

Long-distance coarticulation in American Sign Language

Michael Grosvald

Center for Mind and Brain & Department of Linguistics
University of California at Davis

Thank you: David Corina, Orhan Orgun, Carol Fowler, Patricia Keating,
Daniel Recasens, Keith Johnson, Sarah Hafer
and
Martha Tyrone

Agenda

- Background
- Vowel-to-Vowel coarticulation (English)
- Location-to-Location coarticulation (ASL)
- Conclusion

Background

- Sign languages are naturally occurring languages.
- Three main formational parameters:
 - Handshape
 - Movement
 - Location ←
- This sign study focuses on coarticulatory effects related to Location.

Background

“Coarticulation refers to the fact that at any given point during an utterance, the influences of gestures associated with several adjacent or near-adjacent segments can generally be observed in the acoustic or articulatory patterns of speech.” *

~ the articulatory influence that phonetic elements have on one another

Relevant for:

- Language change
- Models of language production
- Lexical processing

Background

- Language change: V-to-V coarticulation --> V harmony? (Ohala)
- Language production: What are the planning units?
- Lexical processing: If perceivers can “see ahead” a few segments, they might be able to narrow the possible range of upcoming words.
- Anticipatory coarticulation should be more relevant from this perspective than carryover coarticulation.

This study focuses on anticipatory coarticulation.

Background

Some previous work that's relevant here:

Öhman (1966): Groundbreaking study on VCV sequences. Different coarticulation patterns associated with different segments & languages.

Magen (1997): Long-distance effects in VCVCV sequences.

Coarticulation studies of ASL investigating:

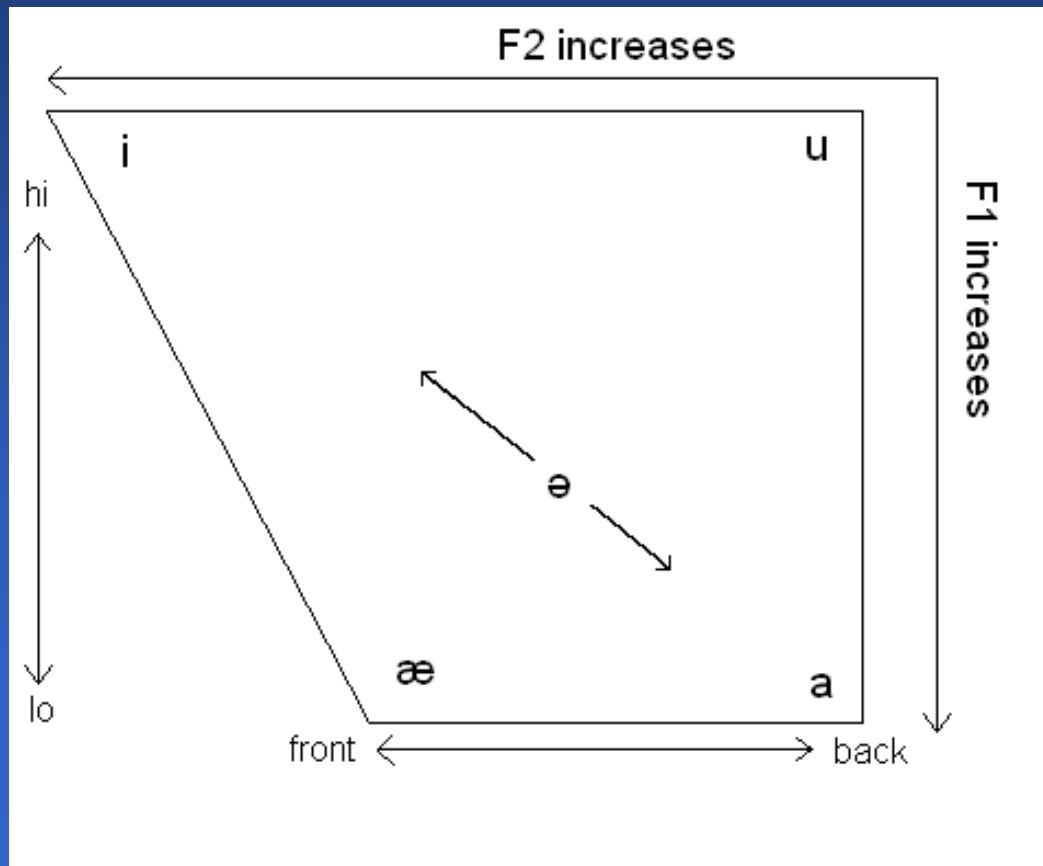
- Location (Mauk, 2003)
- Handshape (Cheek, 2001)

Research Questions

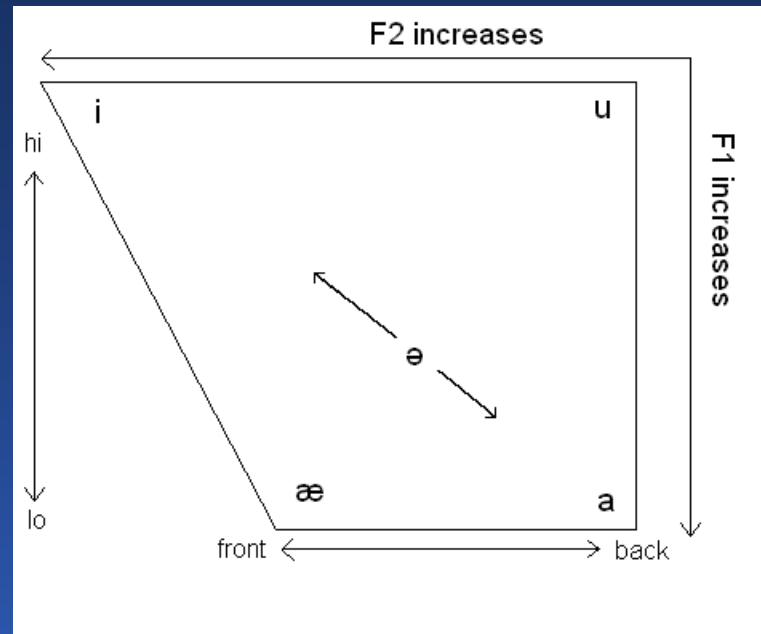
- 1) How far back can anticipatory effects extend?
- 2) How do such effects compare between signed and spoken language?

