

# THE VOWEL INVENTORY OF BRITISH ENGLISH

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# main claims

1. FLEECE and GOOSE are not long vowels
2. diphthongs are vowel + glide (= consonant) sequences (*tea* and *tin* are a minimal pair)
3. STRUT is stressed schwa (all vowels occur stressed, some do not occur unstressed)
4. the vowel inventory of BE is: *i ə u e a o*, short and long
5. moraicity, syllabicity, and stressability are scalar properties related to sonority
6. BE takes precautions that
  - a. long vowels do not occur unstressed and
  - b. consonants do not occur unstressed

# old-school view

## (Jones, Gimson, Wells, Upton, with little divergence)

- **short:** KIT  $i/\text{ɪ}$ , DRESS  $e/\text{ɛ}$ , STRUT  $\text{ʌ}$ , TRAP  $\text{æ}/\text{a}$ , FOOT  $u/\text{ʊ}$ , LOT  $\text{ɔ}/\text{ɒ}$
- **long:** FLEECE  $iː$ , NURSE  $\text{ə}ː/\text{ɜ}ː$ , START  $\text{ɑ}ː$ , GOOSE  $guːs$ , FORCE  $fɔːs$
- **diphthong**
  - **centring:** NEAR  $iə/\text{ɪ}ə$ , SQUARE  $\text{ɛə}/\text{eə}/\text{ɛ}ː$ , CURE  $uə/\text{ʊ}ə$
  - **closing:** FACE  $eɪ/\text{e}ɪ$ , GOAT  $ou/\text{ə}ʊ$ , PRICE  $aɪ/\text{a}ɪ/\text{ʌ}ɪ$ , MOUTH  $au/\text{a}ʊ$ , CHOICE  $\text{ɔ}i/\text{ɔ}ɪ$
- **unstressed**
  - **stable:** PANIC  $i/\text{ɪ}$ , COMMA  $\text{ə}$ , VALUE  $uː$
  - **variable:** COMET  $\text{ɪ}$  ( $= \text{ɪ} \sim \text{ə}$ ), HAPPY  $i$  ( $= \text{ɪ} \sim iː$ ), REGULAR  $\text{ʊ}$  ( $= \text{ʊ} \sim \text{ə}$ ), VOLUME  $u$  ( $= \text{ʊ} \sim uː$ )

# problems with the old-school view

- FLEECE and GOOSE do not pattern with long vowels
  - they occur prevocally (*neon, fluid*), like diphthongs
  - they occur unstressed (*happy, value*), unlike long vowels
  - cf Batchelor (1809):  $\text{ɪy}$   $\text{uw}$ ; Sweet (1900):  $\text{ij}$   $\text{uw}$ ; Chomsky & Halle (1968):  $\text{iy}$   $\text{uw}$
- slow to follow language change
  - SQUARE has monophthongized a long time ago, but only Upton indicates it
  - CURE has also monophthongized and for some merged with FORCE, for others with NURSE
  - front vowels lower ( $\text{e} > \text{ɛ}$ ,  $\text{æ} > \text{a}$ ), back vowels raise ( $\text{ɔ} > \text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}$ ,  $\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}} > \text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}$ ), high back vowels centralize ( $\text{ʊ} > \text{ɯ}$ ), also cf Uffmann, this volume
- fails to account for
  - distributional facts
  - stress facts, more specifically the distribution of unstressed vowels

# distribution of stressed vowels

vowels	_C	_#	_V
KIT, STRUT, FOOT, DRESS, TRAP, LOT	✓	✗	✗
NEAR, NURSE, CURE, SQUARE, START, FORCE	✓	✓	✗
FLEECE, GOAT, GOOSE, FACE, PRICE, MOUTH, CHOICE	✓	✓	✓

