

# ***PREFIXOIDS IN THE SECRET GREEK GAY LANGUAGE KALIARDÁ<sup>1</sup>***

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## **Abstract**

This paper investigates the morphological category of prefixoids in Kaliardá, a Greek antilanguage (Halliday 1976, 1978) created by socially marginalized communities of transvestites, transexuals, and homosexuals (especially men, Gkartzonika 2012). Kaliardá exhibits a series of prefixoids that can be divided into three categories; prefixoids from Standard Modern Greek, prefixoids from the Greek slang vocabulary, and domestic ones which refer to the prefixoids that have been created and used solely by speakers of Kaliardá. I show that Kaliardá uses mostly domestic prefixoids. I propose that this tendency stems from the need to make Kaliardá different from SMG to a maximum extent, which in turn makes impossible for outgroups to understand what is being said. Prefixoids also shed more light on the interaction between the speakers of Kaliardá and other marginalized communities of Greek society.

## **1. Kaliardá**

Kaliardá is a Greek variety originally created by socially marginalized communities of transvestites and transexuals and later picked up by homosexuals (especially men, Gkartzonika 2012). It was mainly used in the bigger urban areas of Greece, namely the capital Athens, as well as Thessaloniki, the second most populated city.

The creation of Kaliardá was considered to have taken place during the 1940s (Petropoulos 2016· Christopoulou 2016). However, recently an issue of the satirical magazine *Petaktó Kórte* resurfaced that changed the terminus ante quem established in the relevant literature for many years. Published in 25/11/1904 the issue includes the first attestation of Kaliardá (see appendix). This short list of words suggests that Kaliardá emerged at least four decades earlier than previously thought. Interestingly, some speakers have argued that the variety is even older, maintaining that it dates to the Ottoman era (Gkartzonika 2012). Even though at this moment there is no evidence to support this claim, it underscores how the speakers perceive their variety and construct the community’s folklore (see also Gkartzonika 2012).

The use of Kaliardá has faded significantly during the two last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Not surprisingly, this has led some of the older speakers to discuss Kaliardá within the context of language death. The dictionary by Ilias Petropoulos, originally published in 1971, contributed to the spread of Kaliardá into the mainstream society. Of course, people continued not to speak or understand Kaliardá. However, they could now recognize the variety as the

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language of people with sexual identities that did not abide by the strict heterosexual norm.

Furthermore, Kaliardá was popularized by famous comedians in their acts (e.g. stand ups), movies and sit-coms. Through comedy the variety was associated with an extremely offensive stereotype, that of an effeminate man that only served as the source of amusement or the object of ridicule for the main characters. To that fact, the speakers abandoned Kaliardá in an effort to disengage from that stereotype. Lastly, as Christopoulou (2016) points out, members of the LGBTQ community opted out other -nonlinguistic- means of identity construction (e.g. clothing). Nonetheless, due to the fact that its use still carries an important symbolic meaning (e.g. names of bands, see Halatsi 2018) some members of the LGBTQ community still use some words and phrases among friends in a variety of settings (e.g. gay bars, Gkartzonika 2012). It must be noted that the speakers of Kaliardá are only a subgroup within the LGBTQ community. In other words, although it is safe to assume that speakers of Kaliardá belong to the LGBTQ community, a member of the LGBTQ community does not necessarily speak Kaliardá or is even aware of what Kaliardá is (Gkartzonika 2012).

Kaliardá is an antilanguage (Halliday 1976, 1978) and, therefore, constitutes both a sociolect as it is utilized by a group of the social ensemble, and a language which is used within an antisociety (Halliday 1976). An antisociety can be roughly defined as a social subset that acts as a means of resistance to the social norm by being a conscious alternative to it (Halliday 1978: 164).

The emergence of an antilanguage stems from the need to construct: “an alternative social structure, with its systems of values, of sanctions, of rewards and punishments” (Halliday 1976: 573). Within the antisociety individuals can create the identity they wish without the danger of rejection but “through the patterns of acceptance and gratification” (Halliday 1978: 168). As Triandaphyllidis (1947/1963: Chapter 17) notes regarding the users of secret languages in general:

“Their secret language is simultaneously a means of protection and defiance towards the oppression imposed upon them by society's demands and limitations, as well as the outcome of them straining society”

An antisociety -as any society- consists of smaller groups. These smaller groups differentiate on many aspects with language being one of them. Petropoulos (2016: 10) makes a distinction between two subvarieties which he calls “levels”: Aplí Kaliardí and Liárdo. Aplí Kaliardí is spoken by most speakers, while Liárdo is the variety used by the most initiated members of the antisociety. According to Petropoulos (2016) Liárdo consists of a smaller vocabulary. In his dictionary only 10% of the lemmas belong to Liárdo. Even though Petropoulos (2016) makes the aforementioned distinction, he does not explain his dichotomy, that is to say what constitutes someone versed enough and, therefore, eligible to speak Liárdo. He specifies, however, that Liárdo derives from Aplí Kaliardí. That is, indeed, supported by the morphological procedures that generate Liárdo's vocabulary (Rouvalis 2020). In the current article I use the term Kaliardá to refer to both subvarieties and the asterisk (\*) to mark the words that belong to Liárdo.

Kaliardá serves two functions in communication. First, it satisfies the need of speakers for secrecy as it contributes to the exclusion of outgroups from communication (Gkartzonika 2012· Revenioti 2014). As a speaker states: “We could talk about someone, even mock him in

front of him and he had no clue” (Revenioti 2014: 7:05-7:08). This is the reason why Kaliardá is often referred as a secret language. Second, Kaliardá acts as: “a marker of speech community identity and membership and fosters co-membership and camaraderie”. (Gkartzonika, 2012: 26· Xydopoulos 2008).

