# Allophonic Emergence: three ways allophonic rules come to be

Betsy Sneller and Joel C. Wallenberg University of Pennsylvania, Newcastle University

May 28, 2015 Formal Ways of Analyzing Variation (FWAV) Háskóli Íslands

# Phonetic processes

Introduction

• Operate over continuous phonetic dimensions

#### Phonetic processes

Introduction

- Operate over continuous phonetic dimensions
- Are mechanical, part of the physical implementation of language (e.g. coarticulation)

# Emergence of Phonological Categories inspired by (Fruehwald, 2013)

#### Phonetic processes

Introduction

- Operate over continuous phonetic dimensions
- Are mechanical, part of the physical implementation of language (e.g. coarticulation)

### Phonological processes

• Are categorical, and operate over featural representations

#### Phonetic processes

Introduction

- Operate over continuous phonetic dimensions
- Are mechanical, part of the physical implementation of language (e.g. coarticulation)

### Phonological processes

- Are categorical, and operate over featural representations
- Are part of the mental representation of language

#### Introduction

In this talk, we'll argue that there are at least three ways that allophonic categories can emerge. We provide evidence that they have all been attested in recent sound changes, and outline a research program with the goal of supporting or falsifying these hypotheses.

# Three paths to allophony

Mechanical Means Spontaneous Phonologization Phonological Specialization

#### Testing for the types Effect of duration

Rate of change

#### Conclusions

# Three paths to allophony

#### Mechanical Means

Traditionally assumed scenario (Ohala, 1981)

• A **mechanical**, non-grammatical effect skews the distribution of outputs perceived by the learner

Traditionally assumed scenario (Ohala, 1981)

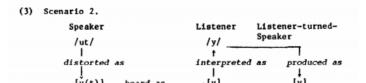
- A **mechanical**, non-grammatical effect skews the distribution of outputs perceived by the learner
  - Articulatory

Traditionally assumed scenario (Ohala, 1981)

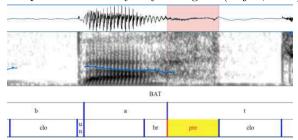
- A mechanical, non-grammatical effect skews the distribution of outputs perceived by the learner
  - Articulatory
  - Perceptual

Traditionally assumed scenario (Ohala, 1981)

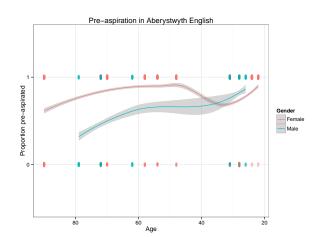
- A mechanical, non-grammatical effect skews the distribution of outputs perceived by the learner
  - Articulatory
  - Perceptual
- Our interpretation: some generation reanalyzes a phonetic effect as an allophonic rule, introducing a new rule variant into the populations (of utterances within speakers, of speakers in a speech community).



#### Preaspiration in Aberystwyth English (Hejná, 2014)



# Mechanical Means: Preaspiration in Aberystwyth English (Hejná, 2014)



# Three paths to allophony

Mechanical Means

Spontaneous Phonologization
Phonological Specialization

Testing for the types
Effect of duration
Rate of change

Conclusions

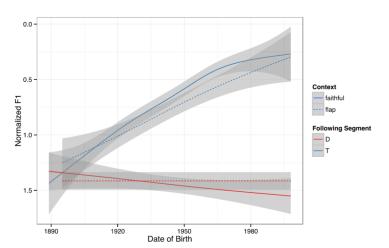
# Spontaneous Phonologization

Scenario proposed by Janda and Joseph (2003); Fruehwald (2013)

- Speakers **spontaneously** create an allophone without any phonetic motivation.
  - Allophonic categories emerge in individual speakers' grammars before any phonetic motivation

# Spontaneous Phonologization:

PRICE-raising in Philadelphia English (Fruehwald 2013)



•00

# Three paths to allophony

Mechanical Means
Spontaneous Phonologization
Phonological Specialization

Testing for the types Effect of duration Rate of change

Conclusions

• A phonetic change begins, creating variation in phonetic space

- A phonetic change begins, creating variation in phonetic space
- This variation is reanalyzed as an allophonic distinction for a generation of speakers

