

Segmenting clusters

(and a look at obstruent clusters)

Péter Szigetvári

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest
szigetvari@elte.hu

On Constituents Workshop, London, 2017-02-17

counting segments

- ▶ *chip tʃip* — one or two skeletal slots?

counting segments

- ▶ *chip tʃɪp* — one or two skeletal slots?
- ▶ *tip thɪp* — one or two skeletal slots?

counting segments

- ▶ *chip* **tj**ip — one or two skeletal slots?
- ▶ *tip* **th**ip — one or two skeletal slots?
- ▶ *prince* **prints** — two or three skeletal slots?

counting segments

- ▶ *chip tʃɪp* — one or two skeletal slots?
- ▶ *tip thɪp* — one or two skeletal slots?
- ▶ *prince prɪnts* — two or three skeletal slots?
- ▶ *loud laʊd* — one or two constituents?

counting segments

- ▶ *chip* tʃɪp — one or two skeletal slots?
- ▶ *tip* thɪp — one or two skeletal slots?
- ▶ *prince* prɪnts — two or three skeletal slots?
- ▶ *loud* laʊd — one or two constituents?
- ▶ notational conventions aimed at biasing counting:
chip tʃɪp, tʃɪp, tʃɪp, ʧɪp; *tip* t^hɪp; *prince* prɪn^ts; *loud* laʊd

counting segments

- ▶ *chip* **tʃ**ɪp — one or two skeletal slots?
- ▶ *tip* **tʰ**ɪp — one or two skeletal slots?
- ▶ *prince* **prɪn**tʰs — two or three skeletal slots?
- ▶ *loud* **laʊ**d — one or two constituents?
- ▶ notational conventions aimed at biasing counting:
chip **tʃ**ɪp, **tʃ**ɪp, **tʃ**ɪp, **č**ɪp; *tip* **tʰ**ɪp; *prince* **prɪn**tʰs; *loud* **laʊ**d

▶ $xy = \begin{array}{c} \circ \\ | \\ x \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \circ \\ | \\ y \end{array} \quad x^y, \widehat{xy} = \begin{array}{c} \circ \\ | \backslash \\ x \quad y \end{array}$

tʃ as a cluster

tʃ vs tr

	tʃ	tr	tʃ	tr	tʃ	tr
	—V		—C		—#	
V—	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
C—	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
#—	✓	✓	✗	✗	—	

tj as a cluster

tj vs tr

	tj	tr	tj	tr	tj	tr
	—V		—C		—#	
V—	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
C—	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
#—	✓	✓	✗	✗	—	

- ▶ difference: —C and —#

tʃ as a cluster

tʃ vs tr

	tʃ	tr	tʃ	tr	tʃ	tr
	—V		—C		—#	
V—	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
C—	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
#—	✓	✓	✗	✗	—	

- ▶ difference: —C and —#
- ▶ reason: **tr** is a rising-sonority cluster

tʃ as a cluster

tʃ vs tr

	tʃ	tr	tʃ	tr	tʃ	tr
	—V		—C		—#	
V—	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
C—	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
#—	✓	✓	✗	✗	—	

- ▶ difference: —C and —#
- ▶ reason: **tr** is a rising-sonority cluster
- ▶ how does **tʃ** compare to an obstruent cluster?

tʃ as a cluster

tʃ vs tr

	tʃ	tr	tʃ	tr	tʃ	tr
	__V		__C		__#	
V__	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
C__	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
#__	✓	✓	✗	✗	—	

- ▶ difference: __C and __#
- ▶ reason: tr is a rising-sonority cluster
- ▶ how does tʃ compare to an obstruent cluster?

tʃ vs kʃ/ks

	tʃ	kʃ	tʃ	kʃ	tʃ	ks ¹
	__V		__C		__#	
V__	✓	✓	✓	✓ ²	✓	✓
C__	✓	✓	✓	✓ ³	✓	✓
#__	✓	✗ ⁴	✗	✗	—	

tʃ as a cluster

tʃ vs tr

	tʃ	tr	tʃ	tr	tʃ	tr
	__V		__C		__#	
V__	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
C__	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
#__	✓	✓	✗	✗	—	

- ▶ difference: __C and __#
- ▶ reason: tr is a rising-sonority cluster
- ▶ how does tʃ compare to an obstruent cluster?

tʃ vs kʃ/ks

	tʃ	kʃ	tʃ	kʃ	tʃ	ks ¹
	__V		__C		__#	
V__	✓	✓	✓	✓ ²	✓	✓
C__	✓	✓	✓	✓ ³	✓	✓
#__	✓	✗ ⁴	✗	✗	—	

1. *kʃ#, so we use ks

tʃ as a cluster

tʃ vs tr

	tʃ	tr	tʃ	tr	tʃ	tr
	__V		__C		__#	
V__	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
C__	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
#__	✓	✓	✗	✗	—	

- ▶ difference: __C and __#
- ▶ reason: tr is a rising-sonority cluster
- ▶ how does tʃ compare to an obstruent cluster?

tʃ vs kʃ/ks

	tʃ	kʃ	tʃ	kʃ	tʃ	ks ¹
	__V		__C		__#	
V__	✓	✓	✓	✓ ²	✓	✓
C__	✓	✓	✓	✓ ³	✓	✓
#__	✓	✗ ⁴	✗	✗	—	

1. *kʃ#, so we use ks
2. *luxury* lókʃrɪj

tʃ as a cluster

tʃ vs tr

	tʃ	tr	tʃ	tr	tʃ	tr
	__V		__C		__#	
V__	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
C__	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
#__	✓	✓	✗	✗	—	

- ▶ difference: __C and __#
- ▶ reason: tr is a rising-sonority cluster
- ▶ how does tʃ compare to an obstruent cluster?

tʃ vs kʃ/ks

	tʃ	kʃ	tʃ	kʃ	tʃ	ks ¹
	__V		__C		__#	
V__	✓	✓	✓	✓ ²	✓	✓
C__	✓	✓	✓	✓ ³	✓	✓
#__	✓	✗ ⁴	✗	✗	—	