Kaliardá is structurally based on Greek (Rouvalis 2020) but its lexicon is a result of relexicalization (Halliday 1978) that substantially relied on borrowing (Montoliu 2005, Ralli & Rouvalis forthcoming). Halliday (1978) suggests that the process of relexicalization is partial and limited to the areas of interest of each subculture. Indeed, in Kaliardà one can observe an overlexicalization of specific semantic fields revolving around sexuality. For example, there are more than 40 word for [homosexual] (e.g. *anemómilos*, *krífo*, *karalubú*).<sup>2</sup>

Nonetheless, Kaliardà’s vocabulary extends to various semantic fields enabling the speakers of Kaliardà to talk extensively without resorting to words from Standard Modern Greek (hereafter SMG) that could be understood by outsiders (Petropoulos 2016). Some examples include:

- a) political and social organization (*primátsos* [prime minister], *musadórenos* [regent], *renovlastós* [crown prince], *juðáðiko* [ministry of public order])
- b) animals (*aðerfúla* ‘cat’ *γυγυλφάcis* [dog], *balokuácis* [frog])
- c) family relationships (*iraklomudzú* [daughter], *mudzópuri* [mother], *semelopurós* [father])
- d) clothing (*nisestokápako* [suit jacket] *prezentasión* [formal clothing], *barotíraxo* [boot], *pagrokápako* [hat])
- e) food (*yaletomadúla* [cookie], *fromázi* [cheese], *kárno* [meat])
- f) professions (*skatofayú* [undercover policeman], *benavostrófis* [translator], *dorópuros* [concierge], *telára* [tailor, fem.], *telóris* [tailor, masc.]
- g) place name (e.g. *aðerfoxóri* [London], *dzinavótopos* [London], *mudzótopos* [Paris])

Kaliardá, diverges from other Greek varieties below the word level as well. In this article I deal with prefixoids, that is affixoids which are attached exclusively on the left of the stem. The structure of the article is the following: after the introduction, I define the category of affixoids in which prefixoids belong. In section 3, I present the prefixoids in Kaliardá dividing them into three categories on the basis of their origin. In section 4 the main conclusions are drawn, followed by the appendix and the relevant literature.

## 2. The category of affixoids

The demarcation of derivation and compounding seems relatively easy at first. Compounding involves the combination of two lexemes (Ralli 2013) while derivation includes the combination of a lexeme and an affix (Ralli 2014). However, there are units which constitute borderline cases. These are the affixoids which can be divided into prefixoids and suffixoids based on their position in the structure in relation to the stem. The appearance of these units cross-linguistically (e.g. Greek Ralli 2014· Dutch Booij 2005· French Amiot 2005) has led researchers to the conclusion that the process of derivation and compounding are distinct (Ralli 2003) but with non-distinct borders (Ralli 2014).

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<sup>2</sup> For synonymy in Kaliardà see Petropoulos (2016: 191-193)

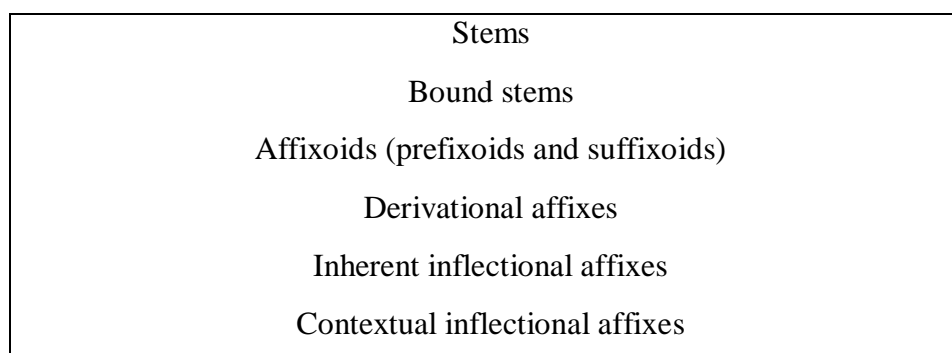
Diachronically, the procedure by which a lexeme becomes a prefix is called prefixation (Amiot 2005) and falls into the wider spectrum of grammaticalization (Dimela 2010)<sup>3</sup>. The process of grammaticalization is fueled by the tendency of speakers to use lexemes with concrete meanings to encode -more abstract- grammatical meanings (Heine 2003). Despite the different approaches grammaticalization is frequently defined: “as the process by which a lexical item or a sequence of items becomes a grammatical morpheme, changing its distribution and function in the process” (Bybee 2010: 106). Grammaticalization takes place in specific constructions. In the case of prefixoids, the process of grammaticalization started in compound words where the lexeme from whom they originated was the left constituent (Dimela 2010). This is the reason why, in many cases the Greek compound marker -o- has been incorporated into prefixoids through reanalysis (Ralli 2020, for Greek compound marker see Koliopoulou 2014).

(1) plak-o-X – [compounding] > plako-X [derivation], [where X= stem/word]

(Ralli 2020: 9)

The notion of affixoids (prefixoids and affixoids) has been deemed diachronically useful (Stevens 2000: 4) as it underlines the graduality of language change and in particular the process by which affixoids are generated, grammaticalization. However, the synchronic status of affixoids is still controversial. Booij (2005) opposes the postulating of an independent category. Following a construction grammar framework Booij and Hüning (2014: 1) treat affixoids as constituents of compounds with an affix-like behaviour, that is to say constituents which have a more abstract meaning contrary to the meaning of other constituents in a morphological structure (Booij 2010). Within this framework, affixoids are part of schemas expressed at a lower level of abstraction, where a slot is lexically fixed. Ralli (2020), on the other side, following Kastovsky (2009), claims that the existence of affixoids is language dependent, in that only languages with stem-based morphology can postulate such categories. Since Greek is a stem-based language (Ralli 2003· 2014) she proposes a synchronically independent status for affixoids (see also Kenesei 2007) mapping this category in the morphological continuum below the word level between affixes and stems (Ralli 2014: 316).

