Does syllable structure really matter?
The case of postconsonantal yod

Péter Szigetvári

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest
szigetvari@elte.hu

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sources of CjV in English: part 1

1. ME *iw* > *ju*, eg *new, Tuesday*
sources of CjV in English: part 1

1. ME iw > ju, eg new, Tuesday
2. ME ew > iw > ju, eg dew, brew
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2. ME ew > iw > ju, eg dew, brew
3. French yː > ju, eg due, sure
phonotactics of CjV in English: the vowel after

- ME iw, ew, and French yː merged in Cju, which splits into Cju (eg mule) and Cjʉ (eg mute)
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nb word-initial j may be followed by any vowel:
  yid jíd, yet jët, yank jáŋk, yacht jót, young jén, etc
phonotactics of Cj́V in English: the consonant before

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phonotactics of Cj˚V in English: the consonant before

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a surprise

- yod loss is more extensive in stressed syllables:
  - lewd lúwd vs value váljʊw
  - rule rúwl vs ferrule fé(r)jʊwl
  - suit súwt vs issue íʃʊw/íʃjʊw/íʃjʊw/*íʃʊw
  - nude n(j)úwd vs menu méŋjʊw
a surprise

- yod loss is more extensive in stressed syllables:
  - lewd ｌｕｗd vs value ｖａｌjゅw
  - rule ｒｕｗl vs ferrule ｆёр(j)ｕwl
  - suit ｓｕｗt vs issue ｉｊゅw/ｉsjゅw/ｉjjゅw/*ｉｓゅw
  - nude ｎ(j)ゅwd vs menu ｍェンjゅw

- some prevocalic C(C)s (cube.elte.hu)

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a surprise

- yod loss is more extensive in stressed syllables:
  - lewd vs value: váljʌw
  - rule vs ferrule: fé(r)ʌwl
  - suit vs issue: íʃʌw/*íʃʌw
  - nude vs menu: mέnʌw

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  - rule rúwl vs ferrule fér(j)uwł
  - suit súwt vs issue íʃjʊw/íʃjʊw/íʃjʊw/*íʃʊw
  - nude n(j)úwd vs menu méŋjʊw

- some prevocalic C(C)s (cube.elte.hu)

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sources of Cj in English: part 2

1. ME iw → ju, eg new, Tuesday
2. ME ew → iw → ju, eg dew, brew
3. French yː → ju, eg due, sure
sources of Cj in English: part 2

1. ME iw \(>\) ju, eg new, Tuesday
2. ME ew \(>\) iw \(>\) ju, eg dew, brew
3. French y: \(>\) ju, eg due, sure
4. high vowel gliding, eg million, opinion, Slovakia
1. ME $iw > ju$, eg new, Tuesday
2. ME $ew > iw > ju$, eg dew, brew
3. French $y_e > ju$, eg due, sure
4. high vowel gliding, eg million, opinion, Slovakia
5. loanwords, eg banyan, canyon, cognac, fjord, piano, pinyin
6. morpheme concatenation, eg churchyard, egg yolk, light-year
the relevance of high vowel gliding

- high vowel gliding occurs exclusively before unstressed vowels, ie ə
the relevance of high vowel gliding

- high vowel gliding occurs exclusively before unstressed vowels, i.e. ə
- *million mǐlǐjòn/míljòn vs humiliate hjʊ̰w mílijëjt/*hjʊ̰w mǐljëjt*
the relevance of high vowel gliding

- high vowel gliding occurs exclusively before unstressed vowels, ie ṑ
  - *million mílijën/míljan vs *humiliate hjῳwmílijëjt/*hjῳwmílijëjt*
  - *mania méjni̯jën/méjnjo vs *maniac méjnij˘ak/*méjni˘ak
the relevance of high vowel gliding

- high vowel gliding occurs exclusively before unstressed vowels, i.e. ə
  - million míljən/míljən vs humiliate hjʊwmlílijəjt/*hjʊwmlílijəjt
  - mania méjnijə/méjnə vs maniac méjnijək/*méjnək
  - barrier bárijə/bárjə vs baryon bárijən/*bárjən
the relevance of high vowel gliding

- high vowel gliding occurs exclusively before unstressed vowels, ie œ
  - million míljan/míljən vs humiliate hjowmílijejt/*hjowmílijejt
  - mania méjniə/méjnə vs maniac méjnijak/*méjnjak
  - barrier bárijə/bárjə vs baryon bárijən/*bárjən
  - (exc milliard mílija:d/mílja:d)
the relevance of high vowel gliding

