

Appendix

Note: due to time and space limitations morpheme-by-morpheme glosses and page numbers, along with supporting evidence, are listed for Axininca Campa, Buryat, and Maori only.

Abujhmaria: Dravidian [Natarajan 1985]					
Insertion			Other		
V <sub>2</sub> = e, i, a					
j	/aga: + e:/ → [aga:je:]	“there itself”	/kamka: + a:l/ → [kamka:l]	“yellow colored”	Deletion
	/pa:ndri: + a:l/ → [pa:ndri:ja:l]	“white colored”			
	/ki: + inan/ → [ki:jinan]	“I do”			
V <sub>2</sub> = o, a					
w	/ni: + a:/ → [ni:wa:]	“your”	/agra: + o:r/ → [agɾo:r]	“people from that place”	Deletion
t	/lo:pa: + o:r/ → [lo:pa:to:r]	“people who are inside”			
Word Initial					
?					

Alywarra: Pama-Nyungan [Yallop 1977]					
Insertion			Other		
Word Boundaries					
j	/alkuka iṛampa/ → [alkuka jṛampa]	“(he) ate honey-ants”	/alkuka iṛampa/ → [alkuk iṛampa]	“(he) ate honey-ants”	Deletion
			/alkuka iṛampa/ → [alkuka iṛampa]	“(he) ate honey-ants”	No Repair

Amharic: Semitic [Broselow 1984]

/t/ used to fill template for certain Type A geminate verbs

perfective	CVCCV(C)+ ə	ləbbəsə	wəddədə	fəjjə
imperfective	ji+CVC(C)+ al	jiləbsal	jiwəddal	jifəjal
gerund	CVCC+o	ləbso	wəddo	fəjto
jussive	ji+CCV(C)	jilbəs	jiwdəd	jifij
infinitive	mə+CCVC	məlbəs	məwdəd	məfjət

Ao : Sino-Tibetan [Gowda 1975]					
Insertion			Other		
V <sub>2</sub> = i, e, a					
j	/azw + i/ → [azwji]	“dog”	/ni + i/ → [ni]	“I”	Deletion
	/kaɬi + i/ → [kaɬiji]	“to the cart”	/ma + apu/ → [mapu]	“not to blow”	
	/ta + imsa/ → [tijimsa]	“do not melt”	/aka + aŋ/ → [akaŋ]	“shoot”	
	/ani + eɬ/ → [anijeɬ]	“lead hab.”	/pala + eɬ/ → [palaɬ]	“divorces hab.”	
	/aɬu + a + li + asw/ → [aɬujalijasw]	“was coming”			
	/si + aŋ/ → [sijaŋ]	“tell”			
?	/alu + i/ → [alu?i]	“to the field”			
V <sub>2</sub> = o, u					
w	/ma + usi/ → [muwusi]	“not to load”	/tʃi + uko/ → [tʃiuko]	“had eaten”	No Repair
			Compounds		
			/ita + aja/ → [itaja]	“moonlight”	Deletion

ɬ=retroflex lateral fricative

Arabic (Cairene): Semitic [Watson 2002]						
Insertion			Other			
Nominal Iambic Plural (CaCVVCiC)			Weak a-final verbs + V			
w	/xa:/	“ring”	/rama + it/ → [ramit]	“she threw”	Deletion	
	[xa:tam]		Adjectival derivational suffixes			
	[xawa:tim]		/ana + a:ni/ → [ana:ni]	“selfish”		
/i/ final stems			/gamra + a:ja/ → [gamra:ja]	“small ember”		
j	/mas <sup>s</sup> ri + a:t/ → [mas <sup>s</sup> ri:ji:t]	“Egyptians fem.”	/ʔurubbi + a:wi/ → [ʔurubba:wi]	“aping European ways”		
	/mas <sup>s</sup> ri + i:n/ → [mas <sup>s</sup> ri:ji:n]	“Egyptians masc.”	Pronouns			
			1SG.POSS -/i/, -/ja/	Glide Formation		
Nominal CVCi:C & a/iħ singulars			2SG.MASC.POSS -/ak/, -/k/	Deletion		
j	/harir:/	“silk”	3SG.MASC.POSS. -/ki/, -/ik/	Metathesis		
	[hara:jir]		2SG.FEM.OBJ -/ik/, -/ki/			
3SG.MASC.OBJ suffix before NEG						
h	/ma t + insa + u + [ʃ/ → [ma tinsahu:ʃ]	“don’t forget him”				
Phrase initially; Foot initially						
?	/il/ → [ʔil]	Def. Art.				

Argobba: Semitic [Leslau 1997]					
Insertion			Other		
V <sub>1</sub> = i, a, e (sometimes o)					
j	/bəgi + ah/ → [bəgijah]	“your (m) sheep”	/bəgi + ah/ → [bəgiha]	“your (m) sheep”	metathesis
	/bəgi + u/ → [bəgiju]	“the sheep”	/hema + u/ → [hemaw]	“the road”	Glide Formation
V <sub>1</sub> = o (sometimes i, a, e)			/al + neggəda + u/ → [alneggədaw]	“he didn’t trade”	
w	/bik’lo + ah/ → [bik’lowah]	“your (m) mule”			Deletion
V = i, ə					
			/ji + aw + ji/ → [jawji]	“of my father”	Deletion
			/tə + alhona/ → [talhona]	“as he is not”	
			/silə + imbəra/ → [siləmbəra]	“because there was”	
			/li + ilcilin/ → [lilcilin]	“that we may be able”	

Armenian (Standard Eastern): Indo-European [Vaux (1998)]					
Insertion			Other		
/i/-final monosyllables					
j	/d̄zi + u/ → [d̄ziju]	“horse gen.”	/d̄zu + er/ → [d̄zəver]	“eggs”	Glide Formation
	/e + i/ → [eji]	“I was”	/katu + i/ → [katvi]	“cat gen.”	
	/maro + i/ → [maroji]	“Maro gen.”	/gini + a + mol/ → [ginemol]	“wine-crazy”	Coalescence
	/mi + a + na + l/ → [mijanal]	“unite”	/amen + a + azniu/ → [amenaazniv]	“nicest”	No Repair
Word-initial {e, o}					
j	/ert <sup>h</sup> + a + l/ → [jert <sup>h</sup> al]	“go”	/bari + ut <sup>h</sup> iun/ → [barut <sup>h</sup> jun]	“goodness”	Deletion
v	/osp/ → [vosp]	“lentil”	/t <sup>h</sup> [nami + akan → [t <sup>h</sup> ə[namakan]	“hostile”	

