

THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW CASE OF PRE-NOMINAL NPS IN GREEK AS A RESULT OF ANGLICISATION

Rania PAPADOPOULOU & George J. XYDOPOULOS*

ABSTRACT • Nowadays the influence of English on Greek is rather strong. Influence is attested not only at the lexical level, but at the morphosyntactic level too. In this work, we focus on the emergence of a new case of pre-modified NPs in Greek where the noun is in a pre-nominal position as in English. The newly attested NPs have the form [NP_{UNINFLECTED} N]. The pre-modifier is itself an NP headed by an uninflected loanword of English origin, either a brand name, an abbreviation, an English noun or adjective, and the head noun, a Greek element, creating hybrid structures. In this study, we examine a sample of pre-nominal NPs found in Greek through the Internet, TV, and everyday communication, we get quantitative results for each structure through the Greek corpora of Sketch Engine, we compare the frequency of appearance of these structures to the indigenous equivalent Greek ones, aiming to determine whether these newly attested structures fall under the category of right headed [word word] compounds, loose compounds, appositive compounds, adjective phrases, or whether they constitute a new case of pre-nominal hybrid NPs that calque the equivalent English structures.

KEYWORDS • pre-nominal NPs; loan translation; hybrid structures; contact-induced changes; language contact.

1. Introduction

Nowadays the influence of English on Greek is rather strong. Influences are attested at the lexical level, i.e., loanwords (e.g., *láptop* ‘laptop’), loan translations (e.g., *uranoksístis* ‘skyscraper’), semantic loans (e.g., *podíci* ‘mouse’), pseudo anglicisms (e.g., *báscet* ‘basketball’), but also at the phraseological and morphosyntactic level. For instance, we observe that the structure *pérno kápçon píso* ‘call somebody back’ is a word-by-word translation of the equivalent English phrasal verb *call somebody back* (see example in (1)):

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|----------|------|
| (1) | pérno | kápçon | píso |
| | call | somebody | back |
| | ‘call somebody back’ | | |

* We would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their constructive comments and suggestions as well as the editors of the volume for their support.

Also, the Greek adverb *prin* ‘ago’ can be found at the end of the clause just like the English postposition *ago* (e.g., *polá xróna prin* instead of *prin polá xróna* ‘many years ago’) (see among others, Anastasiadi-Simeonidi 1994; Haris 2003; Mackridge 1985, 2016; Papadopoulou 2020; Papadopoulou and Xydopoulos 2020; Petrounias 2007).

However, the emergence of a new form of pre-modified NPs over the last few years, where the noun is in a pre-nominal position as in the English NP, has become the main focus of this research. Some examples are given in (2) below:

- (2) *backstage piretós* ‘backstage fever’
Christmas special edition proiódá ‘Christmas special edition products’
Android sisceví ‘Android device’
Black Friday ayorés ‘Black Friday shopping’

These constructions emerge mostly in technology, internet, social media and fashion-related contexts, domains where the English influence is particularly strong (cf. Xydopoulos 2005; Xydopoulos and Papadopoulou 2018). As we see, the pre-modifier is in a pre-nominal position, thus they have the form $[_{NP} NP_{UNINFLECTED} N]$.

Traditionally, in the Greek NP, the head noun is preceded by the determiner, as in (3), and its modifiers, such as demonstratives¹, as in (4); adjectives, as in (5); and numerals, as in (6) (see e.g., Chila-Markopoulou 2000; Roussou 2015):

- (3) *to spíti* ‘the house’
(4) *aftó to spíti* ‘this house’
(5) *to áspro spíti* ‘the white house’
(6) *éna spíti* ‘a house’

Otherwise, the head noun is succeeded by a bare NP in the same Case as the head N $[_{NP} N_{NOM} NP_{NOM}]$, as in (7); a bare NP in the Genitive $[_{NP} N_{NOM} NP_{GEN}]$, as in (8); a proper NP in the Genitive $[_{NP} N_{NOM} NP_{GEN}]$, as in (9); or a clause $[_{NP} N_{NOM} CP]$, as in (10) (Holton et al. 2004; Tsamadou-Jacoberger and Chila-Markopoulou 2013):

- (7) *sirá_{NOM} spítça_{NOM}* ‘row of houses’
(8) *vivlíö_{NOM} oðijón_{GEN}* ‘instructions booklet’
(9) *to vivlíö_{NOM} tis Mariás_{GEN}* ‘Maria’s book’
(10) *to spíti_{NOM} pu ayórasa* ‘the house that I bought’

In the newly attested structures the pre-modifier is itself an NP that is headed by an uninflected English loanword, either a brand name, as in (11); an abbreviation, as in (12); a noun, as in (13); or an adjective, as in (14), followed by the head noun, which is a native Greek element, thus creating hybrid structures:

- (11) *Android sisceví* instead of *sisceví Android* ‘Android device’
(12) *BB kréma* instead of *kréma BB* ‘BB cream’
(13) *cocktail fórema* instead of *fórema cocktail* ‘cocktail dress’
(14) *baggy padelóni* instead of *padelóni baggy* ‘baggy trousers’

¹ This concerns the default unmarked word order of the Greek NP. Demonstratives can also appear in a post-nominal position (e.g., *to spíti aftó* ‘this house’) for emphasis or contrast.

In this work, we study the qualitative and quantitative characteristics of such structures, and we compare their frequency of appearance to the indigenous equivalent Greek structures. We aim to argue against their status as right headed [word word] compounds, loose compounds, appositive compounds, or adjective phrases and to show that they constitute a new case of pre-nominal hybrid NP which calques the equivalent English NP structure as an instance of structural borrowing.

More specifically, in Section 2, we briefly outline the methodology, while in Section 3, we present the quantitative results. In Section 4, we present an analysis of the results focusing on whether the modifier in the new pre-nominal structures is an adjective (see Section 4.1) or abbreviation, brand name or noun (see Section 4.2). In Section 4.3, we discuss further implications of our data, focusing on the calquing of the English NP into Greek (Section 4.2.1) and the role of orthographic adaptation (Section 4.2.2) Finally, in Section 5, we draw the conclusions of this study.

2. Methodology

In order to study these pre-nominal NPs found in Greek, we collected a sample of 210 items from various sources, including the Internet, social media, TV and everyday communication. To find the structures, including brand names, we searched for popular and leading brands in Greece and worldwide through the Google search engine.

As a next step, we checked the appearance of these structures in the Greek corpora. The two main corpora available for Greek, the Hellenic National Corpus of Greek Language and the Corpus of Greek Texts, are limited, since they include only a few million words and are rather restricted regarding the text genres they cover (Goutsos 2003, 2010; Goutsos and Fragaki 2015; Pantazara and Mantzari 2015). As a result, we found zero or insignificant results of the structures under investigation in both corpora.

