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**A comparative
study of the
phenomenon of
false friends in
SMG and CSG**

PhD thesis submitted by
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Intralinguistic false friends: A comparative study of the phenomenon of false friends in SMG and C(S)G

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Abbreviations

act.	active voice
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
arch.	architecture / architectural
archa.	archaeology / archaeological
anat.	anatomy / anatomical
athl.	athletic
augm.	augmentative
coll.	colloquial(ly)
conj.	conjunction
conn.	connotation(s) / connotative
der.	derogatory / derogatorily
dim.	diminutive
eccl.	ecclesiastical
emot.	emotional(ly)
emphat.	emphatic(ally)
esp.	especially
ext.	extension
fem.	feminine gender
fin	financial(ly)
form.	formal(ly)
gener.	generally
geol.	geology / geological(l)y
idiom.	idiomatic
imper.	imperative
impers.	impersonal
inan.	inanimate
inf.	informal
interj.	interjection
intrans.	intransitive
iron.	ironic(ally)

lat.	Latin
leg.	legal(ly)
lit.	literal(ly)
liter.	literary
mag.	magazine
main.	mainly
masc.	masculine gender
math.	mathematics
med.	medical
ment.	mentally
meton	metonymic(ally)
mid.	middle voice
mil.	military
n.	noun
naut.	nautical
neg.	negative(ly)
neut.	neuter gender
newsp.	newspaper
obs.	obsolete
oral.	oral(ly)
partic.	participle
part.	particle
pass.	passive voice
pers.	person
phr.	phraseological / phraseologism or set phrase
physiol.	physiological
pl.	plural number
posses.	possessive
pron	pron
prov.	proverb
quant.	quantitative(ly)
rar.	rare(ly)
say.	saying

sch.	scholarly
scien	science /scientific
sing.	singular
sb.	somebody
sth.	something
trans.	transitive
typ.	typographic(ally)
v.	verb
vulg.	vulgar

Symbols

~	repeats the same word or phraseologism
>	etymological origin
[]	phonetic transcription
//	phonological representation

General Introduction

The aim of the present dissertation is to illustrate theoretically the phenomenon of false friends, as it occurs in language, in both its interlinguistic and its intralinguistic form and to show it as it is currently taking place intralinguistically, between two varieties of the same language.

The first chapter focuses on the correlation between the Standard Modern Greek (SMG hereinafter) and the Cypriot Greek (CG hereinafter) or Cypriot (Standard) Greek (C(S)G hereinafter) we are investigating. After a short synopsis of the island's turbulent history and mention of the dialectal terminology used, the two varieties are juxtaposed on all linguistic levels and their differences clarified. It is evident that, despite their immeasurable similarities and even indistinguishable vocabulary on the lexical level (due to their common origin and contact in later years), there are enough dissimilarities on all other linguistic levels to allow us to discuss interesting cases of divergence.

Next we present the basic notions of the phenomenon of false friends: how it came to be understood as a unique linguistic occurrence, the terms used to delimit it and the differences between the main terminology used (between false friends, cognates and false cognates), as well as the definitions proposed by other investigators and ourselves. The differences between interlinguistic (the predominant type) and intralinguistic false friends and the characteristics that they share, as well as those that they do not, are among the topics discussed. The problems caused by *faux amis* (another term for false friends) and how they could be overcome, and the process that results in the appearance of false friends occupy the latter part of the chapter. Such an analysis of the phenomenon on a theoretical basis could not be completed without reference to the criteria used by most investigators in the choice of their data or the criteria we have resorted to in order to avoid subjectivity in the compilation of our corpus.

The third chapter focuses on the different categorizations employed by investigators, firstly according to the *set theory* using Venn diagrams that are exceedingly useful as an illustration of the main relationships between the members of false friends' pairs. Afterwards, we concentrate on the principal

distinctions in all categorizations: total vs. partial, interlinguistic vs. intralinguistic, etymology vs. chance similarity. The numerous categorizations that have been put forward are classified in five encompassing categories: *purely semantic*, *semantically divergent and typologically convergent* (with regard to phonetics, orthography, morphology, grammar, syntax, phraseology and lastly with multiple differentiations on more than one level), *pragmatic*, *purely typological* and *disputed* false friends. The last two categories we present in order to argue that in our categorization they are not included, because according to the definition we have adopted, they do not comprise false friends.

The fourth and fifth chapters are corpus-related and attempt to elucidate the situation regarding the dictionaries, the grammars and the graphic system of the C(S)G that have affected not only the compilation of the data, but also the methodology and the analysis we we have undertaken to conclude. The position that the SMG and the C(S)G hold in the educational system is related to all these matters, as well as with our corpus, and it also affects the awareness of the phenomenon. The last two parts of the fourth chapter explain the methodology used for gathering, collating and analyzing the data, and how the entries are presented and explained. In the fifth chapter we proceed to order our data in the categories we have decided on, after the examination of our data.

The literature that our data and our examples were collected from, the bibliography used, as well as indexes of our data are presented in continuation, along with a summary of the thesis in Spanish.

1. Standard Modern Greek and Cypriot (Standard) Greek

1.1. A short history of Cyprus and its linguistic variety

Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean with an area of 9,250 sq. km. and it is situated in its eastern-most part. It is located at the crossroads of three continents: Asia, Europe, and Africa and it has been inhabited since the 9th millennium B.C. The Greek language has been present on the island since the 12th century B.C.¹ and it has also been influenced by the languages of the peoples who inhabited or conquered it from time to time (Mallinson 2011).

The Assyrians, the Egyptians and the Persians conquered Cyprus, followed by Alexander the Great (333 B.C.) who freed it to place it under Ptolemaic rule. Then came the Romans (58 B.C.) and after the Roman Empire was divided into two, Cyprus was included in the Byzantine Empire. Richard (the Lionheart) I of England (1191-1192), the Frankish Lusignan (1192-1489), the Venetians (1489-1571), the Turks (1571-1878) and lastly, the British until 1960, ruled the island and left their impact on the Greek language of the Cypriots (Sophocleous 2009: 1; Varella 2006: 49; Mallinson 2011).

The language spoken in Cyprus before the Achaeans (or Mycenaeans) colonized the island is not known with absolute certainty, but in all probability it was not Greek. Between the 12th century B.C., i.e. the time of the Mycenaean settlement, and the Hellenistic era, in the 4th century B.C., the ancient Arcado-Cypriot dialect was spoken and written on the island. Gradually, the Hellenistic Koiné (with Arcado-Cypriot features) was established in Cyprus and it was continually spoken during its Roman rule and the Byzantine Empire, albeit with distinct features that were the inheritance of the island's past. During the time of the Franks or the Venetians, the local variety developed (or until then it had developed) most of the traits it still –up to a point– exhibits, since it was cut off from the linguistic evolution of the koiné in the mainland and it had a written

¹ The earliest evidence we possess for it is an inscription on a bronze *obelos*, 'cooking spit' from a tomb excavated at Palaepaphos-Skales (Karageorghis, 1988, in Sophocleous 2009: 1).

1. Standard Modern Greek and Cypriot (Standard) Greek

form that could express historical and legislative notions² (Varella 2006: 11ff.; Mallinson 2011).

1.2. Clearing the terrain: (*standard*) language, dialect and linguistic variety

It is important to distinguish clearly between the terms (*standard*) language, *dialect* and *linguistic variety*. Establishing criteria for drawing a clear distinction between these terms is a task that linguists find difficult. The term *language* “can be used to refer either to a single linguistic norm or to a group of related norms”, as Macaulay (1997: 25) reminds us. When it refers to a single norm, this is the standard variety. All the other varieties diverging from the standard norm are called *dialects*. Nevertheless, the term language in its broader sense encompasses all the different dialects (linguistic varieties) of a given language (Baker 1992; Chaika 1989). A *linguistic variety* is defined by Wardhaugh (1992: 22) as “a specific set of linguistic items or human speech patterns (presumably sounds, words, grammatical features, etc.) which can be uniquely associated with some external factor (presumably a geographical area or a social group)”. The term *variety* is thus a neutral term which applies to any kind of language that is considered a single entity (Chambers and Trudgill 1980). According to Macaulay (1997: 3), “its use is noncontroversial for the very good reason that it does not make any theoretical claims about the status of the entity referred to in this way” (in Pavlou and Papapavlou 2004: 244).

The standard variety has certain characteristics: its written and spoken norms are congruent with one another, it is codified and it is elaborated, i.e. it has attained the expressive capabilities needed to meet its communication needs. It is used almost exclusively in certain domains of activity such as education, the mass media, courts and the professional world (Baker 2001: 44). In contrast,

² It is obvious from the two Chronicles written at the time, by Leontios Machairas (Λεόντιου Μαχαιρά, *Εξήγησις της γλυκειάς χώρας Κύπρου, η ποία λέγεται Κρόνακα τουτέστιν Χρονικόν*) and Georgios Boustron (Γεωργίου Βουστρώνιου, *Διήγησις κρόνικας Κύπρου αρχεύγοντα από την εχρονίαν αυνστ (1456) Χριστού*), and the translation of the laws of Jerusalem called *Assizes* (*Ασσίζες*) in the era’s vernacular.

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non-standard varieties tend to be used for private communication, and their use often constitutes an act of solidarity with a certain group (Pavlou and Papapavlou 2004: 244).

Newton (1972) classifies the Cypriot dialect among South-Eastern Greek dialects, along with that of Chios and the Dodecanese. Κοντοσόπουλος (1969) traditionally describes the Cypriot variety as a geographical continuum consisting at the time of his classification of eighteen subvarieties or basilects. These were collectively characterized as *χωρκάτικα* [xɔ'rkɛtikɛ], the thick dialect spoken by peasants, while Greek to them was the standard spoken in mainland Greece. Newton, nevertheless does mention a metropolitan Cypriot variety based on the Mesaoria sub-variety that his informants called “town speech”, as in some kind of standard or official Cypriot. Its particulars are not mentioned, but it could be surmised that -to some degree- the bases for C(S)G were probably set during that time (Τσιπλάκου 2009: 1197).

1.3 Sociolinguistic situation

The island-state of Cyprus used to be home to two main communities, the Greek Cypriots (approximately 80%) and the Turkish Cypriots (approximately 18%)³ we have already mentioned. The 1960 Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus recognizes as official languages of the Republic the mother tongues of the two communities, i.e. Standard Modern Greek (henceforth SMG) and Standard Turkish, giving them equal status: (a) in legislative, executive and administrative acts and documents, (b) in administrative and other official documents addressed to the citizens, (c) in judicial proceedings and judgments, (d) in texts published in the official Gazette of the Republic, (e) on coins, currency and stamps, and (f) in the communication between citizens and the authorities. The presence on the Cypriot territory of these two different languages did not result in the establishment of a bilingual society, but rather in the development of two

³ The rest 2% consists of Armenians, Latin Catholics and Maronites, i.e. an Arabic-speaking community of Christians that have been living on the island for many centuries.

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distinct linguistic communities, a Greek-speaking and a Turkish-speaking one⁴ (Karyolemou 2001: 26ff.; Karoulla-Vrikki 2009: 188; Sophocleous 2009: 1).

Despite the fact that the official languages of Cyprus are the standards mentioned above, in actuality both communities spoke mainly and still do, a dialectal form of the respective languages that is used predominately every day by Greek and Turkish Cypriots of all socio-economic backgrounds. Even though Turkish is officially and theoretically one of the official languages of the Republic, since the Turkish invasion in 1974 that split the island into two parts, it is not used as a means of communication among Greek Cypriots, but only among the few Turkish Cypriots who live in the southern part of the island and as the primary medium of interaction between the Turkish and Turkish Cypriots who live in the northern part (Terkourafi 2003: 1; KEΓ 1999: 215; Sophocleous 2009: 1; Arvaniti 2006a: 3).

The linguistic repertoire of Greek Cypriots comprises Cypriot Greek, SMG and (for the majority) English which is still widely used in many domains⁵. It was until recently employed in administration, banking and health care, and was the exclusive language of the law until 1987. It is also the medium of education in most private secondary schools (with only a limited number of courses on Greek offered), and in all tertiary colleges, private and public, as well as all private universities (with the exception of the nursing school). SMG is the medium of education only in state schools and the (state-funded) University of Cyprus (Karoulla-Vrikki 2009: 188 and 2007; Arvaniti 2006a: 5).

The wider sociolinguistic context of Cyprus has been characterized as *bidialectal* (Papapavlou 1998; Pavlou and Papapavlou 2007; Sophocleous 2009), or *diglossic*, according to Ferguson's 1959 classic theory (Sciriha 1995; Μοσχονάς 2002; Arvaniti 2006a and 2006b). Other linguists see it as a *linguistic continuum* between the two varieties (Καρυολαίμου 1992) or observe *levelling* phenomena that result in the appearance of a Cypriot koiné (Tsiplakou et al. 2006).

⁴ The existence of separate educational and administrative systems, the adversarial relations between Greeks and Turks, and the displacement of population and the partition of the island after the Turkish invasion (1974), have completely isolated the two communities (Karyolemou, 2001: 26).

⁵ It was the official language of Cyprus under British rule until 1960 and its influence is still felt intensely in many regards.

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The Greek Cypriot community is contemplated by Pavlou and Papapavlou (2007: 2) as a bidialectal speech community with the vast majority of the population having the nonstandard dialect as their mother tongue. Sophocleous (2009: 2ff.) also refers to the bidialectal situation of Cyprus, which is described as a setting where both the standard and non-standard varieties of the same language are used in parallel to each other. In addition to these two language varieties, a number of other sub-varieties (also referred to as levels or registers) might also be used in a dialect continuum. In the same communicative act one might come across a Greek Cypriot speaker using basilectal features of the Cypriot variety (also known as 'vulgar speech'); whereas another speaker would use more acrolectal features of the variety (closer to the standard SMG). Since the dialect consists of different levels which make up the dialectal continuum, the previously mentioned linguists claim that it is not possible to denote it as *diglossic*. Apart from a High (H) and a Low (L) variety (cf. Ferguson 1959 and the next paragraph) there are numerous other levels of the dialect which are placed between the two ends on a dialectal continuum. Another important characteristic of bidialectism is that the standard and non-standard varieties even though different linguistically, are nonetheless sufficiently related and show overlap in lexicon, grammar and pronunciation. Other forms of the Cypriot variety range from acrolectal forms closer to SMG to basilectal forms bearing many dialect features (e.g. *χωρικάτικα*), many of which are geographically related. At present, systematic work has not been conducted to determine the number of these linguistic levels (Papapavlou 2004; Tsipaloku et al. 2006; Sophocleous 2006; Sophocleous 2009: 3; Yiakoumetti 2007: 51).

Ferguson (1959) described (classical) *diglossia*⁶ as a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary varieties of the language– what he calls the Low (or L) variety, there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed High (or H) variety. It is usually the

⁶ One of the cases that Ferguson investigated in his emblematic *Diglossia* (1959) article was that of pre-1976 Greece. The two varieties involved were called *καθαρεύουσα* [keθe'revuse] which was based on classical Greek, i.e. the ancient attiké dialect as it was artificially resurrected in the first decades of the Greek state after the 1821 Greek War of Independence; and *δημοτική* [ðimoti'ki]. This latter was the vernacular of the epoch, which in 1976 became the official language of the state and is nowadays termed SMG after partial assimilation of several *katharevousa* elements.

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vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature (although what he terms as the L variety may also have its share of literary production⁷), either of an earlier period or in another speech community. It is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but it is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation. The criteria by Ferguson regarding the way that the H and the L variety are learned apply in Cyprus (H at school and L at home), and there is a functionality-oriented distinction regarding the areas of use for the two varieties. The higher variety still has a high status and is considered more prestigious than the low variety (which is probably also reinforced by the negative attitudes of teachers towards the use of Cypriot Greek at school) and no effort is made to standardize the L variety in any way (Τσιπλάκου 2009: 1195; Arvaniti 2006a: 5).

Μοσχονάς (2002), as well as Arvaniti (2006a: 6), made the claim that the relationship of Cypriot Greek and Standard Modern Greek is prototypically *diglossic* based on the characteristics that diglossia has according to Ferguson (1959) and also based on native speakers' language attitudes towards the two varieties: Greek Cypriots perceive Cypriot Greek to be the Low variety, while they perceive SMG to be the High variety. They tend to have a clear sense that certain circumstances call for Cypriot Greek and others for SMG and evaluate speakers according to their skill in using both appropriately⁸.

Although that perception still holds to a great degree, the situation is not actually as clear-cut as that, since such attitudes are changing investing the L variety with

⁷ Actually, as regards the Greek diglossia, the L variety was the one with the important literary works, while the H variety was so artificial that almost all poetry and prose written in it, appeared pompous and devoid of significant content (with the exception of Papdiamantis or Vizyinos and a few others).

⁸ Speakers of Cypriot Greek use the term *καλαμαρίζω* [kələmə'riz:ɔ] 'speak like a person from Greece' to describe the linguistic behavior of Greek Cypriots who try to speak Standard Greek in situations that call for Cypriot Greek, a behavior that is considered pretentious and attracts ridicule, or even try to accommodate their speech to that of mainland Greeks and facilitate understanding. The term *καλαμαράς* [kələmə'res] is used in a derogatory manner for mainland Greeks, although its connotations when it was coined were the opposite, as it meant 'educated person'. After the 1974 coup d'etat instigated by the Athens Junta that deposed the President Makarios and established a Junta in Cyprus giving the Turks the pretext they wanted to invade the island, it came to signify 'untrustworthy', 'liar', or 'underhand' (for details cf. Παπαδάκης 2003: 536). On the other hand, Cypriots are equally ready to deride speakers who use Cypriot in circumstances that call for SMG, as such speakers are seen as uncouth, even if they are educated (Arvaniti 2006a: 6).

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more prestige. As Karyolemou (2007) argues, the linguistic situation in Cyprus should also be described on the basis of language practices and in this case, it could not be claimed to be diglossic.

The two varieties are generally used in different domains, although that is not a condition that is adhered to in all circumstances, nor is it unambiguous when and where they are used without any divergence at all times. At school, Greek Cypriots learn SMG that they use for official oral and written purposes: for administration and as a medium of instruction in state-run educational institutions, for news broadcasts, newspaper editorials, political speeches, university lectures and sermons in church. As is common with non-standard varieties, Cypriot Greek is used for daily, unofficial, oral purposes, and everyday communication with family members, colleagues and friends. It is also sometimes used in mass media advertising, theatrical plays, political cartoon captions, poetry and folk literature, live broadcasts and TV comedies, with the aim of establishing a stronger link between the speakers and their audience. Many English loanwords and English in general are still used widely in administration, tourism and as a medium of instruction in most private secondary-education schools and tertiary-education colleges or private universities. For this reason, although English is not one of the official languages of the Republic of Cyprus, many consider it an 'unofficially official' one, as it is still used in official documents. Until recently it was not uncommon to come across government and legal documents published in both Greek and English (Karoulla-Vrikki 2009: 188; Pavlou 2002; Ioannidou 2007: 166; Sophocleous 2009: 13).

Pavlou (2010) in a relevant research concluded that the presence of the Cypriot variety is vigorous at all levels of language usage, especially in oral speech. It is even used in domains in which Ferguson's model predicts no usage of the Low variety, such as public administration and the media. It is obvious that actual language practices do not conform to classical diglossia tenets, as the two codes are not in strict complementary distribution, but the situation appears to be rather more complex. Both varieties are used to various degrees in a range of communicative contexts depending on various factors that influence stylistic

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choices, such as the topic of conversation, the familiarity between the speaker and the hearer; and their level of education, as Papapavlou (2010) informs us.

Furthermore, recent studies have shown that there are levelling tendencies of the local sub-varieties of Cypriot Greek and as a result, a Cypriot koiné that seems to be structurally mixed has made its appearance (Terkourafi 2005; Tsiplakou et al. 2006). The reason behind this is the extensive contact with SMG and these two processes appear to have gained momentum due to the geopolitical, demographic and societal changes after 1974 (Τσιπλάκου 2009: 1196).

Tsiplakou et al. (2006) claim that the contemporaneous continuum is not formed by distinct geographical basilects any more, but by different registers, out of which the most basilectal elements are seen as more Cypriot or *χωρικάτικα* [xɔ'rkɛtikɛ], but they are not connected to any specific sub-varieties. This Cypriot koiné that appears to have emerged has mainly mesolectal and acrolectal levels that are a mixture of several sub-varieties, and the same speaker might use any combination of Cypriot varieties and the SMG in the same sentence in such a manner, that we may not speak of code-switching, since all the varieties belong to the same language and are very similar to one another. Terkourafi (2005) and Tsiplakou et al. (2006) classify this Urban or Cypriot koiné as a mesolect or middle variety between the two poles of the continuum. This variety is taken by the speakers themselves to be 'the Cypriot dialect par excellence' (Karyolemou and Pavlou 2001:119 in Arvaniti 2006a: 4).

Arvaniti (2006a, 2010) discusses the emergence of another sub-variety of Cypriot Greek, one that she has termed Cypriot Standard Greek (or CSG). CSG appeared at a time of increased contact between Cyprus and Greece and it would have been expected to lead to convergence rather than divergence between the two varieties that are in essence both standards. Arvaniti (2006a: 2) reminds us that "one of the reasons why divergence is taking place is that the differences between these two varieties are not recognized by the Cypriot speakers". Furthermore, the differences between SMG and the CSG are considered minimal, while the speakers believe themselves to be speaking SMG fluently and

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“correctly” (ibid.). She has proven that CSG differs sufficiently from SMG as it is used in Greece so as to be recognized as a distinct linguistic variety. The differences pertain to all levels of linguistic structure and are systematic (for a detailed analysis of her arguments cf. Arvaniti 2006a and 2006b).

If one were to classify or place in a dialectal continuum the various forms of Cypriot Greek, the basilectal sub-varieties would occupy one end, the urban Cypriot Greek or Cypriot koiné would be the mesolectal and the acrolectal would be covered by the Cypriot Standard Greek.

We have decided to use an adaptation of the Arvaniti terminology, i.e. Cypriot (Standard) Greek in order to indicate that the object of our investigation is neither solely the urban Cypriot Greek or Cypriot koiné, nor exclusively the acrolectal Cypriot Standard Greek, but a combination of both levels of the continuum. The written variety we rely on for the analysis of our data is in many occasions a mesolect, that reaches in its most official instances the acrolectal pole mimicking SMG, thus occasionally becoming CSG. Furthermore, another reason why we have chosen this term in order to denote the Cypriot variety is the speakers’ awareness, or better yet, their lack thereof. More than half of the lemmas (103 out of 195) in our corpus are almost identical to the SMG and Cypriot Greek speakers tend to consider them SMG lemmas, although the semantic or pragmatic differences actually place them at the acrolectal end of the dialectal continuum. They belong to the CSG that the majority of Cypriot Greek speakers do not know that exists. Also, a significant number of lemmas (84 out of 195) are not included in any Cypriot Greek dictionary. This only reinforces our belief that the speakers of the Cypriot Greek variety (or even dictionary compilers) are not aware of the fact that these words or phraseologisms actually form part of the CSG or C(S)G, since they usually ascribe them to the SMG. Most of these speakers in linguistic production make use of all of the levels of the dialectal continuum but as regards perception they usually believe that only the basilectal and mesolectal subvarieties form the Cypriot Greek variety. They tend to conceive the acrolectal subvariety or CSG as a manifestation of Standard Modern Greek.

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A further reason for the term proposed is the nature of the term 'standard'. The dictionaries we have chosen to consult for the SMG variety are AKN and ANEF and they both claim to present the standard variety of Modern Greek as it is in use in Greece currently. Nevertheless, there are differences between the two that show that there is no single unequivocal approach to the lexicon of a standard. The AKN dictionary is compiled by linguists at the University of Thessaloniki and includes many lemmas that characterize the variety of northern Greece. These lemmas are absent from the ANEF dictionary that was compiled by Professor G. Babiniotes from the University of Athens. This latter dictionary, on the other hand, includes numerous lemmas that belong to the teen slang. It is obvious that the variety perceived as standard is not defined by criteria written on stone and may comprise many subvarieties, not all of them equally acceptable by all as standard variety material.

The lemmas we have collected and expound upon in this dissertation do not belong in only one subvariety of Cypriot Greek and occasionally, it could not be claimed with absolute certainty in which they belong. However, a copious amount of them are either perceived as SMG or ignored by the dialectal lexicography of Cyprus. We have therefore come to believe that the most appropriate term to denote them could be the one we have proposed, i.e. Cypriot (Standard) Greek, since it centers mainly on the acrolectal end of the continuum, but not exclusively. It wishes to cover both the mesolectal and the acrolectal subvarieties, without discounting the lemmas with basilectal traits, since the division between the three (basi-, meso- and acrolect) is in many instances artificial and not absolutely unambiguous.

1.4 Correlation of Standard Modern Greek and Cypriot (Standard) Greek

The term 'Greek language' encompasses all the numerous Modern Greek dialects (Horrocks 1997). The standard norm, the one termed Standard Modern Greek (or SMG) is the descendant of the dialect of Peloponnese. The selection or the imposition of a particular variety as a country's standard language is well known that it is not based on linguistic criteria but rather reflects economic, social,

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geographic, political and historical circumstances. The Peloponnesian vernacular was spoken in the largest geographical area of the first Greek independent state and as a result of that fortuitous factor, gradually became the official language of Greece (Pavlou and Papapavlou 2004: 245).

The relationship between SMG and the Cypriot Greek variety is far more complicated than that between SMG and most other Greek dialects (Papapavlou and Pavlou 1998). The speakers of the other Greek dialects usually form part of the Greek state, and these dialects are the mother tongue of a comparatively smaller number of persons in comparison to the native speakers of the Cypriot variety in all its sub-varieties. The distance from mainland Greece, the existence of a separate Cypriot state, the relatively large number of speakers of C(S)G (approximately 848,000)⁹, and other political and ideological factors constitute the basis of this distinctive relationship which has had a bearing on language attitudes among Greek Cypriots (Papapavlou 1997, 1998, 2001a; Pavlou 1999).

In terms of mutual intelligibility, it is generally accepted that Greek Cypriots do not have difficulties comprehending SMG speakers, but SMG speakers appear to have difficulties understanding even those C(S)G speakers that make an effort to talk in SMG (Papapavlou and Pavlou 1998), not to mention how unintelligible the thickest basilects sound to them. This, of course, is also related to stereotypical (negative) attitudes and a general lack of exposure to dialects within the Greek-speaking world. Nevertheless, it is often remarked by Cypriot Greek speakers that SMG speakers talk too fast to be easily understood by them, especially by those among them that have not been exposed to the standard variety to a significant degree. It could be said that in fact the two varieties can be mutually unintelligible without adequate previous exposure, given the fact that they are sufficiently different (Arvaniti 2006a: 18 and 2006b: 26).

The Cypriot Greek variety is conservative in character, more so than the mainland standard. Features that find their origin in archaic forms of the Greek language but are still in use in the C(S)G, while they may have disappeared or

⁹ According to the statistical data afforded by the Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus (<http://www.mof.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/All/DFE39266BB7B83CEC22580760037BB0F?OpenDocument&sub=1&sel=1&e=&print>).

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changed in SMG have lead researchers to call it conservative (Varella 2006: 15). It differs from SMG with regard to all levels of linguistic analysis (Terkourafi 2007; Arvaniti 2006a and 2006b), which is not surprising, if we remember the history of the island expounded previously. Nowadays, due to language contact and the mass media, Cypriot Greek is influenced by SMG, especially in urban areas (Armosti et al., 2014: 24) but it has retained the most salient of its features nevertheless.

There are several differences between the two codes, but we are presenting in continuation their main characteristics and those that may be considered most relevant to our corpus (Pavlou and Papapavlou 2004: 248ff.; Τσιπλάκου 2009: 1199ff.; Sophocleous 2009: 241ff.; Varella 2006: 13ff.; Αρμοστή et al. 2012; Armosti 2011; Arvaniti 2001 and 2006a; Παναγιώτου-Τριανταφυλλοπούλου 1999; Χριστοδούλου 2013)¹⁰:

1.4.1 Phonetics/Phonology¹¹.

The phonetic system of CG is the element that speakers of SMG usually find instantly noticeable and least understandable. The processes that have led to its current form were developed independently from the phonetic changes that underwent the variety that ultimately became the SMG:

- ✘ It boasts a set of geminates that are found only in CG and dominate the acrolectal pole of the continuum (probably because they have phonemic value, as in the verb form *έβαλλα* ['evɛl:vɛ] that signifies the imperfect form of the past participle, while the verb form *έβαλα* ['evɛlɛ] the perfective, both meaning 'put' in the past). Gemination occurs intervocalically, even when the historical spelling of the word does not call for it (e.g. the adverb *έσσω* ['ɛs:ɔ] meaning 'at home' in CG derived from the ancient Greek adverb *έσω* ['ɛsɔ], meaning 'inside'). It also applies to the initial, originally aspirated consonants

¹⁰ Several of the examples presented herein have been drawn from this bibliography.

¹¹ In this part of the dissertation we will refer to the characteristics of the whole of the Cypriot Greek continuum (CG henceforth), since we do not consider that we should be focusing only on the C(S)G as we have presented in the previous section, 1.3.

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of words of foreign origin, such as the noun *παραός* [p^h:e'ɾes] < Turkish *para*, 'money'.

✘ Cypriot lacks the SMG voiced stops, /b/, /d/, /g/, which are replaced in CG either by their voiceless counterparts, or by prenasalized voiced stops, as in the case of the collocation *βίντεο κλαμπ* ['vidɛɔ#kleb] in SMG, but *βίτεο κλαμπ* ['vitɛɔ#klep], 'video club' in CG¹².

✘ The phenomenon of synizesis that is common to both varieties, underwent further phonological change in CG: i) where the SMG uses [j], the CG presents [k] after /r/ or [c] after other consonants (e.g. the SMG noun *παρηγοριά* [pɛriɣɔ'ɾjɛ] as opposed to the CG¹³ noun *παρηγορκά* [pɛriɔ'rke]¹⁴, 'consolation' or the SMG noun *μυρωδιά* [mirɔ'djɛ], 'smell' as opposed to the CG *μυρωθιά* [mirɔ'tce], 'scent', a pair of false friends); ii) if a voiced fricative precedes, it changes into the corresponding voiceless one: /t/ is always fricativized before synizesis and /p/ following /m/ is omitted (e.g. the SMG plural noun *πόδια* is pronounced [pɔ'djɛ] as opposed to the CG plural noun *πόθκια* that is pronounced as [pɔ'tce], 'legs' or 'feet'; or the SMG plural noun *κουμπιά* that is pronounced [ku'mbjɛ], but is *κουμκιά* [ku'mce], in CG, both signifying 'buttons').

✘ The elision of the fricatives /v/, /ɣ/, /ð/ found intervocalically (e.g. noun *λαός* [le'ɔs] instead of *λαγός* [le'ɣɔs], 'hare')¹⁵.

✘ Total assimilation of nasals /n/ or /m/ to the fricative that follows, be it word-initially (where it occurs across word boundaries) or not (e.g. the SMG masculine noun *γρόνθος* [ɣrɔnθɔs] pronounced *γρόθθος* [ɣrɔθ:ɔs] in CG,

¹² That is actually one of the first shocks for the SMG speaker who visits Nicosia, since there is a video club opposite the Ayios Dimitrios market with a large marquee in Greek that spells exactly that. All mainland Greeks or *Ελλαδίτες* [el:ɛ'dites] (as we are politely called in Cyprus) we have discussed it with were unable to contain their amusement at seeing it written the way Greek Cypriots pronounce it!

¹³ When we wish to refer to the Cypriot Greek variety in general we will be using either the acronym CG or Cypriot Greek.

¹⁴ In this noun we can observe another characteristic of CG as well, the elision of the fricative /ɣ/ intervocalically.

¹⁵ The noun *λαός* is identical (a homophone) to a noun in both SMG and CG that means 'people', as in 'state', 'peoples', but since we consider this to be a case of *chance false friend*, we will not be concerned with it, or with similar cases of chance homonymy.

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‘fist’; and the SMG feminine noun *νύμφη* [ˈnimfi] pronounced *νύφοη* [ˈnifi:] in CG, ‘nymph’).

- ✘ Aspiration is obligatory in the /pt/ consonant cluster (e.g. the noun *πτώση* [ˈptʰɔsi] ‘a fall’).
- ✘ Replacement of the initial voiced stop [b], [d], and [g] with voiceless stops [p], [t], and [k]. The Cypriot Greek speaker avoids using the initial sounds <μπ-> [b], <ντ-> [d], and <γκ-> [g] found in SMG words (e.g. the CG noun *παπάς* [peˈpas], while in SMG it is written *μπαμπάς* and pronounced [beˈbes], ‘daddy’).
- ✘ The phenomenon of *tsitacism*, i.e. the historical change of /t/ to [ts] before /i/ (e.g. the CG noun *τεράτση* [teˈretsʰiːn], ‘carob’).
- ✘ Consonant cluster changes, where in a sequence of two fricatives the second becomes a stop and the second assimilates in voice, as in the case of the SMG consonant cluster /vy/ that appears as [fk] in CG (/y/ becomes a plosive, same as in synizesis) (e.g. the SMG noun *αβγό* [eˈvyɔ] and its equivalent CG noun *αφκόν* [eˈfkɔːn], ‘egg’).
- ✘ The anaptyxis of the so-called euphonic <ι> [i] between a final preceding <ν> [n] and the double consonant of the following word (e.g. the phrase *δεν ι-ξημερώνει* [ðen#i#ksimeˈrɔni], ‘it does not dawn’).
- ✘ The vowel-harmonic assimilation, e.g. /i/ > /ε/, as in the case of the SMG noun *γυναίκα* [jiˈneke] that in CG is *γεναίκα* [jeˈneke], ‘woman’, or ‘wife’.
- ✘ CG systematically omits enclitic stress: e.g. the phrase *παράκληση μας είναι* [peˈreklisi#mes#ˈine] in CG bears only the obligatory noun stress, while in SMG the phrase *παράκλησή μας είναι* [peˈrekliˈsi#mes#ˈine] bears a primary stress on the final syllable of the previous noun whose lexical stress becomes secondary.
- ✘ CG possesses four allophonic variants that are absent from SMG: 1) the post-alveolar fricative [ʃ] that appears when /x/ is before a front vowel (e.g. compare SMG noun *τοίχος* [ˈtixɔs] to the CG noun *τοιχίν* [tiˈʃiːn]), both meaning

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‘wall’ and also in the case of synizesis in SMG, CG *ίθα* [‘iθe] as opposed to SMG adverb *ίσια* [‘isçe], both meaning ‘straight’. A geminate [ʃ:] is the result of the palatalization of the sequence /sx/ or /sk/, as in the case of the verb *σχίζω* / *σκίζω* [‘sçizɔ] / [‘scizɔ] as opposed to CG *θσίζω* [‘θiz:ɔ]; 2) Its voiced counterpart appears when /z/ is before synizesis (e.g. the noun meaning ‘coquettish airs’ that in SMG is pronounced *νάζια* [‘nezje], in CG is pronounced *νάζια* [‘nezje]); 3) the postalveolar affricate [tʃ] results when /k/ appears before a front vowel (e.g. the noun *πευκίν* / *πευτσίβ* [pɛftʃiⁿ], ‘fir tree’), /k/ or /k:/ appear intervocally (e.g. the verb *εφάτισσα* [ɛ‘fɛtʃⁱːisɛ], ‘I got hit’ or ‘I hit myself’); 4) The voiced [dʒ] occurs only after a nasal, e.g. in the verb *παραντζέλλω* [pɛrɛ‘ndʒɛl:ɔ].

1.4.2 Morphology/Grammar.

Morphology along with phonetics has a leading role in earmarking the Cypriot Greek variety as the contrast with SMG is prominent here as well:

✘ CG has an <ε> /ε/ prefix in the past tense, called the *syllabic augment*. All word-initial consonant verb forms take the augment in the past tenses, almost as it happened in Ancient Greek. This feature of the historic tenses has disappeared from SMG, unless the verb in its past form has fewer than three syllables. In SMG, marker of the past tense is the stress that is always placed on the antepenultimate syllable. So, if a verb has less than three syllables, it takes in SMG too the /ε/ augment to place the stress on. The difference is that in CG the is always used regardless of stress placement (e.g. CG verb *εμίλησα* [ɛ‘milise], ‘I spoke’ vs. its SMG equivalent *μίλησα* [‘milise], as compared with CG verb *έφαα* [‘ɛfɛɛ], ‘I ate’ vs. the SMG equivalent *έφαγα* [‘ɛfɛɛɛ], ‘I ate’).

✘ A number of other archaic verbal inflections are also preserved: i) 3rd person plural ending of the verbs (e.g. CG <-ούσιν> [usin], in verb *πολεμούσιν* [pɔlɛ‘musin] vs. SMG <-ούν> [un] in verb *πολεμούν* [pɔlɛ‘mun], both meaning ‘they are fighting’ or ‘they fight’); ii) also the ending of verbs in the simple past <-ασιν> [ɛsin] (a medieval analogical formation based on the ending -

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usin), such as the CG verb *εγελάσασιν* [ε̞ε̞'les̞esin] as opposed to the SMG verb *γέλασαν* [ˈjel̞es̞en], both meaning 'they laughed'; iii) the 3rd person singular of the passive imperfect in the ending <-ετουν> [ɛtun] that differs from the equivalent SMG <-οταν> [ɔt̞en] (e.g. the CG verb *εδίννετουν* [ɛ'ðin̞:ɛtun] vs. the SMG verb *δενόταν* [ðe'no̞t̞en]); iv) the 2nd and 3rd person singular of the passive aorist (e.g. the CG verb *επλύθης* [ɛ'pliθ̞:is] vs. the SMG verb *πλύθηκες* ['pliθ̞i:kes], both meaning 'you washed yourself') in which the CG form retains the ancient Greek ending, while in the SMG it has changed considerably; v) the imperative is formed from the stem of the passive aorist, while in SMG from the perfective stem of the aorist in the active (e.g. CG imperative *πλύθηθου* ['pliθ̞:u], in contrast to SMG imperative *πλύσου* ['plisu], both signifying 'wash yourself'.

✘ A particular class of verbs ending <-ίσκω> [iskɔ], such as *πλυννίσκω* [pli'n̞:iskɔ], 'I am washing something' that retain an ancient Greek, actually Homeric Greek ending. In CG this ending is prolific in forming a multitude of verbs and it has a functional role, as it helps to indicate the imperfective, born by this ending, from the perfective, while in SMG this ending does not exist.

✘ The final <-ν> [n] of Ancient Greek is preserved in the Cypriot variety, while it is obsolete in SMG. It appears in the declension of nouns and in some verb forms: i) in the accusative singular of all genders (e.g. the CG noun *τον άνθρωπον* [tɔn#'eθ̞ɔɔɔn], 'man', *την ημέραν* [tin#i'meɔɔn], 'day', *το σπίτιν* [tɔ#'spitiⁿ], 'house'); ii) in the nominative and accusative singular neuter (see above, *το σπίτιν*); iii) in the first person plural of verbs in all tenses (e.g. verb *λέμεν* ['lemeⁿ], 'we are saying'); iv) in all aorist forms, active as well as passive (e.g. verb *εκάμασιν* [ɛ'kemes̞in], 'they did' in the active, and in the passive *εχάθηκεν* [ɛ'xeθ̞iken], '(s)he was lost'); in imperfect active forms of verbs with the stress on the penultimate in the third person singular of the present active (e.g. verb *έλεγεν* ['ele̞e̞n], '(s)he was saying'). In the Cypriot variety this suffix is also used analogically even in cases, where historically it did not exist in ancient Greek, such as in the nouns of the third declension paradigm (for example, cf. the noun *τον πατέραν* [tɔm#be'teɔɔn], 'father); or in imperfect active forms of contract verbs (verbs stressed on the final syllable of the third

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person singular of the present active), e.g. the verb *αγάπαν* [e'ɣepɛⁿ], '(s)he loved'.

✘ The suffix <v> [n] is also doubled between two vowels in the ending of verbs, thus modifying the final suffix in all verbs ending in <-vνω> [n:ɔ] in SMG, as in the case of the verb *βουλώνω* [vu'lɔnɔ], which means 'to stopper' in SMG and *βουλλώννω* [vu'l:ɔn:ɔ] in CG, 'to seal' or 'to put a dent in' (the two verbs are false friends).

✘ SMG masculine and feminine nouns with stress on the antepenultimate that also end in the suffix <ος> [ɔs] in the nominative singular, receive antepenultimate stress in the nominative plural too. In CG, such nouns receive penultimate stress in the nominative plural (by analogy to the genitive plural, which has penultimate stress) (e.g. SMG plural noun *έξοδοι* [ˈeksɔði] vs. CG plural noun *εξόδοι* [ek'sɔði], both meaning 'exits').

✘ Reanalysis of the final <v> [n] in the accusative of the articles attaches it in a word-initial position to nouns (e.g. CG noun *τον ήλιον* [tɔn#'iɫɔn] > *νήλιος* [ɔ#'niɫɔs], 'sun', *την άκραν* [tin#'ekrɛ], > *η νάκρα* [i#'nekɛ], 'side');

✘ Unrestricted use of the genitive plural of feminine nouns. In SMG these genitives are avoided and largely replaced by the prepositional formation *από* [epɔ] + accusative. If the genitive is used at all, the stress typically moves to the final syllable, while in CG the stress is kept on the syllable it is found on in the nominative (e.g. CG noun *των πισίνων* [tɔn#pi'sinɔn] 'the swimming pools GEN' vs. SMG *των πισινών* [tɔn#pisi'nɔn], 'the swimming pools GEN', but also 'the behinds GEN'. It would be expressed periphrastically in SMG in a manner that would depend on the context.

✘ Some irregular verbs in the SMG (*katharevusa* remnants) are becoming regularized in CG (e.g. in an information leaflet of Cyprus Airways one read *εισήξαμε το νέο προϊόν* [i'siksɛmɛ#tɔ#neɔ#prɔiɔn], 'we introduced the new product', while had it been written in SMG, it would read as *εισαγάγαμε το νέο προϊόν* [ise'ɣɛɣɛmɛ#tɔ#neɔ#prɔiɔn].

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✘ CG forms the future tense differently from SMG, so instead of 'I will go' that in SMG would appear as *θα πάω* [θe#'pɛɔ], the conventional CG construct would be *εννά πάω* [ɛ'n:ɛ#'pɛɔ] (for details on the emergence of the CG future see Varella, 2006: 26).

1.4.3 Syntax.

Although morphology has been apt to change accommodating traits reminiscent of SMG, the main syntactical traits of CG remain stable and despite being less in number than in the other linguistic levels, they do exist:

✘ Mainly the position of clitics (postverbal instead of preverbal as in SMG) (e.g. *είπα σου* ['iɛ#su] instead of the SMG syntax *σου είπα* [su#'iɛ], 'I told you').

✘ A secondary feature, but one that is still observable is the replacement of the genitive plural of masculine nouns by the accusative, e.g. *η αλλαγή τους κανόνες φοίτησης* [i#ɛ:l:ɛ'ji#tus#ke'nɔnɛs#'fitisis] instead of *η αλλαγή των κανόνων φοίτησης* [i#ɛ:l:ɛ'ji#tɔn#ke'nɔnɔn#'fitisis].

✘ Although both SMG and CG have double negation, in the latter the verb in constructions with the conj. *ούτε* ['ute], 'not even' is not negated. Sentences like the following can be found in CG: *ούτε η πιο νοσηρή φαντασία θα μπορούσε να συλλάβει αυτόν τον πόλεμο* ['ute#i#pɔɔ#nɔsi'ri#fende'sie#θe#mbɔ'ruse#ne#si'l:ɛvi#e'ftɔn#dɔm#'bɔlɛmɔ] 'not even the sickest imagination could conceive of this war' but in SMG they would have the added *δεν* [ðe(n)], as in *ούτε η πιο νοσηρή φαντασία δεν θα μπορούσε να συλλάβει αυτό τον πόλεμο* ['ute#i#pɔɔ#nɔsi'ri#fende'sie#ðɛn#θe#mbɔ'ruse#ne#si'l:ɛvi#e'ftɔ#dɔm#'bɔlɛmɔ].

✘ CG uses different cases from SMG in certain constructions, such as the following: in SMG, the conj. *όπως* ['ɔpɔs], 'like', takes complements in the nominative case, but in CG in the accusative (cf. the CG phrase *αυτός ο πόλεμος δεν είναι όπως τους άλλους πολέμους* ['eftɔs#ɔ#'pɔlɛmɔs#ðɛn#

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'ine#'ɔpɔs#tus#'el:us#pɔ'lemus], 'this war is not like the other wars,' instead of the same phrase in SMG: *αυτός ο πόλεμος δεν είναι όπως οι άλλοι πόλεμοι* [e'ftɔs#ɔ#'pɔlemɔs#ðen#'ine#'ɔpɔs#i#'ali#'pɔlemi].

✘ CG also uses certain *katharevusa* expressions which sound antiquated to SMG speakers. These include the adverb *πέραν* ['perɛn] +genitive, 'in addition to', instead of *πέρα από* ['perɛ#e'pɔ] + accusative (e.g. *πέραν του κόστους* ['perɛ#du#'kɔstus] 'in addition to the cost,' instead of SMG *πέρα από το κόστος* ['perɛ#e'pɔ#tɔ#'kɔstɔs], 'apart from the cost'). Another is the use of the conj. *όπως* ['ɔpɔs] instead of using a simple subjunctive, as is done in SMG (cf. CG phrase *θα σας παρακαλούσα όπως μας αποστείλετε τις απόψεις σας* [θɛ#sɛs#pɛrɛkɛ'luse#'ɔpɔs#mɛs#ɛpɔ'stilɛtɛ#tis#e'pɔpsis#sɛs] 'I would request that you send us your views' instead of the phrase as it would appear in SMG *θα σας παρακαλούσα να μας αποστείλετε τις απόψεις σας* [θɛ#sɛs#pɛrɛkɛ'luse#nɛ#mɛs#ɛpɔ'stilɛtɛ#tis#ɛpɔpsis#sɛs]).

✘ CG uses the past perfect tense (which does not exist in the basilectal forms of the Cypriot variety) with a concrete time reference, something that is ungrammatical for most (though not all)¹⁶ speakers of SMG (e.g. *στις 3 Ιουνίου έχουν γίνει αλλαγές στο πρόγραμμα* [stis#tris#iu'niu#'ɛxun#'jini#el:e'jes#stɔ#'pɔɣɾɛm:e] lit. 'on the 3rd of June changes have been made to the schedule' (University of Cyprus webpage) and in SMG the sentence would have been expected to use the aorist *έγιναν αλλαγές* ['ɛjinen#elɛ'jes] instead of *έχουν γίνει αλλαγές* ['ɛxun#'jini#el:e'jes]);

1.4.4 Semantics/lexicon

A pronounced number of words in CG are of Turkish, Arabic, French, Italian or English origin, but that is not the only distinctive feature of the CG lexicon.

¹⁶ We have observed a similar change in SMG among speakers who previously did not use the past perfect the way it is consistently used in C(S)G.

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- ✘ The two varieties have an immense number of common words and it is not always possible to differentiate the vocabulary of each variety.
- ✘ There are lexical doublets, such as the noun *μάππα* ['mep^h:e] vs. *μπάλα* ['mbele], both of which signify 'ball'.
- ✘ The high register of CG vocabulary (contains many words which are actually false friends and others that are what many authors call *fictitious words*, *pseudo-words*, or *barbarisms*¹⁷, i.e. words formed according to the morphological rules of SMG, but which do not exist in the standard of Greece, e.g. the CG noun *κυβεία* [ci'viɛ] that does not exist in the SMG, in which the noun *τζόγος* ['dzɔɣɔs] is used instead and they both mean 'gambling'. Other examples would be the noun *εργοδότηση* [eryɔ'ðɔtisi], 'employment', or the phraseologism *απάγωτο νερό* [e'pɛɣɔtɔ#ne'ɾɔ] 'water in room temperature'. The equivalent terms used in SMG are *απασχόληση* [epɛ'sxɔlisi] and *νερό σε θερμοκρασία περιβάλλοντος / εκτός ψυγείου* [ne'ɾɔ#se#θɛɾmɔkrɛ'siɛ#peri'velɔndɔs] / [ɛ'ktɔs#psi'jiu]. This category of the lexicon does not appear in its morpho-phonological characteristics to be basilectal, so CG speakers tend to consider it common to both varieties.

¹⁷ What Spence (1987: 172ff) calls '*faux-anglicismes*' (sic) that are the words coined in French with English elements resembling actual words in English, but without themselves being English words.

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2.1. A brief history of the phenomenon

The phenomenon of false friends is fairly frequent in language, but it has not been clearly delineated in all the cases where it arises. Actually, it is a phenomenon that although known for many centuries, only lately has it been investigated with any consistency. False friends present formal similarities, especially in the lexical domain, and semantic dissimilarities.

One of the earliest known scientific works that focuses on the phenomenon is a 17th century book that was reprinted a few years ago (Larsson and Gruszczyński 1998 in Chamizo Domínguez 2008: 1). It is a dictionary of Polish-Swedish nouns that includes false friends. Its title is in Latin (*Nomina Polonica convenient cum Svecicis, partim eundem partim diversum significantia Sensum Ordine Alphabetico collecta atque disposita*¹⁸), and it uses Latin as its meta-language. This dictionary was born out of the necessity to clarify the meaning of the Polish and Swedish nouns that brought about confusion due to their partial identification. It does not boast any special term regarding the phenomenon, nor does it propose a relevant theoretical framework.

Bunčić (2000: 7) corroborates the fact that dictionaries regarding false friends predate the 20th century, when he mentions the case of Samuel Bogumil Lindes (Smolska 1972: 73 in Bunčić 2000: 7) dating from the beginning of the 19th century. Bogumil Lindes compiled a handwritten Russian-Polish dictionary that made reference to false friends, but he did not use any particular term (since there was none), nor did he coin a new one for the phenomenon.

The first ones to regard the phenomenon in its own right and propose a term for it are Maxime Koessler and Jules Derocquigny (1928) who, with their avant-garde work, in essence, created the field of semantic false friends. The term they coined, *faux amis du traducteur*, although it is not used much any more with the

¹⁸ *An alphabetically provided collection of Polish nouns which partially coincide and partially diverge from Swedish nouns*, translation by Chamizo Domínguez (2008: 1).

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adjunct 'du traducteur'¹⁹, has influenced the terminology used in almost all languages that translated it word for word and use it in its various forms in relevant works (Koessler and Derocquigny 1928; Szpila 2006: 74; Prado 1989: 721).

Their dictionary was a scientific work unlike any other until its publication, since it did not exhibit the typical structure of a dictionary. It contained an analysis and explanation of its lemmas, accompanied by a short introduction presenting the first ever short definition of the phenomenon, apart from the analysis of the equivalence of meanings in English and French. This first definition stated that their work focuses on terms (nouns and verbs) that appear identical but their meaning in English and French (the two languages of the publication) are different. Their goal was to compile a practical guide for all French-speaking persons learning English and for translators with French and English as their working languages. The inspiration and the reason behind the book came from the mistakes made by translators who thought the similarity in form meant similarity in meaning –hence the adjunct 'du traducteur'– (Koessler and Derocquigny 1928: xii).

Their book consisted of an 18-page introduction, where they expound on the reasons behind their decision to write and publish their work, some examples of the problems that false friends cause, the method they used in order to compile the data included (phrases from books they had read or phrases they heard, material from other dictionaries), the presentation of the meaning of every compiled false friend in context translating at the same time the concept in whole phrases and not just equivalent words. Their objective was to shed light on the problem, help students learn English correctly and assist translators to avoid common mistakes attributed to ignorance or lack of awareness of false friends.

The importance of this trend-setting work on false friends is immeasurable, despite the fact that it lacks a theoretical framework. The interest it kindled in the phenomenon is the reason behind the current abundance of false friends'

¹⁹ Except for the German bibliography that often employs the term *falschen Freunden des Übersetzters* that is a word-for-word translation of the French term.

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dictionaries between languages. Furthermore, there are numerous translators, language teachers, linguists and scientists in general dedicated to the investigation of theories explaining the phenomenon or categorizations delineating it, that have produced a multitude of terms and definitions. Over the last decades, many are those who have presented a theory of false friends, but these two Swiss precursors are the ones who set the foundations for every single one of them.

2.2. Some basic notions

2.2.1 Terminology²⁰

The terminology used in the majority of European languages is based on the term already mentioned, i.e. the *faux amis du traducteur*, although a certain degree of divergence has emerged, as the interest on false friends has been gaining significance.

In English, the terms mainly used are *false friends*²¹, *faux amis*²² (Shlesinger and Malkiel 2005; Fischer and Lavric 2003: 57²³; Rothwell 1993; Frunza 2006: 4; Sheen 1997; Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 68; Lázár 1998: 70; Nicholls 2002), *deceptive cognates* (Lado 1957; O' Neill and Casanovas 1997; Scatori 1932; Zamarin 1965; Reid 1948; Ivir 1968 and 1988; Granger and Swallow 1988) or *false cognates*²⁴ (Mattheoudakis and Patsala 2007; Shlesinger and Malkiel 2005;

²⁰ The terminology discussed in this section presents most of the terms used in some European languages that have been explored in the bibliography and it lays no claim to being exhaustive.

²¹ Since the number of bibliographical references is exceedingly large, we have placed them herein to avoid such a significant interruption to the main body of the thesis (and we will continue thus in analogous cases): Chamizo Domínguez 1999, 2002, 2006 and 2008; Lázár 1998; Nicholls 2002; Mattheoudakis and Patsala 2007; Gabrovšek 1998; Roca Varela 2011 and 2012; Granger and Swallow 1988; Broz 2007; Limon 2001; O'Neill and Casanovas Catalá 1997; Pál 2000; Sabaté-Carrové and Chesñevar 1998; Szpila 2006; Al-Wahy 2009: 103; Frunza 2006: 4; Frunza and Inkpen 2006: 442; Lázár 1998: 70; Lemhöfer and Dijkstra 2004: 533; Mendiluce Cabrera and Hernández Bartolomé 2005: 130.

²² The French term is often used interchangeably with the translated in each language term. This is also the case with German.

²³ The two researchers note that the term has two meanings, being actually a polyseme comprising of *faux amis* in a narrower and in a broader sense. As narrow *faux amis* they consider lexemes with the same (or a very similar) interlingual form but with different meanings.

²⁴ For a discussion of the difference between the terms *false cognates* and *false friends*, see the next section, 2.2.2.

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Belmekki 2007; Friel and Kennison 2001; Carroll 1992; Lázár 1998: 70; Frantzen 1998: 243; Lalor and Kirsner 2001: 552) and to a lesser degree *false pairs* (Lázár 1998: 78; Ivir 1968 and 1988) and *interlingual homographs* (Dijkstra et al. 1999: 497; Lemhöfer and Dijkstra 2004: 533) or *interlingual homophones*²⁵ (Lemhöfer and Dijkstra 2004: 533), *deceptive demons* (Reid 1948), *false equivalents* (Szpila 2011: 350) and *pseudo-equivalents* (Szerszunowicz 2006: 1055).

In German, they are called *falsche Freunde des Übersetzers* (Laskowski 2006; Bunčić 2000; Belin 2009; Lipczuk 1993; Kuczyński 2003: 255; Gottlieb 1986: 104), which is a word-for-word translation of the original French term, or more commonly just *falsche Freunde*²⁶, or with the French term, *faux amis* (Ettinger 1994; Laskowski 2006; Kuczyński 2003: 258; Ehegötz and Morvay 1992: 311), as well as *interlinguale Homonyme* (interlingual homonyms) (Grimm 2001: 223), *scheinbare Äquivalente* (apparent equivalencies) or *Pseudo-internationalismen*²⁷ (pseudo-internationalisms) (Laskowski 2006: 2).

In Spanish, the diversity is even greater: *falsos amigos del traductor* (Thiemer 1982: 157), *falsos amigos* (false friends)²⁸, *falsos cognados* (false cognates) (Prado 1989: 721; Humblé 2005-6; Lassaque 2006 and 2011; Mallo 1954; Soares Alves 2002), *seudocognados* (pseudo-cognates) (Prado 1989: 721²⁹), *afinidades parciales* (partial affinities) (Calvi 2004: 2), *falsas cognadas* (Beldarrain 1983: 27), *falsas equivalencias* (Carluzzi and Diaz 2007: 160), *falsos afines* (Francesconi 2005), *heterosemánticos* (Soares Alves 2002) *parónimos interlingüísticos* or *parónimos intralingüísticos* and *parónimos interidiomáticos*³⁰ (interlingual near-

²⁵ If the phenomenon appears on a phonological level.

²⁶ Belin 2008; Bunčić 2000; Thiemer 1979; Breitreuz 1991; Doval Reixa 1998; Doval 2006; Ionescu 2011 and 2015; Seelbach 2002; Lietz 1996; Milan 1989: 385.

²⁷ Ionescu (2015: 138) considers it a subcategory of false friends.

²⁸ Chamizo Domínguez 2009: 1112; Muñiz Cachón 2001: 163; Carluzzi and Díaz 2007: 160; García Benito 2003: 43; Calvi and Martinell 1997; Galiñanes Gallén 2006; Matte Bon 1998; Prado 1989; Francesconi 2005; Reyes Yañez 2006; Koegler 2014; Fang 2012: 59; Leontaridi et al. 2007: 78; Gogazeh 2007: 103.

²⁹ He uses the three terms *falsos amigos*, *seudocognados* and *falsos cognados*, interchangeably, as synonyms.

³⁰ The first terms are the ones the author used originally, but in later years he expressed his preference for *parónimos interidiomáticos* (Polo 2006: 348-9).

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synonyms or intralingual near-synonyms and inter-language near-synonyms) (Polo 2006: 348 ff.) and *falsos primos*³¹ (Magadán Olives 2003: 76).

In Greek, the terms that appear more often are *ψευδόφιλες μονάδες* [pse'ndɔfiles#mɔ'neðes], i.e. 'false friends' units' (Τερκουράφη 2005: ix; Grigorova and Πυρομάλη 2006; Αλεξιάδου 2009; Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη and Βλέτση 2009; Χλιάρας 2007), *ψευδόφιλες λεξικές μονάδες*, [pse'ndɔfiles#leksis'ces#mɔ'neðes] 'lexical false friends' units' (Λεονταρίδη 2008), *ψευδο-διαγλωσσικά ομότυπα*³² [pse'ndɔdiɛɣlɔsi'ke#ɔ'mɔtipe] (Κυριαζή-Παπακωνσταντίνου 2005: 304), *ψευδοφίλιες λέξεις* [pse'ndɔ'filies#'leksis]³³ (Φλώρος 2008: 17) or *ψευδόφιλες λέξεις* [pse'ndɔfiles#'leksis] (Αλεξιάδου, 2009: 24; Χατζοπούλου και Κατσογιάννου, 2011) and *ψευδόφιλα*³⁴ [pse'ndɔfile] (Χατζοπούλου και Κατσογιάννου, 2011).

It is obvious that nearly all the terms proposed or used by the authors in the relevant literature have some form or other of the 'faux-' or 'false-' component, either translated or not, legacy of the pioneers in the field. These are usually combined with a term signifying 'word' or 'unit' or a related term. Lázár (1998: 71) stresses the easy to observe fact (from the literature mentioned), that no unique term has been adopted, as may be the case in other sciences or established branches of Linguistics. Still, it is clear that the term *false friends* is the one that prevails in the literature. It could be considered an international term or even internationalism. It is seen as a technical term, but one that is not confined in one special sector, so there are inherent difficulties with the term and the phenomenon. It is the commonest and the one that has influenced the relevant terms in many languages.

³¹ She calls *falsos primos* and not *falsos amigos*, those words that are indeed false friends, but only because after having been introduced to the west from the classical Greek, return to Greece due to the process of *reborrowing*, but they may enter as false friends. Since the words were originally Greek, she chose to name them *primos*, 'cousins' instead of 'friends'.

³² This term is actually the rendition of the English term *false cognates* in Greek by Κυριαζή-Παπακωνσταντίνου (2005: 304).

³³ Γ. Φλώρος who translated and adapted in Greek the book *Terminologie de la traduction*, in its introduction (2008: 17) mentions that "the known term *faux amis* was rendered as *ψευδοφίλιες λέξεις* and not as *ψευδόφιλες λέξεις* or *ψευδόφιλα*, in contradiction to what the existing literature commonly uses" (our own translation).

³⁴ Both terms, *ψευδόφιλες λέξεις* and *ψευδόφιλα* mean the same, i.e. 'false friends' but the suffix changes according to the choice their proposer makes. The second suffix denotes a noun that is neuter in the plural and it is commonly used in Greek to signify a category of notions or things in the abstract.

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2.2.2 Cognates, false friends and false cognates

Two of the terms used most in order to signify the under investigation phenomenon are *false friends* and *false cognates* and often enough, they are used interchangeably as absolute synonyms, due to the belief many researchers share, that only cognates may be false friends (Granger and Swallow 1988: 108; Mattheoudakis and Patsala 2007: 320; Prado 1989: 721³⁵; Shlesinger and Malkiel 2005: 174).

Cognates are words that have a common root, for example the English noun *depression* and the Italian *depressione* that share the same meanings and are both derived from Latin. Cognates for most scholars are words in two or more languages with similar if not identical phonetic and semantic structure because of their common ancestry (Nakov et al. 2007: 1; Carroll 1992: 94; Prado 1989: 721; Lado 1957: 82; Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη and Βλέτση 2009: 1; Nakov et al. 2007: 1).

Cognates are especially useful to bilinguals or students learning a second language related with their mother tongue. They enable learning and correlation between the two languages, since they are immediately recognized and understood, but at the same time, they hinder learning in the long run, as false friends (Carroll 1992: 94).

For Lázár (1998: 78) the term *cognate* has two meanings: a wider that signifies ‘akin’, ‘related’, and a narrower one, ‘descended from a common ancestor’. Of the two, the one most used in linguistics is the latter and it makes reference both to words and languages. He maintains that two words do not have to be cognates in the narrow sense in order to be false friends; they may be borrowed in such a manner as to produce false friends. He adds that “false friends and false cognates should not be used synonymously”, and the term *false friends* should be the one chosen, as he considers it a subtype of the latter.

Leontaridi et al. (2007: 79) make a distinction between false friends and false cognates and define the latter as a word that, because of typological and

³⁵ He is using one of the Spanish terms, *seudocognados*.

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semantic similarity, appears to have common ancestry with a word from a different language, but the two words do not actually share etymological origins.

According to Voga and Grainger (2007: 938), cognates are words in two languages that have identical meanings and a non-negligible level of form overlap (i.e. shared phonemes and/or letters).

Crystal in *An Encyclopedic Dictionary of Language and Languages* provides definitions for both linguistic phenomena, i.e. cognates and false friends and the differentiation between the two definitions is minimal. A cognate, according to Crystal (1992: 70) is defined as follows:

A language or linguistic form which is historically derived from the same source as another. Spanish, French and Portuguese are all cognate languages, deriving from Latin. Many of their words, accordingly, have a common origin, and are also said to be cognate, such as the various words for 'father' – padre, père, pai.

False friends (Crystal 1992: 132) are:

*Words in different languages which resemble each other in form, but which express different meanings; also called **false cognates**, and often known by the French equivalent expression **faux amis**. Examples include French demander, which translates in English as 'to request' not 'to demand', and Italian caldo, which translates as 'warm', not 'cold' (bold and italics in the original).*

His definition of false friends is at the same time both wide and restrictive. Crystal does not explicitly require that a genetic relation exist between the two languages or lexical items that form the false friends' pairs. He also mentions that another term used for false friends is *false cognates* or *faux amis*, but he does not seem to relate it to common ancestry that necessarily exists between cognates. It could be seen as wide, because it does not allow its reader to draw a distinction between false friends and cognates. It could be considered a restrictive definition, because it only mentions morphological similarity without any mention to other types of similarity, such as phonetic, phonological, etc.

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The definition provided by David Crystal (1992: 70) for cognates could also be valid for false friends, especially for investigators considering the common etymological criterion as a necessary condition in order to call a pair of similar lexical items a pair of false friends. It refers to languages of common ancestry, such as the Romanic languages that come from Latin: Spanish, French and Portuguese. A large proportion of their lexicon comes from the same source, i.e. the paternal language that makes many of their lexical items, cognates. The only significant difference pointed out is the semantic difference necessary for false friendliness. This definition would be contemplated as adequate by mainly the researchers who do not consider a common ancestry necessary, as long as the two words have similar form and different meaning.

The scholar that we believe has clarified the matter in the best possible way is Chamizo Domínguez (2006, 2008), when he stresses that the terms *false friends* and *false cognates* differ and may not be considered as synonyms. In his definition of the word *cognate* (Chamizo Domínguez 2008: 2ff.), he stresses the fact that this name applies to all words with a common origin, regardless of their semantic identification or divergence. He refers to words, such as the Spanish noun *padre*, 'father' and the French noun *père*, that means 'father', but also 'old man' in some contexts, which is what makes the two nouns partial semantic false friends and cognates, or the Italian noun *cazzo*, 'penis' and the Spanish (apparently equivalent) *cazo*, 'ladle, small saucepan', that could be false friends, but are not cognates. Therefore, if we were to represent the relationship between false friends and cognates with Venn diagrams, we would see that the notion of false friends encompasses the notion of false cognate, since all false cognates are false friends, but not all false friends are false cognates. The term false cognate is a hyponym of the superordinate term false friends that includes false cognates and real cognates, which he considers chance false friends.

2.2.3 Definition of false friends

The phenomenon of false friends was only relatively recently investigated and it still has to be defined and differentiated from other similar phenomena in

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a way that all investigators interested may prescribe to. Not to forget that false friends, until the last two decades, never received the recognition they were due in established branches or research areas of Linguistics, as is rightly commented by Hayward and Mounin (1984: 190). As Szpila (2006: 80) reminds us, it is not at all an easy task to attribute the best-suited term to any phenomenon, linguistic or otherwise in such a manner that there could be no objections. A commonly accepted definition for the phenomenon does not exist. The definitions proposed in many cases are quite vague and do not permit a clear-cut classification and it is therefore more difficult to differentiate between false friends (that generate confusion) and any other erroneously used terms (that also generate confusion). Another matter to be taken into account is the fact that linguistics is a relatively young science and every science needs many years of investigation before firm terminology is established and accepted, even in matters as important as false friends that are mostly words of everyday languages with a usually high usage percentage, the importance of which in the area of translation makes the need for the definition and analysis of those terms a veritable requirement (Hayward and Mounin 1984: 190).

Investigators agree that false friends share some characteristics in all languages regardless of the special perspective according to which they examine the phenomenon. All relevant literature -that includes articles, books, general and specialized dictionaries- puts forward different definitions, which nevertheless generally share some elements, since they center on the same characteristics to a greater or smaller degree.

The first definition was proposed by Koessler y Derocquigny (1928: ix) and it provides a general framework by referring to the most salient characteristics, i.e. similarity of form and difference of meaning. It is the basis on which later researchers have added terms or characteristics. The definitions proposed in general refer to words (or phraseological units³⁶) that are identical or very

³⁶ Although there are a number of investigators that consider phraseological units as viable false friends candidates, in our intralinguistic false friends' corpus we do not center on them *per se*, we examine them within the entries of the words that constitute their semantics and imagery core. According to Laskowski (2006: 2), as phraseological false friends are understood "zwei oder mehrere Phraseologismen [...], die in ihrer wörtlichen Lesart weitgehend identisch sind, während sich ihre aktuellen Lesarten unterscheiden", that is, they are defined as "two or more

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similar on a morphological or phonetic (or phonological, orthographic, etc.) level according to the structure and the particular characteristics of every language (or linguistic variety we would add) that differ –occasionally significantly– as regards their meaning or use³⁷.

Chamizo Domínguez (2006) in his contribution to the *Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, as well as other investigators, such as Terkourafi (2005: xvi), Szpila (2006: 74), Chamizo Domínguez and Nerlich (2002: 1836) and many more, add to the definition the fact that it concerns words that are similar or equivalent on a graphic or phonetic level in two or more languages, but they have at least one different meaning, despite the common signifier.

Bunčić (2000) and Chamizo Domínguez (2008) choose to adopt the definition that Timothy Hayward and Andre Moulin (1984: 190) proposed making use of Saussurean terms:

In the learner's mother tongue a particular signifiant is associated with a particular signifié. Once the signifiant appears, even in a foreign-language context, the above-mentioned association is so strong that the user automatically thinks of his mother-tongue signifié (in its totality) (emphasis in the original)³⁸.

This definition is considered as one of the most valid ones, because it explains the process behind the miscommunication that is a trademark of false friends. In

phraseologisms, that on the lexical level are largely identical, while at the same time differ in meaning” (own translation).

³⁷ Prado 1989: 721; Maillot 1977: 67; Fischer and Lavric 2003: 57; Lado 1957: 83; Nicholls 2002: 1; Leontaridi et al. 2007: 78; Dijkstra, Grainger and van Heuven 1999: 497; Lietz 1996: 89; Gouws et al. 2004: 798; Copceag 1976: 33; Shlesinger and Malkiel 2005: 174; Parianou 1997: 23; Bunčić 2000: 19; Thiemer 1982: 159; Mattheoudakis and Patsala 2007: 320 (They require that the languages of the false friends have “similar orthographic systems”); Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 1997:80; Walter 2001: 101; Peeters 2011: 1; Kiss 202: 43; Al-Wahy 2009: 104; García Benito 2003: 43ff.; Broz 2008: 200; Gogazeh 2007: 83; Doval Reixa 1998: 277; Fang 2012: 66; Beldarrain 1983: 27; Muñiz Cachón 2001: 163; Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 68; Frunza and Inkpen 2006: 442; Grigorova and Πυρομάλη 2006; Lipczuk 1993; Szpila 2005: 77; Lázár 1998: 75; Kuczyński 2003: 255; Frantzen 1998: 243; Heinle 1992: 310; Dobrovol’skij and Piirainen 2005: 107; Λεονταρίδη 2008; Szerszunowicz 2006: 1055; Gottlieb 1986: 109ff.; Χλιάρας 2007: 16; Carlucci and Díaz 2007: 168.

³⁸ Vrbinc (2010: 1242), gives a rather similar definition that includes the same or similar form and difference in meaning that results in erroneous interpretation in bilingual communication.

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the course of our investigation we have proposed to use another very similar, slightly modified definition

False friends are called the pairs that associate two signifiers of different languages or linguistic varieties of the same language with phonetic, phonological, morphological and/or orthographic similarity, while their meanings differ with regard to at least one sense. Once the signifier appears, even in a foreign-language context, the signifier-meaning association is so strong that the user automatically thinks of his/her mother-tongue meaning (in its totality).

One of the most characteristic examples is the pair of French adjective *sympathique*, the meaning of which is ‘nice’, ‘friendly’ ‘pleasant’³⁹ and English adjective *sympathetic*, ‘feeling, showing, or expressing sympathy, i.e. understanding’, ‘showing approval of or favor towards an idea or action’, ‘(of a person) attracting the liking of others’, ‘relating to or denoting part of the autonomic nervous system’ and ‘relating to, producing, or denoting an effect which arises in response to a similar action elsewhere’⁴⁰. At the same time, another pair of false friends is formed between Spanish adjective *simpático* and English adjective *sympathetic*, with the same characteristics as the French and English one, since the Spanish and the French adjectives are cognates.

Comparable is the case of the masculine noun *ανιψιός*⁴¹, not between two different languages, but between the two varieties of the same language we are investigating, SMG and C(S)G. This pair of false friends is among the few false friends known to most speakers of C(S)G, although the phenomenon has not been expounded and it is usually not known either among speakers of SMG, or among speakers of C(S)G. The pair is a homograph, but not a homophone, it does not exhibit any differences on the morphological level, but it does on the phonetic and, most significantly on the semantic level. The noun is pronounced

³⁹ All French words are translated in English with the help of the Collins online dictionary (<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/>).

⁴⁰ They are in fact partial false friends, since they share their meanings in the fields of grammar (sympathetic dative) and anatomy.

⁴¹ All masculine nouns denoting kinship, occupation or office include and/or imply the feminine as well, except where expressly stated otherwise.

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[ɛni'psçɔs] in SMG and [ɛni'pʃɔs]⁴² in C(S)G. In C(S)G it maintains the ancient Greek meaning '(first) cousin' (Γιαγκουλλής, 2014: 55) and in SMG its meaning has shifted from the one it had in ancient Greek to mean 'nephew'⁴³, being then the son of somebody's brother/sister or cousin. The noun *ανιψιός* in Medieval Greek⁴⁴, at least since the time of the Machairas' *Chronicle* in the 15th c. AD exhibited both meanings. The SMG meaning of 'nephew' in C(S)G is covered by the words *αδελφότεκνος* [aðe'lfɔteknɔs] or *αρφότεκνος* [a'rfɔteknɔs] (two different pronunciations of the same word).

Although the definitions used by the majority of investigators do not deviate significantly from our own, Priestly (1988: 226) in making reference to the glossary compiled by Marjan Golobič of false friends between Slovene and English, notes that the definition of that author implies the concept of semantic fields that may coincide partly or not at all.

Peeters (2011: 1ff) agrees in broad strokes to the definition presented here, but has an original approach: the theory of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM hereinafter) for analyzing false friends. It is a culturally neutral, universal metalanguage and as a consequence it is an exact descriptive tool characterized by clarity. NSM uses specific terms that are basic notions, such as noun, markers, verbs that express the notions of evaluation, description, thought, action, movement, existence, ownership, life, death, etc. These are the vocabulary of its metalanguage and are called semantic archetypes. When the NSM is applied in the case of false friends, it proves that neither the notion of total false friendliness, nor the notion of partial false friendliness are absolute certainties. That is to say that neither total false friends are as total as we might think, nor the partial ones as partial as previously thought. He also claims, that the NSM

⁴² The Συντυοῖές project online: <http://lexcy.library.ucy.ac.cy/sintixies.aspx> is the lexical database of the Cypriot dialect developed by Marianna Katsoyiannou, Spyros Armosti, Kyriaki Christodoulou and Charalambos Themistocelous and it contains all found forms of the majority of the (morphologically and/or orthographically divergent) Cypriot dialect vocabulary, as well as their phonetic representation and a voice synthesizer. We have used it in general either for phonological or morphological verifications.

⁴³ The primary dictionary of C(S)G we use is Γιαγκουλλής (2014) and for SMG, the Τριανταφυλλίδης online dictionary (<http://www.komvos.edu.gr/dictionaries/dictonline/DictOnLineTri.htm>). Whenever other dictionaries are used, they will be mentioned accordingly.

⁴⁴ All medieval meanings and/or examples are derived from the online medieval dictionary of Κριαράς from the Greek language site: http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/medieval_greek/kriaras/index.html.

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does not favor any one of the languages involved, because the analysis, instead of centering around the differences of the two words forming the false friend pair, is able to focus on the common ground that possibly exists, rendering that way the false friends, less 'false'. The analysis focuses not only on the common meanings, but also on the common points that might exist between non common meanings. In this article he examines the case of two false friends: *experience* - *expérience* and *evidence* - *évidence* (the pair being English and French) and he devotes 9 pages in the examination of the first pair and 8 in the analysis of the second.

The theory of NSM is indeed interesting, and it does focus on the common elements between the two words in both languages, but the explanation provided for each pair is a long and cumbersome one with the explanation overshadowing the true center of attention, which is the lexical pair. The analysis of the two words is to such an extent exhaustive and circuitous, that any similar process, if applied to the volume of data any doctoral thesis entails, would call for an immense amount of pages. Furthermore, although the idea of concentrating on the common elements more than on the differences is indeed appealing, it is not actually the way in which the pairs are acknowledged by their users and/or researchers, or the way in which any language is perceived.

In other approaches to the phenomenon, false friends are likened to interlinguistic paronyms (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη, 1997: 80) or intralinguistic synonyms (Chamizo Domínguez, 1999: 125). Paronyms are two words that exhibit similarities as regards the signifier without an equivalent similarity with regard to the *signifié*, e.g. *διδάκτορας* 'doctor, PhD holder' – *δικτάτορας* 'dictator' (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη, 1997: 85). Chamizo Domínguez (1999: 125ff.) states that they are like intralinguistic synonyms, because we cannot replace one word with its synonym without changing the sentence meaning and the same occurs with false friends. The second argument in favor of this likeness is the fact that very often the listener makes implicatures (in the Gricean sense) that are very different, depending on the connotations connected with each synonym, or in our case, false friend. He illustrates the argument with an analysis of the evolution of the noun *latrine* from the Latin noun *latrina* that was coined as a

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euphemism for *cloaca*, ‘sewer’ but ended up being restricted as a ‘barrack-room lavatory’ that is nevertheless considered a synonym for *toilet* in most dictionaries, although that is not the case *stricto sensu*. A rather better-smelling analogue would be what happens with the nouns *πετεινός* [peti'nɔs] and *κόκορας* ['kɔkɔrɛs] in SMG. They both mean ‘rooster, cockerel’, and although they are synonyms, they are used in different instances. When discussing domestic fowls, we are usually referring to the male one as *πετεινός*, while *κόκορας* (with the adjunct *κρασάτος* [kre'sɛtɔs], literally ‘cooked in wine’) is used when we wish to refer to the dish known as *coq-au-vin* in French, that is, ‘a casserole of chicken pieces cooked in wine’. The noun *κόκορας* can be used to replace *πετεινός*, but the opposite is not possible, because it would invoke the imagery of a cock being cooked alive, presenting thus different implicatures, as in the case of lamb vs. mutton and pig vs. pork, in English.

Phraseological false friends belong to the phenomenon in general, but they have not been exhaustively researched. Only recently was interest for this sub-category of *faux amis* kindled and the investigators interested are but a few, such as Szpila (2005: 82) or Vrbinc (2010: 1243). Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (2005) provide us with a definition of this category, since they were among the first to attend to their uniqueness: they are two or more expressions that allow almost the same or a significantly similar mental image to be born, but they show significant differences in meaning. Szpila (2005: 82) similarly considers as phraseological in two or more languages those units that exhibit a lexical or syntactic structure identical or similar, but differ as regards the scope of their extension. In the instances we are investigating, we have not focused on phraseological false friends per se and we are not examining two different languages. We have encountered phraseologisms in our corpus to a significant degree, but we are treating them in the framework of their core word, although their meaning is composite and no longer represented by the total of the meanings of their individual parts (Vrbinc 2010: 1243 ff.).

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2.2.4 Interlinguistic and intralinguistic false friends

When one refers to false friends, it is tacitly supposed that they appear usually between linguistic varieties thought of as different languages. Usually, that is exactly what happens, or at least the investigators of the phenomenon have centered on cases between two different languages -usually cognates-, on *interlinguistic* or *interlingual false friends*. The false friends we are investigating in the present work, i.e. *intralinguistic* or *intralingual false friends*, could be thus considered a rarity, since they appear between two synchronic varieties of the same language. Few are the investigators that make any reference, even in passing, to intralinguistic false friends, be they diachronic, i.e. between different epochs in the same language (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη and Βλέτση 2010; Seelbach 2002: 29; Milan 1989: 388; Heinle 1992: 324; Ionescu 2015: 136) or synchronic, i.e. between a dialect and a standard language, or geographical dialects of the same language (Chamizo Domínguez 2008: xii; Bunčić 2000: 23ff; Laskowski 2006: 2⁴⁵; Granger and Swallow 1988: 115; Seelbach 2002: 29; Hayward and Mounin 1984: 194; Milan 1989: 390; Fang 2012: 61; Frantzen 1998: 248; Heinle 1992: 322; Hudson 1993) or situations of language contact within a country, as is the case with varieties of Spanish in the United States (Lipski 2008). Chamizo Domínguez (2008: xii) names such examples in his book *The Semantics and Pragmatics of False Friends* that is a theoretical analysis of the false friends' phenomenon in many languages on the semantic and pragmatic level. Among others, he mentions the case of the British writer Gilbert K. Chesterton who was upset when an American reporter, in his effort to praise the writer called him "a regular guy", in the sense of 'not pretentious or arrogant; ordinary and friendly', but the author took it as an insult.

All false friends cause inconvenient mistakes. If, however, the same word is used in the same language, country and context, with two meanings with non-trivial difference but as basic as the difference between the meaning of (say) *histoire* and *story*, which is a difference between fact and fiction, one may expect serious confusion, as Skemp (1976: 1) reminds us. Illustrative in this regard is an

⁴⁵ Laskowski is interested specifically in phraseological false friends (*phraseologische intralinguale falsche Freunde*) between varieties of the same language, which goes to show the extent to which the phenomenon may appear.

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anecdote that took place at a hotel in Nicosia. During a conference held there hosting many guests from Greece, native speakers of SMG, someone came out from the kitchen yelling “ο κώλος της μαείρισσας έκαμεν έκρηξην!” (“the cook’s bottom exploded” would be a literal rendering of the phrase, and so was it understood by the speakers of SMG). The confusion was understandable, since this utterance involves not one but two false friends combined together. In C(S)G the phrase’s noun appears morphologically and phonetically as *μαείρισσα* [mɛ'iris:ɐ] while in SMG as *μαγείρισσα* [mɛ'jirisɐ] and they share a common meaning, that of ‘female cook’. But in C(S)G it also means ‘cooking pot’ or ‘pressure cooker’ and when it is combined with the noun *κώλος* [ˈkɔls] (literally ‘arse, behind’), it simply means ‘the pressure cooker’s bottom’. The commotion among SMG speakers that followed this announcement was disproportionate in the eyes of their Greek Cypriot counterparts to what had actually happened, since the SMG and C(S)G speakers had understood two totally different things, with one group calling for an ambulance and the other simply advising a change of cook(er)!

Roca-Varela (2011: 132ff.), in a relatively recent contribution at the 2011 Cambridge Postgraduate Conference, confirms that intralingual false friends exist and centers on the false friends between British English and American English. She points out that everyday words like *biscuit* or *suspenders* could confuse any British or American native speaker of English, since a *biscuit* in Britain is a sweet and dry flat cake and *suspenders* are used by women to hold their stockings up, while in America, a *biscuit* is ‘a small airy roll, not necessarily sweet’, and *suspenders* are ‘straps traditionally used by men to hold their trousers up’. Her research is further endorsed by the existence of a rather comprehensive list of false friends that can be found at the Wikipedia site⁴⁶. Such false friends like *pants* that mean ‘trousers’ in American English and ‘underwear’ in British English are also mentioned by Seelbach (2002: 30)⁴⁷.

⁴⁶https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lists_of_words_having_different_meanings_in_American_and_British_English.

⁴⁷ Something similar happened to Pr. Chamizo Domínguez, when in a talk in 1999 at the Penn State University, he mentioned the n. *churchyard* in order to provide a euphemism for *cemetery* and no one was able to understand him, except a girl who had lived in Britain. In America (at

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Spanish, being another global language, has many geographical variants, and it is really prolific in such false friends. In the Spanish variety used in Spain, the verb *aplicar* cannot be used in the sense of applying for a job, a sense that is completely acceptable in Latin America. In this instance, the reason behind the linguistic change is the constant contact of Latin American Spanish with American English. The two verbs, i.e. *aplicar* and *apply* are interlingual false friends with regard to English and peninsular Spanish, but true friends or cognates with regard to English and Latin American Spanish. Accordingly, the Spanish word *carpeta* meaning ‘folder’ in standard Spanish is found to be used for *rug* in the Spanish of Puerto Rico (Roca-Varela 2012: 7).

In Portuguese it is important to keep in mind not only the European version of the language, with all its geographical dialects, but also the Brazilian and African version. In the whole range of Portuguese, one lexical item may evolve differently in every case and acquire a different meaning, due to use or through linguistic contact. For example the Portuguese *apelido* is a cognate word with the Spanish *apellido*, meaning ‘family name’, but in Brazil it is used to signify ‘nickname’ or ‘alias’ and the European sense is hardly ever used (Carlucci and Díaz 2007: 182). So, it is a false friend both intralinguistically, between the two varieties of Portuguese (Brazilian and European) and interlinguistically with regard to Brazilian Portuguese and Spanish.

The category of intralingual false friends is further divided to diachronic and synchronic intralingual false friends. Diachronic intralingual false friends are mentioned by several authors (Bunčić 2000: 23ff; Seelbach 2002: 28ff; Gutknecht 2007: 699; Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη and Βλέτση 2010; O’Neill and Casanovas Catalá 1997: 103) who mention and analyze the existence of such friends that appear in a given language, as it evolves from earlier forms to the present. Interesting is the case of *θεωρία* [θεο'ριε] expounded by Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη and Βλέτση (2010: 10) that meant ‘θέα, θέαση, όψη’ (i.e. view, aspect) in the Hellenistic Koine, while nowadays in the SMG it signifies ‘the sum of the general principles of a specific area of human knowledge or activity, aka

least in Pennsylvania) *churtyard* means what it literally means, i.e. the yard of a church (personal communication).

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*theory*⁴⁸. It is a diachronic intralingual false friend that at the same time is a synchronic intralingual one between the standard variety of SMG and the geographical variety of C(S)G. In Medieval Greek the noun also acquired the meaning of not just ‘aspect’, but ‘beautiful aspect’, ‘beauty’ (‘ωραία όψη, ομορφιά’ according to the Κριαράς dictionary) that it has retained in the C(S)G variety. This meaning is considered as rare or obsolete among the younger generations of our Greek Cypriots informants, but it should not be disregarded, since we heard it on the radio being used by a middle-aged, fairly educated Greek Cypriot male.

Bunčić (2000: 23ff) takes the existence of false friends in all periods and areas of language a step further: he states that they may appear not only between different varieties of the same language, but also between different sociolects of a language and between jargons of mainly the Greek or the Russian language, or the Slavic languages.

2.2.5 False friends at all linguistic levels

The denotative or referential level, according to some investigators, such as Korning Zethsen (2004: 127ff), is not the only linguistic level on which false friends differ. They may exhibit difference also at another, albeit less clearly seen, at the level of context or at the speech level and not on the referential one. She mentions the case of Latin-based medical terms, such as *appendicitis* in English and Danish that mean exactly the same on the denotational level, but on a connotational level (level of formality, social group, domain, frequency, etc.⁴⁹) there is divergence, since in Danish it is an expert term, while in everyday life the word *blindtarmsbetændelse* would be used. The pragmatic meaning of the word in Danish would also differ, since it would be considered overtly formal or technical, if used in a text for laymen and it might not be understood. Additionally, this term would be perceived as “foreign” to the ordinary Dane.

⁴⁸ 'το σύνολο των γενικών αρχών ενός ορισμένου τομέα της γνώσης ή της δραστηριότητας του ανθρώπου' (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη and Βλέτση 2010: 10).

⁴⁹ Based on Koller's equivalence model (Koller, W., (1989). Equivalence in translation theory. Chesterman Andrew (ed). *Readings in Translation theory*. Finland: Oy Finn Lectura Ab 1989, pp. 99-104) in Korning Zethsen (2004: 126).

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Such a different approach is rooted in the evolution of each language. English in the nineteenth century created new Latin-based terminology (eg. tonsillitis, gastritis, hysterectomy) that merged with common language to the extent that no other alternative exists. In Danish, such vocabulary is restricted to the expert community and the lay terms differ dramatically. The result is the emergence of doublets: a Latin-based term restricted to technical usage and a native word used in general language (eg. *pneumoni-lungbetændelse* for 'pneumonia').

Others investigators, such as Carmen Muñoz Cachón (2001: 163ff) mention that although false friends appear usually at the lexical level, it is possible to come across such traps on the grammatical level. More concretely she makes reference to similar grammatical structures in two different languages that are responsible for many translational problems ranging from inaccuracies to serious mistakes that influence the target text. Grammar is an element of language with a character of internal reference that is it is made up by elements of the linguistic variety itself and it does not make reference to realities outside its own reality, as is the case with the lexicon. There is a referential function up to a point on the pragmatic level of every variety through the terms of meta-language that describe the grammatical categories (singular, plural, masculine or feminine, etc.) and when this reference is exported to another language or linguistic variety, it may lead to mistakes.

Muñoz Cachón (2001: 170) calls *grammatical false friends*⁵⁰ (falsos amigos gramaticales) the grammatical examples that are denoted by the same term because they have a similar structure in two languages. But they present significant differences and differentiated use in different instances, e.g. an action taking place in the future using the same tense or whatever corresponds to the same tense or is considered the same tense in different languages. Although it might be said that such false friends exist between SMG and C(S)G, since the tense system of the two varieties differs, we have decided that such an investigation lies outside the scope of our work .

⁵⁰ So does Belmekki (2007: 66), but he does not explain where and how such false friendliness might be found.

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False friends may appear also at a prosodic, orthographic, typographic, morphological and syntactic level, since all these may produce mistakes with regards to the oral or written production through unwitting mimesis of the original language. A word, an utterance or an idiomatic expression, a grammatical category, a syntactic structure or a punctuation mark can all be false friends (Carlucci and Díaz 2007: 168ff).

Bunčić (2000: 56ff) also calls *stylistic false friends* the lexemes that differ only at a connotational level, when the word in one language has a negative connotation and in the other a neutral or positive one. Difference could also appear in the expression of a taboo meaning. The data in our corpus is nearly always accompanied by semantic divergence, but there are examples of semantic-stylistic false friends that exemplify this type of register or connotational divergence, such as the verb *αυτομολώ* [ɛftɔmɔ'ɫɔ]. In SMG this verb means 'to defect' and depending on who is defecting from where and towards what, it expresses opposing connotations of regarding that person either as a hero or as a traitor to the motherland (usually). It is considered an element of high register speech and it usually appears in the media, or in a historical or political context. In C(S)G, it means 'to be bored out of my mind' and it obviously has not only different connotations, but also a completely contrary register. While the SMG verb is used in official contexts, the C(S)G verb is among the most used words of teen slang and its connotations are always neutral towards the person using it but utterly negative towards the boredom (s)he is experiencing (and its source).

2.2.6 False friends and the problems they cause

The classifications and linguistic structures that every language chooses, as well as the elements it uses reflect the characteristics and idiosyncrasies of each language. Such idiosyncrasies lend each language its distinct character and may not be encountered in any other language. The result of such ordering are the unavoidable differences in the usage and the meaning of the words and all such differences may result in false friends (Fischer and Lavric 2003: 58; Laskowski 2006: 1).

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Although the term 'false friends' was created in 1928, it is obvious that the phenomenon is not a new one. The interest linguists and lexicographers show in regard with false friends is twofold: practical, since it is necessary to translate correctly in order to avoid miscommunication, and theoretical, since it is imperative to explain the reason for the semantic difference by way of a sufficient methodological process, i.e. etymology.

Given that the majority of investigators are mainly translators, translators or translation studies' theorists, second language teachers, sometimes lexicographers of bilingual or even specialized false friends' dictionaries (Chamizo Domínguez 2009: 1112), it is not surprising that their interest stems from the problems that false friends bring about and many of them have encountered in their line of work.

A matter of special interest to scholars are the difficulties that false friends pose and the problems that the misunderstandings and the communication mishaps cause, especially in the context of second language learning and translation or interpretation, for both sender and receiver. False friends may be traps, because the correlation between phonological form and meaning is so strong that mistakes and misunderstandings are difficult to avoid⁵¹. The semantic differences place hurdles to the communication process and result in confusion or even to a break in the communication or sometimes to grave misunderstandings due to the erroneous use of the words that are actually false friends. Miscommunications occur very often, in the course of peoples' discussions, attempts to understand one another, convey a message and express themselves, because what the speaker intends to convey is not always understood correctly by the hearer. When false friends are at play, it is even more difficult to understand what the speakers of another language or variety wish to express or to be understood by them, due to the very nature of *faux amis* (Roca-Varela 2012: 1; Thiemer 1979: 263 and 1982: 159; Mattheoudakis and Patsala 2007: 321).

⁵¹ Shlesinger and Malkiel 2005: 174; Inkpen, Frunza and Kondrak 2005: 251; Lalor and Kirsner 2001: 552; Lázár 1998: 79; Rothwell 1993: 1; Copceag 1976: 36; Terkourafi 2005: xvi; Thiemer 1979: 264 and 1982: 159; Galiñanes Gallén 2006: 1; Nicholls 2002: 4; Lado 1957: 2; Kiss 2002: 41; Gogazeh 2007: 84; Mattheoudakis and Patsala 2007: 321; Galiñanes Gallén 2006; Szpila 2005: 76; Kuczyński 2003: 255; Milan 1989: 386; Nicholls 2002; Mattheoudaki-Sayegh 1998: 40.

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Among the problems they tend to cause is the confusion and, at least momentary, the incomprehension brought about. A typical anecdote that makes clear how strong that connection is, would be something that happened to the author of the thesis. We were having coffee with friends and talking about their imminent move to their new house, when talk turns to the *κρεβάτι* (pronounced [krɛ'vɛti] in SMG and [krɛ'vɛtiⁿ] in C(S)G), the bed that they were leaving behind in the flat had been stained and I failed to grasp why they were having trouble with that, since I could not understand how it could be turned upside down in order to hide that stain in order to avoid any problems with the flat owner the bed belonged to. It took almost 10 minutes of incomprehensible discussion before I realized that the problem was that this friend was using the [krɛ'vɛtiⁿ] in the C(S)G meaning, i.e. 'mattress', which I also knew and had even researched, but nevertheless, the phonological and semantic connection in my mother tongue (SMG) impeded my understanding the word in the C(S)G meaning. When the false friends' pair belongs to the everyday, even basic vocabulary of the speaker, the problem is intensified and it is much easier to fall into the trap it lays to the unsuspecting and the suspicious alike.

Bunčić (2000: 53) adds another factor that increases the interchangeability of the pair's members: the field they belong to. If they both belong to the same area of knowledge, share the same context, it is that much more difficult to discern them (as was the case with *κρεβάτι*). And lastly, Carroll (1992: 113) reminds us that the cognate-pairing process is difficult to suppress and it occurs automatically to all native speakers. Psycholinguistic research corroborates the native speaker's intuition that form-identical cognates and homographs have identical sets of lexical competitors within and between languages (Dijkstra et al., 1999: 501).

False friends are of special interest to foreign language students, primarily when they are learning a foreign language that shares similarities with their mother tongue. Similarities of any kind between different languages, in most cases, help the speakers of any such two languages learn the other effortlessly, unless there are many false friends between these languages. Students typically are not aware of the phenomenon, unless they are explicitly taught about false friends and the

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equivalencies between the pairs (or at least some of the most known pairs of false friends existing between these languages). It is not unusual in this regard for second language teachers to be unaware of the phenomenon, thus reinforcing the incorrect use of false friends. Similarly, it is not uncommon for students to resort to false friends inadvertently when using the foreign language, since they consider that the word they employ has the same meaning as its equivalent in their mother tongue (Laskowski 2006: 1; Frantzen 1998: 250). Very often, especially when the students immerse themselves in the second language and they believe that they know it well enough, they tend to trust their intuition far more than they should. They transfer from their mother tongue the meaning of words phonologically or graphically similar to the other language, since they do not realize that their meanings might differ⁵².

Teachers often tend to put special emphasis on the significance of context in vocabulary learning, but it does not always help learners solve problems with false friends since “the contexts in which false friends occur can sometimes be ambiguous enough to ‘accept’ both the real and the apparent but false one”, as Frantzen has eloquently put it (1998: 250). A sentence such as *Actually, I think it is a good idea* illustrates this problem. The adverb *actually* means ‘truly’, ‘in fact’ and can be used ‘to emphasize that sth. sb. has said or done is surprising’ or ‘when expressing a contradictory or unexpected opinion or correcting sb.’, and even in order ‘to introduce a new topic or to add information to a previous statement’⁵³. In Spanish the adverb *actualmente* means ‘presently’, ‘now’, ‘nowadays’. In the sentence above, there is nothing obvious that tells students to discard the Spanish meaning and they might consider that it applies to the English adverb *actually* (Frantzen, 1998: 250; Prado 1993: 5). The same is also true for the data in our investigation. The sentence “Παρά την ονομασία του, το χειμερινό κάλυμμα προστασίας της πσίνας από ακαθαρσίες μπορεί να χρησιμοποιηθεί οποιαδήποτε εποχή του χρόνου με σκοπό να κρατήσει μακριά από την πσίνα σας φύλλα, βρωμιές και ακαθαρσίες.”

⁵² Chamizo Domínguez 1999: 116; Leontaridi et al. 2007: 84; Breitzkreuz 1973: 70 and 1991: 9; Thiemer 1979: 270; Gouws et al. 2004: 799; Galiñanes Gallén 2006: 1; Lietz 1996: 74; Λεονταρίδη 2008.

⁵³ All English words’ meanings are derived from the Oxford online dictionary at: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/>.

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(http://mysafepool.com.cy/?page_id=79&lang=el) can be translated in two different ways, depending on whether the (plural, feminine) noun *ακαθαρσίες* is understood in its SMG ‘feces, bodily waste’ or its C(S)G sense ‘filth, litter’: “Despite its name, the winter cover protecting the pool from feces (or filth) can be used all-year round in order to stop leaves, dirt and feces (or filth) from entering into your pool”⁵⁴. Both meanings could equally apply to the sentence, although pragmatics would urge us to think that an advertisement at the Cypriot pool company site would not wish to center on the possibility of feces entering the client’s pool.

Another issue connected with the problem that false friends pose is the fact that reference tools, such as dictionaries, usually do not provide sufficient information about the use of these words and the infrequency of particular senses (Hjarvard, 2004). Most dictionaries ignore the existence of false friends or fail to include them satisfactorily in their lemmas, giving the learners the false impression that they are in fact cognates and not false friends.

False friends also represent a minefield of potential mistakes in the work of professionals in the fields of translation and interpretation, especially when working with cognate languages. In many cases, there are interferences brought about by the false friends in translation between affiliated languages. When the difference in meaning is one of nuances or of use in similar context, the importance of the translators’ experience is even greater, since it is presumed that they would not fall into the trap. If the translators or interpreters have sufficient experience and are aware of the false friends’ phenomenon, it is possible that only rarely will they commit such mistakes. On the other hand, too much confidence in their experience, knowledge and intuition may yet again lead them astray⁵⁵.

The threat for translators is even greater, when they encounter partial semantic false friends, i.e. pairs of words that share at least one common meaning and the

⁵⁴ Own translation. All sentences and/or meanings from Greek into English are translated by the author with the help of the Φυτράκης (2005). *ΕλληνοΑγγλικό λεξικό*. Αθήνα: εκδόσεις Φυτράκη, 1576 pp.

⁵⁵ Baker 1999: 25; Maillot 1977: 68; Chamizo Domínguez 2006: 4267; Beldarrain 1983: 27; Laskowski 2006: 1; Carlucci and Díaz 2007: 179; Ettinger 1994: 113; Shlesinger and Malkiel 2005: 175.

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rest of the senses do not coincide. Carlucci and Díaz (2007: 180) mention certain lexical units in Portuguese or Italian that in a given situation or context could coincide with a Spanish lexeme not only formally, but also semantically, but in other contexts they could have a different meaning. They present the case of Italian *professore*, that with the Spanish *profesor* and the French *professeur* share the meanings of ‘a person who teaches a class’ or ‘a person of great wisdom and knowledge’. In Italian, though, it also has the meaning ‘doctor’ something that led all students in a course of general translation to translate the Italian *professore* as *profesor* instead of *doctor* that would have been the correct equivalent term in Spanish.

Translators and interpreters are the main two categories of professionals prone to mistakes due to false friends. Given the far more limited window of opportunity for decision making in interpreting (than in translation), the interpreter is more likely to use the first solution to come to mind. While interpreting strategies are at least partly norm-based just as translation strategies are, many of them primarily address cognitive constraints. False cognates are a recurrent source of word-level interference for them (Shlesinger and Malkiel 2005: 175ff; Lipczuk 1993; Milan 1989: 387). In a relevant research conducted by Shlesinger and Malkiel (2005), the participants were six times more likely to produce a cognate solution in interpreting and a noncognate solution in translation than the reverse, which is seen as evidence that the first solution to come to mind is indeed the cognate (or depending on the case at hand, the mother tongue meaning).

Context usually helps avoid any translation- or interpretation-related mistakes. But it is not enough, given that, theoretically at least, there could always appear a communication instance in which confusion due to false friends would be possible. Some false friends’ pairs, particularly when they are partial (one at least meaning the same, one different), would be in a position to lead to confusion, if the instance of use or context of utterance is similar, regardless of the experience of the translator or interpreter. This partial semantic divergence could be attributed to a lack of correspondence in meaning or even to diachronic, geographical or social varieties, or difference in function, although they may also

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be interrelated, since the same lexeme could have different meanings, registers or uses.

Problems created by false friends may be overcome in everyday communication, if the speakers call for clarifications or they learn the correct correspondence. The same is true for translators or interpreters that may either learn this lexical category or use the appropriate reference works. They may also use a pragmatic strategy: When they come across false friends, especially multi-semantic ones, they should do a first attempt at translation or a paraphrase in the source language with all the meanings of the false friend, keeping in mind the communicational instance, as well as the pragmatics of the situation (Chamizo Domínguez 1999: 123; Nicholls 2002: 4). Another option would be what Copceag (1976: 36) proposes: translators should avoid getting misled by the typological similarity of the words and verify carefully with the help of good dictionaries the meanings of all lexical elements they are not absolutely certain of.

Aside from all the problems that false friends may cause, they can also constitute an opportunity for interesting word plays, when employed by a person versed in them or even just imaginative. They may be used, and they have been used, in such a manner, indeed, in literature and present in a truly life-like manner the cultural differences that are also hiding behind the phenomenon (cf. Chamizo Domínguez and Nerlich 2002: 1837). Even the fact that translators may create new syntagmatic combinations or expressions and idioms by word-for-word translation, may be a source of enrichment for the target language (Gabrovšek 1998: 166).

2.3. How false friends are born

The main factors considered to result in false friends' pairs are a) common ancestry of the languages investigated⁵⁶; and b) borrowing that reflects the types of relation between the two communities and their common interests or

⁵⁶ Thiemer (1982: 172) considers that external *interference* that takes place between languages in contact, such as cognate ones is actually at the root of the emergence of false friends, but his theory has not received significant attention and it appears to concern mainly the erroneous morphological synthesis in German by foreign students learning it.

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borrowing from a third language (*internationalisms* included)⁵⁷. Occasionally a third factor is mentioned: chance morphological coincidence that is not accompanied by semantic coincidence, but these words are not considered false friends by the majority of investigators, since the linguistic change principles that are at the root cause of these differences, are in this case, absent.

2.3.1 Common ancestry

The first way in which false friends are born is by being cognates. Cognates are words that have a common ancestor and differ in their meaning as a result of diverging evolutionary paths due to the semantic change⁵⁸ occurring in the historical development of these words in two different languages across time⁵⁹. This is what has happened with Latin that constitutes the common source for all Romance languages and –at least partially- for other languages, such as English or German and led to the emergence of a multitude of false friends. The majority of false friends are etymologically related terms, many of them *cognate words*⁶⁰.

2.3.2. Borrowing

There are two types of borrowing: 1) When one language borrows from another; and 2) when two languages both borrow from the same third language. Borrowings represent a process of cultural as much as linguistic exchange between languages. Borrowing occurs when the language borrowing

⁵⁷ Lázár 1998: 83; Terkourafi 2005: xvii; Szpila 2006: 77-8; Granger and Swallow 1998: 108; Baker 1999: 25; Maillot 1977: 70; Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 1997: 78; Gouws et al. 2004: 801; Bunčić 2000: 39; Χλιάρης 2007: 16; Frunza 2006: 3ff.; Doval 1998: 277; Mattheoudakis and Patsala 2007: 320; Αλεξιάδου 2009: 23; Rodríguez González 1996: 110ff.

⁵⁸ They are analyzed further in the section about borrowing.

⁵⁹ Frunza and Inkpen (2006: 442) do not just consider this another factor resulting in false friends, but consider that word pairs in related languages that derive directly from the same word in the ancestor (proto-)language are worth to be in a classification of their own and term them *genetic cognates*. This category excludes lexical borrowings.

⁶⁰ Roca-Varela 2012: 4; Terkourafi 2005: xvii; Chamizo Domínguez 2008: 6; Sabaté-Carrové and Chesñevar 1998: 47; Reid 1948: 281; Van Roey 1985; Crystal 1994; Maillot 1977: 70; Mattheoudakis and Patsala 2007: 320; Gogazeh 2007: 84; Thiemer 1982: 159; Doval 2006: 4 ; Doval Reixa 1998: 281; Copceag 1976: 37; Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 68; Lázár 1998: 79; Milan 1989: 396.

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does not have a term or considers that more semantic accuracy may be needed⁶¹, so it borrows it from a language that has the term and, usually, it has developed to a high level the area in which it the term belongs. That is one of the main reasons behind the abundance of philosophical, mathematical, and medicinal borrowings from ancient Greek, or many religious, educational or military terms from Latin, to other languages. That also explains why most languages have borrowed culinary terms from French and art-related terminology from Italian and today they borrow technological terms from English. Further enrichment of many languages came about due to the terms coined with ancient Greek elements or from its medieval variety that led to borrowings in science as well as in religion related areas⁶² (e.g. the Russian language was influenced by the Greek that Byzantium used).

Nevertheless, these are not the only reasons behind borrowing. Other reasons that could be considered to pertain to pragmatics, are equally important and often enough lead to borrowing and later to the use of the loanwords in order to accomplish pragmatic functions. Prominent among them due to linguistic contact (or invasion and conquest) that brings about loanwords are cultural exchanges. Still, differentiated stylistic functions, positive or negative connotations and euphemistic or dysphemistic and cryptic use of the language could not be excluded, seeing as they may not be exceptionally wide-spread, but remain prominent nonetheless (Leech 1983: 56ff; Rodríguez González 1996: 110ff.).

Borrowing, in both its forms, is significantly productive (O' Neill and Casanovas Catalá 1997: 104; Lázár 1998: 79; Ehegötz and Morvay 1992: 313; Milan 1989: 396; Haugen 1950: 213). The first type, from one language to the other, is among the commonest sources of false friends' pairs as is obvious when we look at all the words that the English language borrowed from Greek (Mattheoudaki-

⁶¹ It is not always that a term is absent, it could well be that the new term affords a new semantic and pragmatic distinction not previously present, but desired once it became manifest. For example, the Spanish language had and still has a native noun for 'ham', i.e. *pernil*, and still it borrowed the noun *jamón* from the French *jambon*.

⁶² Terkourafi 2005: xvi; Maillot 1977: 70; Gouws et al. 2004: 801; Bunčić 2000: 39; Kiss 2002: 45; Chamizo Domínguez 2008: 66; Sheen 1997; Doval 1998: 278; Mattheoudakis and Patsala 2007: 323; Frunză 2006: 6; Grigorova and Πυρομάλη 2006.

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Sayegh 1988: 48) or from French (Rothwell 1993: 3). The English borrowed from the French language at the time that Britain was conquered by the Normans. The borrowed words were often modified in order to cover the communication needs of a society that was changing, and as a result of that, many of these words are now false friends with the equivalent French words. In some cases, the borrowings were enriched with new meanings, but in others, older meanings that disappeared from mainland French, were maintained in English (Rothwell 1993: 3ff.; Frunzã 2006: 5ff.). The literate classes in later medieval England treated the French language as the language that educated men in England had shared with their equals across the Channel for generations and which they could quite legitimately develop in line with the needs of their own society. They took over French terms in use on the continent, coined new formations based on existing French terms in accordance with the principles governing French grammar and they also attached new senses to words current in continental French, thus creating many *faux amis*. The English noun *coin* and the French noun *coin*, 'corner' are a rather unlikely pair of false friends whose ultimate origin is the French *coin*, 'wedge'. The English word comes from *coin* in its trade sense of the wedge-shaped instrument used to stamp coins, but the use of *coin* as a verb, found in English as early as Chaucer, as well as the derivative nouns *coiner* and *coinage*, are unattested in the French of France either in medieval or modern times. They are products of the generalized use of French in medieval England as a second language of record and of its semantic creativity (Rothwell, 1993: 7ff).

The second type describes a process by means of which two languages (or varieties) (B and C) borrow the same word from a third language (A). Latin and ancient Greek very often assume the role of the A language. Characteristically, we could mention the words *evidence*⁶³ in English and *evidencia*⁶⁴ in Spanish that are both derived from the Latin *evidentia*. The two words are partial false friends with meanings that coincide in the court of justice, but diverge in everyday life, where the Spanish *evidencia* would be translated as 'certainty, obviousness, clearness' (Prado 1993: 98).

⁶³ All English etymologies are derived from the <http://www.etymonline.com>.

⁶⁴ All Spanish etymologies are derived from the site <http://spanishetym.com>.

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The two linguistic varieties that we are presenting here belong to the same language, Modern Greek; they are therefore, cognate varieties. Nonetheless, their common origin is not the only reason behind the emergence of the false friends' phenomenon, since their evolution from their original ancient Greek varieties has been to some extent parallel, but not identical⁶⁵. Often, the reason behind their similarity is borrowing, sometimes from a third language. A case in point for SMG and C(S)G would be the word *σκάλα* ['skele], commonly borrowed from the Latin *scala*⁶⁶, that has several shared by the two varieties meanings: 'stairs', 'staircase', 'ladder', 'musical scale', 'landing stage, dock' and one additional meaning in C(S)G: 'a unit area of 14.400 sq. ft.' (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 490) or 1,337.80 sq.m., according to the Cypriot Department of Lands and Surveys (<http://portal.dls.moi.goverbcy/el-gr/Pages/unitconversion.aspx>) and it is the main unit used for land measurement. Most dictionary compilers believe that the hectare that is used in Greece equals the C(S)G *σκάλα* (Κυπρή 2003²: 218 and 1989: 229, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1086) but it is actually larger by 337,80 sq. m. Κυπρή (1989: 229) mentions that the word is derived from Italian *scala* originally from the homonymous Latin noun and the ΔΚΝ corroborates the etymological route.

Another illustrative example would be what happens with the C(S)G feminine noun *πούκλα* ['pukle] that signifies 'buckle' (Γιαγκουλλής, 2014: 337 and 436) and the SMG noun *μπούκλα* ['bukle], i.e. 'curl, curled lock of hair' (ΔΚΝ online)⁶⁷. This SMG dictionary offers two different etymologies, the first being that the word was derived from the French *buc(e)* and the second that it has entered the languages in medieval times from the Venetian *bucola*, with syncope of the unstressed [ɔ]. There is a third etymology shared by both the ΔΝΕΓ⁶⁸ and the Κριαράς⁶⁹ dictionaries: that it derives from the Latin *buccula*. Γιαγκουλλής

⁶⁵ More detailed discussion on the history and evolution of the two varieties, in 1.3 and 1.4.

⁶⁶ Ελνστ. *σκάλα* < λατ. *scala*: *σκάλ(α) -ίτσα* (ΔΚΝ online) and < λατ. *Scala* (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 490).

⁶⁷ *πούκλα* η [búkla] 025α : τούφα από κατσαρά μαλλιά [γαλλ. *buc(e)* -α ή μέσω του βεν. *bucola* με συγκ. του άτ. [o] (διαφ. το μsn. *μπούκλα*, *βούκλα* `δοχείο κρασιού, αγκράφα από την ίδ. γαλλ. λ.)· *μού κλ(α) -ίτσα*].

⁶⁸ μεsn. < δημώδ. λατ *buccula*, υποκ. τού *bucca* «μάγουλο, γνάθος» (ΔΝΕΓ 2002: 1147).

⁶⁹ <μεsn. λατ. *buc(c)ula* ή <γαλλ. *boucle*. Ο τ. και σήμ. κυπρ. *Τ.βού-* (Meursius, LBG), *εμπού-*, κ.ά. σήμ. ιδιωμ. Η λ. και σήμ. ιδιωμ., καθώς και κοιν. με διαφορ. σημασ. πβ. και *βουτλώνω*]. (Κριαράς online).

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(2014: 337) also prescribes to this etymology, but he mentions that in the medieval text he cites as example of usage it means ‘the buckle of the horse’s harness’⁷⁰. It is not absolutely certain whether the word entered the Greek language directly from Latin or via the Venetians and their dialect, but the morphological similarity cannot be ignored, nor the fact that according to the AKN online, in medieval Greek it also had the meanings ‘wine recipient, buckle’. The Κριαράς online dictionary also mentions that in the medieval Cypriot laws (Assizes)⁷¹ it already signifies ‘buckle’, a meaning that was retained to this day, while in SMG it was probably influenced by the Venetian *bucolo* that means ‘lock of curly hair’⁷². Three different C(S)G dictionaries do not agree on the etymological journey of the word, namely Χατζηιωάννου (1996: 155) who prescribes to the first AKN online etymology, while Κυπρή (1989: 224) mentions the French noun but ultimately derives it from the Latin *buccula* that was a diminutive of *bucca*, ‘cheek’. Κυπρή in the 2002 glossary (2002: 404) corroborates the Χατζηιωάννου etymology. To conclude, it is unclear exactly how and from where the meaning entered either of the two Greek language varieties, but what is undeniable is the ultimate source, i.e. Latin.

The changes alluded above are grouped under the process of *lexicalization* that is brought about by the use of language in a metaphorical or imaginative manner which results in the lexicalization of words that may eventually come to mean something totally different from their original meaning. The processes included in lexicalization are metaphor, euphemism, dysphemism, polysemy, synecdoche and metonymy, as well as specialization and generalization⁷³. The result of these processes may be expansion or specialization of meaning, through pejoration or amelioration, or the development of new senses and/or connotations, inexistent in the original lexeme (Terkourafi 2005: xvi; Leontaridi et al. 2007: 79; Chamizo Domínguez 2005: 81ff.; Hayward and Moulin 1984: 193).

⁷⁰ [μεσν. ελλην. βούκλα < μεσν. λατ. buc(u)la] πόρπη στην οποία καταλήγει ο ποτζουλίτης του σάγματος του αλόγου.

⁷¹ σύνδεσμος των δύο τμημάτων της ίγκλας: Το δικαίωμα των πούκλων και των σέλλων (Assiz, 240¹⁸).

⁷² ‘Ricchio di capelli’ (<http://www.dfstermole.net/piccio/dicty.php?l=a>).

