Forever young:

Inaudible /r/ allophony resists conventionalization

Jeff Mielke, Adam Baker, and Diana Archangeli

University of Arizona

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- ► American English /ɹ/: a variety perceptually indistinct production strategies (Delattre and Freeman 1968, Tiede et al. 2004).
 - bunched
 - retroflex
 - etc.

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- ► We present ultrasound data showing that speakers with more than one distinct /ɹ/ production strategy often:
 - use each "allophone" consistently in different contexts
 - do so in the interest of articulatory ease, and
 - differ quite a bit from one another.

/a/ allophony is peculiar because it is unable to reach a stage of conventionalization.

Speaker-specific allophony patterns.

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- Complex allophony patterns:

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 - Different conditioning segments for different syllable positions

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 - Different conditioning consonants for different vowel contexts

- Speaker-specific allophony patterns.
- Complex allophony patterns:
 - Different conditioning segments for different syllable positions
 - ▶ Different conditioning consonants for different vowel contexts
 - Sets of conditioning environments that are not easily defined.

We argue that these facts show that:

 multiple sound patterns can emerge in response to the same phonetic motivation,

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- speakers can control complex allophonic rules,
- the simplification characteristic of many familiar sound patterns appears to be the result of social convergence on a single conventionalized pattern, and
- ▶ this convergence cannot occur here because the difference between allophones is imperceptible.

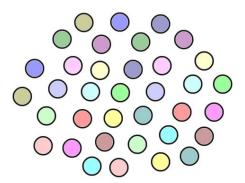
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- (e.g. (recently) Ohala 1981, 2003, Ladefoged 1984, Labov 1994, 2001, Bybee 1998, Hume and Johnson 2001, Hale 2003, Janda 2003, Janda and Joseph 2003, Kiparsky 2003, Blevins 2004, etc...).

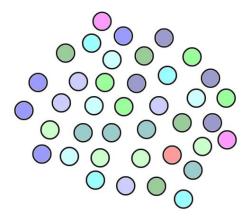
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- An illustration:

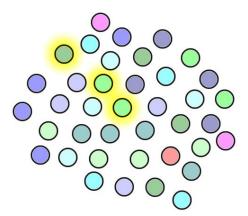
Many possible variants.



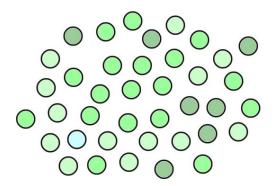
Biased toward phonetically natural ones.



Something gets social significance.



Speakers converge and it gets conventionalized.



American English /1/

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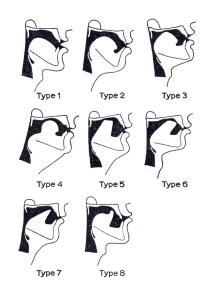
► Characterized by low F1, F2, and especially F3 (Boyce and Espy-Wilson 1997, Delattre and Freeman 1968, Westbury et al. 1998).

American English /a/

- ► Characterized by low F1, F2, and especially F3 (Boyce and Espy-Wilson 1997, Delattre and Freeman 1968, Westbury et al. 1998).
- Articulatory variability helps achieve acoustic stability (Guenther et al 1999, Boyce and Espy-Wilson, 1997).

The Delattre and Freeman taxonomy:

- Types 2-7 reported for American English (Delattre and Freeman 1968, Tiede et al. 200X).
- ▶ Delattre and Freeman found Types 1 and 8 in British English.



The r-less / J / types (bunched)

_



Northeast American



The dorsal /a/ types (bunched)





Type 3

Classic bunched



Type 4

The blade /a/ types (bunched)

Posterior blade



Type 5

Anterior blade





The retroflex /a/ types

Apical retroflex



Type 7

Classic retroflex



Type 8



Methods overview

- Subjects were recorded producing English words containing / J/ (audio, video, and ultrasound video)
- ► Stimuli were monosyllabic words with /ɹ/ in different syllabic and segmental contexts.
- Produced in the carrier phrase "Please say X again."