Consequently, and in order to locate and analyse these structures, we used the Greek Web 2019 (elTenTen19) corpus, available on Sketch Engine². The corpus consists of approximately 2.3 billion words from texts collected from the web. Using Greek Web 2019 (elTenTen19) corpus, we were able to get quantitative results for each item, as presented in Section 3 below³.

However, in some cases, due to the nature of the data (i.e., brand names, English abbreviations, newly imported English loanwords), the results given in the elTenTen19 corpus were very low or even zero. Another reason for not being able to locate some of the items may be the fact that the corpus includes data only up to 2019, whereas some of them were attested in Greek after 2020. So, in this study we only present the structures that yielded significant results.

3. Quantitative results

This section presents the results of our study: cases where the pre-modifier is a) an abbreviation (see Section 3.1), a brand name (see Section 3.2), a noun⁴ (see Section 3.3) or an

² <https://www.sketchengine.eu>

³ In this study we focus on a quantitative analysis of the structures under consideration. Sketch Engine provides metadata for each entry, such as URL source and date, which may be useful for further research.

⁴ Although abbreviations and brand names can be treated alike any other noun due to their nominal status, in this paper we study them as separate entities due to their semantic and pragmatic features. Therefore our classification is not based on purely grammatical criteria. This allows us to study potential differences in integration patterns among different types of nominal borrowings.

adjective (see Section 3.4) in English. Each table is split in two halves: the left half contains the newly attested pre-nominal structures (transliterated in Latin characters and accompanied by an English translation) and the corresponding number of appearances. Similarly, the right half shows the equivalent post-nominal structures (again with transliteration and translation) along with the frequency in the corpus.

3.1. Cases where the pre-modifier is an English abbreviation

Table 1 includes NP structures where the pre-modifier is an English abbreviation.

Pre-nominal modifiers		Post-nominal modifiers	
Structure	Hits	Structure	Hits
BB/CC <i>kréma</i> ‘BB/CC cream’	44	<i>kréma</i> BB/CC ‘BB/CC cream’	118
DIY <i>iðées</i> ‘DIY ideas’	111	<i>iðées</i> DIY ‘DIY ideas’	6
email <i>ðiéðinsi</i> ‘email address’	350	<i>ðiéðinsi</i> email ‘email address’	5,900
IBAN <i>loyarjazmós</i> ‘IBAN account’	71	<i>loyarjazmós</i> IBAN ‘IBAN account’	168
iOS <i>lojzímikó</i> ‘iOS software’	16	<i>lojzímikó</i> iOS ‘iOS software’	159
iOS <i>sisceví</i> ‘iOS device’	1,253	<i>sisceví</i> iOS ‘iOS device’	892
PDF <i>arçío</i> ‘PDF file’	970	<i>arçío</i> PDF ‘PDF file’	2,906
SD <i>kárta</i> ‘SD card’	455	<i>kárta</i> SD ‘SD card’	1,689
USB <i>stikáci</i> ‘USB stick’	112	<i>stikáci</i> USB ‘USB stick’	105
Wi-Fi <i>sínðesi</i> ‘Wi-Fi connection’	320	<i>sínðesi</i> Wi-Fi ‘Wi-Fi connection’	842

Table 1: The pre-modifier is an English abbreviation.

The data in Table 1 show that most of the post-nominal NP structures prevail when the modifier is an English abbreviation, however, the pre-nominal NPs give considerable results. For instance, *ðiéðinsi email* ‘email address’ and *arçío PDF* ‘PDF file’ yield 5,900 and 2,906 appearances respectively, while their pre-nominal counterparts *email ðiéðinsi* ‘email address’ and *PDF arçío* ‘PDF file’ yield 350 and 970 appearances respectively. Similarly, the post-nominal case of *kárta SD* ‘SD card’ is again more frequent, but *SD kárta* ‘SD card’ yields also a considerable number of appearances. In the case of *USB stikáci* ‘USB stick’ both the pre-nominal and post-nominal NPs give almost equal results, and in the cases of *DIY iðées* ‘DIY ideas’ and *iOS sisceví* ‘iOS device’ the pre-nominal NPs prevail. The results displayed in Table 1 show that although the Greek post-modified NP structure remains dominant where the modifier is an English abbreviation, the frequency of the pre-nominal hybrid NPs is notable and suggests a growing tendency for syntactic calquing from English.

3.2. Cases where the pre-modifier is an English brand name

Table 2 includes NP structures where the modifier is an English brand name.

Pre-nominal modifiers		Post-nominal modifiers	
Structure	Hits	Structure	Hits
Android sisceví ‘Android device’	2,002	sisceví Android ‘Android device’	1,749
Apple sisceví ‘Apple device’	200	sisceví Apple ‘Apple device’	392
Bluetooth ičio ‘Bluetooth speaker’	482	ičio Bluetooth ‘Bluetooth speaker’	809
Disney tenía ‘Disney movie’	16	tenía Disney ‘Disney movie’	64
Facebook loyarjasmós ‘Facebook account’	176	loyarjasmós Facebook ‘Facebook account’	370
Google anazítisi ‘Google search’	49	anazítisi Google ‘Google search’	610
HP ektipotís ‘HP printer’	11	ektipotís HP ‘HP printer’	429
iPhone cinitó ‘iPhone cellphone’	91	cinitó iPhone ‘iPhone cellphone’	608
Mac krajón ‘Mac lipstick’	23	krajón Mac ‘Mac lipstick’	9
Mastercard kárta ‘Mastercard card’	17	kárta Mastercard ‘Mastercard card’	290
Microsoft loyarjasmós ‘Microsoft account’	56	loyarjasmós Microsoft ‘Microsoft account’	97
PayPal loyarjasmós ‘PayPal account’	150	loyarjasmós PayPal ‘PayPal account’	382

Table 2: The pre-modifier is an English brand name.

In the cases where the modifier is an English brand name, post-nominal NP structures show again higher frequency. However, the pre-nominal NPs also yield notable results. For instance, the post nominal *ičio Bluetooth* ‘Bluetooth speaker’ yields 809 appearances, while the pre-nominal *Bluetooth ičio* ‘Bluetooth speaker’ yields 482 appearances. Interestingly, in two cases, the pre-nominal NP structure is more frequent: *Android sisceví* ‘Android device’ and *Mac krajón* ‘Mac lipstick’ yield 2,002 and 23 appearances respectively, against 1,749 and 9 appearances of *sisceví Android* ‘Android device’ and *krajón Mac* ‘Mac lipstick’. As shown in Table 2, pre-nominal NPs where the modifier is an English brand name are widely used in Greek, and in some cases are even more frequent than the equivalent post-nominal Greek structure.