English: V-to-V effects

- Basic idea: create sentences with consecutive schwas, so that lots of V-to-V coarticulation can be expected.



English: V-to-V effects



“It’s fun to look **up** **at** **a** **key**.”

Context vowel = [i]

“It’s fun to look **up** **at** **a** **car**.”

Context vowel = [a]

Distance-1 condition:

Target V = [ə] as in “a”

Distance-2 condition:

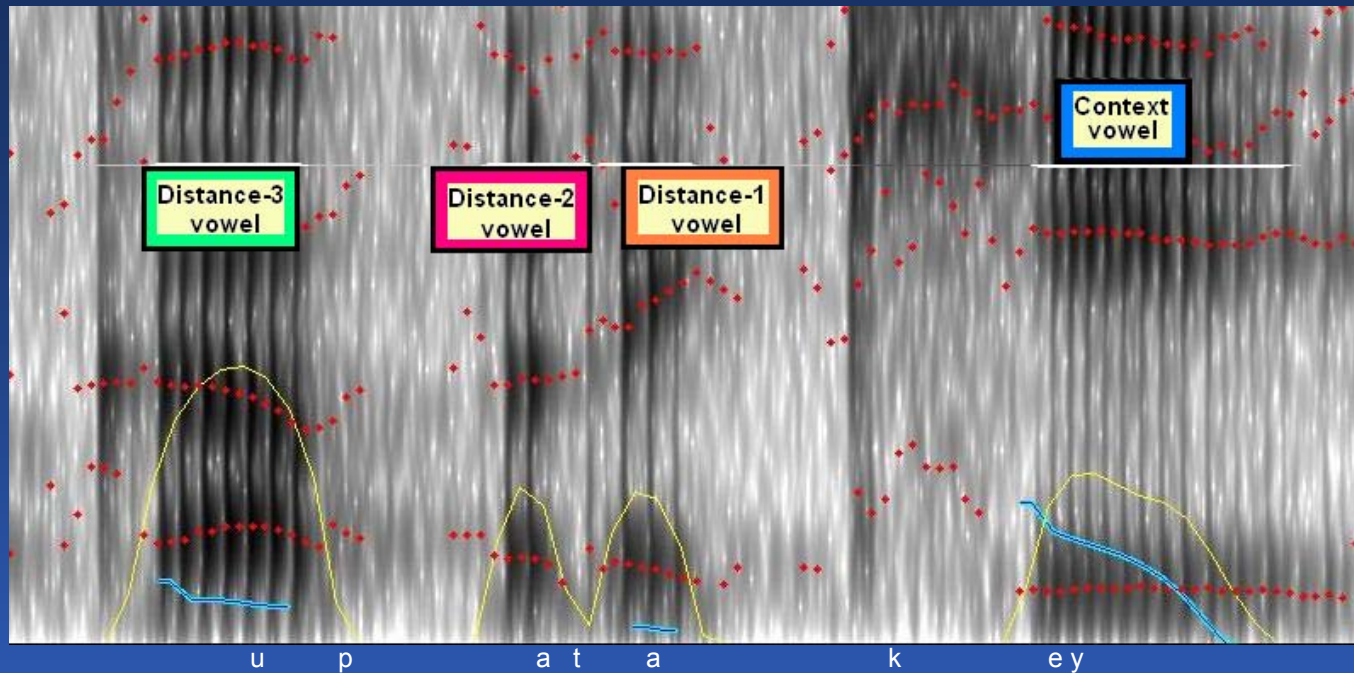
Target V = [ə] as in “at” (expected)

Distance-3 condition:

Target V = [ʌ] as in “up”

- Each speaker said each sentence six times.

English: V-to-V effects



“It’s fun to look **u**p **a**t **a** key.”
“It’s fun to look **u**p **a**t **a** car.”

Context vowel = [i]
Context vowel = [a]

Distance-1 condition:

Target V = [ə] as in “a”

Distance-2 condition:

Target V = [ə] as in “at” (expected)

Distance-3 condition:

Target V = [ʌ] as in “up”

- Each speaker said each sentence six times.

English: V-to-V effects

Results for group of 20 speakers (F2 only):

	up	at	a	key/car
Distance:	3	2	1	(no effects)