⁷³ Chamizo Domínguez 2005: 83; Chamizo Domínguez and Nerlich 2002: 1834; Bunčič 2000: 40ff.; Vinay and Darbelnet 1977: 64; Broz 2008: 205ff.; Doval 1998: 279; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Crespo Fernández 2007.

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The linguistic changes a word has undergone may be traced back through its history, but they can never be anticipated⁷⁴. These are the main ways in which borrowing mainly brings about false friends, be they partial or total:

1. The borrowed words may enter in the target language with only one of the several, possible meaning of a polysemous word in the source language (specialization) in order to express a given meaning and that meaning it enters with may later change⁷⁵. Linguistic change causes the emergence of false friends when the change that takes place in one language, does not occur in the other language (Rothwell 1993: 3; Carlucci and Díaz 2007: 181; Kiss 2002: 45; Mattheoudakis and Patsala 2007: 322ff.). The English language borrowed the noun *climax* from the Ancient Greek feminine noun *κλίμαξ, -ἄκος* that meant '1. (climbing) / (ship) ladder'; 2. rack for torture; and 3. gradual ascension from weaker to stronger expressions'⁷⁶. The word entered English via Latin in its metaphorical sense, since it was borrowed for its sense as regards rhetoric and this meaning has remained intact. That metaphorical sense was further intensified by means of more metaphors in the course of centuries and it now means '1. The most intense, exciting, or important point of something; the culmination, 2. An orgasm, 3. (ecol.) The final stage in a succession in a given environment, at which a plant community reaches a state of equilibrium, 4. (rhet.) A sequence of propositions or ideas in order of increasing importance, force, or effectiveness of expression'. In modern Greek it has maintained the core meaning of 'ladder, staircase' that is considered now formal, since its everyday uses have been delegated to the loanword from Latin, *σκάλα*, and has added several more: '2a. a sequence of classification for things, sense, values in an ascending or descending order, b. (mus.) a series of vowels in a predetermined ascending or descending order. || (church music) a certain sequence of hymns.

⁷⁴ But this may also happen in reverse: the changes taking place on the meaning in time become embedded in the language as false friends and they in turn become one of the reasons behind linguistic change (Copceag, 1976: 36).

⁷⁵ Postigo Pinazo 2008: 461; Baker 1999: 25; Terkourafi 2005: xvi; Lázár 1998: 83; O'Neill and Casanovas Catalá 1997: 104; Chamizo Domínguez and Nerlich 2002: 1834ff.; Chamizo Domínguez 2008: 19; Milan 1989: 389.

⁷⁶ *κλίμαξ, -ἄκος*, ἢ (κλίνω), I. σκάλα (επειδή είναι πλάγια γερμένη), σε Ομήρ. Οδ. κλπ. • ανεμόσκαλα, πολιορκητική σκάλα, σε Θουκ., Ξεν. • κλίμακος προσαμβάσεις, σε Αισχύλ. • σκάλα πλοίου, σε Ευρ., Θεόκρ. II. σκελετός με εγκάρσια δοκάρια, πάνω στα οποία δένονταν άνθρωποι για βασανισμό, σε Αριστοφ. III. κλίμακα, δηλ. σταδιακή άνοδος από ασθενέστερες εκφράσεις σε δυνατότερες, Λατ. gradatio, όπως το abiit, evasit, erupit, του Κικ. (Liddell-Scott online).

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3a. the subdivisions of an organ measuring physical quantities. b. (on maps, diagrams, etc.) the constant ratio between the true size and the depicted design expressed as a fraction or a graph. c. Increasing expansion as regards the area, size, etc, or the contrary, a gradual shrinking'⁷⁷.

2. The borrowed words may develop meanings that did not exist in the source language (Chamizo Domínguez and Nerlich 2002: 1844ff.; Kiss 2002: 46;). The Hellenistic Greek neuter noun *λεξικόν* [lexi'kɔn] and the English *lexicon* are nowadays false friends (Terkourafi, 2005: xvi), since it now means 'dictionary' in Modern Greek, while the English *lexicon* signifies '(a list of) all the words used in a particular language or subject' and the 'dictionary' meaning is archaic. In Hellenistic Greek, *λεξικόν* was the 'glossary of rare words'⁷⁸, so at first, the word entered into English with the same meaning it has until today. It later diverged in Modern Greek, making them false partial friends, since the meaning that it has in linguistics, i.e. 'a language's inventory of lexemes' is shared by both languages.

3. The meaning of the borrowed words may deviate from the meaning or the meanings of the source languages, because they are being used in a metaphorical manner (Chamizo Domínguez and Nerlich 2002: 1844ff.; Kiss 2002: 46). The Ancient Greek (originally) adjective (and later nounified) *ἀμέθυστος*, *-ον*⁷⁹ had the same two meanings it has retained until today, i.e. 'sober' and 'amethyst, precious stone'. It entered the English language in the late 13th century AD, via the French and the Latin⁸⁰ and it nowadays has two meanings: 'a precious stone consisting of a violet or purple variety of quartz' and 'a violet or purple color'.

⁷⁷ 1. (λόγ.) η σκάλα. 2α. αξιολογική κατάταξη πραγμάτων, εννοιών, αξιών κτλ. σε συνεχή σειρά, β. (μουσ.) σειρά φθόγγων που προχωρεί σύμφωνα με ορισμένη διαδοχή σε ανιούσα ή κατιούσα σειρά. || (εκκλ. μουσ.) ορισμένη σειρά ύμνων. 3α. η σειρά υποδιαίρέσεων ενός οργάνου που μετρά φυσικά μεγέθη. β. σε χάρτες, σχεδιαγράμματα κτλ., η σταθερή αναλογία που υπάρχει ανάμεσα στο πραγματικό μέγεθος και στο εικονιζόμενο σχέδιο και η οποία εκφράζεται με κλασματικό αριθμό ή γραφική παράσταση. γ. για αναφορά σε βαθμιαία επέκταση ως προς την έκταση, το μέγεθος κτλ. ή αντίθετα για αναφορά σε βαθμιαία συρρίκνωση (ΛΚΝ online).

⁷⁸ λόγ. < ελνστ. ουσιαστικοπ. ουδ. επιθ. *λεξικόν* (ενν. *βιβλίον*) `γλωσσάριο σπάνιων λέξεων' & γαλλ. *lexique* (σε νέες σημ.) < ελνστ. *λεξικόν* & σημδ. γαλλ. *Dictionnaire*.

⁷⁹ (μεθύω), Ι,μη μεθυσμένος, νηφάλιος, σε Πλούτ. II. ως ουσ., *ἀμέθυστος*, ή, *αμέθυστος*, η πολύτιμη πέτρα, θεωρούνταν ως γιατρεία κατά της μέθης, σε Κ.Δ. (Liddell-Scott online).

⁸⁰ From Old French *ametiste* (Modern French *améthyste*) and directly from Medieval Latin *amatistus*, from Latin *amethystus*, from Greek *amethystos* "amethyst," literally "not intoxicating," from a- "not" + *methyskein* "make drunk," from *methys* "wine" (see mead (n.1); based on the stone's ancient reputation for preventing drunkenness, which was perhaps sympathetic magic suggested by its wine-like color. People wore rings made of it before drinking. Spelling restored from Middle English *ametist* (<http://www.etymonline.com>).

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This noun has evolved the color-related meaning that does not exist in Modern Greek⁸¹ and the two words are now partial false friends.

It could be argued in fact, that almost all semantic false friends are cases of metaphorical borrowing. Metaphor is quite possibly the main universal means for natural languages to create new meanings. This polysemy of words urges the creation of false friends (Chamizo Domínguez 2000: 138).

We would be remiss if we did not present a more meticulous description of the mechanism of borrowing and/or loans propounded by Chamizo Domínguez in his latest false friends'-related work (2008: 61ff.). He divides loans in 3 categories: calques, borrowing and inheritances. Calques are collocations or terms from a source language that are translated into a target language "with a particular meaning", which sometimes differs from its literal meaning⁸². Calques do not lead to the emergence of false friends to the same degree as the other two categories, but they must be separated nevertheless. Inheritances are the main way in which languages acquire words from their parent languages⁸³ and borrowing is what he calls the same process when there is no common ancestry involved between any two languages. Distinguishing between the latter two is not always easy and he cites as a case in point the French words adopted into the English language after 1066, where it is not always possible to maintain with absolute certainty whether they are inheritances or borrowings. To complicate matters further, a parent language considered as a different language to its offspring(s) may induce borrowings, as is the case between Spanish and Latin, where we may encounter both types, while Ancient and Modern Greek are considered as the same language, thereby having only inheritances.

⁸¹ Even when used to denote the colour of the precious stone, it is used in conjunction with the word *χρώμα*, e.g. *το χρώμα του αμέθυστου*.

⁸² *Luna de miel* (Spanish) as translation of *honey moon* (English), *love handles* (English) translating *poignées d'amour* (French), and more (Chamizo Domínguez 2008: 61).

⁸³ This is what we have referred to above as common ancestry.

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2.3.2 Chance coincidence

There is also a group of word pairs which do not share a common source; they look alike just by chance. It is possible that they might appear due to reasons unrelated to the origin or the history of the two languages, but it is certain that when the languages investigated originate in the same linguistic family, the possibility that they might appear, greatly increases. As morphological similarity increases, that is even more evident, as is in the case of Spanish and Italian, SMG and C(S)G, or also in the case of phonetic similarity, as in the case of Spanish and SMG (Leontaridi et al. 2007: 84; Lázár 1998: 79).

This group is known in the literature as *chance false friends* (Chamizo Domínguez 2008: 4) or *chance pairs* (Roca-Varela 2012: 4). They are the result of a mere morphological coincidence between languages, e.g. the English *top* vs. Turkish *top*, 'ball', English *soap* vs. Spanish *sopa*, 'soup' (Roca-Varela 2012: 3; Terkourafi 2005: xvi). Lázár (1998: 83) states that accidental similarities could be among the causes that bring about the birth of false friends, but he adds that they are trivial. Chamizo Domínguez states in no uncertain terms that they may not be considered false friends at all, as he separates *chance false friends* from *semantic false friends*. Most of the investigators agree implicitly with this distinction, since they indicate that *faux amis* appear in cognate languages.

There are other scholars though, such as Lado (1957: 83ff), Polo⁸⁴ (2006: 348), Bunčić (2000: 29) and Leontaridi et al. (2007: 79), Wanderperren⁸⁵, or Reid (1948: 281ff), who do not consider a common ancestry necessary as long as the two words have similar form and different meaning and they are a possible source of confusion. In any case, it is clear that a precondition of kinship does not guarantee semantic proximity on a synchronic level (Malone 1982: 21; Doval 2006: 4; Baker 1999: 25).

Etymologically related terms that are also false friends are a source of certain and even more complex confusion. On the other hand, when the two languages involved have no kinship at all, it is not realistic to suppose that confusion might

⁸⁴ Although he notes that almost always the pairs exhibit common ancestry.

⁸⁵ Wanderperren, F. (1994). *Dictionnaire des faux amis allemand-français*. Paris: Duculot. in Kiss 2002: 43.

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occur, because the speakers do not expect any lexical or semantic correlation Sepedi (a South African language that belongs to the linguistic family of Bantu) and French (a Romanic language) share the word *gare*. Given the distance between the two languages, it is not expected that there could be a confusion of the two words that mean 'in the centre' and 'station' in Sepedi and French respectively (Gouws et al., 2004: 798ff).

Bunčić (2000: 29) supports his assertion that kinship is not imprescindibile with the following arguments: a) it is not necessary for speakers of a language to know the etymology of a word in order to learn its meaning as well, and b) even linguists specialized in etymology cannot ascertain beyond a shred of doubt that all the etymologies that they propose for every single word are absolutely correct. Although Lázár (1998: 84) concurs with the first argument, that the speakers do not actually have any relevant information at their disposal, the etymological criterion should be maintained, since how speakers may perceive similarity of form is a relative matter influenced by their proficiency level in a language and general linguistic aptitude and the nature of the lexical items in question.

Malone (1982: 21ff) takes Bunčić's line of thinking further and presents quite a few arguments to support that chance false friends may equally have a right of being considered false friends indeed. He does not consider that genuine borrowed or cognate status is a necessary condition for false friendship, although he admits that it accompanies the overwhelming majority of false friendship cases. He claims that false friendship is caused by "*perceived similarity between source and target language elements*" (emphasis in the original). That implies that similar but unrelated elements might equally incur false friendship. He bases part of his arguments on the example of the syntactic and semantic similarity between the English *have* and the Italian *avere*- that might contain no less potential for false friendship than genuinely cognate/borrowed pairs. He concedes though, that perceived similarity is not a sufficient condition. It needs to be reinforced by a certain threshold of frequency and/or structural isomorphism.

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Respected as they may be such opinions and arguments, they fail to convince us that the similarity is irrelevant to the reasons behind its emergence. Even if one were to disregard the common ancestry or borrowing prerequisite, it would signify that one were equalizing a few, isolated cases of chance false friends with the abundance of false friends to be found in cognate languages or languages that have been in contact with one another. The second reason that is of veritable importance is connected to the criteria used for choosing the pairs of *faux amis*: the selection ought to be random in order to accommodate for the inclusion of chance false friends. If it were more rigorous, it should exclude them on the grounds that they do not abide any rules that help us explain the path that the words have followed in order to become false friends (or the path they might follow in becoming once again true friends, as sometimes happens).

On another note, we should also mention a truly unorthodox approach regarding the way in which false friends are born that is propounded by Kiss (2002: 43ff.). She proposes: a) that this is a process attributed to people, to the speakers who make mistakes and as a consequence, false friends are part of the “parole” and not “langue” itself; b) that bilingual speakers involved in the process of translation, regardless of the knowledge level for each language, might make mistakes while choosing words or expressions. Most common mistakes are the result of the analogic effect/impact of the mother tongue (or the language they are most familiar with, in case of polyglots), the structure and forms of which are indelibly etched into the linguistic conscience of the person; c) bilingual speakers who ignore the exact equivalents and the changes that the foreign word have suffered due to evolution, create a word (this is commonly encountered in internationalisms) analogously to their mother tongue.

We find such a notion problematic, because then the processes by which false friends are formed are delegated to the parole level. They become the choice or the mistake of each speaker who then propagates the result of his parole to the rest of the language or linguistic variety he pertains to. She claims that ignorance is at the root of the phenomenon, completely ignoring the universal processes that bring about semantic change in all languages.

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2.4. Criteria for choosing the false friends' pairs

The problem that false friends pose is especially complex, but what is certain is that when we refer to false friends, we are always referring to pairs, since they are lexemes or phraseological collocations in two different languages (Lázár, 1998: 79) or linguistic varieties. That is also true in the case of SMG and C(S)G, where the members of the false friends' pair may be identified with one another at most linguistic levels except from the semantic and/or pragmatic. The situation with SMG and C(S)G to a great extent resembles the case of internationalisms⁸⁶ that could be included among false friends, when their pronounced formal resemblance is coupled with semantic divergence (Maillot, 1977: 67). The two varieties under investigation differ formally according to set rules that, once internalized, clarify the connection between the two formally divergent words.

The decision regarding the words that might form a pair of false friends needs to be made after taking into account not only their divergence on the level of semantics and/or pragmatics, but also their similarity in orthography, morphology, syntax and pragmatics. According to the most traditional definitions for false friends, only lexemes may be included. On the other hand, many researchers nowadays encounter pseudo-analogies in other linguistic levels: phraseology, syntactic or grammatical structures or even stylistic choices considered equivalent (Szerszunowicz 2006: 1055; Lázár 1998: 79; Leontaridi et al. 2007: 79; Stevens 1943: 116).

Most of the researchers assert that the pair of false friends (in order to be considered as such), must be based on an etymological relation (either through borrowing, or through common ancestry). Such a criterion for separating false friends from unrelated words is not only scientific, it is also a failsafe condition that allows us to understand the procedure that gave birth to the false friends and provides a framework for their analysis. Deciding whether a word sounds 'strange' or 'foreign' to native speakers cannot be considered a sufficient condition. Furthermore, if we were to go down that path, we might as well

⁸⁶ They are words that differ mainly with regard to their ending suffixes: -tion, -zione, -ción, -cao, tie -sjon, -tsia, and appear on many cognate languages (Haugen 1950: 227ff.).

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choose according to the students' awareness (when the choice is in the context of second language learning), or according to the subjective criterion of similarity on the part of the lexicographer or the researcher in general, the translator or interpreter. Another argument for the necessity of common etymological relation is the concept of false friendship itself: how could there have been linguistic change that drove the evolution of the words, if these words and languages had not been cognate at their point of origin? (Thiemer 1982: 159; Gabrovšek 1998: 165; Koessler and Derocquigny, 1928; Vinay and Darbelnet 1977: 64; Prado 1989: 721; Doval 1998: 280; Milan 1989: 395ff.; Ionescu 2011: 133).

When the etymological criterion is taken into account, as Szpila (2006: 78) stresses, the investigator bases his/her choice of lexemes on clearly defined criteria, so as to be able to continue with the relevant linguistic research on the evolution and the changes of the phonetic or written form, the semantic changes, sense extension or borrowings' integration. When etymology is not used, the choice of the lexemes to be considered false friends is done without any thought as to the differentiation in the morphematic structure, speech parts or declination, as in the case of the Polish *gory*, 'mountains', a plural noun and the English *gory*, an adjective. If these two were to be treated as false friends, then any two lexemes with superficial similarity may be considered a pair of false friends. Many a time the decision on what two lexemes may be contrasted is taken arbitrarily (Szpila 2006: 78). Szpila (2006: 78) also mentions the example of the Polish word *pudel*, 'poodle' that could be contrasted with either the English noun *puddle* or the homophone -English as well- noun *poodle*. Such pairs could show that there are many more lexemes that could be classified as false friends, than we might expect.

Doval (2006: 3ff.) on the other hand, considers that there are no scientific criteria regarding how to choose the false friends' pairs according to orthographic or phonetic characteristics in order to relate the two words. It is not possible to avoid subjectivity totally; there will always exist some degree of subjectivity because semantics and the speakers' proficiency in the other language will play an important role.

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For other investigators, such as Baker (199: 25) and Limon (2001: 2), the most important element leading them to think that there is a false friends' relationship between two terms are, on the one hand, the problems arising when they are used, and on the other, usage itself. What an investigator could do is use pragmatic differentiation criteria, as the two terms may not be used in the same context or communicative framework and subsequently they cannot be confused with one another.

Lexical false friends are typically one word lemmas, and they are the majority of false friends and their degree of usage far exceeds other types. They are then, the ones most probably leading the speakers of two different languages or linguistic varieties to miscommunication. There are also phraseological false friends, but the frequency of appearance for those is lower, because idioms and proverbs based almost entirely on metaphors, appear less often than other types of false friends. Phraseological false friends are a problem that is harder to solve, than one word lexemes, because they are similar on the mental imaging level and lexical constituents with significant semantic differences. Phraseological false friends evoke different images to the mind and their identification is not on the formal level, as is the case with one-word lexemes (Vrbinc 2010: 1243). Essentially they are the opposite to the general category of false friends we are examining, where there is similarity or identity of form and difference of meaning.

Also, although false friends are usually analysed on their own, many terms may become false friends, when used in a concrete context. Actually, many terms that are not considered false friends, may become that, when they form part of an idiomatic phrase. We should always keep in mind that idiomatic phrases are not understood in accordance with any literal meaning their components may have, but according to the metaphorical meaning they have (Συμεωνίδης 2000: 19; Belin 2008: 3). That metaphorical sense becomes their core meaning, when they are fully lexicalized. The English expression *French letter* (that is a euphemism for 'condom') when transposed into French as a *lettre française* (which is not an idiomatic phrase at all) is a typical example of how these two become instantly false friends (Chamizo Domínguez 2006: 428), since then it only has the meaning

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of 'French letter'. But phraseological false friends cannot be explained solely on etymology. They are often attributed to folk etymology, given that the images that they generate in the mind of speakers activate certain correlations (Vrbinc 2010: 1242).

Another aspect to the matter is the fact that the degree of similarity needed for the classification of two terms as false friends is not clear. Nor is the degree of semantic difference that would urge us to consider a pair as false friends. Therefore, as Lázár (1998: 79) and Doval (2006: 3) mention, some criteria should be established, since the number and kind of characteristics necessary have not been scientifically established so far.

Doval (2006:4) adds that, according to her, polysemy and register are both very important in the identification of pairs with formal similarity. It is safe to assume that a certain degree of subjectivity will be unavoidable at the time of pairs' selection according to their formal characteristics, in order to enter them into a dictionary.

Both Lázár (1998: 83) and Szpila (2006: 78) on the other hand, consider it a necessity to stress the fact that the speakers of the two languages or varieties understand the existence of false friends on a subjective level, due to the similarity of the two terms. The degree and definition of similarity differ from person to person depending on a) the knowledge that person has of the language, as well as that person's general linguistic ability; b) the nature of that vocabulary item; and c) whether coding and decoding are involved. According to them, all these elements should be taken into account, when someone wishes to claim that an item is a false friend or not.

The logical consequence of the previous syllogism is that, if the people who come into contact with the two terms, perceive or consider them as similar or identical, then these terms turn into false friends on some level. Malone (1982: 22ff.) especially insists on the prominence that the perception of the users ought to have at the time of pair selection. Conversely, if the speakers do not confuse the two terms, and there is not any chance that they might confuse them, they are not false friends. In a position midway between the two, Lázár (1998: 83)

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claims that such pairs are in fact false friends, but only potentially and they are not “activated”.

Apart from the necessary similarity of the two terms on some level, a necessary condition is to have a certain degree of frequency in the appearance of two terms in similar syntactic structures or contexts (Malone 1982: 22; Gabrovšek 1998: 166). Therefore, it is expected that most cases of false friends will be found in cognate languages or languages in contact (Polo 2006: 348). Then, their appearance is also noted in similar contexts in both languages.

In some languages, most false friends might be considered to belong to the specialized vocabulary and therefore have minimal impact on the whole of the lexicon. In others, a significant number of false friends are counted among the most commonly used words and appear to such a degree that special false friends dictionaries are called for (Szpila 2006: 76; Gouws et al. 2004: 797). There is third possibility as well, that the number of false friends may not be all that significant, but their frequency of use could be important, as well as the fact that they might appear in almost every aspect of basic vocabulary, as in the case we are examining.

Many are the authors (Τερκουράφη 2005: xvi; Chamizo Domínguez and Nerlich 2002: 1836; Granger and Swallow 1988: 108; Maillot 1977: 68) who maintain to a greater or lesser extent that when there is interlinguistic phonetic and/or graphic similarity by chance (e.g. the Greek neuter noun *τόπι*, meaning ‘small ball’ and the English noun *topi*, ‘hat’ in the Indian peninsula), there can be no false friends’ relationship. This type of chance formal identity cannot be included in the phenomenon

Chamizo Domínguez and Nerlich (2002: 1836) call this class of words *chance false friends* and state that, since no semantic or etymological reason exists for the similarity, they should be considered the interlinguistic equivalent of homonymous words in the same language.

The number of words that could be false friends, if we did not take into account the criterion of etymological relation between any pair of languages or linguistic varieties could not be anticipated, but it is almost certain that it would increase

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rather than decrease the number of false friends' pairs (Lázár 1998: 83). Furthermore, the vocabulary of any given language or linguistic variety will include formal (morphological, phonetic or phonological, or orthographic) false friends, as well as cognates in accordance with the proximity between the two languages or linguistic varieties. Nevertheless, it should not escape us that the formal similarity or proximity is not invulnerable. There is a chance that in the evolution of a language its etymological proximity (by whatever means acquired) may not be supported by an equivalent formal proximity (Bunčić 2000: 58ff.).

The previous review of the criteria applied by other researchers has shed enough light on the difficult task of the selection of the false friends' pairs. It has also provided the foundation for the criteria we have decided to base our choice on, in accordance with the special circumstances that surround the false friends between SMG and C(S)G:

1. *Etymology*. The first criterion we have used is that of common etymology, however it may have come about. The vast majority of the vocabulary in SMG and C(S)G is by definition made up by cognate words, since they belong to the same language. Several hundred of these cognates are in fact false friends, for different reasons relating to the evolution of the two linguistic varieties.
2. *Morphology*. There are consistent morphological divergences between SMG and C(S)G that follow certain rules allowing us to correlate the two morphemes almost always without doubt as to the accuracy of such a correlation.
3. *Phonetics and/or phonology*. The phonetic systems of the two varieties differ and the words in the two varieties are not expected to always coincide phonetically or phonologically. The ways in which the two varieties differ from one another are to a significant extent transparent making the correlation between them possible.
4. *Orthography*. C(S)G is a variety that has not been standardized and does not have a broadly recognized or accepted orthographic representation. Several suggestions (Αρμυστή et al. 2011; Coutsougera and Georgiou

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2006; Armosti et al. 2014; Αρμιοστής et al. 2016) have been made regarding this matter, but since the C(S)G is not considered for political reasons a standard variety that could be the official language of the state, and/or taught at school. Any studies regarding its morphology, syntax, orthography, are confined among linguistic experts. C(S)G does not have a generally accepted orthography, a fact that is proven by the online database Συντυθιές⁸⁷ that includes many possible allomorphs of the vocabulary it contains and the dictionaries of the Cypriot dialect (mainly Γιαγκουλλής 2014 or Παπαγγέλου 2001) that present multiple orthographies for many of their lemmas.

5. *Grammar⁸⁸ and syntax.* These two areas are also problematic, since they have not been thoroughly analyzed, except for the two grammars by Newton (1972) and Χατζηιωάννου (1999)⁸⁹ that cannot lay claim to presenting today's C(S)G in its totality. Any other monographs and/or doctoral theses written on C(S)G, present a fragmented view of its grammar and syntax. In general, it may be claimed that the differences between the two varieties are not so significant as to render them completely unintelligible to speakers of the other variety, but differences do exist. In choosing our data, we have opted for making sure they belong to the same grammatical category and where there are grammatical or syntactical discrepancies between SMG and C(S)G, they do not concern difference of grammatical category (eg. a word that in one variety is a noun and in the other an adverb), only difference in usage. The same applies to syntax, where the usage differences lead to semantic differentiation
6. *Frequency of use.* We have chosen lexemes and/or collocations that exhibit a high frequency of use, but also less frequent ones, when the possibility for confusion is the reverse, especially due to the relative

⁸⁷ Available at: <http://lexcy.library.ucy.ac.cy/Lexicon.aspx>.

⁸⁸ What is considered here is the traditional notion of grammar as a combination of morphology and syntax, since reference is made to books centered on exactly that.

⁸⁹ For a more detailed analysis, cf. 4.2.

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infrequency of these lexemes that renders knowledge of the semantic difference highly improbable.

7. *Confusion potential*. Although it could be argued that this criterion is extremely unscientific, it could not be totally disregarded, since confusion is one of the major components of false friends in general. It is the result of their usage and one of the markers that a speaker is faced with the phenomenon.
8. *Directionality*⁹⁰. The last but not least factor to be presented is the directionality of the false friends in this thesis. All false friends are seen through the point of view of the speaker of SMG encountering divergent semantic and pragmatic representations in his/her interaction with Cypriot Greek speakers, written or oral texts and the Greek Cypriot society in general, given the author's origin from mainland Greece⁹¹. Another reason that has prompted the choice of this point of view, is the fact that SMG is the official language of the island and is taught in the educational system rendering the C(S)G speakers far more knowledgeable in the SMG than any SMG speakers attempting to understand the geographical variety spoken in Cyprus, when they do not reside there (and sometimes, even then it is not certain that they do comprehend it).

⁹⁰ Kuczyński (2003: 265) reminds us that a lexeme that is a potential false friend in one direction, may not necessarily be one in the opposite direction.

⁹¹ There are also false friends of a reverse directionality, for C(S)G speakers that are not perceived as such by the speaker of SMG, but their numbers appear considerably reduced in relation to the cases investigated in the present and it will not concern us in this thesis.

3. Categorization

3.1 Categorization according to Venn diagrams

The phenomenon of false friends is a truly complex one, a phenomenon whose main definition or characteristics we have already presented. As such, the categorization of the data we have compiled is an exacting process. It is a linguistic phenomenon that extends to many linguistic levels, often at the same time, i.e. the same false friends' pair may be a cognate pair as regards one linguistic level and a false friends' pair as regards a different linguistic level, or may be false friends on two or more levels at the same time. Therefore, a classification based on absolute terms or on a single approach does not suffice.

Still, some kind of classification is necessary for methodological reasons, otherwise the phenomenon could not be delineated in an appropriate or more concrete manner. Such a classification would be indispensable also for pedagogical reasons, as Hayward and Moulin (1984: 191) determined, otherwise it would not be possible to teach the phenomenon. Such teaching should be the ultimate objective of any false friends' classification and therefore it should be clear and based on a fixed system of classification. That is even more necessary in the case of Cyprus, when teaching in primary or secondary education schools. The phenomenon as such is not taught at all and when the two varieties are juxtaposed and the different meanings correlated, they are taught on an ad hoc basis and only if the educators are aware of the existence of the phenomenon (which is not the standard situation encountered)⁹².

False friends can be classified according to different criteria, but almost all investigators use one distinction as fundamental, the distinction between *total* and *partial false friends*. False friends are called *total*⁹³ when the two words (or

⁹² From personal experience, either when watching educators teach, or when giving presentations regarding the existence and use of false friends between the two varieties, it has become abundantly clear that they are both unknown, except for few cases of 'emblematic' false friends, such as *ανιψιός, -ά* (analyzed previously in 2.2.3). Furthermore, a study conducted among 14- and 15-year old students of the secondary education in Cyprus (Κατσογιάννου and Χατζοπούλου, 2012) confirmed their almost total lack of awareness regarding the phenomenon.

⁹³ There is some divergence in the terminology, but the several terms used, such as *absolute, total* denote the same sense of totality in divergence.

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phraseologisms⁹⁴) that form the pair of false friends do not share any of their meanings, and *partial*, when they share at least one meaning. The majority of false friends are categorized as partial, as is also obvious from the list of false friends we have accumulated.

The most illustrative way to present the semantic features of the total vs. partial dichotomy, as well as the two possibilities that exist in the partial false friends group, is none other than by means of Venn diagrams in the framework of the set theory (Chamizo Domínguez 2009; Roca-Varela 2012).

Total false friends imply that there is no point of contact between the meanings of the two words or phraseologisms that form any pair, such as the difference existing between the SMG neuter noun *κουτούκι* [ku'tuci] and the C(S)G also neuter noun *κουττούτζιν* [ku't^h:utʃiⁿ]. Other total false friends are mentioned by Chamizo Domínguez (2009: 1114) (e.g. the English noun *preservative* and the Spanish noun *preservativo*, 'condom'), Roca-Varela (2012: 25) (e.g. the English noun *carpet* and the Spanish noun *carpeta*, 'folder') or Granger and Swallow (1988: 108) (e.g. the English adjective *candid* 'truthful and straightforward; frank' and the French adjective *candide*, 'innocent, ingenuous, naive').

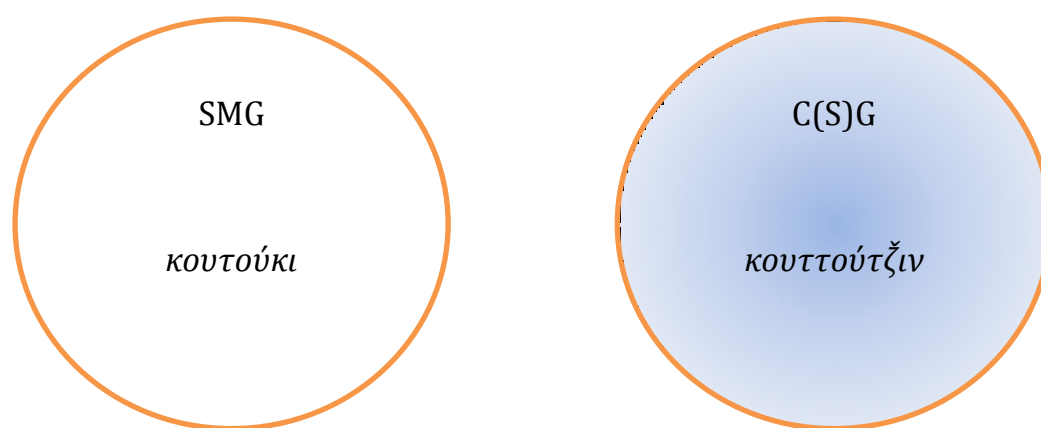


Figure 1. Semantic divergence / contrast / segregation

The SMG noun *κουτούκι* is 'a small, folksy tavern', like a 'shebeen', while the C(S)G noun *κουττούτζιν*, apart from the difference in both the phonetic and the

⁹⁴ Used as the general term encompassing all the relevant different terms and distinctions.

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morphological level also has a totally different meaning: ‘something that is very heavy’. They are both derived from the same Turkish noun *kütük*, ‘log’⁹⁵ and via two different metaphors they ended up with completely segregated meanings. In SMG the noun’s meaning was derived from the Turkish expression *kütük gibi*, ‘like a log because of drunkenness’ (AKN online) that was further extended to mean ‘the place where one might go to get drunk’, while the C(S)G retained the essence of ‘heavy like a log’ and extended it to any other ‘heavy object or person’. It underwent further semantic extension by means of two metaphors and it also signifies ‘a lot of money, resembling a heavy money brick’, in a manner analogous to the metaphor in English that correlates a large sum of money to a brick. The other metaphor capitalizes on the core characteristic of the adjective ‘heavy’ and it has come to mean ‘sth. that is important, has a bearing, or an important status’, since metaphorically what is heavy or big we also consider important. These two diagrams express the *semantic divergence / contrast*, or otherwise *segregation* that characterizes total false friends.

Partial false friends fall under two categories: those that display a relation of *semantic inclusion* and those with *semantic overlap* with at least one shared meaning (Chamizo Domínguez 2009; Roca-Varela 2012). The English noun *professor* means ‘University teacher’ and is thus more restricted than its Spanish counterpart *profesor*, who is any ‘teacher in general’ (Roca-Varela 2012: 26). Another equivalent case would be the English noun *crime* and the Spanish noun *crimen*. The English noun refers to any punishable act, while the Spanish one is more restricted, since it commonly implies ‘murder’ and it certainly signifies *un delito grave*, ‘a serious crime’ (Chamizo Domínguez 2009: 1115). Another would be the English verb *interrogate* in contrast to the French verb *interroger* that has the general meaning of ‘ask questions of’, while the English verb is only used when a person (prisoner, suspect, etc.) is subjected to a long and intensive series of questions, possibly accompanied by the use of force (Granger and Swallow 1988: 111). The SMG noun *ακαθαρσία* [εκεθερ'siε] that coincides both phonetically and morphologically with the C(S)G noun *ακαθαρσία* [εκεθε'rsiε] is

⁹⁵ Although none of the C(S)G dictionaries at our disposal includes the etymology of the word, Κυπρή (1989: 202) presents the literal meaning of ‘log’ and explains that, because the logs this word refers to were big and heavy, the noun ended up meaning anything that is heavy.

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less restrictive semantically than its counterpart, since it denotes ‘dirtiness, lack of cleanliness’ or ‘dirt’. The C(S)G noun means ‘garbage’ and it is mainly used in the plural. Both nouns share the meaning of ‘human or animal feces’⁹⁶. The following Figure 2 exemplifies the last example, in which the C(S)G meaning is included among the meanings of the SMG sense.

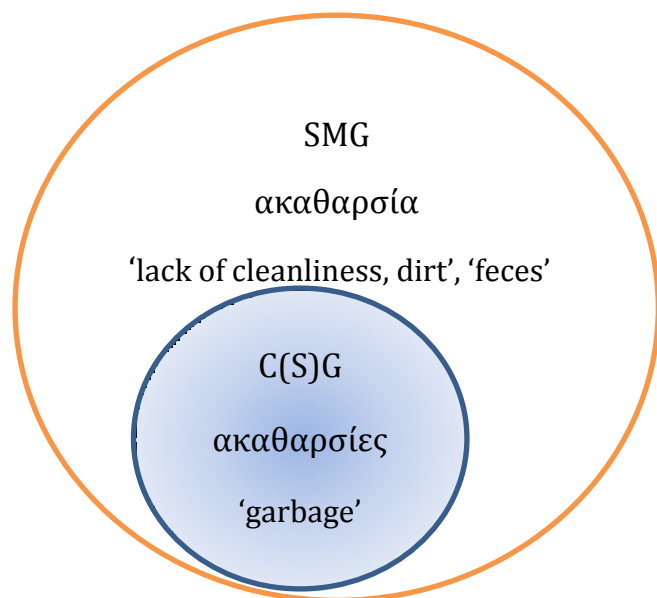


Figure 2. Semantic inclusion

The most common among the types of semantic relations in false friends is the *semantic overlap or intersection*. When two similar words have at least one shared meaning in the two languages and at least one different meaning, the Venn diagrams express this relation with the help of two overlapping circles. Examples of this type include the English noun *collar* and the Spanish noun *collar* that share the meaning of ‘dog collar’, while at the same time the English noun is used in connection with neckbands of shirts and coats and the Spanish word also expresses the notion ‘necklace’ (Roca-Varela 2012: 27). Chamizo Domínguez (2009: 1117) reminds us that the relation between the English adjective *regular* and the Spanish adjective *regular* is one of overlap, since they are true cognates with regard to the meanings ‘consistent’, ‘periodic’ and ‘constant’. At the same

⁹⁶ It should be mentioned at this point that it would be very difficult to find partial false friends that would only denote *inclusion* and not *overlap* combined with *inclusion*. One of the reasons for that is the proximity between the two varieties that is compounded also by the constant influence the standard exercises over the geographical variety with the standard as the prestigious variety, the variety taught at school, used in official instances as the High variety.

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time it has an ameliorating meaning in (American) English, ‘decent, nice’ and in Spanish the opposite, a pejorative meaning, ‘of bad quality’. Between SMG and C(S)G we could point out the SMG verb *διπλώνω* [ði'plɔnɔ] and the C(S)G verb *διπλώννω* [ði'plɔnɔ]. Both verbs denote ‘to fold something in half’, ‘to bend my body forward’, ‘to wrap something’, ‘to cover something well’. The SMG also means ‘to double something, acquire two thereof’ that is the retention of the ancient Greek meaning of the verb and the C(S)G ‘to give up’, in the idiomatic phrase *διπλώννω τα* [ði'plɔnɔ#tɐ]. It has probably evolved from an imagery of someone closing the books or it could also be due to the influence of the English language, as a calque translating the sense of ‘fail, collapse’ that appears in the verb *to fold*.

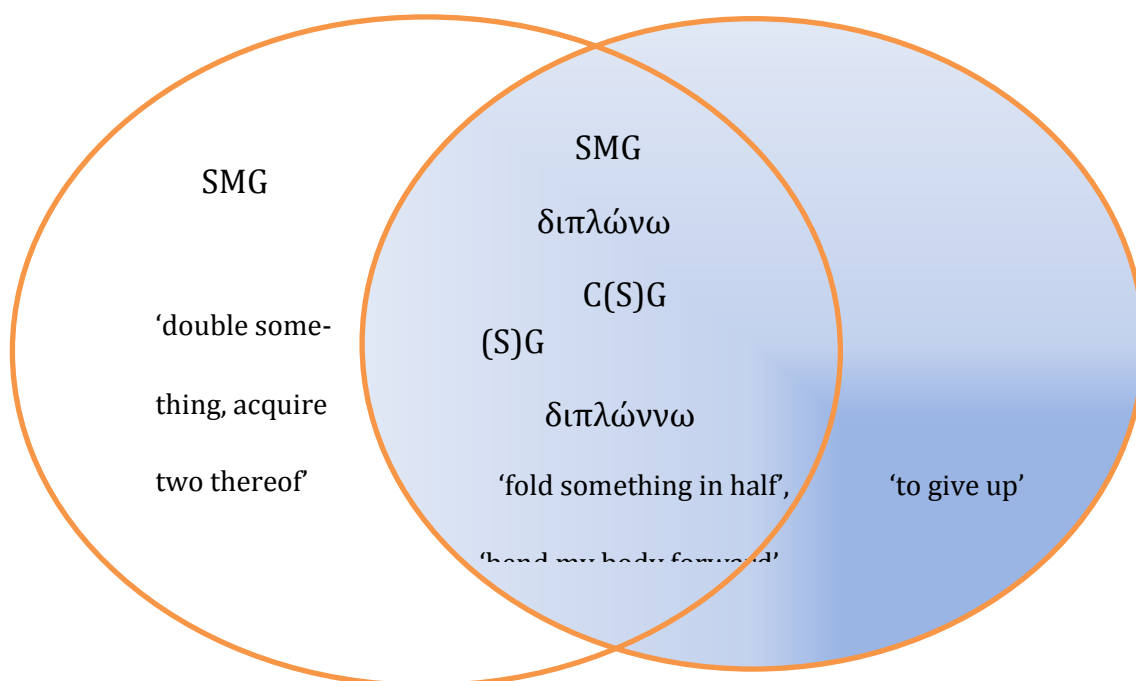


Figure 3. Semantic overlapping/intersection

It is clear from the previous figures that three are the main types of semantic relation for pairs of false friends: *semantic segregation*, *semantic inclusion* and *semantic overlapping*. The first type is the one usually referred in the literature as *total false friends* and the remaining two are *partial false friends*. The number of total false friends, as well as the number of false friends with semantic inclusion is by all accounts smaller than the intersected false friends that seem to form the bulk of false friends in general, and in our corpus more concretely.

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Nevertheless, as helpful as the set theory may be in helping us understand the relations between pairs of false friends, it is not the most appropriate for the presentation of large portions of texts accompanied by examples. Furthermore, it is not easily manipulated to accommodate more multiple linguistic levels at the same time, since it only centres on the semantic level. It is, nevertheless, clear nowadays from the existing literature that false friends appear on many linguistic levels apart from the semantic, and sometimes they even belong to multiple at the same time. We have therefore decided to make reference to them in each entry, but not to present them graphically.

The several levels the phenomenon appears on may be the phonetic, orthographic, morphological, phraseological, grammatical, syntactic⁹⁷, stylistic and pragmatic (Hayward and Moulin 1984: 190ff.; Roca-Varela 2012: 28). Confusion may appear on the phonetic level due to a similarity in pronunciation that is the case quite often. For many authors the phonetic representation of a word is the initial and in many instances the universal or common one, since many languages use different alphabets and often enough users may only have access to the phonetic form of a word. There is another related matter: in several cases languages and/or linguistic varieties, such as the C(S)G have not adopted one phonetic system or alphabet to depict its vocabulary and the phonetic form may be the only one available.

Orthographic and morphological false friends appear to be more readily understood as such, since the majority of researchers focus on this category that is easier to be made aware of, since they appear in written texts and can in continuation be researched with the help of modern technology at one's leisure.

Phraseology has been intensely researched in the last decades. False friend relationships' in phraseology are less frequent than the previously mentioned categories, because fixed expressions are comparatively infrequent. Idioms are multi-word expressions, the meanings of which cannot be deduced from the literal meanings of their constituent elements. At the same time, they are characterised by duality of meaning: they potentially have a literal meaning and

⁹⁷ The term refers to certain morphosyntactic properties of the words that are explained in continuation.

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an idiomatic one. The relation between an idiom and its idiomatic meaning is arbitrary and conventionalized in the speech community; therefore, it often reflects aspects of the culture in which it emerges. Phraseological false friends are similar in form but different in meaning (Ettinger 1994; Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen 2005; Laskowski 2006; Szerszunowicz 2006; Navarro 2007; Al-Wahy 2009; Urbinc 2010; Szpila 2011).

As far as grammatical and syntactic false friends are concerned, it is not certain whether the lack of relevant studies is to be attributed to the scarcity of the false friends themselves, to the difficulty of the endeavor or to both. Nevertheless, the fact remains that these are two linguistic levels not equally represented in the literature (Muñiz Cachón 2001; Doval 2006; Galiñanes Gallén 2006).

One of the last levels to be considered from a formalistic point of view is the pragmatic. It tends to be neglected, but it is no less important for this reason. Quite the contrary, actually: pragmatics expresses the way in which a language classifies the world, underlines all that is important to its speakers. The diverse values, ideas, the world view or world classification of a language or linguistic variety may result in false friends that are not immediately recognized as such, since pragmatic false friends mostly appear to express an almost identical idea, which nevertheless has different connotations (Bunčić 2000: 37; Zethsen 2004; Chamizo Domínguez 2008).

3.2 Introduction to categorization proposals

In the last decades, many authors have developed an interest for false friends and in their majority they have proposed their own categorizations. We would be amiss if, before presenting our own, we did not present them summarily in order to provide us with a bird's view of the phenomenon and its categorizations. Furthermore, we are basing our own categorization partly on the knowledge accumulated before us and we should not disregard it.

The criteria that form the foundation for every distinct categorization differ and every categorization varies according to whether etymology, semantics,

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phonetics, orthography, morphology, grammar, syntax or pragmatics, or a combination of the above is taken into account. One of the main distinctions made is whether semantic differentiation is considered necessary in conjunction with any other semantic level, or not. The approaches are usually separated into two major groups: a) the first approach considers that necessary for any attempt at categorization is a combination of semantic differentiation and typological divergences; and b) the second, in which it is seen as entirely possible to have false friends with solely formal differentiations regardless of any semantic convergence or divergence.

Essentially, it is about the debate on the broadness of the definition of false friends. The researchers who consider semantic differentiation obligatory, coincide with a more restrictive definition, such as the one we have proposed. Authors who leave aside any necessity for semantic divergence prescribe to a broader interpretation of the definitions generally proposed, one that allows them to include among *faux amis* any kind of word pairs and/or phenomenon that might cause misunderstandings and confusion. They seem to have consciously or unconsciously⁹⁸ accepted a definition of the phenomenon which could be formulated as “any items from two different language between which there is a formal similarity perceived and between which there is null or partial semantic equivalence” (Szpila 2005: 81). Lázár (1998: 70) also cites something similar, i.e. the fact that the notion of ‘broad definition’ may be seen as a license for any lexical expression wrongly used to qualify as a false friend.

We adhere to the first traditionalist, rather narrow approach, since we believe that we cannot consider semantically convergent lexemes or phraseological units as false friends, especially since they do not occasion any (serious) problems or any confusion in the communicative process, certainly not in any manner similar to the semantically divergent ones. The differences between the pairs of words and the phraseological units between SMG and C(S)G are unquestionable at all levels of linguistic analysis, such as phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, pragmatics. Furthermore, an attempt to list all solely typological or formal false

⁹⁸ Most of them usually offer a narrow definition as the basis for their analysis of the phenomenon, but then their classifications reflect a much broader definition.

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friends of the type mentioned above for the two varieties would be a Herculean task, since they would in all probability be innumerable (for details cf. 1.4). When in our case there was no semantic differentiation, all such words that could be labeled as typological or formal false friends, are words that would be more or less mutually understandable (without a doubt by the speakers of the C(S)G variety, and possibly by the speakers of the SMG variety following some degree of familiarization with the rules governing each of the two varieties), without the possibility of confusion that is an integral part of the false friends' phenomenon. Even if that were not the case, though, we would still maintain that lack of semantic differentiation would render these typological pairs of any language combination mere typological differentiations brought about by the specific phonetics, morphology, orthography, grammar, syntax and/or pragmatics of each language or linguistic variety in the language combination investigated and we would not include these among *faux amis*.

We have divided all categorization proposals into five large groups: a) *purely semantic* that coincide at all levels of linguistic analysis except for the semantic one; b) false friends with *semantic divergence* combined with convergence on any one of the other levels of linguistic analysis (phonetics, (ortho)graphy, morphology, grammar, syntax, phraseology and multiple⁹⁹); c) pragmatics that we consider a separate category, because pragmatic false friends often are not accompanied by semantic divergence, because the difference between them does not lie on the semantic level, but on subtle differences relating to the outside world or issues of register, style or frequency; d) *purely typological* that only diverge typologically at any linguistic level except the semantic, where they coincide; and e) *disputed* false friends, for all the categories proposed that we consider that they do not truly represent *faux amis*, but other groups of words not encompassed in this phenomenon of linguistic interference.

Ever since the publication of last century's most renowned relevant work, the one by Köessler and Derocquigny (1928), the notion of false friends is identified with words that have an etymological connection between them, as well as

⁹⁹ We call *multiple* the false friends that appear on more than one linguistic level at the same time.

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semantic divergence. The majority of linguists and other scholars in the last ninety years have shared their opinion.

Koessler (1975: 10)¹⁰⁰ in a more recent book elucidates this relationship between form and meaning when defining as false friends the words that exhibit “l’identité de forme n’entraîne pas nécessairement l’identité de sens”¹⁰¹. It is obvious that his firm belief is that the phenomenon without semantic divergence is not possible. Fang (2012: 66) corroborates this notion that semantic difference is extremely important, regardless of the fact that there are authors that disagree.

Doval Reixa (1998: 285) also states clearly what we too have come to believe is a sound foundation for a comprehensive categorization of false friends, that they ought to fulfill three criteria: a) etymological kinship, b) semantic divergence, and c) typological similarity (or identity).

3.3 Categorization proposals and etymological kinship

Chamizo Domínguez (1999: 118ff.) in his article *False Friends: Mousetraps for communication and Translation*, admits that although false friends appear more frequently between related languages, or languages with intense interaction between them, they could appear between any two languages. The only relevant difference would be in the frequency gap between the cognate and the non-cognate languages. Nevertheless, he even then considered common ancestry an important element for all false friends’ categories, not just semantic ones. In later publications (2000, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2009) he clarifies that although there are false friends that do not exhibit cognate status, they coincide by mere chance and should not be included among *semantic false friends* that are the only category that deserves our attention.

Among the authors who believe that false friends should have a common origin are to be found Granger and Swallow (1988: 108), Mattheoudakis and Patsala

¹⁰⁰ Koessler, M. (1975). *Les faux amis des vocabulaires anglais et américains*, Paris: Vuibert, in Kiss 2002: 42.

¹⁰¹ Identity of form does not necessarily suppose identity of meaning (own translation).

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(2007: 320), Shlesinger and Malkiel (2005: 174), Gabrovšek (1998: 165), Frantzen (1998: 244) and Ivir (1968: 152).

Mendiluce Cabrera and Hernández Bartolomé (2005: 143ff.) following the proposal put forward by Chamizo Domínguez (1999, 2000, 2008) that there are *chance false friends*, but these should be disregarded because they are not from related languages or borrowed from a common source, studied several false friends. They reached the conclusion that *faux amis* should be divided into *chance* and *semantic false friends*, but they also added a third category: *former false friends*, i.e. pairs of words that used to be false friends and gradually evolved into translation equivalents.

Reid (1948: 281ff.) may not refer to chance false friends by this term, but he also believes that the English words which by pure accident happen to resemble Spanish words and have no etymological connection, do not confuse any medium level students and he does not include them among his list of false friends. He calls *cognados engañosos*, 'deceitful cognates' (our translation) what others have termed *chance false friends*. He does not fail to remark though, that the most treacherous among the false friends between Spanish and English (that he is investigating) are those that originate from Latin for both languages (i.e. of common etymology).

For Doval (2006: 4), as well as for Prado (1989: 721), the etymological criterion is important but not indispensable. If the words are merely chance friends, then they should belong to the same or a closely related semantic area. She had adopted a similar view in a previous article (Doval 1998: 281), where she was of the opinion that common etymology is necessary, because if there is only a surface similarity without common provenance, there will not be any interference in translation (which is the topic she is interested in). She calls *rein Wortspiel*, 'mere wordplay' (own translation) the process of looking for chance false friends without securing teaching advantages.

Galiñanes Gallén (2006: 2) clarifies that, for her, false friends may assume both forms, *chance* and *semantic*. She classifies all false friends in two large groups with the pairs listed under the first -that is further divided in *semantic* and

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homonymous false friends- having no common etymological provenance, while the pairs in the other do. Kuczyński (2003: 279) remarks something similar, i.e. that etymologically related and divergent false friends are equally entitled to be considered *faux amis*, but he adds that they often have common ancestry.

Λεονταρίδη (2008) distinguishes false friends between chance and etymologically related ones using a different terminology though, i.e. *falsos amigos*, ‘false friends’ that are cognates and false friends, and *falsos cognados*, ‘false cognates’, are words that appear to be cognates, but are not in fact.

Walter (2001: 106) has a different approach and advocates that a genetic relation is necessary for the two languages researched, but not for the individual words. To her, if there is common provenance for the words in the pair, it simply constitutes one more confirming element for the existence of the phenomenon

There are also those who are not interested if there is an etymological link or not, such as Carlucci and Díaz (2007) or Belmekki (2007). They do not appear to consider etymology an issue, since they do not dwell on the matter at all.

3.4 Total vs. partial and interlinguistic vs. intralinguistic false friends

One distinction that traverses all others, almost without exception, for all types of false friends, whatever the categorization each scholar may be proposing, is the distinction between *total*¹⁰² and *partial false friends*¹⁰³, even when different terms are used. Another point almost all authors seem to agree on is that total false friends and false friends with only one meaning for each word of the pair are easier to deal with, while polysemous words and partial false friends are by

¹⁰² Also called *truly deceptive cognates* (Reid 1948: 280), *absolute false friends* (Belmekki 2007: 66; Mattheoudakis and Patsala 2007: 322; Gouws et al. 2004: 798; Limon 2001: 31; Lietz 1996: 90; Sheen 1997), *pure false friends* (Galiñanes Gallén 2006: 3), *complete* (Chamizo Domínguez 1999: 118) or *fully false friends* –a term reserved for the *semantic* ones- (Chamizo Domínguez 1999: 120), *full* and *fickle false friends* respectively (Roca-Varela 2012: 29), *absolutes* (Lázár 1998: 86) or *falsos amigos evidentes*, ‘evident false friends’ (Matte Bon 2004: 3).

¹⁰³ Also *semi-deceptive cognates* (Reid 1948: 280), *partial cognates* (Frunza and Inkpen 2006: 442), *contextual false friends* (Limon 2001: 31).

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far more complicated¹⁰⁴ (O'Neill and Casanovas Catalá 1997: 109; Chacón Beltrán 2006: 32; Chamizo Domínguez 2005, 2006, 2008 and 2009; Maillot 1977: 68ff.; Nicholls 2002¹⁰⁵: 1ff; Thiemer 1979: 263 and 1982: 159; Lietz 1996: 89ff.; Chamizo Domínguez and Nerlich 2002: 1836; Mattheoudakis and Patsala 2007: 322; Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 68ff.; Hayward and Moulin 1984: 190; Inkpen et al. 2005: 252; Walter 2001: 101ff¹⁰⁶.; Reid 1948: 280; Kiss 2002: 45; Galiñanes Gallén 2006: 3; Seelbach 2002: 21; Belmekki 2007: 66ff.; Granger and Swallow 1988: 108; Thiemer 1979: 270; Gouws et al. 2004: 798; Mattheoudakis and Patsala 2007: 322; Breitzkreuz 1991: 12; Prado 1989: 721; Szpila 2005: 77; Lázár 1998: 86; Frantzen 1998: 244¹⁰⁷; Milan 1989: 402¹⁰⁸; Heinle 1992: 326; Shlesinger and Malkiel 2005: 174; Parianou 2000: 112; Lázár 1998: 87; Matte Bon 2004: 3; Sheen 1997; Αλεξιάδου 2009: 22).

Another broad distinction (although not one made by nearly as many authors) encompassing many specialized subcategories is the one proposed by Seelbach (2002). She bases her categorization on Kroschewski's and the first two categories in which she divides false friends are *interlinguistic* and *intralinguistic*. She then goes on to further divide interlinguistic into *purely typological* and *semantic faux amis*. Most investigators researching the phenomenon though, either center on intralinguistic or interlinguistic false friends (cf. 2.2.4).

Parianou (2000) also dedicates the larger part of her dissertation in the analysis (theoretical and practical) of semantic false friends. She further distinguishes

¹⁰⁴ Frunză (2006: 16) makes a different assessment of the way that partial false friends function: in their common to both languages meanings they are cognates, and in their unique for each language meanings they are false friends.

¹⁰⁵ She calls *utterly false friends* what we have chosen to refer to as *total*; and *unreliable friends* the ones generally called *partial*. She digresses from the path most researchers take in another respect as well: she considers *loan words* a subtype of *unreliable false friends*, since she seems to think that semantic change that occurs in the case of borrowing results in incomplete loans that are in fact *partial false friends* (Nicholls 2002).

¹⁰⁶ Walter (2001: 105) apart from *totalement faux amis*, 'total false friends' and *partiellement "faux" amis*, 'partial false friends' also distinguishes *partiellement "bons" amis*, which are actually partial false friends looked at from the opposite angle, and *totalement bons amis*, i.e. *cognates*.

¹⁰⁷ She calls *reliably false cognates* those commonly known as *total*, and *unreliably false cognates* those commonly known as *partial*, because in the first instance they can be relied upon to always be false cognates, without any overlapping meanings, while in the second they have both false and true cognate meanings (Frantzen 1998: 244).

¹⁰⁸ He considers total false friends *echten/wahren falsche Freunde*, 'truly false friends', therefore he reserves the term *false cognates* for them, while the others he considers *partial cognates* (Milan 1989: 402).

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them in *denotative* and *connotative* false friends, according to the various semantic changes brought about by the linguistic change that is the source of false friendship.

3.5. Purely semantic false friends

It is truly rare to find any false friends, total or partial, and any classification by other authors that would belong in this category and be interlinguistic, because at the very least, the phonetics of each language would intervene (which is not to claim that they may not also interfere in the case of intralinguistic false friends). That fact almost certainly necessitates that the false friends of this category be *intralinguistic*.

Few are the scholars that have shown interest in this type of false friends. Two of them were Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη and Βλέτση (2009), who investigated some instances of *intralinguistic* (or *endoglossic*, as they call it) false friends belonging to the *diachronic* subtype between Ancient or Hellenistic and Modern Greek. It is known that Ancient, Hellenistic, and even Medieval Greek were phonetically divergent to Modern Greek, but all Modern Greeks pronounce them exactly as they would SMG, so it could be argued that they are essentially purely semantic false friends.

When Roca-Varela (2011 and 2012) she expounds on the intralinguistic false friends between American and British English, she could be considered to be discussing *purely semantic false friends*, since the phonetic systems of the two varieties do not generally diverge to the same degree as those of two totally different languages.

3.6 Semantically divergent and typologically convergent false friends

The majority of investigators mention that their categorizations undeniably include semantic false friends that exhibit semantic divergence, while at the

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same time there is similarity of the words comprising the pair on some other linguistic level. A lot of them do not specify what form that similarity takes, they only concede, like Hayward and Moulin (1984: 192) that semantic false friends are the “most frequent type”. Carlucci and Díaz (2007), on the other hand, who consider *semantic faux amis* as one more of the types they distinguish, do admit that they are the more numerous one.

Broz (2008) focuses on semantic false friends, and more concretely on what he calls *internationalisms*¹⁰⁹ in English contrasted with their cognates in other European languages that have the same etymological origin (i.e. Latin).

Breitkreuz (1973: 70ff.) discusses what he names ‘types of mistakes’ on the semantic level: a) erroneous match of meanings; b) erroneous match of meanings and word morphology. The latter he considers the core of false friends, the category that constitutes a truly significant problem for language users. He is in fact describing what are called *semantic false friends*, although he may not denote them using this term.

In one of the first articles he wrote, Chamizo Domínguez (2000: 172) made the following distinction: a) *homophones* and *homographs* that coincided by *chance* and had no etymological relation and might even belong to different parts of speech; and b) *semantic false friends* that had common ancestry. Actually it was the same distinction he made in all his relevant work (previous and later), only discussed under slightly different terminology. In his 1999 article he also refers to *borrowings* as a separate category of loan words entering into a language and their original meaning is changed in the adopting language. They bring about many false friends and can cause serious communication problems. He considers all false friends by necessity *semantic* (2005, 2006, 2008, 2009), but distinguishes two large groups: semantic and chance false friends, the only difference between which is the existence or not of common etymology respectively.

¹⁰⁹ *Internationalisms*, according to Ivir (1988: 93) are words that are used internationally, i.e. they are found in many languages –though it is not very clear how many. A word usually qualifies as internationalism if it is found in a few major European languages, from which it may then find its way into other, European and non-European. Most of these words are of Greek or Latin origin, but words from modern languages, such as English, French or German have recently also spread as internationalisms.

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Chacón Beltrán (2006: 33ff.) states in no unclear terms, that all false friends are semantic and their typological classification must take into account the fact that the linguistic form, the origin and the meaning of the false friends are interrelated categories and cannot be analyzed as mutually exclusive. He proposes a rather complicated typology of English-Spanish true cognates and false friends valid only for the specific language pair that could nonetheless be adopted and adapted for other language pairs. He only discusses phonetic and graphic false friends in this typology.

An interesting contribution to the categorizations is provided by Thiemer (1979: 264ff.) who also divides *semantic false friends* into two types, according to the language directionality: a) from the German point of view regarding Spanish; and b) from the Spanish point of view regarding German. Mattheoudakis and Patsala (2007: 325ff.) likewise base their categorization on the directionality of borrowing between English and Greek: a) English words deriving from Greek, and b) English words borrowed by Greek.

Galiñanes Gallén (2006: 3ff.) proposes a categorization unlike any other in the relevant literature. She considers as *semantic false friends* those words with diverging meaning and different etymology. On the other hand, she labels *pure false friends with common etymology* (*falsos amigos con igual etimología, falsos amigos puros*) the type conventionally considered as *total semantic false friends*. These could show some typological similarity and belong in any of the other linguistic levels as well as the semantic one. The other type she includes in the common etymology false friends is *partial false friends* that she further subdivides to a) partial false friends per se, b) with different usage frequency, c) of figurative speech, and d) in specialized jargon. The latter three are usually included under a pragmatic heading.

Fang (2012: 84ff.) discusses *semantic false friends* as a category that is further subdivided in three types: a) *calques* or *semantic loans*, b) words with *low frequency of usage*, and c) of *inexistent meanings*. The first refers to those words that, due to semantic borrowing from other languages, acquire further meanings to the ones they already had. The second focuses on the difference of usage

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frequency, while the third is what we have already explained by means of Venn diagrams as a case of intersection or overlapping with one meaning absent from one of the two languages.

Sabaté-Carrové and Chesñevar (1998: 51) who conduct research in a cognitive setting like Fang, present a similar categorization of the phenomenon based on the results of their research: a) *semantic loans* (existing words with different semantic content acquire the equivalent meaning of the other language), b) *loan words* (the word that exists in one of the languages does not exist in the other and it enters in an adapted form and the original semantic content), c) *transference* (of semantic components existing in one language into words in the other language). This last category is in turn sub-divided into more: i) words that are obsolete in one of the languages, ii) words in the other language used with a sense that is rare for that language, iii) words whose mistranslation in one of the languages (from the other) has become institutionalized, iv) words in one language not completely identical to the words in the other language, v) words with completely different semantic component (total false friends in our classification), vi) words of one language with morphological adaptation to the other language. The first two of their categories do not involve false friends according to the definition we have adopted. The third refers to what is generally known as semantic and/or pragmatic false friends.

Homonyms are for Gouws et al. (2004: 800) a source of false friends, since in a language that has two or more homonyms, one of which is a cognate with a word in another language, when the other languages' speakers encounter the homonyms, they could possibly consider them different meanings of the same word. The second type they propose concerns related but opposing meanings, the third refers to different polysemous senses and the fourth to different usage levels; nevertheless the semantic component is pre-eminent in all of them.

Ivir (1968: 150ff.) argues that false friends (or *deceptive cognates* as he calls them) can be established at two levels: *semantic* and *morphological*. He parts the first level four-ways, essentially according to the Venn diagrams discussed previously with regard to complete overlap, partial overlap with one of the

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languages having a broader range of meaning and then the other, and without any overlap. That means he includes among false friends words of foreign origin that are actually “true pairs” or “true cognates”. He claims that a fifth group could be established to accommodate those words that are at the same time broader and narrower in meaning in one language than they are in the other. In this category, a word in one language would have meanings which its counterpart on the other language lacked, but at the same time this latter word would cover some meaning(s) not covered by its counterpart in the first language. Nevertheless, later he comments that such false friends may be almost identical in meaning, because they may have a) different ranges of collocation, b) different frequency of use, and c) different levels of use.

Other researchers stating that semantic false friends constitute part of their categorizations and *faux amis* for them, since they are formally similar but semantically divergent are, Prado (1989: 721), Breitzkreuz (1991: 12), Granger and Swallow (1988: 108), Kroschewski (2002: 55), O’Neil and Casanovas Catalá (1997: 109), Magadán Olives (2003)¹¹⁰, Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 68ff), Galiñanes Gallén (2006)¹¹¹, Francesconi (2005), Lipczuk (1993)¹¹², Seelbach (2002: 19ff.)¹¹³, Heinle (1992: 326) and Ionescu (2011: 135).

Roca-Varela (2012: 29) separates all the data she researches in the course of her thesis into three categories: a) *total* false friends; b) *partial* false friends; and c) *contextual* false friends that can also be termed *pragmatic* or *stylistic false friends*. They share their basic denotative meaning but are used in different registers, have different connotative associations, diverging pragmatic use and sociolinguistic traits and can be used in slightly different contexts. She considers them a separate category, because it is not the semantics of the words, but their

¹¹⁰ Magadán Olives (2003) discusses only semantic false friends she calls *falsos primos*, ‘false cousins’ (own translation), since they are reborrowed words in Greek from other European languages (words obsolete in Modern Greek but vibrant in the borrowing languages, words with added meanings by the languages that borrowed them, words created with Ancient Greek components). that have undergone the linguistic changes that create false friends, as already discussed in 2.3.

¹¹¹ The false friends she names *semantic* do not share common ancestry (*semánticos con distinta etimología*) (Galiñanes Gallén 2006).

¹¹² He calls them *Tautonymie*, ‘tautonyms’, and they may appear between two or more languages and the typological divergence between them is analogous to that of any other semantic categorization (Lipczuk 1993).

¹¹³ She only subdivides semantic false friends into *partial* and *total* (Seelbach 2002: 19ff.).

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pragmatics or context of use which makes these lexical items different. She places the false friends on a continuum, the two poles of which are total false friends with total semantic divergence and contextual false friends with pragmatic divergence. In between them, partial false friends are to be found, of the two varieties, inclusion and overlapping. As one moves from left to right, and from total to partial false friends and from partial false friends to contextual false friends, the semantic differences decrease, at the same time as the level of falseness.

A truly unique approach to semantic false friends is the one proposed by Nilsson (2005: 172ff.) for a special case of false friends between the Swedish sign language and spoken Swedish. All of the false friends she refers to are *semantic* and appear to be triggered by the mouth movements that resemble the movement the mouth makes when speaking Swedish. These mouth movements are in fact either parts of a spoken word or nonsense, i.e. inexistent words in spoken Swedish. These false friends appear in similar contexts and are perceived as having the same meaning as the spoken Swedish words they remind the sign language interpreters of, causing them to interpret in an awkward and stilted -if not outright wrong- manner.

3.6.1 Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

Chacón Beltrán (2006: 35) presents only two subtypes of semantic false friends, one of which is the *phonetic*. He adds that these false friends are interconnected with the second type he mentions, *graphic*, since the convergence noted in one is often reflected on the other as well.

Roca-Varela (2012: 31) subdivides her main categories further, with the first subdivision being *phonetic* false friends with pronunciation that hints at a word in the other language.

One of the distinctions Mendiluce Cabrera and Hernández Bartolomé (2005: 132) make is based on *phonetics* and *spelling*. Although there is a great difference

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between the Spanish and the English sounds, they claim that some pairs of words present a remarkable resemblance, when pronounced.

Kiss (2002: 47) states that *phonetic false friends* are the result of two linguistic behaviors. The first is the result of the different phonetic systems of each of the two languages or linguistic varieties involved, given that every language in the world has a distinctive phonetic system that consequently differs from the phonetic system of every other language. The second factor is the fact that the speakers inevitably are influenced by the phonetic system of their mother tongue and speak in an accent foreign to the non-mother tongue.

Thiemer (1979: 264) discusses what he calls similarities on the *phonological* structure (*phonologische Struktur*), but it appears that he actually refers to phonetic similarity accompanied by semantic divergence.

Homonymous false friends names Galiñanes Gallén (2006) the words that have semantic divergence and different ancestry coupled with phonetic or graphic similarity or identity. The phonetic ones she considers *homophones*.

At the phonetic level Fang (2012: 82) separates false friends into two sub-types. The first she calls *homophones*, words with similar pronunciation but different orthography and/or meaning.

Dijkstra et al. (1999: 498) highlight a rather neglected matter, that of the role that *phonology* plays in visual word recognition. The phonological level is considered to exist between the phonetic and the morphological, since it is concerned with the study of how sounds are organized and used in natural languages. Research in the monolingual domain has shown that phonology plays a considerable role in visual word recognition and the few bilingual studies available show that phonological similarity across languages also plays a role in the bilingual domain.

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3.6.2 Semantic divergence and (ortho)graphic convergence

In one of his first approaches to the phenomenon, Chamizo Domínguez (1999: 119) discusses *spelling false friends* that are the equivalent of intralinguistic homonyms. They are words of similar or identical spelling between two languages, but with divergent semantic content.

Lipczuk (1993) calls them *orthographic* and clarifies that they are not identical in the language pair examined, but they show certain recurrent differences in spelling and they could be combined with either semantic divergence or convergence.

Chacón Beltrán (2006: 34), Chamizo Domínguez (2005, 2006, 2008, 2009) and Fang (2012: 66) refer to these false friends as *homographs*. They are words sharing orthography but with different meaning(s).

Hayward and Moulin (1984: 191) discuss the deceptive similarity of this category as a matter of spelling and name one of their categories *spelling-semantic*. It occurs where there are two or more pairs of near homographs involved that are characterized by deceptive spelling similarity with semantic divergence.

Mendiluce Cabrera and Hernández Bartolomé (2005: 132) classify false friends according to their *degree of similarity* with the other language's words. Greater degree of graphic resemblance of the two words will cause language users to make mistakes.

Galiñanes Gallén (2006) calls *homographs* the words at the graphic level among those she has named *homonymous false friends*, i.e. words that have semantic divergence and different ancestry coupled with graphic similarity or identity.

Kiss (2002: 48) mentions that another category of false friends is that of *orthographic* ones that are the result of the different orthographic systems of the languages involved.

The second subcategory of false friends for Roca-Varela (2012: 31) are *orthographic false friends* whose spelling conjures up a word of the other

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language. The third is closely related to this category: *ortho-phonetic false friends*, whose spelling and pronunciation recall words in the other language similar in both its written and spoken form.

3.6.3 Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

The second of the two categories that Thiemer (1979: 263) makes reference to encompasses the *morphological* similarity but semantic dissimilarity he has observed between the German-Spanish false friends he studied. His contribution to the discussion on the phenomenon is the notion of linguistic interference he calls *Einfluß der Ähnlichkeit*, 'similarity influence', since the user believes that typological similarity equals semantic similarity.

Lietz (1996: 192) calls this category *strukturelle falsche Freunde*, 'structural', but it is clear by the examples he presents that he is actually referring to *morphologically* convergent false friends with and without semantic divergence.

Kiss (2002: 49) distinguishes *morphological* false friends into *grammatical* and *lexical morphological false friends*. She centers on the grammatical morpheme unit that may differ according to the nature of each of the languages (according to different suffixes), as well as the lexical morphemes, usually words from Latin or words that belong to the formal speech.

3.6.4 Semantic and grammatical divergence

Belmekki (2007) focuses on *grammatical* (as well as lexical, i.e. word-related morphological similarity coupled with semantic divergence) *false friends*, such as the ones he observed in his translation-module students: sentence structure translation word-for-word; use of the auxiliary "to be" when the verb "to have" should be used, and vice versa; use of the L1 tense also in the L2¹¹⁴, although the notions of the L1 may not be expressed by the same tense in L2.

¹¹⁴ L1 is the abbreviation used for 'mother tongue', while L2 is used for 'foreign language' in the framework of second language learning.

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One of the categories that Humblé (2015-6: 198) proposes in his classification is characterized by semantically identical word pairs that differ with regard to their grammatical restrictions.

Muñiz Cachón (2001: 170) too, refers to *grammatical false friends*, i.e. grammatical paradigms that because they appear to have a similar structure in two different languages, are termed the same, but if real usage is taken into account, they have different referents and usage. The example that she presents regards the uses of the future tense in English and Spanish. Although it is theoretically the same tense, it has different uses and even may not be the preferred form to express the intention of the speaker in one of the two languages, but that intention could be expressed by another grammatical means.

Although Kiss (2002: 49ff.) does not clearly include them in such a category as this one, the characteristics that they have oblige us to include them here. She discusses improper (erroneous) derivation, in which the words in the two languages belong to different speech parts (a fact which also affects their syntactic properties). Another category she proposes is the one that causes false friends to appear due to antonomasia (or metonymy), change of grammatical gender; and compound words (their constituents in other cases could function in an independent manner, but once they have come together, they lose their independent status, they resemble idioms).

Sheen (1997) separates *faux amis* into lexical and *grammatical*, which are fewer in number but still worthy of note. He further subdivides them into three types: a) count/non-count b) different parts of speech c) syntactic (with regard to their complements, such as the prepositions following a verb depending on their transitivity and the rules of each language).

3.6.5 Semantic and syntactic divergence

This category of false friends is one of the most neglected, since, by necessity, it entails different structures and distinct traits in every language. Francesconi (2005) refers to verbs between Italian and Spanish that do not

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exhibit semantic divergence, but *syntactic*. The difference lies in the transitivity or intransitivity of one verb in contrast to the other, or whether they could be pronominal or not.

Kiss (2002: 51ff.) discusses false friends on the level of syntax with regard to the valency of verbs that are the nucleus of every sentence.

3.6.6 Semantic divergence and phraseological convergence

This category can be further subdivided into idioms, collocations and phraseologisms. Phraseological units are on their own a whole distinct area of research interest that has developed during the last decades. Several authors have discussed the differences between different types of phraseological units or phraseologisms. Phraseological false friends could be broadly defined according to Laskowski (2006: 2ff.) as two or more phraseological pairs that as regards their form, are more or less identical, while they differ regarding their meanings. Such phraseological units may appear between linguistic varieties as well, not only between different languages.

Given that the focus of our analysis are not phraseological units, we will not be discussing them at length further on, but a general distinction between the three subtypes mentioned above, will be presented.

a) Idioms

One of the first to study *idioms* and *phraseology* within a formal theory of semantics was Cruse who claimed that idioms are expressions the meaning of which cannot be inferred from the meaning of their parts (1986: 37ff). According to Cruse, “all idioms are elementary lexical units”. Although they consist of more than one word, they display to some extent the sort of internal cohesion that might be expected of single words (e.g. they typically resist interruption and re-ordering of parts). The syntactic behavior of an idiom is broadly determined by two factors: the syntactic structure of the literal counterpart of the idiom (if it

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has one) and the fact that distinguishable syntactic constituents are not semantic constituents, and therefore are not open to adjectival and adverbial modification, nor can they be isolated for emphasis, etc. The proposed test for the idiomaticity of any expression is to insert semantically transparent lexemes or replace its parts by other semantically or syntactically equivalent lexemes and realize that it is not possible. Regarding the metaphors he terms as 'dead' or 'frozen', Cruse insists that they ought to not be included in the category of idiom. These are metaphors that have been used sufficiently frequently with a particular meaning, it has lost its characteristic flavor or piquancy and hearers encode the metaphorical meaning as one of the standard senses of the expression.

The focus of Belin's *Idiomatische falsche Freunde im Deutsch-Schwedische Wortschatz* (2008) are *idiomatic* or *phraseological* false friends, with distinctive examples of phraseological false friends that exhibit significant differences in form as well as in meaning, a characteristic common to most idiomatic expressions. Seelbach (2002: 24ff.) too discusses *idiomatic false friends* of idiomatic expressions that cannot be translated into other languages word for word.

García Benito (2003: 45ff.) also makes idiomatic false friends the focus of her article, because she considers that it is a neglected area of the phenomenon (although she does not ignore lexemes completely). She distinguishes between a) (words or) expressions belonging to the category we have named *semantic and typological false friends* (further subcategories include phonetic, graphic, compositional or lexical form similarities combined with semantic differences), b) (words or) expressions semantically similar but typologically different, c) (words or) expressions semantically and typologically convergent, but with usage differentiations (*pragmatic level*).

Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (2005: 68) in discussing the content of idioms state that it consists of two macrocomponents: a) actual meaning, and b) mental image. These are independent of each other to a certain extent. One consequence of this fact is the existence of idioms which have (nearly) the same image, but differ with regard to their actual meaning, as well as the existence of idioms

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which have (nearly) the same actual meaning, but differ with regard to their images. Idiomatic false friends are characterized by a similarity of images and non-parallel features of actual meaning. From a linguistic point of view phraseological false friends turn out to be a more sophisticated problem than one-word false friends. They resemble each other not on the phonetic and/or graphic level, but on the level of lexical constituent parts and mental images, i.e. on the level of “inner form”.

According to Szerszunowicz (2006: 1056), the phraseological units likely to function as pseudo-equivalents have various characteristics, since their potential deceptiveness can lead to a classification of several subcategories of idioms: a) with components identical in all of the languages involved but different meanings in every one of the languages; b) with components and structures identical in all the languages, but with different number of components between the languages involved; c) with similar components in all the languages involved, but different structures and meanings in either language; d) with components similar in all the languages involved, identical structures and different meanings; e) with similar components in all the languages involved, but polysemous in one and monosemous in the other language(s); f) with components and structures identical in all the languages, but with different stylistic markedness; and finally g) with components and structures identical in all the languages, but with differences in meaning and register.

Although Chamizo Domínguez and Nerlich (2002: 1846ff.) refer to idioms, they do this under the premise that terms only become false friends in the context in which they are used as part of an idiom, they do not state that they may be another category or subtype of false friends. Nevertheless, they do explain, that most idioms can be understood according to the literal meaning of their component words and to any figurative interpretation at the same time. The figurative meaning becomes the most common one, only when idioms are fully lexicalized.

Idiomatic false friends call Hayward and Moulin (1984: 193) the category in which either a false friends or even a ‘true’ friend creates the deceptive

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impression that the idiom which contains it can be translated word for word. This type, they add, is not so easily spotted, because it requires a very detailed and precise knowledge of the two languages involved and the encyclopedic (pragmatic) information they convey.

b) Collocations

Cruse (1986: 37ff.) claimed that *collocations* are sequences of lexical items which habitually co-occur, but are at the same time fully transparent, since each lexical constituent is also a semantic constituent.

Collocations, according to Mel'čuk (1998: 23ff.) are a subclass of what are known as "set phrases"; they therefore have to be defined regarding their differentiating characteristics with respect to set phrases that are not collocations. Set phrases that he terms *phrasemes* are lexical units and they are actually the numerically predominant lexical unit. In any language they outnumber words roughly ten to one. Collocations themselves make up the lion's share of the phraseme inventory.

Patsala (2006: 1031) proposes a classification of multi-word constructions on a continuum: a) highly frequent and semantically transparent phrases (i.e. clear cases of collocations), such as *team spirit*; b) highly frequent co-occurrences of words (i.e. in-between cases of idioms and collocations), like *have a nice day!* c) fixed but semantically transparent constructions (some 'hybrid' idioms usually based on 'frozen' metaphors) such as *quiet as a mouse*; and d) fixed and semantically non-transparent phrases, which are clear cases of idioms. In her conclusions (2006: 1034) she adds that she uses two criteria to help with the distinction between idioms and collocations: a) semantic transparency and high frequency of use for collocations; and b) semantic opacity and fixed structure for idioms.

Gottlieb (1986: 111ff.), in his article regarding the special characteristics of false friends' dictionaries, discusses the four different type of classification they adhere to. One of them is made up by words that have different collocations' ranges or cannot be considered translation equivalent in all contexts.

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Although Mattheoudakis and Patsala (2007: 332) do not consider collocations a separate category, they make special mention of the results of the students in a study they conducted regarding the translation of collocations. They were partial false friends and deemed especially misleading, since the result of the erroneous translation may have been correct, had the original set phrases in English been collocations.

Granger and Swallow (1988: 112ff.) point out that “the difficulties inherent in false friends are not restricted to the denotational level. Two cognates can have the same referential meaning and yet differ from a collocative point of view.” The differences may consist of either preferring certain words or groups of words over others, or of a stylistic point of view, in that they belong to different registers or invoke different connotations.

Ivir (1988: 97) explains that *internationalisms* that are false friends can also belong in this category, since they may not be false friends when regarded on a lexeme level, but become *faux amis*, when regarded as collocations, which seldom only are identical in two different languages.

Christofidou (1995: 68) mentions the three major types of multi-word compounds to be distinguished in Greek: a) Adj.NOM. + Subst.NOM. (*ατομική βόμβα*, ‘atomic bomb’), b) Subst.NOM. + Subst.GEN. (*γραφείο ταξιδίων*, ‘travel agency’), and c) Subst.NOM. + Subst.NOM. (*νόμος-πλαίσιο*, ‘framework law’)

Anastasiadi-Simeonidi (in Christofidou 1995: 68) states that multi-word compounds a) have a stable reference, b) there can be no intervention of another word into this structure (syntactic criterion). This property of “inseparability” is the most important criterion for lexical compounding. The main difference between one-word and multi-word compounds in Greek is that they accept internal declension.

Kiss (2002: 52) does not ignore phraseology, since she devotes a category to this type of false friends, and points out that very often language users are not aware of the fact that certain idioms or collocations belong to the level of phraseology and cannot be translated literally or tampered with.

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c) Phraseological units or phraseologisms

Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (2005: 108ff.) expound on idioms as false friends that, as they mention, are also called *phraseological false friends*. Idioms classified as false friends resemble each other on the level of mental images and lexical constituents, i.e. on the level of inner form, whereas they display significant differences on the semantic level. Definitions of phraseological false friends usually correspond to the definition of false friends. But a different definition is needed, because the similarity or identity of the figurative units in question is not grounded in the plane of expression but in the image evoked by the figurative unit. The identity of idioms does not concern the form, but turns out to be part of the content, the literal reading, which evokes certain images. In terms of cognitive semantics, false friends in conventional figurative language can be defined as follows: “[they] are two or more expressions that evoke almost identical or very similar mental images but show significant differences in the actual meaning”. They also mention *intralinguistic false friends* that they term *inner false friends*. They may be patronymic idioms within the same language. They further separate them to false friends a) based on different conceptual metaphors, b) based on different rich images, and c) based on one constituent.

Vrbinc (2010: 1242), following Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (2005), reminds us that the explanation of phraseological false friends should not be based only on etymology, because the images behind many phraseological units can very often be attributed to folk etymology, which means that the images trigger certain associations in native speakers who try to explain the origin of a phraseological unit in this manner.

Lipczuk (1993) includes *phraseological false friends* among the categories he expounds on. They have similar structure but different meanings. Szpila's definition (2011: 351ff.) is along the same lines, as it mentions that the conventional definition of *phraseological false friends* is “phraseological units in two or more languages with the same or similar lexical and syntactic structure whose meanings do not overlap”. One of the matters he discusses is which phraseologisms one should group together as false cognates' pairs and what

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criteria should be used. He does not fail to claim that there may be expressions of common origin, but these may undergo the same kind of assimilation processes as lexemic false friends. He also states that in the case of phraseological false friends, allowances should be made regardless of their etymological relatedness when discussing them in two different languages. They capture similar physical aspects of the extralinguistic reality. As a consequence, they become formally similar or even identical. However, language users may equip those expressions with dissimilar denotations or connotations, and as a result thereof, may be responsible for the existence of phraseological false equivalence. He continues noting that phraseological units emerging in different languages independently may overlap or diverge semantically. In the case of phraseological false friends we must concede that the criterion of common origin may be dropped altogether or applied less stringently. The semantic evolution of phraseological false friends is probably analogous to every other false friend.

Phrasal lexemes for Moon (1998: 79ff.) are the whole range of fixed and semi-fixed complex items which dictionaries in the Anglo-American tradition classify and treat as 'phrases' or 'idioms' (according to their metalinguistic terminology): the sorts of items that for reasons of semantics, lexico-grammar, or pragmatics are regarded as holistic units rather than compositional strings. Such items include pure idioms, proverbs, similes, institutionalized metaphors, formulae, sayings, and various other kinds of institutionalized collocations. She notes further on that corpus evidence shows that their forms are by no means as fixed as some dictionary inventories appear to suggest and that the division between multi-word and single-word items is blurred, to say the least.

3.6.7 Multiple differentiations (on more than one typological category)

Breitkreuz (1991: 12) apart from the other categories he proposes, considers also one in which are gathered those false friends that combine several linguistic levels (without clarifying whether he necessarily includes semantic divergence in the combination in all cases).

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Lipczuk (1993) includes in his categorization a type that belongs to multiple levels at once. The words that comprise it must be morphologically convergent, but phonologically, graphically and semantically divergent.

Humblé (2005-6: 198) does not present us with labels for the four categories in which he distinguishes false friends, but he does consider that the first one of them is the most traditionalistic of them all and identifies as false friends those words that are almost identical, are written and pronounced in an almost identical manner but their meanings differ. This corresponds to what is generally known as total false friends and another of his categories to partial false friends, and it corresponds to the type we have chosen to call *multiple false friends*.

3.7 Pragmatic false friends

We have chosen to present this category separately from the semantic one, but closely interwoven with it at the same time. It can be argued that they are not entirely semantic, since the divergence is actually pragmatic and not semantic (Roca-Varela 2012: 31ff.), but that is not an absolute axiom in every single case. Often enough, such pragmatic divergences also affect the semantic level, since the meaning of every lexeme or phraseme is also dependent on traits superseding the lexical level.

Roca-Varela (2012: 31ff.) considers it undeniable that this type of pragmatic differences may yield a false friendship relationship, given that there are two factors producing false friends in this category: a) *stylistic* differences or restrictions, otherwise called *register* differences, as in a formal vs. informal distinction; and b) connotative nuances or additional connotative factors. To these we have further included c) contextual differences; d) frequency differences, where one word of the pair is very current, while the other fairly infrequent; e) use or function differences; and f) cultural elements, where the theoretically equivalent terms, may not really be used in equivalent instances due to cultural differences (Hayward and Moulin 1984: 194).

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a) Stylistic differences or restrictions / register differences

Stylistically divergent false friends are classified by Seelbach (2002: 19) among semantic, as their subcategory. She refers to different speech registers between the typologically similar words one of which might occupy a higher register than the other.

Kiss (2002: 52ff.) also proposes a category she terms *stylistic*, similar to the distinction suggested by Seelbach, as does Humblé (2005-6: 198) who includes register-dependent differentiation among his categories. Reid (1048: 292) makes an observation about words that may have archaic usages in one of the two languages involved. Lietz (1996: 92) is another one of the authors that discuss false friends as regards the register of the two words of a pair.

b) Connotative nuances or additional connotative factors

Pragmatic false friends are called in the Hayward and Moulin paper (1984: 193) the words that may have many nuances, not always perceived by the speakers. Gottlieb (1986: 111ff.) too distinguishes between nuances of meaning and discusses word pairs that share denotations, but differ at the stylistic level.

Parianou (2000: 112) refers to this type of false friends as *konnotativen*, related to connotation divergences between the two languages she investigates. The last category she sets aside is the one she calls *cultural* (cf. (f) in continuation) for patrimonial and system-related differences.

Stylistic faux amis (that actually refer to connotational differences) included in the Vinay and Darbelnet book (1995: 70) may or may not have minor semantic divergence. Where they differ patently is with respect to their intellectual or affective weight (they may be pejorative, meliorative or neutral) or with respect to the areas of usage.

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c) Contextual differences

The authors O'Neill and Casanovas Catalá (1997: 109ff.) rank false friends according to the degree of meaning overlap in Venn diagrams grouping them in three categories: segregation (no coincidence of meanings), intersection (some meanings shared, but not all) and inclusion (all the meanings of one word coincide with the other's). They simultaneously correlate these meaning(s) overlaps with the *context* the pairs are to be found in, taking into account the pragmatic level.

Limon (2001: 31) distinguishes a *contextual* subcategory. They are *faux amis* that are false friends in some contexts and not in others.

d) Frequency differences

Hayward and Moulin (1984) make reference to this type, but it is not one that other authors dwell much on and neither they explain what it entails. We assume that they wish to pinpoint that while one member of the false friends' pair may appear frequently in its language (or linguistic variety), the other may be rarely used in its own language (or linguistic variety).

e) Use or function differences

Lipczuk (1993) also refers to *pragmatic faux amis*, that are words with identical or similar form and different communicative functions, mainly presenting morphologically or phonetically similar greetings in different languages with different uses or functions.

f) Cultural elements

Cultural are called by Parianou (2000: 112) the false friends that exhibit patrimonial and system-related differences. Galiñanes Gallén (2006: 6) calls this type *impure false friends* and they appear in extremely similar or identical form

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and identical meaning in the two languages. Their differentiation is subtle and associated with the cultural nuances reflected in each language. Kiss (2002: 52ff.) also refers to *cultural* false friends that show diverse facets of the cultural reality that permeates each language.

3.8 Purely typological false friends

Many authors, as we have already discussed before, do not exclude purely typological *faux amis* from their categorizations; instead they often grant them equal status with the semantic ones. As a typical example of the manner in which they present this type of false friends we could cite Breitzkreuz. In his 1991 book for the teaching of false friends between English and German he distinguishes between *semantic* that he considers a category on its own (and the only ones that can be divided in total and partial *faux amis*) and *orthographic* and *phonetic* ones with merely typological differences, such as minor differences in the way words are written and pronounced in the two languages.

Bunčić (2000) also makes an analogous distinction as Breitzkreuz and he splits typological false friends into *orthographic*, *phonological*, *structural* (in-between phonology and morphology), *morphological* and *gender differentiating*.

One of the two sub-types that Fang (2012: 82) differentiates at the phonetic level she calls *prosodic false friends*. They are the pairs that result due to the different accentuation rules for English and Spanish (the languages she investigates from the perspective of a third-language speaker, namely Taiwanese). This subtype is not characterized by semantic divergence.

Carlucci and Díaz (2007) in their categorization take into account any type of typological and semantic divergence making the semantic false friends a mere category among the many they distinguish: *prosodic* (different accent position), *orthographic*, *ortho-typographic* (connected to erroneous usage of typographic signs as well as orthography), *morphological*, *syntactic* and what they call *situational* or *usage-related*.

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Hayward and Moulin (1984: 191ff.) also postulate that false friends may be seen to exist in *purely orthographic, morphological* and *syntactic* forms, without any semantic differentiation Prado (1989: 721) agrees with regard to one of their categories, i.e. *orthography*, since he considers that apart from semantic *faux amis*, the two other types are *seudocognados ortográficos*, ‘orthographic false cognates’, i.e. words with differences in orthography; and *seudocognados morfológicos*, ‘morphological false cognates’, i.e. words with different suffixes and prefixes in the two languages. He does not include a subtype of phonetic ones, because he considers that pronunciation differences will always be inevitable between different languages.

The 1982 article by Thiemer includes purely typological false friends that he classifies into *formal* and *grammatical*. The formal, (or typological) he sees as the product of external interference and are: a) the place and people’s names that are changed in Spanish; b) of grammatical gender differences; c) of morphological, phonological and pronunciation differences.

Milan (1989: 392) also refers to typological false friends that share the same meaning but exhibit differences with regard to *morphology, orthography, stress* and *pronunciation*, as well as *grammar* (gender, the singular vs. plural distinction, auxiliary verbs), *syntax* and the *stylistic* level (or generally at a pragmatic level), *calques*.

Chamizo Domínguez (1999: 118) too makes reference to purely typological false friends as far as their origin is concerned, such as *phonetic* false friends that do not have any semantic or etymological convergence, but may “evoke the true cognates to some people’s ears”.

In what he calls the ‘broad interpretation of the definition of *faux amis*’, Lipczuk (1993) includes *morphologically* divergent (with certain regular differentiations) and *grammatical* false friends. The latter exhibit similar form but certain grammatical differences, such as in the gender of nouns.

Seelbach (2002: 14ff.) divides interlinguistic false friends into purely typological: *orthographic, phonological* and *morphological* with the corresponding differences between English and German that she centers on in the same manner

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many other authors have done before her and others will probably also do afterwards. She adds *syntactic* false friends as well, i.e. syntactic collocations that differ for example with regard to the prepositions that accompany the verb(s) in the two languages without any semantic divergence.

Heinle (1992: 326) separates *faux amis* into two big groups, one semantic and the other formal. The latter contains *gender, orthographic, morphological, stress* and *pronunciation* differences.

Parianou (2000: 92ff.) is interested in articles or suffixes and prefixes' changes between the pairs of false friends she has singled out with the result that she dedicates approximately 20 pages of her book on typological false friends and 40 on the semantic and typological differentiation of other pairs of false friends. The purely typological false friends she classifies in a) *grammatical* (accent-, gender-, number-, and part of speech-related); and b) *morphological* (word formation-, morphosyntactic- composites-, neologisms- related).

3.9 Disputed false friends' categories

It appears that many of the researchers of the phenomenon have taken to heart its broader interpretation, as it is mentioned by Fischer and Lavric (2003: 57), and include in their categorizations any kind of target language item which poses "difficulties due to mother tongue (or other foreign language) interferences". And they appear to be correct when they claim that most collections of *faux amis* list categories other than false friends in the narrow sense. Gabrovsek (1998: 166) is also of the opinion that "most linguists are likely to accept as false friends all those pairs that display an interlingual problem of meaning of whatever kind, always caused by actual or assumed surface similarity". Nevertheless, we do not consider any of the categories presented in continuation 'legitimate' false friends, despite the fact that their proposers do, because they contravene one or more of the three characteristics we have set as the criteria for our categorization (etymology, typological similarity and semantic divergence).

3. Categorization

The literature we have studied presents a variety of such problematic words but the majority of the approaches include a type that in most cases could be entered under the general heading of *inexistent words*, words that are made up by the students learning a foreign language. Milan (1989: 393) remarks that such words are based on concrete typological characteristics. Other inexistent formulations can be the product of word for word translation of idiomatic expressions and the erroneous formation of phrases – cliché that imitate the foreign language equivalent clichés.

Doval Reixa (1998: 288) calls these words *pseudofremdsprachige Wörter*, ‘pseudo-foreign language words’. Seelbach (2002: 23ff.) similarly calls them *Pseudo-Anglizismen*, that are composed of English elements, but are not themselves English expressions. Limon (2001: 32) also uses the pseudo- suffix in his *pseudo false friends* category to signify the same occurrence.

Thiemer (1982: 166ff.) includes among his categories a similar type that is the result of external interference occurring between two languages, wherein one influences the user enough to cause the production of an inexistent form or it could be due to internal interference of insufficient knowledge of the languages’ morphological system. *Fiktive*, ‘fictitious’ as well calls Lietz (1996: 92) this same category. Lipczuk (1993) also refers to one of the categories he presents as *fictive Faux amis* and this is indicative of the fact that they are fictitious and should therefore not be included in any false friends’ categorization no matter how broadly its definition might be perceived.

Bunčić (2000: 18) and Fischer and Lavric (2003: 58) call these words *barbarisms*, i.e. words that do not exist, as in the *banane*, ‘banana’¹¹⁵ used in Spanish instead of the correct *plátano*, due to interference from the German *Banane*. Fang (2012: 90) also calls this category *barbarismos*, including similar cases as the ones that Bunčić presents, in another language pair: English-Spanish.

¹¹⁵ In Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Paraguay and Uruguay according to the dictionary of the Royal Academy of Spain (<http://dle.rae.es/?id=4wIxlO6>), that would be a perfectly correct noun for the sense ‘banana’, and it would consequently be a cognate with the German *Banane*, not a *barbarism*.

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Ivir (1968: 156) on the other hand, does not follow these authors as far as nomenclature is concerned, given that he names such inexistent constructions *morphological* false friends, but the content of the term is still the same.

The rest of the disputed –by, us– categories include potential false friends, dissimilar-equivalent, reverse, loanwords, doublets, words not equally represented and interlinguistic gaps.

Lázár (1998: 85) proposes a category that he calls *potential false friends* that may be ‘activated’ under the right circumstances. They are word pairs with formal similarity sufficient to be considered false friends, but with such a disparity of meaning that they do not actually constitute such a pair, since it is not possible that they will cause problems. Although this is an interesting notion, we cannot include them, since our analysis concerns existing *faux amis*.

Gabrovšek (1998: 166) maintains that a special type of false friends is to be found in those cases where a foreign-sounding L1 item has no formally similar correspondent in a given L2, a type he labels *dissimilar-equivalent* false pairs. García Benito (2003: 46) also argues that one of the categories she presents, i.e. the one regarding words or expressions semantically similar but typologically different, is a false friends’ category.

Galiñanes Gallén (2006: 7ff.) also presents as distinct categories, what most authors include among the rest of the false friends they present: *loanwords* and *doublets*. The loanwords she refers to are specifically Italian loans in Spanish and Spanish loans in Italian, while the doublets are words in Spanish that have orthographic and -often- phonetic dissimilarity (both with Latin ancestry) and have different meaning.

The last category into which Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 71ff.) classify *faux amis* is the one they term *popular and learned doublets*, with which are meant words of different etymological ancestry, in the case of English from its Germanic roots and in the case of French from Latin, that mean the same but use different words to do so. The English doublet is usually less formal, or *popular* as they name it, while the French one is more formal drawing on its Latin past.

3. Categorization

Francesconi (2005) includes words that in one of the languages of the pair although they are actually identical, they compete semantically with other words in the same language or in the other language they are expressed by one word, while in the first they are differentiated. An illustrative example would be Spanish that distinguishes between *pez*, 'live fish' and *pescado*, 'fish that has been fished' while Italian (and Portuguese or Catalan as well) only has the *pesce* for both meanings. He also discusses what he calls *huecos interlingüísticos*, 'interlinguistic gaps'. They are notions that do not exist in one of the languages, so when the words expressing them need to be translated, the translator is obliged to choose among several words or to translate with a circumlocution that would cover the lack.

In any case, we maintain that such words cannot be included among false friends that relate to existing lexemes. The argument that all these cause confusion is a legitimate one as far the problems caused is concerned, but it does not convince us to include them in this phenomenon. They should be analyzed outside this framework, possibly in a new especially created area of linguistic inquiry.

4. Corpus-related issues

The compilation, as well as the analysis of our corpus is intertwined with issues of (dialectal) dictionary compilation and reliability, dialectal codification or standardization, as well as issues of dialect use in education and the sociolinguistic situation in general.

4.1 Dictionaries

Some of the first lexicographic works to be published in Cyprus were the glossaries compiled by the Cyprus Research Center and edited by Θεοφανώ Κυπρή¹¹⁶: in 1979 the *Γλωσσάριον Γεωργίου Λουκά*, followed by the *Γλωσσάριον Ξενοφώντος Π. Φαρμακίδου* in 1983 and the *Γλωσσάριον Ιωάννου Ερωτοκρίτου* in 1989. They may be glossaries¹¹⁷, but actually they constitute the most functional and easy to use works of Cypriot lexicography. They are the only ones that provide information and usage directions through introductory notes, indices and a list of abbreviations and they also follow consistently the rules of orthographic transcription (Κατσογιάννου 2010: 179). They may include information in their lemmas that one would not expect to find in a dictionary, such as long explanations on the use of –mostly– agricultural tools and practices, but they do include examples of usage and semantic explanations and not mere rendition of the lemmas in SMG (in contrast to most of the other dictionaries).

The work of Κωνσταντίνος Γιαγκουλλής¹¹⁸, who has compiled 8 out of the 21 dictionaries that Κατσογιάννου (2010: 180) has classified as true dialect dictionaries is important, despite its shortcomings. It could be considered innovative in its approach, especially when compared to other dictionaries of the same era (Κατσογιάννου 2010: 182). One of the impediments that any user of his

¹¹⁶ *Glossary of Georgios Louca*, followed by the *Glossary of Xenofon P. Farmacides* and the *Glossary of Ioannis Erotocritou*, all three edited by Theofano Kypru (included in our glossaries' bibliography in Greek, two of them according to their second editions).

¹¹⁷ 'An alphabetical list of words relating to a specific subject, text, or dialect, with explanations; a brief dictionary' (Oxford online dictionary).

¹¹⁸ Constantinos Yiangoullis, author of several *Thesauri of the Cypriot dialect. Explanatory and etymological of Medieval and Modern Cypriot* and other specialized dictionaries (for a more detailed discussion, cf. Κατσογιάννου, 2010). We are using almost exclusively the latest edition, namely 2014 that has minor differences with regard to the previous ones and they do not concern the semantic content or the examples used.

4. Corpus-related issues

dictionaries is bound to come across, is the existence of multiple forms, for most of the lemmas are not dealt with in a lexicographic manner¹¹⁹, i.e. by choosing consistently one type as the core lemma and always citing that in all other allomorphs. The existence of multiple forms is even more pronounced in the Παπαγγέλου (2001) dictionary where for example the lemma *ρόδουλος* ['rɔðulɔs] refers its readers to *ρώδουλος* ['rɔðulɔs], it in turn to *ρώουλος* ['rɔulɔs] which takes them to *ράουλος* ['reulɔs] which finally appears as *ράουλλος* ['reul:ɔs], meaning 'grape in grape marc' (Κατσογιάννου 2010: 185).

Another flaw we consider to be an even more pronounced disadvantage of all Cypriot dialectal dictionaries is the fact that they do not process their lemmas semantically in order to explain their meaning(s) in a manner understood by anyone who can comprehend C(S)G or SMG, but they present their user with equivalents in SMG, as if they were bilingual dictionaries. The reason for this choice is not expounded in the introduction of the dictionaries (when there is one) and it can only be surmised, as Κατσογιάννου (2010: 187) mentions, that their target audience are educated people with knowledge of SMG, probably with an interest in linguistic and/or dialectal matters who wish to access that given variety known as a dialect. Another reason is the common practice in dialectal lexicography to represent only how the 'dialect' diverges from the standard, so dictionaries such as these for the Cypriot variety function primarily as indexes of differences from the standard and do not present the actual vocabulary of the dialect.

Yet another problem is that many of these dictionaries¹²⁰ include words that are not in use today, but have been obsolete for centuries (Armosti et al. 2014: 32ff.). The end-result of this practice is that a considerable amount of words that appear in the current dictionaries are absent from the contemporary lexicon of the variety. Absent as well are everyday words that the authors probably consider simple and understood by all, apparently the same in SMG and C(S)G.

¹¹⁹ For example, in Γιαγκουλλής (2005) the verb *ροματίζω* [rɔmɛ'tizɔ] refers to *ροματίζω* [rɔmɛ'tizɔ] that is actually entered in the dictionary as middle voiced *ροματίζομαι* [rɔmɛ'tizɔmɛ] 'to see a vision [sic] in my sleep'.

¹²⁰ Except the Κυπρή glossaries (the editions we are using are 1989, 2002², 2003²) that do not claim to portray the Cypriot variety currently in use, but are compiled glossaries of mostly rural terms of a past era.

4. Corpus-related issues

Although a significant amount of overlap is to be expected, not all words that appear the same are in fact identical, as the false friends we are examining will prove.

4.2 Grammars

There are two grammars of the Cypriot variety: Newton (1972) and Χατζηιωάννου (1999). Newton's (1972) work is a descriptive grammar in English that focuses mainly on phonology and morphology and it was conceived within the generative framework. Furthermore, it is a work that was concluded in the '70s, therefore lacking in the description of the variety as it has changed due to the demographic changes brought about by the violent uprooting of thousands of Cypriots in the Turkish invasion of 1974. The emergence of a Cypriot Urban Koiné does not form part of his description. Furthermore, as a description tool it is not accessible to the majority of Cypriots, because it is written in English. Even when they know that language sufficiently well, the major obstacle for them would be that it is a research tool for linguists and other language experts with metalanguage that eludes the layperson. Notwithstanding, it is still considered the reference descriptive grammar of Cypriot Greek.

The Χατζηιωάννου (1999) grammar is written in SMG, but it is more philological than linguistic and it analyzes the Cypriot variety in terms of past decades' grammatical analysis of SMG. His grammar also lacks syntactical analysis and the geo-linguistic distribution of its reported regional variants is not consistently presented. Contemporary systematic descriptive grammars with analysis on all linguistic levels are lacking despite the fact that they are necessary for the codification of the variety, should that at some time be deemed expedient.

We have consulted them, whenever it was seen as necessary, but since our analysis does not center on the grammatical properties of the false friends' pair, and such grammatical analysis is beyond the scope of this dissertation, we do not base our conclusions regarding our corpus on them. Still we believe that we would be amiss not to mention these important publications in a tentative lexicographic approach, such as our own.

4. Corpus-related issues

4.3 Graphic system

C(S)G has not been standardized and its potential standardization as an official language, does not appear to be desired by the vast majority of Greek Cypriots, due to the complex sociolinguistic, ideological and political situation in Cyprus. Standardization has not been promoted even in the narrow sense of a writing system codification (Arvaniti 2010; Armosti et al. 2014: 23), which has led to many related problems. Nevertheless, the need to codify the variety's writing system is becoming widely acknowledged by scholars and to some degree by the public: in a survey conducted by Papadima and Kafaridou (2008: 55, in Armosti et al. 2014: 31), "68% of the participants stated that the designing of special characters for the accurate transcription of Cypriot Greek is important". Still the politicians fear the ideological impediments placed on any type of standardization, since it might be regarded as an anti-Hellenic move insinuating that the C(S)G varies in any way from the standard of Greece.

Although the C(S)G is nowadays an oral variety, as early as in medieval times, it had been used as the medium for a prolific –by the standards of that time– literary production comprising for example, legislative texts, such as the *Ασσιζες* [e's:izɛs] (Frankish laws translated in the vernacular), and the Chronicles of Machairas and Boustron, as well as love sonnets¹²¹ (Varella 2006; Armosti et al. 2014; ΚΕΓ 1999: 215). It is written in modern times by all the authors who wish to express themselves in their mother tongue, such as the 19th century poets Michaelides and Lipertis, or the 20th century poets Liasidis and Montis, as well as the 20th century novelists Smyrli, Polydorou, Ioannidou Adamidou, Roditis, or theatrical plays' authors Koukidis and Montis¹²², etc. The graphic systems they used may follow some standard previously proposed or may have been created ad hoc for every communicative instance, either by the authors themselves, or by the publishing companies¹²³.

¹²¹ Named *Πίμες αγάπης*, 'Poems of Love'.

¹²² To name but a few of the authors whose novels we have used to extract examples of usage for the false friends of our corpus or who use the C(S)G or even more basilectal forms in their work, when they let their Cypriot characters express themselves.

¹²³ Very often with problematic choices that do not reflect the phonology nor the morphology of C(S)G.

4. Corpus-related issues

In the 21st century, electronic communication, namely mobile phone text messaging and the internet media (online chat, email, social connection media, weblogs), is the area in which the contemporary Cypriot variety thrives in a written form, especially in synchronous communication, that resembles oral speech. The alphabet used in these communication instances is the Roman that can represent sounds that do not exist in SMG and are not satisfactorily represented by the Greek alphabet. Weblogs function as online diaries or informative articles and bloggers often consciously choose to post entire blog entries or all of their entries written in the Cypriot variety using the Greek alphabet (e.g., pastakarvouna.blogspot.com; diasporos.blogspot.com; *Aceras Anthropophorum*¹²⁴, etc.). Two unexpected areas in which the Cypriot variety is used orally and then transcribed are the courtrooms and the House of Representatives, since C(S)G or even more basilectal forms may be occasionally used in oral speech there (Armosti et al. 2014: 27ff.).

For the orthographic representation of the Cypriot vernacular, many norms have been used over the centuries¹²⁵. They can be summarized with regard to the way they represent the C(S)G sounds that do not exist in SMG in three categories: i) by using diacritics above or below Greek alphabet characters; ii) by proposing various novel combinations of Greek characters without diacritics; or iii) proposals that embed Latin characters in words written in the Greek alphabet. Recently two (ortho)graphic or writing systems have been proposed: the Coutsougera and Georgiou (2006) system and the Συντυσίές [sindi'fɛs] project.

The writing system advanced by the two scholars proposed that the Greek orthography be adopted but enhanced with diacritics for the C(S)G-specific consonants. Their goal is to diverge from SMG orthography as much as would be necessary in order to maintain *transparency* and adhere to *systematicity*. They add diacritics over and below consonants presenting a rather complex and even complicated phonetics-based system. They recommend that the resulting from synizesis /ɿ/ be graphically represented at all times and when the synizesis results in a consonant, like in the case of [ɿ:] and [ɿ:], to represent it graphically

¹²⁴ They are some of the most consistent weblogs in the use of the Cypriot variety and among those we have resorted to for examples, often enough.

¹²⁵ For a more detailed discussion, see Armosti et al. 2014: 29.

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with a double consonant, even if the underlying structure is not a double /pɛ'ɲɲie/ = ⟨παννιά⟩, but also /le'moɲɲie/ = ⟨λεμόννια⟩.

The writing system proposed by the team of linguists from the Συντυοῖές project was also based on the principles of systematicity and phonetic transparency and it took into account the phonological information that is included in the orthography. The project team opted also to minimize phonetic divergence from SMG orthography. The writing system it purported is one that greatly approximates or even virtually coincides with certain existing proposals, such as the one advanced by the Greek Communal Chamber and the ones used by the dictionaries of Χατζηιωάννου (1996) and Γιαγκουλλής (2009). The team also took into account “the acceptability and usability of the system by native speakers” (Armosti et al. 2014: 36), and it investigated the writing trends of 155 Greek Cypriot teachers that not only accepted the conventions employed by the project but were also able to learn them. The writing system adopted and proposed is one that: a) systematically represents post-alveolar consonants with the use of a combining caron<̣>over them; b) only uses [i] when it is the end-result of a phonologically and etymologically explained synizesis; and c) follows the phonetic tendency in the rendition of post-alveolar consonants, instead of using the velars <χ, κ> (Αρμοστή et al. 2012; Αρμοστής et al. 2016).

We have chosen to adopt the Συντυοῖές project writing system, not only for the parameters analyzed above, which pertain to the phonetic and systematic constraints we consider relevant for our analysis, but also because there is a consistent proximity to the SMG phonological rendition and relative simplicity. Practical considerations have also factored in this choice undoubtedly, since a special keyboard layout (designed by Charalambos Themistocleous) that is available at the project website facilitates typing with these conventions and it is possibly the only way in which typing C(S)G is unfailingly possible.

4.4 SMG and C(S)G in the educational system

The lack of political will for the codification of the Cypriot variety impacts on all aspects of relevant language and/or dialect research, as well as on the education

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The educational setting circumstances may not appear to be connected to our corpus, but they do have a bearing on it. Neither teachers of the primary and the secondary education, nor students are aware of the false friends existing between the standard variety taught at school and the variety used every day by all Greek Cypriots (regardless of any differences due to the particular sub-variety spoken). This impacts on knowledge of both varieties and we believe that in the future our analysis could become the means to more C(S)G awareness and better SMG knowledge.

The teaching of Greek in Cyprus and its education in general are associated with either civic nationalist approaches (Cyprocentrism) or ethnic nationalist approaches (Hellenocentrism) to the identity of Greek Cypriots, as they manifest themselves in the educational system. The Hellenic-centered education is expressed by the cultivation through educational means of a strong belief in the Greek national traditions and culture, to which Cyprus is considered to belong not only due to bonds of origin, blood, but also language and religion¹²⁶. The Cypro-centric education focuses on the common Cypriot characteristics of Greek and Turkish Cypriots emphasizing a peace-oriented education that aims to unite the island, while at the same time promoting technical and science-oriented education and subjects, not only humanistic ones (Karoulla-Vrikki 2009: 188 and 2007; Persianis 1994-1995).

The language of education in Cypriot state schools is the SMG which is associated with prestige and status, while the Cypriot variety is the vernacular associated with informality and diminished prestige. There are educators who question the ability of the C(S)G to cover the communicative needs of its speakers in contrast to the H variety (Pavlou and Papapavlou 2007: 2; Τσιπλάκου and Χατζηιωάννου 2009: 1). Nevertheless, the L variety also receives a positive evaluation from its speakers in terms of solidarity, authenticity and identity, while the standard is often viewed as distant and artificial. This duality may be a source of problems for both teachers and students which have not been sufficiently and adequately

¹²⁶ It was introduced by the first Minister of Education, Dr. Constantinos Spyridakis partly as a means of countering the influence of the previous colonial administration that had organized the educational system in such a manner as to anglicize the Greeks of Cyprus.

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addressed by the authorities for many years (Pavlou and Papapavlou 2007: 2; Ioannidou 2014: 221).

Classroom discourse in Greek Cypriot classrooms that was studied by Τσιπλάκου (2007) and Ioannidou and Sophocleous (2010) gave ample proof that both varieties are without fail used in the classroom both by the teachers and the students. In fact, although the Ministry of Education and Culture of Cyprus has issued directives banning the use of the Cypriot variety from the class, each variety is used consistently to fulfill different functions and pedagogic purposes. Ioannidou (2014: 222) defines SMG as the variety mostly “associated with content-based and actual lesson-related activities, i.e. when the teachers pose questions and explain concepts related to the text under study”. The same teachers, who used SMG (or actually C(S)G in imitation of SMG) in the class, would discuss with their colleagues or admonish students in their mother tongue. But even in class, when they commented on content, explained notions or repeated instructions, reacted to mistakes or showed their sentiments, they showed a marked preference for the Cypriot variety (Ioannidou 2007: 172ff.)

The students, on the other hand, in trying to comply with the norm, converged towards SMG by including more standard variants in their speech or by avoiding the basilectal features of the dialect (Τσιπλάκου, 2007). In addition, the Cypriot variety was consistently used by the students in all other occasions of communication and especially when they spoke with their peers.

However, Ioannidou (2009) in another study she conducted, showed that the co-existence of the two varieties in the context of the classroom is fraught with tensions and the relationship between the two is not as straight-forward as we might think, since there are multiple aspects that one may not relate without any doubt to only one communicative context or instance. Furthermore, the relationship between the two, be that what may, complicates the situation even more, because it renders the correlation of the two varieties complex for both the students and the teachers.

