

Internal and contact-induced variation in present-day Greek

Meertens Instituut, Friday April 11, 2008

Provisional program:

13.00-13.40

Jeroen Vis (UvAmsterdam)

Variation in south-eastern Greek palatalization

13.40-14.20

Marc van Oostendorp (Meertens Instituut & Leiden U) & Nina Topintzi (U of Patras & Aristotle U of Thessaloniki)

Palatalization and Centralization in Samothraki Greek

14.20-15.00

Dimitris Papazachariou (U of Patras)

Clitic stress variation in southern and northern dialects of Greek

kantine Meertens Instituut: coffee / tea

15.15-15.55

Stella Grillia (Leiden U) & Marika Lekakou (Meertens Instituut):

Where do clefts exist?

15.55-16.35

Stavroula Tsiplakou (U of Cyprus)

Acquiring a related variety: Evidence for Impaired Representations?

kantine Meertens Instituut: drinks & peanuts

approx. 18.30-???

downtown Amsterdam: dinner

All those interested are welcome

>>> Abstracts on the following pages!

Variation in south-eastern Greek palatalization.

Jeroen Vis

University of Crete & University of Amsterdam & ACLC

Palatalization of velar obstruents when followed by a front vowel is common in all Greek dialects including standard Greek. In standard Greek, the result of this process is a palatalized obstruent, e.g.:

(1a)	/keros/	→	[ceros]	'wheather'
(1b)	/kipos/	→	[cipos]	'garden'
(1c)	/xeri/	→	[çeri]	'hand'
(1d)	/ximos/	→	[çimos]	'juice'

In the south-eastern dialects however, palatalization is more intense resulting in a different realization. Previous accounts on this phenomenon are mainly impressionistic and not based on accurate measurements (Kodosopoulos 1981, Charalabakis 1981, Kafkalas 1992, Granqvist 1997, Trudgill 2003). In this work in progress, I will present additional data of some varieties spoken in Cyprus and Crete. These data consist of palatographies and spectrograms and suggest a revision of the existing literature on the subject.

Preliminary results show that there are several realizations differing in both place of articulation as well as in manner of articulation. The Cypriot data on the one hand point to an apico-alveolar affricate. In the Cretan data on the other hand two different varieties are observed that can be interpreted as: i) a lamino-alveolar affricate and ii) a lamino-alveolar aspirated stop.

Selected references:

Granqvist K. (1997) *Notes on Eastern Cretan phonology*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wikksel international.

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Χαραλαμπάκης Χ. (1981) *Η συμβολή του Γεωργίου Ν. Χατζιδάκι στη μελέτη και την έρευνα της κρητικής διαλέκτου*, Αθήνα: χ.ε.

Palatalization and Centralization in Samothraki Greek

Nina Topintzi* and Marc van Oostendorp^

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Samothraki Greek, like other Greek dialects, palatalises velars (and occasionally other consonants, e.g. s, z, n, l) before the front vowels /i, e/ (Κατσάνης 1996; henceforth K) even if the latter delete in final position due to the process of high vowel deletion in unstressed positions.

(1) Palatalization in front of /i, e/ [palatalization is marked as ' after the C in question]

feg'	/fegi/	‘φέγγει’	(K: 66)
tok'	/toki/	‘τόκοι’	(K: 66)
k'ima	/kima/	‘κύμα’	(K: 62)
x'inu	/xino/	‘χύνω’	(K: 63)
Γ'ena	/Γena/	‘γέννα’	(K: 63)

The dialect additionally has an idiosyncratic process of r-deletion from an onset position followed by lengthening of the following vowel. This occurs independently of whether /r/ is in a singleton or complex onset.

(2) /r/-deletion and lengthening

a. Singleton onset (K: 50-51)

o:Γa	from	/roΓa/	‘ρώγα’
e:ma	from	/rema/	‘ρέμα’
i:Γan'	from	/riΓani/	‘ρίγανη’

b. Complex onset (K: 54-55)

xo:ma	from	/xroma/	‘χρώμα’
mavu:s	from	/mavros/	‘μαύρος’
ko:tus	from	/krotos/	‘κρότος’
Te:fu	from	/Trefo/	‘θρέφω’

Given that /r/-deletion brings together the first part of the cluster and the following vowel (2b), palatalization could potentially occur in clusters of the type: Velar + r + Front V. However rather than palatalization of the consonant, instead the following vowel becomes centralized to [ɨ] or [ê], sounds that according to Katsanis are central vowels, close to [M] of Turkish and [ɨ] of Romanian.

(3) Centralization in Velar + r + i/e and minimal pairs with palatalized words (K: 73)

kî:ma	from	/krima/	*k'i:ma	‘κρίμα’	vs.	k'ima	from	/kima/	‘κύμα’
xî:ma	from	/xrima/	*xi:ma	‘χρήμα’	vs.	xima	from	/xima/	‘χύμα’
kî:nu	from	/krino/	*k'i:nu	‘κρίνω’	vs.	k'inu	from	/kino/	‘(ε)κείνο’

Derivationally, these data could be captured by first applying Consonant Palatalization, then applying r-deletion (and lengthening), followed by Vowel Centralization. In words lacking /r/ underlyingly, only palatalization applies making the consonant more forward and thus rendering centralization inapplicable. In words including /r/, palatalization fails to apply due to the intervening /r/. By the time /r/ deletes, it is too

late for palatalization to have any effect, leaving space for centralization, which indeed changes the front vowel to central. This is an instance of counterfeeding opacity, as the opposite ordering between /r/-deletion and Palatalization, would create the environment for the latter to apply.

Opacity remains a conundrum for Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky 1993/2004). This is the first paper to explore the facts above in detail and to provide an analysis by testing the data both against various proposals for opacity in OT (McCarthy 2006, Rubach 2007) as well as representational approaches which possibly do away with opacity in the first place.

