GRAMMATICAL GENDER IN GREEK-TURKISH CODE-SWITCHING: THE CASE OF MUSLIM MINORITY IN WESTERN THRACE

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Abstract

The current thesis aims to investigate the set of factors operative in gender assignment process in Greek-Turkish nominal constructions, that is in code-switching where Greek determiners (gendered) and Turkish nouns (non-gendered) are combined together. MacSwan (2005) using the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1995) suggests that in determiner-noun code-switches determiners can only stem from the gendered language, since it encodes the largest amount of uninterpretable features compared to the non-gendered language it interacts with, while nouns as non-function words might as well originate in the non-gendered language. Likewise, Matrix Language Frame was proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993b) in an attempt to set up a theoretical framework within which insertional CS production occurs and is framed by constraints. The latter theory posits that in bilingual speech only on language is dominant, the Matrix Language, while other-language constituents stem from the Embedded Language(s). Bilingual NP Hypothesis complementing MLF model suggests that system morphemes can only stem from the Matrix Language. As opposed to system morphemes, content morphemes may be lexical items from the Embedded Language. In either way, Matrix language accounts for the morpho-syntactic frame in bilingual speech. This results in DPs where Matrix Language, that is Greek, is responsible for determiner. Drawing on the abovementioned frameworks, a 20-person sample of Greek Turkish bilinguals were called to participate in the Director-Matcher task. Through this controlled elicitation and artificial technique Greek-Turkish bilinguals were instructed in such a way that they were prompted to use Turkish nouns within Greek phrases and sentences. Except for the Director-Matcher task, the same subjects were asked to reply to an online linguistic questionnaire where they had to answer crucial for this research questions as well as to evaluate their language skills. The results from the Director-Matcher task

indicate that Greek-Turkish bilinguals in Western Thrace use neuter as default, while phonological and analogical factors play no role in gender assignment to Turkish nouns. Significantly enough, the persistent use of neuter in the data points to that, despite the perpetual affiliation of Greek and Turkish among the bilinguals in Western Thrace, they treat Turkish nouns as foreign. This study shows that this is true even for the bilingual system of individuals who are members of a community that has been bilingual for a century. Furthermore, the prevalence of neuter as default gender in Greek-Turkish nominal constructions proves the claim that the criterion determining the factors based on which grammatical gender is assigned to the nouns depends on the language pair under study. Another essential issue which drew my attention while transcribing the data I recorded is the absence of articles (definite or indefinite) in several data points (n=124). It is necessary to highlight that these occurrences do not adhere to the rules of Greek syntax and as, a result, violate the grammaticality of the Greek language system. Last but not least, this study confirms that neuter is the default gender in Greek.

Keywords: Code-switching, grammatical gender, Greek, Turkish, Muslim minority, Western Thrace.

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List of Abbreviations

ACC   accusative

ADJ   adjectıve

ADV   adverb

AN   analogical

ART   article

CP   complementizer phrase

CS   code-switching

DET   determiner

DM   declensional morpheme

DP(s)   determiner phrase(s)

DS   declensional suffix

EL   Embedded Language

FEM   feminine

G   gender

GAT   Batı Trakya Genç Akaemisyenler Topluluğu (Young Academicians'
            Community of Western Thrace)

GEN   genitive

GR   Greek

INDEF   indefinite

IPA   International Phonological Alphabet

LF   Logical Form

MASC   masculine

ML   Matrix Language

MLF   Matrix Language Frame

MP   Minimalist Program

N	noun
NEUT	neuter
NOM	nominative
NP(s)	noun phrase(s)
OBJ	object
PH	phonological
PL	plural
PF	Phonetic Form
S	stem
SING	singular
SUBJ	subject
TR	Turkish
V	verb
WTP	Western Thrace Pomak

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1. Introduction

1. 1 Background

My unabated interest in the Turkish language since 2009 and my proficiency in Greek, which is my native language, rendered the exploration of the Muslim minority located in Western Thrace an exciting, challenging and interesting task for me.

The Muslim minority situated in Western Thrace, which can be traced back to the Ottoman era, endured a period of language transformation, instructed by the policy of the Turkish government. This resulted in a relatively uniform speech community who interacting with the official language of the country, Greek, contributes to the production of different language contact phenomena. To some extent, the contact between these two official languages is likely to have created a variety deviating from the norms of Greek and Turkish spoken in the rest of the two countries, namely Greece and Turkey.

In addition, the existence of more than two languages in the region, including Pomak and Romani, the speakers of which are educated in Turkish-Greek bilingual schools creates a unique situation awaiting to be studied by researchers interested in language contact phenomena.

1. 2 Goals and Expectations

Besides the fact that the research of the Greek-Turkish bilingual community in Western Thrace may involve different approaches and researchers coming from distinct fields of social science, this thesis aims to find out which factors interfere with the choice made by the Greek-Turkish bilinguals concerning gender assignment to Turkish nouns. Through this study, I attempt to investigate how and why the Greek-Turkish

bilinguals in Western Thrace opt for a specific gender in lieu of the other when code-switching involves DPs consisting of a Greek determiner and a Turkish noun. In other words, I aim to find out whether the aforementioned bilinguals are to opt for masculine, feminine or neuter for the Turkish nouns, as well as, which factors contribute to this process. These criteria have already cited in the existent literature by several researchers. However, a wide range of studies conducted so far, indicate that factors governing gender assignment to other-language nouns are not categorical and show variability in importance and degree.

1. 3 Outline of Thesis

The present thesis consists of five chapters. In the first chapter, *Introduction*, I present the context surrounding the current research, the approach deployed to collect the data and what this study aims at. Chapter 2 introduces the historical background of the Turkish speaking Muslim minority in Western Thrace, including information about the linguistic identity and habits of the certain speech community. Chapter 3 provides a short review on the study of CS, in general, and of grammatical gender assignment to code-switched DPs, in particular. Furthermore, this chapter outlines the language system of Greek and Turkish and gives basic information on Pomak, based on the existent literature. It, also, gives an insight into the position of grammatical gender in the Greek language system. Chapter 4, first, demonstrates the method through which I collected the data and the way I approached them. Second, it provides some basic information on the sample of participants contributing to my research and shares the concrete nouns used for the Director-Matcher task. In the same chapter I discuss the data and give my own explanation for them. Lastly, in chapter 5, I summarize the results and provide my interpretations regarding them. In this chapter, I refer to the

shortcomings arising from the methodology I use, but also to the way my thesis contributes to the study of grammatical gender assignment to code-switched DPs. Last but not least, I make my suggestions for future work on the same language pair.

2. Muslim Minority in Western Thrace

2. 1 A Short History of Muslim Minority in Western Thrace

The Turkish-speaking Muslim minority located in Western Thrace in the northeast of Greece could be seen as the last remnant of the Ottoman domination lasting for almost seven centuries in a region which was eventually integrated by the Greek Kingdom in her territories as stated in the Treaty of Peace signed at Lausanne on 24 July 1923. This Treaty of Peace along with the Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish populations also known as the Lausanne Convention signed on 30 January 1923 settled the long-standing conflicts in the Balkans and the Ottoman Empire by demarcating the boundaries between the Empire and the contiguous Balkan countries and simultaneously stipulating the conditions that each part should meet with regard to hetero-ethnic or hetero-religious minorities (Asimakopoulou and Cristidou-Lionaraki, 2002: 226). Today this region consists of three regional units: Evros, Rhodope and Xanthi (*Tr.* Evros, Rodop, İskeçe· *Gr.* Έβρος, Ροδόπη, Ξάνθη).

Despite that Bulgaria, Greece and the Ottomans had blatantly manifested their interest in Thrace even before the Balkan Wars, after the Lausanne Treaty Bulgaria who inherited the largest part of Western Trace in 1915 by the Ottomans had to give up claiming this geographical part since it designated the Greek-Turkish borders (Divani, 2000:167). Thus, Greece owned the geographical part bordering Turkey to the east across the river Evros. This meant that hundreds of thousands of people who migrated during the constant warfare or lived as a minority group within the boundaries of the newly established states should be protected by bilateral and international agreements.

On the other hand although the Ottomans had already expressed their intention concerning the fate of Western Thrace through the National Pact (Misak-ı Millî)[1] in 1920, they had to relinquish their claims on this territory due to their unfavorable position alongside the Central Powers at the end of the World War I.

Along with the Lausanne Treaty, the Convention concerning the compulsory population exchange was concluded between Greece and Turkey on 1 January 1923. The process of exchange started on 1 May 1923. The Convention included the Muslim citizens of Greece excluding the Muslims of Western Thrace and those who lived at the eastern border of Greece delineated by the Treaty of Bucharest on 10 August 1913, while on the part of Turkey, Rums, namely Greek speaking Orthodox Christians had to depart from Turkey, except for Rums who lived in Istanbul since before the Armistice of 11 November 1918 at Mudros (Asimakopoulos, 2013: 21). Exempt from the bilateral population exchange were also the Greek-Orthodox inhabitants of Imbros and Tenedos, although these islands were ceded to Turkey[2].

According to the demographic statistics of that time the Muslim population of Western Thrace was 98,000 while the Rum population in Istanbul was 220,000. However, upon the constant call of Turkey for numerical balance between the two minorities, the Lausanne Treaty gave the Muslim population who left Western Thrace during the period 1913-1923 the opportunity to return and to settle anew in the region. This explains the reason why the number of Muslims who were entitled with the right

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[1] With respect to the Turks of Western Thrace the 3rd article of the National Pact stipulates that the status of the region in question be determined by the votes of its inhabitants. This was rather reasonable looking at the demographic distribution of the region. Western Thrace was inhabited by ethnic Turks, amounting to 40 per cent, without specifying whether this percentage refers also to Turkish-speaking but not ethnically Turkish, by ethnic Bulgarians, almost 35 per cent, by people of Greek origin, 25 per cent, and approximately 5 per cent was comprised of Circassians, Jews, Armenians and other minority groups. Considering the constant massive population movements these rates have been fluctuating over the wartime (Asimakopoulos, 2013: 18-20).

[2] See the official page of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs: http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkish-minority-of-western-thrace.en.mfa. Accessed April 10, 2017.

to return to Western Thrace amounted to 106,000 (Asimakopoulos, 2013: 22 & Divani, 2000: 174).

The demographic statistics mentioned in the Turkish references do converge with those mentioned in the Greek historiography. According to official demographic statistics in 1951 the population of the Muslim minority in Western Thrace was 105,092 while based on various researchers the rate of Muslims in Western Thrace during the 1950s fluctuated from 115,000 to 120,000. In 1991 as indicated in the demographic records by Asimakopoulou and Christidou-Lionaraki the number of Muslims in the region under study was 105,000 (Asimakopoulou and Christidou-Lionaraki, 2002: 230). On the contrary, according to an announcement published by the Greek Foreign Minister in 1999 the number of Muslim minority in Western Thrace did not exceed 98,000 Muslims while the analytical proportion of ethnic groups under study displayed 50 per cent Turks, 35 per cent Pomaks and 15 per cent Roma[3]. The same result was reached through the statistics of 2002 led by the Turkish Foreign Ministry according to which the Muslim minority of Western Thrace consisted of 98,000 persons. On ethnic grounds in 1995 it was calculated that Muslim minority in the area comprised 48 per cent Turks, 35 per cent Pomaks and 17 per cent Roma (Asimakopoulou and Christidou-Lionaraki, 2002: 231-232).

It is worth mentioning that the vast majority of Greek scholars reasonably in accordance with the Greek government choose to emphasize the religious identity of the minority groups residing in Western Thrace rather than treating each individual as a unit of an ethnically uniform group (see Divani 2000, Asimakopoulou and Christodou-Lionaraki 2002, Dragonas and Fragkoudaki 2006, Asimakopoulos 2013,

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[3] See Information Service of Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece http://www.hri.org/MFA/foreign/musmingr.htm Accessed April 6, 2017.

Pardalis 2014). In contrast to the majority of Turkish scholars, Greek scholars refer to this minority by putting forward its religious identity, namely 'Muslim'. In turn, when it is considered necessary (e.g. for academic purposes) do categorize the ethnic groups of Muslim minority as 'Pomaks', 'Turks', and 'Roma' instead of naming them just 'Turks'. On the other hand Turkish scholars at home and abroad treat the minority of Western Thrace as entirely Turkish (see for instance İbrahim Şerif 2008 and Yeliz Kulalı 2015). Such descriptions are consistent with the policy each part has been adopting over the years. According to several Greek records, Turkey, especially through education and political propaganda, struggled to unify the different ethnicities found in this minority by homogenizing all the units and to eliminate their differences by providing them with a Turkish-Islamic education. On the contrary, Turkish politicians blamed Greece for segmenting a minority group uniform in terms of religion and ethnicity.

What is crucial for the current study is the percentages of the Muslim people in Western Thrace who speak Turkish, Pomak and Romani. According to the statistics cited by Tsitselikis in 2004 Turkish was spoken by the 95 per cent of the minority, as first or second language, Pomak was spoken by 20 per cent and Romani only by 3 per cent as first language (Tsitselikis, 2004: 411). These percentages reveal the exceptional position of the Turkish language among Muslim residents of the region, while at the same time disclose the linguistic diversity dominant in this area which corresponds to the ethnic identity each individual owns (see 2. 4 and 2. 5).

2. 2 Renaming the Muslim Minority in Ethnical Terms

As noted in the previous section, the Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish populations[4] signed by Greece and Turkey and attached to the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923 emphatically refers to the Muslim minority exclusively in religious terms. Despite this terminology, which admittedly reflected the demographic reality of the Muslim population remaining in the Greek lands, consecutive political developments, analyzed below (see section 2. 3), promoted the prevalence of the Turkish language and culture and, consequently, led to the construction of a Turkish identity which, as time elapsed, was adopted by the majority of the Muslim population to various extents.

According to Pardalis (2014: 58), the inception of the Cold War in 1947, two years after the end of the World War II, accounts for the preference of the Greek government to give up using the term 'Muslim' in favor of 'Turkish'. Apparently, Greece opted for using an ethnical term when defining the minority since the former sought to prevent a potential Bulgarian influence over the population who constituted a lure for the Balkan states. Thus, the 'Muslim minority' was renamed to 'Turkish minority' by the Greek government.

Conversely, after the deterioration of the Greek-Turkish relations, when the issue of Cyprus arose, Greece took some serious steps in order to weaken the leverage of Turkey over the Muslim minority who, at that time had already developed a strong affiliation with the Turkish consulate. The Greek policy thenceforth adheres to the policy which either puts forward the ethnical diversity of the Muslim minority or

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[4] The most bizarre element pertaining to this Convention is the contradiction between its title and its content; although its title refers to a community consisting of ethnically Turkish population, its content alludes to the same community by using religious terms (See http://www.mfa.gov.tr/lausanne-peace-treaty-vi_-convention-concerning-the-exchange-of-greek-and-turkish-populations-signed-at-lausanne_.en.mfa Accessed April 15, 2017).

highlights its religious uniformity by using the term 'Muslim'. On the contrary, the policy of Turkey involves treating the Muslim minority in Western Thrace as a wholly ''Turkish national minority'' (Tsitselikis, 2004: 411 & Dragonas and Fragkoudaki, 2006: 23).

