

John J. Ohala

University of California, Berkeley

In theories on the origins of sound change the speaker has usually been assigned the leading role: the speaker is claimed to have modified his pronunciation in order to reduce the energy expended in speaking, to have made his speech more distinct in order to make it more intelligible, to have simplified his grammar, etc. (Jespersen 1949:15ff; Martinet 1964:169ff; Halle 1962). Certainly it is true that the speaker plays an important role in sound change, although personally I do not think any of the above-mentioned activities are important aspects of this role (Ohala 1974a, 1975a; Hombert, Ohala, & Ewan 1979). Nevertheless, what about the listener? Does he play an essentially passive role--faithfully copying the pronunciations he hears, whether these have been altered by the speaker or not? In other words, is the listener just a pipeline for sound change? I suggest that the listener's role is far from passive and that a full understanding of the origins of sound change will require us to find out exactly what he's up to. In the process we may also understand speech perception better.

In this paper I am concerned only with sound changes which are attested in diverse, unrelated languages, i.e., those likely to have a phonetic origin. This excludes the language-specific and culture-specific sound changes such as might be precipitated by paradigm regularization, spelling pronunciations and the like.

Inherent Ambiguity in the Speech Signal

Although the listener has been neglected, he has not been completely ignored in discussions of the origins of sound change. From Sweet (1888) and Passy (1890) up to Durand (1956) it has been recognized that the many-to-one relationship between vocal tract shape and sound shape makes the acoustic speech signal inherently ambiguous with respect to how it was articulated. The listener is not always able to resolve this ambiguity and may, when he turns to speak, hit upon an articulation different from that used by other speakers. Thus we find sound changes such as those in (1), which

- (1) English "with" realized dialectally as [wɪθ] ~ [wɪf]
 Tibetan [sna] - Burmese [ɲna] "nose"
 Proto-Indo-European *g^wōws * Classical Greek hóws "cow"

involve alternations of sounds which are quite different in articulation but very close auditorily.

This is an important class of sound changes not only because of their large number but also because their phonetic basis is well documented and, in some cases, such sound changes have been duplicated in the laboratory (Wright 1980; Ohala and Amador 1981).

How to Handle the Noise in Speech

Inherent ambiguity in the speech signal is not the only problem the listener faces. *Speech is extremely noisy*. By this I do not mean that ambient noise--from traffic, the wind, birds' cries, etc.--masks speech. Rather, I mean that if one imagines that there is only one or at least just a small number of accepted pronunciations for each word in the lexicon, it is nevertheless true that there are seemingly an unlimited number of measurably different phonetic variants of each word in actual speech--much to the dismay of those trying to do automatic speech recognition. Since the listener has to make an exact identification of the words in the speech signal, all this variability makes speech noisy from his point of view.

Speech is noisy in another sense, too. The listener has another task besides that of identifying the words in the signal. At some point he is expected to speak, too. When he turns to speak he has to use the acoustic/auditory information received from other speakers to figure out how to make the same sounds himself. This is a trickier task than might at first be apparent. There are a great many features of pronunciation that are not under the active control of the speaker; they are, instead, added by the physical constraints of the speech production anatomy or even neuro-anatomy.

For example, it is well documented that there are small, systematic perturbations of pitch on vowels following voiced and voiceless consonants: slightly higher pitch on vowels following voiceless consonants and slightly lower pitch on vowels following voiced consonants (Ohala 1973, 1974a, 1978; Hombert, Ohala, & Ewan 1979). These perturbations are large enough to be detected and, in fact, if other cues are absent, can be used to differentiate voiced and voiceless consonants (or aspirated and unaspirated) (Fujimura 1971). Nevertheless, the best information we have at present suggests that these perturbations are not actively controlled by the speaker, i.e., we do not find any systematic difference in the level of activity of the chief laryngeal muscle for controlling pitch (Hirose and Gay 1972). Somehow these pitch differences are just automatic, mechanical consequences of the gestures needed to make the voiced/voiceless distinction.

Another example comes from the acoustic consequences of the interaction between consonants and vowels. As shown in Figure 1, the vocal tract shape for the vowel [u] produces a sound with a low formant 1 (F1) and formant 2 (F2). A dental/alveolar constriction, however, gives rise to a sound with a low F1 and an F2 at about 1800 Hz. If these two sounds are coarticulated F2 is largely determined by the apical constriction. As shown in the right of the figure,

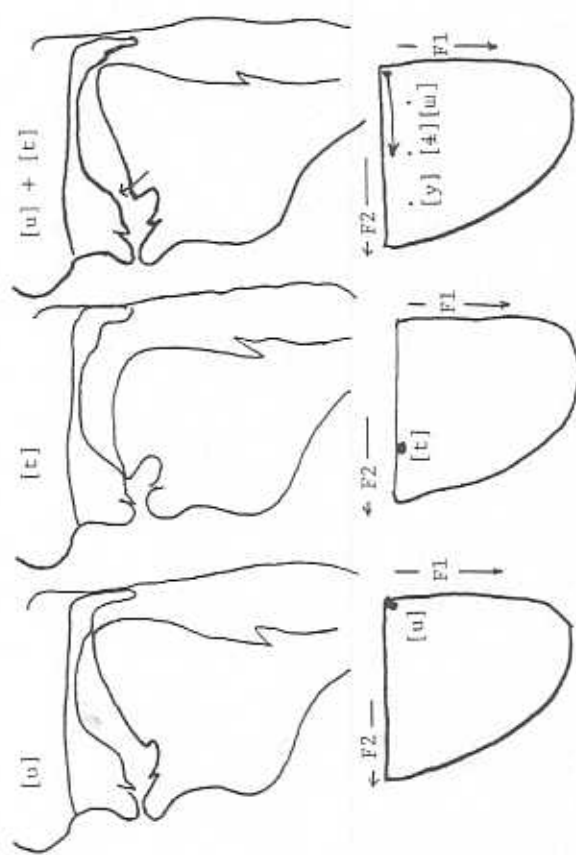


Figure 1. Vocal tract shape (top) and acoustic output (bottom) of [u], [t] and simultaneous coarticulation of [u] + [t].

this means that the vowel [u] or any back rounded vowel tends to be fronted on the acoustic/auditory vowel space when they appear in the environment of consonants like dentals which have a high F2. Depending on the degree of the dental constriction made simultaneously with the [u] configuration, the resulting vowel may sound like [u], [ɨ], or [y]. Extensive phonetic data, both from the laboratory and the field, support this (Lindblom 1963; Stevens & House 1963; Glasgow & Glasgow 1967). (It must be emphasized that the lingual constriction for the back vowel is not necessarily fronted--see Ohala (1974b)--; the fronting of these vowels takes place in the acoustic/auditory domain, not the articulatory domain.)