Axininca Campa: Arawakan [Payne 1981]							
t Insertion			Other				
Verbal Suffixes							
Reflexive			Interruptive			(ts)	
/ir + oti + a/ → [hotita]	“he got in (put himself in)”	p.126	/pi + N + koma + <u>ima</u> + i/ [piŋkomatsimati]	“(you) ready to paddle”	p.123		
cf. /ir + tʃ <sup>h</sup> ik + a/ → [itʃ <sup>h</sup> ika]	“he cut himself”	p.126	cf. /pi + N + tʃ <sup>h</sup> ik + ima + i/ → [pintʃ <sup>h</sup> ikimati]	“(you) ready to cut”	p.123		
Perfect			Non-Future				
/no + na + ak + i + ro/ → [nonatakiro]	“I have carried her”	p.109	/no + pisi + i/ [nopisitsi]	“I swept”	p.122		
cf. /ir + tʃ <sup>h</sup> ik + ak + i + ro/ → [itʃ <sup>h</sup> ikakiro]	“he has cut her”	p.234	cf. /ir + tʃ <sup>h</sup> ik + i + ro/ → [itʃ <sup>h</sup> ikiro]	“he cut it”	p.116		
Progressive			Adverbializer			Hiatus	
/ir + oti + at/ + a/ → [hotitatja]	“he is getting in”	p.31	/ts <sup>h</sup> iririi + iti + ini/ → [tshiriniitiini]	“at night”	(13) p.177 p.185 p.198 p.220		
cf. /ir + tʃ <sup>h</sup> ik + ats + i/ → [itʃ <sup>h</sup> ikiatsi]	“he is cutting”	p.233					
Departure			Velar glide deletion			Hiatus	
/ir + impoi + its <sup>h</sup> i + an + ak + a/ → [himpoits <sup>h</sup> itanaka]	“he followed along behind, in addition, departing”	p.44 p.191 p.209	/ir + auɣ + ak + i + ro/ → [haakiro]	“he has taken it”	p.116		
cf. /ir + kant + aβ + ak + auɣ + aij + an + ak + a + ni/ → [ikantaβakaijanakani]	“they said to one another, departing”	p.41 p.188 p.204	cf. /ir + auɣ + aij + ro + ni/ → [hauɣaijironi]	“they took it”	p.116		
Modal Plural							
/ir + N + pisi + aij + i + ni/ → [impisitaijini]	“they will sweep”	p.150	/ir + N + pisi + aij + i + ni/ → [impisiijini]	“they will sweep”	p.150	Deletion	
cf. /ir + N + tʃ <sup>h</sup> ik + aij + i + ni/ → [intʃ <sup>h</sup> ikaijini]	“they will cut”	p.150					
Reduplicative (CVCV template)							
βʃ	/na + RED + βai + ak + i/ → [natanataβaitaki]	“he has continued to carry more and more”	p.143	/aasi + RED + βai + ak + i/ → [aasi aasiβaitaki]	“he has continued to meet more and more”	p.144	Hiatus
Dative			Distributive			Deletion	
/ir + N + koma + ako + i/ → [iŋkomatakoti]	“he will paddle for”	p.108	/ir + impoi + its <sup>h</sup> i + an + ak + a/ → [himpoits <sup>h</sup> itanaka]	“he followed along”	p.44 p.191 p.209		

cf. /ir + N + t̪ <sup>h</sup> ik + ako + i/ → [int̪ <sup>h</sup> ikakoto]	“he will cut for”	p.108		behind, in addition, departing”		
<b>Repetitive</b>			cf. /no + t <sup>h</sup> oŋk + its <sup>h</sup> i + a + ro/ → [not <sup>h</sup> oŋkits <sup>h</sup> itaβo]	“I finished it also (in addition)”	p.44 p.187 p.200 -201	
/ir + N + koma + aa + i/ [iŋkomataati]	“he will paddle again”	p.108				
cf. /pok + aa + i/ → [pokaat̪i]	“came again”	p.43	<b>‘Recently’</b>			
			/iʃaaβi + iti + ini/ → [it̪aaβiitiini]	“(the sun) getting low”	(142) p.180 p.191 p.208	
<b>Future</b>			<b>Reflexive Future</b>			
/ir + N + koma + i/ [iŋkomati]	“he will paddle”	p.108	/ir + N + kisi + ia/ [iŋkisitʃa]	“he will comb himself”	p.129	t̪ ija ija ja
cf. /ir + N + t̪ <sup>h</sup> iki + i/ → [int̪ <sup>h</sup> iki]	“he will cut”	p.108	cf. /ir + N + t̪ <sup>h</sup> ik + ia/ → [int̪ <sup>h</sup> it̪ʃa]	“he will cut himself”	p.129	
<b>Infinitive</b>						
/koma + aants <sup>h</sup> i/ [komataants <sup>h</sup> i]	“to paddle”	p.55	/ir + N + kimi + ia/ → [iŋkimija]	“he will hear himself”	p.129	
cf. /t̪ <sup>h</sup> ik + aants <sup>h</sup> i/ → [t̪ <sup>h</sup> ikaants <sup>h</sup> i]	“to cut”	p.55				
<b>Receiving</b>			<b>Nominal Suffixes</b>			
			<b>Diminutive</b>			
/ir + kant + βi + aβ + aʉ + a + ri/ → [ikantaβitaβaari]	“he said to the one arriving”	p.47 p.188 p.203	/hito + iriki/ [hitoiriki]	“little spiders”	p.110	
cf. /no + ŋ + aβ + ak + i + ri + ta/ → [nonaaβakiriita]	“I will see”	(85) p.179 p.189 p.205 p.223	/sampaa + iriki/ [sampairiki]	“little balsas”	p.141	Fusion
<b>Resolved</b>			<b>‘Drink’</b>			
/ir + aa + aʉ + i/ → [aatai]	“he will go back”	p.46	/siŋki + a/ [sint̪ʃa]	“corn drink”	p.128	t̪
cf. /ir + kant + βi + aβ + aʉ + a + ri/ → [ikantaβitaβaari]	“he said to the one arriving”	p.47	/kimi + a/ [kimija]	“squash drink”	p.128	j
<b>Passive</b>			<b>Verbal/Nominal Prefixes</b>			
			<b>1<sup>st</sup> person singular</b>			
/ir + ii + ai + i + ri/ → [hiitait̪siri]	“that which is named”	p.40 p.196 p.216	/no + ir + i/ → [niri]	“I will drink”	p.78	Deletion
cf. /ir + t̪ <sup>h</sup> ik + ai + ak + i + ro/ → [it̪ <sup>h</sup> ikaitakiro]	“it was cut”	p.40	cf. /no + saik + i/ → [nosaiki]	“I will sit”	p.78	
<b>Purpose</b>			<b>2<sup>nd</sup> person singular</b>			
/no + ojaa + asi + a + ri/ → [nojaatasitari]	“I followed (for the purpose of visiting)”	p.43 p.193 p.212	/pi + iit <sup>h</sup> oŋki + i/ → [piit <sup>h</sup> oŋkiti]	“you will climb”	p.78	

cf. /ir + kant + asi + a/ → [ikantasita]	“he said (trying very much)”	p.43 p.190 p.270	cf. /pi + saik + i/ → [pisaiki]	“you will sit”	p.78	
<b>Reason</b>			<b>3<sup>rd</sup> person singular female</b>			
/βi + t <sup>h</sup> a + ant + ap + au + ak + a/ → [βit <sup>h</sup> atantapaaka]	“therefore he greeted on arrival”	p.43 p.193 p.212	/o + aatsik + i/ → [aatsiki]	“she will step”	p.78	
cf. /ir + t <sup>h</sup> ik + ant + au + or + i/ → [it <sup>h</sup> ikantaʊori]	“that he cut it”	p.116	cf. /o + saiki + i/ → [osaiki]	“she will sit”	p.78	
<b>Time: Early</b>			<b>1<sup>st</sup> person plural</b>			
/o + naa + aman + i/ → [oɲaatamani]	“it dawned (early)”	p.42	/a + ook + i/ → [ooki]	“we will abandon”	p.78	
			cf. /a + saiki + i/ → [asaiki]	“we will sit”	p.78	
<b>‘There and back’</b>			<b>Plural animate</b>			
/pi + nosik + ako + aki + i + na/ → [pinosikakotakitina]	“(if) you help me pull (there and back)”	(22) p.177 p.185 p.199 p.220	/pirontsi + iti/ → [pirontsiiti]	“lightning bugs”	p.181 p.192 p.210 p.225	Hiatus
cf. /a + arii + ant + aki + ia/ → [ariitantakitja]	“we will go visit and come back”	(4) p.181 p.193 p.211 p.226				
<b>Reciprocal</b>						
/arii + aβ + ak + au + ia/ → [ariitaβakaija]	“have arrived to each other (visited)”	p.41 p.193 p.211				
cf. /ir + kant + aβ + ak + au + aij + an + ak + a + ni/ → [ikantaβakaijanakani]	“they said to one another, departing”	p.41 p.188 p.204				

**Balangao: Austronesian [Shetler 1976]**

<b>Insertion</b>			<b>Other</b>		
$V_1 = i, e$			Central Vowel+Central Vowel		
j	/ʔalope + an/ → [ʔalopijan]	“attach shoulder strap to”	/pala + en/ → [paleen]	“shovel something”	Coalescence
	/i + anpoju/ → [ijanpoju]	“you hunt assoc. focus”			
	/ʔale + aʔ/ → [ʔalijaʔ]	“my coming”			
$V_1 = o, u$					
w	/malo + en/ → [malowen]	“wash clothes with paddle”			
	/i + bato + an + ju/ → [ibatowanju]	“you throw rocks ben. Focus”			

