VARIATION IN MANDARIN PRENUCLEAR GLIDE SEGMENTATION?

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DEBATE IN THE LITERATURE

Question: What is the Mandarin prenuclear glide?

- Is it part of the onset or the rhyme?
- Is it an independent segment or not?
- Palatal glide /j/, bilabial glide /w/, labiopalatal glide /u/.
- A Mandarin syllable: CGVX (X = nasal or offglide)

(I) Glide examples

a.	njaw	'bird'	с.	kwo	'wok'	e.	l <mark>y</mark> e	'to omit'
b.	çja	'shrimp'	d.	swan	'sour'	f.	çyɛn	'to select'

DEBATE IN THE LITERATURE

- Glide is part of the initial/onset:
 - Wang 1973, Bao 1990, Duanmu 2002
- Glide is part of the final/rhyme:
 - Cheng 1973, Pulleyblank 1982, Hseuh 1985
- Depends on the glide:
 - Lin 1989, Wan 1999
- Depends on the consonant:
 - Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996, Wan 1999, Wang & Chang 2001

METHOD IN THE LITERATURE SUMMARIZED BY YIP (2003)

- Observe glide behavior in fangie secret languages and speech error data.
- Whether G moves/deletes/copies with C or V

Fanqie secret languages

- Split one syllable into 2, based on a template.
- May-ka secret language (Chao 1931)
- (2) tşaw → tşaj kaw
- Bao (1990): /w/ is part of onset.
- (3) t^hwo \rightarrow t^hwaj kwo

Speech error data

- Wan (1999): /kw/ is a constituency
- Consonant replacement error
- (4) fej xwa \rightarrow fej fa
 - 'nonsense' speech error

PROBLEM WITH THE METHOD POINTED OUT BY YIP (2003)

- We don't know what is influencing the decision on what to do with the glide.
 - Structural status of the glide OR phonotactics concerning the glide?
 - Placing the glide in a new environment might incur markedness violations,
 - which can be repaired by violating faithfulness constraints.
- We don't know who is making the decision on what to do with the glide.
 - Different speakers might arrive at different conclusions for the glide.
 - Individual speaker data pooled in secret language and speech error data
 - which leads to inconsistent conclusions in the literature.

THE CODEWORD LANGUAGE GAME

My approach: a language game experiment:

- Based on fangie secret language
- Phonological environment controlled
- Larger data set
- Speaker variation on display

Speaker variation: I compare two analyses:

- Segmentation variation
- Phonotactics constraint ranking variation

THE CODEWORD LANGUAGE GAME

• The task: swap the initial consonants of a disyllabic word to form a codeword.



Barnes (2002) employed the same method to investigate palatalization in Bulgarian.

INTERPRETATION (I): SEGMENTATION VARIATION

- Depending on the glide segmentation, speaker might choose different responses.
- (5) Example test item: [ta ljaw] 'star anise' 大料
 - a. Independent glide segmentation: CGVX

$$t a \quad | j a w \longrightarrow | a \quad t j a w \quad GV response$$

b. Secondary articulation segmentation: C^GVX (Duanmu 2000)



c. Double representation segmentation: C^GGVX

INTERPRETATION (2): PHONOTACTICS RANKING VARIATION

- Depending on the phonotactics constraint ranking, speaker might choose different responses.
- (6) Example test item: [paw cjɛn] 'keep fresh' 保鲜
 - a. Moving just C violates CG markedness, but avoids GV markedness violations.

$$\mathbf{p} = \mathbf{w} \quad \mathbf{s} = \mathbf{j} \in \mathbf{n} \quad \mathbf{s} = \mathbf{s} = \mathbf{w} \quad \mathbf{p} = \mathbf{j} \in \mathbf{n} \quad \mathbf{GV} \text{ response}$$

b. Moving G with C to avoid CG markedness, but violates GV markedness





c. Repeating G in both syllables avoid all markedness violations



PARALLEL RESULT INTERPRETATIONS

Speaker	Interpretation (1):	Interpretation (2):		
response	Segmentation variation	Phonotactics variation		
GV response	Independent segment	Keeping G next to V to avoid		
		GV markedness violations		
CG response	Secondary articulation	Moving G with C to avoid		
		CG markedness violations		
GG response	Both independent segment	Copying G twice to avoid both		
	and secondary articulation	CG and GV markedness violations		