2. 3 Educational System Applied to Muslim Minority in Western Thrace

I assume, that since Muslim minority under study consists of three different ethnic groups out of whom two, that is Pomaks and Roma, come into contact with the Turkish language for the first time at school and presumably neither at home nor outside the school environment do they speak Turkish, looking at the years they spend at school enables us to gain an insight into their proficiency in Turkish. A noteworthy observation made by Sella-Mazi in 1997 is that approximately 30 to 40 per cent of the minority members were illiterate (Sella-Mazi, 1997: 90).

The indispensable right to a bilingual education is recognized by a set of international conventions and bilateral agreements. These include the Lausanne Peace Treaty of 1923, subsequent bilateral agreements, as well as international texts recognized by Greece after the end of the World War II consisting of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1976) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1990). Signing these agreements the Greek government was responsible for providing the Muslim minority in Western Thrace with a series of rights such as the right to a bilingual education (Pardalis, 2014: 51). This was a natural outcome for the minority under study as it is the only hetero-religious group formally recognized by the Greek state.

Even though the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 set the legal frame within which the education of Muslim Minority in Western Thrace was established[5], bilateral agreements between Greece and Thrace complemented and formulated the educational system operational today in the region of Western Thrace where Muslim groups inhabit. Such bilateral agreements were signed in 1951, 1968 and 2000 and incorporated in the Treaty of Lausanne. Finally, the educational affairs of Muslim minority residing in Western Thrace were also regulated by a handful of laws, decrees and ministerial decisions issued in 1977 and 1995[6] (Pardalis, 2014: 52).

The Greek-Turkish Agreement signed on December 20, 1968 postulates the accord of both parties for the Turkish language to be the language taught in the minority schools. It also assigned Turkish as the language of the materials used in these schools and in the school libraries. Significantly, the Article 5 of the same Agreement established the principle of toleration and respect towards the national, racial and religious consciousness of the students in these schools (Tsitselikis, 2004: 423).

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[5] Under the Article 40 of the Lausanne Peace Treaty ''[Greek] nationals belonging to [Muslim] minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as other [Greek] nationals. In particular, they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense, any charitable, religious and social institutions, any schools and other establishments for instruction and education, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religion freely therein''.

In addition The Article 41 of the same Treaty guarantees the medium of instruction and other financial rights regarding education according to which: 'As regards public instruction, the [Greek] Government will grant in those towns and districts, where a considerable proportion of [Muslim] nationals are resident, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such [Greek] nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision will not prevent the [Greek] Government from making the teaching of the [Greek] language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of [Greek] nationals belonging to [Muslim] minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budgets for educational, religious or charitable purposes.

The sums in question shall be paid to the qualified representatives of the establishments and institutions concerned' (see http://www.mfa.gov.tr/lausanne-peace-treaty-part-i_-political-clauses.en.mfa. Accessed April 5, 2017.

[6] Given this context, we should not disregard the role of Greek-Turkish relations which undoubtedly impinged on the fate of Muslim minority in Western Thrace and how the Greek state treated its members. Integral to the Greek-Turkish relations is 'the principle of reciprocity', implying that what is agreed by both parts to happen in the Muslim minority in Western Thrace is also applicable to the Greek Orthodox minority in Istanbul.

Crucially enough, according to Pardalis, during the 1930s and the 1940s the positive climate between the two countries resulted in the Greek-Turkish agreement in 1930, which confirmed the friendship between the two states and consequently paved the way for new steps in favor of both of the minorities especially in the realm of education. In effect, within the succeeding six years, the number of minority schools in Western Thrace, as they are called, culminated and the Turkish state took over the dispatch of teachers conversant with and supporters of the Kemalist principles along with the Latin alphabet, new minority schools promoting modern ideas were set up, the existent teaching staff was obliged to conform to the new directions instructed by the Turkish government, new preachers appointed by the Turkish government arrived in the region and Muslim students living in Western Thrace were entitled to Turkish scholarships covering all their expenses while studying in Turkey. The Turkish government by interfering with the social, religious and educational affairs of the Muslim minority managed to limit the role of Islam in every sector and, thus, contributed to the Turkification of the whole minority. Pardalis highlights that this is the point when historians detect the first symptoms of Turkish nationalism among the members of the Muslim minority. During the World War II (1939-1945), Western Thrace was conquered by the Bulgarian army. Although there was no a noteworthy change within the Muslim society the Bulgarians tried to restrict Turkish nationalism. To that end, they replaced pro-Kemalist teachers with conservative ones and the transfer of Muslim students to Turkey for educational purposes was prohibited. In turn, the Pomaks were treated differently by their Bulgarian conquerors. In particular, in the Pomak villages, situated in the lowlands of Western Thrace, the language taught at school was Bulgarian instead of Turkish. Furthermore, through a set of such policies the Bulgarians sought to propagate the Bulgarian nationalist agenda based on the notion

that Pomaks were descendants of Bulgarians who converted to Islam after the occupation of the region by Muslim sovereigns (Pardalis, 2014: 54-55).

In the 1950s, as a result of the gradual extermination of the Greek Orthodox minority in Istanbul on the part of the Turkish authorities and due to the rising tension in the relations between Greece and Turkey owing to the violent incidents against the Rums, the Greek state implemented a set of discriminatory practices against the Muslim minority (Pardalis, 2014: 51). Along with the Turkish aggression at the expense of the Rum population in Istanbul and Smyrna, Cyprus became the bone of contention for the two neighbor countries. At the same time, the Greek authorities were highly concerned about the expansion of Turkish nationalism and the domination of the Turkish language in the Muslim minority (Dragonas and Fragkoudaki, 2006: 22 & Pardalis, 2014: 58). Given these points which instigated the tense climate and caused a rift between the two countries, the Greek government struggled to impose on the Muslim population in Western Thrace by impounding the influence of the Turkish consulate through which Turkey maintained the control over the Muslim minority in the region. The final resolution of the long-standing conflicts between the two states occurred in the 1990s[7].

In the interval, there were several conflicts and a constant pressure which was exerted on the two minorities. In particular, upon the establishment of the modern Turkish state, the secularization of Turkey and the subsequent imposition of a large set of reforms restricting the unique position of Islam in social and political life as was for instance the replacement of the Arabic alphabet from the Latin alphabet[8] encountered

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[7] For a retrospective approach to Greek-Turkish relations during the 20th century and how they affected the Muslim minority see Konstantinos Pardalis (2014), *The Greek-speaking Education of Muslim Children of Western Thrace and the Intercultural Frame of Secondary Education Language School Manuals in the Development of Greek-Turkish Relations* (in Greek) (Thessaloniki: University of Macedonia).

[8] For a detailed review on the abrupt transformation of Turkey see Erik J. Zürcher (2004), Turkey: A Modern History, (London: I. B. Tauris & Company).

much opposition and reluctance stemming from the conservative parts of the Muslim minority in Western Thrace. This reaction was also motivated by the Greek authorities who promoted a religious conservatism among the members of the Muslim minority in Greece (Dragonas and Fragkoudaki, 2006: 21-22). Nevertheless, the Greek state succumbed to the Turkish pressures and applied the reform package in 1930 after the bilateral agreement signed by both the Greek Prime Minister, Eleftherios Venizelos and the Turkish Prime Minister, İsmet İnönü. As a result of this agreement the old religious books with texts written with the Arabic alphabet were replaced by new books inserted by Turkey written with the Latin alphabet. In addition, new schools which promoted the modern ideas of the Turkish state were established and education became an integral part to the life of the Muslim minority (Pardalis, 2014: 54).

The data published in a Greek newspaper 'Free Step' (Eleftheron Vima) on February 16, 1935 shed some light to the number of minority schools operated in this year: In 1935 there were 300 minority schools, 12,000 students and 300 minority teachers. Out of 600 only in 60 minority schools Greek language was taught. In the rest of them Turkish was the only language taught (Pardalis, 2015: 55).

In effect, the articles agreed upon bilaterally in the context of the Lausanne Peace Treaty designated exclusively the construction of minority primary schools. However, several years after the conclusion of the Treaty the education of minority encompassed also the secondary and the high school. The first school which provided secondary education (Gymnasium and Lyceum) for the Muslim minority was the Celal Bayar Gymnasium-Lyceum[9] established in 1952 in Komotini, while the Muzaffer Salihoğlu Gymansium-Lyceum was operated for the first time in 1965 in Xanthi.

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[9] The school was named after the Turkish politician Celal Bayar who was the last Prime Minister during the Presidency of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and served as the third President of Turkey.

Except for these two bilingual/minority schools, there are still five schools in the lowlands of Rhodope where only Muslim populations live but the instruction language is nothing else but Greek. The Muslims comprise the 50 per cent of the total number of the students who attend the Greek secondary and high schools (Pardalis, 2014: 61).

An up-to-date source provided by the Greek Ministry of Education with regard to the schools operated in 2014 in Western Thrace estimated the number of minority primary schools at 146. In the same school year (2013-2014) the Muslims who attended the minority primary schools in Western Thrace amounted to 5,780 while this number in the school year 2014-2015 was estimated as 5,653 (Explanatory Memorandum, 2014: 11)[10].

As already proposed, the distinct feature of the minority schools compared to the other school across Greece is that several subjects are taught in the Turkish language providing Muslim students with a bilingual education. In particular, the subjects taught in Turkish are the Turkish language, religious education, that is Koran, mathematics, physics, aesthetics and physical education while the modern Greek language, history, geography, environmental education, and social and political education (Pardalis, 2014: 62-66).

After their graduation from the minority primary school students have to decide between the options of either going to one of the two minority Gymnasium-Lyceum or proceeding with a monolingual education in a Greek gymnasium. According to the Explanatory Memorandum of 2014 only a small proportion of Muslim students opt for the bilingual secondary schools. The number of the Muslim students who attended the

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[10] For a detailed report on Minority Educational Matters see the Explanatory Memorandum issued on November 11, 2014 by the Greek Ministry of Education http://www.hellenicparliament.gr/UserFiles/bbb19498-1ec8-431f-82e6-023bb91713a9/9090787.pdf. Accessed April 10, 2017.

two minority schools was 1,228 in the school year 2013-2015 and 1,349 during the next school year (Explanatory Memorandum, 2014: 11).

In these schools Muslim students are taught the Greek language and literature, history, geography and social and political education in Greek. In Turkish are taught the Turkish language, mathematics, physics and religious education (Pardalis, 2014: 68).

In Western Thrace there are two Minority Muslim Religious Schools (Medrese) one in Xanthi and one in Komotini[11]. Consisting of six grades, in these schools Muslim students are taught Turkish, religious education and Islamic history in Turkish, the Arabic Language and Koran in Arabic, while the instruction of the rest of the subjects takes place in Greek. Importantly, the number of students, who attended these schools in the school year 2015-2016, was only 318 (Explanatory Memorandum, 2014: 11).

In spite of the extensive measures taken by both parties the local minority authorities and the Greek government, concerns about the low proficiency of Muslim bilinguals in the Greek language displayed a gradual increase. In an attempt to promote the linguistic integration of the Muslim minority in the Greek society, the Greek government in 1996 created a special 0.5 per cent quota for Muslim bilinguals to attend Greek universities (Dragonas and Fragkoudaki, 2006: 27).

2. 4 Language Use in Muslim Community of Western Thrace

Among the members of Muslim minority in Western Thrace can be found people who speak besides Turkish, Pomak and Romani, which are linguistically being observed to be in contact on various scales. Importantly, the language use varies across

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[11] See http://dide.xan.sch.gr/index.php/lykeia/1338-ierospoudastirio-exinou-gymnasio-lykeio and http://ierospkom.gr/index.php (in Greek). Accessed April 15, 2017.

minority as it depends on a series of sociolinguistic factors, such as place of residence and social status.

As Evangelia Adamou (2010: 149) mentions the names *Pomak* and *Pomatsko* are used to refer to the South Slavic variety spoken by people who inhabited the Rhodope Mountains in today's Greece since the 16th century (Asimakopoulou and Christidou-Lionaraki, 2002: 215) and later during the second half of the 20th century expanded to other areas or countries. Nevertheless, historical records on the origin of Pomaks are controversial and mistrusting (Divani, 2000: 170, footnote 10) specifically due to ideological bias for or against to a certain state.

The Pomaks as Muslims and living in Wester Thrace were excluded from the Compulsory Exchange between Turkey and Greece and guaranteed the right to bilingual education, namely Greek and Turkish, under the Lausanne Treaty. Adamou found out that most Pomaks, as their social environment required, showed a preference for Turkish than the Slavic Balkan vernacular, Pomak in the second half of the 20th century. This also results from the strong religious bonds binding them with Turkish. This is the case especially for the Pomaks who are engaged in social life. However, Pomak is broadly used in everyday life in certain regions and transmitted from parents to children. Furthermore, there are different types of speakers who speak Pomak. For instance, there are trilingual speakers who speak Pomak, Turkish and Greek and are majorly young, bilinguals who speak Pomak and Greek and, ultimately, in rare cases the monolingual oldest with basic communication skills in Greek. In exception of some rural places, Pomak is used only within the family (Adamou, 2010: 149-151).

The name *Romani* refers to an Indo-Aryan language which is spoken in various areas across Europe, the Americas and in Australia. Inhabitants of India speaking Romani migrated to and settled in the Byzantine Empire where their language came

into contact with Greek and was influenced by it. After the dismemberment of the Empire they travelled to western and northern Europe and, thus, Romani was affected by other European languages. The Balkan Roma were divided into two groups on the grounds of religion and origin. In particular, those Roma who were Christian from Wallachia were named as the Vlax, whereas the Muslim settled groups were defined as non-Vlax. Most recently, there has been established a new categorization based on linguistic features of the Roma who were located in the Balkans and those who were settled in today's Romania and in various European countries resulting in the Balkan Romani branch and the Vlax Romani branch, respectively.

The Romani variety spoken in Western Thrace falls into the category of both the Balkan and Vlax Romani branches. Groups speaking Balkan Romani can be detected in the region from the beginning of the 11th century, while Vlax Romani speakers arrived in Greece right after the Lausanne Treaty. In addition, although speakers of Romani in general distinguish between 'pure Romani' and the mixing of Romani and Turkish in the form of dialect, in wealthier parts of Muslim community there is a noticeable shift towards Turkish (Adamou, 2010: 151-152).

