

PHONOLOGICAL (DIS)SIMILARITY

REDUPLICATION, CONFUSABILITY, AND
THE LEXICON IN BENGALI

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OUTLINE

■ **Overview**

- Identity and similarity in phonology

■ **Echo reduplication**

- Identity avoidance, with a puzzle from English
- Production data from Bengali
- Gradient similarity avoidance

■ **Similarity metric**

- Shared natural classes
- Weighted shared natural classes

■ **Other expressions of gradient similarity**

- Lexical statistics
- Perceptual confusability

■ **Synthesis of results**

CATEGORICAL IDENTITY/SIMILARITY

- Many processes incorporate **categorical identity**
 - **Reduplication**
 - **Sibilant harmony** in Chumash (Beeler 1970)
 - [kiʃkín] + [us] ⇒ *[kiʃkínus] ⇒ [kiskínus] 'I saved it for him'
 - **Haplology** (identity avoidance)
 - merry + -ly ⇒ merrily
 - silly + -ly ⇒ *sillily ⇒ silly (adv.)
- Often broadened to a natural class: **categorical similarity**
 - **Vowel harmony** in Turkish (Tosun 1999)
 - [kwɯz] + [ɫar] ⇒ [kwɯzɫar] 'girls'
 - [jyz] + [ɫar] ⇒ *[jyzɫar] ⇒ [jyzlʲær] 'faces'

GRADIENT SIMILARITY

- But some phenomena in perception and the lexicon are best described as involving **gradient similarity**
 - Lexical **cooccurrence** effects in Muna (Coetzee & Pater 2005)
 - [d] is found in fewer roots with [t] than with [n]
 - Perceptual **confusability** in English (Cutler et al. 2004)
 - [tʃ] is misidentified as [t] more often than as [dʒ]
- It's possible that cases of supposed categorical identity/similarity are in fact extreme cases of gradient similarity
 - cf. Vowel harmony in Hungarian (Hayes & Londe 2006)

GOAL FOR THIS TALK

- Present data illustrating the phenomenon of **fixed-segment echo reduplication** in Bengali
- Demonstrate that it is a case of **gradient similarity**
- Explore what kind of **metric** underlies the patterns seen
- Investigate **lexical and perceptual** expressions of similarity as well as a comparison

ECHO REDUPLICATION

■ Echo reduplication

- [daktə ʃm_Faktə] 'doctor_{DISMISSIVE}'
- As opposed to [daktə daktə] '(real/prototypical) doctor'
- Most common in lgs across southern Asia

■ Phonological properties

- Total reduplication
- Systematic replacement of some material in reduplicant (RED) with one or more **fixed segments**

■ Semantic properties

- Typically denotes **generalization**: 'X, etc.', 'superset of X'
- In some lgs, it can also be **disparaging**

ECHO REDUPLICATION

- Representative examples:
- Turkish [m_F] (Southern 2005)
 - [kutu] 'box' ⇒ [kutu m_Futu] 'box(es), etc.'
 - [citap] 'book' ⇒ [citap m_Fitap] 'book(s), etc.'
 - [ʃaka] 'fun' ⇒ [ʃaka m_Faka] 'easily', 'calmly'
- Eastern A-Hmao [ú_F] (Mortensen 2006)
 - [ámâ] 'eye' ⇒ [ámú_F âmâ] 'eyes, ears, mouth, and nose'
 - [píndzâu] 'demon' ⇒ [píndzú_F pîndzâu] 'spirits of all kinds'
 - [kíłáw] 'strip of cloth' ⇒ [kíłú_F kíłáw] 'strips of cloth, etc.'

ECHO REDUPLICATION

- Unlike prototypical reduplication, echo reduplication typically **requires** the base and RED to be **non-identical**
 - Unlike “emergence of the unmarked” cases of base-RED nonidentity, e.g. Sanskrit (Steriade 1988)
 - Unlike “default fixed segmentism”, e.g. Yoruba (Alderete et al. 1999)
- Presence of the fixed segment should be enough to generate base-RED nonidentity...
- ...unless the fixed segment is identical to the segment it is meant to replace

IDENTITY AVOIDANCE

- [m]-initial words in Turkish [m_F] have **no echo form**
 - [para] 'money' ⇒ [p_{para} m_Fara] 'money, etc.'
 - [masa] 'table' ⇒ *[m_{masa} m_Fasa] 'towel, etc.' ⇒ **NO OUTPUT**
- [m]-initial words in Abkhaz [m_F] take **backup** [tʃ_F] (Vaux 1996)
 - [gádʒak'] 'fool' ⇒ [gádʒak' m_Fádʒak'] 'fool, etc.'
 - [maát] 'money' ⇒ *[m_{maát} m_Faát] ⇒ [m_{maát} tʃ_Faát] 'money, etc.'
- In Classical Tibetan [a_F], **base takes backup** [o_F] (Beyer 1992)
 - [ndzog] ⇒ [ndza_Fg ndzo_g] 'jumbled up'
 - [glen] ⇒ [gl_a_Fn gl_en] 'very stupid'
 - [ŋan] ⇒ *[ŋ_a_Fn ŋ_an] ⇒ [ŋ_an ŋ_o_Fn] 'miserable'

IDENTITY AVOIDANCE

- Through various means, lgs work to **avoid categorical identity** between base and RED in echo forms
- Survey of echo forms in >100 lgs of India found **identity avoidance** in every case (Trivedi 1990)
- Previous work on echo forms generally describe a straightforward case of **categorical identity avoidance**
- No one has yet confirmed that this avoidance pattern does not extend to natural classes, or that it is not gradient

A PUZZLE FROM ENGLISH

- What about English [ʃm_F]?
 - [daktə] 'doctor' ⇒ [daktə ʃm_Faktə] 'doctor_{DISMISSIVE}'
 - [skul] 'school' ⇒ [skul ʃm_Ful] 'school_{DISMISSIVE}'
- Online survey, 190 respondents (Nevins & Vaux 2003)
- **Identity avoidance:** 95–97% of speakers rejected echo forms with [ʃm_F] for the 3 [ʃm]-initial words
 - [ʃmuz] 'schmooze' ⇒ *[ʃmuz ʃm_Fuz] 'schmooze_{DISMISSIVE}'
- Interestingly, 30% of speakers also rejected echo forms with [ʃm_F] for the one [ʃn]-initial word... **why??**
 - [ʃnaz] 'schnozz' ⇒ *[ʃnaz ʃm_Faz] 'schnozz_{DISMISSIVE}'

A PUZZLE FROM ENGLISH

- Possible explanations:
- The “two dialects” possibility
 - 65% of subjects obey **identity avoidance**
 - 30% obey **categorical similarity avoidance**, where $[\text{ʃn}]$ and $[\text{ʃm}]$ are of the same category: “sounds similar to $[\text{ʃm}_F]$ ”
- The “matter of degree” possibility
 - 95% obey **gradient similarity avoidance**, of whom:
 - 65% considered $[\text{ʃn}]$ and $[\text{ʃm}_F]$ are sufficiently dissimilar
 - 30% considered $[\text{ʃn}]$ and $[\text{ʃm}_F]$ are excessively similar

A PUZZLE FROM ENGLISH

- Another possible explanation: “this isn’t English”
 - **Humorous** and possibly **peripheral** to the language
 - **Less common** in English than in other lgs
 - [ʃm] is **highly marked**, restricted to **borrowings** from Yiddish
 - Construction is possibly borrowed from Yiddish (Southern 2005)

MOTIVATION

- To understand if echo reduplication can employ gradient similarity avoidance, we need a lg in which:
 - Echo reduplication is a fully **productive, linguistic** feature
 - The fixed segment is a relatively **unmarked sound**
 - The fixed segment has many **similar** sounds
- **Bengali¹ is an ideal test case**
 - Default fixed segment [t_F]²: crosslinguistically unmarked
 - [t] has high token freq. (definite marker & classifier [-ta])
 - Attested backup fixed segments [m_F f_F p_F u_F] (Ray et al. 1966)
 - Inventory has many [t]-like sounds: [t^h d d^h t̪ t̪^h d̪ tɕ s...] (Khan 2010)