### Figure 1 Morphological continuum



<sup>3</sup> As shown by Ralli (2020) affixoids can also be a result of degrammaticalization. However, all the prefixoids that will be discussed below derive from stems. Thus, even though degrammaticalization should not be overlooked as a process feeding the intermediate category of affixoids, is outside the scope of this paper.

Following Ralli's rationale (2020) I support the postulation of an independent category, that includes both prefixoids and suffixoids. As members of an intermediate category, prefixoids have common features with both the categories with whom they border; namely stems and prefixes. On the one hand, high productivity and abstract meaning are common features among with prefixes (ten Hacken 2000· Booij 2007). On the other hand, the fact that prefixoids can be linked to the lexeme from whom they originate -often called original morpheme- brings them closer to the latter category (Ralli 2020· Booij 2005). However, prefixoids also possess unique features that cannot be attributed to any of the aforesaid categories. Particularly, unlike prefixes which have categorial restrictions (Ralli 2020· 2014) and select specific grammatical categories during word formation processes, prefixoids have no similar restrictions and can be combined with both verbal and nominal bases.

### 3. Prefixoids in Kaliardá

Kaliardá exhibits a big number of prefixoids. My data are drawn from the dictionary of Ilias Petropoulos (2016) which was first published in 1971 and which constitutes the only available source for Kaliardá. The dictionary consists of around 3000 lemmas. Based on the data I will present the category of prefixoids separating them into three categories; prefixoids from Standard Modern Greek (henceforth SMG), prefixoids from the Greek slang vocabulary and domestic prefixoids, prefixoids which are used solely by speakers of Kaliardá.

#### 3.1 Prefixoids from SMG

SMG is the official standardized language of the Greek state. It is an artificial dialect that has been created in the 19<sup>th</sup> century combing features from four Greek dialects; Peloponnesian (the dialect of Peloponnese which had been the core of the first Greek state in 19<sup>th</sup> century), Heptanesian (the dialect of the Ionian isles the prestige of which skyrocketed due to a flourishing literary production during the 19<sup>th</sup> century), Constantinopolitan (the dialect of Constantinople, today's Istanbul, which was the dialect of high political and administrative posts holders), and katharevousa (an artificial variety that intended to purge the language of any foreign influence). SMG exhibits a big number of prefixoids (see among others Savidou 2012· Dimela & Melissaropoulou 2009· Efthymiou 2017). However, only three of them are attested in Kaliardá.

The prefixoid *theo-* is used the most among the prefixoids of this category (5 adjectives, 2 nouns and 1 adverb). It derives from the noun *θεός* [God] and has acquired a far more abstract meaning, that of intensification. As Savidou (2012) points out, the intensifying meaning of *theo-* does not alter the characteristics of the base, which already conveys an extreme and, to some extent, subjunctive meaning. In Kaliardá, *theo-* selects bases with negative (2a, b, c) and positive meaning (2d, e, f).

(2) *theo-*

Kaliardá	Base
a. <i>θεοκυλισμένος</i> ADJ.MASC.SG.NOM. 'someone with a lot of makeup'	<i>κυλισμένος</i> ADJ.MASC.SG.NOM. 'someone with makeup'
b. <i>θεοκάρδος</i> ADJ.MASC.SG.NOM.	<i>κάρδος</i> ADJ.MASC.SG.NOM.

	‘very ugly’	‘ugly’
c.	θεόβαρος	barós
	ADJ.MASC.SG.NOM.	ADJ.MASC.SG.NOM.
	‘extremely fat’	‘fat’
d.	θεομιλιονάρις.	μιλιονάρις
	N.MASC.SG.NOM.	N.MASC.SG.NOM.
	‘immensely rich’	‘millionaire’
e.	θεομιλιονάρο	μιλιονάρο
	N.FEM.SG.NOM.	N.FEM.SG.NOM.
	‘immensely rich’	‘millionaire’
f.	*θεοβúkura	βúkuros
	ADV.	ADJ.MASC.SG.NOM.
	‘wonderful’	‘nice’
g.	θεόλατσο	λατσο
	ADJ.MASC.SG.NOM.	ADJ.MASC.SG.NOM.
	‘very nice’	‘nice’

Moving on, the second prefixoid that has been borrowed from SMG is the prefixoid *psilo-*. This prefixoid derives from the adjective *psilós* [thin] and expresses a number of meanings. Particularly:

- a. “detailed work/processing” (e.g. *psiloðuleménos* [finely worked])
- b. “diminution or reduction” (e.g. *psilokóvo* [mince])
- c. “mitigating description” (e.g. *psilóvroho* [drizzle])
- d. and “mitigating pragmatic function” (e.g. *psilovarjéme* [be bored]).

(Savidou 2012: 1091)

According to Savidou (2012) the goal of the mitigating pragmatic meaning is to protect the speaker from violating the maxim of quality. In the same vein, Xydopoulos (2009) argues that *psilo-* has similar functions with the English *-ish* and highlights the use of *psilo-* as a pragmatic marker, “that mitigates semantic and pragmatic effects” (Xydopoulos 2009: 404). In Kaliardá *psilo-* is combined with four nouns and one verb. In these structures it expresses diminution (e.g. 3b) or mitigating description (e.g. 3a).

