

Gliding under turbidity

Anthi Revithiadou, Giorgos Markopoulos & Polina Messinioti / AUTH
revith@lit.auth.gr, gmarkop@lit.auth.gr, mesiniot@lit.auth.gr

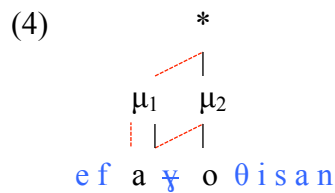
Glides in Greek have an ambiguous phonemic status since they are elements with a variable phonetic realization and a complex phonological distribution (Topintzi & Baltazani 2011, 2013). For instance, they have been argued to be both phonemes and allophones of the vowels /u/ and /i/ which arise in hiatus environments (1) (Kazazis 1968, Setatos 1974, Warburton 1976, Deligiorgis 1987, a.o.). Since a sequence of vowels is not commonly attested in Standard Greek, it is hard to examine in detail the phonological behavior of glides. Luckily, however, certain Greek dialects give rise to glides as a recuperation strategy to hiatus which results from intervocalic deletion of voiced fricatives, /v, ð, ʝ/ (Dodecanese) or the rhotic /r/ (Samothraki) (2-3) (Tsopanakis 1940 (Ts), Méndez Dosuna 2002 (MD), a.o.).

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| (1) | a. | /lé-i/ | léj | ‘say-3SG’ | |
| | b. | /pandri-es/ | pandrjés | ‘marriage-PL’ | |
| | c. | /tu ándra/ | twánda | ‘the man-GEN’ | |
| | | | | | |
| (2) | onglides | | | | |
| | a. | /protóyal-i/ | protwáli | ‘mother’s milk’ | (Rhodes, Ts1940: 55) |
| | b. | /kopell-úð-a/ | kopellwá | ‘girl’ | (Rhodes, Ts1940: 55) |
| | c. | kreváti | krjáti | ‘bed’ | (Rhodes, Ts1940: 58) |
| | d. | /léɣ-o/ | ljó | ‘talk-1SG’ | (Rhodes, Ts 1940: 61) |
| | e. | /ayóra-s-a/ | aywása | ‘buy-1SG.PAST’ | (Samothraki, MD 2002: 105) |
| | | | | | |
| (3) | offglides | | | | |
| | a. | /ayél-i/ | ájli | ‘herd’ | (Rhodes, Ts 1940: 57) |
| | b. | /klað-év-o/ | klájvo | ‘prune-1SG’ | (Rhodes, Ts 1940: 57) |
| | c. | /patsavúr-a/ | patsáwra | ‘mop’ | (Rhodes, Ts 1940: 54) |
| | d. | /fovér-a/ | fójra | ‘threat’ | (Rhodes, Ts 1940: 61) |
| | e. | /e-fay-óθisan/ | efáwθisan | ‘be eaten-3PL’ | (Rhodes, Ts 1940: 52) |

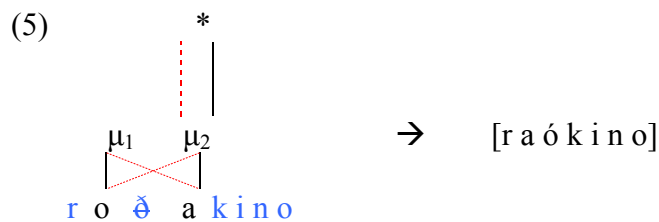
As shown by the data above, stressed vowels which turn into glides shift their stress to the more sonorous vowel of the sequence. Given the trochaic nature of Greek stress (Malikouti-Drachman & Drachman 1989, a.o.), the leftward stress shifts in (3) come as a surprise because stress surpasses the limits of the trochaic foot domain (see Halle & Vergnaud 1987: 28-29): E.g., *kla(ðévo)* → *klá(əJvo)* / **kla(əJvó)* (where ‘J’ = glide). Morphological affiliation does not seem to block the leftward migration of stress either, as evidenced by examples like (3b). Here the verbalizer /-év-/ carries an underlying (/lexical) stress which is nevertheless realized outside its morphological domain.