## an inventory that matches the distribution (based on Lindsey 2012)

						<b>distribution</b>
KIT <i>i</i>	STRUT <i>ə</i>	FOOT <i>u</i>	DRESS <i>e</i>	TRAP <i>a</i>	LOT <i>o</i>	only _C
NEAR <i>iː</i>	NURSE <i>əː</i>	CURE <i>uː</i>	SQUARE <i>eː</i>	START <i>aː</i>	FORCE <i>oː</i>	also _#
FLEECE <i>ij</i>	GOAT <i>əw</i>	GOOSE <i>uw</i>	FACE <i>ej</i>	PRICE <i>aj</i> , MOUTH <i>aw</i>	CHOICE <i>oj</i>	even _V

## what does *vowel* mean?

- the term *vowel* means a segment that is syllabic, a nonsyllabic vowel is called a *consonant* (or *semiconsonant* or *semivowel*, but not *vowel*):

yes *j*es, won *w*ən

- the offglide of a diphthong is not syllabic, ie it is a consonant:

say *sej*, know *nəw*

# an argument for diphthongs: the distribution of vowel + glide sequences

	i-	e-	a-	ə-	o-	u-
-j	ij	ej	aj	—	oj	—
-w	—	—	aw	əw	—	uw

but

1. L vocalization and glide fronting fill the gaps
2. such gaps do not force such conclusions elsewhere



## L vocalization and glide fronting

*bill* bil > biw, *bell* bel > bew, *ball* bo:l > bow

*go* gəw > gəj, *two* tuw > tuj

	i-	e-	a-	ə-	o-	u-
-j	ij	ej	aj	go	oj	two
-w	<i>bill</i>	<i>bell</i>	aw	əw	<i>ball</i>	uw

# consonantal distributions

	p-	t-	k-
-j	pj	—	kj
-w	—	tw	kw

cf

	e-	ə-	a-
-j	ej	—	aj
-w	—	əw	aw

## arguments against diphthongs

- a gap in the distribution of approximants
- epenthesis in diphthong + liquid clusters
- no hiatus (filling) after diphthongs
- no **j** after **ij ej aj oj**, no **w** after **əw aw uw**

## gaps in the distribution of approximants

	l	r	j	w
#_V	<i>lay</i> lej	<i>ray</i> rej	<i>yea</i> jej	<i>way</i> wej
C_V	<i>clay</i> klej	<i>grey</i> grej	<i>cue</i> kjuw	<i>dwel</i> dweɪ
V_´	<i>allay</i> əléj	<i>array</i> əréj	<i>vilayet</i> víləjét	<i>away</i> əwéj
´_V	<i>ally</i> áləj	<i>arrow</i> árəw	★	★
V:V	<i>scarlet</i> sga:lət	<i>Zara</i> za:rə	<i>sawyer</i> so:jə	<i>narwhal</i> na:wəl

(sg to support/provoke Thursday's speakers)

## an obvious explanation for the lack of checked vowel + glide

these sequences are traditionally all analysed as 'diphthongs'

*neon* níjon, *crayon* kréjon, *lion* lájən, *royal* rójəl, *vowel* vávəl, *rowan* réwən, *fuel* fjúwəl

## no gap in the distribution of approximants after all

	l	r	j	w
#_V	<i>lay</i> lej	<i>ray</i> rej	<i>yea</i> jej	<i>way</i> wej
C_V	<i>clay</i> klej	<i>grey</i> grej	<i>cue</i> kjuw	<i>dwel</i> dwel
V_́V	<i>allay</i> əléj	<i>array</i> əréj	<i>vilayet</i> víləjét	<i>away</i> əwéj
́V_V	<i>ally</i> áləj	<i>arrow</i> árəw	<i>lion</i> lájən	<i>vowel</i> váwəl
V: _V	<i>scarlet</i> sga:lət	<i>Zara</i> za:rə	<i>sawyer</i> so:jə	<i>narwhal</i> na:wəl