1. *kʃ#, so we use ks
2. *luxury* lókʃrɪj
3. *functional* fónkʃnəl

tʃ as a cluster

tʃ vs tr

	tʃ	tr	tʃ	tr	tʃ	tr
	__V		__C		__#	
V__	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
C__	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
#__	✓	✓	✗	✗	—	

- ▶ difference: __C and __#
- ▶ reason: tr is a rising-sonority cluster
- ▶ how does tʃ compare to an obstruent cluster?

tʃ vs kʃ/ks

	tʃ	kʃ	tʃ	kʃ	tʃ	ks ¹
	__V		__C		__#	
V__	✓	✓	✓	✓ ²	✓	✓
C__	✓	✓	✓	✓ ³	✓	✓
#__	✓	✗ ⁴	✗	✗	—	

1. *kʃ#, so we use ks
2. *luxury* lókʃrɪj
3. *functional* fəŋkʃnəl
4. so tʃ and kʃ/ks are different only #__V

tʃ as a segment

tʃ vs t

	tʃ	t	tʃ	t	tʃ	t
	—V		—C		—#	
V—	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
C—	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
#—	✓	✓	✗	✓	—	

tʃ as a segment

tʃ vs t

	tʃ	t	tʃ	t	tʃ	t
	_V		_C		_#	
V_	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
C_	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
#_	✓	✓	✗	✓	—	

▶ different #_C

t_f as a segment

t_f vs t

	t _f	t	t _f	t	t _f	t
V	—V		—C		—#	
V	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
C	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
#	✓	✓	✗	✓	—	

- ▶ different #—C
- ▶ the distributions of both t_f—k_f/k_s and t_f—t differ in one cell

tj as a segment

tj vs t

	tj	t	tj	t	tj	t
	—V		—C		—#	
V—	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
C—	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
#—	✓	✓	✗	✓	—	

- ▶ different #—C
- ▶ the distributions of both tj—kj/ks and tj—t differ in one cell

so far its distribution does not convincingly decide if tj is a segment or a cluster

tʃ and ks / C__#

	__tʃ#	__ks#
ɛj__	1	2
ij__	17	0
aj__	0	1
oj__	0	1
əw__	10	2
ɸw__	6	8
aw__	8	2
:_	18	4
n/ŋ__	66	31
l__	9	4

tʃ and ks / C__#

	__tʃ#	__ks#
ɛj__	1	2
ij__	17	0
aj__	0	1
oj__	0	1
əw__	10	2
ɰw__	6	8
aw__	8	2
:_	18	4
n/ŋ__	66	31
l__	9	4

- ▶ the differences may be due to the coronality effect, cf word-final

tʃ and ks / C__#

	__tʃ#	__ks#
ɛj__	1	2
ij__	17	0
aj__	0	1
oj__	0	1
əw__	10	2
ɰw__	6	8
aw__	8	2
:_	18	4
n/ŋ__	66	31
l__	9	4

- ▶ the differences may be due to the coronality effect, cf word-final
- ▶ **nt** 1422, **ŋk** 164; **lt** 133, **lk** 23

tʃ and ks / C__#

	__tʃ#	__ks#
ɛj__	1	2
ij__	17	0
aj__	0	1
oj__	0	1
əw__	10	2
ɰw__	6	8
aw__	8	2
:_	18	4
n/ŋ__	66	31
l__	9	4

- ▶ the differences may be due to the coronality effect, cf word-final
- ▶ nt 1422, ŋk 164; lt 133, lk 23
- ▶ jt 1606, jk 295; wt 399, wk 105

tʃ and ks / C__#

	__tʃ#	__ks#
ɛj__	1	2
ij__	17	0
aj__	0	1
oj__	0	1
əw__	10	2
ɰw__	6	8
aw__	8	2
:_	18	4
n/ŋ__	66	31
l__	9	4

- ▶ the differences may be due to the coronality effect, cf word-final
- ▶ nt 1422, ŋk 164; lt 133, lk 23
- ▶ jt 1606, jk 295; wt 399, wk 105
- ▶ we have :ntʃ, but not *:ŋks

tʃ and ks / C__#

	__tʃ#	__ks#
ɛj__	1	2
ij__	17	0
aj__	0	1
oj__	0	1
əw__	10	2
ɰw__	6	8
aw__	8	2
:_	18	4
n/ŋ__	66	31
l__	9	4

- ▶ the differences may be due to the coronality effect, cf word-final
- ▶ nt 1422, ŋk 164; lt 133, lk 23
- ▶ jt 1606, jk 295; wt 399, wk 105
- ▶ we have :ntʃ, but not *:ŋks
- ▶ but also :nt vs *:ŋk!

tʃ and ks / C__#

	__tʃ#	__ks#
ɛj__	1	2
ij__	17	0
aj__	0	1
oj__	0	1
əw__	10	2
ɰw__	6	8
aw__	8	2
:_	18	4
n/ŋ__	66	31
l__	9	4

- ▶ the differences may be due to the coronality effect, cf word-final
- ▶ nt 1422, ŋk 164; lt 133, lk 23
- ▶ jt 1606, jk 295; wt 399, wk 105
- ▶ we have :ntʃ, but not *:ŋks
- ▶ but also :nt vs *:ŋk!

word-final plosive+fricative

	p-	t-	k-
-s	33	61	350
-ʃ	0	289	0

word-initial rising-sonority clusters (aka branching onsets)

nonstrident obstruent (except **v** **ð**)+approximant

	w	l	r	j	h
p/b/f	(✓)	✓	✓	✓	?
t/d/θ	✓	(✓)	✓	(✓)	?
k/g	✓	✓	✓	✓	?

we here ignore Cj (eg mj, lj, hj etc)

word-initial rising-sonority clusters (aka branching onsets)

nonstrident obstruent (except **v** **ð**)+approximant

	w	l	r	j	h
p/b/f	(✓)	✓	✓	✓	✓
t/d/θ	✓	(✓)	✓	(✓)	✓
k/g	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

we here ignore Cj (eg mj, lj, hj etc)

could it be that *pin*, *tin*, *kin* begin with a cluster?

word-initial rising-sonority clusters (aka branching onsets)

nonstrident obstruent (except **v** **ð**)+approximant

	w	l	r	j	h
p/b/f	(✓)	✓	✓	✓	✓
t/d/θ	✓	(✓)	✓	(✓)	✓
k/g	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

we here ignore Cj (eg mj, lj, hj etc)

could it be that *pin*, *tin*, *kin* begin with a cluster?