Berber: Berber [Guerssel 1986; Hdouch 2008; Jilali 1976]				
<b>j Insertion</b>		<b>Other</b>		
Demonstrative				
/arba + u/ → [arbaju]	“this boy”			
1 <sup>st</sup> pers. clitic				
/tenna + i/ → [tennaji]	“she told me”			
1PL.OBJ				
/tessu + aχ/ → [tessujaχ]	“she made us a bed”	/tend <sup>s</sup> u + aχ/ → [tend <sup>c</sup> waχ]	“she crossed over us”	Glide Formation
Demonstrative				
/izi + inn/ → [izijinn]	“that fly”			
Passive				
/ttu + aʃr/ → [jttujiʃr]	“he was robbed”	/ttj + aʃr/ → [jttjiʃr]	“he was robbed”	Suppletion
3.OBJ				
/jnna + as/ → [innajas]	“he told him”	/jnna + as/ → [innas]	“he told him”	Deletion
Imperfect Pl.				
/ddu + aθ/ → [eddujaθ]	“go”			
		Certain V <sub>1</sub> = i		Glide Formation
		/i + ari/ → [jari]	“he writes”	
		Certain V <sub>1</sub> = u		
		/u + ansa/ → [wansa]	“place”	

Buryat: Altaic [Pope 1960]					
g Insertion			Other		
V: + V					
<b>Nominal Suffixes</b>					
‘of/belonging to’					
/ʃere: + ai/ → [ʃere:gei]	“of the table”	p.36	/axa + i:n/ → [axi:n]	“of the elder brother”	p.36
cf. /mal + ai/ → [malai]	“of the cattle”	p.36 p. 119	/zygi: + n/ → [zygi:n]	“of the bee”	p.36
Reflexive Possessive attached to oblique stem					
/taxa: + a:/ → [taxa:ga:]	“own hen”	p.46	/axa + ja:/ → [axaja:]	“own tree”	p.46
cf. /gar + a:/ → [gara:]	“own hand”	p.46	/modon + ja:/ → [modojo:]	“own eldest brother”	p.46
cf. /gar + ha:/ → [garha:]	“from the hand”	p.37			
‘along, over’ with reference to motion			Direct Object		
/sa: + u:r/ → [sa:gu:r]	“along that side”	p.105	/zygi: + i:ji/ → [zygi:ji]	“the bee” D.O.	p.37
cf. /sa: + ʃa/ → [sa:ʃa]	“on that side”	p.105	cf. /nojon + i:ji/ → [nojon:ji]	“the prince” D.O.	p.32
cf. /urda + u:r/ → [urdu:r]	“along the front side”	p.105			
Reflexive Possessive with pure-relational suffix -tai					
/noxoi + tai + a:/ → [noxioitoigo:]	“together with one’s own dog”	p.47	/morin + tai + ja:/ → [moritojo:]	“together with one’s own horse”	p.47
Adverb from adjective					
/amʒaltatai + a:r/ → [amʒaltataigar:]	“successfully”	p.104			
cf. /tyrgen + a:r/ → [tyrgener:]	“quickly”	p.104			
Instrumental			Plural		
/noxoi + a:r/ → [noxoi:go:r]	“by means of the dog”	p.21	/mori + d/ → [morid]	“horses”	p.34
cf. /mal + a:r/ → [mala:r]	“by means of cattle”	p.39	/ang + u:d/ → [angu:d]	“wild animals”	p.34
			/x <sup>1</sup> yrø: + nu:d/ → [x <sup>1</sup> yrø:nu:d]	“sows”	p.34
			/axa + nar/ → [axanar]	“eldest brothers”	p.35
<b>Verbal Suffixes</b>					
Perfective gerund			Causative		
/u: + a:d/ → [u:ga:d]	“having drunk”	p.71	/hun + ga:/ → [hunga:]	“to stretch out”	p.99
cf. /oʃo + a:d/ → [oʃo:d]	“having gone away”	p.71	/jaba + u:l/ → [jabu:l]	“to make go”	p.100
cf. /oʃo + ʒa/ → [oʃoʒo]	“(while) going away”	p.70	/u: + lga/ → [u:lga]	“to make drink”	p.100
cf. /jaba + ʒa/ → [jabaʒa]	“(while) walking”	p.70			



Present imperative: categorical order given to one person						
/xyle: + i:]/→[xyle:gi:]	“wait indeed!” 2 sg	p.60				
cf. /jaba + i:]/→[jabi:]	“go indeed!” 2 sg	p.60				
Future						
/xyle: + u:ʒab/→[xyle:gy:ʒeb]	“I shall wait”	p.60				
cf. /xyle: + nab/→[xyle:neb]	“I wait” PRES	p.57				
cf. /jaba + u:ʒab/→[jabu:ʒab]	“I shall go”	p.58				
Future imperative						
/xyle: + a:rai]/→[xyle:ge:rei]	“wait!” (later) 2sg	p.60				
cf. /jaba + a:rai]/→[jaba:rai]	“go!” (later) 2sg	p.60				
Verbal noun of the imperfect						
/bai + a:/→[baiga:]	“he/it was”	p.114				
cf. /jaba + a:/→[jaba:]	“he went”	p.63				
			V+V:			
			Deletion			

Chamicuro: Maipurean [Parker 1989,1991]					
<b>w Insertion</b>			<b>Other</b>		
Prefixation					
/a/			High Vowel		
Nominal					
/a + enopi + ne/→[awenopine]	“our lemon”	/u + awana/→[wawana]	“my mouth”	Glide formation	
		/i + ohpana/→[johpana]	“his/her liver”		
Reduplication: /j/-initial stems					
		/pi + RED + je:pa + ʔte/→[piʔije:paʔte]	“your river”	?	
Verbal					
/a + ehʔtihki/→[aweʔtihki]	“we tie up”	/u + usmuski/→[wusmuski]	“I run”	Glide formation	
		/i + atʔiki/→[jatʔiki]	“s/he grabs”		

Cree (Plains): Algonquian [Wolfart 1973]					
t Insertion			Other		
Prefixes					
Nominal					
1SG.POSS					
/ni + astotin/→[nitastotin]	"my cap"				
2SG.POSS					
/ki + astotin/→[kitastotin]	"your cap"				
3SG.PROX.POSS					
/o + astotin/→[otastotin]	"his cap"				
3SG.OBV.POSS					
/o + astotin + ijiw/→[otastotinijiw]	"his (obv) cap"	/o + i:ki/→[wi:ki]	"his home"	Glide formation	
1PL.EXCL.POSS					
/ni + astotin + ina:n/→[nitastotiniina:n]	"our (excl) cap"				
1PL.INC.POSS					
/ki + astotin + inaw/→[kitastotiniinaw]	"our (incl) cap"				
2PL.POSS					
/ki + astotin + iwa:w/→[kitastotiniwa:w]	"your (pl) cap"				
3PL.POSS					
/o + astotin + iwa:w/→[otastotiniwa:w]	"their cap"				
Verbal					
1 <sup>st</sup> person					
/ni + api + n/→[nitapin]	"I sit"	/ni + aja:n/→[nihaja:n]	"I have it"	h	
2 <sup>nd</sup> person		Dependent Stems			
/ki + api + n/→[kitapin]	"you sit"	/ki + ataj/→[kataj]	"your belly"	Deletion+	
1PL		/o/-Initial stems			
/ni + api + na:n/→[nitapina:n]	"we sit"	/ki + ohtapiwin/→[ko:htapiwin]	"your seat"		
1PL.INCL					
/ki + api + na:naw/→ [kitapina:naw]	"we (incl) sit"				
2PL					
/ki + api + na:wa:w/→ [kitapina:wa:w]	"you pl sit"				
Other Prefixes					
		/e: + ajaja: + tʃik/→[e:aja:tʃik]	"they were"	No Repair	
		/ki: + isiji:hka:so + w/→[ki:isiji:hka:so:w]	"he was called so"		
		/ka: + itwe: + t/→[ke:twet]	"she said"	Coalescence	
		/ni + ka + a:tʃimo + n/→[nika:tʃimo]	"I will narrate"		
Suffixes					
V: + V:					

