

Another look at English phonotactics

Péter Szigetvári

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest
szigetvari@elte.hu

24mfm, 2016-05-28

miscategorized vowels of British English

- ▶ FLEECE and GOOSE are diphthongs (Sweet 1900:233f, Jones 1960:65f, Gimson 1989:121): **ij**, **ɥw**

miscategorized vowels of British English

- ▶ FLEECE and GOOSE are diphthongs (Sweet 1900:233f, Jones 1960:65f, Gimson 1989:121): ij , $\#w$
- ▶ NEAR, SQUARE, and CURE are long monophthongs (Jones 1960:117, Upton 1995, Lindsey 2012): $i:$, $\varepsilon:$, $o:$ / $\eth:$ / $\#:$

miscategorized vowels of British English

- ▶ FLEECE and GOOSE are diphthongs (Sweet 1900:233f, Jones 1960:65f, Gimson 1989:121): ij , $\#w$
- ▶ NEAR, SQUARE, and CURE are long monophthongs (Jones 1960:117, Upton 1995, Lindsey 2012): $i:$, $\varepsilon:$, $o:$ / $\varepsilon:$ / $\#:$

lexical sets	—C	—#	—V
KIT, DRESS, TRAP, LOT, FOOT, STRUT	✓	✗	✗
NEAR, SQUARE, START, NURSE, FORCE, COMMA (CURE)	✓	✓	✗
FLEECE, FACE, PRICE, CHOICE, MOUTH, GOAT, GOOSE	✓	✓	✓

Cruttenden (2014:99f) for the diphthong analysis

1. vowels and glides do not freely combine

SHORT	LONG	DIPHTHONG	
ɪ kit	ɪː near	ɪj fleece	
ɛ dress	ɛː square	ɛj face	
ʌ trap	ʌː start	aj price	aʷ mouth
ɒ lot	ɒː force	oj choice	
ʊ foot	(ʊː cure) ↕		ʊw goose
ə strut	ɜː nurse		əw goat

Cruttenden (2014:99f) for the diphthong analysis

1. vowels and glides do not freely combine

SHORT	LONG	DIPHTHONG	
ɪ kit	ɪː near	ɪj fleece	
ɛ dress	ɛː square	ɛj face	
ʌ trap	ʌː start	aj price	aw mouth
ɒ lot	ɔː force	oj choice	
ʊ foot	(ʊː cure) ↕		ʊw goose
ə strut	ɜː nurse		əw goat

2. postvocalic glides are weakly articulated. . .

Cruttenden (2014:99f) for the diphthong analysis

1. vowels and glides do not freely combine

SHORT	LONG	DIPHTHONG	
ɪ kit	ɪː near	ɪj fleece	
ɛ dress	ɛː square	ɛj face	
ʌ trap	ʌː start	aj price	aw mouth
ɒ lot	ɔː force	oj choice	
ʊ foot	(ʊː cure) ↕		ʊw goose
ə strut	ɜː nurse		əw goat

2. postvocalic glides are weakly articulated. . .

just as almost any postvocalic C, eg *kick*, *lull*, compared to its prevocalic counterpart

Cruttenden (2014:99f) for the diphthong analysis

1. vowels and glides do not freely combine

SHORT	LONG	DIPHTHONG	
ɪ kit	iː near	ij fleece	
ɛ dress	ɛː square	ɛj face	
ʌ trap	ɑː start	aj price	aw mouth
ɒ lot	ɔː force	oj choice	
ʊ foot	(ʊː cure) ↕		ʊw goose
ə strut	ɜː nurse		əw goat

2. postvocalic glides are weakly articulated. . .

just as almost any postvocalic C, eg *kick*, *lull*, compared to its prevocalic counterpart

3. postvocalic glides have no devoiced fricative soundings, like in *tune* [tʃʷn]/[tʃʷn], *queen* [kwɪjn]. . .