- ▶ *pin* **ph**in vs *bin* **p**in, *prim* **ph**rim or **p**rim (vs *brim* **p**rim)

word-initial rising-sonority clusters (aka branching onsets)

nonstrident obstruent (except **v** **ð**)+approximant

	w	l	r	j	h
p/b/f	(✓)	✓	✓	✓	✓
t/d/θ	✓	(✓)	✓	(✓)	✓
k/g	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

we here ignore Cj (eg mj, lj, hj etc)

could it be that *pin*, *tin*, *kin* begin with a cluster?

- ▶ *pin* **ph**in vs *bin* **p**in, *prim* **ph**rim or **p**rim (vs *brim* **p**rim)
- ▶ distribution of aspirated plosives = distribution of **h**

word-initial rising-sonority clusters (aka branching onsets)

nonstrident obstruent (except **v** **ð**)+approximant

	w	l	r	j	h
p/b/f	(✓)	✓	✓	✓	✓
t/d/θ	✓	(✓)	✓	(✓)	✓
k/g	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

we here ignore Cj (eg mj, lj, hj etc)

could it be that *pin*, *tin*, *kin* begin with a cluster?

- ▶ *pin* **ph**in vs *bin* **p**in, *prim* **ph**rim or **p**rim (vs *brim* **p**rim)
- ▶ distribution of aspirated plosives = distribution of **h**
- ▶ some consequences

word-initial rising-sonority clusters (aka branching onsets)

nonstrident obstruent (except **v** **ð**)+approximant

	w	l	r	j	h
p/b/f	(✓)	✓	✓	✓	✓
t/d/θ	✓	(✓)	✓	(✓)	✓
k/g	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

we here ignore Cj (eg mj, lj, hj etc)

could it be that *pin*, *tin*, *kin* begin with a cluster?

- ▶ *pin* **ph**in vs *bin* **p**in, *prim* **ph**rim or **p**rim (vs *brim* **p**rim)
- ▶ distribution of aspirated plosives = distribution of **h**
- ▶ some consequences
 - ▶ E has no laryngeal distinction in obstruents (**p t tʃ k f θ s ʃ**)

word-initial rising-sonority clusters (aka branching onsets)

nonstrident obstruent (except **v** **ð**)+approximant

	w	l	r	j	h
p/b/f	(✓)	✓	✓	✓	✓
t/d/θ	✓	(✓)	✓	(✓)	✓
k/g	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

we here ignore Cj (eg mj, lj, hj etc)

could it be that *pin*, *tin*, *kin* begin with a cluster?

- ▶ *pin* **ph**in vs *bin* **p**in, *prim* **ph**rim or **p**rim (vs *brim* **p**rim)
- ▶ distribution of aspirated plosives = distribution of **h**
- ▶ some consequences
 - ▶ E has no laryngeal distinction in obstruents (**p t tʃ k f θ s ʃ**)
 - ▶ if **p**rim, E has two sets of approximants (**w l r j** vs **w̥ l̥ r̥ j̥**)

word-initial rising-sonority clusters (aka branching onsets)

nonstrident obstruent (except **v** **ð**)+approximant

	w	l	r	j	h
p/b/f	(✓)	✓	✓	✓	✓
t/d/θ	✓	(✓)	✓	(✓)	✓
k/g	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

we here ignore Cj (eg mj, lj, hj etc)

could it be that *pin*, *tin*, *kin* begin with a cluster?

- ▶ *pin* **ph**in vs *bin* **p**in, *prim* **ph**rim or **p**rim (vs *brim* **p**rim)
- ▶ distribution of aspirated plosives = distribution of **h**
- ▶ some consequences
 - ▶ E has no laryngeal distinction in obstruents (**p t tʃ k f θ s ʃ**)
 - ▶ if **p**rim, E has two sets of approximants (**w l r j** vs **w̥ l̥ r̥ j̥**)
 - ▶ if **ph**rim, E has CCC onset clusters

can we extend this analysis to fricatives?

- ▶ *frill* **f**hrɪl, *thrill* **θ**hrɪl, but *fr, *θr

can we extend this analysis to fricatives?

- ▶ *frill* **f**hɹɪl, *thrill* **θ**hɹɪl, but ***f**r, ***θ**r
- ▶ the distribution of fortis fricatives is freer than that of **h**
(eg *offer*, *off*, *often*)

can we extend this analysis to fricatives?

- ▶ *frill* fhrɪl, *thrill* θhrɪl, but *fr, *θr
- ▶ the distribution of fortis fricatives is freer than that of h (eg *offer*, *off*, *often*)
- ▶ fricative+plosive clusters in English

can we extend this analysis to fricatives?

- ▶ *frill* **f**hɹɪl, *thrill* **θ**hɹɪl, but *fr, *θr
- ▶ the distribution of fortis fricatives is freer than that of **h** (eg *offer*, *off*, *often*)
- ▶ fricative+plosive clusters in English
 - ▶ **sp**: eg *husband* **h**əspænd (rare)

can we extend this analysis to fricatives?

- ▶ *frill* **fhril**, *thrill* **θhril**, but ***fr**, ***θr**
- ▶ the distribution of fortis fricatives is freer than that of **h** (eg *offer*, *off*, *often*)
- ▶ fricative+plosive clusters in English
 - ▶ **sp**: eg *husband* **həspənd** (rare)
 - ▶ **sph**: eg *gazpatcho* **gəspʰətʃəw** (very rare)

can we extend this analysis to fricatives?

- ▶ *frill* **fhril**, *thrill* **θhril**, but ***fr**, ***θr**
- ▶ the distribution of fortis fricatives is freer than that of **h** (eg *offer*, *off*, *often*)
- ▶ fricative+plosive clusters in English
 - ▶ **sp**: eg *husband* **həspənd** (rare)
 - ▶ **sph**: eg *gazpatcho* **gəspʰætʃəw** (very rare)
 - ▶ **shp**: eg *aspect* **əspɛkt** (most common)

can we extend this analysis to fricatives?