	/wajawi: + a:mo/ → [wajawi:ja:mo]	“run outside (flee)”	j
	<b>V + e</b>		
	/nikamo + ejiwah/ → [nikamojiwa]	“he sings”	j
	<b>V: + V</b>		
	/ni:pa: + ohte:/ → [ni:pa:hte:w]	“he walks in the dark”	Deletion
	<b>V + V:</b>		
	/wa:wi + a/ → [wa:wa]	“eggs”	
	/ko:na + ihk/ → [ko:nihk]	“in the snow”	
	<b>Obviative Number</b>		
	/o + te:m + iji + a/ → [ote:mijiwak]	“his horse”	w
	/o + te:m + iji + ak/ → [ote:mijiwak]	“his horses”	

Cupeño: Uto-Aztecan [Crowhurst (1994); Hill (2005)]					
<b>Insertion</b>			<b>Other</b>		
Imperative Plural					
j	/itu + em/ → [ituwem]	“steal it”			
w	/qiin?i + em/ → [qiin?ijem]	“plow it”	/namejelu + em/ →	“catch it”	Deletion
h	/kuuŋlu + em/ → [kuuŋluhem]	“get married”	[namejelem]		
Object Case					
?	/taasa + i/ → [taasa?i]	“cup”	/ne + qa + i/ → [neqaj]	“my father’s parent”	Deletion
V + some suffixes					
?	/pisa + i/ → [pisa?i]	“rotten”	/pi + qat/ → [pi?qat]	“is bewitching”	Non-Optimizing
			/pa + vit?uqa/ → [pa?vit?uqa]	“is wanting to drink”	
Habitative Template					
?	/təw/ → [tə?ə?əw]	“see”			
	/pat?ik/ → [pat?i?ik]	“leach acorns”			
	/hu/ → [hu?]	“fart”			

Dakota: Siouan [Shaw 1980]					
Insertion			Other		
$V_1 = u, \tilde{u}, o$					
w	/ho + a + sap/ → [howasapa]	“catfish”	/o + ise/ → [oise]	“corner”	No Repair
	/hiju + o/ → [hijuwo]	“start coming”			
	/manū + e/ → [manūwe]	“steal”			
$V_1 = e, i, a$					
j	/we + o + t <sup>h</sup> a/ → [wejot <sup>h</sup> a]	“blood clot”	/wi + owa/ → [wiowa]	“painted tipi”	
	/osni + e/ → [osnije]	“it was cold”			
	/ka + [ka + o/ → [ka]kajo]	“tie it”			
3PL			$V_1 = V_2$		
k	/ū + ipi/ → [ūkipi]	“we go”	/i + itʃu/ → [iitʃu]	“instrument for taking”	
			/t <sup>h</sup> a + ablo/ → [t <sup>h</sup> aablo]	“his shoulderblade”	
			Lexical Boundaries		
			/mak <sup>h</sup> a + o + k'a/ → [mak <sup>h</sup> ok'e]	“a pit”	Deletion
			/pezi + i + na + ksa/ → [pezinakse]	“mowing machine”	
			Prefix /a/ + verbal /i/		
			/a + i + wa + t <sup>h</sup> i/ → [ewat <sup>h</sup> i]	“arriving there I camped”	Coalescence

Danish: Indo-European [Glyn Jones & Gade (1981); Herslund (2002)]			
Insertion		Other	
(Orthographic)			
	pige + en → pigen	“that girl”	Deletion
	pige + er → piger	“girls”	
	få + e + t → fået	“get”	No Repair

Dutch: Indo-European [Booij 1995]						
Insertion			Other			
Compounds, Word Boundaries; V ≠ ə						
j, v	/zee + arend/ → [zeejarend]	“sea eagle”				
Word Initial						
ʔ	/je et/ → [je ʔet]	“you eat”				
ə Final Host + Clitic						
			Optional ə deletion			
			ʔ Epenthesis (where enclitization fails to occur)			
Host + Pronominal						
n	/ik zetə + ət/ → [iksetənət]	“I put it”	/vɪldə + di/ → [vɪldədi]	“wanted he”	d-initial allmorph d insertion/	
	/vɪldə + i/ → [vɪldəni]	“wanted he”	-dər	3SG.FEM.OBJ		
	/vɪldə + ik/ → [vɪldənɪk]	“wanted I”				
	-əm	3SG.MASC.OBJ				
	-ər	3SG.FEM.OBJ				
Host + Adverbial						
n	-ər	“there”	-dər	“there”	Homorganic Glide Insertion	
	-es	“once”				
Host + Determiner			Other Hosts			
n	/ik mɛrktə + ət dɪrɛkt/ → [ik mɛrktət dɪrɛkt]	“I noticed it immediately”	/ik du + ət vɛrk/ → [ɪg duvət vɛrk]	“I do the chores”		
	-ən	INDEF.DG	/ik zi + ət buk/ → [ik sijət buk]	“I saw the book”		
Host + preposition						
n	/fiəstə + ɪn/ → [fitstənm]	“cycled in”				
	-op	“on”				
	-aan	“to”				
	-onder	“under”				
Host + auxiliary						
n	/hɛt gɛkkə + ɪs/ → [ɛtɛkənɪs]	“the strange thing is”				

Finnish: Uralic [Luthy (1973); Sulkala & Karjalainen (1992)]				
Insertion			Other	
Verbal Loans with transitive -/ata/			Intervocalic Lenition/Loss	
dj	/buu + ata/→[buudjata]	“to live”	[lika]	“dirt”
s	/koi + ata/→[goisata]	“to sleep”	[lian]	“dirt GEN”
k	/snøø + ata/→[snøkata]	“to snow”	Colloquial vs. Standard Finnish	
			[meiœn]	
			[meidœn]	

French: Indo-European [Tranel 1981; Valdman 1976; Schane 1973]				
Insertion			Other	
Liaison				
Plural				
z	/le ãfã/→[lezãfã]	“the children”	/le ãfã ale/→[lezãfãale]	“the children go”
Prepositions/Adverbs				
z t	/tro êpørtã/→[tropêpørtã]	“too important”	/pãdã y ør/→[pãdãynoer]	“for an hour”
p n	/dã y øer/→[dãzynoer]	“in an hour”	/ase êteresã/→[aseêteresã]	“interesting enough”
Verbal				
t z	/il ε äglε/→[ilëtäglε]	“he is English”	/il ε arive/→[ilearive]	“he has arrived”
r	/vu jãte agreablãmã/→ [vu]jãtezagreablãmã]	“you sing pleasantly”		No Repair
	/dãse avek/→[dãseravek]	“dance with”		
Masculine Singular Adjectives				
t d	/bõ ami/→[bõnami]	“good friend”	/ê ʒøli etã/→[êʒølietã]	“a pretty lake”
z l	/ê pti ekyrøej/→ [êptitekøej]	“a small squirrel”	/ê vjølã êsãdi/→ [êvjølãêsãdi]	“a violent blaze”
g n	/ê lõ ete/→[êlõgete]	“a long summer”	/ê gro avãtaʒ/→ [êgroavãtaʒ]	“a big advantage”
	/dã gro animo/→ [dãgrozanimø]	“big animals”	/sø lõ efør/→[søløefø]	“this long effort”
	/ê leʒe êsidã/→ [êleʒerêsidã]	“a certain incident”		