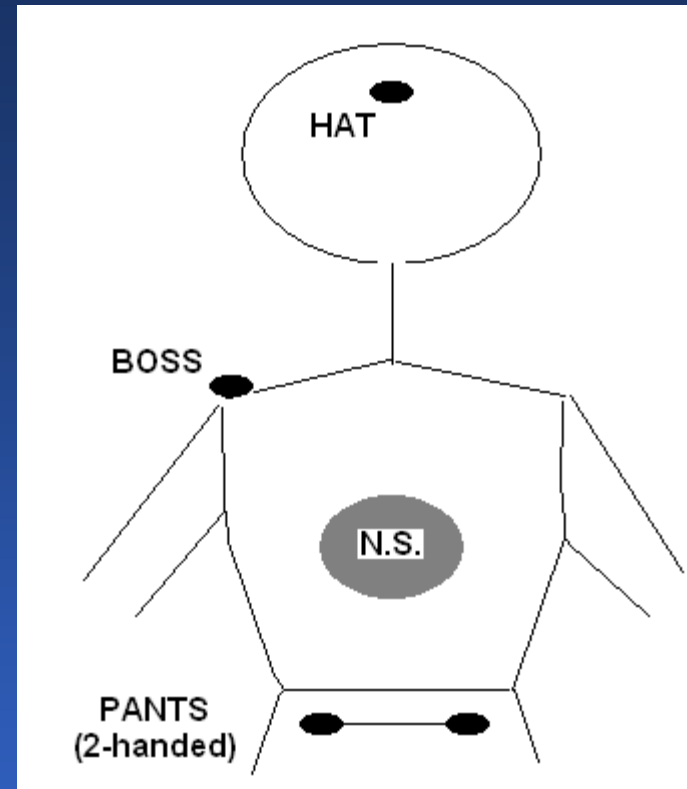
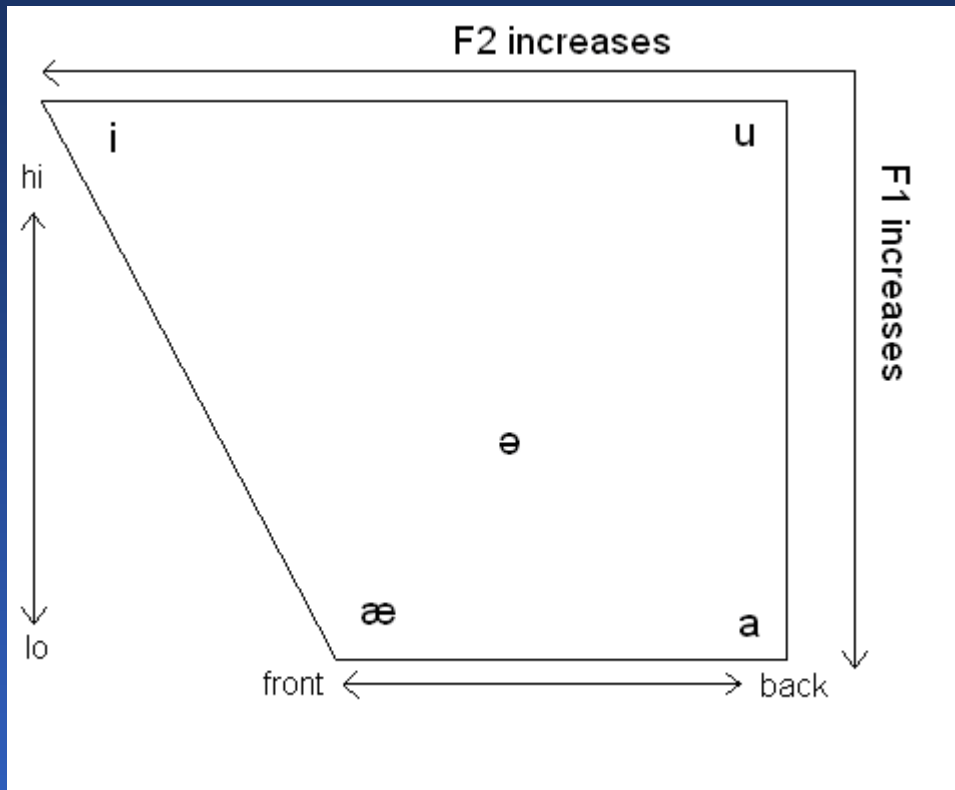
- By % of subjects: 10% 55% 25% 10%

American Sign Language

- Three main formational parameters:
 - Handshape
 - Movement
 - Location ←

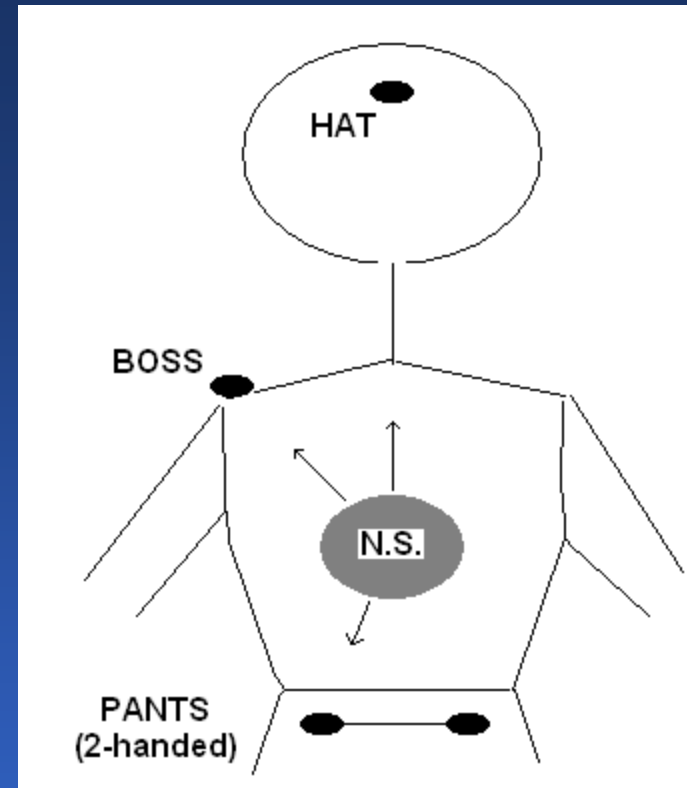
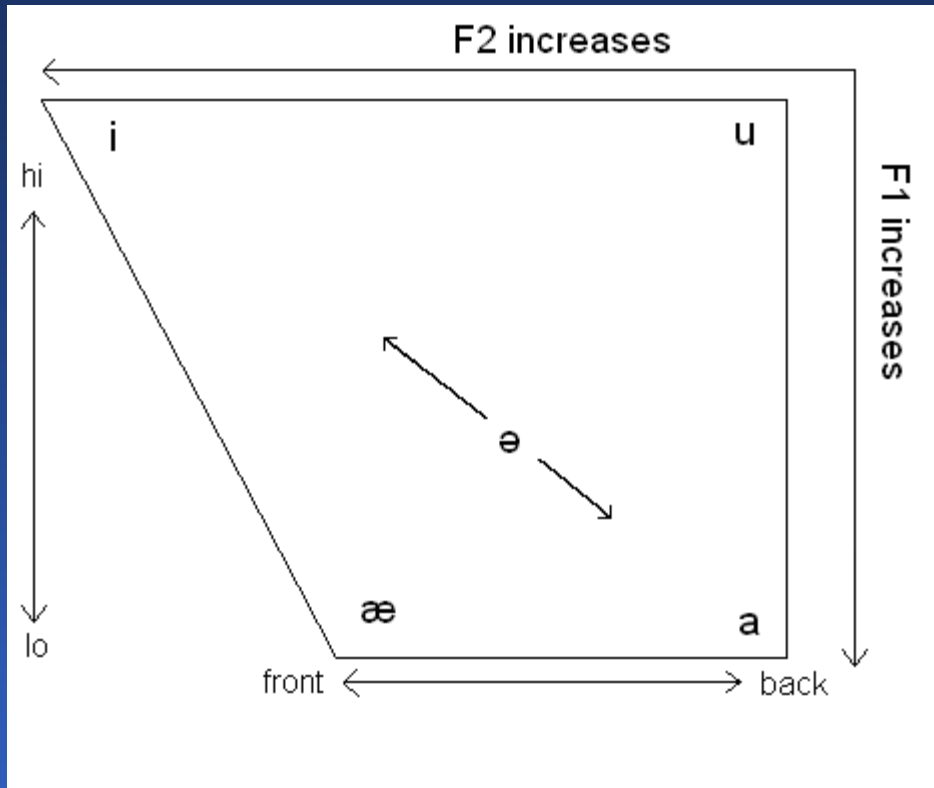
- Focus on Location-to-Location effects:
 - Motion capture technology
 - Visualization similar to that for V-to-V effects
(e.g. high-low, side-to-side)