¹ Specifically, urban colloquial Bangladeshi varieties

² [t t^h d d^h] can be retroflex in Bengali, but are typically alveolar in these varieties (Khan 2010)

QUESTIONS

- Does echo reduplication in Bengali involve...
 - **Categorical identity avoidance**,
 - **Categorical similarity avoidance**, or
 - **Gradient similarity avoidance**?
- If it is the latter, how can similarity be objectively **measured** on a gradient scale?
- As a comparison, we can investigate other parts of Bengali phonology that expected to employ this gradient similarity:
 - Lexical **cooccurrence** restrictions
 - Perceptual **confusability**

EXPERIMENT I: PRODUCTION

- **Basic design:** native speakers produce echo RED for base stimuli with carefully-selected initial C
- **Expectations:**
 - [kafi] 'cough' \Rightarrow [kafi t_Fafi]
 - [b^hidz:a] 'having gotten wet' \Rightarrow [b^hidz:a t_Fidz:a]
 - [tika] 'vaccine' \Rightarrow *[tika t_Fika] \Rightarrow [tika m_Fika] (identity violation)
- **Question: how will sounds similar to [t_F] behave?**
 - [t^hajʃ:a] 'having stuffed' \Rightarrow [t^hajʃ:a t_Fajʃ:a] (no violation)?
OR
 - [t^hajʃ:a] \Rightarrow *[t^hajʃ:a t_Fajʃ:a] \Rightarrow [t^hajʃ:a f_Fajʃ:a] (similarity violation)?

EXPERIMENT I: STIMULI

- **60 stimulus** words
 - Disyllabic stems
 - Content words: N, A, V (perfective participles)
- **2 registers** of urban colloquial Bangladeshi Bengali
 - High register: closer to written Kolkata Standard
 - Low register: closer to eastern regional varieties
- **Produced** by adult female speaker
 - Proficient in both registers
 - 2 reps per variety = 240 recordings
 - Recorded in sound-treated booth on Telex M-540 mic

EXPERIMENT I: STIMULI

- 60 test words fell under **3 conditions**:
- **Identity**: [t]-initial words
- **Similarity**: words with [t]-like initials
 - Coronal obstruents [t^h d̥ t̚ t̚^h tɕ s~tɕ^h ʃ]
- **Control**: words with non-[t]-like initials
 - Coronal sonorants [n l ɹ]
 - Non-coronals [k h p f b^h m]

EXPERIMENT I: STIMULI

- Consonants of Bangladeshi Standard Bengali (Khan 2010)

Identity **Similarity** **Control**

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Post-Alv	Velar/Glot
Stop	p b b ^h	t̪ t̪ ^h d̪ d̪ ^h	t t ^h d d ^h		k k ^h g g ^h
Affricate			tʃ tʃ ^h dʒ dʒ ^h		
Fricative	f	s		ʃ	h
Liquid			l ɭ		
Nasal	m		n		(ŋ)

EXPERIMENT I: STIMULI

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Identity **Similarity** **Control**

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Post-Alv	Velar/Glot
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Fricative	f	s		ʃ	h
Liquid			l ɭ		
Nasal	m		n		(ŋ)

EXPERIMENT I: SETUP

- **30 speakers** of Bengali
 - Varied dialect background
 - Residents of CA
 - Paid \$10
- **Heard stimulus**
 - Participant selected preferred register
 - Order randomized for each speaker
- **Asked to produce** echo reduplicated form
 - [kaʃi] 'cough' ⇒ [kaʃi t_Faʃi] 'cough, etc.' given as example
- Responses were transcribed

EXPERIMENT I: HYPOTHESES

- **Identity** words will never use $[t_F]$
- **Control** words will always use $[t_F]$
- **Similarity** words are what are being tested:
 - Hypothesis 1: **similarity** = **control** (categorical identity)
 - Hypothesis 2: **similarity** = **identity** (categorical similarity)
 - Hypothesis 3: **similarity** is on a continuum

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{Identity} & & \text{Similarity} & & \text{Control} \\ *[t \dots t_F] & \neq & [t^h \dots t_F] & = & [b^h \dots t_F] \end{array}$$

$$[t^h a j \int : a] \Rightarrow [t^h a j \int : a \quad t_F a j \int : a]$$

EXPERIMENT I: HYPOTHESES

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$$[t^h \text{aj}\text{f} : a] \Rightarrow * [t^h \text{aj}\text{f} : a \quad t_F \text{aj}\text{f} : a] \Rightarrow [t^h \text{aj}\text{f} : a \quad m_F \text{aj}\text{f} : a]$$

EXPERIMENT I: HYPOTHESES

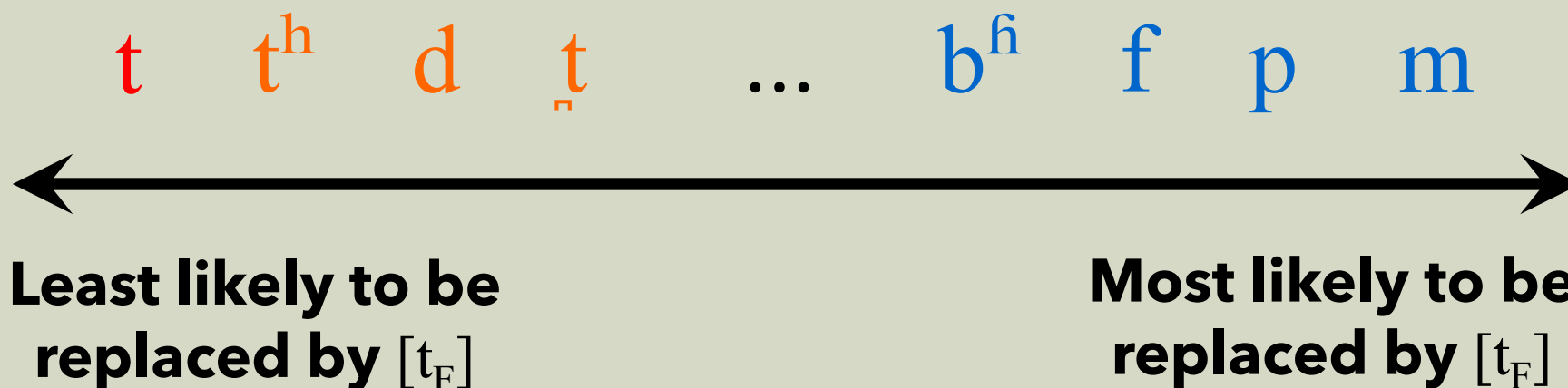
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Identity		Similarity		Control
$*[t \dots t_F]$	\neq	$?[t^h \dots t_F]$	\neq	$[b^h \dots t_F]$