### (3) *psilo-*

Kaliardá	Base
a. <i>psilotelorzázo</i>	<i>telorzázo</i>
VER.IND.PR.SG.1 <sup>ST</sup> PER.	VER.IND.PR.SG.1 <sup>ST</sup> PER.
‘darn’	‘sew’
b. <i>psiloberdés</i>	<i>berdés</i>
N.MASC.SG.NOM.	N.MASC.SG.NOM.
‘allowance, tip’	‘money’
c. <i>psilotelorú.</i>	<i>telorú</i>
N.FEM.SG.NOM.	N.FEM.SG.NOM.
‘a woman who darns’	‘tailor’
d. <i>psiloruxú.</i>	<i>rúxo</i>

N.FEM.SG.NOM. 'thread'	N.FEM.SG.NOM. 'cloth'
e. psilopelé	pelé
N.NEUT.SG.NOM. 'roasted chickpea'	N.NEUT.SG.NOM. 'testicle'

Lastly, the prefixoid *proto-* is only detected in one word. It derives from the ordinal adjective *prótos* [first], and as a prefixoid indicates something or someone important or superior.

(4) *proto-*

Kaliardá	Base
protodavás	davás
N.MASC.SG.NOM. 'prime minister'	N.MASC.SG.NOM. 'pimp'

### 3.2 Prefixoids from the Greek slang vocabulary

The term “slang vocabulary” refers to a subset of a language’s vocabulary comprised of informal and colloquial words (Swann, Mesthrie, Deumert & Lillis 2004: 281). It is used by social groups as a “counter language” (Swann et al 2004: 281) that (see also Dumas & Lighter 1978: 14-16):

- a. maintains solidarity
- b. increases social distance with outsiders
- c. redefines a context or a relationship (e.g. as less serious)

(Swann et al 2004: 281)

The work on Greek slang vocabulary is limited but provides very interesting insights on one of the least studied areas of Greek linguistics. Christopoulou (2016) examines the Greek slang vocabulary from a lexicological perspective. In her research she explains that the Greek slang vocabulary comprises of different vocabularies utilised by distinct social groups. Kaliardá is one of the varieties she lists. The rest are:

- a. The vocabulary of the streets
- b. the vocabulary of rebétes
- c. youth vocabulary
- d. the vocabulary of prisoners
- e. the vocabulary of drug addicts
- f. the vocabulary of soldiers
- g. the vocabulary of sports fans<sup>4</sup>

(Christopoulou 2016: 82-83)

All these vocabularies have borrowed from one another, as well as borrow elements to one another. Kaliardá being a part of Greek slang vocabulary is no exception and has acted both

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<sup>4</sup> See Papanagiotou (2016)

as a donor, as well as a receiver, of elements from the other varieties of Greek slang varieties. Noticeably, however, Kaliardá has borrowed the least from other vocabularies (Petropoulos 2016). This is particularly clear in the category of prefixoids.

The prefixoid *kolo-*, which derives from the noun *kólos* [ass], is the prefixoid borrowed from the slang vocabulary which is used the most (for prefixoids in slang vocabulary see Christopoulou 2016: 194-203). Christopoulou (2016: 86) includes it in the obscene vocabulary, which is not used by a specific group, but rather feeds all the slang vocabularies. It expresses either “the speaker’s rejection and frustration about the base” (Christopoulou 2016: 200, e.g. 5a), or intensification (e.g. 5b). In Kaliardá it is attested only in three words.

(5) *kolo-*

Kaliardá	Base
a. kolotsitsíri. N.NEUT.SG.NOM. ‘darnel’	tsitsíri N.NEUT.SG.NOM. ‘a kind of edible grass’
b. kolotsitsirízo VER.IND.PR.SG.1 <sup>ST</sup> PER. ‘torture’	tsitsirízo VER.IND.PR.SG.1 <sup>ST</sup> PER. ‘inconvenience’
c. kolotsitóno VER.IND.PR.SG.1 <sup>ST</sup> PER. ‘have violent anal coitus’	tsitóno VER.IND.PR.SG.1 <sup>ST</sup> PER. ‘stretch’

There are two more prefixoids that can be traced back to the slang vocabulary. The prefixoids *scilo-* and *skato-* are only attested once each. They derive from nouns, specifically the nouns *scílos* [dog] and *skató* [excrement] respectively. The prefixoid *scilo-* expresses a derogatory stance about the meaning of the base (Christopoulou 2016), while *skato-* “the frustration of the speaker regarding the base” (Christopoulou 2016: 437).

(6) *scilo-/skato-*

Kaliardá	Base
a. *scilotrayópuros N.MASC.SG.NOM. ‘bishop’	*trayopurós N.MASC.SG.NOM. ‘priest’
b. skatópresa N.FEM.SG.NOM. ‘mandatory law’	présa N.FEM.SG.NOM. ‘pressure’

### 3.3 Domestic prefixoids

Domestic prefixoids constitute the most puzzling among the three categories. Previous analysis on the subject provides an extended list of domestic affixoids (Vounchev 2016) based



solely on semantics. In that vein, a unit which acquires a different, more general, meaning compared to the entry in Petropoulos' dictionary (2016) is considered a prefixoid.

I argue that the exclusive use of semantic criteria cannot lead to safe results since it is quite common for a constituent of a compound to have a metaphoric or metonymic meaning. Even more importantly, in antilanguages such as Kaliardá, metaphoric use is the norm (Halliday 1978). Therefore, semantics -however important- cannot be the only criterion for defining the units of the category in question. Prefixoids are first and foremost a morphological category (Ralli 2020· Kenesei 2007). For this reason, morphological criteria should be employed to define the units that belong in the category. Moreover, since grammaticalization affects the phonetic form (Bybee 2010), phonological criteria should also be considered.