- ▶ *frill* **fhril**, *thrill* **θhril**, but ***fr**, ***θr**
- ▶ the distribution of fortis fricatives is freer than that of **h** (eg *offer*, *off*, *often*)
- ▶ fricative+plosive clusters in English
 - ▶ **sp**: eg *husband* **həspənd** (rare)
 - ▶ **sph**: eg *gazpatcho* **gəspʰætʃəw** (very rare)
 - ▶ **shp**: eg *aspect* **əspɛkt** (most common)
 - ▶ ***shph**: impossible

can we extend this analysis to fricatives?

- ▶ *frill* **fhril**, *thrill* **θhril**, but ***fr**, ***θr**
- ▶ the distribution of fortis fricatives is freer than that of **h** (eg *offer*, *off*, *often*)
- ▶ fricative+plosive clusters in English
 - ▶ **sp**: eg *husband* **həspənd** (rare)
 - ▶ **sph**: eg *gazpacho* **gəspʰætʃəw** (very rare)
 - ▶ **shp**: eg *aspect* **əspɛkt** (most common)
 - ▶ ***shph**: impossible
 - ▶ expectation based on complexity (**shph** \supset **shp**, **sph** \supset **sp**) is not borne out

can we extend this analysis to fricatives?

- ▶ *frill* **fhril**, *thrill* **θhril**, but ***fr**, ***θr**
- ▶ the distribution of fortis fricatives is freer than that of **h** (eg *offer*, *off*, *often*)
- ▶ fricative+plosive clusters in English
 - ▶ **sp**: eg *husband* **həspənd** (rare)
 - ▶ **sph**: eg *gazpatcho* **gəspʰætʃəw** (very rare)
 - ▶ **shp**: eg *aspect* **əspɛkt** (most common)
 - ▶ ***shph**: impossible
 - ▶ expectation based on complexity (**shph** \supset **shp**, **sph** \supset **sp**) is not borne out
- ▶ \Rightarrow no!

can we analyse plosives like this?

- ▶ some accents have **ph**, **th**, **kh**, but not **h**

can we analyse plosives like this?

- ▶ some accents have **ph**, **th**, **kh**, but not **h**
- ▶ why is *bat path* pronounced as [paʔt]?

can we analyse plosives like this?

- ▶ some accents have **ph**, **th**, **kh**, but not **h**
- ▶ why is *bat path* pronounced as [paʔt]?
 - ▶ cf *bad pat* [paat]

can we analyse plosives like this?

- ▶ some accents have **ph**, **th**, **kh**, but not **h**
- ▶ why is *bat path* pronounced as [paʔt]?
 - ▶ cf *bad pat* [paat]
 - ▶ perhaps it is **paht**? ie, fortis devoiced/shortens adjacent vowel

can we analyse plosives like this?

- ▶ some accents have **ph**, **th**, **kh**, but not **h**
- ▶ why is *bat path* pronounced as [paʔt]?
 - ▶ cf *bad pat* [paat]
 - ▶ perhaps it is **paht**? ie, fortis devoiced/shortens adjacent vowel
 - ▶ but if their temporal order is not fixed, **t** and **h** can hardly be separate segments

can we analyse plosives like this?

- ▶ some accents have **ph**, **th**, **kh**, but not **h**
- ▶ why is *bat path* pronounced as [paʔt]?
 - ▶ cf *bad pat* [paat]
 - ▶ perhaps it is **paht**? ie, fortis devoices/shortens adjacent vowel
 - ▶ but if their temporal order is not fixed, **t** and **h** can hardly be separate segments: a further argument for cluster **tʃ**!

can we analyse plosives like this?

- ▶ some accents have **ph**, **th**, **kh**, but not **h**
- ▶ why is *bat path* pronounced as [paʔt]?
 - ▶ cf *bad pat* [paat]
 - ▶ perhaps it is **paht**? ie, fortis devoices/shortens adjacent vowel
 - ▶ but if their temporal order is not fixed, **t** and **h** can hardly be separate segments: a further argument for cluster **tʃ**!
- ▶ fortis obstruents (clusters?) appear to be less marked than lenis obstruents (singleton segments): eg ***lk** (exc *Glenelg*) vs **lkh** (*silk*), ***mp** vs **mph** (*camp*)

can we analyse plosives like this?

- ▶ some accents have **ph**, **th**, **kh**, but not **h**
- ▶ why is *bat path* pronounced as [paʔt]?
 - ▶ cf *bad pat* [paat]
 - ▶ perhaps it is **paht**? ie, fortis devoices/shortens adjacent vowel
 - ▶ but if their temporal order is not fixed, **t** and **h** can hardly be separate segments: a further argument for cluster **tʃ**!
- ▶ fortis obstruents (clusters?) appear to be less marked than lenis obstruents (singleton segments): eg ***lk** (exc *Glenelg*) vs **lkh** (*silk*), ***mp** vs **mph** (*camp*)
- ▶ how do *beeper* and *Bieber* differ?

can we analyse plosives like this?

- ▶ some accents have **ph**, **th**, **kh**, but not **h**
- ▶ why is *bat* **path** pronounced as [paʔt]?
 - ▶ cf *bad* **pat** [paat]
 - ▶ perhaps it is **paht**? ie, fortis devoices/shortens adjacent vowel
 - ▶ but if their temporal order is not fixed, **t** and **h** can hardly be separate segments: a further argument for cluster **tʃ**!
- ▶ fortis obstruents (clusters?) appear to be less marked than lenis obstruents (singleton segments): eg ***lk** (exc *Glenelg*) vs **lkh** (*silk*), ***mp** vs **mph** (*camp*)
- ▶ how do *beeper* and *Bieber* differ?
 - ▶ **píjphə** vs **píjpə**, but ***hə**

can we analyse plosives like this?

