Amish and the Hutterites.

2. The History of German

Modern Standard German (customarily referred to by its speakers as Hochdeutsch, that is, 'High German') is descended from the West Germanic dialects spoken by a number of peoples (Franks, Alamanni, and Bavarians) who settled between the Rhine and the upper Danube towards the end of the Roman Empire. These dialects differ from other varieties of West Germanic, notably the Low German (Low Saxon and Low Franconian) of the North German plains, principally through certain consonant changes which occurred between 500 and 700 AD. These changes, known as the Second (or 'High German') Sound Shift, involved the change of inherited voiceless plosives to fricatives or affricates, as the following pairs of words from English (where the inherited consonants have been largely retained) and modern German exemplify:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eng</th>
<th>Ger</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pepper</td>
<td>Peppern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>Wasser</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continuous written records exist in High German from about 750 AD, and the history of German is conventionally divided into four periods. The first, Old High German (750–1050), is chiefly characterized by monastic texts, at that time still sparse, as Latin was the dominant language of literacy. Middle High German (1050–1350) saw the development of secular writing, notably in the poetry of chivalry. The linguistic territory was extended during this period as German settlers moved east across the Elbe.

The period, Early New High German (1350–1650), saw the invention of printing and the Reformation. Up to this time, numerous regional varieties had been in use in writing, including not only distinct regional forms of High German, but also written forms of Low German in the north. During this period, a standard written form of German emerged, based on the writing tradition of Saxony, as used notably by Luther (see Luther, Martin) in his Bible translation. By 1650, this East Central German variety had been adopted to a certain extent in writing throughout the Empire, supplanting other local forms and even replacing the quite different Low German of the north.

However, the process of standardization lasted until well into the fourth period, New High German (since 1650). Nevertheless, standard German was still primarily a written language, and local dialects were for long the norm in speech. By the nineteenth century, though, a prestige pronunciation had arisen based on the north German tradition of speaking written High German precisely as it was spelled, and this was formally codified in 1898.

3. The Structure of Modern Standard German

German differs from other West Germanic languages in that it has participated to a much lesser degree in the general drift from synthetic to analytic structures.

3.1 The Sounds and Spelling of German

Among the more striking features of German phonology are, first, that the opposition of voicing in plosives and fricatives is neutralized in syllable-final position: compare Siebe /zibə/ 'sieves,' but Siede /zeida/ 'sieve.' Second, there is a significant set of affricates, inherited from the Second Sound Shift, including a labial /pf/ and a dental /ts/. Third, there is a set of front rounded vowels, for example, fühlen /fyulan/ 'feel,' füllen /fuulan/ 'fill.'

German orthography is broadly phonemic, although the tense/lax distinction in vowels is not consistently marked. The Latin alphabet is used, with a few modifications, such as the umlaut symbol, employed chiefly for the front rounded vowels. Nouns are capitalized.

3.2 The Morphology of German

The inflectional morphology of German is more extensive than that of any other Germanic language except Icelandic, though the marking of these categories has sometimes changed significantly. The noun four cases, for instance, have become marked chiefly through determiner and/or adjective inflection rather than on the noun itself. The three genders are only indicated through agreement patterns and do not correlate with any phonological or semantic features of the noun.

A noteworthy feature of German morphology is the extensive use of vowel alternations in inflection. Strong-verb ablaut is found in other Germanic languages (cf. singen 'to sing'—past sang—past participle gesungen), but German has also grammaticalized the alternations known as umlaut in many functions, for example, in noun plurals (cf. der Bruder 'brother,' die Brüder 'brothers'), the subjunctive (cf. wir waren 'we were,' wir wären 'we would be'), and adjectival comparison (cf. groß 'big,' größer 'bigger') (<b>/3=</b> /s/).

3.3 German Syntax

The most interesting feature of German syntax is the position of the finite verb. In main clause statements, it is the second constituent, but it occurs first in questions and commands and finally in subordinate clauses. In main clauses, nonfinite portions of the verb phrase are placed finally, forming what German grammarians refer to as a 'bracket construction,' enclosing the other constituents. For example:

Deine Schwester habe ich gestern in der Stadt gesehen.

your sister have I yesterday in the town seen

Almost any constituent, including the direct object, may be...
fronted in main clause statements to function as the topic. The position of other clause-level constituents depends on communicative criteria. Given this variety of structures, it is not clear whether German is to be seen as 'underlyingly' SVO or SOV from the point of view of word-order typology.