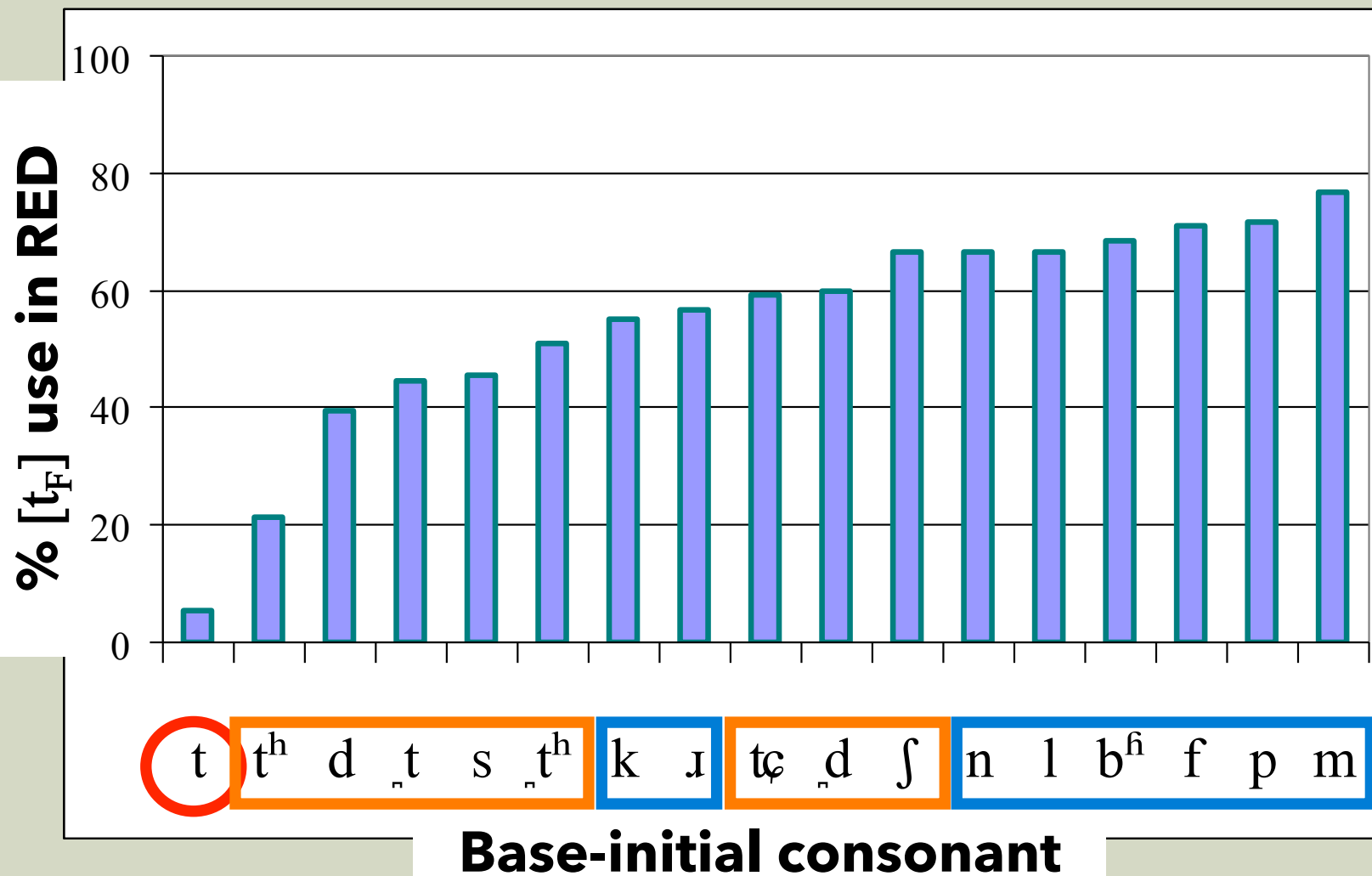
$$[t^h a j \int : a] \Rightarrow [t^h a j \int : a \quad t_F a j \int : a] \sim [t^h a j \int : a \quad f_F a j \int : a]$$

EXPERIMENT I: RESULTS

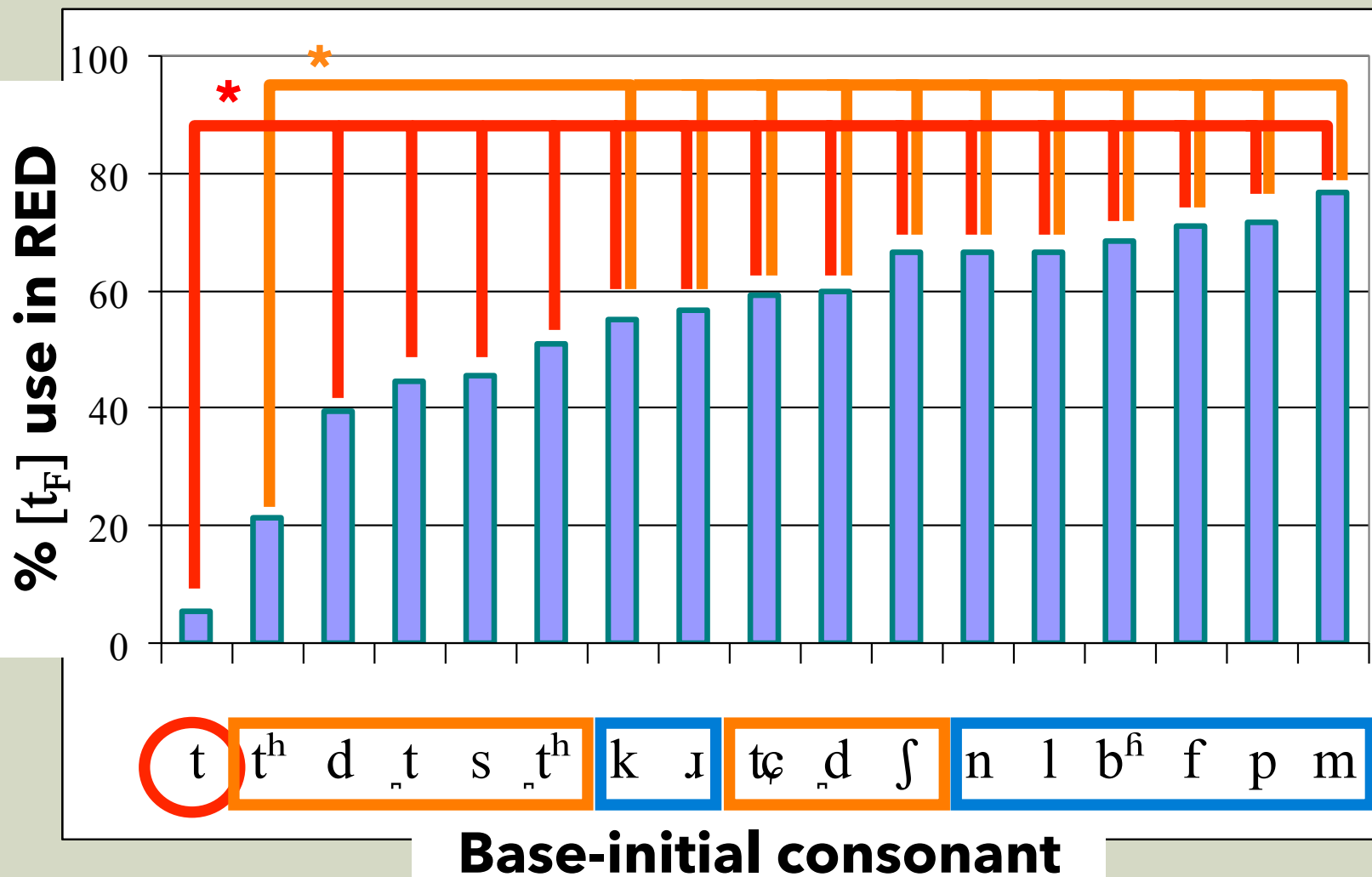
- **Hypothesis 3** was borne out
- **Similarity** words lie on a continuum
 - Disprefer [t_F] but not outright ungrammatical
 - Some consonants are more [t]-like in behavior than others
- Seems like **Cs that take [t_F] less often are also phonetically closer to [t]**



EXPERIMENT I: RESULTS



EXPERIMENT I: RESULTS



EXPERIMENT I: DISCUSSION

- Echo reduplication in Bengali appears to incorporate a notion of **gradient similarity avoidance**
 - No straightforward clustering of consonants
 - Heavy overlap across clusters
 - Like the “matter of degree” hypothesis from English puzzle

NEW QUESTIONS

- We should confirm our suspicion that our reduplication data can be modeled on an **objective scale of similarity**
- Is there a **metric** that Bengali speakers are using to calculate the similarity of an initial C and [t]?
- Metric has to be **gradient**, possibly **language-specific**

SHARED NATURAL CLASSES

- Best-known option is **shared natural classes (SNC) metric**
(Frisch et al. 1995/2004)
- **Similarity** of two Cs is based on the **number of natural classes they share** in the inventory
- Universal claim with language-specific application
- **Hypothesis:** the more natural classes shared between a C and [t], the less likely it will take [t_F] in its echo RED

