

PROSODIC PATTERNS AND THE MINIMAL WORD IN THE DOMAIN OF GREEK TRUNCATED NICKNAME¹

Nina Topintzi

UCL

Περίληψη

Στην παρούσα ανακοίνωση μελετάται το φαινόμενο του υποκορισμού στα Νέα Ελληνικά. Υποστηρίζεται ότι υπάρχουν τρία προσωδιακά σχήματα: (σσ), σ(σσ), σ(σ), ο σχηματισμός των οποίων είναι το αποτέλεσμα αλληλεπιδράσεων μεταξύ των περιορισμών ιεραρχικής ευθυγράμμισης, της κατάλληλης ευθυγράμμισης των ποδών με το δεξί άκρο της προσωδιακής λέξης, άλλων περιορισμών προσωδιακής υφής και λεξικού τονισμού και τέλος της διατήρησης του υλικού της βάσης στο συγκεκριμένο τύπο. Προτείνεται μία ενιαία ανάλυση, σύμφωνα με την οποία οι διαφορετικοί τύποι που πραγματώνονται φωνητικά προκύπτουν από την ελάχιστη επανεισάρχιση του ίδιου συνόλου περιορισμών. Επίσης τεκμηριώνεται ότι τα προσωδιακά σχήματα που απαντώνται αποτελούν απλώς όλες τις δυνατές πραγματώσεις της Ελάχιστης Λέξης.

Keywords

truncation, prosodic patterns, hierarchical alignment, minimal word

1. Introduction

Truncated items in Greek mostly have the shape of a bisyllabic trochee (Malikouti-Drachman 1999), but an interesting subset does not conform to this pattern. The aim of the current study is to provide a unifying analysis for **all** the attested patterns and derive variation through minimal changes in the ranking. The general proposal will use the notion of hierarchical alignment (HIERAL) and the proper alignment of feet to the right edge of the prosodic word (ALL-Ft-R) to generate the patterns. Other prosodic constraints, requirements of material preservation and lexical stress yield the final output.

The structure of the paper is as follows. Section 2 presents the data. Section 3 provides an analysis of bisyllabic trochaic nicknames and trisyllabic names, while section 4 examines side-issues related to input considerations and anchoring. Section 5 addresses the topic of monosyllabic feet in truncation. Finally, section 6 offers some concluding remarks.

2. The data

- (1) a. (σσ): truncation with bisyllabic trochee (normal pattern)

<u>Base</u>	<u>(σσ) Nickname</u>
alkiviádis	áلكis
epaminódas	nódas
ko(n)stadínos	kóstas, dínos
melpoméni	mélpo

maryaríta	ríta
evagelía	évi, lía
loxías	lóxas

b. **σ(όσ) nickname** and **(όσ)**: trisyllabic [unparsed σ + bisyl. trochee] and occasionally (όσ) nickname too.

<u>Base</u>	<u>σ(όσ) Nickname</u>	<u>(όσ) Nickname</u>
aléksanðros	aléksis, alékos	
aristotélis	arístos	áris, télis
panajótis	panáγos	pános, jótis
agelikí	agéla ⁱⁱ	
panathinaikós	panáθas	
anθipaspistís	anθίpas	

c. **stylistic variant σ(όσ) and (όσ)**: same as (1b)

<u>Base</u>	<u>σ(όσ) Variant</u>	<u>(όσ) Nickname</u>
evágelos	vagélis	vágos
aθanásios	θanásis	θános, násos
nikólaos	nikólas	níkos

d. **σ(ό)**: bisyllabic [unparsed σ + monosyllabic trochee] nickname

<u>Base</u>	<u>σ(ό) Nickname</u>
xaríklia	xará
ko(n)stadínos	kostís

The first column presents the base name which is used to address someone (when using the full name instead of a nickname). Exceptional is (1c), where normally the trisyllabic variant is used instead. Although the trisyllabic forms of (1b) and (1c) are superficially identical, they present some subtle differences. The form of (1b) is perceived more like a nickname, while more like a stylistic variant in (1c). Moreover, (1b) preserves marked structures while (1c) dispenses with them (i.e. lack of onsets, hiatus). Nonetheless, it is the case that the trisyllabic form in (1b) is evidently truncated. In fact, some base names only have a trisyllabic nickname and lack the normal bisyllabic one, e.g. *aléksanðros* > *alékos*, *avγερinós* > *avγéris*. My claim is that since the prosodic patterns of (1b) and (1c) are identical, the stylistic variant in (1c) should be treated as truncation too.

Before going on it is worth noting that the focus of this study is on the prosodic patterns of truncation. The circumstances under which stylistic variants and segmental alternations appear will not be discussedⁱⁱⁱ.

