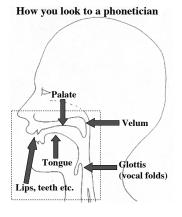
Language & the Mind LING240 Summer Session II 2005

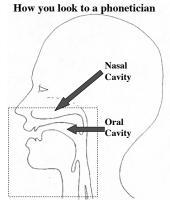
Lecture 5 Sounds

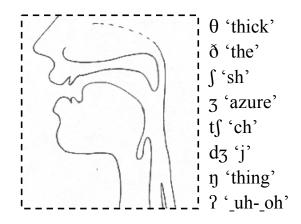
Sound Production











Forget Spelling! Sounds ≠ Spelling

One Sound - Many Characters

h <u>e</u>	е	s <u>ea</u> s	ea
bel <u>ie</u> ve	ie	am <u>oe</u> ba	oe
C <u>ae</u> sar	ae	k ey	ey
s <u>ee</u>	ee	mach <u>i</u> ne	i
p <u>eo</u> ple	eo	s <u>ei</u> ze	ei

Interantioanl Phonetic Alphabet: [i]

One Sound - Many Characters

t <u>oo</u>	00	thr <u>ew</u>	ew
t <u>o</u>	0	lieu	ieu
cl <u>ue</u>	ue	sh <u>oe</u>	oe
thr ough	ough		

IPA: [u]

One Character - Many Sounds

e
æ
a
э
1, Э
ε

One Sound - Multiple Letters

<u>sh</u> oot	ſ
ei <u>th</u> er	ð
<u>ch</u> aracter	k
d <u>ea</u> l	i
<u>Th</u> omas	t
ph ysics	f
rou gh	f

One Letter - 0, 1, 2 Sounds

mnemonic psychology resign ghost island whole debt

cute [kjuwt]

Differences across Languages

- English: judge, juvenile, Jesus [dʒ]
- Spanish: jugar, Jesus [h]
- German: Jugend, jubeln, Jesus [j]
- French: Jean, j'accuse, jambon [3]



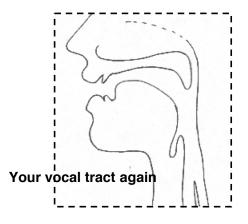
Major division: consonants vs vowels

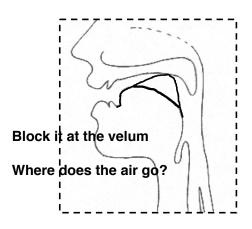
- Consonantal sounds: narrow or complete closure somewhere in the vocal tract.
- Vowels: very little obstruction in the vocal tract. Can form the basis of syllables (also possible for some consonants).

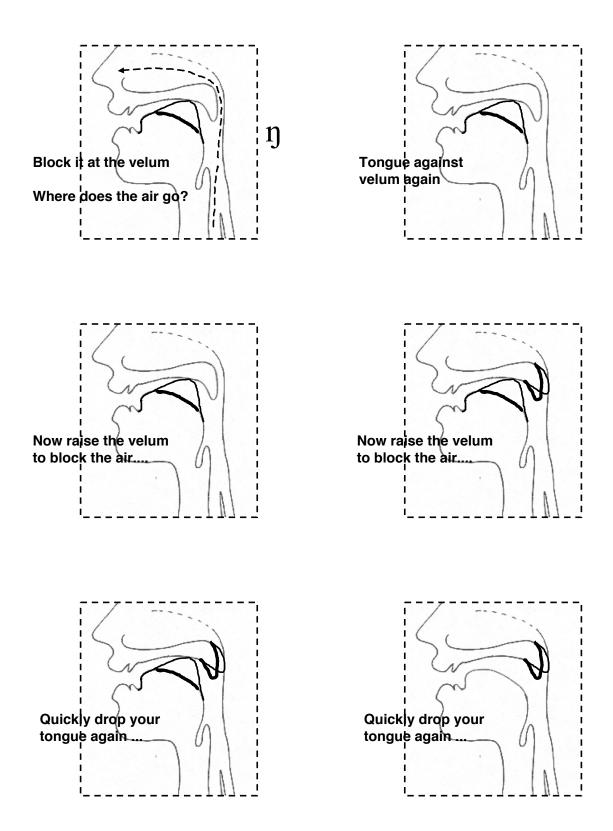
Describing Speech Sounds

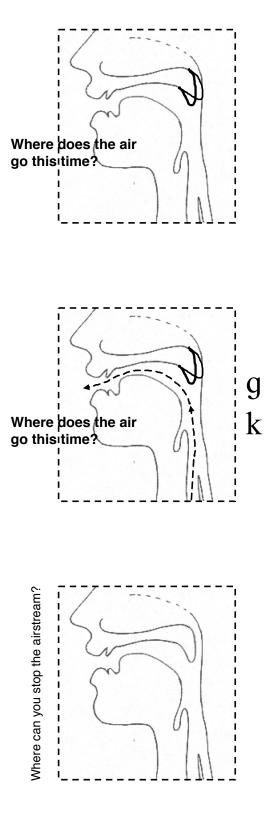
- Where/how is the air flowing? *nasal/oral, stop, fricative, liquid* etc.
- Where is the air-flow blocked? *labial, alveolar, palatal, velar etc.*
- What are the vocal folds doing? voiced vs. voiceless

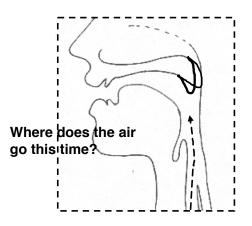
Where does the Air Flow?