# epenthesis in word-final CCs

## (French) loans

*metre* mɛtr > miɟtə(r), *simple* simpl > simpəl, *prism* prizm > prizəm

## inflectional suffixes

*matches* matʃ + z > matʃəz; *fitted* fit + d > fitəd; *taken* tejk + n > tejkən, *given* giv + n > givən, *fallen* fo:l + n > fo:lən (cf *drawn* dro:n, *worn* wo:n)

## Irish English sonorant clusters

*elm* eləm, *farm* farəm, *earn* ərən, *girl* gərəl

# schwa insertion occurs between 'diphthongs' and liquids

## before l

*mile* majəl, *veil* vejəl, *deal* dijəl, *boil* bojəl (also *owl* %awəl, *rule* %ruwəl, *known* %nəwən)

## before r (which was later lost in BE)

*sire* sajə(r), *fear* fijə(r), *hour* awə(r)

## no epenthesis before a vowel (with restrictions)

*metric* metrik, *simplest* simpləst, *Miley Cyrus* majlij sajərəs

that is, 'diphthongs' (like ej) behave as vowel + consonant sequences (like et or el)



# hiatus filling

BE does not tolerate hiatus; two repairs:

1. vowel deletion: *extraordinary* egsdr<ə>o:ɪdinərij (only ə can be deleted)
2. r insertion: *extra ordinance* egsdrə r o:ɪdinəns

hiatus filling occurs after

1. ə (see above)
2. all long vowels: *Shah of Persia* ʃa: r əv pə:ʃə; *four hours* fo: r awəz

**hiatus filling does not occur after 'diphthongs' since there is no hiatus after j or w**

# the real gaps in the distribution of approximants

	l	r	j	w
l_	★	<i>walrus</i> wo(:)lrəs	<i>value</i> vəljuw	<i>Alwin</i> álwin
r_ (rhotic)	<i>barley</i> bárlij	★	<i>area</i> é:rjə*	<i>Darwin</i> dárwin
j_	<i>silent</i> sájlənt	<i>siren</i> sájrən	★	<i>Aiwa</i> ájwə
w_	<i>owlet</i> áwlət	<i>dowry</i> dáwrij	<i>alleluia</i> áləlúwjə	★

**reason:** geminates only occur across a word boundary, as in  
*wholly* həwɫ#lij, *sparerib* sber#rib (rhotic), *biunique* baj#junijk, *noone* nəw#wən

\* also nonrhotic!

## the vowel inventory of BE without diphthongs

KIT <i>i</i>	STRUT <i>ə</i>	FOOT <i>u</i>	DRESS <i>e</i>	TRAP <i>a</i>	LOT <i>o</i>
NEAR <i>iː</i>	NURSE <i>əː</i>	CURE <i>uː</i>	SQUARE <i>eː</i>	START <i>aː</i>	FORCE <i>oː</i>

FLEECE = KIT + *j*, GOAT = STRUT + *w*, GOOSE = FOOT + *w*, etc

# so why does the tradition suppose diphthongs?

## history (≈ spelling)

most Present-day English diphthongs derive from Middle English long vowels, as a result, the spelling of many BE 'diphthongs' is a single vowel letter, cf the names of vowel letters:

A = ej, E = ij, I = aj, O = əw, U = juw

## the generative bias

generative phonology hypothesizes that 'surface' sound strings are derived from abstract underlying sound strings that may be arbitrarily different, eg, *grave* grejv is 'underlyingly' gra:v

# lexical alternations

ME long–short alternations are BE ‘diphthong’–short/checked alternations

<b>word pair</b>	<b>ME</b>	<b>PdE</b>
<i>keep–kept</i>	ke:p–kept	kijp–kept
<i>grave–gravity</i>	gra:v–graviti	grejv–gravitij
<i>mime–mimic</i>	mi:m–mimik	majm–mimik
<i>south–southern</i>	su:θ–suðərn	sawθ–səðən
<i>holy–holiday</i>	hɔ:li–holidaj	həwlij–holidej
<i>fool–folly</i>	fo:l–foli	fuwl–folij

