The Role of Allophonic Variation in Speech Segmentation

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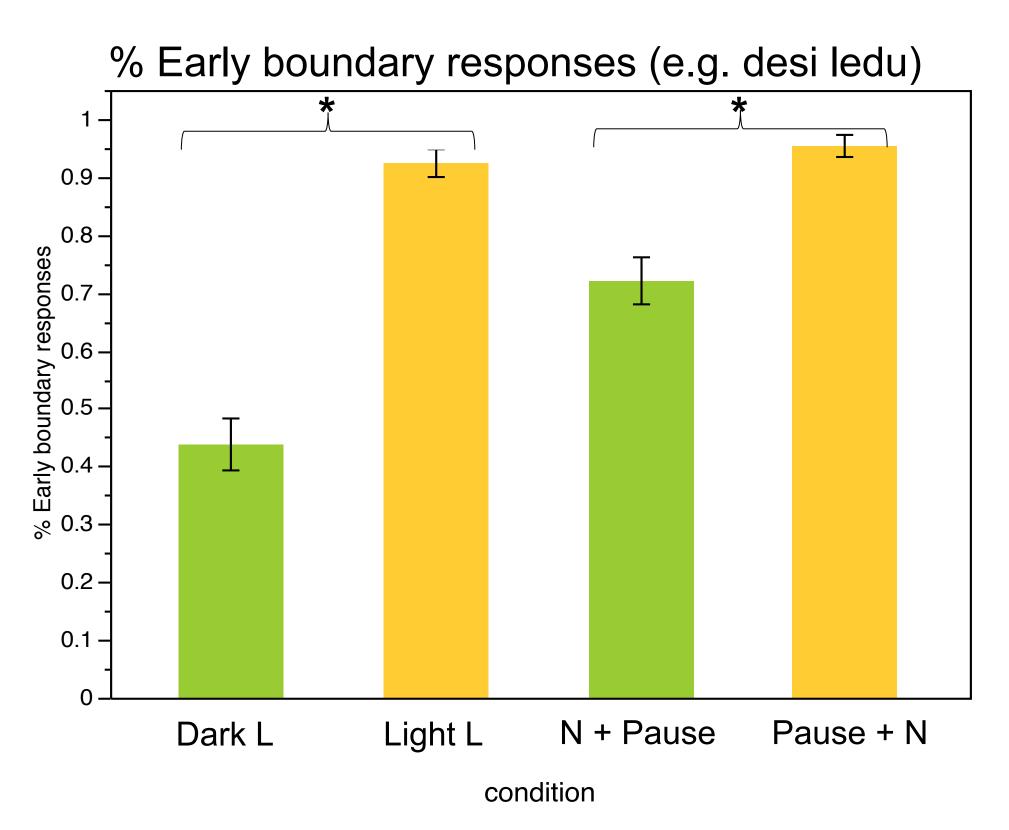


- The distribution of allophones often depends on word, morpheme, or syllable boundaries, and thus encodes prosodic or morphological information
- English /l/ is one such case. Light [l] is often claimed to appear in onsets and dark [ł] in rimes (e.g. Halle & Mohanan, 1985) although Yuan & Liberman (2011) found word-internal /l/s to be dark, even in onset position. Hayes (2000) presents evidence that /l/ is obligatorily light word initially and dark before consonants and pauses, with a more variable distribution depending on other factors, e.g., dark [ł] is described as more likely intervocalically when followed by a morpheme boundary (mail-er) than following a morpheme boundary (day-ly)
- If [1]-darkening is, in fact, conditioned by morpheme, word, and syllable boundaries, this allophonic variation may provide important cues to speech segmentation
- We report on a series of studies aimed at testing what speakers encode with their choice between [1] and [1] in production and whether listeners use this
 information in speech segmentation

Perception Methodology [dəsiledu] desi ledu desil edu Predicted choice [dəsiłedu] desi ledu desil edu Predicted choice Table 1 Predicted Nonce string Predicted Choice Parse dəsiledu desi ledu Light [1] Early Boundary desil edu Dark [1] dəsiłedu Late Boundary desi nedu dəsinedu Early Boundary pause + n desin edu dəsinedu Late Boundary n + pause

- 58 subjects heard a nonce string and chose between two orthographies
- Stimuli were produced by one of the authors reading aloud without a pause
- Sound files were cross-spliced; the dark [½] condition consists of a C₁VC₂VC₃ string containing a dark [½] followed by a VC₄V originally produced following a light [I] and vice versa
- Latin square design, 8 items per condition heard by each subject

Results



- Mixed model logistic regression found a significant effect of dark vs. light /l/
- Error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals
- Light /I/ was a particularly strong cue to word-initial position with subjects choosing early boundary orthography at a rate of over 90% when presented with light /I/