- ▶ some accents have **ph**, **th**, **kh**, but not **h**
- ▶ why is *bat* **path** pronounced as [paʔt]?
 - ▶ cf *bad* **pat** [paat]
 - ▶ perhaps it is **paht**? ie, fortis devoices/shortens adjacent vowel
 - ▶ but if their temporal order is not fixed, **t** and **h** can hardly be separate segments: a further argument for cluster **tʃ**!
- ▶ fortis obstruents (clusters?) appear to be less marked than lenis obstruents (singleton segments): eg ***lk** (exc *Glenelg*) vs **lkh** (*silk*), ***mp** vs **mph** (*camp*)
- ▶ how do *beeper* and *Bieber* differ?
 - ▶ **píjphə** vs **píjpə**, but ***hə**
 - ▶ so **píjphə** → **píjpə**, ie the two words merge

can we analyse plosives like this?

- ▶ some accents have **ph**, **th**, **kh**, but not **h**
- ▶ why is *bat* **path** pronounced as [paʔt]?
 - ▶ cf *bad* **pat** [paat]
 - ▶ perhaps it is **paht**? ie, fortis devoices/shortens adjacent vowel
 - ▶ but if their temporal order is not fixed, **t** and **h** can hardly be separate segments: a further argument for cluster **tʃ**!
- ▶ fortis obstruents (clusters?) appear to be less marked than lenis obstruents (singleton segments): eg ***lk** (exc *Glenelg*) vs **lkh** (*silk*), ***mp** vs **mph** (*camp*)
- ▶ how do *beeper* and *Bieber* differ?
 - ▶ **píjphə** vs **píjpə**, but ***hə**
 - ▶ so **píjphə** → **píjpə**, ie the two words merge
 - ▶ unless we have rule ordering: **píjpə** → **píjbə** ordered before the “deaspiration” rule

an excursus: obstruent clusters in English

two sets of obstruents: 1. marked, 2. unmarked

1.	p	t	tʃ	k	f	θ	s	ʃ
	pin	tin	chin	kin	fin	thin	sin	shin
2.	b	d	dʒ	g	v	ð	z	ʒ
	bin	din	gin	Ginn	Vince	this	zinc	Gide

an excursus: obstruent clusters in English

two sets of obstruents: 1. marked, 2. unmarked

1.	p	t	tʃ	k	f	θ	s	ʃ
	pin	tin	chin	kin	fin	thin	sin	shin
2.	b	d	dʒ	g	v	ð	z	ʒ
	bin	din	gin	Ginn	Vince	this	zinc	Gide

three types of two-obstuent clusters

an excursus: obstruent clusters in English

two sets of obstruents: 1. marked, 2. unmarked

1.	p	t	tʃ	k	f	θ	s	ʃ
	pin	tin	chin	kin	fin	thin	sin	shin
2.	b	d	dʒ	g	v	ð	z	ʒ
	bin	din	gin	Ginn	Vince	this	zinc	Gide

three types of two-obstruent clusters

1. lenis+lenis: **zb** (*husband*), **bd** (*abdomen*), **dʒd** (*changed*)

an excursus: obstruent clusters in English

two sets of obstruents: 1. marked, 2. unmarked

1.	p	t	tʃ	k	f	θ	s	ʃ
	pin	tin	chin	kin	fin	thin	sin	shin
2.	b	d	dʒ	g	v	ð	z	ʒ
	bin	din	gin	Ginn	Vince	this	zinc	Gide

three types of two-obstruent clusters

1. lenis+lenis: **zb** (*husband*), **bd** (*abdomen*), **dʒd** (*changed*)
2. lenis+fortis: **zt** (*Aztec*), **vt** (*naiveté*), **dʒt** (*vegetable*)

an excursus: obstruent clusters in English

two sets of obstruents: 1. marked, 2. unmarked

1.	p	t	tʃ	k	f	θ	s	ʃ
	pin	tin	chin	kin	fin	thin	sin	shin
2.	b	d	dʒ	g	v	ð	z	ʒ
	bin	din	gin	Ginn	Vince	this	zinc	Gide

three types of two-obstruent clusters

1. lenis+lenis: **zb** (*husband*), **bd** (*abdomen*), **dʒd** (*changed*)
2. lenis+fortis: **zt** (*Aztec*), **vt** (*naiveté*), **dʒt** (*vegetable*)
3. fortis+lenis: **sg** (*school*), **fd** (*after*), **kd** (*anecdote*)

an excursus: obstruent clusters in English

two sets of obstruents: 1. marked, 2. unmarked

1.	p	t	tʃ	k	f	θ	s	ʃ
	pin	tin	chin	kin	fin	thin	sin	shin
2.	b	d	dʒ	g	v	ð	z	ʒ
	bin	din	gin	Ginn	Vince	this	zinc	Gide

three types of two-obstruent clusters

1. lenis+lenis: **zb** (*husband*), **bd** (*abdomen*), **dʒd** (*changed*)
2. lenis+fortis: **zt** (*Aztec*), **vt** (*naiveté*), **dʒt** (*vegetable*)
3. fortis+lenis: **sg** (*school*), **fd** (*after*), **kd** (*anecdote*)

fortis+fortis clusters ruled out (← marked!)

apparent fortis+fortis clusters: **pt kt tʃt ft fk sp st stʃ sk ps ts ks**

apparent fortis+fortis clusters

initial

apparent fortis+fortis clusters

initial

- ▶ s+plosive, plosive not aspirated (= lenis): **sb sd sdʒ sg**

apparent fortis+fortis clusters

initial

- ▶ s+plosive, plosive not aspirated (= lenis): **sb sd sdʒ sg**

final

apparent fortis+fortis clusters

initial

- ▶ s+plosive, plosive not aspirated (= lenis): **sb sd sdʒ sg**

final

- ▶ past/3sg/plur: *tacked* **takd**, *tacks* **takz**

apparent fortis+fortis clusters

initial

- ▶ s+plosive, plosive not aspirated (= lenis): **sb sd sdʒ sg**

final

- ▶ past/3sg/plur: *tacked* **takd**, *tacks* **takz** (→ *tact* **takd**, *tax* **takz**)

apparent fortis+fortis clusters

initial

- ▶ s+plosive, plosive not aspirated (= lenis): **sb sd sdʒ sg**

final

- ▶ past/3sg/plur: *tacked* **takd**, *tacks* **takz** (→ *tact* **takd**, *tax* **takz**)
- ▶ advantage: two allomorphs only (**d/əd**, **z/əz**)