Greek: Indo-European [Newton (1972); Malikouti-Drachman (2009); Joseph & Philippaki-Warburton(1987)]					
Insertion			Other		
γ	/ayapa + a/ → [ayapaya]	“I used to love”	/apo + elpizo/ → [apelpizo]	“I make someone despair”	Deletion
	/aku + a/ → [akuya]	“I was listening”	/ayapa + o/ → [ayapo]	“I love”	
			/to + aloyo/ → [taloyo]	“the house”	
			/θa + erθo/ → [θarθo]	“I will come”	
			/para + ipie/ → [paraipje]	“he drank to excess”	
			/i + anθropi/ → [ianθropi]	“the men”	
			/θa + oriso/ → [θaoriso]	“I will order”	
			Repair		No

Guinaang (Kalinga) : Austronesian [Gieser 1969]					
Insertion			Other		
V <sub>1</sub> = o, u					
w	/ʔadagu + an/ → [ʔadaguwan]	“to have pity towards someone”			
V <sub>1</sub> = i					
j	/dabbi + on/ → [dabbijon]	“to construct with wooden panel”			
V <sub>1</sub> = a					
ʔ	/mangala + aʔ/ → [mangalaʔaʔ]	“I am getting”			

Hausa : Chadic [Jaggar (2001)]				
Insertion			Other	
h/?	Word-initial			
Feminizing suffix				
w	/tso:ho: + a:/ → [tso:ho:wa]	“old woman”		
	...u: + a:			
j	/be:be: + a:/ → [be:bija:]	“female deaf-mute”	<b>Stem-final High Tone</b>	
	/ʃu:di: + a:/ → [ʃu:dija:]	“blue-FEM”	/bak'i: + a:/ → [bak'a:]	“black-FEM”
	/ko:rè: + a:/ → [ko:rija:]	“green-FEM”	/ki:fi: + anjà:/ + [ki:fanjà:]	“fish-FEM”
Mutual reciprocity (monoverbs)			Plural (40 distinct plural formations)	
j	/bì: + ajjà:/ → [bìjjà:]	“obedience”	/ma:làmi: + ai/ → [mà:làmai]	Teachers
	/so: + ajjà:/ → [sòjjà:]	“love”		
All other verbal suffixation				
Occasional Exceptions			<b>Grade 4 verbs</b>	
			/k'o:nà: + e:/ → [k'o:nè:]	Burn up
			<b>Grade 5</b>	
			-ar	
<b>Grade 6</b>				
w	/ja: + o:/ → [ja:wo:]	Pull	-o:	
j	/bi + o:/ → [bijo:]	Follow in this direction		
<b>Grade 7</b>				
w	Monoverbs		-u	
	CiCa verbs with 2 High tones			
			Verbalization suffix	
			-ata -anta	
			Etc.	

Deletion



Hawaiian : Austronesian [Elbert & Pukui 1979]				
Insertion		Other		
	Causative/Simulative			No Repair
	/ha: + inu/→[ha:inu]	“to give to drink”		
	Approximative			
	/ʔo: + aʔa/→[ʔo:aʔa]	“somewhat fibrous”		
	Qualitative/Stative			
	/ma: + ea/→[ma:ea]	“to rise up”		
	/pa: + ola/→[pa:ola]	“quick recovery”		
	/ku: + amuamu/→[ku:amuamu]	“to curse”		
	Passive			suppletion
	/hihi + a/→[hihia]	“entangled”		
	also -hia, -kia, -lia, -mia, -na, -nia			
	Particle			
	[ua ha:nai maikaʔi ʔia]	“[He] was well fed”		
	Nominalizer			suppletion
	/ha:nau + na/→[hanauna]	“generation”		
	/manaʔo + Cana/→[manaʔolana]	“hope”		
	Particle			
	[ka hele ʔawi:wi: ʔana mai]	“the quick coming”		
	Reduplicant			No Repair
	/iki/→[ikiiki]	“stifling”		
Transivitzers			suppletion	
/ala + Caʔi/→[alakaʔi]	“to lead”			
/kilo + Ci/→[kilohi]	“to observe”			

Ilokano (city of Laoag) : Austronesian [Hayes 1989]					
? Insertion			Other		
Suffixes					
-/an/					
/a/-final stems		/i/, /e/, /o/-final stems			
/tʃenda + an/ → [tʃendaʔan]	‘marketplace’	/pag + santo + an/ → [pagsantwan]	‘to make into a saint’	Glide Formation	
-/en/					
/a/-final stems		/i/, /e/, /o/-final stems			
/basa + en/ → [basaʔen]	‘read-goal focus’	/masahe + en/ → [masahjen]	‘massage-goal focus’		
Prefixes					
/a/-final prefixes		/i/, /e/, /o/-final prefixes			
/na + imas/ → [naʔimas]	‘tasty-adj marker’	/ʔi + oper/ → [ʔijoper]	‘dip in water – directional’	j	
Word Initially					

Karo Batak : Austronesian [Woollams 1996]				
Insertion (optional)			Other	
V#V; V+V; VV, V <sub>1</sub> = front			-/ən/	
j	/kiniuliən/ → [kinijuli:n]	“beauty”	/rana + ən/ → [rana:n]	“discussion” Coalescence
V#V; VV, V <sub>1</sub> = back				
w	/ue/ → [uwe]	“yes”		
V#V, V <sub>1</sub> = V <sub>2</sub>				
ʔ	/bide + e/ → [bideʔe]	“that fence”		

Kodava : Dravidian [Ebert 1996]				
Insertion			Other	
After front vowels			V <sub>1</sub> = V <sub>2</sub>	
j	/ʌ[ʋdi + ʌŋɖu/ → [ʌ[ʋdiʌŋɖu]	“writing”	/ʌ[ʋdi + ija/ → [ʌ[ʋdija]	“you wrote”
After back vowels				
v	/boŋɖu + aa/ → [boŋɖuvaa]	“is it necessary?”	/poo + u/ → [pooku]	“may go” (possible)
			/poo + ulu/ → [poolu]	“may go” (allowed)
Before /a/; and in stems ending in /n/				
k	/kuɖi + a/ → [kuɖika]	“let’s drink”	/poo + aŋɖu/ → [pooŋɖu]	“must go”
	/tin + adu/ → [tingadu]	“let him eat”		

Korean : Isolate [Lee 1998; Renaud 1974]							
Coronal Insertion			Other				
Compounds							
After consonants, before i/j-initial stems							
n	/mikuk + jeŋwa/ → [mikukʰjəŋhwa]	“American movie”	/so + ijaki/ → [soijagi]	“conversation on cows”	No Repair		
			/kɛ + ima/ → [kɛima]	“dogs forehead”			
			/ɛgi + i/ → [ɛgii]	“baby tooth”			
After sonorants, before lenis consonants							
t	/i + sok/ → [itʰsʰok]	“inside of the teeth”	/tʃo + sʰal/ → [tʃopʰsʰal]	“millet grain”	p		
			/sə + tal/ → [səkʰtʰal]	“three months”	k		
			Suffixation				
			i+				
			/ki + ə/ → [kjə]	“crawl -INF”	Glide formation		
			/kari + u + ta/ → [kariuta]	“hide-CAUS”	No Repair		
			/tari + e/ → [tarie]	“leg-LOC”			
			{u, o}+				
			/po + a/ → [powa]	“see -INF”	Glide formation		
			/nu + i + ta/ → [nwita]	“excrete-CAUS”			
			non-high + high				
			/pe + i + ta/ → [peta]	“cut-PASS”	Coalescence		

Larike : Austronesian [Laidig 1992]					
? Insertion			Other		
Word initially			V+V (V≠V)		
/ina/ → [ʔina]	“woman”		/bebeku + i/ → [bebekui]	“duck-PL”	No Repair
			/a + i + padime/ → [ʔaipadime]	“play-2SG.REL”	
			/mana + ina/ → [maneina]	“his mother”	
			/a + puhoi + o/ → [ʔapuhoio]	“bathe-2SG.IMM”	
VV (V=V)					
/waa/ → [waʔa]	“root”		/riʔa + aʔu/ → [riʔaʔu]	“for me”	Deletion
			/weidu + udo/ → [weidudo]	“river source”	

Malay (Johore) : Austronesian [Onn 1976]			
Insertion		Other	
Suffixation			
V=V			
ʔ	/kə + ɽadʒa + an/ → [kəɽadʒaʔan]	“government”	
V <sub>1</sub> non-high			
ʔ	/məŋ + gula + i/ → [məŋgulaʔi]	“cause to sweeten”	
V <sub>1</sub> high			
/u/			
w	/bantu + an/ → [bantuwan]	“relief”	
/i/			
j	/udʒi + an/ → [udʒijan]	“test”	
Prefixation			
ʔ	/di + aŋkat/ → [diʔaŋkat]	“lift -PASS”	
	/kə + utaɽa/ → [kəʔutaɽa]	“northward”	

Note: ɽ is described as a back voiced liquid (non-trilled) with tongue somewhat retracted towards soft palate. But this is also categorized with /ɲ/ with respect to place.

