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Deixis and Temporal Subordinators

in Pomak (Slavic, Greece)

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Abstract: Deixis expressed by three definite articles is a well-known characteristic of the Pomak varieties, given the absence of grammaticalized definite markers in most Slavic languages. In this paper, we present a practically unknown use of deixis in Slavic languages, namely the use of deictic suffixes in the formation of temporal subordinate conjunctions in Pomak. The deictic suffixes in the temporal subordinator indicate the relation of the process to the situation of utterance, and the choice of the deictic suffix depends on the type of event encoded in the clause. The free temporal subordinator indicates absence of anchoring of the event to the speech time. This study is based on first-hand data of a practically undescribed Pomak variety spoken in Greece.

1. Introduction

In a Pomak variety spoken in Greece, in the Xanthi area, three suffixes specify the location of an entity in relation to the speaker's sphere (-s-), the addressee's sphere (-t-), or away from the speaker and the addressee (-n-). All three suffixes are used in the formation of definite articles and demonstratives (see §3). Two of them, namely -t- and -n-, are also used with temporal values when the space and time are different from that of the situation of utterance: -t- is no longer used for an entity in the addressee's sphere, but for an entity in a past time relative to the situation of utterance¹.

Those uncommon uses allow us to understand the equally uncommon uses of those two deictic suffixes that form temporal subordinate conjunctions which anchor the event to the situation of utterance (for the theoretical framework and terminology of this analysis see Culioli 1971, 1978, 1990 and Robert 2006, also §4.2.1). *Ag'ato/kug'ato* 'when (past)' is used for a past moment in relation to the situation of utterance. *Ag'ano/kug'ano* 'when, whenever', is employed for future moments in relation to the situation of utterance, as well as for habitual events. Absence of these deictics indicates absence of anchoring to the situation of utterance; *ag'a* 'when (no anchoring)' is thus used in fictional narratives (see §4). Immediate anteriority is expressed by prefixing *li* 'immediately, all the time' to the subordinators presented above: *li ga* 'as soon as (no anchoring)', *li kug'ato* 'as soon as (past)' and *li kug'ano* 'as soon as (future)'.

Table 1: *Semantics and uses of deictic suffixes in Pomak I*

	-s-	-t-	-n-	(no deictic suffix)
Noun				
1) Here & now	1) speaker's sphere	1) addressee's sphere	1) distal	indefinite
2) Different space & time	x	2) past moment in relation to the situation of utterance	2) - future & habitual in relation to the situation of utterance; - absence of anchoring to the situation of utterance	
Subordination				
	x	past moment in relation to the situation of utterance	future or habitual in relation to the situation of utterance	- absence of anchoring to the situation of utterance - (conditional)

A tripartite deictic system of definite markers is attested in other South Slavic languages, such as Standard Macedonian, but the constraints of usage are very different from those of Pomak described in this paper (see §3.1.1). Standard Bulgarian makes use of one definite article, based on the *-t-* suffix, while practically all the other Slavic languages have no grammaticalized definite markers.

As far as the use of deixis in the temporal subordinators is concerned, Pomak holds a special place within the Slavic languages. Among the closest related languages, Macedonian does not make any use of the three deictic suffixes in order to form subordinating conjunctions. Bulgarian, on the other hand, uses the *-t-* suffix (also used for the definite article) to form a number of subordinators, but those conjunctions do not enter a system of oppositions related to deictics. The data available for the Rhodope dialects in Bulgaria show a similar use of the deictic suffixes in the subordinators as those described in this paper, but no study is available on their precise values and uses.

Even though the grammaticalization of a definite article is considered to be an areal feature in the Balkans, the extensive use of deixis observed in Pomak temporals cannot be explained through language contact, despite the Pomak speakers' trilingualism with Greek and Turkish.

2. Pomak: sociolinguistic information

Pom'atsko 'Pomak' is the name used for the South Slavic variety spoken by Muslim inhabitants of the Rhodope Mountains in Greece (cf. map 1) who often migrated to other cities or countries during the second half of the 20th century. This study² focuses on a Pomak variety spoken in a village of the Xanthi area I will refer to as Pomak1³.

The language in the village under study is still transmitted to children, contrary to other traditional Pomak speaking villages in Greece, where a shift to Turkish has been generalized. The majority of the speakers in this village are trilingual. The younger generation, men and women, have learnt Greek and Turkish at school, within the "Minoritariste" primary school educational system provided to the Muslim Minority since the Lausanne Treaty (1923). Elder women are sometimes monolingual or, most frequently, have basic communicational skills in Greek and Turkish (see Adamou and Drettas 2008).

Pomak is often described as a conservative South Slavic group since it has for example preserved a case system, in contrast with the most closely related South Slavic languages that developed an analytical system for those functions. This feature is important since loss of the case system is one of the features distinguishing Bulgarian and Macedonian from Serbian for example.

Naturally, this approach can be questioned given that on other points the system can be described as an innovative one, as for example in the case of the overt expression of deixis

and its use for the temporal conjunctions described in this paper. Moreover, Pomak also shares some Balkan *Sprachbund* properties, such as “will” future, subjunctive, dative/genitive merger (observed in the Pomak1 variety), postposed articles, and to some extent evidentiality (see Adamou 2008; for evidentiality as a Balkan feature see Friedman 2004).

The Pomak spoken in Greece has a special interest for the study of South Slavic because it had little contact with modern Bulgarian, standard or dialectal, during the greatest part of the 20th century (except for the few years of Occupation during the Second World War when education in Bulgarian was obligatory), and therefore did not undergo any changes due to standardisation practices, as did the varieties spoken in Bulgaria (Kanevska-Nikolova 2001).