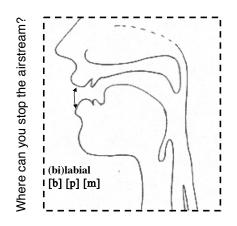




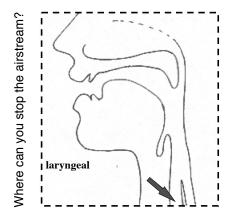


So far we have:

Nasal stop: [ŋ] Non-nasal (oral) stops: [g] [k]







Manner - How the Air is Flowing

- Stops [p] [t] [k] [b] [d] [g]...
- Fricatives [f] [v] [θ] [ð] [s] [z]
- Approximants/Glides [w] [j]
- Liquids [r] [1]

Fricatives & Affricates

- Palatal sounds $[3] [\int] [d_3] [t_j]$
- Palatal Fricatives [ʒ] [∫] [note: according to IPA chart these are strictly `post-alveolar']
- Affricates combination of stop + fricative - [d₃] [t₁], as in judge, church

Voiced & Voiceless Consonants

- Consonants either voiced or voiceless.
- English pairs:

b p	v f	d t
Z S	ðθ	

Describing Consonants

- Where is the air-flow blocked? *labial, alveolar, palatal, velar etc.*
- Where/how is the air flowing? *nasal/oral, stop, fricative, liquid* etc.
- What are the vocal folds doing? voiced vs. voiceless

Features

- Ways of *describing* sounds e.g., [t] = voiceless, alveolar, stop
- Stronger claim: features are the *smallest building blocks of language*, used to store sounds in the mind
- Atoms of Speech



Roman Jakobson, 1896-1982

Features

- Prediction: by combining a small number of atomic features, it should be possible to create a larger number of speech sounds
- Goal: a set of universal features should make it possible to describe the speech sounds of all of the languages of the world
- Different languages choose different feature combinations

	bi-labial	labio- dental	inter- dental	al- veolar	palatal	velar	glottal
oral stop	p			t		k	?
	b			d		g	
nasal stop	m			n		ŋ	
fricative		f	θ	s	S		h
		v	ð	z	3		
affricate					t∫		
					t∫ d 3		
liquid				l r			
glide					j	M	
						w	

	bi-labial	labio- dental	inter- dental	al- veolar	palatal	velar	glottal
oral stop	р			t		k	?
	b			d		g	
nasal stop	m			n	Ç?		
fricative	φ	f	θ	s	S	2	
	β	v	ð	z	3		
affricate					t∫		
	"	Enii	""		d 3		
liquid	"	Fuji Cuk		l r	?		
glide		Juc	Ja		j	M	
					[w	

	bi-labial	labio- dental	inter- dental	al- veolar	palatal	velar	glottal
oral stop	p			t		k	?
	b			d		g	
nasal stop	m			n	ñ	ŋ	
fricative	φ	f	"añ	0"			1
	β	v	an	U		?	
affricate					t∫		
					d 3		
liquid				1 r	?		
glide					j	M	
						w	

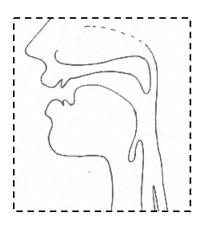
	bi-labial	labio- dental	inter- dental	al- veolar	palatal	velar	glottal
oral stop	p b			'Ba		F	?
nasal stop	m		Π.	'ag	ua"	\sum	
fricative	φ	f	θ	S	\int	χ	h
	β	v	ð	z	3	r	
affricate					t∫		
					d 3		
liquid				1 r	?		
glide					ĵ	M	
						w	

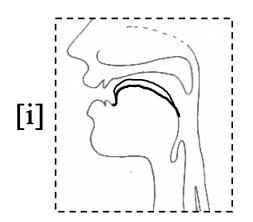
	bi-labial	labio- dental	inter- dental	al- veolar	palatal	velar	glottal
oral stop	р			t		k	?
	b			d		g	
nasal stop	m			n	ñ	ŋ	
fricative	φ	f	θ	s	S	χ	h
	β	v	ð	z	3	r	
affricate					t∫		
					d 3		
liquid				l r	λ		
glide		"c	aba	illo'		M	
	I					w	