## flapping in New Zealand English (Bye & de Lacy 2008)

	sound before t	General Am	NZ Basilect	NZ Acrolect
<i>fatter</i>	vowel	✓	✓	✓
<i>farter</i>	rhotic/length	✓	✓	✗
<i>fighter</i>	glide	✓	✓	✗
<i>Fanta</i>	nasal	✓	✗	✗
<i>factor</i>	obstruent	✗	✗	✗

flapping is switched off at different points in the sonority scale in GA, NZ B & A

## past participial $-(ə)n$ (like flapping in NZ B)

	sound before n	no schwa
n/a	vowel	
<i>worn</i>	rhotic/length	✓
<i>seen/strew</i>	glide	✓
<i>fallen</i>	liquid	✗
<i>proven/taken</i>	obstruent	✗

## vowel length in BE

- most long vowels of BE derive from V + r sequences (eg, *start*, *nurse*)
- many long vowels derive from glide loss & coalescence ('smoothing', eg, *our*, *mayor*)
- some long vowels derive from an earlier aw (eg, *law*, *haul*)
- some long vowels derive from lengthening (eg, *bath*, *example*, *last*, *dance*)

vowel length does not behave like a V in NZ A (no flapping in *farter* faɪtə): could it be consonantal?



# what sort of consonant could ɹ possibly be?

- ɹ occurs before C and #, but not before V, it is in complementary distribution with
  - h (but this would lead to geminates in *yahoo* jaɹhuw, *Tahiti* taɹhij, etc)
  - also r in nonrhotic BE (geminates: *Sahara* səhaɹrə, *Sarah* seɹrə, *hero* hiɹrəw)
  - also ɹ in L-vocalizing accents
- representationally: ɹ could be a melodiless C position on the skeleton interpreted as
  - h prevocally
  - ɹ nonprevocally
- **however**
  - if ɹ were a consonant we would not expect hiatus filling after it
  - ɹ is always moraic, like vowels and unlike all consonants including glides

# stress

- is the prominence of some portion of the speech signal: **louder, higher pitched, longer**
- is **strength**
  - stressed vowels (and consonants before them) are more resistant to decay
  - there is more variability in (and before) the stressed position
- prefers sonority to its absence (vowels to consonants, sonorants to obstruents, lower vowels to higher ones)
- prefers vowels followed by a moraic segment (aka heavy syllable)

# moraicity (in English)

- a vowel is always moraic: *yes* **jes** (when it is not moraic, we call it a consonant: **jes**)
- a consonant followed by a vowel is not moraic: *less* **les**
- a consonant followed by another consonant is moraic: *dolphin* **dolfin**  
(with the exception of some obstruents followed by a sonorant: *teflon* **teflon**)
- a word-final consonant is not moraic: *yes* **jes**

## traditional wisdom about glides

- usually not moraic before a vowel (= consonant): **jes**
- perhaps moraic between vowels?: **nijon**
- moraic elsewhere, however we have seen that a glide is not moraic word finally: **hapij** (also **krijejt**)

## pretonic 'secondary' stress

first V foll'd by μ: stressed	first V not foll'd by μ: unstressed	but with a Latinate prefix
<i>Montana</i> móntánə	<i>Managua</i> mənágwə	<i>continue</i> kəntínjuw
<i>antenna</i> ánténə	<i>agenda</i> ədzéndə	<i>compare</i> kəmpéː
<i>Bagdad</i> bágdád	<i>Badel</i> bədél	<i>admire</i> ədmájə
<i>Kaspersky</i> kásbéːsgij	<i>Zelensky</i> zəlénsgij	
<i>Manhattan</i> mánhátən	<i>Sahara</i> səháːrə	
<i>torment</i> tóːmént	<i>lament</i> ləmént	
<i>Berlin</i> béːlín	<i>balloon</i> bəlúwn	
<i>martini</i> máːtíjnij	<i>graffiti</i> grəfíjtij	