apparent fortis+fortis clusters

initial

- ▶ s+plosive, plosive not aspirated (= lenis): **sb sd sdʒ sg**

final

- ▶ past/3sg/plur: *tacked* **takd**, *tacks* **takz** (→ *tact* **takd**, *tax* **takz**)
- ▶ advantage: two allomorphs only (**d/əd**, **z/əz**)

medial

apparent fortis+fortis clusters

initial

- ▶ s+plosive, plosive not aspirated (= lenis): **sb sd sdʒ sg**

final

- ▶ past/3sg/plur: *tacked* **takd**, *tacks* **takz** (→ *tact* **takd**, *tax* **takz**)
- ▶ advantage: two allomorphs only (**d/əd**, **z/əz**)

medial

- ▶ *kasbah* **kázbə**, *Casper* **kásbə**, *gazpatcho* **gazpátʃəw**,
Azkaban **ázkəban**

apparent fortis+fortis clusters

initial

- ▶ s+plosive, plosive not aspirated (= lenis): **sb sd sdʒ sg**

final

- ▶ past/3sg/plur: *tacked* **takd**, *tacks* **takz** (→ *tact* **takd**, *tax* **takz**)
- ▶ advantage: two allomorphs only (**d/əd**, **z/əz**)

medial

- ▶ *kasbah* **kázbə**, *Casper* **kásbə**, *gazpatcho* **gazpátʃəw**,
Azkaban **ázkəban**
- ▶ *exam* **əgzám**, *excite* **əgsájt**, *octet* **ɔgtét**, *actor* **ágtə**

apparent fortis+fortis clusters

initial

- ▶ s+plosive, plosive not aspirated (= lenis): **sb sd sdʒ sg**

final

- ▶ past/3sg/plur: *tacked* **takd**, *tacks* **takz** (→ *tact* **takd**, *tax* **takz**)
- ▶ advantage: two allomorphs only (**d/əd**, **z/əz**)

medial

- ▶ *kasbah* **kázbə**, *Casper* **kásbə**, *gazpacho* **gazpátʃəw**,
Azkaban **ázkəban**
- ▶ *exam* **əgzám**, *excite* **əgsájt**, *octet* **ɔgtét**, *actor* **ágtə**
- ▶ problem: *act* **akd** vs *actor* **ágtə**, *acted* **ágtəd** (no other fortis–lenis alternation in English)

apparent fortis+fortis clusters

initial

- ▶ s+plosive, plosive not aspirated (= lenis): **sb sd sdʒ sg**

final

- ▶ past/3sg/plur: *tacked* **takd**, *tacks* **takz** (→ *tact* **takd**, *tax* **takz**)
- ▶ advantage: two allomorphs only (**d/əd**, **z/əz**)

medial

- ▶ *kasbah* **kázbə**, *Casper* **kásbə**, *gazpacho* **gəzpátʃəw**,
Azkaban **ázkəbən**
- ▶ *exam* **əgzám**, *excite* **əgsájt**, *octet* **ɔgtét**, *actor* **ágtə**
- ▶ problem: *act* **akd** vs *actor* **ágtə**, *acted* **ágtəd** (no other fortis–lenis alternation in English)

back to counting segments. . .

epenthesis of fortis plosive between nasal & fortis fricative

- ▶ *ancient* éjn⟨t⟩ʃənt, *censure* sén⟨t⟩ʃə, *mensch* mén⟨t⟩ʃ

epenthesis of fortis plosive between nasal & fortis fricative

- ▶ *ancient* éjn⟨t⟩ʃənt, *censure* sén⟨t⟩ʃə, *mensch* mén⟨t⟩ʃ
- ▶ fortition of fricative to affricate?

epenthesis of fortis plosive between nasal & fortis fricative

- ▶ *ancient* éjn⟨t⟩ʃənt, *censure* sén⟨t⟩ʃə, *mensh* mén⟨t⟩ʃ
- ▶ fortition of fricative to affricate?
- ▶ *answer* á:n⟨t⟩sə, *ensor* sén⟨t⟩sə, *prince* prín⟨t⟩s

epenthesis of fortis plosive between nasal & fortis fricative

- ▶ *ancient* éjn⟨t⟩fənt, *censure* sén⟨t⟩fə, *mensch* mén⟨t⟩ʃ
- ▶ fortition of fricative to affricate?
- ▶ *answer* á:n⟨t⟩sə, *ensor* sén⟨t⟩sə, *prince* prín⟨t⟩s
- ▶ *amphora* ám⟨p⟩fərə, *Samson* sám⟨p⟩sən, *infant* ín⟨t⟩fənt,
anthem án⟨t⟩θəm, *ninth* nújn⟨t⟩θ, *warmth* wo:m⟨p⟩θ,
length léŋ⟨k⟩θ, *youngster* jóŋ⟨k⟩stə (data from LPD3)

epenthesis of fortis plosive between nasal & fortis fricative

- ▶ *ancient* éjn⟨t⟩fənt, *censure* sén⟨t⟩fə, *mensch* mén⟨t⟩ʃ
- ▶ fortition of fricative to affricate?
- ▶ *answer* á:n⟨t⟩sə, *ensor* sén⟨t⟩sə, *prince* prín⟨t⟩s
- ▶ *amphora* ám⟨p⟩fərə, *Samson* sám⟨p⟩sən, *infant* ín⟨t⟩fənt,
anthem án⟨t⟩θəm, *ninth* nújn⟨t⟩θ, *warmth* wo:m⟨p⟩θ,
length léŋ⟨k⟩θ, *youngster* jóŋ⟨k⟩stə (data from LPD3)
- ▶ ⇒ the result is not an affricate

epenthesis of fortis plosive between nasal & fortis fricative

- ▶ *ancient* éjn⟨t⟩fənt, *censure* sén⟨t⟩fə, *mensch* mén⟨t⟩ʃ
- ▶ fortition of fricative to affricate?
- ▶ *answer* á:n⟨t⟩sə, *ensor* sén⟨t⟩sə, *prince* prín⟨t⟩s
- ▶ *amphora* ám⟨p⟩fərə, *Samson* sám⟨p⟩sən, *infant* ín⟨t⟩fənt, *anthem* án⟨t⟩θəm, *ninth* nújn⟨t⟩θ, *warmth* wo:m⟨p⟩θ, *length* léŋ⟨k⟩θ, *youngster* jóŋ⟨k⟩stə (data from LPD3)
- ▶ ⇒ the result is not an affricate
- ▶ occurs only before unstressed vowel and word finally, not before a stressed vowel: eg *ensure* ɪn*⟨t⟩ʃo:, *incest* ín*⟨t⟩sɛst, *confess* kən*⟨t⟩fɛs

