

جامعة نيويورك أبوظبي



PSYCH-UH 2218: Language Science

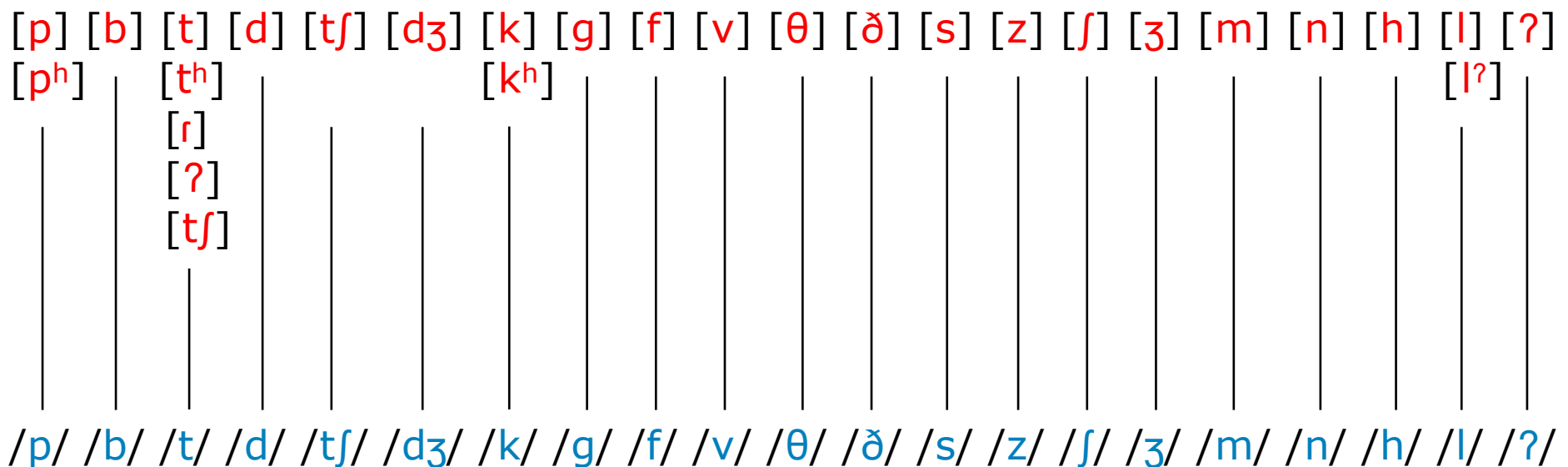
Class 6: Phonological rules

Prof. Jon Sprouse  
Psychology

# The big idea

The big idea is that there are two levels of analysis for speech sounds - the underlying form (phonemes) and the surface form (allophones). Any given phoneme could have multiple allophones!

**allophones:** This is the surface form. This is what we hear in speech. We only ever hear allophones! Every phoneme has at least one allophone - typically itself. It may also have others, like /t/ in English.

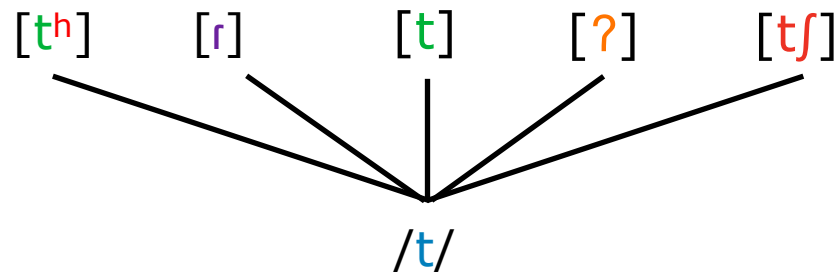


**phonemes:** This is the underlying form. You don't ever see these in speech. You have to infer them from the pattern of allophones that we see in the language. We will do this now!

# Some phonemes have multiple allophones

The big idea is that there are two levels of analysis for speech sounds - the underlying form (phonemes) and the surface form (allophones). Any given phoneme could have multiple allophones!

**allophone:** These are sometimes called “variants” of the phoneme. They are the sounds that are actually produced.



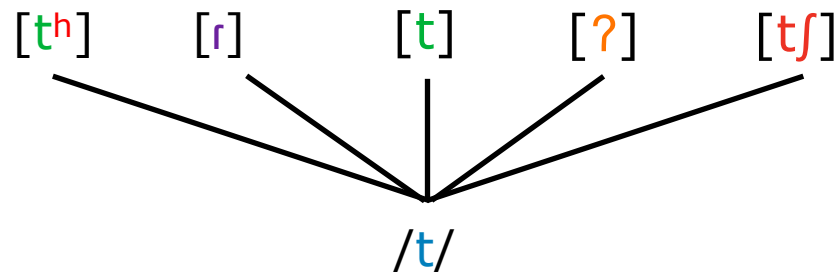
The **phoneme** /t/ has a quite a large number of **allophones** in English - at least 5!

**phoneme:** The underlying form of segments. (This is typically what we think of when we think of speech sounds.)

# All but 1 allophone will have a predictable environment based on a natural class

The big idea is that there are two levels of analysis for speech sounds - the underlying form (phonemes) and the surface form (allophones). Any given phoneme could have multiple allophones!

**allophone:** These are sometimes called “variants” of the phoneme. They are the sounds that are actually produced.



[t<sup>h</sup>]: #\_

[ɾ]: \_ [ɾ] or [ɻ]

[ʔ]: \_ [ŋ]

[tʃ]: \_ [r]

[t]: everywhere else

**phoneme:** The underlying form of sounds. (This is typically what we think of when we think of speech sounds.)

A more complicated example for  
identifying natural classes

# Another example: non-nasal and nasal vowels

Here is a set of words in English. The tilde over a vowel means it has the feature [nasal]. [i] and [ĩ] are allophones of the same phoneme /i/. They are not contrastive in English.

word	IPA	[i]			[ĩ]		
		before		after	before		after
dean	dĩn	d	—	d	d	—	n
lean	lĩn	l	—	p	l	—	n
mean	mĩn	m	—	ɹ	m	—	n
team	tĩm	t	—	#	t	—	m
seam	sĩm	s	—	k	s	—	m
deed	diid						
leap	lip						
mere	miɹ						
tea	ti						
seek	sik						

Step 1 in analyzing these is to list all of the environments for each allophone. I have already done that here. But be sure you can see how each row in these tables maps back to a word in the list!