To sum up, in spite of the fact that Pomak and Roma families in Western Thrace opt for speaking the language of their natives at home, being guaranteed with the right to bilingual Turkish-Greek primary school education are exposed to Turkish for six years and able to interact with Turkish-Greek bilinguals. The outcome of this reality is trilingual speakers competent to communicate in each of the three languages.

Last but not least, the scarcity of analytical and comprehensive study on Pomak and Romani varieties in Western Thrace, which, undoubtedly, have been being in interaction with Turkish and vice-versa hinders the proliferation of researches on

language contact phenomena among the subjects of Muslim minority in the area. Nevertheless, a handful of books and studies produced by authors conversant with the local variety of Pomak language are sufficient to guide prospective researchers willing to examine the implications of language contact phenomena on the linguistic behavior of the members of the Muslim minority in Western Thrace. As for the language of Roma in Greek Western Thrace Romani still need to be explored, since studies on this language are deficient in number and methodology.

As opposed to Pomak and Romani, the Turkish language bears much significance for the everyday life of minority in Western Thrace. This is due to the fact that Turkish is seen as an indispensable component of their religious identity, education, and social life. In fact, Turkish is used at home when parents address their children. Moreover, later Turkish is used at school as instruction language of several subjects. The pre-school language use of minority members leads linguists and non-linguists to treat Greek as the second language of Muslim children while Turkish is the first language they acquire.

Muslim children's contact with the Greek language does not occur until they come to the age of six when their bilingual education begins. Parents at home are observed to speak Greek when helping their children with their homework (when it is in Greek) or when they wish to discuss an issue without being understood by their children. Parents' attitude toward Greek impinge on Muslim children's contact and familiarization with the Greek language.

Outside the home and the family, the language use of the same people is quite variable. In most cases, older people speak Turkish when discussing with their Muslim counterparts or with bilingual Greek-speakers. Nevertheless, when they have to contact with Greek monolinguals or when they are not familiar with a certain topic in Turkish,

say politics, are seen to switch from Turkish to Greek, in an attempt to accommodate the speaking process. A practice which is increasingly adopted by the minority members who are parents is to send their children to Greek-speaking public nursery schools with a view to accommodating their passage to the bilingual primary education. Despite some exceptional cases, the minority under study is characterized by a social and linguistic introversion, visible in any aspect of their life (Sella-Mazi, 1997: 87-88).

The current study, however, focuses on Greek and Turkish as my sample of bilinguals who participated in the task speak either Turkish and Greek or Pomak, Turkish and Greek. In addition, Pomak is not exhaustively investigated and analyzed due to my lack of expertise.

2. 5 Linguistic Identity of the Members of Muslim Minority in Western Thrace

As mentioned previously, the Muslim community in Western Thrace is rather an intricate religious minority consisting of more than one ethnical groups. Living together as members of the same community Roma and Pomaks have persistently struggled to protect and perpetuate their linguistic varieties. The major reason for trying to keep their vernaculars intact was to show that ethnically distinguish themselves from the Turkish groups of minority, despite the fact that they share the common religion.

In fact, as opposed to Romani and Pomak, Turkish is the dominant language in education and the prestige language in social life of minority in Western Thrace and the total population in question was subject to Turkish-Greek bilingual education. Besides that, religion and cultural exchange between the different subjects of community led and are still leading to language shift. As Sandry characteristically highlights:

''The fact that the majority of Pomaks in Paševik (a place in Komotini inhabited by Muslim Pomaks) feel more comfortable conversing in Greek rather than in Turkish in no way displaces Turkish as the main language of prestige. Islam is central to the lives of Pomaks and as stated previously the language used to teach the religion is Turkish'' (Sandry, 2013: 28).

Furthermore, social status, sex, age, educational level, professional activity, mobility and/or marginalization are factors affecting the language characteristics of each unit within the community and maintain the socio-linguistic variance among them. For instance, as Adamou highlights most of the Roma children barely graduate from the primary school maintaining the traditional distance from state institutions.

Unlike Roma communities Pomak populations in Western Thrace are being observed to come to a close contact with Islamic institutions and Turkish-Greek education programs in the region. Thus, they get involved with the Turkish language more often than Roma do. In contrast to Roma, Pomaks are quite close to religion and distinguish themselves from their Christian Bulgarian neighbors. Characteristically, a reasonable proportion of them attend Koranic schools, take part in religious events while most married women adopt the traditional dress code of Muslim women with long clothes which cover their body. Moreover, Pomaks are noticed to use terms, greetings, and other sorts of vocabulary borrowing from Turkish or the Muslim world. Another case of contact of these populations with Turkish was recorded when in the 1980s they decided to migrate Germany as migrant workers where coming in contact with the Turkish community shifted to Turkish and finally influenced the rest of the minority by telephone or visits to relatives. Even though today the mobility of migrants in Europe is more rare and hindered by a general crisis and Pomaks are not likely to

settle with their families in a European country, Turkish penetration is feasible through visits to Turkey for shopping or tourism, education of young members of Muslim minority in different Turkish institutions with scholarships provided by the Turkish government, while elderly people of Pomak origin who live in distant places in Western Thrace interfere with Turkish owing to Turkish channels on television.

To conclude, due to its advantageous position in education and religion among Muslim groups in Western Thrace upon the formal incorporation of the region in Greece in 1923 up until today the Turkish language possesses a unique position and constitutes an integral part to the linguistic identity of minority members not only for the Turks but in whole. Nevertheless, it is commonly observed that Muslim people belonging to other ethnicity other than Turkish struggle for preserving their ethnic identity and self-esteem by mostly speaking in the language of their ethnical ancestors at home. Therefore, parents and grandparents communicate with their children almost exclusively in the language variety of the ethnic group to which they belong.

2. 6 Code-switching in Greek-Turkish Bilinguals in Western Thrace

Due to the dearth of linguistic research of any kind on Greek-Turkish bilinguals who are born and raised in Western Thrace as members of the local Muslim minority, let alone code-switching phenomena which are totally untouched, I am bound to base my conclusions on the data that I collected during my two-week stay in Thessaloniki and in Athens. Given this lack of both previous data and results as well as the relatively small sample of twenty four participants in my experiment I am unable to compare my conclusions with prior works and obliged to proceed with my own hypothesis deploying of course the existent theoretical literature on code-switching as a language contact phenomenon and the role of grammatical gender in this phenomenon.

Discussing with the participants about their language habits within different contexts, I realised that there was no consistency in their answers. Therefore, I concluded that my sample consisted of different types of bilingual speakers leading myself to consider that the results would be, not surprisingly, diverse. In regard to the different features of each bilingual participant, I refer extensively to it in the chapter 4.

3. Grammatical Gender in Code-Switching

3. 1 Review on Code-Switching Production

A quick look at the literature pertaining to various aspects and features of code-switching (hereafter CS) in bilingual discourse with chronological order is more than sufficient to gain a deeper insight into the causes, the process itself and the effects of this language contact phenomenon which are still debatable.

To start with, the study of CS in the field of research devoted to language contact phenomena owns arguably a unique position and draws the attention of linguists and students of bilingualism since the 20th century to date. As its name suggests CS describes the language phenomenon where bilinguals are reported to alternate between their two languages. Bullock and Toribio (2009: 1) refer to this characteristic as an ability of bilingual speaker to switch from a language to another. However, the question whether CS cases point to the ability or lack of competence in either languages, whether CS is aberrant or systematic, random or patterned still remains an unabated conflict. Whichever the nature of CS, a close observation of the act of CS can reveal not only the internal structure of a language but also the social reasons and factors which trigger CS, what researchers call *language ecology* (Mufwene 2001).

Some inferences drawn during the first half of the past century by researchers dealing with bilingualism argued that the participation of two languages in a sentence at the same time was a disruption (Ronjat 1913 and Leopold 1939-1949). Therefore, it was seen by many as marginal in terms of society. In addition, other linguists prolific in the 1950s related CS to the proficiency level of interlocutor supporting that in bilinguals low proficiency of any of the two languages accounts for the insertion of features from another language in the same sentence. In particular, Weinreich (1953) expressed the opinion that the use of two languages in different social settings and

circumstances may take place, however, an ideal bilingual does not switch from one language to another in the same sentence when any change does not take place. Nevertheless, such claims have proven to be false and were challenged by later studies. In brief, later studies on CS displayed that such a language contact phenomenon reveals linguistic and communicative skills rather than a deficit of knowledge in either languages, considering that different CS patterns in bilingual discourse disclosure different levels of bilingual ability (see for example Clyne 1967, Poplack 1980, Nortier 1990, Myers-Scotton 1993a, 1997, 2002a and Muysken 2000). Meanwhile linguists like Bolonyai (2009) based on previous studies raise a number of questions concerning a cause-effect relation between CS and language erosion and/or language degeneration wondering whether CS accounts for the attrition and the subsequent gradual erosion of a language without being able to find a conclusive evidence.

In spite of the lively interest of experts in explaining the different aspects of CS and language contact phenomena by and large, the contradiction characterizing the results and the conclusions, which are far from conclusive, paves the way for new studies. However, it should be stressed out that the multifaceted nature of language contact phenomena involves the use of a compound of techniques and practices providing us with new data and observations which may not agree with the existent literature. Significantly, the material used in a study (such as limited number of participants, procedure and interpretation of results) is presumably not adequate in encompassing the broad variety of possibilities in language use.

Another set of studies probes the reasons, causes, and under which circumstances, societal conditions and individual factors CS occurs in a bilingual community (see for instance Thomason and Kaufman 1988). For instance, Kyuchukov (2006) concludes that the trilingual community of Bulgaria, Muslim Roms who speak

Bulgarian, Turkish and Romani show a preference in favor of Turkish due to the communal opinion identifying it as the prestige language of their community. However, as Bullock and Toribio (2009) suggest, a comprehensive and uniform report on these factors is impossible due to the cooperative function of multiple factors which transcend the scope of a single research.

A great deal of studies has been put forward in order to provide a definition for CS distinct from the rest of contact language phenomena (Poplack et al.1988, Myers-Scotton 1993, Backus & Dorleijn 2009). The absence of a crystal-clear distinction, definitely, complicates the study of CS which involves a categorical segregation of contact phenomena. For instance, Muysken (2000) distinguishes three types of CS: a) *insertion*, b) *alternation* and c) *congruent lexicalization*. He defines insertion as a process where lexical items or full constituents are inserted into a structure from the other language. Alternation is used by Muysken to describe an interaction between structures from languages. Ultimately, congruent lexicalization, according to him, concerns items from lexical inventories of either language realized in a common grammatical structure. Nevertheless, he recognizes the similarity between the type of CS, insertion and borrowing, since both are realized in a given structure as foreign lexical items or phrases.

On the other hand, the term borrowing has been deployed to describe different forms of language transfer, ranging from structural units to entire clauses (Bullock and Toribio, 2009: 5).

Backus and Dorleijn (2009: 77-78) distinguish between two types of borrowing: a) *lexical borrowing* and b) *structural borrowing*. Lexical borrowing is the phenomenon where words from Language A are already assumed to be conventional words of the lexicon of Language B. As is the Turkish word *yaka* (collar) for the Greek

lexicon. In turn, structural borrowing is the process during which a structure from Language A is conventionally used in the grammatical structure of Language B. It is often seen that its native counterpart is progressively replaced by it.

Turning to Muysken (2000) who adopts a three-way approach to intra-sentential CS, he attempts to roughly provide a better understanding of different processes interfering with CS. Thus, he concludes that there is not a unique definition of CS, since like borrowing, it involves miscellaneous processes and for that reason no categorical boundaries can be drawn between CS and borrowing.

3. 2 Review on Grammatical Gender

Significantly enough a large amount of studies is closely involved in examining the units formulating the CS. In other words, researchers have set out to investigate the distribution of lexical features stemming from the languages found in a bilingual sentence (see for example Liceras 2008 and Poplack and Meechan 1998). In an attempt to explain the structures preferred in a sentence, researchers focus on units or patterns used in bilingual speech deploying interdisciplinary approaches (i.e. psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic, structural etc.) since numerous language contact processes (e.g. alternation, insertion and congruent lexicalization) and external factors collaborate in the act of CS (see Muysken 2000). Despite the fact that the vast majority of studies on CS from the 1970s drew on recorded Spanish-English data (see Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez 1971, Timm 1975, Lipski 1978, Pfaff 1979, Poplack 1980, 1993 and Liceras et al. 2008), as well as Finnish-English data (Gullberg et al., 2009: 24), a close look at them is helpful in laying the foundation for future studies with different sets of languages and paved the way for additional experiments.

Another group of researchers tried to set several constraints which would accommodate the explanation of features distribution in bilingual discourse. One of the most influential studies advancing descriptive grammatical constraint was recorded in 1980 by Poplack where she proposed *the free morpheme constraint* and *the equivalence constraint*. Poplack defines these terms as follows;

Under the free morpheme constraint: ''Codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme''. (Poplack, 1980: 585-586)

Under the equivalence constraint: ''Code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L_1 and L_2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e. at points around which the surface structures of the two languages map onto each other''. (Poplack, 1980:586)

However, according to Muysken (2000:14-15), even the latter definition proposed by Poplack fails to explain CS in languages with different typology.

Chomsky's analysis (1995) puts forward the Minimalist Program (henceforth MP), a generativist approach the rules of which display how language functions[1]. In brief, in his book, titled *The Minimalist Program*, attempts to investigate the internal construction of language, within the conceptual framework of the MP. In other words, he examines the linkage between sound and meaning. In this context, he puts forward several novel theories. First, he refers to a computational system found in human language, which interacts with the part of the brain dealing with sound and meaning. This part consists of two components, the articulatory-perceptual system and the

conceptual-intentional system. These outer systems communicate with the computational system through two interface levels Phonetic Form (PF) and Logical Form (LF). Since then, the notions developed in the MP have been deployed as a tool for the analysis of CS constructions.

MacSwan (2005), based on the MP, proposes principles able to foresee reasonable code-switched pairs in bilingual speech. His theory predicts that function words tend to stem from the language encoding the largest proportion of the uninterpretable constituents, which are purely syntactic. Therefore, it is highly likely that in determiner-noun code-switches determiner, as a type of uninterpretable feature will come from the gendered language, that is Greek. In other words what this theory supports is that in the case of Greek-Turkish CS, in mixed determiner-noun phrases, determiner will originate in the Greek language since the Greek determiner also carries grammatical gender, while the Turkish determiner does not.

