

Adult learners process phonology from first exposure

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Research questions of “Naming” Project

- If words are form-meaning mappings, how early in L2 acquisition can adult learners
 - acquire representations of forms?
 - map forms to meanings (directly or via syntactic mediation)?
 - map meanings to forms (directly or via syntactic mediation)?
- What processes are involved in doing these things?
- Does L1 knowledge play a role in doing these things?

Research questions of Studies 1 & 2 of project

- How early in L2 acquisition can adult learners segment word forms from the signal?
 - Answer: Right from first exposure
- Are cognate words easier to segment? (Rast 2008)
 - Yes
- Can learners simultaneously map forms to meanings?
 - Answer: If “meaning” = reference: “yes”.
 - This fact, however, says nothing about the emergence of lexical semantics

Where we are headed ...

- If segmentation presupposes the ability to compute transitional probabilities over syllables (a unit of phonology), then *ab initio* adult learners can compute phonological units from first exposure.
- If the ability to produce speech sounds on the basis of perception requires the mediation of phonological representations, then *ab initio* adult learners can compute phonological units from first exposure.
- If the activation of L1 “cognate” words from L2 stimuli requires the activation of Lexical Access Units (LAUs) that are phonological representations, then *ab initio* adult learners can compute phonological units from first exposure.

Words as interfaces across language modules

- Tri-partite modular functional architecture of language à la Jackendoff (1989, 1997)
 - Prosodic Representations (PR)
 - Morpho-syntactic Representations (M-SR)
 - Conceptual Representations (CR)
 - that get input from PR and/or M-SR and link back to PR and/or M-SR
- These representations are linked by Correspondence Rules
 - Some are defaults, e.g. referential expressions $\Leftrightarrow X^{\max}$;
Prosodic Word $\Leftrightarrow X^0$
 - Some are acquired, e.g. Focus Tier [...] \Leftrightarrow Focal Accent
- Words may have representations of each sort, but
 - one type of representation can be acquired independently of the others
 - which means that they need not be acquired at the same time

Grammatical assumptions

- Prosodic Representations include
 - Hierarchical metrical structures (syllables, feet, prosodic words, intonated phrases, ...), cf. Nespor & Vogel (1986)
- Morpho-syntactic Representations are
 - Monostratal (no UTAH, no movements), cf. Culicover & Jackendoff (2005)
- Conceptual Representations
 - include Function-Argument Structures
 - in particular, TOKEN_i, TOKEN_j (referential use of noun phrases in context)
 - 2 tiers to represent semantic roles (Thematic Tier, Action Tier)
 - Focus Tier
 - Link to Spatial Structures that interface with sensory-motoric systems (including vision)
- Lexical units can be any size from
 - Morpheme, to
 - Sentence (e.g. *X isn't what pro's cracked up to be; There's many a slip twixt cup and lip; as you know, ...*)

Acquisitional assumptions

- *Concrete Minimalism* (Culicover 1999): the language learner posits the minimum structure necessary to relate sound and meaning
- Learners can make use of domain-general computational abilities (statistical learning)
 - to segment sound forms (Saffran et al. 1996; Peña et al. 2002; Bonatti et al. 2005, inter alia)
 - that are constrained in the language faculty to operate on critical units (syllables)

Studies 1 & 2

Within-subjects design

- Study 1: Task in English (baseline) and in German (cognate words)
- Study 2: Both tasks in German: cognate words vs. non-cognate words
- Stimuli presented via computer using E-Prime

Ab initio learners

- In each experiment, Anglophones with no previous exposure to German
 - listened to 20 New Information (deictic) sentences that introduce a referent
 - while looking at 20 line drawings of people.
- They were asked to “learn the names” of the people.

Example Stimuli

□ Training phase

Das ist Sonja.

+



Verification Measure

- ❑ At end of all 20 items of the Training Trial
- ❑ Same picture
- ❑ Verification phase

Ist das NP₁ oder NP₂?

*Ist das Sandra oder
Sonja?*



If all 20 Qs answered correctly → Test phase

If any error → Re-do Training Trial (up to 10)

Test Phase

- ❑ Different picture
- ❑ Same Q as before
- ❑ (1/2 items in medial position; 1/2 items in final position)



Re-test Measure

□ 2 weeks later with original picture

And different Q

Ist das Sonja oder Sandra?