# Another example: non-nasal and nasal vowels

Here is a set of words in English. The tilde over a vowel means it has the feature [nasal]. [i] and [ĩ] are allophones of the same phoneme /i/. They are not contrastive in English.

word	IPA	[i]			[ĩ]		
		before		after	before		after
dean	dĩn	d	—	d	d	—	n
lean	lĩn	l	—	p	l	—	n
mean	mĩn	m	—	ɹ	m	—	n
team	tĩm	t	—	#	t	—	m
seam	sĩm	s	—	k	s	—	m
deed	diid						
leap	lip						
mere	miɹ						
tea	ti						
seek	sik						

Step 2 is to look at each column in the table, and see if the sounds in the column form a natural class based on articulatory features.

# Another example: non-nasal and nasal vowels

Let's look at the "before" environment for [i]. I have circled each of the sounds in the consonant chart.

before	i	after
d	—	d
l	—	p
m	—	ɹ
t	—	#
s	—	k

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CONSONANTS (PULMONIC)

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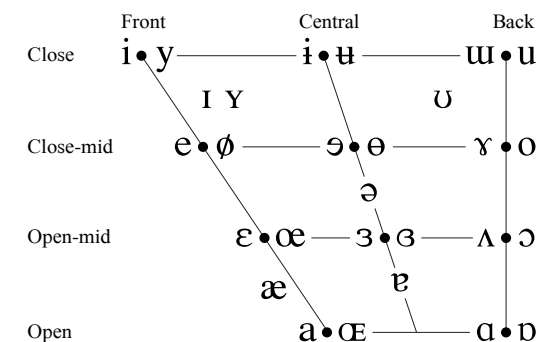
	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d		ʈ ɖ	c ɟ	k ɡ	q ɢ		ʔ
Nasal	m	ɱ		n		ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	ɴ		
Trill	ʙ			ʀ					ʀ		
Tap or Flap		ⱱ		ɾ		ɽ					
Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ ʐ	ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	h ɦ
Lateral fricative				ɬ ɮ							
Approximant		ʋ		ɹ		ɻ	j	ɰ			
Lateral approximant				l		ɭ	ʎ	ʟ			

Symbols to the right in a cell are voiced, to the left are voiceless. Shaded areas denote articulations judged impossible.

Do these three sounds share a common feature?

No! They show up on different rows, so they don't share a manner feature. They show up in different columns (m is the outlier!), so they don't share a place feature. And they show up on both sides of the cell, so they don't share a voicing feature.

VOWELS



Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a rounded vowel.



# Another example: non-nasal and nasal vowels

Now let's look at the "after" environment for [i]. I have circled each of the sounds in the consonant chart.

before	i	after
d	—	d
l	—	p
m	—	r
t	—	#
s	—	k

THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET (revised to 2015)

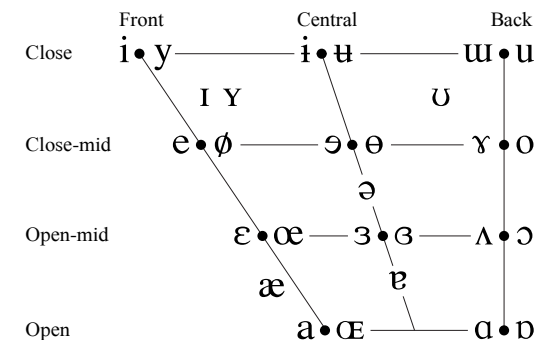
CONSONANTS (PULMONIC)

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	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d		ʈ ɖ	c ɟ	k ɡ	q ɢ		ʔ
Nasal	m	ɱ		n		ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	ɴ		
Trill	ʙ			r					ʀ		
Tap or Flap		ⱱ		ɾ		ɽ					
Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ ʐ	ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	h ɦ
Lateral fricative				ɬ ɮ							
Approximant		ʋ		ɹ		ɻ	j	ɰ			
Lateral approximant				l		ɭ	ʎ	ʟ			

Symbols to the right in a cell are voiced, to the left are voiceless. Shaded areas denote articulations judged impossible.

VOWELS



Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a rounded vowel.

Do these three sounds share a common feature?

No! This is easy because # never forms a natural class with sounds.

# Another example: non-nasal and nasal vowels

Now let's look at the "before" environment for [ĩ]. I have circled each of the sounds in the consonant chart.

before	ĩ	after
d	—	n
l	—	n
m	—	n
t	—	m
s	—	m

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CONSONANTS (PULMONIC)

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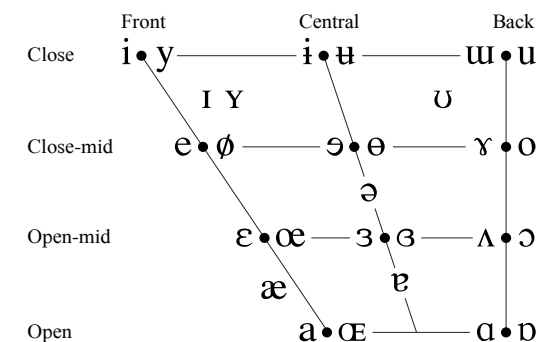
	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d		ʈ ɖ	c ɟ	k ɡ	q ɢ		ʔ
Nasal	m	ɱ		n		ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	ɴ		
Trill	ʙ			ʀ					ʀ		
Tap or Flap		ⱱ		ɾ		ɽ					
Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ ʐ	ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	h ɦ
Lateral fricative				ɬ ɮ							
Approximant		ʋ		ɹ		ɻ	j	ɰ			
Lateral approximant				l		ɭ	ʎ	ʟ			

Symbols to the right in a cell are voiced, to the left are voiceless. Shaded areas denote articulations judged impossible.

Do these three sounds share a common feature?

No! Also notice that these are exactly the same sounds that we saw for the "before" environment for [i]. This is another shortcut. When two allophones have an environment that overlaps (shows the same sounds), we know that is not the critical environment.

VOWELS



Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a rounded vowel.

