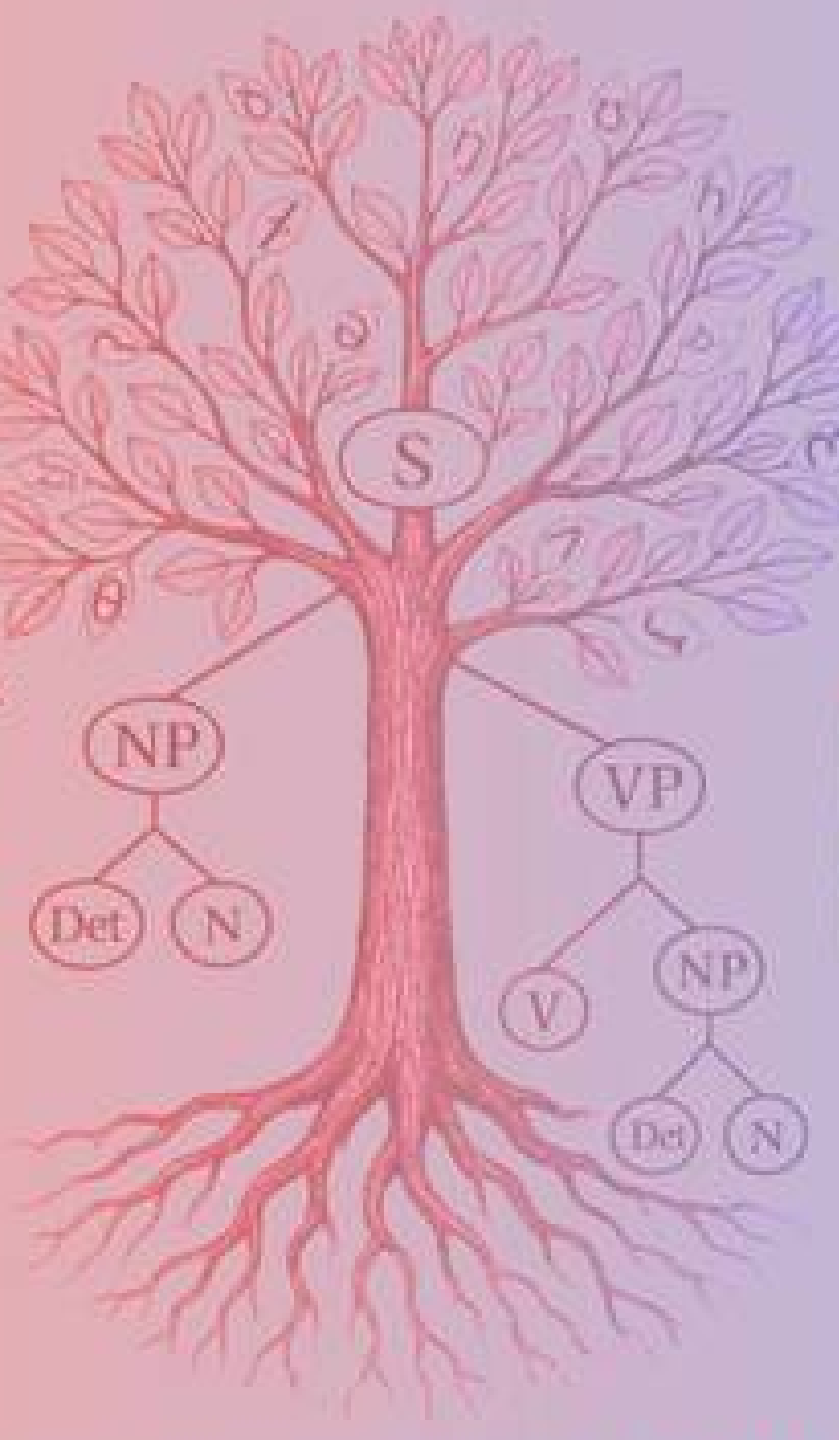




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STRESS HAS NO DEGREES

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I'm grateful to Miklós Törkenczy for our long discussions of stress over more than a decade. I'm also grateful to George Soros.

stress patterns (' = 1, , = 2, other full V = 3, other (= reduced) V = 0)