Stimuli

Segments:

- Vowels in stimuli were /a o i/.
- ▶ Preceding $/ u / were / p t k f \int \theta / and #.$
- ► Following $/ J / were / p t k f t \int \theta I / and #.$

Words (subject to the existence of words):

- ▶ 3 words for each C₋₋V & V₋₋C context (92)
- ▶ 5 words for each initial & final context (30)
- ▶ 1 word for each C__C context (25) (many gaps)

All words repeated 3 times.

Subjects

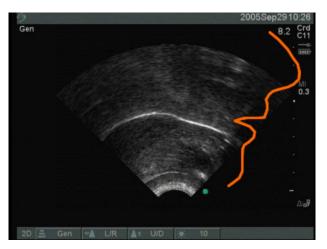
- ▶ 32 University of Arizona undergraduates
- ▶ 5 subjects excluded from analysis (4 non-native speakers of American English and 1 who imaged very poorly)
- 27 subjects analyzed

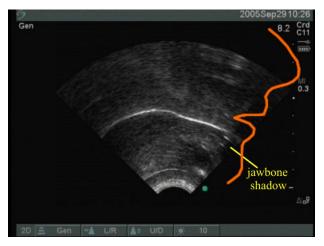
Analysis of tokens

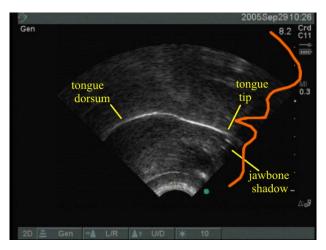
- ▶ 441 tokens (3×147) per subject analyzed:
 - visual inspection of ultrasound images
 - visual inspection of ultrasound video
 - with and without Palatron tongue-palate alignment (Mielke et al. 2004).
- ► Each token labeled according to Delattre and Freeman's (1968) taxonomy.

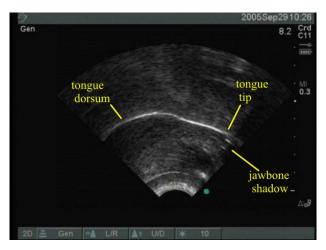
An ultrasound image of the tongue









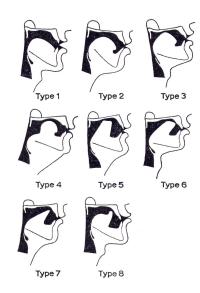


Retroflex: r08's 'frog'

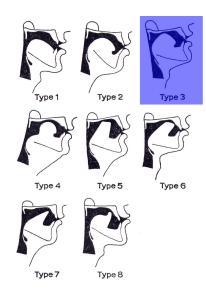
Bunched: r08's 'Shriek'

Bunched: r15's 'morph'

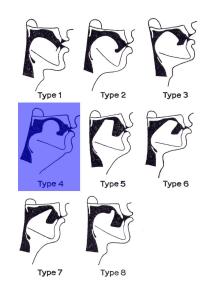
Coarticulated bunched: r15's 'torch'