Many other examples could be given of how vocal tract constraints distort the signal intended by the speaker, that is, the form of a word as specified in the lexicon, which, in the case of a word like *soot*, would include no mention of [u], [ɨ], or [y]. The listener when he tries to repeat what he's heard must find out which of the many phonetic events in the acoustic signal he should actively control in his own articulation and which he should just "let happen" due to the mechanical properties of the vocal tract. In the examples given, he has to learn that the pitch differences after stops don't have to be controlled and that the vowel heard in the environment of dentals doesn't have to be an /u/, /ɨ/, or /y/, but can be articulated as a target /u/. Evidently the listener does learn these

things, no doubt as the result of years of experience in speaking and listening to the sounds of his language. A speaker of a language that makes no use of a given phonetic feature, however, is likely to be unfamiliar with the types of distortion that may accompany that feature, e.g., American English speakers are unlikely to know about the special tense voice quality that accompanies the production of Arabic [ʕ].

What evidence is there that listeners have this ability to "undo" or to factor out the distortions in speech? First, I would just like to argue for the plausibility of the claim based on the existence of similar perceptual skills in a different sensory modality: vision. The way we view objects can greatly distort their appearance as this is registered on the retina. Things viewed from a distance seem smaller than the same thing seen close up. The circular rim of a cup seen at certain angles forms an ellipse on the retina. A white object viewed under green light will be tinted green. Nevertheless through experience our brains can exploit contextual cues and successfully correct these distortions and thereby achieve what psychologists call *size, shape, and color constancy* (Gregory 1966). It is even possible for viewers to learn to "correct" the visual distortions created by their wearing special prismatic eyeglasses that invert the visual field, such that up is down and down is up (Kohler 1962). If the brain is capable of these reconstructions of a constant mental image from distorted sensory impressions, it does not stretch credibility that listeners can do the same kind of thing with speech.

Second, there is experimental evidence of this phenomenon. Ohala, Kawasaki, Riordan, and Caisse (forthcoming) looked for evidence of listeners' knowledge that the vowel /u/ would be fronted in dental environments. They synthesized short steady-state tokens of the vowels [ɨ] and [u] and six other vowels linearly interpolated between these two and the vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ] and eight vowels linearly interpolated between them. Each of these vowels were then placed between labial consonants, [f_p], and between dental/alveolar consonants, [s_t] and presented to American English listeners for a forced choice identification as /ɨ/ or /u/ for the one series or as /ɛ/ or /ɔ/ in the other series. The answer sheets on which subjects marked their responses made clear the consonantal environment of each token. The results are shown graphically in Figure 2.

Naturally there is a crossover point somewhere in the middle of these continua where listeners stop hearing front vowels and start hearing back vowels. But, as shown, this crossover point is further towards the front vowel end of the continua when the test vowels appeared in a dental/alveolar as opposed to a labial context. What this means is that listeners will accept as an /u/ or /ɔ/ a more fronted vowel if they can "blame" the phonetic context for this fronting. (See also Lindblom & Studdert-Kennedy 1967; Hiki, Sato, Igarashi, & Otzumi 1968; Fujisaki & Sekimoto 1975; Centemeyer 1975.)

In another experiment Kawasaki (1978) investigated listeners' judgements of the degree of perceived nasality of vowels as a func-

subject to coarticulation into something like [yt]. This version is transmitted to the listener who applies his "reconstructive" rules, which, it will be recalled, crucially depend on his having correctly perceived the environment causing the distortion, in this case the [t]. The listener therefore reconstructs the intended signal /ut/.

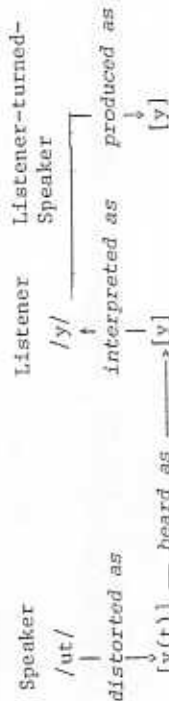
(By using the term 'rule' here I do not mean to put the listener's reconstructive process into the same category as the rules posited by traditional generative phonology and its offshoots. First, my reconstructive rules must operate on a highly variable input, i.e., features with continuous, not discrete, values and therefore not the same sort of features as those in the lexicon. Second, these rules do not function to take a more abstract representation and derive from it a less abstract representation; just the opposite. In this latter sense they may bear a superficial resemblance to the rules in "Upside-down phonology" (Leben 1979) except that reconstructive rules do not function to derive the allegedly common underlying form of different allomorphs, e.g., *profound*, *profundity*, but rather the common underlying forms of different allophones.)

There is, however, an obvious similarity between these reconstructive rules and the Motor Theory of speech perception (Liberman, Cooper, Shankweiler, & Studdert-Kennedy 1967). That theory was also motivated by the problem of the extreme variability in the acoustic shape of words, although the solution proposed to that problem under the Motor Theory seems unnecessarily extravagant: that the listener internally synthesizes vocal tract shapes--or the commands that would produce them--which would give rise to sounds matching the incoming acoustic speech signal and then attempts to find a match between those vocal tract shapes and some stored articulatory template. Much simpler computations could underlie the listener's reconstructions, e.g., something like the equations proposed by Lindblom (1963) which predict degree of formant undershoot given the duration of the vowel.)

Sound Change from Failure to Apply Reconstructive Rules

Now we may ask what would happen if for some reason the listener failed to detect the environment that causes the distortion. We can go through another scenario, (3), to find out. Again, the speaker

(3) Scenario 2.



intends to say /ut/ which, as before, may become distorted such that the vowel is more like [y]. Now, however, the [t] may be weakly articulated or unreleased or simply become masked by ambient noise

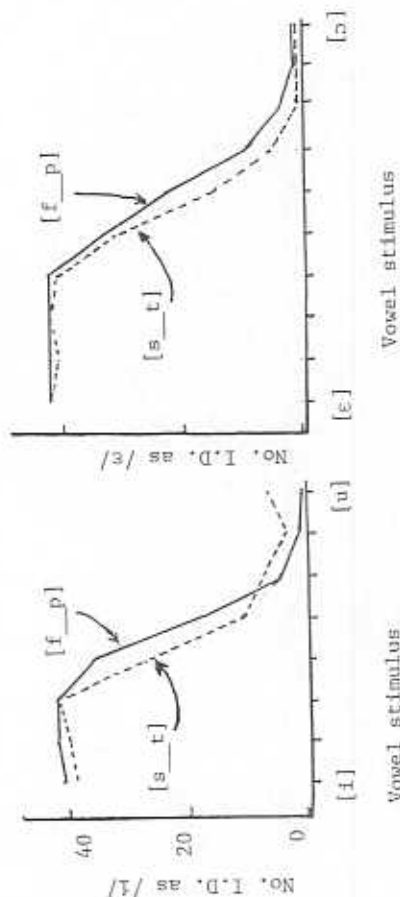


Figure 2. Identification of vowel quality as function of consonantal environment.

tion of the environment the vowels appear in. Starting with syllables like [m] and [m], she digitally processed them such that the nasal consonants had their amplitudes incrementally attenuated in 12 dB steps or were removed entirely. The vowels themselves were not modified in any way. American English listeners were asked to judge the degree of perceived nasalization on the vowels. She found an inverse correlation between perceived nasalization of the vowel and the extent of attenuation of the flanking nasal consonants. That is, the less evident perceptually the nasal consonants were, the more nasalized the vowels sounded and, conversely, the more evident the nasal consonants, the less was the perceived nasalization of the vowels. This is consistent with the notion that American English listeners consider vowel nasalization in such cases to be a distortion induced by the nasal consonants; upon detecting the source of the distortion, they can factor it out.

