

English word stress

meets French liaison and Hungarian vowel harmony

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Theoretical Issues in Contemporary Phonology:
Reading Tobias Scheer, Paris, 2014-02-06

condensation kɔ²ndɛ³nseɪ¹ʃən

compensating kɔ¹mpənsɛɪ³tɪŋ

kɔ¹mpənsɛɪ²tɪŋ

-
- ▶ “it is easy to detect at least five degrees of stress in English”
(SPE:116)
 - ▶ “five degrees [of stress] must be distinguished”
(Wells 1990:638)

identifying stress

stress = potential tonic (cf Ladefoged 2001:231f)

- ▶ lower the **condensátion**
- ▶ not the saturation but the **cóndensation** requirement
- ▶ for **cómpensating** her
- ▶ ... ***compensáting** ... \Rightarrow 3 is not stress
- ▶ $k\alpha^2nd\varepsilon^3nsei^1f\alpha n$
 $k\alpha^1mp\alpha nsei^3ti\eta$ ✓
 $k\alpha^1mp\alpha nsei^2ti\eta$ ✗
- ▶ 1 and 2 (potential tonic): **T-stress**

identifying stress

stress = foot-initial segmental effects (cf Harris in press)

- ▶ no syncope before the beginning of a foot:
memory [mé^mrrii] vs memorize [mé^mmərɔiz]
category [kátə^grrii] vs categorize [kátə^gərɔiz]
- ▶ no high vowel gliding before the beginning of a foot:
Italian [itáljən] vs retaliation [rətáliⁱéifən], retaliate [rətáliⁱeit]
graduate [grádʒ^wət] vs graduation [grádʒ^{əu}éifən], [grádʒ^{əu}eit]
- ▶ no consonant lenition before the beginning of a foot:
butter [bérə], [béʔə] vs proton [próutən]
ferry [féji] vs ferrite [fé^ɹait] (SouthUS)
Denholm [dénəm] vs [dén^hɔlm]
- ▶ = Fo-stress

identifying stress

stress = “full” vowel

divergent descriptions of the set of “full” and reduced vowels

- ▶ Bolinger (1986): no overlap

FV	i	ɪ	ɔ	e	ɛ	æ	ʌ	ɔ	a	ɔ	o	ʊ	u	ɔ	aɪ	aə	oɪ
RV			ɪ					ə						ə			

nb Kenyon & Knott (1953) have ɪ ə ʊ as RVs!

- ▶ Wells (1990): some overlap

FV	i:	ɪ	eɪ	e	æ	ʌ	ɑ:	ɒ	əʊ	ʊ	u:	aɪ	aʊ	ɔɪ	ɪə	eə	ɜ:	ɔ:	ʊə
RV		ɪ					ə		(əʊ)	ʊ	u								

- ▶ Lindsey & Szigetvári (2013): full overlap: $RV \subset FV$

FV	ii	ɪ	ɛi	ɛ	a	ə	ɑ:	ɔ	əʊ	ə	əʊ	aɪ	au	oi	ɪ:	ɛ:	ə:	o:	ə:
RV	ii	ɪ				ə			(əʊ)		əʊ								

- ▶ = Fu-stress

unifying stress

1. Fu-stress = Fo-stress (call it F-stress or “segmental” stress)
2. all T-stressed syllables are F-stressed
3. some F-stressed syllables are not T-stressed
4. \Rightarrow stress looks scalar ($0 \ll F \ll T$)

condensation	$k\omega^T n d \varepsilon^F n s e i^T j \theta n$	kón d è n s é i j ə n
compensating	$k\omega^T m p ə n s e i^F t i j$	kó m p ə n s è i t i j

excursus 1: liaison in French (also elision)

vowels vs consonants?

les ibis [lezibis] vs les bébés [le \emptyset bebe]

vowels and glides vs other consonants?

les oiseaux [lezwazo], les huiles [lez \emptyset il]

but. . .

les watts [le \emptyset wat], les hiboux [le \emptyset ibu]

representational solutions

[wa] and [wi] diphthongs vs [wa] CV sequence
vowel-initial vs “empty”-consonant-initial words

excursus 1: liaison in French

but...