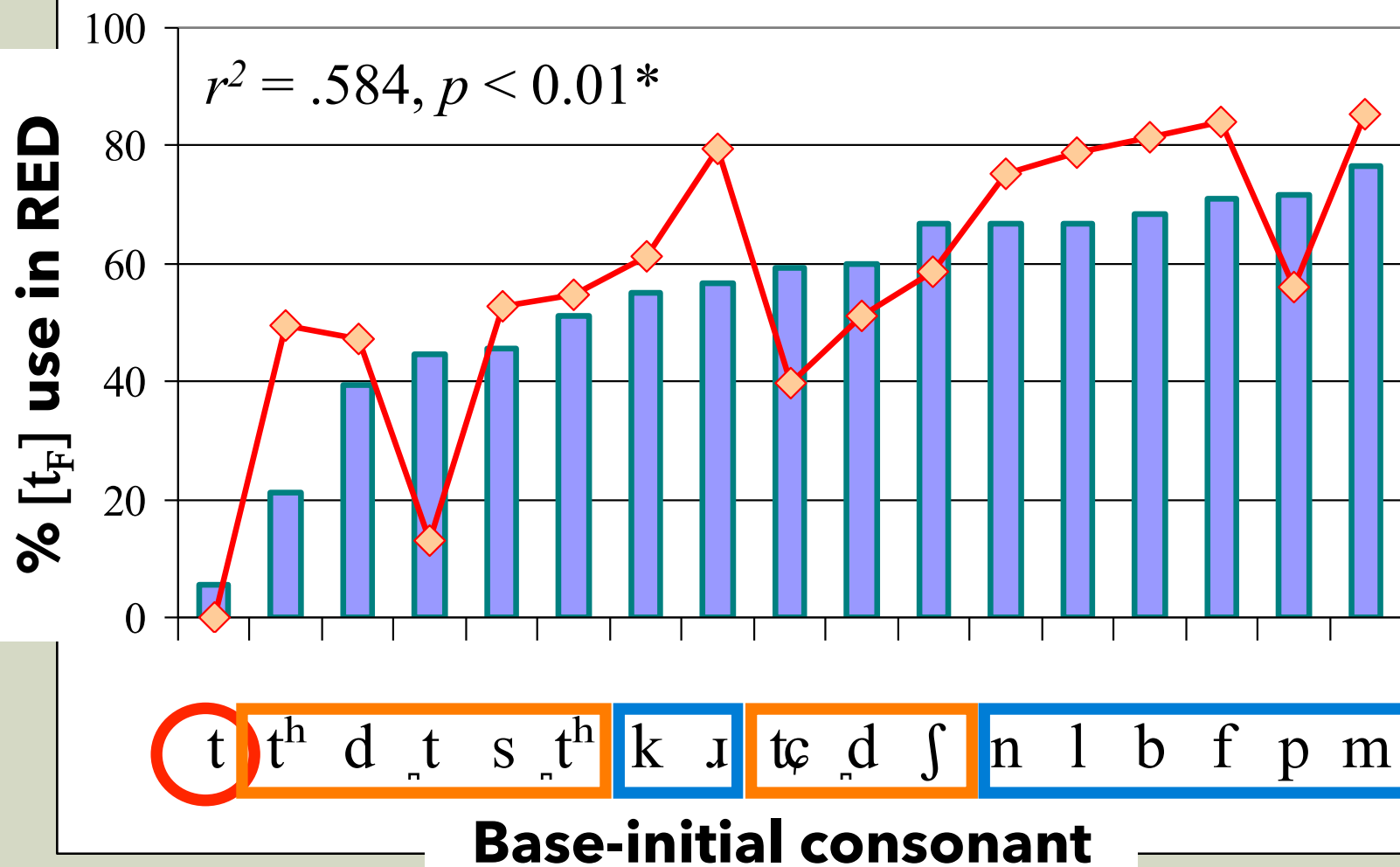
SNC: METRIC

- In the SNC metric, similarity of C_1 and $[t]$ is quantified as:

$$\text{sim}(C_1, t) = \frac{\begin{array}{c} \# \text{ natural classes} \\ \text{shared by } (C_1, t) \end{array}}{\begin{array}{c} \# \text{ shared} \\ \text{natural classes} \end{array} + \begin{array}{c} \# \text{ non-shared} \\ \text{natural classes} \end{array}}$$

- Compared SNC-similarity (line) to Exp 1 results (bars)

SNC: CORRELATION



SNC: DISCUSSION

- The SNC metric does an okay job overall ($r^2 = .584$)
- However, the area where it crucially **fails** to predict the data is the **similarity set** (coronal obstruents)
- The metric treats [t] as inherently more similar to [t̚] and [t̚] than to [t^h]... is there a way to adjust that?

SNC: THOUGHT EXPERIMENT

- Original SNC metric derives directly from the phoneme inventory and feature set
- But what if we maintain the basic model but incorporate **feature weights**?
- Let's try a little **thought experiment**
- Weighting [dist] over [spread gl]: the [t - t̥] distinction can be "heavier" than the [t - t^h] distinction
- If this improves our metric, we can then pursue the question of whether these weights are justified

WEIGHTED SNC: METRIC

- In an SNC-like model with feature **weights**, similarity of C_1 and $[t]$ is quantified as follows: (Wilson, p.c.)

$$\text{sim}(C_1, t) = \exp\left(-\sum_{i=1}^{\text{\#features}} \mathbf{w}_i (1 - \delta_i(C_1, t))\right)$$

\mathbf{w}_i = weight of the feature f_i

$\delta_i(C_1, t) = 1$ (feature value shared) or 0 (not shared)

- Where weights are drawn from the variation in the reduplication results, as follows:

WEIGHTED SNC: METRIC

- Probability of $[t_F]$ use in the RED of a base with initial C_1

$$P = ((m!) \div (n!(m-n)!)) (1 - \text{sim}(C_1, t))^n (\text{sim}(C_1, t))^{m-n}$$

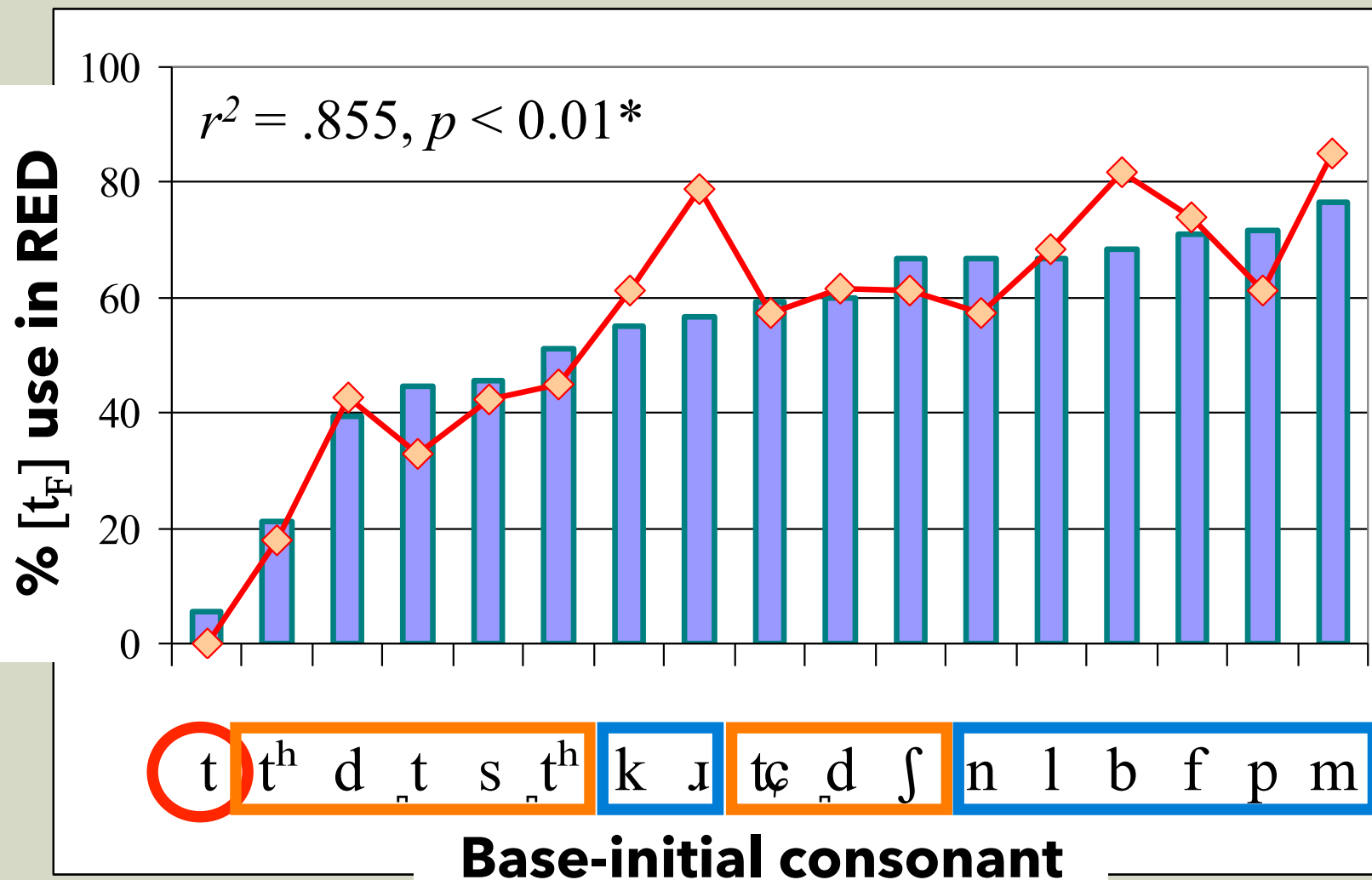
P = probability that C_1 -initial base will be reduplicated with $[t_F]$ n times out of a total of m trials

