

BBN-ANG-243 Phonological analysis

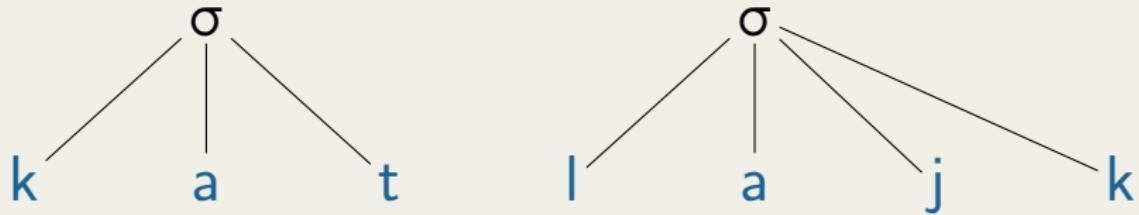
5–6. Syllable structure

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the structure of the syllable: flat

flat syllables



phonotactic constraints

C+C

$\left\{ \begin{matrix} t \\ s \\ k \end{matrix} \right\} w i j - \quad t \left\{ \begin{matrix} r \\ w \end{matrix} \right\} i j -$

phonotactic constraints

C+C

$\left\{ \begin{matrix} t \\ s \\ k \end{matrix} \right\}$ wɪj- t $\left\{ \begin{matrix} r \\ w \end{matrix} \right\}$ ij-

V+C

- $\left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ e \\ a \\ o \end{matrix} \right\}$ j- *_{-t̪} $\left\{ \begin{matrix} j \\ θ \\ ð \\ v \end{matrix} \right\}$ -

phonotactic constraints

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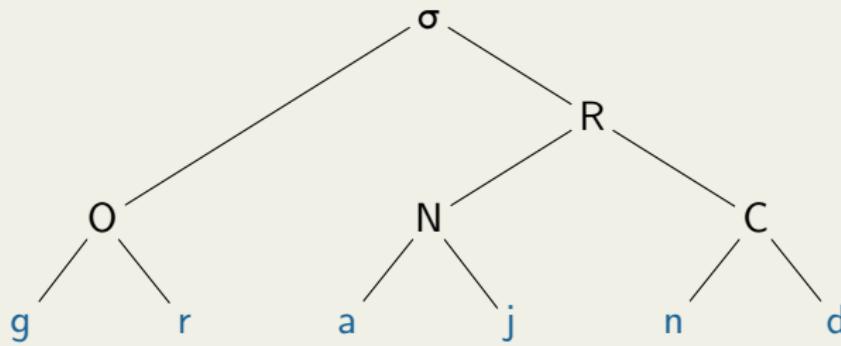
$$- \left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ e \\ a \\ o \end{matrix} \right\} j - \quad *_{-\#} \left\{ \begin{matrix} j \\ \theta \\ \check{\theta} \\ v \end{matrix} \right\} -$$

C(C)+V

$$t r \left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ e \\ a \\ \check{e} \\ \check{o} \\ \# \end{matrix} \right\} - \quad \left\{ \begin{matrix} p \\ k \\ pr \\ br \\ tr \\ dr \\ sw \\ t \check{f} \\ m \\ l \\ r \\ h \\ \vdots \end{matrix} \right\} \varepsilon -$$

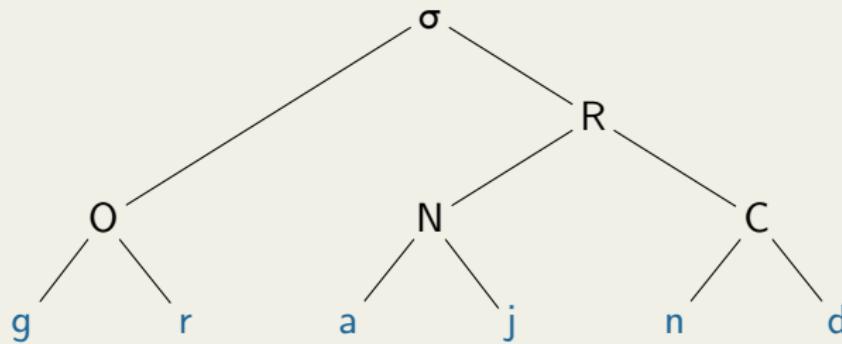
the structure of the syllable: hierarchical

syllabic constituents: onset, rhyme, nucleus, coda



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alternatively

[syllable [onset g r] [rhyme [nucleus a j] [coda n d]]]

