

# SPANISH SECONDARY STRESS WITHOUT GRADIENT ALIGNMENT

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NELS 43  
City University of New York  
19 October 2012

## Organization of the talk

- foot construction
  - gradient vs. categorical constraints
- predictions of the rhythmic theory
  - dependence on location of primary stress
- the challenge of Spanish secondary stress
  - a lapse away from the main stress
  - but different in colloquial and “rhetorical” styles
- lexical and phrasal interactions
  - a two-stage solution

## Approaches to iterative feet

- directional foot construction
  - stepwise iteration in ordered-rule theories
- gradient alignment in OT
  - approximate modeling of the iterative approach
  - McCarthy & Prince 1993, Gordon 2002, Hyde 2002
- categorical alignment and rhythmic constraints
  - a formally simpler theory
  - distinct typological predictions
  - Kager 2001, 2005, McCarthy 2003, Buckley 2009

## Directional trochees

- with ordered operations, feet are constructed one by one in a particular direction
- Warao (Venezuela)
  - right to left: odd-parity 0(20)(20)(10)
  - ( *yà pu* ) ( *rù ki* ) ( *tà ne* ) ( *há se* )
  - *e* ( *nà ho* ) ( *rò a* ) ( *hà ku* ) ( *tá i* )
- Pintupi (Australia)
  - left to right: odd-parity (10)(20)(20)0
  - ( *tá mu* ) ( *lim pa* ) ( *tùŋ ku* )
  - ( *tí lí* ) ( *rì ŋu* ) ( *là m pa* ) *tù*

## Gradient alignment

Pintupi: ALL-FT-LEFT

- count total number of syllables separating every left foot boundary from left edge of word
- use this number to compare candidates

( *tí lí* ) ( *rì ŋu* ) ( *là m pa* ) *tù*  
0        2        4                    total = 6

\* *tí* ( *lí ri* ) ( *ŋù lam* ) ( *pà tù* )  
1        3        5                    total = 9

## Relative alignment violations

	PARSE SYLLABLE	ALL-FT LEFT	ALL-FT RIGHT
(10)0000	**!***		*****
☞ (10)(20)(20)0	*	** , ****	* , ** , *****
(10)0(20)(20)	*	*** , ****!*	** , *****
0(10)(20)(20)	*	* , ** , ***!*	** , ****

## Categorical alignment

- gradient alignment is massively nonlocal
  - also not finite state
  - Eisner 2000, Biró 2003, Riggle 2004, Heinz 2009
- “alignment” has been used inconsistently
  - mostly categorically, but gradiently for feet and some other phenomena
  - Zoll 1996, McCarthy 2003
- all OT constraints should be categorical
  - Eisner 1997, McCarthy 2003
- produces a more accurate stress typology
  - Kager 2001, 2005

## Kager’s constraints on lapses

- \*LAPSE
  - No two adjacent unstressed syllables.
  - *prefers right-aligned trochees*
- LAPSE-AT-PEAK
  - Lapse must be adjacent to the peak.
  - *penalizes lapses away from primary stress*
- LAPSE-AT-END
  - Lapse must be adjacent to the right edge.
  - *penalizes initial and medial lapses*

## Trochaic typology: End Rule R

	*LAPSE	AT END	AT PEAK	ALIGN L	ALIGN R
a. 0(20)(20)(10)				*	
b. (20)0(20)(10)	*	*	*!		
c. (20)(20)0(10)	*	*			
d. (20)(20)(10)0	*				*

## Rhythmic wellformedness

- categorical alignment of one foot
  - at the left or right edge
  - Kager 2001, 2005
- generate location of other feet from local properties of **lapse** and **clash**
- lapses are preferred in certain positions
  - adjacent to main stress
  - at right edge of domain
- produces fewer patterns than gradient alignment
  - perhaps too few, but assumptions can be modified
  - Buckley 2009

## Trochaic typology: End Rule L

	*LAPSE	AT END	AT PEAK	ALIGN L	ALIGN R
a. (10)(20)(20)0	*		*		*
b. (10)(20)0(20)	*	*	*!		
c. (10)0(20)(20)	*	*			
d. 0(10)(20)(20)				*	