epenthesis of fortis plosive between nasal & fortis fricative

- ▶ *ancient* éjn⟨t⟩fənt, *censure* sén⟨t⟩fə, *mensch* mén⟨t⟩ʃ
- ▶ fortition of fricative to affricate?
- ▶ *answer* á:n⟨t⟩sə, *ensor* sén⟨t⟩sə, *prince* prín⟨t⟩s
- ▶ *amphora* ám⟨p⟩fərə, *Samson* sám⟨p⟩sən, *infant* ín⟨t⟩fənt,
anthem án⟨t⟩θəm, *ninth* nújn⟨t⟩θ, *warmth* wo:m⟨p⟩θ,
length léŋ⟨k⟩θ, *youngster* jóŋ⟨k⟩stə (data from LPD3)
- ▶ ⇒ the result is not an affricate
- ▶ occurs only before unstressed vowel and word finally, not before a stressed vowel: eg *ensure* ɪn*⟨t⟩ʃoː,
incest ín*⟨t⟩sɛst, *confess* kən*⟨t⟩fɛs
- ▶ ⇒ the process is not fortition

epenthesis of fortis plosive between nasal & fortis fricative

- ▶ *ancient* éjn⟨t⟩fənt, *censure* sén⟨t⟩fə, *mensch* mén⟨t⟩ʃ
- ▶ fortition of fricative to affricate?
- ▶ *answer* á:n⟨t⟩sə, *ensor* sén⟨t⟩sə, *prince* prín⟨t⟩s
- ▶ *amphora* ám⟨p⟩fərə, *Samson* sám⟨p⟩sən, *infant* ín⟨t⟩fənt, *anthem* án⟨t⟩θəm, *ninth* nújn⟨t⟩θ, *warmth* wo:m⟨p⟩θ, *length* léŋ⟨k⟩θ, *youngster* jóŋ⟨k⟩stə (data from LPD3)
- ▶ ⇒ the result is not an affricate
- ▶ occurs only before unstressed vowel and word finally, not before a stressed vowel: eg *ensure* ɪn*⟨t⟩ʃo:, *incest* ɪn*⟨t⟩sɛst, *confess* kən*⟨t⟩fɛs
- ▶ ⇒ the process is not fortition
- ▶ so what is happening here? is an extra skeletal slot inserted?

minimal pairs

- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *land land* a minimal pair? no

minimal pairs

- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *land land* a minimal pair? no
- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *laid lejd* a minimal pair? yes

minimal pairs

- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *land land* a minimal pair? no
- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *laid lejd* a minimal pair? yes
- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *lad lad* a minimal pair? yes

minimal pairs

- ▶ are *loud* **lawd** and *land* **land** a minimal pair? no
- ▶ are *loud* **lawd** and *laid* **lejd** a minimal pair? yes
- ▶ are *loud* **lawd** and *lad* **lad** a minimal pair? yes
- ▶ this follows from the idea that **aw** and **ej** are one segment

minimal pairs

- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *land land* a minimal pair? no
- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *laid lejd* a minimal pair? yes
- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *lad lad* a minimal pair? yes
- ▶ this follows from the idea that **aw** and **ɛj** are one segment
- ▶ but **aw** and **ɛj** take up *two* skeletal slots

minimal pairs

- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *land land* a minimal pair? no
- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *laid lejd* a minimal pair? yes
- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *lad lad* a minimal pair? yes
- ▶ this follows from the idea that **aw** and **ɛj** are one segment
- ▶ but **aw** and **ɛj** take up *two* skeletal slots
- ▶ so what exactly are we comparing in a minimal pair?

minimal pairs

- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *land land* a minimal pair? no
- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *laid lejd* a minimal pair? yes
- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *lad lad* a minimal pair? yes
- ▶ this follows from the idea that **aw** and **ɛj** are one segment
- ▶ but **aw** and **ɛj** take up *two* skeletal slots
- ▶ so what exactly are we comparing in a minimal pair?
- ▶ do we give the same answers to the first three questions if English was a language with no writing and unknown history?

minimal pairs

- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *land land* a minimal pair? no
- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *laid lejd* a minimal pair? yes
- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *lad lad* a minimal pair? yes
- ▶ this follows from the idea that **aw** and **ɛj** are one segment
- ▶ but **aw** and **ɛj** take up *two* skeletal slots
- ▶ so what exactly are we comparing in a minimal pair?
- ▶ do we give the same answers to the first three questions if English was a language with no writing and unknown history?

similar problems

minimal pairs

- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *land land* a minimal pair? no
- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *laid lejd* a minimal pair? yes
- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *lad lad* a minimal pair? yes
- ▶ this follows from the idea that **aw** and **ɛj** are one segment
- ▶ but **aw** and **ɛj** take up *two* skeletal slots
- ▶ so what exactly are we comparing in a minimal pair?
- ▶ do we give the same answers to the first three questions if English was a language with no writing and unknown history?

similar problems

- ▶ are *tip-trip*, *tip-chip*, *trip-chip* minimal pairs?

minimal pairs

- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *land land* a minimal pair? no
- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *laid lejd* a minimal pair? yes
- ▶ are *loud lawd* and *lad lad* a minimal pair? yes
- ▶ this follows from the idea that **aw** and **ɛj** are one segment
- ▶ but **aw** and **ɛj** take up *two* skeletal slots
- ▶ so what exactly are we comparing in a minimal pair?
- ▶ do we give the same answers to the first three questions if English was a language with no writing and unknown history?

similar problems

- ▶ are *tip-trip*, *tip-chip*, *trip-chip* minimal pairs?
- ▶ are *print print* and *prince prints* a minimal pair?

it is not consistent to say

- ▶ that $\begin{bmatrix} o & t & r \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} n & i \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} o & p \end{bmatrix}$ are not a minimal pair,
 $\begin{bmatrix} o & t \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} n & i \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} o & p \end{bmatrix}$
- but $\begin{bmatrix} o & l \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} n & a & w \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} o & d \end{bmatrix}$ are a minimal pair
 $\begin{bmatrix} o & l \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} n & a \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} o & d \end{bmatrix}$

another problem with diphthongs

- ▶ is *now* **naw** CVV or CVC?

another problem with diphthongs

- ▶ is *now* **naw** CVV or CVC?