# Another example: non-nasal and nasal vowels

Now let's look at the "after" environment for [ĩ]. I have circled each of the sounds in the consonant chart.

before	ĩ	after
d	—	n
l	—	n
m	—	n
t	—	m
s	—	m

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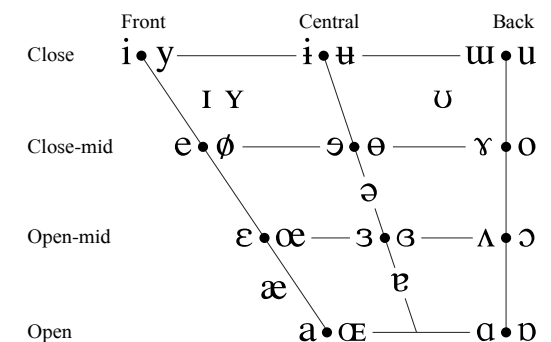
	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d		ʈ ɖ	c ɟ	k ɡ	q ɢ		ʔ
Nasal	m	ɱ		n		ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	ɴ		
Trill	ʙ			ɾ					ʀ		
Tap or Flap		ɸ		ɽ		ɽ					
Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ ʐ	ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	h ɦ
Lateral fricative				ɬ ɮ							
Approximant		ʋ		ɹ		ɻ	j	ɰ			
Lateral approximant				l		ɭ	ʎ	ʟ			

Symbols to the right in a cell are voiced, to the left are voiceless. Shaded areas denote articulations judged impossible.

Do these three sounds share a common feature?

Yes! They are both on the same row, which means that they share a manner feature. In this case, it is [nasal].

VOWELS



Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a rounded vowel.

# Another example: non-nasal and nasal vowels

This is interesting. We can now say that [ĩ] is the allophone that appears when a nasal consonant comes after it, and [i] is the allophone that appears when any other sound (or word boundary) appears after it.

word	IPA	[i]			[ĩ]		
		before		after	before		after
dean	dĩn	d	—	d	d	—	n
lean	lĩn	l	—	p	l	—	n
mean	mĩn	m	—	ɹ	m	—	n
team	tĩm	t	—	#	t	—	m
seam	sĩm	s	—	k	s	—	m
deed	di						
leap	lip						
mere	mi						
tea	ti						
seek	sik						

This makes some sense. [ĩ] is a nasal vowel and it appears next to nasal consonants! This is our first hint that there is something deeper happening! There is a logic dictating the choice between allophones. **We want to uncover that logic!**

How do we select the allophone in a given phonological environment?

Phonological Rules!

# Phonological rules - Step 1 - use IPA

We capture the choice of allophone with **phonological rules**. Phonological rules have a special notation, and are written in features to reveal the natural classes and underlying logic of the rule.

But it is easiest to see the shape of rules by first writing them in IPA. **THIS IS NOT ULTIMATELY CORRECT because it is not in features**. But it is a good first step when trying to figure out a rule. Here is how we might write the rules for the [i]/[ĩ] example from last class in IPA.

/i/ → [ĩ] / \_\_\_ [n] or [m]

/i/ → [i] / \_\_\_ elsewhere

There is a lot going on here, so let's unpack it:

We use // to indicate a phoneme, and [] to indicate an allophone.

We use → to indicate the change. It is sometimes read as "rewrites as".

We use / to indicate that what follows is the environment of the change.

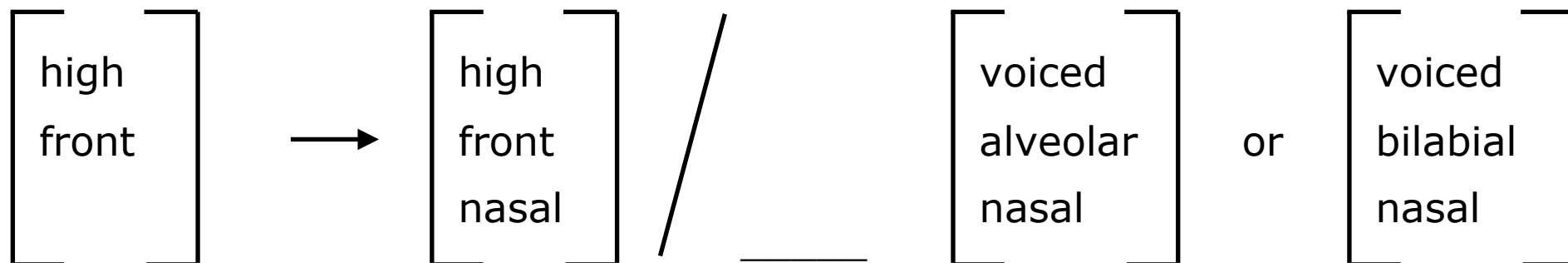
We use \_\_\_ to indicate the location of the allophone in the environment.

## Step 2 - convert to features

Though a helpful first step of writing a rule is to use IPA symbols, once you have a candidate rule, it is more **revealing** to write the rule in **features**.

/i/ → [i̥] / \_\_\_ [n] or [m]

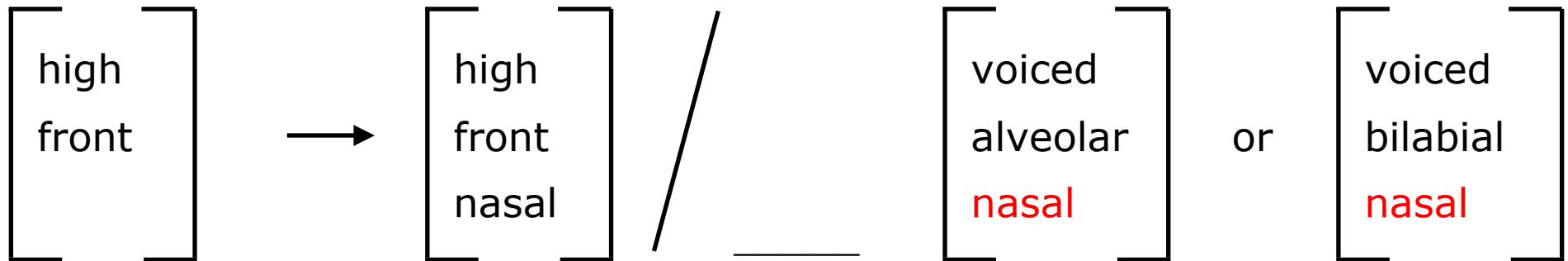
We convert each IPA symbol to features: the phoneme, the allophone, and the context:



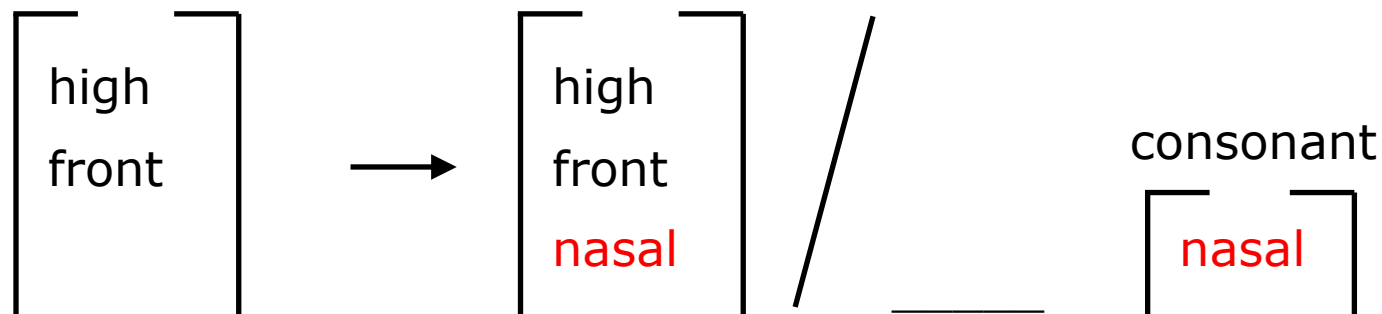
Using features will reveal more information than using IPA symbols. For example, using features here lets us see **that the "or" is not necessary**. In fact, we should **never have an "or" in a rule**. Remember, we need to look for a **single natural classes**. That means looking for a feature (or features) that defines a single class, without an "or".

# Step 3 - figure out the natural class

Here is our rule with an “or”. We know this is incorrect. But we can see that there is a shared feature in the environment: **nasal**.



So, let's rewrite the rule using this **natural class**. So, we say that the environment is [nasa]. Because nasal can be a feature of both vowels and consonants, I have labeled the sound here as a consonant for clarity.

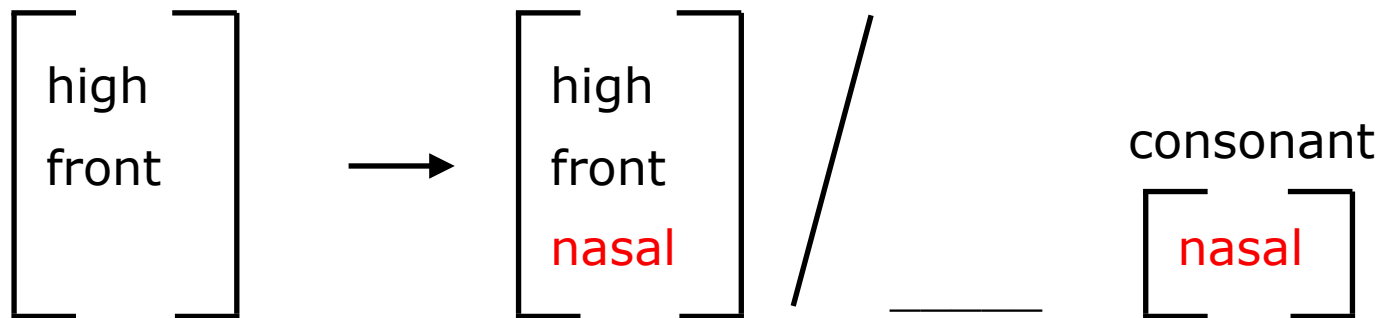




# Step 4 - checking for predictions of the natural class

Here is a fact about **natural classes** that we have not discussed before — the class **must contain all of the sounds** that have the relevant feature (or features)!

So, if we say this rule is about nasal consonants in English, then it should apply for all nasal consonants in English.

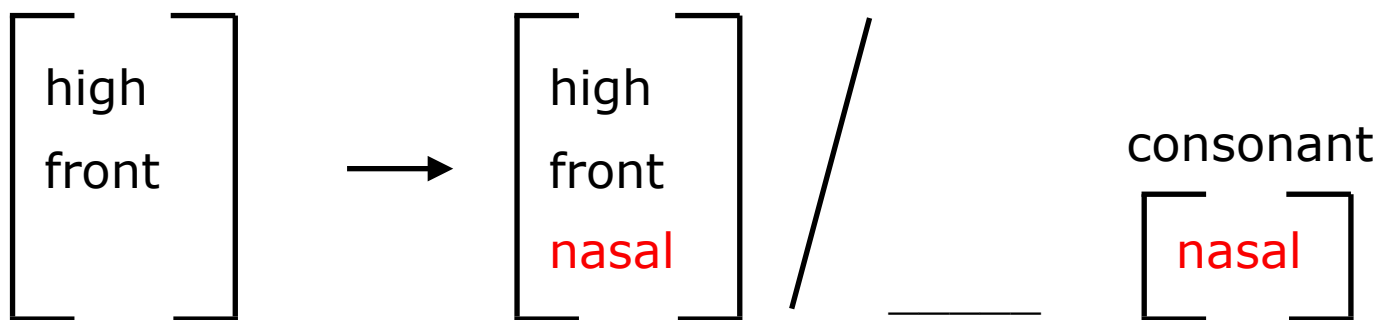


We have already seen that this rule holds for [n] or [m], but there is a third nasal consonant in English: [ŋ]. So this rule says that /i/ will become [ĩ] before [ŋ]. This seems to be true, but I can only test it with non-words because there are no existing English words with [ĩŋ].

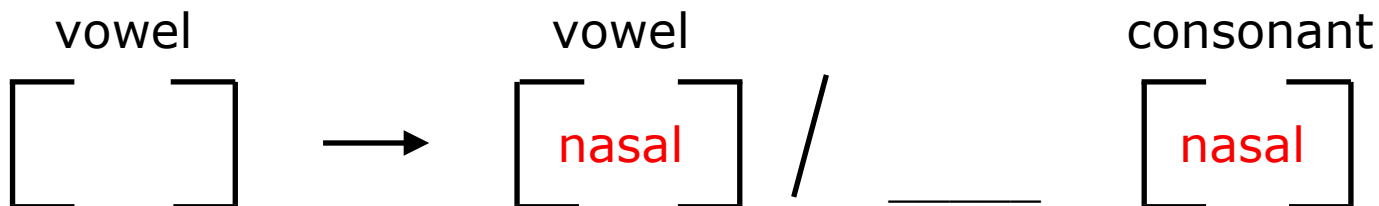
	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d				k g		
Nasal	m			n				ŋ		
Tap or flap										
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ					h
Affricate				ts dz	tʃ dʒ					
Approximant				ɹ			j			
Lateral approximant				l						

# Step 5 - testing if the rule generalizes to other phonemes

Sometimes, the rule we find for one phoneme to select among its allophones actually holds for other phonemes too! So, the same way that we tried to simplify the environment of the change (to the right of the slash) to make predictions about the natural class, we can try to simplify the features that are relevant for the phoneme and allophone (to the left of the slash).