(1) a. Έν-ας κύκλ-ος→DET {INDEF+MASC}+N{S+DS}

A circle

b. Bir döngü→DET {INDEF+0}+N

A circle

Thus, a plausible determiner-noun code-switch in Greek-Turkish bilingual discourse would be the following:

(2) Έν-ας döngü→DET=GR {INDEF+MASC}+N=TR

/enasdœngö/

In the above example, the Greek determiner (indefinite article) encodes grammatical gender, masculine. Therefore, a determiner-noun code-switch between Greek and Turkish would not opt for the following production since the Turkish determiner *bir* does not encode grammatical gender:

(3) Bir κύκλος→DET=TR {INDEF+0}+N {S+MSC}=GR

/birkˈiklos/

To this end, before CS construction occurs, *feature-checking hypothesis* subjects language constituents to control in accordance with the MP principles, although both languages can supply CS discourse lexical features (MacSwan 1999).

Successfully, Myers-Scotton (1993 and 1997) in an attempt to produce a systematic pattern based on which the structural approach to intra-sentential CS data would accommodate their analysis defines the CS as follows:

''Code-switching is the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation''. (Myers-Scotton, 1993a: 4)

This definition accounts particularly for the asymmetry observed in the distribution of content and system morphemes in bilingual speech which in accordance with Matrix Language Frame (henceforth MLF) model will be in favor of one of the two languages, the dominant language. In other words, this model stipulates that there should be a hierarchical principle in bilingual discourse between the two participant

languages, since only one of them provides the morpho-syntactic features (e.g. *phi-features*) which frame bilingual production. This morpho-syntactic frame constitutes the MLF model according to which its structure is derived from the existent linguistic competence (Jake et al. 2002: 72). That is, in contrast to the Embedded Language (henceforth EL) ML exists in every monolingual, whereas the opposition ML : EL can appear only in bilingual production. To sum up, proto-typically in classic CS the structure of ML arises only from one language which at the same time provides bilingual speech with the abstract grammatical frame abounding with grammatical features.

Another distinction which emerges from the MLF model is the behavior of *content* and *function* morphemes in CS. According to Myers-Scotton and Jake (2009, 337) only content morphemes from the EL can be inserted into the ML, on condition that the inserted features are in total congruency with the features of ML. Furthermore, in opposition to content morphemes, function morphemes cannot be found in an ML construct and thus the morpho-syntactic frame of bilingual discourse will stem only from the ML. These models are criticized among others for their rigidness.

The above-mentioned paradigms of constraints in CS were given as examples aiming at underlying the remarkable effort of researchers to shed some light to the construction of CS speech by examining naturally produced CS data, Spanish/English, in the case of Poplack and Swahili/English, in the case of Myers-Scotton, and, subsequently by theorizing about the constraints which may exist in CS production.

3. 3 Overview of Previous Studies on Grammatical Gender in CS

Previous studies on linguistic cases involving language contact converge that from the parts of speech, nouns are those which can be encountered with highest

frequency in CS production. Such claims have been made particularly by researchers who are involved in Spanish-English CS data (see Muysken 2000 and Jake et al. 2002). This is also attested by the fact that noun phrases (henceforth NP/-s) constitute the most examined constituent in CP discourse.

Noteworthy is the hypothesis, that is *the Bilingual NP hypothesis*, regarding the inserted nouns into ML construct proposed by Jake, Myers-Scotton and Gross (2002: 78-79), which stipulates that:

''The system morphemes in mixed NPs come from only one language, called the ML. An asymmetry between mixed NPs and full NPs from the EL obtains: full EL NPs are dispreferred because their system morphemes (and their uninterpretable features) do not match other system morphemes and their uninterpretable features elsewhere in the bilingual CP''.

The hypothesis given above specifies that in the case of bilingual Greek-Turkish CS, as it happens in bilingual Spanish-English CS, Turkish nouns are accompanied by Greek determiners, whereas presumably Turkish nouns may occur with Turkish determiners. Yet, the latter is much rare compared to the former, namely nouns with Greek determiners. Therefore, when Greek is the ML in bilingual Greek-Turkish CS, as is the case for the present study, Greek determiners, even when Turkish nouns occur, are at work to build a construct in accordance with the Greek morpho-syntactic rules and fill the gaps caused by the different typology detected between Greek and Turkish. In brief, the role of Greek *phi*-features and other system morphemes in this context is to complement the bonds of the features stemming from both the ML and the EL and cover the asymmetry between the two participant languages. Last but not least, when

there is an incongruence between the ML system morphemes and the EL content morphemes, resolution comes about in favor of the MLF (Jake et al., 2002: 79).

One of the earliest studies which aimed at finding out the factors working conjointly at determining the gender of inserted nouns in a CS corpus was produced by Poplack, Pousada and Sankoff (1981). Drawing on a multi-task approach, their conclusion was succinctly that neither phonology nor their semantic equivalent in EL lie behind the factors appointing the grammatical gender in CS speech. Their conclusion agreed with that of Jake, Myers-Scotton and Gross who observed that none of these factors accounted for more than half of the genders assigned to each noun (Jake et al., 2002:82).

Even if the set of the factors which are supposed to play some role in determining the gender of the inserted nouns in CS discourse in some cases fails to account for every single gender assigned to EL nouns, a short review of them and their application to the data collected for the purpose of the present study is necessary for two major reasons: First, these factors are useful in providing reasonable explanations about the gender assigned to each EL noun. Second, by deploying these assumptions and applying them to my data I am presented with the chance to check the accuracy and to confirm the content of them or, instead, to detect potential fallacies which may exist in any of them. During the application of these assumptions, it may be required to modify or complement the substance of them always based on my conclusions drawn by the data at hand. In the following section, I look at the hypotheses proposed and inferred by previous studies one by one.

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3. 4 Potential Factors Impacting on Gender Assignment in CS

Given the fact that any case of CS in effect constitutes an incident involving the insertion of a foreign element to the ML construct, researchers interested in finding out the factors which may determine the gender assigned to a noun from the EL have recently deployed a set of factors accounting for the gender assigned to the loanwords.

As previously mentioned, an influential study focusing on the factors which contribute to the gender assignment has been produced by Poplack, Pousada and Sankoff (1981). In an attempt to shed some light to the rules which give precedence to a gender instead of another, they put forward five possible elements: a) physiological gender/sex of the (animate) referent, b) phonological gender, c) analogical gender, d) homophony and e) suffixal analogy. From the above, they inferred that the phonological shape of the word, the gender/sex of the (animate) referent and the membership of the word in a specific semantic class (that is phonological, physiology and semantic influences) plays a principal role in the gender assignment. In doing so, they employ evidence from loanwords.

According to this study another crucial factor which has been reported to contribute to the final grammatical gender preference is the propensity of speakers to opt for the 'unmarked' gender or, in other words, the default gender[12] of the host language, which in the case of Greek is the neuter as shown below.

Significantly enough, after an extensive research on English loanwords inserted into Puerto Rican Spanish and on gender assignment patterns in both Puerto Rican Spanish and Montreal French, they concluded that these factors are language-specific. In brief, they discovered that the factor(s) assumed to be significant in the gender assignment to the borrowed constituent of a certain language may bear little or no

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importance when examining the factors determining the gender assigned to a borrowed element inserted in another language (Poplack et al., 1981).

This is also the case for Hock who suggests that in some languages the gender assignment takes place based on semantic criteria, while in other languages the gender preference depends on the morphological and phonological features of the noun. Thus, according to the aforementioned suggestion, there are two particular aspects providing information on the noun: a) its meaning and b) its form, that is morphology and phonology (Hock, 1986).

3. 5 Three Languages in Contact: Greek, Turkish and Pomak

In this section, I show some intrinsic features of the three typologically distinct languages. This analysis, however, does not exceed the scope of this study which focuses on the linguistic features encoding grammatical gender. I suggest that the following descriptive analysis provides grounds for and paves the way for undisputable explanation pertaining to the morphological idiosyncrasy of each language.

3. 5. 1 Grammatical Gender in Greek: General Remarks[13]

In the system of the Greek language there are three gender classes: *masculine*, *feminine* and *neuter*. Likewise, nouns in terms of morphology are categorized according to the grammatical gender they belong to as *masculine*, *feminine* or *neuter* nouns. Articles, determiners, adjectives, pronouns, numerals and quantifiers accord with the

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[13] It should be noted that examples given in Greek, Turkish and Pomak are transcribed using the International Phonological Alphabet (IPA). In addition to that, stress shifts and realizations are also indicated since they are assumed to be the result of the interaction between morphology and phonology, that is frequently enough the different placement of stress in a word indicates the grammatical category this falls under and therefore the change of meaning. For instance the word *matia* without stress may be misinterpreted by the reader, since when read as /matiˈa/ it means *glance* (N$_{FEM}$) while when read as /mˈatia/ means *eyes* [N$_{NEUT}$ (PL-ACC)].

gender carried by the noun. Owing to the principles of gender and syntactic agreement, the aforementioned grammatical categories represent the same gender class with the noun. In regard to humans and other animate beings, grammatical gender is assigned to them according to their physiological gender they represent (nouns referring to male humans are usually masculine-gendered, those referring to female humans correspond to female-gendered nouns). The remaining vocabulary of nouns in Greek grammatical gender is not assigned based on semantics or in other words, on the meaning they bear, but rather on morphological rules, such as suffixes. Thus, as it is often the case, grammatical gender (morphology) does not accord with the biological gender (semantics). This fact renders the predictability of the grammatical gender of several nouns unfeasible (Mastropavlou and Tsimpli, 2011: 32).

The significance of morphological shape in Greek nouns is also reaffirmed by the study of Mastropavlou and Tsimpli where they contend that lexical and/or semantic features as opposed to morpho-phonological items bear almost no importance in determining the gender class each noun is assigned to. They go on to define the gender assignment process in the Greek language based on the distinction put forward by Corbett in 1991 as *formal system*. Corbett (Gender, 1991) makes the following distinction for the gender assignment systems existing in every language: a) *Semantic systems*, where semantics, namely the meaning of noun determines the gender class this belongs to, b) *predominantly semantic systems*, in which semantics are essential with few exceptions, and c) *formal systems*, where gender class corresponding to each noun is appointed by the form, or in other words, by the shape of noun. Similarly, according to Corbett, the formal systems are separated into two types: a) morphological and b) phonological. Still, the difference between them is opaque. Morphological system can employ the whole set of rules, that is semantic, phonological and morphological rules,

while in phonological system only a single form of the noun is present (Mastropavlou and Tsimpli, 2011: 28).

As a general rule, in Greek every noun consists of a stem (S) and a declensional suffix (DS).

(4) Ker-os (/kerˈos/)→N{S+DS$_{MSC}$}

The analysis of the above example indicates the two values characterizing its structure: a) grammatical category (value: N) and b) grammatical gender (value: G).

In particular, in the Greek language, grammatical gender is realized in terms of phonology on all nominal constituents, that is adjectives, pronouns, determiners, numerals and quantifiers through different inflectional patterns (i.e. suffixes).

Table 1. Greek nouns, declensional suffixes and inflection definite articles in singular (Based on Klairis and Babiniotis[14], 2010: 20-22)[15]

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[14] It should be noted that Klairis and Babiniotis in their study on the Greek language and the Greek nominal morphological system opt for a distinction of nouns which is based on the degree of syncretism in the declensional system. In other words, they draw on declensional paradigms and distinguish between nouns which employ a two-way distinctive form, namely they display a distinctive form in nominative and accusative, and nouns which deploy a three-way formation principle distinctive in nominative, accusative and genitive. The authors, also, make a third distinction where they place the nouns which can deploy both formation principles, interchangeably. Whatever the objections of Ralli (1994, 2002, and 2005) about this kind of distinction, I assume that it is adequate to gain an insight into the Greek nominal declensional system and for the purpose of my thesis, in general terms. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that none of the tables provided by various researches are exhaustive and need additional remarks.

[15] In the current table, I choose not to include the plural form of nominal declension, since it would be superfluous. In the task, from which I elicited the data, no use of plural form is expected or recorded. In addition, I opt for excluding the form of the vocative case, since it is not applicable to all the nouns. This grammatical structure is used when somebody wishes to address someone else. It is dominantly encountered along with names referring to humans or with adjectives pointing to status or profession. For the use of vocative case in Greek see Klairis and Babiniotis, 2010: 52-53.

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
NOM	o kˈipo-s (=garden)	i ˈisoðo-s (=entrance)	to prˈosopo (=face)
ACC	ton kˈipo	tin ˈisoðo	to prˈosopo
GEN	tʊ kˈip-ʊ	tis isˈoð-ʊ	tʊ prosˈop-ʊ
NOM	o kanˈona-s (=rule)	i θˈalasa (=sea)	to sˈoma (=body)
ACC	ton kanˈona	tin θˈalasa	to sˈoma
GEN	tʊ kanˈona	tis θˈalasa-s	tʊ sˈoma-tos
NOM	o ðiavˈiti-s (=compass)[16]	i vrˈisi (=tap)	to psomˈi (=bread)
ACC	ton ðiavˈiti	tin vrˈisi	to psomˈi
GEN	tʊ ðiavˈiti	tis vrˈisi-s	tʊ psomi-ˈʊ
NOM	o provolˈea-s (=projector)	i kerˈea (=antenna)	to kaθˈikon (=duty)
ACC	ton provolˈea	tin kerˈea	to kaθˈikon
GEN	tʊ provolˈea	tis kerˈea-s	tʊ kaθˈikon-tos

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[16] Tool for drawing circles or arcs.

NOM	o nˈʊ-s (=mind)	i alep-ˈʊ (=fox)	to plˈisimo (=washing)
ACC	ton noʊ	tin alep-ˈʊ	to plˈisimo
GEN	tʊ noʊ	tis alep-ˈʊs	tʊ plisˈima-tos
NOM	o kanapˈe-s (=sofa)	i karðiˈa (=heart)	to parˈaðiɣma (=example)
ACC	ton kanapˈe	tin karðiˈa	to parˈaðiɣma
GEN	tʊ kanapˈe	tis karðiˈa-s	tʊ paraðˈiɣma-tos
NOM	o karxarˈia-s (=shark)	i paralˈia (=beach)	to lˈaθo-s (=mistake)
ACC	ton karxarˈia	tin paralˈia	to lˈaθo-s
GEN	tʊ karxarˈia	tis paralˈia-s	tʊ lˈaθ-ʊs

It is noteworthy that in terms of morphology the word kanapes (/kanapˈes/) is not more masculine than the word karekla (/karˈekla/). Still, the article, the adjective and the rest constituents which specify the noun must be in agreement with the

corresponding grammatical gender of the noun they determine as far as morphology and syntax are concerned (Ralli, 2002: 520).

The noun in the Greek language is always combined with the morphemes of case and of singular or plural form, that is number. These grammatical morphemes are represented on the suffix attached to the noun. The examples below display the concord which must be ensured within the Greek language system.