I will reiterate my claim in the form of a scenario, given in (2). A speaker intends to utter the sound sequence /ut/. (In this

(2) Scenario 1.



and subsequent diagrams I use the slashes, '...', in their modern sense to represent lexical forms; square brackets, '[...]', to mark surface phonetic forms.) This utterance may be distorted if it is

such that the signal is received by the listener as [y]. In this case the listener's reconstructive rules are inapplicable since they crucially depend upon perceiving and knowing the source of the distortion. Lacking this, no reconstruction is done and the utterance is interpreted as it was received, /y/. When this listener turns speaker he will in his most careful, minimally coarticulated pronunciation say simply [y]. Thus, a sound change would have occurred--or, if one wishes, a mini-sound change, since it would so far only involve one speaker-hearer. However, if this person's speech is copied by other speakers this mini-sound change could become a regular sound change, i.e., characteristic of a well-defined speech community. (I assume without further argument that the initiation of such sound changes is accomplished by the phonetic mechanism just described; their spread, however, is done by social means, e.g., borrowing, imitation, etc.)

I do not believe Scenario 2 is purely hypothetical. It is precisely the way a very large class of sound changes came about. Consider the data in (4) which provides evidence of a sound change very similar to that in (3). Written Tibetan reflects the pronunciation of approximately the 8th century. From the first two words in (4)

	Written Tibetan	Lhasa Tibetan	English Gloss
	gop	qhõ:	"price"
	nub	nu:	"west"
BUT:			
	lus	ly:	"body"
	bod	phõ:	"Tibet"
	ston	tã-	"autumn"

(Data from Michailovsky 1975; transcription simplified.)

It appears the back rounded vowels suffered no change in quality even though a following labial or velar consonant was lost. From the last three correspondences we see that dental consonants were also dropped in final position but in these cases the back rounded vowels were fronted. If these changes came about as schematized in Scenario 2, there are two ways to describe them: at the lexical level the word for "body" involved the change of /lus/ to /ly/, but at the phonetic level, assuming one starts with a maximally coarticulated form, [lyɔ] changes to [ly]. Thus, at the lexical level the change was two-fold: the change in the quality of the vowel and the loss of the segment, /s/, which caused the quality change. However, at the physical phonetic level there was really only one change: the dropping of the final consonant. The change in the vowel quality was there all along.

A great many other sound changes can be fitted into this mold: those in which the conditioning environment is lost at the same time as the conditioned change, but where modern phonetic studies show

that such conditioning--distorting--is phonetically a synchronic fact of life.

For example, tonal development on vowels in a number of languages around the world, notably Chinese, was triggered by loss of the voicing contrast in pre-vocalic consonants (Hombert, et al. 1979). As has been noted above, even non-tonal languages like English and French have phonetically different pitch contours on vowels following voiced and voiceless consonants. It was presumably this perturbation that formed the basis of the tonal developments in languages like Chinese.

Umlaut, e.g., /oki/ → /øk/, involves the simultaneous shift in the quality of a vowel and the loss of the palatal vowel that conditioned the shift. Modern phonetic studies show that in V1CV2 utterances, V2 can influence the phonetic quality of V1 (Ohman 1966).

Two points must be clarified. I do not claim that all these sound changes involving a shift in one segment conditioned by some conditioning environment, where phonetic studies can show a parallel but synchronic conditioned change, must necessarily show simultaneous loss of the conditioning environment. Vowel harmony results from sound changes that are very much akin to umlaut but in this case the conditioning environment is not lost. What I do claim in all these cases, whether the conditioning environment is lost or not, is that before the sound change occurs, the conditioning environment and the conditioned change are mechanically linked; the latter appears only if the former does and the listener knows this and can exploit this knowledge to undo the conditioned change. After the sound change the listener does not recognize the two as mechanically linked and the conditioned change exists independently of the conditioning environment. For ease of reference I will refer to these sound changes as the type involving "uncorrected distortion." Naturally, if the listener doesn't detect the conditioning environment, he won't be able to apply his knowledge of the link it has with other phonetic events. But there may be other reasons why listeners either fail to be aware of these links or if they are aware of them, fail to exploit them (Ohala, in press a).

I also do not claim that these uncorrected distortion-type of sound changes involve only the loss of the mechanical link between conditioned change and the conditioning environment. Some exaggeration and other qualitative changes in phonetic character of what was previously a distortion may also take place by mechanisms I have not discussed. For example, the tonal contrasts precipitated by loss of the voicing contrast in prevocalic consonants may be differentiated by larger pitch intervals than those previously caused by the physical phonetic constraints. Also, the [y] that our listener-turned-speaker in Scenario 2 utters is articulated with a single palatal constriction and thus differs from the vowel the speaker produced which just sounded like an [y] since it was made with a dental constriction superimposed on an [u].

reasons, must be non-nasal (Ohala 1975a, in press b).

This still leaves a great many interesting, indeed "classic" cases of dissimilation to deal with. I list some examples of dissimilation at a distance in (9).² (a) through (h) are cases of dissimilation as a process, i.e., where there has been a change in the phonetic form of words. Cases (i) through (k) are examples of "preventative" or "conservative" dissimilation where an expected sound change is blocked by dissimilation because had it proceeded it would have resulted in two similar sounds in the same word or morpheme. Cases (l) and (m) are of unknown origin but presumably come from one of the other two types.

The first problem that needs to be addressed is that unlike the Slavic and Shona cases in (7) and (8) the two sounds participating in dissimilation in (9) are not adjacent to each other. A vowel and sometimes additional sounds intervene. If one of the sounds caused dissimilation in the other it seemingly did so through "action at a distance", a concept which many phonologists, just as Newton, were unwilling to accept. But it seems unavoidable since as Sturtevant (1935) remarked a propos of Grassmann's Law, (9a, b):

It is scarcely possible that first the intervening vowel was...endowed with aspiration and that the prior consonant was then affected by the vowel.

The solution to this problem, I think, is to consider that what Sturtevant thought was 'scarcely possible' is possible and, in fact, is attested. The same is true for all of the other phonetic features which figure in dissimilation, whether "at a distance" or "in contact."

It is well known that some of the most important acoustic cues for primary place of articulation and certainly for secondary articulations are the formant transitions (of F2 and F3) which spread out from the point of onset or offset of the consonant into the preceding or following vowel, respectively. These formant transitions can be of varying durations from 30 msec on up to 60 msec or more (Lehiste & Peterson 1961). Thus, under certain conditions all of or a major fraction of vowel's total duration may be "colored" or distorted by these transitions (Lindblom 1963).

The acoustic cues for glottalized consonants have not been studied very extensively in the laboratory but there are reliable auditory analyses which suggest that a "tense" or "creaky" voice quality which appears on adjacent vowels is one of these cues. Keller (1959), in a description of Chontal, reports that vowels contiguous to glottalized consonants may be laryngealized and, significantly, that the laryngealization is greater between two such consonants than when just next to one.