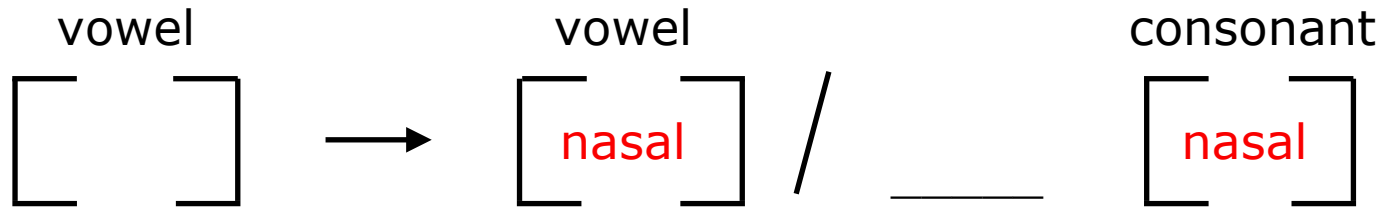


One question we can ask is if the rule affects all vowels in English, not just /i/. To do that, we simply remove all of the features from the specification, except the critical one [nasal]. And we add the specification that this is about vowels:



# Step 5 - testing if the rule generalizes to other phonemes

This rule would predict that all vowels in English become nasal before a nasal consonant.



We can test this by looking at other vowels (with different features), and seeing if they become nasalized when they appear before nasal consonants:

high, back		low, front		low, back	
word	IPA	word	IPA	word	IPA
tune	tũn	hand	hǣnd	con	cãn
fume	fũm	ram	rǣm	bomb	bãm
toot	tut	had	hæd	cot	cat
fuel	fyul	rack	ræk	bob	bab

And it looks like they do! So we have a general rule applying to all vowels!

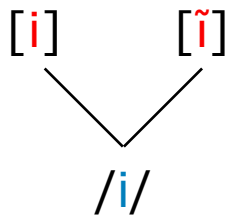
Choosing the correct rule when there are  
two options

# Two (or more) options for underlying representations

One tricky part of formulating phonological rules is choosing the correct direction of the rule.

For a phoneme with two allophones, there are two options:

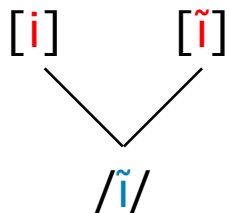
**Option 1:** /i/ is underlying. This means [ĩ] will occur due to a rule, and [i] will occur everywhere else



/i/ → [ĩ] / \_\_\_ [n] or [m] or [ŋ]

/i/ → [i] elsewhere

**Option 2:** /ĩ/ is underlying. This means [i] will occur due to a rule, and [ĩ] will occur everywhere else



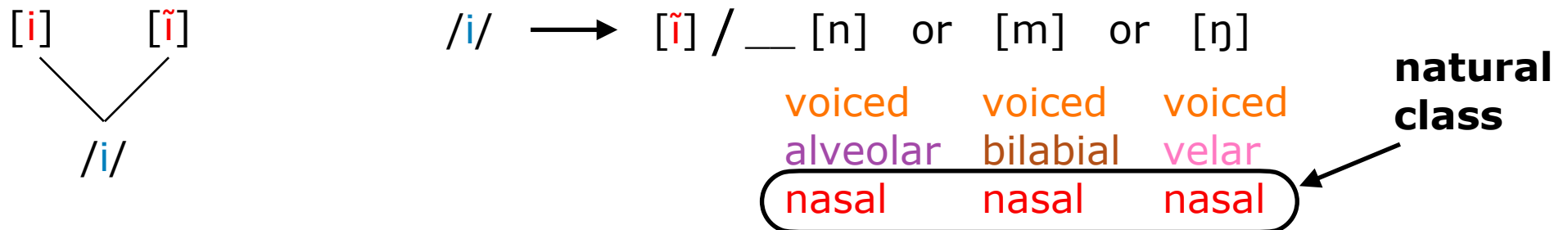
/ĩ/ → [i] / \_\_\_ [d] or [p] or [ɹ] or [k] or [#]

/ĩ/ → [ĩ] elsewhere

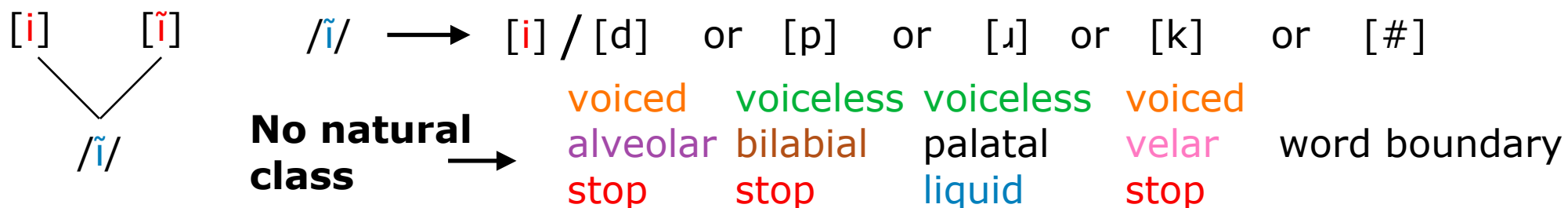
# How do we choose? Natural classes.

The heuristic that we use is to choose the rule with a context that forms a **natural class**. A natural class is a set of segments that share a set of one or more features (usually articulatory features, but also word boundaries, syllable boundaries etc).

**Option 1:** /i/ is underlying. This means [ĩ] will occur due to a rule, and [i] will occur everywhere else



**Option 2:** /ĩ/ is underlying. This means [i] will occur due to a rule, and [ĩ] will occur everywhere else



# Remember our two shortcuts to rule out natural classes

When you are looking for natural classes, remember that there are two shortcuts that you can use to quickly see that **there is no natural class!**

**Shortcut 1:** word boundaries cannot form a natural class with sounds.

/i/ → [i] / [d] or [p] or [ɹ] or [k] or [#]  
voiced voiceless voiceless voiced  
alveolar bilabial palatal velar word boundary  
stop stop liquid stop

This one helps us immediately with this rule. But also, we can see that there is no shared feature in the consonants either.

**Shortcut 2:** Consonants and vowels cannot form a natural class together.

This is because they use different features. I suppose one could imagine a natural class of “any speech sound whatsoever”, but that is basically an empty claim. It does no work for us, so it is not a scientific theory!