	LPD2 (BE)		Routledge2 (AE)		this talk
<i>sardine</i>	ˌsaːˈdiːn	2 1	sarˈdin	3 1	1 1
<i>sardonic</i>	saːˈdɒnɪk	3 1 0	sarˈdʌnɪk	3 1 0	1 1 0
<i>sulfuric</i>	sʌlˈfjʊərɪk	3 1 0	ˌsəlˈfjʊrɪk	2 1 0	1 1 0
<i>saboteur</i>	ˌsæbəˈtɜː	2 0 1	ˌsæbəˈtər	2 0 1	1 0 1
<i>sergeant</i>	ˈsaːdʒənt	1 0	ˈsɑːdʒənt	1 0	1 0
<i>Sargon</i>	ˈsaːɡɒn	1 3	ˈsarˌɡʌn	1 2	1 1
<i>satire</i>	ˈsætaɪə	1 3 0	ˈsæˌtaɪər	1 2 0	1 1 0
<i>sapphism</i>	ˈsæfˌɪzəm	1 2 0	ˈsæˌfɪzəm	1 2 0	1 1 0
<i>saraband</i>	ˈsærəbənd	1 0 3	ˈserəˌbənd	1 0 2	1 0 1

Rhythm Rule (RR): swapping prominence

	input	output	adjusted output
<i>sardine salad</i>	2 1 + 1 0	1 2 1 0	2 3 1 0
<i>saboteur's plot</i>	2 0 1 + 1	1 0 2 1	2 0 3 1
<i>academic year</i>	2 0 1 0 + 1	1 0 2 0 1	2 0 3 0 1
<i>intercontinental flight</i>	2 0 3 0 1 0 + 1	1 0 3 0 2 1	2 0 3 0 3 0 1
<i>MIT Press</i>	2 3 1 + 1	1 3 2 1	2 3 3 1

- ▷ $1\ 2 = 1\ 3 = 2\ 3$ and $2\ 1 = 3\ 1 = 3\ 2$ (these degrees have meaning only wrt each other)
- ▷ ignoring 0s, both the input and the output exhibit a $2(3^*)1$ or ✓ pattern
- ▷ the prominence of “1” vs “2” is context dependent

⇒ there is no need to distinguish primary and secondary stress

RR only affects stressed vowels

	input	output	adjusted output
<i>dessert salad</i>	0 1 + 1 0	0 1 1 0	0 2 1 0
<i>controlled flight</i>	0 1 + 1	0 1 1	0 2 1

- ▶ an unstressed V never becomes stressed (and a stressed V never becomes unstressed)
- ▶ it is not stress that shifts/moves, it is prominence relations ($\Rightarrow$ ~~Stress-Shift~~)

tertiary stress cannot gain prominence because

- 1 RR moves prominence to the left only:

song contest 1 + 1 **3** → 1 2 3 (not *1 3 2)

chief rabbi 1 + 1 **3** → 2 1 3 (not *2 3 1)

- 2 RR does not move prominence to a V if there is another stressed V available before it:

MIT Press 2 **3** 1 + 1 → 2 3 3 1 (not *3 2 3 1)

intercontinental flight 2 0 **3** 0 1 0 + 1 → 2 0 3 0 3 0 1 (not *3 0 2 0 3 0 1)

- 3 RR does not move prominence in monomorphemic 3 1 0 or 3 1 3 words:

sardonic smile **3** 1 0 + 1 → 3 2 0 1 (not *2 3 0 1)

sulfuric acid **3** 1 0 + 1 0 → 3 2 0 1 0 (not *2 3 0 1 0)

(cf *whole-hearted smile* **2** 1 0 + 1 → 2 3 0 1)

⇒ there is no need to distinguish secondary and tertiary stress

interim summary

- ▷ **primary**: stress that is most prominent in the citation form
- ▷ **secondary**: stress that is most prominent in some other contexts
- ▷ **tertiary**: stress that is not most prominent in any context

stable prominence (lexically marked?)

prominence mobile		prominence stable	
<i>arcade</i> 2 1	<i>arcade game</i> 2 3 1	<i>decade</i> 1 2	<i>decade long</i> 2 3 1
<i>torment</i> 2 1	<i>torment mice</i> 2 3 1	<i>torment</i> 1 2	<i>torment tool</i> 2 3 1
<i>black bird</i> 2 1	<i>black bird's nest</i> 2 3 1	<i>blackbird</i> 1 2	<i>blackbird's nest</i> 2 3 1
<i>Calabar</i> 2 0 1	<i>Calabar coast</i> 2 0 3 1	<i>Valdemar</i> 1 0 2	<i>Valdemar's friend</i> 2 0 3 1
<i>jamboree</i> 2 0 1	<i>jamboree day</i> 2 0 3 1	<i>pedigree</i> 1 0 2	<i>pedigree row</i> 2 0 3 1
<i>Santa Fe</i> 2 0 1	<i>Santa Fe Trail</i> 2 0 3 1	<i>thunderstorm</i> 1 0 2	<i>thunderstorm's eye</i> 2 0 3 1
✓	✓	✗	✓