American Sign Language



- Focus on Location-to-Location effects:
 - Motion capture technology
 - Visualization similar to that for V-to-V effects (e.g. high-low, side-to-side)

American Sign Language

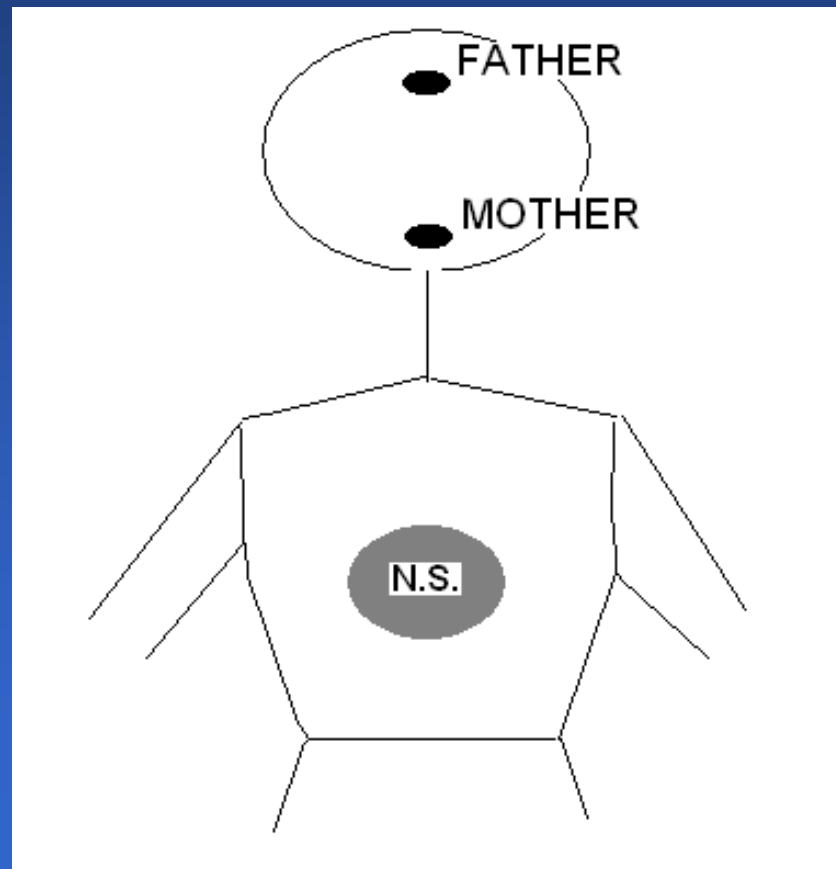


Q: In a quest for long-distance coarticulation, what sign location might be most analogous to schwa?

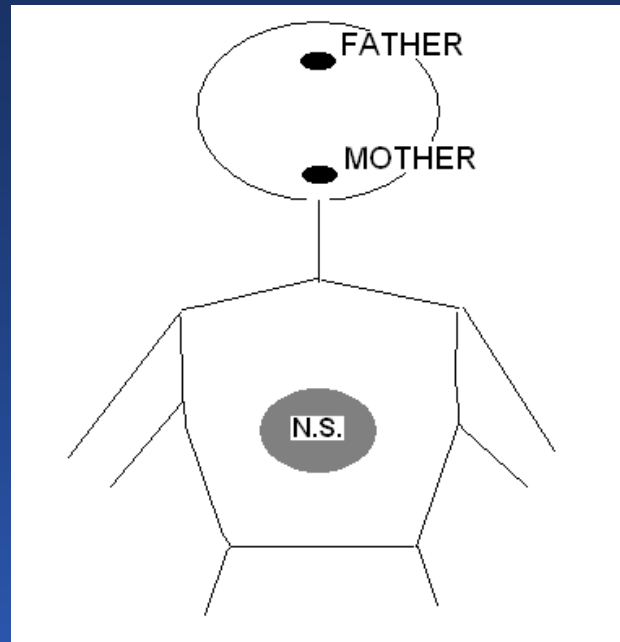
A: Neutral signing space? [... but with a caveat]

ASL: L-to-L effects

- Basic idea: create sentences with consecutive neutral-space signs, so that lots of L-to-L coarticulation can be expected.



ASL: L-to-L effects



“I WANT GO FIND FATHER I.”

Context = forehead

“I WANT GO FIND MOTHER I.”

