

Lexical stress in Standard Aboriginal English

**A comparative corpus-based account of
dictionary and spoken data**

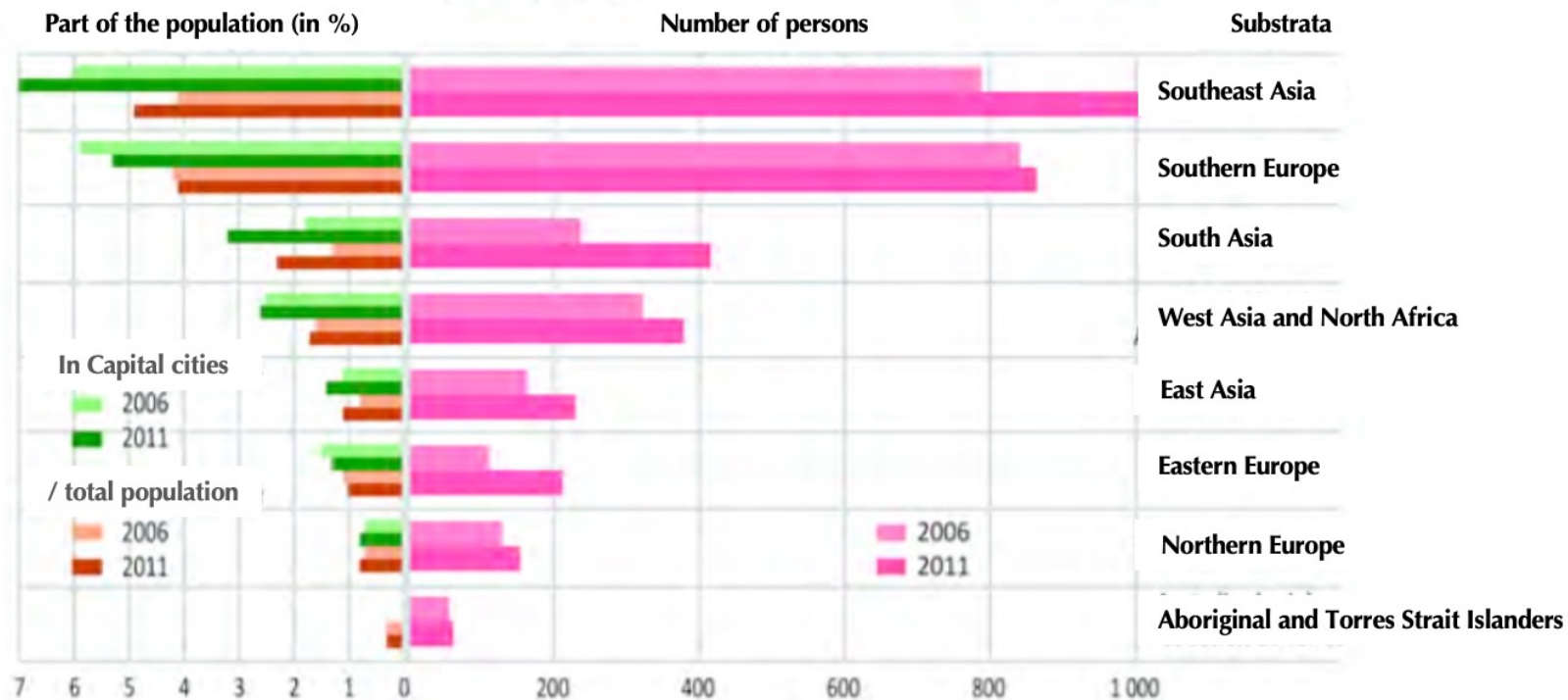
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*PAC 2021- Spoken English Varieties:
Redefining and Representing realities, Communities and Norms*

1-3 September 2021, Toulouse

AusE: A multi-faceted object

Some constant
**multilingual and
cultural inputs**



The spread of linguistic substrata in urbanised contexts

Przewozny (2016: vi)

AusE: A multi-faceted object

The emergence of **ethnolects**

“a variety of a language that marks speakers from groups which originally had another first language. Thus, we may recognise, for instance, a Greek ethnolect of AusE (while at the same time excluding from this definition the Greek spoken in Australia).” Clyne et al., 2001: 225

→ *stabilised transference* of a substratum’s lexical items and features Clyne 1968

→ *second generation “foreigner talk”*: a register employed by the second generation to first generation users whose English may be characterised as “foreign” or “non-mainstream”

Clyne 1970, 1976, Horvath 1985, Warren 1999, Kiesling 2001, Leitner 2004, Cox & Palethorpe 2006

AusE: A multi-faceted object

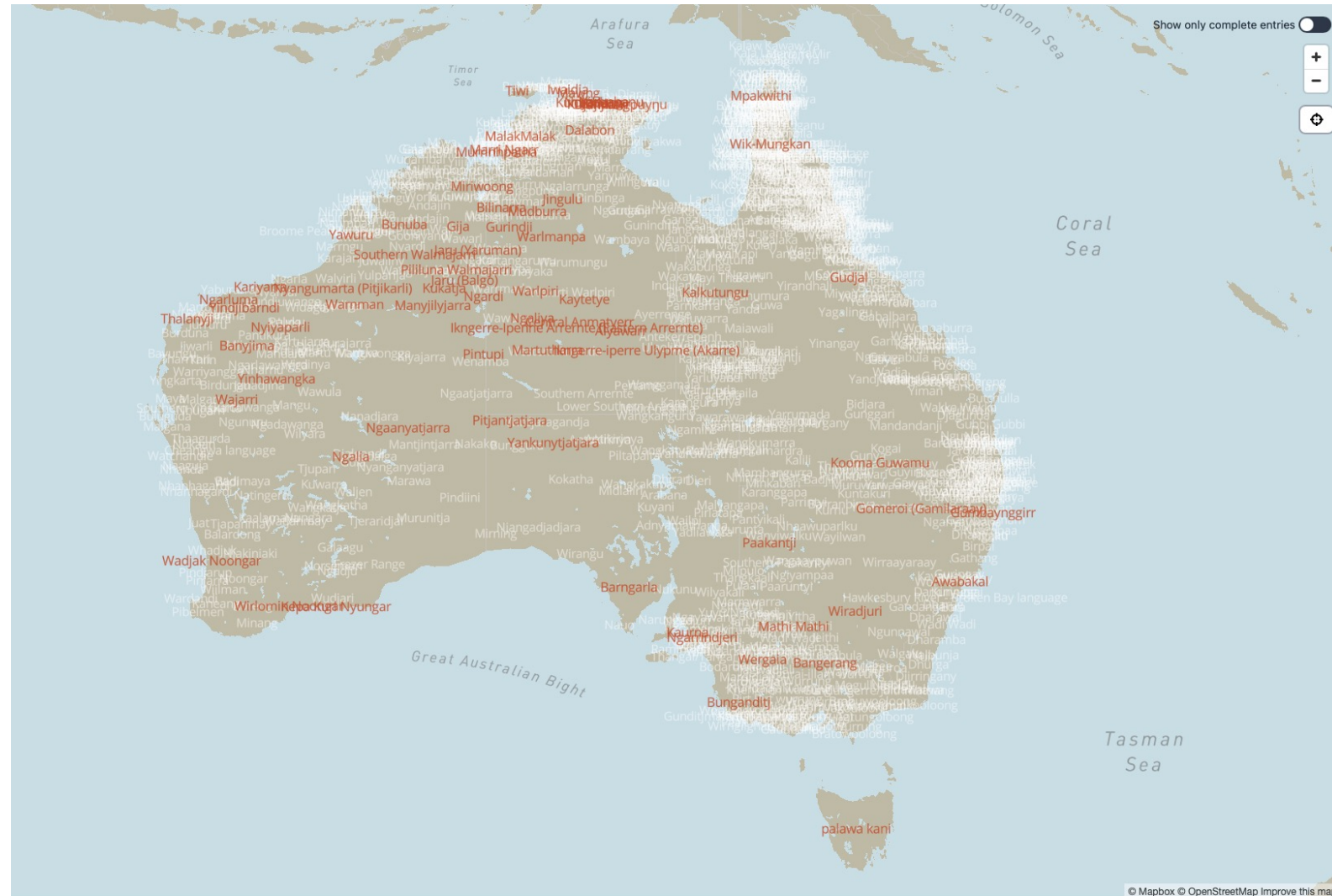
Influence of the
Aboriginal input
into SAusE (loanwords)