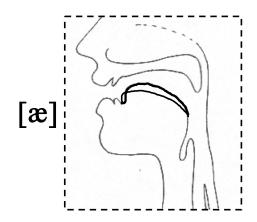
	bi-labial	labio- dental	inter- dental	al- veolar	palatal	velar	glottal
oral stop	р			t		k	?
	b			d		g	
nasal stop	m			n	ñ	ŋ	
fricative	φ	f	θ	s	S	X	h
	ß	v	ð	z	3	r	
affricate					t∫		
					d 3		
liquid				l r	λ		
glide					j	м	
						w	

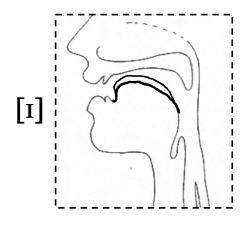


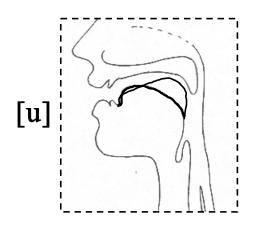
What can you do to alter the shape of your vocal tract?







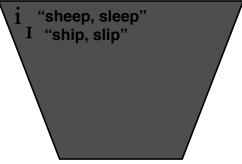


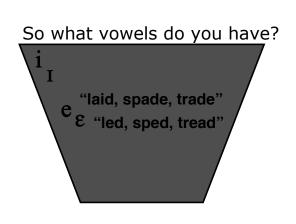


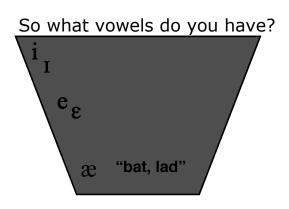
You can....

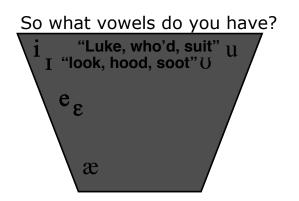
- Raise or lower your tongue
- Advance or retract your tongue
- Round or spread your lips
- Tense or not tense your mouth

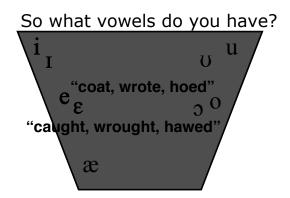
So what vowels do you have?

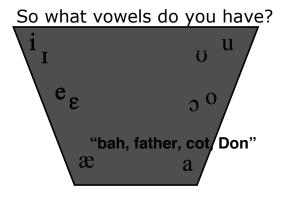


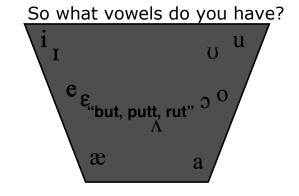


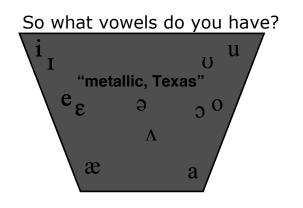


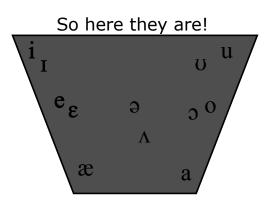










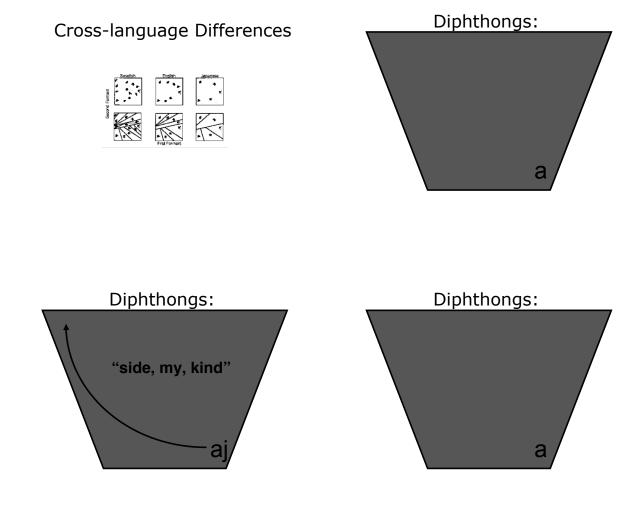


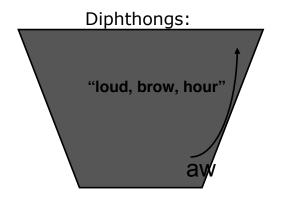
Some dialectal differences

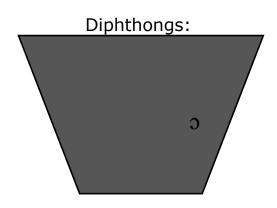
- caught/cot [Mid back lax vowel and mid back tense vowel]: many American speakers do not have both of these.
- pot/father: some British and (fewer) American dialects have different vowels in these words ("pot" has a low back rounded vowel [p]).