Pomak varieties in Greece are still practically undescribed because, within a context of shift to Turkish, the Pomak language is submitted to political and ideological conflicts that make fieldwork research extremely difficult to conduct. Still, educated Pomak speakers, most often in collaboration with Greek authors, have participated in the publication of dictionaries, grammars, teaching methods for foreigners and other material such as folktales and songs (see Theoharidis 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1996c, Rogo 2002, Kokkas 2004a, 2004b).

3. Deixis and noun modification

The Pomak variety under study has a three-term *person-oriented* deictic system, the deictic centre being not only the speaker but the addressee as well (see Anderson & Keenan 1985). Innovating temporal uses also occur for the definite articles and are described in 3.1.2.

Table 2. *Deictic suffixes in Pomak1*

-s-	speaker’s sphere; here and now
-t-	addressee’s sphere; past moment related to the situation of utterance
-n-	distal (not located in the participants’ spheres); future, present moment related to the situation of utterance; no anchoring to the situation of utterance

Those three suffixes form the definite articles and the demonstratives presented below (see §3.1.2 and §3.2.2).

3.1. The definite articles

3.1.1. Definite articles in the South Slavic languages

Definite articles are an exception within the Slavic languages: they have only been grammaticalized in some South Slavic languages (namely Bulgarian, Macedonian and all the non-standardized varieties spoken in Greece), while their grammaticalization in some dialects of North Russia is controversial (see Breu 1994, Kasatkina 2008). In an areal perspective, postposed articles are a well-known Balkan Sprachbund property -shared by Romanian, Aromanian and Meglenoromanian, as well as Albanian- even though their development is probably equally influenced by each language's diachrony as well as by their mutual reinforcement through multilingualism (Asenova 2002).

As is generally admitted, definite articles are grammaticalized from demonstratives (Lyons 1999). In the case of South Slavic, written sources show that, by the 13th century, the postposed Old Church Slavonic⁴ demonstratives were grammaticalized into clitic demonstratives, and then into clitic articles: see Gălăbov (1950), Svane (1961, 1962), Mirčev (1964) or more recently Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Vulchanov (in press); for a discussion of the status in the modern languages see Elson (1976); for a detailed diachronic model of definiteness in Bulgarian see Mladenova (2007).

The threefold definite article is traditionally considered in the literature as a “conservative” feature (Miletič, Koneski, Cyxun), following the analysis that the whole of South Slavic has gone through a phase of grammaticalization of three definite articles and then developed in some varieties to a single definite, while in others the three definites were maintained. Divergent analyses exist, arguing convincingly that the three-term definites are

innovations of specific varieties but didn't develop to all the South Slavic languages (Mladenova 2007: 319-325 also citing Velčeva-Bojadžieva and Šaur).

In a synchronic perspective, the use of a one-term or three-term definite article requires a different dialectological analysis than the traditional dialectal classifications of South Slavic in terms of 'Eastern-Western' dialects following the phonetic distribution of the *jat*. Among the modern South Slavic varieties that have a grammaticalized definite article, the ternary deictic definite system is found in three geographic areas: this is the case of some Macedonian dialects and is the norm for Standard Macedonian (see Table 3); most of the varieties of the Rhodope Mountains (in Bulgaria and Greece), as well as some varieties that are spoken in Eastern Serbia (next to the Bulgarian border).

All the other South Slavic varieties that have developed a definite article are using a one-term system, usually based on the *-t-* form: this is the case of Standard Bulgarian and Bulgarian dialects⁵, the Eastern Macedonian dialects and the South-West Slavic varieties spoken in Greece (Drettas 1990, Adamou 2006). Some varieties are said to be in an unstable situation, evolving from the ternary to the single term system (Kanevska-Nikolova 2006, and fieldwork notes Adamou 2005-2006 for Evros Pomak2)⁶. The existence of two-fold definite systems is controversial (for a critical analysis see Mladenov 1990).

Furthermore, it is important to note that even among the ternary systems, the parameters and the morphological distribution can differ. It would be interesting to know whether some differences observed are due to different analyses or to effective differences of the systems. For example, Kanevska-Nikolova (2006: 79) describes the Rhodope definite system as what can be named after Anderson & Keenan's (1985) terminology a *distance oriented* system (the speaker being its centre, in pragmatic or spatial terms), while in Mladenova (2007: 318) the Rhodope system is clearly described as *person-oriented*. The most recent descriptions of

Macedonian also centre its system on the speaker (Minova-Gurkova 1997, Friedman 2002; and for a different analysis Topolinjska 2006):

Table 3. *Deictic suffixes in Standard Macedonian's definite articles*

-f/v-	close to the speaker
-t-	unmarked (no indication to the distance)
-n-	away from the speaker

The same split is found in the analyses of OCS demonstratives: for example, in Vaillant (1964: 140) the system appears to be distance-oriented while in Feuillet (1999: 148) it is described as person-oriented. According to Marchello-Nizia (2006) this sort of distinction could indicate different states of the language and is thus important to specify.

3.1.2. *Definites in Pomak1*

The definite article⁷ is suffixed to the noun, the adjective or the tonic possessive pronoun and the possessive adjective. Three deictic suffixes are used in Pomak1 to form definite articles. The choice of the deictic suffix depends on two types of parameters:

1/ For here and now situations the system depends on whether the entity is considered as being part of the speaker's sphere, the addressee's sphere, or none of them. According to Anderson & Keenan (1985), this type of system is named *person-oriented*.