recall 1 2 = 1 3 = 2 3 and 2 1 = 3 1 = 3 2

stress is segmental

- 1 only less sonorous vowels may occur unstressed (0)
- 2 no vowel vacillation in stressed (1, 2, 3) position
- 3 no syncope (or high vowel gliding) before stress (1, 2, 3)
- 4 no flapping/glottalling before stress (1, 2, 3)
- 5 no plosive epenthesis before stress (1, 2, 3)
- 6 no j deletion before unstressed (0) vowel
- 7 no deletion of preconsonantal w after stressed (1, 2, 3) vowel
- 8 deletion of preconsonantal w obligatory before unstressed (0) vowel
- 9 no lengthening in unstressed (0) position 1: no compensatory lengthening
- 10 no lengthening in unstressed (0) position 2: no smoothing
- 11 no syllabic consonant formation in stressed (1, 2, 3) position
- 12 only stressed vowel may gain prominence (by RR)

1: stress and sonorousness

	stressed	syllabic	moraic
e a o	✓	✓	✓
ə	~	✓	✓
i/j u/w	~	~	~
l r m n ŋ	✗	~	~
obstruents	✗	✗	~

✓ = always, ~ = potentially, ✗ = never

2: stress and vacillation

vacillation of 0 common	vacillation of 1, 2, 3 rare
<i>chicken</i> tʃíki/ən	<i>akin</i> əkí/* é n
<i>ibis</i> ájbi/əs	<i>abyss</i> əbí/* é s
<i>event</i> i/əvént	<i>oven</i> ə/* í vən
<i>poplist</i> pópjuli/əst	<i>populism</i> pópjulí/* é zəm
<i>sincere</i> si/ənsí:	<i>princess</i> prí/* é nsés
<i>unite</i> ju/ənájt	<i>cushion</i> kú/* é ʃən
<i>fortune</i> fótʃu/ən	<i>ton</i> tɔ/* ú n

note the rare counterexamples: *pulpit* pú/élpi/ət, *hummus* hú/ému/əs

3: stress and syncope/high vowel gliding (HVG)

syncope/HVG possible before 0	syncope/HVG not possible before 1, 2, 3
<i>Lebanon</i> léb(ə)nən	léb*(ə)nón
<i>separate</i> _a sép(ə)rət	<i>separate</i> _v sép*(ə)réjt
<i>hickory</i> hík(ə)rɪj	<i>chickaree</i> tʃík*(ə)rɪj
<i>perfectionist</i> pəfékʃ(ə)nɪst	<i>perfectionism</i> pəfékʃ*(ə)nízəm
<i>premier</i> prém(i)jə	<i>premiere</i> prém*(i)jé:
<i>nucleus</i> njúwkl(i)jəs	<i>nucleon</i> njúwkl*(i)jón
<i>gradual</i> grádʒ(u)wəl	<i>graduate</i> grádʒ*(u)wéjt
<i>menstrual</i> ménstr(u)wəl	<i>menstruate</i> ménstr*(u)wéjt

4: stress and lenition

flapping/glottalling possible before 0	flapping/glottalling impossible before 1, 2, 3
<i>tatter</i> tát/ɾ/ə	<i>Tatar</i> tát/*ɾ/*ʔá:
<i>latent</i> léjt/ɾ/ənt	<i>latex</i> léjt/*ɾ/*ʔéks
<i>intellect</i> ínt/ɾ/əlékt	<i>Intel</i> ínt/*ɾ/*ʔél
<i>Cato</i> kéjt/ɾ/əw	<i>comatose</i> kəwmət/*ɾ/*ʔəws
<i>centre</i> sént/ɾ/ə	<i>centaur</i> sént/*ɾ/*ʔó:

note *Hittite* hít/rájt is perhaps *Hitt#ite*?

5: stress and plosive epenthesis

plosive epenthesis possible before 0, Ø	plosive epenthesis impossible before 1, 2, 3
<i>prince</i> prín(t)s	<i>princess</i> prín*(t)sés
<i>monstrous</i> món(t)strəs	<i>monstrosity</i> món*(t)strósətij
<i>censure</i> sén(t)ʃə	<i>insure</i> in*(t)ʃóː
<i>synth</i> sín(t)θ	<i>synthetic</i> sín*(t)θétik
<i>infant</i> ín(t)fənt	<i>confess</i> kən*(t)fés
<i>Samson</i> sám(p)sən	<i>Samsung</i> sám*(p)səŋ
<i>symphony</i> sím(p)fəniʝ	<i>symphonic</i> sím*(p)fónik

6: stress and postcoronal j deletion

j deletion impossible before 0	j deletion optional before 1, 2, 3
<i>volume</i> vól*(j)uwm	<i>volute</i> vəl(j)úwt
<i>value</i> vál*(j)uw	<i>absolute</i> ábsəl(j)úwt
<i>venue</i> vén*(j)uw	<i>avenue</i> ávən(j)úw
<i>Matthew</i> máθ*(j)uw	<i>enthuse</i> inθ(j)úwz
<i>issue</i> ís*(j)uw/íʃuw	<i>sue</i> s(j)úw