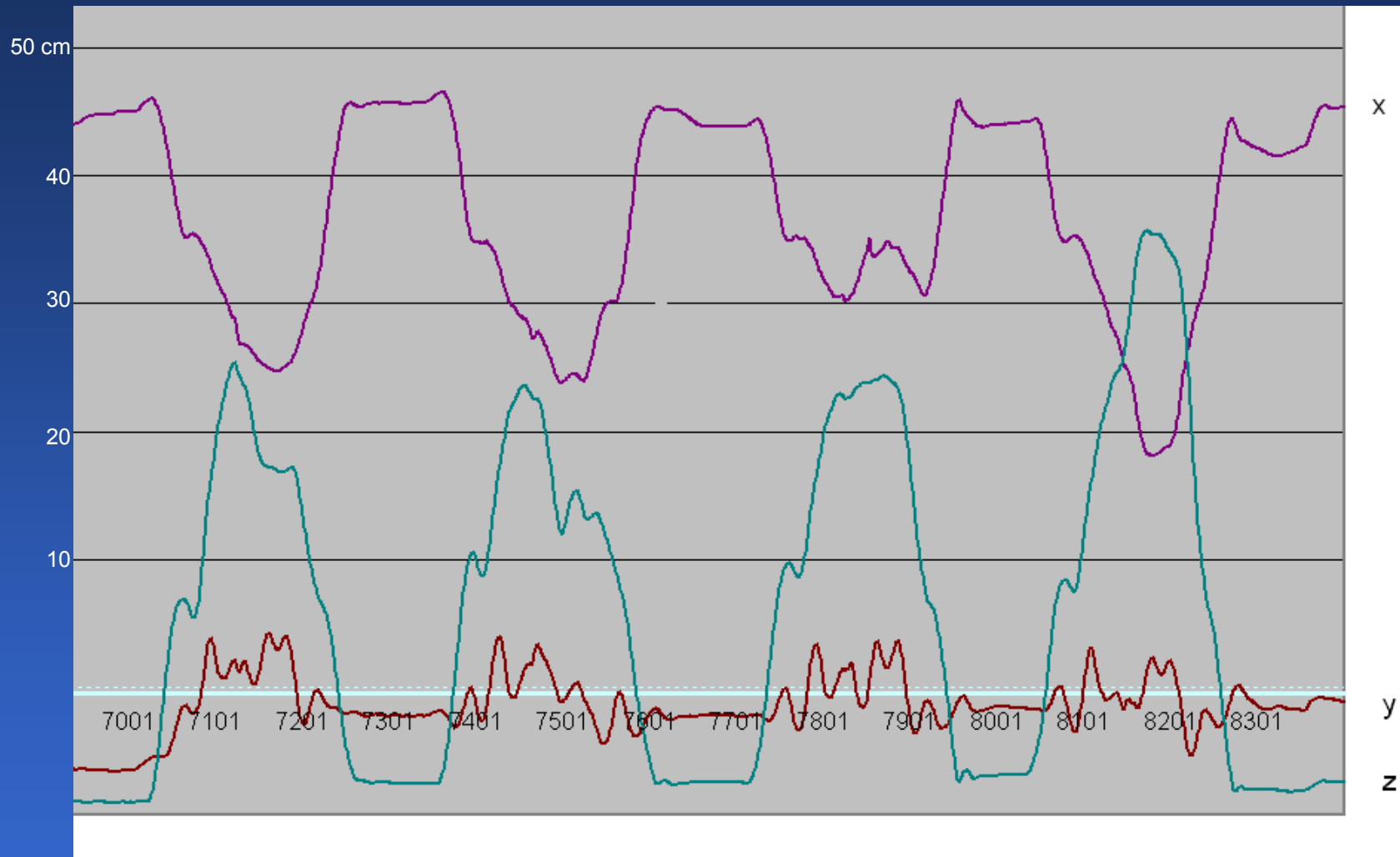
Context = chin

Distance-3 condition:

Target sign = WANT

- Each sentence repeated five times.

ASL: L-to-L effects



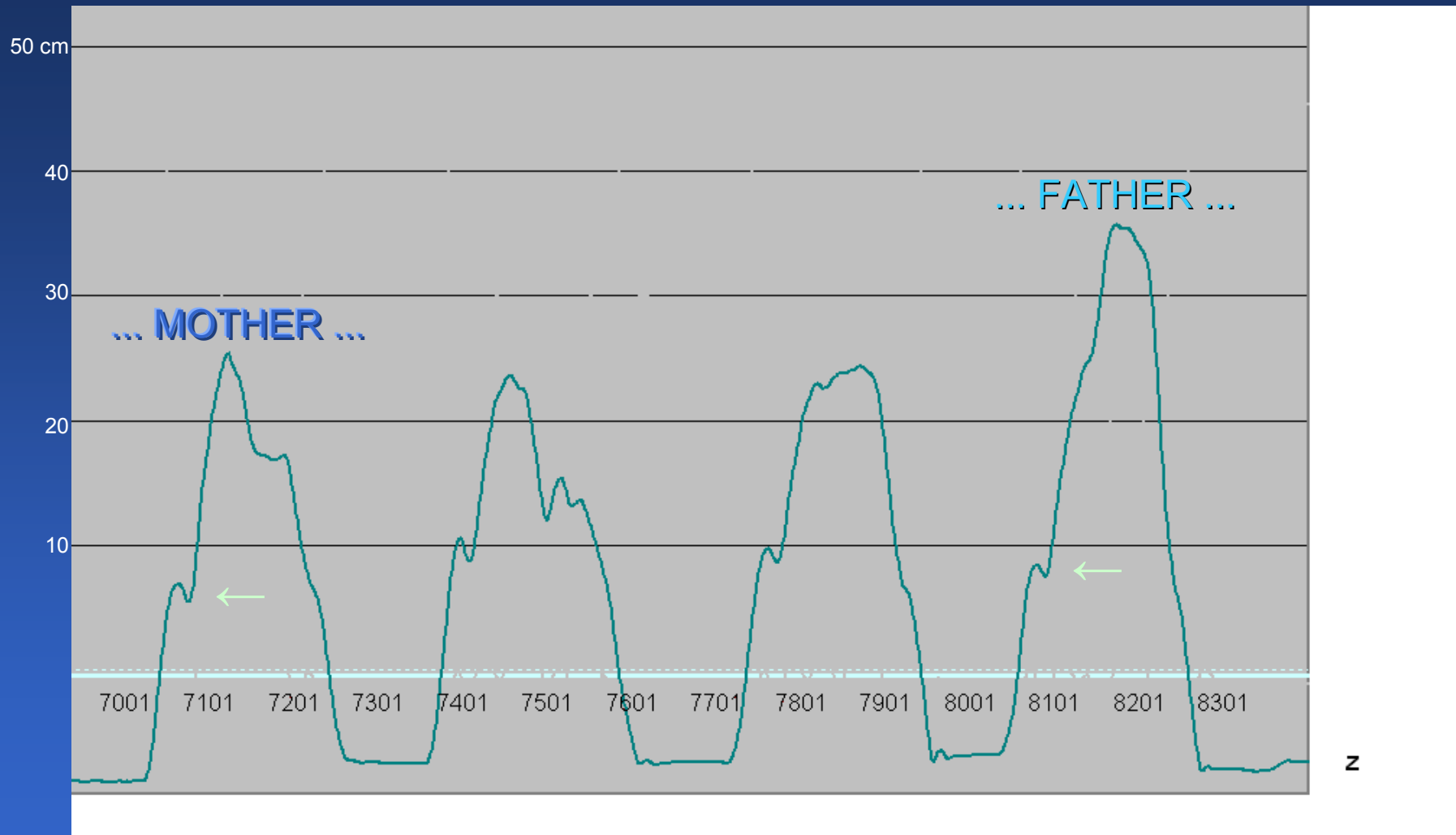
“I WANT GO FIND FATHER I.”