	Consonant Place	Glide	Vowel Alternation
PHONOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT CONTROL	Palatal: /tɕ/, /tɕʰ/, /ɕ/ ੫ < T	/j/	Vowel alternates: /an~ɛn/, /ə~e/ 马 さ~せ
	Non-palatal: /p/, /p ^h /, /m/, /t/, /t ^h /, /n/, /l/ 勹	_	Vowel does not alternate: /a/, /ɑŋ/, /aw/, /ow/ 丫 九 幺 又
	Velar: /k/, /k ^h /, /x/ 《 丂 厂	/w/	Vowel alternates: /ə~o/ さ~こ
	Non-velar: /ts/, /tsʰ/, /s/, /ts/, /tsʰ/, /s/ 业 ィ ア ア ち ム		Vowel does not alternate: /a/, /an/, /ɑŋ/, /aj/, /en/, /ej/ 丫 马 九 历 与 乀
Disyllabic test item: CGVX C <mark>V</mark> X	Palatal: /tɕ/, /tɕʰ/, /ɕ/ ㅂ < ㅜ	/ц/	Vowel alternates: /an~ɛn/, /ə~e/, /en~ɪn/, /ʊŋ~ɤŋ/ 马 さ~せ 与 ム
CVX alternation also controlled for.	Non-palatal: /n/, /l/ ろ	Ц	None

THE EXPERIMENT



- 42 participants, 33 data analyzed.
- 26 native speakers + 6 heritage speakers + 1 "somewhere in between".
- Audio stimuli produced by a native Mandarin speaker who has no knowledge of the experiment purpose.

SPEAKER VARIATION INTERPRETATION



RESULTS BY CONSONANT PLACE: /J/ ITEMS



Segmentation variation:

After palatal C: /j/ more likely to be treated as part of the consonant.

Phonotactics variation:

After palatal C: /j/ more likely to move with C if it helps avoid *GV[-high]

RESULTS BY CONSONANT PLACE: /W/ ITEMS

Number of responses by type

Verbal response to /w/ items

Segmentation variation:

/w/ is an independent segment, not sensitive to consonant place

Phonotactics variation:

Shortage of GG & CG.Why? Moving /w/ with C does not improve on well-formedness.

Non-velar

velar

Consonant place

RESULTS BY VOWEL ALTERNATION: /J/ ITEMS

Segmentation variation:

Before alternating V: /j/ more likely to be treated as part of the rhyme.

Phonotactics variation:

Before alternating V: /j/ more likely to stay with V if it helps the V stay faithful while avoiding markedness violation.



Verbal response to /j/ items

RESULTS BY VOWEL ALTERNATION: /W/ ITEMS

Segmentation variation:

Before alternating V: /w/ more likely to be treated as part of the rhyme.

Alternating V in CVX: /w/ less likely to be treated as part of the onset.

Phonotactics variation:

Before alternating V: /w/ more likely to stay with V if it helps the V stay faithful while avoiding markedness violation.

Alternating V in CVX: /w/ less likely to move with C into CVX syllable, if it will introduce markedness violation.



SPOTLIGHT ON NO-ALTERNATION GROUP Non-palatal C /j/ items

- Whether G moves or not does not affect
 - V quality
 - C quality
 - phonotactics markedness constraint violations

Yet there is speaker variation in response!

- Source: Task effect.
- A previous test item that requires GG or CG response.
- Participant more prone to opting for GG and CG even if they are not the optimal codeword choice.



Vowel alternation

SPEAKER VARIATION INTERPRETATION



SUMMARY

- Debate on the segmentation status of the Mandarin prenuclear glide
- Due to inconsistency of conclusion from secret language and speech error data
 - Lack of phonological environment control
 - Shortage of speaker variation data
- My codeword language game experiment addresses both problems in the methodology
- Speaker variation in codeword response concerning glide movement
- Best accounted for using phonotactics constraint ranking variation
- As opposed to genuine segmentation variation

Next step:

• Model the probabilistic phonological grammar that can predict the speaker variation in response tokens.

THANK YOU!

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BONUS: INTERPRETATION (I): SEGMENTATION VARIATION

- Depending on the glide segmentation, speaker might choose different responses.
- (5) Example test item: [ta ljaw] 'star anise' 大料 a. *Independent glide segmentation:* CGVX

$$ta ijaw \rightarrow ia tjaw GV response$$

b. Secondary articulation segmentation: C^GVX (Duanmu 2000)

$$t a | i a w \longrightarrow | i a t a w CG response$$

c. Double representation segmentation: C^GGVX



d. Natural Palatal CV transition: C[-pal]GVX, C[+pal]VX (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996)



22

BONUS: RESULTS BY CONSONANT PLACE: / U / ITEMS

GV

GG

CG

Number of responses by type

Segmentation variation:

After palatal C: /j/ more likely to be treated as part of the consonant.

Phonotactics variation:

After palatal C: /j/ more likely to move with C if it helps avoid *GV[-high]

Non-palatal



Consonant place

Verbal response to /µ/ items