# A quick aside: allophones in free variation will have no rule

Though most allophones show up with predictable environments such that their environments don't overlap, it is also possible for allophones to show up in an overlapping distribution. When this happens, we can identify them as **allophones** because they are **not contrastive**. The two allophones don't change the word. In other words, the choice of allophone is completely optional. We say these allophones are in free variation. **In this case, there will be no rule to select them.**

word	IPA
leap	lip
soap	sou̯p
troop	tɹup
leap	lip <sup>1</sup>
soap	sou̯p <sup>1</sup>
troop	tɹup <sup>1</sup>

The segment [p<sup>1</sup>] is an unreleased stop - it is sort of an unfinished [p]. It is easy to see that these two segments show up in exactly the same environments. They are not contrastive, so they are **allophones** of the same phoneme.

We won't focus on these in this course because they do not require a phonological rule, and therefore there is a limit to what we can learn from them for our cognitive theory of language. But you should know that they exist in case you encounter one in your own language.

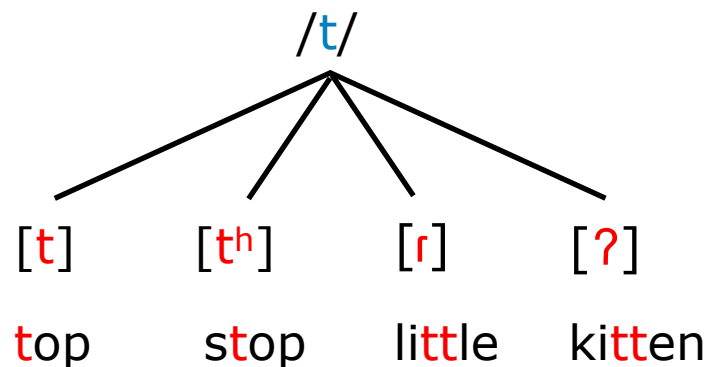


What are phonemes and allophones in our cognitive theory? Categories and members

# Phonemes are categories

The way to think about phonemes and allophones is that speech segments are not individual things, they are categories. /t/ is a category. There are members of that category, called allophones, that actually arise in speech:

**phoneme:** An abstract category of speech segment.



This is the same idea of category as you are familiar with from life!



**allophone:** A member of the abstract category phoneme.

This is the same idea of member as you are familiar with from life!

Under this conception, the phonological rule selects which member of the category should arise in a given context.

Some worked out examples to see our  
analysis process

# Tohono O'odham [t] and [tʃ]

Tohono O'odham is a Native American language. The Tohono O'odham live in the southwest US (primarily in Arizona). In Tohono O'odham there is no contrast between [t] and [tʃ]. Let's look at their distribution in a data set:

dʒisk	"aunt"	dɔʔaʔk	"mountain"
tʃu:li	"corner"	tʃuwaʔgi	"clouds"
wahtʃum	"drown"	taht	"foot"
dʒawwɪhkɔh	"cut hair"	ʔahidaʔk	"year"
tɔnɔm	"be thirsty"	hwhtaɪpsptʃu	"make it 5"
hwdʒwli	"self"	tʃihkpaŋ	"work"
stahtɔnɔm:ah	"thirsty times"	ʔi:də	"this"
mwdwdaŋ	"runner"	tɔhntɔ	"degenerate"
tɔdsid	"frighten"	tʃuɔpsid	"brand"
gahtwi	"to shoot"	tʃuhtʃi	"name"
gwʔwdtə	"get big"	dʒumali	"low"
tobidk	"white clay"	waʔdʒiwih	"swim"
spadmahkaŋ	"lazy one"	dʒu:ʔw	"rabbits"

# Tohono O'odham [t] and [tʃ]

dʒisk	dɔʔaʔk
tʃu:li	tʃuwaʔgi
wahtʃum	taht
dʒawwuhkɔh	ʔahidaʔk
tɔnɔm	hwhtaʃpsptʃu
hwɔdʒwli	tʃihkpaŋ
stahtɔnɔm:ah	ʔi:da
mɔdwɔdɔm	tɔhntɔ
tɔdsid	tʃwɔpsid
gahtwi	tʃwhtʃi
gwʔwɔdʒtɔ	dʒumali
tɔbidk	waʔdʒiwih
spadmahkɔm	dʒu:ʔw

Here I have deleted the translations for space reasons. And I have worked through the data set listing the environments for the two allophones.

before	tʃ	after	before	t	after
#	—	u	#	—	ɔ
h	—	u	s	—	a
#	—	w	h	—	ɔ
#	—	i	h	—	w
h	—	i	d	—	a
			#	—	o
			#	—	a
			h	—	#
			h	—	a

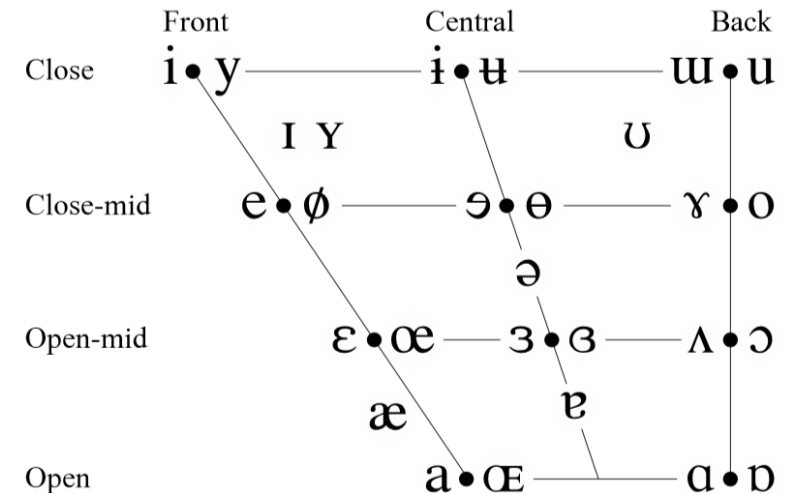
# Tohono O'odham [t] and [tʃ]

Next we can look at each column one at a time to see if we notice any natural classes:

before	t	after
#	—	ɔ
s	—	a
h	—	ɔ
h	—	w
d	—	a
#	—	o
#	—	a
h	—	#
h	—	a

before	tʃ	after
#	—	u
h	—	u
#	—	w
#	—	i
h	—	i

VOWELS



Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a rounded vowel.