- ▶ les hiatus [lezjatys] vs les yaourts [le[∅]jaur]
- ▶ is [ja] a diphthong? circular “explanation”
- ▶ hiatus [jatys] ~ [ijatys], but yaourt *[ijaur]
- ▶ les yeux [lezjø]
- ▶ *œil* [œj] is and behaves as vowel initial, therefore its plural form, [jø], behaves so too

excursus 1: liaison in French

1. C-initial words never exhibit liaison
2. some G/V-initial words exhibit liaison, others don't
3. \Rightarrow liaison is a semipredictable property of **paradigms**

excursus 2: vowel harmony in Hungarian

back vs front?

húr-ok 'strings' vs hír-ek 'news'

but. . .

sír-ok 'graves' (hypothetical *súr-ek is impossible)

i, í, é ([eː]), and e ([ɛ]) may trigger both front and back harmony

harmony is determined by the stem (RTS 2013)

- ▶ béke 'peace', bék-ít 'pacify.3sg', bék-ít-ek 'pacify-1sg'
- ▶ béna 'lame', bén-ít 'paralyse.3sg', bén-ít-ok 'paralyse-1sg'
- ▶ ind-ul 'start.3sg'
ind-ít 'make start.3sg', ind-ít-ok 'make start-1sg',
ind-ít-ék 'motivation', ind-ít-ék-ok 'motivations'
- ▶ martini 'id.', martini-nak/nek 'for the martini'
- ▶ Madrid 'M', Madrid-nak/*nek 'for M'
- ▶ madrid-i 'from M', madrid-i-nak/*nek 'for somebody from M'

excursus 2: vowel harmony in Hungarian

1. back stem vowel always triggers back harmony
2. some front stem vowels trigger front, others back harmony
3. \Rightarrow harmony is a semipredictable property of paradigms

F-stress as a historical relic

- ▶ family [fáməlii] ~ [fámlii]
- ▶ jubilee [dʒéubəlii], *[dʒéublii]
- ▶ sanity [sánəti] ~ [sánəri], [sánəʔi]
- ▶ manatee [mánətii], *[mánəri], *[mánəʔi]
- ▶ jubilee [dʒéubəlii] < †[dʒéubəlíi], manatee [mánətii] ~ [mánətíi]

F-stress as a derivational relic

- ▶ ponytail: [pəuni] [tɛil] → [[pəuni] [tɛil]]
- ▶ condensation requirement: [kɔndɛnsɛifən] [rɛkwá:mənt] → [kɔndɛnsɛifən] [rɛkwá:mənt] → [kɔndɛnsɛifən] [rɛkwà:mənt] (condensation: [kəndɛns+ɛifən])
- ▶ also cf the Alternating Stress Rule of SPE
sepǎ⟨rate⟩_a → séparate vs
separā⟨te⟩_v → separáte \xrightarrow{ASR} séparàte

F-stress as lexical idiosyncrasy

- ▶ abbot [ábət] vs robot [réubət]
- ▶ climate [klíimət] vs format [fó:mət]
- ▶ drunkard [drəŋkəd] vs record [rékò:d] (< [rəkó:d])

representation

- ▶ [[dʒéubə] [li]]
- ▶ [[mánə] [tì]]
- ▶ [[sépə] [rèit]]
- ▶ [[réu] [bət]]
- ▶ [[fó:] [màt]]
- ▶ [[kómpan] [sèit]]
- ▶ [kómpənséifən]
- ▶ [[kón] [dèns]] [séifən] (?)
cf Sean Penn Station [ʃón pèn stéifən]

similarity

English stress

	T-stress	no T-stress
F-stress	✓	✓
no F-stress	✗	✓

French liaison

	liaison	no liaison
G/V-initial	✓	✓
C-initial	✗	✓

Hungarian harmony

	F-suffix	B-suffix
F-stem	✓	✓
B-stem	✗	✓

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