In the case of voiced aspirated or breathy-voiced consonants, it is well known that an essential perceptual cue for them is the 40 to 50 msec of breathy-voiced phonation that spills out onto the following vowel. Furthermore, the fact, exemplified in (10), that

- (7) $m\bar{e}guk + \bar{a}jlsijl \rightarrow m\bar{e}gu\bar{c}\bar{a}jslj \rightarrow m\bar{e}gu\bar{c}\bar{u}j\bar{s}ijl$ "softest"
 $stoj + \bar{a}- \rightarrow stoj\bar{u}-$ "stand"

(Data from Darden 1970; transcription modified.)

it to /a/. See Andersen (1978) for an analogous, if somewhat more complicated case.

Another relevant example is given in (8) which presents evidence of a sound change in Shona. Here a labial-velar glide /w/ changed to /ɣ/ after labial consonants. Presumably listeners felt

- (8) Proto-Bantu Pre-Shona Shona *English Gloss*
 $*-bua \rightarrow *-hwa \rightarrow -bya$ "dog"
 $*-mu- \rightarrow kumwa \rightarrow kumya$ "to drink"

(Data from Guthrie 1967-70; Mkanganwi 1972.)

that the labial component of the /w/ was a predictable distortion introduced by the preceding labial consonant; they therefore factored it out. The velar component, however, could not be predicted by any contextual element and so it remained as /ɣ/.

These two cases, (7) and (8), are, of course, instances of dissimilation or more specifically, "contact" dissimilation or "immediate" dissimilation since the segment which was dissimilated was immediately adjacent to the segment responsible for the dissimilation. It is also known as "absorption." I believe it is possible to explain all cases of dissimilation proper, even so-called "distance dissimilation" (see below), as these two cases have been explained: as due to a misapplication of listeners' reconstructive rules.

Dissimilation proper consists of one of two speech sounds causing the other to lose one or more features which they share (Gramont 1965:269). By adding the term 'proper' in this definition I mean to exclude cases said to exhibit dissimilation but which fail to meet the criteria suggested by Togeby (1964). For example, to count as a serious candidate for classification as dissimilation, the sound that changes in the environment of the same or similar sound should not change in the same way when a similar sound is absent in the immediate environment. Many cases of alleged dissimilation were quite properly dismissed by Togeby for this reason. Also, we should not count as dissimilation sound changes better explained in other ways. Thus, cases of so-called epenthetic stops such as that in (8a), rather than being explained as cases of dis-

- (8a) *Farier* Spanish *vendre* ← Latin *ven(t)ire* "sell"

simulation of two abutting sonorants, are better explained as cases of assimilatory denasalization of the latter portion of the nasal before a segment (the /r/) which, for articulatory or acoustic

many of the "murmured" (i.e., breathy-voiced) vowels in Gujarati originated from earlier sequences of vowel + breathy-voiced consonant, shows that the breathy-voice feature could also spill over onto preceding vowels as well.

(10) Middle Indo-Aryan lab > Gujarati lab "benefit"

(Data from Dave 1970.)

Punjabi replaced Middle Indo-Aryan breathy-voiced consonants by tone on adjacent vowels; some otherwise puzzling aspects of this tonal development can be readily explained by assuming that the breathy-voice feature spilled over onto preceding as well as following vowels (Ohala 1973).

Even voiceless aspirated consonants can leave their trace on adjacent vowels without necessarily making them voiceless. Vowels near these consonants may be produced with a wider-than-normal glottis, even though fully voiced, and this slight glottal opening has detectable acoustic-auditory impact on the spectrum of the vowel: the bandwidth of the resonances is increased and the relative amplitude of some of the resonances is changed (Fant 1973; Fujimura & Lindqvist 1971; Ohala & Amador 1981). The usefulness of these features as cues for aspirated consonants needs to be investigated but I think a plausible case for their relevance can be made.

Therefore action at a distance is not involved and the cases in (9) reduce more or less to cases like those discussed under "contact" dissimilation, (7) and (8). That is, the shared feature of the two sounds spread onto the intervening segments and the listener erroneously attributed it to one but not both of the sounds. This is represented graphically in Figure 3.

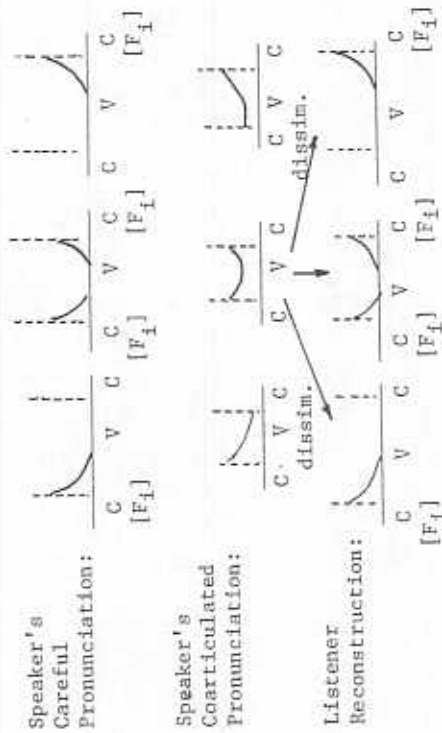


Figure 3. Parametric representation of how consonantal features spread over onto adjacent vowels.

(9) Examples of Dissimilation at a Distance.

LANGUAGE	SOURCE	EXAMPLE
(a) IE > Sanskrit	Grassmann (1863)	*bend > band- "bind"
(b) IE > Cl. Greek	Grassmann (1863)	*trik'os > trik'os "hair"
(c) Proto-Bantu > Sukuma	Guthrie (1967-70) Bennett (1967)	*takun- > -oak'hun "chew" (Note: Following Bennett I take this as a case of dissimilation of aspiration; the voicing change came later.)
(d) Latin > Italian	Grammont (1965)	quīnque > cīnque "five"
(e) Anc. Chinese > Cantonese	Karlgren (1923)	*pjam > pin "diminish"
(f) Proto-Quechuan > Tzutujil	Campbell (1977)	*k'aq > k'jaq "flea" (Cf. also Salishan (Kinkade 1973).)
(g) Proto-Quechuan > Quechua	Orr & Longacre (1968)	*t'ant'a > t'anta "bread" (Cf. also Lahu (Matisoff 1970).)
(h) Latin > Provencal	Togoby (1964)	meretrīce > meltritz
(i) Pre-Mam > Mam	J. Robertson (p.c.)	*k'ijbisa > k'ijbisa- "to puncture (with cactus needle)" (for expected *t'ijbisa-.)
(j) Sanskrit	Allen (1951)	sarsrāṇa (for expected *sarsrāṇa.)
(k) IE > Latin	Meillet & Vendryes (1924)	dwēno > dēnus "while, until" (for expected *dēnus.)
(l) Arabic	Lehn (1963)	*(C V C) [phar.] [pbar.]
(m) Yao	Purnell (1965)	*(C ^w V C) [lab]

Cf. also: Greenberg (1950) on Arabic; Cowan (1969) on Narragansett; Longacre (1962) on Proto-Popolucan-Mixtecan; Schachter & Fromkin (1968) on Fante; Holmer (1949) on Arawak; Makarovskij (1962/3) on Limba; Allen (1962) on Hārautī; Hashimoto (1970) on Ancient Chinese.