Therefore, in order to define the domestic prefixoids, I will utilize the phonological, semantic and morphological criteria proposed for Greek by Dimela (2010). The phonological criterion takes into account the phonetic form of the unit. It is generally assumed that phonetic erosion is a sign of grammaticalization. However, as it has been pointed out by both Dimela (2010) and others (Booij 2007· Dimela & Melissaropoulou 2009), phonetic erosion does not necessarily occur. Therefore, the inability of a unit to meet this criterion is not a disqualifying factor. The semantic criterion examines the desemantization of the unit and the acquiring of a more abstract meaning than the original morpheme. Lastly, the morphological criterion takes into account boundness and the lack of categorial selection. Taking into deep consideration the aforementioned criteria, the following list of prefixoids emerges.

The prefixoid *musado-/muso-/sado-* is the most productively used prefixoid in Kaliardá. It derives from the word *musadó/músi* [lie]. The particular prefixoid meets all the criteria proposed by Dimela (2010). Semantically, it has a more abstract meaning, that is to say it means 'pseudo-'. Moreover, its phonological form has been shortened as, in many words, appears as *sado-*. Finally, it is combined with nouns (35), verbs (5) and adjectives (1). Examples given:

(7) *musado-/muso-/sado-*

Kaliardá	Base
a. musadórenos N.MASC.SG.NOM. 'regent'	rénos N.MASC.SG.NOM. 'king'
b. musadovestáro VER.IND.PR.SG.1 <sup>ST</sup> PER. 'disguise'	vestáro VER.IND.PR.SG.1 <sup>ST</sup> PER. 'dress'
c. musadómagas N.MASC.SG.NOM. 'fraudulent'	mágas N.MASC.SG.NOM. 'tough guy'
d. musadopérno VER.IND.PR.SG.1 <sup>ST</sup> PER. 'flirt'	pérno VER.IND.PR.SG.1 <sup>ST</sup> PER. 'have coitus'
e. musadodilokolé N.NEUT.SG.NOM. 'artificial denture'	dilokolé N.NEUT.SG.NOM. 'denture'
f. sadomutzopurú N.FEM.SG.NOM. 'stepmother'	mutzopurú N.FEM.SG.NOM. 'mother'
g. sadosemeloporós	semelopurós

N.MASC.SG.NOM.  
'stepfather'

N.MASC.SG.NOM.  
'father'

Kaliardá has borrowed a great number of words from French (Montoliou 2005· Ralli & Rouvalis forthcoming), one of which is the adjective *grand* [big] which has been subject to grammaticalization. *Grand-* does not meet all the criteria put forward by Dimela (2010). The phonological form has not been altered. However, as mentioned above the phonological criterion is not always met. Additionally, in the data available, *gran-* is combined with two nouns and one adjective and, therefore, does not seem to satisfy the morphological criterion of lack of categorial selection. Nonetheless, it has acquired a far more abstract meaning, in that it does not denote size but rather someone important or hierarchically superior. Even more importantly, this abstract meaning only manifests itself in bound contexts, unlike stems which with the addition of an appropriate inflectional ending can appear freely. *Gran-* is found in the following words:

(8) *gran-*

Kaliardá	Base
a. granvakulodavadzís N.MASC.SG.NOM. 'patriarch'	vakulodavadzís N.MASC.SG.NOM. 'archbishop'
b. granvakulopurós N.MASC.SG.NOM. 'bishop'	vakulopurós N.MASC.SG.NOM. 'priest'
c. granrenokaθicoménos ADJ.MASC.SG.NOM. 'crowned'	?granrenokaθicoménos <sup>5</sup> ADJ.MASC.SG.NOM.

Another adjective that has been grammaticalized is the adjective *kaliardós* [ugly, bad, weird] from which the variety takes one of its many names. The etymology of the word has been debated by researchers. Petropoulos (2016) traces the etymology to French and, specifically, the word *gaillard* [strong; sprightly, lively], while Papazahariou (1981) offers a probably more likely etymology from the Romani word *caliarda* [black].

The phonological form has not been shortened. On the contrary, as a prefixoid it appears as *kaliardo-* having assimilated the compound marker in its phonological form through reanalysis (Ralli 2020). Undoubtedly, it has undergone semantic bleaching. It expresses intensification -a far more abstract meaning than of the adjective. Finally, it is combined with verbal and nominal bases, satisfying the morphological criterion of non-categorial selection. Some examples include:

(9) *kaliardo-*

Kaliardá	Base
a. kaliardókapsa	kápsa

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<sup>5</sup> The question mark denotes an unattested base.

	N.FEM.SG.NOM. 'lust'		N.FEM.SG.NOM. 'longing'
b.	kaliardokapsúris N.MASC.SG.NOM. 'lustful'		kapsúris N.MASC.SG.NOM. 'amorous'
c.	kaliardocotévo VER.IND.PR.SG.1 <sup>ST</sup> PER. 'flinch'		cotévo VER.IND.PR.SG.1 <sup>ST</sup> PER. 'hesitate'
d.	kaliardoníla N.FEM.SG.NOM. 'fraud'		níla N.FEM.SG.NOM. 'damage'
e.	kaliardodúp N.NEUT.SG.NOM. 'heavy beating'		dúp N.NEUT.SG.NOM. 'beating'

The prefixoid *balo-/baro-* derives from the adjective *balós/barós* [fat]. Interestingly, Petropoulos (2016) has recorded a series of words which capture the process of grammaticalization through the lenses of semantic bleaching. Firstly, *balo-/baro-* acquired the meaning of [big]. This meaning is observed in seven words, particularly six nouns and one adjective. For example:

(10) *baro-/balo-*

	Kaliardá		Base
a.	barovakulí N.FEM.SG.NOM. 'metropolitan church'		vakulí N.FEM.SG.NOM. 'church'
b.	baloxorxóra N.FEM.SG.NOM. 'grenade'		xorxóra N.FEM.SG.NOM. 'fire'
c.	balobódis N.MASC.SG.NOM. 'bodily'		bódi N.NEUT.SG.NOM. 'body'
d.	balomúskulos ADJ.MASC.SG.NOM. 'muscular'		?múskulos. ADJ.MASC.SG.NOM.