“I WANT GO FIND MOTHER I.”

Context = forehead

Context = chin

ASL: L-to-L effects



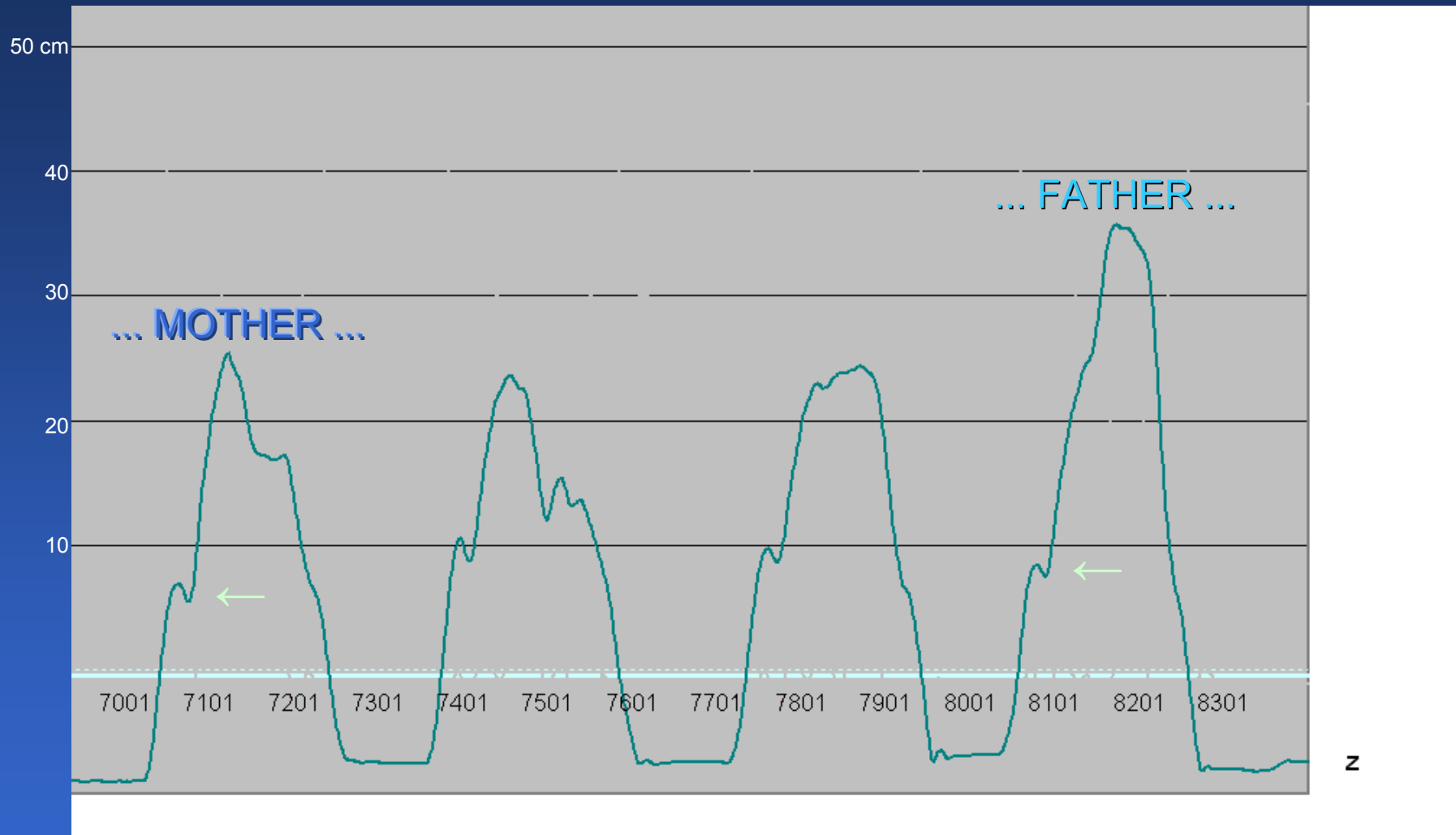
"I WANT GO FIND FATHER I."

"I WANT GO FIND MOTHER I."

Context = forehead

Context = chin

ASL: L-to-L effects



FATHER (forehead):
MOTHER (chin):

Avg z value: 8.65 cm
Avg z value: 7.12 cm

**p<0.01

ASL: L-to-L effects

Distance-3: “I WANT GO FIND (X) I.”