Dixon 2002, Dixon *et al.* 2006

Martin 2011b

Lexical, phonological
features & morphological
structures into Aboriginal
English

Malcolm and Kaldor 1991, Eades 1993, Vinson
2008



50 Words Project: an Interactive Map to Hear 50 words in Australian Indigenous languages, <https://50words.online>

AusE: A multi-faceted object

	Types of population within the linguistic community	In % of total 1990 pop.
1.	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander	1%
2.	Australians of British or Irish origin going back more than 3 generations	60%
3.	Australians of non-English-speaking origin going back more than 3 generations	5%
4.	First- and second-generation Australians of English-speaking origin	14%
5.	Second-generation non-English speaking Australians	8%
6.	First-generation non-English-speaking Australians	12%

From Lo Bianco (1990)

From Australian Aboriginal Englishes to Standard Aboriginal English

Australian Aboriginal English is the outcome of a complex language maintenance process with different contemporary realities:

- ❖ the loss of at least 200 indigenous languages
- ❖ the necessity to interact with the English language and European culture (from adaptation to integration) Walsh 1991, Eades 2013
- ❖ the maintenance of cultural and linguistic richness
- ❖ a fruitful and complex spectrum of regional and social dialects and creoles as its contemporary outcome Sutton in Romaine 1991

‘from a mild accent to a full-blown creole language’

Benterrak *et al.* 1984: 270

Linguistic processes in AusAb Englishes

Variation has been documented through contact phenomena, code-switching and interference processes at all linguistic levels Bullock *et al.* 2017

- Dialectal diversity
- Sociolinguistic environments from metropolitan to rural settings
- A continuum from **LIGHT-----** to **-----HEAVY** AbE varieties
degrees of 'Aboriginality'

Malcolm and Kosciielecki (1997)

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degrees of 'Aboriginality'

basilect

=

a narrower phonetic space

Butcher and Anderson; Butcher 2008

Standard Aboriginal English (SAbE)

One standard variety which embraces diversity

“Spoken within the context of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities in all parts of Australia”

Malcolm 2008: 124

Lexical stress intervarietal variation in SAusE SBrE and SAmE

Mitchell and Delbridge (1965), Duchet (1994), Cruttenden (2001), Collins and Mees (2008), and Peters (2007)

"There are some significant differences between British and American in (1) allocation of stress, (2) the pronunciation of unstressed syllables"

Collins et Mees (2008: 154)

"There are few systematic differences between the British stressing system and the American one." The differences mainly occur in dissyllabic verbs ending in *-ate* which tend to be stressed on their final rather than initial syllable and in nouns and adjectives ending in *-ative*, *-ary*, *-ery* and *-ory* for which a secondary stress can be observed in SAmE (for example *military*, *arbitrary*, *mandatory* being stressed /1020/ in SAmE and /100(0)/ in SBrE

Duchet (1994: 118)

→ Some examples but a lack of extensive data-supported research in the matter

A specifically-built extensive corpus - a Guierrian approach

a dictionary corpus using the data of

-the *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary* (hereafter *LPD3*, 2008),

-the *Cambridge English Pronouncing Dictionary* (*EPD17*, 2006)

-the *Macquarie Dictionary* (*MD online*, 2009)

-Dixon et al. 2006 and 1990

...completed by oral tests

« *Il y a des années que j'appelle de mes vœux des recherches in vivo. Grâce à des linguistes comme Labov, Derwing, Prideaux, Neslly, ... la recherche en linguistique redevient ce qu'elle n'aurait jamais dû cesser d'être : une science humaine à la fois théorique et empirique.* » (Guierre, 1985, p.136)

Specifically-built extensive corpus

To check intervarietal lexical stress variation amongst 3 varieties (SAmE, SAusE and SBrE) : 3742 lexical items divided into 4 complementary sub-corpora

-2550 dissyllabic verbs (complete class),

-370 prefixed multicategorical words,

-542 exceptions to the rules of word-stress assignment (as described in Fournier 2010)

-280 loanwords from Aboriginal languages.

(completed by oral tests for 74 items specifically chosen)

→ The 3742 items are known to show word-stress variation in contemporary English.

Intervarietal lexical stress: an overwhelming stability among SAusE, SBrE and SAmE

	Dissyllabic verbs	Prefixed multicategorical words	Exceptions to stress rules	Loanwords from Aboriginal Languages	Total
No attested difference	2397	264	467	44	3172
Absence of a variant in a variety	NA	60	4	0	64
Attested variant in one variety	NA	16	32	2	50
Different stress pattern in the main pronunciation	152	30	39	1	222
Total	2549	370	542	47	3508
No attested difference in percentage	94	71	86	94	90
No difference and absence of variance in percentage	94	88	87	94	92
Main lexical stress identical in percentage	94	92	93	98	94

- Words chosen because they can potentially show stress variation
- Consolidated by oral data
- **90% are fully stable for their main and variant lexical stress patterns in the 3 varieties**

Rmk : 213 loan words from Aboriginal languages were absent from EPD and LPD and could not be taken into account for the intervaretial study

Lexical stress in loanwords from Aboriginal languages in SAusE: Aboriginal languages stress pattern hypothesis

- 280 words taken into account

Number of syllables	Nb of items	Effective	Not effective	% effective
2	172	166	6	97
3	87	43	44	49
4	11	3	8	27
5	2	0	2	0
Total	272	212	60	78

- 8 Monosyllabic words were not taken into account here
- **Overall effectiveness is 78%**
- **This hypothesis is particularly effective for disyllables 97%**
- **Only 49% for words of three syllables**
- The numbers of words of more than three syllables are too small to draw conclusions

Lexical stress in loanwords from Aboriginal languages in SAusE: English stress pattern hypothesis

Rules	Nb of items	Effective	Not effective	% effective
- V'V'(C0(e)) → -1	26	10	16	38
- V'V'(C0(e)) → -1 disyllables	15	2	13	13
- V'V'(C0(e)) → -1 three or more syllables	11	8	3	73
-[i,e,u] + V(C0(e)) → /(-)100/	4	4	0	100
Disyllable → /10/	157	153	4	97
prefinal C ₂ → /-10/	31	22	9	71
"Italian" word → /-10/	5	5	0	100
Normal Stress Rule → /(-)100/	49	32	17	65
Total	272	226	46	83

The **rules of stress assignment in English** applied to loan words from Aboriginal Languages are **effective in 83%** of the cases.

This result is 5 points higher than the result of the initial stress hypothesis.

Lexical stress patterns and variation in Aboriginal English varieties

- Accounts of Aboriginal indigenous languages confirm that **primary stress falls on the initial syllable of words in accordance with syllable timing** Douglas 1978 on Nyungar
- Dixon *et al.* (2011) offer that

In most Australian languages word stress is predictable. Most commonly, primary stress goes onto the first syllable of a word; there is then often secondary stress on the third, fifth, etc. syllables, excepting that the final syllable of a word does not usually bear stress. Using ´ for primary and ` for secondary stress we would have díban, yáɺŋgay, báyimbam, gúbimbùlu. There are some variations on this basic pattern, and each does tend to recur in a number of different languages. For instance, if long vowels can occur in non-initial syllables, they may bear primary stress – e.g., gimáal.