In this paper, we propose a Turbidity theoretic approach (Goldrick 1998, 2000), which assumes a split between input representations and their surface realizations, in order to account for the data at hand. More specifically, we argue that vowels ‘project’ their moras and their stress properties – whenever they are (underlyingly) present – via specific association lines called *projections* (symbolized with undotted association lines ‘|’). However, the representations involving glides are ‘turbid’ because the projection relations are not always ‘pronounced’ locally. This means that the pronunciation lines (symbolized with dotted association lines ‘:’), which indicate an output relation that describes the surface realization of structure, are realized on a different element. In the representation in (4), the unmarked state of affairs is represented by the first mora (μ_1), in which both projection and pronunciation lines match (RECIPROCITY). The second mora (μ_2), however, is projected by the vowel *o*, which also projects stress prominence, but both μ_2 and stress are realized on the

preceding, more sonorous vowel *a* (SONORITY). A ban against hiatus (*VV) is the triggering force for the split in this case between the projection and pronunciation lines that associate vowels to their moras and moras to stress prominence (SONORITY, *VV » RECIPROCITY(μ-V), RECIPROCITY(μ-*)):



A welcome result of employing such a model of enriched representations is that it allows us to easily dissociate the location of stress from the process of glide formation. In certain areas of the Dodecanese (e.g., Archangelos) intervocalic fricative deletion triggers vowel metathesis so that the newly formed diphthong to be falling (i.e., the more sonorous vowel to be the vocalic head): /liyarj-á/ *lajrjá* / *ljarjá ‘wicker’, /próvata/ *práwta* ‘sheep-PL’ (Tsopanakis 1940: 55, 78). Interestingly, in this dialect stress protects the mora from being lost and the vowel from becoming a glide. In an example such as /roðákin-o/ *raókino* /**ráw*kino, metathesis takes place but the vowel *o* – under the pressure of stress – fails to form a glide. This is because stress is faithfully pronounced on μ₂, even when the mora at issue is pronounced with a different vowel (RECIPROCITY(μ-*) » *VV » RECIPROCITY(μ-V)).



To conclude, in this paper we discuss opaque structures attested in a group of Greek dialects which result from intervocalic consonant deletion and give rise to glides as a recuperation strategy to hiatus. We propose a model that draws a distinction between input relations and their surface realization in order to straightforwardly account for the fact that the stress prominence of the affected vocalic element sometimes follows it to the new mora and sometimes it does not. Our analysis will be couched within the *Colored Containment* framework (van Oostendorp 2006, 2008) and will address cross-dialectal typological issues pertaining to glide formation in Greek.

Selected references

- (1) Goldrick, M. 2000. Turbid output representations and the unity of opacity. In *Proceedings of NELS 30*, 231-245. Amherst, MA: GLSA. (2) Halle, M. & J.-R. Vergnaud. 1987. *An Essay on Stress*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. (3) Malikouti-Drachman, A. & G. Drachman. 1989. Stress in Greek. *Studies in Greek Linguistics 1989*, 127-143. (4) Méndez Dosuna, J. 2002. Deconstructing ‘height dissimilation’ in Modern Greek. *JGL 3*: 83-114. (5) Topintzi, N. & M. Baltazani. 2011. The glide's big fat Greek wedding... to the palatals. Poster presented at *OCP8*, January 19-21, 2011. (6) Baltazani, M. & N. Topintzi. 2013. On some phonetic and phonological properties of the Greek glide. In Z. Gavriilidou et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the 10th International Conference on Greek Linguistics*, 153-166. (7) Tsopanakis, A.G. 1940. *Contribution à l'étude des dialects néogrecs. Essai sur la phonétique des parlers de Rhodes*. Athens: Verlag der Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Jahrbücher. (8) van Oostendorp, M. 2006. *A theory of morphosyntactic colours*. Ms., Meertens Institute, Amsterdam.