Deictic systems are generally described in 'close vs. distant' terms: close to the speaker, close to the addressee, away from the speaker and the addressee. Still, it is broadly admitted that pragmatic parameters generally rule those systems (Levinson 2004). In order to account for those uses, the term 'personal spheres' is preferred here (Bally 1926, Marchello-Nizia 2006).

In Pomak1, even though in most cases, the 'sphere' could appear to be spatial, other examples show that the system is determined by pragmatic and discursive criteria as well. The

objective distance can thus be manipulated according to pragmatic criteria, but such uses will not be developed in detail here.

-s- : ‘speaker’s sphere’

- (1) *ʃe mi p'ane kinit'o-so*⁸
MOD 1SG.DAT fall.3SG mobile-DEF.S

‘The mobile phone will fall from me!’

(The speaker has the mobile phone in his pocket) (S, M1, 8, Pmk, Ell, Tur)⁹

This definite is also used with a strong possessive meaning.

-t- : ‘addressee’s sphere’

- (2) *bul'uz-at ti je h'ubaf*
t.shirt-DEF.A POSS.2SG is.3SG nice

‘Your t-shirt (your sphere) is nice.’

(The addressee is wearing the t-shirt) (S, F5, 15, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

-n- : ‘distal (not located in the participants’ spheres)’

The suffix *-n-* is used for objects that are not included in the participant’s spheres.

- (3) *j'ela nah kap'uje-ne*
come.IMP.2SG to doors-DEF.DIST

‘Come to the entrance door (elsewhere).’

(The speaker is out of the house, the addressee is sitting at the balcony, and the entrance door is on the side of the house, away from both and not visible to any of them) (S, M3, 13, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

We should also note that in the variety described here, the deictic system does not seem obsolescent among younger speakers, contrary to other Pomak varieties which tend to reduce it.

2/ When the entities are situated in a different space and time, then the speaker adopts a temporal set of uses of the definite articles. In such cases, only the *-t-* and *-n-* articles are concerned, the *-s-* leading back to a spatial-temporal reading ‘here and now’. Therefore, the addressee’s *-t-* article no longer concerns the addressee’s sphere but the past, while the *-n-* distal article is used for entities in the future, habitual in relation to the situation of utterance as well as for the situations with no anchoring to the situation of utterance (all ‘non past’ and ‘non here an now’ situations):

***-n-* : ‘future moment in relation to the moment of utterance’**

(4) *na sf'adba-na* *je n'adena-m t,šerv'en-en* *fust'an*
 at wedding-DEF.DIST MOD wear-1SG red-DEF.DIST dress
 ‘At the wedding I’ll wear a red dress.’ (Q, F2, 30, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

***-t-* : ‘past moment in relation to the moment of utterance’**

(5) *na sf'adba-ta* *bex sas t,šerv'en-et* *fust'an*
 at wedding-DEF.LOC.PAS was.1SG with red-DEF.LOC.PAS dress
 ‘At the wedding I wore a red dress.’ (Q, F2, 30, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

-s- : ‘speaker’s sphere’

- (6) *na sf`adba-sa sam / `ima mn`ogo ins`an*
at wedding-DEF.S am.1SG / is.3SG a,lot people
‘I’m at the wedding. There is a lot of people.’ (Q, F2, 30, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

3.2. The demonstratives

3.2.1. Demonstratives in the South Slavic languages

In data available for South Slavic, demonstratives and definite markers do not seem to follow the same development within a variety and certainly not at the same speed. For example, even though the demonstrative system in Pomak1 is a three-term system, used in the same way as the definite system, in other close Pomak varieties (Kokkas 2004a: 22), demonstratives form a twofold system based on a ‘close-distant’ spatial contrast¹⁰, while the definite articles form a three-term person-oriented system. This difference in speed is also observed in Nashta, where a single definite article is in use, while demonstratives present traces of an old ternary system ‘distal / proximal / unmarked’. In the same way, Standard Bulgarian has a two-term demonstrative system, the *-t-* suffix being used either as proximal (when contrasted) or as unmarked as far as distance is concerned, while the *-n-* suffix indicates distance. On the other hand, Standard Macedonian presents the same tripartite system in the demonstratives as in the definite articles.

Mladenova (2007: 318) also signals this lack of symmetry in deixis between the articles and the pronominal and adverbial systems in her account of dialects (the so called mixed systems).

3.2.2. Demonstratives in Pomak1

Demonstratives in Pomak1 also follow the double deictic system depending on the space and time. They have both exophoric and endophoric uses. The demonstratives have different forms according to the noun's gender and number:

aisvak (m.), *aisos* (f.), *aisva* (n.) and *aises* (m/f.pl.) *aiseva* (n.pl) for close entities, *ainvak* (m.), *ainos* (f.), *ainva* (n.) and *aines* (m/f.pl.) *aineva* (n.pl) for distant entities and for some future, habitual time related to the situation of utterance, or for a moment with no anchoring to the situation of utterance; and *aitvak* (m.), *aitos* (f.), *aitva* (n.) and *aites* (m/f.pl.) *aiteva* (n.pl) for entities close to the addressee or for a past moment related to the situation of utterance.