## The initial dactyl effect

- all feet align rightward except the first
  - apparent dactylic foot (óσσ) at left edge
  - actually (óσ)σ with an unfooted syllable
- English has this pattern in some placenames
  - *(Winne)pe(sáukee)*
  - *(Kàla)ma(zóo)*
- Indonesian has it in certain loanwords
  - *(kònti)nu(ási)* ‘continuation’
  - *(àme)ri(kàni)(sási)* ‘Americanization’
  - *(dèmi)li(tàri)(sási)* ‘demilitarization’
- how do we control position of medial foot?

## Initial dactyls and ALL-FT-R

- can't prove gradient ALL-FT-R without a medial foot
  - (20)0(10) can be generated by two categorical constraints
- English has just (20)0(10) in *(Winne)pe(sáukee)*
  - most long words have cyclicity, which overrides this pattern
- Indonesian has medial foot in *(àme)ri(kàni)(sási)*
  - but can be explained by cyclicity in Dutch, with listing of secondary stress location (Kager 2001)
    - *Àmerikán* : *Àmerikànisátie*
  - again, most long words in Indonesian have their own cyclicity (Cohn & McCarthy 1998)
  - not strong evidence for gradient alignment, although fully consistent with that analysis (Gordon 2002, Hyde 2002)

## Spanish secondary stress

- Spanish has (20)0(20)(10)
  - a problem for Kager's metrical constraints
  - Hyde & McCord 2012
- mainly cited with a couple of suffixes
  - *(gràma)ti(càli)(dád)* 'grammaticality'
  - *(màte)ma(tici)(dád)* 'mathematicity'
  - *(nàtu)ra(liza)(ción)* 'naturalization'
  - *(ràcio)na(liza)(ción)* 'rationalization'
  - *(bùro)cra(tiza)(ción)* 'bureaucratization'
- but also attested in loanwords
  - *(Tlàtla)u(quite)(péc)* municipality in Puebla state, Mexico

## Spanish cyclic mismatches

- even considering various related words, the cycle is not a plausible explanation
  - *(bùro)cra(tiza)(ción)* 'bureaucratization'
  - *< bu(rócra)ta* 'bureaucrat'
  - *< (bùro)(cràti)co* 'bureaucratic'
  - *< (bùro)(cràti)(zár)* 'bureaucratize'
  - *(nàtu)ra(liza)(ción)* 'naturalization'
  - *< (nàtu)(ráli)* 'natural'
  - *< (nàtu)(ràli)(zár)* 'naturalize'
  - *< (nàtu)ra(liza)* 'he/she naturalizes'
- the last case, a finite form of the verb, requires odd assumptions about the base of cyclicity or output-output faithfulness

## Initial dactyls and stress level

- gradient alignment is indifferent to stress level
  - can generate (10)0(20)(20) and (20)0(20)(10)
  - categorical ALIGN-FT-L >> gradient ALL-FT-R
  - McCarthy & Prince 1993
- Kager predicts this lapse position only if first foot is the primary stress
  - (10)0(20)(20) by LAPSE-AT-PEAK
- for Kager, the alternative is impossible
  - LAPSE-AT-PEAK prefers (20)(20)0(10)
  - LAPSE-AT-END prefers (20)(20)(10)0
  - nothing in his system favors (20)0(20)(10)
  - same is true for mirror-image (10)(20)0(20)

## Cyclicity

- can cyclicity account for the medial stress?
  - by ordering (Kiparsky 2000, Bermúdez-Otero 2011)
  - or by output-output faithfulness (Benua 1997)
- in some cases, yes
  - *(gràma)ti(càli)(dád)* 'grammaticality'
  - *< (gràma)ti(cál)* 'grammatical'
- in others, no
  - *(màte)ma(tici)(dád)* 'mathematicity'
  - *< (màte)(máti)co* 'mathematical'
- and in loanwords, no
  - these have no internal structure in Spanish