Cruttenden (2014:99f) for the diphthong analysis

1. vowels and glides do not freely combine

SHORT	LONG	DIPHTHONG	
ɪ kit	iː near	ij fleece	
ɛ dress	ɛː square	ɛj face	
ʌ trap	ɑː start	aj price	aw mouth
ɒ lot	ɔː force	oj choice	
ʊ foot	(ʊː cure) ↕		ʊw goose
ə strut	ɜː nurse		əw goat

2. postvocalic glides are weakly articulated. . .

just as almost any postvocalic C, eg *kick*, *lull*, compared to its prevocalic counterpart

3. postvocalic glides have no devoiced fricative soundings, like in *tune* [tʃʷn]/[tʃʷn], *queen* [kwɪjn]. . .

this is quite obvious: they are not after a fortis plosive

on Cruttenden's first argument

- ▶ similar constraints characterize consonant clusters

pj	*	kj
*	tw	kw

 \approx

ɛj	*	aj
*	əw	aw

on Cruttenden's first argument

- ▶ similar constraints characterize consonant clusters

pj	*	kj	≈	ɛj	*	aj
*	tw	kw		*	əw	aw

- ▶ current developments in BrE are filling the vowel+glide space

SHORT	LONG	DIPHTHONG	
ɪ kit	ɪː near	ɪj fleece	
ɛ dress	ɛː square	ɛj face	
a trap	aː start	aj price	aw mouth
o lot	oː force	oj choice	
ʊ foot	(ʊː cure) ↕		ʊw goose
ə strut	ɜː nurse		əw goat

on Cruttenden's first argument

- ▶ similar constraints characterize consonant clusters

pj	*	kj	≈	ɛj	*	aj
*	tw	kw		*	əw	aw

- ▶ current developments in BrE are filling the vowel+glide space

SHORT	LONG	DIPHTHONG	
ɪ kit	ɪː near	ij fleece	
ɛ dress	ɛː square	ɛj face	
a trap	aː start	aj price	aw mouth
o lot	oː force	oj choice	
ʊ foot	(ʊː cure) ↕		ʊw goose
ə strut	ɜː nurse		əw goat

l-vocalization

on Cruttenden's first argument

- ▶ similar constraints characterize consonant clusters

pj	*	kj	≈	ɛj	*	aj
*	tw	kw		*	əw	aw

- ▶ current developments in BrE are filling the vowel+glide space

SHORT	LONG	DIPHTHONG	
ɪ kit	ɪː near	ij fleece	ɪw bill
ɛ dress	ɛː square	ɛj face	ɛw bell
a trap	aː start	aj price	aw mouth
o lot	oː force	oj choice	ow ball
ʊ foot	(ʊː cure) ⇕		ʊw goose
ə strut	ɜː nurse		əw goat

I-vocalization

on Cruttenden's first argument

- ▶ similar constraints characterize consonant clusters

pj	*	kj
*	tw	kw

 \approx

ɛj	*	aj
*	əw	aw

- ▶ current developments in BrE are filling the vowel+glide space

SHORT	LONG	DIPHTHONG	
ɪ kit	ɪː near	ɪj fleece	ɪw bill
ɛ dress	ɛː square	ɛj face	ɛw bell
a trap	aː start	aj price	aw mouth
o lot	oː force	oj choice	ow ball
ʊ foot	(ʊː cure) ↕		ʊw goose
ə strut	ɜː nurse		əw goat

glide fronting

on Cruttenden's first argument

- ▶ similar constraints characterize consonant clusters

pj	*	kj
*	tw	kw

 \approx

ɛj	*	aj
*	əw	aw

- ▶ current developments in BrE are filling the vowel+glide space

SHORT	LONG	DIPHTHONG	
ɪ kit	ɪː near	ɪj fleece	ɪw bill
ɛ dress	ɛː square	ɛj face	ɛw bell
a trap	aː start	aj price	aw mouth
o lot	oː force	oj choice	ow ball
ʊ foot	(ʊː cure) ↕	ʊj goose	
ə strut	ɜː nurse	əj goat	

glide fronting

on Cruttenden's first argument

- ▶ similar constraints characterize consonant clusters

pj	*	kj
*	tw	kw

 \approx

ɛj	*	aj
*	əw	aw

- ▶ current developments in BrE are filling the vowel+glide space

SHORT	LONG	DIPHTHONG	
ɪ kit	ɪː near	ij fleece	ɪw bill
ɛ dress	ɛː square	ɛj face	ɛw bell
a trap	aː start	aj price	aw mouth
o lot	oː force	oj choice	ow ball
ʊ foot	(ʊː cure) ↕	ʊj goose	(ʊw bull)
ə strut	ɜː nurse	əj goat	əw dull

l-vocalization

on Cruttenden's first argument

- ▶ similar constraints characterize consonant clusters

pj	*	kj
*	tw	kw

 \approx

ɛj	*	aj
*	əw	aw

- ▶ current developments in BrE are filling the vowel+glide space

SHORT	LONG	DIPHTHONG	
ɪ kit	ɪː near	ɪj fleece	ɪw bill
ɛ dress	ɛː square	ɛj face	ɛw bell
a trap	aː start	aj price	aw mouth
o lot	oː force	oj choice	ow ball
ʊ foot	(ʊː cure) ↕	ʊj goose	(ʊw bull) ↗
ə strut	ɜː nurse	əj goat	əw dull

