

Center for Child Language



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Schwa et structure syllabique: une comparaison franco-scandinave

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Disposition (Basbøll)

- 1. Le danois et le suédois: Perspective scandinave
 - 1a. Beauté/laideur linguistique
 - 1b. Le danois: langue compréhensible?
- 2. Schwa en français et en danois: voyelle ou pas?
- 3. Syllabe de sonorité (bref)
- 4. Sonorité et morphologie
- 5. Schwa: a-t-il un futur? (bref)

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1) Le danois et le suédois: Perspective scandinave

- Study of young Nordic people's understanding of the Scandinavian languages (Delsing & Åkesson 2005)
 - Approx. 1300 gymnasium students from age 15-25 years from different regional areas
 - Approx. 170 of the parents to the students
- Data
 - Spoken language comprehension data (video sequences, radio news);
 - Reading comprehension data (articles)
 - Data on attitudes and habits
- Comparison to older studies (Maurud 1976)

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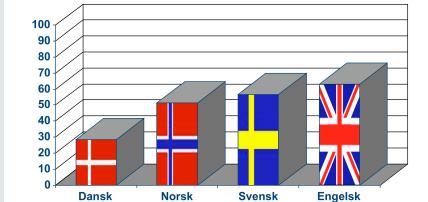
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1a) Beauté/laideur linguistique

“Quelle langue est la plus belle/fine?” - évaluation par les autres scandinaves *



Langue	Score (approx.)
Dansk	35
Norsk	55
Svensk	65
Engelsk	60

*Basé sur Delsing & Åkesson (2005): Étude de communication inter-scandinave

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1a) Index of fineness: countries/areas

AREA	Danish	Swedish	Norw
DK	-	46,0	50,5
SE	27,8	-	53,1
NO	28,9	66,6	-
FS	45,2	-	59,9
FF	37,7	50,0	47,8

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1a) A Swede on Danish from early 16th Century

- Hemming Gad: vehemens oratio contra Danos, 1510 (??)
- Cited in Olaus Magnus 1554 (he died 1544 in Rome, left Sweden in 1526)
- Swedish translation from 16th century
- (Söderberg (1908) "Det Hemming Gadhs tillskrifna talet mot danskarna" in *Historiska Studier tilllägnade Professor Harald Hjärne på hans sextioårsdag den 2 maj 1908 af färgjungar*, pp. 645-74 [boldfacing mine].

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1a) A Swede on Danish from early 16th Century

• Der till medh: så wärdas de icke heller att talla som annat folck, utan	• Also this: nor do they stoop ('worthy themselves') to speak like other people, but
• tryckia ordhen fram lika som the willia hosta, och synas endeles medh flitt forwendhe ordhen i strupan, for æn de komma fram	• press the words forward as if they will cough, and appear partly to deliberately turn the words around in the throat, before they come forward

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1a) A Swede on Danish from early 16th Century

- sammaledes wanskapa the munnen, då the talla, wridhan och wrenjan, så att the draga then offwra leppen till then wenstra sidon och den nedra till then högra sidon, menandes dett wara sig en besynnerlighe prydning och wellståndh.
- partly they misshape the mouth when they speak, twist it and sneer it, so that they pull the upper lip to the left side and the lower to the right side, thinking this to be a particular ornament and well-standing.

[My translation, Hans Basbøll]

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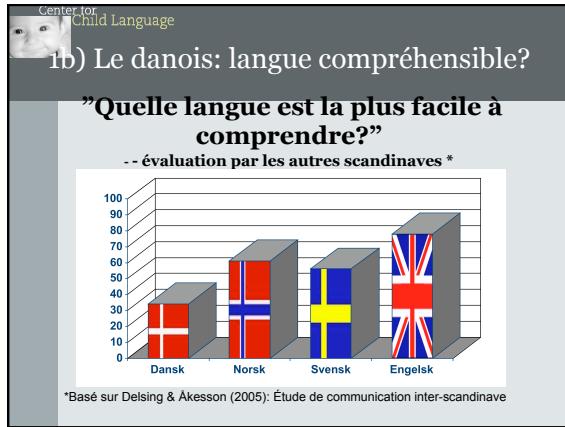
1) Le danois et le suédois: Perspective scandinave