7: stress and preconsonantal w deletion 1

w deletion possible after 0	w deletion impossible after 1, 2, 3
<i>volume</i> vólju(w)m	<i>volute</i> vəlú*(w)t
<i>unite</i> ju(w)nájt	<i>unit</i> jú*(w)nit
<i>provocation</i> prónə(w)kéjʃən	<i>provoke</i> prə(w)və*(w)k
<i>obese</i> ə(w)bíjs	<i>oboe</i> é*(w)bəw

8: stress and preconsonantal w deletion 2

w deletion obligatory before 0	w deletion optional before 1, 2, 3, Ø
<i>stimulus</i> stímju(*w)ləs	<i>stimulate</i> stímju(w)léjt
<i>copula</i> kópju(*w)lə	<i>copulation</i> kópju(w)léjʃən
<i>populist</i> pópju(*w)li/əst	<i>populism</i> pópju(w)lízəm
<i>fortunate</i> fó:tʃu(*w)nət	<i>fortune</i> fó:tʃu(w)n
<i>advocate</i> ádvə(*w)kət	<i>advocaat</i> ádvə(w)ká:
<i>monomer</i> mónə(*w)mə	<i>monomorphemic</i> mónə(w)mó:fíjmik
<i>chocolate</i> tʃókə(*w)lə/it	<i>protocol</i> práwtə(w)kól

9: stress and compensatory lengthening (CL)

CL obligatory for 1, 2, 3	CL impossible for 0
<i>defer</i> difə́:	<i>differ</i> dífə(*̌)
<i>bombard</i> bómbá:d	<i>standard</i> stándə(*̌)d
<i>foreword</i> fó:wə́:d	<i>forward</i> fó:wə(*̌)d
<i>concern</i> kənsə́:n	<i>modern</i> módə(*̌)n
<i>dessert</i> dizə́:t	<i>desert</i> dézə(*̌)t
<i>merger</i> mé:dʒə	<i>merger</i> mé:dʒə(*̌)

10: stress and smoothing

smoothing possible in 1, 2, 3	smoothing impossible in 0
<i>idea</i> ajdǿjə/ajdiː	<i>India</i> índijə (*-diː)
<i>gambier</i> gámbǿjə/gámbíː	<i>Gambia</i> gámbijə (*-biː)
<i>career</i> kærǿjə/kæríː	<i>linear</i> línijə (*-niː)
<i>revere</i> rævǿjə/rævíː	<i>Xavier</i> zéjvijə (*-viː)
<i>secure</i> sikjúwə/sikjúː	<i>jaguar</i> dzágjuwə (*-juː)
<i>sulfuric</i> sálǿjúwərik/sálǿjúːrik	<i>sulfuret</i> sálǿjuwəréːt/-jur-/-jər- (*-juː-)

11: stress and consonants

consonant possible in 0	consonant impossible in 1, 2, 3
<i>tunnel</i> tənəl/tən	<i>anull</i> ənəl, *-n
<i>doctoral</i> dóktərəl/dóktɾəl	<i>immoral</i> imórəl, *-mɾ-
<i>Axel</i> áksəl/áks	<i>Maxell</i> máksél, *-s
<i>camel</i> káməl/kám	<i>Intel</i> íntél, *-t
<i>Dixon</i> díksən/díksɿ	<i>Exxon</i> éksón, *-sɿ
<i>caramel</i> kárəməl/kárəm	<i>philomel</i> fíləmél, *-m

12: stress and prominence

RR possible (2 1 → 1 2)	RR impossible (0 1)
<i>covert (prestige)</i> kəwvə:t → kəwvət	<i>obese (person)</i> əwbɪs
<i>princess (bride)</i> prɪnsés → prɪnsès	<i>sincere (wish)</i> sɪnsɪ:
<i>buckshee (booze)</i> bəkʃɪj → bəkʃɪj	<i>bassoon (player)</i> bəsúwn
<i>Dunblane (shooting)</i> dənbléjn → dənblèjn	<i>de Burgh (castle)</i> dəbɜ:g
<i>Dubai (chocolate)</i> dúbwáj → dúwbàj	<i>unite (people)</i> juwnájt

stress is binary

- ▶ none of the differences listed above are sensitive to "degrees" (1, 2, 3) of stress
- ▶ the difference between 1 and 2 is the place of context-sensitive prominence
- ▶ 3 cannot be most prominent for various reasons
- ▶ the apparent graduality of stress is due to the attempt at encoding prominence

thank you