arguments against the diphthong analysis

1. vowels and glides freely combine in current BrE (nb this is not a sine qua non for treating their combinations as separate segments)

arguments against the diphthong analysis

1. vowels and glides freely combine in current BrE (nb this is not a sine qua non for treating their combinations as separate segments)
2. j-final “diphthongs” cannot be followed by j; w-final “diphthongs” cannot be followed by w (⇐ no geminates)

arguments against the diphthong analysis

1. vowels and glides freely combine in current BrE (nb this is not a sine qua non for treating their combinations as separate segments)
2. j-final “diphthongs” cannot be followed by j; w-final “diphthongs” cannot be followed by w (⇐ no geminates)
3. VG sequences seem to be missing (eg *narwhal* ná:wəl, *lowa* ájəwə, but *Dewi* déwj is unique; cf Polgárdi 2015)

arguments against the diphthong analysis

1. vowels and glides freely combine in current BrE (nb this is not a sine qua non for treating their combinations as separate segments)
2. j-final “diphthongs” cannot be followed by j; w-final “diphthongs” cannot be followed by w (⇐ no geminates)
3. VG sequences seem to be missing (eg *narwhal* ná:wəl, *lowa* ájəwə, but *Dewi* déwj is unique; cf Polgárdi 2015)
4. schwa-epenthesis in *fire*, *file* (also cf Kristó 2015:192f)

arguments against the diphthong analysis

1. vowels and glides freely combine in current BrE (nb this is not a sine qua non for treating their combinations as separate segments)
2. j-final “diphthongs” cannot be followed by j; w-final “diphthongs” cannot be followed by w (⇐ no geminates)
3. VG sequences seem to be missing (eg *narwhal* ná:wəl, *lowa* ájəwə, but *Dewi* déwj is unique; cf Polgárdi 2015)
4. schwa-epenthesis in *fire*, *file* (also cf Kristó 2015:192f)
5. New Zealand English acrolect flapping only after short vowels: *matter* má:rə vs *mitre* má:jtə, *outer* áwtə (cf Bye & de Lacy 2008:195ff; an alternative account in Balogné Bérces 2015:35f)

arguments against the diphthong analysis

1. vowels and glides freely combine in current BrE (nb this is not a sine qua non for treating their combinations as separate segments)
2. *j*-final “diphthongs” cannot be followed by *j*; *w*-final “diphthongs” cannot be followed by *w* (⇐ no geminates)
3. VG sequences seem to be missing (eg *narwhal* *ná:wəl*, *lowa* *ájəwə*, but *Dewi* *déwɨj* is unique; cf Polgárdi 2015)
4. schwa-epenthesis in *fire*, *file* (also cf Kristó 2015:192f)
5. New Zealand English acrolect flapping only after short vowels: *matter* *máɾə* vs *mitre* *májtə*, *outer* *áwtə* (cf Bye & de Lacy 2008:195ff; an alternative account in Balogné Bérces 2015:35f)
6. unstressed syllables may contain STRUT, KIT, and FOOT, ie *ə* | *ɪ* | *ʊ* (*lemon* *léməɪn*, *image* *ímiɪdʒ*, *capitulate* *kəpɪtʃɪleɪt*), as well as *əw* | *ɨw* (*motto* *mótəw*, *happy* *hápij*, *value* *váljɨw*)

are **jʌ** and **jo** diphthongs?

CjV is constrained, CwV is less so

Cj—	Cw—	Cl—	Cr—
mute mjʌwt	swoon swʌwn	flute flʌwt	fruit frʌwt
pure pjo:	quart kwo:t	flaw flo:	frog frog
pure kjə:	quirk kwə:k	blurb blə:b	Brazil brəzil
piano pja:nəw	qualm kwa:m	class kla:s	grass gra:s
	dwelt dwɛl	bless blɛs	dress dres
	twin twɪn	bliss blɪs	brief bri:f

are **jʷ** and **jo** diphthongs?