- Aboriginal English varieties display a tendency towards a **syllable-timed rhythm** while SBrE, SAmE and SAusE are all stressed-timed Schneider, 2004: 1126
- For Malcolm (1995, 2008), Aboriginal AusE displays **variation in patterns with a preference for such a pattern as ‘primary stress on the initial syllable of lexical words’** (*'guitar*)

Lexical stress Patterns and variation in Aboriginal English varieties

Butcher (2008: 631) thoroughly accounts for the prototypical pattern [primary stress on the initial syllable of a word] in basilectal AusAbE

Standard AusE wS pattern	AAE wS	SAE swS pattern	AAE Sws
along	[lɔŋ]	operation	['ɔpɹɛʃən]
suppose	[spɔz]	referee	['ɹɛfɹɪ]
explain	[splɛn]	kangaroo	['kɛŋɡɹu]
collect	[klɛk(t)]	cup of tea	['kɛpɛtɪ]

Butcher (*ibid.*) also argues that “certain categories of prosodic word which require final stress in SAusE, such as acronyms and road names, have initial stress in AusAbE: thus, *CD* and *DVD*, for example, are pronounced [ˈsɪ dɪ] and [ˈdɪ bɪ dɪ], while ‘Bagot Road’ is [ˈbɛɡət ɹɔd] and ‘Traeger Park’ is [ˈtɹɪ [ɡɹɛ pɛk]. This preference for trochaic (or dactylic) feet gives a very distinctive rhythm to AAE speech.”

Malcolm (2018a, 2018b and 2021) confirms Butcher’s analyses.

Lexical stress Patterns and variation in Standard Aboriginal English

Authors have pointed out the tendency of speakers of (basilectal) Aboriginal Englishes to stress words initially as well as to elide unstressed initial vowels.

The present study is devoted to **testing the tendency for speakers of Aboriginal English to shift primary stress to the left** on larger numbers of lexical items in dictionary/lexicon/spoken corpora.

Several options to test words that are not initially stressed in SAusE (*MD*) and check if they undergo stress shift towards the left

- AbE and chiefly AbE in *MD* – *no AbE pronunciations given*
- Malcolm and Kosciielecki 1997 - *no AbE pronunciations given*
- AusTalk spoken data
- PAC spoken data

AusTalk

An audio-visual corpus of Australian English (Burnham *et al.* 2011) is part of the national Big ASC project which was set up in 2011 to provide a large audio-visual collection of spoken AusE

It aims at representing the **dialectal and sociolinguistic diversity** of contemporary Australian English and it deliberately takes into account Aboriginal English and ethnolectal varieties as sheer parts of the Australian English-speaking community

age groups ranging from 18 to 83

participation validated provided speakers have completed their schooling in the Australian context

The protocol:

- an online questionnaire about speakers' background

- recording of 3 one-hour sessions of read and spontaneous speech production tasks:

- wordlists, digit strings (e.g., 2094), sentences (e.g., *Who says itches are always so tempting to scratch?*) and a story to be read

- spontaneous tasks included yes/no answers, the retelling of a story, an interview, maptask & conversation

AusTalk and AbE

861 adult speakers from 15 areas across Australia

A selection of 19 relevant speakers who

- declared being from Aboriginal cultural heritage and having at least one parent from Aboriginal cultural heritage
- allow for first-step analysis with comparability with SAusE (*MD*) and with PAC

PAC-Australia

PAC-Australia: 37 informants, 3 surveys 2003 / 2015 / 2018

Specific interests in real-time sociophonetic analysis and urban/post-urban dialectological issues in the Australian context (stylistic variation/life journeys/ethnicity)

Przewozny & Viollain 2014, Przewozny 2016, Przewozny & Fabre 2016

Focus on the **2018 Ulladulla (New South Wales) PAC survey:**

Two female Aboriginal speakers

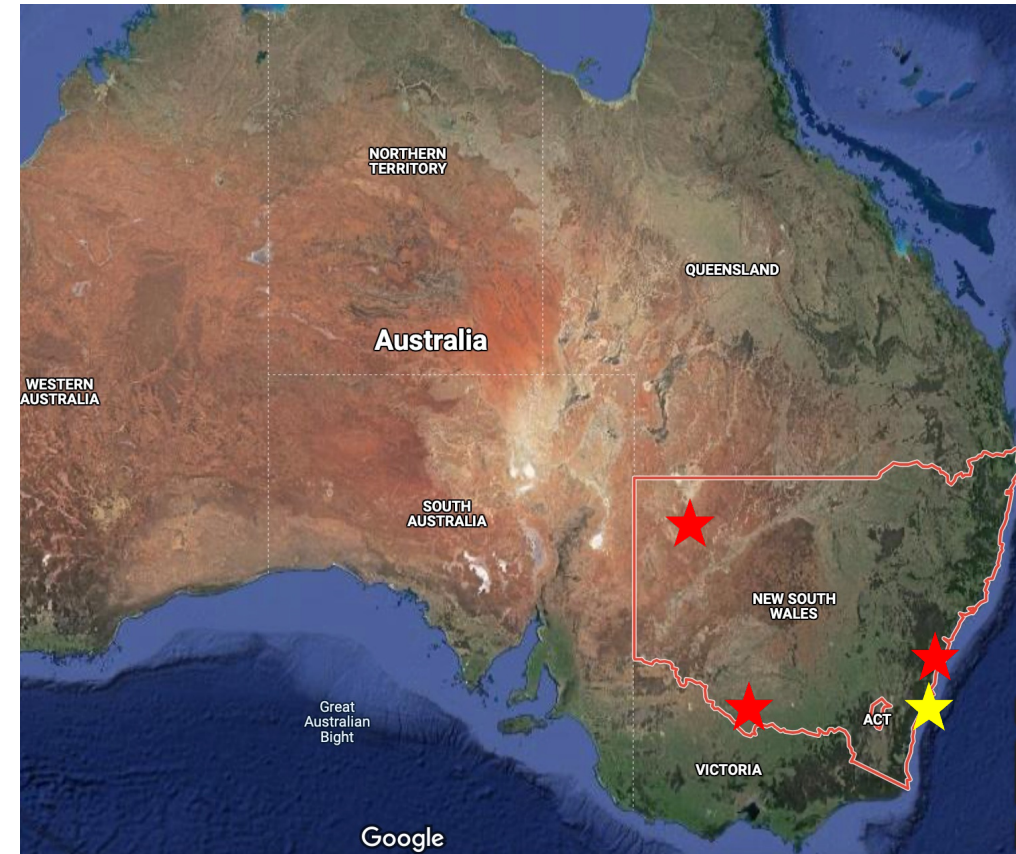
PAC protocol: reading tasks and interactional tasks

two wordlists and a text (*A Christmas Interview*)

answers to a sociolinguistic questionnaire LVTI ++

a semi-guided conversation with the investigator

informal conversation within the speaker's own network



PAC and SAbE

Sociolinguistic indicators of the speakers

Mother (anonymised as *ausnsulbnm1*, aged 79) and daughter (*ausnsulbnm2*, 46)

Budawang people of the Yuin Nation

ausnsulbnm1: born in Nowra (NSW), spent her whole childhood there

ausnsulbnm2: born in Penrith (Sydney, NSW) as the family nucleus was living and working in Sydney (for 13 years), and soon spent her childhood in Ulladulla

Both speakers are fluent readers of English

Occupations: *ausnsulbnm1* was an SLSO Educator & *ausnsulbnm2* is a high school teacher

Phonological / phonetic features

- The phonological system is typical of a 'light' Standard Aboriginal English (see below), in accordance with the description of Malcolm (2008)

Methodology and analysis in AusTalk

- Our choice: pay special attention to the three Words Sessions <https://austalk.edu.au/about/corpus/>
- Inventory of stress patterns in *MD* for the 322 words in the AusTalk wordlist
- **40 words are non initially stressed for their main pronunciation and have no variant showing initial-stress in *MD*** (ie *manufacture* and *vaccine* which have an initially-stressed variant were not used in this study)