FATHER (forehead):

Avg z value: 8.65 cm

**p<0.01

MOTHER (chin):

Avg z value: 7.12 cm

HAT (head):

Avg z value: 17.06 cm

p=0.102

PANTS (waist):

Avg z value: 15.97 cm

DEER (head):

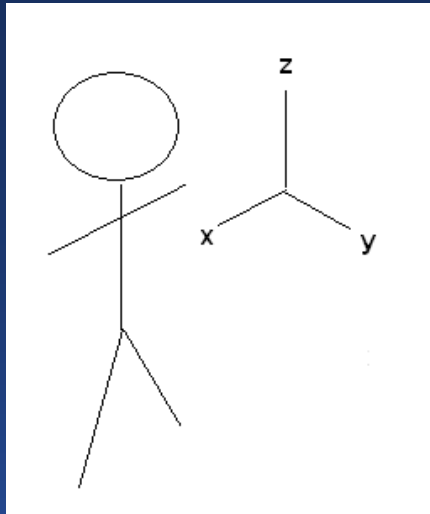
Avg z value: 16.74 cm

p=0.104

RUSSIA (waist):

Avg z value: 15.43 cm

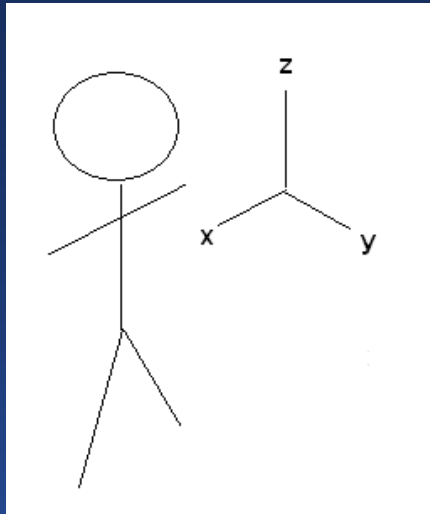
ASL: L-to-L effects



Distance-1: “I WANT (X) I.”

z (up/down)	x (right/left)	y (front/back)		Context
17.76 cm			p=0.08	HAT
15.65				PANTS

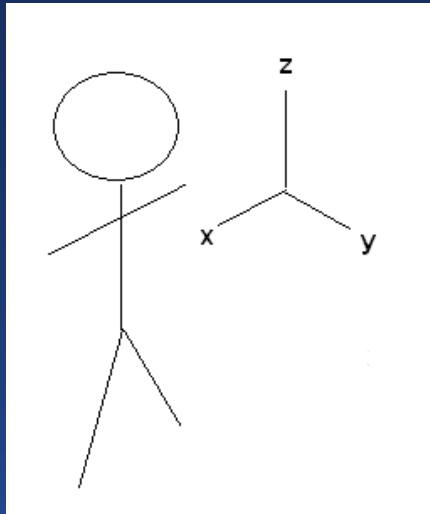
ASL: L-to-L effects



Distance-1: “I WANT (X) I.”

z (up/down)	x (right/left)	y (front/back)		Context
17.76 cm			p=0.08	HAT
15.65				PANTS
16.27 cm			*p<0.05	DEER
14.51				RUSSIA

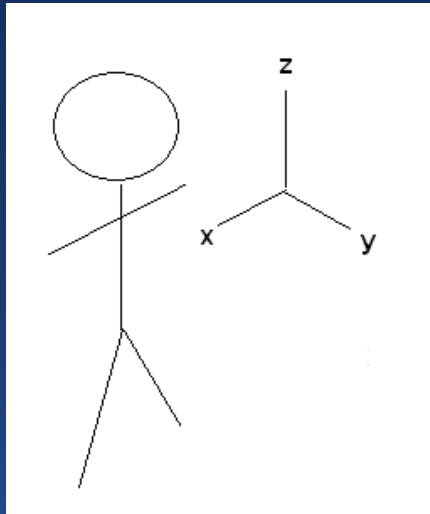
ASL: L-to-L effects



Distance-1: “I WANT (X) I.”

z (up/down)	x (right/left)	y (front/back)		Context
17.76 cm			p=0.08	HAT
15.65				PANTS
16.27 cm			*p<0.05	DEER
14.51				RUSSIA
	36.55 cm		**p<0.01	BOSS
	35.61			CUPCAKE
	34.54			CLOWN

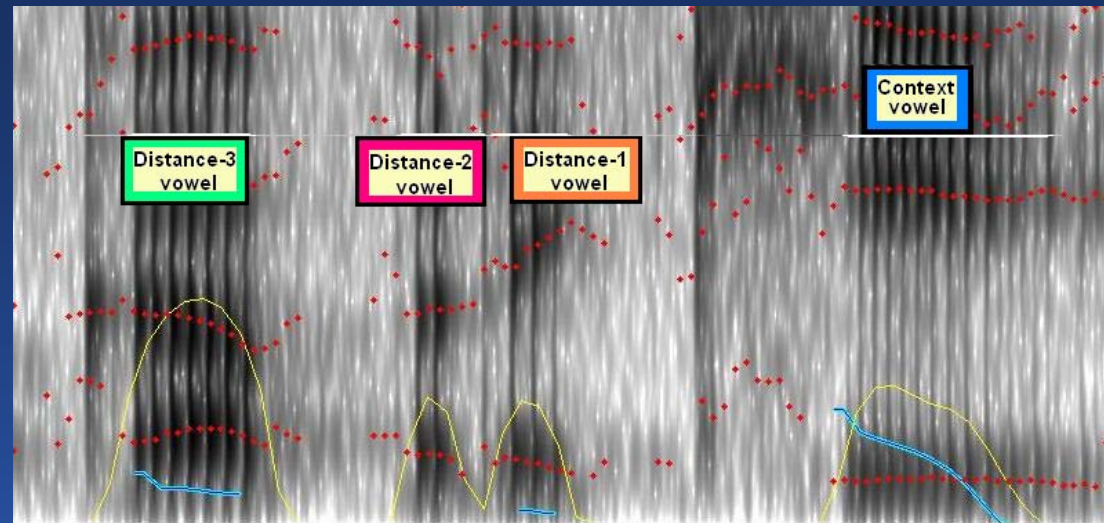
ASL: L-to-L effects



Distance-1: “I WANT (X) I.”