(5)   a. O / enas ilikiomenos antras [/o(or /ˈenas/)ilikiomˈenosˈadras/] = The / an old man

The / an(MASC-SING-NOM) old(MASC-SING-NOM) man(MASC-SING-NOM)

b. I / mia aspri gata [/i(or /mˈia/)ˈazpriɣˈata/] = The / a white cat

The/ a(FEM-SING-NOM) white(FEM-SING-NOM) cat(FEM-SING-NOM)

c. To / ena ble aftokinito [/to(or /ˈena/)bleaftokˈinito/] = The / a blue car

The / a(NEUT-SING-NOM) blue(NEUT-SING-NOM) car(NEUT-SING-NOM)

As proposed and shown in the examples above, in terms of syntax both articles and adjectives which determine the noun must agree with it in number, gender and case. It should be noted that Greek, such as Turkish, possess a pre-nominal structure, that is both features is positioned in the sentence before the noun and after the article (Klairis and Babiniotis, 2010: 72-73). However, descriptive adjectives can, also, appear post-nominally in the Greek language. See the following example:

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(6) Ena aftokinito palio ke mavro perase to kokino fanari xoris na stamatisi

[/ˈenaaftokˈinitopaliˈokemˈavropˈerasetokˈokinofanˈarixorˈisnastamatˈisi/]

=

A car old and black passed the red light without stopping

In the above example, it is noted that the two adjectives i.e. old and black (palio, mavro) determining the noun *car* (aftokinito) comes after it. The shifting position of the adjectives changes only the degree of the emphasis throughout the sentence, whereas the meaning of the sentence remains exactly the same (Klairis and Babiniotis, 2010: 155-156).

The use of the adjective in a sentence is multifunctional. The main role of the adjective, as is for the current study, is to act as a descriptive modifier by specifying the noun and by ascribing certain attributes to it. In that sense, there are adjectives which point to the amount, the material, the color, the quality or description characterizing it (Klairis and Babiniotis, 2010: 153-174).

Crucial for the Greek language system, the concord in gender, number and case required to exist in determiner, adjective and noun confirms the grammaticality of the above sentences. However, neither is every case manifested with the same suffix (declensional morpheme), nor is each case differentiated from the other in the same way (Klairis and Babiniotis, 2010: 17-18).

The purpose of Table 1, presented above, is to provide the morphological configuration of Greek nouns, deploying the distinction of gender class, i.e. *masculine*, *feminine* and *neuter*. The nouns are inflected in the three cases encountered in the Greek nominal morphological system, that is *nominative*, *accusative* and *genitive*. As is seen below, in the analysis of the data, participants during the realization of the task used

only the nominative and the accusative cases. In other words no use of noun in genitive case was recorded.

Even if the declensional morphemes suffixed to the nouns do not point to a certain gender class in an unambiguous way, these are indicated to possess a substantial role in predicting the gender marking the noun. Thus, although the suffix *–os* is likely to be encountered in nouns belonging to any of the three gender classes, i.e. a) masculine pon-os$_{MASC}$ (=pain) /pˈonos/, b) feminine amm-os$_{FEM}$ (=sand) /ˈamos/, and c) neuter das-os$_{NEUT}$ (=forest)/ðˈasos/, Greek speakers encounter more frequently masculine nouns ending in *–os* rather than nouns with the latter suffix belonging to another gender class, i.e. feminine or neuter (Tsimpli and Hulk, 2013: 130).

## 3. 5. 2 Criteria for Assigning Grammatical Gender to Greek Nouns

In respect to the role of the different language aspects (i.e. phonology and phonetics, pragmatics, semantics, syntax and morphology) in gender assignment in the Greek language, Ralli (2000, 2002) employing a generative approach concludes that morphology is equally integral to gender determination along with semantics in Greek nouns. She strengthens her claim by proposing that nouns not referring to humans do not receive a gender on the grounds of semantics but the formal structure of it determines the gender assigned to it.

Mastropavlou and Tsimpli (2011) and Rally (2002) in an attempt to approach to gender assignment from the perspective of morphology begin from the hypothesis that mental lexicon in monolinguals encompasses units, that is morphemes in addition to words. This possibility leads them to the *Lexicalist Hypothesis* dominant in generative morphology where morphology is perceived as an autonomous module, member of the computational system of language. Furthermore, this Hypothesis

assumes that morphology being in contact with syntax paves the way for the creation of several morphological structures by using the items available from lexicon to which a set of word formation rules have been applied. The central point of this theory is the morpheme-based lexicon when inflectional languages are involved. According to this approach lexicon in inflectional cases consists of monomorphemic words, stems and affixes. These are distinguished on the basis of *feature bundles*. In effect, these bundles represent phonological, syntactic and semantic information. The features are further realized as attribute-value pairs and, thus grammatical gender as a feature like can be instantiated as masculine, feminine or neuter. The morphological module is responsible for the construction of complex words based on the word formation rules found in it (Ralli, 2000: 202).

Mastropavlou and Tsimpli (2011: 34-35) taking into account previous researches conducted by Ralli (2002, 2003) inferred that there is only little correlation between the physical gender and the grammatical gender of the noun. Yet, they found out that there is a stronger link between the gender and the morphology, that is the form of the noun.

Crucial for the current analysis, this approach stipulates that morphologically complex words, such as nouns, contain a binary structure where only a single head can exist. This head feature in the case of nouns is the stem which is responsible for the *feature percolation*. In other words, what the stem of the noun does is to determine the declensional morpheme affixed to it (Mastropavlou and Tsimpli, 2011: 31). Thus, in the noun *keros* (=weather) the head-stem of the noun *ker-* is responsible for the feature specification, that is *–os*. It should be noted that head does not only indicates the grammatical gender, but also the grammatical category this belongs to again through *feature percolation*. See the diagram below:

(7) DP

-os ← NP

(S) ker[N,MASC] -os (DM)
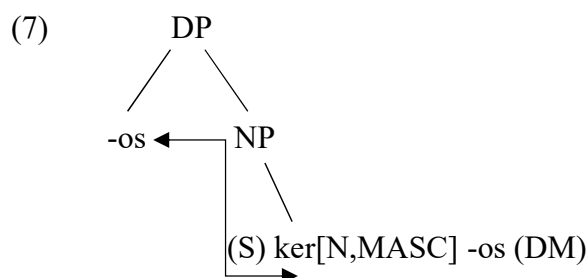
Underspecified stems (e.g. noun whose stem is not enough to determine the declensional morpheme), that is an attribute without value, are noticed to obtain a specific value only when declensional suffix is at play.

(8) Tragoudist-is [/traɣʊðistˈis/] = Singer$_{MASC}$

Tragoudist-ria [/traɣʊðˈistria/] = Singer$_{FEM}$

From the previous example, it is crystal-clear that the noun *tragoudist-* is underspecified. To put it succinctly the head, that is *tagoudist-*, is not subjected to any change in relation to which gender class it belongs to. Thus, in this case, the stem of the noun *singer* in Greek is not indicative to any grammatical gender. In turn, the suffixes *–is* and *–ria* are the morphemes which point to the gender class of noun and, subsequently, enables speaker to make clear if the singer is male or female.

Except for such underspecified nouns, another misunderstanding may emerge with morphologically complex nouns, which, preserving the same suffix, can refer to either male or female. Under this category fall nouns pertaining to profession or quality of humans. For instance, if someone attempt to isolate the noun *siggrafeas* ([/siŋɣrafˈeas/]) = author$_{MASC/FEM}$, it is indisputable that his interlocutor is likely to question the gender of the author the former wished to point to, unless no determiner specifies the aforementioned noun.

(9) Enas / mia siggrafeas ([/ˈenassiŋɣrafˈeas / and /mˈiasiŋɣrafˈeas/])

=

An$_{MASC}$ author$_{\emptyset}$ / An$_{FEM}$ author$_{\emptyset}$

From the previous sentence, it becomes obvious that in such cases interlocutor is not able to discern the grammatical gender of the noun, which at the same time declares also the physiological gender of the author, and, therefore, he is obliged to consult syntax (by agreement in syntax) and to detect the features specifying it.

To conclude, the vast majority of studies (Ralli 2000, 2002 and Mastropavlou and Tsimpli 2011) concede and agree with the fact that in Greek gender assignment is a complicated process during which morphology and syntax may interact. Besides, they note that, mostly, morphological and semantic criteria are involved in the gender assignment process in the Greek nominal system. Based on this assumption it is probable that noun stems and suffixes both declensional and derivational significantly contribute to gender assignment in Greek. In case that these lexical entries and suffixes are not responsible for the gender class noun belongs to, then syntax or other feature co-occurrence specification rules presumably account for the gender assigned to the noun.

3. 5. 3 Distinct Features between Greek and Turkish

In all, it is profound that Greek and Turkish display several structural and functional dissimilarities and only few common characteristics. Here, a brief review on the basic features, which determine the structure of Greek and Turkish sentences,

emphasizing on those immediately pertaining to the nominal constructions in both language systems, is required.

To begin with, in Greek the basic order of the features in the sentence is SUB-V-OBJ, whereas the formal order of them in the Turkish language is SUB-OBJ-V. Furthermore,

As mentioned earlier, grammatical gender is central to the Greek language system, whereas in the Turkish language grammatical gender is absent. Therefore, along with the noun, other constituents such as determiners, adjectives and various pronouns bear the same gender (masculine, feminine or neuter) with the noun, they specify. Gender value is an indispensable part and classificatory property characterizing the noun. In addition, Turkish in terms of typology is an agglutinative language, that is agglutination or synthesis is the means which constructs a word. Suffixes and other morphemes are attached to the Turkish words, though, each morpheme remains intact after this process. As a result, in languages such us Turkish the comprehension of each word is possible by detaching all the additional morphemes. On the contrary, Greek belongs to the group of fusional or inflected languages, which means that a single inflectional morpheme several may represent multiple features, such person and tense in verbs and gender, case and number in nouns. In doing both grammatical categories, the nouns and the verbs are likely to alter their form. For instance, compare the form of the Greek definite articles $\tau o\nu$MASC-SING-ACC, oMASC-SING-NOM and $\tau o\nu\varsigma$MASC-PLUR-ACC.

Above all, what renders the present study intriguing is the fact that it engages two language systems in which gender has distinct realizations. Particularly speaking, as shown above, in the Greek language, most determiners and adjectives must be in agreement, among others, with the gender of the head noun, becoming, thus, gender

carriers. At the other end of the spectrum, Turkish has only physical gender and grammatical gender is not a grammatical and/or syntactic category.

Therefore, it is challenging to explore how Greek-Turkish bilinguals treat other-language nouns, when these stem from a non-gendered language, that is with no gender value. In other words, it is highly interesting to find out how and using which mechanisms Greek-Turkish native speakers react when they are to assign a Greek grammatical gender to a Turkish noun.

A common characteristic between Greek and Turkish and crucial for the current study is that both languages possess a pre-nominal system, that is all Greek and Turkish determiners are situated before the Greek and Turkish nouns, respectively.

3. 5. 4 Grammatical Gender in Pomak Varieties

As opposed to Pomak varieties spoken in other regions, for instance in Balkans, the Pomak dialect used in Western Thrace (henceforth WTP) is profoundly influenced by Greek and Turkish for obvious reasons. This becomes evident when looking at the lexical level of this variety:

(10) a. *Dask'al-a*→Female teacher in Greek

Daskal-i'ca→Female teacher in WTP

b. *Zen'gin*→Rich in Turkish (without marked gender)

Zengi'n-ka→Rich woman in WTP (marked with female gender)

The Pomak variety spoken in Western Thrace among the Muslim minority members like Greek possesses three types of gender: *masculine*, *feminine* and *neuter* (Sandry, 2013: 71-80).

Due to the existence of grammatical gender in Turkish, minority members who speak WTP within their family, it is probable that speakers when they have to assign a gender to a noun may refer to the system of WTP instead of the system of the Greek language. It is, thus, essential for the current study to look succinctly at the phonological rules which contribute to the gender assignment in WTP.

Despite the absence of a comprehensive and exhaustive grammar on WTP, an up-to-date study carried out by Sandry (2013) aims at composing a guide based on the data she collected during fieldwork in Paševik (*Gr*. Pahni), a Pomak village in Xanthi. Though, even this study provides readers with only one variety of Greek Pomak spoken in a small village, without aiming at exhausting Pomak varieties spoken in the other neighboring Greek villages.

The present thesis, though, since it examines Greek-Turkish DPs produced by Greek-Turkish bilinguals, does not deal with the different Pomak varieties spoken across the area of Western Thrace.

4. Methodology and Analysis

In order to reach a better understanding of what factors may contribute to gender assignment in determiner-noun code-switches, in particular in Greek-Turkish CS, I carried out a Language History Questionnaire and a Director-Matcher task in which twenty (20) Greek-Turkish bilinguals from Western Thrace participated. In this chapter, I present the data, I collected through my two-week field work in Thessaloniki and in Athens followed by my remarks on them by utilizing any possible mechanisms involving in this process.

4. 1 Online Self-Evaluation Linguistic Questionnaire[17] and Its Role in Data Analysis

An online linguistic questionnaire composed of nineteen (19) questions with regard to their linguistic routine as well as to their proficiency in other languages in addition to Greek and Turkish was distributed by mail to all participants prior to the realization of the task. The participants were asked to reply to the questionnaire and submit it to the system within fifteen (15) days. The purpose of the above-mentioned set of questions was to provide me with a rudimentary information on the linguistic background and language proficiency of each participant. The information acquired through the questionnaire was unique in all respects, due majorly to its contribution to the formation of a general overview on the affiliation of each of them with either language.

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[17] The online questionnaire was taken from Li, P., Zhang, F., Tsai, E., Puls, B. (2013). Language history questionnaire (LHQ 2.0): A new dynamic web-based research tool. Bilingualism: Language and Cognition, DOI: 10.1017/S1366728913000606.

4. 2 Description of Director-Matcher Task

In the Director-Matcher task, as its name suggests, participants were initially divided up randomly into pairs and each pair was asked to receive the roles of *director* and *matcher* alternately, that is both members of each pair took on the directorship and acted as matcher. Each member was asked to order the twelve (12) pieces of images according to the directions given by their fellow, namely the other party of the pair. In particular, during each round, the person who had taken on the role of director had to guide the person sitting on the other side of the table who acted as matcher, in order for the latter to order the images according to the instructions provided by the director. In addition, each pair was prohibited from looking to the images laid in front of each other, as well as from making any kind of eye contact while the task was being evolved. At the end of the first round, both participants were removed from the room in which this task took place. When they returned to the room, the images had already been ordered in a different way, while the two participants took on the roles in the other way around, so that the person who acted as director in the previous round should now act as matcher and order the images anew by following the instructions of the new director. This practice doubled the data I collected during the task.