List of the words studied

- Type 1 : 8 words stressed /01/: *adapt, adjust, comply, delete, fatigue, gazelle, guitar, kazoo*
- Type 2 : 8 words stressed /001/: *bassinet, Halloween, kangaroo, masquerade, serenade, silhouette, souvenir, tangerine*
- Type 3 : 9 words stressed /010/: *abandon, alfalfa, bazooka, coyote, imagine, mascara, museum, pyjamas, tomato*
- Type 4 : 6 words stressed /0010/: *avocado, diabete, epidemic, influenza, macaroni, paranoia*
- Type 5 : 7 words stressed /0100/: *amphibian, anaemia, anatomy, Australia, conspicuous, curriculum, evaporate*
- Type 6 : 2 words stressed /00100/: *aluminium, constellation*

19 speakers & 40 lexical items to check

1. the 'stress shift to initial syllable' hypothesis
2. possibility of variation within SAbE and speaker variation

Step 1 - Auditory analysis

- 1560 sound files
- At least 3 listening rounds by the two of us (sometimes more)
- No difficulty of identification for Types-1/3/4/5/6 words *abandon, avocado, aluminium*

Step 2 – Acoustic analysis with Praat

Boersma and Weenink 2018

- Because the Type-2 word stress pattern proves to be auditorily more difficult to identify *kangaroo/silhouette*
- These bear stress in final position in $MD = /201/$ words in a Guierrian approach

Step 2 – Acoustic analysis with Praat

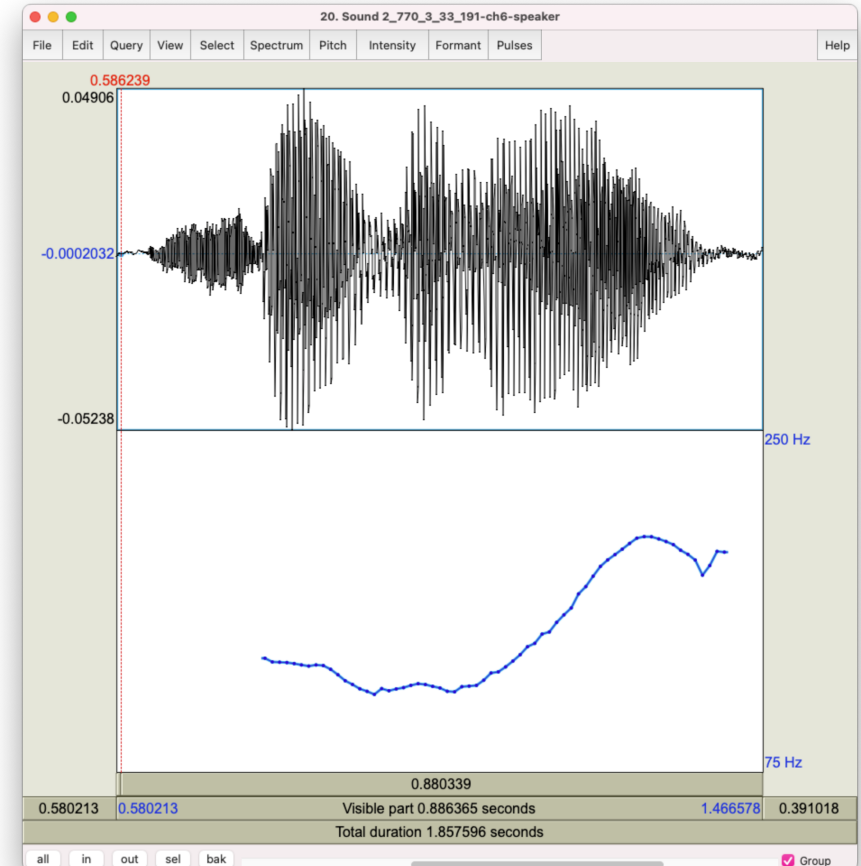
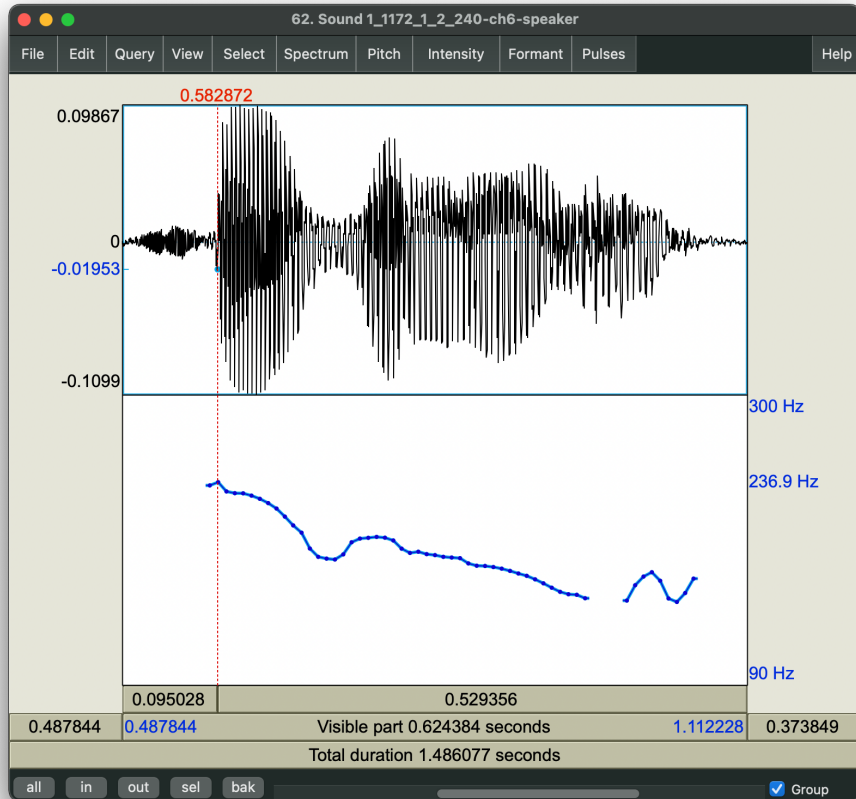
Method:

- focus on 8 Type-2 words
- **guidance of pitch / intensity / vocalic reduction / elision**
- intensity is not sufficient to distinguish primary and secondary stress
- no vocalic duration criterion applied so far
- For each speaker, **pitch parameters specified in accordance with gender/voice quality**
- For each lexical item, pitch measures were collected and checked against spectrographic information
- **Every single measure was double-checked** by the two of us and confronted to original auditory analysis