- Danish scores lowest on a 'beauty contest'
- BUT ALSO:
- Danish is judged as being most difficult

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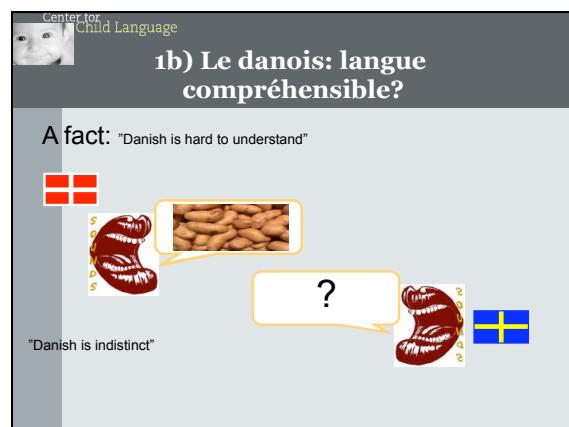
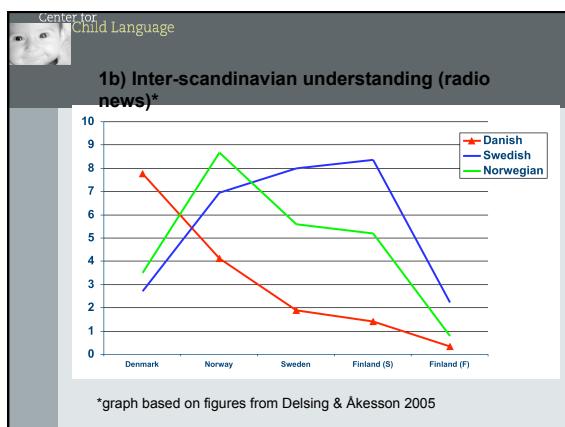


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1b) Index of easiness: countries/areas

- Table 5:13 (attitudes to the languages)

AREA	Danish	Swedish	Norw
DK	-	43,4	53,9
SE	33,5	-	58,4
NO	35,5	77,4	-
FS	27,2	-	61,0
FF	13,5	49,5	18,5



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1b) Le danois: langue compréhensible? (Basbøll)

- sound reductions from the middle ages:
 - vowel reductions (to schwa or zero), e.g. tala > ta:l(e) – most to the West (Jutland)
 - consonant reductions ("consonant gradation"): obstruents to glides/approximants, e.g. -t > ð; -p -b -v > w

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1b) Le danois: langue compréhensible? (Basbøll)

- These two reduction processes of Danish started in the middle ages.
- Their combined effect is phonetic opacity, resulting in a fundamental difference between North (Norway and Sweden) and South (Denmark)
- Furthermore, Danish is phonologically complex (with an extreme number of contrastive vowels)

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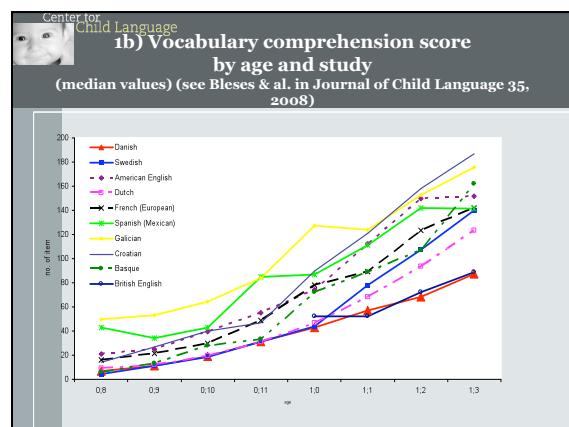
1b) Le danois: langue compréhensible? (Basbøll)

- These sound reductions have led to the following important difference in syllable structure still valid to-day:
 - Dan: VC\$ë (ë is e-schwa) (**cf. French!**)
 - Dan C\$ is pronounced as if it were (word final)
 - But Sw V\$Ca, V\$Co, V\$Ce
 - (e.g. Sw ga\$ta, ko\$ka)
 - Different speech-writing relations Dan><Swe

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1b) Le danois: langue compréhensible?