3. Word Minimization

3.1. Hierarchical alignment

The analysis initiates by first posing a question, that is, what is common to $(\acute{o}\sigma)$, $\sigma(\acute{o}\sigma)$ and $\sigma(\acute{o})$ patterns? All of them have a foot, whose right edge coincides with the right edge of the prosodic word. This indicates that the constraint in (2) is significant.

(2) **ALL-FT-R:**

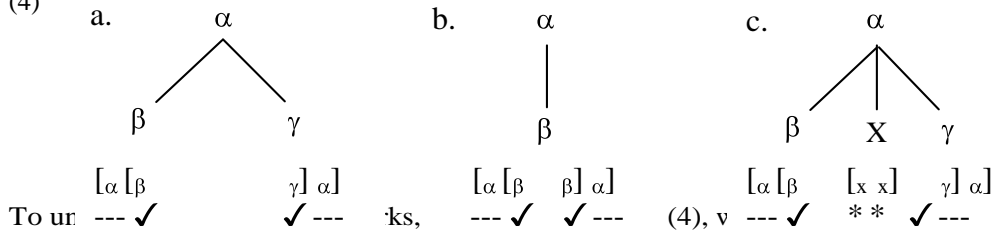
Align (Ft, Right, PrWd, Right): Align the right edge of the foot with the right edge of the prosodic word.

Moreover, all of them conform to the notion of hierarchical alignment stated below:

(3) **Hierarchical Alignment (HIER AL)** [Ito, Kitagawa and Mester 1996]:

Every prosodic constituent is aligned with some prosodic constituent that contains it.

(4)



prosodic constituents and α dominates all others. In the binary (4a) β is left-aligned (L-aligned) with α and γ is right aligned (R-aligned) with α . In the unary (4b), β is both L- and R- aligned with α . Hierarchical misalignment appears in the ternary (4c), where although α and β behave like in (4a), there is also the constituent x in the middle which fails to be aligned in any way. Therefore, ternary structures like (4c) are banned under HIER AL^{iv}.

If we now test some hypothetical candidates for (2) and (3), we will get the attested patterns shown in (5d)-(5f). Section 5.2 shows why (5g) does not emerge.

(5) **HIER AL, ALL-FT-R**

		HIER AL	ALL-FT-R
a.	$(\sigma\sigma)(\sigma\sigma)$	✓	**
b.	$(\sigma\sigma)(\sigma)$	✓	*
c.	$(\sigma\sigma)\sigma$	✓	*
d.	$\sigma(\sigma\sigma)$	✓	✓
e.	$(\sigma\sigma)$	✓	✓
f.	$\sigma(\sigma)$	✓	✓
g.	(σ)	✓	✓
h.	$\sigma\sigma(\sigma\sigma)$	*	✓

i.	(σσ)σσ	*	**
j.	(σσσ)	*	✓

3.2. Nicknames of the (óσ) type

The unmarked prosodic word is a binary foot (McCarthy and Prince 1994 for reduplication, Benua 1995 and Pineros 2000 for truncation, among others). This obeys all of the constraints in (6) [i.e. prosodic well-formedness constraints).

- (6) **FTBIN**: Feet are binary on a syllabic or moraic analysis.
ALL-FT-R: Every foot stands in final position in the PrWd.
PARSE-σ: All syllables are parsed into feet.

Particularly for truncation, a constraint that refers to the preservation of base material to the truncated output is needed too.

- (7) **MAX-BT**: Every segment in the base has a correspondent in the truncated form. (Benua 1995)

Evidently MAX-BT must be low-ranked, since there is a preference to create an optimal prosodic form than preserve more material in the truncated form, thus a five-syllable base form like *alkiviádis* will truncate to the bisyllabic trochaic *áلكis*. Therefore, (5e) supports the ranking:

- (8) **(óσ): FTBIN, PARSE-σ >> MAX-BT**

Moreover, the ranking in (9) must hold too. This is because candidates (5d) and (5f) are under certain circumstances to be discussed later on optimal. The first though violates PARSE-σ, while the latter violates both PARSE-σ and FTBIN. Hence, these constraints must be low-ranked.

- (9) **HIER AL, ALL-FT-R >> FTBIN, PARSE-σ**

Combining (8) and (9) yields (10), an illustration of which follows in (11)^v:

- (10) **(óσ): HIER AL, ALL-FT-R >> FTBIN, PARSE-σ >> MAX-BT**

- (11) **HIER AL, ALL-FT-R >> FTBIN, PARSE-σ >> MAX-BT**

Base: [(mar.γα.) (rí.t-a)]	HIERAL	ALL-FT-R	FTBIN	PARSE-σ	MAX-BT
a. (mar.γα.) (rí.t-a)		*!*			
b. (γá.ri.t-a)	*!		*		m,a,r
c. γa.(rí.t-a)				*!	m,a,r
^v d. (rí.t-a)					m,a,r,γ,a

(11d) is the sole winner, because although it incurs many MAX-BT violations, it satisfies all higher-ranked constraints perfectly.