Issues of language and education are also political in essence and ideologically interconnected. The educational policies were based on the rationale that Greek

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Cypriots must be educated in the same way as the motherland Greeks and they should learn the pan-Hellenic language that is their language and a symbol of their Hellenic identity. Although the promotion of SMG is to be expected up to a point in the public sector and in publicly funded education, the result of such promotion need not have been to completely demonize or ostracize the Cypriot variety from the school realm (Ioannidou, 2007: 167).

4.5 Corpus compilation

Gathering the examples has been a long and tedious process that lasted several years. The corpus we have compiled is mainly from written texts, but oral speech has not been overlooked either. Every usage of the false friends we have come across orally we have intended to corroborate with a written text and, when that was possible, with a dictionary entry.

At the same time, we have also resorted to native speakers and their intuition via the creation of an online group. The members of the group belonged mainly to the 25-40 age group and then to the 40-55 age group. They come from all the regions of the island, but they have been living in the capital for several years and their perception of the Cypriot variety may have changed. The questions that arose in the course of our research were put to the group and clarified by the members.

We also consulted the Cypriot variety dictionaries that comply more with this characterization, as well the two most well-known dictionaries for Standard Modern Greek. All the dictionaries are presented in a separate section of the Bibliography and the two SMG ones are the Triandafyllides Foundation dictionary we have termed Λ KN and the dictionary by the Professor of Linguistics, Georgios Babiniotes that we have termed Λ NEΓ (both acronyms of their titles). Of the two we rely mainly on the Λ KN dictionary, not only for thoroughness-related reasons, but for practical ones as well, since it was the only

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free-access online dictionary¹²⁷. The ANEF was also consulted, but only divergence from the semantic processing of the online dictionary is noted and remarked upon. At the time we began analyzing the pairs in our corpus, there were few reliable dictionaries we could use in general. Among them, they were the most reliable, because they were the result of many years of group work accomplished by scientists following lexicographic standards. Since we began our research, the dictionary of the Academy of Athens has been published, and we refer to it in cases where we wish to dispel any doubts or ambiguities.

Many of the lemmas in our corpus do not appear in most of the C(S)G dictionaries we consulted. Although we cannot claim to be certain of reason(s) for this lack, we speculate that the first and foremost among them is the fact that these words are not morphologically divergent from their SMG cognates causing the authors of these dictionaries to believe that the SMG meanings are also shared by their C(S)G counterparts. Also, these authors, like the majority of the C(S)G speakers, ignore the existence of the false friends' phenomenon and consider that similarity or even identification of form signifies identification of meaning.

As regards the examples in our corpus, it should be noted that when they were found in a written form, they were presented unaltered, without any orthographic, morphological, phonological or other type of change that might have been deemed necessary otherwise. Many of the examples in our corpus, especially those found on the Internet, have spelling mistakes that we have restrained from correcting in any manner. We have chosen to abstain from any form of correction and simply present language as it appears online and provide the website where every example was accessed.

In novels by Greek Cypriot authors, the dialogues often are in C(S)G or even more basilectal varieties and since the variety has not been codified and does not have an accepted graphic system we have maintained the one employed by the author or the publishing house. If the examples were found in written resources, books, newspapers, or any other form of written speech, it is duly recorded in every

¹²⁷ A publishing house, Patakis publishers the past few months has granted online access to the dictionary that it is compiling, but it has not yet concluded work on all its lemmas.

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instance and a separate data collecting bibliography is provided in an appendix. When the false friends were employed orally, they were rendered in a written form in accordance with the standard proposed and used by the website of Συντυδιές and the team behind it (Armosti et al. 2014; Αρμωστής et al. 2016).

An important aspect of the analysis has been the division of the senses with which the lemmas are being used exclusively in SMG from those that are actually common to the two varieties. The exclusively C(S)G meanings were more readily separated from the rest, due to the existence of methodological tools (dictionaries and corpora) for SMG, even if at times there might exist some degree of uncertainty. The main difficulty for all the C(S)G speakers consulted was between the first two categories referred, since contact¹²⁸ between the two varieties is bound to blur the lines between them, especially where there are no overt dialectal markers between the two lemmas. We have ascribed the meanings according to the intuition of the speakers consulted, as well as our own, and we hope that such insubstantial evidence as there is, will not prove us wrong.

4.6. Corpus presentation

The false friends' pairs have been ascribed to the appropriate category and subcategory of our categorization in the following chapter according to our analysis. First are presented the purely semantic, then the semantic and typological in their various subcategories and lastly the pragmatic false friends. Purely typological and disputed categories we have not included in our analysis, because we do not consider them *faux amis*, the first for their lack of a semantic component and the latter for lack of typological convergence or existence.

The data are presented in the same format for all, with the SMG lemma in the upper left corner accompanied by its phonetic transcription and the grammatical

¹²⁸ The teaching of SMG at school, its use in literature by Greek Cypriot authors, in the media, in movies and series, in national celebrations and officious gatherings, as well as the intense contact brought about by many Greek Cypriots studying or working in Greece in the past few decades and the influx of mainland Greeks lately due to the economic crisis, have contributed to increased linguistic contact.

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category in the upper right corner of the page. The SMG lemmas are also the ones on which the alphabetical sequence in each category is based, due to the directionality of the pairs. The C(S)G lemma is underneath the SMG, also accompanied by its phonetic transcription, as well as any relevant allomorph or other pertinent grammatical or phonetic information

The lemmas are followed by the meanings, which are also presented firstly for the SMG and lastly for the C(S)G. Between them are placed the meanings that are common to the two varieties. The SMG and the common meanings are presented without any examples due to space-related reasons and because they are well documented and do not need further exemplification. Should one wish to dwell more on these, they may be consulted online at the Δ KN website or the Δ NET dictionary in hard copy.

The C(S)G meanings are rendered first, accompanied by reference to dictionary entries –if there are such entries– and then the examples relating to the sense proposed along with either the initials of the person who used them, or the written source they are from. After the one-word lemmas have been presented, are placed the phraseological ones. Under this heading we are including all the collocations, idioms, proverbs and set phrases the core word of which is the C(S)G lemma. We only include those that are current coin discarding those that do not appear often, such as the majority of proverbs that lie almost totally forgotten We have decided not to analyze them separately, since most of them do not have a typological equivalent in SMG that is a prerequisite for all authors interested in phraseological false friends. We regard these *faux amis* within the context of lemmas and they usually do not exhibit false friends' characteristics only at the level of phraseologisms.

The analysis of any singular characteristics or the dictionary entries are discussed beneath the C(S)G senses. This analysis includes any features of the lemmas we consider pertinent and we believe that will shed some light either on the etymology and the linguistic path followed by the word, or on the false friends' relationship of the pair.

4. Corpus-related issues

Last we present in bold letters whether the pair is total or partial and the category we have decided on followed by reference to the type of Venn diagrams that would have represented the relations between the lemmas.

The main grammatical categories included in the corpus are nouns (n.), adjectives (adj.), adverbs (adv.) and verbs (v.). In very few instances have we encountered false friends among the conjunctions, and when we did, we analyzed them too. Masculine nouns are accompanied by the abbreviation (masc.), feminine by the abbreviation (fem.) and neuter by the abbreviation (neut.). Adjectives in SMG and C(S)G usually have all three genders. Whenever the corpus refers to an adjective, it will be presented in the masculine gender, in the nominative and all other genders and cases will be implied by it. If it is necessary in one of the entries, other specifics and explanations will be provided.

In Modern Greek the nouns and adjectives make up the nominative class and occasionally adjectives can become nouns. In set phrases, such as *η αυτόματη κατσαρόλα* [i#e'ftɔmɛti#kɛtsɐ'rɔlə] 'pressure cooker', the noun is often omitted and the adjective retains the article of the noun it used to accompany thus becoming a noun. This has happened in the above set phrase that has been replaced by the feminine noun *η αυτόματη* [i#e'ftɔmɛti] which now means 'pressure cooker'. In such cases, we nominally describe the lemma as adjective and explain the nounification process in each case.

5. Corpus categorization and analysis

The categorization we propose is based partly on the proposal(s) made by previous investigators, but it also takes into account the findings from our corpus and it is based to a significant degree on the way in which we presented the overview of previous classifications in ch. 3.

Our first category is the *purely semantic* one consisting of false friends that coincide at all levels of linguistic analysis, except the semantic. Since our *faux amis* are intralinguistic, it forms a category with abundantly more numerous cases than it would have been possible if they were interlinguistic false friends.

The second group that is the largest one is comprised by *semantically divergent and typologically convergent false friends* and incorporates all linguistic levels. In the case of our intralinguistic pairs, we differentiate between *phonetic, morphological, grammatical, syntactic, phraseological* and *multiple* (characterized by differentiation in any two or more linguistic analysis levels). The phonetic level encompasses all false friends that show phonetic differentiation between the two varieties, without being accompanied by morphological differentiation, since orthographically they appear identical. All morphological false friends are by necessity also phonetic, because, when a lemma changes at the morphological level, it automatically changes phonetically. Instead of placing them under multiple, we include them in this category, since there can be no purely morphological convergence. Among phraseological we place false friends that diverge on any case of phraseologisms, although they are mostly included in multiple. In the last sub-category we include not only false friends belonging to more than one of these subcategories, but any kind of multiple simultaneous categorization

The third category entails *pragmatic false friends* that may or may not be accompanied by semantic as well as pragmatic divergence. Stylistic or register-related differentiations, connotative, contextual, cultural or use-related cases of false friends we consider pragmatic *faux amis*.

The *purely typological* and the *disputed false friends* we have not included in our categorization, because we do not consider them false friends. The first are

5. Corpus categorization and analysis

excluded, because they do not exhibit any semantic divergence and that contravenes one of the criteria that make up the foundations of our classification. The latter do not comply with the other criteria, since they may be semantically divergent, but they are also typologically divergent, being the exact opposite of the purely typological.

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

5.1 Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **αγύριστος** [e'jiristos]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **αγύριστος** [e'jiristos]

SMG meaning(s):

1. said about sb. whose opinion, course, mind, etc. cannot be changed (phr.) *αγύριστο κεφάλι*, stubborn person, one that does not change his mind.
- 2a. said about sth. or sb. from where there can be no return.
- 2b. (phr.) *δανεικά κι αγύριστα*, for a debt that it is not possible that it will ever be repaid.
- 2c. (as a noun) *ο αγύριστος*, death and by extension the devil.
- 2d. (as a curse) *πήγαινε / άί στον αγύριστο*, go to hell. [μσν. αγύριστος (στη σημ. 1) < α-¹ γυρισ- (γυρίζω) -τος]

C(S)G meaning(s):

sth. of immense size, so much so that it is not easy to walk all of it.

Ex.: *Ενώ τώρα και η γυναίκα του Μακρίδη του δικηγόρου θα τη δεχτεί και του Γιναξιά με τα τσιφλίκια τ' αγύριστα.* (Σμυρλή 1997: 23)

Analysis:

The semantic origin of the C(S)G adjective is probably from the verb *γυρίζω* [ji'rizo], one meaning of which is 'to roam'. This adjective is absolutely identical morphologically and phonetically in SMG and C(S)G and is perceived as semantically identical as well, therefore it does not appear in any of the C(S)G dictionaries we have consulted.

Its classification as a total false friend is the one we propose, but we could not claim absolute certainty in this regard, because one of the collocations that appear in the SMG dictionary, *δανεικά κι αγύριστα* [ðeni'ke#ki#e'γiriste] (that does not have a translational equivalent and could be rendered 'money borrowed and never expected to be returned') is possibly also used by C(S)G speakers. Due to the extreme proximity of the two varieties, as well as the contact that permeates the C(S)G to a large extent, a vast proportion of their lexicon is shared.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **αδρός** [e'ðrɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **αδρός** [e'ðrɔs]

SMG meaning(s):

1. crude and rugged (facial characteristics).
2. broad and clear (lines).
3. lavish, high (remuneration).

Common meaning(s):

(for fruits and nuts) large, sizable of construction or physique.

C(S)G meaning(s):

large, of big size or physique (Κυπρή 2002: 15, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 18, Σακελλαρίου 1891b: 432).

Ex.: *Πέθανε στη γέννα, ενώ σφιγγόταν να το βγάλει. Ήταν ένα όμορφο αδρό κοριτσάκι.* (Πολυδώρου 2009: 349)

Τόσο αδρό μωρό είχε χρόνια να ξεγεννήσει. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 159)

Analysis:

The Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 31) dictionary mentions only an 'old' meaning for which he provides an example from the medieval Assizes (corroborated by the Κριαράς online). It is obvious that the Γιαγκουλλής dictionary is presenting an obsolete meaning, different from the current (although somewhat antiquated) meanings of the C(S)G adjective. The Κυπρή glossaries provide two different meanings (with relevant examples): 'full, ripe, large', usually for cereals (1989: 312); and 'full, fat, strong' both for the face and cereals as well (2002: 15). The Παπαγγέλου (2001: 18) dictionary and the Σακελλαρίου (1891b: 432) text present the same meanings.

In SMG, the adjective has two different meanings, one in common with C(S)G usually with regard to cereals or nuts and one that the C(S)G speakers do not use: the metaphorical one that denotes i) facial characteristics (meaning specialization, since it does not refer to the size of the face, but only to the facial characteristics), ii) sth. general and easy to see and iii) lavish pay. In the C(S)G, the context is broader and literal. It also has a further meaning in C(S)G,, that of 'robust' extended to the physique in general.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **αερικός** [εερι'κος]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **αερικός** [εερι'κος]

SMG meaning(s):

related to gases, gaseous, aerial: *Αερικό θερμόμετρο.* [λόγ. *αέρ(ιον) -ικός*].

C(S)G meaning(s):

airy, well-ventilated.

Ex.: *Καλοκραώ σε βασιλιτζια σκαλίζω σε ποτίζω σε, σε τόπο βάλλω σε **αερικό** ολόφωτο καλά θέλω πάντα νάσαι να σε θωρώ να σιέρομε (sic), τζιαι με την ωραία σου μυρωθκιά τα κακά να θκιώχνεις μακρά.*
(http://www.kypriaki.com/cyprusdialect/page5_09.htm)

*Το σπίτι είναι βέβαια μεγάλο και **αερικό** και μπορούν να κάθονται μέσα στη σάλα χωρίς να ιδρώνουν.* (Σμυρλή 1997: 67)

Analysis:

The ΔKN online dictionary presents the 'airy' meaning of C(S)G, but notes that it is colloquial and possibly antiquated, while the ΔNEΓ does not include it, which leads us to believe that it is not merely antiquated, but obsolete (the ΔKN occasionally retains meanings that have disappeared from the language or may be remnants of older or dialectal usage). Furthermore, the third dictionary we are consulting, the ΧΔNEΓ does not even include the lemma. The medieval dictionary of Κριαράς also has the C(S)G meaning, so it is clear that the reason behind this false friends' pair is that linguistic change occurs later in C(S)G, when it does occur, since this variety is considered more conservative with regard to change than the SMG.

Due to the fact that this is a purely semantic false friends' pair, identical in every other aspect, except the semantic, it is not surprising that it is not included in any of our C(S)G dictionary sources.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **ακαδημαϊκός** [εκεδιμει'κός] Grammatical category: adj.¹²⁹

C(S)G lemma: **ακαδημαϊκός** [εκεδιμει'κός]

SMG meaning(s):

a permanent member of the Academy¹³⁰.

C(S)G meaning(s):

University professor (all ranks).

Ex.: *Χωρίς ούτε και μία φορά να γίνει αναφορά στο όνομά του, ο ακαδημαϊκός Άνδρος Καπαρδής, τον οποίο σθεναρά υποστήριξε ο Πρόεδρος της Δημοκρατίας [...] για διορισμό του στη θέση του επιτρόπου Διοικήσεως, απορρίφθηκε χθες από την Ολομέλεια της Βουλής με 34 ψήφους κατά και μόλις 116 ψήφους υπέρ. (newsp. Σημερινή)*

Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου, Υπηρεσία Σπουδών και Φοιτητικής Μέριμνας, Οδηγός Χρήσεως BannerWeb για Ακαδημαϊκούς (<http://www.ucy.ac.cy/data/acafsw/BannerInfo/FacultyUserGuide-gr.pdf>)

Analysis:

The lemma in SMG is a lexicalized noun that has evolved from an adjective and it only has one, very specific semantic assignment, that of the Academy member. In Cyprus there is no Academy and therefore the SMG meaning could not possibly refer to any such referent in the Cypriot reality. The core meaning of the adjective from which the noun was derived is 'related to the academia or the University' and has come to be almost completely lexicalized in C(S)G. In Cyprus, it has almost completely replaced the phrase that is most common in Greece, i.e. *καθηγητής Πανεπιστημίου* [κεθιγι'tis#penepisti'miu], 'University professor' (meaning any rank) and the noun that has been derived from the adjective is *πανεπιστημιακός* [penepistimiε'kός]. One possible explanation for this divergence in usage and not only on the semantic level could be the first law drafted concerning the establishment of the University of Cyprus¹³¹. It makes reference 24 times to the adjective *ακαδημαϊκός* and only 3 to the adjective *πανεπιστημιακός*. The adjective *ακαδημαϊκός* in SMG shares its semantic content

¹²⁹ It is very common in the Greek language in general to turn an adjective into a noun by adopting usu. the masculine or the neuter article as the only article to express it, or by dropping the noun it refers to in a standardized set phrase which remains implied, until the former adjective is fully lexicalized as a noun. In the latter nounification process, the nounified adjective adopts the article of the dropped n. as its own. In this case, both senses and grammatical categories coexist at this point in time.

¹³⁰ In the sense of the Academy of Letters and Arts, created in imitation of the French Academy, an institution that exists in many countries, considered the highest authority on matters of humanistic sciences.

¹³¹ (http://www.cylaw.org/nomoi/indexes/1989_1_144.html).

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

with the equivalent adjective in C(S)G and it is quite possible that the predilection of the jurists and administration clerks who drafted that first law led to the lexicalization of that notion and not the one mostly used in Greece.

This noun started being used widely in the decades following the establishment of the University of Cyprus and given that it typologically coincides fully, being a purely semantic false friend, the C(S)G dictionaries ignore it in their erroneous belief that it also coincides semantically.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **ακαθαροσία** [εκεθε'rsie]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **ακαθαροσία** [εκεθερ'sie]

SMG meaning(s):

uncleanliness, lack of cleanliness; dirtiness, dirt [λόγ. < αρχ. *άκαθαροσία*].

Common meaning(s):

(usually pl.) human or animal feces [λόγ. < αρχ. *άκαθαροσία*].

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. (usually pl.) garbage, waste material.

Ex.: *Ο χώρος μπροστά από τα διατηρητέα κτήρια της επαρχιακής διοίκησης Λάρνακας έχει καταστεί στέκι νεαρών που επιδίδονται στο άθλημα του σκέιτμπορντ, με αποτέλεσμα εκτός από τις **ακαθαροσίες** που εγκαταλείπουν στο μέρος σχεδόν κάθε μέρα, με τις σανίδες τους να καταστρέφουν τα πλακάκια και τα μάρμαρα. (newsp. Πολίτης)*

***Ακαθαροσίες** στην περιοχή Λουτρών της Αφροδίτης (τίτλος) Το Κίνημα Οικολόγων Περιβαλλοντιστών (Επαρχιακή Επιτροπή Πάφου) έχει εντοπίσει ότι στην περιοχή των Λουτρών της Αφροδίτης (Κοινότητα Νέο Χωριό Πάφου) έχει γίνει συσσώρευση σκουπιδιών και άχρηστων υλικών. (<http://www.greenpartycy.com/el/our-news/press-releases/702-a220610-akatharsies-stin-perioxi-loutron-tis-afroditis.html>)*

2. (metaph.) trash, rubbish.

Ex.: *Εξαπόλυσε τον Χριστόφκιαν, τον Παπαδόπουλλον, τον Μακάριον, τον Γρίβαν τζιαι τους άλλους νοητούς ογράκους που στοισιώννουν την ύπαρξην του, τζι έπιασε τωρά την **ακαθαροσίαν** των τουρκοκυπρίων. (<http://www.epanenosi.com/index.php/archives/1243>)*

Analysis:

This lemma has a solely SMG meaning that does not seem to belong to the lexicon of C(S)G, while at the same time there is one meaning common to both varieties. The two lemmas are phonetically and morphologically identical, but as regards semantics, the C(S)G noun is less restrictive semantically than its counterpart, since that denotes 'dirtiness, lack of cleanliness' or 'dirt'. The C(S)G noun means 'garbage' or 'waste material' as is attested by the explanation offered for the title in the second example for meaning (1) and it is mainly used in the plural. Both nouns share the meaning of 'human or animal feces'.

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

This false friend is attested by the Κριαράς online dictionary that it appeared with the sense of ‘sth. that is useless, redundant’ and the change from this meaning to (1) for the C(S)G is not difficult to imagine, especially if combined with the *άχρηστος* [ˈɛxɾistos] (lit. ‘useless’, metaph. ‘garbage’) lemma included in our corpus as well. Something that is useless or redundant can easily be considered ‘waste’.

None of the C(S)G dictionaries includes this lemma, probably due to lack of overt morphological or phonetic C(S)G markers.

Type: **partial** semantic friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **βαλίτσα** [ve'litse]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **βαλίτσα** [ve'lits^h:e]

SMG meaning(s):

(phr.) *πάει μακριά η ~*, said for sth. that takes a disproportionately long time.

Common meaning(s):

1a. suitcase.

1b. everything that fits in a suitcase.

2. *βαλιτσάκι*: (dim.) a small case in general and more concretely a tool case.

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. schoolbag.

Ex.: *Την Τρίτη που εννά πάμεν περίπατο, δεν θα φέρετε **βαλίτσες**.* (C.P.)

*Μάμμα, θέλω **βαλίτσα** με ρόδες!* (O.P.)

2. briefcase.

Ex.: *Επήρα του μίαν δερμάτινην **βαλίτσαν** για την δουλειάν του.* (Y.P.)

*Στο δημόσιο ο εκπαιδευτικός είναι ΔΕΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΥΠΟΛΟΓΟΣ στο γονιό ο οποίος επίσης πληρώνει (φόρους). Αν είσαι σκάρτος καθηγητής στο ιδιωτικό πιάννεις την **βαλιτσούα**¹³² σου τζιαι πάεις σπίτι. (<http://xenihtikonwordpress.com/2009/05/11/%CE%BF%CE%B5%CE%BB%CE%BC%CE%B5%CE%BA-go-home/>)*

Analysis:

Only the Παπαγγέλου dictionary (2001: 143) presents one of the common meanings, while all the other meanings are absent. The rest of the C(S)G dictionaries do not include the noun among their lemmas.

The lemma is a loan from one of the Italian dialects, probably from a form **valicia*(?), because the Italian standard renders it as *valigia*, while dialectally it appears as *balicia* and both lemmas are probably the result of borrowing of the unattested form. Whether both varieties borrowed it directly from the Italian

¹³² It should be noted that in this example the noun is used in its diminutive form in order to convey pejorative or ironic connotations that are related with the whole of the example referring to bad teachers being forced to take their briefcase and go home, if they are employed in the private sector in contrast to what happens in the public sector, where they are not assessed.

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source or one borrowed it first and then the other from its cognate variety, cannot be concluded without any doubt.

The C(S)G form has undergone further linguistic change since it entered the variety and it seems to signify in general 'any kind of bag larger than the average women's bag but smaller than a suitcase, nevertheless capable of holding a significant amount of objects, usually books and stationery'.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: βλέπω ['vlepo]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: βλέπω ['vlepo]

Common meaning(s):

- 1a. to see.
- 1b. (phr.) *όποιος έχει μάτια, βλέπει*, said for sth. that is crystal clear.
- 2a. to perceive with the eyes; discern visually.
- 2b. *δες, βλέπε* (and abbreviation) *βλ., 'cf.'* used for citation.
- 2c. (phr.) *δε ~ την ώρα*, to look forward to sth.
- 2d. (phr.) *~ μακριά*, to be very perceptive, insightful.
- 2e. (phr.) *~ κπ. ή κτ. με / από καλό / κακό μάτι*, for benevolent or malevolent disposition towards sth. or sb.
- 2f. (phr.) *~ τον ουρανό σφοντύλι*, to get hit and feel dizzy or to feel dizzy after being emotionally hit by unexpected news.
3. (metaph., inan, 3rd pers. sing.) pointed to one direction
4. to perceive, locate, discern sb. or sth. with my eyes.
5. (main for viewing) to watch a spectacle.
- 6a. (metaph.) (doctor) to examine a patient.
- 6b. (metaph.) keep an eye out for sth. or sb., watch over.
- 6c. (metaph.) be in contact with, visit sb.
- 6d. (metaph.) to meet sb.
- 6e. (proverb) *Μάτια που δε βλέπονται, γρήγορα λησμονιούνται*, out of sight, out of mind.
- 6f. (metaph.) to know sb.
- 6g. (phr.) ¹³³ *κάπου σ' είδα, κάπου μ' είδες ορ πού σε είδα, πού με είδες ορ πού σε είδα, πού σε ξέρω*, said for a passing memory of encounter or mainly to show indifference.

¹³³ There are many phraseologisms with the v. 'to see' that we have decided not to analyse here, since they do not have any bearing on the analysis we are attempting. We chose to concentrate mainly on those we believe are most commonly used and relate most to our thesis. For more

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

- 7a. to be or become aware of sth., perceive, discover.
- 7b. *Βλέπεις / είδες;*, as a confirmation
- 7c. *Δες*, you ought to know or take into into account.
- 7d. (as a threat) *Θα δεις!:* *Θα δεις τι θα πάθεις / τι θα σου κάνω / τι σε περιμένει!* , you 'll see!
- 7e. to form an opinion, view regarding sth., judge, assess, estimate.
- 7f. express a prediction, an assessment.
- 7g. (pers.) treat sb. in a certain manner, as if (s)he is sth. in particular.
- 8a. to investigate, examine, think about an issue, a case.
- 8b. (phr.) *βλέποντας και κάνοντας*, without a plan in advance.
- 8c. to check, examine.
- 9a. to experience personally (events, situations).
- 9b. (phr.) *είδα κι απέιδα*, to feel tires, disappointed, frustrated (after a series of unsuccessful efforts). [αρχ. *βλέπω· είδα:* μσν. *είδα* < αρχ. *εἶδ(ον)* ἀόρ. του ὄρω ἔβλεπω, αντιλαμβάνομαι με την ὄραση', μεταπλ. κατά τους άλλους αορ. σε -α, π.χ. *έγραψα*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

to take care of sb.; to look after sb. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 126)

Ex.: *Να λαλείς πως emήνυσε μας ο θκειος σου που την Χώρα πως εν άρρωστος, έσειε μας ανάγκη τζιαι τζιέινος τζι η γεναίκα του. – Εν έσειε παιδικιά, μάμμα να τους **δουν**;* (Πολυδώρου 2003: 167)

*Ο θείος μου δουλεύκει ούλλη μέρα, κυρία. Μόνον emένα έχουν να τους **δω**.* (Πολυδώρου 2008: 359)

Analysis:

In C(S)G and SMG exist three verbs that express the action of seeing: *βλέπω* ['vlepo], *θωρώ* [θo'ro] and *κοιτά(ζ)ω* [ci'te(z)o]. The senses of *βλέπω* ['vlepo] are common in the two varieties and have been expounded above. The verb *κοιτά(ζ)ω* [ci'tezɔ] expresses the same meanings with the verb 'look' in English. The third verb could be considered a false friend on the level of register and frequency of use. In Greece *θωρώ* [θo'ro] is rarely used in the SMG, it is

details, cf. http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/modern_greek/tools/lexica/triantafyllides/search.html?lq=%CE%B2%CE%BB%CE%AD%CF%80%CF%89&dq=.

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maintained in some regional dialects and it is considered a verb mainly used in literature as an antiquated form that may be used for either of the other two verbs. On the contrary in Cyprus, although all three verb are used, the verb *θωρώ* [θɔ'ɾɔ] is the one most in use, since it is basilectal, but used at all registers of the Cypriot variety. It shares meanings with both the other two and can be used interchangeably with them (an occurrence that was not the rule until several years ago, but can be considered the rule today, due to increased contact between the two varieties), but it remains the marked form.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **γελοίος** [jɛ'lios]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **γελοίος** [jɛ'lios]

Common meaning(s):

1a. sth. that is derisory, gaudy and strange at the same time.

1b. sth. that is ludicrous and risible.

2a. sth. that causes ironical laughter and comments.

2b. sth. that is nonsensical and absurd.

C(S)G meaning(s):

funny, laughable.

Ex.: *Εν πολλά γελοίων τούντο ανέκδοτον, εφύρτηκα που τα γέλια.* (D. P.)

Analysis:

Ancient Greek boasts both the SMG and the C(S)G meaning and at some point the two varieties diversified the semantic content of the adj, with SMG maintaining only the 'ludicrous' meaning (with all of its sub-classifications) and the C(S)G the 'funny' denotation. Although the distinction we draw above is not as clear-cut as we have made it appear. It does hold to a significant degree, but it has come to our attention that the younger generations use it with both meanings. When older generations use the the phrase *Τούτος εν πολλά γελοίος* ['tutɔs#ɛn#pɔ'le#jɛ'lios] they generally consider that man to be 'amusing', while younger generations may have the same in mind or that he is 'ludicrous' or they could be engaging in word-play with both meanings, that are close enough.

The false friend is purely semantic and due to lack of morphological and phonetic markers signalling it out as belonging to the C(S)G, the dictionaries ignore it.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: γέρνω ['γερνο]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: γέρνω ['γερνο]

C(S)G allomorph: γύρνω ['jirno]

SMG meaning(s):

for heavenly bodies or change in the time of day; to set.

Common meaning(s):

a. to tilt.

b. to slant.

c. to lean.

d. (metaph.) *Έγειρα να ξεκουραστώ*, to lie to sleep.

e. (metaph.): *Δεν έχει πού να γείρει η άμοιρη*, to have nobody to lean on. [μσν. γέρνω < γείρω μεταπλ. με βάση το συνοπτ. θ. γειρ-κατά το σχ.: σπειρ-(έσπειρα) – σπέρνω, συρ- (έσυρα) – σέρνω < αρχ. έγείρω 'ξεσηκώνω' με αποβ. του αρχικού άτ. φων. και εξίσωση των αντίθετων σημασιών]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. to pour a liquid (usually water). (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 120, Κυπρή 1989: 120, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 58, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 234)

Ex.: Θεοφάνης: *Εεεε, εν να γείρω του παπά νερόν να πλυθθεί, άμαν έρτει η ώραν. Χριστινού: Του παπά γείρνει του η νούννα, για να πλυθθεί. Ένεν δουλειά δική σου.* (Κουκκίδης 2007a:242)

1b. to pour liquid into a container, to fill it up. (Κυπρή 1989: 120, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 234)

Ex.: *Έτον δαμαί τζυρά, πόμεινε νάκκον να του γύρω τσιάι.* (Πολυδώρου 2003: 67)

2. (to lie down) to die. (Κυπρή 1989: 120)

Ex.: *Άλλος κόσμος στη Χώρα, πού ξέρεις, μπορεί τζιαι να παντρευτείς να κάμεις τζιαι σου κανέναν κοπελλούν σαν ούλλες τες γεναίτζες του κόσμου, να μεν μείνεις μόνη σου τζιαι κούκκουφη σαν γείρω εγιώ.* (Πολυδώρου 2003: 167)

Analysis:

The C(S)G (1a) – (1b) meanings appear to be extensions of the original medieval senses (Κριαράς online) that are retained in the (a) – (c) common meanings,

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

since if sth. tilts or is tilted, then whatever is contained in there, will pour out (C(S)G meaning 1a). The same motion accompanies the (1b) sense of the C(S)G, but in order to pour sth. in another container, not to spill it out.

The second C(S)G meaning is probably also an extension via metaphor of the (d) metaphorical common meaning, which is also attested since the medieval times (Κριαράς online). From the also metaphorical sense 'to lie down (to sleep)', the jump to the sense '(to lie down) to die' is very easily made.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **γυμναστικός** [jimnɛsti'kɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **γυμναστικός** [jimnɛsti'kɔs]

Common meaning(s):

1a. related to exercise of physical education.

1b. (as a noun) exercise or physical education. [λόγ. γυμναστ(ική) -ικός (πρβ. αρχ. γυμναστικός `ικανός στα αθλητικά`)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

physical education instructor.

Ex.: Στην εκδήλωση θα έχουμε τους χορευτές μας, τους μουσικούς μας, τους **γυμναστικούς** μας. (N.A.)

*Νέος σπούδασε δάσκαλος και δούλεψε 2 χρόνια, αλλά η γυμναστική τον τράβηξε και παράτησε το επάγγελμα του και πήγε στην Αθήνα και σπούδασε **γυμναστικός**, όπου και αρίστευσε. (http://www.gsp.org.cy/club/index.php?option=com_contentandview=articleandid=248%3A2010-04-22-14-05-31andcatid=41%3A2010-04-22-13-49-11andItemid=86andlang=elb).*

Analysis:

This adjective in C(S)G is used instead of the SMG noun *γυμναστής* [jimne'stis] and it is probably considered by the speakers as the correct and even official term, since in the 2nd example we have encountered, it is used in absolutely correctly formulated SMG or high register C(S)G (where the writer probably believes (s)he is using SMG). In the absence of certainty regarding its course, we assume that the adjective is used as a noun, in a process quite common in the Greek language, where in solidifying its use with the masculine gender (since originally physical education instructors were male), it has become a masculine noun that from the Ancient Greek meaning 'adept at exercise', it was used widely with the semantic content mentioned above.

Due to lack of any characteristics marking it as basilectal, it does not appear in any dictionary.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: δείχνω [ˈðixnɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: δείχνω [ˈðixnɔ]

C(S)G allomorph: δείγνω [ˈðignɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (proverb) *Όταν το δάχτυλο έδειχνε το φεγγάρι, ο ηλίθιος έβλεπε το δάχτυλο*, for sb. incapable of discerning what is important what is not.
2. (proverb) *Έλα, παππού (μου), να σου δείξω τ' αμπελοχώραφά σου / τα πατρογονικά σου*, for sb. who is young and inexperienced but nevertheless tries to impress with his/her experience and knowledge.
- 3a. (phr.) ~ *σε κπ. την πόρτα*, to send sb. away in a less than polite manner.
- 3b. (phr.) ~ *σε κπ. την πλάτη*, exhibiting contempt.
- 3c. (phr.) *θα σου δείξω εγώ*, as a threat for punishment: *θα σου δείξω εγώ πόσα απίδια βάζει / έχει ο σάκος. θα σου δείξω / θα σου μάθω τι θα πει / τι εστί βερίκοκο.*

Common meaning(s):

- 1a. to point with the hand and direct sb.'s attention to what I want them to see.
- 1b. ~ *σε κπ. ένα μέρος*, to give someone a tour of sth.
- 1c. ~ *σε κπ. το δρόμο*, to inform sb. regarding the route (s)he should follow in order to reach his/her destination
- 1d. (metaph.) (mid., coll.) said for sb. who shows off, tries to be noticed.
2. when an organ displays a measurement.
- 3a. to show or present for sb. else when asked to do so.
- b. (coll.) for artist, to make an exposition
- 4a. for sth. that presents indications leading to fairly certain conclusions.
- 4b. (metaph.) to show emotions or mental state.
5. to prove that a syllogism or supposition is correct.
- 6a. to guide by providing information or knowledge on a certain area.
- 6b. to explain, to help sb. to understand sth. [μσν. δείχνω < αρχ. δεικνύω, μεταπλ. με βάση το συνοπτ. θ. *δειξ-* (*ἔδειξα*) κατά το σχ.: *καμ-* (*ἔκαμον*) – *κάμνω*]

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. (pass.) to be created or meant for sb.

Ex.: *Τα γράμματα, επέμενε, δε δείχτηκαν για τους γέναικους.* (Πολυδώρου 2009: 181)

2a. (pass.) to appear before sb. suddenly and scare him/her.

Ex.: *Εδειχτήκαν του Φίλιου ο Αλιεν τζαι ο Πρέτατορ τζαι θωρεί έτσι?*
([http://www.politis-news.com/C\(S\)Gibin/hweb?-A=215912&-V=articles](http://www.politis-news.com/C(S)Gibin/hweb?-A=215912&-V=articles))

2b. (pass.) to attempt to intimidate sb.

Ex.: *Τζι αν έσειε τζιαι δειχτούν μας, ίντα που 'ννα κάμουμε; - Τάρασε ρε τζιαι αν μας δειχτούν εννά φοηθούν τζιαι να φύουν.* (Πολυδώρου 2009: 312)

Εδειχτήκαν μας τζιαι φύαμεν τους, είπε με δέος. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 313)

Analysis:

The semantic divergence in the C(S)G lemma in the passive/middle voice is possibly fairly recent, since the medieval online dictionary does not present these meanings, except the (1) sense (though in the active voice, not the middle or passive one). It is not difficult to imagine how the sense 'to appear before sb.' that exists in the medieval Κριαράς online dictionary were combined with the meaning 'to attempt to show off' that is among the common meanings, could result in the (2a) and (2b) C(S)G meanings.

The C(S)G dictionaries do not have any relevant entries in any of the verb's voices, possibly because they consider that morphological identity is accompanied by semantic identity as well.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **δέκατα** ['ðekete]

Grammatical category: n.¹³⁴

C(S)G lemma: **δέκατα** ['ðekete]

SMG meaning(s):

high temperature repeated over 37° Celsius. [λόγ. ουσιαστικοπ. ουδ. πληθ. του επιθ. δέκατος]

C(S)G meaning(s):

a rude gesture insulting the other with the fingers of both hands splayed out and aimed at them. (Κυπρή 1989: 382, Κυπρή 2002: 127, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 136 Παπαγγέλου 2001: 241, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 59, Σακελλαρίου 1891b: 520)

Ex.: Έβαλεν μου **δέκατα**. (D.P.)

Μα, τρώεις τα τα δέκατα, εν τζαι τα 'θεις! (C.L.)

Analysis:

The former adjective is fully lexicalized nowadays and it is considered a neuter plural noun, as is often the case with lexicalized adjectives.

Παπαγγέλου (2001: 241) claims that the SMG meaning is actually the C(S)G meaning, but most of the C(S)G speakers consulted do not know this meaning, not even as passively learnt vocabulary due to linguistic contact with the SMG. Instead of referring to δέκατα ['ðekete], C(S)G speakers would simply say that they 'have fever'. The rest of the main dictionaries we consulted contain only the C(S)G meaning and one of them explains the most likely process that led to the word acquiring this meaning, since in SMG the equivalent is totally different: i.e., φάσκελα ['feskele] or μούτζα ['mudze]. The phrase was originally *με τα δέκα τα δάχτυλα* [me#te#'ðeke#te#'ðextile], 'with ten fingers ACC' and the second [te], the article in the accusative plural of the noun was pronounced together with the previous word turning it to an already existing word, δέκατα ['ðekete] (Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 59).

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

¹³⁴ It is an adjective (δέκατος ['ðeketos], 'tenth') that was nounified in the plural number.

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **θάλαμος** ['θeɛɛmɔs]

Grammatical category: n. (masc.)

C(S)G lemma: **θάλαμος** ['θeɛɛmɔs]

Common meaning(s):

1a. ward, a big hall (usually of a building) that is meant for accommodating a large number of people.

1b. the people living in the ward.

2. (archa.) part of a greater building.

3. (anat.) thalamus.

4. enclosed space for a special use: *Τηλεφωνικός ~*, phone booth. *~ αερίων*, gas chamber. *Ψυκτικός ~*, cold store. *~ καύσεως / αναμείξεως*, combustion chamber. *Σκοτεινός ~*: a. darkroom. b. a section of a photo camera. [λόγ.: 1, 2: αρχ. *θάλαμος*: 3: νλατ. thalamus (στη νέα σημ.) < λατ. thalamus < αρχ. *θάλαμος*: 4: & σημδ. γαλλ. chambre]

C(S)G meaning(s):

freezer.

Ex.: *Κάμετε μακαρόνια του φούρνου τζιαι κουππεπια τζιαι βάλτε τα στο **θάλαμο**.* (mag. *Studentstyle*, October 2008)

*Γίνεται η παγοποίηση της κρέμας που έχω βάλει στο **θάλαμο** ώστε να γίνει παγωτό. (C.C.)*

Analysis:

The false friends' pair is the result of a process that took place with regard to the set phrase *ψυκτικός θάλαμος* [psikti'kɔs#'θeɛɛmɔs], 'cold store' that we have included among our common meanings. In most collocations in C(S)G the noun is dropped and the adjective assumes the gender of the dropped noun becoming itself a nounified adjective. In this instance, the adjective was dropped and the noun assumed the meaning of the previously existing phraseologism in C(S)G.

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include the lemma among their entries, probably due to lack of overt dialectal markers.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **θερμαντικός** [θερμendi'kɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **θερμαντικός** [θερμendi'kɔs]

SMG meaning(s):

1. sth. that is appropriate for heating.
2. said of a hot beverage (fighting the cold). [λόγ. < αρχ. θερμαντικός]

C(S)G meaning(s):

undershirt.

Ex.: Τον δειμώναν εν -ι-μπορώ δίχα **θερμαντικήν** που μέσα που τα τρικά. (T.L.)

Analysis:

The C(S)G adjective has become a noun by letting the implied feminine noun *φανελά* [fe'nele], 'flannel' drop. It used to form a set phrase, *θερμαντική φανελά* [θερμendi'ci#fe'nele], 'undershirt', and as is the case often enough in C(S)G, the adjective was lexicalized as a noun to such an extent, that it is not felt to be an adjective any more.

There is no mention of the adjective or the phraseologism in any of the C(S)G dictionaries, probably due to the absence of overt dialectal markers identifying them as C(S)G words.

Type: **total** false friend

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **θεωρία** [θεο'ριε]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **θεωρία** [θεο'ριε]

SMG meaning(s):

θεωρία²

(obs.) beautiful and imposing external looks. (proverb) ~ *επισκόπου και καρδιά μυλωνά*, said for sb. or sth. that appears to be good but is actually worthless. [λόγ. < αρχ. θεωρία `θέαμα' (πρβ. θωριά)]

θεωρία³

the official delegation that a city in Ancient Greece sent to another city or to a holy place in order to attend a celebration or athletic games. [λόγ. < αρχ. θεωρία]

Common meaning(s):

θεωρία¹

1a. the sum of general principles of an area of knowledge that is systematically organized and formulated using abstract thought.

1b. (ext.) views on a topic of general interest.

1c. thought or views based on hypothetical data completely unrelated to reality.

2. the section of a science or art that includes systematically formulated principles mainly for teaching purposes.

3. a system of scientific views interpreting natural phenomena. [λόγ. < αρχ. θεωρία `κοίταγμα, στοχασμός', ελνστ. σημ.: `φιλοσοφική υπόθεση' & γαλλ. théorie, αγγλ. theory < μονλατ. theoria < ελνστ. θεωρία]

C(S)G meaning(s):

looks, appearance.

Ex.: *Κοίταξε, ωραία κοπέλα με ωραία **θεωρία**, κοίτα τι κρύβει μέσα της.* (radio host Παπαευαγόρου, said for a woman about to spray the people taking part at the Limassol carnival parade)

*Έχουν καλήθ **θεωρίαν** οι ντομάτες σου, αλλά εν καλές;* (Παπασταύρου 1994: 141)

Analysis:

According to the ΔΚΝ online dictionary the feminine noun *θεωρία* [θεο'ριε] is actually three different lemmas, of two different etymologies. The first lemma is a reborrowing via the English and French through Medieval Latin from the

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

Hellenistic word, while the second and third are etymologized from the same Ancient Greek word, *θεωρία* [θεο'ριε], related to the act of viewing sth. The second and third lemma we have attributed to the SMG variety, for different reasons for each one. The second lemma has an obsolete meaning in SMG, almost identical to the C(S)G meaning we have recorded and the Λ NEΓ dictionary does not include it among its entries. The fact that it is not included by the other widely used dictionary for SMG is an indication that it is not used any more, except in the proverb mentioned in the Λ KN online dictionary. The proverb exists (or existed until recently) in C(S)G as well, as Παπασταύρου (1994: 141) attests: *Θεωρία 'πισκόπου τζαι καρκιάν μυλωνά*. The proverb is used in the C(S)G variety with the differences that are to be expected and the same denotation as the SMG proverb.

In C(S)G the false friend retains this meaning that has disappeared from the SMG and their difference is in this case semantic due to the linguistic change that has rendered the meaning obsolete in one variety but not in the other. The younger generations among our informants claim that it is unknown to them and it could also be claimed that it is obsolescent. Although it will probably become obsolete soon, as has occurred in the SMG, we have chosen to include it, since the middle-aged radio producer who used it usually employs mesolectal Cypriot Greek and is not so old or uneducated as to claim that it will fall into oblivion soon. Furthermore, the C(S)G is a conservative variety where change is not taking place as quickly as it does in SMG and these false friends between them are to be expected.

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include the lemma among their entries, although it exists in the C(S)G proverb mentioned above.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: καθιστός [keθi'stɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: καθιστός [keθi'stɔs]

Common meaning(s):

1. a person who is sitting.
2. a construction in which a person can sit, but not lie down in. [μσν. καθιστός < καθισ- (καθίζω) -τός]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. a variety of apples. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 363, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 178)

Ex.: Εδοκίμασες άλλην φοράν μήλα **καθιστά**; Εν μέλιν! (C.L.)

2. a manner for cooking octopus, cuttlefish or aubergine with tomato sauce and wine. (Κυπρή 2003: 304, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 363, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 178)

Ex.: Ο καφετζής της γειτονιάς, ο αείμνηστος Γιώργος Ιωαννίδης (γνωστός στη παλιά Λευκωσία ως 'Ο ΜΑΓΚΑΣ') ανέφερνε συχνά σαν τους καλύτερους μεζέδες του γέρου Ζανέττου το χταποδάκι το **καθιστό** αλλά και τα αφέλεια και τους καράλους γιαχνί. (<http://www.zanettos.com/>)

Το χταπόδι και τις σουπιές, οι νοικοκυρές τα παρασκεύαζαν κρασάτα ή **καθιστά**. (<http://foodmuseum.cs.ucy.ac.cy/web/guest/36/civitem/2310>)

Analysis:

We have not been able to find the reason or the path of semantic evolution behind the C(S)G denotations, except to consider that the term used for the recipe of the foods may owe its name to the fact that the food is let to stew, namely να καθίσει [ne#ke'θisi] as it is called in C(S)G, from which the adjective was derived.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **καντήλα** [ken'dile]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **καντήλα** [ke'ndile]

Common meaning(s):

1. votive hanging lamp in church. [μσν. *καντήλα* < ελνστ. *κανδήλα, κανδήλη* (προφ. [nd]) < λατ. *candela*]
2. (coll.) blister. [< *καντήλα*¹, ίσως επειδή μπορεί να προξενήσει κάψιμο]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. glass usually of wine or water¹³⁵. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 191, Κυπρή 1989: 26, Κυπρή 1989: 442, Κυπρή 2002: 189, Κυπρή 2003: 67, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 396)

Ex.: *Φέρτε μου μιαν **καντήλαν** κρασίν στερκόν τζι εν να σας πω.* (Σάββα 2009: 39)

*Ναι, το μόνο που θέλω εν λλίον νερό, εκορίζιασα της δίψας. Ξέρεις που έννα βρω μια **καντήλα** να βρέξω τα σείιλη μου;* (Πολυδώρου 2003: 210)

Εχτός πο τους ππακλαβάες~~μπακλαβάδες~~ ο Ππακλαβατζιής επούλεν*~~πουλούσε~~ τζαι κρέμαν με το τζιέλλιν μες τες **καντήλες***~~ποτήρια~~.* (<http://www.rizokarpason.com/odiporontas2.htm>)

2. suction cup. (Ταμασοκλής 1966: 3)

Ex.: *Όταν ήμουν μιτσής, όταν αρρωστούσα, έβαλεν μου η μάμμα μου **καντήλες**.* (D.P.)

Analysis:

The votive hanging lamps that are among the common meanings for both varieties are usually made of glass and they are relatively small in comparison to other church artifacts. The medieval Κριαράς online dictionary records only this meaning and this leads us to suppose that the rest of the meanings, esp. the C(S)G ones, appeared later and were derived from this first sense due to the shape and size of the votive lamp. The first C(S)G meaning is the first natural extension of the sense, while the second is the result of the action by the means used to do it, namely small glass vials in a similar shape to the votive lamps.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

¹³⁵ The glasses referred to here are smaller in general to the equivalent water glasses used in Greece. The water glasses in Cyprus are similar in size to the ones used in Greece for *ρετσίνα* [re'tsine] (a kind of Greek white or rosé wine flavored with resin).

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **κατακλυσμός** [ketekli'zmɔs] Grammatical category: n. (masc.)

C(S)G lemma: **κατακλυσμός** [ketekli'zmɔs]

SMG meaning(s):

(phr.) *φέρνω τον κατακλυσμό*, to blow out of proportion an unpleasant situation.

Common meaning(s):

1. a deluge leading to floods. || the constant and sreong rain that in the religious or mythological traditions of some peoples flooded the earth and threatening the human race with extinction.

2. (metaph.) a flood, i.e. an overwhelming quantity of things happening or appearing at the same time. [λόγ. < αρχ. κατακλυσμός]

C(S)G meaning(s):

Pentecost, the Christian festival celebrating the descent of the Holy Spirit held on the seventh Sunday after Easter. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 425, Κυπρή 1989: 458)

Ex.: *Υπό άλλας συνθήκας θα κατευθυνόταν τώρα στο «Τιτάνια», όπου γινόταν αυτή τη στιγμή η γιορτή του «Κινύρα» για τον **Κατακλυσμό**. (Σμυρλή 1997: 588)*

*Ακόμα λίγο και θάβρισκαν και τα Χασαμπουλιά θέση στους στίχους των ποιητάρηδων, στα πανηγύρια του **Κατακλυσμού** και της Ελιάς. (Μόντης 1987: 1352)*

Analysis:

The two lemmas are used in both Greece and Cyprus in a Christian context. The lemma in its common meanings refers to the Flood described in the Old Testament, while in the C(S)G context to the celebration on the next day after the Pentecost of the New Testament, but that sense is absent from SMG and the religious texts. The name and the custom of immersion in water or at least the splattering of water on people are probably pre-Christian, traced back to customs related with the cult of Aphrodite (Σακελλαρίου 1891a: 703, Κυπρή 1989: 458). Although Cyprus became Christian, the customs for the rituals in honor of Aphrodite were incorporated into the Pentecost celebration and since the sense of the 'flood' existed in the new religion, it is not difficult to imagine how the ancient name of the custom was retained in a new context.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **κεραμικός** [ceɾemi'kɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **κεραμικός** [ceɾemi'kɔs]

SMG meaning(s):

1. relating to clay objects.
2. relating to the production of clay objects.

Common meaning(s):

1. clay object.
2. η κεραμική¹³⁶ (fem. n.), pottery.

C(S)G meaning(s):

(ceramic) tile.

Ex.: Πήγα να πάρω **κεραμικά** για το σπίτι. (C.L.)

*Είδη υγιεινής, **κεραμικά**, παρκέ.* (http://www.gevo.com.cy/ProductList-Eidi_ygieinis_keramika_parke,61,EL)

Analysis:

The process that has produced this false friend is in all probability the same as the process that brought about the noun *η κεραμική* [i#ceɾemi'ci]: originally the adjective was part of the phraseologism *κεραμικό πλακάκι* [ceɾemi'kɔ#plɛ'kɛci], 'ceramic tile' and the C(S)G dropped the neuter noun *πλακάκι* [plɛ'kɛci] while the adjective was lexicalized as a noun in the form of the neuter *κεραμικό* [ceɾemi'kɔ]. The same phraseologism in the SMG followed an antithetical path, with the adjective being dropped and keeping the noun that signifies only this specific type of 'ceramic tile'.

The C(S)G dictionaries do not mention the lemma, possibly because the adjective appears identical to the SMG equivalent without any C(S)G-marked morphological or phonetic characteristics.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

¹³⁶ The phraseologism that the noun originated from was *κεραμική τέχνη* [ceɾemi'ki#'teχni], 'the art of ceramics'. The noun was dropped, as often it occurs in the C(S)G and the adjective was lexicalized as a noun signifying 'pottery'.

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **κοντά** [kɔn'dɛ]

Grammatical category: adv.

C(S)G lemma: **κοντά** [kɔ'ndɛ]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (phr.) *έχω / παίρνω κπ. από ~*, to follow sb. around.
2. (phr.) *από ~*, for close proximity contact.
3. (phr.) *~ στα άλλα*, for sth. that is unpleasant and is added to other unpleasant pre-existing items.
4. (proverb) *~ στο νου και η γνώση*, for sth. that is self-evident, since knowledge leads to understanding.

Common meaning(s):

1. (local adverb) near, sth. that refers to a place
 - 1a. ~ ~ right next to sth. or sb.
 - 1b. *από ~*, from nearby.
 - 1c. (phr.) *Γυαλιά για ~*, farsightedness glasses.
- 2a. (temporal adverb) for time that denotes local or temporal sequence.
- 2b. (metaph.): *Είμαστε / βρισκόμαστε ~ στην αλήθεια*, to be closing in on the truth.
3. with a numeral showing approximation of computation, around, at about.
4. in comparison to, while comparing: *Αυτό δεν είναι τίποτε ~ σ' αυτό*. [μσν. *κοντ(ός) επίρρ. -ά*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(metaph.) ~ *pers. pron. ACC.*, to be or to go to a some other or some else's place or home.

Ex.: *Ελάτε **κοντά** μας, ακόμα και αν δεν έχουμε συνεργαστεί μέχρι σήμερα. Η Εμπορική Τράπεζα αλλάζει. Αλλάξτε μαζί μας. (http://www.emporiki.gr/cbg/gr/customers/customer_story.jsp?docid=DC5169267131723DC2256DF00038FE01&cabinet=Customers_Services&lang=gr)*

*Κάθε Παρασκευή είσαι **κοντά** μας, δεν είσαι στο άλλο σχολείο. (E.S.)*

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

Analysis:

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include the lemma, probably because they consider the morphological identity semantic identity as well.

The semantic evolution path that the adverb has followed is not clear, but since it is a functional word, it is to be expected that change might occur, since such words tend to assume many different meanings. In this sense, the strictly local sense was extended in a metaphorical manner similar to the one that led to the appearance of the metaphorical common meanings, in order to denote 'by sb.', in the sense that 'sb is working together with or cooperating with sb. else'.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **κούρσα** ['kurse]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **κούρσα** ['kurse]

Common meaning(s):

1a. (ath.) a race.

1b. running as a process used to cover a certain distance. (phr.)
~ *θανάτου*, overly quick and dangerous route.

1c. horse race.

2. (metaph.) competition.

3. (obs.) a small passenger car of public or private use.

5. (coll.) a taxi route. [γαλλ. cours(e) -α (η σημ. 3 από τη σημ. 2)· *κούρσ(α) -άρα*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. small sports car.

Ex.: *Έπιαν μου μίαν **κούρσαν** ο παπάς μου για τα γενέθλια μου. (D.P.)*

*Λίγα λεπτά αργότερα, ένα όμορφο και ακριβό αυτοκίνητο έκοψε ταχύτητα καθώς την προσπερνούσε. [...] Μπροστά της, είχε το νου της, κι όσα αυτοκίνητα πέρασαν, τα έβλεπε από μακριά πως δεν ταίριαζαν με το πράσινο σκούρο **κουρσάκι**. (Πολυδώρου 2008: 201-2)*

1b. (dim.) a child's toy, a small (racing) car.

Ex.: *Αρέσκουν σου οι **κουρσούες**, φανάρι μου; Να σου πκιάσω που το παναύριν; (T.L.)*

2. a high velocity car ride.

Ex.: *Εν να κάμουμεν μίαν **κούρσαν** στον μώλον.*

3. races where animals compete.

Ex.: *Πάμεν έσσω του τζιαι μόλις πορουμανίζει την πόρτα μουντάρουν με δκυό σιύλλοι 40 κίλα ο καθένας τζιαι σύρνουν με χαμαί τζι αρχίζουν να με γλύφουν. Ο ένας εν διαστάυρωση μπόξερ με κάτι άλλο τζιαι ο άλλος εν γκρέϊχαουντ (λαωνικός πουτζίνους τους παστούς που βουρούν στες **κούρσες**) αλλά έβαλεν τα τζιλουθκια του. (http://xenihtikon.blogspot.com/2007_05_01_archive.html)*

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

Analysis:

The ΔKN online dictionary presents the lemma in the third meaning as obsolete, but nevertheless still existent in the SMG, while the ΔNEF dictionary does not include it among its entries. This is the case with other lemmas as well and we have come to the conclusion that these senses have faded from the language fairly recently but were recorded at some point before and then included in the ΔKN.

In C(S)G the false friend retains this meaning that has disappeared from the SMG and their difference is in this case semantic due to the linguistic change that has rendered the meaning obsolete in one variety but not in the other. The C(S)G is a conservative variety where change is not taking place as quickly as it does in SMG and these false friends between them are to be expected.

The C(S)G meanings are all probably derived from the first meaning of ‘small sports car’ that existed also in SMG, but nowadays has been rendered obsolete. The second C(S)G meaning is the metonymic evolution of the first and the third is a further extension of the second. A sports car is usually employed at high speed and for races between cars in city streets, therefore the ‘races’ meaning exists implicitly. The further extension to ‘animal races’ is not necessarily expected to take place, but it is a possibility that in this case has materialized.

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include the lemma among their entries, possibly due to lack of overt C(S)G markers.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **κουφός** [ku'fɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **κουφός** [ku'fɔs]

SMG meaning(s):

(as a noun, or coll.) *το κουφό*, for sth. that is silly, absurd or weird, random¹³⁷.

Common meaning(s):

a. deaf.

b. (coll.) *κάνω τον κουφό*, 'to play deaf'.

c. (proverb) *Στου κουφού την πόρτα όσο θέλεις βρόντα*, said for people who are indifferent to advice or requests. [μσν. *κουφός* < αρχ. *κωφός* ([o > u] από επίδρ. του υπερ. [k] και του χειλ. [f])]

C(S)G meaning(s):

a. viper. (Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 37, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 95, Κυπρή, 2002: 256, Κυπρή 2003: 20, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 557, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 263)

Ex.: *Όπως ζαλίζει η **κουφή** η όχεντρα τα πουλιά κι ανοίγει το στόμα της και τα καταπίνει.* (Σμυρλή, 1997: 21)

*Ούλλων ο θεός, έδωκεν τους μάνα, εμένα έδωκε μου **κουφή** να με δακκάσει.* (Πολυδώρου, 2009: 322)

b. any snake in general. (Κυπρή, 1989: 31)

Ex.: *Ο πύθωνας έφαε ωμό κουνέλι! Μα, ο πύθωνας εν' **κουφή** εν τζι είναι πλάσμα.* (radio station Κανάλι 6)

Analysis:

It is very difficult to discern when the speakers refer to vipers and when they refer to snakes in general, but an indication is usually the use of a definite article or negative connotations when referring to the first and not the latter. The viper is the venomous snake of Cyprus and it often is juxtaposed to the *θερκόν* [θε'rkɔⁿ], the non-venomous snake of the island.

The false friendliness is limited in the lexicalized noun that evolved from the phraseologism *ασπίς κωφή* [e'spɪs#kɔ'fi] > *κουφή* [ku'fi] retaining the article of the noun that was dropped. The second C(S)G sense was an evolution of the first,

¹³⁷ It may be known to the younger generations and probably to most young Cypriots who have studied in Greece, since it is a very common slang word among young generations there, but we do not consider that it could be included in the actively used vocabulary as a rule.

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

via a generalization from a certain kind of snake, as was the referent of the original phraseologism to all kinds of snakes in Cyprus, usually without taking into account whether they are venomous or not.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **κρατώ** [kre'tɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **κρατώ** [kre'tɔ]

C(S)G allomorph: **κραώ** [kre'ɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (proverb) Όπου ακούς πολλά κεράσια κράτα και μικρό καλάθι, to have low expectations when sb. boasts of sth.
2. (phr.) τον κρατά, to have evidence against sb.
3. (phr.) ~ κπ. ενήμερο, to keep sb. in the loop.
4. (phr.) κρατάω τσίλιες, to keep nix, keep watch.
5. (phr.) ~ πισινή, to not believe everything you hear.
6. (phr.) ~ τα προσχήματα, to keep appearances.
7. (phr.) ~ τη θέση μου, to keep my place.
8. (phr.) ~ χαρακτήρα, to not rise to the bait.
9. (phr.) ~ μακριά κπ./ κτ., to keep sb. or sth. away.
10. (phr.) κρατιέται (καλά), sb. looks good in relation to his/her age.
11. (phr.) το κράτησε το παιδί, to keep a baby and not have an abortion
12. (phr.) ~ κτ. μέσα μου, to not express the anger, hatred, stress, etc. I feel.
13. (phr.) ~ κακία σε κπ., to hold a grudge against sb.
14. (phr.) ~ μούτρα σε κπ., to sulk.
15. (phr.) ~ / βαστώ την κοιλιά μου από τα γέλια, laughing out loud.
16. (phr.) δεν κρατά τη γλώσσα του, to be unable to control what sb. says.
17. (phr.) δεν κρατιέμαι, to be impatient for sth.
18. (phr.) και ο χορός καλά κρατεί, the situation continues unaltered.
19. (phr.) (δεν ξέρω) από πού κρατάει / βαστάει η σκούφια του, not knowing the family and background of sb.

Common meaning(s):

- 1a. to hold sth. or sb. in my hand in such a manner that it would not fall or leave.
(phr.) κρατάει τον πάπα από τα γένια, said when sb. thinks that they are very important, when in fact they are not.

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

- 1b. to have sth. on me or to carry sth. with me.
- 2a. for sth. that I have in my possession mainly for usage or exploitation, or said for responsibilities undertaken.
- 2b. said for sth. that is systematically and periodically recorded, calculated and updated.
- 3a. to undertake to pay attention to and take care of sb. or sth.
- 3b. to protect sth. from modification, disappearance or destruction
- 3c. to undertake to safeguard.
- 3d. (with abstr. nouns) to be consistent with sth., to keep to it.
4. to maintain in its original or certain position or situation.
- 5a. to deprive sb. of the possibility to move freely by imposing restrictions.
- 5b. to encourage sb. or give sb. the possibility to stay somewhere.
6. to restrain.
7. to show endurance in a test.
8. to state duration and continuation for sth. that continues.
9. to show provenance. [αρχ. κρατῶ `κυριαρχώ, παίρνω στην κατοχή μου, διατηρώ', ελνστ. σημ.: `πιάνω, κρατώ στο χέρι, φυλακίζω']

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. (metaph.) to have sb. or sth. with me, near me. (Κυπρή 2002: 257)

Ex.: Σγιον εσυντύχαννε με την άλλην τη χαμηλόκολλη την Κυριακού, εγύρισε τζι είπεν μου κατάμουτρα πως σε **κρατά** ο γιος του Λίρα μες στο αυτοκίνητο τζιαι παίρνει σε έξω που το χωρκό. (Πολυδώρου 2003: 91)

2. (metaph.) to have enough money (to make ends meet).

Ex.: Πότε ήρτεν να σε αρωτήσει αν είσαι καλά, αν έσεις τίποτε, αν **κρατάς** να περάσεις; (Σάββα 2009: 57)

3. (metaph.) to occupy, take up space. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 562)

Ex.: Έδινε περισσότερα απ' όσα του αναλογούσαν για το νοίκι και τη συντήρηση της κάμαρης, σεβόταν την τάξη, ήταν και καθαρός και προσπαθούσε να **κρατά** όσο το δυνατόν λιγότερο χώρο. (Πολυδώρου 2003: 210)

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

4. (metaph.) to take up a position, to have or hold office.

Ex.: Όπως πήγαιναν τα πράματα, σε λίγα χρόνια δε θα υπήρχε κοπέλα που να κοιτάζει μόνο το σπίτι της, θα δούλευαν όλες και μάλιστα σε θέσεις που ως τώρα μόνο οι άντρες **κρατούσαν**. (Πολυδώρου 2003: 367)

Analysis:

SMG meaning (1b) appears synonymous to the first C(S)G meaning but it is not exactly the same, because it refers to things, inanimate objects that one might have on his/her person, while the C(S)G meaning can make reference to both animate and inanimate objects. In all of the C(S)G meanings, the SMG would probably use a different verb, namely *έχω* ['εχɔ], 'to have'¹³⁸.

In the C(S)G dictionaries we did not encounter the rest of the senses we have recorded above, but we found other meanings that we were unable to confirm whether they were still in use today and we have refrained from including them.

All C(S)G senses have come about via metaphors and are metaphorical with regard to the core sense of the verb that is 'to hold sth. in my hands'. All these metaphorical senses probably evolved from that core meaning with the help of metaphors that regard space, or office as objects that can be held (cf. the equivalent expression in English, *to hold office*) and when the first two C(S)G meanings are akin to the literal senses, given that the (a) probably came about from holding someone by the hand and sense (b) also from having money in hand.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

¹³⁸ That is the basic or core meaning of the verb with many more senses.

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **κρυάδα** [kri'eðe]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **κρυάδα** [kri'eðe]

C(S)G allomorph: **κρυάα** [kri'εε]

SMG meaning(s):

1. a sense of being cold, usually expressed as shivers in the body.
2. (phr.) *παίρνω την ~*, I am disappointed after finding out sth. unpleasant or unexpected.

Common meaning(s):

(metaph., coll.) a silly, cheesy joke. [μσν. *κρυάδα* < *κρύ(ο) -άδα*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. of or at a low or relatively low temperature, especially when compared with the human body. (Παπαγγέλλου 2001: 568, Χατζηγιωάννου 1996: 96, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 267, Κυπρή 2002: 261, Κυπρή 2003: 20)

Ex.: «*Παναγία μου χρυσή, ίντα **κρυάδα** εν τούτη*». (Σάββα 2009: 40)

2a. (proverb) *θώρε την ~ τζια μοίραζε το πάπλωμα*, to split the difficulties according to the strength of each involved person

Ex.: *Πρέπει να βλέπομεν την **κρυάδα** και να μοιραζόμαστε το πάπλωμα*. (D. Christofias, President of the Republic of Cyprus, at a press conference, 29/09/2008)

*Οι περισσότερες περιοχές του νησιού ζούσαν στην εξαθλίωση [...]. Εξάλλου και οι κάτοικοί τους «έβλεπαν την **κρυάδα** και μοίραζαν και το πάπλωμα», όπως λέει και η παροιμία. (Κουρέα-Σκουτελά 2010: 170-1)*

2. coolness.

Ex.: *Επειδή όμως στα παλλιά τα σπίθκια δεν είναι το σπίτιν που εθερμαίναν οι σόπες αλλά τα πλάσματα, νομίζω ότι για τον παππούν μου δεν θα έκαμνεν πολλήν διαφοράν η επιπλέον **κρυάδα** που έφερνεν το ασπρόγιασμα.* (<http://acerasanthropophorum.blogspot.com.cy/2014/09/2-woofi.html>)

Analysis:

The only dictionary that includes the SMG meaning is that of Παπαγγέλλου, but it is clear to us that Greek Cypriot native speakers are not familiar with this notion

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

The C(S)G meaning goes back in time at least until the medieval times, according to the Κριαράς online that lists two meanings, one of which is the second C(S)G one.

The (1b) meaning, which is a collocation, is not yet established in the manner of a set phrase that does not allow any change and it appears with different aspects and different tenses. It is an extension of the (1a) sense that started as a literal advice and then via metaphor came to signify equity in the face of adversity, in order to help the weaker in a society.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **λάμνω** ['lemnɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **λάμνω** ['lemnɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

(only in the present tense) (coll.) to row. [μσν. λάμνω < αρχ. ἐλάυνω `κινώ πλοίο με τα κουπιά' με αποβ. του αρχικού άτ. φων. και τροπή [vn > mn], σύγκρ. αχαμνός < αρχ. χαῦνος]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. (metaph.) start to leave, leave. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 273; Κυπρή 1989: 32; Παπαγγέλου 2001: 585)

Εχ.: *Κωστής: Ξανασκεφτείτε το. Εν να ταλαιπωρηθούμεν. Ττοφής: Λαλώ να λαμνήσουμε την παραμονήν της Παναγίας πρωίν πρωίν κουμπάρε μου...όσον να χαράξει. Με τη βοήθειαν του θεού, ώσπου να αρκέψει ο σπερινός εν να φτάσουμε. (Κουκίδης 2007α: 70)*

1b. (metaph.) to incite sb. to do sth., to rouse. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 273; Κυπρή 2002: 270; Παπαγγέλου 2001: 585)

Εχ.: *Ττοφής: Έστω, αποφάσισα. Ελένη: (Τονίζοντας τα λόγια της). Να λαμνήσουμε να πάμεν στην άλλην άκρην της Κύπρου για να βαφτίσουμεν το μωρό! (Κουκίδης 2007α: 63)*

1c. (metaph.) to start to do sth. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 273; Κυπρή 2002: 270; Παπαγγέλου 2001: 585)

Εχ.: *Ελένη: Δικλα ποτζεί τζι εν να καταλάβεις. Ττοφής: Είντα να καταλάβω; Ελένη: **Ελαμνήσαν** ένας ένας τζιαι μπαίνουν μεσ' στ' αυτοκίνητον. (Κουκίδης 2007α: 70)*

1d. (imper.metaph.) go, leave. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 585)

Εχ.: ***Λάμνε** κόρη τζιαι μεν φοάσαι, εσού τι φοάσαι γιατρέ; (Πολυδώρου 2003: 268)*

*Τι φταίμε εμείς! Κάτσετε, φάτε, πιείτε, **λάμνετε** στο καλό και μην ξανάρτετε δα πάνω! Τίποτε δε θα βρείτε. (Κουρέα-Σκουτελά 2010: 301)*

2. (phr.) *λάμνε ρώτα / λάμνε γύρευκε*, given as an answer to sb. asking about things that are obvious to see and the person asked is pointing this out, or is annoyed, so (s)he asks the other person to get out of there, to leave sb. be. (Γιαγκουλλής 2005: 104; <http://www.cyslang.com/dictionary/%CE%BB%CE%AC%CE%BC%CE%BD-%CE%B1%CF%81%CF%8E%CF%84%CE%B1/>)

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

Ex.: *Ττοφής: Γιατί εν να θέλει δέκα σελίνια ανώγιον για τον καθέναν, για να μας πάρει στον Απόστολον Αντρέαν ο Τριμπάκκιρος; Ελένη: Λάμνε ρώτα τον.* (Κουκίδης 2007α: 67)

3. (phr.) ~ νερά (pl.), βροχή, it is raining hard.

Ex.: *Ανου πάνω γιε μου τζιαι λάμνουν τα νερά, εννά ξησειλήσει τ' αρκάτζιν τζιαι να τα πάρει ούλλα.* (Πολυδώρου 2009: 13)

Λίγη ώρα αργότερα, μέσα στη βροχή που έλαμνε όλο το βράδυ, τα σκυλιά οδήγησαν τα βήματα του Κόκου στο πνιγμένο κουφάρι. (Πολυδώρου 2003: 342)

4. (phr.) *μεν λάμνεις*, don't talk, don't insist in what you are saying.

Ex.: *Τώρα σιώπα, μεν λάμνεις, τζ'εγώ σε κουμαντάρω / τζιαι όπου θέλω, ζόρολα, μιτά μου εννά σε πάρω.* (<https://www.google.com.cy/webhp?sourceid=chrome-instant&ion=1&espv=2&ie=UTF-8#>)

Analysis:

The SMG lemma is only used in the present tense and the rest of the tenses have become obsolete. Both lemmas originate in the Ancient Greek verb *ελαύνω* [ε'λεвно] that meant 'to row', which is retained in colloquial or literary speech in SMG, while it does not appear in the C(S)G any more (Ανδριώτης 1960: 42ff.). The medieval Κριαράς online dictionary indicates that the (1a-d) meanings are present in the dialect since that time. These meanings eventually evolved into the other collocational or phraseological meanings. The collocational dictionaries mention many more such senses, but we have not been able to find indications that they are still in use, although that would be improbable if not impossible at a basilectal level in some areas of the island.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **λειτουργός** [litur'ɣɔs]

Grammatical category: n. (masc.)

C(S)G lemma: **λειτουργός** [litu'ɣɔs]

SMG meaning(s):

1. a person with a profession of high social responsibility: *Δικαστικοί / εκπαιδευτικοί λειτουργοί*, judiciary / educational officials.
2. ~ του *Υψίστου*, minister, clergyman

Common meaning(s):

Κοινωνικός/κοινωνική ~, social worker. [λόγ.: 1, 2: αρχ. *Λειτουργός* `επιφορτισμένος με λειτουργία' σημδ. γαλλ. *fonctionnaire*· common meaning: ελνστ. σημ.· λόγ. θηλ. χωρίς διάκρ. γένους]

C(S)G meaning(s):

a. (form.) a public servant who occupies any position in the public sector, but does not belong to the simple clerical staff.

Ex.: *Η αίτηση αυτή πρέπει να κατατεθεί στον αρμόδιο λειτουργό στο Αρχιτελωνείο, στη Λευκωσία και να υπογραφεί στην παρουσία του.*
(<http://www.cyprusaa.org/documents/Reliefs%20-%20P16A%20-%20gr.pdf#search=%22%CE%BB%CE%B5%CE%B9%CF%84%CE%BF%CF%85%CF%81%CE%B3%CF%8C%22>)

b. (phr.) *ερευνών/ερευνούσα ~*, investigating official.

Ex.: *Τελικά όμως φαίνεται ότι όλα συγκλίνουν στο διορισμό ερευνώντα λειτουργού ενώπιον του οποίου θα τεθούν όλα τα στοιχεία.*
([http://www.politis.com.cy/C\(S\)Gibin/hweb?-A=649136&-V=archivearticles &-p](http://www.politis.com.cy/C(S)Gibin/hweb?-A=649136&-V=archivearticles &-p))

c. (phr.) *εκπαιδευτικός/εκπαιδευτική ~*, educator, teacher.

Ex.: *Η Επιτροπή Εκπαιδευτικής Υπηρεσίας ανακοινώνει τις πιο κάτω μεταθέσεις και τοποθετήσεις Εκπαιδευτικών Λειτουργών Σχολείων Μέσης Γενικής και Τεχνικής Εκπαίδευσης, με ισχύ από 1^η Σεπτεμβρίου 2012.*
(<http://www.eey.goverbcy/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=3il3sNLajFM%3d&tabid=62&mid=543>)

Analysis:

We have not encountered any indications regarding the semantic evolution of the lemma, but we can surmise that the term was probably revived from Ancient

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Greek in order to be used in the newly established state of Greece in the decades following its War of Independence, as occurred with many similarly resurrected words. The same word was used in Cyprus, probably during the British rule on the island in order to translate the noun 'official', thereby acquiring new senses.

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include this lemma among their entries, probably due to lack of overt dialectal markers.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **μακαρίζω** [meke'rizɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **μακαρίζω** [meke'rizɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

- a. to regard sb. as blissful, happy, to believe that sb. has been favored by luck.
- b. (say.) *μηδένα προ του τέλους μακάριζε*, to never consider that sb. or sth. is happy or fortunate, until their end is known. [αρχ. μακαρίζω]

C(S)G meaning(s):

- 1a. (intrans., pass.) to die.

Ex.: **Εμακαρίστην** η γεναίκαν μου. (Σάββα 2009: 93)

*Έταξε ως πρώτιστο σκοπό της ζωής του τον αγώνα κατά του κατακτητή μέχρι τελικής πτώσης και την ανεύρεση της αγαπημένης του γυναίκας. Έτσι κατέβαινε συχνά και συσκεπτόταν με τον αρχιεπίσκοπο Τιμόθεο κι ύστερα που **μακαρίστηκε** ο γέροντας συνέχισε τη μυστική συνεργασία του με το διάδοχό του, το Λαυρέντιο. (Κουρέα-Σκουτελά 2010: 269)*

- 1b. (trans.) to kill sb.

Ex.: *Εννά σε **μακαρίσω**, ίνταν' που κάμνεις δαμαί;* (C.C.)

2. (phr.), *ο Θεός μακαρίσει κάποιον*, a phrase said typically of sb. who (usually recently) died, that God may forgive or absolve sb. of all sins. (Κυπρή 1989: 138, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 295)

Ex.: *«Ο Θεός ας αναπάψει την ψυχή του κόμη Αρωνιόν. Ο Θεός **μακαρίσει** τον», ψιθύριζαν κάθε τόσο οι πονεμένοι. (Κουρέα-Σκουτελά 2010: 239)*

Analysis:

Of the C(S)G dictionaries we have selected to use, only two have just the second meanings for the C(S)G variety. The Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 295) entry includes also the SMG meanings, but after consulting with our informants who claim that they are not familiar with those specific senses (which corroborates our understanding too), we have come to believe that the dictionary in fact considers as common meanings and set phrases instances of use or entries that are present only in SMG and for C(S)G speakers constitute usually passive knowledge of an SMG usage.

The phraseologism's meaning is probably the one that led to the extension of the (1a) and (1b) meanings. First appeared the (1a), as a natural consequence of the phraseological meaning, since in order for God to absolve someone of his/her

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sins, it is implied that the person is dead. Therefore, when it is used, it may signify that a person has died. The (1b) is a fairly recent semantic extension of the (1a) that was probably used jokingly at first and then it became more established, at least among the younger generations.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **μάννα** ['mene]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **μάννα** ['mene]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (phr.) *από την κοιλιά της μάννας του*, since very early on.
2. (phr.) *όπως τον γέννησε η ~ του*, stark naked.
3. (phr.) *(είναι) της μάννας του παιδί*, when a child looks a lot like his/her mother or usually resembles her character.
4. (phr.) *(εδώ) χάνει η ~ το παιδί και το παιδί τη ~*, for large crowds or overcrowding.
5. (phr.) *να τρώει η ~ και στο παιδί να μη δίνει*, for delicious food.
6. (phr.) *στον δια(β)όλου τη ~*, very far away.
7. (phr.) *πουλάει κάποιος τη ~ του*, for sb. who is morally ruthless.
8. (phr.) *σαν να του σκότωσαν τη ~*, for sb. too enraged over sth.
9. (phr.) *μου ζητάει κάποιος τη ~ και τον πατέρα*, for excessive demands, esp. financial.
10. (phr.) *από τη ~ του*, since the beginning, from the factory.
11. (proverb) *κατά ~ και πατέρα ο κατά ~ κατά κύρη (κατά γιο και θυγατέρα)*, for a child with the same flaws as its parents.
12. for sb. who is very capable, adept in sth.: *Είναι ~ στο να λέει ψέματα*.
13. (coll.) original document.

Common meaning(s):

1. mum, mother.
2. (phr.) *~ μου*, as an interj.:
 - 2a. expressing pain, fear, surprise or admiration depending on the tone of voice.
 - 2b. for a beloved person.
3. for sb. taking care of other people like a mother to her children.
4. (metaph.). (in team games): a. the basic player or the game leader. b. a set place with a special role in the game.

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5. in gambling games, esp. cards, it signifies the bank.
6. (in backgammon) the first game piece, at the starting point.
7. (coll.) wellhead. [μσν. μάμμα < μάμμα (δες μαμά) με ανομ. [m-m > m-n] (ορθογρ. απλοπ.)· μάμμα(α) -ούλλα· μαμούλλα(α) -ίτσα· μάμμα(α) -ίτσα]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. initial capital.

Ex.: Δίχα να συνεννοηθούν, δίχα να πουν λέξη μεταξύ τους τζιαι οι πέντε ούτε μια σπιθαμή γης εν εξητήσαν. [...] – Καλά τους τόκους, μα τζιαι τη μάμμα εχαρίσαν τη; (Πολυδώρου 2003: 137)

- 2a. (phr.) μάμμα μου ρε, used in a derogatory manner, in order to mock sb.

Ex.: Χριστόφορος: Ο πελλός εγίώ είμαι που κάθουμαι τζιαι ασχολούμαι μιτά σου... Ο νούρος του σσιύλλου δεν ισιώνει! Κωνσταντής: (κοροϊδευτικά) **Μάμμα μου ρε...** Πέ το πιο δυνατά, πέρκει το χωνέψεις! (Πέτρου and Χατζηστυλλής 2012: 6)

- 2b. (phr.) μάμμα μου, μάμμα μου, interj. that expresses grievance, discontent, even lament.

Ex.: Καλλιόπη: (παραληρώντας και κλαίγοντας) Ήτουν θκυό μέτρα παλληκάριν ο Γιαννής της! Τζιαι αλλό δκυό μέτρα που την κκελλέν τζιαι πάνω **μάμμα μου μάμμα μου...** (Πέτρου and Χατζηστυλλής 2012: 14)

- 2c. (phr.) α μάμμα μου, μάμμα μου, interj. that expresses agitation, indignation, or exasperation

Ex.: Δέσποινα: Ε ναι.. ιντα τρώσιν τζιαι στο Πανοχώριν! Τζιαι θκυό τζιαι τρείς βολές την ημέραν! Κοινοτάρχης: (έξαλλος) **Α μάμμα μου, μάμμα μου!!!** Δέσποινα: Πάντως άμαν καταστηθεί, εν πρώτον πράμαν! Κοινοτάρχης: (έξαλλος) **Α μάμμα μου, μάμμα μου!!!** (Πέτρου & Χατζηστυλλής 2012: 52)

Analysis:

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include either the first meaning or the collocations among their entries. Only Κυπρή (1989: 88) and Παπαγγέλου (2001: 645) mention the basic common meaning, ‘mum’ and the latter also includes several senses that are now obsolete (according to relevant internet searches and our informants).

All of the collocations are extensions of the main interjection at the lips of every child in the world, namely ‘mum’ in all its different forms. It is to be expected that

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it would be used with any number of conjunctions to express the senses presented by the examples.

The first C(S)G meaning is probably an extension of the (5) common meaning or the (13) SMG meaning applied in a different context, since in both cases the main denotation is of 'sth. that is the original, the initial or the main source of sth. else'. The rest of the C(S)G meanings appear to be extensions of the second among the common meanings that encompasses several different interjections, as does the second sense in the C(S)G. The difference in this case is that the lemma may appear to be doubling its interjectionary force due to its repetition

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **μανικιούρ** [meni'cur]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **μανικιούρ** [meni'cur]

Common meaning(s):

1. manicure, treatment of the hand nails.
2. a large and beautified hand nail. [γαλλ. manucure, manicure]

C(S)G meaning(s):

nail polish.

Ex.: *Young female client:* «Έσεις **μανικιούρ**;» *Salesperson:* «Όι μάνα μου, στο *φαρμακείο*». (dialogue in a grocery store)

*...όσα μικρά και καθημερινά και οι δυο αναφέρετε είναι ολόσωστα και ζηλευτά, αλλά υπόψην ότι η κάθε σχέση έχει τα δικά της μικρά και καθημερινά... σε άλλους πολλά και σ' άλλους λίγα. Π.χ. εγώ ζηλεύω που μιας φίλης μου ο φίλος της γοράζει της **μανικιούρ** "γιατί έτσι", τζιαι τζείνη ζηλεύκει με μένα που ο χάσπας πλυνίσκει τα αγγειά κάθε μέρα :)*
(http://cupcake-freak.blogspot.com/2008/06/blog-post_29.html)

Analysis:

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include this lemma among their entries, probably due to the lack of overt dialectal markers and the fact that it is a foreign loanword. It has entered the variety either directly in parallel to its entry to the SMG or from the SMG. The semantic extension has only taken place in C(S)G and not in the SMG.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **μάσκα** ['meske]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **μάσκα** ['meske]

Common meaning(s):

1. mask, worn as a disguise, or to amuse or frighten others (πρβ. *προσωπίδα*). || *Νεκρική* ~, death mask.
2. a protective covering fitting over part of or the whole face, worn: a. to protect from sth.: ~ *του βατραχανθρώπου / του κολυμβητή*, scuba-diving / swimming mask. *Χειρουργική / ιατρική* ~, surgical / medical mask. *Αντιασφυξιογόνες μάσκες*, gas masks. b. to channel sth.: ~ *οξυγόνου / αιθέρα*, oxygen / ether mask.
3. a face pack, skin cosmetic for face, neck, or hair. || (ext.) several natural products used in the same manner.
4. the frontal protective covering: *H ~ του αυτοκινήτου*, car mask. || (naut.): *H ~ του πλοίου*, lateral part of the prow.
5. (metaph.) a manner or expression that hides one's true character or feelings. (phr.) *βγάζω τη ~ από κπ.*, to take the mask off sb. [ιταλ. *masca* & γαλλ. *masq(ue)* -α]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(usually in the pl.) masquerader.

Ex.: *Τι ήθελαν οι Έλληνες να ντυθούν μάσκες το Σάββατο της Τυροφάγου και να γυρίζουν με νταούλια μέσα στο παζάρι; (Σμυρλή 1997: 113)*

Την Παρασκευή το βράδυ πήγα μάσκες με το φίλο μου το Δώρο. (Παπασταύρου 1994: 114)

Analysis:

The C(S)G is probably an extension of the first common meaning, given that masks are regularly used during the Carnival celebration in order to cover the masqueraders' faces and keep them from being recognized.

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include the lemma among their entries, probably due to the lack of overt dialectal markers.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **μοίρα** ['mire]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **μοίρα** ['mire]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (phr.) *κλαίει τη ~ του*, to pathetically accept a difficult situation without doing anything to fight against it.
2. (phr.) *τα τρία κακά της μοίρας του*, sb.'s looks or general condition is bad.
3. (phr.) *δεν έχει στον ήλιο ~*, for sb. who is unsupported or unprotected in life.

Common meaning(s):

μοίρα¹

- 1a. fate, destiny.
- 1b. fate personified or in the form of a goddess.
- 1c. what fate has decreed for every person in life.
- 2a. (bad luck): *Ήταν της μοίρας του να το πάθει κι αυτό.*
- 2b. (proverb) *όπου φτωχός κι η ~ του*, for poor and unlucky persons.
3. (ext.) for a group of humans: *Η ~ ενός έθνους / μιας φυλής*, a nation's or a tribe's destiny.
4. (inan) anything that happens since the moment that sth. is constructed, created or anything that concerns its future or evolution, luck.
5. (phr.) *βάζω κπ. / κτ. σε ίση / σε ίδια ~ με κπ. / με κτ. άλλο*, to consider equal to sth. or sb. else.
6. (phr.) *βάζω κπ. / κτ. σε δεύτερη ~*, to consider sth. or sb. less important than sth. or sb. else. [*αρχ. μοῖρα, Μοῖρα* (θεά της τύχης, του πεπρωμένου)]

μοίρα²

- 1a. (mil.) squadron: *~ πυροβολικού*, artillery unit equivalent of a battalion.
- 1b. (leg.) share, portion, allotment *μερίδιο: Ίση ~*, equal share. *Νόμιμη ~*, reserved share.
2. (math.) degree (of an angle). [*λόγ. < αρχ. μοῖρα*]

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

C(S)G meaning(s):

(equal size) slice, part. (Κυπρή 2002: 314; Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 321)

Ex.: 100 γρ. πορτοκάλι ξεφλουδισμένο σε **μοίρες**. (<http://www.cookitcy.com/single-post/2016/09/07/%CE%A3%CE%B1%CE%BB%CE%AC%CF%84%CE%B1-%CE%BC%CE%B5-%CE%B1%CE%B2%CE%BF%CE%BA%CE%AC%CE%BD%CF%84%CE%BF-%CF%80%CE%BF%CF%81%CF%84%CE%BF%CE%BA%CE%AC%CE%BB%CE%B9-%CE%BA%CE%B1%CE%B9-%CF%80%CF%81%CE%AC%CF%83%CE%B9%CE%BD%CE%BF-%CE%BC%CE%AE%CE%BB%CE%BF>)

*Πούλλες με κρασί και κόλιανδρο: Μπορούμε επίσης να φτιάξουμε τις πούλλες και με πατάτες κομμένες σε **μοίρες** (Χριστοδούλου 2011: 152).*

Analysis:

The C(S)G meaning is probably an extension of the (1b) common meaning of 'share, portion' for the second lemma (μοίρα²), since a slice of sth. is actually a portion of that. The lemma in C(S)G is mainly used for fruits or vegetables that are small or round and can be portioned off in slices.

The ancient Greek *μοῖρα* that both lemmas are derived from also had this meaning, but it has currently undergone a specialization process in the C(S)G focusing mainly on fruits or vegetables, while previously it meant a part or portion of sth. that could be fruits and vegetables, but also land, or inheritance in general.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **μυροφόρος** [mirɔ'fɔrɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.¹³⁹

C(S)G lemma: **μυροφόρος** [mirɔ'fɔrɔs]

Common meaning(s):

- 1a. sth. or sb. carrying or bearing myrrh.
- 1b. (pl. as a noun) οι *Μυροφόρες*, the Myrrh-bearing women who went to the tomb of Christ to anoint his body in myrrh.
2. sth. that produces or contains myrrh, fragrant. [λόγ. < ελνστ. *μυροφόρος*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(noun fem.) *μυροφόρα*, French lavender (*lavandula stoechas*) or simply lavender. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 339, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 738, Κυπρή 2003: 182, Παυλίδης 1948-1991, vol. 10, p. 175)

Ex.: *Ταξινόμηση: Η Λεβάντα ανήκει στην οικογένεια Lamiaceae (Labiatae) Χειλανθή και στο γένος Lavandula. Το γένος αυτό περιλαμβάνει περί τα 30 είδη, τα σπουδαιότερα των οποίων είναι: α. Lavandula vera DCL. β. Lavandula spica L. γ. Lavandula stoechas (μυροφόρα) ([http://www.moa.govercy/moa/da/da.nsf/All/00EB5A1B35251DBFC225711000512FB7/\\$file/3_2005%20AROMATIKA_FYTA_ETHERIA.pdf?OpenElement](http://www.moa.govercy/moa/da/da.nsf/All/00EB5A1B35251DBFC225711000512FB7/$file/3_2005%20AROMATIKA_FYTA_ETHERIA.pdf?OpenElement))*

Analysis:

In Cyprus, it was considered the Easter flower par excellence, because it was in bloom during the Easter time and it was used to cover the Epitaphios (Eastern orthodox church liturgical, embroidered cloth covering the 'tomb' of Christ) in the Good Friday service. The name is derived from the ritual of the Myrrh-bearing women who blessed the tomb of Christ with myrrh (and these are the flowers that are considered to have been used).

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**



¹³⁹ It is an adjective but it is easily nounified as both the (1b) common meanings and the C(S)G meanings testify. The flower we are concerned with is a feminine nounified adjective, and this is the form it appears in at the Συνητυσιές website.

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SMG lemma: **μυρωδικό** [mirɔði'kɔ]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)¹⁴⁰

C(S)G lemma: **μυρωδικό** [mirɔði'kɔ]

Common meaning(s):

1. herb or flavoring.

2. (rar.) any aromatic substance. [μσν. μυρωδικό ουσιαστικοπ. ουδ. του επιθ. μυρωδικός < μυρωδ(ία) -ικός]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(pl.) aromatic scent, perfume.

Ex.: *Ήταν ούλλα μέσα τζαι τα χρυσαφικά της τζαι τα **μυρωδικά** της.* (Σάββα 2009: 29)

*Το φόρεμα αυτό είναι φορημένο, μυρίζει **μυρωδικά**.* (C.L.)

Analysis:

The lemma appears only at the Συντυδιές website, while Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 338) mentions only the neuter noun *μυριστικό* [miristi'kɔ], 'perfume and other liquid scents', in which the word 'scent' is expressed by the noun *μυρωδικά*, consequently suggesting that the C(S)G member of the false friends' pair indeed signifies 'perfume, scent'.

The ANEG (2002: 1156) presents as the first sense of the lemma the meaning 'aromatic extract' and as a synonym is given 'scent, perfume'. On the other hand, the XANΓ (2014: 1073) corroborates the ΔKN meanings, therefore we believe that the ANEG dictionary probably records a meaning that is not equally current.

The medieval Κριαράς dictionary attests the 'aromatic substance' meaning that is the second common meaning, from which in all probability evolved the C(S)G sense.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

¹⁴⁰ It has been nounified as a neuter noun since the medieval times from the adjective *μυρωδικός* < *μυρωδ(ία) -ικός*.

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SMG lemma: **παπαρούνα** [pepe'runɛ]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **παπαρούνα** [pepe'runɛ]

Common meaning(s):

1a. poppy.

1b. the intensely red colored flower of poppy.

2. (phr.) *γίνομαι (κόκκινος σαν) ~*, to blush because of shame or embarrassment.

3. (coll.) opium. [μσν. *παπαρούνα* < υστλατ. (πρβ. λατ. *paraver*, ιταλ. *paravero*, ρουμ. *pararosană*) ή < παλιά μεσογειακή λ., συγγ. του λατ. *paraver*]



C(S)G meaning(s):

ladybug, a small insect with red color and black spots.

Ex.: *N.X.: Ο γιος μου πήρε μαζί του στο σχολείο τον «Λούκουλο» του Τριβιζά, που τρώει παπαρούνες και γίνεται παπαρουνί. Σ.Α.: πώς δηλαδή, με βούλες; N.X.: Όχι, απόχρωση του κόκκινου, και τον κυνηγάει... (κοιτάει απορημένος και γελάει μετά ο Σ.Α.): Ααα, παπαρούνα φυτό εννοείς, όχι **παπαρούνα** έντομο, πασχαλίτσα, πώς τη λέτε στην Ελλάδα.*

*Φωτογραφία Ημέρας – Η πασχαλίτσα – «μάγισσα»! Αγαπητοί φίλοι, πολύ όμορφη φωτογραφία ,όμως δέν είναι **παπαρούνα** αλλά πασχαλίτσα. Στη Κυπριακή διάλεκτο σε ορισμένες περιοχές ονομάζεται παπαούρα. (<http://offsite.com.cy/offsite-news/item/4140-%CF%86%CF%89%CF%84%CE%BF%CE%B3%CF%81%CE%B1%CF%86%CE%AF%CE%B1-%CE%B7%CE%BC%CE%AD%CF%81%CE%B1%CF%82-%E2%80%93-%CE%B7-%CF%80%CE%B1%CF%80%CE%B1%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%8D%CE%BD%CE%B1-%E2%80%93-%CE%BC%CE%AC%CE%B3%CE%B9%CF%83%CF%83%CE%B1.html>)*

Analysis:

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include this lemma among their entries. The lemma they correlate with the insect called *πασχαλίτσα* [pesxe'litse] (feminine noun), 'ladybug' is the feminine noun *παπαούρα* [pepe'ure] (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 381, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 847, Κυπρή 2003: 331). This lemma is derived from the noun *παπαδούρα* [pepe'dure] with elision of the intervocalic consonant, a process quite common in the C(S)G that we have already mentioned in the phonetics-relevant part of the correlation between the two varieties reviewed (1.4.1). It is possible that this almost obsolete, probably basilectal form has been

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replaced by the more known form of *παπαρούνα*, that was the one the younger of our informants were familiar with. Our interpretation of the C(S)G meaning is also corroborated by the fact that there is a venue in Limassol for events and shows that is called 'Paparouna' with a logo making reference not to the flower, but to the insect.



PAPAROUNA
venue



Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

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SMG lemma: **παστός** [pe'stɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **παστός** [pe'stɔs]

SMG meaning(s):

(phr.) *κάνω κπ. παστό (στο ξύλο)*, to beat sb. senseless.

Common meaning(s):

a. cured, preserved (meat or fish) by salting, drying, or smoking.

b. (as a noun) το *παστό*, cured food. [αρχ. *παστός*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. cured fruits. (Κυπρή 2003: 30, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 866, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 390, Σακελλαρίου 1898 :721

Ex.: *Όταν θα τα σερβίρετε, σκορπάτε στην επιφάνειά τους τα ψιλοκομμένα φουντούκια και τα παστά χρυσόμηλα.* (<http://www.philenews.com/el-gr/Drosera/831/13302/diplomatis-me-chrysomila-kai-giaourti-me-meli>)

Σε ένα δοχείο βάζουμε την ανάμικτη σαλάτα και προσθέτουμε σε αυτήν τα ¾ από τα παστά χρυσόμηλα, τα ¾ από τα παστά σύκα και τα πινόλια. (<http://www.zorbas.com.cy/zorbas/page.php?pageID=85&viewArticle=120&prev=85>)

2. thin, skinny. (Κυπρή 2003: 30, Κυπρή 2002: 362, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 866, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 390, Χατζηγιάννου 1996: 138, Σακελλαρίου 1898 :721)

Ex.: *Στο όνειρο ήμουν πολλά πιο νεαρή..ενω οι άλλοι στο κοινό είχαν την ηλικία που έχουν σήμερα. Ημουν πολλά παστή, τα μαλλια μου ήταν ισιωμένα τζαι επερπάτουν στην σκηνή ξυπόλυτη, ήταν λες τζαι έν είμουν εγώ.* (http://drprasinada.blogspot.com/2011_10_01_archive.html)

Περπατάς τζαι πετάς (χωρίς όλγουεις με φτερά!) Νοιώθεις παστή, η σκεμπέ σου εμπήκε τέλεια μέσα, μπορείς να φορήσεις το λινό το παντελόني που θέλεις τζαι κανένα φουστανούδι! (http://drprasinada.blogspot.com/2011_06_01_archive.html)

Analysis:

The first C(S)G meaning is an extension of the first common meaning of 'cured meat or fish' that in Cyprus applies also to fruits. In Greece, these dried fruits are called *αποξηραμένα φρούτα* [epɔksire'mene#'frute], i.e. 'dried fruits' named after the process used to cure them, namely drying.

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The process that lead to the second C(S)G meaning is probably a metaphor, such as in the case of the feminine noun *παστόρεγγα* [pe'stɔreŋɣe], 'extremely skinny woman, usually ugly as well' (that could also be correlated with the SMG meaning of the feminine noun *ρέγγα* [reŋɣe], 'thin and ugly woman'). Drying or curing food results in a size reduction to the food undergoing the process that makes it thinner, so when applied to people, it also signifies someone who is thin, even skinny.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **περνώ** [pe'ɾɲɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **περνώ** [pe'ɾɲɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (phr.) ~ *ζωή και κότα / (την) ~ κοτσάνι / περνάω ζάχαρη*, to live the good life.
2. (phr.) *περνά κάποιος τα εσκαμμένα*, when sb. oversteps a mainly morally allowed boundary.
3. (phr.) *μπόρα είναι (και) θα περάσει*, this too shall pass.
4. (phr.) *(δεν) περνάει η μπογιά κάποιου*, for the abilities or skills that sb. has and are not important any more.
5. (phr.) *τον πέρασε γενεές δεκατέσσερις*, to call sb. names.
6. (phr.) ~ *(στο) ντούκου*, to conceal, pass over sth.
7. (phr.) *του / της τα ~*, to cheat on sb.
8. (phr.) *περνάει κτ. από το χέρι μου*, to be able to do sth.
9. (phr.) *περνάει κτ. ή κάποιος από τα χέρια μου*, to attend to sb., to look after sb., for a time.
10. (phr.) ~ *από σαράντα κύματα*, for a tumultuous life or a long and tiring process.

Common meaning(s):

- 1a. to pass sth. through an opening.
- 1b. to pass sth. over sth. else.
2. to travel a usually large space, to cross.
3. to travel through.
- 4a. to transfer from one point to another.
- 4b. (metaph.) to transition from one state into another.
5. to pass through an opening in order: a. to enter. b. to exit.
- 6a. to make sb. or sth. travel through a place.
- 6b. to transfer sb. or sth. from one place to another.
- 6c. to parade sth.

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7. (for time, facts, situations, etc.) to pass, to stop existing, to end.
8. to pass the time in a certain manner. (phr.) *πώς τα περνάς;*, how are you doing?
- 9a. to pass sth. through sth.
- 9b. (for liquids) to soak, saturate.
10. to leave sth. behind, to pass sth. by.
11. to outdo sb. in a contest.
- 12a. to overcome an objective or subjective boundary.
- 12b. (age) *Πέρασε τα τριάντα εδώ και χρόνια*, he's been over thirty for years now.
- 12c. (phr.) ~ *τα όρια*, to cross a red line.
13. to succeed in a test or examination, etc.
- 14a. to suffer through sth.
- 14b. (for disease) *Πέρασε μικρός την ανεμοβλογιά*, he had the measles as a young boy.
15. to pass through a test.
- 16a. to transfer sth; to acquire sth. by transfer.
- 16b. to pass sth. hand-in-hand.
- 17a. to enter sth. in a form, newspaper, magazine, etc., to publish.
- 17b. (for documents, bills, etc.) to enter, record.
- 18a. to be believable.
- 18b. to pass, vote sth.
- 18c. to have one's way with sth.
- 18d. (for banknotes) to be acceptable, to be worth.
19. (for surface) to apply to a large surface.
21. to put sth. on sb. (phr.) ~ *βέρες*, to marry two people by putting their rings on.
- 22a. to believe that sb. or sth. bear a certain quality.

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22b. to be considered as.

23. to think, imagine.

24. to use a kitchen utensil to cut in small pieces or to separate the ingredients or to mash sth. [μσν. *περνώ* < αρχ. *περῶ* μεταπλ. με βάση το συνοπτ. θ. *περασ-* κατά το σχ.: *κερασ-* (*κέρασα*) – *κερνώ*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. to have enough money to survive, to live on.

Ex.: *Πότε ήρτεν να σε αρωτήσει αν είσαι καλά, αν έσεις τίποτε, αν κρατάς να περάσεις;* (Σάββα 2009: 57)

Θα μείνομε όπως είμαστε, τους απάντησε, και θα περνάμε με το καλαθάκι, που θα μας φέρνουν τα παιδιά μας απ' ό,τι τους περισσεύει. (Σμυρλή 1983: 16)

Δε σου βάναν σήμερα ούτ' ένα σελινάκι, Παναγίτσα μου; Δεν πειράζει, μη με σκέφτεσαι. Θα περάσω. (Μόντης 1987: 1437)

Αθηνά: Τόσον τζιαιρόν δόξα σοι ο Θεός. Επεράσαμεν τζιαι περνούμεν Ελλού μου. Ελλού: Έτσι περνά ο κόσμος; Έπκιαες καμιάν φοράν στα σιέρκα σου τα σιερούδκια των μωρών μου; Που την αφαϊάν τζιαι την πείναν εγινήκασιν όπως τους σκελετούς. (Κουκίδης: 243)

2a. (phr., impers. verb, 3rd pers. sing.) *περνά* + *pers. pron. GEN*, to have the skill or talent to do sth. (Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 78)

Ex.: *Περνά του και κάμνει ούλα τα μαστορέματα στο σπίτι, υδραυλικά, ηλεκτρολογικά...* (C.L.)

Ξέρεις που μου περνά να γράφω θεατρικά δρώμενα. Αρέσκει μου... (VERBC.)

Ό,τι εργασία είχαμε, επειδή δεν είχαμεν άλλον να του περνά στη λογιστική, έκαμα την εγιώ. (L.L.)

Εσού, είπαμεν το, είσαι αμπάλατη, τίποτε εν σου περνά να κάμνεις. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 291)

2b. to always have it his/her way.

Ex.: *Εχάρηες πως σου πέρασε, έσασα σε εγιώ καλά.* (Πολυδώρου 2009: 424)

Αν του πέρναν, ήτουν ναν δαμαί τωρά, με την μάμμα του. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 154)

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

Analysis:

Except for the phraseological dictionary mentioned above, none of the other dictionaries includes the lemma among its entries, possibly due to lack of any overt dialectal markers.

The (1) C(S)G sense is retained since the medieval era (Κριαράς online) and it is quite possible that it was dropped from the SMG, since linguistic change takes place on that variety at a faster rate than it does in the C(S)G. The (2a) C(S)G sense is also possibly derived from common meaning (11), via an extension of the sense, since if sb. surpasses sb. else, then they have abilities and they are better. The (2b) C(S)G sense is similar to the (18c) common sense.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **πορσελάνη** [pɔrse'leni]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **πορσελάνη** [pɔrse'leni]

Common meaning(s):

1. porcelain, a white vitrified translucent ceramic; china.
- 2a. an article made of porcelain
- 2b. porcelain articles collectively. [ιταλ. porcellana με λόγ. επίδρ. κατά το γαλλ. porcelaine]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. (usually pl.) porcelain tiles.

Ex.: *Λερώθηκαν οι **πορσελάνες** του τοίχου. (C.C.)*

*Ατε τώρα εβαλες μας να πουμε ουλλοι τις ιστοριες μας για αποπατους. [...] Ενα που τα πιο μιαλα επιτευγματα μου στο στρατο ηταν με 2 μερες αδεια τιμητικη του καθενου [...] να ξισουμε (sic) τις πογιαες τζιαι να εβρουμε τις **πορσελανεσ** πουκατω να μπορούμε να τα κρατουμε καθαρα. Εγινηκαν ολογιαλλα... μυστηριο γιατι καποιος να πογιατιση **πορσελανεσ** αντι να τις καθαριση! (<http://diasporos.blogspot.com/2010/04/ocd.html>)*

2. (usually pl.) dishes.

Ex.: *Η κουζίνα τζίνη, που αγάπησα τόσο, γεμάτη ανθρώπους, σαν πάντα, γεμάτη κατσιάρισμα τζαί πιρούνια που χορέφκουν πασ τες **πορσελάνες**, γεμάτη ποτήρκα με κρασί τζαι όπως κάθε χρόνο με ένα καινούριο μωρό να βουρά μες τα πόθκια μας, να φουτουνιάζει τη γιαγιά μου τζαι να καταλήγει κάτω που το τραπέζι μπρούμουττα να κλαίει (κάποτε ήμουν εγώ) · (http://klamaeksouranou.blogspot.com/2011/04/blog-post_25.html)*

Analysis:

The semantic change has probably occurred via the second common meaning of 'articles made of porcelain' that denotes collectiveness. Both C(S)G meanings have evolved metonymically from the second meaning, but there has been a diversification of the original. From the phraseologism *πλακάκια από πορσελάνη* [ple'kece#e'pɔ#pɔrse'leni] 'porcelain tiles' was deleted the (pl.) neuter noun *πλακάκια* leaving the feminine noun *πορσελάνη* [pɔrse'leni] that assumed the plural number in the form of *πορσελάνες* [pɔrse'lenes]. The route by which the phraseologism *πίατα από πορσελάνη* ['piɛte#e'pɔ#pɔrse'leni] was also reduced to *πορσελάνες* is possibly equivalent.

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

The lemma does not appear in any C(S)G dictionary, probably due to the lack of any overt dialectal markers.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **ρίγα** ['riɣe]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **ρίγα** ['riɣe]

Common meaning(s):

- a. stripe on a piece of paper.
- b. different coloring stripe on cloth.

C(S)G meaning(s):

ruler, a straight strip or cylinder of plastic, wood, metal, or other rigid material, typically marked at regular intervals and used to draw straight lines or measure distances. (Κυπρή 2003: 213, Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 59, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1027)

Ex.: *Προηγουμένως, αφού έν έχω μέτρο, επιστράτευσα μεθόδους της μεσοζωικής εποχής για το μετρήμα της πασθιάς μου ζάμπας . Επιασα μαλλι που μπλεκεις, έπιασα "άξαμο" που λαλούμεν στα Κυπριακά τζαι μετα επιασα μία **ρίγα** να μετρησω το μαλλι. (http://drprasinada.blogspot.com/2011/11/01_archive.html)*

Analysis:

This pair of false friends used to be a pair of cognates in the two varieties, but they evolved into false friends, because the currently C(S)G meaning used to be also current in the variety of Greece, but not any longer. The ΔKN dictionary online corroborates this, since it states that this meaning was also present, but it is now considered obsolete. The ΔΝΕΓ dictionary does not include this meanings among its lemmas.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: σκάλα ['skele]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: σκάλα ['skele]

Common meaning(s):

1a. stairs, staircase.

1b. ladder.

2a. (metaph. oral.) scale.

2b. musical scale'.

3a. landing stage, dock'.

3b. fish auction. [μσν. σκάλα < λατ. scala]

C(S)G meaning(s):

a unit area of 14.400 sq. ft. (Κυπρή 1989: 229, Κυπρή 2003: 218, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1086, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 490), or 1,337.80 sq.m., according to the Cypriot Department of Lands and Surveys (<http://portal.dls.moi.govrcy/el-gr/Pages/unitconversion.aspx>)

Ex.: Πόσες σκάλες εν το χωράφι που πουλάς;

Ο Αντωνής εχάρηκεν πολλά τζι' έδωκέν τους δέκα σκάλες χωράφκια πότιμα. (Σάββα 2009: 14)

Η «επιτροπή» άρπαξε ήδη 3.000 σκάλες γης (news. Πολίτης, 1/12/2009)

Analysis:

The feminine noun σκάλα ['skele] is the main unit used for land measurement. Most people believe that the hectare that is used in Greece equals the C(S)G σκάλα (Κυπρή 2003: 218 and 1989: 229, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1086) but it is actually larger by 337,80 sq. m. Κυπρή (1989: 229) mentions that the word is derived from the Italian *scala* originally from the homonymous Latin noun and the ΔΚΝ corroborates the etymological route. The noun was probably established as a land measurement unit around the time that it was borrowed into the language and retained the name and the measurement until today.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **σπασμένος** [spe'zmenɔs] Grammatical category: part.

C(S)G lemma: **σπασμένος** [spe'zmenɔs]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (phr.) *πληρώνω τα σπασμένα*, to pay the price for the actions of sb. else.
2. for toning down an intense taste or color.
3. for sb. who is fed up or pissed off.

Common meaning(s):

1. broken.
2. reduced, lessened.
3. aged too quickly or suddenly.
4. for shattered nerves due to an ordeal.
5. for foreign accent when using a second language. [μππ. του σπάζω]

C(S)G meaning(s):

- a. broken down, out of order.

Ex.: *Αλλά αν έσρεις κοακόλες μες το ψυγείο σου, εν μας διάς που μιαν να πιούμεν, πριν ι-βράσουσιν; Έτσι που εν **σπασμένον** το ψυγειο εν να ξιπαώσουν!*

(<http://aneforiwnounblogspot.com.cy/2010/08/612010.html>)

*Με **σπασμένη** μηχανή και γεννήτρια βγήκε στη θάλασσα το «Πίρι Ρέις». [...] Οι υπεύθυνοι του πλοίου ζήτησαν άμεση αντικατάσταση της μηχανής και της γεννήτριας, αλλά οι οδηγίες που πήραν ήταν να ξεκινήσουν αμέσως οι έρευνες. (<http://www.sigmalive.com/archive/simerini/politics/reportaz/427956>)*

- b. damaged, wrecked.

Ex.: *Έγω ελαγκοδέρνουμουν εναν μήνα παστον κανάπεν της φιλενάδας. (Φιλενάδα ξερεις ποσο σε αγαπώ τζιαι σε εκτιμώ αλλά ο καναπές εν **σπασμενος**, εν καμνει για υπνον:-).(http://post-babylonblogspot.com/2010_02_01_archive.html)*

Analysis:

This participle appears to be used only to denote the first of the C(S)G meanings present in the verb it belongs to, namely 'to break down'.

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

The participle is absent from the C(S)G dictionaries, possibly because they also ignored the verb¹⁴¹ considering that semantically it coincides with the SMG lemma. Even the Παπαγγέλου dictionary that includes the verb, does not have a separate entry for the participle, although it should, since it does not express all the meanings that the verb has.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

¹⁴¹ For more details, cf. the entry for the verb among the multiple false friends.

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SMG lemma: **σπόνδυλος** [ˈspɔndilos] Grammatical category: n. (masc.)

C(S)G lemma: **σπόνδυλος** [ˈspɔndilos] C(S)G allomorph: **σποντύλιν** [spɔˈndiliːn]

Common meaning(s):

1. vertebra. [λόγ.: I: αρχ. σπόνδυλος· II: ελνστ. σημ.]
2. (ancient arch.) each of the circular stones that make up the column shaft.

C(S)G meaning(s):

a. backache, lumbago.

Ex.: *Συνήθως όσοι έχουν πρόβλημα με το σπόνδυλο φκάνουν ελεύθεροι βάρους ή φόρτου.* (<http://www.fournofkios.com/2012/07/%CE%B5%CF%80%CE%AF%CE%B5%CE%BD-%CE%BF-%CE%B3%CF%81%CF%8C%CE%BD%CE%BF%CF%82/>)

Ήταν ένα πολλά καλό παιδί που έκαμνε αστεία τζιαι εγώ προσωπικά εσυμπαθούσα τον πολλά... Είχε σοβαρό πρόβλημα με τον σπόνδυλο του τζιαι ήταν να έκαμνε εγχείρηση. Εν εμπορούσε να περπατήσει καλά, έπρεπε συνέχεια να ξαπλώνει τζιαι στο KEN δεν έκαμνε απολύτως τίποτε. (http://andreouandreas.blogspot.com/2010/08/blog-post_06.html)

b. (phr.) *ποννώ τον ~*, to have backache, lumbago.

Ex.: *Ποννώ τον σπόνδυλο μου πάλε.* (C.L.)

Analysis:

Both C(S)G dictionaries that include the lemma mention the common meanings and occasionally a specialized meaning, ‘spindle flywheel’ (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 505, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1122), presented under *σποντύλιν* [spɔˈndiliːn], as does the *Συντυσιές* website. A relevant research on the internet though, only produced results of the lemma with the meanings we have recorded.

The C(S)G meaning is a metonymic change that reformed the organ into the ailment and the place where the pain appears, namely the vertebra, is discussed as the ailment itself. The same has occurred in SMG as well, though with a different noun: *μέση* [ˈmesi], lit. ‘waist’, or in this case the equivalent term would be ‘back’. In SMG people discuss backpain or lumbago as *πόνος στη μέση* [ˈpɔnos#sti#ˈmesi], ‘back pain’. Between the two, the C(S)G one is actually much more accurate as to the point from which the pain originates.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **στρέφω** ['strefɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **στρέφω** ['strefɔ]

Common meaning(s):

1a. to turn, move sth. around its axis changing its direction.