3.3. Cases where the pre-modifier is an English noun

Table 3 includes NP structures where the modifier is an English noun.

Pre-nominal modifiers		Post-nominal modifiers	
Structure	Hits	Structure	Hits
beauty rutína ‘beauty routine’	216	rutína beauty ‘beauty routine’	0
best-seller vivlío ‘best-seller book’	164	vivlío best-seller ‘best-seller book’	27
business thési ‘business class’	24	thési business ‘business class’	57
craft bíra ‘craft beer’	45	bíra craft ‘craft beer’	17
franchise epiçírisi ‘franchise business’	27	epiçírisi franchise ‘franchise business’	200
jockey kapélo ‘jockey hat’	20	kapélo jockey ‘jockey hat’	43
reality ekpobí ‘reality show’	20	ekpobí reality ‘reality show’	21
selfie fotoyrafía ‘selfie photo’	563	fotoyrafía selfie ‘selfie photo’	93
skincare rutína ‘skincare routine’	111	rutína skincare ‘skincare routine’	15
sold out parástasi ‘sold out show’	589	parástasi sold out ‘sold out show’	26

Table 3: The pre-modifier is an English noun.

Regarding the cases where the pre-modifier is an English noun, interestingly in almost all cases, the pre-nominal NP structures prevail. For instance, *beauty rutína* ‘beauty routine’, *selfie fotoγrafía* ‘selfie photo’ and *sold out parástasi* ‘sold out show’ all yield significantly higher appearances than their post-nominal counterparts. In contrast, in the case of *reality ekpobí* ‘reality show’ both structures yield almost equal results, whereas in the cases of *thési business* ‘business class’, *epiçírisi franchise* ‘franchise business’ and *kapélo jockey* ‘jockey hat’ the post-nominal NPs prevail. This difference may be linked to the time these English modifiers were imported into Greek. As we will show in Section 4.2.1, English loanwords such as *business*, *franchise* and *jockey* are older loanwords since they appear in dictionaries, and therefore they are considered as established in Greek⁵. On the other hand, loanwords such as *beauty*, *skincare* and *selfie* are considered more recent, since they are not included in dictionaries. The age of the English loanword may be linked to its level of syntactic integration in the Greek NP: older loanwords are more likely to follow the default post-nominal NP structure, while recent ones tend to maintain their original pre-nominal position they have in English.

3.4. Cases where the pre-modifier is an English adjective

Table 4 includes NP structures where the modifier is an English adjective.

Pre-nominal modifiers		Post-nominal modifiers	
Structure	Hits	Structure	Hits
baggy padelóni ‘baggy pants’	23	padelóni baggy ‘baggy pants’	6
casual díσιμο ‘casual outfit’	374	díσιμο casual ‘casual outfit’	7
compact aftocínito ‘compact car’	55	aftocínito compact ‘compact car’	3
flat papútsja ‘flat shoes’	114	papútsja flat ‘flat shoes’	0
must-have aksesuár/proiόν ‘must-have accessories/product’	117	aksesuár/proiόν must-have ‘must-have accessories/product’	1
oversize(d) sakáci ‘oversize(d) jacket’	93	sakáci oversize(d) ‘oversize(d) jacket’	3
plus-size(d) modélo ‘plus-size(d) model’	40	modélo plus-size(d) ‘plus-size(d) model’	2
skinny padelóni ‘skinny pants’	171	padelóni skinny ‘skinny pants’	6
vegetarian pçáto/epilojí ‘vegetarian dish/selection’	71	pçáto/epilojí vegetarian ‘vegetarian dish/selection’	7

Table 4: The pre-modifier is an English adjective.

Finally, Table 4 presents cases where the pre-modifier is an English adjective. As expected, in all cases, the pre-nominal items, being adjectives, yield a higher number of appearances. For example, cases such as *casual díσιμο* ‘casual outfit’, *flat papútsja* ‘flat shoes’ and *vegetarian pçáto/epilojí* ‘vegetarian dish/selection’ yield significantly higher appearances than the equivalent post-nominal ones that give zero or very limited hits. Adjectives appear in a pre-nominal position in both English and Greek.

⁵ There are no extensive diachronic corpora for Greek that would allow us to determine the time of the import of the English loanwords. However, appearance in the dictionaries may indicate their integration in the language.

4. Analysis

4.1. Pre-nominal modifier: English adjective

Let us start the analysis from the last case, where English adjectives are used as pre-modifiers. We observe that, in all the examples analysed in Section 3.4, where English adjective loanwords are combined with Greek nouns, the pre-nominal order is significantly more frequent than the post-nominal one. In these cases, the borrowed elements fall into the category of adjectives in English, and their categorial status is the same in Greek too (i.e., ‘επίθετο’ = adjective), as confirmed by Greek dictionaries. As we can see in the entries from the Dictionary of the Academy of Athens cited below, the cases *vegetarian* <βετζετέριαν> [vedzetérian] ‘vegetarian’, *casual* <κάζουαλ> [kázual] ‘casual’, *compact* <κόμπακτ> [kómprakt] ‘compact’ and *flat* <φλατ> [flat] ‘flat’ are borrowed English adjectives bearing the label [επίθ.] ‘adj.’:

- **βετζετέριαν** βε-τζε-τέ-ρι-αν επίθ. ‘adjective’ {άκλ.} (προφ.): που αποτελείται μόνο από λαχανικά: *δίαιτα/πίτσα* ~. • Ουσ.: **βετζετέριαν** (ο/η): άτομο που τρέφεται μόνο με φρούτα, λαχανικά και γενικότερα τροφές φυτικής προέλευσης, ενώ αποφεύγει συνειδητά αυτές που είναι ζωικής (κρέας, ψάρι) για λόγους υγείας, θρησκείας ή ιδεολογίας. Πβ. *βίγκαν*. ΣΥΝ. χορτοφάγος (1) [< αγγλ. vegetarian]
- **κάζουαλ** κά-ζου-αλ επίθ. ‘adjective’ {άκλ.} (προφ.): (για ένδυση και υπόδυση) ανεπίσημος, καθημερινός: ~ *εμφάνιση/παπούτσια/ρούχα*. Πβ. *σπορ*.|| (για πρόσ.) *Είναι* ~.|| (ως επίρρ.) *Ντυμένος* ~. Βλ. *κυριλέ*. ANT. *αμπιγιέ* [< αγγλ. casual]
- **κόμπακτ** κό-μπακτ επίθ. ‘adjective’ {άκλ.} 1. ΤΕΧΝΟΛ. (για αυτόνομο σύστημα ή μηχανισμό) που τα μέρη του είναι διευθετημένα κατά τέτοιο τρόπο, ώστε το σύνολο να καταλαμβάνει σχετικά μικρό χώρο: *συμπαγής*: ~ *κάμερα/φωτογραφική μηχανή*.|| (κατ’ επέκτ.) ~ *σχεδίαση*. ~ *διαστάσεις* (: περιορισμένες).|| (ΠΛΗΡΟΦ.-ΗΛΕΚΤΡΟΝ.) ~ *ντισκ* (= *σιντί*, *συμπαγής δίσκος*). 2. καλλυντικό (πούδρα ή μέικ απ) σε συμπακνωμένη μορφή. [< αγγλ. compact]
- **φλατ** επίθ. ‘adjective’ {άκλ.} (προφ.): επίπεδος: (για *παπούτσια χωρίς τακούνι*;) ~ *γοβάκια/μπότες/πέδιλα/σανδάλια* (βλ. *χαμηλοτάκουνος*). (ως ουσ.) *Φοράει μόνο* ~.|| ~ *οθόνη (υπολογιστή)*. *Τηλεόραση* ~ (= *πλάσματος*). Βλ. *πλακέ*.|| (μτφ.) *Πρόχειρο σενάριο και* ~ *ερμηνείες* (βλ. *ανιαρός, μονότονος*). [< αγγλ. flat]