3.3. $\sigma(\acute{o}\sigma)$ vs. $(\acute{o}\sigma)$

Moving on to the trisyllabic forms, I would like to propose that $\sigma(\acute{o}\sigma)$ and $(\acute{o}\sigma)$ spring from near-identical rankings of constraints. What distinguishes them is that $\sigma(\acute{o}\sigma)$ preserves more material from the source form, while $(\acute{o}\sigma)$ achieves the optimal prosodic shape of a bisyllabic trochee. To get the trisyllabic result we only need to re-rank the constraints in (8) so that MAX-BT now dominates FTBIN and PARSE- σ . This is also intuitively straightforward, since it simply expresses the fact that more base material is maintained.

(12) $\sigma(\acute{o}\sigma)$: MAX-BT >> FTBIN, PARSE- σ

Combining (9) and (12) leads to (13). The tableaux below show how (13) is established.

(13) $\sigma(\acute{o}\sigma)$: HIER AL, ALL-FT-R >> MAX-BT >> FTBIN, PARSE- σ

(14) MAX-BT >> PARSE- σ

Base: [ni.(kó.la).-os] ^{vi}		MAX-BT	PARSE- σ
a.	ni.(kó.l-as)	a	*
b.	(ni.k-os)	o,l!,a	

(14a) wins because it satisfies MAX-BT to a higher degree than its rival (14b). A natural question would be why MAX-BT does not force the full copying of the base, yielding the almost trivial (for truncation) output *nikólaos*. The answer is that MAX-BT is still dominated by the high-ranked HIER AL and ALL-FT-R. Hence (15b) cannot survive. This yields the expected outcome (15a).

(15) HIER AL, ALL-FT-R >> MAX-BT

Base: [ni.(kó.la).-os]		HIER AL	ALL-FT-R	MAX-BT
a.	ni.(kó.l-as)			a
b.	ni.(kó.la).-os	*!	*	

3.4. Summary of rankings

Up to now we have established the following rankings:

(16) $(\acute{o}\sigma)$: HIER AL, ALL-FT-R >> FTBIN, PARSE- σ >> MAX-BT

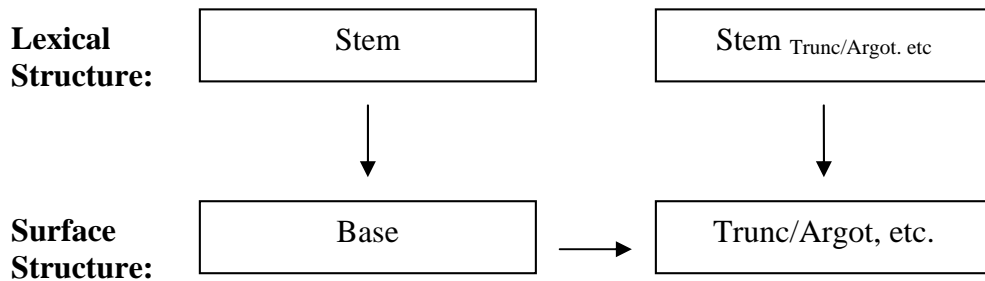
(17) $\sigma(\acute{o}\sigma)$: HIER AL, ALL-FT-R >> MAX-BT >> FTBIN, PARSE- σ

As it can be easily observed, variation centres on PARSE- σ , MAX-BT and the relationship to one another.

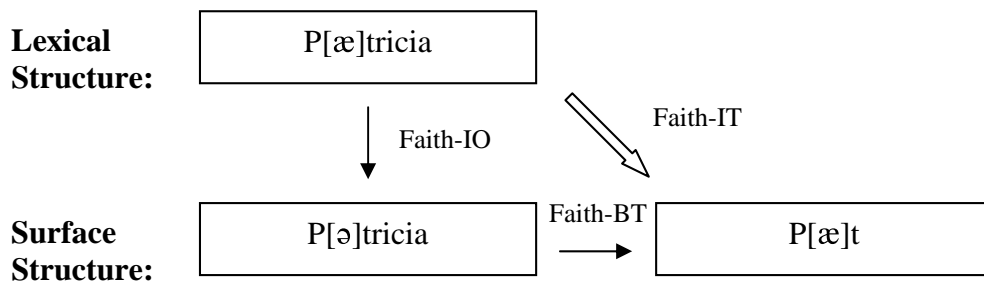
4. Side issues

4.1. Input assumptions

Up to now it has been implicitly assumed that the choice of the suffix in the truncated form is lexical. Some evidence for such an assertion follows. In names like *eléni* > *léna*, *frosíni* > *fróso*, the last vowel in the truncated form cannot be recovered from the base, while near minimal pairs *efstráti-os* > *strát-os*, *efstáθi-os* > *stáθ-is* that have common base stem endings and suffixes nonetheless exhibit different suffixes in the nickname. This suggests that the suffix is *unpredictable*, thus lexical. For this reason I assume that there is an input for truncation = / T + suffix/. Contra Benua (1995) then, distinct inputs for full and truncated forms are postulated. This assumption however is consistent with the model of Ito, Kitagawa and Mester (1996) as shown below:



The authors argue that this model potentially solves the problem when the truncated form seems to be more faithful to the input than the full form; This happens in English nicknames, where underlying vowel contrasts are maintained in the truncatum, while neutralized in the full forms, e.g. $G[\varepsilon]r$ from $G[\ə]rard$. However, I contend that such a problem can be accommodated even in Benua's model. Let's take for instance the name $P[\æ]tricia > P[\æ]t$, which in Benua's model will have the representation below. There is a single input for both base and truncatum and relationships Faith-IO and Faith-BT are used in the way Benua suggests. However, a new relationship has been added, i.e. Faith-IT which relates the input and the truncatum^{vii}. Thus, it is possible to relate the input and the truncatum without introducing an input for truncation.



But even this amendment cannot account for languages like Greek or German (cf. Ito and Mester (1997) where it is argued that the input for the German truncatums is: / Trunc + i/ yielding forms like [gab-i], [and-i], [gorb-i], etc). In these languages, suffixal material in the truncatums often cannot be recovered from neither the base (through Faith-BT) nor the input (through Faith-IT) as in e.g. *eléni* > *léna*. If both input and base include the suffix *-i*, how is it possible to generate the truncatum's suffix *-a* in the absence of a distinct input for truncation that includes the suffix *-a*? Since this seems impossible, Greek presents compelling evidence for the distinct inputs approach advocated here [after Ito, Kitagawa and Mester (1996)].

4.2. Anchoring

In this section we examine where the copying from the base to the truncatum starts. Cross-linguistically, anchoring to the left edge of the PrWd (cf. Benua 1995 for Japanese, Ito and Mester 1997 for German, van de Weijer 1989 for Hungarian, among others) or anchoring to the head of the foot (cf. Pineros 2000 for Spanish, Cabré and Kenstowicz 1995 for Catalan) is preferred. Some languages allow both types, e.g. Spanish *profesor* > *profe* (Colina 1996) and [*doro(tea)*]_{PrWd} > [(*tea*)]_{PrWd} (Pineros 2000), or Greek e.g. *spirídon* > *spíros*□, *xarílaos* > *xáris*, *melpoméni* > *mélpo* (anchor to the left of PrWd) or *aristotélis* > *télis*, *evagélia* > *líia* (anchor to the foot head). But some Greek names seem not to fit in this picture.

(18) θ(e)όδωρος > δόρος γεράσιμος > símos aristóksenos > ksénos

The truncated form here does not anchor to either the left edge of the foot or to the left edge of the PrWd. Is this then problematic? Should we employ a different kind of anchoring? A potential alternative is to use constraints that refer to stem-edges. In particular, a constraint like ANCHOR-R-STEM would be able to select the correct point as the beginning of copying in the names above. Below, I will attempt to show that although this type of constraints are at first glance useful, they produce a different set of problems and thus should not be employed.

First, note that the names in (18) are truly exceptional. There is only a handful of them, perhaps suggesting that they are lexicalised. Moreover, in the discussion of superheavy syllables in German, Hall (2002) states that these are only allowed at the right edge of the prosodic word. Nonetheless, they can also be found word-medially in some German proper names. The argument goes that in fact these words form prosodic compounds without being morphologically compounded, e.g. [zalts]_{PrWd} [bʊɛk]_{PrWd}.

One could make a similar claim for Greek, so that a name like *aristóksenos* would have the following representation: [aristó]_{PrWd} [ksenos]_{PrWd}^{viii}. What happens then is that anchoring again applies at the left edge of the PrWd, but this time it refers to the second PrWd, i.e. [ksenos]. Such an approach is entirely feasible, since the names of (18) were at least at some stage of the history of the language also morphological compounds^{ix}, but even if they had not been, German clearly presents a case where morphological simplex forms can be nevertheless prosodically compounded.

Thus, the argument for anchoring to the stem seems rather weak. Let us see however how the two approaches, namely ANCHOR-L-PrWd/ Ft vs. ANCHOR-L/ R STEM fare in terms of other nicknames. In (19) a set of nicknames is presented, one I call ‘diminutive nicknames’, since these are somehow related to the full diminutives.