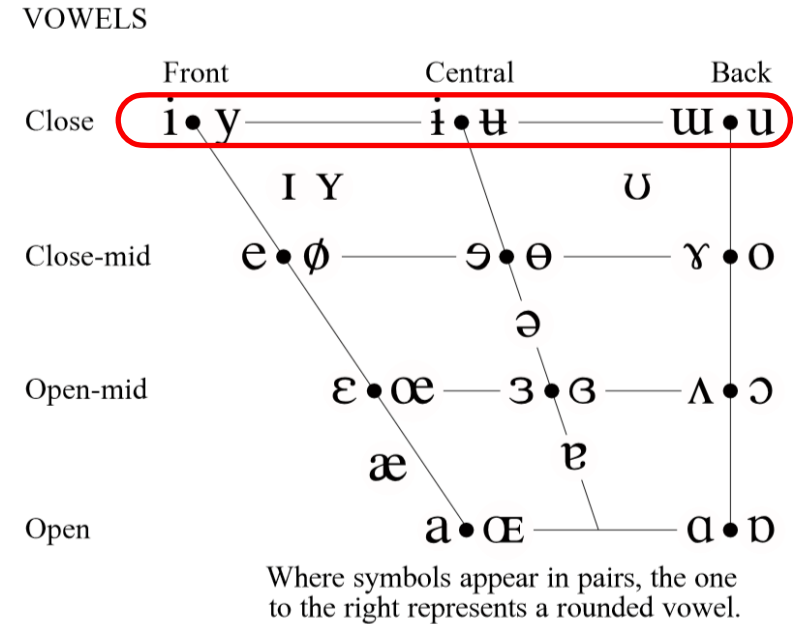
The “before” environment for [t] is not a natural class because it mixes # with other sounds. The same is true for the “after” environment.

The “before” environment for [tʃ] is not a natural class because it mixes # with other sounds. But the “after environment is all vowels. Do they share a feature? I have added the vowel chart so we can look...

# Tohono O'odham [t] and [tʃ]

Next we can look at each column one at a time to see if we notice any natural classes:

before	t	after	before	tʃ	after
#	—	ɔ	#	—	u
s	—	a	h	—	u
h	—	ɔ	#	—	w
h	—	w	#	—	i
d	—	a	h	—	i
#	—	o			
#	—	a			
h	—	#			
h	—	a			



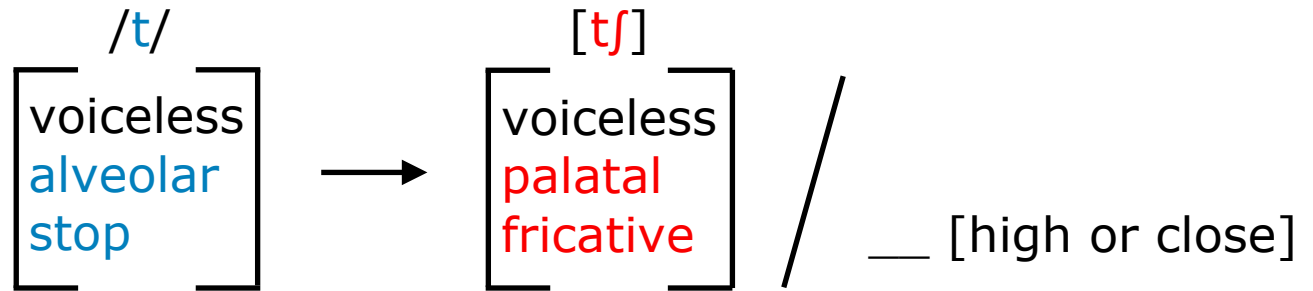
It looks like the natural class is high (or close) vowels! So we can first write our rules in IPA like this:

/t/ → [tʃ] / \_\_\_ [high or close]

/t/ → [t] / \_\_\_ elsewhere

# Tohono O'odham [t] and [tʃ]

Next, we can write the phoneme to allophone part of the rule in features:



Now, the next step is a bit of a logical leap for us at this point, but it is often the case that a rule that applies to a voiceless phoneme will also apply to the voiced counterpart of that phoneme. So we can check this by looking at [d] and [dʒ]. The hypothesis is that there may be a more general rule like this:



dʒisk	dɔʔaʔk
tʃu:li	tʃuwaʔgi
wahtʃum	taht
dʒawwuhkɔh	ʔahidaʔk
tɔnɔm	hwhtahpsptʃu
hwdʒwli	tʃihkpaŋ
stahtɔnɔm:ah	ʔi:də
mwdwdam	tɔhntɔ
tɔdsid	tʃuwpɔsid
gahtwi	tʃuhtʃi
gwʔwdtə	dʒumali
tobidk	waʔdʒiwih
spadmahkam	dʒu:ʔw



# Tohono O'odham [d] and [dʒ]

dʒisk	dɔʔaʔk
tʃu:li	tʃuwaʔgi
wahtʃum	taht
dʒuwwhkəh	ʔahidaʔk
tɔnɔm	hwhtahpsptʃu
hwdʒwli	tʃihkpaŋ
stahtɔnɔm:ah	ʔi:də
mwdwdam	tɔhntɔ
tɔdsid	tʃuɔpsid
gahtwi	tʃuhtʃi
gwʔwdtə	dʒumali
tobidk	waʔdʒiwih
spadmahkam	dʒu:ʔw