As the entries above suggest, we can claim that in these specific cases only, where the borrowed modifier is an English adjective, it is also an adjective in Greek and is grammatically classified as such giving pre-nominal adjective-noun structures.

4.2. Pre-nominal modifier: English abbreviation, brand name or noun

In this section, we examine the cases where the pre-modifier is an English abbreviation, brand name or noun. More specifically, in order to determine their status, we study their structural characteristics in comparison to compounds, loose compounds, and appositive compounds.

To begin with, the structures under consideration have similarities with the English right headed compounds of the [N N] form, such as *school bus*. We could therefore assume that the newly attested pre-modified structures in Greek are hybrid compounds where the first element is English and the second Greek. However, in Greek such NPs cannot be considered compounds since they do not fulfil the relevant criteria of compounding, according to which a compound is a one-word phonological unit, carrying one stress and including a compound marker between the compound’s constituent parts (Ralli 2005, 2007). Consequently, in Greek, NPs like *PDF αρχίο* ‘PDF file’ or *skincare rutína* ‘skincare routine’, consist of two distinct words bearing separate stresses, while they lack the compound marker (see also Papadopoulou 2020; Xydopoulos 2019).

Compound structures consisting of an English and a Greek element, are for instance, cases like *selfokódaro* ‘selfie stick’ and *selfokámera* ‘selfie camera’: these are indeed one-word units that fulfil the relevant criteria, but they are totally distinct from the structures being examined, which are two-word units and do not fulfil the criteria of Greek compounding as discussed above.

Another category that can be seen to have similarities with the pre-nominal NPs under investigation, is that of loose compounds. They typically have the form $[_N \text{ADJ}_{\text{NOM}} \text{N}_{\text{NOM}}]$, like *cinitó tiléfono* ‘cell phone’, or $[_N \text{N}_{\text{NOM}} \text{N}_{\text{GEN}}]$, as in *zóni asfalías* ‘seat belt’, which does not match the structure $[_{\text{NP}} \text{NP}_{\text{UNINFLECTED}} \text{N}]$ of our cases. Additionally, they do not meet the relevant criteria regarding loose compounds either (Ralli 2005, 2007). More specifically, in loose compounds the constituent parts are not syntactically autonomous and cannot be modified independently. Moreover, there are no elements that appear between the constituent parts, the structure cannot be modified and the article cannot be repeated. In fact, in our cases, none of the above criteria can be applied since the constituent parts of these structures are syntactically autonomous and can be modified independently (see examples in (15) and (16)):

- (15) *mía Android cenúrja sisceví*
 one Android new device
 ‘a new Android device’
- (16) *i Android pu mu éðoses sisceví*
 the Android that to-me gave device
 ‘the Android device that you gave me’

Moreover, the structure can be modified by placing the modifier in the post-nominal position, e.g., *sisceví Android* ‘Android device’ and the article may be repeated, e.g., *i Android i sisceví* ‘the Android device’.

Alternatively, these structures could be considered as appositive compounds of the form $[_N \text{N}_{\text{NOM}} \text{N}_{\text{NOM}}]$, like *léksi-kliði* ‘key-word’ or *peði-θávma* ‘wonder kid’. However, in Greek, such constructions are left-headed, since the head noun in both NPs, *léksi* ‘word’ and *peði* ‘kid’, is to the left of the modifier (Ralli 2005). On the contrary, all pre-nominal NPs under investigation are right-headed, as for example *PDF arçío* ‘PDF file’, where the head noun *arçío* ‘file’ is on the right, excluding a status of appositive compounds.

Furthermore, the pre-modifiers under investigation could not be analysed as adjectives either, since they do not display the characteristics of adjectives, i.e., they do not form degrees of comparison nor do they accept degree adverbs as modifiers (e.g., *more*, *very*, *less* etc.). In addition, there are elliptical forms of the structures, where the English loanword is the head of the NP, like *to usb* ‘the usb’ (i.e., *stikáci* ‘stick’), *to iPhone* ‘the iPhone’ (i.e., *cinitó* ‘cellphone’), *to best-seller* ‘the best-seller’ (i.e., *vivlío* ‘book’). The fact that the English uninflected loanword can alternate between the pre-nominal and post-nominal position (e.g., *Android sisceví* and *sisceví Android* ‘Android device’), both of which are frequently attested in the corpus, is a strong indication that they do not have adjectival status.

4.2.1. Pre-nominal modifier: English noun

In cases where the modifier of the newly attested pre-nominal NP structures is an English noun, we can surely claim that in these cases, the loanwords keep the same categorial status in Greek, which is also confirmed by Greek dictionaries (i.e., ‘ουσιαστικό’ = noun). In the examples taken from the Dictionary of the Academy of Athens cited below, the cases *business* <μπίζνες> [bíznes] ‘business’, *reality* <ριάλιτι> [riálititi] ‘reality’, *selfie* <σέλφι> [sélfi] ‘selfie’, *sold out*

<σολντ άουτ> [sold áut] ‘sold out’ and *jockey* <τζόκεϊ> [dzócei] ‘jockey’ are uninflected {άκλ.} ‘uninfl.’ nouns borrowed from English bearing the label [ουσ.] ‘noun’:

- **μπίζνες** μπίζ-νες ουσ. ‘noun’ (θηλ.) (οι) {άκλ. ‘uninfl.’ | σπανιότ. στον εν. μπίζνα} (λαϊκό): επιχειρηματικές ενέργειες και εμπορικές δοσοληψίες: *διεθνείς/χρυσές ~. Έχουν/κάνουν/κλείνουν/χάλασαν πολλές ~ με ξένες εταιρείες.* [< αγγλ. business, γαλλ. ~, 1906]
- **ριάλιτι** ρι-ά-λι-τι ουσ. ‘noun’ (ουδ.) {άκλ. ‘uninfl.’} & ριάλιτι σόου: ΜΜΕ τηλεοπτική εκπομπή στην οποία οι συμμετέχοντες δεν είναι ηθοποιοί και οι οποίοι είτε βρίσκονται σε πραγματικές συνθήκες ή αντιμετωπίζουν ακραίες καταστάσεις ή μιλούν για τα προβλήματά τους μπροστά σε κοινό και ειδικούς. [< αμερικ. reality show, 1968, γαλλ. ~, 1983]
- **σέλφι** σέ-λφι ουσ. ‘noun’ (θηλ.) {άκλ. ‘uninfl.’ & πληθ. -ς} ΔΙΑΔΙΚΤ. φωτογραφία του εαυτού του, ή της παρέας του, που βγάζει κάποιος στο κινητό κυρ. τηλέφωνο και ανεβάζει συνήθ. στα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτυωσης. Πβ. *αυτοφωτογράφιση.* [< αγγλ. selfie, 2002, γαλλ. ~, 2013]
- **σολντ άουτ** σολντ ά-ουτ ουσ. ‘noun’ (ουδ.) {άκλ. ‘uninfl.’} (προφ.): για να δηλωθεί ότι όλα τα εισιτήρια μιας παράστασης, μιας συναυλίας ή ενός αθλητικού αγώνα εξαντλήθηκαν: Το ντέρμπι είναι ~. [< αγγλ. sold-out, 1903]
- **τζόκεϊ** τζό-κε-ϊ ουσ. ‘noun’ {άκλ. ‘uninfl.’} 1. (ο/η) επαγγελματίας αναβάτης σε ιπποδρομίες. Πβ. *ιππίας.* 2. (το) καπελάκι από μαλακό συνήθ. ύφασμα, με σκληρό γείσο· ειδικότ. το καπέλο των αναβατών: ~ με το έμβλημα της ομάδας/με σχέδιο. Πβ. *κασκέτο.* || *Στρατιωτικό ~ (παράλλαγής).* Βλ. *μπερές, πηλήκιο.* 3. (ο) τζόκερ, μπαλαντέρ. [< 1: αγγλ. jockey 2: αγγλ. jockey-cap]

4.2.2. Pre-nominal modifier: English abbreviation or brand name

In order to investigate the status of the pre-modifier when it is an English abbreviation or brand name, we examine some cases where the modifier is instead an abbreviation or a brand of Greek origin in Table 5 below:

Pre-nominal modifiers		Post-nominal modifiers	
Structure	Hits	Structure	Hits
<ΔΕΗ> [ðeí] <i>logarjasmós</i> ‘ΔΕΗ bill’	8	<i>logarjasmós</i> <ΔΕΗ> [ðeí] ‘ΔΕΗ bill’	913
<ΟΤΕ> [oté] <i>logarjasmós</i> ‘ΟΤΕ bill’	0	<i>logarjasmós</i> <ΟΤΕ> [oté] ‘ΟΤΕ bill’	69
<Άλφα> [álfα] <i>bíra</i> ‘Άλφα beer’	0	<i>bíra</i> <Άλφα> [álfα] ‘Άλφα beer’	29
<Γιώτης> [jótis] <i>kréma</i> ‘Γιώτης creme’	1	<i>kréma</i> <Γιώτης> [jótis] ‘Γιώτης creme’	36
<Δωδώνη> [ðoðóni] <i>féta</i> ‘Δωδώνη feta cheese’	0	<i>féta</i> <Δωδώνη> [ðoðóni] ‘Δωδώνη feta cheese’	19
<Ηπειρος> [ípiros] <i>féta</i> ‘Ηπειρος feta cheese’	1	<i>féta</i> <Ηπειρος> [ípiros] ‘Ηπειρος feta cheese’	95
<Κρι κρι> [kri kri] <i>payotó</i> ‘Κρι κρι ice cream’	0	<i>payotó</i> <Κρι κρι> [kri kri] ‘Κρι κρι ice cream’	39
<Λουξ> [luks] <i>anapsiktikó</i> ‘Λουξ soft drink’	0	<i>anapsiktikó</i> <Λουξ> [luks] ‘Λουξ soft drink’	84
<i>Apivita kréma</i> ‘Apivita creme’	27	<i>kréma Apivita</i> ‘Apivita creme’	8

Table 5: The modifier is an abbreviation or a brand name of Greek origin.

The first two entries displayed in Table 5, are Greek acronyms (i.e., <ΔΕΗ> [ðeí] and <ΟΤΕ> [oté]), while the rest of the examples are Greek brand names. In the case of the brand name <Λουξ> [luks], the loanword, although foreign, is transliterated and therefore orthographically adapted in Greek. Its use in the post-nominal position shows its high degree of integration and its status as a greek brand name. On the contrary, in the case of *Apivita*, while it is a Greek brand, its name is etymologically of foreign origin (Latin), is written in Latin characters and remains non-transliterated, following the tendency in brand naming internationally. It is generally known that in Greek, words given in Latin characters (as in this example) or loanwords that are not

transliterated into the Greek alphabet is a common phenomenon, often associated, among others, with perceptions of prestige of the donor language (i.e., English) (see Section 4.3).

As Table 5 shows, in all cases, Greek abbreviations or brand names yield a high number of appearances when in a post-nominal position, whereas in the pre-nominal one, they yield almost zero hits. This is a confirmation that the new form of the NPs applies only when the modifying element is of English origin. The only exception is the case *Apivita kréma* ‘Apivita cream’, which is an indication that Greek speakers may choose to put non-Greek elements in the pre-nominal position, calquing the equivalent English structures.