(19)	<u>Source name</u>	<u>Full Diminutive</u>	<u>Diminutive Nickname</u>
	vasíl-is	vasil-ák-is	lák-is
	γerasim-os	γerasim-ák-is	mák-is
	δjonís-is	δjonis-ák-is	sák-is
	panajót-is	panajot-ák-is	ták-is
	dímitr-a	dímitr-úl-a	t(r)úl-a
	elén-i	(e)len-úl-a	núl-a
	paraskev-í	paraskev-úl-a	vúl-a
	xaríkli-a or xar-á	xar-úl-a	rúl-a

The question is how these nicknames are formed. There are at least two possibilities. The first hypothesis or ‘Foot’ approach argues that the base is the full diminutive. What is copied to the truncate then is the foot (wholly) as in *vasi(l-ákis) > (lákis)* (cf. Topintzi 2002) due to ANCHOR-L-Ft . On the contrary, according to the second hypothesis or ‘Stem’ approach, the base is the source name. The input of truncation is: / T + -ákis or -úla / and the constraint in (20) accounts for the anchoring attested.

(20) **ANCHOR-R-STEM:**

Any element at the right periphery of the stem in the base has a correspondent at the right periphery of the stem in the truncated form.

When this constraint is employed, the initiation of copying varies a bit depending on the size of the suffix. Given that the output of truncation must be a bisyllabic trochee, when the suffix is monosyllabic, e.g. *-os*, a whole syllable may be added, e.g. *nas-* yielding *nas-os* for an input / T + -os / ; but when the suffix is disyllabic - as is the case in diminutive nicknames - then the optimal output size has already been achieved and only an onset is added according to ANCHOR-R-STEM i.e. the last consonant of the stem to attain syllabic well-formedness, e.g. *s-ákis* for an input /T + -akis/.

However, the ‘stem’ approach faces a problem that does not arise in the ‘foot’ approach. More concretely, according to the former, it is anticipated that a diminutive nickname may arise in the absence of the full diminutive, but this is never the case. On the contrary, it is possible that there exists a full diminutive without the diminutive nickname, but it is not possible to have a diminutive nickname without any full diminutive. In addition, if a native speaker is asked where e.g. the name *sákis* comes from, the answer will be that it comes from this sequence: *δjonís-is > δjonis-ák-is > sák-is*, indicating that an ‘intermediate’ stage, namely *δjonis-ák-is*, is recognised for the generation of the diminutive nickname. This fact also suggests that

multiple bases for truncation may exist, as in the schema suggested by diminutive nicknames, i.e. source name → full diminutive → diminutive nickname.

Further evidence for the ‘foot’ approach comes from reduplicated nicknames.

(21) <u>Source name</u>	<u>Reduplicated nickname</u>
paraskev-í	viv-í
aθin-á	nan-á
agelik-í	kik-í
marí-a	rír-í
evagelí-a	lil-í
ðimítr-is	mím-is

Here the stressed vowel of the source name which may be within e.g. *marí-a* or outside the stem, e.g. *aθin-á* is targeted in reduplication. ANCHOR-L-Ft neatly accounts for that, while a far less straightforward account would be possible through ANCHOR-R-STEM.

Having presented arguments against the use of ANCHOR-L/ R-STEM, the anchoring constraints employed for Greek are shown below:

(22) **ANCHOR-L-Prwd:**

Anchor the left edge of the source form (Pineros 2000)

Any element at the left periphery of the source form has a correspondent at the left periphery of the truncated form.

(23) **ANCHOR-L-Ft:**

Anchor the left edge of a foot (adapted from Benua 1995)

Every correspondent of a foot-initial segment is foot-initial.

These constraints present some variation with respect to each other as it is illustrated below, where the base name *kostadínos* can either surface as *kóstas* (when ANCHOR-L Prwd >> ANCHOR-L Ft) or as *dínos* (when ANCHOR-L Ft >> ANCHOR-L Prwd).

(24) ANCHOR-L Prwd, ANCHOR-L Ft

Base: [(kos.ta).(dí.n-os)]	ANCHOR-L Prwd	ANCHOR-L Ft
a. (kós.t-as)		*
b. (dí.n-os)	*	

Although there is a lot of anchoring variation in (óσ) nicknames, e.g. *kostadínos* > *kóstas* or *dínos*, *evagelía* > *évi* or *lí-a*, fixed rankings should probably be postulated in σ(óσ) where ANCHOR-L Prwd >> ANCHOR-L Ft, e.g. *aristotélis* > *arístos* but **totélis* and in diminutive nicknames where ANCHOR-L Ft >> ANCHOR-L Prwd, e.g. *γerasimákis* > *mákis* but **γákis*. Below are the rankings formed when anchoring is also considered.