Furthermore, whenever the director gave instructions to the matcher based on the order of images placed in front of him/her, the order of the images remained intact. As opposed to the order of the images found in front of the director, the place of the images of the matcher was manipulated by the latter, in order for him/her to arrange the images by following the director's instructions and, ultimately, to organize them as ordered on the side of the director. At that point, it should be noted that what is discussed in this chapter is substantial in that, the method a sociolinguist adopts in order

to collect the data may lead to a proper set of data or else they might as well be the reason for a misleading outcome.

For instance, Gullberg et al., (2009: 21) seeing CS as the outcome of a natural process, propose that the most effective way to investigate such a linguistic phenomenon is by referring to the methods aiming at naturalistic data effective enough to explain the ''internally generated switching'', that is CS. In other words, it is claimed that, even if the reliability of either method may be disputable to various degrees, the use of naturalistic methods is likely to diminish the lack of infallibility-accountability of the CS data to a great extent. According to Gullberg et al., combining the different methods of data elicitation will enable researchers to reach as much validity as possible.

The method employed here is defined by Gullberg et al. (2009: 26) as an on-line method in contrast with the methods characterized as off-line. The characteristic which renders the Director-Matcher task on-line is the pivotal role the time course played during the realization of the task. Along with the time constraint which prevents participants from processing and reflecting on their CS production, on-line tasks yield different methods of measuring and dependent variables, such as accuracy and error scores, which are extremely significant in the on-line tasks. At the end of the task, such paradigms are detected and excluded from my analysis, since they are supposed to be invalid and non-grammatical[18]. The point of the time constraint is to lead to spontaneous results ensuring an ecological validity. Therefore, hesitations or responses taking considerably long time were not to be taken into account.

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[18] For instance entries such as /toasprˈomavropoðˈilato/ instead of /toasprˈomavrobisiklet/ were excluded from my analysis, since they do not abide by the rules set by me prior to the beginning of the interactive procedure within the framework of the Director-Matcher task, which stipulate that all he instructions (including the adjective) should be given in Greek and only the object of the image should be given in Turkish (see also 4. 2. 2).

Gullberg et al. consider the Director-Matcher task to be completely ''unconstrained'' (Gullberg et al., 2009: 37). In opposition to the description of Gullberg et al., in my thesis the Director-Matcher task entails a set of limitations aiming at leading participants into a certain path. In addition to the time constraint, among these limitations was the obligation of both participants to speak Greek (gendered language) during the whole process of the task, whereas the object depicted on the images was to be said in Turkish (non-gendered language). Thus, the language use dissemination was determined a priori as a condition and the examples, where participants used Greek instead of Turkish words to refer to the objects shown in the pictures, were not incorporated into my analysis (see section 4. 2).

As already mentioned in the first paragraph of the present section, another characteristic of this task is that, it involves the interaction between the two participants who are called to cooperate in order for the matcher to put the images in the right order following the instructions provided by the director. The process followed for the preparation and the realization of the task including the selection of the nouns, the factors ruling out a bunch of Greek nouns, for several reasons enumerated in section 4. 1, the adjectives I opted for to frame the nouns and the reasoning lying behind this, as well as my personal account for the optimal argumentation regarding the choice of either grammatical gender, that is masculine, feminine and neuter for the Turkish nouns made by the Greek-Turkish bilingual participants are investigated step by step in the following sections. It is noteworthy, that the responses provided by the participants to the questionnaire allocated to all of them were assessed in the analysis only in the cases where grammatical, morphological, phonological or other reasons pertaining to linguistically effective components were deficient in accounting for the final choice of the bilinguals concerning the grammatical gender assigned to the Turkish nouns, since

the major goal of the following sections are to present specialist and non-specialist readers with as much as possible sufficient and conclusive evidence to the set of factors interfering with the gender assignment process in Greek-Turkish discourse.

4. 2. 1 Profile of Participants

In what follows in this section, I point some crucial for the research participant information, which is entirely elicited from the questionnaire responded by 20 Greek-Turkish bilinguals.

The total number of participants, who both replied to the questionnaire and participated in the task voluntarily, amounted to 20 Greek-Turkish bilinguals, 14 males and 6 females. The age of the participants ranged between 19 and 35, the majority of whom were between 19 and 23. Those, aged between 19 and twenty three 23, were born and raised in Western Thrace and mainly for educational purposes settled in Thessaloniki, except for one participant aged 23 who, recently, settled in Athens after being born and living in Western Thrace for many years. The rest of them, aged between 33 and 35, although they were born somewhere in Western Thrace, moved to Athens for educational and professional purposes.

As for the educational level of Greek-Turkish bilinguals who participated in this study, they were university students or university graduates except for one participant aged 19 who graduated from high school only. Significantly, none of them had language learning difficulties or other disorders of such kind.

As far as the language background of the participants is concerned, it was characterized by such a wide range of variety, that a simple reference to it, it would be insufficient to display the intricacy particular to a non-uniform society. However, here, for the sake of brevity, I will be content with a short overview of the information on the

linguistic background and habits of the specific sample of participants, focusing on some noteworthy points. 20 Greek-Turkish bilinguals responding to the questionnaire clarified that they started using both Greek and Turkish no later than age 6. Moreover, according to the questionnaire, compared to Greek, Turkish was spoken at home and outdoors, with friends and schoolmates much more frequently. That is, 15 out of 20 Greek-Turkish bilinguals were exposed to Turkish from birth. The rest of them were exposed to Pomak by age 5, when their first contact with Turkish took place in the kindergarten. In addition, through this questionnaire, it was reported that even today, 15 out of 20 subjects speak almost exclusively Turkish at home.

A common characteristic of these subjects, in terms of language background, is their proficiency in Greek and Turkish. They are all fluent in Greek, but they are also proficient in Turkish. Their proficiency level in both languages varies, since not all of them are Turkish in origin and they opt for speaking their native language with the other members of their family at home. Nonetheless, based on their responses to the questionnaire and maybe due to the strong and close affiliation between the members of minority, there is no remarkable discrepancy in participants' proficiency in both languages.

Despite the fact that 5 out of 20 Greek-Turkish bilinguals were exposed to the Pomak language from birth, they were eligible to participate in the study, since they underwent a six-year education. Therefore, they were mingled with native speakers of Turkish, teachers and schoolmates. In general, it should be acknowledged that the language proficiency of these participants was sufficient in both languages and no impediment arose due to lack of proficiency in either language.

4. 2. 2 Procedure of Director- Matcher Task

The Director-Matcher task took place in Thessaloniki in the building where the meetings and other activities of the Young Academicians' Community of Western Thrace (Batı Trakya Genç Akademisyenler Topluluğu or GAT) are being held. The participants had to realize the Director-Matcher task as quickly as possible and I counted the time they spent for the task with the assistance of a timer, since they were instructed that this was a goal; the quickest pair, who fulfilled the task, were to be the winner. The whole procedure took place in a small and quiet room.

When each pair entered the room all images were covered so as not for the participants to be able to see the images before the timer actually starts. The participants did not know that their grammatical gender choices were being looked at. Furthermore, prior to the start of the task, I gave some short instructions in Greek on how they should treat during the whole procedure, including the language they should use when giving the instructions to their fellows about the images and when they should use each language, the time restriction and the reward the fastest couple would gain. In particular, they were told to use only Greek, except when they referred to the names of the objects found in the cards, when they should refer to them in Turkish. In addition, they were instructed to necessarily use the two adjectives, shown in section 4.2.3, in Greek as determiners of the depicted objects. I, also, informed them about the objects these images depicted (in Greek) and what was the goal they should reach as fast as possible[19]. Furthermore, I notified them that in case of error, that is an act violating the pre-announced rules of the task, thirty seconds would be added to their time as penalty. Such a case could be the naming of the depicted object in Greek instead of Turkish.

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[19] See 4. 2 for further details on the interaction between the members of each couple during the Director-Matcher task.

Yet, they were allowed to ask questions for repetition or to inquiry the place of an object.

The 20 participants underwent the same procedure, namely they sat facing each other and the matcher started placing 12 images according to the instructions of director and I turned over the timer.

After all participants had completed the task, the pair, who finalized the task, that is both rounds, in the shortest time, received a small reward, which served as stimulation for them.

Finally, participants, with no exception, were recorded to complete the task in less than two minutes per round.

4. 2. 3 Selection Process of Nouns and Adjectives and Selection Criteria

In the images, 6 objects were depicted but each object was represented as both *monochrome* (/asprˈomavros/, /asprˈomavri/, /asprˈomavro/) and *full-color* (/ˈeŋxromos/, /ˈeŋxromi/, /ˈeŋxromo/). Consequently, in total the images placed in front of each participant were 12, namely 6 images representing 6 concrete objects in black and white and 6 images depicting the same objects as full-color.

The selection of the depicted nouns was finalized after a long consideration of all possible factor interfering into the process of gender assignment in the Greek language. These involved the evaluation of phonological, morphological, semantic features as well as frequency, owing to which several nouns were excluded and the nouns, integrated into the task, were chosen.

My aim was to include as much as possible common names with which participants were more likely to be familiar. In doing so, taking into account a bunch of criteria several nouns were ruled out. Initially, I excluded the nouns used to refer to

human beings, such as nouns describing occupation or profession (e. g. teacher, singer, driver etc.). Except for these, the names of the seasons, the months, the proper names and plenty of nominal groups (e. g. trees, the most of which are noticed to be feminine in Greek) were not suitable for this task. One of the criteria was the exclusion of nouns which phonologically resemble their Turkish equivalents and vice versa. To mention but a few, *Gr.* /kafˈes/ = *Tr.* kahve (coffee), *Gr.* /kutˈi/ = *Tr.* kutu (box), *Gr.* /flitzˈani/ = *Tr.* /fincan/ (cup) and *Gr.* /pantelˈoni/ = *Tr.* pantolon are some of the Greek nouns which fall under this category. Another exclusion concerned the nouns which are likely to be encountered as bi- or three-gendered. For instance, the noun /skˈilos/ (dog) in Greek can be encountered in each of the three gender classes: a) /skˈilos/$_{\text{MASC}}$ (used in general or only when the dog is male), b) /skˈila/$_{\text{FEM}}$ (used only when the dog is female), and c) /skilˈi/$_{\text{NEUT}}$ (used only in general without gender specification). Furthermore, nouns bearing an abstract meaning in Greek, such as /elefθerˈia/ = *Tr.* özgürlük (freedom) or /ðikeosˈini/ = *Tr.* adalet (justice) were excluded by default. In addition, the Greek nouns constructed with any kind of derivational suffixes, such as /plˈisimo/$_{\text{NEUT}}$ (= washing) or /kˈalipsi/$_{\text{FEM}}$ (= coverage), were ruled out as not suitable for the purpose of the task. Last but not least, Turkish words transmitted into the Greek language were to be kept out when selecting concrete Greek nouns. Thus, concrete nouns such as *Gr.* /karpˈuzi/ = *Tr.* karpuz (watermelon), *Gr.* /magali/ = *Tr.* mangal (brazier), *Gr.* /γiakˈas/ = *Tr.* yaka (collar) and *Gr.* /γileko/ = *Tr.* yelek (vest) were excluded.

Specifically, I sought for common nouns used in everyday life with a solid meaning, a plain image of which would be more than enough to recall the concrete noun.

Having excluded an extremely large amount of nouns which either are similar to their Turkish equivalents in terms of form or happen to fall under one of the aforementioned categories, I ended up with the following 6 nouns (see Table 1): *Tr.* pervane (propeller)*, Tr.* bisiklet (bicycle)*, Tr.* kelebek (butterfly)*, Tr.* merdiven (staircase)*, Tr.* karınca (ant) and *Tr.* gezegen (planet). The noun *pervane* (*Gr.* /ˈelikas/) is masculine in Greek. Moreover, the noun *bisiklet* is neuter (*Gr.* /poðˈilato/), while the noun *kelebek* (*Gr.* /petalˈυða/) is feminine in the Greek language. It should be noted that the suffixes of the Turkish equivalents of these three nouns, i.e. –e, –t and –k have no phonological influence in Greek. In other words, the nouns ending with the aforementioned suffixes are not systematically observed to belong to any gender class in the Greek language.

As opposed to the first three nouns the last three Turkish nouns, that is *merdiven*, *karınca* and *gezegen*, possess suffixes which admittedly point to a specific gender class in Greek. In particular, the noun *merdiven* ends with –n, which in Greek indicates neuter nouns (e. g. *Gr.* /mˈellon/ (future), *Gr.* /parˈon/ (present), *Gr.* /parelθˈon/ (past), *Gr.* /pˈion/ (pus), *Gr.* /ˈon/ (creature), *Gr.* /simvˈan (incident), Gr. /sˈiban/ (universe) etc.)[20]. Despite that, the semantically equivalent noun of merdiven in Greek is feminine (/skˈala/). Likewise, the suffix of gezegen, which carries the same ending with merdiven, also falls under the category of neuter gender class in Greek, whereas its equivalent in Greek is masculine, /planˈitis/ (planet). The third and last Turkish noun, the suffix of which points to a specific gender class in the Greek language, is the noun

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[20] The same phonological rule is also at play when the word is borrowed and ends with –n e.g. /zabˈon/ (ham), /bˈeikon/ (bacon), /krυtˈon/ (crouton), /kraɣiˈon/ (lipstick), /mentaɣiˈon/ (medallion) etc.

karınca (ant). The suffix –a in Greek is noticed to point to feminine nouns[21]. The equivalent noun of karınca in Greek is neuter, /mirmˈigi/.

Table 2. Turkish nouns employed for the experiment.

NOUNS	AN	PH
BİSİKLET	NEUT	Ø
PERVANE	MASC	Ø
KELEBEK	FEM	Ø
KARINCA	NEUT	FEM
GEZEGEN	MASC	NEUT
MERDIVEN	FEM	NEUT

The nouns in Table 2 do not only fulfill the criteria, but also they consist of the same number of syllables. Significantly enough, I paid heed to the gender class each noun represents and my ultimate choice resulted in 3 pairs of nouns from each gender class: 2 masculine, 2 feminine and 2 neuter. In addition, as mentioned earlier, the suffixes of the first three Turkish nouns ending with –e (pervane), –t (bisiklet) and –k (kelebek) do not have any phonological influence in Greek nominal system, namely

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[21] It is possible to find nouns in the Greek language ending with –a, which possess neuter gender value. Nevertheless, these nouns in majority comprises nouns with derivational affixes, mostly –ma, such as /siðˈeroma/ (ironing) etc. In addition, the study by Mastropavlou and Tsimpli (2011) confirms that Greek nouns ending in –a are treated by Greek monolingual speakers as feminine with very high predictability (0.97).