Cross-language Differences

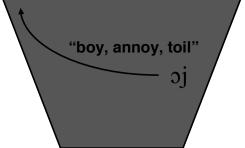
- Feature Combinations
 - English: back vowels are rounded, others are not
 - German/French has high, front, rounded vowel [y]
 - Russian has high back unrounded vowel $\left[\mathbf{u} \right]$
 - Many languages don't make the tense/lax distinction found in English (ex: Spanish [i])
 - Many languages distinguish short and long vowels (unlike English), ex: Japanese







Diphthongs:



Speech Production - Summary

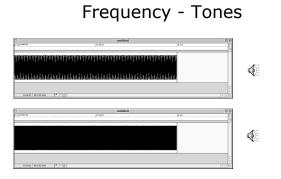
- Airflow set in vibration by vocal folds Airflow modified by vocal tract
- Vowels: shaping of oral cavity
- Consonants: narrowing or blocking of oral/nasal cavity
- Different languages choose different selections of articulatory gestures

Speech Perception

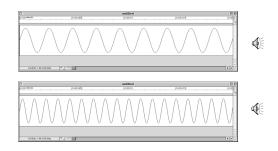
- Speech production processes must be *undone* by the ear
- Motions of articulators must be *reconstructed* from patterns of air vibration
- Requires extremely precise hearing, possibly a system specialized for hearing speech
- Substantially developed at birth

Acoustic Information

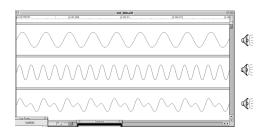
- Frequency
- Timing



Frequency - Tones (Close Up)



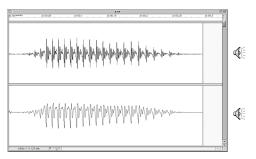
Frequency - Tones

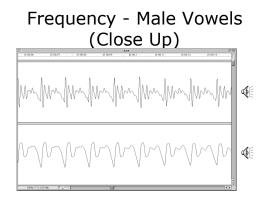


Frequency - Vowels

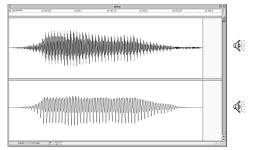
- Vowels combine acoustic energy at a number of different frequencies
- Different vowels ([a], [i], [u] etc.) contain acoustic energy at different frequencies
- Listeners must perform a 'frequency analysis' of vowels in order to identify them (*Fourier Analysis*)

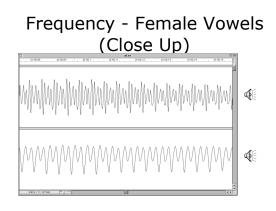
Frequency - Male Vowels









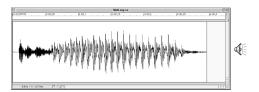


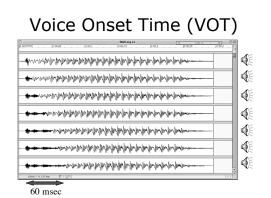
Synthesized Speech

					unti	tled		9
- Ptml			5000	-			Configuration DU SOO	1
ro	í		87				UI B	me
F1	81	A1V	AH.				5R 22050	T He
12	02		N				NF 3	ŕ
	827	227	48				SS Return	, •
18	05	ASV						<u> </u>
	837	137					R9 3	
F4	04	A4V						0.66
	847	A.07	D#1				05 Normal	\$
15	05		001				6V 50	- 66
	85F	ĸsi					GH 190	60
16	06		DI				of 100	- a
	Bif	NS					Title	
INP	ENF.	ANV	00				Zoom in	Zoon Out
192	102		50					Local Obt.
FTP	BTF							secs
112	812		71				F4 Frequency of	Ha .
Al	0n	AI	OW				formast	
					0.200	0.400	0.4	
signor	-1	5.4 48		1000	0.200	0.400	100	

•Allows for precise control of sounds •Valuable tool for investigating perception

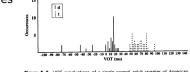
Timing - Voicing



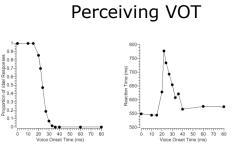






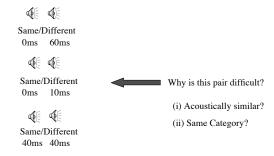


Hgure 3-3. VU) productions of a single normal adult speaker of American English for works beginning with (*d'* and *U*, (figure adapted with permission from Blumstein, Cooper, Goodglass, Statiender, & Gottleb, (1990). Production Deficits in Aphasia: A Voice Onset-Time Analysis. Brain and Language, 9, 153–170. Copyright 1990 by Academic Press.)



