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A prosodic typology of Greek cliticization:
implications for diachronic development

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Greek weak pronominals have been investigated in detail from various perspectives. In contrast to strong pronominals, such elements are prosodically dependent on a neighboring constituent within the clause. The focus of investigation has primarily been on their morphosyntactic properties, with special reference to the issue of whether they constitute syntactic clitics or affixes (see Joseph 1988, 2003 and Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos 1999). Recently, there has been a shift of attention towards the historical development and dialectal variation of such elements (Pappas 2001 et seq., Terzi 199ab) with special emphasis on their prosodic properties (Revithiadou 2006). In this paper we attempt to combine and extend the relevant pieces of information from all these angles in order to obtain a more comprehensive picture of their status and development.

More specifically, we focus on weak pronominal clitic objects and present a typological survey of pronominal cliticization in Greek dialects based on: (a) their distribution, i.e. whether they occur in second position (henceforth 2P) or not (henceforth non-2P); and (b) their prosodic characteristics, i.e. the direction of prosodic association, the degree of prosodic incorporation, etc., as revealed by sandhi rules and (rhythmic) stress.

Then, we provide a range of prosodic clitic templates, which describes the dialectal situation of Greek clitics and, at the same time, it explains the complexity of cliticization patterns. Based on this dialectal variation at the prosodic level, and especially on the dialects that show transition from 2P to non-2P, we propose a hierarchy of prosodic wellformedness templates and a scale of implicational relations holding among them.

In addition, we show that prosodic factors, in terms of prosodic templates and their wellformedness hierarchy, had their share in both triggering and assisting certain developments in the diachrony of Greek cliticization. More specifically, we propose a hypothesis according to which grammaticalization processes caused certain prosodic templates to lose ground and trigger a prosodic reanalysis that eventually transformed the 2P pattern to the non-2P one. We argue that such a development is evidenced, first, by historical data from texts, and, second, by the diversity in the prosodic typology of modern dialects, especially those that exhibit transition from 2P to non-2P. More importantly, it is reinforced by the theoretical constructs argued elsewhere and further developed here, such as, the well-formedness hierarchy of clitic templates and their implicational scale (Revithiadou 2006), and the filtering role that prosody may exercise on syntax (Bošković 1995, 2001).