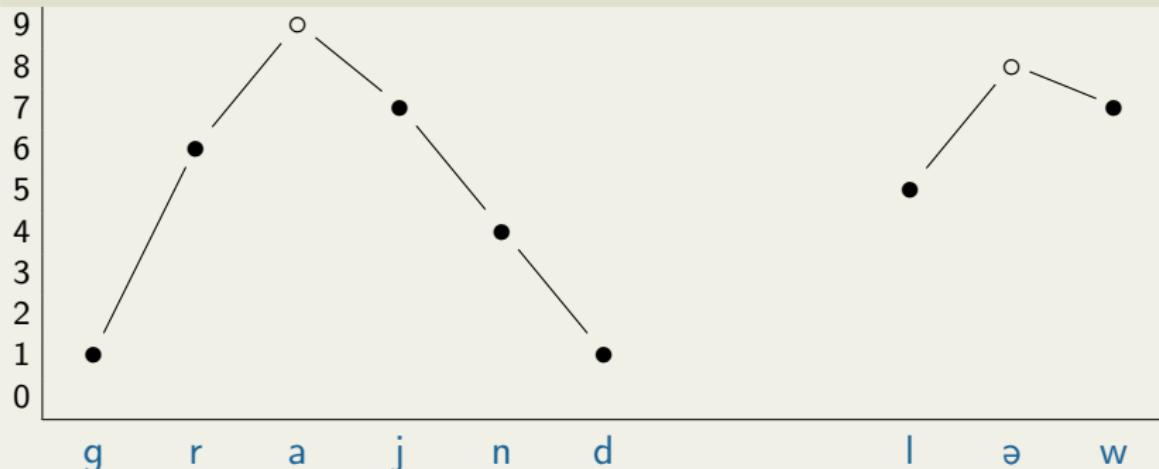
sonority

a sonority hierarchy

index	sounds
9	low vowels (e.g., a e ə ɒ)
8	mid vowels (e.g., e ε ø ə ɔ o)
7	high vowels (e.g., j i y ɪ ʉ u w)
6	rhotics (e.g., r ɾ)
5	laterals (e.g., l ɿ)
4	nasals (e.g., m n ŋ ɳ)
3	voiced fricatives (e.g., v ð z ʒ ɣ)
2	voiceless fricatives (e.g., f θ s ʃ x)
1	voiced plosives (e.g., b d ɟ g)
0	voiceless plosives (e.g., p t ʈ k)