## posttonic 'secondary' stress

<b>last V foll'd by <math>\mu</math>: stressed</b>	<b>last V not foll'd by <math>\mu</math>: unstressed</b>	<b>but with coronal clusters</b>
<i>aspect</i> ásbe <b>g</b> t	<i>aspen</i> ásb <b>ə</b> n	<i>absent</i> ábs <b>ə</b> nt
<i>transept</i> tránse <b>bt</b>	<i>transom</i> tráns <b>əm</b>	<i>balance</i> bál <b>ə</b> ns
<i>retard</i> ríjta <b>ɪ</b> d	<i>dotard</i> déwt <b>əd</b>	<i>second</i> sék <b>ə</b> nd
<i>Mycroft</i> májkr <b>o</b> ft	<i>secret</i> síjkr <b>ət</b>	<i>herald</i> hér <b>ə</b> ld

## stress vs accent

<b>stress</b>	<b>accent</b>
stable	mobile
phonologically/lexically determined	nonphonologically determined
influenced by vowel quality	influenced by stress
at least one per content word	maximally one per word

# the Rhythm Rule

accent moves **left** before another accent (schematically:  $s(w)\acute{s} \rightarrow \acute{s}(w)s \acute{s}(w)$  )

$s$  = stressed,  $\acute{s}$  = accented,  $w$  = unstressed (weak)

- *thirtéén vs thírteen mén*
- *Taiwán vs Táíwan súmmit*
- *kangaróo vs kángaroo cóurt*

but only if it finds a stressed vowel (  $w\acute{s} \rightarrow w\acute{s} \acute{s}(w)$  )

- *retúrn vs retúrn tríp*
- *Madríd vs Madríd súmmit*

# unstressed vowels in old-school accounts

## short: ə, ɪ

- *Japanese* ˌdʒæpəˈniːz (simple dʒápəníjz), *garden* ˈgɑːdən (gáːdən)
- *panic* ˈpænik (pánik), *village* ˈvɪlɪdʒ (vílɪdʒ)

## variable: i, u

- *happy* ˈhæpi = t-ɪ or -iː (hápij), *create* kriˈeɪt = t-ɪ- or -iː- (krijéjt)
- *volume* ˈvɒljum = -ʊ- or -uː- (vóljum/vóljuwm), *duet* dʒuˈet = t-ʊ- or -uː- (dʒuwét)

## long/diphthong: əʊ, uː

- əʊ as in *motto* ˈmɒtəʊ (mótəw), *obese* əʊˈbiːs (əwbíjs)
- uː as in *value* ˈvæljuː (váljuw); this must be unstressed because j is not deletable



## HAPPY tensing (thápi > hápij)

- $i > ij / \_ \{ \#, V \}$  (at the end of a word and before a vowel: hápij, krijéjt)
- if  $ij$  were a long vowel or a diphthong, this would be a very peculiar change:
  - a short vowel (one mora) becomes long (two moras) **when unstressed**
  - perhaps the symbol  $i$  (instead of  $iː$ ) is a way of concealing this vexation
- if  $ij$  is a short vowel + a consonant, HAPPY tensing is
  - hiatus filling: krijéjt
  - adding a consonant word finally where short vowels do not occur: hápij
  - **nb:** the  $j$  is not moraic in either case

# the distribution of unstressed short vowels

vowel	_C	_#	_V
i, u	✓	✗	✗
ə	✓	✓	✗

- discrepancy: stressed \*é#, unstressed ə#
  - no repair: r could be inserted, but \*r# in nonrhotic BE
  - (note that r-insertion is available in rhotic accents)
- unstressed i only occurs before a consonant due to HAPPY tensing
- unstressed u historically comes from uw: w is lost before a consonant