- high vowel gliding occurs exclusively before unstressed vowels, i.e. ə
  - million mílijun/míljən vs humiliate hjʊwmílijəjt/*hjʊwmílijəjt
  - mania méjniʃə/méjnə vs maniac méjniʃə/*méjniʃə
  - barrier bárijə/bárjə vs baryon bárijən/*bárjən
    (exc milliard mílija:d/mílija:d)
- CUBE contains 4252 Cjə sequences and 319 Cwə sequences, i.e. 13× more potential Cjə than Cwə sequences
the relevance of high vowel gliding

- high vowel gliding occurs exclusively before unstressed vowels, i.e. ə
  - *million* mílijən/míljən vs *humiliate* hjʊwmílijəjt/*hjʊwmílijəjt
  - *mania* môjnjə/méjnjə vs *maniac* môjnjək/*méjnjək
  - *barrier* bárjə/bárjə vs *baryon* bárjən/*bárjən
    (exc *milliard* mílijaːd/mílijaːd)

- CUBE contains 4252 Cjə sequences and 319 Cwə sequences, i.e. 13× more potential Cjə than Cwə sequences

- the Cjə pattern is supported by HVG: there are many Cj’s created by HVG before an unstressed vowel, so j is more likely to be retained before an unstressed vowel, irrespective of its provenance
the relevance of high vowel gliding

- high vowel gliding occurs exclusively before unstressed vowels, ie ə
  - million míliən/míliən vs humiliate hjʊwmíliəjt/*hjʊwmíliəjt
  - mania méjniə/méjnə vs maniac méjnijək/*méjnijək
  - barrier báriə/báriə vs baryon bárijən/*bárijən
    (exc milliard míliəd/míliəd)
- CUBE contains 4252 Cjə sequences and 319 Cwə sequences, ie 13× more potential Cjə than Cwə sequences
- the Cjə pattern is supported by HVG: there are many Cj’s created by HVG before an unstressed vowel, so j is more likely to be retained before an unstressed vowel, irrespective of its provenance
- ie the speaker “doesn’t know” if ténjə (tenure) is “underlyingly” ténjur or ténija (or something similar)
CCj in English

» word initially: sbj, eg spurrious, sgj, eg skew, smj, eg smew
  (for some sdj, eg stupid, slj, eg slew)
CCj in English

- Word initially: *sbj*, eg *spurious*, *sgj*, eg *skew*, *smj*, eg *smew* (for some *sdj*, eg *stupid*, *slj*, eg *slew*)
- Cypriot *sípr*⟨i⟩jət, nuclear *njúwkl*⟨i⟩jə, *trochlea* *trókl*⟨i⟩jə
CCj in English

- word initially: sbj, eg spurious, sgj, eg skew, smj, eg smew (for some sdj, eg stupid, slj, eg slew)
- Cypriot sípr*⟨i⟩jət, nuclear njáwkl*⟨i⟩jə, trochlea trókl*⟨i⟩jə vs champion ʧámpjən, axiom áksjəm, Indian índjən (> índən)
CCj in English

- word initially: *sbj*, eg *spurious*, *sgj*, eg *skew*, *smj*, eg *smew* (for some *sdj*, eg *stupid*, *slj*, eg *slew*)
- Cypriot * sípr*⟨i⟩jət, *nuclear* njáwkli⟨i⟩jə, *trochlea* tróklǐ⟨i⟩jə vs *champion* tjámtʃən, *axiom* áksjəm, *Indian* índʃən (> índʒən)
- *slew* sl(j)əw vs *blew* *bljəw*
CCj in English

- word initially: sbj, eg spurious, sgj, eg skew, smj, eg smew (for some sdj, eg stupid, slj, eg slew)
- Cypriot sípr*⟨i⟩jət, nuclear njúwkl*⟨i⟩jə, trochlea trókl*⟨i⟩jə vs champion tjämpjən, axiom áksjəm, Indian índjən (> índʒən)
- slew sl(j)əw vs blew *bljəw
- lurid l(j)ərid vs plural *pljoːrəl
CCj in English

- word initially: sbj, eg spurious, sgj, eg skew, smj, eg smew (for some sdj, eg stupid, slj, eg slew)
- Cypriot sípr*⟨i⟩jət, nuclear njáwl*⟨i⟩jə, trochlea trókl*⟨i⟩jə vs champion tjámpjən, axiom áksjəm, Indian índjən (＞ índjən)
- slew sl(j)əw vs blew *bljəw
- lurid l(j)ərid vs plural *pljɔːrəl
- ferrule fɛr(j)əwl vs altruist *áltrjəwɪst
word initially: sbj, eg spurious, sgj, eg skew, smj, eg smew (for some sdj, eg stupid, slj, eg slew)