3.4 Specimen Text
Die Mutter meines Freundes sagte dem alten Mann, daß sie ihm nicht helfen könne.

Phonemic transcription:
di: 'mutær meinəs 'fruendəs 'za:ktə dem 'a:ltən man də zi: im nɪç\n'helfan 'kəna

Note the marking of case in the noun phrase, the position of finite and nonfinite portions of the verb phrase in main and subordinate clauses, and the use of the subjunctive in indirect speech. Note also that the verb helfen 'help' governs a dative as its second argument, as do a significant number of other verbs.

4. Variation in German
There is substantial geographical variation within the German speech area which, in terms of local dialects, constitutes a dialect continuum from the Alps to the coast—including the Low Countries, since there is no linguistic division between German and Dutch at the level of dialects. The most important division within this continuum is between the High German dialects of the south, which participated in the Second Sound Shift, and the Low German dialects of the north, which did not. The dividing line between these (known as the 'Benrath line,' after a suburb of Düsseldorf through which it passes) runs west-to-east from Aachen to Frankfurt an der Oder. Major divisions within High German are between West Central German dialects (in the Rhineland and Hesse), East Central German (in Thuringia and Saxony), Bavarian (also spoken in most of Austria), and Alemannic (in the southwest, including Switzerland).

The diversity within these dialects and between them and standard German is high, and the degree of mutual comprehensibility is relatively low. It would be impossible for a Swabian and a Saxon, say, to understand one another at the level of local dialect. Few, if any, linguistic criteria link all the speech varieties within this continuum exclusively, and only the long-established perception that these are all forms of German provides a connection, as does the use of the common standard, the importance of which for supra-regional communication and as a unifying symbol of ethnic identity is quite apparent. There is a contrary case in Luxembourg, where the local varieties are no longer perceived by their speakers as forms of German, and a standard Luxembourgish is becoming established.

Remarkable, too, is the sociolinguistic diversity of the German speech area, with stable diglossia in German-speaking Switzerland and various forms of bilingualism in South Tyrol, Alsace-Lorraine and eastern Belgium. The relationship between standard and dialect is by no means uniform over the whole area, although, in general, local forms are more widely used than in England and lack the extreme social stigma which attaches to them there. A common pattern in central and southern Germany is the existence for many speakers of a continuum of variants between near-dialect and near-standard, with two focused varieties perceived by speakers as 'standard' and 'dialect.' These are then used respectively in more public or more intimate situations as deemed appropriate.

5. German in Its Relationship to Other Languages
There is extensive testimony to contact between German and other languages, reflecting its location in the center of Europe and the distribution of German speakers over a wide area. Lexical borrowing from Latin, as the language of liturgy and scholarship, is evident from the earliest times. The long-lasting cultural influence of France resulted in linguistic borrowing from the Middle Ages onward, chiefly in the lexicon, although some morphological elements, such as the verb suffix -ieren, are also of French origin. The twentieth century has been characterized by massive lexical borrowing from English, especially since 1945, reflecting the dominance of American culture in Europe. Puristic reactions to lexical borrowing, which were apparent in earlier times, are no longer significant.

Equally, other languages exhibit economic or cultural influence from German. The importance of the Hanseatic League in the later Middle Ages led to a significant impact of Low German on the Scandinavian languages. The long cultural and political dominance of German in Eastern Europe left a considerable mark on the languages spoken there, especially on Polish and Czech. Indeed, German was preeminent as a language of communication throughout eastern Europe up to 1945, and may reclaim this position in the wake of the political developments of the late twentieth century.

German has been largely confined to Europe and has few important descendants. Pennsylvania Dutch ('Pennsylvania Dutch'), deriving from Palatinate dialects, failed to establish a discrete territory and in the early 1990s has fewer than 100,000 speakers in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Ontario. By far the most significant offshoot from German is Yiddish, whose origin is in the Middle High German spoken by Jews in the Rhineland and areas of south Germany, but which has developed into a quite separate language, with a syntax and vocabulary very different to that of German.