- (25) i) $\sigma(\acute{\sigma})$: HIER AL, ALL-FT-R >> ANCHOR-L PrWd >> ANCHOR-L Ft >> MAX-BT >> FTBIN, PARSE- σ
- ii) diminutive ($\acute{\sigma}$): HIER AL, ALL-FT-R >> ANCHOR-L Ft >> ANCHOR-L PrWd >> FTBIN, PARSE- σ >> MAX-BT
- iii) rest of ($\acute{\sigma}$): HIER AL, ALL-FT-R >> ANCHOR-L Ft, ANCHOR-L PrWd >> FTBIN, PARSE- σ >> MAX-BT

5. Monosyllabic feet

5.1. Nicknames of the $\sigma(\acute{\sigma})$ type

For these names I am assuming that there is an underlyingly accented suffix /-ís/ or /-á/. Moreover, stress must be realized in word-final position. This can be ensured if the constraint below is high ranked^x.

- (26) **MAX (LA)**: (after Revithiadou 1999)
A lexical accent of S_1 (input) has a correspondent in S_2 (output).

(27) MAX LA, HIER AL, ALL-FT-R >> PARSE- σ

Base: [(kos.ta).(dí.nos)]		MAX LA	HIER AL	ALL-FT-R	PARSE- σ
Input:	* / T + -ís /				
a.	kos.(tís)				*
b.	(kós.tis)	*!			

Adding MAX LA in our constraint ranking suffices to produce the correct result.

5.2. Lack of monosyllabic nicknames

Recall that earlier we have seen that the candidate (5g) – the monosyllabic candidate – is well formed given HIER AL and ALL-FT-R, but nonetheless this is unattested. This lack is unexpected because Greek admits monosyllabic words e.g. *lés* ‘say-2sg.PRES’, *mís* ‘muscle NOM.sg’ and moreover a comparison between ($\acute{\sigma}$) and $\sigma(\acute{\sigma})$ would favour the first, since all else equal the latter also violates PARSE- σ while the former does not.

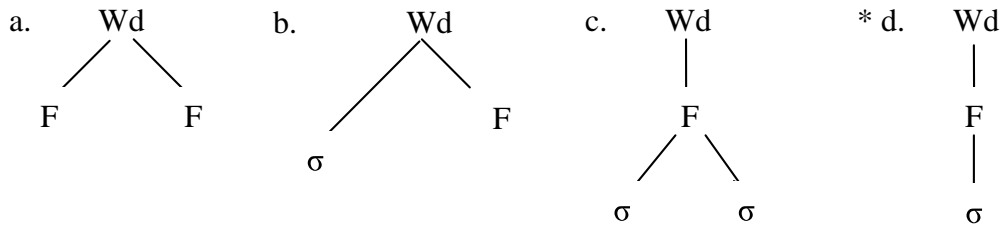
To state the problem in terms of empirical data, the question is why we do not get (*kís*) rather than *kos.(tís)*. To account for this matter, I will adopt the Weak Layering Hypothesis (Ito and Mester 1992) which distinguishes between the strict minimal word, i.e. a single foot, and the loose minimal word, i.e. a foot accompanied by minimal unparsed material, that is a syllable. In previous work (Topintzi 2002), the notion of Word Binararity (28) had also been used. Its effects are illustrated in (29).

(28) **Word Binariness:** (Ito and Mester 1992)

P-derived words must be prosodically binary.

'P-derived' refers to words that are related to more basic words by means of prosodic-morphological operations (e.g. truncation).

(29)



In the supraminimal word of (29a) and in the loose minimal word of (29b), there is binary branching at the word level. In the strict minimal word (29c), binary branching occurs at the foot level. Finally, the subminimal (29d) presents no binary branching at any level producing an ill-formed structure. If we were now to translate Word Binariness in terms of a constraint, it would be the case that it is top-ranked banning monosyllabic structures from the domain of truncation^{xi}.

However, such an approach introduces a mechanism – Word Binariness – which on closer inspection proves unnecessary. The current proposal argues that no new machinery needs to be involved. MAX-BT's ranking simply suffices. Recall the ranking for trisyllabic nicknames repeated below:

(30) $\sigma(\acute{\sigma})$: HIER AL, ALL-FT-R >> MAX-BT >> FTBIN, PARSE- σ

The only ingredient missing from this ranking to get the $\sigma(\acute{\sigma})$ patterns and exclude $(\acute{\sigma})$ is the effects of MAX LA. If this is added, the ban on monosyllabic nicknames falls out.