/100/ Vs /201/

1-1172 WS1 souvenir

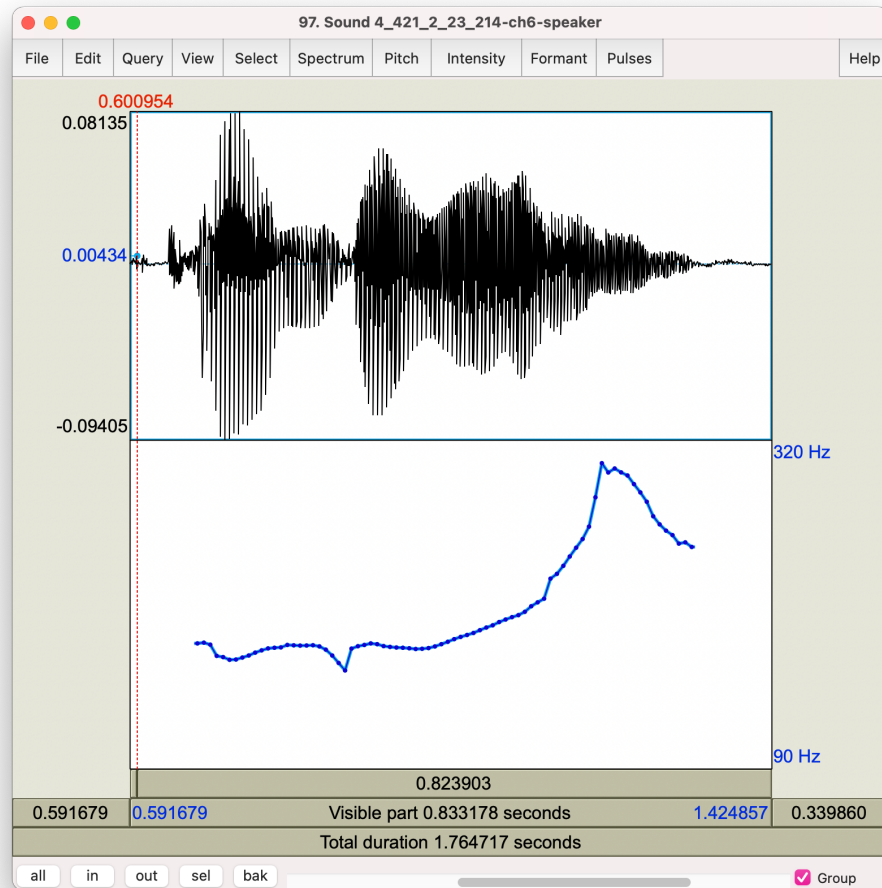
2-770 WS3 souvenir



Biases linked to the wordlists and recording environment

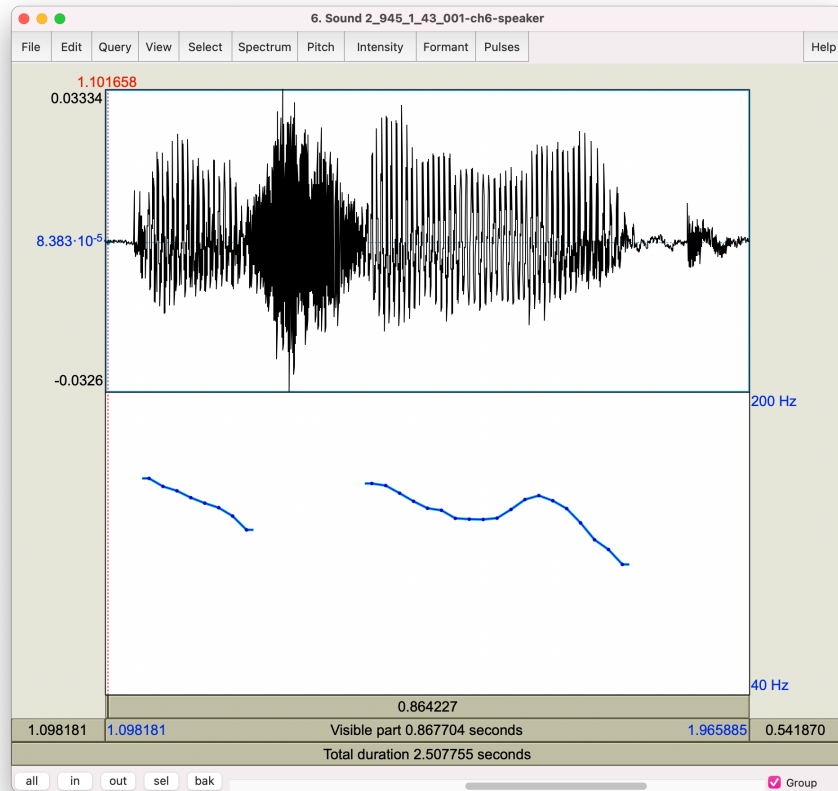
- AusTalk wordlist is not built to test lexical stress
- reading list effect
- hyperarticulation
- nb of recordings for each speaker : *ex aluminium* – 1 recording with a shift – taken into account but not quantitatively reliable
- technician interference

Example of reading list effect



4-421 WS2 kangaroo

Examples of hyperarticulation



Bassinette 2_945_1_43_001

Examples of technician interference

- gazelle – 2_1142_2_23_285



- masquerade – 2_945_2_23_063



Results

- Auditory for 32 words
- Praat for Type-2 words /201/

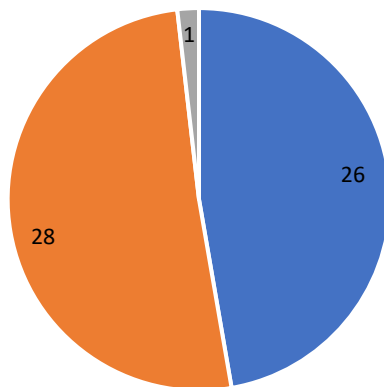
Stress shift to initial syllable
Shift to another stress pattern
Elision
Unexpected consonant
/100/ variant in SBRE

Word type	Item	Acc MD	Loc 1-1172 Final	Loc 1-127 Final	Loc 1-5 Final	Loc 1-678 Final	Loc 2-1142 Final	Loc 2-208 Final	Loc 2-567 Final	Loc 2-642 Final	Loc 2-770 Final	Loc 2-945 Final	Loc 3-1056 Final	Loc 3-1081 Final	Loc 3-1236 Final	Loc 3-719 Final	Loc 4-271 Final	Loc 4-389 Final	Loc 4-421 Final	Loc 4-791 Final	Loc 4_882 Final	
1	adapt	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	sound pb	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	
1	adjust	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	sound pb	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	
1	comply	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	sound pb	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	
1	delete	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	
1	fatigue	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	
1	gazelle	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	
1	guitar	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	sound pb	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	
1	kazoo	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	sound pb	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	
2	bassinet	001	201	technician interference	100	100	SUS	100	2 : 201 / 3 : SUS	1 : 201 / 2 : SUS	201	1 : 111 / 2 : 010	201	100	100	SUS	ruled out	1 : SUS / 2 : 100	1 : SUS / 2 : flat / 3 : 100	100	SUS	
2	Halloween	001	100	flat	1 : 100 / 2 : SUS	100	100	100	SUS	SUS	201	100	sound pb	100	100	100	100	SUS	1 : 100 / 2 : SUS	1 : 2 : 100 / 3 : SUS	100	1 : flat 3 : SUS
2	kangaroo	001	100	flat	100	100	100	100	100	SUS	201	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	1 : 3 : 100 / 2 : 201	100	1 : SUS 3 : 100	
2	masquerade	001	100	201	1 : 100 / 2 : 201	100	SUS	100	2 : 100 / 3 : SUS	1 : 2 : 100 / 3 : SUS	SUS	100	100	100	100	100	SUS	100	SUS	100	100	
2	serenade	001	100	100	100	100	100	100	1 : 201 / 2 3 : 100	100	100	100	SUS	100	100	100	SUS	100	1 : 100 / 2 : SUS / 3 : 100	100	100	
2	silhouette	001	100	syllable-timed?	1 : 100 / 2 : SUS	100	100	100	1 : 2 : 201 / 3 : 100	1 : 2 : 100 / 3 : SUS	201	100	100	100	100	100	100	flat	100	100	1 : flat / 3 : 100	
2	souvenir	001	100	technician interference	100	100	100	100	100	100	201	100	sound pb	100	100	100	100	SUS	100	100	100	
2	tangerine	001	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	SUS	201	1 : 100 / 2 : SUS	sound pb	100	100	100	SUS	100	SUS	100	SUS	
3	abandon	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	sound pb	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	
3	alfalfa	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	sound pb	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	
3	bazooka	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	sound pb	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	
3	coyote	010	010/100	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	sound pb	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	
3	imagine	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	sound pb	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	
3	maskara	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	
3	museum	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	sound pb	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	
3	pyjamas	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	sound pb	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	
3	tomato	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	sound pb	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	010	
4	avocado	0010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	sound pb	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	
4	diabetes	0010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	sound pb	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	
4	epidemic	0010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	sound pb	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	
4	influenza	0010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	sound pb	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	
4	macaroni	0010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	technician interference	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	
4	paranoia	0010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	2010	
5	amphibian	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	sound pb	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	
5	anaemia	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	technician interference	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	
5	anatomy	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	sound pb	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	
5	Australia	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	
5	conspicuous	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	sound pb	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	
5	curriculum	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100/0010	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	sound pb	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	
5	evaporate	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	sound pb	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	0100	
6	aluminium	20100	20100	20100	20100	20100	20100	20100	20100	20100	20100	20100	01000	20100	20100	20100	20100	20100	20100	20100	20100	
6	constellation	00100	20100	20100	20100	20100	20100	20100	20100	20100	20100	20100	sound pb	20100	20100	20100	20100	20100	20100	20100	20100	