1b. (phr.) ~ *τα νώτα μου*, to give up on an effort, to abandon sth., despise sb.

1c. (pass.) to take a certain direction.

2. (metaph.) to change direction or attitude with regard to sb. or sth.

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. (act.) to vomit. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 517, Κυπρή 2002: 449, Μυριανθοπούλου Μακρή 1988: 64, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1152, Σακελαρίου 1891b: 802)

Ex.: *Αν δεν **ιστρέψω**, εν ηρεμά το στομάχι μου.* (O.P.)

*Δεν άφηκα ποτέ γιατρόν να βάλει ξυλούι μες το στόμα μου για να δει τον λαιμό μου, γιατί μπορεί να του **στρέψω** μες τα μούτρα.*
(http://drprasinada.blogspot.com/2011_10_01_archive.html)

2. (pass.) (usually with a locative adverb or expression, such as *σπίτι, έσσω, πίσω*) to return, go back to to a place or person. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 516, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1152, Κυπρή 2002: 449)

Ex.: ***Εστράφην** ύστερα που μιαν ώραν τζι' έφερεν μακαρούνια τζαι λλίον πουλλίν βραστόν.* (Σάββα 2009: 54)

*Που 'να **στραφώ**, εννά πάρω τζιαι τη μιτσιά στο γιατρό να δει το σιέρι της.* (Πολυδώρου 2009: 370)

*Τι συμβολίζουν τα 6 roundabout της Λεμεσού; Τις 6 ευκαιρίες για να **στραφείς** πίσω.* (<http://www.cyculture.agrino.org/jokes1.html>)

*Πώς τον είπες; Τζοβάννι; Αυτός με τ' αδέρφια της γυναίκας του ήταν στην Αμμόχωστο, αλλά ο τοποτηρητής τον εκάλεσε να στραφεί στη Λευκωσία. Αυτός **εστράφηκε** μα οι άλλοι δυο έμειναν...* (Κουρέα-Σκουτελά 2010: 220)

Analysis:

Both C(S)G meanings are extensions of the meanings that both lemmas share, since the first, 'to vomit' is easily understood as sth. not so much coming out of the persons mouth, but rather as sth. 'coming back out, returning to the mouth it entered through'. The second C(S)G meaning is the result of the verb expressing

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

reflexiveness, since this is one of the functions of the passive voice in the Greek language. Reflexiveness in this case denotes that 'sb. turns back, returns to where (s)he started from'.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **σωστός** [sɔ'stɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **σωστός** [sɔ'stɔs]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (phr.) *με τα σωστά του*, for sb. that is considered unbalanced or simply irrational. *Το λες με τα σωστά σου*;; seriously?
2. (emphat.): *Αυτό που έκανες ήταν σωστή βλακεία / ανοησία*, what you did was really stupid. *Αυτά τα βιβλία είναι ένας ~ θησαυρός*, these books truly represent a treasure. [ελνστ. σωστός `σωσμένος' (η σημερ. σημ. μσν.)]

Common meaning(s):

1. correct, for sth. meeting the requirements of a situation or for the most appropriate characterization for a particular situation or activity.
- 2a. according to the rules and principles of a science, art or technique.
- 2b. for sb. who acts or thinks according to ethics and logic.
- 2c. (with abstract nouns) according to the morality and logic or rules of social standards.
3. who is suitable for sth.
4. the correct one and none other.

C(S)G meaning(s):

whole, entire. (Κυπρή 1989: 52, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1179)

Ex.: ...εννα καμω κανένα φαι να μου περασει. Εχω έναν τονο **σωστον** (ψαριν τόνο μαιντ γιου, οι μονάδαν μέτρησης) μες το ψυγειο, εγόρασαν τον εχτές πριν την καταιγίδα. (http://post-babylonblogspot.com/2010_02_01_archive.html)

Θέλουμεν τζαι το σύλλο χορτάτο τζαι το ψωμίν **σωστόν**. (I.C.)

Νομίζω το πιο ακραίο πρέπει να είναι ο ανανάς που τον φέραμε **σωστό** και τον κόψαμε στο γραφείο μου. Ακόμη πρέπει να στάζουν τα ζουμιά. (http://mana-mia.blogspot.com/2012/02/blog-post_22.html)

Analysis:

Although we could not be certain as to the route that lead to the creation of this particular false friends' pair, we surmise that the two meanings of the synonymous adjective *ακέραιος* [e'kerεos], 'integral, whole' and 'honest' could

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

explain it to some degree. The combination of the two senses appears to be 'normal', and it could be considered to have either extended to the adjective we are investigating here or to be a parallel evolution.

The second example we have included for the C(S)G meaning is a proverb that appears in SMG as well, slightly different: *Θέλουμε και την πίττα ολόκληρη και τον σκύλο χορτάτο*, that is said for a person who wants to accomplish maximum gain without cost to himself. The ΔKN dictionary mentions that another version of the same proverb appears with the feminine adjective *σωστή*, as it does for the noun *πίττα* [ˈpitːɤ] in the C(S)G example. This is a clear indication that at some point the adjective in SMG included this sense, as it does in the C(S)G, but it has become obsolete to such a degree that it probably survives only in this proverb. At the same time, in C(S)G it is possibly the only meaning, while we believe that the SMG meanings may be understood as passive vocabulary, but not as pertaining actually to the C(S)G active vocabulary. We are not certain that is so for all C(S)G native speakers, since contact between the varieties is so extended that it is quite possible that almost all meanings that exist in the SMG could be considered to form part of the Greek Cypriot speakers' repertoire as well.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **φορητός** [fɔri'tɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **φορητός** [fɔri'tɔs]

Common meaning(s):

portable, sth. that can be easily carried or moved. [λόγ. < ελνστ. φορητός, αρχ. σημ.: `που φέρεται από`]

C(S)G meaning(s):

mobile (phone).

Ex.: *ΕΝΔΕΙΚΤΙΚΑ παραδείγματα της προτεινόμενης πρακτικής είναι όπως κάθε συνδιάλεξη με **φορητό** τηλέφωνο πρέπει να περιορίζεται στο 0,5-1 λεπτό και να συνοδεύεται οπωσδήποτε από πεντάλεπτο διάστημα αποχής από συνδιαλέξεις, για να δοθεί χρόνος ηρεμίας/ανάκαμψης στα κύτταρα που τυχόν επέδρασε η ακτινοβολία. (<http://www.phileleftheros.com/main/mainasp?gid=138&id=412744>)*

*Α. Βικέτος: Ο Πρόεδρος της Δημοκρατίας χρησιμοποιεί **φορητό** τηλέφωνο; Κ.Ε.: Όταν χρειαστεί να χρησιμοποιήσει **φορητό** τηλέφωνο, χρησιμοποιεί **φορητό** τηλέφωνο ασφαλείας. (<http://www.cyprus.goverbcy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/4BE19EF561E77215C225710A0048615A?OpenDocument&print>)*

Analysis:

The lemma does not appear in any of the C(S)G dictionaries, probably due to the lack of any overt dialectal markers as well as the fact that this meaning is fairly recent.

The adjective used in SMG to denote a mobile phone is *κινητό* coupled with the noun *τηλέφωνο* [cini'tɔ#ti'lefɔnɔ] and it has been nounified in the same manner that the C(S)G adjective *φορητό* [fɔri'tɔ] is being turned into a neuter noun. In Greece this adjective is used to denote a similar type of phone: a portable phone (and its meaning is exactly that, 'sth. that is portable and can be moved around'). Both adjectives in SMG are translation equivalents of the English adjectives distinguishing the two types of phones. In C(S)G, both phones are denoted by the same adjective, namely our lemma.

The nounification process in this lemma does not appear to have been completed to such a degree that it would appear only as a noun. Still, it is under way and it is expected to take place and be completed in the next decades.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **φρέσκος** ['freskɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.¹⁴²

C(S)G lemma: **φρέσκος** ['freskɔs]

Common meaning(s):

- 1a. (for foodstuff) fresh, recently produced, gathered or manufactured.
- 1b. in good condition, that hasn't suffered any changes (not tinned, frozen, or otherwise preserved) or deterioration (not rotted, sour, or old etc.).
2. fresh, clean: ~ *αέρας* clean air.
- 3a. (metaph.) for sth. that happened or was concluded recently.
- 3b. intense, that has not faded
- 3c. with little or no experience.
- 4a. for sb. who is rested, cheerful, not exhausted.
- 4b. youthful, fresh.
5. (ment.) creative, prolific. [ιταλ. fresco -ς < παλ. γερμ. frisk]
6. (as a noun) fresco, a manner of painting. [παλ. ιταλ. fresco]
7. (coll.) jail. [ιταλ. φρ. mettere al fresco `to put sth. in a cool place to protect from the heat `]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. (as a noun) coolness, outside in the fresh air. (Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 211)

Ex.: *-Εν να 'στε έσσω; -Κοπιάστε, καθόμαστε στο φρέσκον* (D.P. and T.L.)

2. (phr.) *φρέσκια κρέμα*, dairy cream, heavy cream.

Ex.: *Σε ένα κατσαρολάκι βάζουμε τη σκόνη σοκολάτας, το βούτυρο και τη φρέσκια κρέμα σε χαμηλή φωτιά μέχρι να γίνει ομοιόμορφη και ρευστή κρέμα.* (<http://www.philenews.com/el-gr/chryses-syntages-drosera-glyka/215/9672/pfte-e-foue--sta?page=8>)

Analysis:

Since the lemmas are both borrowings from the Italian word *fresco*, either as nouns, either as adjectives, it is only logical to assume that the first C(S)G

¹⁴² This adjective functions on occasion as an adjective and on other occasions as a noun, depending on the context and the intentions of the speakers. It has not been solidified as a noun, as is the case with many other adjectives.

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

meaning could be a remnant of a similar meaning in Italian, since the (7) common meaning is derived from a phrase that meant 'to put in an cool place'.

The phraseologism *φρέσκια κρέμα* ['fresce#'kreme], 'dairy cream' appears to be a word-for -word translation of the French *crème fraîche* that has been translated in SMG as *κρέμα γάλακτος* ['kreme#'galektos] which is its SMG equivalent.

As regards the dictionaries, with the exception of the Χατζηιωάννου (cf. above), they include only the common meanings.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **χημείο** [çi'miɔ]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **χημείο** [çi'miɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

a. laboratory for chemical research and analysis.

b. the building where chemical laboratories are housed. [λόγ. χημ(εία) ή χημ(ικός) -είον μορφολ. σφαλερή δημιουργία]

Common meaning(s):

(phr.) *(Γενικό) Χημείο του κράτους*, (state) General Laboratory, in charge of chemical, biological/microbiological and toxicological laboratory control, as well as center for the control of food, drugs and other industrial products.

C(S)G meaning(s):

chemical laboratory.

Ex.: *Συνήθως πάμε στο χημείο για αναλύσεις μετά τις υποδείξεις του γιατρού μας, αν υπάρχουν ενδείξεις και υπόνοιες για κάποια ασθένεια.*
(<http://www.sigmalive.com/archive/simerini/news/health/399934>)

Εννά πάω στο χημείο τζαι να μ' εξετάσει ο χημικός που ξέρω. (C.L.)

Analysis:

The C(S)G lemma refers to what in Greece is called *μικροβιολογικό εργαστήριο* [mikrɔviɔlɔ'ɣiko#εργε'stirio], 'chemical laboratory'. The C(S)G lemma is probably a translation of the English term, for which the already existent Greek noun *χημείο* [çi'miɔ] was used.

The common meaning of the two varieties is the *(Γενικό) Χημείο του κράτους*, '(state) General Laboratory', a state department that in both countries has the same mission (to a greater or lesser degree, for details, cf. http://www.gcsel.gr/index.asp?a_id=101 and/or http://www.moh.gov.bc.ca/moh/sgl/sgl.nsf/page11_gr/page11_gr?OpenDocument)

The lemma does not appear in any of the C(S)G dictionaries, probably due to the lack of any overt dialectal markers as well as the fact that this meaning is fairly recent.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.1. Purely semantic false friends

SMG lemma: **χημικός** [çimi'kɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **χημικός** [çimi'kɔs]

Common meaning(s):

1. organic chemist, scientist working on the field of chemistry. [λόγ. ουσιαστικοπ. αρσ. του επιθ. χημικός σημεδ. γαλλ. chimiste· λόγ. θηλ. χωρίς διάκρ. γένους]

2a. chemical, related to chemistry.

2b. that is compelled or done by chemical methods. || ~ πόλεμος, chemical warfare. || *Χημική τουαλέτα*, chemical toilet. [λόγ. < γαλλ. chimique < chim(ie)= χημ(εία) -ique = -ικός]

C(S)G meaning(s):

microbiologist, laboratory technician

Ex.: *Εννά πάω στο χημείο τζαι να μ' εξετάσει ο χημικός που ξέρω.*-(C.L.)

Σηκωθήκαν και περπάτησαν μέχρι το τέρμα του διαδρόμου. Η νεαρή χημικός πήρε το μπουκαλάκι, πήρε κάποιες σημειώσεις και είπε ότι θα τους ειδοποιούσε τηλεφωνικώς. (Παλαλά-Χαρίδη 2004: 22)

Analysis:

The C(S)G lemma *χημικός* in its nounified form is a partial false friend, since the meanings common between the two varieties are its adjectival senses. In Greece, instead of this nounified adjective the noun *микροβιολόγος* [mikrɔviɔ'loɣɔs], 'microbiologist', would be used, or the set phrase *τεχνικός μικροβιολογικού εργαστηρίου* [texni'kɔs#mikrɔviɔloɣi'ku#eryɛsti'riu], 'laboratory technician'.

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include this lemma, probably due to the lack of overt dialectal markers and the fact that its use is fairly recent.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

5.2 Semantically divergent and typologically convergent false friends

5.2.1 Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **αδειούχος** [e'ðjuχɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **αδειούχος** [eði'uxɔs]

SMG meaning(s):

a person who has taken a leave of absence from his work.

Common meaning(s):

1. a person who has received license to exercise a profession
2. (mil.) a soldier who has received a leave of absence from the unit he serves at.

C(S)G meaning(s):

a. approved person with license for a specific task or area.

Ex.: *Είσοδος μόνο σε αδειούχα μέλη του προσωπικού Μετρό.* (sign at a Metro supermarket)

b. establishment with authorized license to operate.

Ex.: *Ελάτε σε έναν αδειούχο, άνετο, οικογενειακό εστιατόριο.* (radio advertisement)

ΠΩΛΕΙΤΑΙ αδειούχο εστιατόριο, πλήρως εξοπλισμένο, 380 τ.μ. Ενοίκιο €3.000, τιμή: €150.000. (classified ad in a newspaper)

Analysis:

The two lemmas are morphologically identical with a slight phonetic differentiation (synizesis) and no mention of the C(S)G meanings in any dictionary.

The two lemmas share two meanings and they have one unique meaning in SMG and two in C(S)G. There is also a differentiation in the contexts of use: the C(S)G lemma may refer to organizations, authorities or (public and/or private) services and persons, while in the SMG it may only denote persons.

Type: **partial** false friend

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **γουρουνιά** [γυρυ'νε]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **γουρουνιά** [γυρυ'νε]

SMG meaning(s):

1. actions of an immoral or uncivilized, uncouth person.
2. a binge, eating spree.

C(S)G meaning(s):

(usually) a piglet roasted in the oven or on the spit.

Ex.: «Εγώ θα σας περιποιηθώ εσάς», τους είπε και ξανανέβηκε σε λίγο με την πιατέλα γεμάτη κεφτέδες και πίσω της η Αργυρή, η κοπελούδα της Θεανώς, με τη **γουρουνιά** και τις πατάτες. (Σμυρλή 1997: 459)

Φέτος τα Χριστούγεννα, όλοι θα «ψηθούν» αν μυριστούν ότι στο γιορτινό τραπέζι θα σερβιριστεί παραδοσιακή **γουρουνιά**. (Cypriot Pig farmers and pork commerce Association magazine advertisement for Christmas)

Analysis:

Although the C(S)G meaning we cite above is not included in any of the C(S)G dictionaries, the photos accompanying the advertisement we mention in the second example depicts a whole pig(let) either roasted or spitted.

Two of the C(S)G dictionaries include the lemma, but its semantic content differs: Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 129) and Παπαγγέλου (2001: 223) claim that it means 'sow, female pig'. The latter dictionary refers its readers also to another lemma, *βουρουνιά* (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 176), the meanings of which are 'sow', 'whole pig (to be roasted)'. It seems plausible to consider that the two lemmas, i.e. *γουρουνιά* and *βουρουνιά* are (or have become) interchangeable and the latter's meaning apparently was extended to first and then further extended to signify 'roasted or spitted whole pig'.

The same food exists in Greece as well, but there it is usually called *γουρουνόπουλο στο φούρνο* [γυρυ'νοπουλο#στο#furno], 'piglet in the oven' and it is mainly roasted in the oven and not so much spitted.

The SMG dictionaries as regards this lemma show discrepancies that we are not accustomed to. The ΔΚΝ dictionary does not include the lemma among its entries, while the ΔΝΕΓ only presents the first of the two senses we have

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

recorded above and it appears to be an obsolete one¹⁴³. The second SMG meaning is the most usual one, but it does not appear in any of the SMG dictionaries we have consulted. Nevertheless, we added it, since it is rather widespread and current.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

¹⁴³ We could only find it in a Greek-English dictionary without year of publication (Ελευθερουδάκης, *Νεώτατον ελληνοαγγλικόν λεξικόν*, εκδ. Νίκας & Σία Ε.Ε.), but since it was written in the *katharevusa* using multitones, it probably predates the 80s.

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: γραμμικός [γρεμι'κός]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: γραμμικός [γρεμ:ι'κός]

Common meaning(s):

1. linear, consisting of or predominantly formed using lines or outlines. *Γραμμικό σχέδιο*, design constructed with a ruler.

1b. (scien) able to be represented by a straight line on a graph || linear A and B scripts.

2. (metaph.) involving one dimension only: *Γραμμική αφήγηση* linear narrative. [λόγ. < ελνστ. γραμμικός & σημδ. γαλλ. linéaire & αγγλ. linear]

C(S)G meaning(s):

used for sth. that extends along an imaginary line.

Ex.: Το **γραμμικό** πάρκο του Πεδιαιού δεν είναι το μοναδικό που υπάρχει στη Λευκωσία. (K.C.)

Analysis:

It seems plausible to suppose that the usage of the adjective in this manner came about due to the park that was created along the riverbed of the Pedieos river to provide the citizens of Nicosia with room for bicycle rides and walking space. It is a park that traverses almost all of the capital. Since this park is unlike other parks in the sense that it runs in a line alongside the riverbed, it was named 'linear', thus providing the lemma with a new, exclusively C(S)G meaning.

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include it, but that is to be expected since it is a fairly new occurrence and in all other senses coincides almost completely with SMG. Furthermore, its C(S)G was coined according to the external reality of life in Cyprus that it refers to.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **δεκάρι** [ðe'keɾi]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **δεκάρην** [ðe'keɾiⁿ]

C(S)G allomorph: **δεκάριο** [ðe'keɾio]

Common meaning(s):

1. a group or unit of ten equivalent units.
2. (fin) a ten.
3. grade.
4. a playing card with ten pips.
5. standardized size.
6. a series of ten consecutive wins in gambling.

C(S)G meaning(s):

subdivision of the hectare, 1/10 of the hectare, equal to 1,000 m.

Ex.: 1 *Εκτάριο* = 10 **Δεκάρια**

1 **Δεκάριο** = 1000 τ.μ. (Cypriot Department of Lands and Surveys, http://www.moi.govbcy/moi/dls/dls.nsf/dmlconversion_gr?openform)

Γεωργικό χωράφι 8,5 σκάλες, 14 **δεκάρια** σε προνομιακή περιοχή Λύμπια-Ψευδά. (<http://www.aggeliesnow.com/category/land-sale/item/108/>)

Analysis:

This purely semantic false friend does not appear in any of the C(S)G dictionaries. It appears to be a remnant of the Ottoman period, when it was one of the subdivisions for hectare in almost all of the Ottoman Empire and it was possibly retained during the British rule on the island.

Type: **partial** false friend

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **διάτρηση** [ði'trɪsi]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **διάτρηση** [ði'trɪsi]

SMG meaning(s):

1. perforation, the formation or construction of a hole that pierces the side of a body, mainly a scientific meaning.
2. making a series of tiny holes on a paper or similar material. [λόγ. < αρχ. διάτρη(σις) -ση]

C(S)G meaning(s):

drilling, borehole.

Ex.: *Κατά τη συνάντηση εξασφαλίσαμε τις πιο κάτω διαβεβαιώσεις: (α). Να δοκιμαστεί η ποσότητα και η ποιότητα νερού δύο ιδιωτικών **διατρήσεων** στην περιοχή Καμπιών και, εάν είναι κατάλληλο, να αναλάβει το Υπουργείο να το μεταφέρει δωρεάν στα ντεπόζιτα της Κοινότητας μέσα σε δύο μήνες, από το κονδύλι της ανομβρίας. (http://www.peraorinis.org/peraorinis/front-end/mainphp?action=news&page=news&design=default&news_id=19)*

*Εφτακόσιες αιτήσεις έκαναν οι ενδιαφερόμενοι, διότι ο ενδιαφερόμενος που έχει παράνομη **διάτρηση** και όχι μόνο μια λαλεί σου «άφησ' την τζιευαμαί, είντα μ' πόν' να πάω να κάμω αίτηση να τη νομιμοποιήσω ή να μου τη μολώσουσιν». (MP Fittis, House of Representatives Acts, 3rd of November 2011 session, p. 18)*

Analysis:

The word is of Ancient Greek origin, but the most renowned medieval Greek dictionary, that of Κριαράς, does not include it among its entries. We can only assume that it is among the words that Greek scholars 'brought back from the dead' during the first decades of the new Greek state after the 1821 War of Independence. There was at the time an effort to purge the language of its foreign elements, mostly Turkish or Balkan words and generally to provide it with a high register vocabulary. How it acquired its C(S)G meaning is not clear, unless we assume a semantic extension to signify 'drilling', since the action is essentially the same in 'perforation' and in 'drilling.' The SMG, in order to denote 'drilling', uses the noun *γεώτρηση* [jɛ'ɔtrɪsi] that essentially means 'ground perforation' with the same root, *-τρηση* [trɪsi].

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **ηλιακός** [ilie'kɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.¹⁴⁴

C(S)G lemma: **ηλιακός** [ilɛ'kɔs]

SMG meaning(s)

a. relating to or determined by the sun.

b. relating to or derived from the sun's rays. [λόγ. < ελνστ. ήλιακός]

C(S)G meaning(s)

a. sun room. (Σακελλαρίου 1891b: 554, Κυπρή 1989: 125, Κυπρή 2002: 162, Κυπρή 2003: 150, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 334, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 169)

Ex.: *Θέλω να πάω έσω μας, να δω το ηλιακό μας, το δίχωρον, το μαιρκόν, τσιούλον το σπιτικό μας.* (<http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=115048226784andv=wall>)

b. living room. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 334)

Μόλις άκουσεν το ρολόιν στον ηλιακόν να κτυπά δέκα, άνοιξεν σιγά-σιγά την πόρταν της κάμαρης της, επήεν ως τον ηλιακόν, άνοιξεν την εξώπορταν τζι' ευρέθην μέσ' στα σιέρκα του καλού της. (Σάββα 2009: 27)

Analysis:

For C(S)G speakers the ηλιακός [ilie'kɔs] and the ηλιακός [ilɛ'kɔs] are two different words, not mere allomorphs. To SMG speakers the phonetic difference may or may not be distinguishable, but in either case, it is to them without consequence, as they do not consider that synizesis may change the speakers' perception of the word. The adjective with synizesis is the only one that forms a false friends' pair with the SMG word, because the C(S)G adjective without synizesis is semantically identical to the SMG one.

The C(S)G with the synizesis used to mean the 'sun room', when the houses previously were made up by one big, single space, and it was either the room right outside the main entrance that was partly covered, or the main hall of the house. It was the room in which the visitors were ushered, or the main room in which the family spent their time. The notion appears to have been applied to the modern houses too and it now covers what is today called the livingroom.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

¹⁴⁴ In the C(S)G examples the lemma is used as a nounified adjective (masculine gender) possibly from the phraseologism ηλιακός χώρος [ilɛ'kɔs#'xɔɾɔs] lit. meaning 'sunny space', after the noun was dropped.

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **καπνίζω** [ke'pnizɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **καπνίζω** [ke'pniz:ɔ]

Common meaning(s):

1. (said for a combustible material burning or of the space where it burns) to emit smoke or visible vapour.
2. to expose to the impact of smoke.
 - a. to blacken sth. or sb. with soot.
 - b. to treat, fumigate, or cleanse by exposure to smoke. [αρχ. καπνίζω]
- 3a. to inhale and exhale the smoke of tobacco or a drug.
- 3b. to be a regular smoker.
4. (phr.) *μου κάπνισε*, signifies an action undertaken or a decision made in an arbitrary, sudden or reckless manner. [λόγ. καπν(ός) ² -ίζω μτφρδ. γαλλ. fumer]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(both pass. and active voice) to use incense in order to cleanse the air and show veneration to God. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 193, Κυπρή 1989: 446)

Ex.: *Θυμιάτισε πρώτα τον Μιχάλη κι ύστερα τον Ευαγόρα, μουρμουρίζοντας από μέσα της κάποια ευχή, και στη συνέχεια κάλεσε κι όλους τους άλλους: «Ελάτε να **καπνιστείτε** κι εσείς». (Σμυρλή 1997: 515)*

*Αν μου έδινες κλαδί ελιάς θα το πήγαινα σπίτι, στη μάνα μου. Δεν θα της έλεγα πως μου το δώρισες εσύ. Θα θύμωνε μαζί μου. Η μητέρα θα έκαιγε τα ελιόφυλλα για να **καπνίσει**. Γιατί πιστεύει πως το κάπνισμα προστατεύει από όλα τα κακά. (http://www.moec.goverbcy/stoxoi/stoxoi2009/pdf/stoxos1/sto1_yliko_gia_ekp_mesis.pdf)*

Analysis:

The medieval Κριαράς online dictionary attests that the C(S)G meaning appeared in medieval times in the passive voice, as it also appears in the first C(S)G example. In the second example the verb is in the active voice, possibly due to the influence of the SMG lemma. In Greece, the sense of the C(S)G lemma is expressed with burning incense, while in Cyprus very often incense is replaced by (mostly) olive leaves. This difference shows clearly how it could be that in Cyprus this verb expresses this sense, given that in essence the space or person intended is smoked. The fact that the verb *θυμιατίζω* [θimje'tizɔ] and the verb *καπνίζω* [ke'pniz:ɔ] are seen as synonyms in Cyprus is presented in an

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

illustrative manner by the first C(S)G example, in which both verbs are used in the same paragraph to denote the same action

The notion of the third common meaning, 'to smoke (cigarettes or cigars) is expressed in SMG only via the verb *καπνίζω* [kɛ'pnizɔ], but in C(S)G it can also be expressed with the verb *τσι(γ)αρίζω* [tʰ:i(ɣ)ɛ'riz:ɔ]. The first verb is left to assume the sense mentioned as a C(S)G exclusive meaning and the second to express smoking a cigarette (it is actually derived from the noun *τσιγάρον* [tʰ:i'ɣɛɾɔn] plus the ending *-ίζω* [iz:ɔ]).

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **κάπνισμα** ['kɛpnizmə]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **κάπνισμαν** ['kɛpnizməⁿ]

Common meaning(s):

1. the action or habit of smoking.
2. emitting smoke or visible vapour.
- 3a. fumigation of foodstuffs as a means of preservation.
- 3b. bee fumigation.
- 3c. blurring or blackening due to smoke. [καπνισ- (καπνίζω)¹ -μα (διαφ. το ελνστ. κάπνισμα `θυμίαμα`)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

the action of using incense, incensing. (Κυπρή 1989: 446)

Ex.: *Και χειρότερο απ' το «ξημέρωμα» του παπά είναι ν' απαντήσεις στο δρόμο ή να δεις «ξημέρωμα» κάποιου που «πιάνει το μάτι του». Εδώ δεν κάνει τίποτα η χυδαία χειρονομία, δεν κάνει τίποτα το «κάπνισμα», δεν υπάρχει αντίδοτο. (Μόντης 1987: 1454)*

Δικαιολογούν την πρόληψή τους με τ' ότι τάχα κ' η Παναγιά φοβήθηκε το «κακό» μάτι. Τη μάτιασαν, λέει, και πόνεσε το κεφάλι της και για να γίνει καλά της παράγγειλε ο Ιησούς το κάπνισμα μ' ελιόφυλλα. (Μόντης 1987: 1454)

Analysis:

According to the etymology provided by the ΔΚΝ online, the noun *κάπνισμα* ['kɛpnizmə] used to mean in the Hellenistic Koiné 'incense' and the online medieval dictionary of Κριαράς attests that the same meaning was in use in medieval times as well. Current written sources and our informants have provided us with the C(S)G meaning we have recorded here. One of the Κυπρή glossaries (1989: 446) corroborates this and also adds the medieval sense. It would appear that the 'insence' meaning tends to become obsolete (although that may never completely happen, as long as the practice of burning olive leaves continues), since we have not been able to come across it in current usage. Nevertheless, the meaning we have encountered may well have developed from that original sense, in order to denote not the product, but the action.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **κάσα** ['kɛsɐ]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **κάσα** ['kɛsɐ]

Common meaning(s):

1. wooden box for storing or moving things.
2. coffin.
3. (gambling) the amount deposited in order to enter into a card game.
- 4a. metal strongbox.
- 4b. (synced. from 4a) the cash register.
5. wooden or metal casing of windows or doors. (ΑΝΕΓ)

C(S)G meaning(s)

- 1a. rear part of a jeep, where goods and/or animals are transported.

Ex.: *Εσύραν τον μες την κάσια του λαντρόβερ τζαι αρκέψαν τζι εχτυπούσαν του με τα κοντάκια των όπλων. Θυμούμαι είσηεν 2 αστυνομικούς μες την κάσια του λαντρόβερ τζαι εκρατούσαν όπλα. (http://oilaomon.blogspot.com/2012/01/blog-post_04.html)*

- 1b. rear bed of a pickup truck.

Ex.: *-Ναι, παρακαλω, μιαν ανθοδεσμη με τρια Rafflesia arnoldii τζαι φορτωσ' την μες την κάσια του διπλοκαμπινου παρακαλω! (http://paraxenakioraia.blogspot.com/2012/02/blog-post_06.html)*

2. (metaph.) for very ugly person, usually a woman

Ex.: *Εν τέλεια κάσα τούτη, εν θωρκιέται που την αῶσήμιαν. (G.G.)*

Analysis:

For C(S)G speakers the only lemma is the one with the postalveolar that is the hallmark of the variety. They consider the two lemmas as allophones between the two varieties, as do in this case the SMG speakers. Only two C(S)G dictionaries, Παπαγγέλου (2001: 418) and Χατζηιωάννου (1996: 75) in the lemma entry mention some of the common meanings and none of the C(S)G senses, probably because they consider that its semantic content is identical to the SMG lemma.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **κατάστημα** [ke'testime] Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **κατάστημαν** [ke'testimeⁿ]

SMG meaning(s):

a building where a public service, a foundation, etc, is housed and by extension the service or the foundation itself: *Νομαρχιακό / δημαρχιακό* ~, the building of the Prefecture / the Prefecture. *Σωφρονιστικό* ~, penal establishment, prison

Common meaning(s):

a shop or store for products usually other than foodstuffs. [λόγ. < ελνστ. κατάστημα `κατάσταση', σημδ.: 2: γαλλ. établissement· 1: γαλλ. établissement de commerce]

C(S)G meaning(s):

cooking in low temperature in order to allow the food sauce to thicken and set. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 430, Κυπρή 1989: 461)

Ex.: *Τα φαγητά και τα γλυκά τα ετοιμάζαν στην κουζίνα η Θεοφανώ, η κοπελούδα της, με την πεθερά της, και ο μουσακάς που μαγείρευε αυτή το πρωί λίγο **κατάστημα** ήθελε μόνο, θα τον έβλεπε αργότερα. (Σμυρλή 1997: 59)*

Analysis:

The noun has the same etymology as the verb *καταστήνω* [kete'stin:ɔ], 'to let a food finish cooking', that is probably the verb *κατασταίνω* [kete'stenɔ] that in medieval Greek signified 'to end up becoming', as well 'arrange', both of which could evolve into the sense that appears in the C(S)G.

Type: **partial** semantic friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **κόγχη** ['kɔŋçi]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **κόγχη** ['kɔç:i]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (anat.) bone or organ cavity.
- 2a. (arch.) niche in a wall, usually semi-circular and ornamental for the placement of sculptures or vases, etc.
- 2b. (arch.) niche in the eastern part of churches that usually protrudes from the building exterior walls.
3. (geol.) recess in the shape of a funnel found usually near high mountain summits. [λόγ. < ελνστ. κόγχη, αρχ. σημ.: `κοχύλι`]

C(S)G meaning(s):

a crease (on trousers, shirts, hair, etc.)

Ex.: *Μεν μου σιερώνεις τα ντζιν τζαι κάμνεις τους **κόγχες!*** (C.C.)

*Η **κόγχη** του πουκαμίσου έν' καλά σιερωμένη.* (L.S.)

Analysis:

The group of informants that we are consulting agree on the meaning presented here, although it is not substantiated by any C(S)G dictionaries, since they do not include the lemma among their entries. One of the core differences between the two varieties is the fact that the perspective of the noun in C(S)G is the reverse to the perspective in the SMG. In SMG the noun is seen mainly from the inside, with the exception of the church niche considered from both the inside and the outside. The C(S)G meaning appears to regard the lemma as sth. protruding and not intruding, as a protruberance (and it was described in this manner by some of the informants). It is possible that this meaning evolved as an opposite to the contemporary SMG, since it was present even in medieval Greek.

As far as the orthography of the lemma is concerned, we have chosen to transcribe it according to the Συντυθιές database that takes into account the SMG graphic form, while in the examples we present, we have retained the phonetic representation that the informants used when presenting us with the examples.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **κουτσός** [ku'tsɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **κουτσός** [ku'tsʰ:ɔs]

SMG meaning(s):

- 1a. (phr.) *και η κουτσή Μαρία*, everyone, including people not worth sth.
- 1b. (proverb, phr.) *κουτσοί στραβοί στον Άγιο Παντελεήμονα*, said for a gathering of all kinds of people.
2. (noun) *το κουτσό*¹⁴⁵, a children's game, hopscotch.

Common meaning(s):

- 1a. lame.
- 1b. (metaph., coll.) for furniture missing a leg or with a shorter leg.

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. limp, one-armed, disabled.

Ex.: *Το δέριν του έμεινεν κουτσόν.* (Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή, 1988: 37)

2. (metaph.) blunt, dull.

Ex.: *μου τη φέρεις, κάμε κουμάντο να με φκάλουν που τη μέση, αλλιώς εννά σε σφάξω με κουτσό μαχαίρι.* (Πολυδώρου, 2009: 372)

Analysis:

The game called *κουτσό* [ku'tsɔ], 'hopscotch' in Greece, in Cyprus is called *βασιλέας* [vəsi'leəs]. The game that is called *κουτσόν* [ku'tsɔⁿ] or *κουτσαντήρι* [kutse'ndiri] in Cyprus is a group game in contrast to hopscotch¹⁴⁶.

The adjective is used in C(S)G to signify loss a limb or loss of use of that limb, that remains disabled, and does not signify only loss of lower limb (like it does in SMG), but it is more generically used. The second C(S)G meaning exemplifies this explanation even further, since it has come to also signify 'blunt' or 'dull' for weapons or tools as an extension of the first active meaning: a dull weapon (a metaph. use of the adjective also) is a useless or disabled one.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

¹⁴⁵ Lexicalization of the adjective as noun by use of the neuter article and dropping the n. that accompanied the adjective, i.e. *παιχνίδι* [pe'xniði], 'game'.

¹⁴⁶ For more details, cf. http://athlitikipoed.tripod.com/paradosiaka_pexnidia.htm.

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **κρεβάτι** [krɛˈveti]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **κρεβάτιν** [krɛˈvetiⁿ]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (phr.) *(κάνει) σαν τη χήρα στο ~*, overly enthusiastic.
2. (proverb) *Δώσε θάρρος στο χωριάτη να σ' ανέβει στο ~*, said when sb. takes too many liberties with sth. or sb.

Common meaning(s):

- 1a. bed, furniture for sleeping or resting on.
- 1b. (as a phr.) *Είμαι στο ~*, to be sick.
- 1c. (as a phr.) *Πέφτω στο ~*, to get sick.
- 1d. (as a phr.) *Ρίχνω κπ. στο ~*, said for a sickness that forces sb. to remain in bed.
- 1e. (as a phr.) *Σηκώνομαι από το ~*, to heal.
- 1f. (phr.) *το ~ του πόνου*, to be in bed due to sickness.
2. (coll.) for sexual relations.
- 3a. an accommodation unit in hotels.
- 3b. a care unit in a hospital. [μσν. κρεβάτι(ον) < ελνστ. κραβ(β)άτιον υποκορ. τουκράβ(β)ατος δάνειο από άλλη γλ., που ίσως είχε και τ. κρεβ-]

C(S)G meaning(s):

- 1a. mattress. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 562)

Ex.: *Ήρτεν το **κρεβάτιν** που παράντζεϊλα μικρότερο 10 εκατοστά. Εκατάλαβά το που τα σεντόνια που 'ταν πολύ μεγάλα. (C.L.)*

- 1b. bed and mattress together.

Ex.: *Θέλω να πικιάω **κρεβάτιν**, αλλά στη *Genorest* πουλούσι μόνον στρώμαν. (K.L.)*

2. ~ + *θάλασσα*, ('sea', GEN.) sun bed.

Ex.: ***Κρεβάτι** θάλασσας = €2,50 για κάθε ημέρα ή μέρος αυτής. (<http://www.consumersunion.org.cy/conunion/page.php?pageID=2&instance ID=11&newsid=574>)*

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

Χωρκάτικον είναι -να πέρνεις το κρεβατάκι της θάλασσας στη πισίνα.
(http://xorkatikonblogspot.com/2008_07_01_archive.html)

Analysis:

The only C(S)G dictionary that presents the lemma is Παπαγγέλου (2001: 562) and in the rest appears only the noun *κρεβατοστρώσιν* [kɾevɛtɔ'strɔsiⁿ] that bears the same sense as the (1b) meaning above. It is possible that the word has become or is on the verge of becoming obsolete and its semantic range has been taken up by the lemma *κρεβάτι*. The second C(S)G meaning in Greece is expressed by a different word, *ξαπλώστρα* [kse'plɔstre], 'sun bed'. The reason behind the use of a different word in C(S)G is not clear to explain, so we can only speculate that it might be a calque, as the product of word-for-word translation from the English language, but instead of using the masculine noun *ήλιος* ['iɫɔs] for 'sun', what is being used is the feminine noun *θάλασσα* ['θelɛsɛ], 'sea', since they are set by the sea.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **λάκκος** ['ləkɔs]

Grammatical category: n. (masc.)

C(S)G lemma: **λάκκος** ['ləkʰɔs]

C(S)G allomorph: **λούκκος** ['lukʰɔs]

SMG meaning(s):

(proverb) *Τυφλός τυφλόν οδήγαγε κι ηύραν κι οι δυο τους λάκκο*, the help that sb. accepts from sb. else who is insignificant or inappropriate, leads to certain and common failure.

Common meaning(s):

1a. natural or man-made depression of the soil, relatively deep.

1b. (proverb) *κάποιο λάκκο έχει η φάβα*, when sth. suspicious or weird is happening.

2a. (coll.) tomb.

2b. (phr.) *σκάβω / ανοίγω το λάκκο κάποιου*, to plan or intend secretly to harm or destroy sb., undermine sb.

2c. *σκάβω μόνος μου το λάκκο μου*, to act in such a manner as to end up harming myself.

2d. (proverb) *Όποιος σκάβει το λάκκο του αλλουνού, πέφτει ο ίδιος μέσα*, when sb. is planning to harm sb. else but end up being harmed himself or herself by his or her plan [αρχ. *λάκκος `νερόλακκος, πηγάδι`*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

a. a well. (Κυπρή 1989: 203, Κυπρή 2002: 269, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 272, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 583)

Ex.: «*Εμπά 'σσω ρε κατάπελλε, που κακόν γρόνο να 'σεις! Να μου φκάλεις έναν κάον νερόν που τον **λάκκον**, να θκιακλύσω νάκκον τα ρούχα μου, που της μαύρης τζαι της σκοτεινής, αχ, που άσπρα εγινήκασιν μαύρα που τα χώματα τζαι τα δρώματα*». (Ιωσηφίδου-Μαρμαρά 2011: 62)

*Η αθεόφοβη εθκιάλεξεν να πέσει μέσα εις τον **λάκκον** του κονατζιού, να μεν ημπορούσιν πκιον να πκιουν νερόν που μέσα*. (Ιωσηφίδου-Μαρμαρά 2011: 82)

b. a borehole, drilling. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 583)

Ex.: *Στο τζαινούρκον σπίτιν εννά 'νοίξουμεν **λάκκον** για να ποτίζουμεν τα φκιόρα*. (L.L.)

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

c. a cesspool, a man-made covered hole for liquid waste and sewage.

Ex.: *Είπα του ν' ανοίξει τους λάκκους να ρίξει πετρέλαιο για τες κατσαρίες.*
(T.L.)

Analysis:

All three C(S)G meanings maintain Ancient Greek meanings that do not exist any more in the SMG. They are all extensions and specializations of the original meaning of the lemma that is in general any depression in the soil. Not all three similar senses are recorded by the C(S)G dictionaries, although they are not only current ones.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: λάχανο ['lexɛnɔ]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: λάχανον ['lexɛnɔⁿ]

SMG meaning(s):

1a. cabbage.

1b. (phr.) *σιγά / σπουδαία τα λάχανα!*, used for sth. that is completely unimportant, worthless or uninteresting.

1c. (phr.) *τον φάγανε ~*, killed in a sneaky or unjust manner; neutralized.

1d. (proverb) *ακριβός στα πίτουρα και φτηνός στα λάχανα*, strict and thrifty regarding unimportant matters but lenient regarding more important matters.

1e. (phr.) *όμοιος τον όμοιο και η κοπριά στα λάχανα*, used to signify that sb. keeps bad company.

1f. (phr.) *άφραχτος κήπος, έρημα τα λάχανα*, in an unprotected space, anyone can do whatever they like.

2. (pl.) grown or natural edible greens; vegetables.

3. (dim.) *λαχανάκι: Λαχανάκια Βρυξελλών*, Brussels' sprouts. [μσν. λάχανο < αρχ. λάχανον `καλλιεργημένο χορταρικό, ήμερο λάχανο']

C(S)G meaning(s):

(usually pl.) chard. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 593, Κυπρή 2003: 317)

Ex.: *Κουκιά κούννες με λάχανα (σέσκουλα)*. (Χριστοδούλου 2011: 167)

Στο μεταξύ, αφαιρείτε με αποφλοιωτή λαχανικών τις ίνες από τους μίσχους των λάχανων και τα τεμαχίζετε. (<http://www.philenews.com/el-gr/chryses-syntages-elliniki-kypriaki/221/99488/louvia-me-lachana>)

Analysis:

Chefs –as well as others- in Cyprus are usually aware of this pair of false friends and the fact that the vegetables called λάχανα ['lexɛnɛ], 'cabbages' (according to the SMG meaning), in the island are called σέσκουλα ['sɛskulɛ], 'chards' in Greece. In Cyprus the vegetable that corresponds to 'cabbage' is called *κραμπί* [kre'mbi].

Type: total false friends

Venn diagrams: segregation

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **λογιάζω** [lɔ'jezɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **λογιάζω** [lɔ'jez:ɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (coll.) to think, intend, reflect.
2. (pass.) to be seen or considered as. [μσν. λογιάζω < αρχ. λόγ(ος) `υπολογισμός, μέτρημα' -ιάζω κατά το λογαριά ζω· μσν. λογ(ούμαι) μεταπλ. -ιέμαι < λόγ(ος) -ούμαι κατά το θυμούμαι]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(mid.) to be promised (engaged) to be married. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 286, Κυπρή 1989:136, Κυπρή 2002: 283, Κυπρή 2003: 24, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 613)

Εχ.: *Για να μεν σας μπαίνουν ιδέες, ο Νικηφόρος ελογιάστηκε, την άλλην εφτομάδαν χαρτώνουμεν.* (Πολυδώρου 2003: 142)

Τζέινη που στα εικοσπέντε (το ηλικιακό όριο για τις γυναίκες είναι σαφώς χαμηλότερο) δεν ελογιάστηκεν, "ούφφου ούλλους σκάρτους τους φκάλλει, εν θωρεί τα μούτρα της". (<http://axairefti.blogspot.com/2008/01/101.html>)

Analysis:

The C(S)G meaning is an extension of the original 'to think or intend to do sth.', since what is conveyed by the verb in the C(S)G is the intention to get married by 'giving your word on it', which is the literal translation of the phraseologism used in SMG (δίνω λόγο [ˈðino#ˈlɔɣɔ]) to denote this.

All of the C(S)G dictionaries, except the Κυπρή (1989:136) and the Παπαγγέλου (2001: 613), present the verb only in the active voice as 'to promise (a child) to be engaged to be married to sb. else', but we consider that the middle voice meaning is implicit. We have presented only that, because we were able to find only middle voice examples, but this not signify that in the active voice it does not exist any more.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **μούτσος** ['mutsɔs]

Grammatical category: n. (masc.)

C(S)G lemma: **μούτσο** ['mutʃ^h:ɔs]

Common meaning(s):

cabin boy, ship's boy. [ιταλ. mozzo (ισπαν. mozo `αγόρι') -ς ([o > u] από επίδρ. του χειλ. [m] ή από κλειστή προφ. του [o] στις νότ. ιταλ. διαλέκτους)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

a. jerk, asshole. (Κυπρή 2002: 321, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 725)

Ex.: *Ο μούτσος ο Μίτσος πάλε παίζει μούτσο.* (http://www.slang.gr/lemma/show/moutsios_moutsiopaixtis_5606)

b. (phr.) *παίζω μούτσο*, to masturbate. (Κυπρή 2002: 321, Κυπρή 2003: 82, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 333, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 725)

Ex.: *Για αυτό τον λόγο θα δεις τους Κύπριους να κρυφογελάνε όταν ακούνε το ισπανικό άσμα «Bessa me, bessa me mucho» (Επειδή ακούνε «Παίζαμε, παίζαμε μούτσο»).* (http://www.slang.gr/lemma/show/moutsios_moutsiopaixtis_5606)

Analysis:

The Κυπρή glossaries (2002: 321, 2003: 82) state that the etymology of the C(S)G lemma is the same with that of the SMG lemma. The Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 333) dictionary distinguishes between the lemma *μούτσο*, 'servant' and *μούτσο*, 'masturbation'. The etymology of the first is identical to that of the SMG lemma, while the origin of the latter is from Italian *muso* or Spanish *muchas*, that according to the dictionary signify 'sickness', although we have been unable to corroborate this meaning through a consultation of the renowned Spanish dictionary of the Real Academia Española (<http://dle.rae.es/?w=diccionario>) and therefore the certain etymology of the lemma eludes us.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **μωρό** [mɔ'ɾɔ]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **μωρόν** [mɔ'ɾɔⁿ]

SMG meaning(s):

baby, a newborn child up to the age of 2 years old approximately; infant. *Νάνι νάνι το ~ μου*, as a lullaby.

Common meaning(s):

1. for persons behaving like babies.
2. a lover or spouse (often as a form of address). [μσν. *μωρόν*, ουσιαστικοπ. ουδ. αρχ. επιθ. *μωρός· μωρ(ό) -ουδάκι· μωρ(ό) -ουδέλι*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. any child from infancy until adulthood. (Κυπρή 2002: 327, Κυπρή 2003: 82, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 740, Σακελλάριος 1989: 672)

Ex.: *Ούτε **μωρά** εκάμαν, μα τζείνη εν εφάκκαν πένναν, η καλοπέρασή της τζι' Άγιος ο Θεός.* (Σάββα 2009: 65)

*Χωρκάτικον είναι -να πηαίννεις σε γάμο και να βάλλεις τα **μωρά** να γεμώνουν το πιάτο με γλυκά για τους μεγάλους* (http://xorkatikonblogspot.com/2008_07_01_archive.html)

*Στο 16χρονο **μωρό** μου ανάκριση, με ποιο δικαίωμα; Είναι νόμιμο αυτό;* (<http://www.24h.com.cy/society/item/149421-kravgi-apognosia-apo-dio-adelfes-sti-larnaka.html>)

2. students, mainly between the ages of 6-12, but occasionally until the age of 18, right before finishing Lyceum.

Ex.: ***Μωρά**, θυμάται κανένας έτσι στα γρήγορα να μου πει τι είπαμεν εχτές ότι είναι η διάλεχτος;* (elementary school teacher, Τσιπλάκου 2007: 23)

*Να ενημερώσουμεν τα **μωρά**, να μεν έρχουνται άδικα.* (Deputy Headmaster at a Lyceum, P.P)

3. any adult person for their parents.

Ex.: *Οι «προστάτες» μας χρειάζονται προστασία! Προστασία από τι;! Μα από τους «κακούς» αξιωματικούς. Που μέρα νύχτα ξημεροβραδυάζονται εφευρίσκοντας τρόπους να βασανίσουν και να αδικήσουν τα «**μωρά**» μας! Τα **μωρά** μας που «χάνουν δύο χρόνια από τη ζωή τους» υπηρετώντας την Πατρίδα.* (<http://www.newstrap.gr/2010-12-13-09-28-19/8053-oi>)

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

mamades-ki-i-thiteia-ton-moron.html)

... είτε επειδή οι γονιοί εν θέλουν ποτέ μα ποτε να αποχωριστούν τα **μωρά** τους – γιατί μετά πως εννα μπορούν να τους ελλέχουν στη ζωή τους – τζιαι ας εγινήκαν 30 χρονών αθρώποι. (<http://new.ledras.net/?p=34><http://new.ledras.net/?p=34>)

Analysis:

The C(S)G meanings were probably an extension of the SMG and the common meanings, equivalent to the uses that SMG reserves for the neuter noun *παιδί* [pe'di], 'child'. There is one differentiation with regard to the third C(S)G meaning, wherein most parents would refer to their children as such, only if discussing specifically those children and in a familial or friendly context, rather than in general, as a group. It would not be used to refer to adults, in the same manner in which the neuter noun *μωρόν* [mo'roⁿ] is used in Cyprus.

Often, Greek Cypriots themselves make fun of the C(S)G speakers' tendency to use the noun signifying 'baby' in order to refer to adult persons, as is the case in both examples for the third C(S)G meaning, especially when this use is accompanied by the intent to keep them in a child-like status treating them as babies who need protection and guidance, effectively never letting them grow up.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **παίζω** ['pezɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **παίζω** ['pez:ɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

1. when sth. moves inside sth. else, because it does not fit well: *Παίζει το κλειδί στην κλειδαριά. Παίζει το πόδι στο παπούτσι. Παίζει το καρφί στον τοίχο.*

2a. to flicker or shimmer: *Παίζει το φως.*

2b. to oscillate, to sway: *Παίζει η βελόνα του μετρητή. Παίζουν οι τιμές στην αγορά.*

phr.:

1. ~ με ανοιχτά χαρτιά, to have nothing to hide.

2. ~ διπλό παιχνίδι, to ally myself to both sides.

3. ~ το παιχνίδι κάποιου, to help sb., to indirectly serve his intentions, often without intending to.

4. ~ κπ. μονότερμα, to be in an advantageous position and take advantage of that.

5. ~ τον παπά, to deceive; to cheat.

6. ~ με τις λέξεις / με τα λόγια, to attempt to avoid, or derail a conversation with wordpuns or sophistry.

7 ~ άσχημο παιχνίδι, to deceive or treat sb. badly.

8. ~ μπουνιές / γροθιές, to exchange punches with sb.

9. του τις έπαιξε, to beat sb. up.

10. ~ το τελευταίο μου χαρτί, to make a last attempt to accomplish sth.

11. ~ κρυφτούλι, to avoid to do sth.

12. δεν παίζομαι, to be unrivalled.

13a. ~ κτ. στα δάχτυλα, to know sth. in depth.

13b. ~ κπ. στα δάχτυλα, to make sb. do everything I want.

14a. παίζει το μάτι του, for sb. who is clever.

14b. παίζει το μάτι της, for sb. who pays attention to persons of the opposite sex.

15. δεν είναι παίξε γέλασε, for sth. important.

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

16. (archaic) ~ *εν ου παικτοίς*, to joke about sth. that is important or serious.

Common meaning(s):

1. to play.

2a. to play a specific game in order to win (phr.) ~ *σε κτ.*, for stating the prize that the winner will receive.

2b. to engage on an amateur or professional basis with a sport that supposes the existence of opponents.

2c. to take part in a gambling game or lottery.

3a. (coll.) to make a move while playing a game.

3b. to know the rules of a game: *Παίζει καλό σκάκι*, he is a good chess player.

4a. to participate in a team game.

4b. to accept sb.'s participation in a team game.

5a. to play a role.

5b. (phr.) ~ *το ρόλο κάποιου*, to act or function as.

5c. *παίζει ρόλο*, it matters, it is important.

5d. (phr.) ~ *θέατρο*, to pretend.

5e. *το* ~ (*επιστήμονας, σπουδαίος κτλ.*), to act as if I am

6a. to present or replay a theater play or movie.

6b. (for theater, movie theater, musical instrument, radio, tv) to operate.

7a. to play or replay a music composition.

7b. to know how to handle a musical instrument.

8. to move.

9a. to palpate sth. because of boredom or nervousness.

9b. (phr.) *παίζει το πουλί του*, a. to masturbate, b. to disregard the obligations one has.

10. to joke, to make fun of. (phr.) (phr.) *παίζουμε τις κουμπάρες*, to joke around. *όχι παίζουμε!*, used when sb. surprises sb. who did not believe. *μου την έπαιξε*, he tricked me.

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

11. to disregard, risk. (phr.)~ με τη φωτιά, to play a dangerous game. τα ~ όλα για όλα, to risk everything in order to succeed. ~ κτ. μονά ζυγά, to risk everything. ~ κτ. στα ζάρια, to imperil sth., to risk sth. ~ κτ. κορόνα γράμματα, to risk everything. [αρχ. παίζω]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. to shoot, to fire a gun at sb or sth. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 376, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 836, Κυπρή 1989: 192, Κυπρή 2002: 354, Σακελλάριος 1891b: 708, Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1998: 50)

Εχ.: Επήγε να **παίζει** την πέρδικα αλλά το όπλο του έπαθε αφλογιστία (radio station Κανάλι 6)

Αν είσιε σιπέττον, ήτουν να σε **παίζει** τωρά, τον ειρωνεύτηκε η Αναστασία. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 467)

Παπά μου εμπήκαν κλέφτες στο αρκοντικό τζιαι εσκοτώσαν τον Νικηφόρο, **επαίζαν** τον, παπά μου. (Πολυδώρου 2003: 218)

1b. (metaph., pass.) to feel like shooting myself for not being able to cope.

Εχ.: Πρώτο μάθημα έκαμα σε μια Γ' τάξη με 6 μωρά. Ενόμισα ότι εμπήκα σε τάξη που την κόλαση. Το ένα το μωρό ήταν και πολλά επιθετικό και είχε συνοδό. Δύο ενήλικες εν εκάμναμε καλά 6 κοπελλούθκια. Ήταν να **παιχτώ**. (http://atomiki-mou-energeia.blogspot.com/2009/11/blog-post_12.html)

2. (usu. for school bell, church bell, phone, car horn, etc.) to sound; to make a short but loud noise. (Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 50).

Εχ.: -Χα! Χα! φήρες το μαφημά σου ή όχι ακόμα ; Φαιδιά φαίζει το κουδούνι γρήγορα στα παγητά σας! Είπε γελώντας ο Τρύφωνας. -Μα κύριε παπαγάλε δεν **έπαιξε το κουδούνι**. Είπε ένα παιδί. (http://dclassarediou.blogspot.com/2011/05/blog-post_30.html)

Χωρκάτικον είναι -όπου θωρείς κοπελλούα μεστον δρόμο να της **παίζεις πουρού**. (http://xorkatikonblogspot.com/2008_07_01_archive.html)

Μόνο **τις καμπάνες** της Παναγίας της Χρυσалиνιώτισσας έμεινε να **παίζουμε** όταν μας κατέβηκαν. (Downtown magazine, 13/02/2011)

Που τον τζιαιρον που επέθανεν η μακαρίτισσα η στετούλλα μου τζιαι ο μακαρίτης ο θκειος μου τζιαι εν ήμουν τζιαμαι, πκιαννεται η καρκιά μου αμμαν **παίζει το τηλεφωνο** σε ωρα παράξενην... (http://post-babylonblogspot.com/2010/02/blog-post_04.html)

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

Analysis:

The (1a) C(S)G meaning is present in the medieval texts (Κριαράς online), it has been retained to this day and it is also a quite known sense. The (1b) sense is a metaphorical extension of the first and it is used when sb. is contemplating shooting himself or herself as a viable alternative to an impossible situation. The second C(S)G meaning in SMG would be covered by the verb *χτυπώ* [xti'pɔ], 'to hit', but also 'to shoot' and in that sense it is possible to trace the evolution of the verb *παίζω* [pɛzɔ] that also means 'to shoot' in C(S)G. The identity of semantic content for the two verbs in one of their senses could have led to the adoption of another sense as well, or it could be seen as a parallel evolution triggered by the same metaphors in the two varieties.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **παστίτσιο** [pe'stitsɔ]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **παστίτσιο** [pe'stitʰ:ɔn]

SMG meaning(s):

- a. a Greek traditional oven food consisting of boiled pasta and minced meat cooked with tomato paste covered by a béchamel sauce.
- b. the manner in which the pasta or the minced meat is cooked. [ιταλ. pasticcio]



C(S)G meaning(s):

a sweet given as a treat in weddings or baptisms, usually filled with marzipan and pistachio. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 866)



Εχ.: *Ο Σταύρος τζι η Ασπασία ετζέρασαν μας παστίτσιο για την γέννηση του μωρού τους. (D.P.)*

Όταν το αντρόγνυνο έφτανε στο σπίτι όλοι περνούσαν από το σαλόνι όπου μπροστά από τον καναπέ και πίσω από το τραπεζάκι στέκονταν το αντρόγνυνο με τα ιερά δεσμά του γάμου και οι καλεσμένοι χαιρετούσαν έπαιρναν και το παστίτσιο τους, αφήναν και τον οβολό τους μέσα στη γυάλα που ήταν ακουμπισμένη πάνω στο τραπεζάκι δίπλα από την πιατέλα με τα παστίτσια και βγαίνοντας έξω οι συγγενείς τον νεονύμφων έπαιρναν τον κόσμο στα τραπέζια που είχαν στρωθεί στο δρόμο από άκρη σ' άκρη για το γλέντι. (<http://nikitasmorfou.blogspot.com/2010/05/blog-post.html>)

- *μόνον η μάνα μου πέμπει κόλλυφα στες ξενιθικές οξά έσσει τζιάλλες;*
- *κόλλυφα!?! εν έτυχεν ως τωρά .. λέω έτυχεν γιατί έστειλεν μου παστίτσιο- που τζείνον του γάμου, που έχει χαλεπιανά μέσα χεχεχε (http://post-babylonblogspot.com/2011/04/blog-post_07.html)*

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

Analysis:

The lemma is mentioned only in the Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 390) dictionary, but the sense it ascribes to it is the SMG one, while in Cyprus this food is called *μακαρόνια του φούρνου* [mekɛ'ɾɔɲɛ#tu#'furnu], lit. 'oven pasta'. The C(S)G lemma of the present entry is not used to denote the SMG food, unless Greek Cypriots were talking to mainland Greeks and were accomodating their speech.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **πίσσα** ['pɪsɐ]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **πίσσα** ['pɪs:ɐ]

SMG meaning(s):

(emphat.) for sth. that is pitch black: *Σκοτάδι ~*, pitch black. *Μαύρος ~*, tar black.

Common meaning(s):

tar. [αρχ. *πίσσα*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

chewing gum. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 911, Σακελλάριος 1891b: 735)

Ex.: *Επίσης από χαρακιές, που προκαλούνταν από κτυπήματα τσεκουριού, στον κορμό μεγάλων σε ηλικία δέντρων του είδους [της τρεμιθιάς], συλλεγόταν η ρητίνη που στη λαϊκή γλώσσα ονομαζόταν «τρεμιντίνα», η οποία ύστερα από φιλεράρισμα, απαλλαγμένη από ξένες ουσίες, διετίθετο στους εμπόρους, που ύστερα από ειδική κατεργασία, παρασκεύαζαν τη γνωστή σε όλους «**Πίσσα** Παφίτικη». (<http://www.konia.org/history.shtml>)*

*Χωρκάτικον είναι -να τρώεις την **πίσσα** σαν την κασέλλα* (http://xorkatikon.blogspot.com/2008_07_01_archive.html)

***πίσσα**: Αν σας την προσφέρουν, μην ανησυχείτε, δεν ακολουθούν τα πούπουλα. Στα κυπριακά **πίσσα** σημαίνει μαστίχα, τσίκλα.* (http://planitas.blogspot.com/2011/12/blog-post_12.html)

Analysis:

The C(S)G meaning is attested by the Κριαράς online dictionary since the medieval times. Σακελλάριος (1891b: 735) mentions that it was customary in Cyprus to chew pine resin that was called also *πεύκης πίσσα* ['pɛfcɪs#'pɪs:ɐ], a set phrase. The noun of that phrase was maintained obviously until today when it changed its meaning into 'chewing gum', since what is being chewed currently instead of resin, is exactly that.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **ράμμα** ['reme]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **ράμμαν** ['rem:ɐⁿ]

Common meaning(s):

1a. (med.) stitch, suture.

1b. (rare) stitching thread. (phr.) *έχω ράμματα για τη γούνα κάποιου*, usually said as a threat, to have incriminating evidence against sb. and I intend to use it against them. [β: αρχ. *ράμμα*: α: λόγ. < αρχ. *ράμμα*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. cord, string. (Κυπρή 2003: 213, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1019)

Ex.: *Σβήσε το φως καταραμένη, που να σου φκουν τα μμάθκια τζιαι να σε τραβώ με το **ράμμα**.* (Πολυδώρου 2009: 528)

2. plumb. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 457)

Ex.: *Τράβησε **ράμμα** για να 'ν' ίσιος ο τοίχος που 'ννά χτίσει.* (L.L.)

3. shoe lace. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 457, Κυπρή 2003: 213, Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 58, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1019)

Ex.: *Τώρα έχουμε και αποδείξεις με χαρτόσημα για την ανικανότητα αυτού του ανθρώπου να λύσει οτιδήποτε εκτός που τα **ράμματα** των παπουτσιών του.* (http://pousounefkopoupaeis.blogspot.com/2008/05/blog-post_04.html)

4. to be right behind sb. or sth. (Γιαγκουλλής 2005: 90)

Ex.: *Τζι ήμουν τζι εγιώνη πίσω του **ράμμαν** με το ποδήλατον μου.* (D.P.)

Analysis:

The first C(S)G meaning maintains one of the meanings that the noun had in Ancient Greek. The SMG meanings have diverged from the original meaning in Ancient Greek, while in C(S)G it was maintained. The rest of the C(S)G meanings probably evolved from the first C(S)G meaning, as extensions of that first one.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **ρούχο** ['ruχɔ]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **ρούχον** ['ruχɔn]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (phr.) *τρώγομαι με τα ρούχα μου*, to be irritated or annoyed; to whine for no reason at all.
2. (proverb) *Φύλαγε τα ρούχα σου να έχεις τα μισά / όποιος φυλάει τα ρούχα του έχει τα μισά*, a person taking precautions won't lose everything.
3. (phr.) *Άλλαξε ο Μανολιός κι έβαλε τα ρούχα του αλλιώς*, for a seeming but not actual change.

Common meaning(s):

1. any kind of cloth cut and sewn for clothing or bedding.
 - 2a. clothing articles, usually outer clothing.
 - 2b. (phr.) *βγαίνω / με βγάζει κάποιος (έξω) από τα ρούχα μου*, to express intense anger or irritation.
 - 2c. (phr.) *δεν έχει ~ να φορέσει*, to be penniless.
 - 2d. (phr., coll.) i. *έχει τα ρούχα της*, for a woman who has her period. ii. (also iron) for sb. who gets angry, becomes irritated, etc. [*μσν. ρούχον < σλαβ. ruho· ρούχ(ο) -αλάκι*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

- 1a. any cloth.

Ex.: *Τα φαγώσιμα συνεχώς βάλλουν πάνω, ενώ εγώ ούτε μιαν πήχυν ρούχον δεν πουλώ όλη την ημέραν.* (Σμυρλή 1997: 584)

Το [ροδόσταγμα το] χρησιμοποιούσαν για να νίβουν απαλά με μαλακό ρούχο τα βρέφη. (Βιολάρη-Ιακωβίδου 2004: 58)

- 1b. any cloth usually for cleaning the house or any other chore around the house.

Ex.: *Πού φυλάς τα ρούχα [για το καθάρισμα του σπιτιού];* (M.M.)

2. (phr.), *μες στα ρούχα*, (pl.)(+ prep. of place) for sb. who is in bed or goes to bed due to an illness or indisposition, or in order to rest.

Ex.: *Άμμα αρρώστησεν τζι' έμεινεν μέσ' στα ρούχα, ήταν το αποκορύφωμαν.* (Σάββα 2009: 100)

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

Το πρωινό του Σαββάτου, η Μαίρη, έμεινε **μεσ' στα ρούχα** ώσπου επήεν η μάμμα της να δει ίντα που συμβαίνει. (Σάββα 2009: 25)

-Εμέναν εν μου εφάνηκεν άρρωστος, ετζιοιμάτουν το κοπελλούι. – Πού τα πότε τζιοιμάται τόσες ώρες Αντώνη; Εν που το δείλις πον **μεσ' στα ρούχα**. (Πολυδώρου 2008: 295)

Έμεινε λοιπόν ακίνητη **στα ρούχα** της κι ανάπνεε κανονικά για να φαίνεται κοιμισμένη, ώσπου τον άκουσε ν' ανοίγει σιγά σιγά την πόρτα και να βγαίνει από το δωμάτιο. (Σμυρλή 1997: 160)

Τελοσπάντων εβαρέθηκα με, πάω να ππέσω μες τα παπλώματα τζαι τες πατανίες..έννε συναρπαστικό τούτο το χειμόνα?? Να' σιει τόση αξία το βράσιμο **μες τα ρούχα**?? (http://tatsologio.blogspot.com/2012_01_01_archive.html)

Analysis:

The lemma does not appear in any C(S)G dictionary, probably due to the lack of any overt dialectal markers.

The (1a) and (1b) C(S)G meanings are metonymic extensions of the 'clothing' meaning in SMG, since all clothes are made of cloth, the lemma has come to mean 'cloth' in general. The C(S)G phraseologism could have evolved from the first common meaning that refers to 'linen, bedding' and it literally means to 'stay in bed, among the bed linen'.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **σάλι** ['seli]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **σάλιν** ['seliⁿ]

SMG meaning(s):

shawl, a piece of fabric worn by women over the shoulders or head, usually a in the form of a triangle, made of wool, silk or knit, with or without fringe. [ιταλ. sciall(e)-ι < γαλλ. châle (από τα περσ.)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. scarf worn by women and/or men. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1047)

Ex.: Έκανε πολύ κρύο έξω και χιόνιζε έτσι φόρησα το **σάλι** μου και το παλτό μου και βγήκα έξω. (L.S.)

*Αθθυμάσαι μες τον σιειμώναν, που ήταν ψόφος τζιαι είπα σου ότι ήρτεν ένας στον σταθμόν του τρένου τζιαι ερώτησεν με αν θέλω να πάμε για κάφε; Τζιαι εγώ είπα ευγένεστατα «ευχαριστώ για την πρόσκληση αλλά δεν ενδιαφέρομαι»; Τζιαι μετα εδιερωτούμουν ίνταλοις του εκίνησα το ενδιαφέρον αφού ήμουν σκουλλισμένη **σιάλια**, παλτά τζιαι σκούφους; (http://post-babylonblogspot.com/2012_06_01_archive.html)*

1b. football club official logo or name scarf.

Ex.: Απαγορεύονται τα **σάλια** στο σχολείο, και της Ομόνοιας και του Αποέλ. (G.C.)

*Από μικρός μου έμαθαν ότι το αποελ είναι η μοναδική ελληνική ομάδα στην Κύπρο. Όλες οι άλλες είναι τουρκικές και μερικές άλλες το παίζουν ελληνικές αλλά δεν είναι τόσο Έλληνες όσο εμείς. Επίσης έμαθα ότι όλοι μας πολεμούν. Αποελ εναντίων όλων, γράφει το **σιάλιν** μου. (http://greenguardcyprus.blogspot.com/2010/01/blog-post_19.html)*

2. scarf, wrap, a length or square of fabric worn around the neck or head. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1047)

Ex.: Η καθηγήτρια εξέχασε το **σάλιν** της στην τάξη. (G.G.)

*Εγώ όμως πρέπει να παραδεχτώ ότι χαίρομαι που το βλέπετε έτσι. Γιατί με αυτό τον τρόπο διασφαλίζεται η πολυπολιτισμικότητα της παλιάς πόλης και το πιο σημαντικό κρατούνται τα Polo τα πουκάμισα και τα Burberry's τα **σιάλια** εκτός των τειχών. Εκεί όπου ανήκουν. (<http://cyprus-critics.blogspot.com/2012/01/far-west.html>)*

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

Analysis:

The only C(S)G dictionary that mentions the lemma is the Παπαγγέλου (2001: 1047) and the most probable explanation could be that they consider its semantic content identical to that of the SMG.

In a study with the use of a questionnaire asking participants to write sentences using the 20 words the study centred around (Χατζοπούλου unpublished), many of the 15-old High-school students in Athens gave usage examples that imply that the second C(S)G meaning is also current in Greece. That would indicate that linguistic change is taking place in the SMG or the sentences produced were ambiguous enough to eventually lead to a similar change to the semantic content of the lemma so as to end up resembling the one that is current in Cyprus. If that were the case, then this false friend would not stop being one, it would merely change category from *total* to *partial*. This change, if it is occurring, is not complete, since in a relevant search on the Internet with the key word *σάλι*, the images that the Google search machine provided were almost all of triangle-shaped shawls, which is the archetypical kind of shawl that the SMG invokes to the mind of most SMG native speakers. Furthermore, all the SMG informants that we consulted over the age of 30 and up to the age of 70 coincided in that definition of the lemma.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **σάρπα** ['sɛrpe]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **ῥάρπα** ['ʃɛrpe]

C(S)G allomorph: **σάρπα** ['sɛrpe]

Common meaning(s):

1. shawl, a usually long knit or other fabric used to cover the shoulders or back. [λόγ. < γαλλ. écharp(e) -α· ιταλ. sciarpa]
2. (lat.) sarpa salpa, a species of sea bream common in the Greek sea. [αρχ. σάλπ(η)μεταπλ. -α· τροπή [l > r] πριν από σύμφ. (σύγκρ. αδελφός > αδερφός)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

a. scarf. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1054)

Ex.: *Είχα ξεχάσει πως έني το γάλαν το φρέσκον, τζείνον που το γοράζεις που το ψυγείον, όι πελλάρες. Πως έني να κυκλοφορείς χωρίς γάντια, χωρίς καπέλο, χωρίς **σιάρπα**, μεν σου πω τζαι χωρίς σακάκιν ώρες ώρες.* (http://erykini.blogspot.com/2009/12/blog-post_24.html)

*Πρίν να μπείς μεσα στο περίπτερον δηλαδή πρέπει να φκάλλεις το καππέλλο σου, τη **σιάρπα** σου, τζιαι τον καούκκον (άβολον πράμα τωρά το χειμώνα που εν παγωνιά).* (http://diasporos.blogspot.com/2009_03_01_archive.html)

b. football club official logo or name scarf.

Ex.: *Τζιαι βασικά, νοιώθω απερίγραπτη χαρά, [...], ικανοποίηση τζιαι περηφάνια, που οι κοράκλες μου, μόλις δούν σήμα, σημαία, φανέλλα, **σιάρπα** ή οτοδήποτε άλλο της ομάδας, τσιριλλούν: ΑΠΟΕΕΕΕΕΕΕΕΕΕΕ... τζιαι ας μεν τες επήρα ποττέ γήπεδο...* (<http://biker-cy.blogspot.com/2012/04/blog-post.html>)

Analysis:

The only C(S)G dictionary that mentions the lemma is the Παπαγγέλου (2001: 1047) and the explanation could be that the others consider its semantic content identical to that of the SMG. More specifically, the Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 475) dictionary only includes the sense 'shawl' without any further elaboration as to the form it takes and the fish, both common meanings.

The feminine noun ῥάρπα ['ʃɛrpe] and the neuter noun ῥάλιν ['ʃɛliⁿ] actually refer to the same piece of clothing, to a 'pashmina' or a 'scarf' and both differ from their SMG equivalent lemmas, but it appears logical to assume that both evolved from the common or exclusively SMG senses and acquired a different referent in the real world. The change was probably instigated by the change in the style of

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

clothes worn now as opposed to the clothes worn 50 or 100 years ago, when those words and their equivalent articles of clothing were current and modern.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

SMG lemma: **σπίτι** ['spiti]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **σπίτιν** ['spitiⁿ]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (proverb) *Αν δεν παινέσεις το ~ σου θα πέσει να σε πλακώσει*, for justifying the tendency to praise ourselves or our way of thinking or living.
2. (phr.) *κολόνα του σπιτιού*, the anchor of the family.
3. (phr.) *~ μου σπιτάκι μου, σπιτοκαλυβάκι μου!*, home sweet home.

Common meaning(s):

1. house, a building for human habitation.
 - 2a. a dwelling, either as a non attached building or as part of a larger building.
 - 2b. *Έφυγε από το ~*, to leave the house, abandon the paternal or conyugal house.
 - 2c. (phr.) *σαν στο ~ σας!*, make yourself at home.
 - 2d. *από ~ σε ~*, door to door.
 - 2e. *Αυτά τα ρούχα πάλιωσαν· τα έχω για το ~*, clothes to wear at home.
 - 2f. *Σήμερα έκανα το ~*, to clean the house.
3. household: a. household equipment and furnishings. b. the activities related to living in a house, either as regards cleaning and taking care of a house, or as a manner of living in a house: *Δουλειές του σπιτιού*, house cleaning chores. *Έχουν ανοιχτό ~*, to keep an open house and have a busy social life. *||Κακόφημο ~*, brothel.
 - 4a. the people living in a house as a family.
 - 4b. (phr.) *είναι από καλό ~*, to be derived from a good family.
 - 4c. *κάνω / ανοίγω ~*, to make a family, get married.
 - 4d. *έκλεισε το ~μου / μου έκλεισαν το ~*, for a death in the family or some big disaster. [μσν. *σπίτιν* < *οσπίτιν* με αποβ. του αρχικού άτ. φων. από συμπροφ. με το άρθρο < ελνστ. *οσπίτιον* < λατ. *hospit(ium)* `δωμάτιο φιλοξενίας, πανδοχείο, σπíti' -ιον]

5.2.1. Semantic divergence and phonetic convergence

C(S)G meaning(s):

a detached or semi-detached house.

Ex.: Σημείωσε ότι στο Λονδίνο, ιδίως στις ζώνες 1 και 2, δεν υπάρχουν φθηνά σπίτια, ή φθηνά διαμερίσματα. Υπάρχουν απλά λιγότερο ακριβά διαμερίσματα. (<http://www.iordanou.org/?tag=%CF%88%CE%AC%CF%87%CE%BD%CF%89>)

Analysis:

None of the C(S)G dictionaries includes the lemma among its entries, probably because they consider that the semantic content of the false friends' pair is identical. The Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 505), Παπαγγέλου (2001: 1121), Κυπρή (2002: 441) and the Χατζηιωάννου (1996: 177) dictionaries all include augmentative versions of the lemma, but none make reference to the C(S)G meaning, which has led us to think that they genuinely believe that the semantic content of the lemmas is identical.

The two lemmas appear identical, since it cannot be argued that the C(S)G sense is not also present in the SMG lemma. The divergence stems from the fact that the C(S)G lemma is more specialized than its SMG counterpart, since it only signifies 'a detached or semi-detached house' and could never refer to an apartment. In both varieties the lemma in its first common meaning is the hyperonym denoting any kind of house, but its hyponyms differ in SMG and C(S)G. In the SMG it would have two hyponyms: *μονοκατοικία* [mɔnɔkɛti'ciɛ], 'a detached or semi-detached house' and *διαμέρισμα* [ðjɛ'mɛrizmɛ], 'apartment', while in C(S)G the hyponyms would be *σπίτιν* ['spitiⁿ], 'a detached or semi-detached house' and *διαμέρισμαν* [ðjɛ'mɛrizmɛⁿ], 'apartment'. In C(S)G the same lemma is both a hypernym and a hyponym in its solely C(S)G sense. The hypernym has the same semantic content since medieval times, while the hyperonyms are younger words.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

5.2.2 Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **αδειανός** [eðje'nɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **αθκειανός** [eθce'nɔs]

C(S)G allomorph: **αδκειανός**¹⁴⁷

SMG meaning(s):

empty. [μσν. αδειανός < άδει(ος) -ανός]

C(S)G meaning(s):

a. a person who has free time to do sth. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 17)

Ex.: *Αν είσαι **αθκειανή**, έλα να πκιούμεν καφέν.* (C.L.)

*Είδες που εφάνηκα λλίον **αθκειανός** σήμμερα να σου απαντήσω, αλλά αθκειασερός εννά 'θελα πολλά να ήμουν!!* (S.A.)

b. a person who has too much free time at his/her hands and spends it in foolishness; idle; lazy. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 30, Κυπρή 1989: 8, Κυπρή 2002: 14)

Ex.: *Εν **αθκειανός** ο κύριος Γκούγκλης νομίζω.* (<http://oilaomon.blogspot.com/2011/08/google-search-suggestions-ii.html#ixzz1byWpMp1f>)

Analysis:

The dictionaries of the C(S)G we have consulted show significant divergence, such that to trust in some would mean that the false friend pair is total and to trust in others, that it is partial. Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 30) claims that the adjective has two different meanings: 'empty', i.e. the same as SMG, and 'idle', as it is exemplified in meaning (b). Whether these meanings are two different ones or synonyms of the same is not clarified by the dictionary and the only meaning that is presented with a relevant example is the same as (b) above. A third meaning presented in the same dictionary is that of *αδκειασερός* [eθcese'ɾɔs] 'a person with free time', actually a synonym of meaning (b) above.

The Παπαγγέλου (2001: 17) dictionary denotes the adjective to mean 'a person who is free, has free time', the same as meaning (a) in our analysis. The second meaning exemplified in (b) is expressed by the adjective *αθκειασερός* (Παπαγγέλου, 2001: 24) meaning 'without work; idle; lazy'. In this dictionary as well, the user cannot be certain whether the meanings presented in a lemma are different or synonyms and furthermore, no usage example is presented and it is therefore almost impossible to be certain of the meaning.

¹⁴⁷ There is an allograph, i.e. *αδκειανός*, that, according to the Συντυοιές project has the same phonetic transcription as the *αθκειανός* lemma above.

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

Κυπρή (2002: 14) covers the same meanings as the Γιαγκουλλής dictionary, but also includes examples only for the ‘idle’ meaning. Like the Παπαγγέλου dictionary, her glossary considers that the adjectives *αδκειανός* and *αδκειασερός* are synonyms, while the Κυπρή (1989: 8) glossary provides only the (b) meaning above. The Μυριανθοπούλου – Μακρή (1988: 11) dictionary only has the *αδκειασερός* lemma that means ‘lazy, idle’, accompanied by a relevant example.

It is obvious that most of the dictionaries consider the two lemmas *αδκειανός* and *αθκειασερός* synonymous and so do some of the C(S)G speakers we have consulted. Other speakers, like S.A., consider that the two adjectives are in fact semantically divergent. The *faux amis αδκειανός* has neutral connotations and merely signifies the ‘person who has free time from his work’, while the adjective *αθκειασερός* appears to have the negative connotation of the person who is ‘lazy’, or ‘idle’.

The SMG meaning is a fairly old one, as it was evidenced to exist since the medieval era (Κριαράς online) and there are three explanations for its appearance in the C(S)G dictionaries either that: a) it existed until 50 years ago, since the speakers we have consulted are not older than that; or that b) the authors of the dictionaries believe that it has the same meaning as in SMG, because the two words are virtually identical; or finally that c) the dictionaries retain a meaning that existed in the medieval Cyprus and stopped being in use many years ago. Whatever the explanation, the denotation of ‘empty’ in C(S)G is not expressed by the adjective *αδκειανός*, but by the adjective *όφκαιρος* [‘ɔfcairos], so the two adjectives *αδειανός* and *αδκειανός* are total false friends.

Furthermore, both meanings of the C(S)G lemma can be plausibly related with the verb *αδειάζω* [e’ðjezo], which still means ‘(inf.) to have free time’ and meant according to the Κριαράς medieval dictionary ‘to remain idle’ as well as ‘to have free time’. But the adjective only had the SMG meaning. Our conclusion is that the SMG retained the same meaning and the C(S)G diverged.

Type: **total** false friend

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **βαρέλα** [ve'rele]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **βαρέλλα** [ve'rel:ɛ]

SMG meaning(s):

(augm., iron) used to refer to a dumpy woman

Common meaning(s):

1. a vat, a big drum or barrell.
2. concrete mixer.

C(S)G meaning(s):

- a. (usually pl.) stupidity, nonsense. (<http://www.cyslang.com/>)

Ex.: *Πρώτος ο Αθηκιασερός έγραψε για τη **βαρέλλα** που έσυρε προχτές ο κύριος Βαρνάβα (εν γεγονός ότι έχουμε μια ευαισθησία στην ανακάλυψη **βαρελλών!**). <http://athkeiaseros.pblogs.gr/tags/kypriako-gr.html>*

- b. (phr.) *σύρνω βαρέλλες*: to say stupid thing, to talk nonsense.

Ex.: *Καλά, μα μιλούμε δαμέ οξά **σύρνουμεν βαρέλλες** τζι όποιον πάρει ο χάρος; (<http://biker-cy.blogspot.com/2011/04/blog-post.html>)*

Analysis:

The ΔKN online includes this noun in the neuter noun *βαρέλι* [ve'reli], 'barrell', because it is its augmentative that appears in the SMG meaning above. Of the two common meanings, only the 1st is mentioned in the SMG dictionaries, but we found the 2nd used in phrases on the Internet¹⁴⁸, so we included it. It is probably a comparatively recent denotation and this is possibly the reason why the journalist of the article mentioned in the footnote has placed it in inverted commas, considering it a metaphorical meaning.

The noun is a loan from Italian, though the two main SMG dictionaries do not agree in the exact provenance¹⁴⁹. The ΔKN online discusses only the etymology of the neuter noun, a subcategory of which is considered the noun we are discussing and it claims that it originated from an Italian dialectal form *varrili*, *varrile* ([i > e] perhaps due to the liquid consonants [r, l]). The ΔNEΓ states that it

¹⁴⁸ Τροχάιο στην Κατσιμίδα με «βαρέλα» που πέρασε στο αντίθετο ρεύμα (<http://www.seleo.gr/thessalonikh/220188-trochaio-stin-katsimidi-me-varela-pou-perase-sto-antitheto-reyma#.WHoU4VN97IU>).

¹⁴⁹ The ΔKN online discusses only the etymology of the neuter noun, a subcategory of which is considered the noun we are discussing and it claims that it originated from an Italian dialectal form.

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

derives from medieval Italian *barella*, a diminutive of *bara*, 'barrell', 'case', as does the Κριαράς online medieval dictionary. The question whether it entered the Cypriot variety through the koiné of medieval Byzantium or directly, we do not know, since the C(S)G dictionaries do not include the noun, probably because it is a fairly recent sense and belongs to teen slang. The phraseologism in which the noun usually appears is also absent from the dictionaries. In the cyslang website (<https://www.cyslang.com/>) we have encountered only the noun that was not accompanied by the verb with which it is usually used.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **βλέπω** ['vleɾɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **γλέπω** ['ɣleɾɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

1. to see. (phr.) *όποιος έχει μάτια, βλέπει*, said for sth. that is crystal clear.
- 2a. to perceive with the eyes; discern visually.
- 2b. *δες, βλέπε* (and abbreviation) *βλ.*, 'cf.' used for citation.
- 2c. (phr.) *δε ~ την ώρα*, I look forward to.
- 2d. (phr.) *~ μακριά*, to be very perceptive, insightful.
- 2e. (phr.) *~ κπ. ή κτ. με / από καλό / κακό μάτι*, for favorable or unfavorable disposition
- 2f. (phr.) *~τον ουρανό σφοντύλι*, to feel dizzy after getting hit or due to an unexpected and unpleasant event.
3. (metaph. inan 3rd pers. sing.) pointed to one direction
4. to perceive, locate, discern sb. or sth. with my eyes. (phr.)¹⁵⁰
5. (main. for viewing) to watch a spectacle.
- 6a. (metaph.) (for doctor) to examine a patient.
- 6b. keep an eye out for sth. or sb; to watch over sth. or sb.
- 6c. be in contact with or to visit sb.
- 6d. to meet sb. (proverb) *Μάτια που δε βλέπονται, γρήγορα λησμονιούνται*, out of sight, out of mind.
- 6e. to know sb. (phr.) *κάπου σ' είδα, κάπου μ' είδες* or *πού σε είδα, πού με είδες* or *πού σε είδα, πού σε ξέρω*, said for a passing memory of encounter or main. to show indifference.
- 7a. to be or become aware of sth.; to perceive; to discover. || *Βλέπεις / είδες*;; as a confirmation. || *Δες*, you ought to know or take into into account. || (as a threat) *θα δεις!:* *θα δεις τι θα πάθεις / τι θα σου κάνω / τι σε περιμένει!*
- 7b. to form an opinion or view regarding sth.; to judge; to assess or estimate.

¹⁵⁰ There are many phraseologisms with the v. 'to see' that we have decided not to analyse here, since they do not have any bearing on the analysis we are attempting. For more details, cf. http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/modern_greek/tools/lexica/triantafyllides/search.html?q=%CE%B2%CE%BB%CE%AD%CF%80%CF%89&dq=.

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

7c. to express a prediction or an assessment.

7d. (pers.) to treat sb. in a certain manner, as if (s)he is sth. in particular. (phr.) ~ κπ. σαν το χάρο, to consider sb. as unpleasant as death himself / ~ κπ. σαν κουνούπι, to consider sb. as insignificant.

8a. to investigate; to examine; to think about an issue or a case. (phr.) βλέποντας και κάνοντας, without a plan in advance.

8b. to check, examine.

9a. to experience personally (events, situations).

9b. (phr.) είδα κι απόειδα, to feel tires, disappointed, frustrated (after a series of unsuccessful efforts). [αρχ. βλέπω· είδα: μσν. είδα < αρχ. ερδ(ον) αόρ. του όρω `βλέπω, αντιλαμβάνομαι με την όραση', μεταπλ. κατά τους άλλους αορ. σε -α, π.χ. έγγραφα]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. to watch over sth.; to keep watch (Κυπρή 1989: 256, Κυπρή 2002: 93, Κυπρή 2003: 141, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 126, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 162)

Ex.: Φέρε σοίρον τζαι σύρ' το κάτω για έλα κάτσε μέσα να το γλέπεις. (Σάββα 2009: 60)

1b. to watch your step; to take care. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 126, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 162, Κυπρή 2002: 93)

Ex.: Έγλεπε τα λόγια σου, γιε μου. Ανησυχώ. (NOUNL.)

1c. to look after; to tend to.

Ex.: Έχεις πατάτες τηανιτές της δίαιτας. Ολόκληρη η γεύση με το δέκατον του λαθκιού. Το όνειρον του καθενός που θέλει να γλέπει την γραμμή του. (http://istomageiremata.blogspot.com/2010_08_01_archive.html)

1d. (pass. voice) to protect oneself; to guard against sth. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 162, Κυπρή 1989: 358, Κυπρή 2002: 93)

Ex.: Να γλέπεσαι που τους κακούς αθθρώπους. (C. L.)
Κανεί ρε η φωθκιά τζ' εσ σας πάει! – Καλά λαλούν να γλέπεσαι άμα τους πκιάει. (Μόντης, 1988γ: 204)

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

2. to protect; to safeguard; to preserve. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 102, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 216)

Ex.: *Να γλέπουμεν τους ππαράες να μεμ μπορείτε να τους πκιάετε να κάμετε πόλεμον.* (Μόντης, 1988γ: 208)

Analysis:

The reason for splitting the SMG lemma into two pairs resides in the fact that the two C(S)G words, *βλέπω* [ˈvlepɔ] and *γλέπω* [ˈɣlepɔ] are actually exactly that, two different words and not allomorphs of the same lemma. Although the latter is derived from the first (through a consonant substitution process, <β> → <γ> that probably occurred in modern times, since in the medieval texts the form *γλέπω* does not appear), it does not share any denotations with it. The C(S)G meanings above are attested in the original lemma (*βλέπω*) since medieval times, and the textual evidence afforded (cf. the Κριαράς online dictionary) allows us to claim that C(S)G maintains denotations since that era that have evolved or disappeared in SMG and were later assumed by a differentiated form (*γλέπω*). Such a form may have began as a regional typological differentiation or subvariety, but in time it was established as a word with a different semantic content to the original word.

All other dictionaries except Γιαγκουλλής (2014) do not include the verbs among their lemmas and even this dictionary attributes meaning (1b) to the verb *βλέπο(ν)μαι* [ˈvlepume] (2014: 102) and not *γλέπομαι* [ˈɣlepɔme]. Παπαγγέλου (2001: 216) from *γλέπομαι* refers to *βλέπομαι*, the C(S)G meanings in which we cite him as a source, he attributes to the verb *βλέπομαι*, or *βλέπω*. Κυπρή (2003: 141) consigns to the lemma *γλέπω* the meanings we cite her for, mentioning that it is derived from the common in the two varieties *βλέπω* with a change from <β> → <γ>. Nevertheless, she notes that it is often pronounced as *βλέπω*. Furthermore, she adds that the verb *θωρώ* is being used in order to signify ‘to see’. In the 2002 Κυπρή (2002: 93) glossary, the two lemmas, *βλέπω* and *γλέπω* are under the same entry. In the 1989 glossary by Κυπρή (1989: 256) it is noted that *βλέπω* never means ‘to see’, as it does in SMG. The Cypriot peasants, is stated therein, for this meaning employ the verb *μπλέπω*, *αμπλέπω*, *θωρώ*. The current meaning in C(S)G for *βλέπω* has come about as a metaphorical use from the sense ‘observe’ that is inherent in the verb ‘to see’.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **βούκα** [ˈvukɛ] / **βουκιά** [vuˈce] Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **βούκκα** [ˈvukʰ:ɛ]

SMG meaning(s):

(coll.) a mouthful, a bite. [μσν. βούκα < λατ. bucca `μάγουλο, μπουκιά´· βούκ(α) - ίτσα]

C(S)G meaning(s):

cheek. (Κυπρή 1989: 186, Κυπρή 2003: 10, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 105, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 51, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 170)

Ex.: *Είσοδος: 20 ευρώ με ένα ποτό τζαι ένα φιλί στη βούκκα που τον/την κύριο/κυρία.* (<https://www.facebook.com/torifi.net/videos/344235839248586/>)

- Επέστρεψε και ο Τάσσος από τις διακοπές του στο Dubai και το Παρίσι
- Κάποιοι είπαν ότι ακόμα δεν ξεπέρασε την ήττα του πρώτου γύρου
- Εμένα πάντως μου φάνηκε ανανεωμένος με γυαλισμένη **βουκκούα** (http://foukou.blogspot.com/2008_03_01_archive.html)

Βλαστά [ο φρονιμίτης] προς την βουκκούα μου, / την άσπρη, την παμπατζιένη / τζαι ούλλη μέρα νώχω την / όπως την κωστωμένη. (http://atomiki-mou-energeia.blogspot.com/2008_09_01_archive.html)

Analysis:

The lemma's SMG meaning 'bite' is expressed in C(S)G by the masculine noun *βούκκος* [ˈvukʰ:ɔs]¹⁵¹ but also by the feminine noun *βουκκιά/μπουτσιά* (as it appears in the Κυπρή 2002: 97 glossary entry). The C(S)G sense is attested since the medieval era. The Latin noun both words are derived from had both meanings and each variety maintained one of those, although quite possibly the loan entered the Greek language with both and later diverged in each variety.

Quite often the noun is used in its diminutive form that appears in the latter two examples we present here.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

¹⁵¹ E.g. *Σίγουρα γυρεύκει τες η ράσιη σου, άης με να κάτσω να φάω ένα βούκκο με την ησυχία μου, μεν μου μάσεισαι* (Πολυδώρου 2009: 402).

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **βούλωμα** ['vulɔmɛ]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **βούλλωμαν** ['vul:ɔmɛⁿ]

SMG meaning(s):

1. the action or result of putting a stopper to sth. or blocking sth.
2. anything used to block or stopper sth., a cork or a cap. [μσν. βούλλωμα < βουλλώ(νω δεσ στο βουλώνω) -μα]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. transfer of property deeds. (Κυπρή 1989: 119, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 106, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 172)

Εχ.: *Όταν προτάθηκε το «βούλλωμα» επι Κληρίδη, ώστε να έχουν κάτι χειροπιαστό αυτοί οι άνθρωποι, το ΑΚΕΛ λίγο έλειψε να πάθει έμφραγμα από το φώναξε -φώναξε!* <http://strovliotis.wordpress.com/2010/05/16/%CE%B5%CE%BA-%CE%BC%CE%B7%CF%84%CF%81%CE%BF%CE%B3%CE%BF%CE%BD%CE%AF%CE%B1%CF%82-%CE%B3%CE%B9%CE%B1-%CF%84-%CF%8C%CE%BD%CE%BF%CE%BC%CE%B1-%CF%84%CE%BF%CF%85-%CE%B8%CE%B5%CE%BF%CF%8D-%CE%BE%CE%B1/>

Ο Κυρηναίος Παύλος, ως πιο έξυπνος, έταζε τότε τον... παράδεισο! Αέρα κοπανιστό, δηλαδή. Αυτός ήταν πιο χουβαρντάς, έταζε το βούλωμα οικοπέδων. (<http://www.philenews.com/el-gr/arthra-apo-f-th-fotiou/849/339305/to-lampro-myalo-enos-archiepiskopou>)

2. dent, a slight hollow in a hard even surface made by a blow or applied pressure. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 172)

Εχ.: *Το ίδιο βράδυ το γεγονός ήταν στις ειδήσεις και τα παιδιά είδαν το αγαπημένο τους «όπελ» στην οθόνη, χωρίς τζάμια και με βουλώματα στη μογιά του.* (Βιολάρη-Ιακωβίδου 2004: 258)

Βούλωμα στο αυτοκίνητο; Μην ανησυχείτε.. Διορθώστε το μόνοι σας σε δύο λεπτά! (Βίντεο) (<http://carpages.com.cy/vouloma-isiotis/>)

Analysis:

The first C(S)G meaning survives since the medieval era (Κριαράς online), but it disappeared from the SMG. The second C(S)G meaning is attested by Παπαγγέλου (2001: 172), but does not appear in the other dictionaries that included the first meaning. The dictionaries of Κυπρή (1989: 119) and Παπαγγέλου (2001: 171) include the first sense, but ascribe the second meaning

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

to the neuter noun *βούλλημαν* ['vul:imeⁿ] probably from the medieval verb *βουλλώ* [vu'l:ɔ], 'to recede due to a blow, to receive a dent' (Κυπρή 1989: 119, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 106, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 172). Nevertheless, we have encountered the neuter noun *βούλλωμαν* both in a literary text and an online one. Furthermore, it is attested by one of the C(S)G dictionaries and these indications lead us to believe that the phonetic proximity of the two nouns has led to the adoption of the meaning of *βούλλημαν* by the noun *βούλλωμαν*.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **βουλώνω** [vu'lonɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **βουλλώννω** [vu'li:ɔn:ɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

(phr.) *διαβάζω βουλωμένο γράμμα*, to have the ability to understand quickly things that are difficult to see or understand.

Common meaning(s):

1a. (for a recipient or a bottle) to stopper, obstruct the nozzle with a stopper.

1b. to close, obstruct an opening.

1c. to be obstructed or stoppered.

2. (obs. for letters) to close and seal.

[μσν.βουλλώνω < βούλλ(α δεσ στο βούλα) -ώνω]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. to seal or stamp a document. (Κυπρή 1989: 120, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 106, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 172, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 51)

Ex.: *Αν μεν συμφωνείς ...εν να πρέπει να μου δώκεις τα χωράφκια.*

*Γιωρκής – καλόν, φέρτο χαρτί να το **βουλλώσω** να τελειώνουμε.*
<http://yiannoslambis.blogspot.com/>

2a. to transfer or legitimize property deeds. (Κυπρή 1989: 120, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 106, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 172, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 51)

Ex.: *Λαλούμε να της **βουλλώσουμεν** τ' αμπέλι στο Κακοράσι.* (Πολυδώρου 2009: 19)

*Νικού: Το δίκαιον ένει να μου **βουλλώσεις** εμένα το χωράφιν. Γέρος: Τζιαι ν' αδικήσω τους άλλους; Νικού: Μα γιατί να τους αδικήσεις; Γέρος: Θαρκίεσαι εγέρασα τζι επέλλανα; Το χωράφιν αξίζει διπλάσια που τες περιουσίες που σας εμοίρασα.* (Κουκίδης 2007γ: 208)

2b. (metaph.) to bequeath, to bestow sth. to sb.

Ex.: *Αδιόριστε δάσκαλε, κανέννας δεν σου **εβούλλωσεν** θέση στο δημόσιο τζιαι χώνεψε το. Το να έχεις πτυχίο δεν ισούται με ΔΙΚΑΙΩΜΑ στην εργοδότηση στο δημόσιο αλλά με δικαίωμα στη ΔΙΕΚΔΙΚΗΣΗ θέσης στο δημόσιο.*
<http://blog.stockwatch.com.cy/?p=446>

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

2c. (metaph.) to seal; to stabilize or confirm a situation, state or condition.

Ex.: *Μάλλον εδόκαν της Ρωσίας την ευκαιρία που εγύρευκε να στείλει το μήνυμαν ότι εν θα ανεχτεί παιχνίθκια πουκάτω που τ' αρφάλλιν της, τζιαι να **βουλλώσει** την κυριαρχίαν της στη Νότιαν Οσετία αλλά τζιαι στην Αμπχαζία* (http://pousounefkopoupaeis.blogspot.com/2008_08_01_archive.html)

3. to dent, to make sth. hollow (by hitting it).

Ex.: *Σιγα σιόρ το εγκλημαν... ετο **εβουλλωσα** του το λλίον, τσας... η πορτα του εν ανοιει σίουρα... εννα τηλεφωνήσω σικκιμέ.* (http://post-babylonblogspot.com/2010_11_01_archive.html)

*Έτο δαμέ...η μπουκάλα που κρατάς έννεν ελαττωματική. Ούτε εχτύπησεν πούποτε ο κώλος της τζι **εβούλλωσεν**.* (http://oilaomonblogspot.com/2011_02_01_archive.html#ixzz1qDzlogfp)

4a. to open a hole in sth., usually a watermelon. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 106, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 172)

Ex.: *Ελείψαν τους τζαι τα καρπούζια πέρσι. Όι καλό. Φέτος όμως η κοινότητα έβαλε στόχο για ακόμα μεγαλύτερη προσέλευση. Φροντίστε να είστε εκεί διότι την παττίχα θα τη **βουλώνουν** τζαι θα την τζερνούν.* (https://issuu.com/toutoukkinious/docs/issue_4_web_issuu)

4b. (metaph.) to open a hole or rift.

Ex.: *«Την παττίχα μας την **εβούλλωσαν** ξένοι το 1960. Αντί να προσπαθήσουμε από κοινού να κλείσουμε τη ρωγμή της βούλας, πέσαμε μέσα στο βάραθρο και την μοιράσαμε στα δυο στο τέλος».* (<http://www1.sigmalive.com/files/filefield/0/9/6/simerini16112008.pdf>)

Analysis:

The first C(S)G meaning differs from the similar common second meaning, because that refers only to letters, while the C(S)G one relates to documents mostly official ones. C(S)G meanings (1) and (2a, 2b, 2c) preserve medieval meanings inexistent in the SMG, while senses (3) and (4) appear to be extensions of the meaning 'to brand' that was attested in Cypriot medieval texts and is mentioned in earlier husbandry references in the Κυπρή (1989: 120) glossary.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **βούττημα** ['vutime]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **βούττημαν** ['vut^h:imeⁿ]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (usually pl.) cookies, scones and similar sweets that can be dipped in hot beverages.

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. the action and result of dipping sth. (Κυπρή 2002:362, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 109, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 177)

Ex.: «Για να τελειώσουμε τον σουτζιούκκο», μας είπαν η παπαδιά Ειρήνη και η αδελφή της Νίτσα, «θα πρέπει να κάνουμε 14 «**βουττήματα**» σ' ένα διάστημα αρκετών ημερών. Κι αυτό, για να προλαβαίνουν τα διάφορα στρώματα να στεγνώνουν». (<https://nikospa.wordpress.com/2014/12/22/%CF%84%CE%BF%CF%85-%CF%80%CE%B1%CE%BB%CE%BF%CF%85%CE%B6%CE%AD-%CE%B7-%CE%B3%CE%BB%CF%8D%CE%BA%CE%B1-%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%82-%CE%BA%CE%BF%CE%B9%CE%BB%CE%B9%CE%AC%CF%82-%CE%BC%CE%B1%CF%82-%CE%B5%CE%AF%CE%BD/>)

1b. dip, dunking in dips. (Κυπρή 2002:362, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 109, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 177)

Ex.: Το να σερβίρεις κάτι παραπάνω που σαλάτα με αγγουρο-τοματο-μαιντανο-κρομμυδι-σουμάτζιν με τα σουβλάκια εν περιττόν. Ατε καμιάν τασιην για το **βούττημαν**. (http://post-babylonblogspot.com/2010_11_01_archive.html)

2. (phr.) ~ (του) ήλιου, sunset. (Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 20, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 109, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 177)

Ex.: Ειδικά τωρά πον Ραμαζάνιν, τζαι τζιέινιοι που νηστεύκουσιν μεινίσκου νηστιτζιοί ως το **βούττημαν του ήλιου**, εν το πρώτο πράμαν που τρών για να μεν πειραχτεί το στομάσιν τους που ήταν όφκερον ούλλη μέρα - ελαφρόν τζαι ωραίον φαίν. (http://istomageiremata.blogspot.com/2010_08_01_archive.html)

Τζιαι οι Κυπραίοι παραλλήες εν εκατομμύρια που εστείλαν έξω, αμμα εν κανεί που θησαυρίζουν, θέλουν να μειώσουν τους μισθούς, τζιαι να δουλεύκει ο κόσμος όι που το γέννημαν του ήλιου ως το **βούττημαν** όπως πριν 60 - 100 χρόνια αμμά 24 ώρες το 24ωρο. (http://acerasanthropophorum.blogspot.com/2012/02/blog-post_21.html)

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

Analysis:

The SMG meaning is an extension and specialization of the ‘dipping’ sense that is present in all meanings in general. It is not certain how or when the differentiation took place, but it is clear that even if the C(S)G meanings at some point in time were also present in the SMG, they became obsolete and are retained as memories in the current sense of the lemma.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **βουτώ** [vu'tɔ] / **βουτάω** [vu'tɛɔ] Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **βουττώ** [vu'tʰ:ɔ] C(S)G allomorph: **γουττώ** [ɣu'tʰ:ɔ]

Common meaning(s):

- 1a. to sink sth. in a liquid.
- 1b. to enter, get thrown, sink myself in a liquid (main. water).
- 1c. to dive.
- 2a. (metaph.) to grab with a sudden movement.
- 2b. (metaph.) to arrest.
3. (metaph.) to take sneakily, remove, steal. [μσν. βουτώ < βουτ(ίζω) μεταπλ. -
ώ με βάση το συνοπτ. θ. βουτισ- < αρχ. βυθίζω ([y > u], [θ > t];)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(metaph.) to set (usu for the sun). (Σακελλαρίου 1891b: 497¹⁵², Παπαγγέλου 2001: 177)

Ex.: *Άτε την κόρη μου τζιαι εννά αρκήσουμε, κάμνε καϊρέττι τζιαι εννά βουτήσει ο ήλιος.* (Πολυδώρου 2009: 31)

Analysis:

The other SMG dictionary used, except our default choice (ΛΚΝ online), the ΛΝΕΓ (2002) includes the metaphorical meaning 'to disappear inside sth.' and as its synonym appears the verb 'to set'. The example provided by this dictionary, *Ο ήλιος βούτηξε στο πέλαγος* [ɔ#'iλɔs#'vutikse#stɔ#'pɛlɛɣɔs], 'the sun set in the sea' confirms our sense that even when used according to this denotation, the verb requires a complement of topical reference. In C(S)G no such referent is required, since it seems that this verb is the basilectal one signifying that the sun sets, and this is corroborated by the relevant mention in the oldest C(S)G dictionary at our disposal, that of Σακελλαρίου (1891b: 497). A relevant search on the Internet yielded very few results and all of them were with a complement analogous to the one that appeared in the ΛΝΕΓ, which leads us to conclude that this sense is probably antiquated and/or dialectal and so we choose to rely on the online dictionary and consider that this is a semantic and phonetic/morphological false friend.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

¹⁵² Used for the sun, the moon and the stars.

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: γόμα ['γɔmɛ]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: γόμμα ['γɔmɛ]

SMG meaning(s):

eraser, rubber. [αντδ. < βεν. goma & ιταλ. gomma < υστλατ. gummy, cumma < λατ. commis < αρχ. κόμμι (αιγυπτ. προέλ.)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

glue, adhesive substance used for sticking objects or materials together usually, in the form of a glue stick.

Ex.: *Εβάλαμεν πολλή γόμμα (we put a lot of glue).* (Ioannidou 2007: 183)

Μπορείς να μου δώσεις τη γόμα για να κολλήσω το φυλλάδιό μου;
(Κατσογιάννου and Χατζοπούλου 2015: 149)

Analysis:

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include this lemma in their entries, possibly because they consider that its semantic content identifies with that of the SMG.

A research conducted among 15-year old high school students (Κατσογιάννου and Χατζοπούλου 2015) regarding 20 false friends among which was this one as well, proved that although it is among the emblematic, known false friends, it is not recognized as such by the C(S)G dictionaries and many students do not realize that it does not share the same semantic content with the SMG lemma.

Both the ΔΚΝ and the ΔΝΕΓ dictionaries include among the senses of the lemma the C(S)G one, although it is obsolete in Greece to such an extent that a relevant search on the Internet does not yield any results pertaining to that meaning. Furthermore, the same research mentioned above was conducted in Greece as well and although these findings are unpublished, they indicate that the 15-year old students who were native speakers of SMG at the time were completely unaware that a meaning existed.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **γυαλί** [je'li]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **γυαλλίν** [je'l:i'n]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (phr.) *αν ραγίσει το ~*, once a sentimental relationship is damaged, it is difficult to mend it.
2. (phr.) *τα κάνω γυαλιά καρφιά*, for usually serious damage or disturbance.
3. (phr.) *βάζω / φοράω τα γυαλιά σε κπ.*, to appear smarter or better than sb. else.

Common meaning(s):

- 1a. glass.
- 1b. glass fragment.
- 2a. (coll.) an object made of glass.
- 2b. lamp glass.
- 2c. a drinking container made from glass.
- 2d. tv set.
3. (metaph.) for sth. smooth and sleek.
4. (pl.) *τα γυαλιά* & (coll.) *το γυαλί*, a pair of special lenses on a frame used for the correction of faulty eyesight or simply for the protection of the eyes. [μσν. *γυαλίν* < υποκορ. του αρχ. *ἡ ὕαλ(ος) -ίον* ([ia > ja] σύγκρ. *γιατρός*)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. (usually pl.) pane, windowpane.

Ex.: *Από τις 12 ήμουν επάνω τζι εκαθάριζα **γυαλλιά** τζι αρκοντίσιον.* (E.S.)

- 2a. (metaph.) (phr.) *κάμνω κάτι/κάποιον ~*, to clean sth. so well that it will be crystal clear.

Ex.: ***Έκαμα** το σπίτιν **γυαλλίν**.*

- Πρόεδρε, εγέλασεν σου λλίος αφρός που το ξιούρισμαν, κάτσε να σου το κάμω σιόνιν. - ***Έκαμεν τον γυαλλίν** όμως α!* (<http://oilaomon.blogspot.com/2012/02/4.html#ixzz1rYEleruq>)

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

2b. (metaph., phr.) κάμνω κάτι/κάποιον ~, to clean the plate; to eat or devour everything (on the plate).

Ex.: Οι πίτσες εγινήκαν ούλλες μέλιν. Ήταν να σας πω να κοπιάσετε αλλά **εκάμαμεν** **τες** **γυαλλίν**. (<http://istomageiremata.blogspot.com/2010/11/01/archive.html>)

3. a mirror.

Ex.: Αννού: Ούλλη μέρα μεσ' στους ήλιους... εγίνην η μουτσούν μου σαν της γεναίκας της αγκαστρωμένης. Αντριανού: Πκοιος σου 'πεν κόρη τούτην την πελλάραν; Αννού: Γιατί εν θωρώ μόνη μου τα μούτρα μου στο **γυαλλίν**; Καρτερώ να μου το πούσιν; Θώρε παννάδες! (Κουκκίδης 2007α: 126)

- Όϊ, γιατί; Πέμου να δω;... - Ό γερημόκλιαρος του / έμπηκεν μες το δίχωρον τζι είδεν καρτζίν του το **γυαλλίν** / λουβούδκια τόβραν κουτουλιές απού τα δώστου δώστου... (poem *Μοιάζουμεν*, by D. Lipertis, http://www.moec.goverbcy/stoxoi/stoxoi2009/pdf/stoxos1/sto1_yliko_gia_ekp_mesis.pdf)

Analysis:

The first C(S)G meaning is possibly an extension and specialization of the first common sense, since the common sense denotes glass in general, while the equivalent C(S)G meaning is restricted to the window glass. Although the metaphorical third common meaning appears to signify the same as the (2a) C(S)G sense, in SMG this meaning refers only to inanimate objects (flat or level surfaces, mainly the floor) that are made sleek and smooth or shiny and crystal clear. In the C(S)G, its usage is wider, since it can be used with animate objects, as the relevant second example in (2a) indicates. Furthermore, the (2b) meaning shows that in C(S)G the lemma is more productive, since it has extended to a metaphorical meaning of 'devouring all my food, thus cleaning the plate'.

The only C(S)G dictionaries that include the lemma are Παπαγγέλου (2001: 230) and Κυπρή (2003: 379), when they that mention that the phraseologism *γυαλλίν της οσθιάς* [je'l:i#tis#ɔ'f:ɛs] signifies 'mirror'. It is obvious that the third meaning has come from this phraseologism when the conjunction in general was dropped leaving the noun to express the whole of the sense previously conveyed by the phraseologism.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **γυρεύω** [ji'revɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **γυρεύκω** [ji'refko]

C(S)G allomorph: **γυρεύγω** [ji'revɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (proverb) *Στραβός βελόνα γύρευε μέσα σε αχυρώνα*, for an incompetent and ignorant person engaging in sth. tiresome and pointless.
2. (proverb) *Όποιος γυρεύει τα πολλά χάνει και τα λίγα*, for the unpleasant results of greed.
3. (proverb) *Γιάννη γύρευε και Νικολό καρτέρει*, for sth. that is taking too long to happen
4. (phr.) *τρέχα γύρευε. τι τα θες, τι τα γυρεύεις*, for no longer engaging in sth. that is pointless.
5. (phr.) ~ *ψύλλους στ' άχυρα*, for sb. looking for sth. that cannot be found.
6. (phr.) *τι γυρεύει η αλεπού στο παζάρι*; for sb. who is meddling in others' affairs.
7. (phr.) *στον ουρανό το(ν) γύρευα, στη γη το(ν) βρήκα*, for when we are looking for sth. everywhere and finding it in the most unlikely place near us.
8. (phr.) *πάει γυρεύοντας*, for sb. who in acting or behaving in a certain way that creates the conditions for sth. unpleasant to occur.

Common meaning(s):

- 1a. to seek; to search for sth. that has been lost or for sth. that a person wishes to acquire.
- 1b. to try to meet sb.; to seek sb.
2. to intend; to strive to succeed sth. [μσν. γυρεύω `ψάχνω' < ελνστ. γυρεύω (γῦρ(ος) -εύω) `τρέχω σε κύκλο, περιπλανιέμαι']

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. (mid. voice) to seek sth. that one considers better, in order to improve the situation one find himself or herself in. (Κυπρή 1989: 258)

Ex.: *Μουχτάρης: [...] Αν τους πούμεν δκυο θα κάμουν επανάστασιν. Δάσκαλος: Τότε κύριε μουχτάρη λυπούμαι πολλά, μα είμαι αναγκασμένος να γυρευτώ αλλού. Γιατί η πρώτη έννοια μου εν η γεναίκα μου τζιαι το μωρό μου. (Κουκίδης 2007α: 302)*

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

2. (phr., mid.) usually *πάω να γυρευτώ*, to look into my health situation, because I suspect that I might have a health problem. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 133, Κυπρή 2002: 124, Κυπρή 2003: 299, Κυπρή 1998: 258)

Ex.: - *Μα είσαι άρρωστος, Θεμιστοκλή; Τον ρώτησε και στο βλέμμα της είδε πως το εννοούσε. - Όι Αφροδίτη, γιατί αρωτάς; - Έμεινες πετσίν τζιαι κόκκαλο, ρε Θεμιστοκλή, εγίώ λαλώ να πα' να γυρευτείς.* (Πολυδώρου 2008: 64)

3. (mid.) to go looking for a husband. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 232)

Ex.: *Αντριανού: Άμα πάρεις την ανάπτυξη σου εν να χαθούσιν. Αννού: Μα πότε; Αντριανού: Μεν μαραζώννεις. Όσπου να 'ρτει ο τζιαιρός σου να γυρευτείς, η φάτσα σου εν να γενεί κουκκούλιν* (Κουκκίδης 2007a: 127)

Analysis:

All exclusively C(S)G meanings appear in the middle voice, which leads us to surmise that the nature of the middle voice has lead Greek Cypriot native speakers to adopt these senses for this particular verb in the middle voice, since they express reflexiveness.

