Довгота звуку у бретонській і валлійській мові

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У роботі розглядається взаємозалежність між довготою голосного і приголосного звуку у близько споріднених бретонській і валлійській мовах.

Короткі голосні в бретонській мові виступають у ненаголошених складах. Якщо голосний наголошується і стоїть перед глухим приголосним (традиційно називають їх сильними приголосними - *fortis*), голосний має бути коротким.

Довгі голосні, з іншого боку, повинні задовольнити ряд умов. По-перше, лише наголошені голосні можуть бути довгими. По-друге, вони можуть стояти тільки перед дзвінкими приголосними. Виключенням з цього правила є остаточний контекст слова, де приголосні звуки оглушуються (напр. mab ['ma:p] «син» і mabig ['ma:bik] «син, тьмяний»). У цьому випадку довгі голосні знаходяться перед оглушеними приголосними. Ці приголосні звуки традиційно називають слабкими *(lenis)*. Довгі голосні можуть також стояти перед сильними приголосними, але лише за особливих умов, тобто якщо слово закінчується на сильний приголосний (напр. pak ["pa:k] «спіймання» - pakan ["paka] «спіймати»).

У південній валлійській мові короткий ненаголошений звук виступає лише перед трьома приголосними: [t], [s] і латеральним фрикативним приголосним [ɬ]. Єдиний виняток становлять ці приголосні звуки, якщо стоять після довгих приголосних, це коли вони займають кінцеву позицію у слові (напр. iet [je:t] «ворота»). З цього виникає, якщо аналіз є правильним, що у валлійській мові лише ці три шумні приголосні можуть розглядатися як подвоєння.

З огляду на обмежені рамки цієї статті, сонорні приголосні не піддавалися аналізу. Достатньо лише відмітити, що в обох мовах, вони мають тенденцію поводитися як сильні і слабкі шумні звуки.

У роботі запропоновано, щоб трактувати приголосні звуки, які попереджаються наголошеними короткими голосними, як особливий вид подвоєння.

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Quantity in Breton and Welsh

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***The paper takes up the problem of quantity in Breton and Welsh. It deals with consonantal length and its influence on the quantity of the surrounding vowels. Long stressed vowels in Breton may appear only before lenis (or, roughly speaking, voiced) consonants. Fortis (or voiceless) consonants may be preceded only by short vowels. In Welsh the situation is very similar, though there are also some differences in the distribution of vocalic quantity. In particular, Welsh long stressed vowels can appear both before voiced and voiceless obstruents with the exception of the fricatives [Ò] and [s]. It is suggested that Breton fortis objects and Welsh two fricatives be represented as a special type of* geminates.**

Keywords – phonology, Celtic languages, Breton, Welsh, vowel and consonant length, geminates

I. Introduction

Vowel and consonant quantity is one of more interesting problems in Breton and Welsh. It has been approached by a number of scholars (e.g. Jackson [1], Press [2], Ternes [3] for Breton, and, inter alia, Awbery [4], Watkins [5] for Welsh). In the present article the data from the two languages will be approached from the perspective of the Government Phonology (GP).

First, the paper presents the data from Breton and proposes that vowel length in this language depends on the quantity of the next consonant. Secondly, an analysis of the phenomenon is provided. Further, the findings are confronted with the Welsh data, which proves to be fairly similar to Breton. The aim of the paper is to provide a uniform account of the facts from these two Celtic languages.

II. The distribution of vowel length in Breton

Long vowels in Breton appear only in stressed open syllables, i.e. before a consonant or a consonant cluster that belongs to the next syllable. The examples are given in (1).

(1)
a.
ti ["ti:] ‘house’
me ["me:] ‘me’
Ebrel ["e:brel] ‘April’
du ["dy:] ‘black’
b.
padou ["pa:dut] ‘to last’
lizher ["li:zer] ‘letter’
ober ["o:ber] ‘to do’
lagad ["la:gat] ‘eye’
pazenn ["pa:zen] ‘step’
pagan ["pa:gan] ‘pagan’
c.
diglok ["di:glok] ‘incomplete’

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kablus ["ka:blys] ‘guilty’
divlas ["di:vlas] ‘dull’
givri ["gi:vri] ‘goat/pl.’