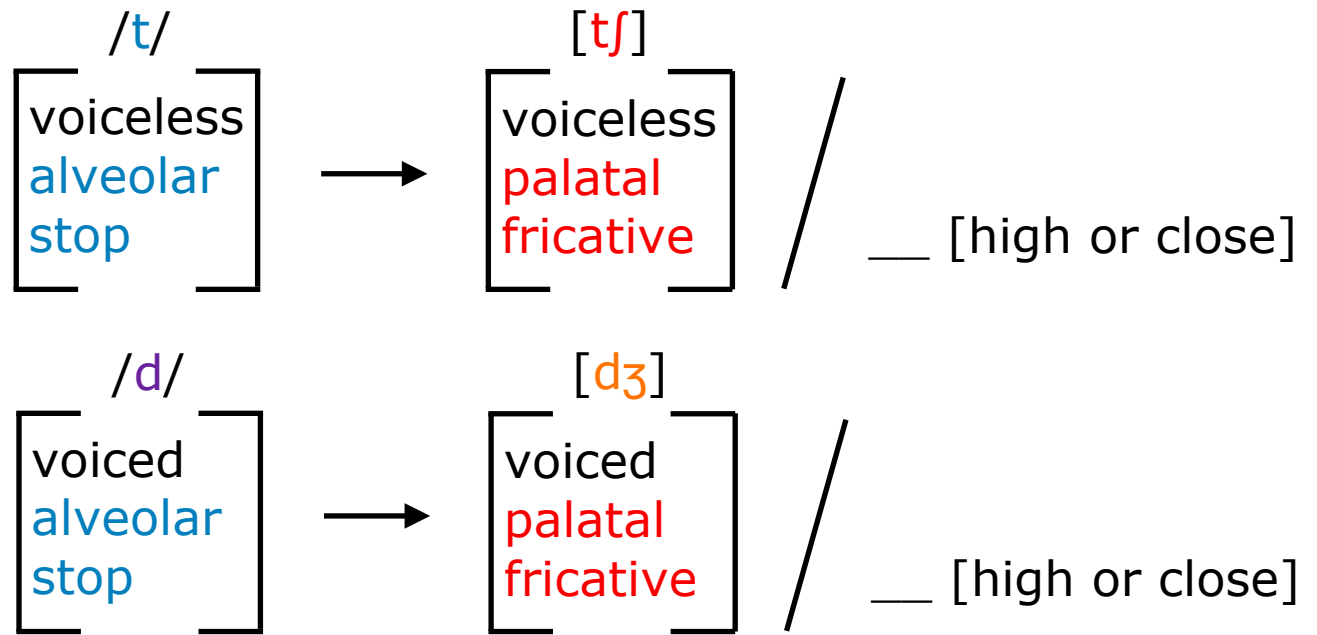
before	d	after	before	dʒ	after
ʍ	—	ʍ	#	—	i
ʍ	—	a	#	—	u
ɔ	—	s	#	—	i
i	—	#	?	—	
ʍ	—	t			
i	—	k			
a	—	m			
#	—	ɔ			
i	—	a			

The “before” environment for [d] is not a natural class because it mixes # with other sounds. The same is true for the “after” environment.

The “before” environment for [dʒ] is not a natural class because it mixes # with at least one other sound. But the “after” environment is all high vowels. So it is the same as what we saw for the voiceless phoneme!

# Tohono O'odham palatalization

So, instead of two rules like this:



We instead say that there is a single rule that applies to all alveolar stops, regardless of the voicing. We can write the rule like this:



This is described as “palatalization” or a “palatalization rule” because the place of articulation is moving back from the alveolar ridge to the palate.

And now the big question:  
How many different kinds of phonological  
rules are there?

# We want a **constrained** theory

The idea of having rules that let an underlying form change into a surface form is potentially very powerful. What I mean by that is it could make lots of things happen. For example, it could allow a /b/ to turn into a random other sound, like /k/. We probably don't want that.

When we look at all of the phonological rules that seem to occur in languages, we quickly see that they fall into just 7 types. And each of these types is a relatively small change (usually just 1 feature) and usually driven by the way articulation works! Here are the types of rules:

**assimilation:** The segment becomes more like to a nearby segment.

**dissimilation:** The segment becomes less similar to a nearby segment.

**fortition:** The segment becomes "stronger".

**lenition:** The segment becomes "weaker".

**epenthesis:** A new segment is inserted into the sequence.

**elision:** A segment is deleted from the sequence.

**metathesis:** The order of segments is changed.

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**changes the segment**

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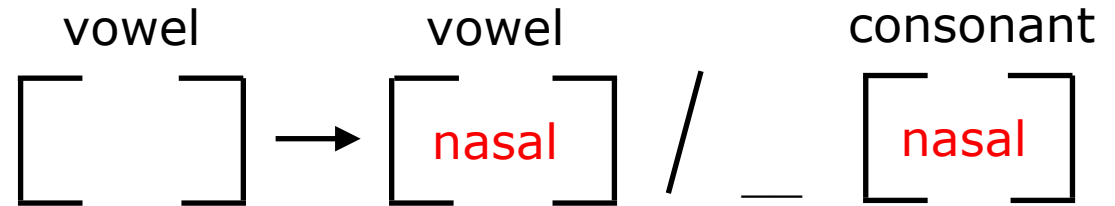
**changes the sequence**

# Examples of each rule

**assimilation:** The segment becomes more similar to a nearby segment.

## English nasal vowels

word	IPA
dean	dĩn
mean	mĩm
deed	diid
leap	lip



**dissimilation:** The segment becomes less similar to a nearby segment.

## Greek stops become fricatives

underlying	surface	meaning
epta	efta	"seven"
ktizma	xtizma	"building"



# Examples of each rule

## fortition:

The segment becomes “stronger”. Strong is metaphorical. It usually refers to some phonetic property “increasing”.

word	IPA
tooth	t <sup>h</sup> uwθ
tin	t <sup>h</sup> ɪn
stool	stuwɫ
sat	sæt

Aspiration in English is fortition. The length of the voicelessness is longer.

/t/ → [t<sup>h</sup>] / [syll \_\_\_]

## lenition:

The segment becomes “weaker”. Weak is metaphorical. It usually refers to some phonetic property “decreasing”.

word	IPA
water	wáɾɪ
atom	æɾam
hit	hɪt
put	pʊt

Flapping in English is lenition. The duration of the [ɾ] segment is shorter than [t] or [d].

/t/ → [ɾ] / [V] \_\_\_ [V]

# Examples of each rule

**epenthesis:** A new segment is inserted into the sequence.

Epenthesis is about the sequence. It occurs when a sequence wouldn't satisfy the phonotactic constraints. This is a common process when a language borrows a word from another language. For example, Japanese, which only allows CV syllables, borrowed English words with more complex syllables. Japanese inserts vowels to create CV syllables:

beer (bir) → biru  
CVC CV.CV

post → posuto  
CVCC CV.CV.CV



# Examples of each rule

**elision:** A segment is deleted from the sequence.

Elision is about the sequence. It occurs when a sequence wouldn't satisfy the phonotactic constraints. We already saw an example with borrowing - when English borrows words from Greek with certain onset sequences.

gnostic → nɑstɪk  
pneumonia → numəʊnyə

**metathesis** The order of segments is changed.

Metathesis is about the sequence. It occurs when a sequence wouldn't satisfy the phonotactic constraints. Classic examples will take some morphology to explain, so I don't want to do that today. But there is some mild metathesis in all languages, particularly around sequences that would be difficult to pronounce:

comfortable → ɔʌmfɪtəbəl

Notice the [ɹ] and [t] have switched order.