Malayalam : Dravidian [Asher & Kumari 1997]				
Insertion		Other		
Suffixation				
V <sub>1</sub> front				
j	/kuɽti + um/ → [kuɽtijum]	“also child”		
	/tii + il/ → [tijil]	“fire-LOC”		
	/paattummaa + uɽe/ → [paattummaajuɽe]	“Pattumma-GEN”		
	/kuɽti + e/ → [kuɽtije]	“child-ACC”		
	/kuɽti + ooɽe/ → [kuɽtijooɽe]	“child-SOC”		
	/amma + aal/ → [ammajaal]	“mother-INSTR”		
	/avan varuka + ee + u[[uu/ → [avan varukajeeju[[uu]	“he will just come”		
	/vaajikkuka + aaŋə/ → [vaajikkuka + aaŋə]	“read-IMPR.PRES”		
V <sub>1</sub> back		V <sub>1</sub> = ə		
v	/kuru + um/ → [kuruuum]	“also seed”		
	/phooɽtoo + il/ → [phooɽtoovil]	“photo-LOC”		
		/kaarrə + il/ → [kaarril]	“wind-LOC”	Deletion

Manipuri : Sino-Tibetan [Bhat & Ningomba 1997]				
Insertion			Other	
$V_2 = i$				
j	/mə + i/ → [məji]	“mode of writing”		
	/na + in/ → [najin]	“earring”		
$V_2 = o, u$				
w	/ə + obə/ → [əwobə]	“vomit”		
	/sa + un/ → [səwun]	“leather”		
$V_2 = a, e, ə$				
?			/mækha + ədwaj + də/ → [məkhədwejde]	“somewhere below-LOC”
				Deletion

Maori : Austronesian [Bauer 1993] Adopting the analysis of de Lacy (2003).					
Insertion			Other		
Underlyingly V-final {LLL}, {LHL}, and {HLL} roots					
<b>Passive</b>					
t	/mahara + ia/ → [maharatia]	“remember”	/whakāutu + ia/ → [whakāutua]	“reply”	
				p.417 (1838)	
			<i>No repair predicted</i>		
			/mōe + ia/ → [mōea]	“sleep”	p.91 (381)
			/paŋa + ia/ → [paŋaa]	“throw”	p.471 (2112)
			<i>Deletion predicted</i>		
			/taka + ia/ → [takaia]	“heap up”	p.551
			<i>Ill-formed prosodic word</i>		
			/paatai + ia/ → [paataia]	“ask”	p.411 (1815)
			/whaana + ia/ → [whaanaia]	“feed”	p.90 (378)
			<i>Metathesis predicted</i>		
			/hokon + ia/ → [hokona]	“buy”	p.143 (616a)
		additional irregulars: p.248 (997); p.399 (1758)			
<b>Nominalizer</b>					
t	/mahue + ana/ → [mahuetana]	“leaving”	<i>No repair predicted</i>		
			/tae + ana/ → [taeana]	“arriving”	
				p.60 (249)	
			additional irregulars: p.117 (505); p.183 (754); p.190 (781); p.280 (1129); p.523 (2334)		
			<i>Deletion predicted</i>		
		/horo + ana/ → [horoana]	“slipping”	p.281 (1134)	
		<i>Epenthesis predicted</i>			

	/kowhana + aŋa/ → [kowhanəŋa]	“tossing”	p.215 (870)
	<b>Compounding (linking -aa-)</b>		
	Nouns		
	<i>Epenthesis predicted</i>		
	/tau + aa + ira/ → [tuaaira]	‘decimals’	p.522 (2320)
	Verbs		
	<i>Epenthesis predicted</i>		
	/whaka + maaori + aa + waha/ → [whakamaaoriaawaha]	“to interpret into Maori”	p.524 (2339)
	<b>Reduplication</b>		
	<i>Ill-formed prosodic words</i>		
/haaere + RED/ → [haaereere]	“going”	p.551	
/poouto + / → [pooutouto]	“chopping”	p.455 (2044b)	

<b>Marat<sup>hi</sup> : Indo-European [Wali 2005]</b>			
<b>Insertion</b>	<b>Other</b>		
	Suffixes		
	Nominal		
	/d <sup>h</sup> obi + iŋ/ → [d <sup>h</sup> obiŋ]	“washerwoman”	Deletion
	/kumb <sup>h</sup> ə + ar/ → [kumb <sup>h</sup> ar]	“potmaker”	
	/tʃori + a/ → [tʃorja]	“thefts”	Glide Formation
	/de + av/ → [djavə]	“should give”	
	/d <sup>h</sup> u + a/ → [d <sup>h</sup> va]	“wash”	
	/g <sup>h</sup> oɖa + a + ne/ → [g <sup>h</sup> oɖjane]	“by the horse”	
	/gəɖu + a + ne/ → [gəɖwane]	“with the pot”	
	/kutrə + a + la/ → [kutrjala]	“to the dog”	
	Verbal		
	/je + a/ → [ja]	“come”	Deletion
	/k <sup>h</sup> a + a/ → [k <sup>h</sup> a]	“eat”	
	/k <sup>h</sup> a + əjəla/ → [k <sup>h</sup> ajəla]	“in order to eat”	
	/g <sup>h</sup> e + a/ → [g <sup>h</sup> ja]	“take”	Glide Formation
	/kapŋə + a + la/ → [kapŋjala]	“cut dat.”	
/pi + u/ → [piu]	“don’t drink”	No Repair	
/ga + u + lagli/ → [gaulagli]	“began to sing”		

Misantla Totonac : Totonacan [MacKay 1999]			
ʔ Insertion		Other	
Also		3SG.POSS	
/naa + utun/ → [naaʔutun]	“also they”	/tʃiku + iʃ + kam/ → [tʃikuskan]	“his/her son”
Inchoative		Irrealis	
/kit ik + muu + ta + ukā + laʃ/ → [kit ʔikmuutaʔukāʃ]	“I put __ on my forehead”	/ni + ik + tʃan + laʃ/ → [niktʃanlaʃ]	“that I sow __”
3PL.OBJ		-/ii/-	
/juan kin + laa + iʃki + laʃ/ → [ʃwaan kilaaʔiʃkiʃ]	“Juan gave them to me”		
3PL.SUBJ		-/ik/-	
/utun ta + an/ → [ʔutun taʔan]	“they go”		
Hand.REL		-/iʃ/-	
/utun an kin + ta + laa + maka + iʃki/ → [ʔutun ʔan kintalaamakaʔiʃki]	“they are handing them to me, they are handing me to them”		
Momentary		-/vvn/-	
/utun ta + a + iʃki + laʃ/ → [ʔutun taʔaʔiʃkiʃ]	“they loaned him/her __”		
Negative		-/la(ʃ)/-	
/lakaa a + atii + nan/ → [lakaa ʔaʔatiiinan]	“s/he didn’t sing”		
Face.REL		-/vʔ/-	
/ut laka + an/ → [ut lakaʔan]	“s/he faces that direction”		
-/muu/-		-/vt/-	
-/puu/-		etc	
-/paa/-			
-/tii/-			
-/tuu/-			
-/tanpaa/-			
-/lakatanpaa/-			
-/piʃtuu/-			
etc			