## Is gradient alignment necessary?

- Hyde & McCord 2012 claim that these data show the need for gradient directional alignment
- but a more complete account of Spanish stress makes such gradient unnecessary
- in particular, there are actually two patterns of secondary stress
  - Hyde & McCord mention the second pattern but do not analyze it
- the secondary stresses interact with phrasal structure
- we can solve the apparent alignment issue by taking into account the phrasal facts

## Right-aligning secondary stress

- careful descriptions report two variants
  - initial dactyl (20)0(20)(10)
  - right-aligned 0(20)(20)(10)
- Harris 1983, Roca 1986, Hualde 2005, 2007, 2010
- Harris (1983) says the right-aligned pattern:
  - has a rhetorical tinge
  - often heard in newscasting, in lecturing, and in highlighted chunks of otherwise informal speech
- Hualde (2007):
  - very frequent in news broadcasts
  - also found in other types of public discourse, such as lectures and speeches
  - conveys a certain “didactic” tone

## A two-stage analysis

- we need some account of this variation
  - for example, two possible constraint rankings
  - depending the speech style
- why not one-stage variation in ranking of ALIGN-FT-L and \*LAPSE, to generate both options?
  - still using gradient alignment, ALL-FT-R
- because we also need to take into account footing at the phrasal level
  - a function word grouped with the following lexical word
- analysis:
  - the right-aligned pattern is basic, and assigned lexically
  - the initial dactyl is (sometimes) later derived from it

## Lexical versus phrasal footing

- lexically, right-aligned feet are created
  - what happens phrasally depends on the style of speech
- in colloquial style, a left-aligned foot overrides faithfulness to the lexical foot structure
  - or a rule inserting a foot depends on speech style
- left-aligned trochee relative to a prosodic phrase that has been constructed over an XP
  - examples include prepositions and articles
  - exact outcome depends on style and interaction of lexical footing with new syllabic material
- but in rhetorical style, faithfulness wins
  - higher faithfulness must hold for the main stress, since it is not shifted phrasally in short words

## The “rhetorical” pattern

- feet are fully aligned to the right, 0(20)(20)(10)
  - ge(nèra)(tívo)* ‘generative’
  - gra(màti)(càli)(dád)* ‘grammaticality’
  - tra(dicio)(nàl)* ‘traditional’
  - en(càmi)(nàda)* ‘directed, aimed’
- some related words (Roca 1986)
  - (Còstan)(tíno)* ‘Constantine’
  - Cons(tànti)(nópla)* ‘Constantinople’
  - (còstan)(tino)(pléño)* ‘Constantinople guy’
  - cons(tànti)(nòple)(ár)* ‘to hang out in C’
  - (còstan)(tino)(pòli)(táno)* ‘Constantinopolitan’
  - cons(tànti)(nòpo)(liza)(ción)* ‘Constantinoplization’

## Phrasal prosody

- an initial dactyl is often found within a phrase (Navarro Tomás 1977)
  - (sòbre) la (frénte)* ‘on the front’
  - (pòr) la) ma(ñána)* ‘in the morning’
  - (èn) la) cor(riénte)* ‘in the current’
  - cf. *(gène)ra(tívo)*
- though right-alignment is also attested, in the same “didactic” style as word-internally (Hualde 2007)
  - la (pòbla)(ción)* ‘the population’
  - en (èl e)(xílio)* ‘in exile’
  - cf. *ge(nèra)(tívo)*
- the sources mainly discuss only nouns
  - verbs and proclitics are presumably similar

## Adding a new foot

- when sufficient material is added before the noun, a new foot can be created faithfully
  - it need not affect the structure that is already present
- aligns rightward if \*LAPSE >> ALIGN-FT-L
  - = rhetorical style
  - lexical e(xílio)
  - phrasal en (èl e)(xílio)
- aligns leftward if ALIGN-FT-L >> \*LAPSE
  - = colloquial style
  - lexical ma(ñána)
  - phrasal (pòr) la) ma(ñána)