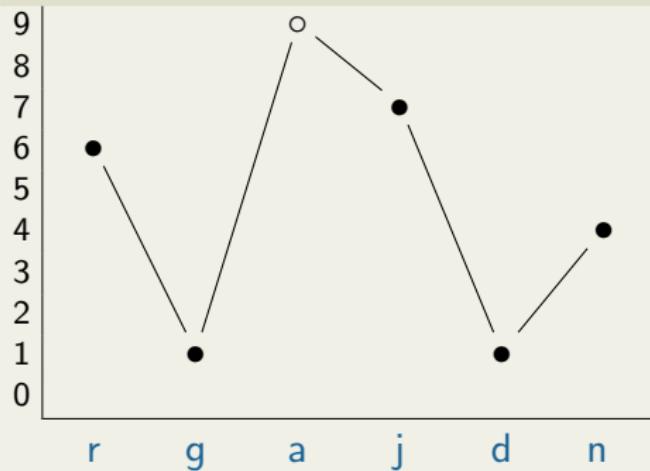
sonority sequencing

the sonority profiles of *grind* and *low*



sonority violations

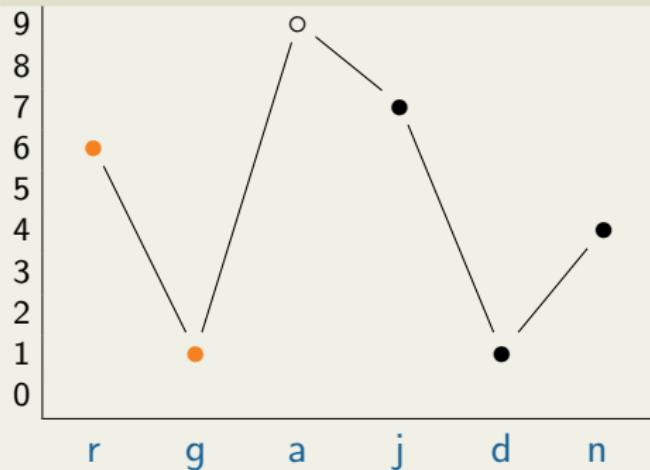
an impossible sonority profile: *rgidn*



the string above is impossible as a *monosyllable*

sonority violations

an impossible sonority profile: *rgidn*

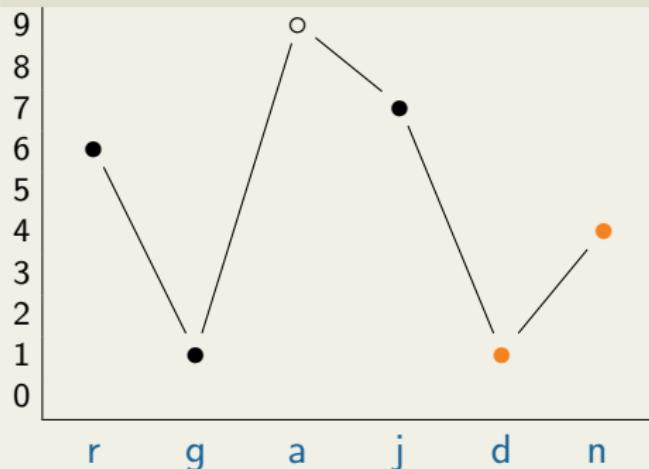


the string above is impossible as a *monosyllable*

- ▶ sonority fall before the peak

sonority violations

an impossible sonority profile: *rgidn*

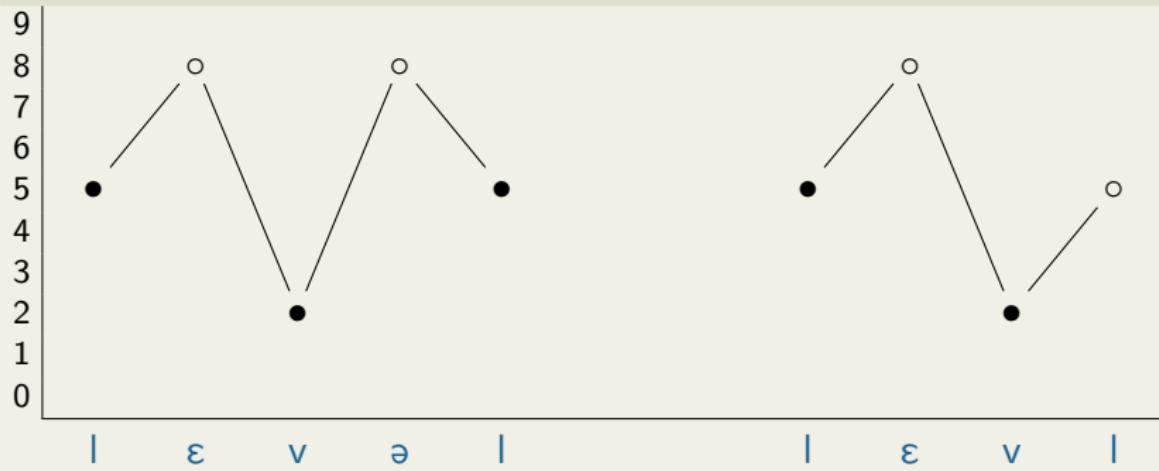


the string above is impossible as a *monosyllable*

- ▶ sonority fall before the peak
- ▶ sonority rise after the peak

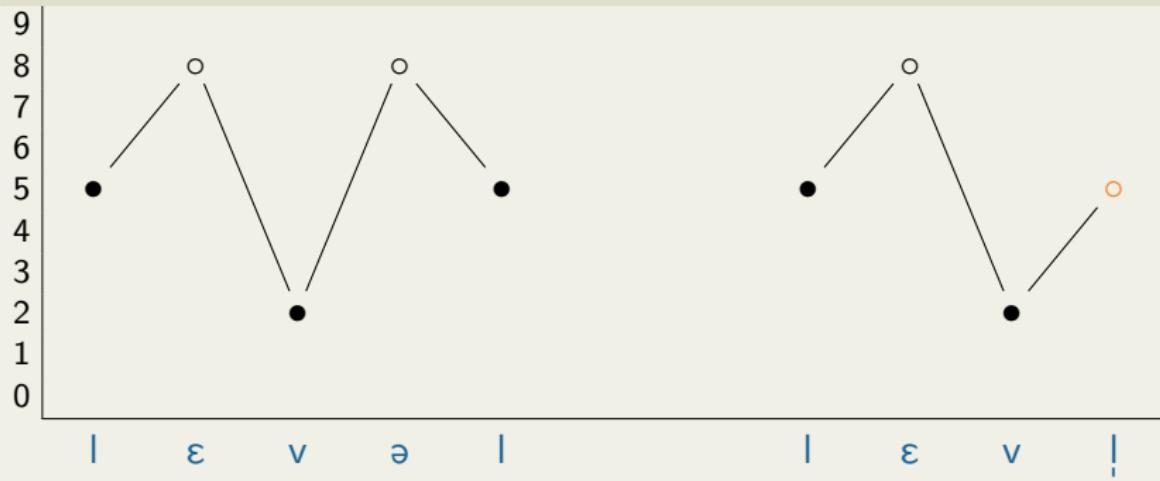
syllabic consonants

the sonority profiles of *level* [lɛvəl] and [lɛv̩]



syllabic consonants

the sonority profiles of *level* [lɛvəl] and [lɛv̥]



onset maximization

onset maximization principle

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- ▶ VCV → V.CV (e.g., *le.vel*, *le.tter*, *la.ter*)