Here are some examples:

'speaker's sphere'

(7) *ais'os je d'æd-va-sa k'oſta*¹¹

DEM.S is.3SG grand,father-POSS-DEF.S house

'This (my sphere) is grand-father's house.' (Q, F2, 30, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

'addressee's sphere'

(8) *ts'alo aitiv'a je jad'e-f*

all DEM.A MOD eat-2SG

'You'll eat all of this (your sphere).' (S, F8, 21, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

'distal'

(9) *ain'os l'elka hi z'æla je b'ef'bin evr'o*

DEM.DIST aunty POSS.3SG.F took.PRF AUX.3SG 5 000 euro

'That aunty of hers, she has got 5 000 euros.' (S, F5, 15, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

‘past moment in relation to the situation of utterance’

- (10) *dve gud'ini napr'ef mand'ili-te b'exa tšerv'eni*
 two years to, the, scarfs- were.3SG red
 front DEF.LOC.PAS
- 'oti b'eŋe ait'os m'oda-ta*
 because was.3SG that.LOC.PAS fashion-DEF.LOC.PAS

‘Two years ago, the scarfs were red because that was the fashion.’
 (Q, F2, 30, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

3.3. Deictic comparison markers, quantifiers and relatives in Pomak1

The three deictic suffixes *-s-*, *-t-*, *-n-*, are also used within comparison markers (*kaks'o* / *kakt'o* / *kakn'o* “as”) and quantifiers (*aisolk'os* / *aitolk'os* / *ainolk'os* “this much”, “that much”) in a quite productive manner. Note that in other villages of the area, systems differ: for instance *kakn'o* “as”, is also used for ‘simultaneous duration’ (sharing those two usages with Greek), while it is not attested in my corpus of Pomak1 and *ag'a* is given in questionnaires. Deictic suffixes can also be encountered partially for manner (*ais'i* “this way” / *ain'i* “that way”).

Relatives also follow the deictic system according to space and time:

‘addressee’s sphere’

- (11) *gjuʒl'ut,fi-te ʒ'æ-te n'osi-f par'atika sa*
 glasses-DEF.A which-DEF.A wear-2SG ugly are
 ‘The glasses that you wear are ugly.’ (Q, F5, 15, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

‘speaker’s sphere’

- (12) *gjuʃl'ut.fi-se ʒ'æ-se n'ose-m ais'a j'atse sa h'ubavi*
glasses-DEF.S which-DEF.S wear-1SG now very are nice
‘The glasses that I wear now are very nice.’ (Q, F5, 15, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

‘past moment in relation to the moment of utterance’

- (13) *gjuʃl'ut.fi-te ʒ'æ-te n'osex lan'i b'exa gulj'ami*
glasses-DEF.LOC.PAS which-DEF.LOC.PAS wore.1SG last,year were.3PL big
‘The glasses that I wore last year were big.’ (Q, F5, 15, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

‘future moment in relation to the moment of utterance’

- (14) *gjuʃl'ut.fi-ne ʒ'æ-ne ʃe k'upe-m sa tʃerv'eni*
glasses-DEF.DIST which-DEF.DIST will buy.1SG are red
‘The glasses that I will buy are red.’ (Q, F5, 15, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

4. Subordinate clauses

4.1. Subordinate clauses in the South Slavic languages

According to Cyxun (1981) and Mladenova (2007), the use of the particle *-to* in relative pronouns and conjunctions is an innovation, characterizing the Eastern South Slavic area: the Rhodopean dialects are the “centre of innovation in regards to the introduction of overt definiteness” (Mladenova 2007: 243). In this perspective, the uses of the deictics as described in this paper should also be viewed as innovative for South Slavic.

Indeed, conjunctions with *-to*, deriving from the demonstrative, are found relatively late in the written sources. Analyzing the damaskin¹² texts, Mladenova (2007: 242) signals a

split between uses with or without *-to* for relative pronouns and conjunctions; the relative *deto* being the most frequent. Concerning the temporal conjunctions, she notes 96.88% uses of *koga* and a single use of *kogato* “when”; the latter being nowadays used in Standard Bulgarian. In Standard Macedonian, despite the use of a ternary definite and demonstrative system, there is no use of deictic suffixes in the temporals as the one observed in Pomak1; the speakers of the standard language use the temporal conjunction *koga* “when”.

4.2. Subordinate clauses in Pomak1

Together with the Slavic subordinators, many loans from Greek and Turkish are used in Pomak1. Subordinating conjunctions are indeed high in the borrowability hierarchy in language contact settings (Matras 1998, 2007). In Pomak, some result from old contact, and are well integrated in the language (as Greek *oti* “because”), while some result from recent contact (as Turkish *tam* “just as”), and thus are unstable and in competition with Slavic markers.

We will now focus on temporal subordinators based on these deictic suffixes.

4.2.1. Deixis in temporal subordinate clauses

In Pomak1 temporal subordinators combine reference to the situation of utterance and reference to the situation of the process through the use of the deictic suffixes as follows¹³:

1/ Presence of a deictic suffix indicates the anchoring of the utterance to the situation of utterance: *ag'a-to*, *g'ato* or *kug'ato* “when (past)”, *ag'a-no g'ano* or *kug'ano*¹⁴ “when (future), whenever”. Absence of deictics indicates absence of anchoring to the situation of utterance (*ag'a*). Thus, the temporal marker with no deictic suffix is used for folk tales, jokes

and other narratives, fictional or not. *Ag'a* seems to be taking over some conditional uses, too, while the form *ga* is specialized for causal usage.

2/ The choice of the deictic suffix indicates the relation between the situation of the process and the situation of utterance.

The 'addressee's' *-t-* suffix, in *ag'a-to*, is used for a 'past' event in relation to the situation of utterance. The 'distal' *-n-* suffix, in *ag'a-no*, refers to a generic or habitual time-frame and future reference.