AusTalk : 80,7% overall stability

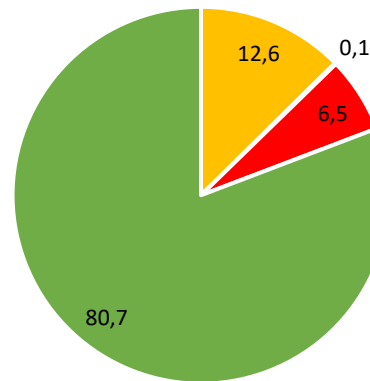
Total nb of tokens	Sound pb	technician interference	ruled out	Nb of tokens studied	Stress shift to Initial Syllable	Shift to other stress pattern	Impossible to determine	No stress shift
760	26	28	1	705	89	1	46	569
100	3,4	3,7	0,1	92,8	12,6	0,1	6,5	80,7

Repartition of the 55 tokens not taken into account



■ Sound pb ■ technician interference ■ ruled out

Repartition of the 705 tokens studied in %



■ Stress shift to initial syllable ■ Shift to other stress pattern
 ■ Impossible to determine ■ No stress shift

All 89 stress shifts to initial syllable are found in type2 words – Out of the 562 other tokens only 3 show stress shift (aluminium) or variation (curriculum and coyote) (ie Type-1/3/4/5/6 words are **99,5% stable**)
guitar is not confirmed as showing stress shift as stated by Malcolm

Stress shifts in non-Type 2 words

aluminium – Speaker 3-1056

3_1056_1_2_038-ch6-speaker.wav

One recording only for this speaker – not reliable but existing



curriculum – Speaker 1-678

1_678_2_22_173-ch6-speaker.wav

The 2 other recordings have elision of the initial vowel: no stress shift



coyote – Speaker 1-1172 WS2

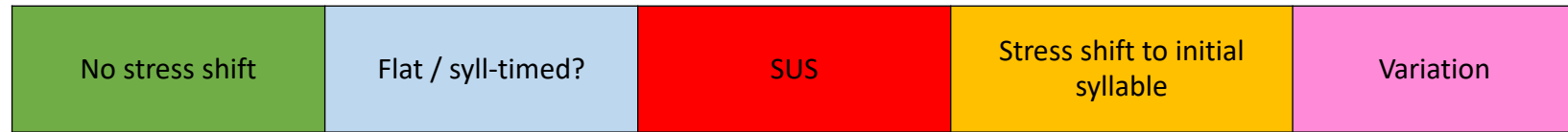
1_1172_2_22_292-ch6-speaker.wav

The 2 other recordings are in /010/



Interpretation for type-2 words

Word type	Item	Acc MD	Loc 1-1172 Final	Loc 1-127 Final	Loc 1-5 Final	Loc 1-678 Final	Loc 2-1142 Final	Loc 2-208 Final	Loc 2-567 Final	Loc 2-642 Final	Loc 2-770 Final	Loc 2-945 Final	Loc 3-1056 Final	Loc 3-1081 Final	Loc 3-1236 Final	Loc 3-719 Final	Loc 4-271 Final	Loc 4-389 Final	Loc 4-421 Final	Loc 4-791 Final	Loc 4_882 Final
2	bassINETte	001	201	technician interference	100	100	SUS	100	2 : 201 / 3 : SUS	100 / 3 : SUS	201	1 : 111 / 2 : 010	201	100	100	SUS	ruled out	1 : SUS / 2 : 100	1 : SUS / 2 : flat / 3 : 100	100	SUS
2	Halloween	001	100	flat	1 : 100 / 2 : SUS	100	100	100	SUS	SUS	201	100	sound pb	100	technician interference	100	SUS	1 : 100 / 2 : SUS	1 : 2 : 100 / 3 : SUS	100	1:flat 3: SUS
2	kangaroo	001	100	flat	100	100	100	100	100	SUS	201	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	1 : 3 : 100 / 2 : 201	100	1 : SUS 3 : 100
2	masquerade	001	100	201	1 : 100 / 2 : 201	100	SUS	100	2 : 100 / 3 : SUS	1 : 2 : 100 / 3 : SUS	SUS	technician interference	100	100	100	100	SUS	100	SUS	100	100
2	serenade	001	100	100	100	100	100	1 : 201 / 2 : 3 : 100	100	100	100	100	SUS	100	100	100	SUS	100	1 : 100 / 2 : SUS / 3 : 100	100	100
2	silhouette	001	100	syllable-timed?	1 : 100 / 2 : SUS	100	technician interference	1 : 2 : 201 / 3 : 100	100	1 : 2 : 100 / 3 : SUS	201	100	100	100	100	100	flat	100	1 : 201 / 2 : 3 : 100	100	1 : flat / 3 : 100
2	souvenir	001	100	technician interference	100	100	100	100	100	100	201	100	sound pb	100	100	100	SUS	100	100	100	technician interference
2	tangerine	001	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	SUS	201	1 : 100 / 2 : SUS	sound pb	100	100	100	SUS	100	SUS	100	SUS



5 possibilities

/201/ – no stress shift

/100/ – stress shift

SUS – stressed – unstressed - stressed

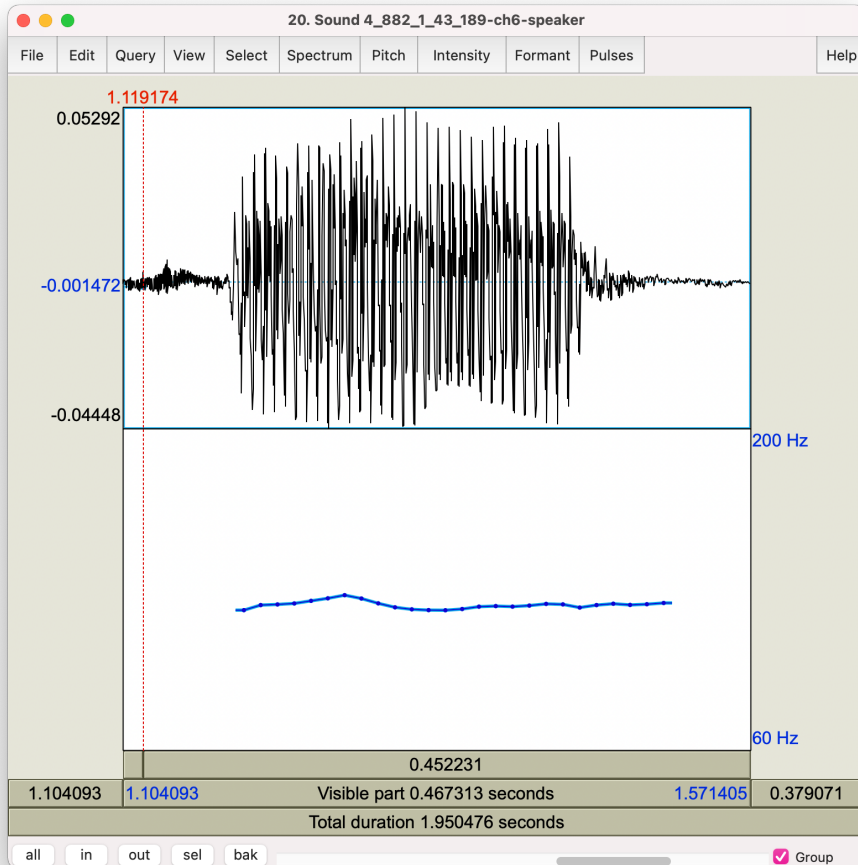
'Flat' / syllable-timed ?