# the distribution of unstressed 'diphthongs'

	<b>_C (glide is moraic)</b>	<b>_# (glide is not moraic)</b>	<b>_V (glide is not moraic)</b>
ij	—	valley váli <i>j</i>	atrium éjtri <i>j</i> əm
əw	obey əw <i>b</i> éj > əbéj	yellow jéləw	Genoa dzénəwə
uw	volume vóljuw <i>m</i> > vóljum	value vóljuw	usual júwz <u>w</u> əl

- discrepancy: stressed *íj*C, unstressed \**ij*C (although all other vowels occur \_C)
- the offglides are obligatory  $_{\{#,V\}}$ , **where not moraic** (and where short vowels cannot occur)
- the offglide may occur, but is often dropped before a consonant, **where moraic**
- **the moraicity of glides follows that of consonants, not that of vowels:** moraic \_C, not moraic  $_{\{#,V\}}$
- $_{\{#,V\}}$  *ej aj əw oj* is stressed (because *e a o* are stressed), but *ij əw uw* may be unstressed

## feel the VIBE again

short	front	central	back	long	front	central	back
nonlow	i	ə	u	nonlow	iː	əː	uː
nonhigh	e	a	o	nonhigh	eː	aː	oː

- the highlighted vowels occur both unstressed and stressed, the others only stressed
- of the 'diphthongs' *ij*, *əw*, and *uw* occur unstressed (⇒ these are VC)
- long vowels never occur unstressed

# moraicity and sonority

set	members	moraic
long Vs & nonhigh Vs	eː aː oː iː əː uː e a o ə	✓
high Vs & most consonants	i/j u/w l r m n ŋ v ð z ʒ f θ s ʃ b d dʒ g p t tʃ k	%
other	h	✗

- vowels are always moraic (except high vowels which are here equated with glides)
- most consonants are potentially moraic (depending on their position, as explained earlier)
- h, which only occurs before a vowel in modern English, is never moraic
- (r may be moraic: *camera* kámɹə)

# syllabicity and sonority

set	members	syllabic
long Vs & nonhigh Vs	eː aː oː iː əː uː e a o ə	✓
high Vs & sonorant consonants	i/j u/w l r m n ŋ	%
obstruents	v ð z ʒ f θ s ʃ b d dʒ g p t tʃ k	✗

- vowels are (by definition) syllabic, a nonsyllabic vowel is called a consonant (a glide)
- sonorant consonants may be syllabic
- obstruents may not be syllabic

# stressability and sonority

set	members	stressed
long Vs & nonhigh Vs	eː aː oː iː əː uː e a o	✓
nonlow Vs/glides	ə i/j u/w	%
other consonants	r l m n ŋ v ð z ʒ f θ s ʃ b d dʒ g p t tʃ k	✗

- long vowels and e a o are always stressed
- i ə u may be stressed or unstressed
- consonants are never stressed (note r may be stressed in rhotic accents: *bird* bɪrd, *fur* fɪr)

# putting it all together

set	members	moraic	syllabic	stressed
nonhigh/long vowels	eː aː oː iː əː uː e a o	✓	✓	✓
schwa	ə	✓	✓	%
high Vs/glides	i/j u/w	%	%	%
liquids, nasals	r l m n ŋ	%	%	✗
obstruents	v ð z ʒ f θ s ʃ b d dʒ g p t tʃ k	%	✗	✗
	h	✗	✗	✗

**implications:** stressed  $\supset$  syllabic  $\supset$  moraic, not moraic  $\supset$  not syllabic  $\supset$  not stressed



## revision: the two main sources of long vowels in BE

1. loss of nonprevocalic R after short vowel and compensatory lengthening
2. (schwa epenthesis after diphthong,) glide loss and vowel + schwa coalescence