Table 4. *The temporal subordinating conjunctions in Pomak1*

<i>ag'a</i>	"when"	no anchoring to the situation of utterance (24, 25, 26)
	"if"	(conditional) (34)
<i>ag'ato/kug'ato</i>	"when"	past moment in relation to the situation of utterance (15, 16, 17)
<i>ag'ano/kug'ano</i>	"when"	future moment in relation to the situation of utterance (21, 22, 23)
	"whenever"	or habitual in relation to the situation of utterance (18, 19, 20)

The interclausal relation is determined both by the subordinators and the TMA markers (on the importance of the complex TMA system in adverbial clauses in Bulgarian, see among others Fielder 1985, Guentchéva 1995).

Note that the three temporal markers presented above are not specialized in a specific type of temporal interclausal relation: for example *ag'ato* is used for anteriority, posteriority, simultaneity, terminus a quo, while all three markers can express anteriority (for this terminology see Kortmann 1997).

To describe the system of Pomak1's temporal subordinators, I shall be using the terminology developed by Culioli (1971, 1978, and 1990) about the notion of situational anchoring, relating the *situation of utterance* (Sit0) to the *situation of the process* (Sit2), and applied by Robert (2006: 170) to the study of deixis and subordination in Wolof. Culioli has defined

three types of relations between Sit0 and Sit2, often, but not uniquely expressed by TMA markers: the situation of the process may be different (\neq) from the situation of utterance, towards being identical ($=$) to it, or have no relation to it (ω).

Pomak1 temporal conjunctions express those relations as follows:

Situation of utterance and situation of process are different: Sit2 \neq Sit0

When the space-time frame of the denoted situation (Sit2) is different from the space-time of the utterance (Sit0), Pomak1 uses the deictic suffixes *-n-* and *-t-* to form the temporal subordinators. The *-t-* suffix, ‘close to the addressee’, is used for the ‘past’ in relation to the situation of utterance, while the ‘distal’ *-n-* suffix is used for ‘habitual’ and ‘future’ events in relation to the situation of utterance.

***-to* : ‘past moment related to the moment of utterance’**

- (15) *ag'a-to* *fpræh* *k'oſta-ta* *be* *izgorj'ala*
 when-LOC.PAS arrived.1SG house-DEF.LOC.PAS AUX.3SG burned,down.P.PRF
 ‘When I arrived, the house was burned down.’
 (On a past event) (Q, F8, 21, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

- (16) *kug'a-to* *be* *duſl'ala* *n'iki jed'a* *mer'enda pavut'o*
 when-LOC.PAS AUX.3SG came.P.PRF Niki ate.3SG Merenda ice,cream
 ‘When Niki came, she ate a Merenda ice-cream.’
 (On a past event) (Q, F5, 15, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

(17) *ag'a-to* *b'e.fe* *lan'i* *ait'us* *im'a.fe* *kr'opa* *k'osa*

when-LOC.PAS were.2SG last,year here had.2SG short hair

‘When you were here last year, you had short hair.’

(On a past event) (Q, F2, 30, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

-no : ‘habitual, generic, future moment related to the time of utterance’

(18) *ag'a-no* *st'anva* *sf'adba*

when-LOC.HAB.FUT happen.3SG marriage

zb'ira *sa* *ts'alo* *s'elo-so*

gather.3SG REFL all village-DEF.S

‘Whenever there is a marriage, the whole (of my) village gathers.’

(On local traditions) (Q, F8, 21, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

(19) *ag'a-no* *umr'e* *bunn'o* *ni* *pr'ave-t* *v'olta*

when-LOC.HAB.FUT die.3SG someone NEG make-3PL walk

‘Whenever someone dies, they don’t take a *walk*¹⁵.’

(On local traditions) (Q, F2, 30, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

(20) *ag'a-no* *d'ojde* *nj'akuf* *politik'os*

when-LOC.HAB.FUT come.3SG some politician

f.fe *d'ava* *nj'akvo* *'ervo*

always give-3SG some public,work

‘Whenever a politician comes, he always offers some public work’.

(Conversation about politicians and their politics about the villages)

(Q, F2, 30, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

Below some examples of the use of *ag'a-no/ kug'a-no* for future events:

- (21) *kug'a-no* *d'ojde* *ʃe* *[h]i* *gu* *'onesa-m*
when-LOC.HAB.FUT come.3SG MOD 3SG.F.DAT 3SG.M/N.ACC bring-1SG
'When she comes, I'll bring it to her.'

(The speaker has a gift to give to a friend who is not at the village at the moment)

(S, F5, 15, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

- (22) *ag'a-no* *mi* *punarast'o-t* *m'ufka* *det'i-se*
when-LOC.HAB.FUT 1SG.DAT grow,up-3PL a,little children-DEF.S

ʃe *d'ojde-me* *nah* *par'isi*

MOD come-1PL to Paris

'When the (my) children grow up a little, we'll come to Paris.'

(Future plans) (Q, F2, 30, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

- (23) *ag'a-no* *fprje-s* *na* *plat'ia-na*
when-LOC.HAB.FUT arrive-2SG at square-DEF.DIST

f'ati *nah* *lj'avana* *str'ana*

seize.IMP.2SG to left side

'When you arrive at the central square, take the left side.'