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Greek, Byzantine and Modern

This article describes the last two post-classical periods of Greek: Byzantine and Modern Greek. The continuity of their internal development, despite political expansion, disintegration, and contact with other languages, is a clear example of the identification of a nation with its language.

1. Byzantine Greek

1.1 The Setting of Byzantine Greek

Byzantine Greek almost coincides with the Byzantine Empire in place and time (ca. 535–1453 A.D.). It is characterized by diglossia; written texts follow the Atticizing tradition and the language of the Church. However, the development of the vernacular can be roughly traced between the sixth and twelfth centuries, in sub-literary texts such as Saints’ Lives, Chronicles and political satire. And when, from the twelfth century, the spoken language begins to be used freely in writing, especially in poetry, it already shows the main characteristics of modern Greek.

1.2 Changes and Innovations in Byzantine Greek

Apart from innovations, most of the changes involved the completion or further development of tendencies already present in Koine.

The main phonological changes consisted in: the simplification of a six-vowel system by the slow loss of the high front rounded vowel; the simplification of geminates, whether original or derived in morpheme-sequences; further weakening of final -n. and the semivocalization of a front vowel (i or e) before another vowel.

Inflectional morphology was partly restructured. First by replacement of dative, future, perfect and active participles and infinitive by periphrastic constructions. Second, by paradigm leveling; for example the collapse of the consonantal and a-declensions, the expansion of the aorist verb-stem to the present stem, and the remodeling of the pronouns.

Innovations included new suffixes and compound-types, for example verb compounding was no longer constrained to preposition-plus-verb. Loans from contact languages, mainly Latin, were largely confined to suffixes and lexical items.

2. Modern Greek

2.1 Greek after Byzantium

During the Turkish occupation (1453-1821), few further structural changes took place, for example the final formation of the periphrastic future and perfect. By contrast, there was much lexical loss and also many loans, primarily from Venetian and Turkish. Also dialect differentiation occurred.

With the rise of the new state (1829) the Peloponnesian dialect became the spoken standard, but the form of the written language long remained in dispute. The tension between the archaising Katharevousa 'purified' form and the spoken Demotic 'colloquial' form, well-known under the term Diglossia, was eventually resolved with the official adoption of Demotic in 1974.

2.2 Standard Modern Greek

The spoken and written form of Standard Modern Greek today is basically Demotic, with some Katharevousa influence, such as revival of old vocabulary leading to phonetic doublets; morphological doublets; and the arrest of some Demotic features, such as rizotonic stress.

The early twentieth century saw much cultural lexical borrowing from French, while the later decades show many English loans, in both cultural and technical areas. Even left-headed syntactic compounding has been introduced.

2.3 Brief Outline of Standard Modern Greek

The phonemes are /i e a o u, p t k, f θ s x v θ y, m n l r/. The phonemic status of the affricates [ts dz], the voiced stops [b d g], the palatals, and the semivowel [j] is disputed. Word-initial and medial clusters (up to three members) are permitted, but only [s n] word-finally in native words. Stress remains within the last three syllables of the word, while elides may provoke an additional stress.

Nouns have inherent grammatical gender (masculine-feminine-neuter), and nouns and adjectives inflect for number and case (nominative-accusative-genitive). The verb complex inflects for voice (active-passive), aspect (perfective-imperfective), tense (past-nonpast), modality (indicative-subjunctive-imperative), as well as person-number. There is no infinitive. Greek compounds are overwhelmingly right-headed.

Syntactic constituents are homogeneously left-headed; for example verb + object, preposition + object. Verbal agreement with the subject is accompanied by optional suppression of the subject.

2.4 The Modern Dialects

With the exception of the survival of Tsakonian, all the Modern Greek dialects originated in Koine. Since the expulsion from Asia Minor (1922), almost all Greek dialects are inside Greece proper, except for Cypriot and the South Italian enclaves Bova and Otranto. The dearth of clear isoglosses makes dialect classification somewhat arbitrary. One recent view (Newton 1972) proposes a grouping into Peloponnesian/Ionian, South-Eastern, Northern, Cretan/Cycladic, and the extinct 'Old Athenian.'

See also: Greek, Ancient; Greece: Diglossia.

Bibliography


A. Malikouti-Drachman

Greek, Classical: Lexicography

1. Origins

The forerunners of Modern Greek dictionaries are to be found in the series of glossaries and wordlists which were