Greek speakers do not deduce the gender class which the noun belongs to simply from the suffix attached to the noun. By contrast, the endings of the rest of the Turkish nouns –n (gezegen, merdiven) and –a (karınca) are indicative to one of the three gender classes and simply by looking at them, Greek speakers are able to predict the gender to which they belong to.

The decision on which adjectives I should opt for in the present study was equally significant in terms of interpreting the data, since I had to appoint such adjectives that would neither alter nor lead to any misinterpretation. To be more specific, as opposed to written Greek, in spoken Greek is almost impossible to discern the consonant –n attached to the suffix of the accusative case when a masculine noun is encountered. As a result, non-native Greek speakers, who are not familiar with Greek and the Greek nouns, may easily confuse masculine with neuter when declined in accusative case. For instance, in verbal communication in Greek in the following sentence the suffix –n in the masculine article (ton) is barely pronounced by the speaker.

Written Greek

(11)   ─Φώναξε τον καπετάνιο! /fˈonaksetonkapetˈanio/
         V + DEF ART(MASC+ACC) + N (MASC+ACC)

         ─Call the captain!

As a consequence, the suffix –n is lost in spoken Greek in terms of phonology and as a result in the absence of this suffix, the article is very likely to be confused with the neuter article in the accusative case, where they overlap.

The result sounds to the interlocutor like: [/fˈonaksetokapetˈanio/]

WRITTEN GREEK	SPOKEN GREEK
MASC /tonpˈiravlo/ = rocket	MASC [/topˈiravlo/]

NEUT	NEUT
/toperist'eri/ = pigeon	[/toperist'eri/]

To deter any possibility of misinterpretation, I decided on appointing 2 (two) adjectives which would specify each noun and would start with a vowel ([/aspr'omavros/ and /'eŋxromos/])[22]. In this case, the clear pronunciation of the –n found between the article *to* and the noun by the speaker would be necessitated, when masculine, and the distinction between neuter and masculine nouns would be crystal-clear in the accusative case. Nevertheless, the role of these adjectives in the task was twofold, since besides its functional significance, it also renders the procedure more complex.

In section 4.2.4, I present the results along with my pertinent comments.

4. 2. 4 Results

The results indicate a clear preference for neuter, since out of two 252 valid entries, 220 are neuter. Second in preference comes feminine, which was selected 31 times by the bilinguals. Conversely, Greek-Turkish bilinguals opted for masculine to be assigned to the Turkish nouns only once.

At first sight, it becomes obvious that the vast majority of the participants opted for neuter as gender for the Turkish nouns. The Table 3 below summarizes the results pointing to the times each gender was assigned to which noun. These data points include both D-ADJ-N and D-N cases. Cases where the assigned gender cannot be determined are excluded.

Table 3. Results

NOUNS	NEUT	FEM	MASC
BİSİKLET	39	2	0

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[22] The analysis of the adjectives enlisted for the certain task is given in the beginning of section 4. 3.

PERVANE	32	3	0
KELEBEK	40	11	0
KARINCA	35	1	0
GEZEGEN	35	7	1
MERDIVEN	39	7	0
	n=220	*n*=31	*n*=1

The distribution of the three Greek grammatical genders (masculine, feminine and neuter) across the Turkish nouns (bisiklet, pervane, kelebek, karınca, gezegen and merdiven) is provided in the above table. The discussion (section 4. 3) over the results entailed in the next section is enlightening in that, it provides an accurate explanation and a deep insight into the context within which Greek-Turkish bilinguals selected a certain grammatical gender instead of the other two.

4. 3 Discussion

In total the data points considered to be valid for the purpose of my research are 252.

Specifically, the analogical gender of the noun *merdiven* in Greek is feminine (η σκάλα) (see Table 1). Nevertheless, the suffix –n in Greek nominal system points to nouns of neuter gender. As shown in the table above, the Turkish noun *merdiven* was combined with neuter 39 times, whereas the feminine gender was assigned to this noun only 7 times by the participants. Masculine was not preferred by the participants at all for the aforementioned noun. The preference for neuter gender can be interpreted as a profound evidence for phonological factor effect. At the same time, as opposed to the prevalence of phonological gender, the gender of the Greek equivalent for *merdiven*, which as mentioned previously is feminine, was noticed to play very little role in gender assignment, while masculine was not selected by any participant.

Looking at the noun *gezegen*, whose Greek equivalent is masculine (o πλανήτης) the same conclusion is made, since the Turkish-Greek bilinguals employed neuter for this Turkish noun 35 times, complying with the Greek phonological effect of the suffix –n, and only 7 times feminine. Moreover, masculine was opted for only once.

Likewise, the Turkish noun *karınca*, the Greek equivalent of which is neuter (το μυρμήγκι), ends with –a, a suffix which points to nouns of feminine gender. Here, in this noun the ending does not seem to play a crucial role in gender assignment. In this example, one could claim that, in contrast to the previous two Turkish nouns, the factor of analogy is observed to heavily influence the final choice of the vast majority of the participants, since neuter was selected 35 times, while feminine no more than once. This example seems to blur the general image drawn so far, which indicated nominal suffixes as important element of gender assignment process.

Now, I turn to the Turkish nouns, whose endings are not related to any Greek grammatical gender category, in order to reach a better understanding of the factors operative in gender assignment process. Since these nouns have no phonological cue for gender assignment, they help us understand whether analogical gender plays any role in grammatical gender assignment in Greek-Turkish CS.

Probing the distribution of the noun *bisiklet*, whose Greek equivalent is neuter (το ποδήλατο), across the Greek grammatical gender categories, I realize that, here too, neuter shows prevalence compared to the other two gender classes. In particular, neuter was appointed to this Turkish noun 39 times and feminine just two 2 times. Masculine, once again, was not preferred at all. This example is in accord with the results of the noun *karınca* and confirms the importance of analogy, that is the Greek equivalent.

The suffix of Turkish noun *pervane*, whose Greek equivalent is masculine (ο έλικας)[23], as *bisiklet*, has no effect on gender assignment process. Interestingly enough, the use of neuter seems to be dominant in this noun, too, since neuter was assigned to *pervane* 32 times, whereas feminine was used only 3 times. One the other hand, masculine was deployed only once. Remarkably, even in this example, where no phonological or analogical reasons are present to point to a particular gender class, neuter is the dominant choice of the participants.

The last Turkish noun which I included in the Director-Matcher task, *kelebek*, and whose Greek equivalent is feminine (η πεταλούδα), is also used mostly as a noun of neuter gender. Specifically, the noun kelebek is used as neuter 40 times and as feminine 11. In this example, it should be highlighted that, even if feminine as analogical gender is deployed more times, compared to the other nouns of the task, neuter is still the dominant gender selected by the majority of the participants, whereas masculine is not preferred at all.

The last two nouns, *pervane* and *kelebek*, disprove what the previous Turkish nouns point to and invalidate my first observation concerning the prevalence of either phonological effect or analogical gender. A first sight at the data points of the Turkish nouns *merdiven*, *gezegen* and *karınca*, whose endings do have phonological effects on the Greek nominal system and, consequently, indicate specific gender interpretations, leads one to the conclusion that the morpho-phonological shape of Turkish nouns,

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[23] The noun /ˈelikas/ is also encountered in the Greek nominal system as belonging to the gender class of feminine, /ˈelika/. Despite this ambiguity, this distinction is also reflected in terms of semantics, since when masculine it means *propeller* and when feminine it means *helix* and is used only in the domain of science.

strongly contributes to gender assignment, when CS concerns Greek-Turkish DPs with Greek determiners. Nonetheless, morpho-phonological factors seem to be entirely inert when looking at the grammatical gender participants assigned to *pervane* and *kelebek*, whose endings have no implications on the Greek nominal system in terms of phonology. Specifically, through the Turkish nouns, whose endings lead to no gender interpretation, it becomes profound that the Greek-Turkish bilinguals in the majority and regardless of phonological factors and the gender of Greek equivalent, show clear preference for the neuter gender. Feminine lies in the second place far behind neuter. In the same group of Turkish nouns, masculine seems to be less preferred, as even for the Turkish noun pervane, whose Greek equivalent is masculine, masculine is used only once by the Greek-Turkish bilinguals.

It can be concluded from the Director-Matcher task that Greek-Turkish bilinguals predominantly prefer neuter, when they use Turkish nouns in Greek-Turkish CS. ''─Could this be because neuter is the default gender in Greek?'' Literature shows that this is indeed the case. In other words, the prevalent position of Greek neuter gender coincides with its unique position in the mental lexicon of Greek monolingual speakers, since neuter is both linguistic and learner default, according to Tsimpli and Hulk (2013: 141).

In the light of other studies focusing on the factors involved in gender assignment in determiner-noun code-switches, which deploy different pairs of languages and taking into account my own observations resulting from the data of Greek-Turkish nominal constructions, I am able to infer that, as already suggested by Poplack et al. (1982: 25), the factors determining which gender class will be assigned to which noun are language-specific. Therefore, Poplack et al. (1982) examining Montreal French-Puerto Rican Spanish bilinguals, including words of English origin,

conclude that some of the categorical factors mentioned in 3.4, seem to be responsible for gender assignment to other-language nouns. Yet, they realize that in Puerto Rican Spanish compared to Montreal French English nouns were assigned gender according to their phonology, ''reflecting monolingual patterns'' (Poplack et al., 1982: 25-26).

In the case of Greek-Turkish data presented here, it is highly probable that what motivated Greek-Turkish bilinguals to the preference of neuter for the Turkish nouns is the intrinsic tendency observed in other-language nouns to adopt the unmarked or default gender of the language in which they are inserted. Therefore, deploying the claim put forward by Poplack et al. (1982), it seems that, whereas in Spanish and French masculine is considered to be the default gender, in Greek this role is assigned to neuter (Tsimpli and Hulk: 2013).

Looking at the relatively small proportion of feminine and correlating it with participants' responses to the self-evaluation linguistic questionnaire, I found out that out of 20 Greek-Turkish bilinguals only 1 chose consistently to assign feminine to the Turkish nouns. This male participant, aged 19, assigned feminine to all Turkish nouns, regardless of their declensional suffixes and the gender of their Greek equivalents. According to his responses, although he was brought up in a mostly Turkish speaking environment, like the other participants, and was engaged in a Greek speaking environment at school, there is no clear evidence in his data pointing to low proficiency in Greek. In other words, there is no remarkable difference between his language proficiency and the language proficiency of the other Greek-Turkish bilinguals. Taking into account that he assigned feminine to all Turkish nouns, his preference may be due to the fact that the nouns *image*, *card* and *photograph* in Greek are feminine. Therefore, I speculate that the specific participant being influenced by the gender of either of the aforementioned nouns in the Greek language, he might as well have opted for feminine.

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Another participant, who assigned feminine to one Turkish noun only was male, aged 22, like the previously mentioned participant. Furthermore, he also did not evaluate his language proficiency in either Greek or Turkish with low grade. This participant assigned feminine only to the Turkish noun *merdiven*, which in the Greek nominal system is feminine (see section 4. 2. 3). I propose that, presumably, this participant while assigning gender to the Turkish noun was affected by the gender of its Greek equivalent, a factor known as analogy in the field of CS. The same goes, also, for the next participant, male, aged 21, who assigned feminine to the same noun.

The next Greek-Turkish bilingual, female and aged 21, in the Director-Matcher task was recorded to assign feminine to the following Turkish nouns: *merdiven* and *kelebek*. Not surprisingly, both nouns are feminine. It could be categorically suggested that the factor which was predominantly at play, here, was the gender of their Greek equivalents. The same factor seems to be dominant in the gender selection of the next two Greek-Turkish bilingual, female, aged 21, who opted for feminine to be assigned to the Turkish noun *kelebek*. Surprisingly, transcribing the data, I also detected that the latter participant chose to assign feminine to a Turkish noun, which neither resembles feminine nouns in Greek in terms of morphology and phonology, nor does its Greek equivalent belong to feminine gender. As shown in section 4. 2. 3 the equivalent of the Turkish noun *gezegen* in Greek is masculine and not feminine. The same goes also for the Turkish noun *pervane* to which feminine is assigned, though, its Greek semantic equivalent is masculine.

Another interesting observation can be made concerning the use of masculine in the Turkish nouns. Unexpectedly enough, masculine was preferred only once for the Turkish noun *gezegen*. This single incident can be interpreted as either an exceptional

case or a Turkish noun in which the gender of its Greek equivalent outweighs all the other potential factors in gender assignment.

A noteworthy incident which caught my attention as transcribing the data was the constant practice of several Greek-Turkish bilinguals not to use a definite or indefinite article before the Turkish nouns. See, for instance, the following sentence:

(12)   Δίπλα βρίσκεται ασπρόμαυρο gezegen.
        ADV + V   + ADJ   + N

        Next is located black and white gezegen.

The example (12) was selected among the data points I recorded during my field-work. In total, I spotted 151 such examples, where Greek-Turkish bilinguals did not assign any article to the noun. These instances, of course, do not accord with the rules of Greek in terms of syntax and morphology and would sound strange to the ears of a Greek native speaker.

To sum up, it appears that Greek-Turkish bilinguals in Western Thrace treat Turkish nouns category-free in terms of gender and, thus, tend to assign the default gender, neuter, when the Matrix language is Greek. The phonological shape of the Turkish noun or the analogical gender, that is the gender of its Greek equivalent seem to play little role, if at all.

5. Conclusion

The current thesis has aimed to find out the status of grammatical gender in code-witched DPs, where one of the languages is non-gendered (Turkish), while the other is gendered (Greek). To me the most intriguing aspect of this research was the language pair it probed, since I wanted to see how and to what extent a gendered language would influence a non-gendered language in code-switched nominal constructions and what I found out really surprised me.

The number of Greek-Turkish bilinguals who voluntarily participated in the experiment amounted to 20. Based on the questionnaire, these individuals were all exposed to both languages at a very young age, ranging from 1 to 6 and use Greek and Turkish on a daily basis. Simultaneously, they were equally proficient in Greek and Turkish and, therefore, able to participate in the Director-Matcher task.

In the Director-Matcher task the subjects of my experiment, majorly, chose neuter for the six Turkish nouns. Neuter recorded a distinct prevalence throughout the task. The other two Greek grammatical genders, feminine and masculine were much less preferred by the subjects.

In short, what my results point to is that even in the speech of advanced/native speakers, the gendered language treats nouns from the non-gendered language as foreign. That is, by assigning the Greek default gender to them. Conversely, this indicates that, despite bilinguals, they treat foreign elements similar to Greek monolinguals. To my mind, this practice, definitely, has societal dimensions. In other words, I assume that Greek-Turkish bilinguals in Western Thrace strive for keeping both languages intact and not mixing them up. Otherwise, it could be simply referred that as proficient bilinguals they have drawn a distinct line between Greek and Turkish

and do not confuse them. In this case, Myers-Scotton's study on rationality (1999) in CS which favors the unmarked choice instead of the marked one proves right. Whatever the reasons of this propensity, these results leave much space for further and more in-depth analysis.