(Instructions in order to locate a place in the village) (Q, F8, 21, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

The choice of the temporal subordinator in Pomak1 doesn't depend on the TMA choice, even though some TMA are more frequent for a given subordinator, since it relates to a past or future event. The following examples illustrate that: in 24 and 25 the speaker gives two possible versions, changing the TMA markers while maintaining the temporal subordinator *ag'ano*.

- (24) *ag'a-no* *ima* *sf'adba* *zb'ira* *sa* *s'elo*
when-LOC.HAB.FUT have.3SG marriage gather.3SG REFL village
'Whenever there is a marriage, the whole of the village gathers.'

(On local traditions) (Q, F2, 30, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

- (25) *ag'a-no* *e* *imalo* *sf'adba*
when-LOC.HAB.FUT AUX.3SG have.PRF marriage
zb'iralo *sa* *e* *s'elo*
gather.PRF REFL AUX.3SG village

'Whenever there was a marriage, the whole of the village gathered.'

(On local traditions) (Q, F2, 30, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

Also see the examples 15 and 16 illustrating the fact that the subordinator's choice is not determined by the TMA.

No anchoring of the situation of process in the situation of utterance: Sit2 ω Sit0

When there is a *break* between the space-time of the process and the space-time of the utterance, Pomak1 does not use deictic suffixes, but the free subordinator *ag'a* (*kug'a* is not

attested in such use). In this case, the process is not anchored in relation to the utterance. This subordinator is almost exclusively used in fictional narratives and tales (the habitual *ag'ano* subordinator is very seldom encountered):

(26) *ag'a sa v'ornal-i dve gud'ini sj'etne ud alam'anie*
 when REFL return.EVID-3PL two years after from Germany

uti/fl'il-i da plat'ə -t jajts'a-na
 go.EVID-3PL to pay-3PL eggs-DEF.DIST

‘When they returned, two years later from Germany, they went to pay the eggs.’

(Nasradin joke) (S, M3, 70, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

(27) *ag'a uti/fl'il-i po udv'ode sr'e stal-i m'ajka mu*
 when go.EVID-3PL more out meet.EVID-3PL mother POSS3SG.M

‘When they went a little further, they met his mother.’

(Nasradin joke) (S, M3, 70, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

(28) *ag'a je fprj'ala je razv'orzala tšuv'al-an*
 when AUX.3SG arrived.PRF AUX.3SG untied.PRF bag-DEF.DIST

‘When she arrived, she untied the bag.’ (Folk tale) (S, F3, 7, Pmk, Ell)

The constant use of *ag'a* in tales is also confirmed by other corpus of the area, such as the tales published in Theoharidis (1995)¹⁶ and Kokkas (2004b).

Identification between the two situations: Sit2 = Sit0

When the space-time of the denoted situation is identified with the space-time of the utterance, Pomak1 could, in theory, use the ‘proximal to the speaker’ deictic suffix *-s-*, but in practice no such usages were attested during my fieldwork. When asked, the Pomak1 speakers say they cannot use *ag’aso*. An educated speaker from another village of the area thought this was a logical possibility, making a clear parallel with the threefold definite system, but still had difficulties in producing any such examples. Still, in the Rhodope dialects in Bulgaria, *gasu* seems to be still in use (p.c. Kanevska-Nikolova).

4.2.2. Deixis and immediate anteriority

Immediate anteriority is also marked differently according to the type of discursive anchoring. Immediate anteriority is expressed by prefixing *li* to *ag’a* (becoming *ga*) for situations with no anchoring to speech time, to *kug’ano* for a future event related to the situation of utterance or for some habitual event, and to *kug’ato* for past events.

Table 5: *Immediate anteriority subordinating conjunctions in Pomak1*

<i>li ga</i>	“as soon as”	immediate anteriority in a moment with no anchoring to the situation of utterance
<i>li kug’ato</i>	“as soon as”	immediate anteriority in a past moment in relation to the situation of utterance
<i>li</i>	“as soon as”	immediate anteriority in future moment or habitual event with relation to the situation of utterance
<i>kug’ano</i>		

As an adverb *li* in Pomak1 means:

- 1) 'immediately', e.g. *li r'ipnala* 'she hopped immediately';
- 2) 'all the time, constantly', e.g. *li r'uka* 'she was calling all the time'.

Li is also a yes-no interrogative particle, as was already the case in Old Church Slavonic, and as commonly found in many other Slavic languages (there have been many studies on the meaning and placement of *li* in Slavic languages). Example in Pomak1:

h'ubeve li ste? 'Are you OK?'
j'ala li si? 'Have you eaten?'

In Bulgarian, *li* is used as a subordinator with a meaning close to the conditional (Guentchéva 1995).

Below some examples of immediate anteriority in Pomak1:

***li kug'ato* 'immediate anteriority-past'**

(29)	<i>li-kug'a-to</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>r'ekah-</i>	<i>stan'a</i>
			<i>me</i>	
	immediately-when-	3SG.M/N.ACC	said-1PL	became.3SG
	LOC.PAS			

'As soon as we said it, it happened'. (S, F2, 30, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

***li kug'ano* 'immediate anteriority-future/habitual'**

(30)	<i>li-kug'a-no</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>razbud'i-f</i>	<i>z'œ[mi]</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>telef'on</i>
	immediately-when-	REFL	wake,up-	take.IMP.2SG	1SG.ACC	telephone
	LOC.HAB.FUT		2SG			

'As soon as you wake up, call me.' (Q, F2, 30, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

- (31) *li-kug'a-no* *sa* *je* *r'adalo* *d'ete-no*
 immediately-when-LOC.HAB.FUT REFL AUX.3SG was,born.PRF child-DEF.DIST
- d'avali* *mu* *sa* *fik'er*
 were,giving.PRF 3SG.M/N.DAT AUX.3PL sugar
- ‘As soon as the child was born, they were giving him sugar.’ (Q, F2, 30, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

***tam* ‘immediate anteriority, past moment related to the moment of utterance’**

tam (from Turkish) ‘just as, as soon as’¹⁷, is external to the native system relative to the time of utterance. Thus, language contact, first through loan, but then finally through conceptual pressure in case of stable contact situation, might trigger the change of the Pomak system of temporal conjunctions.