## compensatory lengthening (CL)

	<b>NURSE</b>	<b>START</b>	<b>NORTH</b>
input (earlier, rhotic English)	ər	ar	or
R loss + CL	ɜː	aː	oː

## glide loss and vowel + schwa coalescence (= smoothing)

	<b>FORCE</b>	<b>SQUARE</b>	<b>CURE</b>	<b>NEAR</b>	<b>FIRE</b>	<b>SOUR</b>	<b>COIR</b>
input	owr	ejr	uwr	ijr	ajr	awr	ojr
epenthesis (& R deletion)	owə	ejə	uwə	ijə	ajə	awə	ojə
glide loss	oə	eə	uə	iə	aə	aə	—
coalescence	oɪ	eɪ	uɪ	iɪ	aɪ	aɪ	—

this process is more advanced with vowels to the left than with those to the right

## smoothing is rather general in VGə sequences

- *mail* méjəl~mé:l, *wild* wájəld~wá:ld
- *lion* lájən~lá:n, *Himalayas* himələjəz~himələ:z, *vowel* vávəl~vá:l
- *diamond* dáj(ə)mənd~dá:mənd (syncope bleeds smoothing)
- *theatre* θíjətə~θí:tə, but \*θíjtə (obstruents block syncope)
- *violence* váj(ə)ləns~vá:ləns, but *violate* váj\*(ə)lejt (stress blocks syncope)

# three constraints to maintain stressability

recall

- long vowels cannot occur unstressed
- consonants cannot occur stressed

so

1. compensatory lengthening is inhibited in unstressed position
2. smoothing is inhibited in unstressed position
3. syllabic consonant formation is inhibited in stressed position

## no compensatory lengthening in unstressed position

CL applies in stressed position	no CL in unstressed position
<i>defer</i> diféː	<i>differ</i> dífə(*ː)
<i>bombard</i> bombáːd	<i>standard</i> sdándə(*ː)d
<i>intern</i> intéːn	<i>pattern</i> pátə(*ː)n
<i>desert</i> dizéːt	<i>desert</i> dézə(*ː)t
<i>merger</i> méːdʒə	<i>merger</i> méːdʒə(*ː)

## no smoothing in unstressed position

smoothing possible in stressed position	smoothing impossible in unstressed position
<i>idea</i> ajdíjə~ajdiː	<i>India</i> índijə (*-diː)
<i>career</i> kərijə~kəriː	<i>linear</i> línijə (*-niː)
<i>revere</i> rəvijə~rəviː	<i>Xavier</i> zéjvijə (*-viː)
<i>secure</i> sikjúwə~sikjúː	<i>jaguar</i> dzágjuwə (*-juː)
<i>sulfuric</i> səlfjúwərik~səlfjúːrik	<i>sulfuret</i> səlfjuwəret~-juwr-~-jur-~-jər- (*-juː-)

## no syllabic consonant formation (SCF) in stressed position

SCF possible in unstressed position	SCF impossible in stressed position
<i>tunnel</i> tənəl~tən̩l̩	<i>anull</i> ənəl (*-n̩l̩)
<i>doctoral</i> dógtərəl~dógtɹəl	<i>immoral</i> imóərəl (*-m̩r̩-)
<i>Axel</i> ágsəl~ágs̩l̩	<i>Maxell</i> mágsəl (*-s̩l̩)
<i>camel</i> káməl~kám̩l̩	<i>Intel</i> íntel (*-t̩l̩)
<i>Dixon</i> dígsən~dígs̩n̩	<i>Exxon</i> égson (*-s̩n̩)
<i>caramel</i> kárəməl~kárəm̩l̩	<i>philomel</i> fíləməl (*-m̩l̩)



## a historical speculation

- glide loss has occurred in unstressed position too: *jaguar* dʒágjuwə > dʒágjuə
- but since neither hiatus (\*uə), nor unstressed long vowels (\*dʒágjuː) are available in BE, the w-ful form was reinstalled

**thank you**

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