It should be noted that in some words *balo-/baro-* can be perceived as having either the lexical meaning, that is [fat], or the more general meaning of [big]. These words reflect an intermediate transitional step in the process. For example, the word *baloyuyúlfo* [bear] (< *γuyúlfo* [she-wolf]) can be explained both as [fat wolf] and [big wolf].

Subsequently, the unit was further desematized acquiring the meaning of intensification. This particular meaning can be clearly seen in the adjective *baróduros*:

(11) *balo-/baro-*

Kaliardá	Base
baróduros	dúros
ADJ.MASC.SG.NOM.	ADJ.MASC.SG.NOM.
‘extremely strong’	‘strong’

Once more, some of the words that Petropoulos (2016) includes in his dictionary reflect an intermediate step. Consider the following words:

(12) *balo-/baro-*

Kaliardá	Base
a. barolákrimo	lákrimo
N.NEUT.SG.NOM.	N.NEUT.SG.NOM.
‘storm’	‘rain’
b. barolútsi	lútsi
N.NEUT.SG.NOM.	N.NEUT.SG.NOM.
‘electric bulb’	‘light’

In these words, *baro-* can be interpreted either as having the meaning of [big] or the intensifying meaning without affecting the meaning of the whole word.

*Baro/balo-* does not satisfy all of Dimela’s (2010) criteria. The phonological form has not changed. Furthermore, *baro/balo-* is only combined with nouns and adjectives. Nonetheless, its prefixoidal status is evidenced by its abstract meaning which is solely detected in bound contexts.

Lastly, the prefixoid *bas-* derives from the Turkish word *baş* [head]. In this case, both the phonological criterion and the morphological criterion of non categorial restriction are not fulfilled. The phonological shape of the unit remains unaltered and, in the available data, it is only combined with nominal bases. However, *bas-* has obtained a far more abstract meaning. Particularly, it expresses superiority. On a more important note, this abstract meaning is only attested in bound contexts, never as a free word. *Bas-* appears in the following words:

(13) *bas-*

Kaliardá	Base
a. bazgodođúlis	godođúlis
N.MASC.SG.NOM.	N.MASC.SG.NOM.
‘archangel’	‘angel’
b. bazdulótsarđo	dulótsarđo
N.NEUT.SG.NOM.	N.NEUT.SG.NOM.
‘bank’	‘apartment building, villa’
c. bazdulotsarđópuros	dulótsarđo
N.MASC.SG.NOM.	N.MASC.SG.NOM.
‘banker’	‘apartment building, villa’

#### 4. Conclusion

In this paper, I investigated the category of prefixoids in Kaliardá, a socially transmitted Greek antilanguage that diverges greatly from the other Greek varieties in terms of both vocabulary and below the word level.

In line with Ralli (2020) and Kastovsky (2009), I argued in favor of the postulation of an intermediate category, that of the affixoids that includes prefixoids and suffixoids. Kaliardá exhibits a wide variety of prefixoids that can be divided based on their origin in three categories; prefixoids from SMG, prefixoids from the Greek slang vocabulary and domestic prefixoids. While the units of the first two categories have been studied widely in the relevant literature and are, therefore, easily recognized, domestic prefixoids must be identified. To that end, I utilized the criteria proposed by Dimela (2010).

To conclude, speakers of Kaliardá used mostly domestic prefixoids. The preference for domestic prefixoids is underlined by the fact that SMG is equipped with prefixoids and prefixes that are equivalent to the domestic prefixoids in meaning and function, as seen in the following table.

**Table 1 Domestic prefixoids and equivalents in SMG**

Kaliardá	SMG	Meaning	Morphological category
musado-/muso- /sado-	psefto-/psevdo-	‘pseudo-’	prefixoid
kaliardo-	theo-/kara-	‘intensification’	prefixoid/prefix
baro-/balo-	theo-/kara-	‘intensification’	prefixoid/prefix
bas-	arhi-/proto-	‘hierarchical superiority’	prefixoid/prefixoid
Grand-	arhi-/proto-	‘hierarchical superiority’	prefixoid/prefixoid

Most of these prefixoids from SMG are not used at all in Kaliardá, while a couple are minimally used. The selection of domestic prefixoids over others stems from the need to make Kaliardá different from SMG to the maximum extent possible. In turn this divergence makes it impossible for outgroups to understand what is being said, securing the secrecy of communication.

Furthermore, the limited use of prefixoids from the Greek slang vocabulary supports Petropoulos’ (2016: 13) observation that speakers of Kaliardá rarely interacted with people outside their community regardless of whether they also opposed the mainstream society.

Finally, the current paper hinted at the great effect of borrowing in Kaliardá as three out of the five domestic prefixoids originate from borrowed words. This observation further stresses the need for a detailed examination of borrowing in Kaliardá (see Montoliou 2005· Ralli & Rouvalis forthcoming).