Interestingly, if we consider the relevant literature on the language of advertising in Greek, we see that brand names (Greek or foreign) have traditionally been placed in the post-nominal position within the NP (Chidiroglou-Zachariadi 1994; Papapolizos and Martzoukos 1997; Xydopoulos 2003, 2005) as in the examples:

- (17) παγωτό <ΔΕΛΤΑ> [ðélta] ‘ΔΕΛΤΑ ice cream’
 μακαρόνια <ΜΙΣΚΟ> [mísko] ‘ΜΙΣΚΟ spaghetti’
 καθαριστικό <ΑΖΑΞ>/ΑΖΑΧ [ázaks] ‘ΑΖΑΞ/ΑΖΑΧ cleanser’

This is further supported by advertisements of foreign-originated products from 1950 to 1990, a time period when the influence of English was not yet as massive and widespread as it is today. The examples given in (18) confirm that brand names, even of English origin, were treated as post-modifiers as expected:

- (18) σαπúνι <ΠΑΛΜΟΛΙΒ> [pálmoliv] ‘ΠΑΛΜΟΛΙΒ soap’ (date of appearance: 1963)
 bíra <ΑΜΣΤΕΛ> [ámstel] ‘ΑΜΣΤΕΛ beer’ (date of appearance: 1965)
 jaλά Rayban ‘Rayban sunglasses’ (date of appearance: 1987)⁶

This is a strong indication that the pre-nominal structures under investigation are rather new, since they are not attested at all during the second half of the 20th century. An examination of these same brand name NPs today reveals that the post-modified structure remains the established one while the pre-modified structure is almost non-existent, as shown in Table 6:

Pre-nominal modifiers		Post-nominal modifiers	
Structure	Hits	Structure	Hits
Palmolive / <Πάμολιβ> sabuán ‘Palmolive/Πάμολιβ shampoo’	0	sabuán Palmolive / <Πάμολιβ> ‘Palmolive/Πάμολιβ shampoo’	7
ΑΜΣΤΕΛ / <ΑΜΣΤΕΛ> bíra ‘ΑΜΣΤΕΛ/ΑΜΣΤΕΛ beer’	1	bíra ΑΜΣΤΕΛ / <ΑΜΣΤΕΛ> ‘ΑΜΣΤΕΛ/ΑΜΣΤΕΛ beer’	45
Rayban jaλά ‘Rayban sunglasses’	6	jaλά Rayban ‘Rayban sunglasses’	21

Table 6: Brand names in pre- and post-nominal position in Greek NPs.

⁶ Dates of appearance of these examples are given in Papapolizos and Martzoukos (1997).

4.3. General discussion

4.3.1. Borrowing the English NP structure

All structures we examined in the previous sections are similar to the English NP structure. In English, pre-modified NP structures are the norm, where the pre-modifier appears before the head noun and is either a quantifier or a numeral as in (19); an adjective as in (20); or very often one or more NPs as in (21)–(24), forming complex NP structures (see Jackendoff 1977; Liberman and Sproat 1992; Quirk and Greenbaum 1973):

- (19) many/three bags
- (20) comfortable chair
- (21) store owner
- (22) X-ray film
- (23) radio direction finder
- (24) government price support program

The default form of the English NP has the form [head + post-modifier] where the post modifier is a PP:

- (25) The University of London
- (26) The Headquarters of AT&T

Interestingly, in English, mostly in cases of non-formal use of the language, proper names can be used as pre-modifiers to express location, as in (27); brand name, as in (28); or possession, as in (29), among others:

- (27) London University
- (28) Napoleon brandy
- (29) AT&T headquarters

The translation, for instance, of *London University* (in (27) above) in Greek, is *Panepistímio_{NOM} Lonđínu_{GEN}* ‘London University’, which follows the default structure of the NP in Greek, where the head noun *Panepistímio* ‘University’ is in the Nominative and is followed by the modifier NP in the Genitive (*Lonđínu* ‘of London’). The structure of the English NP in the examples (27)–(29) is the structure that is calqued into Greek, i.e., the head noun (of Greek origin) preceded by an uninflected modifier (abbreviation, brand name or noun), in our cases of English origin, e.g., *Android sisceví* ‘Android device’. This exact same pattern of the English NP is found in the Greek examples under investigation indicating that it has been borrowed into Greek as an instance of structural borrowing.

As shown earlier in Section 1, the structure of the Greek NP is different: in the default cases of the Greek NP, the head noun is preceded by the determiner and its modifiers, such as demonstratives, adjectives, and numerals⁷. The head noun may also be followed by a bare NP in the same Case, a bare NP in the Genitive, a proper NP in the Genitive, or a clause (see e.g., Chila-

⁷ See also footnote 2.

Markopoulou 2000; Holton et al. 2004; Roussou 2015; Tsamadou-Jacobberger and Chila-Markopoulou 2013).

A similar example to the post modified NPs is the structure *gel*_{UNINFL} *friðjón*_{GEN} ‘eyebrow gel’ that consists of an English loanword and a noun in the Genitive. However, such structures should not be confused with the ones under investigation. In examples like *gel*_{UNINFL} *friðjón*_{GEN} ‘eyebrow gel’ the English element is the head of the structure placed on the left, and the Greek element is the post modifier in the Genitive. In contrast, the phrasal structures under investigation like *BB kréμα* ‘BB cream’, *Android sisceví* ‘Android device’ or *selfie fotoγραφία* ‘selfie photo’, are right-headed. Here, the English element, whether an abbreviation, a brand name or a noun, appears in a pre-nominal position and is always uninflected. Reverse order structures like *friðjón*_{GEN} *gel*_{UNINFL} ‘eyebrow gel’ are ungrammatical and therefore not attested in Greek.

4.3.2. Dealing with the orthographic form of the borrowed NP structure

Finally, let us also briefly examine the orthographic form and possible orthographic adaptation of the borrowed English elements in Greek, focusing on the cases discussed in Sections 3.1 to 3.4. Generally, over the past one or two decades, a large number of new English loanwords have been massively imported into Greek. As a result, many of them were not fully adapted in the Greek alphabetical system. While they are all phonologically adapted, their orthographic form often remains invariable, since many of them tend to keep their original English spelling form (Papadopoulou 2020; Papadopoulou and Xydopoulos 2021). In the case of abbreviations, they appear to be inserted in Greek maintaining their original English form (i.e., *PDF*, *usb*, etc.). In the case of brand names, some of them can appear transliterated in Greek, as for example, <Αντρίοντ> [adríoid] ‘Android’, <Φέιςμπουκ> [féizbuk] ‘Facebook’, <Ντίονεϊ> [díznei] ‘Disney’, while others maintain their original English form. The same pattern is observed in the case of nouns and adjectives. Some are orthographically adapted into Greek, as we saw in the sample entries from the Dictionary of the Academy of Athens in Sections 4.1 and 4.2.1 These include cases like <κάζουαλ> [kázual] ‘casual’ and <φλατ> [flat] ‘flat’, but also <μπίζνες> [bíznes] ‘business’, <σέλφι> [sélfi] ‘selfie’ and <τζόκεϊ> [dzócei] ‘jockey’.