(reversing order of NPs)



To recapitulate

□ Training items:

- 20 statements, names are sentence-final
- Sentences fully randomised
- 4 German/3 English presentational contexts

□ *Hier ist Johann; Das ist Silke; Hier sehen Sie Frank; Da steht Ingelore*

□ *This is Peter; Here we have Angela; Now we see Carol*

Procedures I

Session 1

- Questionnaire
- Digital recall test
- Exp1 (either English or German)
- Exp2 (either German or English)

Session 2 (2 weeks later)

- Re-test1 (either German or English)
- Re-test2
- Re-test1 (either English or German)
- Re-test2

Measures

- ❑ Accuracy on first training trial
- ❑ Number of training trials to criterion
- ❑ Accuracy on Test
- ❑ Accuracy on Re-test1 (order of items reversed)
- ❑ Accuracy on Re-test2 after feedback

We also collected RTs and pronunciations from Test phase onwards

Participants: Study 1

- 24 UofC students on English experiment, all learned to criterion.
 - 22 returned for Re-test session
- 25 began German experiment, 23 learned to criterion
 - 22 returned for Re-test session

Results: Study1

	Trial1	# Trials	Test	Retest 1	Retest2
English	92.6%	E<G: 2.38* G<E: 1.63	97.12%	82.5%	92.95%
German	85.9%	E<G: 3.83 G<E: 2.54	96.2%	87.9%	97.6%

Results: Study1

	Trial1	# Trials	Test	Retest1	Retest2
English	92.6%	E<G: 2.38* G<E: 1.63 = 2	97.12% * ***	82.5%	92.95% ***
German	85.9%	3.18	96.2% *** ***	87.9%	97.6% ***

Results: Study1

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Study 2

- ❑ Comparison of cognate names from Study 1 with non-cognate names, e.g. *Benno, Ingelore, Lutz, Regina*
- ❑ Stimuli prepared same way
- ❑ Same procedures
- ❑ Same measures

Participants (Study 2)

- 33 tested,
 - 24 learned to criterion on cognate test/23 on non-cognate test
 - 21 returned for Re-test session

Results: Study2

	Trial1	# Trials	Test	Retest1	Retest2
Cognates	82.7%	C<NC: 4.08* NC<C: 2 = 3.04	95%	85.9%	93.4%
<Data from S1>	<85.9%>	<3.18>	<96.2%>	<87.9%>	<97.6%>
Non-cognates	70.6%	5.56	95%	79.04%	90%

Results: Study2

	Trial1	# Trials	Test	Retest1	Retest2
Cognates	82.7%	C<NC: 4.08* NC<C: 2 = 3.04	95% *** ***	85.9%	93.4% ***
Non-cognates	70.6%	5.56	95% *** ***	79.04%	90% ***

Results: Study2

	Trial1	# Trials	Test	Retest1	Retest2
Cognates	82.7% ***	C<NC: 4.08 NC<C: 2 = 3.04	95%	85.9% **	93.4%
Non-cognates	70.6%	C<NC = 4.9 NC<C = 6.16 =5.56 *** for NC<C group	95%	79.04%	90%

Summary

- Task is easy (subjects well above chance performance on Trial1, Test, and Re-tests on all item types)
 - easier in English than in German but once mappings are in place, not much difference in ability to recall mappings (Test, Re-test2)
 - Task is easier for German cognate names than for non-cognates but once mappings are in place, not much difference in ability to recall mappings (Test, Re-test2)

Why is this task so easy ?

- task is ecologically valid (we do map names to pictures a lot)
- since subjects understand the instructions, they understand the task (inference)
- in L1
 - because of knowledge of L1 phonology, grammar & probably vocabulary, and
- in the L2
 - because learners can segment the names from signal, and map to a TOKEN_i representation created from visual inputs

“Bottom-up” stuff

- Acoustic-to-prosodic mappings
 - Learners are able to locate syllable boundaries
 - and compute *transitional probabilities* to segment a sound form

What is a Transitional Probability (TP)?

- Given σ_1 , TP is likelihood σ_2 will occur
- A form of statistical learning
 - Ability to compute TPs on syllables is robust in both adults & young children (Saffran et al. 1996)
- Statistical learning can occur on visual stimuli and tones
 - Ability is domain-general (Fiser & Aslin 2001, 2002; Creel et al. 2004)
 - Not specific to humans (Hauser et al. 2001)

Transitional Probabilities (TPs)

□ Das#ist#Benno

1 .1 1

□ Da#steht Johanna

1 .1 1 .3333

But notice

- statistical learning alone will not explain the differences between cognate and non-cognate items
 - because the TPs are the same between the “frame” and the 1st syllable of both type of name

Explanation

- Performance is * better with German cognates because
 - this is L1-word activation
 - L1-based lexical activation is automatic
 - L1-based word recognition is extremely robust (German speech signal = “noisy English input”)
- ⇒ Effects of L1 knowledge manifest at initial stage of L2 learning
- ⇒ This L1-based word recognition also requires computation of phonological representations (LAUs)

But ...