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- ▶ VCCV

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 - ▶ rising-sonority CC: V.CCV (e.g., *a.pply*, *ze.bra*, *Geo.ffrey*)

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 - ▶ falling-sonority CC: VC.CV (e.g., *Al.pine*, *pan.da*, *as.pire*)
 - ▶ level-sonority CC: VC.CV (e.g., *chim.ney*, *as.phalt*, *fac.tor*)

a further principle is needed

heterosyllabic rising-sonority clusters

at.las

ath.lete

at.mosphere

ad.mire

eth.nic

hyp.nosis

ack.nowledge

ac.me

ig.nore

on.ly

Ham.let

Hen.ry

wal.rus

word edges

how relevant are word edges to determining possible syllable edges?

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1. $\$X \rightarrow \#X$? maybe

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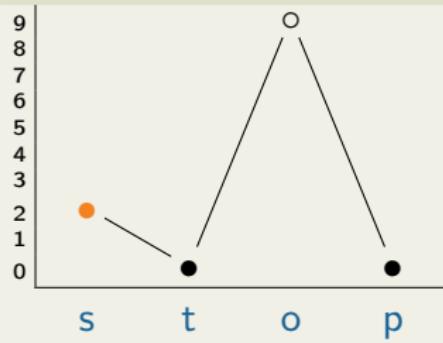
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3. $X\$ \rightarrow X\#$? no
4. $X\# \rightarrow X\$$? no

that is: not really

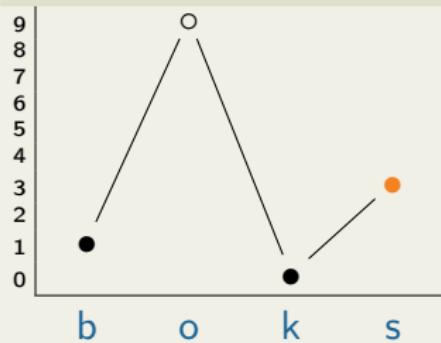
word-initial strings

s+stop violates sonority sequencing



word-final strings

stop+s violates sonority sequencing



syllable-final strings

syllable-final short vowels

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syllable-final short vowels

- ▶ $*\check{V}\# \rightarrow *\check{V}\$$

syllable-final strings

syllable-final short vowels

- ▶ *V# → *V\$
 - ▶ *dē.mon* vs. *lěm.on?*

syllable-final strings

syllable-final short vowels

- ▶ * $\check{V}\# \rightarrow *\check{V}\$$
 - ▶ *dē.mon* vs. *lěm.on?*
 - ▶ *ferry:* * $\varepsilon\#$, * $\varepsilon r\#$

“degenerate” syllables

#sC: s a degenerate syllable?

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- A|m|anda # should # ig|nore # the |# children

“degenerate” syllables

#sC: s a degenerate syllable?

- ▶ A|manda # should # ig|nore # the |# children
- ▶ s.top, s.pot, s.cope

L-darkening

data

clear [l]	dark [ɫ]
-----------	----------

look	cool
------	------

lick	kill
------	------

play	belt
------	------

pillow	seldom
--------	--------

L-darkening

data

clear [l] dark [t]

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rule/distribution

1. $| \rightarrow | / _ V$
2. $| \rightarrow t / _ \{ C \# \}$

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rule/distribution

1. $| \rightarrow | / _ V$
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- except: clear [l] before a consonant (yod): *value valjʉw*

L-darkening

data

clear [l] dark [t̪]

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rule/distribution

1. $l \rightarrow l / _- V$
2. $l \rightarrow t̪ / _- \{C, \#\}$

- ▶ except: clear [l] before a consonant (yod): *value valjɥw*
- ▶ except: dark [t̪] before a vowel: *travelling travt̪ɪŋ* (syllabic [l]!)