'Categorical Perception'

Discrimination



Discrimination

Same/Different 0ms 60ms

Same/Different 0ms 10ms

Same/Different 40ms 40ms

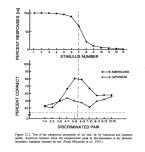
	A More Systematic Test					
		0ms				
	D	20ms			40ms	Т
	Т	40ms			60ms	Т
Within-Category Discrimination is Hard						

Cross-language Differences

	R	L	
R			L

Cross-Language Differences





Cross-Language Differences

English vs. Hindi	
alveolar [d]	
	?
retroflex [D]	•

Cross-language Differences

Participants: Thai – native English- second (>3 years in the US)

> > Imsri & Idsardi (2001)

Japanese Syllables

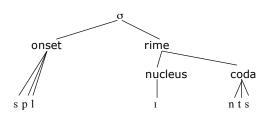


• English Pronunciation [m æ k d a n ə l d z]

• Japanese Pronunciation [m æ k u d o n a r u d o]

What's a Syllable?

- Another phonological unit of words
- Every vowel is at the center of a syllable
- Syllables have hierarchical structure

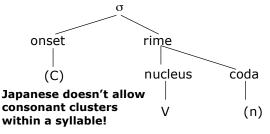


Phonotactic Constraints: Constraints on Syllable Structure

- Every language has restrictions on what sequences of phonemes may occur (*ktleem)
- These constraints are *language specific* English: *zleem Polish: *zlev* `sink'
- Illegal sequences are illegal within a single syllable

English: *[kspl] [ɛk splī sīt]

Japanese Phonotactic Constraints



Toyota, Honda...

Japanese Syllable Structure

• Toyota



Honda



Japanese Syllable Structure





Japanese Syllable Structure





Japanese Syllable Structure





Japanese Syllable Structure





Japanese <u>Syllable</u> Structure





Japanese Syllable Structure



Japanese Syllable Structure



Japanese Syllable Structure



Japanese Syllable Structure



Phonemic Level: /m æ k d o n a l d/

Phonetic Level: [m æ k u d o n a l u d o]

Behavioral Results

• Japanese speakers have trouble hearing the difference

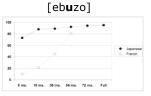


Figure 1: Percept [u] vowel judgments as a function of vowel duration (adapted from Dupoux et al., 1999). Dupoux et al. 1999

Additional Findings

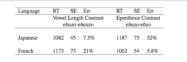


Table 1 Mean reaction time (ms), standard error, and error rate in ABX judgments on an epenthesis contrast and a vowel length contrast in French and Japanese participants (Experiment 3).

Speech Perception

It seems that a language speaker is a prisoner of his/her language phonemic alphabet



A Puzzle...

- Korean speakers use the sounds [r] and [l] e.g. Korea Seoul
- Korean <u>babies</u> hear the difference between
- [ra] and [la] ... they don't know Korean yetKorean adults know Korean ... but they have
- difficulty hearing the [ra] vs. [la] contrast

Developmental Questions

- How does the native/non-native difference emerge?
- Does native-language discrimination improve as a result of native language input?

Possibility #1: Adding Features

- Children learn the *feature contrasts* of their language
- Children learn gradually, <u>adding</u> features over the course of development



Roman Jakobson, 1896-1982

Predictions of Possibility #1

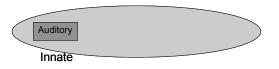
- Poor discrimination at birth
- Better and better with age



Roman Jakobson, 1896-1982

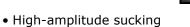
What's innate?

Auditory abilities



Evidence from neonates?

- How do we know babies can hear differences in speech?
- What can babies do?





English VOT Perception

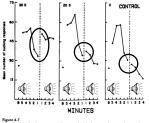
To Test Adults Simply ask: same or different? or Is it a [b] or a [p]?

[ba]	[pa]
-20 0 +20	+40 +80 +80 (em)
S I	
	of infant discrimination study. Based on P. D. Eimas, E. R. Siqueland, Vigorito (1971). Speech perception in infants. <i>Science</i> 171, 303–306.

English VOT Perception

To Test Children Not so easy! High Amplitude





Mean number of sucking responses for 4-month-old infants as a function of time and experimental condition. The dashed line indicates the occurrence of the stimulus shift, or, in the case of the control group, the time at which the shift would have occurred. Adapted from P. D. Einas, E. R. Siqueiand, P. W. Jusczyk, and J. Vigorito (1971). Speech perception in infants. Science 171, 303–308. (‡) 1971 by the AAAS.

Reality Check for Possibility #1

- Infants show *Categorical Perception* of speech sounds at 2 months and earlier
- Discriminate a wide range of speech contrasts
- Discriminate *Non-Native* speech contrasts e.g., Japanese babies discriminate r-I e.g., Canadian babies discriminate d-D

Universal Listeners

• Infants may be able to discriminate all speech contrasts from the languages of the world!



How can they do this?

- Innate speech-processing capacity?
- General properties of auditory system?

What About Non-Humans?

 Chinchillas show categorical perception of voicing contrasts!



What's innate?

- Auditory abilities
- Articulatory rudiments
 - Not developed
 - Desire to coo and babble even in deaf infants

Auditory	Articulatory
Innate	

Connecting Hearing & Speaking

McGurk Effect



Auditory [ba] + Visual [ga] = Perceptual [da]

Connecting Hearing & Speaking

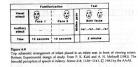


Auditory [ba] + Visual [ga] = Perceptual [da]

Evidence for connection

- Infants know connection between visual and auditory speech stimuli
- Mix and match
 [a] vs. [i]





What's innate?