m = number of reduplications for C_1 -initial word

n = number of reduplications with $[t_F]$ for C_1 -initial word

- Compared weighted similarity (line) to Exp 1 results (bars)

WEIGHTED SNC: CORRELATION



WEIGHTED SNC: DISCUSSION

- With **4 adjusted feature weights**, the SNC metric can closely model the reduplicative data ($r^2 = .855$)
 - [voice]: .554
 - [distributed]: .400
 - [strident]: .249
 - [spread glottis]: .198
 - All other features have a weight of 0.100

NEW QUESTION

- Okay, but have we compromised the model?
- Is it no longer a similarity metric, but just a model of the reduplicative data?
- Let's see if our reduplicative data resemble other areas where gradient, lg-specific similarity is arguably relevant:
 - Lexical **cooccurrence** (McCarthy 1994)
 - Perceptual **confusability** (Shepard 1972)

COOCCURRENCE

- **Similarity** of two Cs is often **negatively correlated** with their **cooccurrence** within roots (Greenberg 1950)
 - English: two LAB or two DOR are underattested in [sCVC]: skip, speak, skim, smack..., *smap, *scog, *spobe, *speam (Fudge 1969)
 - Arabic: velars & uvulars rarely cooccur within roots (Frisch et al. 2004)
- **Hypothesis**: the less often a C cooccurs with [t] in a root, the less often it will take [t_F] in its echo RED
- If we see a strong correlation with the reduplicative data, this could be independent support for our weighted model

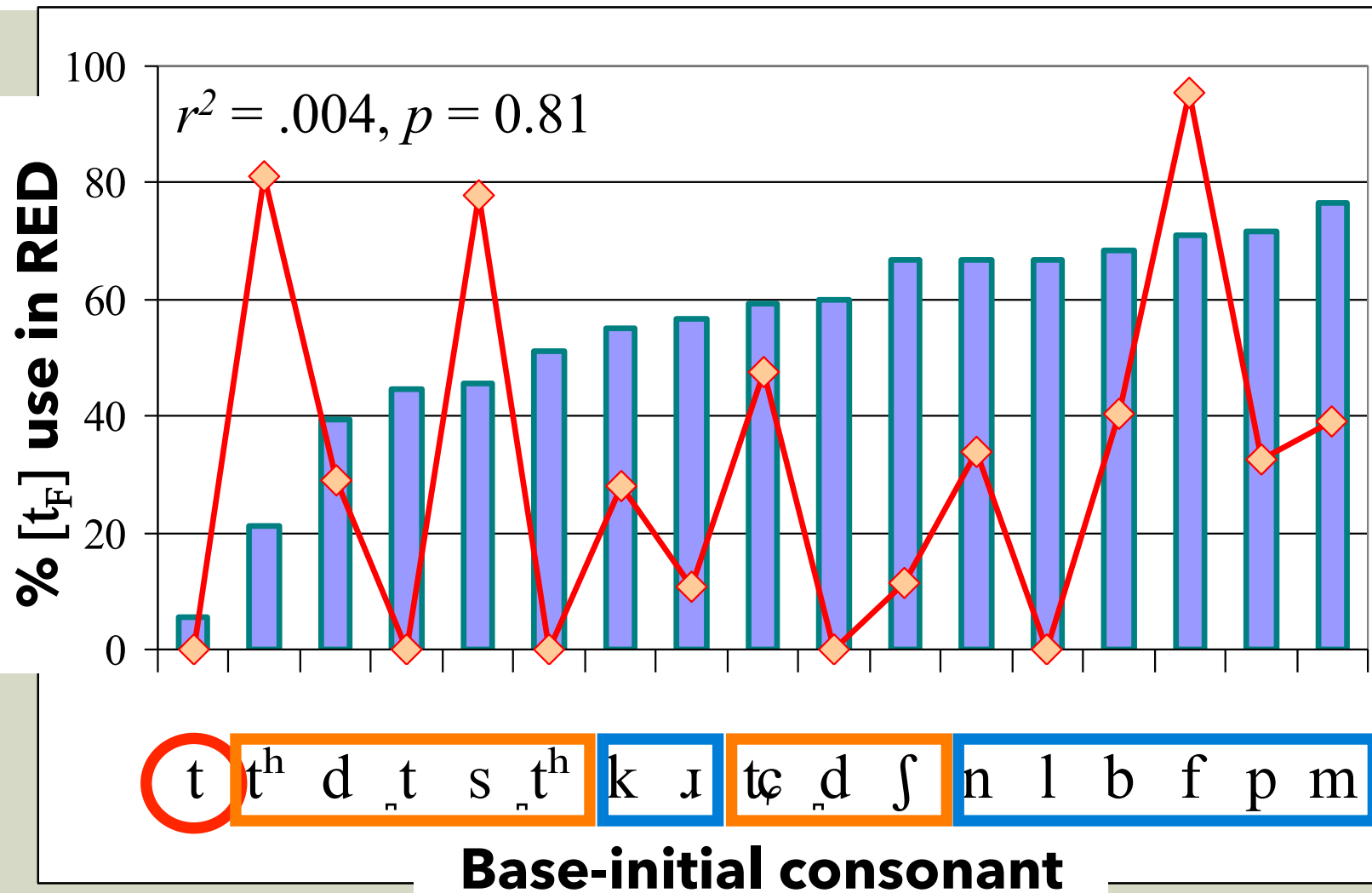
COOCCURRENCE: METRIC

- Similarity of initial C_1 and medial [t] is the inverse of their observed / expected lexical cooccurrence: (Frisch et al. 2004)

$$\text{sim}(C_1, t) = \frac{\frac{\# [C_1 V C V]}{\# [C V C V]} \times \frac{\# [C V t V]}{\# [C V C V]}}{\frac{\# [C_1 V t V]}{\# [C V C V]}}$$

- Examined the cooccurrence of all initial Cs with medial [t] in CVCV roots in a corpus of Bengali (Mallik et al. 1998)
- Compared cooccurrence rate (line) to Exp 1 results (bars)

COOCCURRENCE: CORRELATION



COOCCURRENCE: DISCUSSION

- The lexical cooccurrence model of similarity **fails to predict** the observed $[t_F]$ -avoidance patterns ($r^2 = .004$)
- Possible explanations:
 - Lexical cooccurrence in Bengali involves similarity, but echo reduplication does not (unlikely, see results)
 - Lexical cooccurrence in Bengali does not involve similarity, while echo reduplication does (possible)
- **Low n ?** Corpus had 865 CVCV roots; 64 with medial $[t]$
 - cf. Arabic corpus of 2674 roots (Frisch et al. 2004)