CjV is constrained, CwV is less so

Cj—	Cw—	Cl—	Cr—
mute mjʷt	swoon swʷn	flute flʷt	fruit frʷt
pure pjo:	quart kwo:t	flaw flo:	frog frog
pure kjə:	quirk kwə:k	blurb blə:b	Brazil brəzil
piano pja:nəw	qualm kwa:m	class kla:s	grass gra:s
	dwelt dwɛl	bless blɛs	dress dres
	twin twɪn	bliss blɪs	brief bri:f

but *CCj, *CCw (except sCj, sCw)

that is, the size of the prevocalic string is limited: *blue* ***bljʷ**

are **jʷ** and **jo** diphthongs?

CjV is constrained, CwV is less so

Cj—	Cw—	Cl—	Cr—
mute mjʷwt	swoon swʷwn	flute flʷwt	fruit frʷwt
pure pjo:	quart kwɔ:t	flaw flo:	frog frog
pure kjə:	quirk kwə:k	blurb blə:b	Brazil brəzɪl
piano pja:nəw	qualm kwa:m	class kla:s	grass gra:s
	dwelt dwɛl	bless blɛs	dress dres
	twin twɪn	bliss blɪs	brief bri:f

but *CCj, *CCw (except sCj, sCw)

that is, the size of the prevocalic string is limited: *blue* ***bljʷw**

cf F *Blois* **blwa** vs *Blier* **blije**, ***blje**

⇒ French **wa** (in *Blois*) is a diphthong, **je** is not one

are **jʷ** and **jo** diphthongs?

CjV is constrained, CwV is less so

Cj—	Cw—	Cl—	Cr—
mute mjʷwt	swoon swʷwn	flute flʷwt	fruit frʷwt
pure pjo:	quart kwɔ:t	flaw flo:	frog frog
pure kjə:	quirk kwə:k	blurb blə:b	Brazil brəzɪl
piano pja:nəw	qualm kwa:m	class kla:s	grass gra:s
	dwelt dwɛl	bless blɛs	dress dres
	twin twɪn	bliss blɪs	brief bri:f

but *CCj, *CCw (except sCj, sCw)

that is, the size of the prevocalic string is limited: *blue* ***bljʷw**

cf F *Blois* **blwa** vs *Blier* **blije**, ***blje**

⇒ French **wa** (in *Blois*) is a diphthong, **je** is not one

*CCj suggests that English **jʷ** and **jo** are not diphthongs

word-final sequences with j

token | type frequency

81301163363 j	11001 j	860443980 jnt	104 jf	21201231 jfs	16 jðz
9774087753 jt	2940 jz	645876190 jtf	83 jps	19956706 jgz	14 jbd
9754415803 jz	1601 jt	587405840 jnɔ̯	72 jnt	15583200 jɜ	13 jðd
8082333371 jn	1131 jn	491708637 jvz	67 jmd	13929132 jsdz	13 jft
7772555374 jl	1037 jd	318491200 jb	66 jvd	13829840 jð	12 jnɔ̯d
7625550060 jd	831 jts	286405623 jzd	56 jɔ̯	10728097 jf	11 jnθ
4510720625 jk	552 jl	258217147 jps	43 jθ	7500600 jnθ	9 jfd
4136156910 jm	372 jnz	235684378 jvd	41 jkt	5920000 jlt	8 jnθs
4047955102 js	327 jzd	219053824 jmd	40 jnts	5053800 jtθ	8 jgz
3094689905 jts	296 js	210848931 jθ	37 jpt	3101380 jðd	7 jɜ
2532714392 jv	293 jk	208198860 jg	35 jtf	2320170 jðz	6 jgd
2171046912 jlz	259 jdz	133120984 jnts	28 jnɔ̯	1919983 jgd	4 jθs
1751693571 jmz	234 jlz	121679741 jɔ̯d	28 jg	1460000 jfd	2 jtθ
1524390546 jf	229 jm	115963550 jldz	28 jfs	579900 jfd	2 jŋk
1414074401 jnz	224 jld	96491410 jndz	26 jb	204568 jθs	2 jlt
1337431167 jɔ̯	209 jnd	60913433 jpt	25 jsdz	179000 jŋ	1 jtθs
1332412698 jnd	168 jv	48971708 jnɔ̯d	25 jf	113700 jŋk	1 jsg
1312067143 jp	150 jks	44000000 jlzd	25 jldz	78400 jpsd	1 jfd
1160113292 jks	143 jp	40608621 jkt	25 jɔ̯d	65544 jnθs	1 jpsd
1153741129 jsd	139 jsd	38419957 jbd	25 jð	25700 jnsd	1 jnsd
1054783687 jdz	132 jvz	35592053 jft	22 jbz	6440 jtθs	1 jŋ
1033581977 jld	118 jmz	23347265 jbz	17 jndz	2130 jsg	1 jlzd