One possible factor behind the non-transliteration the English elements is their recency or degree of integration into the Greek (grammatical) structure. Loanwords like <φλατ> [flat] ‘flat’ or <τζόκεϊ> [dzócei] ‘jockey’ are older loanwords in Greek, and therefore they appear transliterated. On the contrary, although <σέλφι> [sélfi] ‘selfie’ is relatively new, however, it is established into Greek since it is included in the Greek dictionaries. As discussed in 3.3, pre-nominal structures where the modifier is an English noun tend to prevail. However, in some cases, post-modified structures yield equal or even higher appearances, like *θήσι business* ‘business class’, *επιχείριση franchise* ‘franchise business’ or *καπέλο jockey* ‘jockey hat’. In such cases we may argue that the modifiers *business*, *franchise* and *jockey* are older loanwords, established in Greek (see Section 4.2.1 above) and thus conforming to the default post-nominal syntax of the Greek NP. On the contrary, more recent loanwords tend to maintain their original English pre-nominal syntactic position within the Greek NP, calquing the English syntax.

⁸ As more recent loanwords we consider those that appear in Greek after 2000 and are dominant in digital, commercial or lifestyle domains.

In some cases, even if the modifier is a less recent loan (i.e., has entered Greek before 2000)⁸, it may appear in a pre-nominal position due to prestige reasons as it mimics patterns found in English (see Papadopoulou 2020; Papadopoulou and Xydopoulos 2021) or in order to facilitate the formation of possessive NP structures. For instance, *to usb stikáci mu* ‘my usb stick’ is easier and more natural for Greek speakers than the form *to stikáci mu usb* ‘my usb stick’, where the possessive element *mu* ‘my’ appears in the periphery of the NP and not directly after the head noun.

As compared to the last two decades of the 20th century, the import of English loanwords into Greek is nowadays massive, rapid and ongoing, especially in domains such as the Internet, social media and fashion. In these contexts, non-transliteration of a new loanword into Greek is common since there is no time for it to be orthographically adapted and makes it less (readily) recognizable. For instance, the transliteration of *skincare* into Greek would be <σκίνκερ> [scíncer] ‘skincare’. Its orthographic form, however, is not visually familiar to the average user and would not allow them to recognise it straight away. On the other hand, older loanwords such as *business* (transliterated <μπίζνες> ‘bíznes’) and *casual* (transliterated <κάζουαλ> [kázual]) were inserted in an older period of time where the pace of borrowing was considerably slower and transliteration was more systematically applied, therefore they are fully adapted orthographically. Furthermore, another factor regarding the non-transliteration of loanwords is linked to social prestige induced by English written forms (see Papadopoulou and Xydopoulos 2021).

5. Conclusions

In this paper we investigated the emergence of a new pre-modified form of the Greek NP, as a result of the English influence. More specifically, these new NPs are formed by the head noun which is of Greek origin and the pre-modifier which is an English loanword, forming hybrid NP structures. In Section 2, we presented the methodology and the process of data collection, while in Section 3, we presented our data providing quantitative results based on the elTenTen19 corpus. In Section 4, we discussed the morphosyntactic structure of these newly attested pre-nominal NPs and we compared them, among others, to indigenous patterns of Greek adjective phrases (see Section 4.1) and Greek compounds (see Section 4.2), in order to conclude that these structures constitute a new form of the Greek NP (see Section 4.2) that calques the equivalent English structure (see Section 4.3.1). Finally, we raised issues regarding the (non-)orthographic adaptation of the English loanwords nowadays, due to the intense language contact (see Section 4.3.2).

We argued that nowadays, due to the strong influence of English, pre-modified NP structures are inserted into Greek through a word-by-word calquing mechanism. Over time, it is possible that these loanwords get optionally adapted into the Greek system, taking the form of post-nominal NP structures. Nevertheless, the pre-modified NPs maintain a significant frequency. The pre-nominal NPs under consideration are rather new and are the result of the intense English influence in the last two or three decades. They emerge mostly online (e.g., social media, blogs, etc.) and are frequent in domains such as technology and fashion. These structures calque the equivalent English NPs, creating hybrid NP structures – often remaining uninflected and maintaining their original English form – making available to the Greek grammar through structural borrowing a new form of the Greek NP, where the uninflected English loanword is placed in the pre-nominal position.

Due to the general tendency towards Anglicisation observed in languages worldwide (see e.g., Gottlieb 2015; Pulcini et al. 2012), including Greek, a wide range of borrowable items is attested despite the fact that their frequency of use is comparatively low (see Saugera 2017). This

also applies to the newly attested pre-modified NPs of this study, which constitute one of the many cases of borrowing from English into Greek, and in particular a case of structural borrowing, while still displaying lower frequency of appearance and use if compared to the default Greek NP structures.

REFERENCES

A. Literature

- Anastasiadi-Simeonidi, Anna (1994), *Neologikos danismos tis Neolinikis. Amesa dania apo tin Galiki ke tin Agloamerikaniki morfofonologiki analisi* [Neological borrowing in Modern Greek: Direct borrowings from the French and the Anglo-American morphophonological analysis], Thessaloniki, Aristotle University.
- Chidiroglou-Zachariadi, Alkisti (1994), *Ta onomata ton proiodon ston eliniko choro* [Brand names in Greece], *Glossa*, 34, pp. 55-61.
- Chila-Markopoulou, Despina (2000), *The indefinite article in Greek: A diachronic approach*, *Glossologia*, 11-12, pp. 111-130.
- Gottlieb, Henrik (2005), *Anglicisms and Translation*, in Gunilla Anderman, Margaret Rogers (eds.), *In and Out of English: For Better For Worse?*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters, pp. 161-184.
- Goutsos, Dionisios (2003), *Soma Elinikon kimenon: schediasmos ke ilopiisi* [Corpus of Greek texts: design and implementation], *Proceedings of the 6th International Conference on Greek Linguistics*, University of Crete, pp. 1-13, available online: <http://www.philology.uoc.gr/conferences/6thICGL/>
- Goutsos, Dionisios (2010), *The Corpus of Greek texts: a reference corpus for Modern Greek*, *Corpora*, 5(1), pp. 29-44.
- Goutsos, Dionisios, Fragaki, Georgia (2015), *Isagogi sti glosologia somaton kimenon*. [Introduction to corpus linguistics], Athens, Kallipos Publishers.
- Haris, Giannis (2003), *H glosa, ta lathi ke ta pathi* [Language, errors and passions], Athens, Polis Publishers.
- Holton, David et al. (2004), *Greek: An essential grammar of the modern language*, London, New York, Routledge.
- Jackendoff, Ray (1977), *X-bar Syntax: A Study of Phrase Structure*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press.
- Liberman, Mark, Sproat, Richard (1992), *The stress and structure of modified noun phrases in English*, in Ivan A. Sag, Anna Szabolcsi (eds.), *Lexical Matters*, 24, USA, CSLI, pp. 131-182.
- Mackridge, Peter (1985), *The Modern Greek Language: A descriptive analysis of standard Modern Greek*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Mackridge, Peter (2016), "Omileite...anglika?" *English influences in contemporary Greek*, in Ulrich Moening (ed.), "...os athirmata pedas": *Festschrift für Hans Eideneier* [...as children's playthings: Festschrift for Hans Eideneier], Berlin: Editions Romiosini, pp. 463-474.
- Pantazara, Andromachi-Virginia, Mantzari, Elena (2015), *Anazitisi se somata kimenon* [Research in text corpora]. [Chapter], Kallipos, Open Academic Editions, available online: <http://hdl.handle.net/11419/5969>.
- Papadopoulou, Rania (2020), *Evaluating Anglicisation in Modern Greek: a qualitative and quantitative survey*, Doctoral Thesis, University of Patras & University of Lyon Lumière 2.
- Papadopoulou, Rania, Xydopoulos, George J. (2020), *The influence of English on Modern Greek: Evaluating some newly imported multiword expressions*, in Stella Markantonatou, Anastasia Christofidou (eds.), *Polilektikes ekfrasis: meletes me dedomena apo tin eliniki ke ales gloses* [Multiword expressions: drawing on data from Modern Greek and other languages], *Bulletin of Scientific Terminology and Neologisms*, 15, Athens, Academy of Athens, pp. 257-279.
- Papadopoulou, Rania, Xydopoulos, George J. (2021), *English borrowings in Modern Greek: a corpus-based study*, in Theodore Markopoulos et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the 14th International Conference on Greek Linguistics*, University of Patras, pp. 1002-1012.