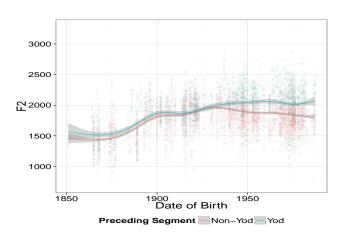
# Phonological Specialization

- A phonetic change begins, creating variation in phonetic space
- This variation is reanalyzed as an allophonic distinction for a generation of speakers
  - Different from Ohala (1981) because the phonologization is not the result of compounded perception or production errors

- A phonetic change begins, creating variation in phonetic space
- This variation is reanalyzed as an allophonic distinction for a generation of speakers
  - Different from Ohala (1981) because the phonologization is not the result of compounded perception or production errors
  - Different from Fruehwald (2013); Janda and Joseph (2003) because phonetics still play a role

# Phonological Specialization:

GOOSE-NEW split in New Zealand English (Seyfarth and Sneller 2014)



#### Introduction

# Three paths to allophony

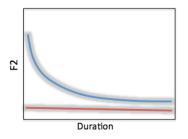
Mechanical Means Spontaneous Phonologization Phonological Specialization

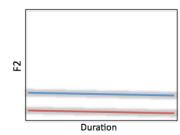
# Testing for the types Effect of duration

Conclusions

# Effect of duration: coarticulation vs. allophony

- If a difference in acoustic output is caused by coarticulation rather than allophony, then the difference will be bigger for shorter tokens
- If the difference is caused by allophony, then long and short tokens will all show a difference

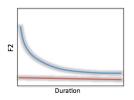


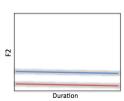


- Because the allophonic split is the result of accruing phonetic effects, we should see an effect of duration for most speakers, until a reanalysis has been made.
- After the reanalysis, as the new allophone spreads, the earlier effect of duration should decrease over time.

# Effect of duration: Mechanical means

#### Mechanical means





# Effect of duration: Spontaneous phonologization

## Spontaneous phonologization

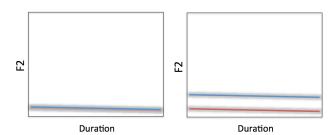
• Because there is no phonetic effect that precedes the phonological effect, we should see no effect of duration at any time

# Spontaneous phonologization

- Because there is no phonetic effect that precedes the phonological effect, we should see no effect of duration at any time
  - 1. Speakers with one category show no coarticulation (no difference to be found)

## Spontaneous phonologization

- Because there is no phonetic effect that precedes the phonological effect, we should see no effect of duration at any time
  - 1. Speakers with one category show no coarticulation (no difference to be found)
  - 2. Speakers with two categories show two phonological categories (no effect of duration)



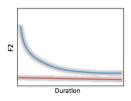
# Effect of duration: Phonological specialization

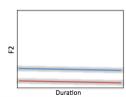
#### Phonological specialization

• Because the phonologization is the result of reanalyzed coarticulation, we should see older speakers showing an effect of duration (shorter tokens more distinct)

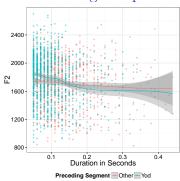
### Phonological specialization

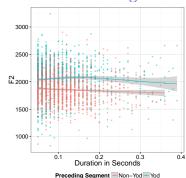
- Because the phonologization is the result of reanalyzed coarticulation, we should see older speakers showing an effect of duration (shorter tokens more distinct)
- and younger speakers with two distinct categories for tokens of all duration





## Phonological specialization in New Zealand English





#### Introduction

# Three paths to allophony Mechanical Means

Phonological Specialization

### Testing for the types

Effect of duration

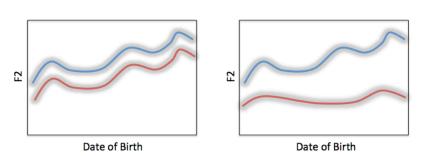
Rate of change

Conclusions

• A phonological rule operates on a single phonological category (Fruehwald, 2013)

- A phonological rule operates on a single phonological category (Fruehwald, 2013)
- If two variables have different rates of change, it means there are two rules at work

- A phonological rule operates on a single phonological category (Fruehwald, 2013)
- If two variables have different rates of change, it means there are two rules at work

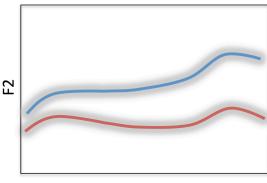


#### Mechanical means

• Because the allophonic split is the result of accruing phonetic effects, we should see a gradual drift in the two variables