So far I have just argued for the plausibility of the claim that the dissimilating feature could spread over onto intervening segments. What evidence is there that this *did* actually happen in the cases of dissimilation listed in (9). We should not expect it to be easy to get this type of evidence since the dissimilating feature belongs to the consonant and is present on the intervening segments only as a consonantly-induced distortion. As such, the feature is one which, as I have argued above, listeners should factor out of the vowel. It would not normally be expected to leave any trace of itself on these medial segments. Nevertheless, indirect evidence does exist to support my claim in some of the cases in (9).

In the case of Latin *qu*thque > Italian *cinque*, (9d), we require evidence that the vowel intervening between the labio-velars /k^w...k^w/ was rounded by these consonants. Devine and Stephens (1977:37-42) provided this evidence, some of it direct testimony by Latin grammarians.

Yao, as indicated in (9m), repeated in (11a), has a morpheme structure constraint prohibiting morphemes having an initial labialized consonant and ending in a labial. However, it also has a constraint against morphemes with an initial labialized consonant followed by a rounded vowel, as indicated in (11b). The perturbation

(11) (a) *(C^w V C)
 [lab]

(b) *(C^w V)
 [round]

tion a labial or labial-velar would induce in a neighboring vowel would be a lowered F2 and/or F3. Rounded vowels also have lowered F2 and/or F3 (vis-a-vis other vowels). If we assume, as I have argued, that the dissimilation represented in (11a) came about due to the effects of the final labial consonant coloring the preceding vowel, then both (11a) and (11b) can be collapsed and expressed more generally as in (12) which simply says that an initial labialized consonant may not be followed by a vowel with a lowered F2/F3, whether this is an inherent feature or a perturbation induced by the following labial consonant. (A similar generalization may be

(12) *(C^w V)
 [lowered F2/F3]

made for Cantonese (Hashimoto 1972) which not only prohibits labial final consonants in syllables beginning with labials or labial velars, but also prohibits certain rounded vowels from following those same initials.)

The Quichean dissimilation of back velars, noted in (9f), elaborated in (13), failed to occur if the intervening vowel was round. To understand this pattern we must recall that the way a back velar distorts a neighboring vowel is by lowering its F2 (like a labial, which is why both places of articulation are classified as [grave])

(13)	Proto-Quichean	Tzutujil	English Gloss
	kəɪx	> k'jəɪx	"horse"
	k'aq	> k'jaq	"flea"
	BUT:		
	koxl	> kox	"cougar"
	k'ox	> k'oɪx	"mask"

(Data from Campbell 1977.)

in the Jakobsonian feature system (Jakobson, Fant, & Halle 1963)) (Klatt & Stevens 1969). But a back velar cannot distort a vowel like [o] which has an F2 which is already as low as possible. One could say that the vowel [o] is "saturated" with low F2 and therefore a lowered F2, as a property attributable to the consonant, could not have spread onto the vowel. This limitation would not apply to the other vowels and so we may assume that the feature of lowered F2 *did* spread onto them.

There are also two interesting meta-patterns that cases of dissimilation exhibit which, as far as I know, have not been pointed out before, let alone accounted for, but which follow naturally from the hypothesis I have presented for the mechanism of dissimilation.

I have proposed that only those consonantal features should participate in dissimilation which have important perceptual cues spreading onto adjacent segments, especially vowels. Conversely, dissimilation should therefore not involve features of consonants which do not spill over onto adjacent segments. Taking into account the results of a wide variety of perceptual studies, I would offer the predictions stated in (14) regarding which features could be found in dissimilation, which could not, and two which I am uncertain how to classify. From personal familiarity of over 30 cases of dissimilation at a distance, I find that the vast majority involve features which I predict (post hoc, perhaps) could participate

(14)	Likely to dissimilate:	Labialization
		uvularization
		pharyngealization
		palatalization
		retroflexion
		place of articulation
		glottalization
		aspiration
		fricative
		affricate
		stop
		voice
		nasal(ization)
		lateral
	Not likely to	
	dissimilate:	
		???

in dissimilation.

Nasalization) is in the "question mark" category because although nasal consonants do have perceptually relevant acoustic cues spreading onto adjacent vowels, i.e., nasalization, dissimilation should occur only if this is a perceptual cue that outweighs the perceptual cues provided by the nasal consonant itself (reduced amplitude, the nasal "murmur", etc.). This may happen in some languages. Laterals are in the same category because laterality *per se* cannot spill over onto adjacent segments. Laterals do, however, have prominent formant transitions on adjacent vowels (Lehiste 1964) but it is not clear what value these have as perceptual cues for these consonants. There are, nevertheless, well-known cases of dissimilation of laterals, one of which, from Latin, is given in (15).

(15) liberalis familiaris
 mortalis popularis
 BUT

It is obvious why, according to my hypothesis, we should not expect to find dissimilation of the features [fricative], [affricate], and [stop]: none of them have major perceptual cues on adjacent segments. The feature [voice] is in this category, too, because although voicing obviously can be carried on vowels and other segments adjacent to voiced consonants, the voicing on the vowel does not serve as a perceptual cue to the voicing on the consonant.

Posner (1961) who surveyed instances--some critics would say "apparent instances" (Togeby 1964)--of dissimilation in Romance, concluded that the evidence for dissimilation of the features [stop], [fricative], [affricate], and [voice] is most equivocal.

There are at least two troublesome counterexamples to the predictions in (14), which I am aware of. One of these is Thurneysen's Law in Gothic (Jellinek 1926) in which the feature of [voice] on medial fricatives takes on a value opposite to that of the preceding consonant, as exemplified in (16). In Ohala (1979) I suggested that this case might be reanalyzed as the product of a prosodic phenomenon which required that long and short syllables (with long and short constituent segments, respectively) alternate sequentially in the word. For aerodynamic reasons a long obstruent closure favors voicelessness, a short obstruent closure, voicing. This is, in fact, the probable phonetic basis for the variation in voicing of medial obstruents captured in Verner's Law. Flickinger (1981) has independently reached the same conclusion and has given an elegant marshalling of the philological data which support it. I am convinced by his arguments and therefore do not regard the Gothic case as a counterexample to my hypothesis.

(16) waldufni
 riqza
 naggðai

The other counterexample comes from sound changes described by Dyen (1972) from Proto-Austronesian to Ngaju-Dayak, exemplified in

(17), where two /s/'s in a form lead to the dissimilation of the first.

(17) Proto-Austronesian	Malay	Ngaju-Dayak	English	Gloss
	*sɨsɨk	> sɨsəʔ	tɨsɨk	"fish-scale"
	*susu	> susu	tusu	"breast"

There are a number of possible resolutions of the conflict between my hypothesis and these (or any other) counterexamples:

- 1) discard my hypothesis,
- 2) reanalyze the counterexamples to show that they are not really counterexamples (such as was done for Thurneysen's Law in Gothic),
- 3) modify the hypothesis and the ancillary assumptions it is based on, e.g., by finding, perhaps, that fricatives do have important perceptual cues on adjacent vowels, and
- 4) allow that dissimilation may come about due to more than one mechanism.

Since there several as yet untried ways to rescue my hypothesis I do not feel any compulsion to discard it at present.