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syllabic formulation

- ▶ clear [l] in onset
- ▶ dark [t] in rhyme

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syllabic formulation

- ▶ clear [l] in onset [j] is the only C before which [l] is in the onset
- ▶ dark [t] in rhyme

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- except: clear [l] before a consonant (yod): *value valjhw*
- except: dark [t] before a vowel: *travelling travłɪŋ* (syllabic [l]!)

syllabic formulation

- clear [l] in onset [j] is the only C before which [l] is in the onset
- dark [t] in rhyme [t] in nucleus, $- \{ C \# \} = -(C)\$ =$ in coda

R-dropping

data

[r]	no [r]
right	tar
carry	metre
pray	card
zebra	martyr

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	[r]	no [r]
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- *barrel* [bárɿ], *literal* [lítɾɪl]

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- *camera* [kám̩rə], *cigarette* [sígr̩ét]
- *barrel* [bár̩l], *literal* [lítr̩l]
- [r] occurs before anything syllabic

aspiration

data

aspirated	unaspirated
pain	p ^h éjn
plain	p ^h léjn
apace	əp ^h éjs
complain	k ^h əmp ^h léjn
pagoda	p ^h əgáwdə
placenta	p ^h ləséntə
Spain	spéjn
splay	spléj
leper	lépə
explain	íkspléjn
specific	spəsífik
lap	láp

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- ▶ C → C^h / \$ _
- ▶ this is the only point in indicating stress at the “syllable boundary”: *kəm'plejn* vs *ík'spléjn*

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rule/distribution

- ▶ C → C^h / \$ _
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kəm'plejn vs ík'spléjn
- ▶ *kaftan* *[-t^h-] ⇒ *ka.ftan?*

an alternative analysis

fortis plosives are not aspirated after **s** (and **f**)

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- ▶ therefore aspiration has nothing to do with syllable boundaries

constraints on fricative+plosive clusters

sb, sd, sg are common

Spain sbéjn, explain iksbléjn, stop sdop, pester pésdə, school sgüwl, asking á:sgij

constraints on fricative+plosive clusters

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sp, st, sk only across a word boundary

icepack ájspak, misprint mísprínt, foxtrot fókstrot, mistime místájm,
discount diskáwnt, miscarry miskárij

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zb, zp, zd, zt, zg, zk are rare

husband hézbənd, gazpacho gazpátʃəw, Mazda mázdə, Aztec ázték,
Glasgow glázgəw, Azkaban ázkəban

yod-dropping

data

compute	kəmpjúwt	enthuse	ɪnθ(j)úwz
rebuke	rɪbjúwk	consume	kəns(j)úwm
confuse	kənfjúwz	exude	ɪgz(j)úwd
revue	rɪvjuw	minute	majn(j)úwt
amuse	əmjúwz	volute	vəl(j)úwt
agglutinate	əglúwtɪneɪt	obtuse	əbt(j)úws
peruse	pərúwz	deduce	dɪd(j)úws
assure	əʃú:	acute	əkjúwt
eschew	ɪstʃúw	ambiguity	ámbigjúwətij
adjudicate	ədʒúwdɪkɛjt	exhume	ɛkshjúwm

yod-dropping

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assure	əʃó:	acute	əkjúwt
eschew	ɪstʃúw	ambiguity	ámbigjúwətij
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distribution

[j] does not appear

yod-dropping

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eschew	ɪstʃúw	ambiguity	ámbigjúwətij
adjudicate	ədʒúwdɪkɛjt	exhume	ɛkshjúwm

distribution

[j] does not appear

- ▶ after **postalveolar** consonants

yod-dropping

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peruse	pərúwz	deduce	dɪd(j)úws
assure	əʃú:	acute	əkjúwt
eschew	ɪstʃúw	ambiguity	ámbigjúwətij
adjudicate	ədʒúwdɪkɛjt	exhume	ɛkshjúwm

distribution

[j] does not appear

- ▶ after postalveolar consonants
- ▶ after C+I clusters

yod-dropping

yod after a single onset



yod-dropping

yod after a single onset

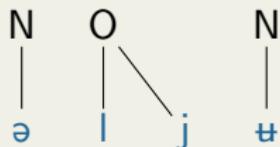


yod after a branching onset

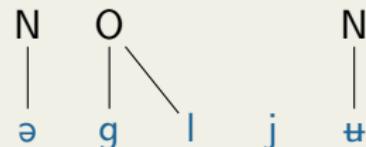


yod-dropping

yod after a single onset



yod after a branching onset



j after sC clusters

$C_x j$	$sC_x j$		
beauty	$bj-$	sputum	$sbj-$
mew	$mj-$	smew	$smj-$
duty	$dj-$	student	$sdj-$
new	$nj-$	—	
lewd	$lj-$	slew	$slj-$
argue	$gj-$	rescue	$sgj-$

open vs closed syllables

- ▶ pa.dək (*paddock*)

open vs closed syllables

- ▶ pa.dək (*paddock*)
- ▶ pan.də (*panda*)

open vs closed syllables

- ▶ pa.dək (*paddock*)
- ▶ pan.də (*panda*)