Deletion/Coescence

Nancowry : Mon-Khmer [Radhakrishnan (1981)]				
Insertion			Other	
Possessive			Agentive	
ʔ	/ɲi + u/ → [ɲiʔu]	“to have a house”	/ma + i + ti/ → [miti]	“one who laughs”
	Reduplication/Word-Initially		Causative	
	/cat/ → [ʔitcat]	“to jump”	/si-um-ʔun/ → [sumʔun]	“to bow”
Objective			Instrumental	
j	/w-an-ua + a/ → [wanuaja]	“flowing”	/ha-in-kuāt/ → [hinkuāt]	“a hook”

Odawa Ojibwa : Algonquian [Piggott 1980]				
t Insertion			Other	
Personal Pronouns				
Unstressed V <sub>1</sub>			Dependent Stems	
/ni + iʃa:/ → [ntiʃa:]	“I go”		/ni + o:ss/ → [no:ss]	“my father”
/ni + osa:mikwa:m + mi/ → [nto:sa:mkwa:m̄mi]	“we (excl) oversleep”		Deletion of V <sub>1</sub>	
/ni + ompass/ → [nto:mpass]	“my bus”			
Stressed V <sub>1</sub> <sup>a</sup>				
/ki + osa:mikwa:m + m/ → [kito:sa:mkwa:m̄m]	“you (pl) oversleep”			
/ki + akatʃi/ → [kitakatʃ]	“you are shy”			
/ni + o + assapj + i/ → [nto:tassap:]	“I have a net”			
/o + a:we:wikamikw/ → [ta:we:kamik̄k]	“a store”			
Other Prefixes				
			/ki: + pi + iʃa: + w/ → [ki:piʃa:]	“he came hither”
			/ki: + pipa: + iʃa: + w/ → [ki:ppa:ʃa:]	“he went around”
Suffixes				
			/okima: + ak/ → [kima:k]	“chiefs”
			/ni + takkwa: + ih + a:/ → [ntakkwa:ʔa:]	“I make someone shorter”
			/wi:ntiko: + iwi/ → [wi:ntiko:wi]	“become an ogre”

<sup>a</sup>It is unclear to me why the vowel fails to delete for all instances of ki-, unless the 2nd per subj marker is stress-bearing.



Sinhalese : Indo-European [Geiger 1938]					
Insertion			Other		
Word Type 4			Word Types 2 & 3		
/u/, /a:/ - final stems					
v	/e[u + a:/ → [a[uva:]	“the goat”	/guru + a:/ → [gura:]	“the teacher”	Deletion
	/e[u + o:/ → [e[uvo:]	“the goats”	/muva + o:/ → [muvo:]	“the deer-PL”	
	/du + aŋjo:/ → [duvaŋjo:]	“daughter obl”	/muva + an/ → [muvan]	“deer-PL”	
	/tunu + a/ → [tunuva]	“body”	/hiṭu + a:ŋo:/ → [hi[a:ŋo:]	“nobleman-OBL”	
			/u:ru + i:/ → [i:ri:]	“female hog”	
/i/, /a:/ - final stems					
j	/paravi + a:/ → [paravija:]	“the dove”	/miŋi + a/ → [miŋa]	“gem”	Deletion
	/mi + an/ → [mi:jan]	“mice”	/govija + ek/ → [govijek]	“a cultivator”	
	/ikiŋi + an/ → [ikiŋijan]	“female louse”			
	/vili + a/ → [vilija]	“wrinkle”			
	/pa + in/ → [pajin]	“with the foot”			
	/gu[i + ehi/ → [gu[ijehi]	“of the ball”			
	/kiki[i: + ak/ → [kiki[ijak]	“a hen”			

Selayarese : Austronesian [Mithun 1986]				
? Insertion			Other	
V=V			V≠V	
Suffixes				
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person				
/amalli + i/ → [amalli?i]	“s/he bought”	/la + mate + i/ → [lamatei]	“s/he will die”	No Repair
1 <sup>st</sup> Person				
/a + liŋka + a/ → [a?liŋka?a]	“I walked”	/la + mate + a/ → [lamatea]	“I will die”	
Prefixes				
Ergative Markers				
/ku + uraŋi/ → [ku?uraŋi]	“I accompany him”	/ku + inuŋi/ → [kuiŋi]	“I drink it”	Deletion
/ri + inuŋi/ → [ri?inuŋi]	“you (hon) drink it”	/ri + uraŋi/ → [riuraŋi]	“you (hon) accompany him”	
/mu + uraŋi/ → [mu?uraŋi]	“you (fam) accompany him”	/mu + inuŋi/ → [muinuŋi]	“you (fam) drink it”	
		/to + inuŋi/ → [toinuŋi]	“we (excl) drink it”	
		/la + inuŋi/ → [lainuŋi]	“s/he drinks it”	
Vowel initial intonation units			Word initial pre-tonic	
/a:pa/ → [ʔa:pa]	“what?”	/aŋjoro/ → [ŋjoro]	“coconut”	

Southern Tati (Chali) : Indo-European [Yar-Shater 1969]					
r Insertion			Other		
r	/ruaza: + ijo:m/ → [ruaza:rijo:m]	“my grandson, too”	/no:rca + e/ → [no:rce:]	“Novice-OBL”	Coalescence
			/sa:ri + o: beʃkas/ → [sa:ri <sup>ɨ</sup> o: beʃkas]	“look at the stars”	j
			/vela: + a:bend/ → [vela:ha:bend]	“they became dispersed”	h

Tamil (Kanniyakumari Dialect) : Dravidian [Christdas 1988]					
Insertion			Other		
Word initially					
ʔ	/a/				
	/aacaj/ → [ʔaasɔ]	“desire”			
w	/o/, /u/				
	/uucij/ → [wuusi]	“needle”			
j	/i/				
	/iruʔ/ → [jiruʔw]	“darkness”			
Compounds					
ʔ	/ciini + avɔrɔ/ → [ciiniʔavæɾæ]	“a kind of bean”	optional		

Tsishaath Nootka : Wakashan [Stonham 1999]					
ʔ Insertion			Other		
Some V+V contexts			V+u; V+i; a+a		
/qi: + i: + ʔa:ʎa/ → [qi:ʔi:ʔa:ʎa]	“it always took a long time to go”		/ʔu + i:ts + 'atʎ/ → [ʔu <sup>f</sup> ts'atʎ]	“it belonged to her”	Deletion
/t'i + u:p + 'atʎ + 'itʃas/ → [t'iʔu:p'atʎ'itʃas]	“they sang”		/huʔa + in + 'atʎ/ → [huʔinʔatʎ]	“they returned”	
Word-Initial			Base ending in u + some suffixes		
			/tʃ'u: + aʃt + i:ʎ + 'tʎ/ → [tʃ'u:k <sup>w</sup> aʃti:ʎ'atʎ]	“they dried it now”	k
			/ts'u + sats/ → [ts'uksats]	“wash tub”	
			Base ending in /i/ or /a/		
			/ʔaqi + i:ʎ + ʎak/ → [ʔaquitʃi:ʎak]	“what are you making?”	tʃ/ts

Tübatulabal : Uto-Aztecan [Voegelin (1935)]				
ʔ Insertion		Other		
Verbal				
Causative				
/nɔ: + in + at/ → [nɔ:ʔinat]	“he is returning it”	/ɔpɔɓɔʔɔma + in/ → [ɔpɔɓɔʔɔmi:n]	“he caused it to bend”	Coalescence
Vowel Reduplication				
/pitita/ → [ʔipitita]	“to turn over”	/pe:/ → [e:eba]	“to hit”	
Initial reduplication		Full reduplication		
/i:dʒimi/ → [iʔi:dʒimi]	“to stay”	/ela + ala + at/ → [ele:ela:alat]	“he is jumping on both legs (like a deer)”	
Reduplication with /a/		Benefactive		
/anab + a + at/ → [anaba:ʔat]	“he is throwing it”	/uxta + an/ → [uxta:n]	“to ask for him”	
		3SG		
		/uxta + at/ → [uxtat]	“he is asking him”	Deletion
		etc		
Nominal				
Genitive				
/tʃa:mi + ji + ulu/ → [tʃa:mijuʔulu]	“your (pl) acorn gravy (obj)”	/hani: + ji + ulu/ → [hani:julu]	“your (pl) house (obj)”	Deletion
/tʃɔno + iŋ/ → [tʃɔnoʔuŋ]	“of the twins”	/hani: + m/ → [hani:n]	“his house (subj)”	
/kumu: + in/ → [kumuʔon]	“of his own father”			
		Nominalizer		
		/ɔxta + i + l/ → [ɔxti:l]	“the person asked (abs)”	Coalescence