(31) MAX LA, HIER AL, ALL-FT-R >> MAX-BT >> PARSE- σ

Base: [(kos.ta).(dí.nos)]		MAX	HIER	ALL-	MAX-BT	PARSE- σ
Input: *		LA	AL	FT-R		
/ T + -is /						
a.	kos.(fís)				a,d,i,n,o,s	*
b.	(kís)				o,s,t,a,d,i!,n,o,s	

The advantage of this approach is that it does not need to introduce new machinery in the form of Word Binariness. This is plainly a side-effect of the grammar's structure. Furthermore, the loose minimal word, i.e. σF which in Greek can take either the form $\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$ as in *aristos* or the form

$\sigma(\acute{\sigma})$ as in *xará* can be produced by a single ranking only: (MAX LA,) HIER AL, ALL-FT-R >> MAX-BT >> PARSE- σ .

6. Conclusion

In this paper, it has been shown that in fact there are three patterns in Greek truncation ($\acute{\sigma}\sigma$), $\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$ and $\sigma(\acute{\sigma})$ rather than a single disyllabic trochaic one. These patterns have been produced through the interaction of HIER AL and ALL-FT-R with prosodic and lexical stress requirements as well as the amount of copying required each time. Specifically, the attested forms are generated through the following rankings:

- Strict MinWord:

($\acute{\sigma}\sigma$): HIER AL, ALL-FT-R >> PARSE- σ >> MAX-BT

- Loose MinWord:

i) $\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$: HIER AL, ALL-FT-R >> MAX-BT >> PARSE- σ [to preserve more material]

ii) $\sigma(\acute{\sigma})$: MAX LA, HIER AL, ALL-FT-R >> MAX-BT >> PARSE- σ [imposed by lexical stress requirements]

As a generalisation then, Greek nickname formation manifests all types of the minimal word, both strict and loose.

Σημειώσεις

ⁱ I am grateful to Moira Yip, Angeliki Malikouti-Drachman, Ioanna Kappa, Shigeto Kawahara and the participants at the 6th ICGL for fruitful discussion and comments. All remaining errors are my own.

ⁱⁱ *agelikí* has an even smaller nickname *kikí*. This belongs to the class of reduplicated nicknames (see section 4.2.).

ⁱⁱⁱ A word of caution; variation in nicknames is anticipated and in fact attested (Benua 1995, fn. 34, Ito and Mester 1997, fn.5, among others). Kurisu (2001) argues that true truncation appears in the form of subtractive morphology, where there is also change of morpho-syntactic category, e.g. Koasati plural formation involves deletion of the final coda or rime in the singular form. Prosodic truncation of the type discussed here does not involve any grammatical change of this type. It is thus considered more of a socio-linguistic phenomenon and as such, it is expected to present a fair amount of variation.

^{iv} Angeliki Malikouti-Drachman and Marina Tzakosta (p.c.) wonder whether HIER AL is really needed in the constraint ranking. I contend that it is indispensable, because otherwise forms like (5h) and (5j) would be possible. For instance, for the base name *aristotélis*, we have the output *aristos* produced by the ranking of trisyllabic names in (17), namely HIER AL, ALL-FT-R >> MAX-BT >> FTBIN, PARSE- σ . All else equal, but without HIER AL we would expect a surface truncated form *aristo(télis)* since this would satisfy ALL-FT-R and would respect MAX-BT perfectly. Evidently such a truncated form is not possible. Hence, the role of HIER AL is decisive.

^v In the tableaux that follow I will mention no input for the truncated form, although I will still assume it (see section 4.1), e.g. for *Nikólas* / T + -as / , for *Níkos* / T + -os / , etc. To avoid further complications, MAX-BT violations only count the segments of the root within the base that are copied to the truncatum and not the suffixes.

^{vi} Anthi Revithiadou (p.c.) observes that it is possible to assume that the *a* of *nikólas* is in fact part of the base rather than of the suffix. As a result MAX-BT would not be violated on that occasion. Although, this is indeed true, there are other similar cases that lead us to assume that

a hypothesis where the vowel is part of the suffix and not of the base is more viable, e.g. *panathinaik-ós* > *panáθ-as*, **panaθ-is*, *agelik-í* > *agél-a*, **agél-i*. Here the vowel following the final stem consonant is evidently part of the suffix. In the case of *nikólas*, it is not possible to determine whether it should be *nikól-as* or *nikóla-s* and in fact this does not change anything in our analysis. However, given the examples above, where such a decision can be made, reasons of consistency suggest that the vowel *a* in *nikólas* should be considered part of the suffix.

^{vii} Such a relationship presents no problem whatsoever. In fact it makes Benua's truncation model more symmetrical to the reduplication model of McCarthy and Prince (1995) where Faith-IR is allowed.

^{viii} The first *o* in the word is the linking vowel of compounds. A more precise representation should show that. Simplifying a bit however, does not affect the argument in any way.