CONFUSABILITY

- The other area to look for the effects of gradient similarity is in **perceptual confusability**
 - Hindi: [t̪] is misidentified as [t̪̥] more than as [d̪] (Ahmed & Agrawal 1968)
- **Hypothesis:** Cs more likely to be (mis)perceived as [t] are also less likely to take [t_F] in echo RED
- If we see a strong correlation with the reduplicative data, this could be independent support for our weighted model

EXPERIMENT II: SETUP

- **Multiple Forced Choice** (MFC) listening experiment
 - Participants identify the consonant they hear
 - Run in Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2013)
 - Sony MDR-V200 headphones connected to laptop
 - Experiments took place in quiet room in participants' homes
- **25 speakers** of Bengali (13F, 12M)
 - Reported no hearing difficulties
 - Varied dialect background
 - Residents of or visitors to CA
 - Paid \$20

EXPERIMENT II: STIMULI

- **54 syllables**

- Onsets: 27 legal [Ca] syllables (all Cs but [ŋ ɾ])
- Codas: 27 legal [aC] syllables (all Cs but [d^h h])

- Produced by adult female speaker

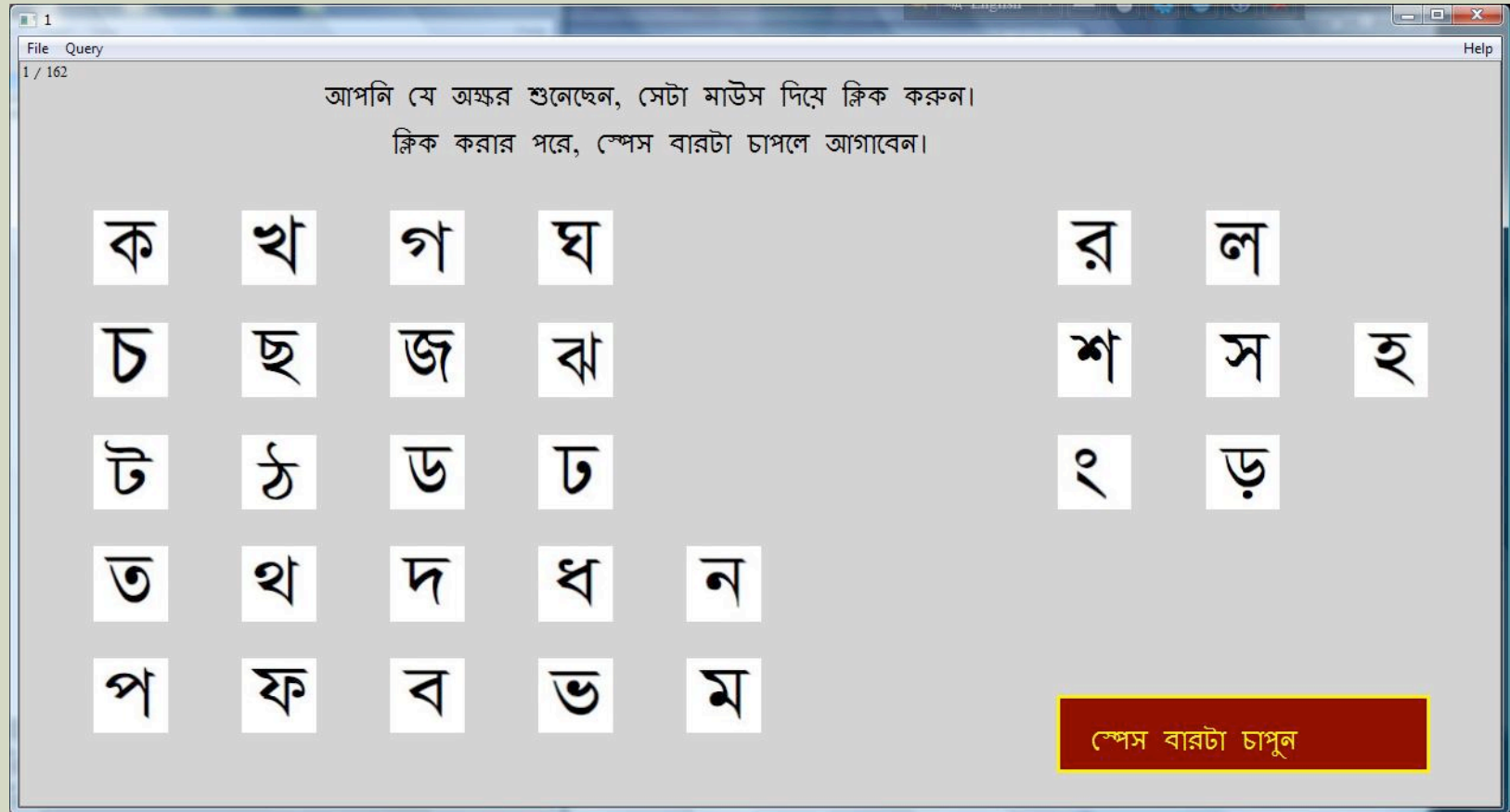
- Best of several reps was normalized for amplitude

- **Blocked** by **3 masking conditions**

- Multi-talker **babble**
- Pink **noise**
- **Quiet** (no added sound)