word-final sequences with l

token | type frequency

32198251120	l	4358	l	12610010	ldz	7	lpt
2897482779	lz	1155	lz	6396010	ln	6	ln
1051876592	ld	504	ld	5170590	lb	6	lkt
797839778	lf	98	lt	4501200	ldɣ	6	lfs
678247960	lp	48	lts	2636602	lks	5	lsd
520007759	lt	47	lf	1299330	lbz	5	ldɣ
490543315	lts	26	lvz	1210000	lfθ	5	lfd
471063500	lm	22	lk	644200	lnz	4	lnz
448619400	lθ	21	lv	436908	lfd	4	ldɣd
149304280	ls	17	lm	420780	lfs	4	ltft
133691824	lvz	14	lvd	380560	lkt	4	lb
122061670	lf	14	lks	368762	lsd	3	lmd
118664280	lvd	13	lp	299030	ldɣd	3	lbz
86486230	lv	12	ls	229540	ltft	2	lθs
75608300	lk	11	ldz	112000	lg	1	lfd
57906368	lps	10	lps	69200	lpts	1	lpts
39010503	lmz	10	lmz	4890	lfθs	1	lkts
33861670	lpt	9	ltf	4240	lfd	1	lg
26052000	lmd	7	lθ	3624	lθs	1	lfθs
15006750	ltf	7	lf	2320	lcts	1	lfθ

word-final sequences with nasals

token | type frequency

49605623759	n	7344	n	314522930	nɔ̃	52	ŋkt	583000	ŋg	3	ŋkts
26595588726	ŋ	6789	ŋ	281765410	nθs	49	nsd	580600	nsg	3	nks
13616787610	m	2227	nz	270013470	nʃ	48	mpt	482000	ntθs	2	ŋsd
11236898141	nt	1904	m	159184900	ŋθ	39	nɔ̃	346600	nʃ	2	mt
9199231534	nd	1276	nt	86676746	mps	29	nθ	304640	nks	2	mpf
5652524672	nz	712	nd	78533642	mpt	25	ŋd	280053	mfd	2	mfd
4408205824	ns	590	nts	44570163	md	25	nʃt	157200	nzd	2	mb
2021860188	nts	536	ns	32538790	mpts	20	nɔ̃d	136300	mt	1	nɜ
1766483158	ŋk	414	ŋz	27868061	mf	12	nθs	91100	mlz	1	ntθs
1433136194	mz	370	mz	12736758	nʃt	8	mf	76100	mpf	1	ntθ
1207608955	ŋks	198	ndz	10918270	ŋθs	7	ŋθ	55000	msg	1	ŋg
1180775972	ŋz	162	ŋk	10252220	nɔ̃d	5	ŋθs	52800	ntθ	1	nf
1160953893	ndz	118	ŋks	8732800	ŋsd	5	mpts	27400	mpsd	1	msg
469672112	mp	87	mp	7711995	ŋd	4	nsg	9290	nɜ	1	mpsd
415453225	nθ	71	md	1480000	nf	4	mfs	1178	mb	1	mlz
373161873	ŋkt	69	mps	1174908	mfs	3	nzd				
368013667	nsd	53	nʃ	795200	ŋkts	3	nʃ				