- Papapolizos, Filimon, Martzoukos, Kostas (1997), *I Elada mesa apo ti diafimisi 1940-1989* [Greece through advertising 1940-1989], Athens, Omikron Publishers.
- Petrounias, Evangelos V. (2007), *Neokatharevousa ke eksaglisimos tis Elinikis: Gramatiko sistima* [Neopurist language and Anglicisation of Greek: Grammatical system], *Studies in Greek Linguistics*, 27, Thessaloniki: Institute of Modern Greek Studies, pp. 348-360.
- Quirk, Randolph, Greenbaum, Sidney (1973), *A university grammar of English*, Harlow, Longman.
- Ralli, Angela (2005), *Morfologia* [Morphology], Athens, Patakis Publishers.
- Ralli, Angela (2007), *I sinthesi ton lekseon* [Word Compounding], Athens, Patakis Publishers.
- Roussou, Anna (2015), *Syntax* [Undergraduate textbook], Kallipos, Open Academic Editions, available online: <https://repository.kallipos.gr/handle/11419/581>
- Saugera, Valérie (2017), *Remade in France: Anglicisms in the lexicon and morphology of French*, New York, Oxford University Press.
- Tsamadou-Jacoberger, Irini, Chila-Markopoulou, Despina (2013), *Ta prosdioristika tou onomatos tis neas elnikis: perigrafiki-sintaktiki kai didaktiki prosegisi* [Noun modifiers in Modern Greek: a descriptive, comparative, and didactic approach], in Spiros Moschonas (ed.), *O rolos tis sintaxis sti mathisi ke sti didaskalia tis elinikis glosas os ksenis glosas* [The role of syntax in learning and teaching Greek as a foreign language], Athens, Patakis Publishers, pp. 171-217.
- Xydopoulos, George J. (2003), *I dimiurgia ton brand names sti diafimisi apo mia leksikologiki skopia* [The creation of brand names in advertising from a lexicological perspective], *Papers of the 4th conference "Hellenic Language and Terminology"*, pp. 1-12.
- Xydopoulos, George J. (2005), *Mia anazitisi ton glosikon michanision dimiurgias proiodikon onomaton* [In a quest for the linguistic mechanisms governing brand names], *Studies in Greek Linguistics*, 25, pp. 437-448.
- Xydopoulos, George J. (2019), *Eksaglisimos ke nea eliniki: i isagogi neon leksikon schimatou me metafrastiko danismo* [Anglicisation in Modern Greek: the import of new lexical patterns through calquing], in Argyris Archakis et al. (eds.), *Glosiki pikilia: meletes aferomenes stin Ageliki Ralli* [Language Variety: Festschrift for Angela Ralli], Athens, Kapa Publishers, pp. 423-435.
- Xydopoulos, George J., Papadopoulou, Rania (2018), *Fashion Anglicisms in Modern Greek: a preliminary investigation*, *Revista de lenguas para fines Especificos (LFE)*, 24(1), pp. 166-187.

B. Corpora and Dictionaries

- Christiko Leksiko tis Neollinikis Glossas [Usage Dictionary of Modern Greek] (2022), Academy of Athens, available on <https://christikolexiko.academyofathens.gr>
- Corpus of Greek Texts, available on <http://www.sek.edu.gr>
- Hellenic National Corpus of Greek Language, available on <https://hnc.ilsp.gr>
- Sketch Engine, available on <https://www.sketchengine.eu>

RANIA PAPAPOPOULOU • Post-doctoral research fellow at the Linguistics division of the Department of Philology (School of Humanities and Social Sciences) of the University of Patras. She has also been a university teaching fellow at the Department of Italian Language and Literature of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens from 2021 to 2023. She is a graduate of the Department of Philology of the University of Patras and has done postgraduate studies in Linguistics. Her doctoral dissertation involved a qualitative and quantitative study of the phenomenon of Anglicization in Modern Greek at all levels of linguistic analysis (University of Patras & Université Lumière Lyon 2). She has had articles published in Greek and international scientific journals and collective volumes. Her research interests are related to the fields of lexicology, lexicography, corpus linguistics and language contact.

E-MAIL • ranpap@upatras.gr

GEORGE J. XYDOPOULOS • Professor of Linguistics at the Department of Philology of the University of Patras, Greece. Since 1990, he has taught various undergraduate and postgraduate courses in Linguistics in Greek and British universities. His current research and teaching interests fall within the areas of lexicology (special and subcultural vocabularies, lexical borrowing, anglicisation), lexical semantics, lexicography (printed and electronic special dictionaries/lexical bases) and educational linguistics. He has participated in national, European and international research projects as member of research teams, and in international academic journals, publishing houses and national and international conferences as reviewer and has been invited as speaker in various academic activities. He has supervised several doctoral dissertations as well as numerous postgraduate and undergraduate theses. He is the (co-)author of linguistics books, has published research papers in Greek and international academic journals and has participated in several conferences in Greece and abroad.

E-MAIL • gjxydo@upatras.gr