- ▶ ci~~nema~~ ⇔ pad~~dock~~

open vs closed syllables

- ▶ pa.dək (*paddock*)
- ▶ pan.də (*panda*)
- ▶ ciinema ⇔ paddock
- ▶ make ⇔ map

light vs. heavy syllables

- ▶ **si.nə.mə** (*cinema*), **ə.li.vi.jə** or **.vjə** (*Olivia*)

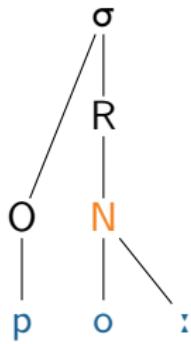
light vs. heavy syllables

- ▶ si.nə.mə (*cinema*), ə.li.vi.jə or .vjə (*Olivia*)
- ▶ tambo: (*tambour*), aŋ.gə (*anger*)

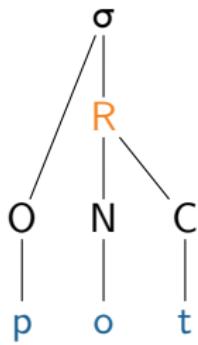
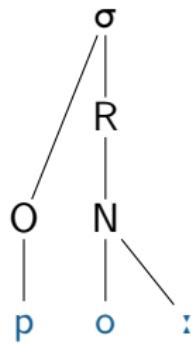
light vs. heavy syllables

- ▶ si.nə.mə (*cinema*), ə.li.vi.jə or .vjə (*Olivia*)
- ▶ tambo: (*tambour*), aŋ.gə (*anger*)
- ▶ mɛjn.tɛjn (*maintain*), wo:so: (*Warsaw*)

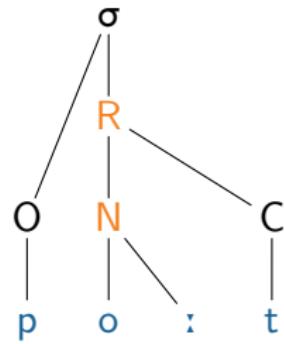
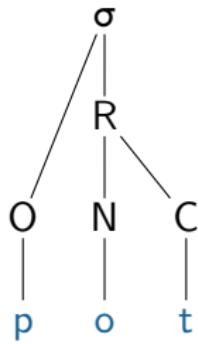
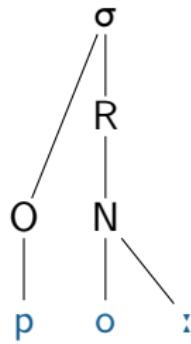
heavy syllables



heavy syllables



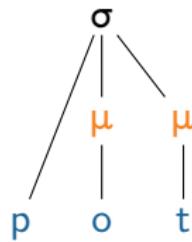
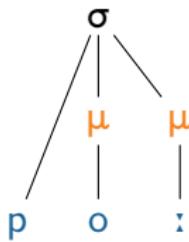
heavy syllables



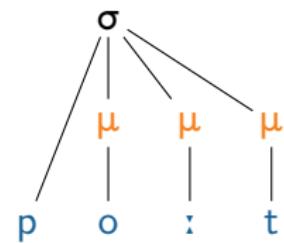
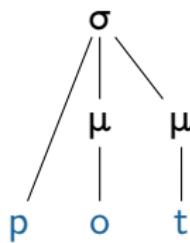
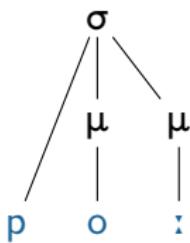
moras



moras



moras



compensatory lengthening



stressability

- ▶ *lěm.on* vs. *dē.mon* in English

stressability

- ▶ *lēm.on* vs. *dē.mon* in English
- ▶ It. *fátto* **fat:to** 'fact', *fáto* **fa:to** 'fate'

stressability

- ▶ *lēm.on* vs. *dē.mon* in English
- ▶ It. *fátto* *fat:o* 'fact', *fáto* *fa:t:o* 'fate'
- ▶ *città nera* *tʃit:an:e:ra* 'black city'

extrametricality

- ▶ agrée, défý, lamént, salúte, consíder, mágger

extrametricality

- ▶ agrée, défý, lamént, salúte, consíder, móttter; **but**
cáncel, devélop, abándon