word-final sequences after a long vowel

token | type frequency

25785065457	:	1534	:	300074201	:kt	47	:kt	11437768	:fdz	9	:nsd
5777697543	:t	581	:z	188190840	:ɜ	44	:sdz	10956664	:ðz	8	:sb
4531190679	:l	578	:d	125329632	:md	44	:nt	8596755	:lt	8	:pt
3383057289	:k	380	:n	122195190	:v	43	:tʃ	7841110	:θs	6	:sgd
2745071793	:d	320	:t	118881960	:sg	42	:fs	6850000	:mθ	6	:ndz
2674341007	:tʃ	300	:l	92680570	:g	35	:ɜ	4195048	:bd	6	:gz
2567287240	:z	269	:k	88625900	:ntʃ	35	:ns	3726593	:sb	5	:sbz
2282237036	:sd	200	:dz	82064100	:sgd	32	:v	3645270	:pt	5	:ldz
2084188002	:n	176	:s	82008209	:b	32	:b	1691906	:ps	4	:ɜd
1537277682	:ts	158	:m	68107960	:ɔgd	25	:vz	1155440	:gz	4	:θd
1475666952	:s	155	:ts	67513150	:nsd	24	:nts	710500	:θd	4	:sbd
1167032450	:mz	152	:sd	67375773	:fd	23	:ɔgd	688000	:ln	4	:ntʃt
1120891379	:θ	141	:lz	65200440	:fs	22	:vd	322300	:sbz	3	:zd
1094957837	:m	128	:ks	61929836	:p	21	:fdz	278400	:ɜd	3	:lts
1028976851	:ld	116	:f	57415905	:vz	20	:bz	207000	:ls	2	:ln
901551391	:ks	96	:θ	54483561	:sdz	18	:sg	191300	:sbd	1	:fd
775476482	:dz	91	:nz	49966600	:sgz	18	:ðz	149000	:nʃ	1	:pts
686151756	:ɔ	91	:mz	47669695	:nts	17	:θs	127000	:nɔ	1	:psd
570673190	:vd	91	:g	46699430	:ntʃt	16	:tʃt	111000	:pts	1	:nɜ
529237660	:f	69	:fd	36164000	:zd	15	:ps	59340	:lts	1	:nʃ
412662183	:nz	63	:ld	32674430	:ʃ	14	:ʃ	55600	:nɜ	1	:nɔ
388255337	:nt	48	:p	24080940	:ldz	13	:sgz	29100	:ð	1	:mθ
356212905	:lz	48	:nd	21905960	:ndz	13	:ntʃ	25800	:ksd	1	:ls
334963320	:ns	48	:ɔ	19190750	:bz	11	:bd	19500	:fd	1	:ksd
318795690	:nd	47	:md	17290559	:tʃt	10	:lt	4960	:psd	1	:ð

word-initial sequences involving prevocalic sonorants

token | type frequency

17281773674	j	757	j	8313403	dw	11	pw	1053700	vr	3	vr
3392208529	nj	275	nj	5520400	hw	9	θw	29910	fbr	3	fbr
1602784290	vj	135	dj	4222000	bw	8	f w	25800	nkr	1	sfr
1161242205	dj	132	mj	2700171	f w	6	z w	3870	sfr	1	nkr
691076793	mj	122	kj	1309100	θw	5	hw	32413214941	l	3471	l
597462882	hj	115	pj	680000	z w	3	bw	4147212366	pl	799	kl
437740969	fj	104	tj	267200	m w	2	tsw	3810715600	kl	674	fl
434670417	sdj	99	fj	258000	v w	2	m w	2003588964	bl	629	bl
388154458	kj	98	hj	191000	bl w	1	z w	1320501911	sl	588	pl
366755003	tj	70	bj	122210	z w	1	v w	794060193	fl	501	sl
227791607	bj	43	sdj	52140	tsw	1	n w	572201900	gl	360	gl
145093569	pj	20	sgj	44700	n w	1	klw	192164700	sbl	73	sbl
15901440	θj	15	lj	44400	f w	1	f w	55977400	vl	12	sgl
6660000	fj	14	vj	25800	klw	1	blw	2277849	sgl	8	fl
6241930	lj	14	sj	36961439862	r	5457	r	1156600	zl	6	vl
2506616	sj	13	sbj	13705578264	pr	1910	pr	211300	fl	2	zl
2137222	sgj	11	θj	7550827745	tr	1267	tr	8750	tl	1	tl
954590	sbj	2	zj	4067538920	fr	1067	kr	41919828360	m	5748	m
231030	gj	2	gj	3927827517	br	968	br	19164955823	n	1966	n
113900	zj	1	smj	2829702833	gr	839	gr	1036239303	sm	312	sn
20700	smj	1	fj	2531071281	kr	653	fr	542873989	sn	231	sm
36991428022	w	2851	w	2296912459	sdr	509	dr	5627621	f n	12	f m
1883200328	kw	547	kw	1699562374	θr	431	sdr	695367	f m	8	f n
1789605565	tw	363	sw	1158557368	dr	220	sgr	469000	km	4	kn
1059046415	sw	146	sgw	369553707	sgr	171	θr	438972	kn	1	tm
306806061	sgw	143	tw	255381502	sbr	127	sbr	28800	tm	1	pn
132612450	gw	44	gw	79450655	f r	89	f r	19700	pn	1	km
53844100	pw	26	dw	22798500	sr	5	sr				

conclusions

- ▶ all clusters follow sonority sequencing acc. to the following hierarchy: obstruents < nasals < l r h < j w ɹ < vowels