^{ix} My intuition is that at least some of these names, e.g. *θ(e)ódoros* and *aristóksenos* are still morphological compounds. Other speakers agree with this impression too.

^x This is a slightly simplified version of Revithiadou's (1999) original formulation. I take here MAX_{LA} to require correspondence in both the skeletal and melodic tiers.

^{xi} Since Word Binariness is now treated as a constraint, there may be languages where it is low-ranked admitting monosyllabic truncates. This prediction is borne out. Glowacka (2002) reports some monosyllabic truncates for masculine names, e.g. *stanisław* > *staś*, *ryszard* > *ryś* indicating that monosyllabic truncation is possible although by far less common than normal bisyllabic truncation.

References:

- Benua, Laura. 1995. Identity effects in morphological truncation. In *Papers in Optimality Theory*, ed. Jill Beckman, Laura Walsh Dickey and Suzanne Urbanczyk, pp. 77-136. Amherst, MA: GLSA. [Available on Rutgers Optimality Archive].
- Cabré, Teresa and Michael Kenstowicz. 1995. Prosodic Trapping in Catalan. *Linguistic Inquiry* 26, 694-705.
- Colina, Sonia. 1996. Spanish Truncation processes: the emergence of the unmarked. *Linguistics* 34, 1199-1218.
- Drachman Gaberell and Angeliki Malikouti-Drachman. 1996. Greek accentuation. In *Word Prosodic Systems in the Languages of Europe*, ed. H. van der Hulst. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Drachman, G., A. Malikouti-Drachman, E. Georgiou, G. Stavrou, R. Simeou and E. Trifonos. 1999. Υποκορισμός Κυρίων Ονομάτων στην Κυπριακή [Cypriot Nickname Formation]. In *Proceedings of the 4th International Conference on Greek Linguistics*, Nicosia: University Studio Press, pp. 487-494.
- Glowacka, Dorota. 2002. Truncation in Polish, ms, UCL.
- Hall, T. A. 2002. The distribution of superheavy syllables in Standard German. The *Linguistic Review* 19, pp. 377-420
- Ito, Junko and Armin Mester. 1992. Weak Layering and Word Binariness. MS, UC Santa Cruz.
- Ito, Junko and Armin Mester. 1997. Sympathy Theory and German Truncations. In *University of Maryland Working Papers in Linguistics 5. Selected Phonology Papers from Hopkins Optimality Theory Workshop 1997/ University of Maryland Mayfest 1997*, ed. Viola Miglio and Bruce Moren, pp. 117-39. [Available on Rutgers Optimality Archive].

-
- Ito, Junko, Armin Mester and Yoshihisa Kitagawa. 1996. Prosodic Faithfulness and correspondence: evidence from a Japanese argot. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 5, 217-294.
- Kurisu, Kazutaka. 2001. *The phonology of morpheme realization*. Doctoral Dissertation. University of California, Santa Cruz
- Malikouti-Drachman, Angeliki. 1999. Constraints on Greek Hypocoristics. *Greek Linguistics '97. Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on the Greek Language. Athens 25-27 September 1997*, ed. A. Mozer, pp. 391-400. Athens: Ellinika Grammata.
- Malikouti-Drachman, Angeliki and Gaberell Drachman. 1989. Stress in Greek [Tonizmos sta Ellinika]. *Studies in Greek Linguistics 1989*, 127-143. University of Thessaloniki.
- McCarthy, John. 2002. *A Thematic Guide to Optimality Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McCarthy, John and Alan Prince. 1995. Faithfulness and reduplicative identity. In *University of Massachusetts Occasional Papers in Linguistics 18*, ed. Jill Beckman, Laura Walsh Dickey and Suzanne Urbanczyk, pp. 77-136. Amherst, MA: GLSA. [Available on Rutgers Optimality Archive].
- Pineros, Carlos-Eduardo. 2000. Foot-sensitive Word Minimization in Spanish. *Probus* 12(2), 291-324. [Available on Rutgers Optimality Archive].
- Ralli, Aggeliki and Loudovikos Touradzidis. 1992. A computational treatment of stress in Greek inflected forms. *Language and Speech* 35(4), 435-453.
- Revithiadou, Anthi. 1999. *Headmost Accent Wins: Head Dominance and Ideal Prosodic Form in Lexical Accent Systems*. The Hague: Holland Academic Graphics. [Doctoral Dissertation, University of Leiden].
- Topintzi, Nina. 2002. Prosodic Patterns in Greek Truncation and Reduplication: a Correspondence Approach. MA dissertation, UCL.
- van de Weijer, Jeroen. 1989. The formation of diminutive names in Hungarian. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 39, 353-371.

This document was created with Win2PDF available at <http://www.daneprairie.com>.
The unregistered version of Win2PDF is for evaluation or non-commercial use only.