

Introduction

Background

A central question regarding nasality is whether it is represented with a privative feature [NASAL] or an equipollent set of [+NASAL] and [-NASAL].

Different proposals have been put forward:

- Chomsky and Halle (1968: 316): [nasal] as an equipollent feature, proposing NASAL and NONNASAL
- Cohn (1993) & Trigo (1993): nasal and oral vowels represented as [+nasal] and [-nasal] when they are used contrastively (e.g. in French and Lusitanian Portuguese) but as privative in languages like English
- underspecification approaches (e.g. FUL; Lahiri & Reetz 2002, 2010): [NASAL] as a privative feature even in languages like Bengali where it minimally distinguishes between two different phonemes

Previous experimental research (e.g. Lahiri & Marslen-Wilson 1991 and Ohala & Ohala 1995) provide some evidence for underspecified representation of oral vowels and a privative feature [NASAL] but further evidence is needed.

An additional question relates to how listeners use the representational information in their processing of nasality in general and, in the context of this study, nasal vowels in particular.

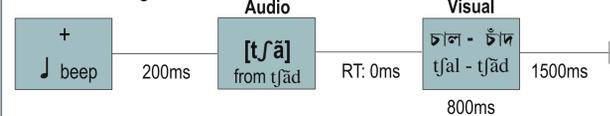
Questions & Hypotheses:

- Is nasality represented with a privative feature or with an equipollent set of features?
- Do listeners distinguish between underlying and contextual nasality?
- Are listeners' perceptions guided by underlying representations or surface cues?

Methods

Stimuli & Experimental Design

3 cross-modal forced-choice tasks with auditory fragment primes and visual targets:



Experiments 1 & 2: Doublets

- 14 doublet pairs CVC & CVN (NoCVC set)
- 14 doublet pairs CVC & CVC (NoCVN set)

	Doublet NoCVC		Doublet NoCVN	
Prime	[tʃ(n)]	[tʃ]	[dʒhā]	[dʒhā]
Target 1	tin - til	til - tin	dʒhā - dʒhāp	dʒhāp - dʒhā
Target 2	til - tin	tin - til	dʒhāp - dʒhā	dʒhā - dʒhāp

Experiment 3: Triplets

- set of 14 triplets (CVC, CVN and CVC)
- only two target options displayed
- results in two conditions: MATCH and NEITHER

	Triplets		
Prime	[tʃā]	[tʃa(n)]	[tʃa]
Targets Block 1	tʃān - tʃād	tʃān - tʃād	tʃān - tʃād
	tʃāl - tʃān	tʃāl - tʃān	tʃāl - tʃān
	tʃād - tʃāl	tʃād - tʃāl	tʃād - tʃāl
Targets Block 2	tʃād - tʃān	tʃād - tʃān	tʃād - tʃān
	tʃān - tʃāl	tʃān - tʃāl	tʃān - tʃāl
	tʃāl - tʃād	tʃāl - tʃād	tʃāl - tʃād

All stimuli were recorded by a female native speaker and subsequently truncated and normalised in PRAAT.

Participants

All tasks were conducted at Gokhale Memorial Girls' College in Calcutta, India. The participants were 56 female undergraduate students (age range 19-23) with no hearing or reading impairments.

Predictions

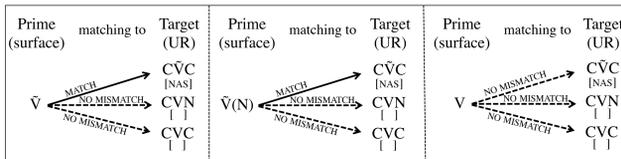


Figure 1 Predictions made by an underspecification account

The only real match conditions predicted by an underspecification account like FUL (Lahiri & Reetz 2002, 2010) would be between a CVC prime and its identical CVC target as well as between a CVN prime and a CVC target. In all other cases the model predicts no-mismatch since neither the signal nor the target (or both) are specified for nasality.

Faster reaction time and greater accuracy is expected for match conditions compared to no-mismatch conditions.