- Cypriot sípr*⟨i⟩jət, nuclear nj̪̝wkl*⟨i⟩jə, trochlea trókl*⟨i⟩jə vs champion tj̪̝mpjən, axiom áksjəm, Indian índjən (> índjən)
- slew sl(j)əw vs blew *bljəw
- lurid l(j)ərid vs plural *pljoːrəl
- ferrule fér(j)əwl vs altruist *áltrjəwɪst
- Eleusinian éljəwsínjən vs effluent *éfljəwənt
CCj in English

- word initially: sbj, eg spurious, sgj, eg skew, smj, eg smew (for some sdj, eg stupid, slj, eg slew)
- Cypriot sípr*⟨i⟩jət, nuclear njáwkl*⟨i⟩jə, trochlea trókl*⟨i⟩jə vs champion tjámpjən, axiom áksjəm, Indian índjən (> índjən)
- slew sl(j)əw vs blew *bljəw
- lurid l(j)ərid vs plural *pljərəl
- ferrule fér(j)əwl vs altruist *áltrjəwəst
- Eleusinian éljuwˈsínən vs effluent *efljuwənt
- February fébrərij, fébjərij, *fébrjərij
CCj in English

- word initially: sbj, eg *spurious*, sgj, eg *skew*, smj, eg *smew* (for some sdj, eg *stupid*, slj, eg *slew*)
- Cypriot sípr*⟨i⟩jət, nuclear njúwk*l*⟨i⟩jə, trochlea trókl*⟨i⟩jə* vs champion tfámpjən, axiom áksjəm, Indian índjən (⟩ índʒən)
- *slew* sl(j)əw vs *blew* *bljəw*
- lurid l(j)ərid vs plural *pljoːrəl*
- ferrule fér(j)əwl vs altruist *áltrjəwɪst*
- *Eleusinian* éljuːwˈsɪnjən vs effluent *ɛfljuːwənt*
- *February* fébrərij, fɛbjərij, *fɛbrjərij*

⇒ after rising-sonority clusters
CCj in English

- word initially: sbj, eg spurious, sgj, eg skew, smj, eg smew (for some sdj, eg stupid, slj, eg slew)
- Cypriot sípr*⟨i⟩jət, nuclear njúwkł*⟨i⟩jə, trochlea trókl*⟨i⟩jə vs champion tjämpjẹn, axiom áksjəm, Indian índjən (> índjən)
- slew sl(j)əw vs blew *bljəw
- lurid l(j)oːrid vs plural *pljоːrəl
- ferrule fé(r)jəwl vs altruist *áltrjəwɪst
- Eleusinian ěljʉws增进 vs effluent *éfljʉwənt
- February fébrərij, fëbjərij, *fëbrjərij
- after rising-sonority clusters
  - HVG is inhibited
CCj in English

- Word initially: sbj, eg spurious, sgj, eg skew, smj, eg smew (for some sdj, eg stupid, slj, eg slew)
- Cypriot sípr*⟨i⟩jət, nuclear nj ổnl*⟨i⟩jə, trochlea trókl*⟨i⟩jə vs championʧ āmjən, axiom áksjom, Indian índjən (> índjən)
- slew sl(j)əw vs blew *bljəw
- lurid l(j)ərid vs plural *pljoːrəl
- ferrule férc(j)əwl vs altruist *áltrjəwɪst
- Eleusinian éljəwsínjən vs effluent *éfljəwənt
- February fěbrərij, fěbjərij, *fěbrjərij
- after rising-sonority clusters
  - HVG is inhibited
  - the j of ju/jə/jo is dropped
Cj in English: summary

1. Cj results from
Cj in English: summary

1. Cj results from
   - vowels merging in ju
Cj in English: summary

1. Cj results from
   - vowels merging in ju
   - high vowel gliding
Cj in English: summary

1. Cj results from
   ▶ vowels merging in \textit{ju}
   ▶ high vowel gliding
   (and compounding and loans — ignored here)
Cj in English: summary

1. Cj results from
   - vowels merging in ju
   - high vowel gliding
     (and compounding and loans — ignored here)

2. j does not occur after rising-sonority clusters
Cj in English: summary

1. Cj results from
   - vowels merging in ju
   - high vowel gliding
     (and compounding and loans — ignored here)
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   ⇒ Cj does not look like a branching onset (whatever that means)
   ⇒ perhaps branching onsets and bogus clusters are the same category...
... and now for something not completely different
sources of Cj in Hungarian

nb  †∧ > j~l
sources of Cj in Hungarian

nb $\hat{\wedge} > j \sim l$

1. a handful of monomorphemic examples (qv below)
sources of Cj in Hungarian

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3. vowel syncope, eg bagœj ‘owl’ → bagja ‘his/her/its owl’
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monomorphemic Cj in Hu