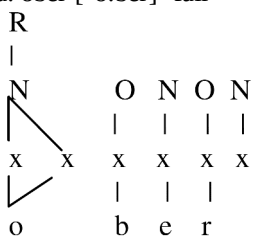
All vowels in (1) are stressed. In (1a), they appear word-finally, in (1b) before single onsets and in (1c) they precede consonant clusters of the branching onset type. Note that all the consonants in question are voiced.

Short stressed vowels, on the other hand, appear in closed syllables, i.e. in syllables that consist of a branching rhyme whose complement is non-nuclear. The examples are given in (2).

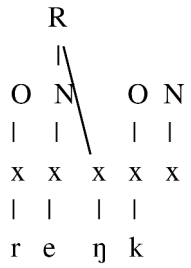
(2)
a.
kant ["kant] ‘hundred’
dorn ["dorn] ‘hand’
renk ["reŃNk] ‘row’
hent ["hent] ‘way’
b.
kentan ["kenta] ‘frost’
embann ["emban] ‘proclamation’
hentou ["hentu] ‘way/pl.’
rankout ["rankut] ‘to have to’

In (2a) and (2b), we deal with closed syllables word- internally and word-finally, respectively. In both cases the vowel is short. To sum up, we suggest that a stressed rhyme in Breton must occupy two skeletal positions. It is either a branching nucleus or a branching rhyme. In other words, if there is no coda, the nucleus is branching. If the coda does occur after the nucleus, the latter remains short. Let us now provide the representations of open (3a) and closed syllables (3b) in Breton.

(3).
a. ober ["o:ber] ‘fair’



b. renk ["reŃk] ‘row’



In (3a), the long vowel is represented as a branching nucleus preceding a single onset, and as such it finds itself in an open syllable. The word in (3b), on the other hand, contains a branching rhyme whose complement is occupied by a sonorant, thus creating a typical closed syllable. Consequently, the nucleus cannot be branching. Notice, however, that in both cases the stressed rhyme is branching, which is of considerable importance for our further analysis.

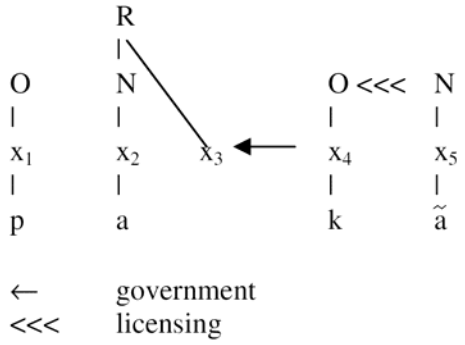
III. Vowel length and ‘virtual geminates’

So far we have seen that long vowels appear before voiced obstruents in stressed open syllables. Short vowels, on the other hand, occur when unstressed or when preceding a coda-onset cluster. There is, however, yet another context where short nuclei are encountered, namely before voiceless obstruents. Consider the data in (4).

(4)
pakan ["paka‡] ‘to catch’
tapout ["taput] ‘to seize’
tresan ["tresa‡] ‘to plot’
tasou ["tasu] ‘cup/pl.’
manchou ["ma‡Su] ‘sleeve/pl.’
tachou ["taSu] ‘key/pl.’

The stressed vowels in the words above are short and in this respect, they behave exactly like in closed syllables. Therefore, we maintain that the last two contexts are in fact similar. That is to say, fortis (i.e. voiceless) obstruents consist of an onset and a rhymal complement. The structure which corresponds to the proposed form of fortis objects is the structure of geminates. As proposed by Kaye, Lowenstamm and Vergnaud (1990), a geminate is a structure involving an interconstituent governing relation established between an onset and a rhymal complement. Breton facts, however, require a slightly modified version of a geminate, and such a version is provided by Sègèral and Scheer (2001: 312) and called a ‘virtual geminate’. The crucial difference between the two proposals is the fact that in the case of virtual geminates the coda remains inaudible – just as it is in Breton. What is more, the only sign that what we are dealing with is a kind of a geminate is the length of the preceding vowel. Below, we provide a representation of the word pakan ["paka‡] ‘to catch’ which encapsulates the idea of virtual geminates.