conclusions

- ▶ all clusters follow sonority sequencing acc. to the following hierarchy: obstruents < nasals < l r h < j w ɜ < vowels
- ▶ r h (and l) only occur prevocally, ɜ only postvocally

conclusions

- ▶ all clusters follow sonority sequencing acc. to the following hierarchy: obstruents < nasals < l r h < j w ɜ < vowels
- ▶ r h (and l) only occur prevocally, ɜ only postvocally
- ▶ initial clusters show a tendency for inhibiting homorganicity

conclusions

- ▶ all clusters follow sonority sequencing acc. to the following hierarchy: obstruents < nasals < l r h < j w ɹ < vowels
- ▶ r h (and l) only occur prevocally, ɹ only postvocally
- ▶ initial clusters show a tendency for inhibiting homorganicity
- ▶ final clusters show a tendency for homorganicity of nasals

conclusions

- ▶ all clusters follow sonority sequencing acc. to the following hierarchy: obstruents < nasals < l r h < j w : < vowels
- ▶ r h (and l) only occur prevocally, : only postvocally
- ▶ initial clusters show a tendency for inhibiting homorganicity
- ▶ final clusters show a tendency for homorganicity of nasals
- ▶ number of sequences (tokens/types/cluster types):

#C*j	26,761,521,824	2043	21	jC*#	163,082,882,034	23438	66
#C*w	42,240,293,465	4172	21	wC*#	80,490,153,352	7452	67
#C*r	77,457,316,267	13721	18	:C*#	66,529,714,056	6601	75
#C*l	45,313,292,474	7124	13	lC*#	40,448,385,874	6473	40
#C*N	62,671,176,935	8284	10	NC*#	132,064,639,027	23282	49

conclusions

- ▶ all clusters follow sonority sequencing acc. to the following hierarchy: obstruents < nasals < l r h < j w : < vowels
- ▶ r h (and l) only occur prevocally, : only postvocally
- ▶ initial clusters show a tendency for inhibiting homorganicity
- ▶ final clusters show a tendency for homorganicity of nasals
- ▶ number of sequences (tokens/types/cluster types):

#C*j	26,761,521,824	2043	21	jC*#	163,082,882,034	23438	66
#C*w	42,240,293,465	4172	21	wC*#	80,490,153,352	7452	67
#C*r	77,457,316,267	13721	18	:C*#	66,529,714,056	6601	75
#C*l	45,313,292,474	7124	13	lC*#	40,448,385,874	6473	40
#C*N	62,671,176,935	8284	10	NC*#	132,064,639,027	23282	49

- ▶ the size of both the pre- and postvocalic sequences is constrained, “closed syllable shortening” only in “doubly closed” syllables

conclusions

- ▶ all clusters follow sonority sequencing acc. to the following hierarchy: obstruents < nasals < l r h < j w : < vowels
- ▶ r h (and l) only occur prevocally, : only postvocally
- ▶ initial clusters show a tendency for inhibiting homorganicity
- ▶ final clusters show a tendency for homorganicity of nasals
- ▶ number of sequences (tokens/types/cluster types):

#C*j	26,761,521,824	2043	21	jC*#	163,082,882,034	23438	66
#C*w	42,240,293,465	4172	21	wC*#	80,490,153,352	7452	67
#C*r	77,457,316,267	13721	18	:C*#	66,529,714,056	6601	75
#C*l	45,313,292,474	7124	13	lC*#	40,448,385,874	6473	40
#C*N	62,671,176,935	8284	10	NC*#	132,064,639,027	23282	49

- ▶ the size of both the pre- and postvocalic sequences is constrained, “closed syllable shortening” only in “doubly closed” syllables
- ▶ maximal clusters: #CCC, CCC# and CCC#C

conclusions

- ▶ all clusters follow sonority sequencing acc. to the following hierarchy: obstruents < nasals < l r h < j w : < vowels
- ▶ r h (and l) only occur prevocally, : only postvocally
- ▶ initial clusters show a tendency for inhibiting homorganicity
- ▶ final clusters show a tendency for homorganicity of nasals
- ▶ number of sequences (tokens/types/cluster types):

#C*j	26,761,521,824	2043	21	jC*#	163,082,882,034	23438	66
#C*w	42,240,293,465	4172	21	wC*#	80,490,153,352	7452	67
#C*r	77,457,316,267	13721	18	:C*#	66,529,714,056	6601	75
#C*l	45,313,292,474	7124	13	lC*#	40,448,385,874	6473	40
#C*N	62,671,176,935	8284	10	NC*#	132,064,639,027	23282	49