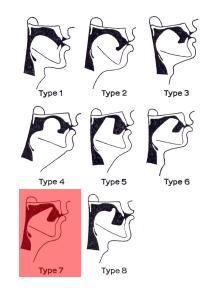
Type 3 only



Type 3 only
Type 4 only



Type 3 only
Type 4 only
Type 7 only

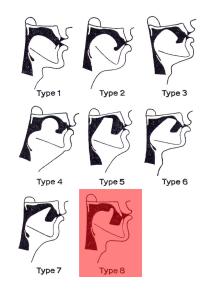


Type 3 only

Type 4 only

Type 7 only

Type 8 only



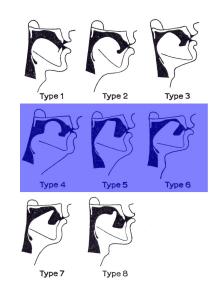
Type 3 only

Type 4 only

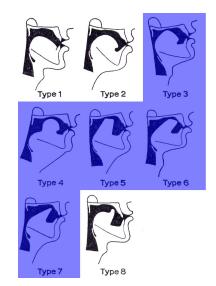
Type 7 only

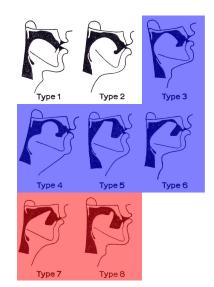
Type 8 only

Types 4/5/6



Type 3 only
Type 4 only
Type 7 only
Type 8 only
Types 4/5/6
Types 3-7





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Type 3 only
Type 4 only
Type 7 only
Type 8 only
Types 4/5/6
Types 3-7
3-6 vs. 7-8
Total

7 only

1 only

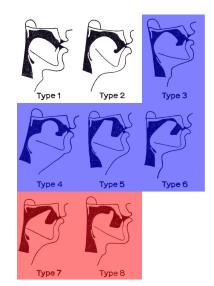
1 only

1 only

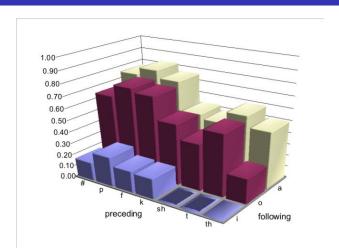
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27 subjects
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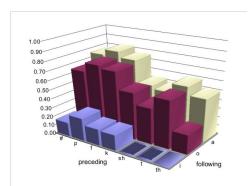
Average retroflexion rates for prevocalic / J / (11 subjects)



Generalizations: prevocalic /a/

Retroflexion rates:

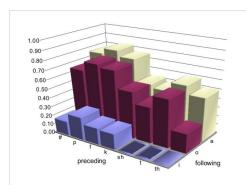
► (C)ra, (C)ro > (C)ri



Generalizations: prevocalic / ɹ/

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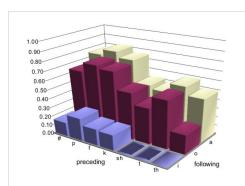
- ► (C)ra, (C)ro > (C)ri
- #rV, prV, frV > krV, ſrV, trV, θrV



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Retroflexion rates:

- ► (C)ra, (C)ro > (C)ri
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- ightharpoonup (ri, tri, θ ri = zero



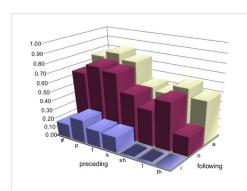
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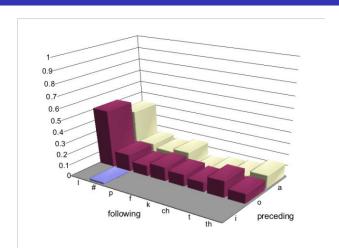
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Discourage retroflexion:

- high front vowel
- lingual consonants, especially coronals



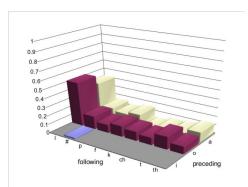
Average retroflexion rates for postvocalic $/ \iota / (11 \text{ subjects})$



Generalizations: postvocalic /ɹ/

Retroflexion rates:

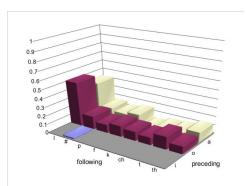
▶ low overall



Generalizations: postvocalic / ɹ/

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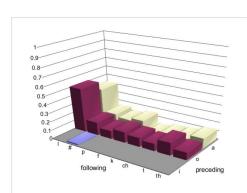
- low overall
- highest Vrl



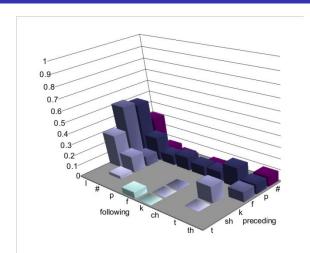
Generalizations: postvocalic /a/

Retroflexion rates:

- low overall
- highest Vrl
- ar(C), or(C) > ir(C)