- Auditory abilities
- Articulatory rudiments
- Connection between them – Phonetic level
 - Universal Grammar (UG)

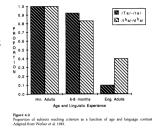
Auditory	/ Pr	nonetic	Articu	ulatory
Innate				

When does change occur?

When Does Change Occur?

About 10 months





Janet Werker

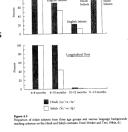
U. of British Columbia

When Does Change Occur?

- Hindi and Salish contrasts tested on English kids
- Change at 8-10 months



U. of British Columbia

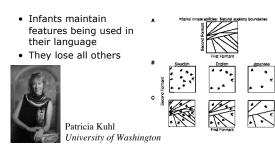


What has Werker found?

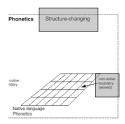
- Is this the beginning of memory?
- Are the infants learning words?
- ... Or something else?

Learning the surface Model Surface Auditory Innate

Possibility #2: Maintenance & Loss



Possibility #2: Schematic



Possibility #2: Predictions

• Loss of discriminability should be **permanent** and absolute

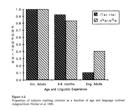
But...

• Training improves adult performance

ened portions. Furthermore, adults can be "taught" to discriminate the full syllables if given enough training trials, or if tested in sensitive procedures with low memory demands (Pisoni et al. 1982; Werker and Logan 1985).

But...

• Some non-native contrasts are easy for adults to distinguish



But...

 Adults perform better at non-native contrasts if they think the sounds are not language sounds

strated. In one of the more intriguing demonstrations, it was shown that if the critical acoustic information in the speech contrast is presented alone so that the syllables no longer sound like speech, adults can discriminate nonnative contrasts. To illustrate, Werker and Tess (1984b) presented adult English speakers with either the ejective portion alone from the Nhlakampx //ti//qi/ contrast. (Heing listers that it was watter dropping into a bucket and that they should signal when the bucket was switched) or a tuncated portion of the Hindi retroflex/dental (Ta/.ta/) for ontrast. In each case adult English speakers discriminated the shortened pairs with ease, but they still failed to distinguish the full syllables even when tested on them immediately lafter being presented with the shortened portions. Furthermore, adults can be "taught" to discriminate the full

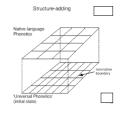


Possibility #2: Reality Check

Loss of discriminability is neither permanent nor absolute!

Possibility #3: Functional Reorganization

• Changes in performance with development do not reflect changes in the hard-wiring of the brain





Janet Werker University of British Columbia

What does Development Involve?

- Change non-native categories *lost* (structure-changing)
- Growth non-native categories hidden (structure-adding)

What does Development Involve?

- Evidence for Growth
- (i) Some discrimination retained when sounds presented close together (e.g. Hindi d-D contrast) (ii) Discrimination abilities better when people hear sounds as non-speech (iii) Adults do better than 1-year olds on some sound contrasts
- All evidence comes from consonants

What does Development Involve?

- Evidence for *Change*
 (i) No evidence of preserved non-native category boundaries in vowel perception
 (non-native vowel *discrimination* is pretty good
 in any case)
- Best evidence for *change* comes from vowels and vowel-like categories

What yearlings can't do

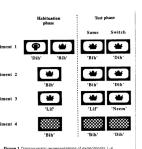
- Recognize minimal pairs while relating them to real words
 - -"bear" versus "pair"
 - "Piglet" versus *"Biglet"
- More Werker experiments

Word Learning

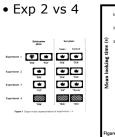
 Stager & Werker 1997
 'bih' vs. 'dih'

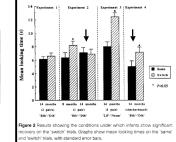
and `lif' vs. `neem'

Procedure: familiarize with sound- Exper object pairs, then test using same or different Exper pairings



Word learning results

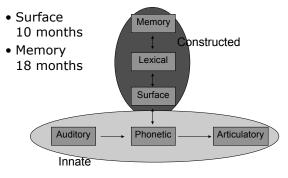




Key Findings

- 14 month olds can discriminate the minimally contrasting words (Expt. 4)
- But they fail to notice the minimal change in the sounds when they are paired with objects, i.e., when they are *words* (Expt. 2)
- They *can* perform the task, when the words are more distinct (Expt. 3)
- Therefore, 14-month olds use more detail to represent sounds than they do to represent words

Approximate Ages



Why Yearlings Fail on Minimal Pairs

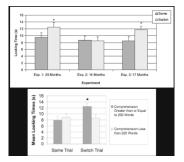
- They fail specifically when the task requires word-learning
- They *do* know the sounds
- But they fail to use the detail needed for minimal pairs to store words in memory
- What is going on?
 - Is this true for all words?
 - When do they learn to do this?
 - What triggers the ability to do this?