- ▶ the size of both the pre- and postvocalic sequences is constrained, “closed syllable shortening” only in “doubly closed” syllables
- ▶ maximal clusters: #CCC, CCC# and CCC#C
- ▶ the neatest account is that j w : ∈ C

issues

	L ACCENTS	L-VOC ACCENTS
flu	fɫw	fɫw
fool	fʊwl~fo:l	fow~fo:
foot	fʊt	fʊt
full	fʊl~fo:l	fow~fo:
doe	dəw	dəw
dole	dɔwl	dɔw
dot	dɔt	dɔt
doll	dɔl~dɔwl	dɔw
dust	dəst	dəst
dull	dəl	dəw~dɔw

- ▶ in l accents: the change occurs across w

issues

	L ACCENTS	L-VOC ACCENTS
flu	fɫw	fɫw
fool	fʊwl~fo:l	fow~fo:
foot	fɫt	fɫt
full	fʊl~fo:l	fow~fo:
doe	dəw	dəw
dole	dɔwl	dɔw
dot	dɔt	dɔt
doll	dɔl~dɔwl	dɔw
dust	dəst	dəst
dull	dəl	dəw~dɔw

- ▶ in l accents: the change occurs across w
- ▶ in l-voc accents: ɫw > ow, əw > ɔw only before w < l
(rule ordering?)

issues

	L ACCENTS	L-VOC ACCENTS
flu	fɫw	fɫw
fool	fʊwl~fo:l	fow~fo:
foot	fʊt	fʊt
full	fʊl~fo:l	fow~fo:
doe	dəw	dəw
dole	dɔwl	dɔw
dot	dɔt	dɔt
doll	dɔl~dɔwl	dɔw
dust	dəst	dəst
dull	dəl	dəw~dɔw

- ▶ in l accents: the change occurs across w
- ▶ in l-voc accents: ɫw > ow, əw > ɔw only before w < l (rule ordering?)
- ▶ why is this optional in *dull* dəw? (Wells 1982:317)

thank

- ▶ you
- ▶ the audience at the 2016-05-19 session of ALFFA, who forced very significant changes
- ▶ Geoff Lindsey, for help with the l-vocalization data and anyway
- ▶ OTKA, #104897

links

- ▶ source of data: seas3.elte.hu/cube
- ▶ this slideshow is at seas3.elte.hu/szigetva/papers.html#24mfm
- ▶ some background at seas3.elte.hu/phono/notes/nodiphthong.html

references

- ▶ Balogné Bérces, Katalin. 2015. A hangsúlyfüggő mássalhangzó-gyengülés alrendszerei [Subsystems of stress-dependent consonant lenition]. In Katalin É. Kiss, Attila Hegedűs, and Lilla Pintér (eds.) *Nyelvelmélet és dialektológia* 3. Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Piliscsaba. 25–42.
- ▶ Cruttenden, Alan. 2014. *Gimson's Pronunciation of English* (8th ed.), London & New York: Routledge.
- ▶ Bye, Patrick and Paul de Lacy. 2008. Metrical influences on fortition and lenition. In Joaquim Brandão de Carvalho, Tobias Scheer, and Philippe Ségéral (eds.), *Lenition and Fortition*, Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 173–206.
- ▶ Gimson, Charles Arnold. 1989. *An introduction to the pronunciation of English*. London: Edward Arnold.
- ▶ Jones, Daniel. 1960. *An outline of English phonetics* (9th ed.). Cambridge: CUP.
- ▶ Kristó, László. 2015. Az /r/ disztribúciója és annak eredete az angol nyelv akcentusaiban [The distribution of /r/ and its origin in accents of English]. In É. Kiss et al. 181–195.
- ▶ Lindsey, Geoff. 2012. The British English vowel system. Retrieved on 2016-05-23 from englishspeechservices.com/blog/british-vowels
- ▶ Polgárdi, Krisztina. 2015. Vowels, glides, off-glides and on-glides in English: A Loose CV analysis. *Lingua* 158: 9–34.
- ▶ Sweet, Henry. 1900. *A New English Grammar: Logical and Historical*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- ▶ Upton, Clive. 1995. *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* (9th ed.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, pronunciation editor: Clive Upton.
- ▶ Wells, John C. 1982. *Accents of English*. Cambridge: CUP.