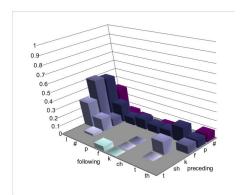
Average retroflexion rates for syllabic $/a/\sqrt{(11 \text{ subjects})}$



Generalizations: syllabic /a/

Retroflexion rates:

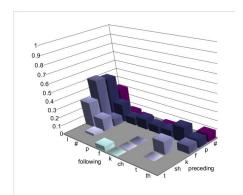
low overall



Generalizations: syllabic /a/

Retroflexion rates:

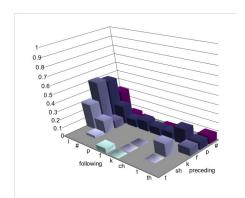
- low overall
- ▶ highest (C)rl



Generalizations: syllabic /a/

Retroflexion rates:

- ▶ low overall
- ▶ highest (C)rl
- ▶ higher prV, frV



▶ Average retroflexion rates are highest before vowels and /I/.

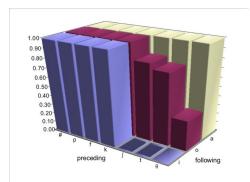
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- Average retroflexion rates are highest before vowels and /I/.
- Average retroflexion rates next to different segments are phonetically sensible:
 - Less retroflexion next to segments that place demands on the tongue that are antagonistic with retroflexion
 - More retroflexion where segments do not interfere or where tongue body position is compatible with retroflexion

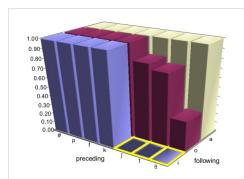
Categorical retroflexion

Nine speakers have some environments with 100% retroflexion.



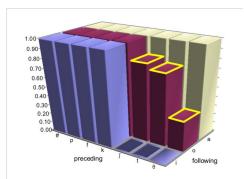
Categorical retroflexion

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- r19 retroflexes everywhere but fri, tri, θri

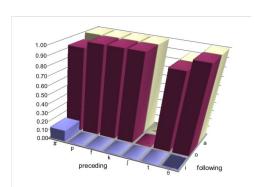


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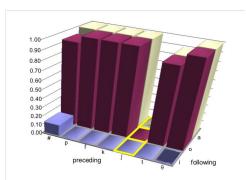
- Nine speakers have some environments with 100% retroflexion.
- r19 retroflexes everywhere but fri, tri, θri
- often bunches ∫ro, tro, θro



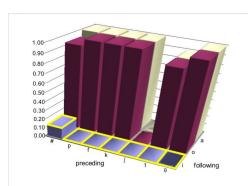
Some speakers have systematic gaps.



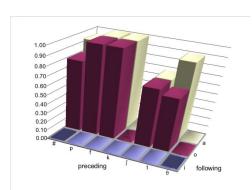
- Some speakers have systematic gaps.
- r08 doesn't retroflex in frV



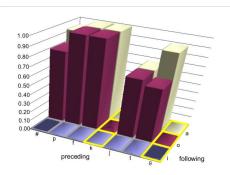
- Some speakers have systematic gaps.
- r08 doesn't retroflex in ∫rV
- almost never retroflexes in Cri



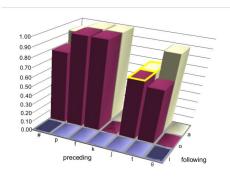
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- r17 doesn't retroflex in krV or θrV

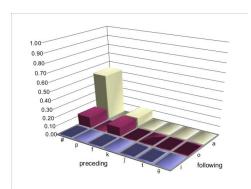


- Other speakers have other gaps.
- r17 doesn't retroflex in krV or θrV
- but does retroflex in frV



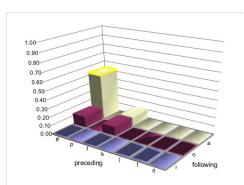
Sporadic retroflexion

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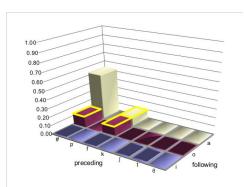
Sporadic retroflexion