Swingley & Aslin, 2002

• 14-month year olds *did* recognize mispronunciations of familiar words

CP	MP-close	MP-distant
apple (/æpl/)	opple (/apl/)	opal (/opl/)
baby (/be ¹ bi/)	vaby (/ve ⁱ bi/)	raby (/Je ¹ bi/)
ball (/bɔl/)	gall (/gɔl/)	shawl (/fol/)
car (/kai/)	cur (/k3/)	kier (/ki.I/)
dog (/dog/)	tog (/tog/)	mog (/mog/)
kitty (/kIti/)	pity (/pIti/)	yitty (/jtti/)

Werker et al., 2002



Possibility #1 Again...

- Children learn the *feature contrasts* of their language
- Children may learn gradually, <u>adding</u> features over the course of development
- *Phonetic* knowledge does not entail *phonological* knowledge



Roman Jakobson, 1896-1982

Word-learning & phonological detail

- Word-learning is very hard for younger children, so detail is initially missed when they first learn words
- Many exposures are needed to learn detailed word forms at earliest stages of word-learning
- Success on the Werker/Stager task seems to be related to the **vocabulary spurt**, rapid growth in vocabulary after ~50 words

Back to 1-year olds

- 1-year olds know the surface sound *patterns* of the language
- 1-year olds do not yet know which sounds are used *contrastively* in the language (which sound variations affect meaning and which don't)
- 1-year olds still need to learn contrasts

Vowels Same or Different?

Phonology (Yet Another Level!)

light	lied
tight	tied
site	sighed
life	live
knife	knive(s)
lice	lies
dice	dies

Some people have this system:

light	lajt	lied	lajd
tight	tajt	tied	tajd
site	sajt	sighed	sajd
life	lajf	live	lajv
knife	najf	knive(s)	najvz
lice	lajs	lies	lajz
dice	dajs	dies	dajz

Some people have this one:

light	1 ^ j t	lied	lajd
tight	t A j t	tied	tajd
site	Sʌjt	sighed	sajd
life	lлjf	live	lajv
knife	n ʌ j f	knive(s)	najvz
lice	lлjf	lies	lajz
dice	d ʌ j s	dies	dajz

What's the pattern?

light	l ^ j t	lied	lajd
tight	t A j t	tied	tajd
site	Sлjt	sighed	sajd
life	lлjf	live	lajv
knife	nлjf	knive(s)	najvz
lice	I лј f	lies	lajz
dice	d ʌ j s	dies	dajz

What's the pattern?

light	1 ^ j t	lied	lajd
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knife	nлjf	knive(s)	najvz
lice	lлjf	lies	lajz
dice	d ʌ j s	dies	dajz

What's the pattern?

voiceless	t	voiced	d
alveolar stop	t	alveolar stop	d
stop	t	stop	d
voiceless labiodental	f	voiced labiodental	v
fricative	f	fricative	v
voiceless	s	voiced	z
alveopalatal fricative	S	alveopalatal fricative	z

So these speakers have a rule ...

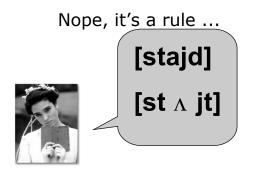
Before a voiceless consonant a j --> $_{\Lambda}$ j

Isn't it just two sets of words?



Nope, it's a rule ...





Two "levels" of speech sounds

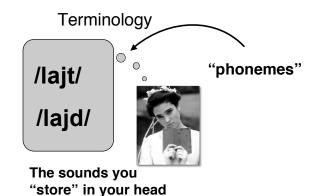


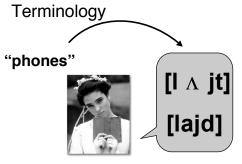
The sounds you "store" in your head

Two "levels" of speech sounds



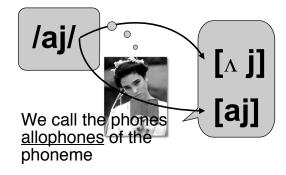
The sounds you actually produce





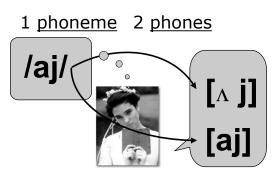
The sounds you actually produce

1 phoneme; more than 1 phone



- In some dialects of English, the phoneme **/aj/** has two allophones: [aj] and [A j].
- The allophone [A j] occurs whenever the phoneme precedes a voiceless sound

The whole rule:

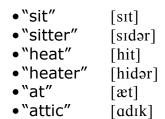


sound(s) actually produced

Another rule:

t --> d /V____V

Another rule:

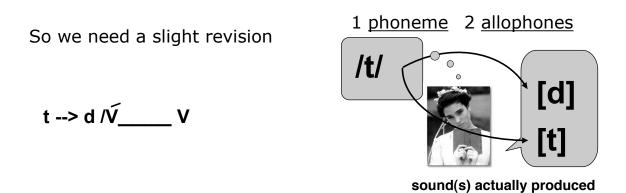


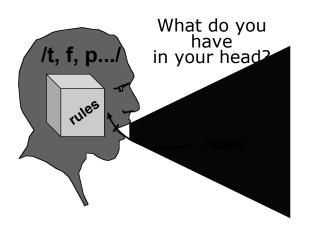
What about these?