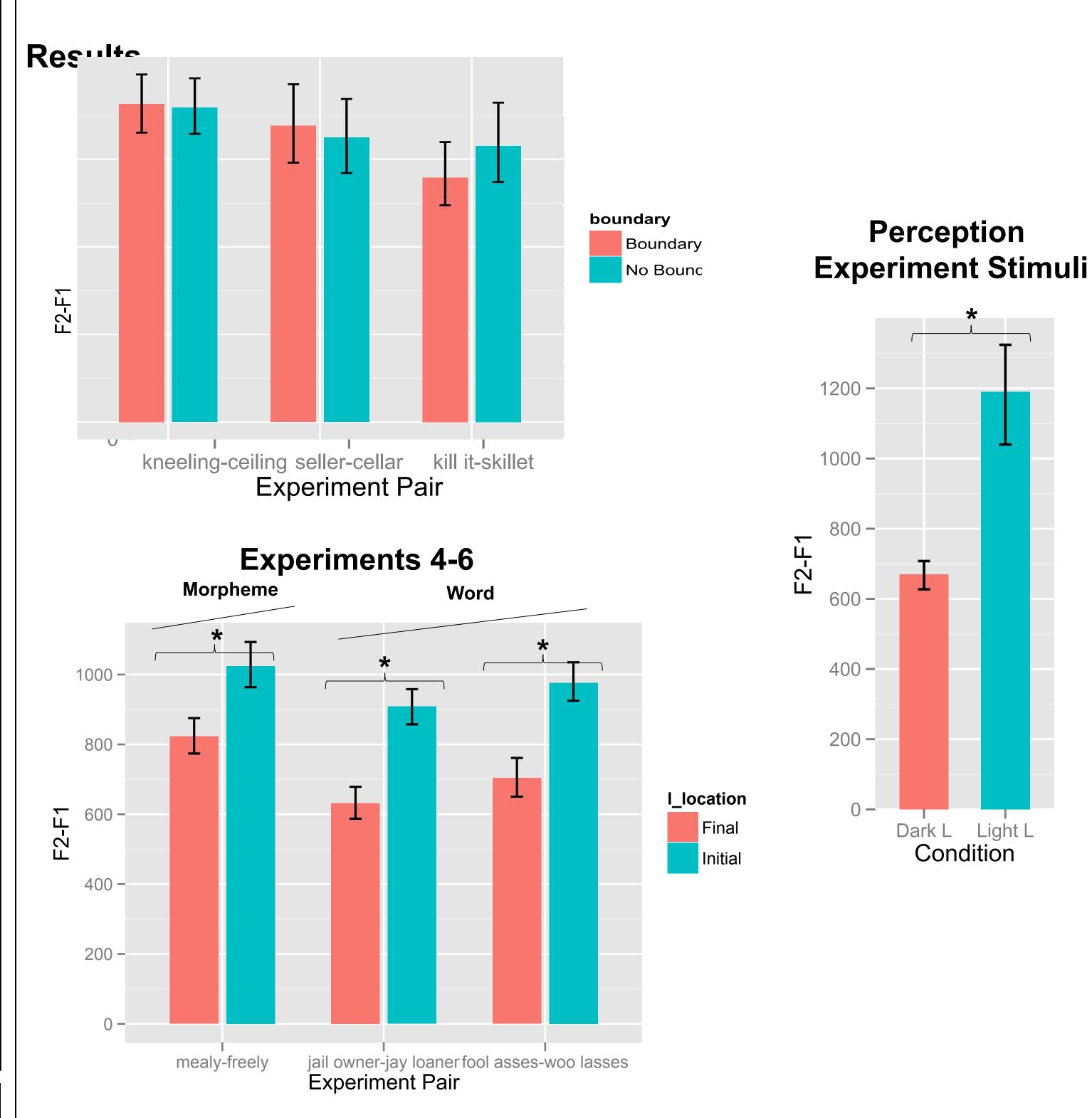
Conclusions

- Evidence from speech segmentation and production suggests that light /l/ cues morpheme-initialness
- Perception: listeners make use of the allophonic distribution in segmenting speech with light /l/ being a strong cue to word initial position
- **Production: Word-initial** /l/s are lighter than word-final ones; word-internal /l/s are lighter **morpheme-initially** than finally and morpheme-internally
- These differences cannot be reduced to stress placement, vowel length, vowel quality, or syllabification, which were controlled for
- Contrary to Hayes (2000), we found no difference in /l/ darkness between morpheme final /l/s (kneel-ing) and morpheme-internal ones (ceiling)
- The data is compatible with Standard North American English being a dark-I language with initial clearing (Lehiste 1964, Recasens, 2012).

Please say 'to fool asses' again. Predicted pronunciation Predicted pronunciation Predicted pronunciation Predicted pronunciation Predicted pronunciation

Production

- A minimum of 16 subjects per experiment, all native speakers of North American English, read aloud English phrases with /l/ occurring in differing locations relative to a variety of morpho-syntactic boundaries
 - At least four items per experiment
- F2-F1 values were calculated for all /l/s, a relevant measure of /l/ darkness (e.g. Sproat & Fujimura, 1993).



- Does location relative to a morphological boundary affect /l/ darkness?
- Word-internal /l/s

Experiments 1-3 (kneel-ing vs. ceiling) preceding a morpheme-boundary vs. in monomorphemic forms

NO – no significant difference in F2-F1

Experiment 4 (meal-y vs. free-ly) morpheme-final vs. morpheme-initial YES – significant difference in F2-F1

Word-boundary /l/s

Experiment 5-6 ((jail owner vs. jay loaner and fool asses vs. woo lasses)
YES - significant difference in F2-F1

 Perceptual experiment stimuli have a larger F2-F1 difference than production results due to selection of lightest and darkest tokens for use in stimuli