- Not everyone thinks LAUs are phonological
- Minimally normalised acoustic templates (Klatt 1979)?
 - Not likely
 - because the German sounds are quite different from the English and the processing is too fast (subjects do not need multiple exposures)
- Phonological representations?
 - Underspecified segmental/featural representations computed left-to-right? (Marslen-Wilson & Lahiri 1991)
 - Or consonantal tiers only? (Bonatti, Peña, Nespor, & Mehler, 2005)

Trial1 (both studies)

- It is hard to argue for a given model
- We looked at several variables
- Explaining the “Josef” effect (it’s easy), “Albert” is hard?

No. of syllables	No
Stress placement	No
Matching stress	No
Complex onsets	No
Complex codas	No
<r> in onsets	No
<r> in codas	Yes

Phonetics matters (<r> effect)

⇒ Subjects have enriched phonological representations on the forced-choice task.

□ We think the task also matters
[fʌŋk] ... [fʌnts] [anə] ... [anita]
and are properties of entire PW utilised?

Top-down stuff

- Creation of visual image of “person” leads to construction of TOKEN_i in conceptual representations
- These might be used to activate Nouns in lexicon (speeding up the activation of English proper names)
- So top-down mapping might “win out” over a bottom-up computation in the case of the cognates

Conclusions

- If segmentation relies on identifying syllables and computing transitional probabilities over syllables,
 - ⇒ subjects are computing phonological representations from first exposure
- If our cognate results show lexical activation of L1 names from L2 input and lexical access codes are phonological, then
 - ⇒ subjects are computing L1 phonological representations from first exposure
 - ⇒ Subjects are also computing meanings from first exposure

Implications for interface theories

- Our subjects can use domain-independent processes to extract prosodic words from the signal virtually instantaneously (phonetic-phonology mappings)
- They can map across the Phonological-Conceptual modules virtually instantaneously (encoding TOKEN_i)
- But no one should assume that predicate-argument structures or semantic roles (focus/topic, quantification ...) are instantly available from the context
 - because reference does not determine “lexical semantics”
 - and proper names prove it (they have virtually no “semantic” features, cf. Katz 1977)

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Words without <r>: Trial 1

100% - ✓ match - Claudia: klawdiə/kladiV/ kld

Diphthong vs. simple vowel

97.3% - ✓ match - Otto: ɔtoː/ato/t

94.6% - ✓ match - Agnes: agnɛs/ægnVs/gns

85.3% - ✓ match - Anita: anitə/ænitV/nt

98.6% - x match - Edmund: ɛdmunt/ɛdmVnd/dmnd

differences are at end of word, so no problem

82.6% - x match - Sonja: zonja/sonja/snj

85.3% - x match - Eva: efa/iːv/v

98.6% - x match - Josef: joːsɛf/dʒosVf/dʒsf

94.6% - x match - Johanna: johɑːnə/dʒoænV/dʒn

<r> effect

100% - Margarete: mrgrt - m_r\$g\$r\$t
97.3% - Karin: krn - k\$r_n
94.6% - Andreas: ndrs - _n\$dr\$_s
93.3% - Carolina: krln - k\$r\$l\$n
93.3% - Frank: frnk - fr_ηk
90.6% - Bruno: brn - br\$n
88% - Harald: hrlt - h\$r_lt
- Laura: lr - l\$r
92% - Georg: grk - g\$_rk
72% - Hermann: hrmn - h_r\$m_n
61.3% - Albert: lbrt - _l\$b_rt

No obvious lexical neighbourhood effects

- *Agnes, Anita, Bruno, Eve, Herman, Karin, Otto, Sonja,*

occupy a unique slot in lexical organisation

- crucially *Margareta, Margaret, Margo, Margie (Andreas, Andre, Andrew, Claude, Claudia, Claudine, Frank, Frankie, Francis, Francine, Franciska, Harald, Harry ... Laura, Laurie, Lorna, Joseph, Joe, Joanne, ...)*

do not