extrametricality

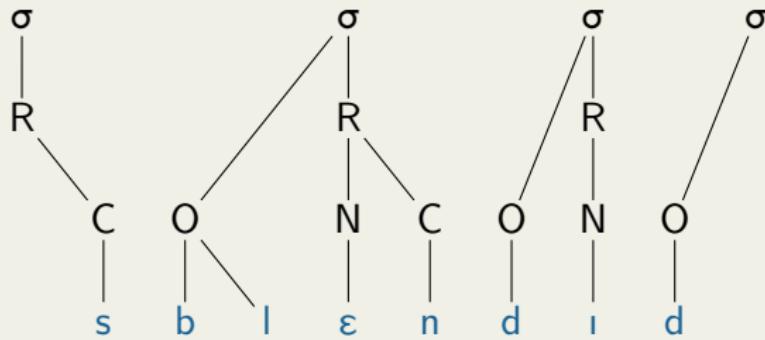
- ▶ agrée, défý, lamént, salúte, consíder, móttter; **but**
cáncel, devélop, abándon
- ▶ cánce⟨l⟩, develo⟨p⟩, abando⟨n⟩

extrametricality

- ▶ agrée, défý, lamént, salúte, consíder, móttter; **but**
cáncel, devélop, abándon
- ▶ cánce⟨l⟩, develo⟨p⟩, abando⟨n⟩
- ▶ * $\check{V}\# \rightarrow *\check{V}\langle C\rangle\#$ (dog, cat, van, forget, submit, etc.)

word-final degenerate syllables

if C# is weightless, it must be an onset



closed syllable shortening

data

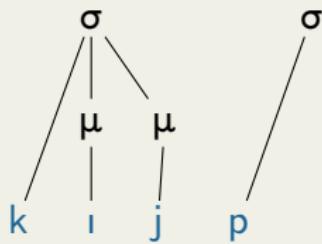
keep kijp ~ *kept* kεpt, *kijpt

closed syllable shortening

data

keep kijp ~ *kept* kəpt, *kijpt

analysis

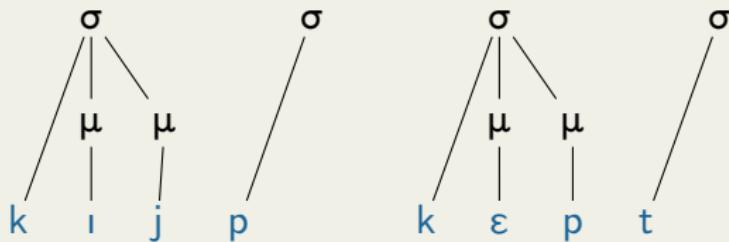


closed syllable shortening

data

keep kijp ~ *kept* kεpt, *kijpt

analysis

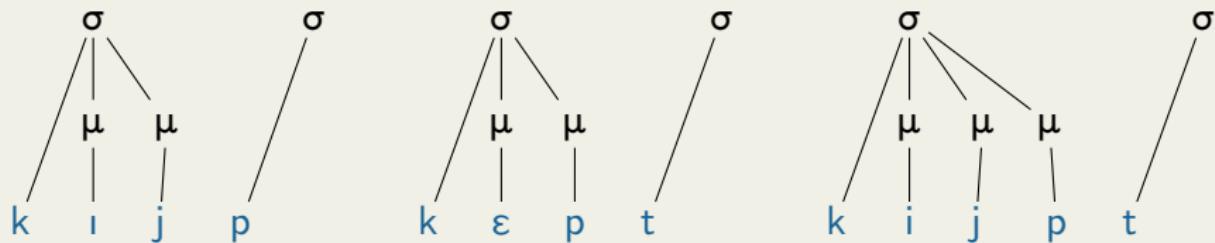


closed syllable shortening

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keep kijp ~ *kept* kεpt, *kijpt

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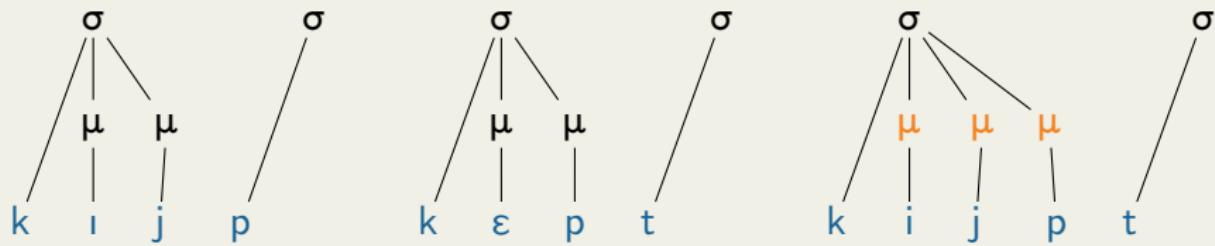


closed syllable shortening

data

keep kijp ~ *kept kept*, **kijpt*

analysis



condition

superheavy syllables are illicit: a σ cannot contain more than two μ s

typology

the nucleus

typology

the nucleus

- ▶ may branch in English and Hungarian

typology

the nucleus

- ▶ may branch in English and Hungarian
- ▶ may not branch in French and Spanish

typology

the nucleus

- ▶ may branch in English and Hungarian
- ▶ may not branch in French and Spanish

the onset

typology

the nucleus

- ▶ may branch in English and Hungarian
- ▶ may not branch in French and Spanish

the onset

- ▶ may branch in English and French

typology

the nucleus

- ▶ may branch in English and Hungarian
- ▶ may not branch in French and Spanish

the onset

- ▶ may branch in English and French
- ▶ (probably) may not branch in Hungarian (*paprika* is a dactyl)