- Three speakers have only sporadic retroflexion.
- ▶ r01 has some retroflexion in #ra



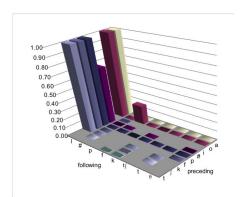
Sporadic retroflexion

- Three speakers have only sporadic retroflexion.
- r01 has some retroflexion in #ra
- and occasional retroflexion in #ro, fra, fro



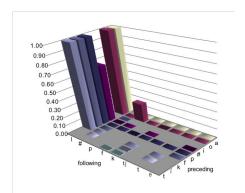
Retroflexion before liquids

 Only eight subjects retroflex postvocalic or syllabic /a/.



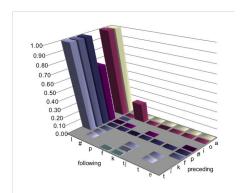
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- Four of these retroflex only before /I/



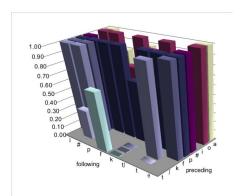
Retroflexion before liquids

- Only eight subjects retroflex postvocalic or syllabic /a/.
- Four of these retroflex only before /I/
- ▶ r19 retroflexes in all pre-liquid contexts.



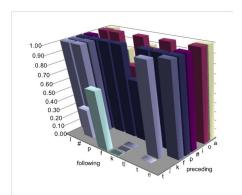
Retroflexion before other consonants

 Only four subjects regularly retroflex before any other consonants.



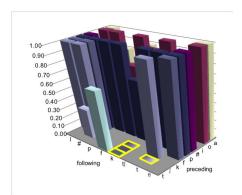
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Retroflexion before other consonants

- Only four subjects regularly retroflex before any other consonants.
- r22 retroflexes in most nonprevocalic contexts.
- but never in krk, ∫rk, trk, or ∫rt



/ı/ allophony rules are...

- phonetically natural
- speaker-specific
- complex

/a/ allophony rules are **phonetically natural**

Bunched /a/ typically occurs next to "bunched" consonants and vowels.

/a/ allophony rules are **phonetically natural**

- ▶ Bunched /ɹ/ typically occurs next to "bunched" consonants and vowels.
- Retroflex /a/ typically occurs in contexts without antagonistic tongue shapes.

More bunching next to linguals and [i]

[ʃ], [k], and [i] all involve essentially a "bunched" tongue body.

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- [ʃ], [k], and [i] all involve essentially a "bunched" tongue body.
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- but not impossible: r30's "shriek".

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- For retroflex /a/, the tongue body is back, as for a back yowel.
- Retroflexion is more common here: r08's "frog".



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- ▶ More retroflexion before /I/ than before any other consonant.
- ► The syllable structure of words with Vrl is ambiguous (e.g., 'Carl', 'curl', 'whorl').
- ▶ Mixed results: 8 of 13 subjects who retroflex before vowels also retroflex before /I/.
- Consistent with other findings relating /I/'s phonetic ambiguity to mixed phonological behavior (e.g. Mielke 2005).

/a/ allophony rules are speaker-specific:

▶ Different reactions to the same phonetic motivations

/a/ allophony rules are **speaker-specific:**

- ▶ Different reactions to the same phonetic motivations
- Responses to different speaker-specific phonetic motivations

Different reactions to the same motivations

Context	Avg.	ii	i	i	i	i	##	i	ii	##	*****
	rate										*****
C{a o}											
# p f	.38	Х	Χ	Χ	Χ	Χ	Χ	Χ	Χ	Χ	
velar	.29	Х	Χ	Χ	Χ	Χ	Χ	Χ			
coronals	.26	Х	Χ	Χ	Χ	Χ	Χ	Χ	Χ		
nonpreV											
l	.25	Х	Χ	Χ	Χ	Χ	Х				
elsewhere	.11	Х	Χ	Χ		Χ					
Ci											
# p f	.16	Х	Χ		Χ	Х					
velar	.15	Х	Χ		Χ						
coronals	.07	Χ									



Different conditioning consonants

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Some differences may be attributed to speaker-specific articulatory motivations.