9

ΤΟ ΠΕΤΑΚΤΟ ΚΟΡΤΕ

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ΤΟ ΚΟΡΤΕ ΜΕΤΑ ΔΥΟ ΕΒΔΟΜΑΔΑΣ ΔΕΚΑΣΕΛΙΔΩΝ


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ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΚΥΡΙΟΙ

**ΤΟ ΚΟΡΤΕ ΔΕΚΑΣΕΛΙΔΩ**

ΠΡΟΣΕΧΩΣ

ΘΑ ΣΥΝΩΔΕΥΕΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΜΕ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑΣ  
ΣΕΛΙΔΑΣ ΜΥΘΙΣΤΟΡΗΜΑΤΟΣ



**ΤΗΣ ΕΒΔΟΜΑΔΟΣ**

ΜΙΑΝ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΗΝ ΕΠΙΤΥΧΙΑΝ έρχεται να σημειώση σήμερον τὸ φύλλον μας. Ὅταν ἀνεβόσμεν τὴν δυνως δυσχερῆ ἀποστολήν εἰς τὸν συντάκτην μας Μπήχτην τῆς ἀνακαλήψεως τῶν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει φίλων καὶ τῆς περιουλογῆς τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ Μασκρὶ πρὸς αὐτούς, εἴ, σίμην πεποιθῆσθαι περὶ τῆς ἐκωνότητος του καὶ τῆς ἐπιτυχίας του, διότι εἶνε νέος γεμίτος δραστηριότητος, γεμίτος ζήλου, γεμίτος ἐμπνεύσεως, σωστῆς τακτικῆς. Ἐχει, καὶ ἔδην τὴν σημασίαν τῆς λέξεως, τὸν διέβολον μέσα του. Ἄλλ' αὐτὸς ὑπερέβη τὰς προσδοκίας μας.

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Ὁ συντάκτης μας μόλις ἔρθεσεν εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἔσπευσεν νὰ συλλέξῃ ἑλας τὰς σ' ετικὰς πληροφορίας καὶ νὰ μᾶς ἀποστείλῃ τὴν ἐξῆς ἀνταπόκρισιν:

ΚΩΝΙΝΟΙΣ 21 Νοεμβρίου.—..... Καὶ ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις ἔχει τὴν Δωδεκάθεον τῆς ἑπικρατοῦς, εἴ, σίμην πεποιθῆσθαι περὶ τῆς ἐκωνότητος του καὶ τῆς ἐπιτυχίας του, διότι εἶνε νέος γεμίτος δραστηριότητος, γεμίτος ζήλου, γεμίτος ἐμπνεύσεως, σωστῆς τακτικῆς. Ἐχει, καὶ ἔδην τὴν σημασίαν τῆς λέξεως, τὸν διέβολον μέσα του. Ἄλλ' αὐτὸς ὑπερέβη τὰς προσδοκίας μας.

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Ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. Ἦ γλώσσα καὶ ἔθιμα. Καὶ πράγματι τὰ ἔχουν κοινά...

Ὅλοι γνωρίζομεν ὅτι ἡ γλώσσα μόνον εἰς τὰς γυναῖκας γρηγορεῖ. Τώρα ἐξεδειώθη ὅτι κἀμινον γρηγορεῖ αὐτῆς καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες... Ἦ γλώσσα εἰς ἀμφοτέρους τὰς περιστάσεις παίζει τὸν σπουδαιότερον μέρος.

\*\*\*

Ἄλλὰ προτοῦ προχωρήσω θ' ἀσχοληθῶ περὶ τῆς γλώσσας τῆς ἐνταῦθα Δωδεκάθεου, ἢ, σίμην πεποιθῆσθαι περὶ τῆς ἐκωνότητος του καὶ τῆς ἐπιτυχίας του, διότι εἶνε νέος γεμίτος δραστηριότητος, γεμίτος ζήλου, γεμίτος ἐμπνεύσεως, σωστῆς τακτικῆς. Ἐχει, καὶ ἔδην τὴν σημασίαν τῆς λέξεως, τὸν διέβολον μέσα του. Ἄλλ' αὐτὸς ὑπερέβη τὰς προσδοκίας μας.

Πᾶν τούτου εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν περιστάσιν εἶνε μεγάλην σημασίαν, διότι εἰς ταύτην εἶνε γραμμέναί αι ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ Μασκρὶ.

Ἦ γλώσσα τῆς Δωδεκάθεου τῆς Ὀμοιοῦς μας, εἶνε ἀνεγνωρίσθη παρὰ τοῦ Ὁθωμανικοῦ Δικαίου καὶ ἐπιτρέπεται ἐλευθέρως νὰ μιλεῖται καὶ νὰ συνομιλεῖται ἕκαστος διὰ κάθε δουλειὰ του καὶ τὴν ῥηρημοποίη εἰς ἑκάστην πρᾶξιν του.

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Ἰδοὺ τὸ περιεργον λεξιλογίου τῆς κατ' ἀλφαβητικὴν τάξιν

Λεξιλογίου	Σημασία τῶν λέξεων
Ἄβελω	Πᾶν
Ἄβελω	Ἐπιτήρη
Ἄβελω	Πήγνη
Ἄβελω;	Ἐπιτήρη;
Ἄβελω τῆς	Φεῖγα γρήγορα
Ἄβελω μου δὺδ παρηνίς	Δώσε μου δὺδ δραχμῆς
Ἄβελω μπερντέ;	Δίδετε λεπτά;
Ἄβελω μπουτ μπερντέ;	Δίδει πολλὰ λεπτά;
Ἄβελω μίαν λατοῦ.....	Ἐγεί μίαν ὥραϊαν.....
Δικέλι	Κουτάκι
Ἡρακλή	Ρονακία
Ἡρακλῆς	Ρονακῆς

Καλιανδρὸ	Ἄσχημος
Κορδὸν	Ἀστυνόμος
Κουλικὸ	Φεισιστὴς
Κουραβάλα	(Ὁ ὕψος τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἐνεργητικοῦ ῥήματος ἀκουραβαλτῶν καὶ τοῦ πᾶθητικοῦ ἀκουραβαλτοῦμαι).
	Αὐτὸς
Κατὲ	.....
Λαμπουνί	.....
Λατοῦ	Ἄραϊα
Λατοῦ	Δεκάρα
Μάταλο	Ἐμμορφο
Μόκωλο	Μεθυσμένος
Μπάτος	Σῶπα
Μπαλαμὸ	Ἀστυνόμας
	(Ὅμοια παραγόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ἐνεργητικοῦ ῥήματος = ἐμπλάμα).
Μαλαμὸ καὶ μπουτ μπαλαμὸ	.....
Μοῦ ἄβελω ἕνα τουλὸ	Μοῦ ἔδωκεν ἕνα πεντόδραχμον
Μπαρὸ	Ἀσθίνεια
Μπερντέ	Λεπτά
Ντάπ	Σῶλο
Παγκρὸ	Μουστάκι
Παρηνί	Δραχμῆς
Παρηνίς	Δραχμῆς
Παγκρῆ	Γένεια, μαλλιά
Ποῦλι	.....
Πουρὸ	Γέρος