The first two C(S)G senses are extensions of the common meanings between the two varieties, while the third is attested since the medieval era (Κριαράς online), although at that time it was used in the active voice.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **δαγκώνω** [ðe'ŋɔɔɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **δακκάννω** [ðe'k^h:ɛn:ɔ]

C(S)G allomorph: **ακκάννω** [e'k^h:ɛn:ɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (phr.) ~ *τη λαμαρίνα*, to fall head over heels in love.
2. (phr.) *Χέρι που δεν μπορείς να (το) δαγκάσεις, φίλα το*, to compromise and submit to an opponent one is unable to hurt.
3. (phr.) ~ *τα χείλια μου*, to bite my lips out of awkwardness, in order to stop myself from laughing or crying out loud.
4. (phr.) *δάγκασε / φάε τη γλώσσα σου!*, to not think of or say sth. bad because it might happen.

Common meaning(s):

- 1a. to bite, use the teeth to cut into sth.
- 1b. to use the teeth in order to inflict injury on sb.
- 1c. to place sth. between the teeth and squeeze it without the intent to cut it.
- 1d. (phr.) *Δαγκώθηκα για να μην πω βαριές κουβέντες*, to keep control of myself.
- 1e. for sth. unpleasant and usually unexpected that one hears or sees.
2. (metaph., lit.) to experience emotional pain
3. (proverb) *Σκυλί που γαβγίζει δε δαγκώνει*, for sb. who shouts and threatens a lot but does not make good on his/her threats. [ελνστ. δαγκ(άνω) μεταπλ. -ώνω κατά τα ρ.-ώνω· ελνστ. Δαγκάνω (αρχ. δάκνω, με βάση τον αόρ. ἔδακον και ηχηροπ. του μεσοφ. [k])]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(bugs, snakes) to bite.

Ex.: **Εδάκκασε** σε το κουνούπι, αγάπην μου;

Στη πράξη όμως τζιαι που την ώρα που τον άκκασε η κουφή (στο διάγγελμα...), εν γεγονός ότι εσυνειδητοποίησε -όπως τζιαι ούλλοι μας- ότι ετελειώσαν τα ψέματα τζιαι πρέπει να ξυπνήσουμεν.
(http://newgreekcypriot.blogspot.com/2011/05/blog-post_03.html)

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

Analysis:

The proverb in common meaning (3) is slightly different in the C(S)G: *θύλλος που λάσσει εν δακκάννει* [ˈfi:lɔs#pu#ˈles:i#en#ðeˈk:eni] or *θύλλος που παουρίζει εν ακκάννει* [ˈfi:lɔs#pu#peuˈrizi#en#eˈk:eni] (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 134), although the semantic content is identical.

All the C(S)G dictionaries (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 134, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 237, Κυπρή 1989: 189, Κυπρή 2002: 126, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 59) that mention the lemma identify it with its SMG equivalent without making reference to any semantic differentiation

The pair of false friends would not be fully understood, unless we were to include the verb that would be used in SMG to denote the same as the C(S)G lemma. In SMG the verb being used is *τσιμπάω* [tsiˈmbɔ], ‘to bite’, but if we were to translate it literary, it would be rendered as ‘to pinch, to sting’. It is possible that the C(S)G usage is the result of linguistic contact between the C(S)G and the English language during the time that Cyprus was part of the British Empire.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **ζελατίνα** [zele'tine]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **ζαλατίνα** [z:ele'tine]

SMG meaning(s):

shrink wrap.

Common meaning(s):

1. a savoury preparation with a jelly-like consistency made by boiling meat and bones or fruit.
2. a substance with a jelly-like consistency made with fruit or other ingredients as a condiment. (ΛΝΕΓ) [λόγ.(;) < γαλλ. gélatin(e) -α]

C(S)G meaning(s):

food made of pig's head and feet and consumed as a snack or appetizer. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 160, Κυπρή 1989: 401, Κυπρή 2002: 153, Κυπρή 2003: 13, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 315)

Ex.: *Παράγγελλαν να τους στρώσουν χαμαί, κάθονταν σταυροπόδι και το 'ριχναν στο φαί και το ποτό. Καταβρόχθιζαν κι έπιναν ό,τι απαγόρευε ο Προφήτης. Από χοιρινά παστά, λουκάνικα και χοιρομέρια ως ζαλατίνες και αφέλια κι έριχναν μέσα στον άπατο λαιμό τους άφθονο κρασί και ρακή.* (Κουρέα-Σκουτελά 2010: 301)

Έτσι αφού έκοβαν την κεφαλή και τα πόδια, για να γίνει αργότερα η ζαλατίνα (πηκτή), άρχιζαν το συστηματικό τεμαχισμό κόβοντας πρώτα τα μπούτια, από τα οποία μετά την αφαίρεση των κοκάλων έβγαιναν τα χοιρομέρια. ([http://mykypros.com/C\(S\)Gibin/hweb?-A=56432&-V=villages &w=](http://mykypros.com/C(S)Gibin/hweb?-A=56432&-V=villages &w=))

Analysis:

The C(S)G meaning appears to be a specialization of the first common meaning used to denote the specific snack or appetizer that is habitually eaten as a traditional Cypriot meze. The first common meaning is in all probability the sense from which the C(S)G evolved, since the two meanings are so close together. The C(S)G sense is a specialization of the common meaning, since it refers only to pork meat, while the common meaning refers to any kind of meat and can be combined with fruit, which would not be possible in the C(S)G sense.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **ημερώνω** [ime'ronɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **μερώννω** [me'ron:ɔ]

Common meaning(s):

- a. to tame a person or an animal.
- b. to become tame.
- c. (metaph.) to calm, reassure. [μσν. ημερώνω < αρχ. ήμε ρ(ῶ) -ώνω]

C(S)G meaning(s):

to get together with sb. again after a fight, to reconcile. (Κυπρή 1989: 139, Κυπρή 2002: 307, Κυπρή 2003: 320, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 680)

Ex.: *Είμαι ποτζεινες που εν μπορούν να τσακωνουνται που χρειαζονται αρμονία στη ζωην τους. Τζιαι είμαι τζιαι τζεινη που πάντα επιχειρει να **μερωσει**.* (http://post-babylonblogspot.com/2010_02_01_archive.html)

*Σήμερα αποφάσισα να ξαναερωτευτώ το Λονδίνο και να ζήσουμε μαζί όσο πιο πολλές όμορφες στιγμές γίνεται διότι μεγαλώνω τζαι μια μέρα εν θα είμαι πλέον δαμέ να το ζώ.. Σήμερα εγώ τζαι το Λονδίνο εδώσαμε τα μιτσιά μας δαχτυλούθκια ο ένας του άλλου τζαι **εμερώσαμε!*** (<http://mystikasoullas.blogspot.com/>)

Analysis:

This false friend has come about due to a quite expected semantic extension of the metaphorical common sense and it is attested in the Machairas Chronicle, which means that this meaning is present in Cyprus since the medieval times. The semantic change that has occurred is a specialization of the second common meaning from feeling 'calm and reassured' to reconciling with someone, presumably after a falling out and being able to see things from a different perspective, because of the calm reigning.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **κόβω** ['kɔvɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **κόφκω** ['kɔfkɔ]

C(S)G allomorph: **κόβκω** ['kɔfkɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

- 1a. (phr.) *κόβει και ράβει η γλώσσα του*, for a babbler or badmouth.
- 1b. (phr.) *του κόβει*, for sb. who is clever.
- 1c. (phr.) *δεν κόβει η γκλάβα του*, for sb. who is not so clever.
- 1d. (phr.) ~ *κπ. (με την πρώτη ματιά)*, to immediately understand the character of a person.
- 1e. (phr.) *(το) ~ λάσπη*, to leave in a hurry and furtively.
- 1f. (phr.) ~ *τα φτερά κάποιου*, to disappoint or dishearten sb.
- 1g. (phr.) *μου έκοψε τα χέρια*, for sth. very useful that I do not have or does not function any more.
2. for an unpleasant sensation in phraseologisms:
 - 2a. *μ' έκοψε η πείνα / η λόρδα*, to be extremely hungry.
 - 2b. *με κόβει κρύος ιδρώτας*, to be very upset or afraid.
 - 2c. *(μου) κόπηκε η χολή μου / το αίμα / μου κόπηκαν τα ήπατα*, to be frightened by a sudden noise or movement.
3. (oral.) to injure or wound heavily or deathly.
4. (phr.) *Αυτά που ήξερες κομμένα*, for when a service, an accommodation or facilitation is not given any more.
5. (phr.) *Έκοψε από όλους τους παλιούς του φίλους*, to stop having any relation with sb.
6. (phr.) ~ *το βήχα / τον αέρα κάποιου*, to discourage sb. and force him to waiver any demands.
7. (phr.) *Έκοψε το χρώμα*, (for color) to fade.

Common meaning(s):

- 1a. to cut with an appropriate instrument a solid into smaller pieces.
- 1b. (phr.) *κόβει και ράβει*, for sb. who is doing anything he/she wants without taking into account other peoples' opinion.

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

1c. (phr.) *κομμένος και ραμμένος (στα μέτρα κάποιου)*, absolutely right, appropriate according to the interests and wishes of sb.

1d. *κόβει το μυαλό του / το κεφάλι του* for sb. who is very clever.

1e. at card games: *Ποιος κόβει;*, who is dealing?

1f. ~ *νόμισμα*, to print money.

1g. (phr.) ~ *σε κπ. μισθό*, to remunerate sb. on a regular basis.

1h. to observe and be perceptive. (phr.) *κόβει το μάτι μου*, to be able to discern sth., to see the difference in the quality. ~ *κίνηση*, to observe carefully people going by or to pay attention in a situation, etc.

1i. to remove from a wider sum. || (for fruits and nuts) to collect.

1k. to cut off from a whole and throw the cut part away. (έκφρ.) ~ *δρόμο*, to take a shorter route.

2a. to wound sb. or sth. with a sharp instrument or object.

2b. to cut off a body member, to amputate.

2c. (phr.) *Κόπηκαν τα χέρια μου από το βάρος*, to have my hands go numb and hurt due to the strain

2d. (phr.) *(μου) κόπηκαν τα γόνατά μου*, to have one's legs shake with exhaustion or fear.

2e. (phr.) *να μου κοπούν τα χέρια (αν κάνω ξανά κτ.) ή να μου κοπούν τα πόδια (αν πάω ξανά κάπου)*, for expressing intense dislike.

2f. (phr.) *θα σου κόψω τα πόδια!*, as a threat.

2g. (phr.) ~ *το κεφάλι μου*, to be absolutely certain of sth.

2h. (phr.) *κόψε το λαιμό σου* or *να κόψεις το λαιμό σου. δεν πα να κόψει το λαιμό του*, for indifference to the fate or outcome of sth. or sb.

2i. (usually pass.) to look sick or tired.

3. for a reduction or decrease in sth.

3a. (phr.) *κόβεται η όρεξή μου*, for less of an appetite.

3b. (phr.) *Κόψε ταχύτητα!*, slow down!

3c. (phr.) *Κόπηκαν οι δουλειές*, business is slow.

3d. (phr.) *Οι δουλειές έχουν κόψει*, there are less jobs.

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- 3e. (phr.) *Μου έκοψε χίλιες δραχμές*, for a reduction in the selling price.
- 3f. (phr.) *κόψε κτ.!*: i. in bargaining, in order to reduce the price. ii. (metaph., oral.) for sb. who usually blows things out of proportion or supports falsehoods.
- 4a. to stop or interrupt sth. (phr., oral.) *κόφ' το!*, as an angry retort, do not continue, stop.
- 4b. to cut supply of goods.
- 4c. to reject.
- 4d. to stop a bad habit.
5. to spoil or be spoiled, for sth. that goes bad and its ingredients separate from one another, usually due to spoiling.
6. (ath.) in football or basketball to stop the opponent from whatever hr intended to do. [μσν. *κόβω* < αρχ. *κόπτω* `χτυπώ, αποσπώ κομμάτι χτυπώντας' μεταπλ. με βάση το συνοπτ. θ. *κοψ- κατά το σχ.: τριψ- (έτριψα) - τρίβω* (σύγκρ. *κρύπτω* > *κρύβω*, *κλέπτω* > *κλέβω*)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

- 1a. to be somewhere, to exist in a place.

Ex.: *Για όσους εν ξέρουν που κόφκει το Μιτσερό.* (<https://www.facebook.com/Mappouros/videos/825180937502178/?fallback=1>)

- 1b. to originate from, to be originally from somewhere.

Ex.: *Αρα με άλλα €40 θα εμπορουσεν ο παπάς μου να μαθει την καταγωγή του που την μάμα του. [...]. Για να δουμε λοιπόν πόθεν κόφκει η Πρασινομήτωρ που την γιαγιά την Πρασινάδα!!!* (http://drprasinada.blogspot.com.cy/2013/10/15_3.html)

2. to stay behind, to be stranded somewhere, to remain somewhere without intent to do so.

Ex.: *Πέθανε η δύστυχη, χωρίς να τον ξαναδεί, έκοψε κι εκείνος στις Αθήνες και δε θ' αξιωθεί να ξαναπατήσει στην Κύπρο...* (Σμυρλή 1997: 527)

Να σηκωθεί τώρα, παραμονές πολέμου, όπως φαίνεται, να πάει στην Αίγυπτο, να κλείσουν οι θάλασσες, να κόψει στην ξενιτιά... (Σμυρλή 1997: 579)

Ναι, μα δεν μας είπες ποιος τον βοήθησε την ώρα που 'κοψε μέσα στους Τούρκους χωρίς πυρομαχικά, επέμενε ο Σωκράτης. (Σμυρλή 1987: 49)

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3. (phr., distance) ~ *μίλια / δρόμο*, to cross, travel a distance of many kilometres. (Κυπρή 2003: 222)

Εχ.: *Γι' αυτό ανταποκρίθηκε στην πρόσκληση του Νικόλα κι **έκοψε** τόσα **μίλια** από τη Λευκωσία για να τιμησει τους Παμπάφιους Αγώνες. (Σμυρλή 1997: 377)*

*Ο Σαρακηνός είχε μόλις κυλήσει το διτζίμιν επίτηδες επάνω στα φουστούτζια που είχε απλωμένα καταγής σ' ένα κιλίμι ο γερο Τρυφωνής και τα είχε κάμει λιώμα. Έκλαιγε ο γέρος γιατί είχε **κόψει** τόσα **μίλια** να έρθει από την Πάφο σ' ένα κακορίζικο, γέρικο μουλάρι για να πουλήσει τα φουστούτζια του και τώρα για ένα τίποτε, σε μια στιγμή μέσα, είδε τους κόπους του να γίνονται καπνός. (Πιερής 2000: 16)*

*Εύκολο θαρρείς πως είναι να γυρίσεις, έτσι δα, ένα καλό πρωί, το φύλλο, πάνω σ' ένα τέτοιο κομμάτι από τη ζωή σου, χωρίς να βαρυνκαρδίσεις; Όχι. Δεν είναι εύκολο. Σα φύγαμε, κείνο το πρωί του Φλεβάρη του '46, τα καμιόνια που μας πήραν **έκοψαν** πολύ **δρόμο** πριν αρχίσει ν' ανθίζει ξανά στα χείλια μας το τραγούδι. (Πιερίδης 1995: 88)*

4. to find sb. or encounter sb. in such a position or situation that it is possible to hurt or intend to hurt that person

Εχ.: *Εμάχουμουν να του πω να σ' **έκοβκεν** πούποτε μανιχό σου, καημένε μου, τζι εθώρες με τα μάθκια σου μιαν τζι έξω, αν τον ελέγχει, γι' αν μεν τον ελέγχει. (Ροδίτης 2010: 276)*

*Μιαν ημέραν **έκοψε** τον ο πατέρας που θκιάβαζε τζαι έδερε τον τζι έφυγε που το σπίτι. (D.D.)*

*Να πεις στο μπιρμπάντη σου να μαζέψει το ζωνάρι του γιατί θα τον **κόψω** έξω και θα τον στρώσω. (Μόντης 1987: 1382)*

5. (phr.) ~ *καντούνια*, to hit the road, to go away in a hurry in an effort to avoid some negative situation.

Εχ.: *Η βρώμα εταξίδειψεν σε ούλλην τη γειτονιάν σε κλάσματα δευτερολέπτου. Τα σιέρκα μου που το επιάσαν εχτιτζιολοΐσαν. Οι φίλοι που με επαροτρύναν ώς τζιήνητην ώραν με ζητωκραυγές **εκόψαν καντούνια** αποσβολωμένοι που την αηδία. (http://diasporos.blogspot.com/2009/06/blog-post_14.html)*

Άφηκα "τες κοπέλλες τζιαι τα κοπελλούθκια" να πάν να δούν τα καταστηματούθκια (έσιει ωραίο shopping, ωραία arts + crafts, κεριά, χιπποκαταστήματα, ρούχα μοδάτα για εξηντάρες κλπ) γιατί έν άντεχα άλλον έπιασεν με κλειστοφοβία, αγοραφοβία, γλωσσοφοβία,

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σιγανοπερπατοφοβία, τσιριλλιχτοφωνηφοβία) -τζιαι **έκοψα καντούνια**. (http://diasporos.blogspot.com/2009_04_01_archive.html)

6. (phr.) ~ κκελέν, to be extremely expensive. (Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 60, Γιαγκουλλής 2005a: 100)

Ex.: *Εδώ και ένα μήνα είμαστε χωρίς καλωδιακή. Εν πολλά παράξενο τζιαι σπαστικό. [...] Ποιά εν η καλύτερη καλωδιακή (που εν **κόφκει κκελέν** κατά προτίμησην) τελικά?* (http://axapari.blogspot.com/2011_11_01_archive.html)

7a. ~ κουβέντες, to talk with sb., to discuss.

Ex.: *Μα Μουσταφά εσύ δεν τρώεις, δεν πεινάς ρώτησε η Δ. -Εγιά προτιμώ να **κόφκω κουβέντες** μαζί σας παρά να τρώω, είπε γελώντας. -Άμα είναι για φαΐ, όταν έρθει η ώρα του στο σπίτι δεν περιμένει κανέναν, είπε χαριτολογώντας η γυναίκα του, αλλά τώρα προτιμά την κουβέντα, συνέχισε.* (<http://www.rizokarpasoncom/odiporontas6.htm>)

7b. ~ κουβέντα, to mention, to make reference to.

Ex.: *Ο Γενικός Ελεγκτής ουσιαστικά και πάλι ανταπαντούσε ότι αυτό δεν τον "κόφτει" παρά μόνο να εφαρμοστεί ο νόμος χωρίς όμως και να **κόφκει κουβέντα** αν όντως είναι έτσι ή αλλιώς.* (<http://old.lemesos-blog.com/2016/11/30/%CE%B5%CF%85%CF%84%CF%85%CF%87%CF%8E%CF%82-%CF%80%CE%BF%CF%85-%CE%B4%CE%B5%CE%BD-%CE%B5%CE%AF%CE%BC%CE%B1%CE%B9-%CE%B4%CE%AE%CE%BC%CE%B1%CF%81%CF%87%CE%BF%CF%82-%CE%B3%CE%B9%CE%B1%CF%84%CE%AF-%CE%AE/>)

8. (phr.) ~ μες στα θκυό στενά, to find myself at a dead-end, not knowing what to do. (Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 30)

Ex.: *Έκοψα μες στα θκυο στενά, εν ήξερα τι να απαντήσω.* (K.C.)

Υποσχέθηκα να την πάρω μαζί μου, τωρά με τούτα που ακούω εκατάλαβα εν πρέπει νάρτει. Έκοψα μες τα θκυό στενά, εν-ι-ξέρω τι να κάμω. (F.P.)

9a. ~ μέσα, to have a difficult time to cope, mainly financially. (Γιαγκουλλής 2005a: 44)

Ex.: *Η Χαριτίνη έκοψεν μέσα, εν έξερεν τι να κάμει.* (Σάββα 2009: 92)

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

9b. ~ μέσα, to be stuck somewhere, to be unable to leave or stop doing sth. (Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 30, Γιαγκουλλής 2005a: 44)

Ex.: *Κι ο ίδιος το καταλάβαινε, βρωμοδουλειά, **έκοψε** όμως **μέσα**, εκείνοι τον διόρισαν αστυνομικό. (Σμυρλή 1992, σελ 17)*

9c. (phr., metaph.) ~ μέσα, to be stuck somewhere (alone). (Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 30, Γιαγκουλλής 2005a: 44)

Ex.: ***Εκοψα** τζιαι μόνη μου **δαμέσα**. Ένας ένας οι φιλοι εφύαν, εσκορπιστικάν στες 7 γωνιές του κόσμου, ο καθένας να κάμει την ζωήν του. (http://post-babylonblogspot.com/2010_02_01_archive.html)*

10. (phr.) ~ πίσω, to delay in a procedure (usually study) or sth. that needs to be completed. (Γιαγκουλλής 2005a: 44)

Ex.: *Μα άμμα της ελαλούσαν πως κάποιος **έκοψεν πίσω** ή εν ετράβαν, έπιανέν την λάωμαν, εστρέφετον έσσω τζι' εν τους άφηθεν να σηκώσουν κκελέν που το βιβλίον τζιαι το γράψιμον. (Σάββα 2009: 92)*

11a. (phr.) ~ τη μούττην + poss. pron, to make sb. get off his/her high horse. (Γιαγκουλλής 2005a: 100)

Ex.: *Επαντρεύτηκεν έναν πλούσιον τζιαι τωρά δεν μας μιλά, ώσπου να βρεθεί κανέννας να της **κόψει τη μούττην της**. (C.C.)*

11b. ~ την μούττην της Σαρακοστής, to celebrate Green Monday, when Lent fasting begins. (Γιαγκουλλής 2005a: 100)

Ex.: *Την Καθαρήν Δευτέραν εννά **κόψουμεν την μούτην της Σαρακοστής**. (C.L.)*

12. ~ το γυριν + pers. pron, to be nearing death. (Γιαγκουλλής 2005a: 100, Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 61)

Ex.: *Φαινεται οτι ο γερος **εκοψεν το γυριν του**, εν στα τελευταια του. (D.P.)*

13. ~ το μούτιν + pers. pron, to stop a (bad) habit. (Γιαγκουλλής 2005a: 100)

Ex.: *Εμεγάλωσε το μωρό σου τζιαι 'κόμα βάλλει πιππίλλα. Να του την πετάξεις, να **κόψει το μούτιν του**. (C.C.)*

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

14. ~ οικόπεδα, to divide land into plots.

Ex.: *Κι ο “Αρχιεπίσκοπος Λτδ” ως μεγάλος οικονομικός/επιχειρηματικός παράγοντας [που **κόφκει** τζιαι πουλά **οικόπεδα**...] είναι φυσιολογικό να προσπαθεί να ψάχνει και να επιδιώκει και ρόλο σημαντικό στην πολιτική ζωή.* (<http://aneforiwnounblogspot.com.cy/2014/04/402014-500.html>)

Analysis:

The Χατζηιωάννου (1996: 83) dictionary states clearly that this verb retains the senses of the Ancient Greek verb it derives from, senses that coincide with the SMG ones, although that is not true *stricto sensu*. Many of the SMG meanings do coincide, but many are also exclusively C(S)G meanings that do not appear in the SMG.

The origin and the evolutionary path of the senses that this verb exhibits either in its phraseologisms (that seem to function as phrasal verbs) or on its own is not clear and we could not safely suppose how these meanings have come about.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **κοιμίζω** [ci'mizɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **τξοιμίζω** [tʃi'miz:ɔ]

Common meaning(s):

1a. to make sb sleep.

2a. to create the mood for sleep, mainly due to boredom; to put sb. to sleep.

2b. to put sb to sleep by artificial means, to induce sleep. [αρχ. κοιμίζω]

C(S)G meaning(s):

to let the dough rest in order to rise, when it is required.

Ex.: *Όταν κάμνεις φλαούνες, αφού κάνεις το ζυμάρι, το τξοιμίζεις.* (C.L.)

Analysis:

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include the lemma, possibly because they consider that the morphological similarity indicates semantic similarity as well. This sense does not appear in the medieval dictionary of Κριαράς online, but we have encountered there another: 'to lie inert or inactive'. It is possible that this sense or any other similar that might have evolved was the source for this C(S)G sense, since the dough must stay inert in order to rise.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **κοτσάνι** [kɔ'tsɛni] Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **κκοτῶάνιν** [k^h:ɔ'tʃ^h:ɛniⁿ] C(S)G allomorph: **κοτῶάνιν** [ko'tʃ^h:ɛniⁿ]

SMG meaning(s):

1. stem, plant stalk. [σλαβ. kocan -ι]
2. (oral., as an adverb) great, exceptional, mainly in the phraseologism (την) περνῶ ~. τη βγάζω ~, to be having a great time.

C(S)G meaning(s):

a. property deed. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 223, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 82)

Ex.: *Εξάλλου το «κοτσάνι» το έχει η Τιτίνα Λοιζίδου και όχι ο Ντενκτάς!*
(http://www.ekloges.com.cy/nqcontent.cfm?a_id=2364&page=3)

Τα κοτσάνια επομένως των Ελληνοκυπρίων προσφύγων στα κατεχόμενα εξακολουθούν να παραμένουν σιδεροκέφαλα. (monthly magazine Σύγχρονη άποψη)¹⁵³

Ήταν το κκοτῶάνιν του σπιδκιού που μείνησεν στον Τρυπιώτην τζι' ο Αλέξαντρος έξερεν πως εν έθελε να το 'ποχωριστεί. (Σάββα 2009: 85)

b. (synecd., metaph.) property, asset (used with both animate and inanimate subjects).

Ex.: *Νικόλας Γεωργίου. Ο 30χρονος ακραίος, ο οποίος αποτελεί βασικό στέλεχος της Ομόνοιας εδώ και οκτώ χρόνια, μιλά στο "Γ" για την παρουσία του στους "πράσινους" και σημειώνει ότι «κανενός παίκτη δεν είναι "κοτσάνι" η θέση, όμως δεν νιώθει να απειλείται η θέση του στην ομάδα από κανέναν».* (http://www.sports1radio.net/new/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1133&Itemid=51)

Οι ψηφοφόροι δεν είναι κοτσίάνι κανενός. (newsp. Φιλελεύθερος)

Ο Πρόεδρος της Δημοκρατίας τόνισε εμφαντικά ότι οι βουλευτικές έδρες δεν είναι «κοτσάνι» κανενός και ότι οι υποψήφιοι θα έχουν ίσες ευκαιρίες διεκδίκησής τους. (http://www.simerini.com.cy/nqcontent.cfm?a_id=252149)

¹⁵³ The term is being used continually in an article filled with legal terms, which implies that the author considers the lemma a legal, or at least administrative, term that could be used without any context clash, and may even consider it an SMG or SMG-equivalent term.

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

Analysis:

The two lemmas, namely *κοτσάνι* and *κοτσάνιν* in C(S)G are different words, since for the C(S)G speakers, [ts] and [tʃ] are different phonemes. The SMG native speaker though, does not consider them different lemmas, since they are not phonemes in the SMG.

The etymology of the two words appears to differ, but a relevant research in the dictionaries has compelled us to acknowledge that it is not certain what has occurred. The ΔΚΝ derives the SMG noun from a Slavic *kocan*, while the ΔΝΕΓ (2002: 936) and the Τεγόπουλος-Φυτράκης (2002: 613) dictionaries derive it from an uncertain noun **κοψάνιον* as a diminutive of supposed noun **κόψανον* derived from the Ancient Greek verb *κόπτω*. The Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 223) and Χατζηιωάννου (1996: 82) dictionaries derive it from the Turkish noun *koçan*. This is corroborated by the Χατζηπιερής and Καπατάς (2015: 527) dictionary, but the authors of the dictionary state that the Turkish noun is derived in turn from the Ancient Greek *κόπτω* as the Τεγόπουλος-Φυτράκης (2002: 613) claims.

The metaphorical sense is not recorded by any of the C(S)G dictionaries, while the Παπαγγέλου (2001: 469) dictionary cites the verb *κοτσανιάζω* [kʰ:ɔtʃʰ:ɛ'ɲez:ɔ], 'to issue ownership deed' and it includes the nouns *κοτσάνιν* [kʰ:ɔtʃʰ:ɛniⁿ] and *κοτσάνιν* [kɔ'tʃʰ:ɛniⁿ] that refer to one another, but neither entry provides an explanation of the lemma's meaning.

Despite the fact that C(S)G native speakers consider the two nouns different words, we shall consider them false friends, firstly because the point of view of the thesis is that of a native SMG speaker and for such as speaker the two words are seen as mere allophones or allomorphs. Secondly, even the media in Cyprus write the C(S)G lemma identically to the SMG one, which could cause any SMG native speaker to consider that they are in fact one lemma.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **κούπα** ['kupe]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **κούππα** ['kup^h:e]

SMG meaning(s):

- 1a. a cup with usually hemispherical shape, more wide than deep.
- 1b. (meton) the quantity of liquid contained in a mug.
- 2a. (phr.) *γίναμε από κούπες*, to fight, have words with sb. and then remain mad at each other.
- 2b. (phr.) *τα κάναμε από κούπες*, to fail in sth. or ruin a relationship.

Common meaning(s):

1. one of the suits in a deck of cards characterized by a red heart: *Ντάμα* ~.
2. *κούπες*, a game of cards [μσν. *κούπα* (στη νέα σημ.) < ελνστ. *κοῦπα* 'βαρέλι' < λατ. *cup(p)a* με σημασιολ. επίδρ. του ιταλ. *corpa* (< λατ. *cup(p)a*)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. a mug or a bowl in which foodstuff is placed. (Κυπρή 2002: 245, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 537)

Ex.: *Έτρωγαν όλοι από την ίδια **κούπα**, με όρεξη πεινασμένου λύκου.* (Βιολάρη-Ιακωβίδου 2004: 62)

*Το κρατούσε λίγο πάνω από το τηγάνι για να στραγγίσει το λάδι και τα έριχνε στη μεγάλη **κούπα** που ήταν δίπλα.* (Βιολάρη-Ιακωβίδου 2004: 69)

*Η μάμμα τους εχτιμά με τόσον πολλά που οταν εγεννηθήκαν τα μωρά μου, για ένα χρόνο έστελλεν με σπίτι κάθε πέμπτη με μιά **κούππα** φαΐν, να μέν χρειάζεται να μαειρέψω λαλεί για δκυό μέρες.* (http://diasporos.blogspot.com/2009_05_01_archive.html)

1b. any round container made of any material.

Ex.: *Την κάθισε σε μια πολυθρόνα τη θεία, τη σκέπασε καλά να μην κρυώσει, της έβαλε στο αριστερό χέρι που είχε κινητικότητα μια **κούπα** τσίγκινη και βγήκε να βάλει τα ρούχα να φουσκώνουν.* (Πολυδώρου 2003: 289)

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

2. any round and hollow container used, more concretely:

a. basket or pannier.

Ex.: *Εκραούσαμεν τες κοφίνες ποτζαί τζαι πόε... Θκυό παλληκάρκα έτσι καλά, νάκκον που σώνναν, νάειν ποσταχούν επκιάνναν άλλοι. Εβάλλαν μας ποξαμάθκια, ή γλυσταρκές, λουκάνικα... «Πιάστε ρε κοπελλούθκια», ελάλεν μας ο παπάς. Άτε εσσίζαμεν μες στες **κούπες**, επκιάνναμεν τα λουκάνικα, ετρώαμεν, επηαίναμεν. (http://www.mousalyra.com.cy/el/pdf/kalanta_xroniko.pdf)*

2b. a hollow and shallow container.

Ex.: *Μια κινέζικη εταιρία λεωφορείων (η Longxiang Public Bus Company) εγκαινίασε την νέα 'drive safely' καμπάνια της κρεμμάζοντας μεγάλες **κούπες** με νερό δίπλα που τους οδηγούς. Η εταιρία απαιτεί που τους οδηγούς να οδηγούν ομαλά ούτως ώστε να μην *shionώννεται* το νερό που την **κούππα**. (http://oilaomonblogspot.com/2010/07/blog-post_26.html)*

2c. a matrix for hemispherical plaques.

Ex.: ***Κούπες** Πολυπροπυλενίου για Πλάκα - Pavlos Zenonos & Sons Ltd ΚΑΛΟΥΠΙΑ WAFFLE. Τα καλούπια Waffle προσφέρουν μία οικονομική και αισθητικά ευχάριστη εναλλακτική λύση όσο αφορά το καλούπωμα πλάκας. (http://pz-scaffolding.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=80&Itemid=100&lang=el)*

2d. the hemispherical half of any large fruit.

Ex.: *Έκατσα το [φρούτο ντούριαν] έξω στην αυλή πάς την πέτραν τζιαί έπιασα τη ππάλαν, έωκα του μιάν τζιαί εσχίστηκεν στα δύο, έππεσαν οι **κούπες** του ανοιχτές. Επετάχτηκεν αμέσως που μέσα μιά βρώμα απαίσια τζιαί διεστραμμένα ελκυστική μαζί σάν να τζιαί έβαλα τη κκελλέ μου σε σκουπιδοττενεκκέν εστιατορίου το καλοκαίρι τζιαί άρεσεν μου η μυρωθκιά που τα χαλασμένα ψάρκα. (http://diasporos.blogspot.com/2009/06/blog-post_14.html)*

2e. the tractor carriage.

Ex.: *6.500.000 λίρες εν είν' φακελούι, εν **κούππα** του τράκτορ. (radio station Κανάλι 6)*

3. tub for washing clothes. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 537)

Ex.: *Φέρ' κόρη την **κούππα** με τα ρούχα, εννά τα 'πλώσω όσον έδει ήλιον. (N.L.)*

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

4. (phr.) *φκαίννω / βκαίννω κούππα άπαννη*, to manage to convince the others that I am innocent, without blame (even though I may be guilty).

Ex.: *Οξά εθάριες πως με το να φύεις ξηγράφονται τζιείνα που έκαμες τζιαι φκένεις κούππα άπαννη*; (Πολυδώρου 2003: 214)

«*Κούππα άπαννη*» προσπαθεί να *βγει* ο Αλεξάντερ Ντάουνερ.
(<http://www.sigmalive.com/simerini/politics/reportaz/423311>)

*Γιατί ο Άντρος Κυπριανού μας έλεγε συνέχεια ότι θα "εκπλαγήτε από το πόρισμα Πολυβίου;" Γιατί μας έλεγε ότι όλοι αυτοί που κατηγορούσαν τον πρόεδρο θα ζητήσουν συγνώμη όταν θα βγεί το πόρισμα; Γιατί ήταν τόσο σίγουροι ότι το πόρισμα θα έβγαζε "*κούππα άπαννη* τον Πρόεδρο;"*
(<http://www.sigmalive.com/blogs/tsouroullis/201110/424783>)

Analysis:

Apart from the feminine noun *κούππα* ['kup^h:e], exists in C(S)G another, also feminine noun, i.e. *κούπα* ['kupe], which is 'a traditional food the outer shell of which is made with bulgur and it is stuffed usually with minced meat and onions and occasionally with mushrooms'. Its etymology is uncertain and according to the Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 251) dictionary it is derived from the Armenian; according to Χατζηπιερής and Καπατάς (2015: 142) from the Latin noun that gave us *κούππα* ['kup^h:e]; according to Παπαγγέλου (2001: 536) from the Turkish Cypriot *göbek*, while the Χατζηιωάννου (1996: 91) dictionary derives it from the Turkish *kuba*. Given that it appears in other neighboring countries, such as Lebanon, it was probably created in the wider Eastern Mediterranean area and it is shared word-wise and as a culinary trait by the countries in that area. C(S)G speakers would never confuse it with the lemma we are investigating that is derived from the Latin (< cup(p)a), although to the SMG speakers it might appear that of the two nouns the single [p]-noun is the same as the SMG lemma. In fact, most of the SMG speakers will never hear the different pronunciation of the two lemmas, since such a phoneme does not exist in SMG and will ascribe the pronunciation to the different phonetic system of the C(S)G variety and not to the fact that they are different lemmas. Furthermore, *κούπα* ['kupe] does not belong to the culinary repertoire of Greece and it would in any case be something totally different to the mental image that this noun would evoke in them.

The C(S)G dictionaries that include the feminine noun *κούππα* among their entries refer to it with what they consider its equivalent in SMG, namely *κούπα* (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 250, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 91).

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **κουτούκι** [ku'tuci]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **κουττούτζι** [kut^h:'utʃiⁿ]

SMG meaning(s):

(coll.) a small, folksy tavern, a shebeen. [κουτούκι `αυτός που δε βλέπει απ' το μεθύσι' < τουρκ. kütük `κούτσουρο' (με βάση τη φρ. kütük gibi `σαν κούτσουρο απ' το μεθύσι') -ι (η τροπή [y > u] ίσως μέσω βαλκανικής διαλέκτου)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

a. a very heavy object or person. (Κυπρή 1989: 202)

Ex.: *Εν **κουττούτζι** τούτη η βαλίτσα δεν την σώνω. (C.C.)*

*Θυμούμαι μια φορά που με εβούραν με μια καρέκλα του σαλονιού σκαλιστή **κουττούτζι** για να μου την σύρει. Έκλεισα απότομα την πόρτα πίσω μου, έδωκε πάνω με την καρέκλα κι έφκαλε μια τρύπα στην πόρτα. (<http://mana-mia.blogspot.com/2011/10/brothers-and-sisters.html>)*

*Είδαμε τον Ούγκο Αλμείδα στο χθεσινό φιλικό. Πολύ βαρύς ρε παιδί μου όπως λέμε στην Κύπρο, **κουττούτζι!** (<http://protathlima.com/2016/09/04/ougko-almeida-apoelistes/>)*

b. (metaph.) a lot of money, resembling a heavy money brick.

Ex.: *Προς το παρόν για τα Χριστούγεννα έκλεισα εισιτήρια να έρτω που Λονδίνον. 600 ευρώ !!!! 600 ευρώ σαν το **κουττούτζι**!!!! (http://erykini.blogspot.com.cy/2012_10_01_archive.html)*

c. (metaph.) for sth. that is important, has a bearing, or an important status.

Ex.: *Τι ωραίο αίσθημα ήταν όταν κάθε Παρασκευή πιάναμε τον φάκελο με τα λεφτά (80 λίρες αν θυμάμαι καλά)! Τότε που η λίρα ήταν βαρετή **κουττούτζι!** (http://oilaomonblogspot.com/2013/09/blog-post_25.html#ixzz4Z3QVC4Fd)*

Analysis:

The SMG noun *κουτούκι* [ku'tuci] and the C(S)G noun *κουττούτζι* [kut^h:'utʃiⁿ] are both derived from the same Turkish noun *kütük*, 'log' (Χατζηπιερής and Καπατάς 2015: 148) and via two different metaphors they ended up with completely segregated meanings. In SMG the noun's meaning was derived from the Turkish expression *kütük gibi*, 'like a log because of drunkenness' (ΛΚΝ online) that was further extended to mean 'the place where sb. might go to get drunk', while the C(S)G retained the essence of 'heavy like a log' and extended it to any other

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

'heavy object or person', as well as the other two metaphorical meanings mentioned above.

Most of the C(S)G dictionaries do not include the lemma among their entries, and when they do (Κυπρή 2003: 20, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 556) usually make reference to its traditional and older meaning, that of 'log, or a piece of cut wood', which may be obsolescent, but is still used occasionally. The Χατζηιωάννου (1996: 94) and Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 262) dictionaries present only the adjective *κούττουκος* ['kutukɔs] and for the first it denotes a 'brute' or a 'lout', while for the latter both a 'stocky man' and a 'log'. A phraseologism that is quite common in Cyprus is *βαρετός κουττούτζιν*, used mainly as a synonym of the (a) meaning above (for details cf. the *βαρετός* entry).

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **κτήνος** ['ktinɔs]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **χτηνόν** [xti'nɔn]

C(S)G allomorph: **κτηνόν** [kti'nɔn]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (used in the past) for referring to large animals, esp. domestic.
2. man's animal instincts: *Εύπνησε το ~ μέσα του.*

Common meaning(s):

- a. (der.) for a manner of behavior or for actions not worthy of the superior moral and spiritual existence of humans.
- b. (der. characterization of man) for sb. who is vulgar, inhumane and vile, governed by his animal instincts. [λόγ.: 1: αρχ. κτηῆνος· 2: σημδ. ιταλ. bestia & νεοελλ. ζώο_{2γ}]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. tame or tamed or domestic animal. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 268, Κυπρή 2002: 262, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1379)

Ex.: *Κάτσε τζειαμαί που είσαι, έτο, εννά επήεν να δει τζιαι το στάβλο, φοάται τζιαι για τα χτηνά.* (Πολυδώρου 2009: 16)

Μεν φοάσε εν ήρτα να πειράξω το κτηνό σου. (Πολυδώρου 2003: 205)

Έσειι χάρισμα, γητεύκει τα χτηνά. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 105)

Άμαν ο καθένας έχει συνείδησην το τί βάλλει στο στόμαν του [...] δηλαδή εκτός που το να σκέφτεσαι την ποσότητα τζιαι την τιμήν, να σκέφτεσαι την χαράν να παράξεις το φαΐν, να αναγιώσεις το χτηνόν, να μεγαλώσεις το φυτόν, να συνάξεις τα άγρια, ο κόσμος αλλάσσει που μόνος του. (<http://ioreazimomeni.blogspot.com.cy/2014/11/anti-vegan-anti-vegetarianhtml>)

2. (phr.) ~ του πελάου, sb. with a very stupid attitude, incredibly idiotic. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1379)

Ex.: *Ο "φκάρτε ζιλικουρτι ούλοι ρε χτηνά του πελάου να μεν φκάλω τα ούζι που 'χω μες τη τσάνταν / τσιάντα / τσένταν". Θα τον βρεις σε silent area.* (<http://casaquin43.rssing.com/chan-20508430/latest.php>)

Analysis:

The neuter noun κτήνος signified in Ancient Greek (Liddell-Scott online) mainly domestic animals or when used in the singular, usually it referred to an 'ox' or to 'sheep'. The SMG retains this meaning and it also developed the others we refer

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

to above. The semantic generalization to any animal occurred as early as the Medieval era (Ανδριώτης 1960: 73, Κριαράς online). Varella also (2006: 31) corroborates the medieval origin of the noun's meaning as 'animal' in general. Although this sense is not attested currently in SMG, it must have existed in parallel to the current ones at some point, since it is used metaphorically to call sb. who is behaving like an animal, names.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **μαγείρισσα** [mɛ'jirisɛ]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **μαείρισσα** [mɛ'iris:ɛ]

C(S)G allomorph: **μαγείρισσα** [mɛ'jiris:ɛ] / **μαείρισσα** [mɛ'εiris:ɛ]

Common meaning(s):

a. a female chef.

b. the woman who cooks. [μσν. μάγειρας < αρχ. μάγειρ(ος) μεταπλ. -ας· λόγ. < αρχ. μάγειρος· ελνστ. μαγείρισσα < μάγειρ(ος) -ισσα]

C(S)G meaning(s):

a (large, cooking) pot. (Κυπρή 2002: 290, Κυπρή 2003: 318, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 292)

Ex.: *Η Καλομοίρα, όταν είδε ότι είχαν συγκεντρωθεί τόσα άτομα στο σπίτι, κατέβασε από το ράφι τη μεγάλη χαλκωματένια **μαγείρισσα** κι έβαλε να ψήσει μια σούπα τραχανά για είκοσι τουλάχιστον άτομα. (Σμυρλή 1997: 123)*

*«Ρε, πώς λαλούν άλλωσπως την **μαείρισσαν**;» **Μαείρισσαν**, δηλαδή **μαγείρισσα** λεν οι Κύπριοι το τσουκάλι, την κατσαρόλα. (Ροδίτης 2010:11)*

Analysis:

The C(S)G meaning is attested according to the Κριαράς online dictionary since medieval times at the Assizes Cypriot legal text. The meaning was probably extended from the original 'woman who cooks' to the pot that woman used in order to cook, possibly before the 13th century, when the Assizes were written in the Cypriot vernacular.

This false friends' pair is among the known to the C(S)G speakers, as the last example above shows. Still, it is not certain that this knowledge is shared by everyone in Cyprus, since we came cross a story in a Facebook relevant discussion post (http://www.facebook.com/groups/cypriot.greek.dialect/383226931720790/?comment_id=394602130583270¬if_t=group_comment_reply) about a Cypriot looking at the flea market at Monastiraki, in Athens (Greece) for a *μαγείρισσα* [mɛ'jiris:ɛ] he wanted to buy and people there were asking him if he really was looking to buy a woman who would cook for him, while he was looking for a cooking pot!

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **μαγκώνω** [mɛ'ɣɔnɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **μαγκώννω** [mɛ'ɣɔn:ɔ]

Common meaning(s):

1a. to stick sth., in such a manner that it stops moving or it moves with difficulty, to catch.

1b. to squeeze sth. so hard that it gets crushed.

2a. (rar., oral., for pers.) to catch or apprehend sb.

2b. (metaph.) to embarrass sb., to put sb. in a difficult position, to squeeze sb.

2c. (metaph., part.) for emotions that embarrass. [< *μαγκανώνω με απλολ. [ganon > gon] <μάγκαν(ο) -ώνω]

C(S)G meaning(s):

a. (metaph.) to get stuck, to be unable to rise to the occasion

Ex.: *Η φίλη που λες ερώτησεν με ποιο ήταν το αγαπημένο μου παραμύθι όταν ήμουν μitsu. Εμ...εμάγκωσα...Είπα της εγω θυμούμαι να θικιεβάζω πάντα ελληνική μυθολογία, είχα μεγάλη πόρωση, παραμύθκια εν θυμούμαι να εθικιέβαζα. (http://drprasinada.blogspot.com/2011_09_01_archive.html)*

b. (metaph.) to become stiff (main. for body parts), to experience (muscular or other type of) stiffness.

Ex.: *Ημπόρουν να πικιάω τηλέφωνον, αλλά εμαγκώσαν τα πόθκια μου τζι είπα να έρθω πάνω. (M.T.)*

Analysis:

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include the lemma. They include verbs that have some degree of morphological similarity but are not the same lemma, such as the verb *μακκώννω* [mɛ'kʰ:ɔn:ɔ] in the dictionaries by Χατζηιωάννου (1996: 105), Κυπρή (1989: 208, 2002: 292) and Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 296) that means 'to crease', 'to stain' or 'humiliate'. The Κυπρή (2003: 78) and the Παπαγγέλου (2001: 633) dictionaries present a verb *μαγκώννω* [mɛ'ɣɔn:ɔ] that they consider different spelling of the verb *μαγκα(δ)ώννω* or *μαγγα(δ)ώννω* [mɛ'ɣɛ(ð)ɔn:ɔ], whose meaning is 'to occupy space' and its uses are so dissimilar to that of our lemma, that it is obviously a different word.

The metaphorical senses of the verb in the C(S)G have evolved from the verb *μαγκανώννω* [mɛɣɔ'nɔn:ɔ] that was simplified to its current form and mean (main. for machinery) 'to be obstructed and to be unable to function'.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **μασκαραλίκι** [meskere'lici] Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **μασκαραλλίκκιν** [meskere'li:ci^h:iⁿ]

Common meaning(s):

1. an act or behavior that is impermissible and is usually accompanied by absurdity. [τουρκ. maskaralik -i]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. a tool or accessory, usually small in size that one does not know or remember what it is or what it is called exactly.

Ex.: Έδει έναν **μασκαραλλίκκιν** τζαμαί, ίνταν πον τούτον; (D.P.)

7:15 περίπου. Σουρώνεις τες πατάτες, ξανασύρνεις τες μες την κατσαρόλα, μαζί με ένα γενναιόδωρο κομμάτι βούτυρο τζαι τσας (τσας είπαμεν) γάλα τζαι πατάς τες με τζινον το **μασκαραλίκι** που κάμνουν τον πουρέ. Αν δεν έσρεις, σημείωσε το πας τη λίστα με τα πράματα ποννα πιάεις που το μπακάλιο. (<http://kaisitree.blogspot.com/2012/06/blog-post.html>)

1b. an ingredient one does not know or remember exactly what it is called.

Ex.: Της φόρεσαν μια μακριά άσπρη πετσέτα ολόγυρα στον λαιμό και της συγκράτησαν πίσω τα μακριά μαλλιά. Η Θεοδώρα έσμιξε, ανακάτεψε, χτύπησε, αφράτεψε κρόκους, ελαιόλαδα, λεμόνια, χίλια δυο **μασκαραλίκια** και της πασάλειψε για αρκετή ώρα τα μούτρα. (Κουρέα-Σκουτελά 2010: 90)

2. (usually pl.) villainy, dishonesty. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 660)

Ex.: Το μέγεθος της ευθύνης των κυβερνώντων και των λοιπών κομματαρχών είναι ακριβώς το ίδιο για μας, με τους κυβερνώντες να έχουν το ελαφρυντικό της δημόσιας παραδοχής του ευαίσθητου και συντεχνιακού τους [...]. Μα εμείς έντζαι εισηγηθήκαμεν τα τούτα ούλλα τα **μασκαραλίκια** εν τζείνοι οι κυβερνώντες τζαί οι Ευρωπαίοι, εμείς είμαστε απλά ανίκανοι οι βλάκες ποττέ όμως αντι-συνδικαλιστές! (<http://www.zygos.org/index.php?page=art-13112011>)

Analysis:

The Χατζηιωάννου (1996: 108) dictionary only mentions the common meaning, while the Παπαγγέλου (2001: 660) dictionary its semantic extension. The first meaning is not included in any of the C(S)G dictionaries. The meanings have probably evolved originally from the common meaning, since something that is absurd is something that is usually silly and difficult to accept or remember and from that the leap to something that is very common, but one does not

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

remember exactly how it is called (meanings 1a and 1b) is not so difficult to make. The second C(S)G sense has come about through the lexicalization process of pejoration.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **μάστορας** [ˈmɛstɔrɛs]

Grammatical category: n. (masc.)

C(S)G lemma: **μάστρος** [ˈmɛstrɔs]

SMG meaning(s):

a. (coll.) builder, mason

b. (phr.) *βρίσκω το μάστορά μου / το μάστορή μου*, to submit to sb. or to lose to sb. who is superior to myself.

Common meaning(s):

1a. a specialized craftsman.

1b. head craftsman in a group of handymen working together.

1c. (coll.) for every professional, main. as a salutation.

2. (metaph.) very able or skilful person in sth. [μσν. *μάστορας* <**μαΐστορας* (αποβ. του μεσοφ. [j]) < **μαγίστορας* < ελνστ. *μαγίστωρ*, αιτ. -*ορα* < λατ. *magister* 'δάσκαλος, 'δάσκαλος' στην τέχνη του' (δες και στο *μάγιστρος*)-μσν. *μαστόρισσα* < *μάστορ(ας) -ισσα*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

a. teacher of a craft or a blue-collar profession. (Κυπρή 1989: 138)

Ex.: *Μέσα από τις αφηγήσεις των βιολάρηδων παίρνουμε πληροφορίες για το πώς ήταν η ζωή στα χωριά της Κύπρου την εποχή εκείνη, για το τι σήμαινε για ένα νέο παιδί να φύγει από το σπίτι του για να πάει να μάθει τέχνη κοντά σε **μάστρο** και πολλά άλλα. (<http://dialogos.com.cy/blog/nikoletta-dimitriou-i-istories-ton-violaridon-i-istoria-mias-kiprou-pou-echi-papsi-na-iparchi/#.WK3v72997IU>)*

b. boss; employer. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 662, Σακελλάριος 1891b: 652, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 306, Κυπρή 1989: 138)

Ex.: *Η Στυλλού τζι' ο Γιακουμής εκάμναν ό,τι τους επέρναν που το σέριν τους, πέρκει τζαι παρηορίσουν νάκκον τους **μαστόρους** τους, που τόσα χρόνια που τους είχαν έσσω τους τον άσσημον τον λόον τους εν τον ακούσαν. (Σάββα 2009: 30)*

c. (metaph.) boss; guy'nor. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 662, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 306)

Ex.: *Η «Ρούσα» είναι λοιπόν μια αίγια που έχει την ικανότητα να δείχνει την αγνή αγάπη της προς τον βοσκόν της, «το **μάστρο** της», με πιο εκδηλωτικό τρόπο απ' ό,τι τα υπόλοιπα ζώα της στάνης. (newsp. Φιλελεύθερος)*

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

d. (metaph.) leader; chief; generally sb. higher up the hierarchy. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 662, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 306)

Ex.: *Τα τελευταία του λόγια προς τον αρχηγό του Γρηγόρη Αυξεντίου, που βρισκόταν δίπλα του, ήταν «Μάστρε μου, πεθαίνω. Ζήτω η Ελλάς.»* (Ροδίτης 2010: 207)

Εσηκώστην τζι ο τσιαούσης τζι ίσιωσεν να πα να βρει τους μαστόρους του εις την Χώραν. Εζήτησεν που λλόου τους ένταλμαν, έωκεν τ' όνομαν του Γιαννή Μαύρου, τζαι τζειαμαί έμαθεν πως είσιεν να κάμει με τον Μαυρόγιαννον. (Ιωσηφίδου – Μαρμαρά 2011: 152)

Analysis:

The fact that only the (a) C(S)G sense appears among the entries of the medieval Κριαράς online dictionary confirms our belief that the rest of the meanings that the lemma *μάστρος* ['mɛstrɔs] exhibits, were derived from this one. It is to be expected that from the craftsman who is the leading worker in a manual labor project and is among the common senses, the meanings of the lemma will extend to denote the craftsman who is the boss and in general the boss and then metaphorically someone who is not a boss or an employer, but the leader of a group or organization.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **μάχομαι** ['mexɔme]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **μάχουμαι** ['mexume]

Common meaning(s):

1. to fight, combat.

2a. to fight sth. off or to fight against sth.

2b. to struggle to accomplish sth. [λόγ. < αρχ. μάχομαι]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. to work; to be occupied (continually). (Κυπρή 2003: 177, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 671)

Ex.: *Πώς επέρασες μανισιή σου μανά, τη ρώτησε η κόρη της. Εμάχουμουν ποτζεί-ποδά.* (Πολυδώρου 2009: 206)

1b. to continue working. (Κυπρή 2002: 303)

Ex.: *Μαρκής: Ούφου εμπήκαν μες τα μάτθκια μου. Γιωρκή: Σώπηνε γιε μου τζιαι μάχου. Έσιε τα μάτθκια του τέσσερα, όι ν' αφήκεις κανέναν κομμάτι σπαρτό άκοφτο.* (http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&source=web&cd=4&ved=0CCkQFjAD&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.akida.info%2Findex.php%3Foption%3Dcom_docman%26task%3Ddoc_download%26gid%3D294%26Itemid%3D%26lang%3Del&rct=j&q=%CF%80%CF%85%CF%81%CF%8E%CE%BD%CF%89%20%CE%BA%CF%8C%CF%81%CE%B7&ei=7IkYTbGbKMaQswbrr9n6DA&usg=AFQjCNE5DDxEsPM9TflJidcPEsb2wbqHOQ)

2. to be about to do sth. or to have sth. happen to me. (Κυπρή 2002: 303)

Ex.: *Πιάσ' τον, μαῶεται να πέσει.* (D.P.)

3. to try; to aim to do sth. (Κυπρή 2002: 303, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 671)

Ex.: *Εμάχουμουν να του πω να σ' έκοβκεν πούποτε μανιχό σου, καημένε μου, τζι εθώρες με τα μάθκια σου μιαν τζι έξω, αν τον ελέγχει, γι' αν μεν τον ελέγχει.* (Ροδίτης 2010: 276)

4a. to express discontent; to whine without any apparent reason.

Ex.: *Ήβρα σου μιαν καλή νύφη τζιαι λαλώ να σε παντρέψω γλήορα-γλήορα. Μιλώ για την Σοφία, όπως θωρείς εφέραμεν την να τη δεις να μεν μάσιεσαι.* (Πολυδώρου 2003: 169)

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

Μαριτσού: Α Ελλού αλλόπως εποτζημηθήεις. Ελλού: Γιατί το λαλείς τούτο κόρη; Μαριτσού: Ίντα δε. Αντί τα φύλλα να πόξω εν ούλα μες τις σίκλες. Ελλού: Ου τζιαι σου, έτο έφουε μου κανέναν φυλλούι τζιαι συ **μάχεσαι**. (http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&source=web&cd=4&ved=0CCkQFjAD&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.akida.info%2Findex.php%3Foption%3Dcom_docman%26task%3Ddoc_download%26gid%3D294%26Itemid%3D%26lang%3Del&rct=j&q=%CF%80%CF%85%CF%81%CF%8E%CE%BD%CF%89%20%CE%BA%CF%8C%CF%81%CE%B7&ei=7IkYTbGbKMaQswbrr9n6DA&usg=AFQjCNE5DDxESPM9TflJidcPEsb2wbqHOQ)

4b. to annoy; to belabor sb. (Κυπρή 2002: 303)

Ex.: Π- Το ίδιον πράμαν ένει. Εν με τούτα που έτρωες εις την Κίνα; Φ-Ναι, εγώ ξέρω τζιαι χρησιμοποιώ τα. Π- Εν γιαυτό που επάσιηνες τζικάτω. Εταΐζαν σε καλά οι Κινέζες, χε χε χε (γέλιο βαρετό αλα κρεσπώλης). Μ- Παπά, μεν **μάσιεσε** (sic) του μωρού. (ήμουν στη φάση να πω -Μάμμα πε του τζιαι περιπαΐζει με). (http://xenihtikonblogspot.com/2006_05_01_xenihtikon_archive.html)

4c. to nag.

Ex.: Σίγουρα γυρεύκει τες η ράσιη σου, άης με να κάτσω να φάω ένα βούκκο με την ησυχία μου, μεν μου **μάσιεσαι**. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 402)

Analysis:

The verb *πολεμώ* [pɔlɛ'mɔ], 'to fight, combat' since the medieval times acquired new meanings, such as 'to intend; to try to do sth.' and then 'to be occupied with sth.; to construct or make sth.' The evolution of the C(S)G lemma *μάχομαι*, which is a synonym of that verb is analogous. It appears quite prolific in Cyprus, esp. with regard to the effort-related sense, which also appears in the middle ages (Ανδριώτης 1960: 57ff.)

All the C(S)G senses are extensions of the original medieval meanings, with amelioration of the meanings that refer now not to war any more, but to efforts to accomplish sth. and work (albeit continuously). The 4th sense is a further extension of the 1st C(S)G, that of continuous nagging or exasperating other people, in that case a pejoration of the previously ameliorated sense.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **μπούκλα** ['bukle]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **πούκλα** ['pukle]

Common meaning(s):

a curl; a curled lock of hair. [γαλλ. bucl(e) -α ή μέσω του βεν. bucola με συγκ. του άτ. [o] (διαφ. το μsn. *μπούκλα*, *βούκλα* `δοχείο κρασιού, αγκράφα' από την ίδ. γαλλ. λ.)· *μού κλ(α) -ίτσα*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

belt buckle. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 975, Κυπρή 1989: 224, Κυπρή 2002: 404, Κυπρή 2003: 339, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 337, Χατζηγιωάννου 1996: 155)

Ex.: *Σπρώξτε την **μπούκλα** της ζώνης μέσα στην υποδοχή και σφίξτε τη ζώνη.*
(Cyprus airlines flight attendant)

*Το θαυματουργό μικροσκοπικό μικρόφωνο, που ήταν μαστορικά καμουφλαρισμένο μέσα στην **μπούκλα** της ζώνης του, θα έκανε μια χαρά τη δουλειά του... (Φάντης 2003: 134)*

Analysis:

The ΔΚΝ online dictionary offers two different etymologies, either that the feminine noun was derived from the French *bucl(e)*, or that it has entered the languages in medieval times from the Venetian *bucola*, with syncope of the unstressed [ɔ]. There is a third etymology proposed by both the ΔΝΕΓ¹⁵⁴ and the Κριαράς¹⁵⁵ dictionaries: that it derives from the Latin *buccula*. Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 337) also prescribes to this etymology, but he mentions that in the medieval text he cites as example of usage, it means 'the buckle of the horse's harness'¹⁵⁶. It is not absolutely certain whether the word entered the Greek language directly from Latin or via the Venetians and their dialect, but the morphological similarity cannot be ignored, nor the fact that, according to the ΔΚΝ online, in Medieval Greek it also had the meanings 'wine recipient, buckle'. The Κριαράς online dictionary also mentions that in the medieval Cypriot laws (Assizes)¹⁵⁷ it already signifies 'buckle', a meaning that was retained to this day, while in SMG it was probably influenced by the Venetian *bucolo* that means 'lock of curly hair'¹⁵⁸. Three more C(S)G dictionaries do not agree on the etymological

¹⁵⁴ μεsn. < δημόδ. λατ *buccula*, υποκ. τού *bucca* «μάγουλο, γνάθος» (ΔΝΕΓ 2002: 1147).

¹⁵⁵ <μεsn. λατ. *buc(c)ula* ή <γαλλ. *boucle*. Ο τ. και σήμ. κυπρ. *Τ.βού-* (Meursius, LBG), *εμπού-*, κ.ά. σήμ. ιδιωμ. Η λ. και σήμ. ιδιωμ., καθώς και κοιν. με διαφορ. σημασ. Πβ. Και *βουτλώνω*]. (Κριαράς online).

¹⁵⁶ [μεsn. ελλην. *βούκλα* < μεsn. λατ. *buc(u)la*] πόρπη στην οποία καταλήγει ο *ποτζοιλίτης* του σάγματος του αλόγου.

¹⁵⁷ σύνδεσμος των δύο τμημάτων της ίγκλας: Το δικαίωμα των πούκλων και των σέλλων (Ασσίζ. 240¹⁸).

¹⁵⁸ 'Riccio di capelli' (<http://www.dfstermole.net/piccio/dicty.php?l=a>).

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

journey of the word, namely Χατζηιωάννου (1996: 155) who prescribes to the first ΔΚΝ online etymology, while Κυπρή (1989: 224) mentions the French noun but ultimately derives it from the Latin *buccula* that was a diminutive of *bucca*, 'cheek'. Κυπρή in the 2002 glossary (2002: 404) corroborates the Χατζηιωάννου etymology. To conclude, it is unclear exactly how and from where the meaning entered SMG, but what is undeniable is the ultimate source, that being Latin

Another interesting detail related to this pair of false friends is the fact that the C(S)G lemma was borrowed by the Turkish Cypriot dialect and apart from the original sense that it retained, it also developed a new one, i.e. 'narrow strip' (Χατζηπιερής and Καπατάς 2015: 220).

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **μπούκωμα** ['mbukɔme]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **μπούκκωμαν** ['mbuk^h:ɔmeⁿ]

SMG meaning(s):

1. the action or result of the verb 'to stuff', or 'to glut'.
2. (for automobiles) the action of getting the engine flooded.
3. (main. for mouth) gargle.

Common meaning(s):

(main. nasal) congestion.

C(S)G meaning(s):

breakfast or brunch. (Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 46, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 337, Σακελλάριος 1891b: 670, Κυπρή 1989: 38, Κυπρή 2003: 28, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 118)

Ex.: Ένας 45ρης Εξωχωρίτης οδηγούσε το διπλοκάμπινο αυτοκίνητο του και πήγαινε από το χωριό του προς γειτονικό χωριό για κάποια δουλεία. Καθ' οδόν κι ενώ οδηγούσε, έτρωγε και το σάντουιτς του [με πόλιπιφ, χαλλούμι, ντομάτα, αγγούρι και ξιδάτα] – ήταν η ώρα για το **μπούκωμα** [το κολατσιό]. Έφαγε περίπου το μισό και επειδή το υπόλοιπο ΔΕΝ το ήθελε, άνοιξε το παράθυρο τ' αυτοκινήτου και το πέταξε έξω στο δρόμο. (http://aneforiwnounblogspot.com/2010_08_01_archive.html)

-Μπουκκωμαν τρώω τον άδρωπον, το γιώμαν την κοπέλλαν
Και ως τα λιβουττήματα άππαρον με την σέλλαν (Τ' Αη Γιωρκού, a traditional folk Cypriot song) (http://www.xorio.gr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&catid=40:2009-08-30-13-07-22&id=205:2009-11-02-12-48-19)

Analysis:

In the Κυπρή (1989: 38) glossary 'bite' or 'chunk' are mentioned as the main senses of the noun although our informants do not consider that it is so, since they claim that these senses are expressed by the noun βούκκος ['vuk^h:ɔs].

According to the medieval Κριαράς dictionary online, the verb *εμβουκώνω* [emvu'kɔnɔ] from which the noun is derived meant in general 'to eat, to have food in my mouth'. No noun is mentioned in that medieval dictionary, but since the verb *μπουκώνω* [bu'kɔnɔ] 'to eat' is the immediate source of the C(S)G noun above, it is safe to assume that the current sense is present in the variety since that time. The linguistic change that has taken place is two-fold: on the one hand

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

it led to specialization of the medieval sense in the C(S)G signifying 'breakfast or brunch' and not generally 'lunch', and on the other, in the SMG it led to the metaphorical sense of '(nasal) congestion', since it resembles the act of stuffing one's mouth with food.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **ξιπάζω** [ksi'pɛzɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **ξιπάζω** [ksi'p^h:ɛz:ɔ]

Common meaning(s):

ξιπάζω (ΛΝΕΓ):

(act.) to make sb. behave in an arrogant manner; to lose any sense of moderation.

ξιπάζομαι (ΛΝΕΓ):

(pass.) to think too highly of myself; to brag about myself.

ξιπάζομαι (ΛΚΝ):

1. for sb. who thinks that (s)he is high and mighty over sth. that is in fact meaningless.

2. (coll.) to be surprised or taken aback. [μσν. ξιπάζω, -ομαι `ξαφνιάζω' < εκουσπάζω με αποβ. του αρχικού άτ. φων. και ανομ. αποβ. του δεύτερου [s] < έκ- αρχ. συσπῶ `μαζεύομαι' με μεταπλ. -ώ > -άζω με βάση το συνοπτ. θ. εκουσπασ- (ορθογρ. απλοπ.)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. (act. voice) to surprise, to take sb. by surprise. (Κυπρή 1989: 41, Κυπρή 2002: 343, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 805, Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 48, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 364, Σακελλάριος 1891b: 699)

Ex.: *Τζιαι φταίω γιό που τον **εξίππασα** τον Πετράκη μου. Φταίω γιω που τον εφάρασα τον Πετράκη μου. Εγιώ η άταχτη... η απρόσεχτη. Άλλη φοράν εν θα το ξανακάμω.* (Κουκίδης 2010: 16)

2. to frighten or be frightened by sth. that has happened or has been said. (Κυπρή 1989: 41, Κυπρή 2002: 343, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 805)

Ex.: *Θα γίνω μάνα. Επιτέλους. Το πιστεύεις? Invictus: Άτιμη πρωταπριλιά! Anti-Christos: Προς στιγμήν επίστεψα! Άχρηστη, **εξίππασες** με!* (<http://gourounella.blogspot.com/2011/04/blog-post.html>)

*"Here boy!" τζιαι πискаλώ του να' ρτει. Ο σκύλος **ξξιππάζεται** τζιαι λάσσει μου. **Ξιπάζομαι** τζιαι εγώ που το λάξιμο τζιαι σιονώνω τον καφέ πάνω μου ο οποίος είναι *extremely hot* όπως ελάλεν η ετικέττα.* (http://xenihtikonblogspot.com/2006_03_01_archive.html)

*Τζαι εγώ **ξιπάζομαι** πολλάαααα εύκολα. Μπροστά μου να είσαι και να μου κάμεις "Πππα" είναι λες και παθαίνω καρδιακή!* (<http://pink-elephant->

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

in-the-room.blogspot.com/2011/02/minor-realizations.html)

Analysis:

In the ΔKN online dictionary the verb appears only in the middle and passive voice, while in the ΔNEΓ in the active as well. The ΔKN online dictionary considers collocational the meaning that appears to be the main C(S)G meaning and we consider it nowadays obsolete in SMG, since we have been unable to find any current uses of that meaning even in a relevant Internet search. It is probable that it survives mainly in literary older texts or even in other dialectal varieties in Greece, but it is not current in the way that it is in C(S)G, in which the medieval meaning of the verb is retained (Κριαράς online dictionary). Even if we were to consider that it is still in use in Greece, then we would categorize this pair of false friends as a pragmatic frequency-related one, since our opinion as native SMG speakers is, that it is, in fact, obsolete.

As regards its correct spelling, the ΔNEΓ dictionary, as well as the Γιαγκουλλής present the lemma as *ξυπάζω* and *ξυπάζομαι*, based on the etymology of the verb (*εξυπάζω* < *εκσυσπάζω* (με ανομοιωτική αποβολή του -σ-) < *εκ*· + *συσπάζω* | *συσπώ*) and as such, their spelling is more correct than in the rest of the C(S)G or SMG dictionaries. The other spelling (*ξιπ(π)άζω*) is not scientifically correct, since it is based on an incorrect etymological derivation from the verb *εξιππάζομαι* [eksi'pezɔme], 'to ride away'. Despite the scientific correctness of one spelling instead of the other, though, the incorrect one has been accepted for years as the correct one and it is much more prevalent than the correct, which is our reason for choosing it.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: ξυρίζω [ksi'rizɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: ξουρίζω [ksu'riz:ɔ]

Common meaning(s):

1. to shave, mainly mustache and beard.
- 2a. (metaph., coll.) for extreme cold or icy-cold wind.
- 2b. (metaph., coll.) to flay; to deprive of money through exorbitant pricing. [ελνστ. ξυρίζω < μεταπλ. του αρχ. ξυρ(ῶ) -ίζω] (Κυπρή Α.344, Γ.93, Σακελλάριος 698).

C(S)G meaning(s):

(metaph.) to present sth. to sb. as true or logical, in order to tease or make fun of him or her. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 363, Παπαγγέλου 808, Γιαγκουλλής 2005a: 117)

Ex.: *Ξουρίζεις μας!* (Y.P.)

Εν τζι εν να με ξουρίσεις εσού! (D.P.)

Εννα σου απαντησω ομως μιας τζιε ξουριζεις μας, περκιμο σου μεινει τιποτε που το δωρεαν ξουρισμα. (<http://www.cyprushuntingmagazine.com/forum/viewtopic.php?f=5&t=88&start=940>)

Analysis:

The two varieties share two metaphorical meanings of the verb and it is probably from the second (2b) that the metaphorical sense existing in the C(S)G variety evolved. This sense entails the denotation of bluffing or deceiving that is implicitly present in the C(S)G sense as well.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **όχεντρα** ['ɔçendɾɐ]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **όδεντρα** ['ɔʃendɾɐ]

C(S)G allomorph: **όχεντρα** ['ɔʃendɾɐ]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (coll.) viper. [μσν. *όχεντρα* ίσως < αρχ. *Έχιδνα* ([e > o] από παρετυμ. *όφης*, και-εντρα από παρετυμ. *σκολόπεντρα*)]
2. (metaph.) a vile, spiteful and malicious woman. (ΛΝΕΓ)

C(S)G meaning(s):

- a. a kind of poisonous snake considered one of the fastest and largest in Cyprus. (Παυλίδης, 1984-1991, vol. 11, p.12)

Ex.: Στην Κύπρο έχουμε 8 είδη φιδιών για όσους δεν γνωρίζουν, και τα επιστημονικά ονόματα τους μαζί με τις κοινές ονομασίες τους στα κυπριακά είναι. [...] 7) *malpolon monsesulanus* = σαΐτα ή **οσιεντρα** (<http://www.cyprushuntingmagazine.com/items.php?L1=6&lang=grk&itemId=48>)

- b. generic for any large snake. (Χατζηγιωάννου 1996: 133)

Ex.: Είδαμεν σήμερα μιαν **όδεντραν** δαμαί που επήαμεν περίπατον. (C.L.)

Analysis:

The dictionaries of Παπαγγέλου (2001: 831), Κυπρή (2002: 352 and 2003: 29) and Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 372) claim that this snake is a viper, but the more specialized encyclopedia edited by Παυλίδης, as well as the 'Hunt and Shoot' magazine for shooters in Cyprus mention that it is in fact another poisonous snake, the one named *σαΐτα* [sɛ'ite]. This snake in Cyprus also appears as *βόδεντρα* ['vɔʃendɾɐ] or *σαΐτάρης* [sɛitʰ:ɛris], while the snake called *όχεντρα* ['ɔçendɾɐ] in SMG, 'viper' is called *φίνα* ['fine] in C(S)G.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **πάννα** ['pɛnɛ]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **πάννα** ['pɛn:ɛ]

SMG meaning(s):

a. a big cloth they used to wrap babies; swaddling cloth.

b. ~ *βρακάκι*, disposable diaper.

C(S)G meaning(s):

(pork or lamb) caul. (Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 50, Κυπρή 2002: 356, Κυπρή 2003: 331, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 843, Σακελλάριος 1891b: 712, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 135)

Ex.: *Ρίφι οφτό της κούμνας: Στα υλικά αναφέρεται: μία **πάννα** (μπόλια) αρνιού. Βάζουμε τις πατάτες σ' ένα ταψί με λίγο νερό, τις αλατοπιπερώνουμε, σκορπάμε τα φύλλα δάφνης και απλώνουμε από πάνω την **πάννα**. (Χριστοδούλου 2011: 106)*

*Παραδοσιακές Σεφταλιές από την Κύπρο: 1 πακέτο **πάννα** (μπόλια). Η **πάννα** είναι ο άσπρος λιπώδης ιστός του γουρουνιού θα τον βρείτε συνήθως κατεψυγμένο. Στην Ελλάδα τον ξέρουμε σαν μπόλια και τον ζητάμε από τον κρεοπώλη μας. (http://kitchen-art-stories.blogspot.com/2012/05/blog-post_18.html)*

Analysis:

Two of the C(S)G dictionaries, Κυπρή (2002: 356) and Παπαγγέλου (2001: 843), mention the SMG meaning, but all our informants agree that the C(S)G lemma does not share any senses with the SMG lemma. Either the two dictionaries record an obsolete meaning, or they mistakenly consider that the semantic content of the two lemmas is identical.

To the SMG speakers, the phonetic and morphological differentiation between the two lemmas is negligible, but to C(S)G speakers the two lemmas have different morphemes and are two different words.

The C(S)G meaning in SMG is expressed by two different words: the feminine nouns *μπόλια* ['bɔliɛ] or *σκέπη* ['skɛpi], as is also proven by the examples, in which it is clear that the authors (both of them chefs) are aware of the fact that the C(S)G word is not known with that semantic content in Greece and vice versa.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **πανί** [pe'ni]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **παννίον** [pe'n:iⁿ]

Common meaning(s):

- 1a. a piece of cloth (for any non-specialized use).
- 1b. (obs.) usually for a linen or cotton cloth mainly not white-washed.
- 1c. (phr.) *έγινε (σαν) ~ (το πρόσωπό του)*, he turned white (because of anger, fear, or any other emotion).
- 1d. (phr.) *είμαι / μένω ~ με ~*, to be completely broke.
- 1e. *κόκκινο ~*, for sth. causing sb. to feel angry or enraged.
- 2a. (for boat) sail (cloth).
- 2b. (phr.) (for sailboat or for the people sailing it or simply on it) *κάνω / ανοίγω πανιά*, to set sail.
- 2c. (phr.) *στέκομαι στα πανιά*, to be about to set sail, and metaphorically to be ready and eager to set sail.
- 2d. (coll.) *του 'δωσα ~*, to send sb. away forever. [μσν. *πανίον* υποκορ. του ελνστ. *πάνν(ος) -ίον* < λατ. *pann(us) -ος* (ορθογρ. απλοπ.)

C(S)G meaning(s):

baby's diaper.

Ex.: *Ο Ορέστης χρειάζεται παννιά, να φέρεις αύριο.* (T.N.)

Analysis:

The C(S)G sense recorded above does not appear in any of the C(S)G dictionaries. Although the lemma is included in the dictionaries, it is only presented with the common meanings, while this one is missing.

When disposable diapers started being used in Greece, the SMG chose a different lemma to denote them, i.e. *πάννα* [ˈpenɛ] that is derived from the lemma *πανί* [pe'ni]. This feminine noun was already in use denoting the cloth babies used to be wrapped in before the invention of disposable diapers. In Cyprus, the same lemma *παννίον* [pe'n:iⁿ] that signified 'cloth, fabric' took on an added sense and did not resort to the feminine noun *πάννα* [ˈpenɛ], the semantic content of which is reminiscent of 'cloth' since it refers to 'peritoneum' or 'caul' (because they both guard similarity with cloth).

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **πένα** ['pɛnɛ]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **πέννα** ['pɛn:nɛ]

SMG meaning(s):

- 1a. pen, an instrument for writing or drawing with ink, typically consisting of a metal nib fitted into a metal or plastic holder.
- 1b. a small gusset at the tip of the pen.
- 1c. (extension) ink-pen.
- 1d. (phr.) *άνθρωπος της πένας*, writer.
- 1e. (phr.) *πληρωμένη ~*, for sb. who in the course of his/her self-interest supports positions that he does not believe.
- 1f. (phr.) *στην ~*, (dressed) with attention to detail.
2. (naut.) a kind of triangular sail for a boat or small sailboat.

Common meaning(s):

1. (metaph.) sb.'s ability to write, usually well, to be a good writer.
2. guitar pick (usually made of bone or metal).
3. penne, a kind of pasta short wide tubes. [ιταλ. penna (αρχική σημ.: `φτερό`)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. ballpoint pen. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 397, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 882)

Ex.: *Το ψηφοδέλτιο είναι επίσης άκυρο όταν δεν είναι σφραγισμένο με την επίσημη σφραγίδα της Δημοκρατίας στο εξωτερικό του μέρος, [...] όταν ο εκλογέας ψηφίζει δύο ή περισσότερους υποψηφίους και όταν οι εκλογείς ψηφίσουν με **πέννα** διαφορετικού χρώματος από το μπλε και το μαύρο.* ([http://www.hri.org/C\(S\)Gi-bin/brief?/news/cyprus/kypegr/2003/03-02-15.kypegr.html](http://www.hri.org/C(S)Gi-bin/brief?/news/cyprus/kypegr/2003/03-02-15.kypegr.html))

*Έχω ένα πρίχτικο συνήθειο που το προσέχω ιδιαίτερα την εξεταστική περίοδο. Άμα θκιαβάζω τζαι σηκωστώ να πάω κάπου για οποιονδήποτε λόγο, παίρνω (sic) μαζί μου τζαι την **πέννα** μου. Όταν εννά πάω πίσω στο θκιάβασμα όμως ξιχάννω να την πιάσω τζαι, ως αποτέλεσμα, χάννω την **πέννα** μου τζαι γυρέφκω την παντού μες το σπίτι, τζαι γεμώννει ο τόπος **πέννες**.* (http://pellameni.blogspot.com/2012/04/blog-post_19.html)

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

2. (phr.) (δ)εν φακκώ ~, to be totally indifferent, to not care about anything or sth. in particular.

Ex.: Ούτε μωρά εκάμαν, μα τζείνη εν εφάκκαν πένναν, η καλοπέρασή της τζι' Άγιος ο θεός. (Σάββα 2009: 65)

Ο συγκεκριμένος κύριος «δεν φακκά πέννα» (ετσι για να χρησιμοποιήσουμε και την Κυπριακήν) για τα του δήμου του. Κανένα έργο δεν προωθήθηκε ούτε διεκδικήθηκε επι δημαρχίας του και όσα βρήκε ετοιμα τα οδήγησε στον μαρασμό και την εγκατάλειψη. (<http://offsite.com.cy/blog/%CE%BF%CF%81%CE%B3%CE%AC%CE%BD%CF%89%CF%83%CE%B7-%CF%80%CE%B1%CF%81%CE%B1%CF%80%CE%BB%CE%B7%CE%B3%CE%B9%CE%BA%CF%8E%CE%BD-%E2%80%93-%CE%B5%CF%80%CE%B9%CF%83%CF%84%CE%BF%CE%BB%CE%AE-%CF%83%CF%84%CE%BF/>)

Analysis:

Although we have ascribed the 'ballpoint' meaning to two C(S)G dictionaries, they do not clearly differentiate this meaning from that of the ink-pen sense that is actually a solely SMG sense. Their explanations regarding the semantic content of the lemma are not clear, but we assume that they include both the SMG and the C(S)G sense, since they may not realize that the semantic content of the two is not identical. In a research by Κατσογιάννου and Χατζοπούλου (2015: 149) with 15-year old Greek Cypriot high-school students, it was evident that despite the semantic content proposed by the dictionaries, the students that participated do not use the SMG meaning (possibly because they are not familiar with it or it is not the dominant one). It is possible that the dictionaries include a meaning their compilers are aware of from SMG and are influenced by it.

The phraseologism presented as the second meaning of the lemma is probably an evolution of an originally slightly different set phrase, εν φακκώ πε(ν)νιάν, [εn#fɛ'kʰ:ɔ#pɛ'ɲ:ɛn], 'to be indifferent, to not care about' (Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 42, Γιαγκουλλής 2005a: 56). The cy slang site has this phraseologism without including the possibly newer we have also encountered and included in our corpus.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **πίτα** ['pite]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **πίττα** ['pit^h:e]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (proverb) *πέσε ~ να σε φάω*, for sb. who is lazy and expects things to happen without any work on his/her part.
2. (proverb) *Από ~ που δεν τρως, τι σε μέλει κι αν καεί*, you shouldn't meddle in other people's affairs.
3. (phr.) *πάτησα (σ)την ~*, I did not manage to avoid exactly what I wanted to avoid.
4. (phr.) *κάνω κπ. ή κτ. ~*: a. to level sb. by falling on him/her, b. to beat sb. up.

Common meaning(s):

- 1a. savoury or sweet pastry or other kind of baked pie: ~ *με τυρί / με σπανάκι / με κολοκύθι / με κρέας*, cheese pie, spinach pie, pumpkin pie, meat pie.
- 1b. η βασιλόπιτα, New Year's pie: *Κόψαμε την ~ και το φλουρί έπεσε σ' εμένα*.
2. (phr.) *(θέλει) και την ~ ολόκληρη / σωστή / αφάγωτη και το σκύλο χορτάτο*, for sb. who intends to gain to the fullest without any personal cost.
3. honeycomb.
4. a kind of unleavened bread that is round and wide.
5. (metaph.) goods to be distributed.
6. (phr.) *είμαι / γίνομαι ~ (στο μεθύσι)*, to be pissed or stoned on alcohol or drugs. [μσν. *πίτα* (στη νέα σημ.) < αρχ. (αττ. διάλ.) *πίττα* παράλλ. τ. του *πίσσα* (η σημ. από τα διάφορα υλικά που χρησιμοποιούνταν)· *πίτ(α) -ούλα*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

- a. throng; overcrowding.

Ex.: *Οκ πάεις στη στάση πιάνεις καφέ στο χέρι έρκεται το λεωφορείο τζαι εν γεμάτο. Πίττα μες το μπας, που τα περιέργα εν τω μεταξύ.. συνήθως εν άδειο.. περνούν συνέχεια τζαι έτσι εν έχει κοσμοσυρροή.*
(<http://misirrlou.blogspot.com/2011/11/blog-post.html>)

Δα' μέσα δα εν πίττα, πάμε να φύουμε επειδή εν μπορώ τον πολλύ τον κόσμο. (<https://www.cyslang.com/dictionary/%CF%80%CE%AF%CF%84%CF%84%CE%B1/>)

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

b. bottleneck; traffic jam.

Ex.: - Πού είσαι; - Έρχομαι, είμαι δαμαί μες στη μέση, ένι μια **πίττα!** (N.C. – D.P.)

*Η Σάντα Ρόζα (Σπ. Κυπριανού) γεμάτη κίνηση, **πίττα** αυτοκίνητα, πίττα τζαι τα καφέ-μπαρς. (<http://kkoulas.blogspot.com.cy/2010/05/under-crisis.html>)*

Analysis:

The current C(S)G meanings we have recorded above do not appear in any of the C(S)G dictionaries and when the lemma is included, then it only refers to the common meanings (Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 146, Κυπρή 2002: 378). In most of the dictionaries though, appears the verb *πιττακώννω* [pit^h:e'kɔn:ɔ], 'to press sth. down until it assumes the form of a flat and round pie' (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 411, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 916, Κυπρή 2003: 89). The metaphorical C(S)G senses of either 'overcrowding' or 'traffic jam' appear to be the result of a mental jump from the action of the verb above, since in both cases, people and cars are crowded together as if someone was pressing them down.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **πούλι** ['puli]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **ππούλλιν** ['p^h:ul:iⁿ]

C(S)G allomorph: **ππούλιν** ['p^h:uliⁿ]

Common meaning(s):

1. game piece; a counter or token used main in the game of backgammon or checkers. [τουρκ. pul-ι.]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. (usually pl.) postage stamp; a kind of small adhesive piece of paper stuck to something to show that an amount of money has been paid. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 445, Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 58, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 995, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 158)

Ex.: *«Ππούλια»... ο Λαγός και η Χελώνα: Πολύχρωμη και ζωηρή η νέα σειρά γραμματοσήμων. (newsp. Σημερινή)*

Εάν δεν έχουν δουλειά να κάνουν ή δεν μπορούν, στείλτε τους αλλού. Στο Ταχυδρομείο λχ. να βλέπουν ππούλλια να μην αισθάνονται μόνοι. (<https://politis.com.cy/article/o-topos---xana---sto-eleos-ton-pellon>)

1b. (usually pl.) stamp duty, a duty levied on the legal recognition of certain documents. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 445)

Ex.: *Εν να το μολοήσω πως ενν τζ' εκαρτέρουν τον να με δεχτεί έτσι εύκολα. Πολλές φορές νομίζουμε πως για να δούμε κάποιους πρέπει να κάμουμε αίτηση με το ππούλιν πάνω, όμως τα πράματα εν εν έτσι όπως τα νομίζουμε. http://www.adamoskatsantonis.com/main/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=72:cd22-oikaimoikaita-merakkiamou&catid=42&Itemid=78&lang=el*

1c. (usually pl.) stamp duty or fee, mainly for insurance or pension-related reasons issued by the state as proof of the relevant payment.

Ex.: *Ο Μπαρμπαπάπα αφυπηρέτησε. Με όλες τις επισημότητες, συμπλήρωσε τα ππούλια του και τις τελευταίες 3 μέρες κάθετα σπίτι. (http://drakouna.blogspot.com/2006/03/blog-post_03.html)*

Επίσης, εγώ είμαι συνταξιούχος και παίρνω 210 λίρες με 34 χρόνια ππούλια. (<http://www.adesmevtos.net/pages/03.pdf#search=%22%CF%80%CF%80%CE%BF%CF%8D%CE%BB%CE%B9%CE%B1%22>)

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

2. a bolt, fastener with nut.

Ex.: — Επήα στο κομωδρομιόν τζιαι εγόρασα βίδες. Έφκαλα ούλλες τες αγιωμένες που την βάσην της αντένας τζιαι έβαλα τζιουνούρκες ανοξύδωτες. Άλλαξα τα **ππούλια** με πεταλλούδες για να μπορώ να διώ στον δίσκον έφκολα την κλίσην που θέλω. (http://istomageiremata.blogspot.com/2011_07_01_archive.html)

3. (metaph.) foolish; naïve; stupid. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 445)

Ex.: Τον πρώτο φεβράρην που επέρασα με την Καλήν μου επήα σαν το **ππούλιν** να πιάσω φκιόρα που το ανθοπωλείο. Άμα είδα τι μαλάκες ήσιεν τζιαμέ τζιαι εκαρτερούσαν σειράν έφνα βουρώντας. (http://xenihitikonblogspot.com/2007/02/blog-post_09.html)

Είσαι τέλεια **ππούλι**. (<http://www.zortal.gr/modules/news/print.php?storyid=1169>)

Analysis:

Both lemmas are derived from the Turkish noun *pul*, ‘round disk for playing backgammon’ or ‘grommet’ (Χατζηπιερής and Καπατάς 2015: 229). The (1a-c) senses are probably extensions of the original literal meaning that had the lemma, since it was possibly used as stamp duty and it was flat. The second sense is a further extension of the sense applied to a type of bolt that is also round, but not flat, while it is unclear how the lemma acquired the third sense.

An interesting fact that we believe should be pointed out is the fact that the 2nd example in the (1a) sense contains actually a word-pun, since it refers to ‘stamp’, but then adds that the people should be sent there to look at stamps in order not to feel lonely (the people) alluding to the 3rd C(S)G meaning.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **ριγώ** [ri'ɣɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **ριώ** [ri'o]

C(S)G allomorph: **ριγώ** [ri'ɣɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

- 1a. to shiver because of the cold or fever.
- 1b. to shudder because of intense excitement or fear, etc.
2. to quiver uncontrollably. [λόγ. < αρχ. ριγῶ]

C(S)G meaning(s):

to feel cold. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 464, Κυπρή 2002: 420, Κυπρή 2003: 95, Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 59, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1030, Σακελλάριος 1891b: 770, Χατζηγιωάννου 1996: 164)

Ex.: *Τζιείνος ήταν ο τόπος της π'αγάπαν. Άμαν **ερίαν**, επήαινε να βράσει. Το πρωίν εκάθετον εις το καταλιάν τζι έβραζεν την νήλιος, δύμμαν νήλιου άπλωννε το κορμίν της τζι έβραζεν την ο βράχος.* (http://acerasanthropophorum.blogspot.com/2010/07/blog-post_07.html)

«Γιαγιά, μα 'κούφανες, **ριούμεν** πολλά 'πόψε λαλώ σου». (Σάββα 2009: 39)

*Ο πελλός με **ριά** με βράζει.* (<https://www.facebook.com/opellos/>, Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 73)

Analysis:

According to the Liddell-Scott online dictionary, one of the meanings that the verb had in Ancient Greek is the meaning that is retained in the C(S)G variety, but has disappeared from the SMG variety. The SMG has retained only the meanings that are related to the corporal movement resulting from the sense that appears in the C(S)G.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **σάκος** ['sekɔs]

Grammatical category: n. (masc.)

C(S)G lemma: **σάκκος** ['sek^h:ɔs]

SMG meaning(s):

(phr.) *(θα σου δείξω εγώ) πόσα απίδια βάζει / έχει ο ~*, a threat to punish sb., usually when it regards a fight or generally difficult and unpleasant circumstances.

Common meaning(s):

1a. sack.

1b. ~ *απορριμμάτων*, large garbage bag.

1c. a type of cylindrical case made of cloth, leather or plastic that is used to keep and transport different items: *Στρατιωτικός ~*, military bag. *Ταξιδιωτικός ~*, travel bag. *Ταχυδρομικός ~*, for carrying letters and packets. *Διπλωματικός ~*, diplomatic pouch, mainly for diplomatic documents.

1d. a type of bag with a shape similar to that of the sack.

1e. *Πυγμαχικός ~*, boxing bag.

2a. anything in the form and shape of sack.

2b. sack dress.

2c. (eccl.) valuable ecclesiastical vestment with short and wide sleeves that reaches to the priests' knees.

2d. (anat.) *αμνιακός ~*, amniotic sac. [αρχ. & λόγ. < αρχ. *σάκκος* (& *σάκος*) & σημδ. γαλλ. sac (2β: λόγ. μσν. σημ.)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

any type of overcoat, that may be a jacket, an anorak, or even a coat. (Κυπρή 2003: 344, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1044, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 470)

Ex.: *Η νύφη της αντίσασεν τους **σάκκους** τους να φύουν τα νερά που πάνω.* (Σάββα 2009: 40)

*Αφού δεν μπορούσε να κάνει οτιδήποτε άλλο, έβγαλε το **σάκο** του και το έριξε στους ώμους της.* (Πολυδώρου 2009: 85)

*Χωρκάτικον είναι να τρώεις λοκκούμι μόλις σιαιρετίσεις [στο γάμο] τζιαι να κάμνεις τον **σάκκον** σου γέριμον (http://xorkatikon.blogspot.com/2008_07_01_archive.html)*

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

Analysis:

The lemmas are derived from the same Ancient Greek masculine noun, *σάκ(κ)ος* that originally denoted a 'piece of clothing made of rough fibers' and several similar articles of clothing used to show mourning or worn by poor monks (Liddell-Scott online). Since this type of cloth was also used for carrying things, due to its composition, as it was sturdy, it evolved into the main noun denoting 'sack' in SMG. In C(S)G, it is used with that meaning as well, but it has also evolved another meaning, that of the coatwear, in which case the C(S)G lemma evolved in the direction of generalization, since it came to mean any type of outwear or coatwear.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **σεντούκι** [se'nduci]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **σεντούτζιν** [se'ndutʃiⁿ]

Common meaning(s):

(coll.) a kind of small, usually wooden, trunk. [μσν. σεντούκιν < αραβ. sanduk - ιν > -ι ([a > e] ;)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

coffin. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 481, Κυπρή 2003: 36, Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 60, Παυλίδης, vol. 17, p. 72)

Ex.: *Ήρτεν η νεκροφόρα τζι' εβουρήσαν έξι κύριοι με μαύρες κρεβάτες, επιάσαν το σεντούτζιν τζι' επήραν το μέσ' στην εκκλησιάν. (Σάββα 2009: 91)*

Γινεται πλεον αντι να γιορταζουμε την ιδρυση του σωματειου να γιορταζουμεν καθε Μεγαλη Παρασκευη στον επιταφιο? αφου οι αλλοι καμνουν περιφορα τα τροπαια τζσι εμεις το σεντουτζιν καθε χρονο ετσι μερες. (<https://www.facebook.com/evergreen4ever/posts/459635334246617>)

Analysis:

The two lemmas share their etymology, since the noun are derived from the Arabic *sanduk*, via the Turkish *sandık* (Χατζηπιερής and Καπατάς 2015: 244). The noun in SMG used to signify both 'trunk' and 'coffin' (Κριαράς 1995: 1221), but the second meaning is nowadays obsolete, since it does not appear in neither of the main SMG dictionaries we are using for our research. In C(S)G, the noun has retained this meaning.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **σηκώνω** [si'kɔnɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **σηκώννω** [si'kɔn:ɔ]

Common meaning(s):

- 1a. to raise sth. from its place and put it into a higher position.
- 1b. (phr.) ~ *την άγκυρα*, to leave; to put distance between oneself and sth. else.
- 1c. (phr.) ~ *το ποτήρι*, to raise my glass making a toast.
- 1d. to make sth. rise.
- 2a. to hold sth. by supporting its lower part.
- 2b. to have the strength to hold sth. heavy.
- 2c. (phr.) ΦΡ (*δεν*) *το σηκώνει η τσέπη μου*, to be able or unable to afford sth.
- 2d. (metaph.) to take responsibility for a difficult project.
- 2e. (metaph.) to have the strength to accept without complaint circumstances or actions, to put up with.
- 2f. for sth. that is not acceptable: *Δεν το σηκώνει ο οργανισμός μου*, this is bad for me, (metaph.) I can't put up with it.
- 2g. (phr.) *αυτό (που είπε) σηκώνει πολύ νερό*, it can be explained in many different ways.
3. to take; to remove sth. from somewhere; to collect.
- 4a. (oral.) to move sth. that is unwilling to be moved.
- 4b. (phr., expletive) *να σε πάρει και να σε σηκώσει*, 'the devil with you' or *θα σε πάρει και θα σε σηκώσει*, be warned, damn you.
- 4c. for a dead person, to take it from the house and move it to the church for funeral rites.
- 4d. to take along.
- 4e. to withdraw money from the bank.
5. to drag sth. upwards without detaching from its original position. ~ *το τζάμι του αυτοκινήτου*, to shut car window. ~ *τα στόρια*, open the blinds.
- 6a. (for a body part or limb) to raise; to move upwards.
- 6b. (phr.) ~ *χέρι*, to hit or threaten to hit sb.

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

- 6c. (phr.) ~ *(ψηλά) τα χέρια*, to be unable to accomplish sth.
- 6d. (phr.) *σήκωσε τη μύτη*, for arrogant behavior.
- 6e. (vulg.) *(μου) σηκώνεται*, for sexual arousal.
- 6f. to point upwards.
- 6g. (phr.) *δε ~ κεφάλι* (regarding work or a project), to stay focused, to not allow to be distracted.
- 6h. (phr.) ~ *τους ώμους / τις πλάτες μου*, as an indication of ignorance or indifference.
- 6i. (phr.) *δεν μπορώ να σηκώσω κεφάλι*, to be unable to reverse course to my financial troubles.
- 6j. (phr.) *σηκώνονται (όρθιες) οι τρίχες κάποιου / σηκώνονται οι τρίχες της κεφαλής μου / σηκώνεται το πετσί κάποιου*, expressing terror, disgust, horror, displeasure, surprise, etc.
- 7a. to drag or remove sth. in a vertical or horizontal movement (in order to unveil what lies underneath or behind).
- 7b. (phr.) *όποια πέτρα κι αν σηκώσεις από κάτω θα τον βρεις*, for sb. involved in many projects or for sb. who has many useful acquaintances.
8. (for a building, a wall, etc.) to raise.
- 9a. to cause sb. sitting or lying down to stand up.
- 9b. *Σηκώνομαι από το κρεβάτι*, (for a sick person) to be healed.
- 9c. (oral.) to oblige sb. to cut short whatever (s)he is doing.
- 9d. to wake up.
- 10a. (oral.) to encourage to a rise-up or a rebellion.
- 10b. (phr.)~ *(δικό μου) μπαϊράκι / (δική μου) παντιέρα*, to go my separate way by making my personal rebellion.
- 10c. ~ *κεφάλι*, to stop obeying.
- 10d. ~ *κπ. στο πόδι*, to upset or disturb.
- 10e. (phr.) ~ *φωνή διαμαρτυρίας*, to protest vigorously.
11. (for wind or tempest, etc.), to rise; to start.

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12. (phr.) *σήκω σήκω, κάτσε κάτσε*, for sb. who obeys arbitrary orders without protest.

13. (phr.) *σήκω εσύ να κάτσω εγώ*, for sb. trying to take sb. else's place. [μσν. *σηκώνω* < ελνστ. *σηκ(ῶ) `ζυγίζω* στη *ζυγαριά* -ώνω]

C(S)G meaning(s):

a. to celebrate carnival before Lent. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 484, Κυπρή 2002: 428, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1069)

Ex.: *Εν να'ρτετε να **σηκώσουμεν**;* (F.P.)

***Εσήκωσες** εχτές τζαι σήμμερα τρώεις μιλλωμένον;* (L.S.)

b. to stop sb. from a class or hobby.

Ex.: *Εννά τη **σηκώσω** που τ' αγγλικά τη μητσίά, εν μαθαίνει τίποτε.* (Y.P.)

Analysis:

The first C(S)G meaning is quite common and long-standing, since it is related to the Carnival and Lent religious traditions that are part of esp. the rural way of life that was the norm in Cyprus until recently (but these traditions are still important on the island). It also relates to the feminine plural noun *Σήκωσες* ['sikɔsɛs], 'carnival', or lit. 'the time when meat is lifted away from the table', when people do not consume meat or meat and dairy products. Both words' senses, for the noun and for the verb are absent from the SMG variety.

The second C(S)G meaning is possibly an extension of the first, since in the first what stops is the consumption of meat and in the second stops the class or hobby.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **σκύβαλο** ['scivelo]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **σκύβαλλον** ['sciveloːn]

SMG meaning(s):

1. sifting; what is left after sifting the wheat and other cereals.
2. (metaph.) a person who is worthless; garbage. [ελνστ. σκύβαλον `βρομιά για πέταμα']

C(S)G meaning(s):

(only pl.) garbage; anything that is considered useless or dirty and is removed.

Ex.: *Απαραίτητη είναι, μαζί με τα προαναφερθέντα έγγραφα, η προσκόμιση δύο λογαριασμών (σκυβάλων και πρόσφατου λογαριασμού ηλεκτρικού ρεύματος) που να αποδεικνύουν την οδό της κατοικίας του μαθητή. (<http://enimerosi.moec.goverbcy/archeia/1/ypp5132a>)*

Τελικά ο σκυβαλλότοπος εκεί θα χρησιμοποιείται από τον δήμο Αγίας Νάπας μέχρι το τέλος του 2011 μετά από διάταγμα δικαστηρίου τζαι στη συνέχεια τα σκύβαλα της περιοχής θα πηγαίνουν στον διαμετακομιστικό σταθμό (με την προϋπόθεση ότι θα είναι έτοιμος) από όπου και θα μεταφέρονται στην Κόση. (<http://recursos-de-una-mariposa.blogspot.com.cy/2011/08/blog-post.html>)

Τέλος αποκομιδής σκύβαλων (οικιών & επαγγελματικών υποστατικών) (<http://www.lakatamia.org.cy/default.aspx?articleID=1514>)

Analysis:

The C(S)G meaning retains an Ancient Greek sense (Σταματάκος 1990: 901) that is obsolete in SMG. Although the ΔΝΕΓ includes a sense denoting 'garbage, sth. that is useless', a relevant search on the Internet has only yielded metaphorical uses of the lemma, for people. The Κριαράς (1995: 1243) agrees with the senses provided by the ΔΚΝ dictionary that do not include the C(S)G meaning.

None of the C(S)G dictionaries include the lemma, nor do they mention the different denotation, possibly because they consider the noun shared by the SMG and therefore known. The fact that the Ministry of Education and Culture uses the C(S)G lemma in an official circular, as well as the Municipality of Lakatamia on its official website, are indicators that the word is considered high register SMG. The C(S)G speakers use it both in everyday high-register communication and in official instances considering it an appropriate for many communicative instances word. The existence of a lower-register neuter plural noun *ποσκούπιδα* [pɔ'skupiðe], 'garbage' with dialectal markers that is used as the more colloquial

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

noun allows such a categorization for the noun discussed here. Another characteristic that indicates its prevalence is the fact that it is especially prolific: *σκυβαλλότοπος* [scivɛ'l:ɔtɔpɔs], 'rubbish dump', *σκυβαλλοδοχείο* [scivɛl:ɔðɔ'xiɔ], 'garbage bin', *σκυβαλλοσάκουλλο* [scivɛl:ɔ'sɛkul:ɔ], 'garbage bag', etc.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **σουρτούκα** [sur'tuke]

Grammatical category: adj.¹⁵⁹

C(S)G lemma: **σουρτούκκα** [su'rtuk^h:e]

Common meaning(s):

(oral.) characterizes people who gener. shies away from family life and its obligations and prefers to roam around having fun and travelling. [σουρτούκ(α) - ης· τουρκ. sürtük `γυρίστρα, ανήθικη γυναίκα' -α, -ω]

C(S)G meaning(s):

unkempt, scruffy, dirty, shabby. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 502, Κυπρή 1989: 291)

Εχ.: Την πρώτην φοράν που ήρτεν έσσω τους, ήταν σαν την **σουρτούκκαν**, μα μέραν παρά μέραν, άρκεψεν να στολίζεται σα να τζαι επήαινανε στο παναύριν. (Σάββα 2009: 12)

Αχτένιστη, άβαφτη, άντυτη, άσαστη (κυπρ.), αξύριστη, ασουλούππωτη, (κυπρ.), άλουτη, (κυπρ.), η «**σουρτούκκα**», η οποία, στις πλείστες των περιπτώσεων βάζει και καμιά εικοσαριά κιλά μετά το γάμο. (http://www.kiatipis.org/Books_Kiatipis/emporio_koritsion/parts/strip_ease.pdf)

Analysis:

According to the Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 502), Χατζηιωάννου (1996: 176) and Κυπρή (2003: 220) dictionaries, the masculine adjective expresses the meaning of 'tramp' as well as 'unkempt', while the female, which is the lemma we are interested in, signifies the woman that is not so much tramp-like, but rather 'unkempt' and 'shabby'. Of the two lemmas, the C(S)G feminine adjective is the one that retains some vestiges of the original meaning of the Turkish word *sürtük*, i.e. 'immoral woman', according to the majority of the C(S)G dictionaries. In the SMG dictionaries that we have consulted, the sense of 'immoral woman' is absent, but the Greek slang site ¹⁶⁰ mentions another sense as well, one that could be considered to be implied in the other dictionaries toy. It is that of the 'immorality' of the woman who instead of taking care of her family, roams around and is implicitly or explicitly interested in other men. The Χατζηπιερής and Καπατάς (2015: 255) dictionary presents such a sense only for the feminine, which is *σουρτούκισσα* [su'rtuk^h:is:e], although it does not appear in any of the other dictionaries, nor is it included in the Συντυχίες project online.

¹⁵⁹ This adjective in its three genders has the following forms: (masc.) *σουρτούκης* [sur'tucis], (fem.) *σουρτούκα* [sur'tuke] (and also *σουρτούκω* [sur'tuko]) and (neut.) *σουρτούκικο* [sur'tuciko] in SMG, while in the C(S)G its equivalent forms are *σουρτούκης* [su'rtuc:is] and *σουρτούκκα* [su'rtuk:e] (without a neuter gender according to Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 502). As all adjectives of the Greek language, it can be used as a noun, when it is used without an accompanying noun.

¹⁶⁰ <https://www.slang.gr/lemma/6489-sourtouko>.

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

The C(S)G masculine adjective, according to our informants and a relevant search on the internet, appears to be obsolete, since we have been unable to find it used in any context. Although the feminine is mainly used to denote the 'unkempt' or 'shabby' woman, some of our informants relate also the sense of a 'person that spends a lot of time outside his/her own home socializing', in this case a woman, because the masculine, although it is usually the dominant adjective, in this instance it was not and therefore it has probably become obsolete.

The C(S)G adjective has gone through a process of amelioration in comparison to the Turkish original, as has the SMG adjective, though the two paths diverge from one another.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **στοιχειό** [sti'çɔ]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **στοιῶειόν** [sti'çɔⁿ]

Common meaning(s):

1. (folklore) ghost; the soul of a killed person or animal that survives where its blood was shed.
2. any supernatural creature: ~ της θάλασσας, a mermaid or any other imaginary form believed to live in the sea.
3. *Είναι σαν ~*, for a very tall and skinny person that looks scary. [μσν. στοιχείον `δαίμονας' με συνίζ. για αποφυγή της χασμ. < αρχ. στοιχεῖον (στην ελνστ. σημ.: `σημείο του ζωδιακού')]

C(S)G meaning(s):

ugly. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 513)

Ex.: *Ίντα **στοιῶειό** που 'ναι τούτη, κόρη, εν θωρκέται που την αδήμια, εν τέλεια **στοιῶειόν** του λάκκου.* (L.S.)

Analysis:

The only C(S)G dictionary that includes the current C(S)G meaning is that of Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 513). The other three dictionaries, namely Παπαγγέλου (2001: 1144) and Κυπρή (2003: 223 and 1989: 102) include only some common meanings between the two varieties. The extension that probably led to the semantic change recorded by Γιαγκουλλής in his dictionary is quite understandable: ghosts or malevolent spirits of the dead (to which the lemma may refer) are ugly and scary, so it is easy to transfer this sense to a living person. The fact that the person it refers to should be mainly a woman (since it is rarely used for males) is also to be expected, if the sexism of most societies is taken into account.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **στραγγίζω** [streŋ'ʝizo]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **στραντζίζω** [stre'ndziz:ɔ] C(S)G allomorph: **στραγγώ** [stre'ŋɔ]

Common meaning(s):

1a. to drain sth off.

1b. to pour off; to separate liquid.

1c. to filtrate sth. through.

1d. to sieve sth.

2. (metaph., coll.) to let sth. drain sb. completely physically or mentally.
[ελνστ. στραγγίζω]

C(S)G meaning(s):

a. to dry up; to deplete (e.g. a water source). (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1147)

Ex.: *Η ιδέα της επανένωσης εν έσει πιον καλύφην, ούτε τζαι η μαντείδα του ονείρου έσει δάφνην. Η λαλέουσα πηγή της αλήθκειας εν υπάρχει πιον. **Εστράντζισεν** τζαι το λαλών ύδωρ της ορπιδας. (<http://acerasanthropophorum.blogspot.gr/2007/04/blog-post.html>)*

b. to feel or be parched (due to an acute feeling of thirst).

Ex.: *Καλά κόρη, πάμε γιατί ώσπου να έρτω, **εστράντζισεν** ο καταπιννάς μου. (Πολυδώρου 2003: 135)*

*Κωστής: **Εστράντζισεν** το στόμαν μου. Μαρία: Εν που την αγωνίαν. Πκιε αλλόναν βρόκκον νερόν. (Κουκίδης 2007β: 41)*

c. (metaph.) to become depleted, to cease to exist.

Ex.: *Ετελειώσαν οι γιορτές μπαίνουμην στην ευθείαν / τζαι εν χαρίζουμην ποσώς ψήφον ούτε τζαι μίαν. / Το σέβας όσον είχαμην **εστράτζισεν** τζαι τζείνον / ακούω τους τζαι φύρνομαι σιήφκω χαμέ τζαι φτύνω. (<http://www.haravgi.com.cy/uploads/upload/files/2005104312.pdf>)*

***Εστράτζισεν** το λάδι σου που είσιες στο καντήλιν / τζαι το φιτίλιν σου έσβησεν μιας Κυριακής το δείλις / αντάν ο ήλιος έδυε τζ' ανάφκαν τα λυχνάρκα / το σκότος καταβρόχθιζε τ' άχνα σου απομεινάρκα / τζιαι η ψυσιή η ανόθευτη επέτασεν τζαι πάει/ τζ' έμεινε τ' άψυχο κορμί τζ' ασάλευτο γρικάει / τους πόνους τζαι τους στεναγμούς τες φτώσειες τζιαι την πείνα / τα βάσανα άγρια τζύμματα στο βράχο σου που σβήναν. (<http://www.haravgi.com.cy/uploads/upload/files/050794654.pdf>)*

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

Analysis:

The Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 515) and the Χατζηιωάννου (1996: 181) dictionaries contain only the common meanings of the verb. The Κυπρή (1989: 162 and 2002: 448) glossaries only present the active meaning of ‘to drain something until it is dried up’ that is probably the meaning from which the current C(S)G meaning evolved as an extension of that original sense.

Whether the only C(S)G dictionary (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1147) that includes any senses apart from the common ones makes reference to the sense (b) and (c) above, is not clear, since it does not provide the semantic content of the verb, but only a translational equivalent in SMG and English and does not include any examples to clarify the meaning. Therefore, we assume that it only refers to the literal meaning of the lemma, namely (a).

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **σώνω** ['sɔnɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **σώννω** ['sɔn:ɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

- 1a. (coll., usually pass.) to be consumed or spent.
- 1b. (phr.) *σώθηκε το λάδι του / το καντήλι του*, his time is up.
- 1c. to condense a liquid through boiling.
- 1d. (obs.) for sb. who has lost too much weight.
- 1e. (for abstract notions) to deplete sth.: (phr.) *σώθηκαν τα ψέματα*, the situation is critical and there is not room any more for postponement or evasion.
2. (coll.) a. to reach sth. that is high up with my hand.
b. to accomplish sth., to live to do sth. mainly in phraseologisms, such as: (oath) *να μη σώσω (να...), αν (δεν)...*: *Να μη σώσω να δω άσπρη μέρα, αν σου λέω ψέματα.* (curse) *να μη σώσει*, to perish, to die. *(να) μη σώσει και έρθει / απαντήσει κτλ.*, for expressing complete indifference. *να μην έσωνα να μιλούσα / να το 'κανα / να πήγαινα κτλ.*, when one does sth. that then regrets bitterly.

Common meaning(s):

1. (phr.) *σώνει και καλά / καλά και σώνει*, for sth. one intends with every fibre of his/her being.
2. (oral., coll.) to save sb. or sth. from sth. [μσν. σώνω < αρχ. σώζω μεταπλ. με βάση το συνοπτ. θ. σωσ- κατά το σχ.: χασ- (έχασα) – χάνω]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. to be strong enough to lift sth. up. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 527, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 185, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1178, Κυπρή 2003: 436, Κυπρή 1989: 52, Κυπρή 2002: 461)

Ex.: *Μαρούλλα: Κρεμμαλλίστου πάνω στο σιέρι μου να δεις που σε σώννω. Πετρή: Εν με σώννεις. Είμαι βαρετός.* (Κουκίδης 2010:17)

2. to have the courage to do sth.; to bear up. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 527, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1178, Κυπρή 1989: 52)

Ex.: *Το σπίτι εν ένα χάος αλλά εν το τελευταίο που σώννω να κάμω. Βασικά εν σώννω να κάμω τίποτε άμα φτάσω τζαι κάτσω.* (http://tatsologio.blogspot.com/2012/03/blog-post_07.html)

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

Εν επήα πούποτε, είμαι κατασκοτωμένος με τα βαψίματα, τριψίματα, βερνικώματα τζιαί εν σώννω. (<http://www.twistedness.com/2012/04/contest-solutions.html#ixzz1s2Km1KGN>)

3. (metaph.) to be able to, to have the strength to do sth. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1178, Κυπρή 2002: 461)

Εχ.: *Μόλις το άκουσα τούτον τζαι εθυνηθήκα το, τζαι βάλλω σας το δαμέ αν έχει κανέναν που δεν το ξέρει. Είχα άλλα ποστ στο νου μου, αλλά ο νους μου εν σώννει ούτε για κάτι εχτός τούτου, οπότε εντζόϊ.* (http://paintitmoonlight.blogspot.com/2010_09_01_archive.html)

Έτσι τζιαί αλλιώς, όπως παν τα πράματα, κανέννας δεν ημπόρει πκιον να κυβερνήσει μόνος του. Στην Ελβετιάν έσειει 80 χρόνια που κυβερνούν ούλοι μαζίν γιατί κανέννας δεν σώννει την ενότηταν του κράτους μόνος του. Το μοτέλλον Κυβέρνηση αντιπολίτευση εν ποσπασμένον. (<http://strovliotis.wordpress.com/2011/12/05/%CF%84%CE%BF-%CF%84%CE%AD%CE%BB%CE%BF%CF%82-%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%82-%CE%B1%CE%BD%CF%89%CE%BC%CE%B1%CE%BB%CE%AF%CE%B1%CF%82-%CE%BA%CE%B1%CE%B9-%CE%BC%CE%B9%CE%B1-%CE%B4%CE%BF%CF%85%CE%BB%CE%B5%CE%B9/>)

Analysis:

According to Ανδριώτης (1960: 114) the sense to 'be or become equal to' the verb in C(S)G evolved into the sense of 'to suffice; to be strong enough to do sth.' in the literal meaning of sense (1) above. From that first literal meaning evolved the other senses, as is usual, with the help of the process of metaphor and extension of the original meaning. If someone is strong enough to do something, then (s)he is equally strong to lift something and also has the courage to go through with something either literally or metaphorically.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **φτενός** [fte'nɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **φτανός** [fte'nɔs]

SMG meaning(s):

(coll.) sb. who is thin; lean. [μσν. φτενός <πτενός με ανομ. τρόπου άρθρ. [pt > ft], ίσως < αρχ. πτηνός `φτερωτός']

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. (for inanimate objects) fine; finespun. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 595, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 211, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1326, Κυπρή 2002: 500, Κυπρή 2003: 44, Κυπρή 1989: 245, Σακελλάριος 1891b: 849)

Ex.: *Εν φτανόν το φουστάνιν σου, για τούτον κρυώννεις.* (C.L.)