To digress, I would point out that the predictions in (14) have some possibly interesting implications for the reconstruction--or, one may say, the re-reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European series of what are traditionally treated as voiced stops. As is well known, PIE roots exhibit a number of remarkable co-occurrence restrictions between initial and final consonants. Among these is the non-occurrence of two voiced stops in the same root (Meillet 1964). If this is an accurate account it constitutes yet another counterexample to my hypothesis. But Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1973), Gamkrelidze (1975, 1979), and Hopper (1973) have questioned the identification of this series as consisting of voiced stops since, if they were, the series exhibits the typologically very odd behavior of having no */b/ (or at least a poorly represented */b/). Lack of a labial, however, is typologically common among voiceless, including voiceless glottalized series of obstruents, and thus these authors propose that this series was instead one of ejectives, i.e., /t',k'/. If these obstruents were ejectives or glottalized in some way, then the dissimilatory relationship between initial and final consonants would no longer be an exception to my hypothesis. Glottalization is one of the features predicted to participate in dissimilation; Quechua and Lahu, cited in (9E), constitute precedents.

The second meta-pattern shown by cases of dissimilation is one that contrasts with the patterns shown by sound changes which I have called cases of "uncorrected distortion". As schematized in Scenario 2 (3), some instances of this type of sound change involve the simultaneous conditioned change along with the loss of the conditioning environment. In cases of dissimilation, however, by the

very nature of the mechanism I propose for it, the conditioning environment could not be lost as part of the change--at least not at the same time. Thus, we should not find cases like those in (18), which are hypothetical remodellings of (9a) and (9d). This

- (18) bend > bon (where the loss of the dissimilating segment is only found in cases where it had caused dissim.)
 .."
 kwinkwe > kine

is so because I assume that dissimilation could only occur if the listener detected the segment which could be "blamed" for creating a distortion which would match the distinctive feature on the dissimilated segment. All the cases of dissimilation I know of adhere to this prediction, i.e., changes like those in (18) are not found.

Dissimilation also has a visual analogue. One class of probable examples are the many forms of visual illusions, one of which, a variant of the Hering figure, is given in Figure 4. Most viewers see the square which is superimposed on a background of concentric circles as having slightly inward-curving sides. In fact, the sides are straight. According to one theory (Gregory 1966) the circles lead the viewer to think he is looking at a projection of a spherical surface and that the square is projected on that surface. If this were really true the mid parts of the square's sides would indeed be curved as imagined. In other words, the viewer's brain misapplies visual constancy rules in the interpretation of the figure. Another less controversial example is ordinary camouflage. A white rabbit sitting in a snowdrift may be essentially invisible even though the viewer may be gazing directly at the patch of white contributed by the rabbit's fur. The viewer mistakenly attributes that patch of white to the background white of the snow. Likewise, to recall the Shona example in (8), the listener mistakenly attributed the labial component of the /w/ to the "background" labial consonant and thus failed to "hear" it (strictly speaking, he heard it but failed to recognize it as something distinct from the background). The labial glide was thus camouflaged by the labial consonant.

Why, it may be asked, should our brains maintain and use these reconstructive rules, both visual and phonological, if they sometimes give false information? The answer is that in the overwhelming majority of cases they give the right results: they do allow us to achieve perceptual constancy in spite of extreme stimulus variability. This may be the reason why dissimilation is far less common and less regular than other types of sound change. If they were a common source of listener and viewer error, then presumably they would not be used.

Conclusion

I have tried to marshal evidence that the listener plays an important role in sound change. First, the listener recognizes and thus factors out of the speech signal inherent phonetic variability

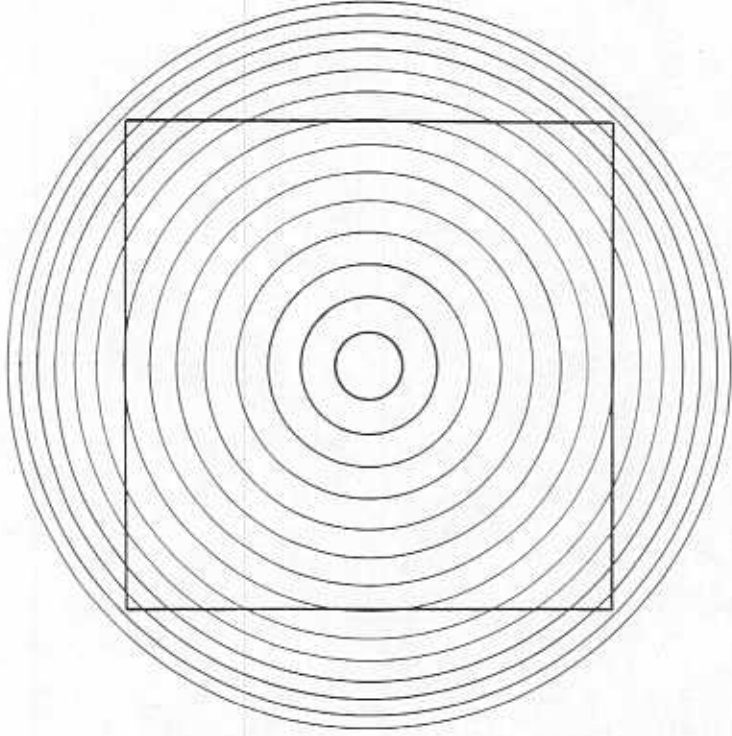


Figure 4. A variant of the Hering figure.

that would, except for his vigilance, have led to sound change. Second, the listener unknowingly participates in sound change by faithfully copying inherent phonetic variation. Third, in a few cases the listener triggers sound change by misapplying the reconstructive rules that serve to correct phonetic variability. In all these cases teleology has been reduced to a bare minimum: I assume only that speaker and hearer are interested in communicating and will pronounce words only as they have heard them (or think they have heard them) pronounced by others. Any teleological principles more powerful than that, e.g., that pronunciation is altered to make it easier, are premature and unnecessary.

My purpose in citing analogues from visual perception was not just expository. I believe that many of the principles of speech perception are similar to those used in visual perception. To the extent that we understand how perception works in one of these domains, we may well be on our way to understanding how it works in the other. Those who practice linguistics as an autonomous discipline, never straying from their dictionaries, texts, or even field notebooks,

make the task of finding out how language works a very difficult undertaking and also a much less exciting one.

Acknowledgements

Portions of this research were supported by grants from the National Science Foundation and from the Committee on Research, University of California, Berkeley. Earlier versions of this paper were presented to the 1979 Annual meeting of the Linguistics Society of America, the Department of Linguistics, Brigham Young University, and the Linguistics Undergraduate Committee and the Historical Linguistics Study Group, Berkeley. I am grateful to those audiences for helpful comments and suggestions. I thank in particular the following individuals who have helped me assemble and understand the data necessary for such investigations in phonological universals: Madison Beeler, Michelle Caisse, Lyle Campbell, William Cowan, Bill Darden, Eva Ejerhed, James Fox, Mark Gimpel, Haruko Kawasaki, Ian Maddieson, Yakov Malkiel, Carol Riordan, John Robertson, and Royal Skousen. I assume responsibility for the accuracy of the data and for the views expressed.