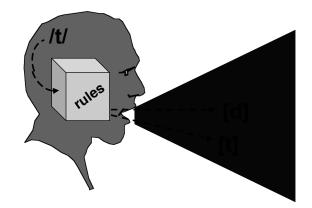
- •"attack"
- •"atone"
- "determine"
- "detect"



Is ther	e a pattern?	Is there	e a pattern?
[sıdər]	[ətæk]	[sídər]	[ətǽk]
[hidər]	[əton]	[hídər]	[ətón]
[ædık]	[ditɛkt]	[ǽdık]	[ditɛ́kt]







Points to note:

• Sequence becomes "easier to say"

BUT

• This process is a specific rule of a particular dialect of English

In what sense a specific rule?

- doesn't apply to all instances of "t" between vowels
- isn't a part of the grammar of other dialects of English
- is only one way to make sequences of vowels and voiceless consonants easier to say

Moral:

The rules that we discover are often "natural" in that one can find an explanation for many of them in terms of ease of articulation, but they are not inevitable/innate: they are specific rules of particular dialects or languages, and had to be learned.

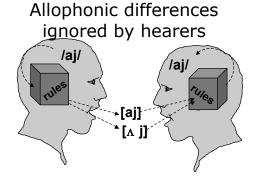
How much detail do you have to remember about the sound of each word?

If you can predict something by a rule, you don't have to remember it

Just remember:

- the rule
- the things that can't be predicted

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Varying Pronunciations

• Voiceless stops /p, t, k/

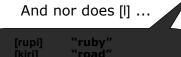
pit spit	tack stack	
spit bit	stack dack	

Aspirated at start of syllable; unaspirated after [s]
6 month olds easily distinguish bottom 2 rows; 1 year olds do not (adults aren't great either)

Languages can differ in what is predictable

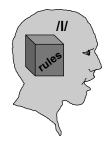
Korean h	as [l] and	[r]
[rupi] [kiri] [saram] [irumi] [ratio] [mul] [pal] [səul] [ilkop] [ipalsa]	"ruby" "road" "person" "name" "radio" "water" "big" "Seoul" "seven" "barber"	

	oesn't sho ywhere	•
[rupi] [kiri] [saram] [irumi] [ratio] [mul] [pal] [səul] [ilkop] [ipalsa]	"ruby" "road" "person" "name" "radio" "water" "big" "Seoul" "seven" "barber"	[r] is <i>always</i> in front of a vowel

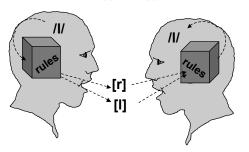


[rupi] [kiri]	"ruby" "road"	
[saram] [i rɯmi]	"person" "name"	
[ratio] [mul] [pal] [səul] [ilkop] [ipalsa]	"radio" "water" "big" "Seoul" "seven" "barber"	[l] is <i>never</i> in front of a
		vowel

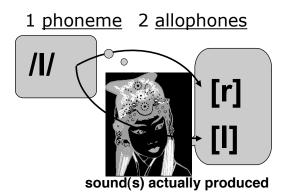
So: Korean has only 1 liquid phoneme



(Koreans don't have to remember if a word has [I] or [r]) So in Korean, [I] and [r] are "the same"



So Korean works like this:

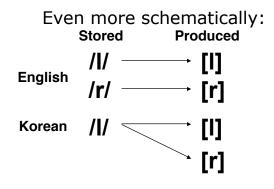


While English works like this:

2 phonemes 2 phones



sound(s) actually produced



Minimal Pairs

• In English, [r] and [l] can occur in the same position in a word

lake
lamp
limb
ripple

- In English, [r] and [l] can be used to mark a meaning contrast
- In English, /r/ and /l/ are two phonemes

Minimal Pairs

• Korean works differently

Minimal Pairs

- Korean works differently
- [r] and [l] are two allophones of a *single phoneme* in Korean
- It's impossible to create minimal pairs which contrast r/l in Korean
- [r] and [l] cannot be used *contrastively* in Korean

- but not contrastively! PUZZIE SOIVED! so they don't know that they are pronunciations of the same phoneme • Korean speakers use the sounds [r] and [l]
- e.g. Kdraa Seoul
- Korean <u>babies</u> hear the difference between
 [ra] and [la] ... they don't know Korean yet
- Korean adults know Korean ... but they have difficulty hearing the ([ra] vs. [la] contrast

phonemic contrasts are easier to hear