Variation between the sessions

→ Stress shift or not ? impossible to identify

Rmk : hesitations / variant pronunciations taken into account (*conspicuous / ananomy*)

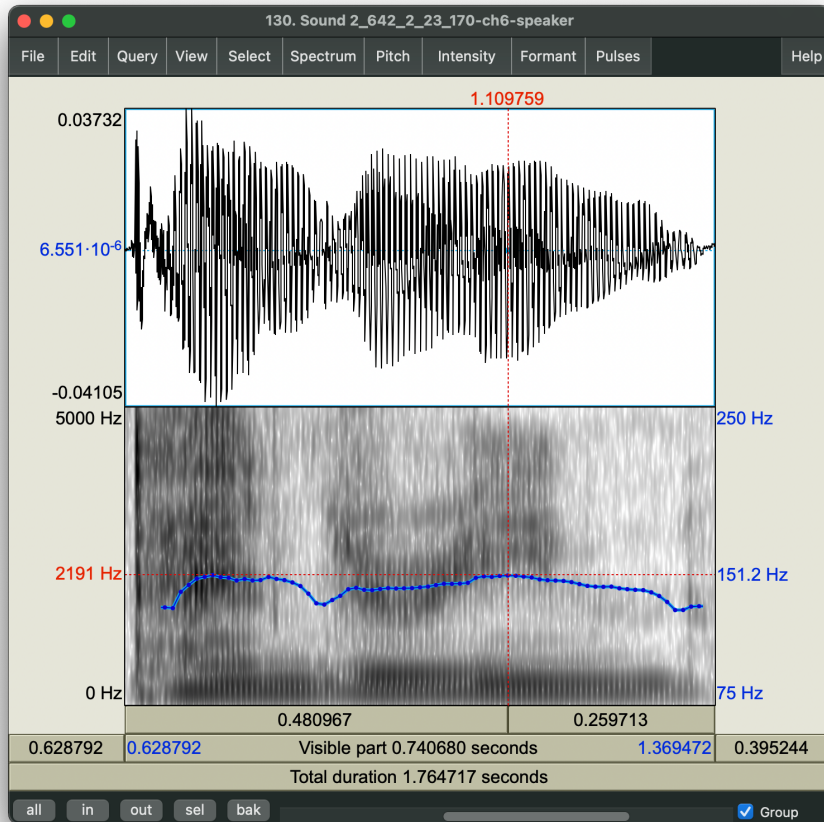
Example of a word treated as 'flat'



Silhouette Speaker 4-882 WS1

Example of a SUS word (stressed-unstressed-stressed)

- 2-642 WS2 tangerine

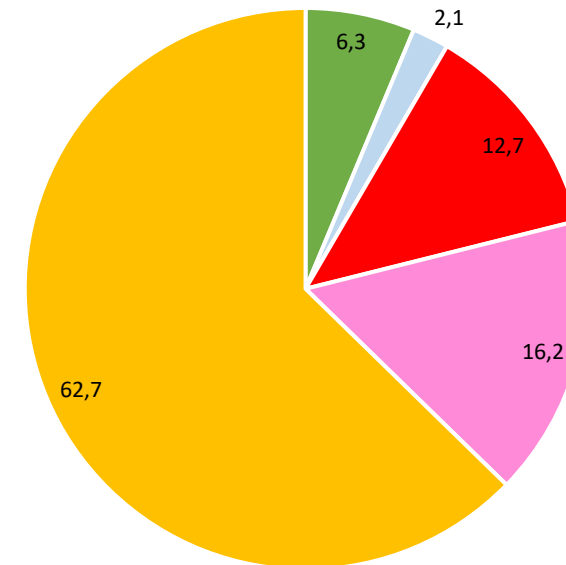
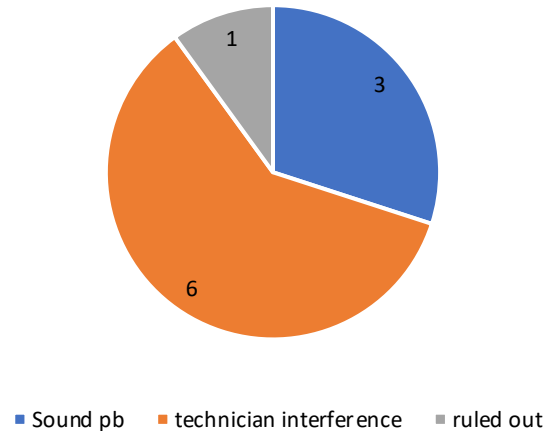


Focus on Type-2 words: 152 tokens

Nb of items	Sound pb	technician interference	ruled out	nb Nb of items studied	No stress shift	flat / syll-timed?	SUS	Stress shift to Initial Syllable	variation
152	3	6	1	142	9	3	18	89	23
					6,3	2,1	12,7	62,7	16,2

Repartition of the 142 tokens studied in %

Repartition of the 10 tokens not taken into account



■ No stress shift ■ flat / syll-timed? ■ SUS ■ variation ■ Stress shift to initial syllable

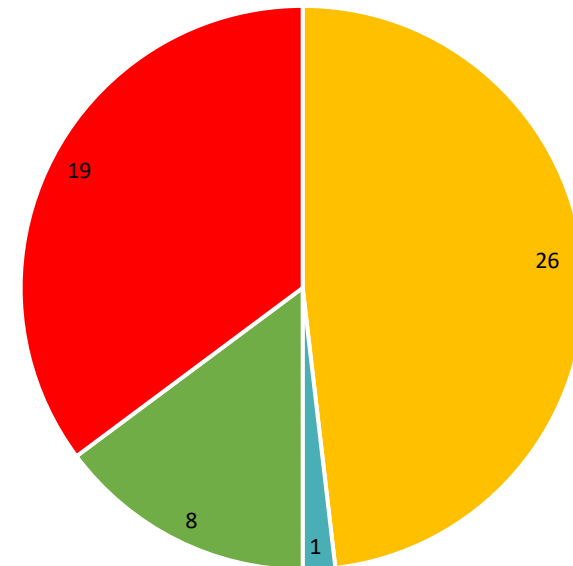
Variation in Type-2 words: 54 sound files for 23 tokens

nb of recordings	54
/100/	26
/010/	1
/201/	8
Undetermined (SUS, flat)	19

/010/ bassinette
souvenir : no variation

'red' words that have a variant /100/ in LPD do not show more variations than the others

Repartition of the 54 recordings showing variation



■ /100/ ■ /010/ ■ /201/ ■ undetermined

Methodology and analysis in PAC-Australia

Few lexical items with unstressed initial syllable pattern in the PAC wordlists
decree, degree, behave

A focus on a set of 22 lexical items extracted from the text “A Christmas Interview”:

- 8 words stressed /01/: *expects, describes, behave, polite, disguise, remarks, agreed, employs, himself*
- 5 words stressed /010/: *dilemma, exactly, religious, whenever, relating*
- 3 words stressed /0100/: *society, indifference, behaviour*
- 1 word stressed /21/: *fourteen*
- 3 words stressed /20100/: *personality, personalities, Christianity*
- 1 word stressed /200100/: *organisations*

Word lists	<i>ausnsulbnm1</i>	<i>ausnsulbnm2</i>
behave	01	01
decree	11	01
degree	01	01
Reading task: Text	<i>ausnsulbnm1</i>	<i>ausnsulbnm2</i>
<i>agreed</i>	01	01
<i>behave</i>	01	01
<i>describes</i>	01	01
<i>disguise</i>	01	01
<i>employs</i>	01?	01
<i>expects</i>	01	01
<i>fourteen</i>	21	21
<i>himself</i>	01	01
<i>polite</i>	01	01
<i>remarks</i>	01	01
<i>dilemma</i>	010	010
<i>exactly</i>	010	010
<i>relating</i>	010	010
<i>whenever</i>	100	010
<i>behaviour</i>	0100	0100
<i>indifference</i>	0100	0100
<i>religious</i>	0100	0100
<i>society</i>	0100	0100
<i>Christianity</i>	20100	20100
<i>personality</i>	20100	20100
<i>personalities</i>	20100	20100
<i>organisations</i>	200100	200100
nb of items	25	25