- A hypothesis**
 - the vocalization of obstruents and the schwa-reductions may face **the Danish children** with a HARDER TASK OF SEGMENTATION affecting their early comprehension abilities



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1b) Le danois: langue compréhensible? (Basbøll)

- The Danish syllable structure CVC\$(ë), some comparisons:
 - Spanish: *d* in *Granada* etc.
 - BUT Spanish has no parallel to Danish schwa ((ë))
 - German: has schwa, BUT nothing like Danish consonant gradation
 - Also (Standard) Swedish and Norwegian do not have a schwa combined with consonant gradation.
 - The combination between the two is a dangerous cocktail for those wanting to catch the sound!*

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1b) Le danois: langue compréhensible? (Basbøll)

- The Danish syllable structure CVC\$(ë), some comparisons:
 - French has like Danish an unstable (ë) (e.g. in *de, venir*) that can drop;
 - BUT when kept (in Standard French) it is pronounced as a full vowel (*Geneve* with a pretonal syllable starts like *jeunesse*),
 - and French has nothing like Danish consonant gradation
 - The combination between the two is a dangerous cocktail for those wanting to catch the sound!*

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1b) Le danois: langue compréhensible? (Basbøll)

- Long monotonous vocalic stretches
 - SONORITY
- Spillede*
- Koge over* [vs Koka över (Swedish)]
- Luge udenfor*
- Det er hårdere at årelade*
- Det er en and*

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1b) Le danois: langue compréhensible?

Koge o(ver)	(L)uge u(denfor)	(H)årdere at åre (lade)

Rischel 2003

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2) Le Schwa en danois et en français

- Le Schwa: fonctions dans les domaines linguistiques (statut indépendant?)
- Morphologie: Dan: OUI, Suéd: moins, Fr: OUI (cf. *appel(le(r))*)
- Phonologie
 - Traits dist marqués: Dan: zéro, Suéd: >o, Fr: zéro (dépend...)
 - Caduc? Dan: OUI, Suéd: NON, Fr: OUI
 - Perd σ ? Dan: NON/OUI, Fr: OUI

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2) Le Schwa en danois et en français

- Le Schwa: fonctions dans les domaines linguistiques (statut indépendant?)
- Phonétique:
 - Largeur de manifest.: Dan: OUI, Fr: ? (mériid: oui)
 - Manque de précision: Dan: OUI, Fr: ? (mériid: oui)
 - Au milieu (de l'espace vocalique): Dan: OUI, Fr: ? (mériid: oui)

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2) Le Schwa en danois et en français

- Nombre de voyelles neutres ("schwa")?
- Zéro:** par ex. l'italien
- Une:** par ex. le français ("e caduc")
- Deux:** par ex. le danois: "e-schwa" et "a-schwa"
- Trois:** par ex. le suédois (ou bien le suédois n'en a pas du tout!), cf. *flick-a, flick-or, stor-e* (vs. *stor-a*)

**2) Le Schwa en danois et en français**

- Nombre de voyelles neutres ("schwa")?
- Deux:** par ex. le danois: "e-schwa" et "a-schwa"
 - Phonologie**
 - Traits dist M: e-schwa: zéro, a-schwa: 1 (pharyng)
 - Caduc? e-schwa: OUI, a-schwa: NON
 - Perd σ? e-schwa: NON/OUI