Moreover, I found out that the Greek-Turkish bilinguals were not influenced by phonological, analogical factors or the gender of Greek equivalent of the Turkish nouns when assigning a gender to them. Maybe the exclusion of the latter factors is not correct, since according to Poplack et al. (1982) a single factor cannot account for every case. Nevertheless, I cannot overlook the overall clear-cut tendency of these participants.

It should be noted that the results of the experiment confirm the hypothesis put forward by Poplack et al. (1982), which suggests that the set of factors determining the gender assignment process vary from one language pair to another. Indeed, contrary to Spanish and French where the default gender is masculine, the default gender in Greek is neuter.

Interestingly enough, although my study had to do with a community which has been in contact with Greek and Turkish for a century, the Director-Matcher task did not reveal any familiarity in the way its members treat Turkish nouns within Greek phrases.

I propose that the practice of Greek-Turkish bilinguals not to assign a gender to the Turkish nouns is reasserted by the absence of determiners in several cases. In such incidents the gender of each noun reflected on the adjective preceding the noun. It is my assumption that since Greek articles encode gender they opted for omitting it. Alternatively, I speculate that Greek-Turkish bilinguals were influenced by the Turkish morpho-syntax where there is no definite article. In any case, such incidents violate the

Greek language in terms of morpho-syntax and are assumed to be ungrammatical. A meticulous study searching the causes lying in this practice would be very useful.

However, the shortcomings stemming from the methodology and the small proportion of Greek-Turkish bilinguals voluntarily participating in this experiment should not be disregarded. First, it should be highlighted that none of the conclusions I made based on my data are categorical. Considering the small amount of Greek-Turkish bilinguals, it may be the case that a future research on the same language pair deploying a different or a larger sample of members from the same community will reach results much distinct to those analyzed here. Another factor which may impinge on the reliability of the present study arises, presumably, from the restriction imposed by the employment of a single task and a survey instead of a multiple approach. For instance, a grammaticality judgement task would enrich the current research. An additional assistance while exploring the language behavior and habits of Greek-Turkish bilinguals in Western Thrace would be the interview with these participants one by one. Last but not least, a longer field-work in addition to a multiple approach may change the results.

However, besides the probable restrictive aspects, I am highly convinced that the current study will pave the way for further research on Greek-Turkish CS and, specifically, will trigger the interest of the linguists in comprehensively exploring the linguistic habits and behavior of the Greek-Turkish bilinguals in Western Thrace, employing variable techniques for the investigation of distinct language contact phenomena.

Following up my own attempt to carry out a research on gender assignment to the Turkish nouns made by Greek-Turkish bilinguals in Western Thrace, the application

of a similar research to the Greek-Turkish bilinguals located in Rhodes, a Greek island in the Aegean Sea, far from the influence of their counterparts in Western Thrace, would be a compelling comparison between two groups speaking the same language and living in the same country but distant to each other. I am of the opinion that such an insightful comparison will provide substantial evidence on whether or not these two groups of Greek-Turkish bilinguals, residents of different areas, react and behave distinctly when assigning grammatical gender to Turkish nouns.

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Appendices

1. Images of Director-Matcher Task
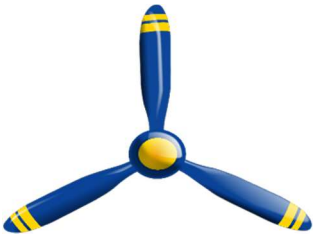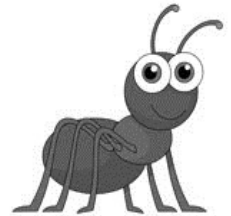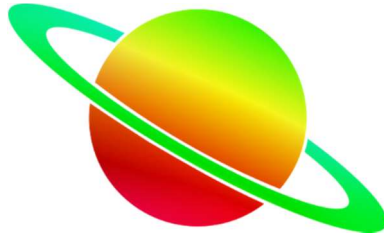
2. Online Self-Evaluation Linguistic Questionnaire

Dil Geçmişi Anketi (LHQ 2.0)

ID numarası: [ ]

1. Yaş: [ ]
2. Cinsiyet: ◉ Erkek ○ Kadın
3. Eğitim durumu: [Eğitim durumu... ▾]
4. Hiç dinleme, konuşma, okuma ya da yazma amacıyla ikinci bir dil öğrendiniz ya da ikinci bir dilde eğitim gördünüz mü? ◉ Evet ○ Hayır

[Sıfırla] [Sonraki]

Dil Geçmişi Anketi (LHQ 2.0)

5. Lütfen anadil(ler)inizi ve bildiğiniz diğer dilleri, bu dillerde dinleme, konuşma, okuma ve yazmaya kaç yaşında başladığınızı, ve her bir dili toplamda kaç yıl kullandığınızı belirtiniz.

Dil:	Dinleme:	Konuşma:	Okuma:	Yazma:	Kullanım süresi:
Dil... ▾	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ] yıl
Dil... ▾	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ] yıl
Dil... ▾	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ] yıl
Dil... ▾	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ] yıl

6a. Şu anda yaşamakta olduğunuz ülke: [Ülke... ▾]   6b. Uyruğunuz: [Ülke... ▾]

6c. Eğer 6a ve 6b'ye verdiğiniz cevaplar farklı ise, şu anda yaşamakta olduğunuz ülkeye ilk ne zaman taşındınız? [ ]

7. Eğer şu anda yaşamakta olduğunuz ya da uyruğunuzun bulunduğu ülkeden farklı bir yerde üç aydan fazla yaşadıysanız ülkenin adını, ikamet sürenizi, bu sürede kullandığınız dili ve bu dili kullanım sıklığınızı her ülke için belirtiniz.

Ülke:	İkamet süresi:	Dil:	Kullanım sıklığı:
Ülke... ▾	[ ] ay	Dil... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾
Ülke... ▾	[ ] ay	Dil... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾
Ülke... ▾	[ ] ay	Dil... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾
Ülke... ▾	[ ] ay	Dil... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾

8. Bildiğiniz veya eğitim gördüğünüz dilleri kullanmaya başladığınız yaşı aşağıdaki her ortam için ayrı ayrı belirtiniz.

Dil:	Evde:	Arkadaşlarla:	Okulda:	İşte:	Dil öğrenme programında:	Online oyunlarda:
Dil... ▾	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Dil... ▾	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Dil... ▾	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Dil... ▾	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

9. Her eğitim seviyesi için öğretmenlerinizin kullandığı eğitim dilini belirtiniz. Eğer herhangi bir eğitim seviyesi içinde eğitim dilinde bir dilden diğerine geçiş yaşandıysa bunu "Geçilen dil" kısmında belirtiniz.

	Dil:	(Geçilen dil:)
İlkokul:	Dil... ▾	Dil... ▾
Ortaokul:	Dil... ▾	Dil... ▾
Lise:	Dil... ▾	Dil... ▾
Üniversite:	Dil... ▾	Dil... ▾

10. Dil öğrenme becerinizi derecelendirin. Yeni bir dil öğrenme konusunda arkadaşlarınıza ya da tanıdığınız diğer insanlara kıyasla kendinizi ne kadar iyi hissedersiniz?   [Derecelendirin... ▾]

11. Bildiğiniz veya eğitim gördüğünüz her dil için şu anki dinleme, konuşma, okuma ve yazma becerilerinizi derecelendirin.

Dil:	Dinleme:	Konuşma:	Okuma:	Yazma:
Dil... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾
Dil... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾
Dil... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾
Dil... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾

12. Bugüne kadar herhangi bir standart dil seviye belirleme testine girdiyseniz (örn. TOEFL) aldığınız her bir test için test adını, test edilen dili ve elde ettiğiniz puanı belirtiniz. Eğer tam puanınızı hatırlamıyorsanız "Yaklaşık puan" bölümüne tahmini bir skor yazınız.

Test:	Dil:	Puan:	(Yaklaşık puan:)
[ ]	Dil... ▾	[ ]	[ ]
[ ]	Dil... ▾	[ ]	[ ]
[ ]	Dil... ▾	[ ]	[ ]
[ ]	Dil... ▾	[ ]	[ ]

13. Bildiğiniz veya eğitim gördüğünüz her dil için yabancı aksanınızın ağırlığını derecelendiriniz.

Dil:	Aksan:
Dil... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾
Dil... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾
Dil... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾
Dil... ▾	Derecelendirin... ▾

14. Bildiğiniz veya eğitim gördüğünüz her bir dilde aşağıdaki aktiviteler için günde kaç saat harcadığınızı tahmini olarak belirtiniz.

Dil:	Televizyon izlemek:	Radyo dinlemek:	Eğlence için okumak:	Okul/iş için okumak:	Arkadaşlara e-mail yazmak:	Okul/iş için e-mail:
Dil... ▼						
Dil... ▼						
Dil... ▼						
Dil... ▼						

15. Bildiğiniz veya eğitim gördüğünüz her bir dil için aşağıda belirtilen insan grupları ile günde kaç saat konuştuğunuzu tahmini olarak belirtiniz.

Dil:	Aile üyeleri:	Arkadaşlar: ❷	Sınıf arkadaşları:	İş arkadaşları: ❷
Dil... ▼				
Dil... ▼				
Dil... ▼				
Dil... ▼				

16a. Konuşurken faklı dillerden kelime ya da cümleleri karıştırır mısınız? ❷   ○ Evet ◉ Hayır

16b. Eğer 16a'ya "Evet\" dediyseniz, karıştırdığınız dilleri işaretleyerek günlük dilde aşağıdaki gruplar için dil karıştırma sıklığınızı tahmini olarak belirtiniz.

	Dil 1:	Dil 2:	Karıştırma sıklığı:
Aile üyeleri:	Dil... ▼	Dil... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼
Arkadaşlar:	Dil... ▼	Dil... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼
Sınıf arkadaşları:	Dil... ▼	Dil... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼
İş arkadaşları:	Dil... ▼	Dil... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼

17. Aşağıda belirtilen ortamların her biri için dinleme, konuşma, okuma ve yazmada en iyi iletişim kurduğunuz ve kendinizi en rahat hissettiğiniz dili belirtiniz.

	Dinleme:	Konuşma:	Okuma:	Yazma:
Evde:	Dil... ▼	Dil... ▼	Dil... ▼	Dil... ▼
Arkadaşlarla:	Dil... ▼	Dil... ▼	Dil... ▼	Dil... ▼
Okulda:	Dil... ▼	Dil... ▼	Dil... ▼	Dil... ▼
İşte:	Dil... ▼	Dil... ▼	Dil... ▼	Dil... ▼

18. Bildiğiniz veya eğitim gördüğünüz dilleri aşağıdaki aktivitelerde ne sıklıkla kullanırsınız?

Dil:	Düşünme:	Kendi kendine konuşma:	Duygu ifade etme: ❷	Rüya görme:	Sayısal işlem yapma: ❷	Sayıları hatırlama: ❷
Dil... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼
Dil... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼
Dil... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼
Dil... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼

19. Arkadaşlarınızın yüzde kaçı bildiğiniz veya eğitim gördüğünüz dilleri konuşurlar?

Dil:	Yüzde: ❷
Dil... ▼	%
Dil... ▼	%
Dil... ▼	%
Dil... ▼	%

20a. Kendinizi iki-kültürlü ya da çok-kültürlü hisseder misiniz? ❷   ○ Evet ◉ Hayır

20b. Eğer 20a'ya "Evet" dediyseniz, hangi kültürler/diller ile kendinizi daha çok özdeşleştirirsiniz? Aşağıda sunulan kategoriler için her bir kültüre/dile olan bağlılığınızı derecelendiriniz.

Kültür/dil:	Yaşam tarzı:	Yemek:	Müzik:	Sanat:	Şehirler/kasabalar:	Spor takımları:
Dil... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼
Dil... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼
Dil... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼
Dil... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼	Derecelendirin... ▼

21. Yukarıda cevaplandırdığınız herhangi bir soru için, dil geçmişinizi ve kullanımınızı daha iyi tanımlayacağını düşündüğünüz ek cevaplarınız varsa lütfen aşağıdaki alana yazınız.

22. Dil geçmişiniz ve kullanımınız ile ilgili ilginç veya önemli olduğunu düşündüğünüz ve yukarıdaki sorularda belirtilmeyen herhangi bir şey varsa lütfen aşağıdaki alana yazınız.

Sıfırla   Gönder

3. Participant Consent Form

Universiteit Leiden

Πανεπιστήμιο Λάιντεν
Σχολή Ανθρωπιστικών Επιστημών

Έντυπο Συγκατάθεσης για Συμμετοχή στην έρευνα της ερευνήτριας
Άννας Παπαμάρκου

Με το παρόν έντυπο δηλώνω υπεύθυνα, ότι έχοντας ενημερωθεί επαρκώς για το περιεχόμενο και τη διαδικασία αυτής της μελέτης από την ανωτέρω ερευνήτρια δέχομαι εθελοντικά να συμμετάσχω στις παρακάτω δραστηριότητες.

Κατανοώντας ότι τα προσωπικά δεδομένα και στοιχεία που αφορούν στο πρόσωπό μου δεν θα αποκαλυφθούν ή θα χρησιμοποιηθούν με οποιονδήποτε τρόπο σε καμία περίπτωση δηλώνω:

➢ Τη συγκατάθεσή μου στην ηχογράφηση των συζητήσεων που θα γίνουν στο πλαίσιο της έρευνας. Επίσης, συμφωνώ με τη διανομή και τη δημοσιοποίηση του ηχογραφημένου υλικού με τον όρο τη χρήσης διαφορετικού ονόματος με στόχο την απόκρυψη των πραγματικών προσωπικών στοιχείων.

➢ Ότι εγκρίνω την οποιαδήποτε χρήση των δεδομένων που μοιράστηκα στο ερωτηματολόγιο για ερευνητικούς ή εκπαιδευτικούς σκοπούς υπό τον όρο της αυστηρής τήρησης της ανωνυμίας μου.

➢ Παρομοίως, εγκρίνω την πρόσβαση σε αυτές τις πληροφορίες από άλλους ερευνητές στο πλαίσιο γραπτής ή προφορικής έρευνας χωρίς επιπλέον άδεια μου.

➢ Ταυτόχρονα, παρέχω τα πνευματικά δικαιώματα των προαναφερθέντων δεδομένων και όλες τις ενδεχόμενες εισφορές από την έρευνα στην ερευνήτρια Άννα Παπαμάρκου και την επιβλέπουσα αυτής, Δρ. Ντενίζ Τατ.

Υπογραφή:

Ονοματεπώνυμο:

Διεύθυνση:

Ημερομηνία:…/…/…