## Phrasal ranking

- a left-aligned foot can be added nondestructively where a new word precedes an unfooted syllable
  - *Cons(tànti)(nópla)* ‘Constantinople’
  - *(èn Cons)(tànti)(nópla)* ‘in Constantinople’
- but there is still variation attested (Roca 1986)
  - *(Còstan)(tíno)* ‘Constantine’
  - *por (Còstan)(tíno)* ‘for Constantine’
  - *(pòr Cons)tan(tíno)* ‘for Constantine’
- rhetorical: \*LAPSE, FT-FAITH >> ALIGN-FT-L
  - *por (Còstan)(tíno)* ‘for Constantine’
- colloquial: ALIGN-FT-L >> \*LAPSE, FT-FAITH
  - *(pòr Cons)tan(tíno)* ‘for Constantine’

## Variation in single words

- if lexical word is initial in the prosodic word
  - as when in isolation or a bare NP
- variation in whether the lexical feet are fully retained
  - lexical 0(20)(20)(10)
  - phrasal (20)0(20)(10) ~ 0(20)(20)(10)
- example of “grammaticality”
  - lexical *gra(màti)(càli)(dád)*
    - selected by \*LAPSE >> ALIGN-FT-L
  - rhetorical at phrasal level: *gra(màti)(càli)(dád)*
    - faithful to lexical output
  - colloquial at phrasal level: *(gràma)ti(càli)(dád)*
    - from imposition of new left-aligned foot
    - ALIGN-FT-L >> \*LAPSE, FT-FAITH

## Against a purely phrasal analysis

- why not do **all** secondary stresses at the phrasal level?
  - this is essentially what Roca and Hualde assume
  - in OT, we would still need gradient alignment
- stress systems assign feet iteratively by default, so it’s actually unmarked to have iterative lexical footing
  - and in some theories, that’s the only option
  - constraint PARSE-SYL expresses this preference
- since a foot can cross a word boundary, we clearly need phrasal footing
  - but it never changes more than the leftmost foot
- simplest (and most unmarked) approach is two steps
  - iterative footing within the word
  - just one extra foot in the (potentially) larger phrase

## Using all parts of the model

- Hyde & McCord are partly correct
  - word-internal faithfulness or cyclicity will not generate all the Spanish data if also assume categorical alignment
- the answer nonetheless lies in a faithfulness that they do not consider
  - that between the lexical and phrasal components, as assumed here
  - or potentially between a word and its realization in a different output context
- any complete theory requires some account of the difference between lexical and phrasal patterns
  - this analysis simply makes use of that architecture

## Empirical questions

- the literature has often been vague or conflicting about the status of secondary stresses in Spanish
- Hualde (2010) on secondary stresses:
  - not common in most conversational speech (and typically won’t be found in read experimental materials), but can reach a high frequency in certain styles (emphatic or “didactic”)
  - lack of explicitness of phonologists regarding the relative abstract character of the stress patterns that they have described
- I assume that feet may be present that are not always (or not saliently) realized phonetically

## Non-varying grammars

- could there be grammars of Spanish in which the “rhetorical” stress pattern is completely absent?
- this would mean that for such speakers, phrasal left-alignment is obligatory
  - i.e., ALIGN-FT-L >> \*LAPSE, FT-FAITH without variation
- in any model that includes both lexical and phrasal effects, this derivation will be available to the learner
- if the theory also permits gradient directionality, then
  - *(gràma)ti(càli)(dád)* has two possible derivations, and
  - the power of gradient alignment is redundant and excessive

## Typological predictions

- taking into account phrasal alignment does change Kager's typological predictions
  - he relies on a single step of metrical evaluation for his claims
- but there is already evidence that these predictions are too restrictive and cannot be sustained
  - e.g. left-edge extrametricality (Buckley 2009)
- I propose that we exploit the already necessary power of the lexical / phrasal distinction
  - independently motivated by decades of research
- the metrical system itself remains more restricted
  - predict no pattern like this at the Stem level
  - and without needing the computational and formal complexity of gradient alignment

Thank you!

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