- 54 syllables x 3 conditions x 3 reps = **486 trials**

EXPERIMENT II: TASK

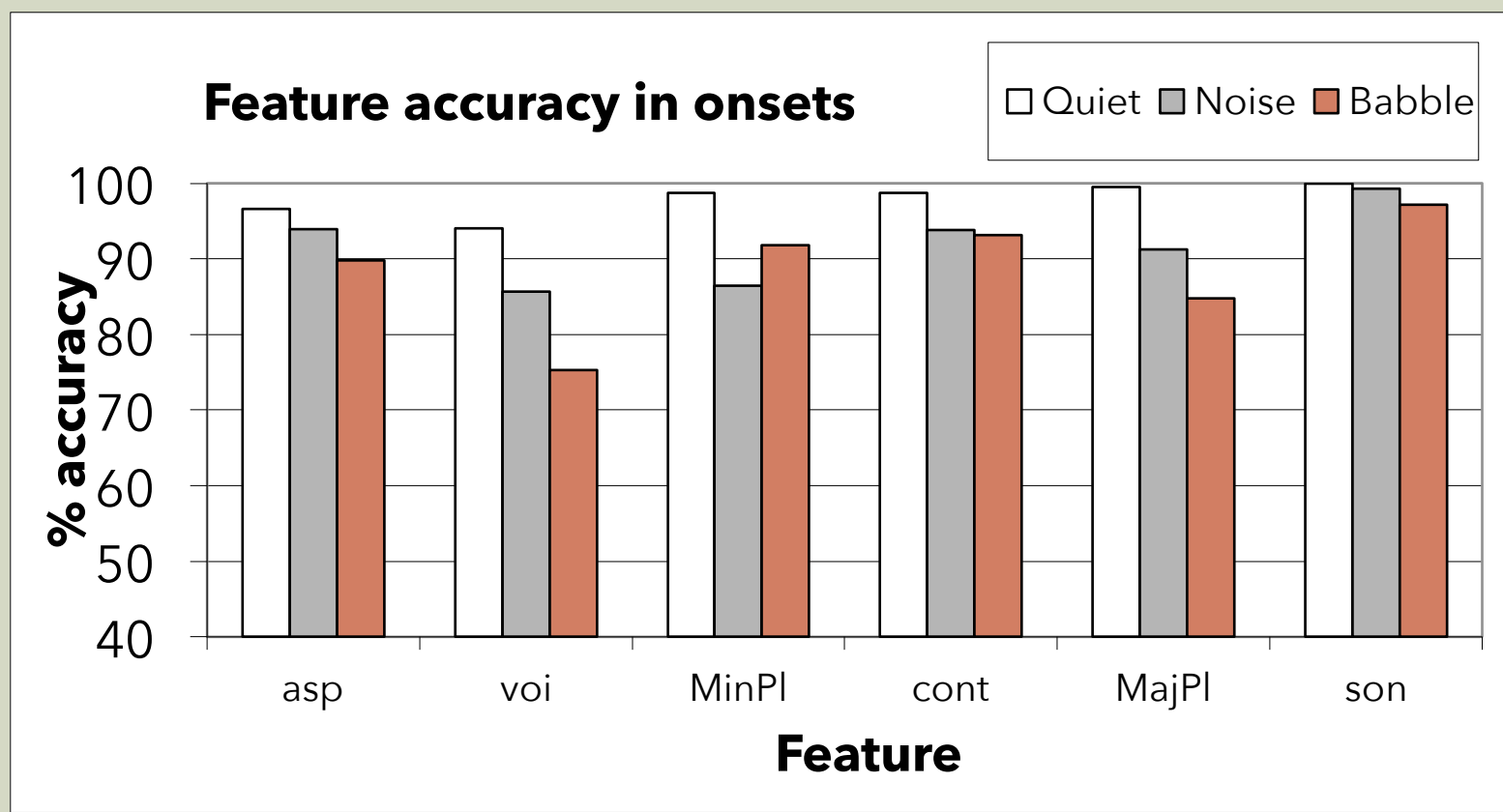


EXPERIMENT II: HYPOTHESES

- The C most confused with [t] should be [t^h]
 - Generalized: **aspiration** should be the **most confusable** feature
- Next most confused with [t] should be [d]
 - Generalized: **voicing** should be the **2nd most confusable** feature
- After that should be [t̚]
 - Generalized: **[distributed]** and other **minor place** distinctions should be the **3rd most confusable**
- After that should be [s]
 - Generalized: **[strident]** and other **manner-related** distinctions should be **less confusable** than the preceding