Footnotes

- 1 If two segments are similar in several features, dissimilation may lead to the complete elimination of one of the segments. This, I believe, is the reason for the frequent absence in languages of the world of phoneme sequences like /wɪ/, /jɪ/, and /dɪ-/.
- 2 Although I do not explicitly treat tonal dissimilation (e.g., in Hausa, cf. Hyman & Schuh 1974) and vowel dissimilation (e.g., in Finnish, Tswana, and Tamil), I think they can, in general, be accounted for by principles similar to these I invoke for consonantal dissimilation.
- 3 The spread of such features onto adjacent segments, although motivated by physical constraints of the vocal tract, is to some extent controllable by the speaker. Thus, a phonetic study of pronunciation of words in Yoruba, a tone language, shows the same kind of consonantly-induced pitch perturbations as have been found in English and French, non-tone languages, but they are shorter than those found in the latter two (Hombert et al. 1979).

References

- Allen, W. S. 1951. Some prosodic aspects of retroflexion and aspiration in Sanskrit. *BSOAS* 13. 939-946.
- Allen, W. S. 1962. Aspiration in the Harauti nominal. In: J. R. Firth (ed.), *Studies in Linguistic analysis*. [Special volume of the Philological Society] Oxford: Blackwell's. 68-86.
- Andersen, H. 1978. Perceptual and conceptual factors in abductive

- innovations. In: J. Fisiak (ed.), *Recent developments in historical phonology*. The Hague: Mouton. 1-22.
- Bennett, P. R. 1967. Dahl's law and Thagicu. *African Lang. Studies* 8.127-159.
- Campbell, L. 1977. Quichean linguistic prehistory. [University of California Publications in Linguistics, No. 81.] Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Centmayer, K. 1975. Interrelations of vowel perception and linguistic context. In: G. Fant & M. A. A. Tatham (eds.), *Auditory analysis and perception of speech*. New York: Academic Press. 143-152.
- Cowan, W. 1969. PA *a', *k and *t in Narragansett. *IJAL* 35.28-33.
- Darden, B. J. 1970. The fronting of vowels after palatals in Slavic. *CLS* 6.459-470.
- Dave, R. 1970. A formant analysis of the clear, nasalized, and murmured vowels in Gujarati. *Indian Linguistics* 28.1-30.
- Devine, A. M. & Stephens, L. D. 1977. Two studies in Latin phonology. *Saratoga: Anna Libri*.
- Durand, M. 1956. Du rôle de l'auditeur dans la formation des sons du langage. *J. de Psychologie Normale et Pathologique* 52.347-355.
- Dyren, I. 1972. Non-gradual regular phonetic changes involving sibilants. In: J. M. C. Thomas & L. Bernot (eds.), *Langues et techniques, nature et société*. Vol. 1: *Approche linguistique*. Paris: Klincksieck. 95-99.
- Fant, G. 1973. The acoustics of speech. In: G. Fant, *Speech sounds and features*. Cambridge: MIT Press. 3-16.
- Flickinger, D. P. 1981. Dissimilation in Gothic without Thurneysen's Law. *CLS* 17.
- Fujimura, O. 1971. Remarks on stop consonants--synthesis experiments and acoustic cues. In: L. L. Hammerich, R. Jakobson, & E. Zwirner (eds.), *Form and substance. Phonetic and linguistic papers presented to Eli Fischer-Jørgensen*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag. 221-232.
- Fujimura, O. & Lindqvist, J. 1971. Sweep-tone measurements of vocal-tract characteristics. *J. Acous. Soc. Am.* 49.541-558.
- Fujisaki, H. & Sekimoto, S. 1975. Perception of time-varying resonance frequencies in speech and non-speech stimuli. *Annual Bulletin, Research Inst. of Logopedics and Phoniatrics [Univ. of Tokyo]* 9.127-136.
- Gamkrelidze, T. V. 1975. On the correlation of stops and fricatives in a phonological system. *Lingua* 35.231-261.
- Gamkrelidze, T. V. 1979. Hierarchical relations among phonemic units as phonological universals. *Proceedings, Ninth International Cong. of Phonetic Sciences, Copenhagen*. Vol. 2. Copenhagen: Institute of Phonetics. 9-15.
- Gamkrelidze, T. V. & Ivanov, V. V. 1973. *Sprachtypologie und die Rekonstruktion der gemeinindogermanischen Verschlüsse*. *Phonetica* 27.
- Glasgow, D. & Glasgow, K. 1967. The phonemes of Burera. *Papers in Australian Linguistics*, No. 1 [Pacific Linguistics, Series

- A. Occasional Papers No. 10]. 1-14.
Grammont, M. 1965. *Traité de phonétique*. Paris: Librairie Delagrave.
- Grassmann, H. 1863. Ueber die Aspiraten und ihr gleichzeitiges Vorhandensein im An- und Auslaute der Wurzeln. *Z. f. v. Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete des Deutschen, Griechischen und Lateinischen* 12.2.81-138.
Greenberg, J. H. 1950. The patterning of root morphemes in Semitic. *Word* 6.162-181.
- Greenlee, M. & Ohala, J. J. 1980. Phonetically motivated parallels between child phonology and historical sound change. *Language Sciences* 2.283-308.
- Gregory, R. L. 1966. Eye and brain. The psychology of seeing. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Guthrie, M. 1967-70. *Comparative Bantu*. 4 vols. Farmborough: Gregg.
- Haden, E. F. 1938. The physiology of French consonant changes. *Language Dissertations* 26.
- Halle, M. 1962. Phonology in generative grammar. *Word* 18.54-72.
- Hashimoto, M. J. 1970. Internal evidence for Ancient Chinese palatalized endings. *Language* 46.336-365.
- Hashimoto, O. Y. 1972. *Phonology of Cantonese*. [Studies in Yue dialects, No. 1] Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Hiki, S., Sato, H., Igarashi, T., & Oizumi, J. 1968. Dynamic model of vowel perception. *Proceedings, 6th Internat'l. Cong. on Acoustics, Tokyo*, Vol. 2. pp. B-87-B-90.
- Hirose, H. & Gay, T. 1972. The activity of the intrinsic laryngeal muscles in voicing control. An electromyographic study. *Phonetica* 25.140-164.
- Holmer, N. M. 1949. Gojiro (Arawak) II: Nouns and associated morphemes; III: Verbs and associated morphemes. *IJAL* 15. 110-120; 145-157.
- Hombert, J.-M., Ohala, J. J., & Ewan, W. G. 1979. Phonetic explanations for the development of tones. *Language* 55.37-58.
- Hopper, P. J. 1973. *Glottalized and murmured occlusives in Indo-European*. *Glossa* 7.
- Hyman, L. M. & Schuh, R. G. 1974. Universals of tone rules: evidence from West Africa. *Linguistic Inquiry* 5.81-115.
- Jakobson, R., Fant, G. & Halle, M. 1963. *Preliminaries to speech analysis*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Jaykin, R. 1979. *Phonetic universals and phonological change*. Report of the Phonology Laboratory [Berkeley] 4.
- Jellinek, M. H. 1926. *Geschichte der Gotischen Sprache*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Jespersen, O. 1949. *Efficiency in linguistic change*. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard.
- Karlgren, B. 1923. *Analytic dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- Kawasaki, H. 1978. The perceived nasality of vowels with gradual attenuation of adjacent nasal consonants. Paper presented at 96th meeting of Acoustical Soc. of America, Honolulu. [Abstract