**2) Le Schwa en danois et en français**

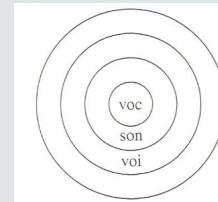
- Nombre de voyelles neutres ("schwa")?
- Deux:** par ex. le danois: "e-schwa" et "a-schwa"
 - Morphophonèmes:** e-schwa: |ɛ|, a-schwa: |ɛ|+|r|
- Phonèmes:** e-schwa: /ɛ/, a-schwa: /ää/
 - Le phonème /ää/ correspond aussi à |r|+|ɛ| ou |r|+|ɛ|+|r|
- Commun:** /VC.ɛ/, /VC.ää/, cf. /V.CV/ (l'inventaire des "C" est tout-à-fait différent!) (cf. French /ɛ/ ≈ / ε /)

**Disposition (Basbøll)**

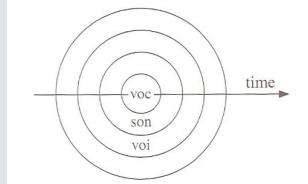
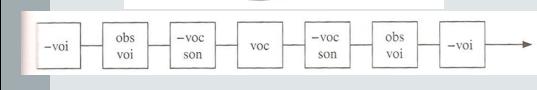
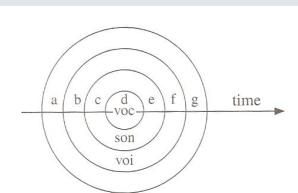
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- Schwa: a-t-il un futur (bref)?

**3) Syllabe de sonorité (Basbøll)**

- Universal logic of segment types (general phonetics)
- Vocoids as the starting point (peaks universally)

**3) Syllabe de sonorité (Basbøll)**

- Introduction of the time dimension turns the model into a **Sonority Syllable Model** (the logical force of the model)

**3) Syllabe de sonorité:
order classes (Basbøll)**

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4) Sonorité et morphologie (Basbøll)

- Prosody
- Criteria for a second syllable in Danish:
 - sonority rise after the peak
 - non-stød (even though long sonority)
 - a weak syllable tonally
 - extra segment length
- NOT monosyllables: [me:nt, spilt, ti:m:, bið:, mæ:ss]
- Are they really perceived as disyllables? Or just identified to a distinct form which satisfies criteria for non-monosyllabicity?

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4) Sonorité et morphologie (Basbøll)

- Danish examples:
- NOT monosyllables: [me:nt, spilt, ti:m:, bið:, mæ:ss]
 - but only one vowel segment in each of these examples
- Phonotactic cue to disyllabicity: heavy syllable without stød
 - Cue from sonority, e.g. *cykel* [sygl], cf. French *table*, *prisme*
- Morphonotactic cue to dimorphemacity: long vowel before cluster (e.g. /NC/) that is not found in (native) morphemes

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4) Schwa a-t-il un futur? (Basbøll)

- **Danois:** OUI, le "e caduc" (= "e-schwa") est toujours caduc
- (le degré de réduction dépend du style
 - et de la région
 - et de l'âge,
 - les jeunes reduisent le plus)

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4) Schwa a-t-il un futur? (Basbøll)

- **Français:**
- Schwa comme "allophone" ("filler") conditionné phonotactiquement?
- Comme phonème (différent de /oe/)?
- Comme "alternance /oe/ & zéro"?
- Comme voyelle phonétiquement neutre?
- Comme phonème caduc?
- Comme segment morphologisé? (cf. *appel(l)e(r)*)
- *Qu'en pensez-vous?????????????????????????????*

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10 ans de PFC

- MERCI DE VOTRE ATTENTION!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

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Références (i)

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3) Syllabe de sonorité (Basbøll)

- The maximal **sonority** monosyllable; different parts active initially and finally; [Spread Glottis] is the order class
- at the margins*

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3) Syllabe de sonorité (Basbøll)

- The Danish native word (maximal model); the voiceless part flows around