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j gajj ‘twig’, ujj ‘finger’, jyjjɛd ‘sink’
monomorphemic Cj in Hu


**j** gajj ‘twig’, ujj ‘finger’, ʃyjjɛd ‘sink’

**others** ʧɔrɔsja ‘frump’, also ʧɔrɔsŋa (< Sl ʧreslo), vaːsja Russian name, zapɔrɔʒjɛ city in Ukraine
suffixation

three representative suffixes
three representative suffixes

- verbal -ja/-je ‘subj-imp+3sg-subj+def-obj’ (=sub3)
three representative suffixes

- verbal -\textipa{ja}/-\textipa{jɛ} ‘subj-imp+3sg-subj+def-obj’ (\(\approx\)sub3)
  - \textipa{λpja} ‘he/she/it should steal him/her/it/them’
three representative suffixes

- verbal -ja/-jɛ ‘subj-imp+3sg-subj+def-obj’ (=sub3)
  - ḅpjạ ‘he/she/it should steal him/her/it/them’
  -  bụpjẹ ‘he/she/it should cover him/her/it/them’
three representative suffixes

- **verbal** -ja/-jε ‘subj-imp+3sg-subj+def-obj’ (=sub3)
  - ṃpja ‘he/she/it should steal him/her/it/them’
  - lẹpjε ‘he/she/it should cover him/her/it/them’
- **verbal** -ja/-i ‘pres+indic+3sg-subj+def-obj’ (=ind3)
three representative suffixes

- **verbal** -ja/-je ‘subj-imp+3sg-subj+def-obj’ (=sub3)
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  - Ṽɛmje ‘his/her/its jam’ vs sɛmɛ ‘his/her/its eye’
suffixation

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<td>g</td>
<td>raːgja</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>magja</td>
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</table>

* exc naːʃ ~ naːʃa ‘big’
comparison of Cj in En and Hu

- noncoronal C+j remains as is
comparison of Cj in En and Hu

- noncoronal C+j remains as is
- no j after palatals
comparison of Cj in En and Hu

- noncoronal C+j remains as is
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- variable palatalization of alveolars (nonpalatal coronals)

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<td>ðg</td>
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<td>ʒ</td>
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<td>c/ʃ</td>
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- Hu rj vs En r(j) only before unstressed V
  (Hu r is alveolar, En r is postalveolar/palatal)
high vowel gliding in Hu?

how to count syllables?

may maːgiːa ‘magic’ and maːgja ‘bonfire’ or rakiːa ‘rakia’ and rakja ‘he/she/it puts him/her/it/them’ be homophones?
how to count syllables?

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intonation

yes/no question intonation: 1-syll: LH(L), 2-syll: L.H(L), 3-syll: L.H.L, 4-syll: L.M.H.L, etc
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▶ εz ݹ: ‘is this him/her?’
▶ εz màrì ‘is this Mari?’
▶ εz ìlónà ‘is this Ilona?’
▶ εz àmērīkà ‘is this America?’
high vowel gliding in Hu?

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▶ ez ŋː ‘is this him/her?’ , ez màrí ‘is this Mari?’ ,
  ez ilónà ‘is this Ilona?’ , ez àmēríkà ‘is this America?’
▶ ez màːɡjâ ‘is this magic?’ vs ez màːɡjá ‘is this a bonfire?’
high vowel gliding in Hu?

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▶ εz mà:ɡjà ‘is this magic?’ vs εz mà:ɡjá ‘is this a bonfire?’

palatalization

rɔmaːn+ja → rɔmaːŋŋa ‘his/her/its Rumanian’
vs rɔmaːnija → ?rɔmaːŋŋa, *rɔmaːŋŋa ‘Rumania’
(cf εz rɔmāːŋjâ, *εz rɔmāːŋjà ‘is this Rumania?’
vs εz a mari rɔmāŋŋà ‘is this Mari’s Rumanian?’)
Cj clusters behave remarkably similarly in English (which allegedly has branching onsets) and Hungarian (which allegedly does not)
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Cj clusters that seem to be branching onsets in English (derived from ju) behave remarkably similarly to Cj clusters that do seem to be bogus (derived by HVG)
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Phonetics can’t count syllables.