Η πατανία εν φτανή τζιαι 'να ρυάσει το μωρόν.
<http://pattixa.wordpress.com/%CE%BA%CF%85%CF%80%CF%81%CE%B9%CE%B1%CE%BA%CF%8C%CE%BD-%CE%B3%CE%BB%CF%89%CF%83%CF%83%CE%AC%CF%81%CE%B9%CE%BD/>

1b. watery; thin. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1326)

Ex.: *Ψής' μου έναν καφέν φτανόν, γιατί έχω τζαι πίεσην!* (F.L.)

Εν πολλά φτανή η μουστάρδα σας! (M.L.)

1c. (metaph., for inanimate objects) fine; gossamer.

Ex.: *Επειδή όμως ο ουρανός τόπους-τόπους ήταν φτανός, που τον εγλείφαν τα βούδκια, για τούτον την νύχταν, επειδή που πάνω είναι ολόφωτος, έφεγγεν τόπους-τόπους τζιαι πάνω στην γην τζ' έτσι εγινήκαν τ' άστρα.*
<http://epilogi.wordpress.com/page/3/>

1d. (for earth) barren. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 595, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1326, Κυπρή 2003: 44)

Ex.: *Τούτον το χωράφιν εν πολλά φτανόν.* (C.L.)

2. foolish, stupid. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 595, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 211)

Ex.: *Βασικά ένεν αγγλικά, απλά ενόμιζα ότι έγγραφα στα ελληνικά τζιαι που εγύρισα στην οθόνη μετά που κανένα 10λεπτο έπιαν με ο ταμπλάς. Έγραφα στα αγγλικά ο φτανός.* (<http://www.fournofkios.com/2011/07/>)

Κανένας άλλος τρόπος δεν υπήρχε να τον ξέρει αν είναι «φτανός, αγαθός»

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

όπως έλεγε ο λαός. Υπήρχαν μάλιστα και διαβαθμίσεις που είχε ακούσει. «Μεν την παρεξηγάς, εν λλίον **φτανή**» ή «βάλλεις τον νου σου μαζί του, εν κατάπελλος». (Πολυδώρου 2008: 300)

3. (for humans, pl.) **τα φτανά**, the testicles. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 595, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 211, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1326)

Ex.: Ως "τέχνη" της είχε το "ζύασμα των μωρών" [ζύαζε = σταύρωνε αριστερό πόδι με δεξί χέρι και αντίστροφα για να ξεπιαστούν τα μωρά] και μου είναι αδύνατο να σβήσω από τη μνήμη μου τη μυρωδιά του ζεστού μαστιχόλαδου που η κ. Ελένη με άλειψε, γιατί "εκάτσαν τα **φτανά** του μωρού, Ελένη" έλεγε η μάμμα μου Ελισάβετ, "έλα να το ζυάσεις". (<https://politis.com.cy/article/kai-lemonanthoi-sto-xoma>)

Κλωτσούσαν τους μες στα **φτανά** τζ' εν ούλλοι τσακρισμένοι! (C.Y.)

4. (pl.) **τα φτανά**, pork ribs.

Ex.: Σε άλλους [αρέσουν] τα αγαπημένα τους κολοκυθάκια τηγανητά με μανιτάρια, χόρτα εποχής και αυγά. Για να μην αναφέρω τα **φτανά** (παγιδάκια χοιρινά), το συκωτάκι, το φιλλέτο, την μπριζόλα, το χαλούμι που το κάνουμε οι ίδιοι, ακόμα και τις πατάτες τις τηγανητές απο το δικό μας χωράφι καθώς και όλα τα λαχανικά, λέγοντας μας όλοι για τις υπέροχες σαλάτες μας. (<http://www.findme.com.cy/index.php/component/joomgalaxy/Entry-Detail/505-SQUARE%20TAVERN%20STRAPPOS%20COSTAS>)

Λοιπόν καταρχάς, η νηστεία δεν είναι τόσο κακή γιατί βοηθά τον οργανισμό μας να κάμει μια μικρή αποτοξίνωση! Ξέρετε από όλες εκείνες τις σούβλες και τις σεφτιαλές και τα **φτανά** και τα χαλούμια κτλ κτλ... (<http://zafeirenia.com/index.php/2016/04/12/zafeirenia-enteka-logoi-gia-na-nistepseis/>)

Analysis:

C(S)G sense (1) appears to identical to the SMG meaning, but there is a difference between them: the SMG sense applies only to humans, while the C(S)G one only to inanimate objects. It is though probable, that the C(S)G is either an extension of the SMG or a parallel evolution.

The dictionaries of Κυπρή (2002: 500 and 1989: 245), Σακελλάριος (1891b: 849), Παπαγγέλου (2001: 1326) and Χατζηιωάννου (1996: 211) also include a 'poor' sense that according to our informant is now obsolete. It cannot be discarded that it was this meaning that led to the second C(S)G meaning as an intermediate one, since a synonym for 'foolish' or 'idiotic' in SMG is sb. who has *φτωχό μυαλό* [ftɔ'xɔ#ɲɛ'lɔ], lit. 'poor mind'.

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

The C(S)G 3rd sense is recorded in many of the dictionaries, but it also appears to have another meaning that has been rendered obsolete, either that of ‘the lower abdomen’ (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 595, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 211, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1326) or ‘of the part of the human bodies between the ribs and the pelvis’ (Κυπρή 1989: 245 and 2002: 500). The Σακελλάριος (1891b: 849) dictionary that is by far the oldest and records meanings that have disappeared from the language, also proposes that they could be ‘the part surrounding the vulva towards the abdomen’.

The sense recorded by the two Κυπρή (1989: 245 and 2002: 500) dictionaries above could have led to the 4th meaning, since it could be considered to denote ribs in general and therefore apply to pork ribs.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **χτικιάρης** [xti'çeris]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **χτιτζιάρης** [xti'tʃeris]

SMG meaning(s):

sickly.

Common meaning(s):

consumptive. [μσν. κτικιάρης με ανομ. τρόπου άρθρ. [kt > xt] < κτικ(ιό)(δες στο χτικιό) -ιάρης]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. dirty; filthy. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1380)

Ex.: «Ρε πατσιόγερε», λαλεί του, «είντα 'ν που τάκαμες τα ριάλια μου πούταν δαχαμαί;» -«τα ριάλια σου; ... εν εία τίποτε, γυιέ μου», λαλεί του, «'ετσι πράμαν εγιώ». -«Εν είες ρε βρομόγερε, ρε **χτιτζιάρη**, λαλεί του, «κανέννας που δαχαμαί εν έρεξεν τζιαι πκοιός είθεν να το πκιάσει;...». (http://noctoc-noctoc.blogspot.com.cy/2011/12/blog-post_21.html)

1b. (metaph.) dirty; filthy.

Ex.: Βάλτε επίσης στην εξίσωση ότι είσαι ο μόνος που πίνει μαζί με 2-3 άλλους singles και 2-3 άλλους απελπισμένους παπάδες αλκοόλ και είσαι μέσα. Α ναι ξέχασα. Επίσης είσαι εξόριστος στην άκρη της αυλής μαζί με τις τσουκνίδες γιατί είσαι **χτιτζιάρης** τζαι καπνίζεις. Εσύ και οι 5-6 που ανέφερα πιο πάνω. http://cyprus-critics.blogspot.com/2011_06_01_archive.html

2. (metaph.) mean; angry.

Ex.: ... τι ακριβώς σου έκαμαμε τζαι εσεις αυτή την εμμονη να αποδείξεις πως είσαι ο ορίτζιναλ αριστερός; εν εκατάλαβες πως κανέννας αριστερός στην ιστορία δεν ήταν τόσο **χτιτζιάρης** με τους ανθρώπους; γιατί μας κυνηγάς όπου πάμε φίλε μου; εν μέθοδος λογοκρισίας τούτη; <http://strovliotis.wordpress.com/2011/10/13/%CE%B7-%CF%80%CE%AF%CE%BA%CF%81%CE%B1-%CF%83%CE%AE%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%81%CE%B1/>

Analysis:

Except the Παπαγγέλου (2001: 1380) dictionary, the rest that do include the lemma (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 613, Κυπρή 1989: 59) provide only the oldest meaning, that is the common one, 'consumptive', dating probably from the era when the disease claimed many lives. The C(S)G sense of 'dirty' in both its forms

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

(lit. and metaph.) is possibly more recent and it appears to have evolved from the noun *χτιτζίον* [xti'tʃɔn], 'dirt' and 'stink', first literally, but quite possibly soon afterwards metaphorically. From that metaphorical meaning has probably evolved the second C(S)G meaning of someone who is 'mean' or 'angry'.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.2. Semantic divergence and morphological convergence

SMG lemma: **χτικιό** [xti'çɔ]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **χτιτζιόν** [xti'tʃɔn]

Common meaning(s):

1. (coll., obs.) consumption; pulmonary tuberculosis.
2. (coll., metaph.) tiredness; ordeal. [kt > xt] < κτικ(ιάζω) (δες στο χτικιάζω) -ιό (αναδρ. σχημ.)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. stink; awful smell. (Κυπρή 2003: 240, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1380, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 219)

Ex.: *Χωρκάτικον είναι Να βρωμουν οι μασχάλες σου χτιτζιον, τζε νάσε ο μόνος που έν περνει πρέφαν.* (http://xorkatikonblogspot.com/2008_07_01_archive.html)

Εβάψαν μας το γραφείον τζαι ήταν χτιτζιό που την μυρωθκιάν. (D.P.)

- 2a. (extreme) filth; dirt.

Ex.: *Εν χτιτζιό δαμέσα! Πότε καθάρισες τελευταία φορά; (C.L.)
Να κάτσω να καθαρίζω λλίο, εν χτιτζιό.* (Y.VERB)

- 2b. (metaph.) slattern; filth.

Ex.: *Φαίνεται εν με ξέρει καλά, έχω να το πνίξω το μπάσταρτο της παρά να δώκω στο γιο μου τέτοιο χτιτζιό.* (Πολυδώρου 2003: 111)

Analysis:

The C(S)G dictionaries make reference only to the first common meaning (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 613, Κυπρή 2003: 240, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1380, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 219) or to the first C(S)G meaning above, which are the first meanings of the lemmas. The (2a,b) meanings are not mentioned in any of the C(S)G dictionaries, possibly because they developed fairly recently as extensions of the first meaning.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.3. Semantic and grammatical divergence

5.2.3 Semantic and grammatical divergence

SMG lemma: καταλαβαίνω [ketele'veno]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: καταλάβω [kete'levo]

C(S)G allomorph: καταλαβαίννω [ketele'v:eni:] / καταλαβίσκω [ketele'visko] / καταλάω [kete'leo]

SMG meaning(s):

- 1a. (phr.) χωρίς να το καταλάβουμε, too quickly or too easily.
- 1b. (phr.) δεν καταλαβαίνει από λόγια, it is not enough to provide advice or threats in order to make sb. abide by sth.
- 1c. (phr.) κάνε / πες / δώσε ό,τι καταλαβαίνεις, anything you may consider correct or enough.
- 1d. (phr.) μαζί μιλάμε και χώρια* καταλαβαίνουμε.
2. (phr.) του δίνω και καταλαβαίνει: a. with my behavior, my actions to show to sb. that he/she is not in a position to laugh at me or undermine me. b. to consume a big quantity of sth. or to use it to excess.

Common meaning(s):

- 1a. to know the language or any other means of communication that sb. is using.
- 1b. to understand by means of my senses.
- 2a. to capture the meaning, the sense of sth.
- 2b. to know very well, to have occupied myself with sth.
- 2c. to have a clear image of reality, of the reasons and motives behind an action or behavior.
- 2d. to show understanding or empathy.
- 2e. to understand the bad properties of sb.
- 2f. (pass. oral. only in pl. of the present tense): Καταλαβαινόμαστε, to understand one another or to show understanding for one another.
- 2g. to form an opinion, to have a personal understanding regarding sth.
3. (metaph., oral.) for sth. that satisfies me completely and I enjoy. [μον. καταλαβαίνω < αρχ. καταλαμβάνω `κυριεύω, κυριεύω με το μυαλό, εννοώ' μεταπλ. κατά το λαμβάνω > λαβαίνω]

5.2.3. Semantic and grammatical divergence

C(S)G meaning(s):

~ *pers. pron. ACC.*, to know, identify sb., understand who they are.

Ex.: *Ήταν ο Χάρης; Εν τον εκατάλαβα. (G.G.)*

*Εγώ χαιρετώ κόσμο επειδή ξέρω ότι τον ξέρω, αλλά δεν ξέρω πόθεν τους ξέρω, τζαι τούτο καταλάβω το μετά που τους χαιρετώ... άρα εν πάει να πω μετά "εντωμεταξύ έντζαι **εκατάλαβα** σε...". τζαι το θεϊκό όταν μου μιλούν, δεν αντρέπουμε να πω ότι ξέρεις εν τζαι **εκατάλαβα** σε, απλά εν μου φκαίνει τζίνη την ώρα, τζαι μετά εν του λέιτ. (http://mania.blogspot.com/2012/01/blog-post_30.html)*

*Γεια σας, ήρτα για μιαν επιστολή... - Γεια σας, τί επιστολή? ("έτσι χαμόγελο", ξέρω τον που πριν 15 χρόνια τούτον... εν με **εκατάλαβεν** αλόπως...) - Ξέρω σε που κάπου? Που τότε, στο κολυμβητήριο του Λέλλου? - Ναι, εγώ **εκατάλαβα** σε μόλις εμπήκες Τάκη ("έτσι χαμόγελο", είδες ότι σε θυμήθηκα πρώτη?) (http://chezneerie.blogspot.com/2011_03_01_archive.html)*

Analysis:

None of the C(S)G dictionaries present a semantic differentiation to the meanings that are common between the two varieties. The reason could be that the morphological differentiation between the two lemmas is to be expected based on the different morphological characteristics of the two varieties, so it is not correlated with any semantic differentiation. The second reason is probably that the semantic divergence that exists is truly a minor one that can easily be overlooked.

This pair exhibits a difference or a tendency in the grammatical properties of the C(S)G lemma that are combined with syntax to produce the slight semantic differentiation between the lemmas. The SMG lemma may appear with a personal pron in a similar manner to the C(S)G syntax (apart from the position of the clitic, before the verb in SMG and after the verb in C(S)G), but that would usually be in the perfect aspect (it could also appear in the simple aspect), while the C(S)G appears main in the simple aspect and this is among the characteristics that have led or at the very least accompany the semantic divergence.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.3. Semantic and grammatical divergence

SMG lemma: **που** ['pu]

Grammatical category: conj.

C(S)G lemma: **που** ['pu]

Common meaning(s)¹⁶¹:

a conj. that introduces subordinate clauses:

1. temporal, usually accompanied by an adverb or adverbial expression.

1a. for an action that is taking place simultaneously with the main clause.

1b. *εκεί ~ / τη στιγμή ~ / την ώρα ~ / τώρα ~ / τότε ~*, while:

1b₁. for an action that is unfolding and it is interrupted by the action of the main clause.

1b₂. for an action that occurs simultaneously with the action of the main clause.

1c. *όσο ~ να*, for an action that is expected to occur in the immediate future.

1d. *κάθε (φορά) ~*, for an action that occurs identically in the past, present and future.

1e₁. for an action that precede temporally the action of the main clause.

1e₂. for the moment in time when what the main clause expresses begins to occur. [μσν. *που* (δες στο *που*)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(temp. conj.) when, as soon as: it is a temporal conjunction that introduces a temporal subordinate clause expressing an action that precedes temporally the action expressed by the main clause. (Κυπρή 2002: 403)

Ex.: **Που** τέλειωσε η εκκλησιά, πήγα σπίτι μου. (Παπασταύρου 1994: 119)

Που φτάσαμε στο κέντρο, κατεβήκαμε από το αυτοκίνητο και μπήκαμε στο κέντρο. (Παπασταύρου 1994: 119 κ.ε.)

Που έφυγε [η δασκάλα] λυπηθήκαμε, επειδή δε μας έβαλεν πολλά μαθήματα... (Παπασταύρου 1994: 119 κ.ε.)

¹⁶¹ The conj. is used in the common between the two varieties meanings in order to introduce many kinds of subordinate clauses, such as causatives, consecutive, etc. that do not have any bearing on our research, they would merely show that the conj. has many uses. We have decided in this case to focus on the senses that relate to the C(S)G rather than on an exhaustive list of the common meanings.

5.2.3. Semantic and grammatical divergence

Analysis:

There is another conj. *που* [ˈpu] that differs semantically from the SMG lemma (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 972, Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 56), since it signifies ‘from’ instead of ‘that’¹⁶². We have chosen not to include it in this entry, since it is not actually the same conj. as the one we are researching. It derives from the conj. *από* [eˈpo], ‘from’ that has undergone phonetic change in accordance with the phonetic system of the C(S)G and it currently coincides both morphologically and phonetically with the conj. in this entry. Since common ancestry is one of the criteria we follow, we decided it could not be included among the false friends between the two varieties.

The only dictionary mentioning the C(S)G lemma is one of the glossaries edited by Κυπρή (2002: 403), although it is a rather dated sense, since it is attested by the medieval dictionary of Κριαράς online.

We have chosen to include this pair of false friends among grammatical, because this lemma is actually a functional word, i.e. a grammatical conjunction with different use resulting in semantic diversification.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

¹⁶² Examples of use for that lemma: **Που** τότες που έχασεν την μάναν της, εν είδεν άσπρην μέραν. (Σάββα 2009: 11), *Μεν μάσεισαι, όποια προλάβει, εσού είσαι ικανή να μου γυρίσεις τα νερά μες στο σπίτι μου για να τα φύεις που το δικό σου.* (Πολυδώρου 2009: 424) *Τι θέλεις που μένα;* (Παπασταύρου 1994: 100).

5.2.4 Semantic and syntactic divergence

SMG lemma: **κοντεύω** [kɔ'ndevɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **κοντεύκω** [kɔ'ndɛfkɔ]

Common meaning(s):

1. to approach, to come nearer to a certain point, either local or temporal: *Κοντεύουμε στο χωριό; Κοντεύει Πάσχα. Η ώρα κοντεύει δώδεκα. Κοντεύουν μεσάνυχτα. Θα κοντεύει τα ογδόντα, (s)he is approaching eighty, is almost eighty years old.*

2. *κοντεύω να...:* a. to be close to a limit. b. I am in danger of ..., I almost... [μσν. *κοντεύω < κοντ(ά) -εύω*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(trans.) (object in the GEN. case) to approach sb. or sth. that exists in space, locally. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 232)

Ex.: *Να σου δώκω να πιτίσεις [αντικουνουπικό] να μεν σου **κοντέψει** τίποτε.* (T.L.)

***Εκόντεψεν** μιαν ημέραν της μητέρας του να της μιλήσει τζαι είπεν του «όι τωρά, έχω πάρα πολλές δουλειές», τζαι εγύρισέν του την ράσιν της.* (Σάββα 2009: 81)

*Ο Κλεαθθής εκούνταν το ποδήλατόν του που 'σιεν δκυο τσέντες κρεμμασμένες πάσ' στο τιμόνιν τζι' **εκόντεφκε** της αυλής της.* (Σάββα 2009: 52)

*Μεν μου **κοντέφκεις**.* (C.L.)

*Να τους κάμνουμεν να παίρνουσιμ πουρλόττον τζαι να μεν τους αφήννουμεν να μας **κοντέψουν**.* (Μόντης 1988γ: 199)

Analysis:

This pair of false friends is categorized among the syntactic ones, since the syntactic differentiation appears in a specific case, when the object referred to is considered in a local sense. In C(S)G, when the approach takes place in space, the object approached is in the GEN. case, in contrast to the syntax the verb presents in SMG, which is that the object is in the ACC. case.

Another differentiation that renders the C(S)G usage peculiar for SMG native speakers is the fact that the C(S)G verb is used to denote that 'sb. approaches sb. else', which may not be unexpected for them, since in SMG the verb is only used to

5.2.4. Semantic and syntactic divergence

denote ‘to approach a place or condition’, but when the object approaches is a person, the verb *πλησιάζω* [plisi'ezɔ] would be used and it would be either in the ACC case or (rarely) with a prepositional adjunct in the ACC case as well (e.g. *πλησιάζω σε κάποιον*).

The C(S)G verb appears to retain a medieval sense (Κριαράς online) that has disappeared from SMG, if it ever existed, since it is attested in only Cypriot medieval texts.

The other C(S)G dictionary apart from the Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 232) that includes the lemma, is that of Παπαγγέλου (2001: 497), but it merely renders the verb in the SMG morphologically, without any semantic differentiation, which indicates that the compiler does not consider that there is any semantic difference between the two lemmas, as the other dictionaries' compilers appear to believe. At the same time, the rendition of the verb in English that accompanies most entries is ‘to near, to approach’, which might constitute an indication that the differentiation is at some level understood, even if it is not clarified.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.4. Semantic and syntactic divergence

SMG lemma: παρατηρώ [pɛrɛtiˈrɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: παρατηρώ [pɛrɛtiˈrɔ]

Common meaning(s):

1. to observe.
2. to realize, notice sth. that is unfolding.
3. (pass., 3rd pers. sing.) sth. is noted, ascertained, etc.
4. to notice, to bring to the attention of sb.
5. to rebuke, reprimand sb. for sth. [λόγ.: 1, 2: αρχ. παρατηρῶ· 3: σημδ. γαλλ. observer· 4: κατά τη σημ. του παρατήρησης]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. to see, look carefully.

Ex.: Άνου πάνω γιε μου τζιαι λάμνουν τα νερά, εννά ξησειλήσει τ' αρκάτζιν τζιαι να τα πάρει ούλλα. Άνου να χαρείς, να **παρατηρήσεις**. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 13)

*Τότες λαλεί της ο Πετεινός : - Εξέβηκα πά'στην κοπριάν να 'βρω κουτζίν σιτάριν τζιαί κουτζίν κριθάριν να φάω τζι ηύρα έναν χαρτίν τζιαί γράφει ότι πρέπει να πάω στον Άϊν Τάφον. - **Παρατήρα** να δούμεν αν είμαι τζι εγιώ μέσα. Λαλεί του η αυτοτζηνάρα.*

(http://news.karpasha.com/index.php?id=2615:&option=com_content&view=article)

2. to perceive, to grasp sth. or sb.

Ex.: Το άρθρο της σημερινής, τζιαι το ύφος **παρατήρα** σε παρακαλώ! Θεϊκόν! - Εν της όμορφης ελληνίδας Τζι' ύστερα λαλείς μου να μεν με πιάννουν τα υπαρξιακά! Ήνταλως με τούτα να μεν συγχιστεί ο κόσμος;! (http://newgreekcypriot.blogspot.com/2012/02/blog-post_08.html)

3. to look for sth.

Ex.: Εν έσεις βιβλία που να γράφουν τη γλώσσα μου, να μπορώ να διαβάζω; Να **παρατηρήσω** να σου έβρω. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 189)

Analysis:

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include the lemma among their entries, possibly due to the lack of overt dialectal markers and their belief that since it appears to be identical to the SMG lemma, their semantic content is also identical.

5.2.4. Semantic and syntactic divergence

The (1) C(S)G sense and the (1) common sense appear to be identical, thus corroborating the belief of the C(S)G dictionaries' compilers that the two lemmas have the same semantic content. There is a syntactical differentiation between the two, though, that renders them awkward cognates and leading us to consider them syntactic false friends. The common meanings are all senses that characterize a transitive verb with different types of objects (nouns and subordinate clauses), while the C(S)G meanings are not necessarily accompanied by an object rendering the C(S)G lemma intransitive in the (1) sense and transitive in the (2) sense.

The reason behind our choice to consider them partial instead of total false friends lies in the fact that this verb is quite commonly employed in the school jargon for many subjects and Greek Cypriots are expected to be familiar with it to such a degree, that they might not perceive it without a doubt as an SMG verb

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

5.2.5 Semantic and phraseological divergence

SMG lemma: **αγγούρι** [e'ŋguri]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **αγγούριν** [e'ŋguriⁿ]

SMG meaning(s):

1a. (inf., metaph.) a tough case; sth. difficult.

1b. (inf., metaph.) gawky; corny; foolish.

2. (interj., usually in the plural) αγγούρια! characterizes as foolish or corny sth. that was said.

C(S)G meaning(s):

a. (phr.) (*έσει*) ~ *του Ππίνγκου*, an event or something that does not exist or is impossible that it will happen or be done by anyone, especially the speaker. Used in an exclamatory manner to express the disagreement or displeasure of the speaker.

Ex.: *Τώρα ρε, εθθαρτει ο σιειμωνα, ρε, εννα ρκεται να κλαιει να τον βαλω εσσω τζιαι να τον ταισω, αλλα εννα **σιει αγκουριν του ππινγκου!*** (sic) (http://pastakarvouna.blogspot.com/2010/11/blog-post_3428.html)

***Αγγούρι του Ππίνγκου!** Σιγά μεν δώκω 70 ευρώ για τούντην παλιοφανέλλα!* (<http://www.cyslang.com/dictionary/%CE%B1%CE%B3%CE%B3%CE%BF%CF%8D%CF%81%CE%B9-%CF%84%CE%BF%CF%85-%CF%80%CF%80%CE%AF%CE%B3%CE%BA%CE%BF%CF%85/>)

b. (phr.) *έσει* ~, an event or something that does not exist or is impossible that it will happen or be done by anyone, especially the speaker. Used in an exclamatory manner to express the disagreement or displeasure of the speaker (Γιαγκουλλής 2005b: 77).

Ex.: *Έχετε δει το... αγγούρι-γίγας (με το συμπάθιο) που έχουν καλλιεργήσει στους κήπους του Προεδρικού και το δείχνουν σε όποιον αξιώσει την παραίτηση του Προέδρου Χριστόφια, με τη χαρακτηριστική φράση απαξίωσης «**έσει αγγούριν**» (και πάλι με το συμπάθιο);* (<http://www.sigmalive.com/simerini/anafandon/414457>)

c. *αγγούρκα τορφαντά*¹⁶³: i. (obs.) tender lies (Γιαγκουλλής 2005b: 9), ii. sth. that has been said is characterized as foolish.

¹⁶³ It also appears as *αγγούρια τροφαντά* [e'ŋgurje#trɔfe'nde] with the adjective exhibiting a morphological and phonetic variation that is quite common in Greek and both the noun and the

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

Ex.: *Να το πούμε στην καθ'ομιλουμένη- Αγγούρκα τροφαντά.*
(<http://www.philenews.com/el-gr/koinonia-eidiseis/160/316662/i-ethniki-frouara-allazei-se-ola-ta-epipeda-symfona-me-ton-yp-amynas>)
(posted as a comment to a Cypriot newspaper's article on the changes to be effected to the National Guard, the army of the Republic of Cyprus).

Analysis:

The noun *αγγούρι(ν)* [e'ŋguri⁽ⁿ⁾] means 'a long, green-skinned fruit with watery flesh, usually eaten raw in salads or pickled; cucumber'. This pair is only false friend with regard to its phraseological units, since the nouns that constitute the core of the pair are actually cognates.

Both C(S)G collocations mean the same and apparently the second is an abbreviated form of the first. The definition we have used is the one proposed by the slang website for the C(S)G (<http://www.cyslang.com/dictionary>) with minor alterations. The same website also notes that the word *Πίνγκου* is actually a proper name belonging to a man who (supposedly) lived at Chloraka village in the Pafos area and used to grow cucumbers of unparalleled good quality. It is not confirmed and we cannot be certain, but it could explain the expression, or on the other hand it could merely be folk etymology.

The C(S)G dictionaries that mention the noun. *αγγούρι*, 'cucumber' identify it with the SMG noun, without any reference in any idiomatic expressions. The Γιαγκουλλής (2005a) phraseological dictionary presents the meaning of the second collocation as "a negative answer given to sb. asking for something preposterous" and for the third idiomatic expression, only its obsolete meaning. The same dictionary presents meaning (c) that apparently is in essence the same as the SMG (b.II) meaning also used in the plural. The C(S)G is coupled by an adjective amplifying the sense of 'outrageous' that is present in the C(S)G meaning.

Type: **total** false friend

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

adjective rendered in the SMG variant, probably in an effort to write in the SMG variety, as Greek Cypriots are taught in school that the written word is the realm of the standard variety: *Αγγούρια τροφαντά. Ξεπούλημα της Εναπομεινουσας (sic) αναγνωρισμένης κυπριακής δημοκρατίας.*
(<http://www.philenews.com/el-gr/top-stories/885/323733/diapragnateyseis-simantiki-proodos-se-nomothetiki-dikastiki-kai-ektelestiki-exousia>)

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

SMG lemma: **αυτόματος** [e'ftɔmɛtɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **αυτόματος** [e'ftɔmɛtɔs]

Common meaning(s):

1. (of an action or motion) done or occurring spontaneously, without conscious thought or attention, automatic.
2. (of a device or process) working by itself with little or no direct human control.

C(S)G meaning(s):

(phr.) *κατσαρόλλα αυτόματη* or *αυτόματη*, pressure cooker.

Ex.: *Πρωτα πρωτα, για το τουρμπο εφφεκτ θέλεις κατσαρόλλα αυτόματη, χυτρα ταχυτητας ελλινιστί.* (http://istomageiremata.blogspot.com/2010_05_01_archive.html)

Μόλις πάρει ένα χόγλο, βάλλεις τες τομάτες λιωμένες τζιαι πιντώνεις λλιον νερο, σχέδον να τα χώσει τζιαι κλείεις την αυτόματην. (http://istomageiremata.blogspot.com/2010_05_01_archive.html)

Analysis:

The adjective *αυτόματος* [e'ftɔmɛtɔs] shares its meanings in both varieties and it is generally considered to belong to the high registers of speech in C(S)G. The meaning of the set phrase or collocation *αυτόματη κατσαρόλλα* [e'ftɔmɛti#kɛtsɔ'rɔlə] (adjective + noun) is 'pressure cooker', which in SMG is expressed by a different collocation, i.e. *χύτρα ταχύτητας* ['xitre#te'xitites]¹⁶⁴ (noun + noun GEN.). In the C(S)G collocation, the noun is often omitted and the adjective retains the article of the noun it used to accompany becoming this way a noun, so the noun *η αυτόματη* [i#e'ftɔmɛti] in the second example means 'pressure cooker'. In the SMG phraseologism, the process is the reverse, since instead of the noun, what is omitted is the second noun that functions as a qualifying adjective and the denotation 'pressure' is more often than not borne by the noun *χύτρα* ['xitre]. This type of false friends is a phraseological one, because as a single adjective, there is no semantic divergence whatsoever. It only becomes false friend with regard to the collocation

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include any of the words, possibly due to lack of overt dialectal markers.

Type: **partial** false friend

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

¹⁶⁴ The SMG collocation appears in the first example too, since the Cypriot writer is aware of the fact that non-Cypriot readers would not understand what (s)he is referring to.

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

SMG lemma: **άχρηστος** [ˈɛxristɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **άχρηστος** [ˈɛxristɔs]

Common meaning(s):

1a. not fulfilling or not expected to achieve the intended purpose or desired outcome, useless.

1b. having no ability or skill in a specified activity or area.

2. (scien) not used any more, obsolete. [αρχ. άχρηστος]

3. (phr.) *κάλαθος ακρήστων*, waste bin or wastepaper basket. (phr.) *πετώ κτ. στον κάλαθο των ακρήστων / κτ. είναι για τον κάλαθο των ακρήστων*, said for sth. useless, without any value.

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. (usually pl.) *τα άχρηστα*¹⁶⁵, garbage; waste.

Ex.: *Αποτέλεσμα αυτού είναι να έχουν στοιβαστεί ένα σωρός από μπάζα και ο κάθες ένας που θέλει να πετάξει τα **άχρηστα** του βρήκε την εύκολη λύση.*
(<http://fixcyprus.com/2311>)

*Πετάσσω τα σκουπίθκια του αυτοκινήτου μου μέσ τα γραδίθκια τους τα περιποιημένα. Αμαρτία ξομολοημένη. Πετάσσω έναν έναν τα **άχρηστα** μου με σατανικό γέλλιο, ηδονίζουμαι ο κκεραττάς.*
(http://diasporos.blogspot.com/2009_05_01_archive.html)

2. (phr., coll.) *κάμνω κάποιον άχρηστον (που το ξύλον)*, to beat sb. up.

Ex.: *Έλα ακτύπα τζαι να σου δώκω τζαμαί που ξέρεις να σε **κάμω άχρηστον**.*
(Μόντης 1988γ: 204)

3a. (phr., coll.) *κάμνω κάτι άχρηστον*, to mess sth. up; to make a mess of sth.

Ex.: ***Εκάμαν** το **άχρηστον** το Βαρώσιν.* (T.L.)

¹⁶⁵ The adjective *άχρηστος* [ˈɛxristɔs] in being usually combined with the noun *σκουπίδια* [skuˈpiðja] ‘waste’ (in the plural) or ‘garbage’ or the noun *αντικείμενα* [endiˈkimene] ‘objects’ or ‘things’ (in the plural), shed the noun and became lexicalized as a noun to such a degree that it is no longer certain what noun accompanied it. It was probably one of the two noun we mention, since the association with the notion of ‘garbage’ is intense and either one of the above-mentioned set phrases refers to it.

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

3b. ~ to befoul; to litter.

Ex.: Τρία τέταρτα αργότερα, κατάφερε να κόψει το δέντρο, **κάνοντας** φυσικά την αυλή **άχρηστη** με πριονίδια και κλαδιά. (http://drakouna.blogspot.com.cy/2006/03/blog-post_03.html)

Analysis:

Although the phraseologism *κάλαθος των αχρήστων* exists in the SMG, the meaning mostly used nowadays is the metaphorical one, of 'sth. useless'¹⁶⁶ and the literal appears to be antiquated, on its way to becoming obsolete. Regarding the 1st C(S)G meaning, i.e. 'garbage', C(S)G speakers have commented that it is used widely as such, signalling a higher register of speech, since the coll. is expressed by the plural noun *ποσκούπια* [pɔ'skuɾiðe] < από + σκουπίδια [e'pɔ + sku'piðje]. The C(S)G phraseological unit *κάμνω κάποιον άχρηστο* (που το ξύλον) does not exist in SMG, where its equivalent would be closely enough *σπάω κάποιον στο ξύλο* ['spɛɔ#stɔ#'ksilo], 'to beat sb. up'. It was probably this C(S)G phraseologism that gave the extended meaning collocations of 'to mess sth. up' and in continuation 'to befoul; to litter', since once you beat sb. up, they are bound to be messed up and resemble a toe-rag to such an extent as to be conceived that the result is having garbage littered all over. And if the parallel meaning of 'waste' and 'garbage' is taken into account, it is not difficult to realize the imagery that led to the meaning shift that took place.

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include any of the words or the phraseological units, possibly because they all coincide phonetically and morphologically with their SMG equivalents (except the verb *κάμνω*).

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

¹⁶⁶ Στον "κάλαθο των αχρήστων" το καλάθι του κ. Σκανδαλίδη (<http://www.avgi.gr/Article/Actionshow.action?articleID=610415>).

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

SMG lemma: **γεγονός** [jɛɣɔ'noɪs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **γεγονός** [jɛɣɔ'noɪs]

Common meaning(s):

1a. sth. that has happened in a given moment in time, a fact.

1b. (phr.) *τετελεσμένο* ~, fait accompli, sth. that has already happened or been decided before those affected hear about it, leaving them with no option but to accept it.

1c. (usually pl.) for events with a great significance.

1d. for sth. that is special.

2a. for sth. that is undisputed.

2b. (phr.) *το* ~ *είναι* *ότι...* ή *είναι* ~ *ότι...*, the truth, sth. actually is. [λόγ. < αρχ. *γεγονός*, μτχ. ουδ. του ρ. *γίνομαι*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(adverbially) indeed, really, undoubtedly.

Ex.: **Ως γεγονός** μπορούσε να μεταχειριστεί μια άλλη φράση η γρια, γιατί το «κατά βαρβάρων» θύμιζε σ' εντελώς ακατάλληλη στιγμή το «πάμε κατά βαρβάρων», δηλαδή «μας παίρνει το ποτάμι». (Μόντης 1987: 1523)

Analysis:

This lemma becomes a false friend only with regard to the phraseologism. The noun *γεγονός* [jɛɣɔ'noɪs] is a cognate in all the rest of its senses. The phraseologism *ως γεγονός* [ɔs#jɛɣɔ'noɪs] can be tricky, because it is possible to appear in SMG in order to denote 'as a fact'.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

SMG lemma: διπλώνω [ði'plɔnɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: διπλώννω [ði'plɔn:ɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

(coll.) to double in number.

Common meaning(s):

1a. to fold sth. in half.

1b. (pass. for persons) to bend my body forward.

2a. to wrap sth.

2b. (pass.) to cover sth. well with sth. else. [διπλ(ός) -ώνω (πρβ. αρχ. διπλωῶ ἔπαναλαμβάνω, ελνστ. σημ.: ἑδιπλασιάζω)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(metaph., phr.) to fold it, to give up or give in. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 252)

Ex.: Η Χώρα φαίνεται **τα δίπλωσε** και "πήγε διακοπές". ([http://www.politis-news.com/C\(S\)Gibin/hweb?-A=648658&-V=archivearticles&-p](http://www.politis-news.com/C(S)Gibin/hweb?-A=648658&-V=archivearticles&-p))

*Αυτά μπορεί να γίνονταν στο παρελθόν, δεν πρόκειται όμως να ξαναγίνουν. Ή πρέπει ν' αλλάξει τακτική ή να **τα διπλώσει** και να κάτσει ήσυχος στο σπίτι. (Σμυρλή 1997: 475)*

Analysis:

The only C(S)G dictionary that includes the meaning diverging semantically to the SMG lemma is that of Παπαγγέλου (2001: 252). Although we cannot be certain as to the reason for such an omission by the rest of the dictionaries, we surmise that it is a fairly recent meaning that would not be included in the Κυπρή glossaries (since they were originally compiled many decades ago) and the other dictionaries probably do not consider that it differs from the SMG lemma.

The C(S)G sense could be a calque from the English, a remnant of the British occupation of the island, since in English this meaning is also conveyed by the verb 'to fold', when it is used in a metaphorical manner. One of the ways in which meanings can be added to pre-existing words is through loan translation, as is probably the case here, when new meanings are added that have been borrowed from the equivalent verb in the source language.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

SMG lemma: **έλεος** ['eleos]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **έλεος** ['eleos]

Common meaning(s):

1a. mercy.

1b. (main. in biblical theology) God's love to humans who have sinned.

1c. (phr.) (βρίσκομαι / είμαι κτλ.) στο ~ του Θεού, to be completely helpless.

1d. (phr.) (είμαι) στο έλεος κάποιου, to be at sb.'s mercy.

2a. anything offered due to the fact that sb. feels merciful.

2b. charity.

2c. (έκφρ.) πλούσια τα ελέη σου, for generosity or abundance.

2d. δεν έχω ~, to be so penniless, so as not to be unable to give charity.

2e. (as an interj.) to ask for mercy or help. [λόγ. < ελνστ. έλεος τό < αρχ.έλεος
ό μεταπλ. σε ουδ. κατά το πάθος]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. (metaph., phr., act.) κάμνω έναν ~, to find a solution and improve the situation.

Ex.: Γιατί δεν **κάμνουν έναν έλεος** με το δρόμο του Lady's Mile; (radio station Κανάλι 6)

Άτε ρε, να χαρείς, πήαινε να **κάμεις έναν έλεος** με τες όρνιθες. (Κουκίδης 2007c: 92)

1b. (metaph., phr., pass.) γινήσκειται έναν ~, a solution is found.

Ex.: Δεν υποφέρεται πκιον τούτη η κατάσταση. Ή θα **γενεί έναν έλεος** ή θα δώσουμε την υπόθεση στην αστυνομία. (Κουκίδης 2007c: 77)

2. (metaph., phr.) έχω ~, to make sense, to be logical the way that sth. is presented.

Ex.: Αννοίω το ρόβιν, ολοκότσιηνον τζιαι ζουμερόν, αν ήταν η όψη γεύση ήταν να πεθάνω που την εφκαρίστησην. Έλα όμως που η όψη εν μόνον όψη. Το ρόβιν αν ήταν λεμόνιν ήταν **νάσιεν τζι έλεος**, τόσοον όξινον ήταν. (<http://pattixa.wordpress.com/>)

- Goldman Sucks..... έπρεπε να ήταν το σωστό όνομα! - Μα αν ηταν μόνο sucks θα **είσιεν έλεος**, goldman rules νομίζω ταιριάζει περισσότερο! (<http://newgreekcypriot.blogspot.com/2011/11/goldman-sachs.html>)

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

Analysis:

The phraseologism is not included in any of the C(S)G dictionaries and the only time it is mentioned, it is with its common meaning (Κυπρή 1989: 259). The first C(S)G sense is probably derived from a literal phrase 'to show mercy' or 'to give charity' that evolved through metaphor into a phraseologism in the (1a) sense and possibly later to the (1b) as well. The second C(S)G meaning probably evolved in a similar manner from a similar literal phrase as the first sense, but it focused on the fact that when someone has enough money, logically also gives to other people, and from that the 'logic' of the thought was retained and later applied in other contexts.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams:**inclusion**

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

SMG lemma: **έννοια** ['ɛnɐ]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **έννοια** ['ɛr:ɐ]

Common meaning(s):

1a. a worry for sth.

1b. troubling thoughts, troubles.

2. care for sth.: *Αυτή είχε όλη την ~ του σπιτιού.*

3. when combined with the possessive pron. it forms phraseologisms that may either soothe or threaten their recipient:

a. ~ σου, και δε θα χάσεις, to not worry, you will not lose out.

b. ~ σου, κι εγώ είμαι εδώ, to not worry, I will be here for you.

c. ~ σας παλιάνθρωποι, και θά 'ρθει η σειρά σας, not to worry scumbags, you 're next. [μσν. έγνοια (στη σημερ. σημ.) < αρχ. έννοια με ανομ. [nn > γη] και συνίζ. για αποφυγή της χασμ.· αρχ. έννοια με συνίζ. για αποφυγή της χασμ.]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. έχω ~, to worry about sth. or sb. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 713)

Ex.: *Να μεν μαραζώνεις, να δώκεις σημασία στα μαθήματά σου τζαι να μεν έσεις έννοια.* (Σάββα 2009: 95)

Εγιώ εννά σάσω τη μάνα σου, μεν έσεις έννοια, κατά που ταιρκάζει για το ταξίδι της. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 31)

Επέμενε η Λίζα, να πάει στο σπίτι της και να μην έχει έννοια για τα σεντόνια, δεν θα τους έπαιρναν δα και το κεφάλι, επειδή θα τα παρέδιδαν τη μεθεπομένη. (Πολυδώρου 2003: 273)

2. έχω την έννοια κάποιου, to care of sb., to look after sb.

Ex.: *Ήταν πολλά χρόνια φιλενάδες τζαι είχαν την έννοια η μια της άλλης.* (Σάββα 2009: 54)

Αυτοδιορίστηκε και δεύτερος επιστάτης και είχε και έννοια των άλλων μαστόρων να μεν κάμνουν της τζιεφαλής τους.
(<http://kaisitree.blogspot.com/2012/02/blog-post.html>)

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

Analysis:

The C(S)G collocations that are phraseological false friends with the feminine noun *έννοια* [ˈɛnɛ] have probably evolved from the 2nd common meaning and evolved to denote not merely ‘care’, but to ‘take care of sb. or sth.’ and to ‘worry’.

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include this lemma among their entries, probably due to lack of overt dialectal markers and the fact that it is derived from the Ancient Greek that is the common source for both varieties. The semantic extension has only taken place in C(S)G and not in the SMG.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

SMG lemma: κλούβα ['kluve]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: κλούβα ['kluve]

Common meaning(s):

1. a big cage esp. made for large animals, usually in zoos or circuses.
2. a big crate for carrying fruits and vegetables.
3. a (usually police) van, the back of which has bars.

C(S)G meaning(s):

(phr.) κάθομαι ~, to wait in ambush.

Ex.: Τες σιελεντρονουές πρέπει να τες φανταστείται. Δεν ιστέκουν να ποζάρουν. Ο μυλωνάς όμως είναι μέσα τζιαι **κάθετε κλούβαν**. (<http://acerasanthropophorum.blogspot.com/2008/08/3.html>)

Το να **κάτσει «κλούβα»** [η κυβέρνηση] δεν λέει τίποτα: ρωτήστε και τον Μιχάλη Κωνσταντίνου... (mag. P, 13/12/2009)

[...] να σταματήσει και η αστυνομία να **κάθεται "κλούβα"** σε σημεία που "βολεύουν" [...] τους οδηγούς να αναπτύξουν λίγη ταχύτητα. (<http://www.sigmalive.com/news/local/250962/larnaka-24xroni-patise-astynomiko-me-to-aftokinito-tis>)

Analysis:

One of the medieval sense of the noun (Κριαράς online) is 'jail' and it is possible that it may have evolved its current meaning from that specific meaning. Since convicted people may be seen as people biding their time in prison, it is possible that this waiting time was at some point contrasted to the time spent by hunters waiting for their prey to appear and have the chance to kill it from ambush.

None of the C(S)G dictionaries includes the lemma among their entries, possibly because it is a fairly recent phraseologism that may also be considered slang, although in the cyslang website¹⁶⁷, the lemma does not appear. What does appear is a derivative noun: κλούβατζης ['kluvedzis], 'footballer solely dedicated to the offense and not helping his team with defense', which is related to the notion presented above. If the footballer played defense, then he would wait in the back for the ball to come to him as its opposite (a not so common, but nevertheless existing type of semantic change).

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

¹⁶⁷ <https://www.cyslang.com/dictionary/%CE%BA%CE%BB%CE%BF%CF%8D%CE%B2%CE%B1%CF%84%CE%B6%CE%B7%CF%82/>.

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

SMG lemma: **μένω** ['menɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **μεινίσκω** [mi'niskɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

phraseologism:

1. ~ πανί με πανί / με άδειες τσέπες, ~ ρέστος / ταπί. ~ . to be broke.
2. στα κρύα του λουτρού / μπουκάλα, to left standing before my wishes are fulfilled.
3. ~ με τη γλύκα, at the last moment I did not manage to enjoy what I wanted.
4. ~ στα λόγια, to be unable to realize what I have dreamt.
5. ~ στον άσο, to be broke.
6. ~ στήλη άλατος, / κόκαλο / σέκος / ξερός / to be shocked into silence and awe.
- 7 τα γραπτά μένουν, scripta manent.
8. να μένει (το βύσσινο), for an offer considered injurious by the party proposed to.
- 9 (3rd pers.) μένει να, for sth. that must be done.
10. μένει κτ. στη μνήμη / στο μυαλό, to remember sth.
- 11a. ~ στη σκιά, to work from the shadows.
- 11b. ~ στη σκιά κάποιου, to be overshadowed by sb.
- 12a. δεν έμεινε πέτρα πάνω στην πέτρα, for complete disaster.
- 12b. (sch.) δεν έμεινε λίθος επί λίθου, for complete destruction.

Common meaning(s):

1a. to find myself in a certain condition, or situation: ~ ευχαριστημένος, to be happy about sth. one has accomplished / εμβρόντητος, to be shocked / ανεξεταστέος, to retake examinations / στάσιμος, to flunk the class ~ ξύπνιος / άγρυπνος, to stay up. ~ έγκυος, to get pregnant. ~ χωρίς δουλειά, to be out of a job. ~ πίσω, to lag behind.

1b. (phr.) ~ με την όρεξη, to expect to acquire sth. hoped but that never comes.

1c. ~ με το στόμα ανοιχτό, to be extremely suprised.

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

1d. ~ με την κακία μου / μου μένει η κακία, when my wish that was harmful for sb. else is not made reality.

1e. έμεινα, for extreme surprise or awkwardness.

1f. ~ στο ράφι, to be a spinster.

1g. ~ (ο) μισός, to lose a lot of weight.

1h. ~ σύξυλος, to be left extremely surprised, shocked.

1i. ~ στον τόπο, to fall dead.

2a. to continue to exist.

2b. to exist as leftover.

2c. to continue to exist somewhere.

2d. (phr.) Αυτό να μείνει μεταξύ μας, to keep sth. between us.

2e. for a stalled vehicle that cannot move any longer: Έμεινε το αυτοκίνητο από λάστιχο / από βενζίνη.

2f. to cut sth. short; to stop.

3a. to live somewhere permanently or temporarily.

3b. (phr.) ~ στο δρόμο, to stay in the streets.

3c. (phr.) ~ στους πέντε δρόμους, to be living on the street, to have nowhere to go to.

3d. (phr.) ~ σε κπ., to stay, usually temporarily at the house of sb. else.

3e. (phr.) ~ με κπ., to live with sb. [1: αρχ. μένω· 2: μσν. σημ.]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(phr.) (negation + 3rd pers. sing. FUT+ locative prepositional phrase) δε θα μείνει πάνω μου, to promise *quid pro quo* with regard to the favor or service rendered to me by sb, to pay it back. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 647, Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 35)

Ex.: «Για το χαττήριν σου θα δουλεύωμεν ως το βούττημαν του ήλιου», τον βεβαίωσε ο πιο ηλικιωμένος. «Δεν θα μείνει πάνω μου», του υποσχέθηκε ευχαριστημένος ο Νικόλας. (Σμυρλή 1997: 246)

Πρώτη φωνή: Να, αυτά είναι για σένα, για τις υπηρεσίες σου, αδελφε Σιαχίν-μπέη. Πενήντα χιλιάδες δολάρια. Αμερικάνικα...Εις υγείαν!...Και

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

*καλές δουλειές... Δεύτερη φωνή: Μα τον Αλλάχ! Σου είμαι ευγνώμων, στρατηγέ. **Δε θα μείνει πάνω μου...** (Φάντης 2003: 146)*

*Χωρκάτικον είναι Να ζητάς που κάποιον χάρη τζιαι να λαλείς "**Εθθα μείνει πάνω μου.**" (http://xorkatikonblogspot.com/2008_07_01_archive.html)*

Analysis:

The lemma becomes a false friend with regards to the phraseologism, but it should not be disregarded that the lemma in SMG it has senses that are not shared by the C(S)G. The rest of the C(S)G dictionaries do not record the phraseologism.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

SMG lemma: **μέσα** ['mɛsɐ]

Grammatical category: adv.

C(S)G lemma: **μέσα** ['mɛsɐ]

SMG meaning(s):

~ ~ repeated twice in order to put emphasis on the fact that sth. is placed deeply inside sth. else: *Κρύψ' το ~ ~ για να μην το βρει κανείς.*

C(S)G meaning(s):

~ - ~, on occasion; on and off; sometimes.

Ex.: *Ο Ερυθρός Σταυρός έφερνε τ' απαραίτητα, μα η θεία μου κατάφερνε από το χωριό και κανένα κοτόπουλο να βρίσκει **μέσα-μέσα** κι αυγά κι αλεύρι. (Σμυρλή 1989: 30).*

*Στη φύση είσαι εσύ με τον Θεό. Άντε και κανένα ζώο που παρουσιάζεται **μέσα-μέσα**. (Νίκος Κόσης, former Minister for Justice, interview at the *Downtown* mag., 2010)*

*Άμαν είσαι άνθρωπος που την Μεσόγειον τζιαι ζεις σε χώραν της Β. Ευρώπης, **μέσα-μέσα** κάποια πράματα φατσάρουν σου πολλά παράξενα τζιαι θέλει τζιαιρόν για να τα συνηθίσεις. (<http://pattixa.wordpress.com/2012/03/05/%CF%80%CE%BF%CE%BB%CE%B9%CF%84%CE%B9%CF%83%CE%BC%CE%B9%CE%BA%CE%AD%CF%82-%CF%80%CE%B1%CF%81%CE%B5%CE%BE%CE%B7%CE%B3%CE%AE%CF%83%CE%B5%CE%B9%CF%82/>)*

Analysis:

This is a purely phraseological false friends pair, since the phraseologism exists in both varieties, but its semantic content is completely different.

It does not appear in any of the C(S)G dictionaries, probably because it is not recognized as semantically different, especially since the phraseologism exists in SMG as well and it may be considered to have both meanings.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

SMG lemma: **όσο** ['ɔsɔ]/ **όσον** ['ɔsɔn]

Grammatical category: adv.

C(S)G lemma: **όσον** ['ɔsɔn]

C(S)G allomorph: **όσσον** ['ɔs:ɔn]

Common meaning(s):

1. adverb that introduces secondary clauses and denotes 'as much as' with regard to:

1a. i. quantity, extent according to the context

ii. often combined with the adverb *τόσο*, so much, that much.

iii. combined with a comparative.

1b. (phr.) ~ *το δυνατό(ν) / ~ γίνεται, μπορεί*, as much as possible (with a comparative)

1c. (phr.) ~ ~, for so low price as to be demeaning

1d. (proverb) *Στου κουφού την πόρτα ~ θέλεις βρόντα*, for hopeless situations, when one is not taken into account.

2. with regard to (combined with *για*): ~ *για μένα, μην ανησυχείς*.

3. as a conj. ~ (*και*) *να / και / κι αν* :

3a. subordinate relative clauses that express contrariety: ~ *και να φώναζε, κανείς δεν τον άκουγε*, even though, although.

3b. (phr.) ~ *να 'ναι*: a. for sth. that cannot be changed and is valid by necessity. b. (oral.) often as an answer to praise aimed at them.

4. temporal clauses.

a. for and act that lasts as long as the act in the main clause and happens simultaneously to the main clause; while.

b. ~ *που* for an act interrupting the duration of the main clause; until.

c. ~ (*που*) *να*, for an expected act that will take place simultaneously to the act in the main clause, until. (phr.) ~ *να πεις κύμινο*, before you can say knife.

d. often in narratives with *να* and it signifies an act that follows the act of the main clause; by the time that... [*αρχ. ὅσον* (ουδ. της αντων. ὅσος, στη σημ. I)· λόγ. < *αρχ. ὅσον*]

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. (temp.) ~ *να*, just as; right at the time that... (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 372, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 827, Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 49, Κυπρή 2002: 350, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 827)

Ex.: *Κωστής: Ξανασκεφτείτε το. Εν να ταλαιπωρηθούμεν. Ττοφής: Λαλώ να λαμνήσουμε την παραμονήν της Παναγίας πρωίν πρωίν κουμπάρε μου...όσον να χαράξει. Με τη βοήθειαν του Θεού, ώσπου να αρκέψει ο σπερινός εν να φτάσουμε.* (Κουκίδης 2007α: 70)

2a. (temp.) ~ *τζαι*, right before; just seconds ago. (Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 49, Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 74)

Ex.: *Εε, καφετζιή. - Άφησ' τον, μεν τον φωνάζεις. Όσον τζι ήπκια καφέ.* (Κουκίδης 2007β: 15)

Όσον τζαι έρεξεν τωρά 'που τογ καφενέν ο τζύρης σου. (Παπασταύρου 1994: 118)

2b. (quant.) ~ *τζαι*, barely; hardly. (Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 74)

Ex.: *Ίνταμ που κάμνεις, πώς τα πάεις; - Έτο, όσον τζιαι ζιούμεν* (Παπασταύρου 1994: 118)

Analysis:

This usage for the adverb in the C(S)G variety's first meaning above is attested since the medieval era (Παπασταύρου 1994: 118, Κριαράς online). Παπασταύρου (1994: 118) claims that this use is quite extensive in everyday speech, but restricted in written texts. It appears from our examples that this is indeed the case, since the written texts in which we found them are theatrical plays, which were written to be played, so they are a form of speech between the two forms: written and oral.

It is probably an extension or an independent evolution similar to the meaning of the phraseologism ~ *να πεις κύμινο* ['ɔsɔ#nɛ#pɪs#'cɪmɪnɔ], 'before you can say knife' that is common to both varieties. The (2a) and (2b) C(S)G senses probably evolved later from the first C(S)G meaning and the (2b) probably is the newest of all three, if we were to judge by the number of dictionary entries for each.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

SMG lemma: **πάνω** [ˈpənɔ] / **επάνω** [εˈpənɔ] Grammatical category: adv.

C(S)G lemma: **πάνω** [ˈpənɔ] C(S)G allomorph: **πάνου** [ˈpenu]

Common meaning(s):

I. as an adverb:

1. local adverb: stationary and regarding movement for a place higher in relation to the speaker.

2. (phr.) *βηματίζω / προχωρώ / πηγαίνω ~ κάτω*, to walk up and down incessantly.

3a. to be standing upright.

3b. for a body part: *σηκώνω το πόδι / το χέρι / τη μέση ~*, to raise sth. high.

3c. for areas higher than the sea level or further from the center.

3d. high up on the sky.

3e. ~ ~ repeated for emphasis.

3f. (phr.) ~ ~, on the surface, without many details.

4. (phr.) ~ *κάτω*, approximately.

5. with an adverb or a preposition to state accurately the relevant adverbial relations:

5a. referential: on the surface.

5b. for provenance, starting point.

5c. to the end, finishing line.

5d. in a certain direction.

5e. *κι ~*, for age, quantity, at least more than what the prep. or the noun phrase expresses.

II. as a preposition:

1. ~ *από / σε*: general locative:

1a. surface of the accompanying noun.

1b. in front of.

1c. area.

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

- 1d. higher, over the accompanying noun phrase.
- 1e. (phr.) (θα περάσεις) πάνω από το πτώμα μου, over my dead body.
- 1f. (metaph.) in a higher and more important place.
- 1g. ~ μου, σου κτλ.: i. with me / you; ii. to me, to you etc.
2. (phr.) παίρνω ~ μου: a. to assume, to take over. b. to improve health-wise.
3. (phr.) Δεν παίρνω ~ μου, to be unable to gain necessary weight.
4. το παίρνω ~ μου, to think that one is high and mighty; to let sth. go to one's head.
5. (phr.) τα κάνω ~ μου, for children or sick people who cannot control their bodily needs.
6. time: a. for the exact moment when sth. is happening.
- 6b. for sth. that follows after sth. else (food, incident, etc.).
7. against; toward.
8. for age, quantity larger than the numeral that follows, often in an approximation.
9. reference, regarding, relative to.
10. as an adjunct to verbs.
- III. as a temporal conjunction.
1. ~ που, for subordinate temporal clauses and actions that take place simultaneously with the main clause; right when; just as.
- IV 1 as a noun.
2. as an adjective. [επάνω: λόγ. < αρχ. έπάνω· πάνω: απάνω με αποβ. του αρχικού άτ. φων.· απάνω: μσν. απάνω < επάνω με υποχωρ. αφομ. [e-a > a-a]]

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. ~ + *pers. pron. GEN.*, for expressing emotional involvement or connection with positive, intense feelings usually caused by the person of the object expressed by the *pers. pron.*

Ex.: *Εν τζαι είχαν άλλον παιδίν τζαι έξερεν πως την αγαπούσαν πολλά, επεθανίσκαν **πάνω της**.* (Σάββα 2009: 27)

*Σε βλέπω κάθε μέρα στο Γυμνάσιο Παλλουριώτισσας, ψωνάρα μου τζαι πελλανίσκω **πάνω σου!** Μα τι μανάριν είσαι εσύ κουκλίν μου; Γ.Π. (http://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?id=53815007756&story_fbid=10150786759487757)*

2. (phr.) *τρώνω που ~ μου*, to worry very much. (Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 89)

Ex.: *Αν άρκες ακόμα νάκκον, ήτουν να πάω στην αστυνομία. Καλά ρε Αντώνη, εμέναν εν με εσκέφτηκες; Επήραμεν το μωρό στον γιατρόν, τζι **έτρωα που πάνω μου** όσην ώραν σε καρτέρουν να έρθεις να μου πεις είνταν που σου είπεν.* (Πολυδώρου 2008: 156)

Analysis:

Apart from the dictionary of phraseologisms by Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου (2004: 89) that only includes one of the phraseologisms, the rest of the dictionaries ignore the collocations that are constructed with this adverb. What has led to appearance of these collocations is not clear and we would only be speculating if we were to propose any possible course of evolution.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

SMG lemma: **παρακάθουμαι** [pepe'keθome]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **παρακάθουμαι** [pepe'keθome]

Common meaning(s):

1. (form.) to participate with other officials in a formal breakfast, lunch or dinner. [λόγ. < αρχ. παρακάθουμαι με προσαρμ. στη δημοτ. κατά το κάθουμαι > κάθουμαι]
2. to be sitted for a long time, more than what is considered normal or usual. Παρακάτσαμε μέσα στο σπίτι, καιρός να βγούμε και λίγο έξω, we stayed in far too long. Παρακάθισα το καλοκαίρι και μου φαίνεται δύσκολο να ξαναπάω στη δουλειά, I idled too long. [παρα-² + κάθουμαι]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(phr.) ~ σε, to sit down in an official event or official capacity:

a. ~ σε εξέταση, to sit an examination.

Ex.: Η μαθήτρια **παρακάθησε** σε εξετάσεις και κατατάσσεται. (G.C.)

Διεξάγεται δεύτερη σειρά εξετάσεων για υποψηφίους που για σοβαρό λόγο δεν μπόρεσαν να **παρακαθήσουν στην** πρώτη σειρά **εξετάσεων**; (<http://www.moec.goverbcy/ypexams/faq.html>)

Οι 1012 υποψήφιοι βαθμοφόροι που έχουν επιτύχει στην αθλητική δοκιμασία **παρακάθονται στη** γραπτή **εξέταση** η οποία περιλαμβάνει έκθεση ιδεών και δύο δοκίμια νοημοσύνης (δοκίμια ελέγχου λεκτικής ικανότητας και λογικής ικανότητας) [...]. (<http://www.mod.goverbcy/mod/mod.nsf/All/748FACBD50D85760C2257D9E002A9177?OpenDocument>)

b. (phr.) ~ σε σύσκεψη, to attend a meeting.

Ex.: Ο Υπουργός **παρακάθεται σε σύσκεψη** με εκπροσώπους της ΠΟΒΕΚ, των μεταφορέων και της διεύθυνσης της εταιρείας [...]. (<http://www.sigmalive.com/news/local/406285/ekklisi-ptd-se-metaforeis-na-epistrepsoun-stin-ergasia-tous#.dpuf>)

Analysis:

The C(S)G lemma in this form does not appear in any of the C(S)G dictionaries, nor does its semantic content. It does appear in the more basilectal form **παρακάθουμαι** [pepe'keθome] (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 383, Κυπρή 2003: 333, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 852) meaning 'to ambush' and also 'to lay siege to' (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 383, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 852), as in the medieval dictionary of Κριαράς. Our informants do not agree on whether the verb in the basilectal

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

form still has any of these meanings, therefore we have chosen not to pair it with the SMG lemma, since we also failed to find any contemporary examples to support this meaning.

The lemma is a false friends with regard to the phraseologisms, since the meanings that the two varieties have in common are not phraseologisms, which is why we have categorized it under phraseological false friends. The phraseologism in general expresses in high register the notion ‘to sit in on an official event or in an official capacity’ and it has evolved metaphorically from the original literal notion of sitting down in order to attend something.

The form for the (a) meaning we have chosen is the one generally in use in the administrative and official jargon of the Cypriot state and its meaning is probably derived from the English phraseologism *to sit an exam*, as a calque. It is probable that when the phraseologism was translated into Greek, instead of using the literal equivalent of the verb *to sit*, i.e. *κάθομαι* [ˈkəθɔmɛ], the verb *παρακάθομαι* [pɛrɛˈkəθɔmɛ] was chosen, possibly because it was already associated with high register due to the existence of the (1) common meaning.

The (b) sense is an extension of the first C(S)G sense that was brought about due to the use of the phraseologism in similar but not identical contexts of use, from the common meaning of sitting down around a table to eat, then to sit down to take an examination and then to sit down at a table once more to have a meeting.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

SMG lemma: παραλήπτης [pɛrɛ'liptis] Grammatical category: n. (masc.)

C(S)G lemma: παραλήπτης [pɛrɛ'liptis]

Common meaning(s):

a. receiver, recipient.

b. recipient: ~ παραπόνων / διαμαρτυριών / απειλητικών τηλεφωνημάτων, of complaints / protests / threatening phone calls. [λόγ. < ελνστ. Παραληπτής `εισπράκτορας φόρων' σημδ. αγγλ. receiver με άνοδο του τόνου κατά τα άλλα ουσ. σε -λήπτης· λόγ. παραλήπ(της) -τρια]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(phr.) επίσημος ~, official receiver of the the Republic of Cyprus (Department of the Registrar of Companies and Official Receiver of the Republic of Cyprus in charge of the Companies' Section, the Bankruptcies and Liquidations Section and the Intellectual and Industrial Property Section) (http://www.mcit.goverbcy/mcit/drcor/drcor.nsf/index_en/index_en?opendocument)

Ex.: Έτσι το 1942 δημιουργήθηκε το «Τμήμα Επίσημου Παραλήπτη και Εφόρου Συντεχνιών» στο οποίο αργότερα το 1945 προστέθηκαν και οι Κλάδοι Εταιρειών, Συνεταιρισμών, Εμπορικών Επωνυμιών και Εμπορικών Σημάτων και Προνομίων Ευρεσιτεχνίας αφού αποσπάστηκαν από το Τμήμα Τελωνείου. (http://www.mcit.goverbcy/mcit/drcor/drcor.nsf/history_gr/history_gr?OpenDocument#8)

Analysis:

The false friends' pair exists only in regard with the department of Official Receiver that is given as its semantic content. The C(S)G dictionaries do not include the lemma among their entries, probably due to a lack of any overt dialectal markers and the fact that it refers to a governmental department, therefore it is possible that the dictionaries' compilers did not realize that a department under such a title does not exist in Greece.

It is probably a word-for-word translation of the British term *official receiver*, since the department was established during the British rule. The British term is currently in use in the UK and its responsibilities are similar to the responsibilities of the receiver in Cyprus.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

SMG lemma: **πόνημα** [ˈpɔnime]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **πόνημαν** [ˈpɔnimeːn]

SMG meaning(s):

(sch.) a piece of writing, a scientific or intellectual work. [λόγ. < αρχ. *πόνημα* 'αποτέλεσμα εργασίας' σημδ. γαλλ. *ouvrage*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. (phr.) *βκάλλω* or *φκάλλω* ~, as a curse aimed at a person who is cursed to get sick. (Γιαγκουλλής 2005b: 14, <https://www.cyslang.com/dictionary/%CF%86%CE%BA%CE%AC%CE%BB%CE%BB%CF%89-%CF%80%CF%8C%CE%BD%CE%B7%CE%BC%CE%B1%CE%BD/>)

Ex.: *Στον κλέφτη, τον απατεώνα, τον παραπότη, τον γαουρόσπορο, τον πεξεβένηκη, τον γιον της Λίζας, [...], που μου έκλεψε το κατοικίδιο μου τον Μονάρχη, εύχομαι το έναν του αρτζίδιν να πάθει μαλαζαβράνγκα, περονόσπορο, **πόνημαν**, να λύσει, να μαυρίσει, να χαντακωθεί τζαι να ππέσει, να του το φαν οι λιμπούροι τζαι το σιριβίδι, τζαι μόλις γίνει μονάρχης, το άλλον του αρτζίδιν να πάθει ελεφαντίαση, να τσουνιάσει, να του πριστεί να γινεί έτσι τοππάκκιν, που να μεν ιβρίσκει αρτζιομάντριν να το χωρεί!!* (<http://psychia.wordpress.com/2009/11/02/%CE%BC%CE%BF%CE%BD%CE%AC%CF%81%CF%87%CE%B7%CF%82/>)

*Η Τουρκία, «με ύφος χιλίων πασάδων», γραπτώς και επισημότατα, με 105σέλιδο έγγραφο της προς την ΕΕ, τους έδωσε την ευκαιρία «να την αρπάξουν που το 'φτιν τζιαί να της δώκουν μέσ' τα ριζόφκια ώσπου να φκάλει **πόνημαν**»!* (<http://www.sigmalive.com/opinions/lazaros-mavros#.dpuf>)

2a. (coll., phr.) (usually imper.) *βκάλλω* or *φκάλλω* ~, shut up!

Ex.: **Φκάλε πόνημα, ρε!** (NOUNNOUN)

*– Έ Μάριε **φκάλε πόνημαν** τζαι άκου ίνταν που θέλω να σου πώ. – Ότι τζαι να μου πεις εγώ δεν τους ξαναψηφίζω. – **Φκάλε πόνημαν** είπα σου τζαι άφης τα πολιτικά. – Συμβαίνει τίποτε ρε; Ίνταν που 'παθες τζαι ματσούκωσες;* (http://proedrikes.blogspot.com/2007/11/blogspot_5560.html)

2b. (coll., phr.) ~, shut up!

Ex.: **Πόνημα**, κόρη, ρέξε φύε που δαμαί να μεν σε θωρώ καρτζίν μου. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 565)

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

3. (coll., phr.) βκάλλω or φκάλλω ~, to be or feel very hot.

Ex.: Πειράζει να κλείσουμε την θέρμανση; **Έφκαλα πόνημαν.** (C.L.)

Analysis:

The original meaning of the noun was ‘abscess or skin ulcer’ (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 426, Κυπρή 2002: 394, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 952), but it is nowadays obsolete. It is derived from the Ancient Greek homograph and one of its meanings is retained in the SMG lemma. The C(S)G lemma obviously evolved in a totally different manner and since the noun resembles closely the verb πονώ [pɔˈnɔ], ‘to be in pain’, we assume that it was incorrectly correlated to that and assumed at first the denotation ‘sth. that hurts’ and that in time through specialization the meaning of ‘abscess’.

From that first sense evolved the current senses, in all probability in the sequence in which we have presented them. The first sense was possibly literal at first, with the curse denoting that someone was being cursed to sprout a skin abscess and then came to signify a disease in general. The (2a) meaning is an extension of the first meaning and (2b) is the shortened form of the phraseologism and the 3rd sense appears to be the most recent evolution of the phraseologism.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

SMG lemma: **σούπα** ['supɐ]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **σούππα** ['sup^h:ɐ]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (phr.) *χάλασε η ~*, for failure.
2. (oral., coll.) as a mocking characterization of a speech, because its content is boring and pointless.

Common meaning(s):

1. any kind of meat, fish or vegetable soup. [βεν. *supra* < γαλλ. *soupe*: *σούπ(α) - ίτσα*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(phr.) *γίνουμαι σούππα λούμαν*, to get wet to the bone from sweat or water. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 500, Κυπρή 2003: 220, Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 62, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1111, Χατζηγιάννου 1996: 176, Γιαγκουλλής 2005a: 31, Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 25)

Εχ.: *Εξύπνησεν τζι' ήταν σούππα λούμαν, έτρεμεν τζι' ένιωθεν πως εν να ξεράσει.* (Σάββα 2009: 97)

*Δε θυμάμαι πόσο γρήγορα οδηγούσα, ούτε πού πάγκαρα, ούτε πόσο γρήγορα περπατούσα μέσα στον καύσωνα στους ανελέητους πεζόδρομους. Είχα γίνει **σούπα λούμα** στον ιδρώτα και βλέπω την πόρτα. Τη σπρώχνω με φόρα και μπουκάρω.* (<http://www.musicheavengr/html/modules.php?name=Blog&file=page&blogger=chocolat&keyword=%E3%F1%E1%F6%E9%EA%DC#ixzz20Cu7Klis>)

*Πάει να σκουπιστεί με την πετσέτα της και αντίναξε τα μαλλιά της εκαμε μας **σούπα λούμα**.* (<http://andriaqueenblogspot.com/>)

*Ο πρώτος νεροπόλεμος από την Sprite έληξε με ένα ανεπανάληπτο πάρτι το οποίο απογείωσε τη διάθεση αυτών που «τόλμησαν» με δυνατή μουσική αλλά και με προβολή των διασκεδαστικών στιγμοτύπων των συμμετεχόντων σε κατάσταση "**Σούπα - λούμα**"!* (<http://www.philenews.com/el-gr/Diatrofi/1154/107114/o-pio-droseros-kai-xedipsastikos-neropolemos-apo-tin-sprite>)

Analysis:

This false friend we categorize among the phraseological, although the lemma also has two meanings in SMG that are not present in the C(S)G. Since the directionality of our viewing of the phenomenon is as regards the words that

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

have unfamiliar semantic content for the speakers of SMG, the focus in this case falls on the very common in Cyprus phraseologism, *σούππα λούμαν* ['sup^h:e#'lumɛⁿ], 'soaking wet'.

The Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 500) dictionary derives the first noun from the verb *σουππώννω* [su'p^h:ɔn:ɔ] 'to wet or soak sb.' and the second noun *λούμαν* ['lumɛⁿ] is from the verb *λούννω* ['lun:ɔ], 'to bathe sb.', also a false friend. The Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή (1988: 62) dictionary records the lemma as one word: *σούππαλούμαν*, bearing two accents, but there does not seem to be any need for such an agglutination and all the other dictionaries, as well as the users who write the lemma, do so with a hyphen between the two nouns that make it up.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

SMG lemma: **στραβώνω** [stre'vɔnɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **στραώννω** [stre'ɔn:ɔ]

Common meaning(s):

1a. (coll.) to blind sb.

1b. to blind sb. temporarily by making one's eyes blur.

2a. (metaph.) to cause sb. to be inordinately careless, imprudent or reckless.

3a. (pass.) to not pay attention to sb. or sth. and fail to realize that sth. is self-evident.

3b. to provide to sb. incomplete or erroneous information, so that the person results ends up lacking necessary knowledge or information.
[μσν. στραβώνω < στραβ(ός)² -ώνω]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(phr.) εν + pers. pron. ACC.~ (only pass.). for sb. who does not see, or realize sth. that is obvious or right in front of his/her eyes.

Ex.: *Κόρη κορού έχεις email κάπου που εν το εστραώθηκα; Έχω να σου στείλω κάτι!* (<http://post-babylonblogspot.gr/2010/02/mano-negra.html>)

Θέλεις να πεις πως επέρασα που ομπρός σου τζιαι εν σε στραβώθηκα;
(Πολυδώρου 2003: 58)

Analysis:

There is another verb, *στραβώνω*, that is pronounced in exactly the same manner as the lemma we are interested in, and it is also derived from the same adjective, i.e. *στραβ(ός)*¹⁶⁸ with the addition of the ending *-ώνω*, but it refers to another sense of the adjective, that of 'sth. that is crooked, or twisted, not straight' and the verb means 'to make sth. crooked, to cause it to not be straight'. The lemma that relates to our phenomenon is the one we have analyzed above, in which the verb has evolved into meaning the exact opposite of the original meaning. In C(S)G the verb *στραώννομαι*¹⁶⁹ [stre'ɔn:ɔmɛ] (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 516) means 'to go blind' or 'to be unable to see', so combined with the negation particle εν [ɛn] it should mean 'to be able to see'. In the phraseological context, though, the meaning is reversed to denote the exact opposite 'to not see, to be blind'. The

¹⁶⁸ This ad. means 'blind' and 'crooked'.

¹⁶⁹ As it appears in the dictionary (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 516).

5.2.5. Semantic and phraseological divergence

phraseologism itself does not appear in any of the C(S)G dictionaries and only one (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 516) presents the common meaning of the lemma.

The phenomenon appears only with regard to the phraseologism, so this is a phraseological false friend, since the rest of the senses are identical.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

5.2.6 Multiple false friends (converging on more than one category)

SMG lemma: **αναστέλλω** [ɛnɛ'stɛlɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **αναστέλλω** [ɛnɛ'stɛl:ɔ]

Common meaning(s):

1a. (action, function, etc.) suspend temporarily.

1b. (leg.) to suspend sth. temporarily in accordance with a decree or law. [λόγ. < αρχ. *ἀναστέλλω* `τραβώ πίσω, συγκρατώ' and σημδ. γαλλ. *suspendre*, συν. του *arrêter*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(trans.) make sb. change her or his mind.

Ex.: *Ήθελε να τον διώξει, της ήταν άχρηστος απένταρος. Κατά καιρούς όμως εμφανιζόταν με λεφτά και την **ανάστελε**. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 347)*

Analysis:

In SMG, the verb's complement may be exclusively an inanimate object or a subordinate clause and usually its register is considered among the highest in SMG, since it appears in contexts of legal or administrative jargon. In C(S)G, it can be used with an animate object in a more informal register and it means 'to change my mind'.

None of the C(S)G dictionaries mention the verb, possibly due to the lack of overt C(S)G markedness. In the Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 51) dictionary appears the neuter noun *ανάστελμαν* [ɛ'nɛstɛlmɛⁿ] that signifies '(trial) suspension or postponement'. This reinforces our impression that the verb exists in C(S)G and is merely not recorded in the dictionaries.

Type: **partial** false friends – **phonetic** and **pragmatic (register and context differentiation)**

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

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5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: **αυτομολώ** [eftɔmɔ'ɫɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **αυτομολώ** [eftɔmɔ'ɫɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (for soldiers, warriors, etc.) to defect.
2. (metaph.) to abandon my ideology or party for the opposite one. [λόγ. < αρχ. *αύτομολῶ*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

- a. (slang) to be fed up with; to be bored out of my mind.

Ex.: **Αυτομόλησα** με το σχολείον, ούλλον μαθήματα, εβαρέθηκα πκιον!! (C.L.)

- b. (slang) to go haywire; to be unable to take a situation any more.

Ex.: Έσχει μέρες τώρα που πέφτω ανάσθελα (κατόπιν σχετικών οδηγιών, από ειδικούς πάντοτε - βλ. φίλες και γνωστές) τζιαι καρτερώ να κάμει καμιάν κίνηση. Έσχει πολλύν τζιαιρό να πάω γιατρό για να το δω στο μόνιτορ, τζιαι εν είχα σημεία ζωής. [...] Σήμερα **αυτομόλησα** τζιαι εγύρισα μπρούμυτα. (http://saikkopad.blogspot.com.cy/2009_05_01_archive.html)

Δεν αντέχω άλλο, **αυτομόλησα** από την κούραση.(P.T.)

- c. (slang) to be near my limit; to be unable to take the heat.

Ex.: Με τόσην πυράν που κάμνει, **αυτομολήσαμεν** ούλλοι! (L.K.)

Analysis:

The verb *αυτομολώ* [eftɔmɔ'ɫɔ] is a total false friend, since it does not share any meanings in the two varieties. It is not included in any of the C(S)G dictionaries, possibly due to two reasons: firstly because its meanings are relatively recent and secondly because they belong to the slang vocabulary used mainly by the younger generation. A further reason could be that the dictionaries consider that the lemma only expresses the semantic content of the SMG variety.

The two semantically distinct lemmas also differ on the connotative and the stylistic level (pragmatics), since the verb in SMG means 'to defect' and depending on who is defecting from and/or towards someone or somewhere, it expresses opposing connotations. The result is that the person defecting is regarded either as a hero or as a traitor to the motherland (usually). In SMG, it belongs to the high register speech and usually appears in the media, or in a historical or political context. In C(S)G, it means 'to be fed up with sth.' or 'bored

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

out of my mind', 'to have a hard time taking sth. any more' and it obviously has not only different connotations, but also a completely contrary register. While the SMG verb is used in official contexts, the C(S)G verb is among the most used words of teen slang (Κατσογιάννου and Χατζοπούλου 2015) and its connotations are also negative, but in a different way than the SMG lemma's, since the verb expresses bottled-up frustration.

Type: **total** false friends –**pragmatic (stylistic and connotative)**

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: **αφυπηρέτηση** [ɛfipi'ɾetisi] Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **αφυπηρέτηση** [ɛfipi'ɾetisi]

SMG meaning(s):

- a. retirement (for army officers).
- b. (sch.) the act of retiring (from educational or military service, diplomatic profession etc.).

C(S)G meaning(s):

retirement (from any mainly civil service position).

Ex.: *Όταν κρατικός υπάλληλος, που κατέχει συντάξιμη θέση συμπλήρωσε πέντε ή περισσότερα έτη υπηρεσίας [...], υποβάλλει μετά την ημερομηνία έναρξης ισχύος του παρόντος Νόμου (Ν216 Ι /2012) αίτηση για πρόωρη **αφυπηρέτηση** η οποία εγκρίνεται από το αρμόδιο όργανο.* (<http://www.oelmek.com.cy/page.php?&id=66&lng=GR>)

*Η κυριότερη αιτία είναι γιατί οι επηρεαζόμενοι βλέπουν πάντα με βραχυπρόθεσμη προοπτική το συμφέρον τους κι όχι σε κάποιο βάθος χρόνου. Θα αναφερθώ σε θέματα κοινωνικών ασφαλίσεων, με αφορμή τη συζήτηση για **αφυπηρέτηση** των γιατρών του Δημοσίου στα 68.* (<http://www.sigmalive.com/simerini/analiseis/307602/i-afypiretisi-sta-68>)

*Ήταν υψηλόβαθμος κυβερνητικός και εβκήκε με πρόωρη **αφυπηρέτηση** για να γλυτώσει το εφάπαξ του.* (https://issuu.com/toutoukkinouz/docs/issue_8_web)

Analysis:

None of the C(S)G dictionaries includes the C(S)G lemma, probably because of the lack of overt basilectal markers. The SMG lemma is equally absent from the ΔΚΝ online dictionary and the ΔΝΕΓ dictionary. Only the verb is included among their lemmas, but the noun does appear in use on the Internet and in oral speech.

In Cyprus the norm is to use the feminine noun *αφυπηρέτηση* [ɛfipi'ɾetisi], 'retirement' in almost instances in which in SMG the feminine noun *συνταξιοδότηση* [sindeksio'ðotisi] would be used. *Αφυπηρέτηση* is considered to belong to a high register speech (oral or written) and nearly all of the Cypriot speakers are not aware of the fact that it is a noun with a limited scope of meaning and usage in the SMG. A relevant search in the Greek Texts' Corpus database (www.sek.edu.gr) has yielded only Cypriot texts or Cyprus-related texts produced in Greece with terminology sourced from the Cypriot reality

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(except a novel extract the context of which we have no means of verifying). It is clear then, that the word has a significant higher occurrence in a Cypriot context than it has in a mainland Greece context. At the same time, the Hellenic National Corpus by the Institute for Language and Speech Processing (*ILSP* at the <http://hnc.ilsp.gr/> website) does not provide any texts at all with this noun. In C(S)G *αφυπηρέτηση* is used in both formal and informal communication instances as is obvious from the three examples we are presenting: the first two belong to the higher register of administrative and journalistic jargon, while the third is from a free press magazine that combines the noun with a verb in basilectal form (*εβκήκε*).

The two lemmas are partial false friends, because the SMG lemma is included in the C(S)G, since it is used only for a fraction of the professions for which the C(S)G would be used, namely for a military or educational profession or for the diplomatic service.

Type: **partial** false friends – **semantic** and **pragmatic (stylistic and userelated)**

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: αφυπηρετώ [efipire'tɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: αφυπηρετώ [efipire'tɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

(sch.) to retire (from the educational, military or diplomatic service).

C(S)G meaning(s):

to retire.

Ex.: Όσον αφορά τον εαυτό μου, αν τα καταφέρω να **αφυπηρετήσω** με καλή υγεία, θα αφιερώσω περισσότερο χρόνο στην οικογένεια μου και θα γράψω για διάφορα θέματα που με ενδιαφέρουν όπως για την ιστορία του εργατικού κινήματος στην πόλη μας ή για το κυπριακό φοιτητικό κίνημα. (<http://www.lemesos-blog.com/08/08/%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B4%CF%81%CE%B5%CE%B1%CF%83-%CF%87%CF%81%CE%B9%CF%83%CF%84%CE%BF%CF%85-%CE%BF-%CE%BF%CF%81%CE%B1%CE%BC%CE%B1%CF%84%CE%B9%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%83-%CE%B4%CE%B7%CE%BC%CE%B1%CF%81%CF%87/>)

Εφάπαξ €33,8 εκατ. στους δημόσιους υπαλλήλους που **αφυπηρέτησαν** πέρυσι – Αναλυτικά όσα πήρε κάθε κλάδος της ΔΥ. (<http://businessnews.com.cy/economy/cyprus/2016/09/08/afipiretisei skivernitikwn/>)

Όπως ήδη έγραψα, ο Μπαρμπαπάπα **αφυπηρέτησε** και κάθεται αραχτός στο σπίτι. Οι πρώτες μέρες αμηχανίας και βαρεμάρας έχουν περάσει ανεπιστρεπτί, διότι ο Μπαρμπαπάπα ανακάλυψε την πρωινή τηλεόραση. (http://drakouna.blogspot.com.cy/2006_03_01_archive.html)

Analysis:

None of the C(S)G dictionaries includes the C(S)G lemma, probably because of the lack of overt basilectal markers and due to erroneous impression that its semantic content is identified to that of the SMG lemma.

Both the ΔΚΝ online and the ΔΝΕΓ dictionary provide definitions for the verb, but with significant differences. So, in the ΔΚΝ online, *αφυπηρετώ* means 'to be discharged from the army' without clarifying whether this applies only to the professional military personnel retiring, to soldiers discharged or to both. We assume that it refers to permanent military personnel, since the term mainly used for soldiers in both Greece and Cyprus is *απόλυση* [e'pɔlisi] that means 'discharge'. Also, we have heard it used with this meaning many times. A slightly different meaning is provided by the ΔΝΕΓ dictionary, (that nevertheless exhibits the same ambiguity): 'to be discharged from the army at the end of the military

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

service'. This dictionary also adds a second meaning: 'to retire from a position in the public sector'. The second meaning does not appear to be in use to the same degree as the first that remains the core meaning, but the lemma has widened its semantic scope when it included this meaning. In this case, extension has occurred due to the influence that the regional linguistic variety of Cyprus exercises over the standard in Greece (Καρυολαίμου 2010: 257). Nevertheless, it is obvious from a relevant search on the Internet that despite its inclusion in one of the major Modern Greek dictionaries, in Greece, it is still largely unknown and only occasionally used to signify the retirement of (professional) military personnel.

In Cyprus, the lemma is used in almost all instances in which SMG would use the verb *συνταξιοδοτούμαι* [sinðeksiðɔ'tumɛ], 'to retire' or the phraseologism *παίρνω σύνταξη* ['pɛrnɔ#'sinðeksi], 'to retire' or 'to receive a pension'. On the other hand, the verb in SMG is very restricted in its scope, practically used only for the professional army personnel, although that appears to be changing. It appear to be extending its usage in other contexts as well, such as the administration in general or the diplomatic service.

The SMG lemma is considered to belong to the high register speech (oral or written) and nearly all of the Cypriot speakers are not aware of the fact that it is a noun with a limited scope of meaning and usage in the SMG. A relevant search in the Greek Texts' Corpus database (www.sek.edu.gr) has yielded only one Cypriot text (Φάντης 2003). At the same time, the Hellenic National Corpus by the Institute for Language and Speech Processing (ILSP at the <http://hnc.ilsp.gr/> website) does not provide any texts with this noun. In C(S)G, the verb is used in both formal and informal communication instances as is obvious from the three examples we are presenting: the first two belong to the higher register of administrative and journalistic jargon, while the third is from a blog that regularly uses the C(S)G in all its registers.

The two lemmas are partial false friends, because the SMG lemma is included in the C(S)G, since it is used only for a fraction of the professions for which the C(S)G would be used.

Type: **partial** false friends – **semantic** and **pragmatic (stylistic and use-related)**

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: βαρετός [νερε'tɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: βαρετός [νερε'tɔs]

Common meaning(s):

boring; tedious; sth. that is not interesting.

C(S)G meaning(s):

a. (lit.) heavy. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 92, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 144, Κυπρή 1989: 351)

Ex.: *Εβ βαρετή η ελιά σου, τζ' εν της σώννεις;* (Μόντης 1988c: 202)

b. (phr.) βαρετός κουττούτζιν [νερε'tɔs#ku'tu:ɟziⁿ], very heavy. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 92; Παπαγγέλου, 2001: 144; Κυπρή, 1989: 351).

Ex.: *Ήταν ούλλα καρυδένα τζαι σκαλιστά, βαρετά κουττούτζιν, τα ευλοημένα.* (Σάββα 2009: 21)

c. (metaph.) unpleasant; bothersome.

Ex.: *Εν έμεινεν κουβέντα βαρετή πον της την είπεν.* (Σάββα 2009: 55)

d. (metaph.) strong; powerful.

Ex.: *Το πρωίν θα μπούν δύο κλειδονιές (sic) βαρετές, τζιαι θα πιάσω τηλέφωνον να έρτουν να μας βάλουν house alarm, τζιαι δέν με κόφτει που εν ακριβόν.* (http://diasporos.blogspot.com/2008_10_01_archive.html)

e. (metaph.) slow-moving or lazy. (Σακελλαρίου 1891b: 484; Κυπρή 1989: 351)

Ex.: *Άμα δης άδρωπον πασύν, έξερε πως εν βαρετός 'σ την δουλειάν του.* (Κυπρή, 1989: 351)

Analysis:

The weblog *planitas* narrates the true story of Andreas who wished to move and because he had a lot of books, decided to use a furniture mover. The employee who is in charge of the move was panting as he got the huge number of books down and said: "Really heavy (βαρετά) these books". Andreas answers: "And to think that I had to read them too" (and what he means is that they were boring)¹⁷⁰. This is one of the instances that could result in clever literary or joking exploitation of the two meanings of the adjective by those who are aware of both meanings in such a word pun.

¹⁷⁰ http://planitas.blogspot.com/2011/12/blog-post_12.html.

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It is one of the few words that are widely known to the Cypriot speakers to have semantic divergence in the two varieties, although the main meaning they are aware of is the first, 'heavy'. The medieval dictionary of Κριαράς online states that the C(S)G meaning (1a) has remained the same since medieval times and the Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 92) and Παπαγγέλου (2001: 144) dictionaries corroborate that it is so, adding also that other meanings of the adjective are 'heavy; stern; unbearable; unpleasant', -all of which were attested by the Κριαράς online dictionary- although those dictionaries do not contribute any examples clarifying the various meanings.

Σακελλαρίου (1891b: 484) and Κυπρή (1989: 351) present the (1e) meaning that may not be especially wide-spread, but does exist in the contemporary C(S)G variety, i.e. 'lazy' 'slow'. This functions once more as a reminder that the C(S)G is by nature a conservative variety, since it records meanings from the 19th century, as this one, and even older ones (very often medieval senses).

The semantic content of the phraseologism *βαρετός κουττούτζιν* is well attested in most dictionaries (Γιαγκουλλής 2014; Παπαγγέλου 2001; Κυπρή 1989). The C(S)G noun *κουττούτζιν* comes from the Turkish noun *kütük*, 'log' and the C(S)G retained the essence of 'heavy like a log' and extended it to any other 'heavy object or person', as well as to '(metaph.) a lot of money, resembling a heavy money brick' and '(metaph.) for sth. that is important, has a bearing, or an important status' (for details, cf. the entry for *κουτούκι*).

Κυπρή (1989: 351) presents many different meanings with the appropriate examples: 1) heavy, 2) harmful, hard to digest, 3) earnest, sensible. Of the three meanings the latter two do not seem to exist in contemporary C(S)G.

Παπαγγέλου (2001: 144) mentions also that the phraseologism *βαρετόν χωράφιν* [vɛrɛ'tɔⁿ#xɔ'rɛfiⁿ] which means 'muddy field' and Παναγιώτου Παπαονησιφόρου (2004: 32) mentions the phraseologism *Εν βαρετή η νοσοιά του* [ɛn#vɛrɛ'ti#i#nɔ'j:ɛ#tu], 'he is a jinx', but we have not been able to find corroborative examples for either of them and they might be obsolete.

Type: (1a), (1c-e) **partial** false friends – **purely semantic**

(1b) **total** false friends – **phraseological**

Venn diagrams: (1a), (1c-e) **inclusion**

(1b) **segregation**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: **βιβλιάριο** [vivli'eriɔ]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **βιβλιάριον** [vivli'eriɔⁿ]

SMG meaning(s):

an official booklet with holder's data needed for public and other services of general interest, such as health care services or banks. [λόγ. < ελνστ. βιβλιάριον, υποκορ. του αρχ. βιβλίον (δες στο βίβλος) σημδ. γαλλ. livret]

C(S)G meaning(s):

booklet, any kind of small book.

Ex.: Υπάρχει μια παρουσίαση αυτού του **βιβλιαρίου** στο Διαδίκτυο από το συνάδελφο τον Σπύρο τον Αντωνέλλο. (K.L.)

Συγκεκριμένα αποτελείται από: 1. Εισαγωγικό **Βιβλιάριο** 2. **Βιβλιάριο** με θέμα: «Δυνατότητες Διαδικτύου» 3. **Βιβλιάριο** με θέμα: «Κίνδυνοι στο Διαδίκτυο και Προτάσεις Αντιμετώπισής τους» 4. **Βιβλιάριο** με θέμα: «Δράσεις και Καλές Πρακτικές για την Ασφάλεια στο Διαδίκτυο» 5. **Βιβλιάριο** με θέμα: «Παιχνίδια και Εκπαίδευση» (http://www.pi.ac.cy/InternetSafety/boithitiko_yliko_entypo.html)

Analysis:

The C(S)G lemma retains the medieval meaning (Κριαράς online) 'small book' or 'treatise'. The SMG lemma has become specialized in a very specific context of usage, that of a booklet not meant for reading, but rather as a history of one's health care treatments or bank statements.

Both lemmas are culturally-specific, since their usage is related to a specific cultural environment that does not have equivalents in the two countries.

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include the lemma, probably due to lack of overt dialectal markers and the fairly recent appearance of the divergent sense.

Type: **total** false friends – **semantic, phonetic** and **pragmatic** (use-related)

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: **βραστός** [vɾe'stɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **βραστός** [vɾe'stɔs]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (for liquids) boiled or boiling hot.
2. (as a noun) *το βραστό*¹⁷¹ [tɔ#vɾe'stɔ], meat soup cooked according to a specific recipe.

Common meaning(s):

1. (for food) cooked by boiling.
2. Greek coffee boiled. [μσν. βραστός<βρασ- (βράζω) -τός]

C(S)G meaning(s):

- 1a. warm, but not boiled. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 180)

Ex.: Στην Ρωσίαν πίννουσιν μπίραν **βραστήν!** (D. P.)

*Όπως εμείς πλυννίσκουμε με το **βραστόν** το νερόν τα μαλλιά των προβάτων έστι έπρεπε να πλυννίσκετε τζ' εσείς τες βρωμιές του κράτους. (Μόντης, 1988c: 211)*

- 1b. fevered; running a fever.

Ex.: Το μέτωπον εν **βραστόν**, έσει πυρετόν. (C. L.)

2. a brew; a hot drink.

Ex.: Να σου κάμω έναν **βραστόν** να πκεις. (T. L.)

*Να σου κάνω ένα **βραστό** γλυκάνισο με μια κουταλιά μέλι, εννά σου ησυχάσει το στομάσι σου. (Πολυδώρου, 2003: 61)*

- 3a. (phr.) *κάθομαι στα βραστά μου* (or any other posses. pron), to lie about, waiting passively for sth. to happen.

Ex.: Ο εθνικισμός έννεν ιδεολογία που μπορεί να **κάτσει** εύκολα **στα βραστά του**. Όσον μεγαλώννει, τόσοσν ξεθαρρεύκει τζιαι [...] αρκεύκει τζιαι επιβάλλει τες ιδέες του. (<http://pattixa.wordpress.com/>)

¹⁷¹ It is very common in the Greek language in general to turn an adjective into a noun by adopting, usu. the masculine or the neuter article as the adjective's article, until the former adjective is fully lexicalized as a noun. In this case, both senses and grammatical categories coexist at this point in time.

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

Αυτό είναι το πρόβλημά σου. Πως κάθεται στα βραστά σου και περιμένεις το ενδιαφέρον να ρθει να σου χτυπήσει την πόρτα. (C. L.)

3b. (phr.) *με καθίζει κάποιος στα βραστά μου* (or any other posses. pron), sb. puts me in my place.

Ex.: *Εβρεθήκαν δκυο-τρεις, μα εκάτσαν τους στα βραστά τους οι μιαλλίτεροι.* (Πολυδώρου.2009: 267)

Analysis:

The adjective βραστός in SMG retains the Ancient Greek meaning of ‘boiling hot’ while in Cyprus it has lessened in intensity and it merely means ‘warm’, or even ‘lukewarm’ (Ανδριώτης 1960: 156). Κριαράς gives many examples from medieval Cypriot texts in which the adjective still meant ‘very hot’. Κυπρή (1989: 363) corroborates the 1st meaning we have presented also by the example she includes (*Εκάθουμουν εις το λαμπρόν τζαι τα πόδκια μου εν βραστά*). Παπαγγέλου (2001) provides first the C(S)G (1a) meaning and then the SMG meanings without realizing that the C(S)G lemma does not identify with the SMG lemma semantically.

Type: **partial** false friend (1a-b) and (2) **purely semantic**

(3a-b) **phraseological** false friend

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: δάχτυλο ['ðextilo]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: δάχτυλον ['ðextiloⁿ]

SMG meaning(s):

Phraseologisms:

1. μετριούνται / είναι μετρημένοι στα δάχτυλα (του ενός χεριού), for few people who are able to do sth.
2. είναι να γλείφεις τα δάχτυλά σου, for sth. that is very tasty.
3. παίζω κτ. στα δάχτυλα, to know sth. to perfection.
4. παίζω κπ. στα δάχτυλα, to play sb. like a puppet.
5. τον δείχνουν με το ~, positively or negatively said for sb. who stands out.
6. μυρίζω τα δάχτυλά μου, for sth. that one cannot possibly know.
7. κρύβομαι πίσω από το δάχτυλό μου, to bury my head in the sand.
8. βάζω (κάπου) το δάχτυλό μου, to participate or help.
9. περπατώ στα δάχτυλα, to walk cautiously so as not to make any noise.
10. δεν τον φτάνεις ούτε στο μικρό του δαχτυλάκι, when sb. is clearly superior and leaves no room for comparison.

Common meaning(s):

1a. finger.

1b. human or animal toe.

2. a splash: Βάλε μου ένα ~ κρασί, pour me a splash. Το τραπέζι έχει ένα ~σκόνη, there is too much dust on the table. [δάχτ-: μσν. δάχτυλο(ν) < δάκτυλον με ανομ. τρόπου άρθρ. [kt > xt] < αρχ. δάκτυλος ό μεταπλ. σε ουδ. με βάση την αιτ.· δάκτ-: λόγ. επίδρ.]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(pl.) a syrupy traditional sweet with pastry and a filling of almonds and flavorings.

Ex.: Και τα δάκτυλα της πεθθεράς μου ξέρεις τα... (Σμυρλή 1997: 66)

«**Δάχτυλα** κυριών». Αυτή είναι μια πολύ παραδοσιακή συνταγή της Κύπρου. Το όνομα είχε μείνει γιατί σερβιριζόταν στα σπίτια μεταξύ των κυριών. Επίσης, στο σχήμα μοιάζουν λίγο και σαν δάχτυλα.
(<http://www.cooktherapy.gr/index.php?app=recipes&code=Sc6McH5F>)

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

Analysis:

This sweet was named thus either because it was rolled using the fingers or because when ready it resembles fingers. It is used in the plural, because they are always presented and bought in large quantities. The C(S)G dictionaries do not mention the lemma.

This pair of false friends is a multiple one, since it combines phonetic with cultural elements, since this type of sweet does not exist in Greece; it is among the typical Cypriot sweets.

Type: **partial** false friends – **phonetic** and **pragmatic (cultural)**

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: δένω ['ðeno]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: δήννω / δίννω ['ðin:ɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

- 1a. (phr.) ~ *κτ. κόμπο*, to consider that sth. that was simply promised is certain.
- 1b. (phr.) ~ *κτ. σε ψιλό μαντίλι*, to consider that sth. that was simply promised is certain.
2. (phr.) *λύνει και δένει*, for sb. with a lot of power, almighty.

Common meaning(s):

- 1a. to tie two ends of a rope or sth. similar or separate strings or ropes together.
- 1b. to bind similar objects with a string.
- 1c. to tether with the help of a rope. (phr.) ~ *το γάιδαρό μου*, to secure myself financially or professionally. (naut.) *Το πλοίο έχει δέσει*, to drop anchor. || ~ *κπ.*, to bind sb. tightly with rope.
- 1d. to bind up or bandage, usually, a body part.
2. (metaph.) a. (coll.) to be legally or morally bound to. b. for the close relationship between two people or a person and sb. or sth. else.
3. to tie or bind together different parts that make up an object, a machine, etc.
4. (metaph.) for the different parts of an intellectual or artistic accomplishment that are bound together in a functional manner.
5. for sth. that changes from one form to another more definitive one, e.g. for the inseminated flower that turns into nut or fruit.
6. for fluids that become denser or more viscous, e.g. in a sauce [μσν. ή ελνστ. δένω < αρχ. δέω μεταπλ. με βάση το συνοπτ. θ. του αόρ. *ἔδησα κατά το σχ.: φθασ- (έφθασα) - φθάνω, αμαρτησ- (αμάρτησα) - αμαρτάνω.*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

- a. (phr.) ~ *φρύδι*, to scowl or frown

Ex.: *Πρώτα μίλησε ο πεθερός του, ο παπάς. Έδεσε το φρύδι κι αγρίεψε τη ματιά. [...] Σταμάτησε για λίγο ο παπάς, ξανάδεσε πιο έντονα το φρύδι και γυρνώντας τη ματιά από τη μια άκρη της πλατείας ως την άλλη τους φώναξε με θυμό. (Κουρέα-Σκουτελά 2010: 248)*

Τότε έδενε το φρύδι και κοίταζε σαν ξένος. (Σμυρλή 1997: 54)

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

b. (metaph., phr.) ~ φρύδι, to frown upon an action or incident.

Ex.: Μόλις ο Δημήτρης Χριστόφιας «έδησεν το φρύδι του» η απαίτηση του ΔΗΚΟ «να θκιαλέξει» Υπουργεία από τα λεγόμενα «παραγωγικά», έβαλε την όπισθεν και αρκέστηκε στα όσα ο νέος πρόεδρος τού έδωσε. (<http://www.tanea-londonnet/APXEIO2007-10/%CE%A3%CE%AC%CF%84%CE%B9%CF%81%CE%B1-%CE%A3%CF%87%CF%8C%CE%BB%CE%B9%CE%B11-%CE%9B.%CE%9C..html>)

Analysis:

The phraseologism that bears the false friendness appears to be an extension or parallel evolution of the adjective *δησόφρυος* [ði'sɔfriɔs] (Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 59) or *δησόβρυδος* [ði'sɔvriðɔs] (Κυπρή 2002: 128) that at first glance refers to sb. with thick eyebrows that actually form one straight eyebrow, while in the second the meaning is metaphorical, 'a heavy, scowling person, the way that people who are angry tend to scowl by bringing their eyebrows together'. So, although the phraseologism we have recorded in literary as well as journalistic texts, is present in C(S)G, it is not recorded by the dictionaries. Attested is only an adjective that we believe predates the phraseologism and constitutes its original source.

Another interesting point that stands out is the fact that the literary authors who are both philologists use the verb in the SMG text without any indication that they have changed into C(S)G (as they would usually do). They have also adapted the verb and the phraseologism to the SMG morphology and use it without any explanatory note, which indicates that they are unaware of the fact that it does not exist in the SMG and would not be immediately understood by the SMG native speakers.

The lemma is a phraseological total false friend only with regard to the C(S)G phraseologism, since it does not appear with different semantic content in the SMG, while with regard to the collocations that are only used in the SMG and do not appear to be in use in the C(S)G, it is a partial false friend, since they share common meanings.

Type: a) **partial** false friends – **morphological**

b) **total** false friends – **phraseological**

Venn diagrams: **inclusion** for the morphological – **segregation** for the phraseological

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: **διασταυρώνω** [ˈðiestevrɔnɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **διασταυρώννω** [ˈðiestevrɔn:ɔ]

Common meaning(s):

1a. to cross swords literally and metaphorically.

1b. to cross-breed.

1c. (metaph.) to cross-check information or news in order to discover the truth.

1d. (phr.) ~ *το βλέμμα μου με το βλέμμα κάποιου*, to look at sb. in the eyes while (s)he is looking back.

2a. (pass.) (for street, train, etc.) when two streets or railway lines cross one another vertically or diagonally.

2b. to cross roads with sb. or sth. as one moves towards the opposite direction.

2c. (phr.) *Πυρά που διασταυρώνονται*, to be in a cross-fire.

2d. (metaph.) said for situations or circumstances (e.g. cultures) that appear simultaneously and usually influence each other. [λόγ. < ελνστ. *διασταυρ(ῶ)* - *ώνω* ὀχυρώνω με φράχτη' με αλλ. της σημ. κατά τη λ. *σταυρός* σημδ. γαλλ. croiser]

C(S)G meaning(s):

to cross the road.

Ex.: Γνωρίζω πώς να **διασταυρώνω** το δρόμο με ασφάλεια.

(http://www.nicosiascouts.org.cy/Kladoi_Eidikotites/Klados_Likopoulou_n/Kanonismoι_kladou_likopoulonpdf)

*Ως τη μαύρη μέρα που το μοναχοπαίδι της Θεοδώρας, έν' αγόρι δέκα χρονώ, σγουρόμαλλο και ζωηρό, το σκότωσ' έν' αυτοκίνητο, όταν το παιδί βγήκε από το στενό και μούνταρε απρόσεχτο να **διασταυρώσει** τον μεγάλο δρόμο. (Πιερίδης 1993: 104)*

Analysis:

Although the SMG (2a) meaning appears to be the same as the C(S)G one, there are certain differences. The (2a) appears in the passive voice and the subject of the verb is an inanimate object in the sense of two streets or railways lines making a cross, but it could never regard a person. The C(S)G meaning is in the active voice and its subject is always an animate object. The difference between the two is grammatical that results in a semantic difference and a pragmatic clash for the SMG native speaker, since the lemma in his/her worldview cannot

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

be attributed to a person's action. The action described by the C(S)G meaning in SMG is conveyed by either the phraseologism *διασχίζω (τον δρόμο)* [ðie'sxizɔ(#tɔn#'ðrɔmɔ)] or the phraseologism *περνάω απέναντι* [pe'rneɔ#e'penɛndi]. Since the differentiation appears on both a grammatical level (different voice), as well as a syntactic level (animate vs. inanimate), we consider this a pair of multiple (grammar-syntax) false friends. There is also a phonetic distinction that is common in all C(S)G verbs ending in [nɔ] as it always geminates into [n:ɔ].

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include the lemma among their entries, probably due to lack of any overt dialectal markers.

Type: **partial** false friends – **grammatical, syntactic** and **phonetic**

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: **εξαπολύω** [eksepɔ'liɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **ξαπολώ** [kseɔ'lo]

C(S)G allomorph: **ξαπολυώ** [kseɔ'lo] / **ξαπελώ** [kseɔ'e'lo] / **ξαπολύω** [kseɔ'liɔ] / **αξαπολώ** [eksepɔ'lo] / **αξαπολύω** [eksepɔ'liɔ]

Common meaning(s):

1a. to unleash sth. against sth. or sb.

1b. (gen) to turn against sb. aggressively.

2. (metaph.) to utter. [λόγ. επίδρ. στο ξαπολώ (δες λ.) κατά την ετυμ. της λ.: εξ-αρχ. άπολύω]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. to leave or abandon sb. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 349, Κυπρή 1989: 142, Κυπρή 2003: 185, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 768)

Ex.: Πέτε μου το καθαρά να τελειώνει τούν το βάσανο. **Εξαπόλυσε** με, εν με θέλει. (Πολυδώρου 2003: 243)

1b. to give up on sth.; to abandon sth.

Ex.: **Εξαπόλυσε** τα ούλλα τζι έφνε. (G.G.)

Ξαπόλα ό,τι κάμνεις, σάσε ένα καλάθι, πάρε τζιαι καθαρά σεντόνια τζιαι πήαιννε τωρά να τον δεις. (Πολυδώρου 2003: 196)

2a. to let go of sth. or sb. (Κυπρή 1989: 142, Κυπρή 2002: 334, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 768)

Ex.: Σιγά μεν τα **ξαπολύσει** [τα αυτοκινητάκια]. Για κανενός τη χάρη εν τα **ξαπολά**. (D.P.)

2b. when sth. falls or is let go inadvertently or by mistake. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 768)

Ex.: Μια συμμαθήτρια εξιπάστην τζιε **εξαπόλυσεν** το κλάτς τζιαί έμπηξεν την του ομπροστινού της (ούπς-φταίει ο πίσω!!!). (http://biker-cy.blogspot.com/2009_07_01_archive.html)

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3a. (act., for animals) to untie or let out|| (pass.) to be or get untied. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 349, Κυπρή 1989: 142, Κυπρή 2003: 185, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 768)

Ex.: *Μουχτάρης: Πού είσαι ρε γεναίκα; Πιστού: Είπα να **ξαπολύσω** νάκκον τα χτηνά.* (Κουκίδης 2007a: 291)

***Εξαπολύθηκε** ο γάδαρος του γείτονα τζι έφαε τα ούλλα στες αυλάες.* (C.L.)

3b. to let sb. loose to find sth. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 769)

Ex.: *Με το που μπαίνω στο πάρκιν **ξαπολώ** την συνοδό μου όπως τον σοιύλλον τον λαονικό να πάει να έβρει τόπο ώστε να έβρει πάρκιν τζιαι να σταθεί αντρόςιν τζιαιμαί ώστε να παρκάρω.* (<https://xenihtikon.wordpress.com/2007/12/21/%CF%83%CF%85%CE%BB%CE%BB%CE%BF%CE%B3%CE%AE-%CE%BA%CF%85%CF%80%CF%81%CE%B9%CE%B1%CE%BA%CF%8E%CE%BD-%CE%B5%CE%BC%CF%80%CE%B5%CE%B9%CF%81%CE%B9%CF%8E%CE%BD-the-mall-of-cyprus/>)

3c. to let sb. loose to roam. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 768)

Ex.: *Στο Mall πάω συχνά (γιατί εν κοντά στο σπίτι μου, βρίσκω εύκολα ππαρκιν τζιαι γιατί την Μακαρίου βαρκούμαι την) αλλά τον πανικόν που είδα νύχταν Παρασκευής με τους teens να περιφέρουνται όπως τες άδικες κατάρες γιατί τους **εξαπολύσαν** οι γονιοί τους τζιαμε για να ησυχάσουν για λλίες ώρες εν το είδα ούτε όταν ανοιξε... (<https://xenihtikon.wordpress.com/2007/12/21/%CF%83%CF%85%CE%BB%CE%BB%CE%BF%CE%B3%CE%AE-%CE%BA%CF%85%CF%80%CF%81%CE%B9%CE%B1%CE%BA%CF%8E%CE%BD-%CE%B5%CE%BC%CF%80%CE%B5%CE%B9%CF%81%CE%B9%CF%8E%CE%BD-the-mall-of-cyprus/>)*

4. (metaph.) to put aside; to stop attending to sb. or sth.

Ex.: ***Εξαπόλυσεν** τον Χριστόφκιαν, τον Παπαδόπουλλον, τον Μακάριον, τον Γρίβαν τζιαι τους άλλους νοητούς ογράκους που στοισιώννουν την ύπαρξην του,τζι έπιασεν τωρά την ακαθαρσίαν των τουρκοκυπρίων.* (<http://www.epanenosi.com/index.php/archives/1243>)

Analysis:

Meanings (1a), (2a) and (3a) are attested in the Cypriot variety since the medieval era (Κριαράς online). Meanings not attested at that time are mere evolutions of those that have a long linguistic history behind them, i.e. they are extensions.

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

The SMG meanings and C(S)G ones are related to each other and it is obvious they have all followed different evolutionary paths that over time will continue to diverge. One other basic difference between the two lemmas in general is register-related. The SMG lemma belongs to the higher registers, being considered a word of military jargon in its literal meanings and official or journalistic jargon as regards its 2nd sense. The C(S)G on the other hand, belongs to a lower register, since it belongs to every-day speech and especially the 3rd sense could be considered slang.

Type: **partial** false friends – **semantic** and **pragmatic (stylistic)**

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: **έρημος** [ˈɛrimɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **έρημος** [ˈɛrimɔs]

C(S)G allomorph: **γέρημος** [ˈɣɛrimɔs]

SMG meaning(s):

a. (proverb) *Ο φόβος φυλάει τα έρημα*, the possibility of punishment is a deterring factor, even when the illegal act will probably not be revealed immediately.

b. (to express fondness or distress for sth.): *Τα έρημα τα γηρατειά / τα ξένα!*

Common meaning(s):

1a. (esp. for a place) lonesome, unfrequented or uninhabited.