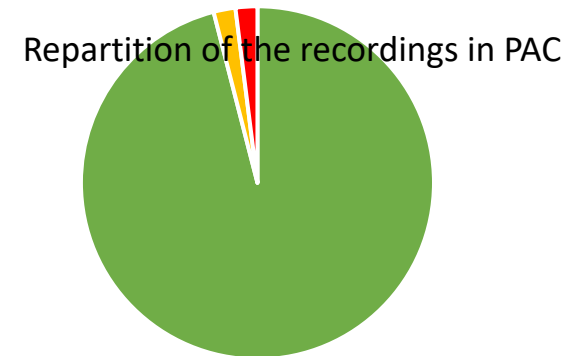
2 speakers & 25 lexical items to check

1. the 'stress shift to initial syllable' hypothesis
2. possibility of variation within SAbE

No Type-2 word

Stress shift : whenever – Speaker NM1

Hyperarticulation : decree – Speaker NM1



No stress shift	Stress shift	Hyperarticulation
48	1	1

■ No stress shift ■ Stress shift ■ Hyperarticulation

About the Aboriginality of patterns and variation in spoken data

Interpretation and issues

Perception test of Aboriginality

A test with 6 native Australian speakers on 19 SAbE speakers

Task

Listen to the AusTalk text reading data / Sentences and declare if

Aboriginal Speaker
Non Aboriginal Speaker
I don't know

Sound File	Total Non Aboriginal Speaker	Total Aboriginal Speaker	Total I don't know
1_1172_1_3_007-ch6-speaker.wav	6	0	0
1_127_1_3_007-ch6-speaker.wav	0	6	0
1_5_2_16_056-ch6-speaker.wav	6	0	0
1_678_1_3_007-ch6-speaker.wav	3	2	1
2_1142_1_3_007-ch6-speaker.wav	6	0	0
2_208_1_3_007-ch6-speaker.wav	5	1	0
2_567_2_16_056-ch6-speaker.wav	0	6	0
2_642_1_3_007-ch6-speaker.wav	0	6	0
2_770 not tested no file			
2_945_2_16_056-ch6-speaker.wav	1	4	1
3_1056_1_3_007-ch6-speaker.wav	6	0	0
3_1081_1_3_007-ch6-speaker.wav	2	4	0
3_1236_2_16_004-ch6-speaker.wav	1	4	1
3_719_2_16_056-ch6-speaker.wav	6	0	0
4_271_1_3_007-ch6-speaker.wav	1	5	0
4_389_1_3_007-ch6-speaker.wav	6	0	0
4_421_1_3_007-ch6-speaker.wav	0	6	0
4_791_1_3_007-ch6-speaker.wav	5	0	1
4_882_1_3_007-ch6-speaker.wav poor soun	0	4	2
	8	8	

Results

- 8 speakers perceived as non Aboriginal (5/6 listeners agree)
- 8 speakers perceived as Aboriginal (4/6 listeners agree)

Aboriginal markers in AusTalk and PAC

Within the scope of the perception test in AusTalk

Speakers perceived as Aboriginal show 80,8% of no stress shift

Speakers perceived as non Aboriginal show 78,5% of no stress shift

No perception test on the PAC data, but a number of explicit linguistic markers



What are the linguistic markers of SAbE in spoken data?

Can we correlate these with relevant stress pattern shifts?

Aboriginal markers in AusTalk

Segmental & suprasegmental markers of SAbE in the data

5 speakers with salient variation in AusTalk Wordlist

id	Suprasegmental	Segmental	Perceived as SAbE speaker	age	gender	first_language	other_languages	cultural_heritage	father_first_language	father_cultural_heritage	mother_first_language	mother_cultural_heritage	pob_country	pob_state	pob_town
2_642	Type-2 variation: 1 shift <i>bassinette</i> 2 shifts <i>masquerade</i> 3 SUS patterns	1 elision <i>curriculum</i> apical /ɹ/ <i>kangaroo</i> dental /d/ <i>masquerade</i>	Always	39	female	English	Bardi	Aboriginal Australian		Aboriginal Australian	English	Aboriginal Australian	AU	WA	Broome
4_421		none	Always	48	female	English		Aboriginal Australian	English	Australian	English	Aboriginal Australian	AU	NT	Katherine
3_1056	1 shift <i>Aluminium</i>	none	Never	59	female	English		Aboriginal Australian	English	Australian	English	Aboriginal Australian	AU	NSW	Sydney
2_770		none	Not tested	40	male	English	Aboriginal English	Aboriginal Australian	English	Australian	English	Aboriginal Australian	AU	NT	Darwin
4_271	SSS pattern <i>silhouette</i>	none	Always	53	male	English		Aboriginal Australian	English	Aboriginal Australian	English	Aboriginal Australian	AU	NT	Darwin

Elision
4 speakers
Only Type-5 words
/0100/

Item	Acc MD	Elision	Who?
Australia	0100	1	4-882 WS1
curriculum	0100	3	1_678 and 2_642, 4-791
evaporate	0100	1	4-882 WS3
		5	

Aboriginal markers in PAC

The phonological system is typical of a 'light' Standard Aboriginal English

Yet some diphthongal realisations correspond to a General AusE pronunciation on the stylistic continuum of SAusE

The glottal fricative is systematically produced by the two speakers as expected in SAusE

/t/ is sometimes realised as a dental in the conversation task (not in the reading tasks)

High Rising Tones can also be heard in the interaction between the informants and the investigator, following Jespersen (2015) for Sydney varieties of Aboriginal English


→ The 2 PAC SAbE speakers display some features of General AusE which may correspond to the definition of a 'light' SAbE with specific Aboriginal markers. Still they show no sign of stress shift to the left.

Conclusive remarks

Stress shift to initial syllable is not valid in SAbE for 80,7% of the words tested – 99,5% of Type 1/3/4/5/6 words
Type-2 words : *bassinette, Halloween, kangaroo, masquerade, serenade, silhouette, souvenir, tangerine*
have stress shift indeed (62%).

« Often assimilated to French endings : C'C'e or V'V' (geminated consonants or vowels most often **-tte, -sse, -nne** or **oo** et **ee**) **ese, que, Vsce, aire** or **ade**, they statistically correspond to a final stress rule, although there are a large number of exceptions with or without stress variation which are generally characterized by a retraction from /01/ to /10/ and from /201/ to /100/ (*coffee, omelette, igloo...*). A number of words are found with a double pattern : disyllables stressed on the last or on the penultimate syllable (*colleen, pongee, ranee, lychee, impasse, pratique...*) trisyllable or longer words stressed on the last or on the antepenultimate syllable (*dungaree, silhouette cigarette, espadrille, pipistrelle, cavalcade, escalade, barricade, officialese...*) These variants emphasize the particular situation of final stress rules often complemented by incomplete phonetic integration of the corresponding items (as seen ofr instance in ords with **-ade** endings pronounced [ɑ:] instead of [eɪ]. »

Deschamps 2001, p;49-50



Is the tendency of the AusTalk Aboriginal speakers to initially stress type-2 words characteristic of SAbE or is it a general Australian tendency or a wider one?

Future work

Next steps :

Test with non Aboriginal speakers – speakers of other varieties

Test more words

- Other words could be tested (including dissyllabic verbs in –Vte and -ment (*create, migrate, ignite, unite, salute, segment, torment...*, exceptions to disyllable → 10, approx 200 words)
- Other Type-2 words need to be tested as well, apart from words with strong endings (often assimilated to French endings) / a few exceptions to the NSR could be added but usually of genuine or assimilated French origin as well.

Build a new corpus dedicated to the specific study of lexical stress patterns and variation in SAbE (and SAusE)

Intra speaker variation

Inter speaker variation

With a larger set of sociolinguistic correlates and descriptors

a stable level of comparability between SAbE data and SAusE data

Expression of gratitude

We wish to acknowledge and pay respect to Aboriginal people past and present as the traditional owners of the land, namely the Gadigal people of the Eora Nation, the Bunurong Boon Wurrung and Wurundjeri Woi Wurrung peoples of the Eastern Kulin Nation and the Budawang people of the Yuin Nation whose ancestral lands Sydney, Melbourne and Ulladulla are built upon and on which Lison Fabre conducted the PAC fieldwork,

as well as to peoples of the nations on which members of the AusTalk corpus conducted their fieldwork



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