Turkish : Altaic [Underhill 1976; Lewis 1967]			
j Insertion		Other	
Nominal			
<b>1SG</b>			
/hasta + ɪm/ → [hastajɪm]	“I am sick”	/jalniz + di + ɪm/ → [jalnizdim]	“I was alone”
<b>1PL</b>			
-ɪz/-jɪz			
<b>Definite Object</b>			
-ɪ/-jɪ			
<b>Dative</b>			
/ankara + e/ → [ankaraja]	“to Ankara”		
<b>Genitive</b>			
/su + ɪ/ → [suju]	“his/her water”	/lokanta + ɪn/ → [lokantanɪn]	“the restaurant’s meals”
<b>Possessive Suffixes</b>			
3SG			
/baba + ɪ/ → [babasi]	“his/her father”		
1SG			
/anne + ɪm/ → [annem]	“my mother”		
2SG			
/baba + ɪn/ → [baban]	“your father”		
2PL			
/baba + ɪnɪz/ → [babaniz]	“your father”		
1PL			
/baba + ɪmɪz/ → [babamiz]	“our father”		
<b>Verbal</b>			
<b>Future</b>		<b>Progressive</b>	
/kork + mi + eʒek/ → [korkmijaʒak]	“s/he will not be afraid”	/iste + ɪjor/ → [istijor]	“s/he wants”
<b>Present Participle</b>		<b>Present</b>	
/iste + en/ → [istijen]	“one who wants”	/baɫla + er/ → [baɫlar]	“s/he begins”
<b>Future Participle</b>		<b>Reflexive</b>	
-edʒeg/-jedʒeg		/jika + ɪn + mak/ → [jikanmak]	“wash oneself”
<b>Verbal Noun</b>		<b>Reciprocal</b>	
/anla + ɪʃ/ → [anlaʃɪ]	“understanding”	/anla + ɪʃ + mak/ → [anlaʃmak]	“reach an understanding”
<b>Adverbial Suffix</b>			
-ɪp/-jɪp			
<b>Simultaneous (w/ main verb)</b>			
/bil + mi + erek/ → [bilmijerek]	“unknowingly”		
<b>Repeated or Continuous</b>			
-e/-je			

<b>'as soon as'</b>	
-indze/-jindze	
<b>'since'</b>	
/ba[li + elɪ/→[ba[lijali]	"since...began"
<b>'impossible'</b>	
/anla + e + me + jorum/→ [anlamijorum]	"I can't understand"
<b>'possible'</b>	
/gel + me + ebil + ɪr/→ [gelmejebilir]	"is possible that will not come"
<b>'quickly/suddenly'</b>	
-ɪver/-jɪver	
<b>'continuous'</b>	
-edur/-jedur	
<b>Non-polite imperative (2 or more)</b>	
-in/-jin	
<b>Polite imperative (1 or more)</b>	
/ba[la + me + mɪz/→[ba[lamajiniz]	"don't start"
<b>Optative</b>	
-e/-je	

Uyghur : Altaic [Hahn 1991; Hahn 1992]				
<b>Insertion</b>		<b>Other</b>		
Single-Consonant Suffix		Continuous/Habitual Past		
jV	/su: + m/→[syjym]	"my liquid"	/oqu + attum/→[oqujtum]	"I used to read"
Loanwords		Present/Future		
jV	/baha: + m/→[bahajim]	"my price"	/oqu + amæm/→[oqujmæn]	"I (will) read"
rV	/baha: + m/→[baharim]		Present/Future Obligatory	
"Be able to"		/oqu + adigan + dɪ + mæn/→	"I ought to read"	
j	/oqu + al/→[oqujal]	"to be able to read"	[oqujdɪɣandimæn]	
		Suppositional Future		Deletion
		/oqu + äɾ + mæn/→[oqurmæn]	"I might read"	
		Imperative		
		/oqu + äj/→[oquj]	"Let me read!"	

Waropen : Austronesian [Held 1942; Anceaux 1961]				
k Insertion		Other		
Verbal Prefixes				
3PL		3SG		
/ki/ + /ano/ → /kikano/	“eat”	/i/ + /ano/ → /iano/	“eat”	No Repair
3DL		2SG		
/kisiki/ + /ano/ → /kisikikano/	“eat”	/a/ + /ano/ → /aghano/	“eat”	gh
1PL.INC		Also /a/ + /ano/ → /auano/	“eat”	No Repair
/i/ + /ano/ → /ikano/	“eat”			
1DL.INC				
/si/ + /ano/ → /sikano/	“eat”			
1TRL.INCL				
/koiso/ + /ano/ → /kosisokano/	“eat”			
3TRL.INC				
/kosisoki/ + /ano/ → /kosisokikano/	“eat”			
Suffixes				
/eni/ + /igha/ → /enikigha/	No gloss available	/ruma/ + /igha/ → /rumaigha/	No glosses available	gh
		/saira/ + /aira/ → /sairaghaira/		
		/managha/ + /u/ → /managhau/		
		/aro/ + /aira/ → /aroaira/		No Repair

West Greenlandic : Eskimo [Rischel 1974]			
Insertion		Other	
Prefixation			
v	<b>ii + i</b>		Variable Deletion
	/qii + ia <sup>r</sup> ppaa/ → [qiivi <sup>i</sup> a <sup>r</sup> ppa]	‘he removes his white hair’	
v/j	<b>aa + i</b>		
	/naa + i/ → [naavi]	‘his stomach’	
	<b>aa + a</b>		
	/paa + a/ → [paava]	‘its opening’	
<b>aa + aa</b>			
/pu <sup>wi</sup> i <sup>r</sup> ppaa + aasiit/ → [pu <sup>wi</sup> i <sup>r</sup> ppaajaasiit]	‘that’s the old story’		
j	<b>uu + u</b>		
	/puu + u <sup>w</sup> uq/ → [puuju <sup>w</sup> uq]	‘it is a bag’	
	<b>aa + u</b>		
Suffixation			
Variable Insertion		<b>VV</b>	
		/nuna + i/ → [nunai]	‘his lands’
		<b>VVV</b>	
		/paraa + a + i/ → [paarai]	‘takes care of them’
			Deletion

Wolof : Niger-Congo [Ka 1994]				
Insertion		Other		
Suffixation				
<b>V+V:</b>		<b>Polysyllable V+V</b>		
w	/wɔɔ + aat/ → [wɔɔwaat]	“to call again”	/nuju + ε/ → [nujɔɔ]	“to greet with”
	/jonni + ɔɔn/ → [jonniwoon]	“sent”	/pare + a/ → [pareel]	“to be ready for someone”
<b>Monosyllable V+V</b>		/guddi + ε/ → [guddee]	“to be late at night”	Coalescence
V <sub>2</sub> = a, ə, u, o, ɔ		/jobbu + ati/ → [jobooti]	“to carry away once more”	
j	/fɔ + ukaaj/ → [fɔwukaaj]	“toy”		
V <sub>2</sub> = ε, e, i				
w	/ji + ε/ → [jje]	“to plant with”		
	/fɔ + i/ → [fɔji]	“to go and play”		
Word Initially				
ʔ	/and/ → [ʔand]	“recipient for incense”		
	/əf/ → [ʔəf]	“to blow”		
w	/ɔkk/ → [wɔkk]	“to scratch”		
j	/εε/ → [jεε]	“to wake up”		