- in: *J. Acous. Soc. Am.* 64.819 (1978)].
- Keller, K. C. 1959. The phonemes of Chontal (Mayan). *IJAL* 25.44-53.
- Klatt, D. H. & Stevens, K. N. 1969. *Pharyngeal consonants*. Quarterly Progress Report, Research Laboratory of Electronics [M.I.T.] 93.207-216.
- Kohler, I. 1962. Experiments with goggles. *Scientific American* 206.62-72.
- Leben, W. R. 1979. The phonological component as a parsing device. In: D. A. Dinnsen (ed.), *Current approaches to phonological theory*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 174-201.
- Lehiste, I. 1964. *Acoustical characteristics of selected English consonants*. *IJAL* Publication 34.
- Lehiste, I. & Peterson, G. E. 1961. Transitions, glides, and diphthongs. *J. Acous. Soc. Am.* 33.268-277.
- Lehm, W. 1963. *Emphasis in Cairo Arabic*. *Language* 39.29-39.
- Liberman, A. M.; Cooper, F. S.; Shankweiler, D. P., & Studdert-Kennedy. 1967. Perception of the speech code. *Psychological Review* 74.431-461.
- Lightner, T. M. 1970. Why and how does vowel nasalization take place? *Papers in Linguistics* 2.179-226.
- Lindblom, B. 1963. Spectrographic study of vowel reduction. *J. Acous. Soc. Am.* 35.1773-1781.
- Lindblom, B. & Studdert-Kennedy, M. 1967. On the role of formant transitions in vowel recognition. *J. Acous. Soc. Am.* 42.830-843.
- Longacre, R. E. 1962. *Amplification of Gudschinsky's Proto-Popolucan-Mixtecan*. *IJAL* 28.227-242.
- Martinet, A. 1964. *Elements of general linguistics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Meillet, A. 1964. *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes*. University: University of Alabama Press.
- Meillet, A. & Vendryes, J. 1924. *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Edouard Champion.
- Michalovsky, B. 1975. On some Tibeto-Burman sound changes. *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting, Berkeley Linguistics Society* 1.322-332.
- Miranda, R. V. 1974. Sound change and other phonological change. *Minnesota Working Papers in Linguistics and Philosophy of Language* 2.49-81.
- Mukarovsky, H. G. 1962/63. *Abriss einer Lautlehre des Limba*. *Archiv für Völkerkunde*. 17/18.161-178.
- Mkanganwi, K. G. 1972. The relationships of coastal Ndaou to the Shona dialects of the interior. *African Studies* 31.111-137.
- Ohala, J. J. 1973. The physiology of tone. In: L. M. Hyman (ed.), *Consonant types and tone*. Southern Calif. Occasional Papers in Linguistics 1.2-14.
- Ohala, J. J. 1974a. *Experimental historical phonology*. In: J. M. Anderson & C. Jones (eds.), *Historical linguistics II. Theory and description in phonology*. Proceedings of the first international conf. on historical linguistics. Edinburgh. 2-7 Sept. 1973. Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Co. 353-369.

- Ohala, J. J. 1974b. Phonetic explanation in phonology. In: A. Bruck, R. A. Fox, & M. W. LaGaly (eds.), *Papers from the para-session on Natural Phonology*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society. 251-274.
- Ohala, J. J. 1975a. Phonetic explanations for nasal sound patterns. In: C. A. Ferguson, L. M. Hyman, & J. J. Ohala (eds.), *Nasalfest: Papers from a symposium on nasals and nasalization*. Stanford: Language Universals Project. 289-316.
- Ohala, J. J. 1975b. How a study of sound change can aid in automatic speech recognition. In: G. Fant (ed.), *Speech communication. Proceedings of the Speech Communication Seminar*. Stockholm, 1-3 August 1974. Vol. 3: Speech perception and automatic recognition. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. 299-302.
- Ohala, J. J. 1978. The production of tone. In: V. A. Fromkin (ed.), *Tone: a linguistic survey*. New York: Academic Press. 5-39.
- Ohala, J. J. 1979. The phonetics of dissimilation: a hypothesis. Paper presented at the 54th annual meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, Los Angeles, 27-29 December 1979.
- Ohala, J. J. 1980. The application of phonological universals in speech pathology. In: N. J. Lass (ed.), *Speech and language. Advances in basic research and practice*. Vol. 3. New York: Academic Press. 75-97.
- Ohala, J. J. 1981. The nonlinguistic components of speech. In: J. K. Darby (ed.), *Speech evaluation in psychiatry*. New York: Grune & Stratton. 39-49.
- Ohala, J. J. In press a. Articulatory constraints on the cognitive representation of speech. In: T. Myers, J. Laver, & J. Anderson (eds.), *The cognitive representation of speech*. Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Co.
- Ohala, J. J. In press b. The origin of sound patterns in vocal tract constraints. In: P. F. MacNeilage (ed.), *The production of speech*. New York: Springer.
- Ohala, J. J. & Amador, M. 1981. Spontaneous nasalization. Paper delivered at 101st meeting of the Acoustical Soc. of Am., 18-22 May 1981, Ottawa. [Abstract in: *J. Acous. Soc. Am.* 69.854-S55.]
- Ohala, J. J., Kawasaki, H., Riordan, C., & Gaisse, M. Forthcoming. The influence of consonant environment upon the perception of vowel quality.
- Öhman, S. E. G. 1966. Coarticulation in VCV utterances: spectrographic measurements. *J. Acous. Soc. Am.* 39.151-168.
- Ort, C. & Longacre, R. E. 1968. Proto-Quechumaran. *Language* 44. 528-555.
- Passy, P. 1890. *Étude sur les changements phonétiques*. Paris: Librairie Firmin-Didot.
- Posner, R. R. 1961. Consonantal dissimilation in the Romance languages. [Publications of the Philological Society, No. 19] Oxford: Blackwell's.

- Purnell, H. C., Jr. 1965. Phonology of a Yao dialect spoken in the province of Chiengrai, Thailand. *Hartford Studies in Linguistics*, No. 15.
- Schachter, P. & Fromkin, V. 1968. A phonology of Akan: Akuapem, Asante and Fante. *Working Papers in Phonetics* [UCLA] 9.
- Stevens, K. N. & House, A. S. 1963. Perturbation of vowel articulations by consonantal context: an acoustical study. *J. Speech & Hearing Research* 6.111-128.
- Sturtevant, E. H. 1935. Vowel assimilation or ablaut in certain Hitite words. *Language* 11.175-184.
- Sweet, H. 1888. *History of English sounds*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Togeb, K. 1964. Qu'est-ce que la dissimilation? *Romance Philology* 17.642-667.
- Wright, J. T. 1980. The behavior of nasalized vowels in the perceptual vowel space. Report of the Phonology Laboratory [Berkeley] 5.127-163.

Addenda:

- Kipkade, M. D. 1973. The alveopalatal shift in Cowlitz Salish. *LJAL* 39.224-231.
- Matsoff, J. A. 1970. Glottal dissimilation and the Lahu high-rising tone: a tonogenetic case-study. *J. Am. Oriental Soc.* 90.13-44.