1b. deserted and usually unguarded.

2a. (emot. esp. for pers.) lonely.

2b. unhappy; forlorn. [αρχ. (αττ. διάλ.) έρημος]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. (expressing fondness, liking) poor thing, (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 202)

Ex.: *Όμως έτες, κόρη Λυσιστράτη, λλίες πώρκονται, τες γέρημες.* (Μόντης 1988c: 97)

1b. a hopeless case; sb. who is good for nothing. (Κυπρή 2002: 114, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 119, Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 21)

Ex.: *Τούτος εν τέλεια γέρημος, εν κάμνει για τίποτε.* (P.P.)

2. (pl. as an interj.) *τα γέρημα*, 'damn it'.

Ex.: *Α ρε SUPERKOKO μου που τα "Έροτήανα Πάφου", τι μου έκαμες; Είμαι τζιαί σινγκλ 'κόμα, τα γέρημα!* (<http://www.thecorrupted.org/category/humor/>)

3. (phr.) *κάμνω τα μαύρα τζαι γέρημα*, to make a mess of things; to cause sth. to be in an awful state.

Ex.: *Ένα λεπτόν» λαλώ του, «αφού εν ανοιχτή η Αγορά, να μπούμεν μέσα να την δούμεν». Εμπήκαμεν πο την πόρταν της δύσης. Μια γερημία μέσα. Δεξιά τα δέκα μαχαζιά τους κασάπιες μαύρα τζαι γέρημα τζαι τούτα.* (<http://www.rizokarpasoncom/odiporontas2.htm>)

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

4a. (phr.) *κάμνω τα γέρημα*, to make a mess of things.

Ex.: *Ο γιος σου ανεκάτεψε το σπίτιν ούλλον, **έκαμεν τα γέρημα!*** (D.P.)

4b. (phr.) *κάμνω τα γέρημα*, to make a mess of things; to fail.

Ex.: *Ήταν φιάσκο τότε. **Εκάμαμεν τα γέρημα.*** (G. M.)

4c. (phr.) *κάμνω τα γέρημα*, to make a mess of things; to make sth. dirty.

Ex.: *Είπε να μαειρέψει τζ' **έκαμεν τα γέρημα!** Εκαθάριζα ούλλον το βράδυν!*
(T.L.)

5. (phr.) *(που) να μείνουν γέρημα*, finally; in the end; after all.

Ex.: *Είβα για τις πίκρες, για τις χαρές, για τις κατακτήσεις, για τις απογοητεύσεις, ε τζιαι που **να μείνουν γέρημα** είβα τζιαι για μια Κύπρο καλλύτερη.* (http://kato-ydata.blogspot.gr/2009/12/blog-post_26.html)

Analysis:

It appears that both allomorphs, *έρημος* ['erimos] and *γέρημος* ['jerimos] are used in C(S)G, mainly due to the influence of SMG. When that happens, the SMG allomorph is used solely for the common meanings, while the C(S)G allomorph can express both common and C(S)G meanings.

The Κυπρή (2003: 188) dictionary focuses on the common meaning for a place that is uninhabited, uncultivated or deserted. The Γιαγκουλλής phraseological dictionary (2005: 106) presents a slightly different meaning for the phraseological unit *να μείνουν μαύρα τζιαι γέρημα*, [ne#'minun#'menvre#dʒe#'jerime], claiming that it is used for cases of desolation and loneliness.

Type: **partial** false friends – **pragmatic** and **phraseological** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: **ευλογημένος** [evloji'menɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **ευλοημένος** [evloi'menɔs] C(S)G allomorph: **βλοημένος** [vloi'menɔs]

Common meaning(s):

1a. blessed by God and church, a person considered venerable. || with material or spiritual riches, blissful.

1b. (for God) hallowed.

2. used in mild expressions of annoyance or exasperation as noun for persons. [ελνστ. *εύλογημένος* μππ. του αρχ. *εύλογῶ*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

a. (pl., neut., usually as an interj.) *τα ευλοημένα*, damn it.

Ex.: Έτο έχω πονοτζέφαλον, **τα ευλοημένα**. (Σάββα, 2009: 54)

*Εχώριστικα μεν ο καθένας σε ενα δωμάτιον τζιαι αγνοουμεν ο ένας τον άλλον. Πιάννει με το παραπονον **τα ευλοημένα**. Ιντα με εξεσηκωσεν να ρτω πισω αφου έξερεν οτι εν μουσκουρουθκια που μου ελάλεν; (http://post-babylonblogspot.com/2010_02_01_archive.html)*

b. (pl., neut., usually as an interj.) *τα ευλοημένα*, anyway, anyhow.

Ex.: Έννεν σωστό **τα ευλοημένα**! (http://neerie.blogspot.com/2009/10/blog-post_20.html)

*[...] παραμένουν με τον αέραν του «Εν μάππα **τα ευλοημένα**! Δεν χρειάζεται να κάμουμεν effort, τον κόσμο δεν τον κόφτει ο σχολιασμός». (<http://alexmalaos.com/cypriot-commentators-and-lack-of-linguistic-creativity/>)*

Analysis:

This false friend functions as a discourse marker and the only dictionary that mentions it is Κυπρή (1989: 399) that presents only the SMG (1a). The rest of the dictionaries ignore it completely, probably because they consider the SMG and C(S)G words identical.

This is a multiple-level false friends' pair, because apart from the morphological and phonetic divergence, it has different connotations too. The C(S)G set phrase that is only used in the plural, always has a connotation of annoyance and exasperation but not for persons, it may be used for anything, from inanimate objects, to abstract notion and situations, as well as persons. It could

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

furthermore be considered a phraseological false friend, since the differentiation occurs only with regard to the set phrase and no other sense of the adjective

Type: **partial** false friends – **semantic, phonetic, morphological, phraseological** and **pragmatic (connotative)**

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: **καθιστώ** [keθi'stɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **καταστήνω** [kete'stinɔ]

Common meaning(s):

1. (sch.) to make sth. or sb. acquire a quality or enter into a circumstance.
- 1a. (main leg. term): *Τον κατέστησε κληρονόμο του*, he named him his heir.
- 1b. *Την κατέστησε έγκυο*, he impregnated her.

C(S)G meaning(s):

to cook sth. over low temperature until the cooked food acquires the desired viscosity. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 206, Κυπρή 1989: 130, Κυπρή 1989: 458, Κυπρή 2002: 204, Κυπρή 2003: 158, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 430, Χατζιωάννου 1996: 77)

Ex.: *Άμαν το κρομμύδι πάρει λίον χρωματούιν, σύρνουμεν μέσα τες τομάτες, το τσίλι, το άλας τζιαι το πιπέριν τζιαι αφήνουμεν το να **καταστηθεί** σε μέτρια φωθκιά, κανένα 20λεπτο.* (http://post-babylonblogspot.com/2009/12/blog-post_17.html)

*Στη συνέχεια τα βάζουμε στην κατσαρόλα όλα μαζί, προσθέτουμε λίγο νερό και τα σβήνουμε με το κρασί που περίσσεψε. Προσθέτουμε το λεμόνι, αλάτι και σιγοψήνουμε μέχρι να **καταστηθεί**.* ([http://mykypros.com/C\(S\)Gibin/hweb?-A=661&-V=gevseis&w=](http://mykypros.com/C(S)Gibin/hweb?-A=661&-V=gevseis&w=))

Analysis:

Although the SMG and the C(S)G lemmas appear very different, they are in fact the same word and derived from the same Ancient Greek verb, but they can be found in different registers. The SMG verb is considered high register, used by officials, politicians, journalists and anyone wishing to address someone in a high register combined usually with abstract nouns and adjectives. The C(S)G lemma belongs to the vocabulary of everyday communication and it coexists with its more scholarly form in high register as well, in what Greek Cypriots view as SMG lexicon.

Type: **partial** false friends – **morphological** and **pragmatic (register-related)**

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: **καταλύω** [kete'lio]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **καταλυώ** [kete'li:ɔ]

C(S)G allomorph: **καταλιώ** [kete'li:ɔ]

Common meaning(s):

I1a. to destroy or abolish an abstract notion.

1b. to undermine the status quo with violations and infringements.

2a. (eccl.) to break fast.

2b. (for priest) to consume the remainder of the Holy Communion after the faithful have taken their share. [λόγ.: 1: αρχ. καταλύω· 2: μσν. σημ.]

II. (chem.) to act as a catalyst. [λόγ. < καταλύω ¹ σημδ. γαλλ. catalyser < catalyse (δες στο κατάλυση ²)]

III. (schol.) to lodge somewhere temporarily. [λόγ. < αρχ. καταλύω]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. to use sth. up, until it has finished or is expended (main liquids, e.g. water or gasoline). (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 205, Κυπρή 2002: 202, Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 31, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 426, Σακελλάριος 1891b: 580, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 76)

Ex.: **Εκατάλυσες** ούλλον το νερό! Πώς θα κάνω το μωρό μπάνιο; (E.S.)

"Κόρη ακόμα λύνεσαι ?? Πόση ώρα ? **Εκατάλυσες** ούλο το ντεπόζιτο."
(Τζαι φκαίνει εξω γεμάτη σαπουνιές τζαι κρέμες).
(http://tatsologio.blogspot.com/2011_11_01_archive.html)

Αθθυμιζει μου συγκριτικα κομματα που αντεχουν γιατι εχουν αποθεμα παρα γιατι **εκαταλυσαν** την πεζινα τους. (<http://aneforiwnoun.blogspot.com/2011/12/1072011.html>)

2. to destroy or wear down. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 205, Κυπρή 2002: 202, Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 31, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 426, Σακελλάριος 1891: 580)

Ex.: Φτώχεια, που νιάτια κοκκαλιείς και που τα μαρανκιάζεις και πον τ' αφήνεις να χαρούν μήτε μιαν σταλαμήν, που φευκατίζεις και πολλούς και που καταρηνμάζεις και 'που την πείναν **καταλυείς** τ' άχαρόν τους κορμίν, που τους βωβώννεις κι εν μπορούν τα θέλουσιν να πούσιν, πον τους αφήνεις να καμμούν, μήτε να κοιμηθούσιν. (https://el.wikisource.org/wiki/%CE%97_%CF%86%CF%84%CF%8E%CF%87%CE%B5%CE%B9%CE%B1)

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

3. to weaken or wear down (mainly due to disease). (Κυπρή 1989: 129, Κυπρή 2002: 202, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 426)

Ex.: *Η γριά **εκαταλύθη** που τη αρρώστια τζι εγίνην αγνώριστη. Πριν λλίες μέρες που την είδα εσυντύχανεν μια χαράν, ερώταν με για την δουλειάν μου τζι επαραπονιέτουν που δεν εθώρεν καλά για να δκιαβάζει την Αγίαν Γραφήν.* (<http://xenihikonwordpress.com/2009/04/30/%CE%BD%CE%B5%CE%BA%CF%81%CE%BF%CE%BB%CE%BF%CF%8D%CE%BB%CE%BB%CE%BF%CF%85%CE%B4%CE%B1/>)

Analysis:

For the speakers of C(S)G, the two lemmas are two distinct words. They consider the verb *καταλύω* [kete'lio] to belong to the SMG, since it is used in higher registers, while the verb *καταλυώ* [kete'li:ɔ] is part of the dialect. The speakers of SMG will consider that they are actually one lemma, since it is quite often that the morphology and phonetics of C(S)G change the words accordingly, with the use of synizesis, which is also a characteristic trait of the dialect. The perceived morphological identity of the two lemmas will probably lead them to perceive the semantic content of the lemmas as identical as well.

Even speakers of the C(S)G might have the same subconscious belief as well, even if they might consider the form with synizesis as more Cypriot one than the other. Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 205) in his dictionary records the lemma in the following way: *καταλύω – καταλυώ – καταλιώ* (with synizesis). Σακελλάριος (1891: 580) on a similar vein records the lemma as *καταλύω*, but he mentions that it is also said with synizesis, as *καταλυώ* and the examples he records present the verb in the latter form.

The SMG lemma is considered a high register verb used mainly for abstract notions, as in the phrase *καταλύω τη δημοκρατία* [kete'lio#ti#ðimɔcre'tie], 'to abolish democracy', while the C(S)G lemma is used in everyday speech. But, since the verb in C(S)G is also pronounced differently, due to the synizesis, the false friends' pair is both phonetic and pragmatic (register-related).

Type: **partial** false friends - **phonetic** and **pragmatic (register-related)**

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: **κοπέλα** [kɔ'pele]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **κοπέλλα** [kɔ'pe:le]

Common meaning(s):

1a. young woman; older girl; gal.

1b. girlfriend.

2a. (interj.) used as a diminutive or reproachfully, depending on the tone of voice or the context.

2b. young employee in usually low positions.

2c. domestic help; maid. [μσν. κοπέλα < κοπέλ(ι)μεγεθ. -α· κοπέλ(α) -ίτσα· κοπέλ(α) -άρα]

C(S)G meaning(s):

used as a polite way to refer to any woman, regardless of her age.

Ex.: *Είναι μια **κοπέλα** που περιμένει ταξί για την Αμμόχωστο. (Y.I.)*

*- Είμαστε όλοι εδώ; - Έφυγε μία **κοπέλα**. (S.P.)*

Analysis:

In both examples above we were present. The first was said by a 15-year old student for the main character in the short story by G. Pierides entitled *Madness* (*Αλλοφροσύνη*) who is a woman between 40 and 50 years of age. The second instance took place in a seminar and the woman referred to was approximately 50 years of age. Such a use in Greece, for any woman over 25 or at the most over 30 years of age would be unthinkable, while in Cyprus it can be used in this manner without surprising any C(S)G speaker. It is possible that the reason behind this differentiation is the fact that the feminine noun *κόρη*¹⁷² in Cyprus has some of the attributes reserved for *κοπέλα* in Greece. It is probably an extension of the original meaning of the noun covering a wider age range as a form of polite address. The C(S)G dictionaries only include the common with the SMG variety meanings.

It is both morphological and pragmatic (connotative), since it differs on the morphological/phonetic level as well as the pragmatic and semantic.

Type: **partial** false friends – **morphological** and **pragmatic (connotative)**

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

¹⁷² Although that too could be used as an interjection of familiarity and as a diminutive by mothers towards their daughters, regardless of the daughters' age.

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SMG lemma: **κουτάλα** [ku'teɫe]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **κουτάλα** [ku'teɫe]

SMG meaning(s):

(metaph., coll.) the possibility to gain benefits in an illegal manner, mainly through power.

Common meaning(s):

1. a wooden or metal ladle used for cooking or serving food.
- 2.(oral.) clamps; forceps.
3. (coll., obs.) shoulder blade; scapula. [μσν. κουτάλα ίσως < κουτάλα¹ από την ομοιότητα του σχήματος]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. shoulder blade; scapula. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 258, Κυπρή 1989: 31, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 548)

Ex.: *Απλώς, κάνω ό,τι περνάει από το χέρι μου και παράλληλα είπα να μοιραστώ μαζί σας τη σκέψη που κάνω κάθε φορά που πονώ τις **κουτάλες** μου από το άπλωμα των ρούχων...* (<http://a-sofo-logies.blogspot.com/>)

1b. arm. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 258, Κυπρή 2002: 251, Κυπρή 2003: 73, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 93, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 548)

Ex.: *Στην Αγγλία, λίγο πριν έρθω Κύπρο, μια γυναίκα μου ζήτησε να τη σταυρώσω: της είχαν διαγνώσει καρκίνο στη δεξιά **κουτάλα** (εψες που εκδιάβαζα ανατομία ήταν καθαρά το λατινικό όνομα η ΚΟΥΤΑΛΑ), στην κοιλιά και τους πνεύμονες.* (<http://sxoliazomenwordpress.com/author/roam365/>)

1c. a piece of meat starting over the thigh and extending to the animal's shoulder blade (rump). (<http://wikipriaka.com/>)

Ex.: *Προτιμώ να θωρώ πόσα έν η χοιρινή **κουτάλα** του Ορφανίδη (επόφκαλες μας ρε φιλε) τούντην εφτομάδα παρά τη φατσούδα σας την παμπόνηρη* (<http://eimai-ninja.blogspot.com/>)

2. (phr.) *ώσπου φτάνει η κουτάλα μου*, with all my strength.

Ex.: *Κόρη, εν τζιαι γελάς μου εμένα, πε μου τωρά, γιατί αν σε αρπάξω που το βρουλλί εννά σε συντριολίσω **ώσπου φτάνει η κουτάλα μου**.* (Πολυδώρου 2009: 205)

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3. (phr.) *φκαίνουν οι κουτάλες μου*, to be or get tired.

Ex.: *Μόνο που έφερε πολλή λάσπη τζιαι λάρμη, εννά μας φκουν οι κουτάλες να τα καθαρίσουμε.* (Πολυδώρου 2009: 15)

Analysis:

According to both the ΔΚΝ and the ΔΝΕΓ (2002: 952) dictionaries, one of the senses that the lemma has in SMG is identical to the SC(S)G (1a) sense. The ΧΛΝΓ (2014: 878) though, that is the newest among the Modern Greek language dictionaries does not include this sense. Furthermore, we have been unable to find any current examples of usage for this meaning, a fact that combined with the previous remarks has led us to believe that this sense in SMG is probably obsolete or literary and then limited in mostly previous centuries' works or even dialectal ones.

Even if we were to concede that this sense continues in use, the C(S)G one is the noun generically used to signify 'shoulder blade', while in SMG this sense would be a marked one, related with colloquial or vulgar speech and confined to either the lowest of the social strata or the literary world. Furthermore, the C(S)G lemma is exceedingly prolific and it is extended in many more uses than the one attributed to SMG.

Type: **(1) partial** false friends –**purely semantic** and **pragmatic** (frequency differentiation)

(2 and 3) **total** false friends - **phraseological**

Venn diagrams: **(1) intersection** – **(2) segregation**

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SMG lemma: **κυβερνητικός** [civɛrni'ti'kɔs] Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **κυβερνητικός** [civɛrni'ti'kɔs]

Common meaning(s):

1a. belonging or related to the government.

1b. belonging to the party in government.

2. friendly towards the government. [λόγ. κυβέρνη(ση) -τικός (διαφ. το αρχ. Κυβερνητικός `ικανός τιμονιέρης`)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. state-related.

Ex.: *Η **Κυβερνητική** Πύλη Διαδικτύου είναι ένας Διαδικτυακός Τόπος (Website) και αποτελεί το κεντρικό σημείο πρόσβασης/εισόδου σε όλες τις διαθέσιμες κυβερνητικές πληροφορίες και ηλεκτρονικές υπηρεσίες (eServices).* (<http://www.kepa.govercy/egov/cyprusgovrbhtml>)

*Ο Κυπριακός **Κυβερνητικός** Σιδηρόδρομος (ΚΚΣ) (αγγλικά: Cyprus Government Railway, C(S)GR) ήταν ένα σιδηροδρομικό δίκτυο που λειτουργούσε στην Κύπρο από τον Οκτώβριο του 1905 μέχρι το Δεκέμβριο του 1951.* (http://el.wikipedia.org/wiki/%CE%9A%CF%85%CF%80%CF%81%CE%B9%CE%B1%CE%BA%CF%8C%CF%82_%CE%9A%CF%85%CE%B2%CE%B5%CF%81%CE%BD%CE%B7%CF%84%CE%B9%CE%BA%CF%8C%CF%82_%CE%A3%CE%B9%CE%B4%CE%B7%CF%81%CF%8C%CE%B4%CF%81%CE%BF%CE%BC%CE%BF%CF%82)

2. civil servant.

Ex.: *Είναι το έκτο και τελευταίο παιδί του Θεοδούλου Μόντη και της Καλομοίρας Μπατίστα. Ο πατέρας του είναι **κυβερνητικός** υπάλληλος από τη Λάπηθο.* (http://www.costasmontis.com/biography_gr.html)

*Ελύσαν τα 2 μπροστινά μου δόντια τζαι εν είμαι υψηλόβαθμος **κυβερνητικός** να βάλω καινούρια. (M.L.)*

Analysis:

This false friends' pair has an interesting peculiarity: it is in fact two different types of false friends. The (1) C(S)G meaning functions always as an adjective and as such differs with regard to the context in which it is used. In Greece the terms *government* and *state* have different contexts of use to those that appear in the English language. They are two distinct notions that were probably differentiated after the first years of the Greek state after the War of

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Independence, when it became impossible to let them continue as they were then. In those first decades of a free state, the governments did not show any special endurance and could only manage to rule for a few months and each time the government changed, civil servants changed with them, because they were usually appointed by those governments as a means of vote-hunting. The situation became impossible after some time, since the state could not truly function with such constant change and it was decreed that the civil servants would hold permanent positions not apt to change with each governmental change. From that historical decision onwards, it became quite clear that the civil servants did not form part of the government, nor did any state mechanism. State and national institutions remain apart from any governmental machinations and the authorities, departments, institutions etc. are called either 'state' or 'national'. So, in this instance, the adjective is a connotative and usage-related false friend (pragmatic).

The C(S)G (2) meaning is an adjective that is in the process of becoming lexicalized as a noun. The difference between the first example presented and the second is the absence of the the noun of the phraseologism *κυβερνητικός υπάλληλος* [civɛrniti'kɔs#i'pɛl:ilɔs] vs. *κυβερνητικός* [civɛrniti'kɔs]. The phraseologism with the noun has a connotation of more formal register, while the lexicalized adjective that has dropped the noun belongs to a more colloquial register, used in everyday conversation to denote civil servants. This false friends' pair is a purely semantic partial pair that may have started as a pragmatic one, but it has acquired a truly different meaning.

Neither of the two semantic differentiations to the C(S)G s mentioned in any C(S)G dictionary, possibly due to morphological and phonetic convergence.

Type: (a) **partial** false friends – **pragmatic**

(b) **partial** false friends – **purely semantic**

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

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SMG lemma: κώλος ['kɔls]

Grammatical category: n. (masc.)

C(S)G lemma: κώλος ['kɔls]

C(S)G allomorph: κωλίν [kɔ'liːn]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (prov.) *Τα μεταξωτά βρακιά θέλουν κι επιδέξιους κώλους*, for behavior that is not analogous to the social position as it should, or for endeavors difficult to accomplish.
2. (prov.) *Πότε ο Γιάννης δεν μπορεί, πότε ο ~ του πονεί*, for people who always find an excuse to avoid doing things.
3. (prov.) *Έκανε κι η μύγα κώλο κι έχασε τον κόσμο όλο*, for sb. inconsequential who thinks that has acquired value.
4. (phr.) *μου βγαίνει ο ~*, to exhaust myself.
5. (phr.) *μου έπιασε τον κώλο*, when sb. else exploits or deceives sb.
6. (phr.) *θα σου κόψω τον κώλο*, as a threat.
7. (phr.) *αν σου βαστάει ο ~*, if you dare.
8. (phr.) *στρώσε τον κώλο σου*, to get down to work or to studying.
9. (phr.) *χτυπά τον κώλο μου κάτω*, to try too much.
10. (phr.) *πήρε ο~ του φωτιά*, for incessant and urgent work.
11. (phr.) *γίναμε ~*, to fight.
12. (phr.) *του κώλου*, for sth. that is unworthy, worthless or petty.
13. (phr.) *του κώλου τα εννιάμερα*, for unimportant or stupid things.
14. (phr.) *μιλούν όλοι, μιλούν κι οι κώλοι*, for sb. worthless that intervenes in a discussion without adding truly sth.
15. (phr.) *τα θέλει ο ~ μου*, to go asking for it or to cause sth. to happen, while I appear to ostensibly deny that.
16. (phr.) *στήνω κώλο*, to accept to be humiliated or degraded in order to achieve sth.
- 17a. the back part of clothes that touches on the buttocks.
- 17b. the rear back.

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Common meaning(s):

1. (oral.) the buttocks.
2. the rear or bottom part of certain objects.: *Ο ~ του αυγού. Ο ~ της βελόνας.*
3. (phr.) (*είναι*) ~ και βρακί, to be very tight with sb.; chums. [μσν. κώλος < ελνστ. κῶλος `πρωκτός' < αρχ. κῶλον `μέλος του σώματος' (μεταπλ. με βάση την αιτ.), ή σφαλερή γραφή του αρχ. κόλον (δες λ.) από επίδρ. της λ. κῶλον ή επίδρ. στη λ. κόλον του λατ. culus `οπίσθια'·κώλ(ος) -αράκι, -αράκος· κώλ(ος) -άρα]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. (metaph.) the bottom of a cooking utensil (e.g. pot or kettle). (Κυπρή 2002: 264, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 709)

Ex.: *Έκατσα τζιαι έφαα τα, τζιαι στο τέλος είπα: άτε, γλύψε τζιαι τον κώλο της μαείρισσας να σου περάσει η φαντασιά.* (http://acerasanthropophorum.blogspot.com.cy/2010/05/blog-post_08.html)

Η οικογένεια Μιχάλη και Δέσποινας Μεταξά απολαμβάνουν την μουσταλευριά (παλουζέ) από το κώλο του χαρτζιού στην αυλή του σπιτιού τους μαζί με τα παιδιά τους. ([http://www.phinivillage.com/C\(S\)Gibin/hweb?-A=5562&-V=retro](http://www.phinivillage.com/C(S)Gibin/hweb?-A=5562&-V=retro))

2. (metaph., phr.) *ο ~ της όρνιθας*, for a nervous person or sb. who cannot stand still. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 709)

Ex.: *Ο κώλος της όρνιθας εν ο παππούς σου. Εν τζιαι κάθεται έναν τόπο.* (T.L.)

Analysis:

The phenomenon exists in relation to the phraseologisms (1) and (2), both of which are very common. At the same time, the masculine noun κώλος ['kɔ̌ɫɔs], 'ass' is mostly used in Cyprus in the context of these two collocations and less so as the anatomical part of human physiology. Furthermore, the other phraseologisms that are very common in SMG tend to be avoided in Cyprus. The outcome is that the false friends' pair is multiple, existing on the phraseological as well as the stylistic level, since swearing and swear words are generally more avoided in Cyprus than they are in Greece.

Furthermore, the two C(S)G senses appear to be extensions of the 2nd common meaning, first the one we have placed first, since it is easy to see that the C(S)G has extended the common meaning into more sectors of everyday life and at the same time restricted it mainly to a cooking context. The second C(S)G meaning was probably created by a metaphor based on the traits of chickens who do not seem to ever sit down and rest. People who end to never sit down were likened

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to the 'backside of the chicken', that never seems to sit down (unless it lays or broods eggs).

Type: **partial** false friends – **phraseological** and **pragmatic** (**stylistic and contextual**)

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

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SMG lemma: λαμπρός [le'mbrɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: λαμπρός [le'mbrɔs]

Common meaning(s):

1. bright; glowing.
2. (metaph.) brilliant; illustrious.

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. hot due to bright sunlight. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 586)

Ex.: *Εν λαμπρόν.* (D.P.)

Ήτουν ο γρόνος δίσεχτος μήνας Δευτερογιούνης τη στράταν που πηαίννασιν λαμπρόν την πκιάννει μιάλον. (http://www.stixoi.info/stixoi.php?info=Lyricsandact=detailsandsong_id=617)

2a. (phr.) *(εν)να πέσει λαμπρόν να* (pers. pron ACC.) *κάψει*¹⁷³, fire shall rain down on (pers. pron ACC). (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 586, Παναγιώτου Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 63)

Ex.: *Κόρη αφορισμένη, έριξες τα μμάθκια σου πάνω σε παντρεμένο; Εννά πέσει λαμπρό που τον ουρανó να σε κάψει.* (Πολυδώρου 2009: 204)

2b. (phr.) *(να πέσει) λαμπρόν να με κάψει, ορ λαμπρόν τζαι να με κάψει*, may God strike me down (if I am lying), said in order to stress the truthfulness of the person saying it. (Παναγιώτου Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 63)

Ex.: *Αν σου λαλώ ψέμματα, να πέσει λαμπρόν να με κάψει.* (D.P.)

Analysis:

The C(S)G lemma is a false friend to the SMG adjective in its lexicalized noun form in the neuter gender. It was possibly lexicalized from the phraseologism *λαμπρόν φως* [le'mbrɔn#fɔs] that meant the sun, or it may have come from the phraseologism *λαμπρόν πυρ* [le'mbrɔn#pɪr], 'glowing fire' and remained as a lexicalized noun in this form already in medieval times. The C(S)G sense of 'heat' is retained until today (as in 1), but although the sense of 'fire' was in use until several decades ago (Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 39, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 98, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 274, Σακελλαρίου 1891b: 630, Κυπρή 1989: 271, Κυπρή 2003: 21), it only survives today in the phraseologisms (2a and 2b) (of possibly biblical origin as they were probably translated in the vernacular to be

¹⁷³ It is the C(S)G equivalent of the SMG phrase *θα πέσει φωτιά να (+ pers. pron. ACC.) κάψει* [θe#'pesi#fɔ'tɛ#ne#'kepsi] 'fire shall rain down on (pers. pron. ACC.)'.

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understood by uneducated people that formed the majority of the congregation), *(εν)να πέσει λαμπρόν να* (*pers. pron ACC.*) *κάψει* ‘fire shall rain down on (*pers. pron. ACC.*)’. The (2b) variation is used as an oath, in contrast to (2a) that is said in a preventative manner in order to signify the punishment of wrong actions.

There existed in medieval times two more meanings of the lexicalized noun that are not in use today: ‘thunder’ (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 586, Σακελλαρίου 1891b: 630) and ‘ardour; passion’ (Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 39, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 586, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 274). The fact that these dictionaries include them, probably means that they were in use until some decades ago and have now become or are becoming obsolete, at least at the mesolectal and acrolectal part of Cypriot Greek.

The sense of ‘fire’ is very prolific as regards proverbs and phraseologisms used as curses and all have the same meaning, ‘may you die and burn in the fires of hell’: *Λαμπρόν να πέσει στο κορμίν σου τζαι να σε κάμει κάρβουνον; Λαμπρόν να σ’ έκαψεν; Λαμπρόν να σε κάψει έξω που τους ακούοντας; Λαμπρόν να σε κάψει όξω που το χωρκόν; Λαμπρόν να σε κάψει τζαι να σε κουκκουρώσει; Λαμπρόν να σε κουκκουρώσει; Λαμπρόν πυρούμενον να δω πάνω σου; Λαμπρόν τζαι στουπίν,* etc. (Γιαγκουλλής 2005b: 104ff.).

Type: (1) **partial** false friends – **semantic and phonetic**

(2a and b) **partial** false friends – **phraseological**

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

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SMG lemma: λέσι [ˈlesi]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: λέσιν [ˈlesiˈn]

Common meaning(s):

1. animal carcass and the stink coming off of it, its stench and reek.
- 2a. (metaph., coll.) sb. too sluggish, weak or tired.
- 2b. sth. that is overly dirty. [μσν. λέσι < τουρκ. leş `ψοφίμι´ -ι]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(metaph., neg.) a person considered despicable, hideous or vile.

Ex.: *Τούτα τα «λέσια» νομίζεις λίγα μου έφαγαν τότες; (Σμυρλή 1983: 296)¹⁷⁴*

Θκιαβάζω το “ΕΟΚΑ: η σκοτεινή όψη” τωρά, τζιαι όσον αντικειμενικός τζιαι να θέλω να είμαι ρε παιδί μου, έναν συμέρασμαν φκάλλω: έσιει δίκαιον η παρέα σου (οι εγγλέζοι εν μεγάλα λέσια). (<http://strovoliotis.wordpress.com/2012/03/07/%CE%BF-%CF%84%CE%B6%CE%B1%CE%BA-%CF%83%CF%84%CF%81%CE%BF-%CE%B4%CE%B9%CF%87%CE%BF%CF%84%CE%BF%CE%BC%CE%B5%CE%AF-%CF%84%CE%B7%CE%BD-%CE%BA%CF%8D%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF/>)

Analysis:

Both lemmas are derived from the same source, the Turkish *leş*, ‘animal carcass’ (Χατζηπιερής and Καπατάς 2015: 154) and they share the literal meaning with which the word entered the Greek language. They also share the metaphorical meanings, (2a) and (2b) of the common meanings. In C(S)G it has also acquired a further sense, that of a ‘despicable or vile person’ that is a further semantic change due to a metaphor that likens a vile person to an animal carcass or sth. that is dirty, since despicable persons are colored dirty in our minds.

Furthermore, although there are common meanings between the two varieties, these common meanings tend to disappear from SMG, while they are very common and exhibit a high usage frequency in C(S)G. The pair is therefore both pragmatic, as it shows different frequency rate, and phonetic, since in C(S)G it maintains to a certain degree the pronunciation it had in Turkish.

¹⁷⁴ The author in this case is or has been made aware of the different meaning in C(S)G and a footnote has been added to the book that was published by a publishing house in Greece, whose readers are mainly in Greece and would not otherwise understand the dialogue. A further indication of her awareness is the fact that the noun is placed in quotation marks to signify that it is used in an unusual or metaphorical manner.

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

None of the C(S)G dictionaries presents the C(S)G meanings, only the common ones: Κυπρή (2002: 277 and 2003: 76) and Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 280) the common meaning (1); and the Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 280) the common meaning (2b).

Type: **partial** false friends – **multiple**: **phonetic** and **pragmatic** (usage frequency)

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: λούζω ['luzɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: λούννω ['lun:ɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

1. to wash my hair.
- 2a. to drench.
- 2b. (pass.) to get drenched.
3. (metaph.) to rebuke or reprimand intensely.
- 4a. (metaph., coll.) ~ σε, for ample light.
- 4b. (mid. or pass. voice) to wash my hair.
- 4c. (phr.) τα λούζομαι, to suffer the consequences of my actions.
- 4d. (phr.) με κόβει / με λούζει κρύος ιδρώτας, to be very agitated or become afraid.
- 4e. (phr.) λούζομαι στο αίμα, to be soaked in blood (due to injury, murder).
[μσν. λούζω < αρχ. λού(ω) μεταπλ. -ζωμε βάση το συνοπτ. θ. λουσ-]

Common meaning(s):

(phr.) λούζομαι στον ιδρώτα, to sweat a lot.

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. to give sb. a bath; to wash someone's body.

Ex.: Έλα, Χαρίλαε, κι έβρασα νερό να σε λούσω. Ελάτε με τον Νικολήν, να σας βάλω μαζίν στην μεγάλην λεκάνην. (Σμυρλή 1997: 12)

Έξω από το σπίτι σας λούζουμε, κουρεύουμε και στεγνώνουμε το κατοικίδιο σας. (<https://petpeoplecyprus.com/indexgr.php>)

1b. (mid. or pass. voice) to take a bath; to wash my body.

Ex.: Οι λάσπες ήταν κολλημένες σε όλο της το σώμα. Έβαλε νερό στο τζάκι και ξεντύθηκε. Λούστηκε και φόρεσε ρούχα της Άννας. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 426)

Μετά την προπόνηση πάντα λούζομαι. (D.P.)

2. (mid., pass.) to get or to be soaked or drenched in sth.

a. (phr.) λούννω κάποιον τα νερά, to drench sb. in water.

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

Ex.: *Α, Πρόβουλε μου, τζαι να τες εθώρες τούτες τες πατσογερόντισσες ίντα ἄλλος ελυσσιάσαν τζ' ελούσαμ μας τα νερά τζ' επάθαμεσ σαν τους κατουρημένους.* (Μόντης 1988γ: 206)

2b. (phr.) *λούνομαι (τα) νερά*, to get drenched by rain; to get soaking wet.

Ex.: *Σταμάτησε και άρχισε να σκέφτεται, τι τάχα να έγινε και λούστηκε μεσ στη νύκτα η κοπέλα νερά.* (Πολυδώρου 2003: 96)

2c. (phr.) *λούνομαι του κλαμάτου*, to start crying or weeping uncontrollably.

Ex.: *Εν το όρομα μόνο κόρη, άκουσα την που το πρωί που το λάλε στην Τάτη, χαζίριν να λουθεί του κλαμάτου.* (Πολυδώρου 2003: 17)

*Κόφ' το παπαδιά, μη με πιάσουν τα μπουρίνια μου και πω και κάνα τούρκικο κ' εσένα και του δεσπότη! Η παπαδιά λούστηκε το κλάμα*¹⁷⁵
(Μόντης 1987: 1521)

Analysis:

The ΔΚΝ and ΧΛΝΕΓ share the same opinion regarding the semantic content of the lemma in SMG: they both claim that it means not only 'to wash my hair', but also 'to wash my entire body; to take a bath'. The ΔΝΕΓ has a different approach and differentiates between the verb *λούζομαι* and the phraseologism *κάνω μπάνιο*, ['kenɔ#'beɾɔ], 'to take a bath' or the verb *μπανιαρίζω* [beɾe'rizɔ], 'to bathe sb.' and *μπανιαρίζομαι* [beɾe'rizɔme], 'to take a bath'. The first verb refers only to 'washing one's hair', while the other three 'to washing the whole body'. The SMG informants we have consulted, claim that the only meaning that currently appears in the SMG lemma concerns 'hair washing' and the sense recorded in the ΔΚΝ and ΧΛΝΕΓ is obsolete and its use is extremely restricted. On the contrary, in the C(S)G, this is the core sense of the lemma and the C(S)G speakers are surprised to realize that the core sense in SMG is different.

The Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 289) dictionary merely gives the verb in SMG morphology without any further semantic or pragmatic information. In the Κυπρή 2002: 286 appears the neuter noun *λούμαν* ['lumɛⁿ], as 'washing up, bath', as well as the phraseologism *σούππα λούμαν* ['sup^h:ɛ#'lumɛⁿ], 'soaking wet' (see relevant *σούππα* entry).

Type: (1) **partial** false friends – **morphological** and **pragmatic (use-related)**

(2) **total** false friends – **morphological** and **phraseological**

Venn diagrams: (1) **intersection**

(2) **segregation**

¹⁷⁵ The author in this work of his is using mainly the SMG and adapted the phraserologism to the form it would have, had it existed in that variety.

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: λύνω ['lino]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: λύω ['lio]

SMG meaning(s):

(phr.) μου λύθηκε ο αφαλός (από τα γέλια / από το φόβο), to be unable to stop laughing or feeling terrified.

Common meaning(s):

1a. to untie sth. that is tied. (phr.) ~ το ζωνάρι μου (για καβγά), to seek an excuse to pick a fight; to be quarrelsome.

1b. (metaph., usually pass. for the body and its parts) to relax, weaken or become paralyzed (mainly due to fear, terror or emotion).

2. (pass. oral.) under a certain condition to loosen up and feel comfortable.

3. to unbind (animals and/or humans).

4. (phr.) ~ τα χέρια κάποιου, to release sb. from limitations, to give sb. the chance to act in any way that person wishes.

5. (phr.) λύνει και δένει, for sb. who has a high degree of authority and might.

6. (phr.) λύνεται η γλώσσα κάποιου, for sb. who begins to talk freely and fluently.

7. (usually for machines and mechanisms) to dismantle methodically.

8. (metaph.) to put an end to a situation; to terminate a situation.

9. to abolish; to declare null and void a treaty or an agreement, etc.

10. to solve a mathematical problem and/or mind games.

11. to overcome the difficulties and intricacies of a situation, a matter or a process.

12. to provide a solution; to solve sth.

13. to clarify; to explain or interpret sth. that is mysterious, intricate or confusing. [μσν.λύνω < αρχ. λύ(ω) μεταπλ. -νω με βάση το συνοπτ. θ. λυσ- κατά το σχ.:φθισ- (ἔφθισα) - φθίνω]

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. to melt due to high temperature; to thaw out. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 292, Κυπρή 1989: 137, Κυπρή 2002: 289)

Ex.: Ένας ολόλαμπρος ήλιος βγήκε και **έλυσαν** όλα τα κομμάτια πάγου (Παπασταύρου 1994: 141)

Φάε το παγωτός σου τζιαι **λυει** 'που λεπτός σε λεπτόν! (Παπασταύρου 1994: 142)

1b. to disintegrate sth.; to melt (it) away. (Κυπρή 1989: 137, Κυπρή 2002: 289)

Ex.: Βάλλουν τα κοπελλούδκια να πατούν τα σταφύλια τζιαι **λυούν** τα. (C.A.)

Μες στα σεντούτζια έσιει τραπεζομάντιλα να **λύσουν** τζιαι τα δισέγγονα μου, μεν στενοχωρκιέσαι για το παλιόρουχο. (Πολυδώρου 2003: 108)

2a. (for body parts) to disintegrate; to fall apart or fall to pieces. (Κυπρή 1989: 137, Κυπρή 2002: 289)

Ex.: **Ελύσαν** τα 2 μπροστινά μου δόντια τζιαι εν είμαι υψηλόβαθμος κυβερνητικός να βάλω καινούρια. (D.P.)

Η μύτη μου **έλυσε** φύσα-φύσα τζείνη τη μύξα, η φωνή μου ακόμα εν τζει που σπαστική, οι αμυγδαλές μου ένιξερω που να δω τζειμέσα που εν μπιμένες, οι ζαλάδες ok. (http://asecretline.blogspot.com/2011_07_01_archive.html)

Εν το ξερες πως ούλλους τούτους **λλιύει** ο κώλος τους πασ' στην καρέκλα που το δκιάβασμα; (Πολυδώρου 2008: 376)

2b. (metaph.) ~ τα πόδια (+ poss. pron. GEN.), to have tired my feet, (equivalent to the phraseologism *my feet are killing me*). (Κυπρή 1989: 137, Κυπρή 2002: 289)

Ex.: **Ελύσαν τα πόδικιαν μου** 'που το παρπάτημαν. (Παπασταύρου 1994: 142)

3. to beat sb. up.

Ex.: Μεν γελάς κι εννά σε **λύσω**. (M.K.)

Τζ' εσηκώστηκεν ο ρόκολος, ο γιόκας ο λεβέντης, εκνίστην, εποκνιάστηκε, μα πάλε πίσω πέφτει. "Σήκου οκνιαρόσιυλλε σήκου τζ' εννα αρκήσω, μεν καμμάς τα μμάδκια σου γρύλλωστα μεν σε **λύσω**. (http://tatsologio.blogspot.com/2012/01/blog-post_20.html)

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

4. to fall down laughing; to be unable to stop laughing.

Ex.: να πάτε τζαι στο *Film Festival* μες στον Αύγουστο. Τζαι να πάτε τζαι Σουσάμι. **Έλυσάμε** τζαμέ, προτείνω το. (<http://kleistologio.blogspot.com/2012/03/blog-post.html>)

5a. (curse) να λύσω τζαι να στάξω, a curse that shows hate for sb. for whom the worse is hoped. (Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 68)

Ex.: Που να μεν τον αξιώσει ο θεός να τα χαρεί, που να τα φάει ούλλα στες αρρώσκιας. **Να λύσει τζιαί να στάξει** που πάνω ως κάτω, να παρακαλά για νεπαμό τζιαί νεπαμό να μην βρίσκει. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 101)

5b. (phr.) ~ τζαι στάσσω, to die or to be dying. (Κυπρή 1989: 137)

Ex.: [...] μα εννεν με γιαγια με μάνα. Εν κορμίν που **λιεί τζιαί στάσσει** τζιαί χάνεται σιγά σιγά μες την γην. Κορμίν που ζωντανεύει κάθε φοράν που τζιυλά η ξιμαρισιά μας μες στο αποχετευτικό. (<http://www.mplongk.blogspot.com/>)

6. (phr.), λύει κάποιον η μίλλα μου, to feel especially sorry for sb. (Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 31, Κυπρή 1989: 137)

Ex.: Τοφ φτωχόν, **έλυσέν τον η μίλλα μου**. (Παπασταύρου 1994: 142)

Ξέρετε τζίνες τες φάσεις, που βλέπεις μια ταινία όπου ο πρωταγωνιστής γίνεται ρεζίλι και συ χώνεσαι πίσω από τα μαξιλάρια γιατί δεν αντέχεις άλλο να βλέπεις τον καϋμένο..κάπως έτσι παρακολουθούσα τον Σάκη Τζίσμου χτες, να εκτελεί καθήκοντα παρουσιαστή. Τζίζους Κράιστ!!! **Έλυσεν τον η μύλλα μου** ρε παιδικιά..ρε μα δεν εξόρτωσεν να πεί μιαν πρόταση τζαι να μεν την πεί λάθος, ρε μα δεν εξόρτωσεν να μιλήσει τζιαμέ που έπρεπε, και να μη μιλήσει εκεί που δεν έπρεπε. (http://cupcake-freak.blogspot.com/2008_10_01_archive.html)

7. (phr.) λύουσιν τα νεύρα μου, or λύει μου κάπκοιος τα νεύρα μου, sb. gets on my nerves; sb. irritates me.

Ex.: Οϊ δεν έκαμνεν ατσιούθκια για να σπάζει πλάκα. **Έλυσεν της τα νεύρα της** ο γέρος (300 χρονών) που πήαιναν μπροστά, με το μονοκάμπινον του 11 μίλια/δώδεκα ώρες τζι αποφάσισεν να τον προσπεράσει. Μα εν εθώρεν ομπρός της, που τα νεύρα της τζαι πήεν τζι έοκε τζι απού την φατσιάν εγίνηκεν έναν με τα παλιοσίερα - μια αγνώριστη... γρούτα! (<http://kleistologio.blogspot.com/2012/03/blog-post.html>)

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

Analysis:

The Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 292) dictionary derives the C(S)G lemma from the Ancient Greek verb λύω. Although the semantic content of that verb does not include the sense ‘to melt’ (Liddell-Scott online), the Κριαράς online presents it, therefore we can conclude that this meaning appears at some point between classical antiquity and the Middle Ages. All the senses recorded above constitute extensions of that meaning via metaphors or usage in different, but similar to the original, contexts.

The (1a) meaning is the original medieval one that gave rise to the rest of the senses. Meanings (1b) and (2a) and (2b) are extensions of the original meaning ‘to melt’ being used for inanimate objects and body parts that would not be considered possible to melt. Senses (3) and (4) are also extensions of the original meanings in a different manner to the (1b, 2a and 2b) mentioned above. A person who is beaten up, might resemble sth. that has melted (away). The 4th sense is similar to the 3rd, since when sb. is laughing very hard, might end up on the floor, equally unable to contain oneself, as when (s)he would have melted away. The rest of the senses are collocations that were derived from the ‘melt’ sense.

In all the cases exemplified above, where the C(S)G native speakers would use the verb λύω [ˈliɔ], the SMG native speakers would use the verb λιώνω [ˈliːɔnɔ], ‘to melt’, since all of these senses in the SMG are expressed by that verb.

There is a verb λύω [ˈliɔ], in SMG that is a morphological remnant from Ancient Greek (of the verb that evolved in the Modern Greek into λύνω [ˈlinɔ]). That belongs to a higher register than the verb λύνω [ˈlinɔ], although its semantic content is identical in the senses that it maintains (to end a meeting, to abolish a treaty, etc.). In the SMG the productive verb and the one most commonly used is the one we have included in the thesis that is correlated to the C(S)G verb that is morphologically identical to the high register one. This choice results in a clash when an SMG speaker hears the C(S)G verb used, because its morphological equivalent in the SMG is a high register verb used in very specific contexts, esp. related with administrative or legal jargon, while in the C(S)G it is a very common verb used in everyday circumstances and speech, even in low register contexts.

Another remark that should be made with regard to these lemmas is that in the literature we encountered a neuter noun from the C(S)G verb, λύμαν [ˈlimɛn], ‘worn out’ that appeared in the sentence *εν να σε λακτοπατήσω να σε κάμω λύμαν* that could be translated as ‘I am going to kick your ass’ (Παπασταύρου 1994: 142ff.) At the Συντυσίές website it is recorded as a lemma, but we have been unable to find any current instances of use. The informants that we have consulted claim that it is old-fashioned and on its way to becoming obsolete. If

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

we were to include it in the thesis, its counterpart would be the neuter noun *λύμα* ['lime], 'effluent, waste, sewage water'.

Type: **partial** false friends – **semantic**, **morphological** and **pragmatic (stylistic)**

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: **μακαρόνι** [mɛkɛ'ɾɔni]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **μακαρόνι** [mɛkɛ'ɾɔni]

SMG meaning(s):

- a. (metaph.) a very long word or phrase.
- b. anything resembling macaroni pasta.

Common meaning(s):

- a. (usually pl.) macaroni, pasta in the shape of narrow tubes.
- b. (usually pl.) cooked pasta. [ίσως αντδ. < βεν. macarone, πληθ. macaroni που θεωρήθηκε εν. < μσν. μακαρία]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(phr., usually pl.) *μακαρόνια του φούρνου*, *pastitsio*, a Greek dish consisting of macaroni, minced meat in tomato sauce and grated cheese topped with a béchamel sauce.

Ex.: *Συνταγή-Βίντεο: "Μακαρόνια του Φούρνου". Το κυπριακό παστίτσιο με χαλούμι!* (<http://www.kasarolla.com/2009/12/syntagh-binteo-makaronia-toy-foyrnoy-to-kypriako-pastitsio-me-ha.html>)

Διάλειμμα για φαΐν. Μακαρόνια του φούρνου. Ρωτά με η Μαρία: "Έε, πως σου εφανήκαν τα μακαρόνια του φούρνου που την καντίνα;" "Έν καλά," λαλώ της, "αλλά ενεν σαν της μάμμας μου." Χαμογελά: "Τζαι εγώ το ίδιο εσκέφτομμουν..." λαλεί μου. (<http://www.milaz.net/?m=200708>)

Analysis:

The phraseologism is not included in any of the C(S)G dictionaries, although it is a well known fact that they are only called *μακαρόνια του φούρνου* [mɛkɛ'ɾɔɲɛ#tu#'furnu], lit. 'oven macaroni' in Cyprus, while in Greece they are called 'pastitsio' and considered a traditional Greek food. The phraseologism is a literal rendition of how the food is cooked and although there are recipes for 'oven pasta' or 'oven macaroni' in Greece, they do not have the same referent as the phraseologism in C(S)G, since they can be made with any kind of pasta and any type of sauce.

The pair belongs to the multiple levels' category, since it is phraseological, as the only semantic divergence appears in relation to the phraseologism, as well as cultural, given that it only refers to this type of pasta in Cyprus.

Type: **partial** false friends – **phraseological** and **pragmatic (cultural)**

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: **μάπα** ['mepe]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **μάππα** ['meɾ^h:e]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (coll.) face, mug. (phr.) *τρώω στη ~*, for sb. who is annoying or unpleasant and the others are bored of him/her. [< *μάπα*²]
2. (obs.) cabbage. [ιταλ. (διαλεκτ.) *mappa*]
3. (coll.) mop; a floor cleaning tool. [ελνστ. *μάππα* `πανί, *πετσέτα* < λατ. *mappa*]
4. for sth. that is useless or generally of bad quality. [ελνστ. *μάππα* `πανί, *πετσέτα* < λατ. *mappa*]
5. a clout at the front or the back of the head. (ΛΝΕΓ)

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. a soccer ball. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 302, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 652, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 107)

Εχ.: *Να πκιάης να τησ σύρης σαν τημ **μάππαν** ως τον ουρανό τζαι να την καρτεράς 'που κάτω με το σπαθίν να ππέση πάνω καβάλλα!* (Μόντης 1988c: 221)

1b. (meton) game of soccer. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 302, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 652)

Εχ.: *Χωρκάτικον είναι να συζητάς Δευτέρα πρωί για τη **μάππα** στη δουλειά.* (http://xorkatikonblogspot.com/2008_07_01_archive.html)

*Όταν όμως η λέξη **μάππα** (σκόπιμα τη γράφω με δύο π γιατί εκτός από ετυμολογικά σωστότερο, προφέρεται και με διπλό π στα κυπριακά), εισάγεται στα συμφραζόμενα της διαλέκτου, σημαίνει τη μπάλα, το ποδόσφαιρο.* (http://planitas.blogspot.com/2011/12/blog-post_12.html)

1c. (phr.) *παίζω ~* to play soccer.

Εχ.: *ε μισο λεπτο ρε παιθκια.. εν είχε ούτε τερματοφύλακες ούτε άμυνες.. η **μάππα** ήταν παττίχα τζιαι **επαίζαν** μες τις αυλές των δημοτικών! μεν είστε μηδενιστές...καθένας στην εποχή του έγγραψε ιστορία!!!* (<http://www.facebook.com/shootandgoal/posts/229503677131560>)

*Πάρκα τεράστια τζαι μουσεία, κόσμος να κάθεσαι τζαι να ποσκολιέται, να **παίζει μάππα**, να καπνίζει, να τρώει ή απλά να σκοτώνει την ώρα του.* (<http://www.parathyro.com/?p=16597>)

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

1d. (usually pl.) organized soccer games. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 302)

Ex.: *Αρχίνησαν οι μάμπες!* (D.P.)

*πως μπορεί ο τόπος τούτος να με διαπαιδαγωγήσει
αφού ούτε οι μάμπες εν με εμπνέουν ούτε οι κόντρες τζιαι τα μίση.*
(<https://genius.com/Julio-and-smilin-05-lyrics>)

2. the float in the toilet flush. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 302)

Ex.: *Πε κανενού υδραυλικού να έρτει τζιαι εχάλασεν η μάππα του μέρους.* (C.C.)

3. the tuber of the Jerusalem artichoke. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 302)

Ex.: *Το κολοκάσι καλλιεργείται στην Κύπρο για τους εδώδιμους κόρμους του, δηλαδή τις μάμπες και τις πούλλες, που είναι πλούσιες σε άμυλο, πρωτεΐνες και βιταμίνες. Τόσο οι «μάμπες» όσο και οι «πούλλες» αναπτύσσονται κάτω από την επιφάνεια του εδάφους. Η λέξη «μάππα» αναφέρεται στο κεντρικό κόρμο, ο οποίος βρίσκεται αμέσως κάτω από την επιφάνεια του εδάφους και προσδιορίζεται ονομαστικά ως «Κολοκάσι Σωτήρας»*

([http://www.moa.goverbcy/moa/da/da.nsf/All/F3FF567F4E8FF1C5C2257B970039D8EF/\\$file/%CE%A0%CF%81%CE%BF%CE%B4%CE%B9%CE%B1%CE%B3%CF%81%CE%B1%CF%86%CE%AD%CF%82%20%CE%9A%CE%BF%CE%BB%CE%BF%CE%BA%CE%AC%CF%83%CE%B9%20%CE%A3%CF%89%CF%84%CE%AE%CF%81%CE%B1%CF%82%20%20%CE%9A%CE%BF%CE%BB%CE%BF%CE%BA%CE%AC%CF%83%CE%B9%20%CE%A0%CE%BF%CF%8D%CE%BB%CE%BB%CE%B5%CF%82%20%CE%A3%CF%89%CF%84%CE%AE%CF%81%CE%B1%CF%82.pdf](http://www.moa.goverbcy/moa/da/da.nsf/All/F3FF567F4E8FF1C5C2257B970039D8EF/$file/%CE%A0%CF%81%CE%BF%CE%B4%CE%B9%CE%B1%CE%B3%CF%81%CE%B1%CF%86%CE%AD%CF%82%20%CE%9A%CE%BF%CE%BB%CE%BF%CE%BA%CE%AC%CF%83%CE%B9%20%CE%A3%CF%89%CF%84%CE%AE%CF%81%CE%B1%CF%82%20%20%CE%9A%CE%BF%CE%BB%CE%BF%CE%BA%CE%AC%CF%83%CE%B9%20%CE%A0%CE%BF%CF%8D%CE%BB%CE%BB%CE%B5%CF%82%20%CE%A3%CF%89%CF%84%CE%AE%CF%81%CE%B1%CF%82.pdf))

Analysis:

The (1a) C(S)G meaning is derived from the medieval meaning of ‘sphere’ or ‘ball’ (Κριαράς online). The (1b-d) senses are extensions of the original meaning. The (2) C(S)G meaning is a further extension of the (1a) sense, given that it shares the same shape as the original ball. The last meaning is probably also shape-related, since the tuber is roundish, although not quite as round as a ball.

A further differentiation that could be noted is the fact that the connotations of the two lemmas differ: the SMG lemma’s sense have nearly all derogatory and negative connotations, while the C(S)G ones are neutral.

Type: **total** false friends – **morphological** and **pragmatic (connotative)**

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: **μαύρος** ['mɛvrɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **μαύρος** ['mɛvrɔs]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (coll.) related to the extreme right (political ideology).
2. (phr.) *ρίχνω μαύρο σε κπ.*, to vote against sb.

Common meaning(s):

1. belonging to the black race.
2. (coll., liter.) usual name for black horses.
- 3a. black in color.
- 3b. (as a noun in the plural) *τα μαύρα*, mourning black clothes.
- 3c. dark colored or darker than usual.
- 3d. (typ., phr.) *μαύρα στοιχεία*, bold typographic letters.
- 3e. (phr.) ~ *χρυσός*, petroleum.
- 3f. (phr.) *ρίχνω μαύρη πέτρα (πίσω μου)*, to leave for good, usually disappointed.
- 4a. (metaph.) unpleasant or generally negative.
- 4b. (coll.) unhappy.
- 4c. sth. that is or is considered: i. of bad quality ii. secret, illegal or generally prohibited.
- 5a. (phr.) ~ *πίνακας*, blackboard.
- 5b. (phr.) (*γράφω κπ. στα*) *μαύρα κατάστιχα*, to consider sb. among my enemies or adversaries.

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. (phr., for wine) *μαύρο κρασί*, red wine. (Σακελλαρίου 1891b: 653)

Ex.: «*Ιωάννη, φέρε και μια στάμνα **μαύρο** κρασί*». *Ερχόταν το κρασί που έρρεε άφθονο στα πήλινα ποτήρια κι έυφραине την καρδιά των ανθρώπων.* (Κουρέα-Σκουτελά, 2010: 299)

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

2. (usually female person) *μαυρού*¹⁷⁶, domestic help.

Ex.: Π.χ. τις κοπέλλες απο Ασία τις λέμε **μαυρούες** εδώ. Δεν νομίζω εάν τις λέμε κάτι πιο πολιτικά ορθό, όπως Ασιάτισες, θα σταματήσουμε να τις βλέπουμε υποτιμητικά.

(<http://www.fasolaki.com/%CE%BA%CF%81%CE%B9%CF%84%CE%B9%CE%BA%CE%AE-%CF%80%CE%B1%CE%BD%CF%84%CE%BF%CF%80%CF%89%CE%BB%CE%B5%CE%AF%CE%BF-%CE%BA%CE%B1%CE%BB%CE%B7-%CE%BF%CF%81%CE%B5%CE%BE%CE%B7/>)

Ξέρω στα σίγουρα πως είδα πολύ ανθρωπιά και συμπόνια στις «**μαυρούες**» που φρόντιζαν τα γεροντάκια κύριε Κουλία μου. Δεν είδα κανένα άλλο εκεί. Ούτε εσένα, ούτε εμένα, ούτε κανένα. (http://helenisbeautiful.blogspot.com/2010_11_01_archive.html)

3a. (phr.) *δουλεύω σαν τον μαύρον*, or *δουλεύω σαν μαύρος*, to work nonstop, like a slave.

Ex.: Είπε να μαειρέψει τζ' έκαμεν τα γέρημα! Εκαθάριζα ούλλον το βράδυν! Αγαπώ πολλά τα μωρά (meaning: θέλω να σε τυλίξω, να κάμουμε μια ποδοσφαιρική ομάδα κοπελούθκια εγώ να κάθουμαι και εσύ να **δουλέφκεις σαν τον μαύρο** - βλέπε προηγούμενο ποστ). (http://axapari.blogspot.com/2008_09_01_archive.html)

Ίντα 'ν που θέλεις πκιον; Να **δουλεύω** ούλλην την μέραν **σαν μαύρος** τζ' εσου να' πλώννεις στον καναπέν; (L.L.)

3b. (phr.) *η συτζιά του μαύρου*, exploitation victim; a sucker.

Ex.: Οι φιλόλογοι κατάντησαν η **συτζιά του μαύρου** μες στα σχολεία, φορτώνονται τα ούλλα! (M.P.)

Μάστρε, μα γιατί πάντα εμέναν βάλλεις μου δουλειά τζαι οι άλλοι κάθουνται; Μα, είμαι τίποτε η **συτζιά του μαύρου**; (G.G.)

Analysis:

The adjective appears in just four of the dictionaries we are consulting. Σακελλαρίου (1891b: 653) presents only the (1) C(S)G meaning, Κυπρή (2002: 302) and Παπαγγέλου (2001: 665) present only common meanings and Γιαγκουλλής (2005: 106) merely mentions similes containing the adjective, such as *μαύρος πίσσα* ['mɛvrɔs#ˈpɪs:ɛ], literally 'pitch black'. Κυπρή (2002: 302) adds

¹⁷⁶ The expected SMG ending is <η> [i], as in *μαύρη* ['mɛvri], 'black woman', but appears here the adjective *μαυρού(δ)α* [mɛˈvru(ð)ɛ] with elision of the intervocalic [ð], a typical phenomenon of C(S)G phonetics.

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also an explanation to the (3) C(S)G meaning, that the adjective in this case refers to black people from Aethiopia.

There are two different relationships of false friendliness in these lemmas: (1) and (2) are partial false friends and (1) is purely semantic, while (2) is semantic and phonetic; (3) is phraseological.

Type: (1) **partial** false friends – **purely semantic**

(2) **partial** false friends – **semantic** and **phonetic**

(3) **total** false friends – **phraseological**

Venn diagrams: (1) and (2) **intersection**

(3) **segregation**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: **μεσημέρι** [mesi'meri] Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **μεσημέριν** [mesi'meriⁿ] C(S)G allomorph: **μεσομέριν** [meso'meriⁿ]

SMG meaning(s):

- a. the two or three hours after noon.
- b. (phr.) ντάλα ~, high noon

Common meaning(s):

- 1a. noon; twelve o'clock.
- 1b. the time of morning that is nearer to noon than to sunrise.
2. (phr.) μέρα ~, during the day. [μσν. μεσημέρι(ν) < ελνστ. Μεσημέριον ουσιαστικοπ. ουδ. του επιθ. μεσημέριος`μεσημεριανός']

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. the half hour before noon and after noon.

Ex.: *Επήεν μισή; Καλό μεσημέρι!* (T.N.)

- 2a. (obs., phr.) κάμνω το μεσομέριν, to eat lunch. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 314)

Ex.: *Περάστε από το σπίτιν να κάμωμεν το μεσομέριν.* (Σμυρλή 1997: 156)

- 2b. (phr.) μέρα μεσομέριν, for sth. that is crystal clear, esp. when it is obvious that what was mentioned right before is true. It is usually combined with a verb or phraseologism denoting 'to deceive; to take sb. in'.

Ex.: *Μα έν εν brand new όπως ελάλεν ο τύπος. Το κουτί ανοιμένο. Διαφορετικά ΙΜΕΙ πας το κουτί τζαι το κινητό. Το κινητό εν refurbished. Τζαινουρκο που έξω, μεταχειρισμένο που μέσα. Περιπαίζουν μας **μέρα μεσομέρι**.* (http://sovaindoorsasthou.blogspot.com/2009_07_01_archive.html)

*Περιπέζουν ούλλοι **μέρα μεσομέρι!** Η αύξηση που επιάσαν φέτος οι βουλευτές, την οποία οι ίδιοι αποφάσισαν και εψήφισαν, είναι περισσότερη και υπερκαλύπτει τη μείωση. Στην ουσία, δηλαδή, δεν μειώθηκε ο μισθός τους, αλλά απλώς μειώθηκε η αύξηση τους!!!* (<http://offsite.com.cy/blog/%CE%BC%CE%B5%CE%AF%CF%89%CF%83%CE%B7-%CE%BC%CE%B9%CF%83%CE%B8%CF%8E%CE%BD-342-%CE%B5%CF%85%CF%81%CF%8E-%CF%84%CE%BF-%CE%BC%CE%AE%CE%BD%CE%B1-%CE%B1%CE%BD%CF%84%CE%AF-700-%CE%B5%CF%85%CF%81%CF%8E/>)

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Analysis:

The phenomenon of false friends appears mainly in relation to the two phraseologisms that are explained above, i.e. (2a) and (2b) and of the two, our informants have advised us that the (2a) is actually obsolete nowadays, replaced by the phraseologism *τρῶω το μεσομέριν* [t'ɾɔɔ#tɔ#mɛsɔ'mɛriⁿ]. Furthermore, the rest of the dictionaries (except Γιαγκουλλής) that mention the noun, namely Κυπρή (2002: 307) and Παπαγγέλου (2001: 682) only present the common between the two varieties' meaning.

None of the dictionaries though, present the cultural differentiation with regard to sense (1) for the C(S)G variety. It has probably been disregarded due to the long-standing belief of Greek Cypriots that their variety is the same as the SMG, especially with regard to the words that lack any overt morphological or phonetic dialectal markers. This culturally differentiated sense has become clear to us through personal experience that has occurred often enough: when we wish *καλό μεσημέρι* [kɛ'lo#mesi'mɛri] in lieu of 'goodbye' around the time of 3 o'clock, Cypriots usually answer back *καλό απόγευμα* [kɛ'lo#ɛ'pɔɣɛvmɛ], 'have a good afternoon', which for SMG speakers does not start until 5 or 5:30 in the afternoon, after the period of noon quiet time.

Type: (1) **partial** false friends – **pragmatic (cultural)**

(2a-b) **total** false friends - **phraseological**

Venn diagrams: (1) **intersection**

(2a-b) **segregation**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: **μπερδεύω** [ber'ðevɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **μπερτεύκω** [mbe'rtɛfkɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

- 1a. to confuse people, thing and notions that are usually similar.
- 1b. to cause confusion and make sb. unable to think straight.
- 1c. to experience confusion *Τελευταία είμαι πολύ μπερδεμένος*, I find myself confused lately.
- 1d. (phr.) ~ *τα λόγια μου* or *τα ~ / ~ τη γλώσσα μου*, to have trouble expressing myself clearly.
- 1e. to cause sb. to draw wrong conclusions; to try to misdirect.
- 1f. to make sth. more difficult; more confusing.
2. to combine, usually involuntarily sth. with sth. else in such a way that it changes its normal form so that its customary use is hindered.
3. to mess the order or relation in a series of things, usually identical so as to make it difficult to trace them easily; to mess up.

Common meaning(s):

- 1a. (usually pass.) to get involved in or tangled with a case or activity usually shifty, unpleasant or damaging.
- 1b. to get involved in an activity.
- 1c. to get sb. tangled in a case or activity usually shifty, unpleasant or damaging.
- 1d. (phr., pass.) *μπερδεύομαι (μέσα) στα πόδια κάποιου*, to make the movement and expression of sb. else more difficult.
2. to get tangled, intertwined with sth. [*μσν. εμπερδεύω με αποβ. του αρχικού άτ. φων. < εμπερδ(ένω) μεταπλ. -εύω < *εμπεριδένω `δένω μέσα κι έξω' (συγκ. του άτ. [i]) < εν + αρχ. περιδέω `δένω ολόγυρα (κατά την εξέλ. δέω > δένω)*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

- a. (intrans., act. voice) to be involved in or connected to a case or activity that is shifty, unpleasant or damaging, to get involved in circumstances that do not gratify one. (Παπαγγέλλου 2001: 731, Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 46)

Ex.: *Ρεβέκκα: Τζιαι πόθθεν έρκεστε παιδάτζια μου έτσι ώραν τζι έτσι μέραν; Εν ώρα τούτη να γυρίζετε μεσ' στα άρκα όρη; Γιαννής: Ααααχ θκειούλλα μου,*

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άμα **μπερτέψει το πλάσμα**, είντα να κάμει; (Κουκίδης 2007α: 110)

b. (metaph.) to suffer the unpleasant or negative consequences of personal actions or of the actions of third parties, without bearing any responsibility.

Ex.: Αυτοί εκαφκαδίσαν, μα ρελικά **εμπέρτεψα** εγώ. (L.S.)

c. (metaph.) to get romantically involved with unforeseen, but possibly unpleasant consequences.

Ex.: Πλάστης έβαλεν τα δυνατά του / τζι έκαμέν σε με τόσην μαστορκάν / τζι αν σ' άφηκεν να φύεις που κοντά του, / έν' που το σκέφτηκεν στην υστερκάν. / Τζι είπεν: στον κάτω κόσμον ας την πέψω, / για να ξηννοιάσω πκιον, να ποσπαστώ, / μέμπα τζαι ξηστρατίσω τζαι **μπερτέψω** / τζι εγιώ, σγοιαν τους αθθρώπους, κολαστώ. (http://www.pi.ac.cy/pi/files/yap/keimena_kypriakis_logotexnias_b.pdf)

Analysis:

Meanings (a) and (b) of the lemma in C(S)G exist also in the SMG, but in C(S)G the active voice is used intransitively, and this urges the SMG native speaker to relate it with the common meanings (1) and (2). In the SMG, the (a) C(S)G sense is expressed via the passive voice and is accompanied by the preposition *σε / με* and a noun in the ACC.

Type: **partial** false friends – (a) and (b) **syntactic** and **morphological**

(c) **morphological**

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

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SMG lemma: **μυρωδιά** [mirɔˈðje]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **μυρωθικιά** [mirɔˈθce]

C(S)G allomorph: **μυρωδικιά** [mirɔˈθce]

SMG meaning(s):

a. (metaph.) a whiff, small quantity.

b. (phr.) για ~, (not even) a whiff of sth. (either lit. or metaph.)

Common meaning(s):

1a. an odour or scent.

1b. (phr.) *παίρνω ~ κπ./κτ.*, to perceive: i. an unpleasant smell, stench (πρβ. *βρόμα, μπόχα*). ii. a fragrance (πρβ. *ευωδιά, άρωμα*). [μσν. *μυρωδιά με συνίζ.* για αποφυγή της χασμ. < ελνστ. *μυρώδ(ης) `αρωματισμένος' -ιά*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

perfume; fragrance. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 738)

Ex.: *Ναι, αμμά έτο που τωρά εχρειαστήκασιν τζ' οι **μυρωθικίες** τζ' οι κρέμες τζαι τα τιτσιρόρουχα που φεντζιάζουσιν. Να πάω να λουθώ **μυρωθικίες** καλό.* (Μόντης 1988γ: 196)

Analysis:

The only C(S)G dictionary that mentions the lemma is that of Παπαγγέλου (2001: 738). The Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 339) dictionary attributes a different lemma to this semantic content: the neuter noun *μυρών* [miˈrɔi̯n] and in the plural *μυρώνια* [miˈrɔɲe] or *μυρώδκια* [miˈrɔθce], ‘fragrance, scent’, but it is the only one.

The evolution from a neutral characterization of ‘smell’ to that of ‘scent’ or ‘fragrance’ occurred already in the medieval vocabulary and it is a natural ameliorative evolution that did not occur in the SMG, since that is the semantic content of a different lemma: *άρωμα* [ˈerɔmɛ]. As a result of that, the false friends pair is not only semantically divergent, but also differs on the pragmatics level with regard to connotations: the SMG lemma has neutral connotations, while the C(S)G lemma has positive connotations.

Type: **partial** false friends – **semantic, morphological** and **pragmatic (connotative)**

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: **νοῦς** [nus]

Grammatical category: n. (masc.)

C(S)G lemma: **νοῦς** [nus]

SMG meaning(s):

(proverb) *κοντά στο νοῦ κι ἡ γνώση*, for sth. easy to see and understand.

Common meaning(s):

1a. mind.

2a. (phr.) *ο κοινός ~*, for the possibility of any person to think correctly.

2b. (phr.) *χάνω το νοῦ μου για κπ. / κάποιος μου παίρνει το νοῦ*, for being madly in love.

2c. (phr.) *σαλεύει ο ~ μου*, to go insane.

3a. (phr.) *ο ~ μου είναι κοντά σε κπ.*, to think about sb. constantly.

3b. (phr.) *ο ~ μου πηγαινέει σε κπ. / σε κτ.*, to think or consider sb. or sth. as possible.

3c. (phr.) *φεύγει ο ~ μου από κπ. / από κτ.*, to forget sth or to stop worrying about sb. or sth.

3d. (phr.) *βγάζω κπ. / κτ. από το νοῦ μου*, to stop being occupied with sb. or sth.

3e. (phr.) *βγάζω κτ. από το νοῦ μου*, to invent or to make sth. up.

4a. (phr.) *βάζω κτ. στο νοῦ μου*, to set a goal or to make an assumption.

4b. (phr.) *βάζω κτ. με το νοῦ μου*, to consider sth. as plausible.

4c. (phr.) *έχω στο νοῦ μου*, to think of sb. or sth. or to intend to do sth.

4d. (phr.) *ό,τι βάλει ο ~ σου / ο ~ του ανθρώπου*, everything.

4e. (phr.) *έχω το νοῦ μου σε κπ. / σε κτ.*, to watch for sb., so that nothing bad happens to them.

4f. (phr.) *το νοῦ σου!*, watch out.

5. (phr.) (λόγ.) *έχω κατά νοῦν*, to intend to do sth. or to keep in mind.

6a. (schol.) a person of deep thinking, a genius.

6b. (phr.) *Ιθύνων ~*, mastermind. [1: αρχ.νοῦς· 2: λόγ. σημδ. γαλλ. esprit]

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C(S)G meaning(s):

1. brain, mind. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 757)

Ex.: Δκυό σκοπούς είσιεν μεσ' στον **νουν** της. (Σάββα 2009: 11)

2a. (phr.) *κόφκει ο νους (+ poss. pron. GEN.)*, to be clever. (Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 47)

Ex.: 24 εκατομμύρια χρέος δεν το χωρεί ο νους μου! Χριστάκη Γεωργίου εξηγάς μου το λίγο γιατί είμαι ηλίθιος τζιαι εν **κόφκει ο νους μου**. (<http://omonoianews.com/index.php/component/content/article/38-standings/18709--q---q>)

2b. (phr.) *κόφκει ο νους (+ poss. pron. GEN.) να...*, to think of sth. exceptional or really stupid to do.

Ex.: Ε θα το πιστέψεις τι **έκοψε ο νους του** να κάμει. (Πολυδώρου 2003: 207)

3a. (phr.) *φέρνω τον νουν (+ poss. pron. GEN.) (τζαι παίρνω τον)*, to come to my senses; to start thinking seriously. (Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 91, Γιαγκουλλής 2005b: 149)

Ex.: Στρατή, **φέρ' τον νου σου** όπου τον έσεις. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 375)

3b. (phr.) *φέρνω τον νουν (+ poss. pron. GEN.)*, to come around; to recover my wits or mental peace after a severe shock.

Ex.: Τέλος πάντων, κάμε μου έναν καφέ να **φέρω τον νουν μου**, εσυγχίστηκα πολλά με τες μουγκαρκιές του. (Πολυδώρου 2003: 203)

4. (phr.), *δέρω τον νουν (+ poss. pron. GEN.)*, to think fervently for a long time in order to encounter the solution to sth. that concerns one. (Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 21, Γιαγκουλλής 2005b: 23, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 243)

Ex.: **Έδερνε τον νου** της να σκαρφιστεί τρόπους να την κάνει να αντιδράσει, να κλάψει, να μοιρολογήσει [...] να κάνει κάτι τέλος πάντων που να δείχνει πως ανήκε στην τάξη των ζωντανών, των λογικών ζωντανών. (Πολυδώρου 2003: 246)

Τωρά μεν πεις κουβέντα, κάτσε **δέρε το νου σου** τζιαι φκάλε κρίση. (Πολυδώρου 2003: 287)

Analysis:

The only C(S)G dictionary the includes the lemma among its entries is that of Παπαγγέλου (2001: 757), but it fails to realize that there is some differentiation

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between SMG and C(S)G on the pragmatic level. Other dictionaries present the lemma *νούσιμος* ['nusimɔs], which means 'clever' (Κυπρή 2002: 332, Κυπρή 2003: 83, Γιαγκουλλής 2001: 346) and by extension probably means that the lemma *νοvs* ['nus] was not included not because they ignore the meaning of the word, but because they too consider it identical to the SMG. Although the noun is also used in SMG with the same generic semantic content, i.e. 'mind', 'brain', there is a differentiation on register. In the C(S)G it is used on all registers and the synonym neuter noun *μυαλό* [mɛ'lo], 'mind' or 'brain' is not equally commonly used, while the situation is reversed in SMG, where the rule is to use *μυαλό* most and reserve the higher registers for the masculine noun *νοvs* (although occasionally the two synonyms can be used interchangeably).

The C(S)G senses (2-4), besides rendering the false friend a phraseological one as well as pragmatic, reinforce our interpretation of the register distribution in the C(S)G, since it is obvious that the noun is used on all registers, even the most basilectal ones.

Type: (1) **partial** false friends – **pragmatic (register-related)**

(2-4) **total** false friends – **phraseological**

Venn diagrams: (1) **intersection**

(2) **segregation**

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SMG lemma: **ξεροτήγανο** [ksɛɾɔ'tiɣɛɾɔ]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **ξεροτήανον** [ksɛɾɔ'tiɛɾɔˈn]

SMG meaning(s):

a traditional sweet from Crete that is a kind of rolled pastry sweet. [ξερο- + τηγάν(ι) -ο]



C(S)G meaning(s):



a sort of deep-fried dumplings (usually with yeast), a traditional Cypriot sweet (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 351, Κυπρή 2002: 336, Κυπρή 2003: 186, Κυπρή 1989: 92, Σακελλάριος 1891b: 682, Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 48, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 774, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 124, Παυλίδης 1984, verb 10, p. 289)

Ex.: Για να φύγουν από τη γη και να ξαναρχίσουν από την αρχή το πριόνισμα του δένδρου μέχρι το τέλος του νέου χρόνου, οι νοικοκυρές στην Κύπρο ανήμερα τα Θεοφάνεια (ή μήπως είναι την παραμονή;) ρίχνουν πάνω στα κεραμίδια του σπιτιού ψητά κομμάτια λουκάνικα και **ξεροτήγανα**, για να φάνε και να φύγουν. Χθες όταν έφτιαχνα ζύμη για να φτιάξω κάτι άλλο μου είπε ο γιος μου ότι πεθύμησε λουκουμάδες. Έτσι μιας και είναι και το έθιμο του λέω θα σου κάνω **ξεροτήγανα** που γίνονται πολύ πιο εύκολα. (<http://www.kopiaste.info/?p=5899>)

«Τιτσίιν τιτσίιν λουκάνικον, κομμάτιν **ξεροτήανον** να φάτε τζιαι να φύετε, να πάτε στον αγύριστον» Αυτό είναι το παραδοσιακό στιχάκι που τραγουδάνε γενιές και γενιές Κυπρίων κάθε πρωί των Φώτων. (<http://www.mixanitouxronou.com.cy/categories/politismos/giati-i-nikokires-petane-xerotigana-stis-steges-tin-imera-ton-foton-i-kalikantzari-tis-roumanias-ke-tis-gallias-pou-xekinisan-apo-tin-archa-ellada/>)

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Analysis:

This traditional sweet in Cyprus is made with flour and water (and occasionally with yeast) was mainly made the day before the religious celebration of Epiphany, but also on the nameday of Saint Andrew (Παυλίδης 1984, verb 10, p. 289).

Although the Encyclopedia edited by Παυλίδης (1984, verb 10, p. 289) makes explicit reference to two different types of *ξεροτήανον* [kserɔ'tiɛnɔⁿ], as do two of the glossaries by Κυπρή (1989: 92, 2003: 186), the rest of the dictionaries do not make any distinction. All C(S)G dictionaries explain the type of sweet by making reference either to a different type of sweet that is common in Greece and Cyprus, i.e. what is called *λουκουμάς* [luku'mɛs] in Greece and *λοκμάς* [lɔ'kmɛs] in Cyprus, 'deep fried hole-less doughnuts', or to a different kind of barter-based fried pancake. The only reference that distinguishes the sweet we are referring to herein is that of the encyclopedia, that explicit states that it differs with regard to the other two sweets.

The Cretan sweet shares the same name with the Cypriot one, but as is obvious from the images accompanying the two lemmas, it differs significantly. Apart from the divergent appearance and the different recipes¹⁷⁷, the Cretan sweets are the traditional marriage sweet, while the Cypriot is mainly connected with the religious celebration of Epiphany. The pair of false friends is a multiple one, since on the one hand it exhibits morphological divergence and on the other, its differentiation is mainly a cultural one, relating to different cultural or social manifestations or celebrations.

Type: **total** false friends – **morphological** and **cultural**

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

¹⁷⁷ For the Cretan sweet's recipe see: <https://www.sintagespareas.gr/sintages/kserotigana-kritika-tou-gamou.html> and for the Cypriot one's: <http://foodmuseum.cs.ucy.ac.cy/web/guest/36/civitem/849>.

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: **παίρνω** ['pɛrnɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **παίρνω** ['pɛrnɔ]

SMG meaning(s)¹⁷⁸:

1. to take sth. in order to use it.
2. to take sb. by the hand.
3. to take sth. in my hands.
4. to receive sth.
5. to get paid.
6. to have sb. with me; to be accompanied by sb.
7. to pick up from somewhere.
8. to get married.
9. to catch a microbe.
10. to discern.
11. to understand; to realize.

C(S)G meaning(s):

- 1a. to drive sb. somewhere; to take sb. somewhere.

Ex.: *Δώσε μου γρήγορα την προσκοπική μου στολή και ετοιμάσου να με πάρεις. [...] Δεν ήξερε πού να τον πάρει. – Στο σχολείο της Ακρόπολης. (Βιολάρη-Ιακωβίδου 2004: 299)*

Θα τους πάρω αύριο στη Λευκωσία, είπε ο Πέτρος. (Βιολάρη-Ιακωβίδου 2004: 302)

-Πάεις μακριά να σε πετάξω; [...] – Όι ευχαριστώ, εν δαμέ παρακάτω που πάω. – Όπου τζι αν ένι, αν θέλεις, έμπα να σε πάρω. (Πολυδώρου 2008: 218)

- 1b. to take sb. out.

Ex.: *Είμαστεν έτοιμοι παιδικιά να σας πάρω σε μιαν ταβέρναν π' άνοιξεν*

¹⁷⁸ This specific verb is among the most prolific in the Greek language. We will only present the senses relevant to our research, since we do not consider that presenting the many others adds to the validity of the analysis.

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προχτές σε μιαν πάροδοι της Ρηγαίνης; (Σάββα 2009: 72)

2. in phraseologisms combined with nouns and they mean the same as the verb that has or would have the same root as the noun used to complement the phraseologism:

2a. (phr.) ~ υπομονήν, to be patient; to wait patiently. (Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 77)

Ex.: *Ενάρτουσιλ, Λυσιστράτη, ενάρτουσιν. Έπαρε πομονήν.* (Μόντης 1988γ: 195)

Παρε πομονην κορη μου! Εν να ρτει τζι η σειρα σου! Καπου θα εκολλησεν ο Σαντας σου, μες την κινηση αλοπως... (http://chezneerie.blogspot.com/2011/12/blog-post_22.html)

2b. ~ άνεσιν, to rest; to make myself comfortable. (Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 50).

Ex.: *Άρκεψεν τζι ο νήλιος να ψηλώννει πάνω τζιαι έπιαννεν την η πειρά. Έμεινεν καμπόσην ώραν χωσμένη τζιειαμαί πουκάτω να πάρει άνεσην. Επήρεν την απόφασην. Να σιονοστεί του βούρου προς την κατεύθυνσην του κρεμμού τζιαι να ξαναπεράσει γλήορα σαν την αστραπήν που την άλλην, να σφίξει την καρκιάν της τζιαι να ξαναπεράσει που την κόλασην του ζώλου [...].* (http://acerasanthropophorum.blogspot.com/2010/07/blog-post_07.html)

2c. ~ πουρλόττον, to get angry suddenly, like wildfire spreading (Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 76, Γιαγκουλλής 2005b: 72)

Ex.: *«Είνταν που θκιαόλον θέλεις δαμαί εσού;» «Για ότι έκαμες θα πκιορώσεις! Εγκληματία!» φωνάζει του η γεναίκα που παίρνει πουρλόττον τζιαι μάσιεται με τα μικροκαμωμένα τζι αδύνατα σιέρκα να δέρει το τεράστιον παχύδερμον που ποφεύκει με μεγάλην ευκολίαν τες υστερικές της χειρονομίες.* (<http://acerasanthropophorum.blogspot.com/2009/04/blog-post.html>)

2d. ~ πουρλόττον, for feelings running high in a precarious situation

Ex.: *Επήραν τα πνεύματα πουρλόττον. Ο ορθολογισμός σιγά σιγά εκλείπει τζιαι αφήννει τόπον στο συναίσθημα, ο πολιτικός λόγος μαρανίσκει τζιαι αφήννει τον πολιτικαντισμόν να δρατζιάζει.* (<http://www.epanenosi.com/index.php/archives/682>)

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3. (phr.), ~ κάποιον στον ποταμό / στη βρύση τζαι φέρνω τον άποτον / ~ τζαι φέρνω κάποιον (shortened form of the phraseologism) for sb. who is eloquent, good with words and can persuade anyone else and deceive them. (Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 76, Γιαγκουλλής 2005b: 122).

Ex.: Για να 'χουμεν ρώτημαν καλόν / πε μου ρα προκομμένη / η Ιβάνα πο 'φουεν προψές / ήνταλος ήτουν ντυμένη; / Γιατ' αν εφόρεν τάκκουνους / στιλλέττους δωδεκάποντους / **στη βρύση παίρνει τζαι φέρνει μας / θαρκούμαι ούλλους άποτους!** (http://oilaomon.blogspot.com/2011/12/blogpost_08.html#ixzz1xr8oeM5N)

Εν νούσιμη τούτη φωνή, αλλά διστάζει νάκκο. Άμπα τζαι περιπαίζει με, τζαι παίρνει με τζαι φέρνει με, τζι ενώ μου παίζει την καλή, με θάφκει με στον λάκκο; (<http://www.skalatimes.com/2012/03/23/%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%89%CF%80%CE%B9%CE%BA%CF%8E%CF%82-%CF%83%CE%BF%CF%85%CF%81%CE%B5%CE%B1%CE%BB%CE%B9%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B9%CE%BA%CE%AC-%CE%BA%CF%85%CF%80%CF%81%CE%B9%CE%B1%CE%BA%CE%AC-%CE%BA/>)

4. (phr.) ~ (τα) πάνω μου, to stop despairing; to take courage. (Γιαγκουλλής 2005b: 71, Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 43, Κυπρή 2002: 355)

Ex.: Κατά τα άλλα εν μίζερη τζαι νευρική που ούλλοι έχουν άποψη τζι επιμένουν να κάμει το γάμο ΤΗΣ όπως θεωρούν τζείνοι πιο καλό. Είπαμεν της να **πάρει τα πάνω της** τζαι πως ως νύφη πρέπει να λάμπει τζι επήρεν το τοις μετρητοίς. (http://www.blogger-index.com/feeds.php?feed_id=60958&p=6)

5. (phr.) ~ τζι άφτω, to be or become extremely angry; to be fired up.

Ex.: Είπαμεν της να πάρει τα πάνω της τζαι πως ως νύφη πρέπει να λάμπει τζι επήρεν το τοις μετρητοίς: [follows a photo of a e=wedding gown with Christmas lights on it] **Επήρεν τζι άψεν** η πεθερά της. (http://www.blogger-index.com/feeds.php?feed_id=60958&p=6)

Analysis:

The first C(S)G sense appears identical to the SMG, but there is a connotative subtle distinction: while the SMG verb implies that the person speaking is going somewhere anyway and could take the other person(s) along with him/her, in the C(S)G it denotes that the speaker offers to take sb. somewhere that the speaker might not have been going to anyway. Another difference is that in SMG the speaker is taking the other person from somewhere, in the C(S)G, the speaker is taking the other person to somewhere, with a clear differentiation in the route direction The SMG senses presented above are generally rendered in the C(S)G

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by the verb *πκιάννω* ['pcen:ɔ], 'to take', 'to grab' (and many more similar meanings).

The verb is not entered into any of the dictionaries, with one exception, that of Κυπρή (2002: 355), where apart from the phraseologism (4) only one sense common between the two varieties is presented, that of 'grabbing'. The rest probably consider that the two lemmas due to their morphological identity are also characterized by semantic identity.

Type: (1) **partial** false friends – **pragmatic (connotative)**

(2-5) **total** false friends - **phraseological**

Venn diagrams: (1) **intersection**

(2-5) **segregation**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: **πέφτω** ['pɛftɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **ππέφτω** ['p^h:ɛftɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (phr.) *πέφτει νερό με το τουλούμι*, it is raining cats and dogs.
2. (phr.) *~ από τα σύννεφα*, to be utterly surprised and unable to believe what has happened.
3. *πέφτει κάποιος / κτ. από τον ουρανό*, to appear unexpectedly.
4. (proverb) *Όποιος σκάβει το λάκκο του αλλουνού, πέφτει ο ίδιος μέσα*, for sb. planning to harm sb. else but being harmed himself by the scheme.
5. (phr.) *Αν δεν παινέσεις το σπίτι σου, θα πέσει να σε πλακώσει*, the first person to admit that sth. is good, is the person responsible for it.
6. (phr.) *πέφτουν μύτες*, for extreme cold.
7. (phr.) *μου έπεσαν τα μαλλιά*, for being made aware of sth. that is very odd.
8. (phr.) *πέφτει το ταβάνι να με πλακώσει*, to very upset.
9. (phr.) *είναι / έπεσε του θανατά*, to feel extremely down or upset.
10. (phr.) *~ στο στρώμα / στο κρεβάτι*, to become bedridden.
11. (phr.) *~ να πεθάνω*, a. to be close to death, b. to be extremely upset.
12. (phr.) *πέφτουν τα φτερά μου*, to lose heart or momentum, or my self-confidence.
13. (phr.) *πέφτει η μύτη μου*, to become less conceited.
14. (phr.) *πέφτουν τα μούτρα μου*, to feel ashamed.
15. (phr.) *πέφτει κτ. στην αντίληψή μου*, to perceive, grasp sth.
16. (phr.) *πέφτει σε κτ. το μάτι μου*, to see sth. by chance.
17. (phr.) *μου πέφτει ο λαχνός (να κάνω κτ.)*, or *μου έπεσε ο κλήρος*, it happened.
18. (phr.) *μου έπεσε λαχείο*, for unexpected gain or benefit.
19. (phr.) *φωτιά να πέσει να σε κάψει*, a curse for sb. to die.
20. (used in many collocations to denote that sth. is happening repeatedly and often): *Πέφτουν τουφέκια / τουφεκιές / πιστολιές*, to hear or shoot many shots.

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21. (phr.) (said in case of a beating or a fight): *Πέφτει ξύλο. Πέφτουν γροθιές / καρεκλιές.*
22. (phr.) *Πέφτουν βρισιές*, a lot of swearing.
23. (phr.) *Πέφτει γέλιο / κλάμα*, a lot of laughing / a lot of crying.
24. (phr.) ~ *δίπλα*, (for ships) to berth.
25. (phr.) *την ~ δίπλα*, or *του / της την ~ από δίπλα*, to approach sb. in order to purloin sth. by stealth.
26. (phr.) *έπεσε περονόσπορος*, for a time when many people die in a short time period; when people are absent.
27. (coln) *πέφτουν κεφάλια*, to punish the people responsible.
28. (phr.) ~ *στη λούμπα*, to fall into a trap, to fall victim to collusion.
29. (phr.) *μου έπεσαν τα νεφρά*, to carry a lot of weight and experience pain.
30. (phr.) *έπεσε γραμμή*, for a secret agreement to kee united front.
31. (phr.) *πέφτει σύννεφο*, for sth. unpleasant that is repeated or very intense.
32. (phr.) *πέφτει μαχαίρι*, when a great number of people is excluded from sth.
33. (proverb) *πέσε πίτα να σε φάω*, for sb. who is lazy and expects things to happen without any work on his/her part.

Common meaning(s):

- 1a. to fall down due to weight.
- 1b. (humans) to fall either voluntarily or involuntarily.
- 1c. to be hanging from somewhere.
- 1d. *Πέφτει η αυλαία*, curtain down: i. For the end of a scene or an act in a theater play. ii. (metaph.) for the unveiling, the beginning or the end of a situation similar to a drama play.
2. to detach from my position.
- 3a. to fall on the ground from a standing position.
- 3b. ~ *στα γόνατα*, to get down on my knees (literally and metaphorically).
4. to be assassinated.
5. to lie down to sleep, go to bed.

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- 6a. to lie down because of sickness, to be sick and lie down.
- 6b. Έπεσε άρρωστος βαριά, he became sick.
- 7a. (for humans) to lose weight or strength, to get thin.
- 7b. to weaken (usually due to sickness or old age).
- 7c. for morale that goes downoun.
- 8a. for financial value, price or currency that is falling.
- 8b. (phr.) πέφτουν οι μετοχές κάποιου, sb's position worsens in comparison to someone else's.
- 8c. to lessen or weaken, get down to a lower level of strength.
- 8d. to receive a lower gradation.
- 8e. to cease to exist (for notions).
9. to enter a specific situation: ~ σε δυστυχία, to be miserable.
10. (phr.) ~ στα χέρια κάποιου: a. to fall under someone's authority. (threat) Αν πέσει στα χέρια μου, θα τον κανονίσω!, I'll teach him right, if he should fall in my hands. b. (for object) to fall in sb's hand by chance.
11. to face a certain situation by chance.
12. to win (the lottery, or the sweepstakes, etc.).
13. to fall in sth.
14. (phr.) ~ σε παγίδα / σε ενέδρα, to fall into a trap or ambush.
15. to fall on sth. a. while moving (due to impulse or high velocity) to impact, hit upon b. to attack, lunge, or charge. c. (for catastrophe, tragedy or misfortune) to fall upon sb.
16. (phr.) ~ στην αγκαλιά κάποιου, to fall into someone's arms.
- 17a. to fall on an event, celebration or day, etc.
- 17b. (for place, spote, etc.) to fall or be somewhere.
18. (metaph.) to fall from power.
19. (metaph., for a city, etc.) to fall, to be captured.
20. (coll., metaph.) to pay for sth.

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21. (phr.) ~ *έξω*: a. (for ships) to deviate from my course and go astray, to be grounded. b. for plans, judgments, actions, etc., that have fallen through.
22. (phr.) *έπεσαν έξω τα καράβια σου*; for financial disaster.
23. (phr.) ~ *στα νύχια κάποιου*, to fall victim of revenge or exploitation.
24. (phr.) ~ *σε κτ. με τα μούτρα*, to devote myself in sth.
25. (phr.) ~ *επάνω σε κπ.*, to run into sb.
26. (phr.) ~ *(και) στη φωτιά (για κπ.)*, for absolute love, trust and loyalty.
27. (phr.) ~ *στο στόμα κάποιου*, to be gossiped about.
28. (phr.) ~ *στο στόμα του λύκου*, to be in great danger.
29. (phr.) ~ *στα μάτια κάποιου*, to fall in the eyes of sb.
30. (phr.) ~ *(πολύ) χαμηλά*, for moral fall.
31. (phr.) ~ *στα μαλακά*, to not be serious harmed.
32. (phr.) *κάποιος πέφτει (εύκολα)*: a. with regard to love, for sb. who is easy; b. in general for sb. who is easily persuaded and capitulates easily.
33. (phr.) *(δε) σου πέφτει λόγος*, for sb. who has no say, since it does not concern him/her.
34. (phr.) *πολύ μου / σου κτλ. πέφτει*, for sb. that sb. else is not good enough for.
35. (phr.) ~ *στο λαιμό κάποιου*, to hug sb. around the neck in order to beg.
36. (phr.) ~ *στα πόδια κάποιου*, to beg at someone's feet.
37. (proverb) *Το μήλο κάτω από τη μηλιά θα πέσει*, like father, like son [μσν. *πέφτω* < αρχ. *πίπτω* με ανομ. τρόπου άρθρ. [pt > ft] και [i > e] από το συνοπτ. θ. πεσ-]

C(S)G meaning(s):

a. to go to bed in order to rest or sleep. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014:445, Κυπρή 2002: 372, Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή 1988: 58, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 994)

Ex.: *Κρούζεις, έκανε με δέος όταν την άγγιξε στο χέρι. Να σε πάρω μέσα να ππέσεις;* (Πολυδώρου 2003: 331)

Μην μου τη χαλάς Στρατή, είπα εννά πα να ππέσει τωρά. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 387)

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Καλά, γιαγιά, **ππέσε** τζιαι μεν έσειεις έννοια, αν δεν μου περάσει, εννά σε ξυπνήσω. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 549)

b. to be asleep, to sleep. (Κυπρή 1989: 46)

Ex.: - Παιδί μου, γιατί εν ήρτες να μου μιλήσεις πιο πριν να δούμε τι μπορούσαμε να κάμουμε; - Εν το έξερα κυρία, **έππεφτεν** ούλλη μέρα τζι έσαζά την, όπως τζι ούλλον το σπίτι, μα εν επήεν ο νους μου στο κακό. (Πολυδώρου 2008: 359)

Όι, εν το αφήννω εγιώ το Κινησιούϊμ μου να **ππέσει** χαμαί. (Μόντης 1988γ: 219)

Analysis:

Although the (5) and (6a) common senses appear identical to the two C(S)G meanings, they are not. All SMG examples of use for these two senses include either a secondary clause accompanying the verb that clarifies what it means, or an adverb, e.g. *νύσταξε κι έπεσε να κοιμηθεί*, 'he was sleepy and went to bed', or *πέσαμε αργά*, 'we went to bed late'. In the first example the secondary clause is underlined, as is the adverb in the second example. The C(S)G use does not require anything accompanying the verb, since its speakers immediately recognize its meaning, as it is the sense *par excellence* for C(S)G.

This type of false friend, apart from its morphological differentiation and slight semantic divergence, it is actually a pragmatic one, since its semantic content is context-dependent, as well as use-related. The immediate sentence context these senses appear in differs from that of its SMG counterpart, since they do not require any clarifying adjunct or adverb.

The C(S)G second meaning is an extension of the first and it is different from any SMG or common meaning, since all of them focus on the process of going to bed, and not to sleepin *per se*. This meaning is different enough to fall under a different category, rendering the false friend a mere morphological one with regard to this specific sense.

Type: (a) **partial** false friends - **contextual pragmatic**

(b) **partial** false friends - **morphological** and **phonetic**

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

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SMG lemma: **πιάνω** ['pɛnɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **πικιάννω** ['pɛn:ɔ]

SMG meaning(s)¹⁷⁹:

phraseologisms:

1. *δεν ~ μπάζα / χαρτωσιά (μπροστά σε κπ.), to appear unimportant in front of sb.*
2. *~ πουλιά στον αέρα, to be very clever and able.*
3. *ρίχνω άδεια για να πιάσω γεμάτα, to attempt to deduce sth.*
4. *το έξυπνο πουλί από τη μύτη πιάνεται, for sb. who thinks (s)he is very clever, but falls into a trap.*
5. *~ κπ. στα πράσα / στον ύπνο / πιάστηκε (σαν τον ποντικό) στη φάκα, to make a mistake and be caught because of it.*

Common meaning(s):

1. reach out and take and keep sth. in one's hand.
2. to catch.
3. to realize.
4. to contain.
5. to connect.
6. to be attached to.
7. to fasten onto.
8. to catch signals.
9. to realize; to understand.
10. to occupy space.
11. to be taken up by feelings.
12. to obtain or acquire sth. negative.
13. to act drastically and effectively, esp. with regard to bodily functions.

¹⁷⁹ This specific verb is among the most prolific in the Greek language. We will only present the senses relevant to our research, since we do not consider that presenting the many others adds to the validity of the analysis.

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14. to achieve the intended goal, usually for plants or children.
- 15a. to begin sth.; to get going.
- 15b. for sth. that starts, such as wind, rain, etc.
16. to gain money.
- 17a. to get somewhere, to some point in time or space.
- 17b. (phr.) ~ *πάτο*: i. to hit bottom; ii. to utterly fail.
- 18a. (pass.) to hang on to sth.
- 18b. (proverb) *Ο πνιγμένος απ' τα μαλλιά του πιάνεται*, to grasp at straws.
- 18c. (phr.) *πιαστήκαμε μαλλί με μαλλί*, to fight with sb. badly.
- 18d. (main for bodily parts) to experience a (muscular or other type) painful rigidity.
19. (oral.) to consider sb. as sth. [μσν. *πιάνω* < συνοπτ. θ. *πιασ-* του ελνστ. (& αρχ. στη δωρ. διάλ.) *πιάζω* `κρατώ σταθερά', παράλλ. τ. του αρχ. *πιέζω*, μεταπλ. κατά το σχ.: *φθασ-* (*έφθα σα*) – *φθάνω*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. to take sth. in my hands in order to hold on to it. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 918)

Ex.: **Πιας** τα ριάλια και φεύκοντας, δκιάλεξε ό,τι θες. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 406)

2. to receive sth. that sb. else has given or sent me. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 918)

Ex.: *Που κάθε πρωί το γραμματοκιβώτιο τόσο του σπιτιού μου, όσο και της δουλειάς μου είναι τιγκαρισμένο από ανούσιες μπροσούρες. Δεν έχουν καταλάβει πλέον όλοι αυτοί πως όπως τα **πιάνουμε** τα πετάμε;* (magazine *P* of the newspaper *Πολίτης*)

3. to buy, to provision myself. (Σακελλάριος 1891b: 732)

Ex.: - *Θέλετε να σας τηαννίσω λίες πατάτες;* - *Όι ρε, θεκκιου, ερεξαμεν που τζαμαί στον Ζορπάν τζαι **επιάαμεν** κούπες.* (NOUNL.-S.K.)

4. to take sth. to be mine (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 918, Σακελλάριος 1891b: 732)

Ex.: *Τράβα στα αδέρκια σου να μείνετε ούλλοι μαζί σαν τους κούλλουφους, να **πιάνετε** ο ένας τη γεναίκα του άλλου, όπως είσαστε μαθημένοι.* (Πολυδώρου 2009: 354)

*Αφήνω το τούτο για την ώρα τζιαι αρωτώ σε κάτι άλλο, **έπιασε** την με το*

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ζόρι τη κόρη σου, για έκατσε του πέρκιμο τζιαι τυλίξει τον; (Πολυδώρου 2003: 142)

5. to obtain; to acquire what sb. wants.

Ex.: Άμαν τζιαι **πκιάσει** τζείνον που θέλει, άτε βούρα τον να βάλει στεφάνιν. (N.N.)

6. to use sth as a means of transport.

Ex.: Έσασεν λλία πράματα μέσα σε μιαν τσένταν, εκλείωσεν την κάμαρήν της, επήεν στο χάνιν **έπιαν** το λεωφορείον τζι' εκατέβην στο χωρκόν του. (Σάββα 2009: 36)

7a. to call sb.; to make a phonecall.

Ex.: Να σε τεξτάρω ότι δεν έχω φωνή τζιαι δεν μιλώ τζιαι να με **πιάννεις** τηλέφωνο μετά που 10 λεπτά!! Να σου το κλείω σαν παίζει τζιαι να σε ξανατεξτάρω ότι ΔΕΝ ΜΠΟΡΩ ΝΑ ΜΙΛΩ τζιαι να με ξαναπιάννεις!! (<http://saikkopad.blogspot.com/2011/11/which-part-of-dont-you-understand.html>)

7b. to answer the phone.

Ex.: Προχτές είπουν πως ήμουν στην Κυπρούλα, ετηλεφώνησαν τζιαι **έπιασε** το η αδερφή της η μητσιά. Είδε τζιαι έπαθε ύστερα η κοπελούα να τα σάσει. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 540)

8a. (metaph.) to take; to obtain.

Ex.: Οι δημοσιογράφοι αυτήν τη στιγμή εσκολάσασιν. Είναι διάφοροι κουρούπεττοι που κάθουνται τζιαμαί και νομίζουν είναι κάποιιο επειδή **πκιάννου** δηλώσεις από τους διάφορους αξιωματούχους, σύρνουν τζιαι κάμποσο γλείψιμον. Εν τζιαι προσφέρουν τίποτε. (<http://www.sigmalive.com/simerini/columns/eks+aformis/362205>)

8b. (metaph.) to be rewarded; to receive what sb. deserves (lit. or iron.).

Ex.: **Έπιασεν** ό,τι της άξιζε, τζι η ψυσιή της εννά χογλά μες στην πίσσα τζι ε θα βρίσκει νεπαμόν ούτε μια στιγμή. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 430)

8c. (phr.) for stating that sb. strikes a certain pose or takes an expression

Ex.: **Πκιάννω** έναν ύφος απο αυστηρόν έως σσιύλλας τζιαι λαλώ της: «φέρμου έναν ψωμίν τωρά, τζιαι κόψε το, τζιαι λλίον άξιππα α!» (<http://post-babylonblogspot.com/2012/04/vs.html>)

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9a. to get paid; to receive money from remunerated work.

Ex.: *Αχαϊρευτος είναι επίσης ο άνθρωπος που αντί να σιέρεται που ξυπνά η ώρα 7 (το αργότερο) για να πάει δουλειά στην κυβέρνηση ("να **πκιάννει** σίλλιες λίρες το μήνα, τζαι να κσιέται" (sic)), προτιμά να παραιτηθεί για να κάνει φρίλανς δουλειές με τις οποίες πιθανώς θα βγάζει τα μισά, αλλά (ΝΑΙ,ΝΑΙ) θα μπορεί να ξυπνά ότι ώρα θέλει. (http://axairefti.blogspot.com/2008_01_01_archive.html)*

9b. to win money or a prize.

Ex.: *Τίτλος: **Πιάσε** €1000 κάθε βδομάδα! Αγαπητέ πελάτη, Από 14/3/2011 μέχρι 31/10/2011 κάθε Μεταφορά και Πληρωμή που κάνεις μέσω Internet και Mobile Banking σου δίνει την ευκαιρία να κερδίσεις €1,000 την βδομάδα. (<https://newdb.bankofcyprus.com/netteller/Login>)*

10. to conquer; to besiege.

Ex.: *Λαμπιτώ: Ώσπου έσιετε στόλον τζ' εγ γεμάτος ππαράν ο Παρθενώνας φουούμαι πως έθθα σταματήσουν τους πολέμους. Λυσιστράτη: Έννοια σας τζ' εσκέφτηκα το τζαι τούτο. Όπου τζαι νάσαι **επκιάαμεν** την Ακρόπολην. Έβαλα τες γερόντισσες να πάσιγ γιμίς πως εννά κάμουσιθ θυσίαν τζ' αντίς θυσίαν να τημ **πκιάουν**. (Μόντης 1988c: 200)*

11. to hire; to employ.

Ex.: *Όταν πρωτοήρθε στο κτήμα για δουλειά τον συμβούλεψαν να μην παρουσιαστεί με γυαλιά στον Μπατίστα. – Αν δει ότι φοράς γυαλιά δε θα σε **πκιάσει**. (Μόντης 1987: 1336)*

12. to take sth. away from sb.

Ex.: *Το αλλον που μου φακκα πολλα εν οτι κλαιμεν για την ανεργια τζιαι για τους ξενους που «μας **πκιανουν** τες δουλειες μας» αλλα εν ριφκουμεν τον κωλον μας να παμεν να δουλεισουμεν. Ουλλοι θελουμεν να γινουμεν γιατροι/δικηγοροι/δασκαλοι/κυβερνητικοι με τον σιουρον μισθον τζιαι τα πολλα ριαλια. (<http://new.ledras.net/?p=366>)*

13. as a set phrase accompanying a noun with its meaning depending on the accompanying noun:

13a. (phr.) *πκιάνω (την) πάντα* (poss. pron. GEN.), to drive in the right lane of the street.

Ex.: ***Πκιας την πάντα σου!** Έρχεσαι πάνω μου!*

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13b. (phr.) *πκιάννουν τα νερά*, it starts to rain

Ex.: Στην αρχή εφακκούσαμεν γυρούς, εν μου επέρναν να το ισιώσω, μετά εκαταλάβαμεν οτι εβάρεν πολλά ο Βραζιλιάνος τζιαι έκατσεν λλίον πιο πισω για να μου γιουτα να κλώθω. Μετά **επιάσαν τα νερά**. Κλάσικ Κρυσχώρα, μόλις πάεις να κάμεις κάτι έξω αντακώννουν τα νερά. (<http://post-babylonblogspot.com/2011/05/canoo.html>)

13c. (phr.) (*pers. pronoun, ACC.*) *πκιάννουν (τα) νερά*, the rain catches up with sb. and this person usually ends up trapped somewhere.

Ex.: Μιαφ φοράν τζι' έναν τζιαιρόν είσιεμ μιαγ γεναίκαν, που 'σιεν έναγ γυιον. Μιαμ ημέραν έπεψέν τον εις τομ μύλον ν' αλέση το σιτάριν. Το κοπελλούιν **επκιάσαν το τα νερά** τζι' έμεινεμ μεσ' στον μύλον. Ο μυλωνάς είπεν του «αφού **σ' επκιάσαν τα νερά** τζι' ενυκτωθήκαμεν, να μείνουμεν μέσ' στομ μύλον». (http://kparispanblogspot.com/2011/01/blog-post_5079.html)

13d. (phr.) ~ *ανάκριση*, to interrogate.

Ex.: Έλενα: Ήρθαν οι Άγγλοι στο χωριό να **πκιάσουν ανακρίσεις**. Δασκάλα: Να κάνουν ανακρίσεις. Γιατί; Τι είχε συμβεί; (Τσιπλάκου 2007: 19, παρ. 7)

14. (phr.) (*pers. pronoun, ACC.*) *πκιάννει κάποιος μέσα*, to be deceived by sb.

Ex.: **Έπιαν με μέσα** ο βρακάς τζι' έστησέν μου την. (Σάββα 2009: 92)

Πρώτην φοράν έννοιωθε πως **επιάστην μέσα**. (Σάββα 2009: 35)

15. (phr.) ~ *στον μεζέν*, to laugh at sb, to deceive sb. (Γιαγκουλλής 2005b: 72)

Ex.: Έτσι γίνηκεν τωρά; **Έπκιάές μας στομ μεζέν**; (Μόντης 1988γ: 200)

16a. (phr.) *κάποιος πκιάννει το πό(δ)ιν μου*, to be embarrassed by sb., because (s)he has found my weak point. (Γιαγκουλλής 2005b: 73).

Ex.: Έτο, είπα ψέματα τζ' αμέσως **επκιάσαν το πόιν μου**, εκαταλάβαν το.

16b. (phr.) ~ *το πόδι κάποιου*, to leave sb. to dry, to expose sb.

Ex.: Θα 'ρω να δικιολογήσω [τις απουσίες] για να μεν **μου πκιάσουν το πόιν**.

17. (phr.), ~ (*noun ACC.*) *αψά γεμάτα*, to put pressure on sb., to be strict with sb. and not let him/her avoid sth. that (s)he considers bad for him/herself. (Γιαγκουλλής 2005b: 74, Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 78)

Ex.: Τζιαι σου τουν τους ροκώλους **πκιάσ' τους αψά, γεμάτα**, / Για να ισιώσουν πκιάσ' τους συχνά τζι απανωτόν, / Γιατί τούτη που πκιάσαν εν εν



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η ίσια στράτα, / Έσειι κρεμμούς τζια χλιάστρες τζιαι κατηφορητόν.
(Λιπέρτης 1988: 207)

18. (phr.) πκιάννει (*pers. pron., ACC.*) το τρεμουσιόν, to be scared or afraid.
(Γιαγκουλλής 2005b: 126)

Ex.: Και θα απαιτούσα, γνωρίζοντας και το υπέρ... μέγεθος της Κύπρου και της αγοράς της από τους πολυεθνικούς κολοσσούς να βάλουν την ουρά στα σκέλια και να δεχτούν χωρίς δεύτερη κουβέντα τη δική μου τιμή που πρότεινα. Κι αν δεν δέχονταν πρώτα θα τους άφηνα σύξυλους και θα έφευγα, για να **τους πιάσει το τρεμουσιόν**. Και ευθύς αμέσως, επιστρέφοντας στην Κύπρο, θα τους τα έσουρνα και από τα κυπριακά κανάλια και λοιπά μίντια, για να τους δείξω -εν τέλει- ποιος κάνει κουμάντο και πόσα απίδκια χωρεί ο σάκκος...
(<http://www.haravgi.com.cy/site-article-20-gr.php>)

19. (phr.) πκιάννω (*noun ACC., or pers. pron., ACC.*) στο μαϊτάπιν, to make fun of sb., to present sth. or real or logical in order to tease or deceive that person
(Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004 1998:45)

Ex.: Η είδηση έγγειται στο γεγονός ό,τι η κυρία Μανωλίδου ζήτησε από τον Δήμο, υπέρογκη αμοιβή, που φτάνει το πόσο του €1 εκατομμυρίου ευρώ!!! Το υπέρογκο ποσό σήμανε και την απόρριψη με συνοπτικές διαδικασίες της πρότασης Μανωλίδου από την Πολιτιστική Επιτροπή του Δήμου Πάφου, για να ακολουθήσει και η απόρριψη από την ολομέλεια. Μάλλον η Μπουμπούκα και η σχολή-ταλέντων-η ατάλαντη Μιμή νομίζουν πως θα **μας πιαν εις το μαϊτάπιν**. Κούνια που σας κούναγε κακομοίρες!!! (<http://toprosopothsmeras.wordpress.com/page/8/>)

20. (proverb) πιασ' τον έναν τζαι φάκκα τον άλλον, all of the choices available are equally bad, there is no good choice. (Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου 2004: 78)

Ex.: Σταματάτε λοιπόν να ρωτάτε εμένα για τον Αναστασιάδη, το Λιλλήκα, τον Ομήρου, το Συλλούρη ή τον Κουλία. **Πιάς τον ένα τζαι φάκκα τον άλλον** όπως λει και μια κυπριακή παροιμία. Όλοι μέσα στο ίδιο τηγάνι τηγανίζονται. (<http://www.greektribune.com.au/articlesviews88.htm>)

Analysis:

The two lemmas have many meanings in common, since both are derived from the same source, the medieval verb *πιάνω*, pronounced [ˈpɛnɔ] in SMG and [ˈpɛn:ɔ] in C(S)G. Leaving that aside, one of the most intriguing traits of the verb is the fact that it has assumed in C(S)G many of the senses and uses that the verb *παίρνω* [ˈpɛrɔ] has in SMG and vice versa, many of the senses it has in C(S)G, in the SMG are attributed to the verb *παίρνω*. It resembles a domino, where when a

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verb changes semantic content, it affects the semantic content of other verbs that exist in relation to that first, urging them to change as well.