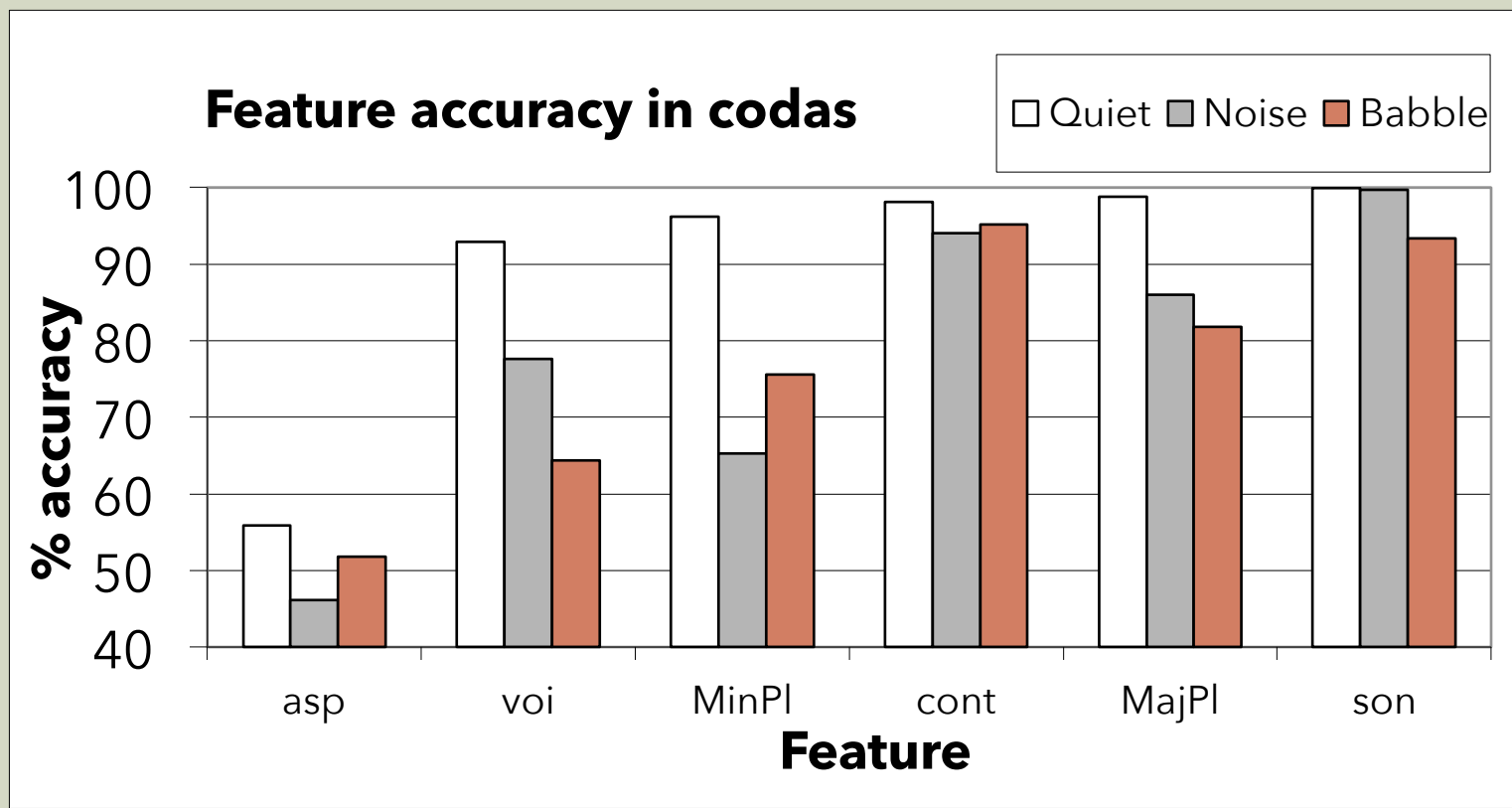
EXPERIMENT II: RESULTS

- **Onset accuracy:** 92% in quiet, 70% in noise, 60% in babble



EXPERIMENT II: RESULTS

- **Coda accuracy:** 66% in quiet, 39% in noise, 34% in babble



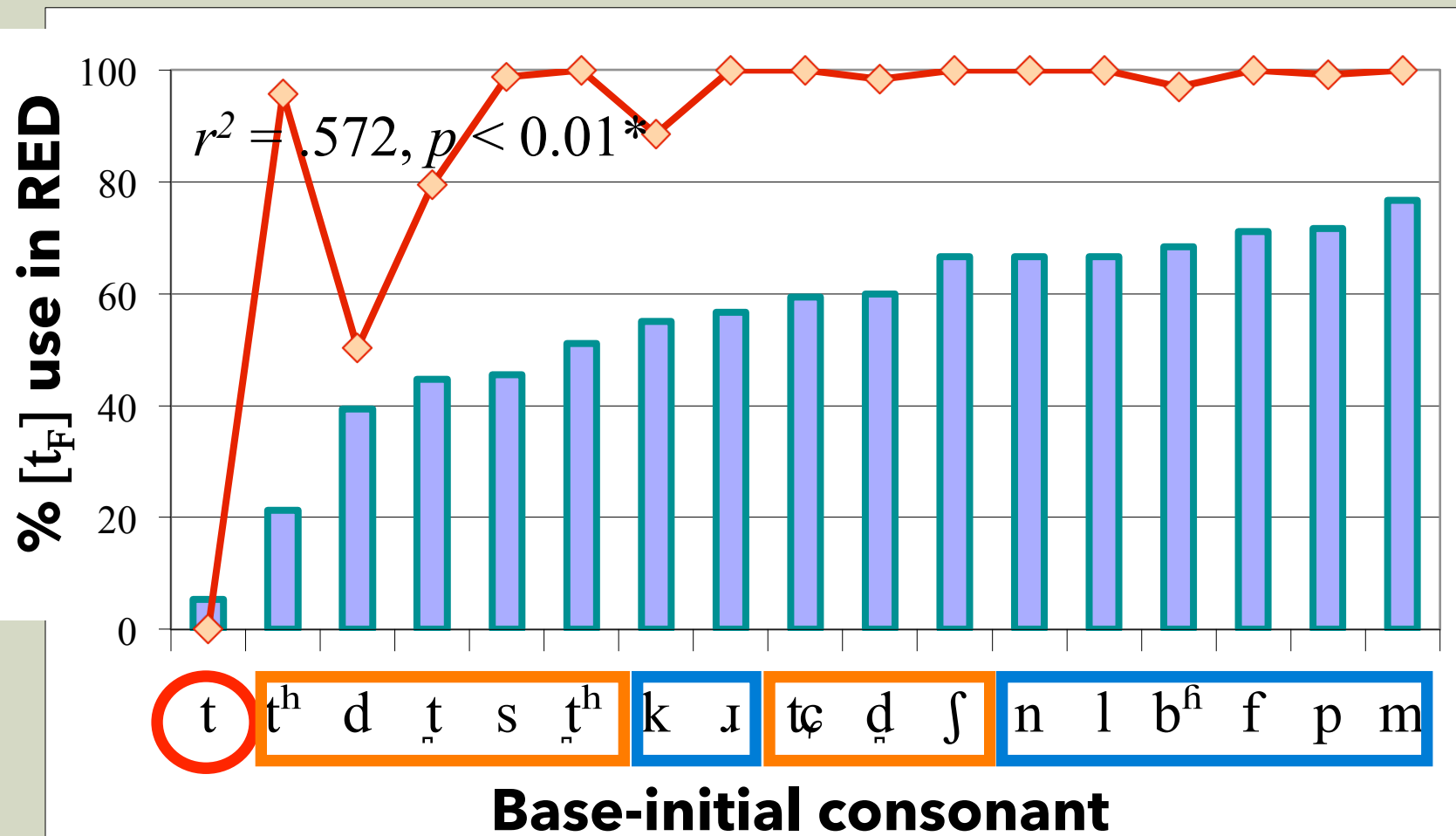
CONFUSABILITY: METRIC

- Similarity of C_1 and $[t]$ as drawn from confusion rate is quantified as follows: (Shepard 1972)

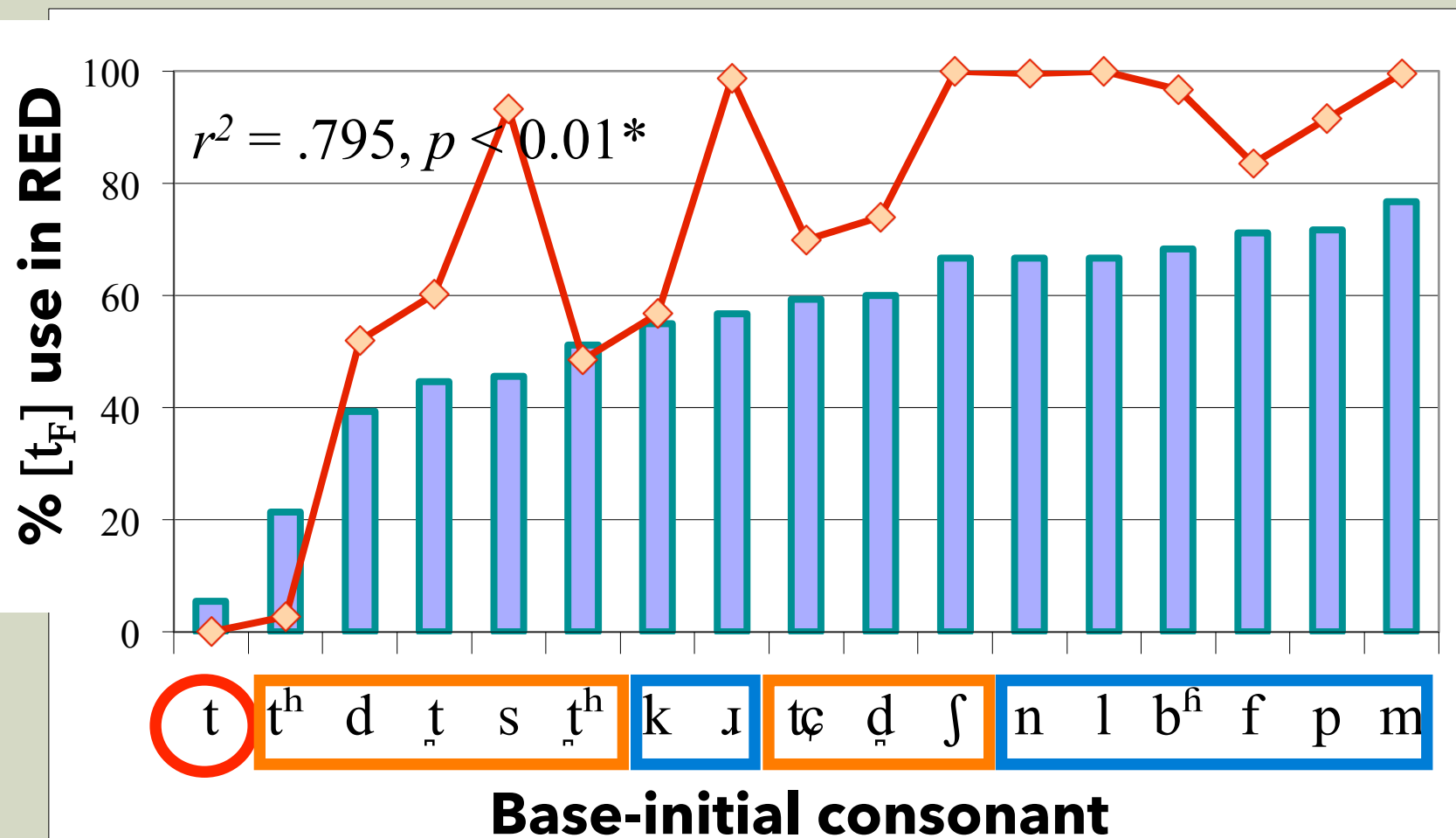
$$\text{sim}(C_1, t) = \frac{\#(C_1:t) + \#(t:C_1)}{\#(C_1:C_1) + \#(t:t)}$$

- Compared Exp 2 perceptions to Exp 1 productions
 - Removed “quiet” condition results (at ceiling)
 - Looked at onsets and codas separately

ONSET CONFUSIONS: CORRELATION



CODA CONFUSIONS: CORRELATION



CONFUSABILITY: DISCUSSION

- Consonant **confusions with [t] in coda position** are **well correlated** with the reduplicative results ($r^2 = .795$)
- But! Echo reduplication involves judging the **similarity of onsets**; why does the reduplicative data more closely resemble **coda confusion**?
 - Onset confusions with [t] were overall rare
 - Acoustic cues are perceptually less salient in codas (Wright 2004), so this is where similarity (not just identity) is likely more often relevant

SYNTHESIS OF RESULTS

- Okay, we need a recap.
- What did we do again?
 - Task 1: examine **fixed segment choice** in echo reduplication
 - Task 2: establish that fixed segment choice is **predicted by SNC**
 - Task 3: improve the SNC in a thought experiment with **weights**
 - Task 4: find no correlation with **lexical statistics**
 - Task 5: find significant correlation with **coda confusions**

CONCLUSIONS

- The current study demonstrates that fixed segment choice in Bengali echo reduplication is **highly variable**
- I argue that the choice of fixed segment involves a systematic avoidance of **similarity**, because:
 - The patterns are (partially) predicted by the **SNC metric**
 - The patterns correlate with **confusion rates** (in codas)

CONCLUSIONS

- The patterns clearly show that this similarity is **gradient**
- Echo reduplication is one of many phenomena previously treated as categorical but more recently seen as gradient
 - e.g. vowel harmony in Hungarian (Hayes & Londe 2006)

CONCLUSIONS

- The current study proposes a modified version of the SNC metric of similarity
- **I propose feature weighting** for lg-specific application in diverse phonological phenomena
- The study also provides an interesting case in which the SNC metric can measure similarity in phonological phenomena *other than* lexical cooccurrence effects

REMAINING QUESTIONS

- Is Bengali echo reduplication a special case, or should we look for gradient similarity in many more lgs?
- Why are the lexical cooccurrence effects of Bengali so different from the reduplicative results?
- How does this change as speakers deal with multiple phoneme inventories, e.g. bilinguals?

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অসংখ্য ধন্যবাদ!

[ɔʃonk^ho d^hon:obaɖ]

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