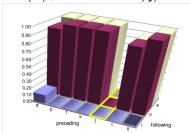
Different conditioning consonants

Subjects differ in what lingual Cs condition retroflexion.

- Some differences may be attributed to speaker-specific articulatory motivations.
- Some differences are not obviously rooted in different articulatory motivations.

Different conditioning consonants. Why?

r08 retroflexes after /k/ and $/\theta/$, but not after $/\int/$.

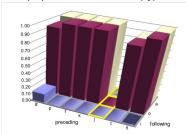


r08

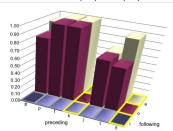


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r08 retroflexes after /k/ and $/\theta/$, but not after $/\int/$.



r17 retroflexes after $/\int/$, but not after /k/ or $/\theta/$.



r08

r17



Speaker-specific motivations: [ʃ]

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'Shrop'
r08 (bunched): r17 (retroflex):
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Speaker-specific motivations?: [k]

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'Crop' r08 (retroflex): r17 (bunched):
```

Speaker-specific motivations?: $[\theta]$

```
'throb' r08 (retroflex): r17 (bunched):
```

/a/ allophony rules are **complex**

▶ Different conditioning segments for different syllable positions

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- ▶ Different conditioning consonants for different vowel contexts

/a/ allophony rules are **complex**

- ▶ Different conditioning segments for different syllable positions
- ▶ Different conditioning consonants for different vowel contexts
- Sets of conditioning environments are not easily defined. e.g. r04 has:

/J/
$$\rightarrow$$
 retroflex / {# p f k}__{a o} \vee p__i \vee 0__a

Retroflexion before and after consonants

Consonants that allow retroflexion of a following / a / a.

r19	r22	r27	r04	r26	r08	r32	r17	r01	r10	r06
#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#
р	p	p	p	p	p	p	p		p	p
f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f		f
k	k	k	k	k	k	k				
ſ	ſ	ſ	ſ	ſ			ſ			
t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t		t	
θ	θ	θ	θ	θ	θ	θ				

Retroflexion before and after consonants

Consonants that allow retroflexion of a following / J / .Consonants that allow retroflexion of a preceding / J / .

r19	r22	r27	r04	r26	r08	r32	r17	r01	r10	r06
#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#
р	p	p	p	p	p	p	p		p	р
f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f		f
k	k	k	k	k	k	k				
ſ	ſ	ſ	ſ	_			ſ			
t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t		t	
θ	θ	θ	θ	θ	θ	θ				

Retroflexion before /a o/ and /i/

Consonants that allow retroflexion of a following / a / before / a o /.

r19	r22	r27	r04	r26	r08	r32	r17	r01	r10	r06
#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#
р	p	p	p	p	p	p	p		p	р
f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f		f
k	k	k	k	k	k	k				
ſ	ſ	ſ	ſ	ſ			ſ			
t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t		t	
θ	θ	θ	θ	θ	θ	θ				

Retroflexion before /a o/ and /i/

Consonants that allow retroflexion of a following $/ \iota /$ before / a o/. Consonants that allow retroflexion of a following $/ \iota /$ before / i /.

r19	r22	r27	r04	r26	r08	r32	r17	r01	r10	r06
#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#
р	p	p	p	p	р	p	p		р	р
f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f		f
k	k	k	k	k	k	k				
ſ	ſ	ſ	ſ	ſ			ſ			
t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t		t	
θ	θ	θ	θ	θ	θ	θ				

Phonetic naturalness Speaker-specificity Complexity General

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We do not typically see:

such a wide range of speaker-specific interpretations of a phonetically-motivated sound pattern.

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- such complex conditioning environments.

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We do not typically see:

- such a wide range of speaker-specific interpretations of a phonetically-motivated sound pattern.
- such complex conditioning environments.
- sound patterns that respect each speaker's idiosyncratic articulatory needs.

But apparently these types of patterns are possible.

Why is /a/ allophony different?

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Why is / x / allophony different?

- ▶ The difference between allophones is inaudible.
- Speakers cannot converge on a common rule because no one knows what anyone else is doing.
- Social convergence has been linked to the simplification of sound patterns (e.g., Trudgill 2002)
- ► Social convergence on an /ɹ/ allophony pattern might:
 - ▶ iron out speaker-specific articulatory differences,
 - tend to favor an easily learned variant.

Possible "ironed out" conventionalized /a/ allophony patterns:

 \blacktriangleright / \jmath / is retroflex in onsets (like English /I/).

- \blacktriangleright /J / is retroflex in onsets (like English /I /).
- ► / x/ is retroflex next to labials and word boundaries.

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- /a/ is retroflex next to back vowels.

- \blacktriangleright / \jmath / is retroflex in onsets (like English /I/).
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- ► /ı/ is retroflex next to back vowels.
- ▶ /ɹ/ is retroflex between labials and back vowels.

- \blacktriangleright / \jmath / is retroflex in onsets (like English /I/).
- /a/ is retroflex next to labials and word boundaries.
- ► /ı/ is retroflex next to back vowels.
- /a/ is retroflex between labials and back vowels.
- / J/ is retroflex in onsets between labials and back vowels.

In the absence of social convergence...

► Each speaker must create a new idiosyncratic sound pattern.

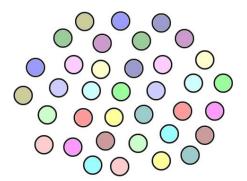
In the absence of social convergence...

- ▶ Each speaker must create a new idiosyncratic sound pattern.
- ▶ These patterns resemble each other to the extent that:
 - variants are easily produced with a human vocal tract
 - they have the same acoustic result (e.g. low F3)

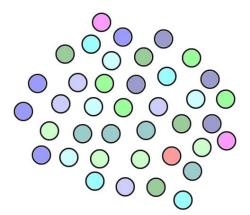
In the absence of social convergence...

- ► Each speaker must create a new idiosyncratic sound pattern.
- ▶ These patterns resemble each other to the extent that:
 - variants are easily produced with a human vocal tract
 - they have the same acoustic result (e.g. low F3)
- ▶ Idiosyncratic sound patterns: the pool of variation from which new conventional patterns could be drawn

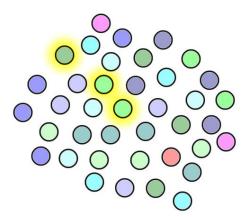
Many possible / J / allophony patterns.



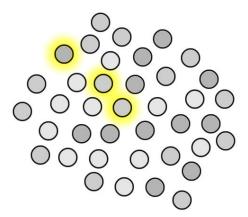
Biased toward phonetically natural ones.



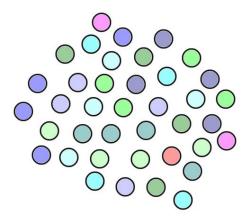
Only the acoustic properties (low F3) can gain social significance.



Perceptually, there is no evidence of articulatory differences.



Articulatorily, /a/ allophony is stuck at an early stage.



▶ /ɹ/ allophony is stuck at an early stage of its development

- ► / \(\pi \) allophony is stuck at an early stage of its development
- ▶ No convergence on a common pattern

- ▶ / J / allophony is stuck at an early stage of its development
- ▶ No convergence on a common pattern
- No simplification

- /a/ allophony is stuck at an early stage of its development
- ▶ No convergence on a common pattern
- No simplification
- Variants of the pattern still tend to be phonetically natural.

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- Different sound patterns can emerge in response to the same phonetic motivation (depending on which variant is ultimately conventionalized).
- ▶ Different speakers can have different phonetic motivations.
- ▶ Sound patterns can be both phonetically natural and complex.
- Phonetic naturalness and simplicity can be byproducts of the development of a sound pattern.
- ► They need not emerge together.



Thank you