The original meaning of the Ancient Greek verb λαμβάνω [le'mvenɔ] was 'to catch, to grab' and then it evolved into a less threatening and intimidating sense, i.e. 'to accept sth. that is offered or comes to me; to take'. In a similar manner evolved much later its synonymous verb πιάνω. Originally it was synonymous to the the verb λαμβάνω, 'to squeeze in my hand, to apprehend, to grab'. In Cyprus, it acquired an additional sense: 'to accept sth. offered to me, to take or to receive' (Ανδριώτης 1960: 48ff.).

Of the C(S)G dictionaries, only Παπαγγέλου and Σακελλάριος include the lemma in their dictionaries, while Γιαγκουλλής treats it solely in his phraseological dictionary, as does Παναγιώτου-Παπαονησιφόρου. Μυριανθοπούλου-Μακρή includes only the (18c) common meaning, which is also mentioned by Παπαγγέλου. In comparison to the frequency of use, the abundance of senses and phraseologisms and the importance of its position in the center of everyday communication, the space and prominence allotted to it by the C(S)G dictionaries are meager. It is possible that the dictionaries' compilers ignore the semantic divergence of the two member of the false friends' pair.

All its senses are evolutions of the verb described above and its phraseologisms express mainly metaphors that are actually cultural elements, since every culture differentiates in the way it absorbs and utilizes metaphors, even in the case of varieties or dialects of the same language. Since the verb differs not only semantically, but also morphologically, phonetically and pragmatically (cultural) we have categorized it among *multiple false friends*.

Type: **partial** false friends – (1-12) **semantic, morphological, phonetic**

total false friends – (13-20) **phraseological** and **pragmatic (cultural)**

Venn diagrams: **intersection** and **segregation**

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SMG lemma: **πουλί** [pu'li]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **πουλλίν** [pu'li:n]

SMG meaning(s):

1. used to call sb. tenderly: ~μου!:
2. γρήγορος σαν ~, for sb. who is very quick.
3. τρώει σαν ~, for. who eats very little.
4. κοιμάται σαν ~, for sb. who sleeps lightly.

Common meaning(s):

1. bird, esp. one that can fly.
2. (phr.) ελεύθερο ~, for a person free of commitments and obligations.
3. (phr.) και του πουλιού το γάλα, for abundance and variety of food and drinks.
4. (phr.) πιάνω πουλιά στον αέρα, for sb. who is very clever and able.
5. (phr.) πέταξε το ~, for a missed chance.
6. (phr.) το έξυπνο ~ από τη μύτη πιάνεται, for clever people who do silly or stupid things.
7. a young bird, chick esp. for domestic fowl.
8. (coll.) penis; willie; wiener; peter.
9. (phr.) παίζει το ~ του: a. masturbates; b. (metaph.) for sb. who does not care, is not interested in sth. he is responsible for; for sb. who is remiss.
[μσν. πουλί < πουλλίον υποκορ. του ελνστ. πούλλους < λατ. pullus `μικρό ζώου, πουλάκι, κοτόπουλο' (ορθογρ. απλοπ. κατά την ύστερη μσν. προφ.)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

chicken, usually cooked. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 977)

Ex.: *Εστράφην ύστερα που μιαν ώραν τζι' έφερεν μακαρούνια τζαι λλίον πουλλίν βραστόν.* (Σάββα 2009: 54)

Νεκατώννεις ούλλα τα υλικά της μαρινάδας καλά τζιαι βάλλεις μέσα το κοτόπουλλον. [...]. Αφήνεις το πουλλίν μιαν νύχταν, η τουλάχιστον 4 ώρες μες την μαρινάδα τζιαι ψήνεις σε προθερμασμένο φούρνο στους 180-200 βαθμούς. (http://istomageiremata.blogspot.com/2011_11_01_archive.html)

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Analysis:

The C(S)G dictionary of Γιαγκουλλής (2014: 437) only mentions the common meaning, but the example accompanying it makes reference to a 'chick', and the meaning of the example clearly indicates that the bird that was slaughtered was a chick, probably for the restorative properties of chicken soup (*Εν άρρωστος τζι έσφαξέν του έναν πουλλίν (= κοτοπουλάκι).*

Ανδριώτης (1960: 141) traces the evolutionary path of the lemma from a general sense of 'bird' that was later restricted to denote only 'domestic fowl, chicken'.

In SMG the lemma is not used to signify cooked or about to be cooked chicken (as it does in C(S)G), it may only refer to living birds in general, even if it refers to domestic fowls occasionally. This difference on the connotative level renders the false friend a connotative one and since it is accompanied by morphological differentiation, it is a multiple level false friends' pair.

Type: **partial** false friends – **pragmatic (connotative)** and **morphological**

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

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SMG lemma: **σούβλα** ['suvlə]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **σούβλα** ['suvlə]

C(S)G allomorph: **σούγλα** ['suɣlə]

SMG meaning(s):

metal or previously wooden spit for cooking meat. *Αρνάκι στη σούβλα*, lamb on a spit. *Ψήνω στη ~*, to cook on a skewer or spit. [μσν. σούβλα < λατ. subula με ανομ. αποβ. του δεύτερου [u]· σούβλ(α) -ίτσα]



C(S)G meaning(s):

1. a small spit (but longer than a skewer) used to cook (any kind of) spitted meat in fist-sized pieces. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 499, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1108)

Ex.: *Αρκέφκουν να μαλλώνουν, όταν ξαφνικά ακούεται ένας περίεργος θόρυβος. Εν μια σούβλα τζιαι γυρίζει. Οι δύο τους γυρίζουν πίσω τους τζιαι έκπληκτοι βλέπουν κάποιον γνώριμο. Εν ο Κύπρος ο σουβλιτζιής.* (http://axapari.blogspot.com/2009_06_01_archive.html)

Συνταγή κοτόπουλο σούβλα: Κόβουμε το κρέας, το πλένουμε καλά και το αφήνουμε να στεγνώσει. Στη συνέχεια, το αλατοπιπερώνουμε, το περνάμε στη σούβλα και το ψήνουμε στα κάρβουνα. (Χριστοδούλου 2011: 124)

2. (meton.) meat (usually mutton, pork or chicken) spitted and cooked on a small spit cut in fist-sized pieces. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 1108, Παυλίδης 2012, vol. 17, p. 231)

Ex.: *Πίτσα νηστίσιμη, τυρί νηστίσιμο, χάμπουργκερ νηστίσιμο, σε λλίο τζιαιρό εννα έση σούβλα τζιαι σιεφταλίες νηστίσιμα.* (<http://new.ledras.net/index.php/page/3?s=%CE%B3%CE%B5%CE%BD%CE%B9%CE%BA%CE%AC&paged=4>)

Ο θκειός μου ελάλεν μας ανέκδοτα τζιαι αινίγματα στες συνάξεις της οικογένειας στου παππού όπου η σούβλα τζιαι το σιεφταλίν (ο παπούς κασάπης) εσυνόδευεν το VO 43 (ταξικές επιλογές). (http://acerasanthropophorum.blogspot.com/2010/11/blog-post_20.html)

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

3. (meton) the art of cooking spitted fist-sized pieces of meat.

Ex.: Γουστάρω που είμαι Κυπραίος, γιατί το εθνικό μας σπορ εν η **σούβλα** τζιάι η διασκέδαση. (<http://new.ledras.net/?p=34>)



Analysis:

The first of the C(S)G meanings is the one that resembles most the SMG one, since the function of the *spit* is essentially the same, as it is used to cook spitted meat over coals. The main difference lies on the length of the spit used: in Greece it is generally longer and it is used to spit both animals whole and cut in large pieces (cf. *κοντοσούβλι*). Traditionally in Greece on Easter Sunday most families spit and roast a whole lamb or kid (*αρνί στη σούβλα* [e'ɾni#sti#'suvlɛ], literally 'lamb on the spit'), while in Cyprus that almost never happens. On the other hand, in Cyprus, it is not uncommon for the smell of meat pieces spitted and roasting to waft from at least one home in every neighborhood every Sunday. What is called *σούβλα* ['suvlɛ] in Cyprus is referred to as *κοντοσούβλι* [kɔdɔ'suvli] in Greece. In C(S)G two further, metonymic meanings have arisen: the meat and the art of cooking it in this manner that are denoted by the same lemma.

We have included this lemma among the multiple ones, since there is an undeniable semantic differentiation that is nevertheless combined with cultural elements that were the ones that resulted in the semantic divergence.

Type: **total** false friends – **semantic** and **cultural**

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

SMG lemma: **σπάζω** ['spezo]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **σπάζω** ['spezo]

SMG meaning(s):

- 1a. (coll.) for an off- shade of color or a milder taste of foodstuff.
- 1b. to reduce; to minimize.
- 2a. (metaph.) to end a situation or process; to interrupt.
- 2b. to abolish; to cancel.
3. (pass. coll.) to become irritated, to be exasperated.

Common meaning(s):

1. (trans.) to break sth. (with a sudden move); to part sth. in smaller pieces.
- 2a. (intrans.) to break in pieces due to a violent and sudden force.
- 2b. for a wave breaking on the shore.
- 2c. for a woman about to deliver: *Έσπασαν τα νερά*, her water broke.
3. (coll.) to expend all physical or mental power; to lose one's strength.
4. to yield under pressure.
5. to age quickly or suddenly.
- 6a. (athl.) ~ *ρεκόρ*, to break a record in a sports activity, etc.
- 6b. to exceed every limit.

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. to break down; to stop functioning.

Ex.: *Έσπασε η φωτοτυπική, και δεν μπορούμε να βγάλουμε φωτοτυπίες.* (C.C.)

Μην βγάξετε πάνω από 10 αντίγραφα, θα σπάσει. (sign on the photocopiers' room at a High School)

Εδυσκολεύτηκα που έσπασε το computer μου και μ' έβαλε σε απρογραμματίιστα και ξαφνικά έξοδα για την αγορά καινούργιου. (Y.I.)

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

2. to burst with the need to do or say sth. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 116)

Ex.: Εξάλλου... εν να **σπάσω** που την κατζία μου αν δεν το πω!
(http://www.phigita.net/~chryso/blog/?label_id=18)

3. to get on someone's nerves; to irritate or annoy immensely. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 116)

Ex.: Έχω ένα νέον να σου πω. – Λάλε. – Σοβαρό νέον. – Ακούω. – Πολλά σοβαρό νέον. – Εν να με **σπάσεις** σήμερα. (Κουκίδης 2007β: 15)

Εγώ έννα **σπάσω** ποιου ιδέα ήταν τούτη με τα στιλλούθκια πας σε ούλλα τα πεζοδρόμια της Λευκωσίας. Εγέμωσε ρε φίλε. Λαλούν σου εν για να μεν παρκάρουν πάνω τα αυτοκίνητα. (http://cypruscritics.blogspot.com.cy/2012/09/blog-post_17.html)

...Πότε εν να γειάνουσιν?... Εσπάσαν τα νεύρα μου! Η κοράσα πυρετό, ο γιός βήχα, ο Γρούτος τον λαιμό του... **εσπάσαν** με! Εν έπρεπε να δικαιούνται να αρρωστούν ούλλοι μονοφάτση... Ένας-ένας! Μέν κουντάτε...
(http://celticize43.rssing.com/chan-20508477/all_p1.html)

4. to be or become exceptionally tired. (Γιαγκουλλής (2005: 138)

Ex.: Κανεί θκιαβασμα σήμερα τζι εν να **σπάσεις**. (D.P.)

5. to eat to a bursting point; to gorge on sth.

Ex.: Στο Ακάκι εφάμεν **εσπάσαμεν**, και μετά επήαμε λλίο πάρατζι για να δούμε τα αστέρια. (<https://roam365.wordpress.com/category/summer-in-cy/page/6/>)

Εμπνευσμένη από το πρόσφατο ταξίδι μου όπου έφαα εμπανάδας τζιαι **έσπασα** (προφέρεται *empanadas*, όχι *embanadas*), είπα να δοκιμάσω τζι εγώ την τύχη μου. (http://istomageiremata.blogspot.com.cy/2012/08/blog-post_14.html)

6. (phr.) ~ που (+ noun), intensifies the meaning of the noun that follows the verb in the conjunction with που, 'due to'.

(phr.) ~ που το κλάμαν, to cry my eyes out.

Ex.: «Πεθυμώ τον πατέραν μου τζαι την μάναν μου», είπεν της τζι' **έσπασεν που το κλάμαν**. (Σάββα 2009 : 95)

(phr.) ~ που τη ζάμπα, lying around all day long doing nothing.

Ex.: Έφαε σας η αζούλα, **εσπάσετε που τη ζάμπα**, που κακό ψόφο να έσιετε. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 525)

5.2.6. Multiple false friends

Analysis:

The Χατζηιωάννου (1996: 176) dictionary states that the verb identifies with the SMG semantically, while the Κυπρή (2002: 440) glossary presents a meaning that is nowadays obsolete (i.e. 'to rupture a hernia'), as does the Παπαγγέλου (2001: 116ff.) dictionary. The Γιαγκουλλής (2005: 138) also includes collocational entries the existence and meaning of which we have not been able to corroborate from other sources and have therefore elected to leave aside, such as ~ που το κάγριν μου.

The first C(S)G meaning is an extension of the original meaning of the verb that from meaning 'to break' went to mean in C(S)G, 'to stop functioning', that is actually among the equivalent English verb's meanings. This extension could be the result of the British rule in Cyprus, when the C(S)G verb acquired this extension, but Greek Cypriots probably consider that this meaning is also present in SMG. Senses (2) and (3) of the C(S)G are probably the result of correlation of this verb with the SMG verb σκάω ['skeɔ], 'to burst'.

The third SMG meaning appears at first sight to share semantic content with the third C(S)G meaning, but in the SMG it is used in the passive form, σπάζομαι ['spɛzɔmɛ] and it is intensely colloquial in contrast to the C(S)G use, that is very common among Greek Cypriots.

Type: **partial** false friends – (1), (2), (4) and (5) **purely semantic**

(3) **grammatical**

(6) **phraseological**

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.3.1. Stylistic or register related (Pragmatic) false friends

5.3 Pragmatic false friends

5.3.1 Stylistic or register-related

SMG lemma: **θωρώ** [θɔˈrɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **θωρώ** [θɔˈrɔ]

C(S)G allomorph: **χωρώ** [çɔˈrɔ]

Common meaning(s):

1. (lit., coll.) to look at; to see. [μσν. θωρώ <θιωρώ < αρχ. θεωρῶ `κοιτάζω, παρατηρώ´ με συνίζ. για αποφυγή της χασμ.]

C(S)G meaning(s):

1. to see; to watch. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 172, Κυπρή 1989: 25, Κυπρή 1989: 184, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 69, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 348)

Ex.: *Άμαν σιναούμαστεν, συνήθως, μαειρεύκουμεν, **θωρούμεν** αθλητικά ή ντισκάβερι, παίζουμεν με τα μωρά, πίννουμεν κάνενα κρασούιν ή καμιάν μπουρούν, αναλύουμεν τι γίνεται γυρώ μας, λαλούμεν ήντα μπου σκεφτούμαστεν τζιαι **θωρούμεν** ο ένας εις τον άλλον τζιαι γεννικά εν έσειι λογοκρισίαν. (http://antzieloshiasmenimagissareal.blogspot.com/2012/03/blog-post_18.html)*

2. to look at. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 348)

Ex.: *"Ίντα μπου **θωρείς** ρε καλαμαρά;" ελλαδοκυπριακά γλωσσικά ευτράπελα (http://planitas.blogspot.com/2011/12/blog-post_12.html)*

*Γιατί εν θωρώ μόνη μου τα μούτρα μου στο γυαλλίν; Καρτερώ να μου το πούσιν; **Θώρε** παννάδες! (Κουκκίδης 2007a: 126)*

3. to understand; to realize what is happening.

Ex.: *Δεν κατηγορώ κανέναν. Ο κόσμος εν καλός. **θωρώ**. Καταλαβαίννω. Όμως... (Κουκκίδης 2009a: 294)*

4. to examine; to think about a matter.

Ex.: *Έδωκα του, μάνα μου, [ριάλια], μεν έσειεις έννοια. Έσασα τους για λλιον τζιαιρό. Έστερα **θωρούμε** πάλε. Μπορεί να σαστούν τζιαι μανισιοί τους. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 340)*

5.3.1. Stylistic or register related (Pragmatic) false friends

5. to pay attention to sth. (Κυπρή 1989: 184)

Ex.: *Κλείσ' το τηλέφωνο τζιε θώρε το δρόμο κόρη μου!!!!!!* (<http://biker-cy.blogspot.com/>)

6. to take care of, sb.; to look after sb. (Κυπρή 1989: 184, Κυπρή 2002: 168)

Ex.: *Ε θωρούμε την Ελενού για να μας δώσει το έσιει της.* (Πολυδώρου 2009: 144)

Πιστού: Ξένος να 'ρτει κόρη μου στο χωρκόν μας τζιαι κάτι εν να τον φιλέψουμε. Όι εσάς που 'σαστιν δικοί μας. Βέρα: οι δικοί μας δεν μας είδαν σαν τζι εσάς θκειούλλα μου. (Κουκκίδης 2007α: 311)

Analysis:

The senses that in SMG are covered by either the verb *βλέπω* ['vlepo], 'to see' or *κοιτάζω* [ci'tezo], 'to look', in the C(S)G variety are expressed partly by the verb *θωρώ*, which is the main verb denoting the sense of sight (for the verb *βλέπω* cf. relevant entry).

In the SMG the verb *θωρώ* is used almost exclusively in literary texts and its usage is mostly obsolete. It is used in order to achieve a special stylistic effect, since it is associated either with dialectal register or with an archaic form of literary usage.

The verb originates in the Ancient Greek verb *θεωρῶ* [θeɔ'ɾɔ], that was one of the verbs signifying 'to see'. In SMG, it evolved into two different verbs: *θωρώ* and *θεωρώ*, with the first assuming a lower register status over time and the second being resurrected in the late nineteenth century AD by purists who drew from the Ancient Greek to replace loanwords mainly from the Turkish. Gradually it fell into disuse, unlike its evolution in Cyprus, where it retained its status as one of the main verbs used to denote 'to see' or 'to look' being used in all registers.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.3.1. Stylistic or register related (Pragmatic) false friends

SMG lemma: λαλώ [le'lo]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: λαλώ [le'lo]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (metaph., for musical instrument) to make sound; to play a musical instrument. || (oral.): *Λάλησέ το / λάλα το*, as exhortation to a musician to play an instrument.

2. (oral., iron) to become bone tired: *Λάλησε απ' την πολλή δουλειά.*

Common meaning(s):

1a. (for bird) to sing or to crow.

1b. (proverb) *Όπου λαλούν πολλοί κοκόροι αργεί να ξημερώσει*, for the negative results of uncoordinated team work

2a. (for person) to talk; to say sth.: *Ούτε μιλάει ούτε λαλάει.*

2b. (phr.) *είπα και ελάλησα*, I said my say and I insist that you do as I said and I am not going to discuss it any further. [αρχ. λαλώ `φλυαρώ, τιτιβίζω']

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. to say sth. orally, to express myself orally. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 273, Κυπρή 2002: 270, Σακελλάριος 1891b: 628, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 584)

Ex.: *Κάθε λλίον ελαλούσαν η μια της άλλης, «μεν κλαίεις κόρη, μεν κλαίεις κόρη», τζαι συνεχίζαν σαν να εξέραν η μια την άλλην που πάντα.* (Σάββα 2009: 37)

«Γιαγιά, μα 'κούφανες, ριούμεν πολλά 'πόψε λαλώ σου». (Σάββα 2009: 39)

Άκου ίντα που μου λαλεί. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 338)

Που λαλεί ο λόος, ρε κουμπάρε. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 374)

Πριν λίες ώρες εσύντυχα μιτά της, λαλείτε μου ψέματα, έννεν έτσι; (Πολυδώρου 2009: 428)

1b. to advocate or to present.

Ex.: *Το τελευταίον παραπέμπει μας [δαμαί](http://dm3k.wordpress.com/), διευκρινήσεις λαλεί προς δασκάλους τζιαι καθηγητές, όσον αφορά το νέον αναλυτικόν της βιολογίας της πρώτης του γυμνασίου για το θέμαν της αναπαραγωγής.* (<http://dm3k.wordpress.com/>)

5.3.1. Stylistic or register related (Pragmatic) false friends

2a. to present thoughts or feelings orally.

Ex.: *Μα μίαν καλήν ημέραν η καρκιά του εφάτσησεν. Εφάτσησεν με έναν τρόπον που εν είσιεν ξαναφατσήσει ποττέ ξανά. Εν έξερεν να το εξηγήσει τζαι ούτε έθελεν να το ξομολοηθεί της μάνας του. Αντρέπετον. Μα τζείνη εκατάλαβεν το πώς κάτι εν επήαινεν καλά τζ' ας μεν **ελάλεν** τίποτε.*
(http://www.ebooks4greeks.gr/2011.Download_free-ebooks/Laika-paradosiaka-paramithia/11-paramythi.pdf)

2b. to narrate; to recount sth.

Ex.: *Θυμούμαι την ημέραν που ήρτεν σαν να ήταν σήμερα. Τόσο γέλιο ούτε ανέκδοτα να μας **ελάλεν**. Ότι ιστορία εθθυμάτουν είπεν μας την.*
(<http://www.fournofkios.com/2012/03/%CF%80%CE%B1%CF%80%CF%80%CE%BF%CF%8D%CE%B5%CF%85%CF%87%CE%B1%CF%81%CE%B9%CF%83%CF%84%CF%8E/>)

2c. to discuss sth. with sb.

Ex.: *Εξεκίνησα να γράφω, αλλά μόνον ο τίτλος μου φκαίννει. Το 2011 ήταν κακόν τζιαι για το μπλοκκ. **Λαλούμεν** τα άλλην φοράν.*
(<http://dm3k.wordpress.com/>)

2d. to utter. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 584)

Ex.: *Ελλού: Κατά που φαίνεται εξίχασεν μας ακόμα τζι ο Θεός μανούλλα μου. Αθηνά: Είνταν τούτα τα λόγια κόρη που **λαλείς** τζι εν φοάσαι την κρίσιν του; (Κουκίδης 2007b: 239)*

3a. (3rd pers.) it is said; it is rumored.

Ex.: *Τζει πάνω ήτουν το σπιτούι μιας κοτζάκαρης που ούλοι **ελαλούσαν** πως εν μάισσα. Η φτωσιή εν επείραζεν κανέναν, μα εφοούνταν την ούλοι γιατί εν ήτουν σαν τους άλλους. Με τους αδρώπους εν είσιεν πολλά πολλά. **Ελαλούσαν** πως εμίλαν με τα στοισσειά τζαι πως έξερεν τα μελλούμενα.*
(http://www.ebooks4greeks.gr/2011.Download_free-ebooks/Laika-paradosiaka-paramithia/11-paramythi.pdf)

3b. to suppose or to imagine sth. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 584)

Ex.: *Ευαλλού: Μα πες μου... περιπαίζεις με; Εν τον θωρείς ομπρός σου; Γέρος: Κύριε ελέησον. **Λαλείς** να βλάφτηκεν τζιαι το φως μου; Παναγία μου... αν εν κακόν τζιαι ξόριστο. (Κουκίδης 2007α: 43)*

5.3.1. Stylistic or register related (Pragmatic) false friends

3c. to believe, to think or to express an opinion. (Κυπρή 2002: 270, Σακελλάριος 1891b: 628)

Ex.: *Ελένη: Μα πού ζεις κόρη μου; Εν ακούεις είνταν που γίνεται στον κόσμο; Έχουμεν πόλεμον, Εν σειρήνες που ακούει. Κούλλα: Λαλείς να πομπαρτίζουν οι Γερμανοί;* (Κουκίδης 2007a: 168)

4. to inform orally; to announce.

Ex.: *Στο κείμενο στιγματίζω την ελιτίστικη πρακτική της ηγεσίας του ΑΚΕΛ να τα αναγάγει όλα σε αποφάσεις της ηγεσίας. Άλλον ήνταν που λαλεί για λαϊκή εμπλοκή. Εμείς (εσύ τζιαι εγώ) που επεράσαμεν που τζιαμέ ξέρουμεν καλλύτερα.* (http://pousounefkopoupaeis.blogspot.com/2010/01/blog-post_16.html)

5a. to advise.

Ex.: *Καλά μου ελάλεν η αχαπαρομάμα πρόσεχε τι βάλλεις μέστο στόμα σου.* (<http://roam365.wordpress.com/2011/02/10/15ara-menei-egkyos-meta-apo-stomatiko-erwta-the-truth-i-e-the-journal-article/>)

5b. to warn.

Ex.: *Λαλούν σου το τζαι τζείνοι που ξέρεις ότι σε αγαπούν, μάνα μου αλλάσσεις, φθείρεσαι, ΠΑΡΕΤΑ (sic) αλλά όοοοοι, εσυ ξέρεις καλλύτερα, λαλεί σου το η καρτούλλα σου. (μούτζα στη δευτέρα).* (<http://myrto-parathrhths.blogspot.com/>)

5c. to encourage sb. to do sth.

Ex.: *Με γεια το νέο διαφημιστικό, λαλείς να πάρω τζιε για μένα ένα, όπως της γιαγιάς;* (<http://www.facebook.com/video/video.php?v=301346633215478>)

6. to name, to call sb or sth. by its proper name.

Ex.: *Κόρη...!! τούντο πο να κάμεις εν το λαλούμεν "μετάφραση"..."απόδοσην" στα Νέα Ελληνικά εν...!! εκατάλαες...;;* (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1UTi1XNm9lo>)

7. to mention, to use.

Ex.: *Κάποια που τα συνθήματα έχουν ως θέμα την εκδίκηση τζιαι μόνο.. Εν μου αρέσκουν, εν τα λαλώ. Πιστέφκω εν λάθος να μας "απώνουν" για εκδίκηση αλλά εν θα το αναλύσω τωρά.* (<http://www.fournofkios.com/2011/07/>)

5.3.1. Stylistic or register related (Pragmatic) false friends

8. to think about doing sth.; to intend to do sth. (Ανδριώτης 1960: 64)

Ex.: Δάσκαλος: Δυστυχώς φέρνω κακά μαντάτα. [...] Μουχτάρης: Πκοια εν τα κακά μαντάτα; Δάσκαλος: **Λαλώ** να υποβάλλω παραίτησιν. (Κουκίδης 2007a: 292)

Μουχτάρης: Άμα **λαλείς** να μας εγκαταλείψεις, τότε λοαρκάζεις να το κάμεις; Δάσκαλος: Δεν θέλω να σας αφήκω χωρίς δάσκαλον. Ήρτα να σας το πω, για να φροντίσετε να βρετε άλλον. (Κουκίδης 2007a: 293)

9a. to assure; to reassure that sth. is true.

Ex.: Μουχτάρης: Είδες πόσοι μουχτάρηδες εφύασι με δκυο σειίλη καμένα, που δεν ηύρασι να αγκαζιάρουν δάσκαλον για το χωρκόν τους. Δάσκαλος: Είδα **λαλώ** σου. Ξέρω είνταν που γίνεται. (Κουκίδης 2007a: 294)

9b. to stress emphatically sth. that has been repeated or is considered self-evident.

Ex.: Εν κούλλουμακκα τζιαι κουτουρού **λαλούμεν!**

9c. to repeat emphatically sth. that was not understood or that is considered not to have been understood.

Ex.: Γέρος: Γαμπρέ εε, γαμπρέεε. Περικλή, εε Περικλήηη. Μα πού είσαι καλέ. Μα εν να με αφήκετε στο έλεος του Θεού; Εν να νυχτώσει τζιαι κατύσιη πόψε. Ευαλλού: Ακόμα δεν εμεσομέρκασεν. Ως τα πόψε άξιος πον να ζήσει. Γέρος: Ααααα; Ευαλλού: Τίποτε, τίποτε. Γέρος: Εν να νυχτώσει **λαλώ** τζιαι κατύσιη μου. Ευαλλού: Άκουσα, άκουσα. (Κουκίδης 2007a: 43)

10. discourse marker used in the beginning of a narrative or as an intermediate lexical element in a conversation.

Ex.: Τζαι που **λαλείς** κουμπάρε... (http://oilaomon.blogspot.com/2012/01/blog-post_26.html)

Analysis:

Although the two lemmas appear to share their semantic content, they exhibit certain important differences on the semantic level. The (2a) common meaning appears identical to the several C(S)G meanings, but to assume such an identity would be to erroneously equate the circumstances in which the SMG lemma has this meaning with the C(S)G lemma that always has this meaning. In SMG the verb *λαλώ* [lɛ'lo] only denotes 'to speak' in the two collocations that are presented, in the (2a) and (2b) senses (*Ούτε μιλάει ούτε λαλάει, είπα και ελάλησα*) and it is otherwise related to birdsong, not human speech. On the other

5.3.1. Stylistic or register related (Pragmatic) false friends

hand, the same verb in C(S)G is the main one used to signify 'to speak' or 'to talk' in all their various senses, in which the equivalent verb in SMG would be μιλάω [mi'leɔ], 'to talk' or λέω ['leɔ], 'to say'.

According to Ανδριώτης (1960: 30) and the Κριαράς online dictionary, the Ancient Greek verb λαλῶ retained through medieval Greek some of its senses and further obtained other new ones leading to divergence with regard to SMG. All of the senses exhibited by the verb in C(S)G are absent in SMG, where only the literary and collocational ones are maintained.

The C(S)G dictionaries do not dwell especially on the lemma and its various senses, although it is quite prolific and its semantic differentiation to the SMG equivalent generally known.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.3.2. Connotative (Pragmatic) false friends

5.3.2 Connotative

SMG lemma: **έντιμος** [ˈɛ(n)dimɔs]¹⁸⁰

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **έντιμος** [ˈɛndimɔs]

Common meaning(s):

1. (act or behavior) bringing or deserving honor.
2. (pers.) acting in an honorable manner.
3. (usually in salutations in the superlative): *Εντιμότητα κύριε Πρόεδρε.* [λόγ. < αρχ. *έντιμος* `τιμημένος' σημεδ. γαλλ. honnête, honorable· λόγ. < αρχ. *έντίμως*]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(as a salutation) honorable.

Ex.: *Είναι θετικό το γεγονός ότι ο έντιμος Υπουργός της Παιδείας και του Πολιτισμού τοποθετήθηκε δημόσια και παρέθεσε τις απόψεις του για το προτεινόμενο σύστημα διορισμού στην εκπαίδευση.* (<http://proodeftikidask.com/2014/11/23/5-1-%CE%AC%CE%B2%CE%BF%CE%BB%CE%B5%CF%82-%CE%B1%CE%BB%CE%AE%CE%B8%CE%B5%CE%B9%CE%B5%CF%82-%CF%84%CE%B9%CF%82-%CE%BF%CF%80%CE%BF%CE%AF%CE%B5%CF%82-%CF%80%CE%B1%CF%81%CE%AD%CE%BB%CE%B5/>)

Μέσα σε όλα αυτά ο έντιμος Πρόεδρος της Δημοκρατίας και ο έντιμος Υπουργός Οικονομικών κάλεσαν τους οικονομικούς φορείς να περιορίσουν τις προσφυγές στα δικαστήρια και στην Αναθεωρητική Αρχή Προσφορών, ώστε να μην καθυστερούν τα έργα (πρόκειται για λογοπαίγνιο με τις δύο σημασίες). (<http://www.apopsi.com.cy/2009/05/1631/>)

Analysis:

The word that is usually employed in SMG in order to salute a Minister, Prime Minister, or President is *αξιότιμος* [ɛksi'ɔtimɔs] that translates in English as 'honorable', exactly as the adjective *έντιμος* [ˈɛndimɔs] does. Translation in English does not allow for the difference between the two to be clarified. The difference is one of usage and connotation: *αξιότιμος* is called 'sb. who is worthy of being honored', while *έντιμος* is 'sb. who is honorable'. So, it seems somewhat ironic (at least to people living in states, where the politicians are usually corrupt) to be calling a politician 'honorable'. Nevertheless, there is a problem of

¹⁸⁰ The pronunciation may or may not include a voiced stop, according to the area of Greece the speaker is from, with North Greece usu. pronouncing it voiced, and this is how it is represented in the ΔΚΝ online, but it is not the only possible or established pronunciation.

5.3.2. Connotative (Pragmatic) false friends

word choice related to the manner in which each state (Greece and Cyprus) have decided to use honorifics to salute their political leaders. In Greece, the adjective *έντιμος* is only used in the superlative as *Εντιμότητα* (in the vocative case) usually for the highest political office in the country.

The etymology of the salutation in C(S)G is not so clear, since medieval texts, such as the Cypriot Assizes present this usage and it may have been retained until today (and possibly the equivalent usage in SMG is a remnant of the *katharevousa*). On the other hand, Παναγιώτου-Τριανταφυλλοπούλου (1999) considers it a badly translated English expression, since, as we have commented, both words, *αξιότιμος* (used in Greece) and *έντιμος* (used in Cyprus) are translated as *honorable*, and it may have been translated from English without paying attention to the manner of usage and the term used in Greece. If we were to speculate, we would propose that the existing medieval meaning and usage was reinforced by the English salutation

The dictionaries ignore this adjective, probably because, apart from ignoring the semantic divergence, they mistake typological convergence for semantic identification.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.3.3. Contextual (Pragmatic) false friends

5.3.3 Contextual

SMG lemma: **γιος** [jɔs]

Grammatical category: n. (masc.)

C(S)G lemma: **γιος** [jɔs]

SMG meaning(s):

1. (proverb) *κατά μάνα και πατέρα ή κατά μάνα κατά κύρη, κατά γιο και θυγατέρα*, for a child with the same qualities and shortcomings as its parents.
2. (phr.) *από πατέρα σε γιο*, from one generation to the next.

Common meaning(s):

1. male child; boy. [μσν. γιος < υγιόςμε αποβ. του αρχικού άτ. φων. < αρχ. υιός (ελνστ. προφ. [yós]) με ανάπτ. μεσοφ. [j] για αποφυγή της χασμ.]

C(S)G meaning(s):

- a. (interj.) *γιε μου* (noun + poss. pron) an interjection denoting familiarity and friendly disposition, towards men who are not usually related to the speaker.

Ex.: *Τι να προβλέψωμεν, Χριστόδουλε; Το πράμα φαίνεται, γιε μου, μόνον να θέλγης να το δεις.* (Σμυρλή 1997: 113)

- b (interj.) *γιε μου* (noun + poss. pron) used ironically or to show exasperation towards the person it addresses.

Ex.: *οκ ετεκνοποίησα αλλά εν τζιαι έγινα η Παναγία η παγκόσμια μάνα. ούτε καν η μητέρα τερέζα. ούτε καν η μάνα η blogger σατσιήν γιε μου ξικόλλα.* (http://axapari.blogspot.com/2011/03/blog-post_17.html)

Μάλλον θα τον ήθελε δίπλα του για να του πει... "Ρε Σεμίρ, άτε γιε μου, πιάσε τι θα πιάσεις και πήγαινε να παίξεις μπάλα!" (<http://www.offsite.com.cy/articles/kerkida/84229-ate-gie-moy>)

Analysis:

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include the lemma, probably because they consider the morphological identity semantic identity as well. Such meaning extensions are quite common in the case of interjections related to sentiment.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.3.3. Contextual (Pragmatic) false friends

SMG lemma: **εξωτερικός** [eksɔteri'kɔs]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **εξωτερικός** [eksɔteri'kɔs]

Common meaning(s):

1. external.
2. coming from or relating to a country or institution other than the main subject, exterior.
3. coming or derived from a source outside the subject affected. [λόγ. < αρχ.έξωτερικός `που ανήκει στο έξω´ and σημδ. γαλλ. extérieur, étranger]

C(S)G meaning(s):

- a. abroad; in another country.

Ex.: *Χωρκάτικον είναι να πιαίνεις ταξίδι εξωτερικό τζιαι να σε τραβολοά η φιλενάδα σου μες τα καταστήματα όπως το ρότβαϊλερ.* (http://xorkatikonblogspot.com/2008_06_01_archive.html)

- b. imported from the exterior.

Ex.: *Φαγητό με κυπριακό ή εξωτερικό ποτό με μόνο 30 Ευρώπουλα!*
(advertisement at the radio station *Κανάλι 6*)

Μήλα εξωτερικά. (Παναγιώτου-Τριανταφυλλοπούλου, 1999)

Analysis:

The pairs share semantic content, but they differ on the pragmatics of the usage in C(S)G. If SMG were used in the above sentences, the adjective would be used in the genitive case or with a preposition to show provenance or direction. In (1b), instead of *μήλα εξωτερικά* ['mile#eksɔteri'ke], 'exterior apples' (literal translation) in Greece one would see *μήλα εισαγωγής* ['mile#iseɣɔ'ɣis] 'imported apples'. Typically, in the 1st example in an SMG text instead of *ταξίδι εξωτερικό* [te'ksiði#eksɔteri'kɔ] 'external trip' (literal translation) would appear the phrase *ταξίδι στο εξωτερικό* [te'ksiði#sto#eksɔteri'kɔ] 'trip abroad' (these are the correct equivalent for both SMG and English). This adjective is not included in any of the C(S)G dictionaries, possibly due to the lack of overt dialectal markers.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.3.3. Contextual (Pragmatic) false friends

SMG lemma: **κόρη** ['kɔri]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **κόρη** ['kɔri]

Common meaning(s):

1. girl.
2. (obs.) a young unmarried virgin.
3. (archaeol.) kore, an ancient Greek archaic statue of a young woman, standing and clothed in long loose robes.
4. (μυθ.) *Κόρη*, Persephone, the daughter of the goddess Demeter. [I1: αρχ. *κόρη*· I2: λόγ. < γαλλ. *coré* ή γερμ. *Kore* (στη νέα σημ.) < αρχ.*κόρη*· II: λόγ. < αρχ. *κόρη*· *κόρ(η)* -ούλα]
- 5a. the pupil of the eye.
- 5b. (phr.) *ως κόρη(ν) οφθαλμού*, for sth. that we cherish as exceptionally valuable and dear and therefore take exceptional care of. [αρχ. *κόρη* (because it is possible to see inside it a small image like a young girl)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(interj.) used as a form of address for women of all ages denoting familiarity and friendly disposition towards women who are not related to the speaker.

Ex.: *Κάθε λλίον ελαλούσαν η μια της άλλης, «μεν κλαίεις **κόρη**, μεν κλαίεις κόρη», τζαι συνεχίζαν σαν να εξέραν η μια την άλλην που πάντα.* (Σάββα 2009: 37)

*Χωρκάτικον είναι να λαλείς της φίλης σου ρά ή **κόρη**.*
(http://xorkatikon.blogspot.com/2008_07_01_archive.html)

*Όμως έτες, **κόρη** λυσιστράτη, λλίες πώρκονται, τες γέρημες.* (Μόντης 1988c: 197)

Analysis:

The only C(S)G dictionary that presents the lemma (Κυπρή 2002: 233) provides the (1) and (2) common meaning between the two varieties above. The exclusively C(S)G meaning expressed by the examples has not been included in any dictionary, although it is one of the commonest forms of address for women of all ages.

The noun is derived from the Ancient Greek in both varieties and the first linguistic change came about in both varieties when the original sense of 'a young virgin' was generalized to the sense of a 'young girl' while at the same time

5.3.3. Contextual (Pragmatic) false friends

the original sense begun to fall into disuse. In the C(S)G variety, the noun underwent a further semantic change of further generalization to signify 'woman of any age' and it is used as an endearment or interjection.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.3.3. Contextual (Pragmatic) false friends

SMG lemma: κρατημένος [kreti'menos] Grammatical category: partic.

C(S)G lemma: κρατημένος [kreti'menos]

Common meaning(s):

booked (seat, table, etc.).

C(S)G meaning(s):

busy (phone).

Ex.: *Επήρα τηλέφωνον τη Σήλια τζι ήταν κρατημένο.*(C.L.)

Analysis:

The only differentiation between the two participles is not so much semantic as usage-related. It would be impossible to use the participle in Greece in the same way that it is used in Cyprus, where the common meanings do exist, but its main usage is with regard to a phone call. The meaning is in essence the same, 'booked, taken', but still the two varieties diverge in the manner in which they choose to express it and the phraseologism in which they place them.

The C(S)G dictionaries do not make any mention of the participle, possibly due to lack of overt C(S)G markers.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.3.4. Use-related (Pragmatic) false friends

5.3.4 Use-related

SMG lemma: **έσω** ['ɛsɔ]

Grammatical category: adv.

C(S)G lemma: **έσσω** ['ɛs:ɔ]

C(S)G allomorph: **όσσω** ['ɔs:ɔ]

Common meaning(s):

1. (sch.) herein, inside.
2. (usually, with art.) the interior part. (ΛΝΕΓ)

C(S)G meaning(s):

a. *έσσω* (+ *poss. pron.*), at somebody's home. (Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 157, Κυπρή 1989: 22, Κυπρή 2002: 149, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 64, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 302)

Ex.: *Επεράσαν την ημέραν μαζίν τζαι την επομένην ευρεθήκαν **έσσω των πλασμάτων** τζαι τρώαν τζαι πίνναν.* (Σάββα 2009: 96)

*Την πρώτην φοράν που ήρτεν **έσσω τους**, ήταν σαν την σουρτούκκαν, μα μέραν παρά μέραν, άρκεψεν να στολίζεται σα να τζαι επήαινεν στο παναύριν.* (Σάββα 2009: 12)

*Έδωκεν της τζαι την Φροσούν τζαι την βούφαν της μάνας της τζ' έμπην **έσσω της** νοικοτζυρά.* (Σάββα 2009: 13)

*Για παράδειγμα, στες δικές μας κουλτούρες, το να βάλεις τον άλλον **έσσω σου**, να τον ταΐσεις τζιαί να τον ποτίσεις, θεωρούνται το μίνιμουμ της φιλοξενίας μας.* (<http://pattixa.wordpress.com/>)

b. *έσσω*, (at) home. (Κυπρή 2003: 147)

Ex.: *Εσηκωστήκαν κατά τες οκτώμιση-εννιά να φύουν για να μεν φωνάζουν οι γεναίτζες τους πως εν συνάουνται **έσσω** με μέραν με νύκταν.* (Σάββα 2009: 74)

Analysis:

Previously Cypriots used this adverb instead of the neuter noun *σπίτι* ['spiti], 'home' or 'house' exclusively (Κυπρή 2003: 147), since the medieval era. Currently, although it is still used often, the usage of the neuter noun in a fashion similar to that of the SMG is also widespread.

The lemma in question is an adverb in SMG and also in the C(S)G, and when it uses the common meanings, it also retains the same part of speech. When it is used according to the C(S)G-exclusive meanings, although it remains morphologically an adverb, it is used as a noun. This use probably evolved from

5.3.4. Use-related (Pragmatic) false friends

the use attested since the medieval era of the adverb accompanied by the article either in the singular or the plural thereby being considered a noun syntactically although it remained an adverb morphologically and grammatically (Κριαράς online).

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.3.4. Use-related (Pragmatic) false friends

SMG lemma: **καλός** [ke'los]

Grammatical category: adj.

C(S)G lemma: **καλός** [ke'los]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(oral.) *Καλό!*, for a clever or smart retort or intervention in a discussion.

Common meaning(s):

1. good, nice.

2. (phr.) *τέλος καλό όλα καλά*, all is well that ends well.

C(S)G meaning(s):

1a. (as an interj.) certainly, of course. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 379)

Ex.: Έκαμες το; **Καλό!** (C.L.)

-Μπορείς να με βοηθήσεις λίγο; -Καλό! απαντάει ο κύπριος συνομιλητής. Στην περίπτωση αυτή το "καλό" σημαίνει "βέβαια" (http://planitas.blogspot.com/2011/12/blog-post_12.html)

1b. ~ ~, exactly, yes (usually repeated). (Κυπρή 2002: 181, Κυπρή 2003: 155, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 379)

Ex.: «Λείπετε χρόνια στην Αίγυπτο;» ρώτησε με ευγένεια αυτή. «**Καλό, καλό**», απάντησε πρόθυμα. (Σμυρλή 1997: 578)

1c. obviously, certainly. (Παπαγγέλου 2001: 379)

Ex.: Εσού με κατάντησες έτσι, ξέρεις το; Εγώ; Εσού, **καλό**, ποιος, εν αφήνεις να σου ντζίσω, άντρας είμαι, τι να κάνω; (Πολυδώρου 2009: 304)

1β. Ε, έθθα το εκαταλάβαγ **καλό** οι άλλες για να μεν έρτουν. (Μόντης 1988c: 196)

2. then, consequently.

Ex.: Άτε να την καρτερούμε να 'ρτει, **καλό**. (Πολυδώρου 2009: 177)

Μα ακόμα να έρτει ο Κώστας; Έννα φύω **καλό**. (C.T.)

3. certainly, of course (often combined with a tag question).

Ex.: Τη Ζηνωνού, είδες την καθόλου; **Καλό**, εν την είδα; (Πολυδώρου 2009: 427)

5.3.4. Use-related (Pragmatic) false friends

Analysis:

The C(S)G lemma appears in the sense that exhibits the semantic differentiation resulting in the phenomenon of false friends only in the neuter gender of the adjective, in the NOM. or ACC. (since they are identical) and it behaves as an adverb instead of an adjective. It is not conjugated, nor does it conform to the gender of the noun, since it does not accompany any nouns.

It appears that the first two senses are derived from the same word, the adjective *καλός* [ke'los], while the third is derived from the masculine noun *κάλος* ['kelos], 'husband' or 'lover'. The dictionaries (Κυπρή 1989: 435, Κυπρή 2002: 181, Κυπρή 2003: 516) mention that it was used in the sense (3) of the C(S)G variety coupled with tag questions or other type of questions, but it is now obsolete. It appears that the accent shifted to the second syllable, since that identified the noun with a well known adjective and its usage was taken up by the adjective, which already had the divergent (in comparison to SMG) sense of 'certainly' or 'of course'.

The second C(S)G sense is not recorded by any of the dictionaries and this probably means that it is a latter evolution that did not exist at the time that the glossaries compiled by Κυπρή for example, were written down. How any of the meanings came about is not clear, possibly through extension of the original adjectival or noun senses from 'sb. who is nice' or 'good enough to be a good husband' into the sense of certainty.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.3.4. Use-related (Pragmatic) false friends

SMG lemma: **καρτερώ** [kerte'ɾɔ]

Grammatical category: v.

C(S)G lemma: **καρτερώ** [kerte'ɾɔ]

SMG meaning(s):

(Γιάννη γύρευε) και Νικολό καρτέρει, for sth. that takes too long to happen.

Common meaning(s):

1. (coll., liter.) to wait.
2. (proverb) *Κάλλιο πέντε και στο χέρι παρά δέκα και καρτέρει*, to be content with a relatively small but certain gain and not ask for more that could be uncertain. [αρχ. καρτερω ὑπομένω, αντέχω' (η σημερ. σημ. μσν.)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

a. to wait. (Κυπρή 1989: 27, Κυπρή 2002: 196)

Ex.: Τελος πάντων...ο πάλιουρας φέτος ετέλιωσε το πτυχίο του στη Φυσική και **εκαρτέραν** να πιάσει τους βαθμούς του όπως και εγώ. (<http://roam365.wordpress.com/2007/08/>)

Τη νύκτα επήαμε στο Bennighan's και οι 5 παραγγείλαμε πιο γρήγορα που τους άλλους. Οι άλλοι 4 **εκαρτερούσαν** ως τες 10:30 το φαί που παραγγείλαν στις 9:30...τελικά η παραγγελία τους εν επήε μέσα κτλ. Επεριπαίζουν τους ότι ερκετουν αλλά όπως το είδετε εσεις είδαμε το και μεις. Να τονίσω ότι ετρώαν τα *remainders* των δικών μας πιάτων σαν **εκαρτερούσαν**....Τελικά εσηκωστήκαμε και εφήαμε και μετά επηαν τηλ. το μάνατζερ και εκάμαν παράπονο...Εδώ που τα λέμε καλά εκάμαν. **Εκαρτερούσαν** 1.5 ώρα και επεριπαίζουν τους και πουπάνω. (<http://roam365.wordpress.com/2007/08/>)

b. (metaph.) to expect; to await. (Κυπρή 2003: 68)

Ex.: Φίλε εθκίεβασα την τζιαι γω, τζιαι μάλιστα άκουσα τη συμβουλήν σου τζιαι θκιέβασα την πας το τηλέφωνον μου μια χαρα παρά να την τυπώσω. Εχρησιμοποίησα το FB Reader για Android, πολλά καλή ποιότητα, εν το **εκαρτέρουν**. (<http://e-souvantza.blogspot.com/2012/02/blog-post.html>)

Άτε τωρά τζιαι **καρτερά** το πλάσμαν να φκάλει άκραν! (Λαλούμεν **καρτερά!** **Καρτερά;**) (http://antzieloshiasmenimagissareal.blogspot.com/2012/02/blog-post_19.html)

5.3.4. Use-related (Pragmatic) false friends

Analysis:

This verb is the semantic evolution of the Ancient Greek verb *καρτερῶ*, ‘to endure’ and its C(S)G senses date back to the medieval era. In the C(S)G this verb was until fairly recently the main verb used to signify that ‘someone is waiting or expecting something to happen’, unlike the SMG, where it was since then obsolete in most contexts except literary texts that wish to add a flavor of previous centuries to their literary cache. In the SMG the only verb used in all other instances and contexts is the verb *περιμένω* [peri'meno] for the first C(S)G meaning and the verb *αναμένω* [ane'meno] for the second C(S)G meaning. In Cyprus, the verb *καρτερῶ* is being slowly –but probably inexorably– replaced by the SMG verb *περιμένω* for the (a) meaning, but the (b) meaning is probably an extension of the first and is the one that is now being used almost exclusively for the sense it expresses.

Previously the (a) C(S)G meaning was not literary, but as it is being displaced by the SMG verb, it has begun to take on a literary sense. It is possible that the widely known (and taught at school) poem *Καρτερούμεν μέραν νύχταν*¹⁸¹ by D. Lipertis has helped towards this assumption, that as the verb is becoming obsolete as regards this sense, it assumes a literary connotation. The (b) C(S)G sense can be used in all contexts, even in higher registers and its use appears more widespread than of the equivalent SMG verb.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

¹⁸¹ *Καρτερούμεν μέραν νύχταν* [kerte'rumen#'mere#'#'nixteⁿ], ‘we are waiting day and night’.

5.3.4. Use-related (Pragmatic) false friends

SMG lemma: κόλλα ['kɔlɐ]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: κόλλα ['kɔl:ɐ]

SMG meaning(s):

1. glue, an adhesive substance used for sticking objects or materials together.
2. starch.
3. (synecd. from sense 1) any packaging (usually tubular) containing glue and sold commercially.
4. a substance providing clarity to wine. [αρχ.κόλλα]

Common meaning(s):

a sheet of paper.

C(S)G meaning(s):

a sheet of paper.

Εχ.: Κόλλησε την **κόλλα** πάνω στο τετράδιο με την γόμα. (A.A.)

Συνδέω τις **κόλλες** με τον συνδετήρα. (C.G.)

Analysis:

The ANEF dictionary reports the C(S)G meaning in the phraseologism *κόλλα αναφοράς* ['kɔlɐ#ɛnɛfɔ'res], 'foolscap' referring concretely to 'four connected with one another lined A4 pages used for students' tests'. This meaning is obsolete, as its absence from the ΛΚΝ dictionary and the fact that the wiktionary¹⁸² records that this meaning appears in the Cypriot dialect, indicates that it is in fact obsolete in Greece and it is rarely used, in contrast to the use frequency in Cyprus.

In the SMG, when the lemma appears, it is almost always in conjunction with further characteristics, such as *κόλλα αναφοράς* ['kɔlɐ#ɛnɛfɔ'res], 'foolscap' or *κόλλα χαρτί* ['kɔlɐ#xɛ'rti], 'a sheet of paper' or *λευκή κόλλα* [lɛ'fci#'kɔlɐ], 'blank paper' that clarify the kind of paper discussed. In the C(S)G, the use of the lemma on its own, without any qualifiers is the norm, making clear the use differentiation evident between the two varieties.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

¹⁸² <http://el.wiktionary.org/wiki/%CE%BA%CF%8C%CE%BB%CE%BB%CE%B1>.

5.3.4. Use-related (Pragmatic) false friends

SMG lemma: **ξεπούλημα** [kse'pulime] Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **ξεπούλημαν** [kse'pulimeⁿ]

SMG meaning(s):

clearance sale. [ξεπουλη- (ξεπουλώ) -μα]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(usually pl.) sales.

Ex.: *Αύριο αρκεύκουν τα ξεπουλήματα.* (C.L.)

Εκράησα ριάλια για να πάω να πκιάσω που τα ξεπουλήματα. (T.L.)

Οι εκπτώσεις πρόλαβαν τα Χριστούγεννα (μεγάλος τίτλος). Υπότιτλος: Η κρίση αντικατοπτρίζεται στα ξεπουλήματα που άρχισαν φέτος εντελώς παράκαιρα, ένα μήνα πριν από τις γιορτές. (newsp. Φιλελεύθερος, 27/11/2011)

Analysis:

The lemma does not appear in any of the C(S)G dictionaries, possibly because it is considered to signify the same as in the SMG. In SMG though, the equivalent noun used would be (in the pl. too) *εκπτώσεις* [ε'kptɔsis], 'sales'. In Cyprus, this noun may be used in written texts and advertisements, or even on the windows of the shops holding the sales, but it is not used in oral, everyday communication.

Apart from the obvious semantic differentiation between the two lemmas, there is a difference with regard to the frequency of use for each one. In Greece, it is quite rare to see that a shop is having a 'clearance sale' or it is even rarer to hear people discussing a 'clearance sale', while in Cyprus, everyone during sales would be referring to *ξεπουλήματα*, and not to *εκπτώσεις*. To some degree, the latter is used in the town speech of Nicosia and other cities, but the first, the C(S)G lemma has not lost its vigor to such a degree that it might not even be considered obsolescent. The situation is actually the opposite, since it appears to be the only term used.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.3.5. Cultural (Pragmatic) false friends

5.3.5 Cultural

SMG lemma: **επαρχία** [επε'ρχιε]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **επαρχία** [επε'ρχιε]

SMG meaning(s):

1. province, an administrative division of the Greek state that is smaller than a county.
2. the sum of a state's districts, especially the Greek state's in juxtaposition to its capital city.

Common meaning(s):

1. (obs.) the administrative division of any state. *Ρωμαϊκή* ~, an administrative division of the Roman state outside Italy.
- 2a. the villages along with their inhabitants.
- 2b. said of a backward and dependent country. [λόγ. < ελνστ. *έπαρχία* `διοικητική περιφέρεια του ρωμαϊκού κράτους με προϊστάμενο *έπαρχο*' (λατ. provincia) σημδ. γαλλ. province, préfecture]

C(S)G meaning(s):

one of the 6 administrative districts of Cyprus equivalent to the counties in Greece.

Ex.: *Η επαρχία Λευκωσίας είναι μια από τις 6 επαρχίες της Κύπρου.*
(<http://el.wikipedia.org/wiki/%CE%95%CF%80%CE%B1%CF%81%CF%87%CE%AF%CE%B1%CE%9B%CE%B5%CF%85%CE%BA%CF%89%CF%83%CE%AF%CE%B1%CF%82>)

Στην επαρχία Λευκωσίας λειτουργούν δυο (2) νοσοκομειακά φαρμακεία.
(http://www.moh.goverbcy/moh/phs/phs.nsf/dmlps15_gr/dmlps15_gr?OpenDocument)

Analysis:

Cyprus under the British was divided in 6 administrative districts that were probably translated into Greek after the island gained its independence. Still, the possibility of two terms, one in English and one in Greek being used in parallel even before independence, should not be discarded. The process of translation in all administration areas was an arduous and time-consuming one and often it was not performed by professional translators, but by English-speaking civil servants. The result of this process is often enough that English terms were

5.3.5. Cultural (Pragmatic) false friends

translated ad hoc, without realizing that they have already been translated in SMG by different terms.

In this instance, the semantic divergence is caused by cultural and pragmatic elements, because the reference in the real world differs in the two countries.

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include the lemma in their entries, possibly due to the lack of overt dialectal markers.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **intersection**

5.3.5. Cultural (Pragmatic) false friends

SMG lemma: **εφορία** [efo'riɛ]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: **εφορία** [ef:ɔ'riɛ]

SMG meaning(s):

a. the tax office.

b. the building where the tax office is situated. [λόγ.έφορ(ος)¹-ία (διαφ. το αρχ. έφορία = εφορεία¹)]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(phr.) *σχολική* ~ a committee responsible for school buildings and fittings that forms part of each municipality.

Ex.: *Οι Σχολικές Εφορείες αποτελούν ανεξάρτητα νομικά πρόσωπα δημοσίου δικαίου, τα οποία εγκαθιδρύονται και λειτουργούν με βάση το νόμο περί Σχολικών Εφορειών, με εξουσίες και αρμοδιότητες που περιορίζονται κυρίως σε θέματα σχολικών κτιρίων και σχολικού εξοπλισμού, εργοδότησης βοηθητικού προσωπικού, ενοικίασης και ελέγχου της λειτουργίας καντινών κ.ά. (<http://www.strovolos.org.cy/default.asp?id=298>)*

Analysis:

The term *εφορία* in Cyprus, unlike what applies in Greece is not used to signify the tax department. The C(S)G term for tax department is *τμήμα φορολογίας* ['tmime#fɔrɔlɔ'ɣies] divided in *φόρος εισοδήματος* ['fɔrɔs#iso'dimetɔs] and *φόρος προστιθέμενης αξίας* ['fɔrɔs#prɔsti'themenis#e'ksies]. Colloquially it is called simply *φόρος* ['fɔrɔs#]. It is possible that, like most administrative terms, it was translated from the English by civil servants that were not trained as translators. Truth be told, the English term 'tax' does translate in Greek as *φόρος*, but the 'tax department' in Greece is called *εφορία*.

In this instance, the semantic divergence is caused by cultural and pragmatic elements, because the reference in the real world differs in the two countries.

The C(S)G dictionaries do not include the lemma in their entries, possibly due to the lack of overt dialectal markers.

Type: **total** false friends

Venn diagrams: **segregation**

5.3.5. Cultural (Pragmatic) false friends

SMG lemma: κρέμα ['kreɛmɛ]

Grammatical category: n. (fem.)

C(S)G lemma: κρέμα ['kreɛmɛ]

Common meaning(s):

1. cream, an oily product of milk, used to make butter and mainly used in pastry-making as well as in cooking.

2. a type of viscous sweet made of eggs, milk, flour and sugar: ~σοκολάτα(ς) / βανίλια(ς). ~ζαχαροπλαστικής. ~σαντιγί. ~καραμελέ. ||Παγωτό ~.

3a. a kind of cosmetics used for treating the epidermis, viscous and usu. oil-like.

3b. (phr.) ~ξυρίσματος, shaving cream. [I: ιταλ. crema < γαλλ. crème· II: λόγ. < γαλλ. crème κατά τον τ. κρέμα· κρέμ(α) -ούλα, -ίτσα]

C(S)G meaning(s):

any sweet that has a creamy substance and is usually placed in a serving piece, such as a casserole or a baking tray.

Ex.: *Κι εκείνη εκεί ευγενική και πρόθυμη πάντα με τα γλυκά της, τις κρέμες και τα κουλουράκια της να περιποιηθεί τους ξένους της, να τους καλοκαρδίσει. (Σμυρλή 1989: 36.)*

*Εχτός πο τους ππακλαβάες*μπακλαβάδες ο Ππακλαβατζιής επούλεν*πουλούσε τζαι κρέμαν με το τζιέλλιν μες τες καντήλες*ποτήρια. Μιαν ημέραν για να τον πειράξουν λλίον, επήεν ο Δημητράκης ο παρπέρης*κουρέας με αλλόναν*άλλο έναν να φάσειν*φάνεπο καμιάν κρέμαν. (<http://www.rizokarpason.com/odiporontas2.htm>)*

Analysis:

In SMG the 'viscous sweet' sense refers to a sweet that is every time specialized by the noun or adjective accompanying it and each type is concrete in its type. The C(S)G meaning refers to a class of sweets that have as common characteristic the viscosity of the substance of each sweet.

We consider this a cultural (pragmatic) false friends' pair, because this type of sweet is the home-made sweet par excellence prepared for familial celebrations. They are culture-bound not only because of the instances when they are created, but also because these sweets are not grouped together under one heading in SMG; they have distinct names.

The C(S)G dictionaries do not mention the lemma, possibly because of the lack of any C(S)G-marked morphological or phonetic characteristics.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

5.3.5. Cultural (Pragmatic) false friends

SMG lemma: **μακρινάρι** [mekri'neri]

Grammatical category: n. (neut.)

C(S)G lemma: **μακρινάρην** [mekri'neriⁿ]

C(S)G allomorph: **μακρουνάριν** [mekru'nerin]

Common meaning(s):

1. any space or anything in general that is mainly quadrangle with its length asymmetrically longer than its width.
2. (metaph.) for anything that is long or longish. [μσν.*μακρυνάρι < αρχ. μακρύν(ω) -άρι]

C(S)G meaning(s):

(met.) the main architectural part of the traditional Cypriot house, shaped like a parallelogram. (Κυπρή 2002: 29, Κυπρή 2003: 401, Γιαγκουλλής 2014: 296, Παπαγγέλου 2001: 640, Χατζηιωάννου 1996: 105)

Ex.: *Όλες τις δουλειές του τις κάμνει όπως στα τριάντα του, τη σκάλα όμως, η αλήθεια, δεν την ανεβαίνει με την ίδια ευκολία που την ανέβαινε άλλοτε. Τότε που έκτισε τις τρεις καμάρες μπροστά στο κατώι και στήριξε πάνω τους το **μακρινάρι** με τον εξώστη και τις κολόνες. (Σμυρλή 1997: 7)*

*Εγώ παρά την προτροπή να καθίσουμε, προτίμησα να μην καθίσω, άρπαξα την φωτογραφική κα άρχισα να τραβώ φωτογραφίες του παλιού τότε αρχοντικού του, ένα από τα λίγα τότε σπίτια με ανώγι. Το σπίτι του είναι ένα **μακρινάρι** με δυο μεγάλα δωμάτια, άλλο ένα μικρότερο στα αριστερά και ένα πάλι μικρό ανώγι. (<http://www.rizokarpasoncom/odiporontas4.htm>)*

Analysis:

The C(S)G lemma is a metonymic evolution of the general sense of the word that refers to anything that is long and rectangular, exactly like the typical traditional Cypriot house. It used to have one long room onto which opened up the bedroom doors, while the sitting room and the kitchen were contained into that long single structure.

We consider it to be a cultural type of false friends' pair, because this type of house appears in Cyprus and is related to the weather conditions that called for such a long, therefore relatively cold in the summer, room as the main sitting room of the family.

Type: **partial** false friends

Venn diagrams: **inclusion**

6. Summary and discussion

6.1 Summary

The topic of the present thesis has been the phenomenon of false friends and more concretely, intralingual (or intralinguistic) false friends at the level of synchronically appearing different varieties of the Modern Greek language. Our objective has been to present the history, as well as the nature of the phenomenon, and the studies and categorizations that have been proposed, combining theory and practice.

The dissertation began with a short history of the island state of Cyprus and its linguistic variety and an outline of some of the relevant terms. The sociolinguistics of Cyprus and its varieties (Greek and Turkish Cypriot) could not have been ignored. In the relevant section we attempted to unravel the major of the matters intertwined with language issues on the island, such as whether the Greek Cypriot variety used¹⁸³ describes a linguistic situation that may be described as diglossic, bidialectal, or a dialectal continuum. We have also described the term C(S)G that we have decided to use in the dissertation, as well as the reasons for our choice. We would be remiss, if we had not also added a section relating a correlation between the two varieties examined, SMG and C(S)G¹⁸⁴ examining briefly their divergence at the levels of phonetics and phonology, morphology and grammar, syntax, semantics and lexicon. This correlation was deemed necessary, since the two varieties, apart from the multiple elements they share, also differ –at times significantly- at all the linguistic levels.

In continuation we discussed in a general introduction and historical review of the phenomenon, its many facets and earlier approaches. The basic terminology in several European languages and the criteria for distinguishing between cognates, false cognates and false friends could not possible be absent from a dissertation on this topic. Equally necessary was deemed a summary of approaches to the definition of faux amis and a presentation of different

¹⁸³ Since the Turkish Cypriot is used only in the northern part of the island.

¹⁸⁴ Or Cypriot Greek in general, since the basilectal elements are also included.

definitions, as well as our own. We considered that we ought to explain from the first chapters that we adhere to the traditionalist approach that contemplates the semantic differentiation between the two lemmas of the false friends' pairs as the most indispensable component –in contrast to other approaches. Further matters that were clarified were the existence of inter- and intralinguistic false friends, false friends at all the linguistic levels and the several problems they cause, as well as the enrichment they may denote.

In the following chapter, we examined the mechanisms that lead to the emergence of false friends in general focusing either on common ancestry or borrowing, since we do not believe that the typological similarity of words or phraseologisms without common etymology could justify claiming that these words or phraseologisms form part of the phenomenon. We also explained the reasons for rejecting any chance coincidence of form accompanied by semantic divergence, as is the case of the antiquated SMG adjective *πας* [pəs], 'every' and the Cypriot Greek prefix *παç* [bɛʃ] 'arch-'. The first lemma is an Ancient Greek adjective that is still used occasionally, while the second is derived from the Turkish word *baş*, 'head'. Pairs such as this were investigated and consequently rejected for not complying with the common etymology criterion we had established¹⁸⁵.

The third chapter focused on categorization issues: proposals by previous investigators, analysis of their flaws and merits, some basic notions regarding classification (distinguishing between total and partial or inter- and intralinguistic false friends). In the same chapter, we presented our categorization proposal and the criteria we were basing it on, while at the same time we would evaluate other proposals and their compilation criteria. We mentioned the criteria and framework approaches mostly suggested in order to establish which words or phraseologisms can be considered false friends' pairs and then proposed our own. Our proposal drew partly on previous relevant work and it was partly modified in accordance with our data.

¹⁸⁵ In this pair, there is another reason as well that they would have been dismissed as faux amis, even if they had shared etymology: they belong to different parts of speech. Another of the criteria established was that they should belong to the same word class.

The last theoretical chapter presented corpus-related issues that ought to be clarified before embarking on the presentation of our data according to our classification. We make reference to the absence of reliable, modern, scientifically compiled dictionaries for the Greek Cypriot variety and how this has affected our work and to the problems that arise from the very nature of dialectal dictionaries. Another point mentioned is the lack of grammars that would describe synchronically the Cypriot Greek variety and the absence of a commonly used graphic system to write in that variety or the absence of political will to institute such a system. Lastly, we refer to the ideal of a Greek Cypriot educational system that only employs SMG in and out of the classroom and how that is the wishful thinking of the relevant ministry, while educators and students usually employ C(S)G in the classroom and any level of the dialectal continuum outside it. The conclusion of this presentation is how all these factors influence linguistic production and awareness in general. The last two sections are devoted to the manner in which we gathered the data we have presented (from oral and written texts), how we consulted an online group of Cypriot Greek native speakers and how we decided to display on paper the data, the relevant examples and analysis.

The last chapter had two components. The first explained our categorization proposal in detail: a) purely semantic; b) semantically divergent and typologically convergent; and c) pragmatic false friends. The second category encompassed semantic divergence with convergence at all linguistic levels (phonetics, morphology, grammar, syntax, phraseology and multiple levels at the same time) and the third classified the faux amis into separate subcategories (stylistic, connotative, contextual, use-related and cultural).

The dissertation ends with references, either regarding the literature from which the corpus was extracted, or the dictionaries, internet sites and online resources, as well as theoretical bibliography in Greek, English, German or Spanish. Two indexes have also been provided. The first presents all the lemmas in our corpus in alphabetical order with the category we have placed them in and the page where they appear. The second index contains the same lemmas per category

accompanied by the number of lemmas in each category and the page they could be found in. The last 15 pages are a summary of the thesis in Spanish.

6.2 Discussion

Our corpus was classified into the three main categories of faux amis we proposed: a) purely semantic; b) semantically divergent and typologically convergent; and c) pragmatic, with all their subcategories. Two of the categories include the same number of lemmas, i.e. 47. They are the category of the purely semantic and the subcategory of the semantically divergent and morphologically convergent false friends. If one were to combine the purely semantic and the phonetic (27), on the grounds that the differentiations in the latter category are actually minimal, then their combined number, i.e. 73, would mean that the majority of intralinguistic false friends show minimal or nil typological divergence. In either case, the fact remains that absolute identification and/or minimal phonetic divergence form the main general category, as was expected, even before we had engaged in our analysis. The very nature of the intralinguistic faux amis is the reason at the root of such a convergence: the one-word lemmas stem from the same root, or could be considered the same word for all intents and purposes by speakers of both varieties. Another reason is the fact that the criteria we had implemented did not allow for data without etymological relation, therefore resulting in (startling) typological convergence.

The rest of the categories, except the grammatical and syntactic are also satisfactorily represented. The semantically divergent and phonetically convergent subcategory numbers 26 lemmas, the semantic and phraseological 17, 37 are the multiple typological convergence false friends and 16 the pragmatic (all subcategories together). The grammatical and syntactic subcategories only number 2 lemmas each, which we find understable, since despite the importance of that category, the two varieties exhibit a limited amount of divergence with regard to the syntax and the grammatical conjunction that accompany their lemmas.

Another detail that did not come as a surprise, is the speech parts to which the lemmas belong. More than half of our data are nouns (100 out of 194 lemmas),

by far more numerous than any other part of speech. The rest of the lemmas are divided among 48 verbs, 34 adjectives, 4 adverbs, 3 participles and 2 conjunctions. Also, in most categories except the grammatical and syntactic, nouns supercede any other part of speech. We cannot claim with certainty that semantic change occurs mostly to nouns and less so to verbs or adjectives¹⁸⁶, we may only state that this appears to be the case in our corpus. This is probably a reflection of the fact that languages have a higher number of nouns than verbs.

Although nouns are more numerous than verbs, the latter are usually more prolific in their dialectal semantic diversification. While most nouns, such as *θάλαμος* ['θeɛlɛmɔs], *γουρουνιά* [ɣuɾu'ɲe] or *σπόνδυλος* ['spɔndɪlɔs] present us with one or two exclusively C(S)G meanings¹⁸⁷, most verbs exhibit many more meanings, to the point that some of them, such as *παίρνω* ['pɛɾnɔ] or *λύνω* ['linɔ] have 10 exclusively C(S)G meanings or *λαλώ* [lɛ'lo] that has 20. This differentiation follows the pattern that is generally present in language. Nouns and adjectives may have several meanings, occasionally a truly high number of denotations, but it is verbs that mostly bear the brunt of semantic diversification.

One last remark regarding the pairs of false friends could not possibly ignore the fact that their list is far from comprehensive. Firstly, because although we had gathered a larger number of lemmas we considered false friends, after a more meticulous investigation in accordance with the criteria we had set, we realized that they could not all be included in our list. The reasons for that varied, but mostly centred either on the provenance of the lemmas, or to the fact that they were not after all false friends, although we had considered them as such at first.

Secondly, in the course of the last few months, we have encountered further pairs of faux amis that we were not in a position to include among our lemmas at this point. We are certain that a further elaboration of new pairs would be possible to take place at a later stage and become public knowledge through separate studies' publications.

¹⁸⁶ If one were also to take into account the fact that the adjectives mostly behave as nouns after they undergo a process of nounification, then the number of nouns and perceived nouns greatly increases.

¹⁸⁷ At the same time, there are other nouns, such as *νους* [nus], with 6 meanings or *πούλι* ['puli], with 5, but they are not typical nouns as regards the number of exclusively C(S)G meanings.

Nevertheless, the most conspicuous omission of the present dissertation in general concerns the point of view and the directionality of the false friends' pairs. We lack the Cypriot Greek speaker point of view, because we are not Cypriot Greek native speakers. It would have been extremely difficult to realize that the lemmas in our corpus are in fact false friends, if we were Greek Cypriots. Greek Cypriots native speakers do not realize that the Greek words and phraseologisms they use in Cyprus -especially the ones that could identify typologically with SMG- have more meanings than they do in the SMG. Discussions to this effect with our group of informants have led us to realize, that Greek Cypriot would consider other words as false friends, words that do not have an added meaning in the C(S)G, but rather words that have less meanings, such as the feminine noun *καραμέλα* [kɛrɛ'mɛlɛ]. In SMG it signifies 'caramel', 'toffee', 'hard candy' or metaphorically 'an opinion or argument reiterated constantly because it is convenient or pleasing'. In C(S)G the 'toffee' or 'hard candy' denotation is inexistent, since this variety has the feminine noun *κουφεττούα* [kufɛ'tʰ:uɛ] in order to signify this type of candy.

Difficulties encountered

Apart from minor and mostly insignificant difficulties with the categorization (e.g. category change from the one in which a lemma had been originally classified at the emergence of further examples and meanings), the most important matter that had to be tackled was meaning assignation. The fact that the dissertation author is a native SMG speaker residing in Cyprus the last 15 years means that the decision of denotation assignation to the SMG or the common meanings was a process that could not be designated as definite or indisputable. The task of deciphering which of the meanings that a lemma has were SMG exclusive or commonly used by both varieties, was not an easy one.

Another impediment that to some degree defined the present thesis is the structure, philosophy and presentation of the Cypriot Greek dictionaries¹⁸⁸. Often, we would come across denotations in the dictionaries that made us

¹⁸⁸ In this instance the use of the generic term that encompasses all levels is intentional, since the majority of the lemmas in the dialectal dictionaries or glossaries engages in the presentation of mainly basilectal lexicon, to the point that they may concentrate on words that have been obsolete since the medieval era.

consider some lemma as false friends, when in fact, after a relevant investigation it would become evident that are not any more, since those denotations were inexistent in the synchronic C(S)G variety. The opposite would also often come about. Other times, the dictionaries would present as common between the two varieties a meaning that did not actually exist in the C(S)G, but the authors would be unaware of that. Mostly the dictionaries either lacked the lemmas themselves or they lacked their current meanings.

Significance of current research

The bulk of researches and studies regarding false friends concerns interlinguistic instances of false friends and only recently has it become understood by a small numbers of investigators that another type exists, namely intralinguistic. Furthermore, those researchers that are interested in intralinguistic, have so far omitted to publish a lengthy appraisal of this type of faux amis and they mostly concentrate on specific cases studied *ad hoc*. It is obvious that this specifi area of linguistics has been neglected so far and we believe that our work will contribute in understanding of the phenomenon.

We consider the present thesis, not only as a novelty, but also as a necessary tool both for SMG and Cypriot Greek native speakers. When SMG speakers first enter Cyprus for any of the usual (or unexpected) reasons, mainly study-, work- or personal life-related reasons, find understanding the basilectal features of the dialectal continuum a hard task to accomplish. Although that may be expected, if one should consider the level at which the two varieties differ, they are perplexed by the lexical or syntactic differentiations between them at the mesolectal or acrolectal end of the continuum. They tend to make the same equation that most Cypriot Greek continuum levels' speakers also make, that lexical similarity signifies semantic identity. Especially with regard to the acrolectal end, it is almost impossible for one to separate typological similarity from semantic identity, since it is a deeply ingrained equation. It is our firm belief that speakers of both varieties need to be made aware of this phenomenon and should learn the semantic equivalence between the two varieties.

The influence that the mother tongue exerts over this equation should not be disregarded. Native speakers of any language will tend to grant precedence to the semantic equation already established in their minds, even over knowledge gained. When they are unaware of the fact that sometimes that equation is erroneous, it is even more certain that they will fall in the pitfalls of treacherous false friends. It is therefore evident that speakers of both varieties ought to be trained in the art of uncovering and avoiding faux amis, in order to improve their communication.

Thoughts for the future

The present thesis could not possibly boast of being an exhaustive elaboration of all existing false friends' pairs between the two varieties of the Greek language. It is merely a presentation of the phenomenon of false friends in general as well as in this particular instance at a theoretical level. At a practical level, it is our belief that the 194 pairs of false friends presented and analysed are a significant percentage of those that exist, but we are confident that we will encounter even more pairs to be expounded on in the future, and it would be possible to analyze them for presentation in conferences and scientific journals.

The next step will be the elaboration of class-specific material in order to provide awareness of the phenomenon and the semantics and pragmatics of false friends. The educational system in Cyprus follows to a significant degree the educational system of Greece using mainly the same teaching manuals for language and literature classes, as well a similar philosophy. Although Greek Cypriots are aware of the fact that the Greek Cypriot variety of the Greek language differs from the standard variety taught at school (either in Cyprus or in Greece), they ignore the existence of the phenomenon of false friends. We believe that it will be deemed helpful to provide Greek language teachers at the all levels of education with exercises, texts and teaching material in general. The students (and the teachers, we think) will be helped to understand the phenomenon and the differences between the two varieties. We think that the end result will be not only awareness, but also improved and in-depth knowledge of both varieties.

Another relevant facet of such an approach is the teaching of the Modern Greek language in the Cypriot framework as a second language, either in state-funded institutions (such as public schools or the School for the Greek Language of the University of Cyprus), or in private institutes. Foreigners in Cyprus face a more difficult task in attempting to learn Modern Greek than foreigners in Greece. The variety they hear all around them differs, at times significantly, to the variety they learn from books and on which they will be tested in the future in order to prove their relevant knowledge. Teaching material especially designed to address the needs of this student population that also includes adults will facilitate learning in a more complex environment than mainstream school classrooms.

At the same time, we believe that a specialized dictionary of false friends in the tradition of the first ever such dictionary by Koessler and Derocquigny (1928) is a necessity that should not delay overmuch. As has already been noted with regard to the dialectal dictionaries we consulted, there is a dire lack of a general modern-day Cypriot Greek dictionary compiled and presented according to scientific criteria and practices. Even if the creation of such a dictionary is not among our goals, the presentation of our data in the form of a specialized dictionary that would include not only the equivalence of the terms, but also examples of usage is. We consider that such a dictionary will facilitate communication and clarify possible misunderstandings between native speakers of the mainland Greece Modern Greek variety and of the Cyprus variety. Furthermore, it could be a tool and a study that could be incorporated in a possible future Greek Cypriot dictionary that would approach Greek Cypriot in a monolingual manner.

Finally, we hope that the present dissertation will constitute the basis or the stimulus for future fruitful and informed, sober discussions regarding the relation between the two varieties and the future of the Cypriot Greek variety. Our most sincere wish is that this work will not remain known only in academia, but will reach lay people and make them appreciate their mother tongue and its uniqueness.

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Summary in Spanish / Resumen en español

1. Griego Moderno Estándar (GME) y Griego Chipriota Estándar (GCE)

El primer capítulo repasa los momentos más destacados de la historia de Chipre relacionados con la historia de su idioma, la situación sociolingüística y las principales diferencias entre las dos variedades explicando también el contenido de los términos usados.

Chipre está ubicada en la parte oriental del Mediterráneo en un punto de encuentro de tres continentes y, por esa razón, es un punto de importancia estratégica. El lenguaje griego está presente en la isla desde el siglo XII AC, pero la influencia de los otros pueblos¹⁸⁹ que la conquistaron a través de su historia es también evidente en el lenguaje hablado contemporáneo (Mallinson, 2011).

Este idioma mantiene hasta hoy elementos del arcaico-chipriota hablado por los micenios, en la isla, pero su base amplia es el griego helenístico que se llama “koine” y su evolución lingüística en el tiempo de los bizantinos hasta los francos. En el tiempo de los occidentales, el idioma ya había adquirido o evolucionado la mayoría de las características que exhibe hoy en día (Varella, 2006: 11ff.; Mallinson, 2011).

En el primer capítulo se aclaran los significados que tiene cada uno de los términos usados en el ámbito de la dialectología que hasta un cierto punto es donde se encuentra el campo de nuestro estudio. Los términos más relevantes serían *lengua estándar*, *dialecto* y *variedad lingüística*.

No es una tarea fácil para los lingüistas establecer claras distinciones entre los tres términos. Según Macaulay (1997: 25) “se puede usar el término *lenguaje* para una sola norma lingüística o para un grupo de normas relacionadas entre sí” (traducción propia). Si nos referimos a una sola norma, la llamamos una *variedad*

¹⁸⁹ Entre ellos los asirios, los egipcios y los persas, Alejandro el magno y los romanos. Después formó parte del imperio bizantino, perteneció al Ricardo I de Inglaterra, a los Lusignan, los venezianos, los turcos y finalmente a los británicos hasta el 1960. Todos ellos impactaron al idioma griego de Chipre (Sophocleous, 2009: 1; Varella, 2006: 49; Mallinson, 2011)

estándar. Todas las demás variedades divergentes se llaman *dialectos*. El término *lenguaje*, en su sentido más amplio, abarcaría todos los diferentes *dialectos* o *variedades lingüísticas* de cada lengua (Baker 1992; Chaika 1989). Wardhaugh (1992: 22) define la *variedad lingüística* como “un conjunto específico de términos lingüísticos o patrones del habla (como los sonidos, las palabras, las características gramaticales, etc.) que se asocian únicamente con algún factor externo (como un área geográfica o un grupo social)”. De acuerdo con esto, este término es neutral y se puede usar en cualquier forma de lengua que se considere una sola entidad (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980). Según Macaulay (1997: 3), “su uso no suscita controversias porque no propone ninguna reivindicación teórica sobre el estatus de la entidad referida de tal manera” (en Pavlou y Papapavlou, 2004: 244).

Una variedad estándar tiene algunas características que la definen: su forma escrita y su forma hablada coinciden, es una variedad estandarizada y es elaborada por haber adquirido las habilidades expresivas necesarias para cumplir con sus necesidades comunicativas. Se usa casi exclusivamente en algunos campos de actividad humana, como la educación, los medios de comunicación, los tribunales o el mundo profesional (Baker 2001: 44). Al contrario, las variedades no estandarizadas se usan habitualmente para la comunicación privada y su uso muy a menudo es un acto de solidaridad manifiesta con los miembros de algún grupo determinado (Pavlou and Papapavlou, 2004: 244).

En el caso que nos ocupa, los lingüistas clasifican la variedad chipriota como un dialecto y más concretamente como uno de los dialectos del sur-oriental griego. Tradicionalmente se describe como un continuo geográfico abarcado por dieciocho sub-variedades o basilectos. Estos basilectos fueron caracterizados conjuntamente por sus propios hablantes como *χωρικάτικα* [xɔ'rkɛtɪkɛ], un dialecto hablado por los campesinos mientras llamaban *griego* a la lengua estándar hablada en Grecia (Newton, 1972; Κοντοσόπουλος, 1969). Pero ya en 1972, Newton se refiere a una variedad metropolitana basada en la sub-variedad de Mesaoria (la región de Nicosia) que los mismos chipriotas describen como “habla civil” y parece que hasta cierto punto ha formado la base de la variedad

que a continuación llamaremos griego chipriota estándar (Τσιπλάκου, 2009: 1197).

También es necesario matizar la relación entre las dos variedades lingüísticas (o solamente variedades a continuación), es decir el griego moderno estándar (GME, en adelante) y el griego chipriota estándar (GCE, en adelante). El GME es la norma oficial de lo que se llama idioma griego, que comprendería todos los dialectos del griego moderno (Horrocks, 1997). La relación entre estas dos variedades es más complicada que la que existe entre el GME y otros dialectos del griego moderno (Papapavlou and Pavlou, 1998). Los hablantes de GCE viven en un país distinto al de los demás dialectos, son menos numerosos (aproximadamente 800.000¹⁹⁰) y los factores políticos e ideológicos que aclararemos más adelante embrollan la relación entre los dos (Papapavlou 1997, 1998, 2001a; Pavlou 1999).

No existe inteligibilidad mutua entre los hablantes de las dos variedades, especialmente para los hablantes nativos de GME que frecuentemente entienden con dificultad a los hablantes de GCE que se esfuerzan a hablar GME, y los basilectos más alejados al GME son totalmente ininteligibles (Papapavlou and Pavlou, 1998). Pero tampoco los hablantes de GCE entienden fácilmente a los hablantes de GME, porque les parece que hablan demasiado rápidamente (Arvaniti, 2006a: 18 y 2006b: 26).

La situación sociolingüística en la isla es complicada, por tener dos comunidades étnicas distintas¹⁹¹ y cuatro idiomas. El idioma oficial de los grecochipriotas es el GME, pero su lengua materna es el GCE y para los turcochipriotas, por su parte, su idioma oficial es otro (el turco estándar de Turquía) y otra su lengua materna (su variedad de turco chipriota). Los dos idiomas oficiales se usan en el campo de la legislación, de la administración, de los tribunales de justicia, en el Boletín Oficial, en las monedas y en los sellos y en todo tipo de comunicación entre los ciudadanos y las autoridades. Pero no hay ningún tipo de diglosia entre las dos

¹⁹⁰ Según los datos del Servicio de Estadísticos de la República de Chipre (<http://www.mof.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/All/DFE39266BB7B83CEC22580760037BB0F?OpenDocument&sub=1&sel=1&e=&print>).

¹⁹¹ Aunque ahora viven divididas, los turcochipriotas en el norte, en un país no reconocido internacionalmente y los grecochipriotas en el sur, en la reconocida República de Chipre.

comunidades, como se esperaría (Karyolemou, 2001: 26ff.; Karoulla-Vrikki, 2009: 188; Sophocleous, 2009: 1). La situación sociolingüística que existe se ha descrito como diglosia entre el GME y el GCE, según la noción de diglosia clásica de Ferguson (Sciriha 1995, Karoula-Vrikkis 1991, Μοσχονάς, 2002; Arvaniti 2006a y 2006b; Ferguson, 1959), bidialectismo (Papapavlou 1998; Pavlou y Papapavlou, 2007; Sophocleous, 2009) o continuo lingüístico (Karyolemou, 1992). Todos los enfoques tienen sus fundamentos, pero lo más importante es prestar atención a la complejidad de relaciones a la que se puede añadir también el importante papel que desempeña el inglés en la isla (Karoulla-Vrikki, 2009: 188; Arvaniti, 2006a: 5).

La situación sociolingüística no está claramente definida y los campos de uso para cada una de las variedades cambian y dependen de la situación comunicativa. En general el GME está reservado para actos oficiales, administrativos, de registro muy alto o para la comunicación con los griegos de Grecia. El GCE es la variedad de la casa, aprendida allí y usada en todas las instancias en las que se necesita expresar sentimientos, hablar con los familiares y los amigos, y, en general, con otros grecochipriotas, así como para hablar de temas cotidianos. Es obvio que es una variedad vibrante. Sin embargo, los límites entre las dos variedades no están grabados en piedra y se puede usar ambas en distintas variaciones, de acuerdo con las necesidades comunicativas de los hablantes.

El GCE es una variedad que, si la consideramos en términos de continuo lingüístico, pertenece al extremo acrolecto y se parece significativamente al GME. Es una mezcla de elementos basilecticos, mesolecticos y acrolecticos con elementos del GME y se va convirtiendo en el registro más alto de la variedad, parecido a una variedad estándar, basada en el habla culto del capital del país (Arvaniti 2006a y 2006b).

La variedad chipriota es más conservadora que la oficial de Grecia, con más elementos arcaicos que no se conservan o nunca han sido parte del GME, de modo que las dos variedades difieren entre sí en todos los niveles lingüísticos (Varella, 2006: 15; Terkourafi 2007; Arvaniti 2006a y 2006b). En las últimas

décadas, el GME va influyendo en la variedad chipriota por el aumento de los contactos entre ambas variedades gracias a los medios de comunicación, la televisión y las estancias de estudio que muchos grecochipriotas realizan en Grecia (Armosti et al., 2014: 24).

Una lista exhaustiva de los elementos más destacados del GCE no cabe en un resumen, de modo que haremos una sinopsis más general. La fonética y la fonología del GCE son los rasgos más destacados para los hablantes del GME y desde un punto de vista más técnico, es también el nivel del habla con más diferencias. Entre las más importantes diferencias están las siguientes: 1) el GCE presenta consonantes geminadas, elisión de las consonantes fricativas en posición intervocálica, asimilación total de las consonantes nasales a las fricativas siguientes, grupos consonánticos con sus propios cambios, cuatro postalveolares ([ʃ], [ʒ], [tʃ] y [dʒ]), etc, fenómenos todos de los que el GME carece; 2) por otra parte el GCE carece de consonantes oclusivas que se sustituyen por consonantes oclusivas sordas o tilde secundaria sobre los nombres a los que se añaden pronombres enclíticos; y 3) el fenómeno de sinicesis existe en ambas variedades, pero en el GCE realizó más cambios fonológicos y sus resultados difieren de los del GME.

En la morfología y la gramática de las dos variedades también están diferenciadas de tal manera que la morfología desempeña un papel importante en el momento de distinguir entre el GME y el GCE. El GCE mantiene rasgos morfológicos y gramaticales que han desaparecido del GME, como el aumento silábico para marcar los tiempos del pasado, sufijos arcaicos de los verbos, el sufijo de terminación de los nombres <-v> [ŋ] en todos los géneros, la geminación instantánea de la terminación de los verbos (por ejemplo, [vu'ilonɔ] > [vu'lon:ɔ]), un diferente complemento marcando el futuro tiempo y otros.

Aunque hay cambios en la morfología que hacen que las dos variedades se acerquen, las características de la sintaxis permanecen estables en su divergencia: la posición postverbal de los pronombres clíticos a diferencia de su posición preverbal en GME; sustitución del genitivo plural de los nombres masculinos por el acusativo plural; construcciones sintácticas sin doble negación,

aunque es necesaria en sus equivalentes en el GME; uso de diferentes conjunciones; uso del tiempo perfecto pasado con una referencia de tiempo concreta que se considera incorrecto en GME, etc.

En el nivel de la semántica y del léxico las diferencias puede ser explicada por los diferentes acontecimientos históricos que han influido la historia lingüística de las dos variedades. El GCE tiene palabras de origen turco, árabe, franco, italiano o inglés propias, amén del inmenso número de palabras comunes con el GME. Tiene *dobletes léxicos*¹⁹², *falsos amigos* (que se analizan más adelante) y *pseudo-palabras* o *barbarismos*¹⁹³ también (Pavlou and Papapavlou, 2004: 248ff.; Τσιπλάκου, 2009: 1199ff.; Sophocleous, 2009: 241ff.; Varella 2006: 13ff.; Αρμοστή et al., 2012; Armostis, 2011; Arvaniti, 2001 and 2006a; Παναγιώτου-Τριανταφυλλοπούλου, 1999; Χριστοδούλου, 2013).

2. El fenómeno de los falsos amigos

El segundo capítulo se centra en el fenómeno de los falsos amigos, pasándose revista a los primeros textos que se refieren al fenómeno, así como a los que acuñaron el término que estamos usando. Además se presenta nuestra definición del fenómeno y varios ejemplos desde nuestro corpus y se pasa a aclarar la diferencia entre los falsos amigos intralingüales e interlingüales.

Uno de los primeros libros sobre el tema se remonta al siglo XVII¹⁹⁴ y, en el siglo XX, se publica el libro de Samuel Bogumil Lindes¹⁹⁵ (Bunčić 2000: 7). En 1928 apareció el libro que inició una etapa de intenso estudio del fenómeno: el diccionario de *faux amis du traducteur*, de Maxime Koessler y Jules Derocquigny. Según estos autores, los *faux amis* serían palabras muy parecidas en varios

¹⁹² Parejas de palabras distintas con el mismo referente, como los nombres *μάππα* ['mɛph:ɐ] y *μπάλα* ['bele], de diferente origen que ambas significan 'pelota'.

¹⁹³ Palabras hechas de acuerdo con sus reglas de formación morfológica, sin embargo inexistentes en el GME, como el nombre *κυβεία* [ci'viɛ] que parece pertenecer a un registro alto del GME pero no existe en éste, sino el nombre *τζόγος* ['dzɔɣɔs] y ambos significan 'juego'.

¹⁹⁴ Un diccionario de nombres polacos- suecos in Latin, *Nomina Polonica convenient cum Sveticis, partim eundem partim diversum significantia Sensum Ordine Alphabetico collecta atque disposita*, escrito en latín.

¹⁹⁵ Un diccionario escrito a mano de rusos-polacos falsos amigos.

aspectos pero con distintas acepciones: Y este término ha sido tomado como calco por la mayoría de las lenguas (véase la sección 2.2.1. Terminología).

Otro de los temas que intenta clarificar el segundo capítulo son las diferencias de terminología, y también de contenido, de los términos *cognado*, *falso cognado* y *falso amigo*. Muchos de los investigadores del fenómeno usan los términos *falso cognado*¹⁹⁶ y *falso amigo* como sinónimos (Granger and Swallow, 1988: 108; Mattheoudakis and Patsala, 2007: 320; Prado, 1989: 721; Shlesinger and Malkiel, 2005: 174), pero no lo son Chamizo Domínguez (2006, 2008) ha mostrado que mientras *cognado* se puede aplicar a todas las palabras de etimología común independientemente de su convergencia o divergencia semántica. A diferencia de los cognados, los falsos amigos son palabras cognadas, como por ejemplo el sustantivo español *padre* y el sustantivo francés *père*, que pueden ser también falsos amigos en algunos contextos, dado que el nombre francés puede también denotar ‘hombre viejo’. De ahí que las dos palabras siguen siendo cognados pero son también falsos amigos parciales. Existe también el caso opuesto, el de palabras que pueden ser falsos amigos pero no son cognados, como el nombre italiano *cazzo*, ‘pene’ y el aparentemente equivalente español *cazo*. Si intentáramos representar la relación entre los dos términos de acuerdo con los diagramas de Venn veríamos que el concepto de falsos amigos incluye la noción de los falsos cognados, dado que todos los falsos cognados son falsos amigos, pero no todos los falsos amigos son falsos cognados.

A continuación se proporciona una definición de los falsos amigos basada en la definición propuesta por Hayward y Moulin (1984: 190):

Se llama falsos amigos a las parejas que asocian dos significantes de distintas lenguas o variedades lingüísticas de la misma lengua con similitud fonética, fonológica, morfológica y/o ortográfica, mientras sus significados difieren con respecto a un significado por lo menos. Cuando aparece el significante, aunque sea en un contexto de lengua extranjera, la asociación entre significante y significado es tan fuerte que el hablante automáticamente piensa en el significado en su lengua materna (en todas sus acepciones).

¹⁹⁶ Los cognados son palabras de estructura fonética y semántica idénticas o parecidas a causa de su origen común.

Un ejemplo claro de qué son los falsos amigos es el caso del sustantivo *ανιψιός*¹⁹⁷, entre el GME y el GCE. En el GCE se pronuncia [eni'pʝɔs] y en el GME [eni'psɔs]. En la primera variedad preserva el significado del griego antiguo ‘primo hermano’ (Γιαγκουλλής, 2014: 55), mientras que en la segunda su significado ha cambiado a ‘sobrino’. En el griego medieval el nombre tenía ambos significados. Hoy en día en el GCE los nombres *αδελφότεκνος* [aðe'lfɔtɛknɔs], o *αρφότεκνος* [a'rfɔtɛknɔs] (dos pronunciaciones diferentes de la misma palabra) son los que significan ‘sobrino’. Todos los hablantes nativos de GME, cuando se usa la palabra *ανιψιός* en Chipre, tienen dificultades para entender a qué se refiere, porque ellos piensan directamente el significado del GME, pero en GCE no es el mismo, siendo las dos palabras una pareja de falsos amigos totales.

Esta es una pareja que además de falsos amigos totales lo es de falsos amigos intralinguales y no interlinguales. En la mayoría de los casos, los falsos amigos aparecen entre idiomas distintos, pero el caso que estamos investigando es entre variedades del mismo idioma. Los intralinguales puede que sean diacrónicos, entre distintas épocas del mismo idioma (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη y Βλέτση, 2010; Seelbach, 2002: 29; Milan, 1989: 388; Heinle, 1992: 324; Ionescu, 2015: 136) o sincrónicos, es decir entre un dialecto y una lengua estándar o dialectos geográficos del mismo idioma en un momento histórico dado (Chamizo Domínguez, 2008: xii; Bunčić, 2000: 23ff; Laskowski 2006: 2; Granger and Swallow, 1988: 115; Seelbach, 2002: 29; Hayward and Mounin, 1984: 194; Milan, 1989: 390; Fang, 2012: 61; Frantzen, 1998: 248; Heinle, 1992: 322) o también puedan aparecer en situaciones de contacto lingüístico en el mismo país, como sucede con variedades del español en los EE.UU. (Lipski, 2008).

Otro tema que abarca el segundo capítulo es el de los niveles lingüísticos en los que pueden aparecer falsos amigos. Además de los niveles usuales ya mencionados, en los últimos años abundan los estudios monográficos sobre falsos amigos gramaticales, sintácticos o pragmáticos (e incluimos tales también en nuestro corpus). Los pragmáticos son falsos amigos que pueden divergir semánticamente o no, pero la diferencia que los define como falsos amigos reside

¹⁹⁷ Todos los nombres masculinos que denotan parentesco, ocupación u oficio incluyen o suponen el femenino género.

en el contexto, el registro, el estilo de habla, las connotaciones, el uso o la frecuencia de uso, etc., que son distintos entre dos idiomas o variedades. Los gramaticales o sintácticos exhiben diferencias en los niveles equivalentes y pueden también existir falsos amigos gramaticales o sintácticos, hasta fraseológicos.

Otro tema igualmente importante es el de los problemas que causan los falsos amigos, usualmente son problemas en el mutuo entendimiento y la comunicación entre personas que hablan distintos idiomas o variedades lingüísticas. Cuando se necesita precisión, como en traducciones o interpretaciones, si los traductores o intérpretes desconocen los falsos amigos que podrían representar una trampa, suelen cometer errores. Otra categoría de profesionales interesados en el fenómeno son los profesores de lenguas extranjeras, porque lo encuentran muy a menudo y, a causa de él, sus estudiantes cometen errores, así como pueden ser un indicio muy idóneo para calibrar el dominio que tienen los estudiantes de la lengua de que se trate. Igualmente, también los teóricos de la traducción, los filósofos del lenguaje, los lexicógrafos y los lingüistas se han interesado por entender el fenómeno y los mecanismos lingüísticos que lo producen

El primer proceso que da lugar a la creación de falsos amigos es la *ascendencia común* y el segundo es el *préstamo*. El préstamo puede darse de un idioma a otro, o de un idioma tercero a dos idiomas distintos (Lázár, 1998: 83; Terkourafi, 2005: xvii; Szpila, 2006: 77-8; Granger and Swallow, 1998: 108; Baker, 1999: 25; Maillot 1977: 70; Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 1997: 78; Gouws et al., 2004: 801; Bunčić 2000: 39; Χλιάρας, 2007: 16; Frunza, 2006: 3ff.; Doval, 1998: 277; Mattheoudakis and Patsala, 2007: 320; Αλεξιάδου, 2009: 23). Algunos investigadores también consideran que la coincidencia por casualidad puede engendrar parejas de falsos amigos, pero, en este caso, hablaríamos de coincidencia sin procedencia común y sin una relación como esta, creemos que no existen los prerequisites para el fenómeno.

La procedencia o el préstamo son una condición mínima necesaria, pero es necesario también el cambio lingüístico después de la entrada de cada palabra en

una lengua. Estos cambios pueden ser: 1) que la palabra en la lengua término tenga menos significados de los que tiene en su lengua de origen, 2) el significado de la palabra prestada puede cambiar en una de las dos lenguas, 3) la palabra prestada puede desarrollar significados que no existían en su lengua de origen (Chamizo Domínguez and Nerlich, 2002: 1844ff; Postigo Pinazo, 2008: 461; Baker, 1999: 25; Terkourafi, 2005: xvi; Lázár, 1998: 83; O'Neill and Casanovas Catalá, 1997: 104; Chamizo Domínguez, 2008: 19; Milan, 1989: 389).

Hay muchos criterios diversos para elegir las parejas que se incluirán en cada categoría por los distintos científicos. Nosotros elegimos las parejas de acuerdo con los criterios siguientes: 1) la etimología, porque los falsos amigos tendrán procedencia común, algo que es de esperar, dado que los *faux amis* pertenecen a la misma lengua; 2) la morfología según unas reglas dadas que nos permite relacionar los dos morfemas sin muchas dudas; 3) la fonética y/o la fonología no coincidirán, porque no coinciden entre las dos variedades, pero las diferencias son consistentes y la correlación será posible; 4) la ortografía del GCE, que no ha sido estandarizada, con lo que no se puede esperar una correspondencia en este aspecto; 5) la gramática y la sintaxis son dos áreas que no han sido lo suficientemente analizadas y no podríamos señalar si hay alguna obra que presente fielmente la variedad chipriota usada hoy; 6) otro criterio importante es la frecuencia de uso, que podría engendrar problemas, aunque no muy frecuentemente usadas las palabras del corpus; 7) el potencial de confusión es importante, aunque no sea muy científico, en la medida en que los problemas en la comunicación son una parte integral del fenómeno de los falsos amigos; y 8) el último factor es la direccionalidad de los falsos amigos, que se ven bajo el prisma de un hablante de GME que se encuentra asediada por las diferencias y los falsos amigos entre las dos variedades.

3. Las categorizaciones de los falsos amigos

El tercer capítulo defiende la necesidad de categorización, explica los tipos de diagramas Venn que ponen de relieve las relaciones entre los falsos amigos, menciona los tres criterios básicos de clasificación y, en último lugar, hace un

repasso de las diversas categorizaciones que se han propuesto los investigadores del fenómeno.

La categorización de los falsos amigos es imprescindible por razones metodológicas, para poder delimitar el fenómeno de una manera apropiada y también docente que es ineludible para su enseñanza (Hayward y Moulin, 1984: 191). Una distinción transversal que hacen todos los investigadores es la distinción entre falsos amigos *totales* y *parciales*. Se llaman *totales* a los *faux amis* que no comparten ninguna de sus acepciones y *parciales* a los que tienen por lo menos un significado común. La mayoría de los falsos amigos son parciales y estos son los más tramposos.

Una manera ilustrativa para demostrar las diferencias entre las parejas de falsos amigos es recurriendo a los diagramas de Venn, según la teoría de los conjuntos. Hay tres tipos de diagramas de Venn, de los que uno (*disyunción* de conjuntos) coincide con los falsos amigos totales y los dos restantes (*inclusión* e *intersección* de conjuntos) con los parciales. La *disyunción* significa que los conjuntos no tienen miembros en común, expresando de la mejor manera la divergencia de los significados de estos falsos amigos que no tienen ningún punto de contacto (Granger, 1996; Chamizo Domínguez, 2009; Roca-Varela, 2012). Un ejemplo muy claro sería el caso de los nombres *κουτούκι* [ku'tuci], ‘bar pequeño y rústico’ en GME y *κουττούτζιν* [kut^h:’utʃin], ‘algo muy pesado’ en GCE. Ambos provienen de la misma palabra turca, pero sus significados han divergido tanto del original y entre sí que actualmente son falsos amigos totales.

El segundo tipo de diagrama es la *inclusión*, en el que todos los significados de una palabra se hallan incluidos entre los significados de la palabra con la que se forma la pareja de falsos amigos, pero no al revés. Por ejemplo, el nombre de GME, *ακαθαρσία* [ɛkɛθɛ'rsiɛ] coincide morfológica y fonéticamente con el nombre de GCE *ακαθαρσίαν* [ɛkɛθɛ'rsiɛⁿ]¹⁹⁸, pero el primero es más amplio semánticamente, porque significa ‘suciedad’ o ‘mugre’, mientras el segundo denota ‘basura’ y se usa principalmente en plural.

¹⁹⁸ Excepto el <v> [n] en el final del nombre que es una de las diferencias morfológicas que existen entre las dos variedades.

El tercer tipo es la *intersección* de conjuntos en la que algunos de los significados de la pareja son compartidos mientras que otros significados no lo son. Típico de la situación proporcionada se podría considerar el caso del verbo del GME *διπλώνω* [ði'plɔnɔ] y del verbo del GCE *διπλώννω* [ði'plɔn:ɔ]. Tienen en común el significado de ‘plegar’, ‘doblar’, ‘cubrir algo bien’. El GME significa además ‘doblar algo en dos’ (un significado que existía también en el griego antiguo) y el verbo del GCE ‘darse por vencido’, que probablemente ha evolucionado de la visualización de alguien que cierra sus libros (según el fraseologismo que acompaña el nombre) o del significado del verbo inglés *fold* como un calco.

Para incluir en nuestra categorización alguna pareja de falsos amigos consideramos indispensables tres componentes: a) la etimología común; b) la divergencia semántica; y c) la similitud (o identidad) tipológica (Doval Reixa, 1998: 285).

Hemos dividido todas las propuestas de clasificaciones en cinco grandes grupos: a) puramente semánticos, que coinciden en todos los niveles de análisis lingüístico excepto el semántico; b) falsos amigos de divergencia semántica combinada con divergencia en cualquier otro de los niveles de análisis lingüístico (fonética, morfología, gramática y sintaxis); c) la pragmática es para nosotros una categoría separada, porque muy a menudo los falsos amigos pragmáticos no van acompañados por divergencia semántica, sino por diferenciaciones imperceptibles relacionadas con el contexto o temas de registro, estilo, o frecuencia; d) puramente tipológicos que divergen solamente formalmente en relación con cualquier otro nivel excepto el semántico, donde coinciden; y e) falsos amigos cuestionados, una categoría en la que sumamos todas las categorías propuestas que creemos que no son verdaderamente *faux amis*, sino distintos grupos de palabras.

En todas estas categorías hemos incluidos los autores que proponen alguna forma de categorización parecida mencionando los términos que adopta cada uno para facilitar un resumen de las propuestas de clasificación, antes de presentar la nuestra. Hemos evitado referirnos en estos tan detalladamente por no pensar que son parte de los objetivos de un resumen

4. Temas relacionados con el corpus

La compilación de nuestro corpus está relacionada con temas de lexicografía y estandarización dialectal, además de falta de recursos metodológicos, como diccionarios fiables, corpus de textos y gramáticas contemporáneas de la variedad chipriota.

Los diccionarios de la variedad chipriota sufren de los mismos problemas que la mayoría de diccionarios en el ámbito que se podría llamar “dialectología”. En los diccionarios monolingües, las explicaciones de los lemas son exactamente esto, explicaciones, pero en los diccionarios dialécticos aparecen equivalencias semánticas del estándar como contenido semántico de los lemas dialécticos. A menudo los diccionarios de la variedad chipriota no incluyen palabras o fraseologismos contemporáneos, sino arcaicos y muchos de ellos están con frecuencia totalmente obsoletos. Otro problema es el de la multiplicidad de los lemas, a causa de la falta de codificación¹⁹⁹. Por no haber una ortografía establecida, los lexicógrafos chipriotas añaden todos los lemas y algunas veces todas las variedades gráficas que se han encontrado o se podrían encontrar y es una aventura encontrar la explicación que se busca. Y, cuando se la encuentra, es posible que en la mayoría de los casos no se entienda su significado, porque no se distinguen las acepciones y tampoco se dan ejemplos para cada una de ellas.

Además, por considerarse diccionarios dialectales, no incluyen todas las palabras que consideran comunes con el GME, especialmente cuando estas palabras no exhiben marcadores dialectales claros, como es la morfología o la fonética distinta a la de la variedad estándar de Grecia. Tal práctica tiene como resultado dos complicaciones: la primera es que ni mencionan la mayoría de los falsos amigos puramente semánticos que hemos incluido en nuestro corpus o palabras con pequeñas diferencias entre las dos variedades (igualmente desconocen que las acepciones o los rasgos pragmáticos de estos difieren a los del GCE). La segunda es que, en general, no incluyen palabras que pertenecen a las dos

¹⁹⁹ En Chipre se niega que la variedad hablada merezca un estatus mejor de una variedad periférica oral y los políticos evitan cualquier debate sobre una posible codificación con un alfabeto distinto en algunos aspectos del griego y estableciendo una ortografía propia para la variedad vernácula.

variedades, aunque sean cotidianas, porque en realidad estos diccionarios funcionan en gran medida como guías para los *καλαμαρά(δ)ες* [keleme're(ð)es] ‘Griegos de Grecia’, o como vocabularios arcaicos, medievales, absolutamente obsoletos en la actualidad, que podrían interesar a los Grecochipriotas.

Los investigadores que se ocupan del estudio del GCE están de acuerdo sobre la necesidad de codificar la variedad chipriota, pero no hay voluntad por parte de los políticos. La variedad chipriota es una de las primeras que fueron escritas, con textos desde el tiempo del dominio de los francos, tratándose, por lo demás, de textos históricos y jurídicos, es decir textos con un nivel de dificultad y registro muy alto. Sin embargo, hoy en día se cree que no sería necesario introducir un alfabeto distinto o por lo menos, algunas letras especiales en el alfabeto griego, porque no se necesita escribir el dialecto.

La verdad es que se escribe el GCE y también se escriben palabras o fraseologismos que pertenecen a registros mesolecticos o basilecticos en la red, en las redes sociales, pero también enviando mensajes en los móviles, y en obras de literatura escritas en su totalidad o en parte en la variedad chipriota. Se escriben con sistemas gráficos hechos adrede por los autores o por las editoriales y no por lingüistas que son los más idóneos para proponer un sistema que tenga en cuenta las características fonéticas de GCE. Y no es por falta de propuestas, porque los lingüistas han hecho propuestas, de las cuales las dos últimas son las de Coutsougera y Georgiou (2006) y Armosti et al., (2014).

Aunque ambas obras son excelentes ejemplos de trabajo científico y se basan en los principios de transparencia y sistematicidad, hemos optado por adoptar el estándar propuesto por el equipo científico detrás del proyecto *Συντυθιές* [sindi'fes] (Armosti et al., 2014) por razones tanto científicas como prácticas. Esta propuesta conjuga propuestas anteriores (usadas en los diccionarios de Χατζηιωάννου, 1996 and Γιαγκουλλής, 2009) y, además, toma en cuenta la “aceptabilidad e usabilidad del sistema por hablantes nativos” (Armosti et al., 2014: 36). Este sistema también es muy parecido al sistema ortográfico de GME (que se aprende en el sistema educativo de Chipre) y las desviaciones de este son mínimas. Además el sitio web del proyecto ofrece la posibilidad de instalar en el

ordenador el teclado para escribir de acuerdo con el sistema propuesto que asimismo se caracteriza por una conveniente simplicidad.

La compilación del corpus tardó varios años, por no ser una tarea difícil la de la recopilación de las bases de datos textuales, así como la falta de recursos. Encontramos los ejemplos de uso en los medios de comunicación (periódicos y radio), en textos literarios y en la boca de la gente en nuestro entorno. Creamos también un grupo en la red para preguntar a sus miembros que pertenecían en dos grupos de edad: la mayoría en el grupo entre 25-40 y también algunos en el grupo de 40-55. Usamos sus respuestas para esclarecer cuestiones en las que los diccionarios no nos ayudaban

Los diccionarios y los glosarios chipriotas consultados a lo largo de la investigación aparecen en una sección de la bibliografía e incluyen las obras que podrían aspirar a tal denominación. Se presentan también los diccionarios de GME y griego medieval que son de las mejores obras lexicográficas. Nos basamos principalmente en el diccionario en línea para el griego moderno y el medieval y si hemos tenido dudas ulteriores, hemos consultado también el ANEΓ.

Nuestra presentación de las palabras del corpus incluye los dos lemas, primero en el GME y abajo en el GCE. Se añade la categoría gramatical de los dos lemas y siguen los significados y los ejemplos que los ilustran. En el análisis que se hace posteriormente se explican las diferencias y matices relevantes en cada pareja de falsos amigos y se presentan asimismo correlaciones y posibles explicaciones sobre la evolución diacrónica que ha dado lugar a los falsos amigos de que se trate.

5. Categorización y análisis del corpus

Nuestra propuesta está basada en la división básica de las propuestas de otros investigadores, de la que presentamos un resumen en el tercer capítulo. Nuestro primer gran grupo consiste en falsos amigos *puramente semánticos*, que son aquellos que coinciden en todos los niveles de análisis lingüístico excepto el semántico. Este es un grupo que, en otro tipo de falsos amigos que no hubieran

sido intralingüísticos, no podría existir. En nuestro caso existe porque el hecho de pertenecer al mismo idioma facilita la identidad formal de los *faux amis*.

El segundo grupo, que es el grupo más abundante, se llama de *divergencia semántica y convergencia tipológica* porque incorpora todos los niveles lingüísticos: fonética, morfología, gramática y sintaxis. De estos cuatro, en los dos primeros aparecen la mayoría de casos de *faux amis*, que es lo que esperábamos, porque el fenómeno que estamos investigando es principalmente un fenómeno léxico centrado en las palabras más que en las estructuras gramaticales o sintácticas.

La tercera categoría es la *pragmática*, que está llena de ejemplos que no se podrían considerar siempre semánticamente divergentes, pero tampoco coinciden absolutamente, ni en la semántica, ni en cualquier otra división de la pragmática.

Las dos últimas categorías de nuestro resumen anterior no aparecen en nuestra clasificación, porque no las consideramos categorías de falsos amigos. Los *puramente tipológicos* contravienen uno de los criterios que hemos puesto como base de nuestra categorización, el criterio de la divergencia semántica. Sin esta, no puede existir una relación de falsa amistad para nosotros. Tampoco los *contextuales* podrían ocupar lugar en nuestra clasificación, porque por no cumplir los demás criterios básicos, no los consideramos *faux amis*.

Nuestro trabajo concluye con el análisis de nuestro corpus de tal manera que permita al lector entender cuáles son las semejanzas y cuáles las diferencias semánticas o pragmáticas de las parejas en nuestro corpus. También esperamos que la correlación propuesta entre las palabras o las frases que hemos compilado pueda arrojar alguna luz sobre la historia y los cambios lingüísticos de cada una de las variedades estudiadas.