(5) pakan ["paka‡] ‘to catch’



In (5), the first rhyme is stressed and so it must branch. Its left-hand branch is occupied by a vowel (x2). The onset (x4) controls the empty coda position (x3). Note that the latter is not attached to any melody whatsoever. The result is a closed syllable with a short

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vowel. Thus, fortis objects contain two skeletal slots, namely a coda and an onset. The presence of the rhymal complement is attested solely on the basis of the behaviour of the preceding stressed vowel, which is short.

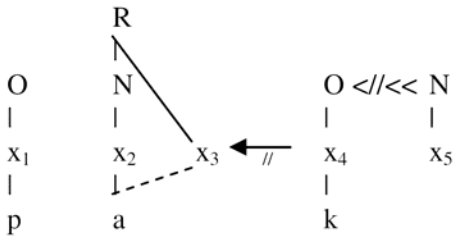
Recall that obstruental virtual geminates in Breton are only voiceless. Lenis objects, on the other hand, occupy one skeletal position. Furthermore, if they occur under stress, they are preceded by lexical long vowels, which have the form of a branching nucleus.

However, there is another type of long vowels. We have seen that geminated obstruents appear when they are followed by full vowels (cf. 4). The data in (6) below, on the other hand, present words where the geminates appear word-finally. In that case, however, the preceding vowel is lengthened. Consider the data:

(6)
pak ["pa:k] ‘catch’
tap ["ta:p] ‘seize’
manch ["ma:S] ‘sleeve/sg.’
tach ["ta:S] ‘key/sg.’

Having in mind the structure of medial geminates (cf. 5), let us now present what happens when the geminate is word-final:

(7) pak ["pa:k] ‘catch’



←// lack of government
<//<< lack of licensing

As can be seen in the diagram above, if the final nucleus is empty (x5), it cannot license the preceding geminate. Consequently, the geminate is broken. Now, the empty position in (x3) is left out and has to be taken over either by a consonant or a vowel. Since the consonant cannot ‘take’ it (because it has no necessary licensing), it is ‘taken’ by the preceding vowel (x2). Thus, the stressed vowel is lengthened and now occupies two skeletal positions: (x2) and (x3). Notice that the resulting structure of the lengthened vowel includes, apart from a nuclear position, a coda position, which is usually associated by a consonant. Such a structure is known as the ‘Johnsen Vowel’ and has been used to account for Irish long vowels by Cyran (1996).

To sum up, in Breton we encounter two types of long vowels: lexical long vowels (which precede lenis objects) and lengthened vowels of the structure of the ‘Johnsen vowel’, which contains one part of a former geminate.

IV. Quantity in South Welsh

In this section we will analyze the distribution of vowel length in the dialect of South Wales (data based on Awbery (1984)).

Similarly to Breton, the southern variety of Welsh distinguishes short and long vowels, whose distribution is strictly subordinated to context. First of all, long vowels appear only when stressed. Further, their length depends on the following consonant.

Vowels are normally long in stressed final syllables (8).

(8)
lle ['ñe:] ‘place’
ci ['ki:] ‘dog’
da ['da:] ‘good’
ty [ti:] ‘house’
du [di:] ‘black’
te [te:] ‘tea’
to [to:] ‘roof

Long stressed vowels may also precede voiced stops and fricatives. The data are presented below:

(9)

lludw ['ñi:du] ‘ashes’	hafau ['ha:ve]
‘summery’ edau ['e:de] ‘thread’	tafod ['ta:vod] ‘tongue’
cadair ['ka:der] ‘chair’	rhaffau ['ra:fe] ‘ropes’
mwdwl ['mu:dul] ‘haycock’	yfed ['i:ved] ‘to drink’
cigoedd ['ki:goD] ‘meats’	ifanc ['i:vaNk] ‘young’
buddai ['bi:De] ‘churn’	pethau ['pe:Te] ‘things’
meddwl ['me:Dul] ‘to think’	iechyd ['je:xid] ‘health’
achos ['a:xos] ‘cause’	efed ["efet] ‘result’

It has to be noted that the sounds in question such as [d, g, D, v, f, x, T] permit long vowels to precede them both word-finally and medially. Consider the data below:

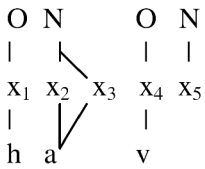
(10)

a.	b.
haf ['ha:v] ‘summer’	havau ['ha:ve] ‘summers’
cig ['ki:g] ‘meat’	cigoedd ['ki:goD] ‘meats’
lled ['ñe:d] ‘width’	lledau ['ñe:di] ‘to widen’
peth ['pe:T] ‘thing’	pethau ['pe:Te] ‘things’
chwith ['xwi:T] ‘left’	chwithig ['xwi:Tig] ‘awkward’
hoff ['ho:f] ‘favourite’	hoffi ['ho:fi] ‘to like’
rhaff ['ra:f] ‘rope’	rhaffau ['ra:fe] ‘ropes’ chwech
['xwe:x] ‘six’	chweched ['xwe:xed] ‘sixth’
bach ['ba:x] ‘hook’	bachau ['ba:xi] ‘to hook’

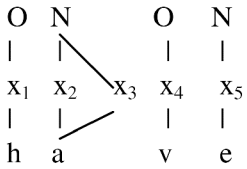
Long vowels in (10) are stressed and they precede single consonants. The structure of these vowels is presented below:

(11)

a. haf ['ha:v] ‘summer’



b. havau ['ha:ve] ‘summers’



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In the above representation the long stressed vowel (x2-x3) is a branching nucleus. In (11a) and (11b), it precedes a single onset which is filled with melody (x4). Thus, lexical long vowels have the same structure as their Breton counterparts, i.e. that of a branching nucleus. They can appear before voiced obstruents and fricatives but never before voiceless stops nor before the fricatives [Ò] and [s]:

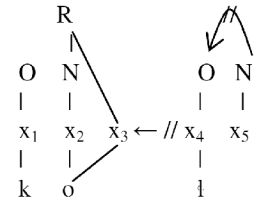
(12)
ietau ['jEte] ‘gates’
ateb [‘ateb] ‘to answer’
caseg ['kaseg] ‘mare’
crasu ['krasi] ‘to parch’
nesaf ['nesa] ‘next’
allan ['añan] ‘out’
colli ['kØÒi] ‘to lose’
dillad ['dlñad] ‘clothes’

Word finally, the fricatives behave comparably to ‘virtual’ geminates in Breton: (13)

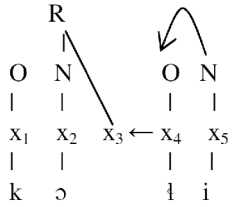
a.	b.
gwell [‘gwe:ñ] ‘better’	gwella [‘gwEÒa] ‘to improve’
coll [‘ko:ñ] ‘loss’	colli [‘kØÒi] ‘to lose’
blas ['bla:s] ‘flavour’	blasau ['blase] ‘flavours’
plas ['pla:s] ‘mansion’	plasau ['plase] ‘mansions’

While word-finally [s] and [Ò] are preceded by long vowels (13a), the situation changes when an additional syllable is added: now the stressed vowel is short (13b). To put it differently, when the word is a monosyllable, the vowel seems to behave as though it is in an open syllable. However, as soon as another vowel follows, the two fricatives act as if they create closed syllables. The suggested representation of the words is presented below: (14)

a. coll ['ko:ñÒ] ‘loss’



b. colli ['kØñi] ‘to



← absence of government
absence of licensing

Notice that when the final nucleus (x5) is empty (14a), the branching rhyme contains vocalic melody (i.e. a long vowel). If, however, the final nucleus is filled with melody (14b), the vowel can occupy only one skeletal position, namely (x2), thus leaving the coda melodically empty. Therefore, the structure of Welsh [Ò] and [s] and the stops [p, t, k] is the same as that of Breton fortis obstruents.

Conclusion

Breton and Welsh languages have been compared with respect to the distribution of vowel length. It has been shown that in Breton long vowels appear word-finally and before single (lenis) consonants, while short vowels before clusters and virtual geminates (fortis consonants). In Welsh, long vowels may occur before voiced as well as voiceless obstruents, while in other contexts only short vowels are attested.

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