English stress is stable, lexical, and binary

Péter Szigetvári

Eötvös Loránd University szigetvari@elte.hu

25mfm fringe meeting: GDRI PTA on ternarity in English Manchester, 2017-05-24 three claims about English word stress

- 1. stress is stable, ie
 - stressed Vs do not become unstressed
 - unstressed Vs do not become stressed
- 2. stress is lexical, ie phonology does not manipulate which Vs are stressed and which are unstressed
- 3. stress is binary, ie a V is either stressed or unstressed, tertium non datur (so we're not talking about binary feet here!)

how do we know if a V is stressed?

stress is relational

- ▶ first V is more prominent in *látest, látex*
- second V is more prominent in lagóon, lampóon
- v is the tonic if these words are final in the neutral reading of an utterance

yet, in some sense,

- the other Vs of látèx and làmpóon are also stressed
- while the other Vs of látest and lagóon are not stressed
- why do we think so?

stress shift

lampoon vs lagoon

- in *lampoon* either V may be more prominent than the other: *lampóon* vs *lámpoon póetry*
- in lagoon the first V may not be more prominent than the second: lagóon, lagóon dólphin, *lágoon dólphin
- so both Vs in lámpóon are stressed, which one is more prominent is predictable from the context: lámpóon, lagóon

látest vs látèx

- the second V may not be more prominent than the first in any context in either word
- so what's the difference?

vowel quality

according to a wide-spread assumption

- vowels reduce in unstressed position to a I (+)

however, this only works if...

- ▶ we use different symbols for "normal" and "reduced" vowels: eg ∧ vs ə; + vs ∔ (ʊ vs ə), cf Bolinger 1986 and many others
- else vowel quality is not indicative of stress: cf Kentucky kɛntəkij vs Kennedy kɛ́nədij; today tədɛ́j vs Monday mə́ndɛj; abut əbə́t vs butter bə́tə; begin bigín vs Biggin bígin
- so we're using the appropriate symbol only because we know which vowels are stressed in the first place

vowel reduction is history

the GP view (à la Kaye 1995)

- full vowel~reduced vowel alternations are lexical (ie not phonological): regular (analytic) affixation (eg of -ing, -ed, -ness, un-, etc) does not lead to vowel reduction, since it does not induce any change in stress
- nonanalytic (level-1) affixation may change stress; the relationship of academy əkádəmıj-academic ákədémıkacademician əkádəmíʃən/ákədəmíʃən is not phonological; note that practically only the consonants are constant, like in sing and sang, or full and fill
- vowel reduction is a historical relic (like ablaut, umlaut, velar softening, or spirantization), not a phonological process, but — like in the case of velar softening or vowel shift spelling disguises this (cf academic/academician, hide/hid, etc)

stress is stable

if we exclude historical events from phonology

- stress will be stable, ie
 - Vs lexically stressed do not become unstressed: work waik, *wak; exc some one-syllable function words, eg were wai, wa, this is lexical allomorphy
 - Vs lexically unstressed do not become stressed: the nonfirst Vs of wá:kabal are never stressed; exc in contrastive topic: *is the idea working?* — *no, it's workáble* wa:kábal
- stresses are not all equally prominent, but no stress is lost
- "stress shift" is simply prominence shift: sárdíne vs sárdíne spréad; léft hánd vs léft hánd dríve (three adjacent stresses come out as "231")
- \blacktriangleright \Rightarrow word stress in English is stable and lexical

so why is the last V of *latex* stressed?

some segmental consequences of stress

- ► aspiration before stress vs t-lenition: *lát*[h]*èx* vs *lá*[?]/[r]/[s]*est*
- no syncope (including high vowel gliding) before stress: Lebanon lébønon vs léb*ønon; linear lín/jo vs delineate dılín*/jèjt (nb this is not a stress-clash-avoidance strategy: cf methodological méθod*ølódʒıkol, characterize károkt*øràjz)
- no excrescent plosive in nasal+fricative clusters before stress: censure séntfə, prince prínts vs ensure in*tfó:, princess prín*tsés, incest ín*tsèst
- unstressed uw only before stress: amulet ámjuwlèt, ámjulèt, ámjulet, but *ámjuwlet; stimulus stímju*wles vs stimulate stímju(w)lèjt

data from Wells 2008

vowels and stress

there are two types of vowels

- the vowels that occur in unstressed postion are a i to aw ij to w
- although these vowels are not "derived" from other vowels by phonological rules, we could call them reduced
- all other vowels do not occur in unstressed position (a ε ο αj aw εj oj and all long vowels)
- thus the second V of *latex* is stressed
- for syllables with possibly reduced vowels we must consider segmental effects or stress shift (eg Príncess Ánne vs sincére wísh; uncháined vs únchained mélody)

lampoon vs latex

if both have both Vs stressed, what's the difference? short answer

I whish I knew

longer answer

the contrast of *black bird* 'avis nigra' and *blackbird* 'Turdus merula' neutralizes in

- black()bird's nest (difference in structure)
- is this a black()board? no, it's a black()bird! (emphasis)

also note

lämpóon pőetry vs **fáke látếx* (no stress shift in the other direction)

thanks to

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