\*\*\*

Ἡ ἀνταπόκρισις τοῦ ἀπεσταλμένου μας εἶνε ἐκτενεστάτη περιλαμβάνουσα πλὴν τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Δωδεκάθεου μας καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἢ μᾶλλον τὰ ψευδώνυμα, ὅ, σίμην πεποιθῆσθαι περὶ τῆς ἐκωνότητος του καὶ τῆς ἐπιτυχίας του, διότι εἶνε νέος γεμίτος δραστηριότητος, γεμίτος ζήλου, γεμίτος ἐμπνεύσεως, σωστῆς τακτικῆς. Ἐχει, καὶ ἔδην τὴν σημασίαν τῆς λέξεως, τὸν διέβολον μέσα του. Ἄλλ' αὐτὸς ὑπερέβη τὰς προσδοκίας μας.

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ΤΟ ΔΙΗΓΗΜΑΤΑΚΙ ΜΑΣ

**Ἡ ΣΠΗΤΟΝΟΙΚΟΚΥΡΑ ΜΟΥ**

Μετέβην ἵνα κοιμηθῶ στὸ σπήτι ἕνα βράδυ  
 Εἶ, σίμην πεποιθῆσθαι περὶ τῆς ἐκωνότητος του καὶ τῆς ἐπιτυχίας του, διότι εἶνε νέος γεμίτος δραστηριότητος, γεμίτος ζήλου, γεμίτος ἐμπνεύσεως, σωστῆς τακτικῆς. Ἐχει, καὶ ἔδην τὴν σημασίαν τῆς λέξεως, τὸν διέβολον μέσα του. Ἄλλ' αὐτὸς ὑπερέβη τὰς προσδοκίας μας.

Ἐγύρισα ἀπὸ τὴν πόλιν, δὲν εἶχα κλείσει μάτι.  
 Ἐβόλε ἠγέθησθαι καὶ ἐνδοθεῖς, κινῶν γὰρ φευγάλα...  
 δὲν εἶχα ὄμοια φάσις οὔτε ἐμπρὸς τῆς σκάλας,  
 ἔτε ἀκούω μὴ γινώσκῃ φωνῆ καὶ μ' ἐκαλοῦσε...  
 Ἦτο ἡ οἰκοδέσποινα αὐτὴ ποῦ μοῦ μιλοῦσε.  
 Ἐπείσομαι τὸ ἔντι γυρῆς νὰ τὸ δειλῶσω,  
 ἀλλὰ δὲν εἶχα νὰ εἶπω εἰς τὸν δόλοῦν νὰ μιλῶσω,  
 Καὶ μὲ θυμὸν ἠρώτησα τὴν προσοικὴ κυρία,  
 γὰρ τὴν τοιαύτην πρόκλησιν ποῖα ἦτο ἡ αἰτία;  
 Δὲν μ' ἀπαντᾷ... ἀλλὰ σιγᾷ τῆς σκάλας μὲ κλείνει  
 — Ὁ σὺλγος τῆς ἔλειπε μονάχη εἶχε μείνει—  
 Μοῦ λέγει τότε πᾶς κ' αὐτὴ δὲν εἶχε θυμῶν  
 ἀπὸ τὴν μοναχίαν τῆς δ' ἀποκοιμηθῆ...

Ἐνὸς λοιπὸν ἀμέριμνον περνοῦσαμε... τὴν ὥρα,  
 ἔλειπεν εἰσαργόμενον τὸν σὺλγος μὲ φάρα...  
 ν' ἀκούσθητε δὲ αὐτὸς κ' ἀπ' ἄλλου νοκάρη  
 καὶ νὰ βασθῆ στὸ χεῖρ του ἕνα μικρὸν φανάρι...  
 Ἐπ' αὐτοφῶν συλληθῆς, νὰ φύγω προσπαθοῦσα  
 κ' ἐνὸς γὰρ τοῦτο ἀκρίβως τὴν θύραν ἐκρατοῦσα,  
 ποῦ νὰ κλειδῶση ἔλασεν ἡ προσοικὴ κυρία,  
 ἦτοι ἡ οἰκοδέσποινα ἀπ' τὴν πόλιν τῆς... εἶα,  
 ὁ σὺλγος μὲ προσκαλεῖ συγγνώμην νὰ ζητήσῃ,  
 διότι ποῦς δὲν σκόπευε νὰ μὲ ἀνησυγήσῃ...  
 Ἐν τούτοις ἐγὼ τῶσπρινα, καὶ μὲ μεγάλην βίαν...  
 τὴν ἐπομένῃν γύρισα στὸ σπήτι μου πρῶταν...  
 Ἄλλ' ὅ, τῆς καταπληθῆς, ἦτις μοὶ ἐγενήθη! Ἄντι  
 τῆς οἰκοδέσποινας, ποῦ ἔπρεπε νὰ λείπῃ,  
 ὁ σὺλγος τᾶ... μάλα, κ' ἐκείθεν ἐξεβλήθη,  
 ἀναγκασθεὶς τὸ φρούριον σ' ἐμὲ νὰ καταλείπῃ...

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