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- ▶ may branch in English and Hungarian
- ▶ may not branch in French and Spanish

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- ▶ may branch in English and French
- ▶ (probably) may not branch in Hungarian (*paprika* is a dactyl)

the rhyme

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- ▶ may not branch in French and Spanish

the onset

- ▶ may branch in English and French
- ▶ (probably) may not branch in Hungarian (*paprika* is a dactyl)

the rhyme

- ▶ may branch in English and Hungarian

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- ▶ may branch in English and Hungarian
- ▶ may not branch in French and Spanish

the onset

- ▶ may branch in English and French
- ▶ (probably) may not branch in Hungarian (*paprika* is a dactyl)

the rhyme

- ▶ may branch in English and Hungarian
- ▶ may not branch in Hua and Cayuvava (i.e., these languages have only open syllables)

coda constraints

onsets

can usually contain the whole consonant inventory of the given language

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codas

are usually constrained

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- ▶ Japanese coda can only contain nasality independently of the following onset

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- ▶ English coda cannot copy the following onset in its entirety (no true geminates)
- ▶ Japanese coda can only contain nasality independently of the following onset: only homorganic nasal+plosive clusters and geminates

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- ▶ Japanese coda can only contain nasality independently of the following onset: only homorganic nasal+plosive clusters and geminates
- ▶ Hua and Cayuvava coda cannot contain anything

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an asymmetry

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an asymmetry

- ▶ the onset is obligatory in some languages (e.g., Hua), but never absent

coda constraints

onsets

can usually contain the whole consonant inventory of the given language

codas

are usually constrained

- ▶ English coda cannot copy the following onset in its entirety (no true geminates)
- ▶ Japanese coda can only contain nasality independently of the following onset: only homorganic nasal+plosive clusters and geminates
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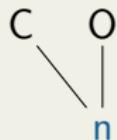
an asymmetry

- ▶ the onset is obligatory in some languages (e.g., Hua), but never absent
- ▶ the coda is absent in some languages (e.g., Hua), but never obligatory

geminates

true (tautomorphemic) geminates

Hungarian/Italian *Anna* *aːnːa/aːnːa* (cf. English *aːnə*)



geminates

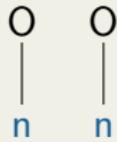
true (tautomorphemic) geminates

Hungarian/Italian *Anna* *aːnːa/aːnːa* (cf. English *anə*)



fake (heteromorphemic) geminates

English *keenness* *kɪnnːəs*



constraints on the nucleus

minimal sonority in the nucleus

idx	sounds
9	low Vs
8	mid Vs
7	high Vs
6	r
5	l
4	nasals
3	vd fricatives
2	vl fricatives
1	vd plosives
0	vl plosives

constraints on the nucleus

minimal sonority in the nucleus

- ▶ Hungarian: ≥ 7 (i.e., only vowels)

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constraints on the nucleus

minimal sonority in the nucleus

- ▶ Hungarian: ≥ 7 (i.e., only vowels)
- ▶ Serbian, Croatian: ≥ 6 (i.e., vowels and [r])

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9	low Vs
8	mid Vs
7	high Vs
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constraints on the nucleus

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- ▶ English stressed: ≥ 7

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- ▶ English stressed: ≥ 7
- ▶ English unstressed: ≥ 4 (i.e., any sonorant)

idx	sounds
9	low Vs
8	mid Vs
7	high Vs
6	r
5	l
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3	vd fricatives
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constraints on the nucleus

minimal sonority in the nucleus

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- ▶ Serbian, Croatian: ≥ 6 (i.e., vowels and [r])
- ▶ Czech, Slovak: ≥ 5 (i.e., vowels, [r], and [l])
- ▶ English stressed: ≥ 7
- ▶ English unstressed: ≥ 4 (i.e., any sonorant)
- ▶ Imdlawn Tashlhiyt Berber: ≥ 0 (i.e., any segment)

idx	sounds
9	low Vs
8	mid Vs
7	high Vs
6	r
5	l
4	nasals
3	vd fricatives
2	vl fricatives
1	vd plosives
0	vl plosives