▶ standard GP:

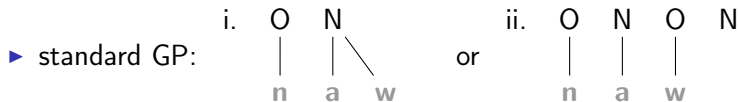
i. O N
 | | \\
 n a w

or

ii. O N O N
 | | | |
 n a w

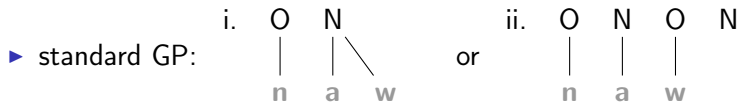
another problem with diphthongs

- ▶ is *now* **naw** CVV or CVC?



another problem with diphthongs

- ▶ is *now* **naw** CVV or CVC?



- ▶ in case (i), in what sense is the offglide vocalic?

ceterum censeo: diphthongal offglides are consonantal

- ▶ ə-epenthesis: *feel* fɪj⟨ə⟩l, *fail* fɛj⟨ə⟩l, *file* fɑj⟨ə⟩l, *foil* fɔj⟨ə⟩l,
hour aʊ⟨ə⟩(r): the diphthongal offglides are consonants

ceterum censeo: diphthongal offglides are consonantal

- ▶ ə-epenthesis: *feel* fɪj<ə>l, *fail* fɛj<ə>l, *file* faj<ə>l, *foil* fɔj<ə>l, *hour* aʊ<ə>(r): **the diphthongal offglides are consonants**
- ▶ NZ Acrolect flapping: *factor* faktə, *faster* fastə, *Fanta* fantə, *fighter* fajtə, *pouter* pawtə, *farther* fa:tə vs *fatter* faɾə: only after vowel, **so j w : are consonants**

ceterum censeo: diphthongal offglides are consonantal

- ▶ ə-epenthesis: *feel* fɪj⟨ə⟩l, *fail* fɛj⟨ə⟩l, *file* fɑj⟨ə⟩l, *foil* fɔj⟨ə⟩l, *hour* aʊ⟨ə⟩(r): **the diphthongal offglides are consonants**
- ▶ NZ Acrolect flapping: *factor* faktə, *faster* fastə, *Fanta* fantə, *fighter* fajtə, *pouter* pawtə, *farther* fa:tə vs *fatter* faɾə: only after vowel, **so j w : are consonants**
- ▶ *ij/ɛj/ɔj/oj+j, *ɥw/əw/aw+w, but ij/ɛj/ɔj/oj+w (eg *Ewok*, *kiwi*, *Awacs*, *Tewa*, *Taiwan*), ɥw/əw/aw+j (eg *alleluia*, *Kikuyu*, *cocoyam*, *yoyo*): **no geminate consonants**

ceterum censeo: diphthongal offglides are consonantal

- ▶ ə-epenthesis: *feel* fɪj⟨ə⟩l, *fail* fɛj⟨ə⟩l, *file* fɑj⟨ə⟩l, *foil* fɔj⟨ə⟩l, *hour* aʊ⟨ə⟩(r): **the diphthongal offglides are consonants**
- ▶ NZ Acrolect flapping: *factor* faktə, *faster* fastə, *Fanta* fantə, *fighter* fajtə, *pouter* pawtə, *farther* fa:tə vs *fatter* faɾə:
only after vowel, **so j w : are consonants**
- ▶ *ij/ɛj/ɔj/oj+j, *ɥw/əw/aw+w, but ij/ɛj/ɔj/oj+w
(eg *Ewok*, *kiwi*, *Awacs*, *Tewa*, *Taiwan*), ɥw/əw/aw+j
(eg *alleluia*, *Kikuyu*, *cocoyam*, *yoyo*): **no geminate consonants**
- ▶ no glide after checked vowel, only after long :j (eg *sawyer* so:jə), :w (eg *narwhal* nɑ:wəl) and unstressed vowel əj (eg *Karayan* kárəjan) and əw (eg *Ottawa* ótəwə):
checked vowel+glide = “diphthong”

ceterum censeo: diphthongal offglides are consonantal

- ▶ ə-epenthesis: *feel* fɪj⟨ə⟩l, *fail* fɛj⟨ə⟩l, *file* fɑj⟨ə⟩l, *foil* fɔj⟨ə⟩l, *hour* aʊ⟨ə⟩(r): **the diphthongal offglides are consonants**
- ▶ NZ Acrolect flapping: *factor* faktə, *faster* fastə, *Fanta* fantə, *fighter* fajtə, *pouter* pawtə, *farther* fa:tə vs *fatter* faɾə:
only after vowel, **so j w : are consonants**
- ▶ *ij/ɛj/ɔj/oj+j, *ɥw/əw/aw+w, but ij/ɛj/ɔj/oj+w
(eg *Ewok*, *kiwi*, *Awacs*, *Tewa*, *Taiwan*), ɥw/əw/aw+j
(eg *alleluia*, *Kikuyu*, *cocoyam*, *yoyo*): **no geminate consonants**
- ▶ no glide after checked vowel, only after long :j (eg *sawyer* so:jə), :w (eg *narwhal* nɑ:wəl) and unstressed vowel əj (eg *Karayan* kárəjan) and əw (eg *Ottawa* ótəwə):
checked vowel+glide = “diphthong”
- ▶ unstressed vowels: only ɪ ə ʊ and ij əw ɥw (eg *happy*, *motto*, *value*)

thanks to

- ▶ you all
- ▶ Faith Chiu
- ▶ UCL
- ▶ NKFI #119863