- (32) *tam* *fpræh* *faf* *isk'et,fe zæ* *ma* *telef'on*
 just,as arrived.1SG in Isketshe took.3SG 1SG.ACC telephone
- ‘Just as I arrived in Isketshe (Gr. Xanthi), s-he called me.’ (Q, F2, 30, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

5. Polyfunctionality

Some of the adverbial subordinators presented above are polyfunctional.

5.1. Conditionals

***Ag'a* : from 'temporal' to 'hypothetical'**

It is very common cross-linguistically for temporal subordinators to express conditional or hypothetical meanings (Traugott 1986). In Pomak1, *ag'a*, also has a hypothetical meaning, even though the most frequent subordinator is *ak'u*.

(33) *ni p'oje-m n'ema da 'ida-m faf panepist'imjo*

ag'a

if NEG study-1SG not,have.3SG to go-1SG in university

'If I don't study, I won't go to the university.' (Q, F3, 7, Pmk, Ell)

***ak'u* 'conditional'**

This is the most frequent conditional subordinator in Pomak1, used for both realis and irrealis clauses.

(34) ***ak'u*** *'ifta-t da 'ida-t da sa utʃ'o-t faf panepist'imjo-no*

if want- to go-3PL to REFL study-3PL in university-

3PL

DEF.DIST

tr'æva da 'ima-t h'ubavi kit'ape ut ðimotik'o-no

must.3SG to have-3PL good books from primary-DEF.DIST

'If they want to go to study to the University, they must have good books since the primary school.' (Q, F2, 30, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

(35) ***ak'u*** *ne r'aboti t.fylj'æk-an mi*

if NEG work.3SG husband-DEF.DIST POSS.1SG

ʃe da d'ojda nah s'elo

MOD MOD come.3SG to village

'If my husband doesn't work, he will come to the village.'

(Q, F2, 30, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

(36) *ak'u beh zn'ala*

if AUX.1SG knew.P.PRF

ʃe beh rud'ila dr'ugo-no d'ete po napr'ef

MOD AUX.1SG gave,birth.P.PRF another-DEF.DIST child more to,the,front

'If I had known, I would have had another child earlier.' (Q, F2, 30, Pmk, Ell,

Tur)

5.2. Causal

Ga: from 'temporal' to 'causal'

It is also common cross-linguistically for temporal subordinators to express causality. In Pomak1, *ga* also has some causal uses, most probably derived from the temporal *ag'a* after phonetic erosion. The use of *ga* presents the cause-effect relation as obvious and has a strong discursive component. The causal clause with *ga* usually precedes the main clause.

(37) *ga n'ema-me tumaf'il ni h'ode-me nah den'iz-en*

since not,have-1PL car NEG go-1PL to sea-DEF.DIST

'Since we don't have a car, we won't go to the sea.' (Q, F2, 30, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

(38) *ga ni fte-f n'ema da h'ode-me*

since NEG want-2SG not,have.3SG to go-1PL

‘Since you don’t want, we won’t go.’ (Q, F2, 30, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

’oti: causal

The other causal subordinator *’oti*, is probably a loan from New Testament Greek *’oti* ‘because’. In the causal clauses with *’oti*, the main clause generally precedes the subordinate clause.

(39) *ait’us tr’æva da je let’alo*

here must.3SG to AUX.3SG rained.PRF

’oti sab’alahin be j’atse m’okro p’ot-en

because in,the,morning was.3SG a,lot wet street-DEF.DIST

‘Here, it must have rained because this morning the street was wet.’

(S, F8, 21, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

(40) *gu ni ift’æ ’oti v’ika gjo je par’atik*

NEG wanted.3SG because say.3SG supposedly is.3SG ugly

3SG.M/N.ACC

‘She didn’t want him because, she says, supposedly he’s ugly.’ (S, F5, 15,

Pmk, Ell, Tur)

(41) *k’opel-an hi je dal sindʒ’ir*

boy-DEF.DIST 3SG.F.DAT AUX.3SG gave.PRF necklace

’oti j im’ala du’omgyny

AUX.3SG had.PRF birthday

because

‘The boy offered her a necklace because it was her birthday.’ (S, F5, 15, Pmk, Ell, Tur)

6. Conclusion

The study of the Pomak variety spoken in the Xanthi area (Greece) reveals an interesting use of deixis in the formation of temporal subordinators, indicating the anchoring of the event to the time of utterance while the choice of the subordinator indicates the type of event encoded in the clause. Absence of a deictic suffix indicates the break between the situation of utterance and the situation of the process.

This is an uncommon phenomenon among Slavic languages, even though a more common one cross-linguistically as shown in this volume. More research needs to be done, both in a synchronic and diachronic perspective, on this phenomenon that has received practically no attention in South Slavic studies.