Selected References

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- Rubach, Jerzy (2007) Feature Geometry from the Perspective of Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian. *Linguistic Inquiry* 38(1): 85-138

Clitic Stress Variability of four Greek Dialects

Dimitris Papazachariou (University of Patras)

The aim of this paper is to present the clitic stress variability of four Greek dialects, as it is realized in 'noun + possessive clitic' combinations and to attempt a possible explanation of the 'noun + possessive clitic' stress in relation to the different hierarchies of constraints in different dialects' grammars.

In particular, when the noun is stressed on its antepenultimate syllable (i.e. [o̩ksaðelfos] = 'the cousin'), the appearance of a possessive clitic next to it (i.e. [o̩ksaðelfos + mu] = 'my cousin'), causes the appearance of different stress patterns in different Greek dialectal varieties. Interestingly, the clitic word does not have the same morphological and prosodic function in different Greek dialects, as it behaves either as a pre-accented suffix (according to Revithiadou's 1999 definitions) in some dialects (like Standard Modern Greek, Patras' dialect and Halkidiki's dialect), or as a different phonological word (like in Cypriot Greek). However, it is not only the different prosodic role of the clitic word that is responsible for the stress variation that appears on 'noun + possessive clitic' combinations, as there is further variation between SMG, Patras' dialect and Halkidiki's dialect. After presenting the different stress patterns of the 'noun + possessive clitic' combinations that appear at the above Greek dialects, I will argue that it is the different hierarchy of the trisyllabic window constraint in relation to well-formedness constraints that is responsible for this dialectal variability.

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Where do clefts exist?

Stella Gryllia & Marika Lekakou
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In this paper we discuss some of the syntactic and discourse properties of cleft constructions in Cypriot and Standard Greek. An example from Cypriot Greek is given in (1a), while (1b) is an example from Standard Greek.

(1a) En ton Hambin pu idha.
is_{3SG} the Hambis_{ACC} that saw_{1SG}
'It is Hambis that I saw.'

[Cypriot Greek]

(1b) % (O Yanis) ine (o Yanis) pu etimazi proino tis Kirjakes.
the John_{NOM} is_{3SG} the John_{NOM} that prepare_{3SG} breakfast_{ACC} the Sundays_{ACC}
'It is John that makes breakfast on Sundays.'

[Standard Greek]

Clefts in Cypriot Greek are well attested, and (1a) is fine for all speakers that we have consulted. The status of clefts in Standard Greek is complicated. Some speakers of SG do not allow for (1b) at all. The speakers of SG that do allow for (1b) cannot readily cleft a (1st or 2nd) personal pronoun, as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (1c). Note that the equivalent of (1c) is possible in Cypriot Greek, as shown in (1d).

(1c) *Ine ego pu ime i pjo omorfi.
is_{3SG} I_{NOM} that am_{1SG} the_{NOM} more beautiful_{FEM}
'It is I that is the most beautiful.'

[Standard Greek]

(1d) En ego pu ime i pco omorfi.
is_{3SG} I_{NOM} that am_{1SG} the_{NOM} more beautiful_{FEM}
'It is I that is the most beautiful.'

[Cypriot Greek]

Within Cypriot Greek itself, there is variation with respect to the word order in clefts. Some speakers of Cypriot Greek, and specifically speakers from Larnaca, accept (1e) in addition to (1a), while for instance speakers from Lefkosia only accept (1a).

(1e) %Ton Hambin en pu idha.
the_{ACC} Hambis_{ACC} is_{3SG} that saw_{1SG}
'It is Hambis that I saw.'

[Cypriot Greek, Larnaca]

In addition to geographical factors, we suggest that the variation also relates to the discourse properties of clefts: (1a) is preferred when the clefted constituent encodes contrastive focus, while (1e) is felicitous when the clefted constituent is interpreted as new information focus.

Acquiring a related variety: Evidence for Impaired Representations?

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This paper explores patterns of code-switching and code-mixing between Standard and Cypriot Greek with a view to determining whether these point to the emergence of a mixed or 'fused' system, or to the co-existence of two competing grammatical systems, as a result of the possible ongoing resolution of diglossia between the two varieties. The nature of the 'competition' between related or largely overlapping grammatical systems is particularly hard to pin down; the data examined in this project indicate that there are 'strong' and 'weak' players in such competitions, the strong players being syntax and phonetics/phonology and the 'weak' players being morphology and lexis. More specifically, it appears that the syntax and phonetics of the superposed variety, i.e. Standard Greek, are on the losing end, or that the syntax and phonetics of the naturally-acquired variety remain largely intact. This is evidenced by the fact that 'code-switching' is achieved largely through morphological choices, while the strong structural constraints on phonetic and syntactic choices point to the robustness of the corresponding underlying naturalistically acquired phonetic and syntactic systems.

The fact that morphology has this capacity of 'buffer' between two competing grammatical systems in purportedly 'code-switched' production can in turn be seen as evidence in favor of dissociating morphology from syntax in second language (or, in this case, 'second dialect') acquisition; although surface Standard Greek morphology is successfully emulated, the syntactic properties of Cypriot Greek persist. The data therefore cast doubt on the proposal (Vainikka & Young-Sholten 1998) that the acquisition of overt surface morphology triggers the acquisition of related syntactic features (cf. Benincà & Poletto 2006, Gavrusheva & Lardière 1996, Lardière 1998 a/b, 2006, Panagiotidis & Tsiplakou 2004). In effect, the data point to Impaired Representation of the syntactic properties of the Standard language, even in 'code-switched' production. The parallel to interlanguage phenomena may in turn provide some useful insights as to what constitutes a 'mixed' grammatical system in situations of language contact between related varieties.

Reading

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