Results

Doublet results – errors and RT

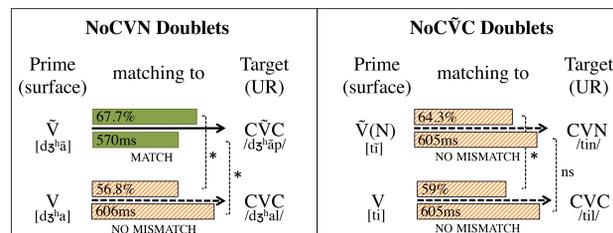
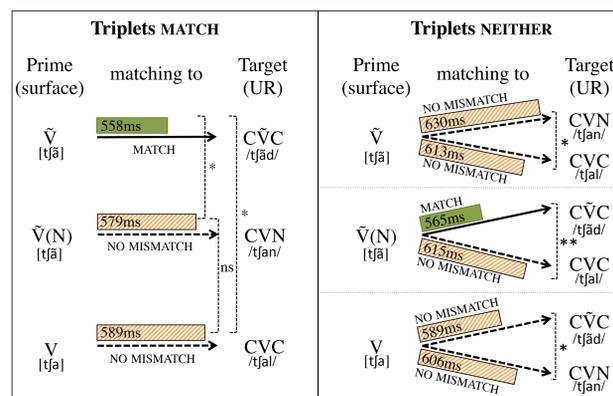
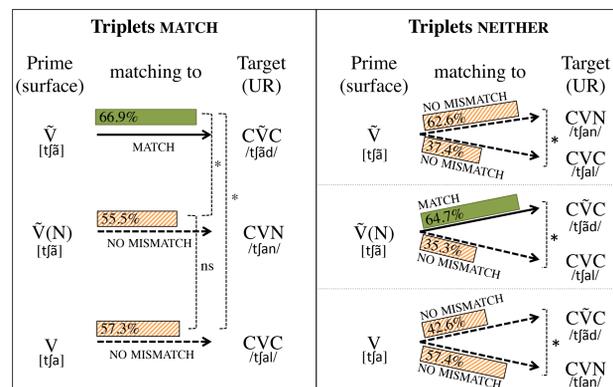


Figure 2 & Table 1 RT and error results for doublet conditions

Prime	NoCVN set		NoCVC set	
	CVC	CVN	CVN	CVC
Correct	Y	N	Y	N
% correct	67.7	32.3	56.8	43.2
RT (correct)	570ms	606ms	605ms	605ms

Triplet results – errors and RT



Figures 3 & 4 Error and RT results for triplet conditions

Table 2 Error and RT results for triplet conditions

Prime	MATCH			NEITHER		
	CVC	CVN	CVC	CVC	CVN	CVC
correct	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
% correct	66.9	33.1	55.5	44.5	57.3	42.7
RT correct	558ms	579ms	589ms			
Prime	CVC		CVN		CVC	
	chosen	CVC	CVN	CVC	CVC	CVN
% chosen	37.4	62.6	64.7	35.3	42.6	57.4
RT (ms)	613	630	565	615	589	606

Key Findings

Overall

In all conditions where an identity match was possible, listeners identified the correct target well above chance (Triplets MATCH: $\chi^2(1) = 176.99$, $p < .001$; Doublets: $\chi^2(1) = 176.07$, $p < .001$).

Doublets

NoCVN set (choice between CVC and CVC targets):

- significantly faster responses to matching targets after CVC primes (e.g. [bā] from [bād^h]) led to a significantly faster identity match than [ba] from [bad])

→ The vowel in the CVC word is specified for [NASAL] and thus is a better match for its identity fragment, while the vowel in the CVC word is unspecified and results in a no-mismatch although they are identical.

→ An equipollent approach (i.e. [-NASAL] for oral vowels) would predict no difference in RT since both conditions would result in a real match

NoCVC set (choice between CVN and CVC targets):

- both vowels are underspecified which is reflected in the RTs as they do not differ significantly but are both considerably slower than those after the CVC primes in the NoCVN set

Triplet MATCH

- only the condition with CVC primes results in significantly faster RTs (real match)

- no significant difference in RTs after CVC and CVN primes (both significantly slower than RTs after CVC primes)

- error data shows an identical pattern, with correct responses provided significantly more frequently after CVC primes than after CVN or CVC primes

Triplet NEITHER

- After CVN prime, CVC targets are chosen significantly faster than CVC targets.

- CVC and CVC primes, both no-mismatch conditions, lead to marginally significant differences between RTs.

- The degree of facilitation is significantly greater after CVN primes than after CVC and CVC primes

→ If CVN words were represented with [NASAL] listeners should respond faster to CVN words after a fragment prime from a CVC word.

→ CVC fragment primes where no identity match is available show that it is not the case that oral vowels are being matched, since the CVC targets are responded to marginally faster.

→ Error data shows listeners' use of surface cues especially when no nasal vowel target is available but nasality is present in the prime.

Conclusions

- Listeners use lexical representations in processing and recognition and a real match facilitates processing.

- Across experiments, reaction time data provides information on underlying representations and shows that real matches between the acoustic signal of the prime and the representation of the target lead to faster reaction times.

- The error data shows that any nasality in the signal predisposes the listener to choose a target with an underlying nasal vowel (CVC and CVN to CVC), unless there is no such target in which case surface matching of nasality is used (CVC prime to CVN target).

- RT and error data both provide clear support for an underspecification account of nasality with [NASAL] as a privative feature.

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Selected References

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