Map 1: *The traditional Pomak-speaking area in Greece*



Abbreviations

ACC - accusative; AUX - auxiliary; DAT - dative; DEF.A - definite addressee's sphere; DEF.DIST - definite distal; DEF.S - definite speaker's sphere; EVID - evidential; F - female; GEN - genitive; ELL - Greek; IMP - imperative; LOC.HAB.FUT - located in the habitual/future of the moment of utterance; LOC.PAS - located in the past of the moment of utterance; M - male; MOD modality; N - neutral; NEG - negation; POSS - possessive; PRF - perfect; P.PRF - past perfect; PMK - Pomak; Q - questionnaire; REFL - reflexive; S - spontaneous; TMA - Time, Mood, Aspect; TUR - Turkish

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¹ Similar spatio-temporal uses are observed cross-linguistically, see for example the case of Nêlêmwa in Bril (2002).

² Fieldwork was conducted in 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2009 by the author with the financial support of the laboratory LACITO, CNRS, France.

³ Given the political pressure on Pomak speakers, within a context of linguistic shift to Turkish, I decided not to mention the villages' names, despite the obvious interest this would present in a dialectological perspective. Pomak1 stands for the village of the Xanthi area and Pomak2 for the village of the Evros area. I sincerely thank the speakers who accepted to participate in this study.

⁴ Old Church Slavonic [OCS] refers to the eldest available Slavic documents, mostly ecclesiastical. OCS extends from the 9th to the 11th century and is classified as South Slavic.

⁵ The distinction between 'Bulgarian' and 'Macedonian' dialects depends on the authors and their ideological background. Bulgarian linguists have long considered the whole of the South Slavic varieties as 'Bulgarian' dialects, despite variation and important structural differences; the demarcation line being with Serbian. Since the standardization of Macedonian, and reinforced by the creation of an independent Republic, the term 'Macedonian' has slowly made its way to the international bibliography. Within this context, where linguistics are linked with politics, we choose to apply the term 'Bulgarian dialects' for the varieties situated

in Bulgaria, ‘Macedonian dialects’ for those in FYROMacedonia - even though for Macedonian linguists, the ‘Macedonian’ dialects go beyond these borders (in Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Kosovo). For the denomination of Slavic in Greece see Adamou & Drettas 2008.

Moreover, the terms ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ are in this context highly connected to political and ideological factors. Therefore, we use ‘varieties’ as a linguistic term for oral tradition languages seen in their diversity. Nevertheless, it is obvious that from a linguistic point of view those South Slavic standard languages and non-standard varieties are closely related and are part of the same linguistic diasystem.

⁶ In Greece, in a village of the Evros area, the system has been reduced to the *-t-* definite, while possessive uses of the *-s-* article occur occasionally. I consider this change to be a loss; the speakers in their metalinguistic comments mention three articles, which are not found in their oral productions.

⁷ Indefinite nouns have no articles; they may be preceded by the numeral ‘one’ which is not a fully grammaticalized indefinite article.

⁸ There are many loan words from both Greek and Turkish in Pomak1. I do not signal their origin, the Pomak morphology and syntax being respected in most cases.

⁹ Each example is followed by a description of the context. I systematically signal if the example is spontaneous (S), for data recorded or not, or extracted by questionnaire (Q). The questionnaire consists in translating from Greek a sentence that was usually produced in Pomak by a speaker, in natural speech, but that I didn’t have the chance to record.

The speaker's gender (male M, female F) is followed by an identification number valid for this paper. Are also noted the age and the languages spoken by the consultant: Pmk stands for Pomak, Ell for Greek and Tur for Turkish. All data were collected between 2005-2007 by the author.

¹⁰ *izí* (m.), *isáy* (f.), *izí, isáy* (n.) and *iséy* (pl.) for close entities, *inazí* (m.), *ináy* (f.), *inazí, ináy* (n.) and *inéy* (pl.) for distant entities.

¹¹ Note that the vowels /o/, /e/, /a/ when accentuated are diphthongized [u'ó], [j'é], [j'a], and, when not accentuated, are reduced.

¹² Translated literary texts of a religious and didactic nature, in what is referred to as Modern and for some of them Middle Bulgarian (17th-18th century).

¹³ This is not a unified analysis for all the Rhodope varieties using deixis in the temporal conjunctions. Observations based on short term fieldwork in a Pomak variety in the Evros department in Greece, show a different system whose understanding requires further research (fieldwork notes Adamou 2005-2006). Moreover, a quick look on data from Siroka Laka (Bulgaria) in Sobolev (2001), doesn't seem to corroborate the uses observed in Pomak1, even though deictic suffixes are very frequently used with temporal subordinators. It would be interesting, among others, to compare with Kabasanov's description of Tixomir (1963), a Rhodope variety in Bulgaria, very close to the Greek border, spoken by Muslims.

¹⁴ Variation between *kug'a-no/to* (based on the interrogative *kug'a*) and *ag'a-no/to* (based on the temporal subordinator *ag'a*) depends on the speaker's age and possibly his education;

older speakers, or younger ones with little education, seem to prefer *ag'a-*, although I have not conducted any precise sociolinguistic study on this topic. In any case, both forms are accepted by the speakers when asked.

¹⁵ This term refers to a special social event that takes place in the afternoon, when unmarried girls walk in the main village street in front of the boys in order to make a potential match. This walk takes place in two villages of the area and gathers young people from the surrounding villages.

¹⁶ In this corpus, segmentation is not always accurate, sometimes including the auxiliary 'be' or the reflexive.

¹⁷ *tamam* 'at the same time' and *li tamam* 'as soon as', are known to be used in Pomak but did not figure in our corpus. *Tamam* is also used in Macedonian and Bulgarian.