# Rate of change: Mechanical means

#### Mechanical means



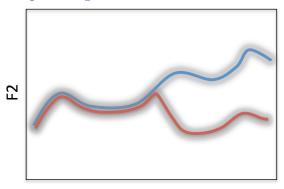
Date of Birth

### Spontaneous phonologization

• Because the allophonic split occurs suddenly, we should see both variables in lock step until the community spontaneously creates a new category

## Rate of change: Spontaneous phonologization

## Spontaneous phonologization



Date of Birth

#### Phonological specialization

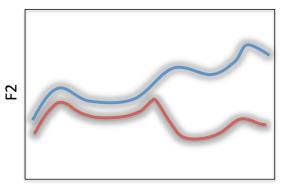
 Because the allophonic split occurs suddenly, we should see both variables in lock step until the community spontaneously creates a new category

### Phonological specialization

- Because the allophonic split occurs suddenly, we should see both variables in lock step until the community spontaneously creates a new category
- However, we may still see an effect of coarticulation for the early speakers

# Rate of change: Phonological specialization

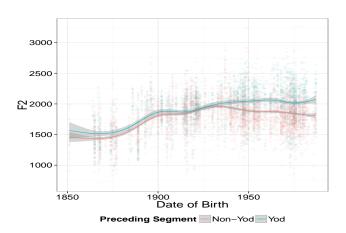
### Phonological specialization



Date of Birth

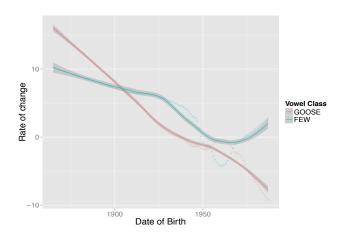
# Rate of change: Phonological specialization

#### Phonological specialization in New Zealand English /u/-fronting



# Rate of change: Phonological specialization

Phonological specialization in New Zealand English /u/-fronting



#### Mechanical means

- Effect of duration for the whole change until reanalysis
- Gradual split in rate of change

# Conclusions: 3 types of allophonic splits

#### Mechanical means

- Effect of duration for the whole change until reanalysis
- Gradual split in rate of change

### Spontaneous phonologization

- No effect of duration (pre-split don't have a distinction and post-split don't coarticulate)
- Immediate split in rate of change

# Conclusions: 3 types of allophonic splits

#### Mechanical means

- Effect of duration for the whole change until reanalysis
- Gradual split in rate of change

### Spontaneous phonologization

- No effect of duration (pre-split don't have a distinction and post-split don't coarticulate)
- Immediate split in rate of change

### Phonological specialization

- Effect of duration until reanalysis
- Immediate split in rate of change

• To use these metrics, we need **lots** of data from lots of people

- To use these metrics, we need **lots** of data from lots of people
  - We need data on changes before they happen

- To use these metrics, we need **lots** of data from lots of people
  - We need data on changes before they happen
- DARLA, FAVE

- To use these metrics, we need **lots** of data from lots of people
  - We need data on changes before they happen
- DARLA, FAVE
- What about suprasegmentals?
  - Duration and ROC are good metrics for vocalic and consonantal change

# Conclusions: Final thoughts

- To use these metrics, we need **lots** of data from lots of people
  - We need data on changes before they happen
- DARLA, FAVE
- What about suprasegmentals?
  - Duration and ROC are good metrics for vocalic and consonantal change
  - Cho (2015) Development of pitch contrast in Korean prosody

- To use these metrics, we need **lots** of data from lots of people
  - We need data on changes before they happen
- DARLA, FAVE
- What about suprasegmentals?
  - Duration and ROC are good metrics for vocalic and consonantal change
  - Cho (2015) Development of pitch contrast in Korean prosody
- Questions going further: how does allophone emergence relate to phoneme emergence?

### References I

- Cho, Sunghye. 2015. Development of pitch contrast in korean prosody.
- Fruehwald, Josef. 2013. Phonological involvement in phonetic change. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Hejná, Michaela. 2014. Pre-aspiration and glottalization in aberystwyth english.
- Janda, Richard D, and Brian D Joseph. 2003. Reconsidering the canons of sound-change: Towards a "big bang" theory. In Historical Linguistics 2001. Selected Papers from the 15th International Conference on Historical Linguistics, ed. Barry Blake and Kate Burridge, 205–219. Melbourne: John Benjamins.

Ohala, John. 1981. The listener as a source of language change. In *Papers from the parasession on language and behavior*, ed. C S Masek, R A Hendrick, and M F Miller. Chicago Linguistics Society.

# Thank you!