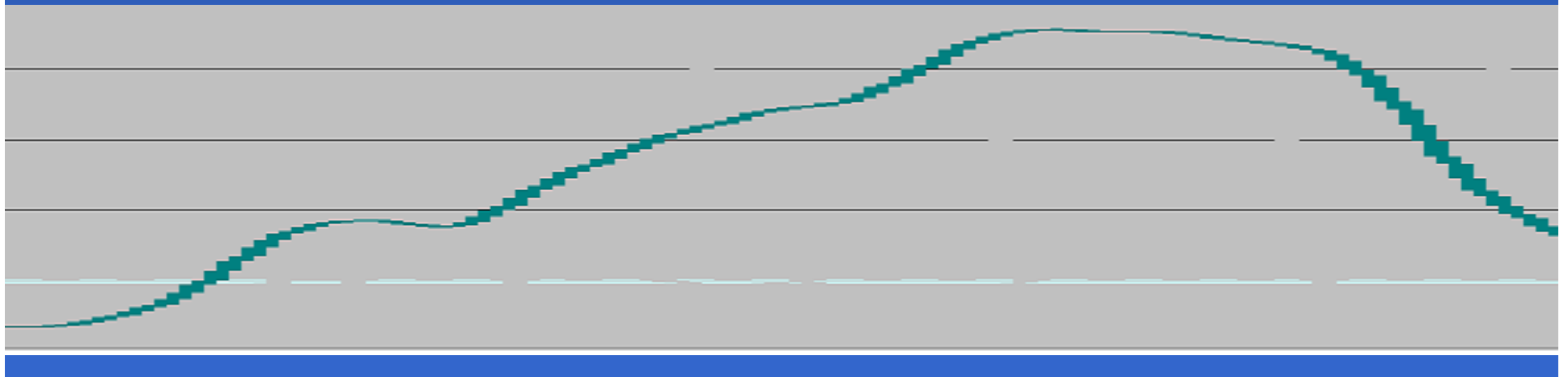
z (up/down)	x (right/left)	y (front/back)		Context
17.76 cm			p=0.08	HAT
15.65				PANTS
16.27 cm			*p<0.05	DEER
14.51				RUSSIA
	36.55 cm	0.20 cm	*p<0.05	BOSS
	34.54	1.43		CUPCAKE
	35.61	1.41		CLOWN

Cross-modality comparison



^ ----- ~300-500 ms ----- ^

v ----- ~500-800 ms ----- v



Conclusion: Implications

- **Speech production**

Coproduction (Fowler) & Window (Keating) models

e.g. Fowler & Saltzman (1993): 200-250 ms as estimate of gesture's anticipatory range of influence.

- **Sign production**

If confirmed, long-distance effects in sign language must be recognized in any viable model of sign production.

- **Language in general**

The time range of planning for linguistic production may be dissimilar between modalities.

Conclusion: Ongoing research ...

- Perception:

This project on English V-to-V coarticulation has found some listeners are sensitive even to the longest-distance effects.

Will we see similar results for sign?

Also in progress: use of ERP methodology

- More sign subjects:

The English study has recruited many subjects and has found substantial variability among speakers and listeners. What about inter-signer variation?

- Non-linguistic "coarticulation":

Are the effects we're seeing here exclusively language-based?

References

- Aitchison, J. (1981). Language change: Progress or decay? London: Fontana.
- Cheek, D. A. (2001). The Phonetics and Phonology of Handshape in American Sign Language. Academic dissertation. University of Texas at Austin.
- Fowler, C. A. (1980). Coarticulation and theories of extrinsic timing. Journal of Phonetics, 8, 113-133.
- Fowler, C. A. (1981). Production and perception of coarticulation among stressed and unstressed vowels. Journal of Speech and Hearing Research, 46, 127-139.
- Fowler, C. A. & Saltzman, E. (1993). Coordination and coarticulation in speech production. Language & Speech, 36, 171-195.
- Grosvald, M., & Corina, D. (in press). Exploring the limits of long-distance vowel-to-vowel coarticulation. Proceedings, Workshop of the Association Francophone de la Communication Parlée: "Coarticulation: Cues, Direction and Representation." Montpellier, France; December 7, 2007.
- Keating, P. (1985). CV phonology, experimental phonetics, and coarticulation. UCLA Working Papers in Phonetics, 62, 1-13.
- Keating, P. (1988). Underspecification in phonetics. Phonology, 5, 275-292.
- Keating, P. (1990). Phonetic representations in a generative grammar. Journal of Phonetics, 18, 321-334.
- Keating, P. (1990). The window model of coarticulation: Articulatory evidence. In J. Kingston & M. E. Beckman (eds.), Papers in Laboratory Phonetics I: Between the Grammar and the Physics of Speech, 451-470. Cambridge University Press.
- Kozhevnikov, V., & Chistovich, L. (1965). Speech: Articulation and perception. Translation 30, 543. Washington, DC: Joint Publications Research Service.
- Magen, H. (1997). The extent of vowel-to-vowel coarticulation in English. Journal of Phonetics, 25, 2, Apr, 187-205.
- Mauk, C. (2003). Undershoot in Two Modalities: Evidence from Fast Speech and Fast Signing. Academic dissertation. University of Texas at Austin.
- Ohala, J. (1981). The listener as a source of sound change. In M. F. Miller (ed.), Papers from the parasession on language behavior, 178-203. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Association.
- Öhman, S. E. G. (1966). Coarticulation in VCV utterances: Spectrographic measurements. Journal of the Acoustical Society of America, 39, 151-168.
- Przedziecki, M. (2000). Vowel harmony and vowel-to-vowel coarticulation in three dialects of Yoruba. Working Papers of the Cornell Phonetics Laboratory, 13, Dec, 105-124.

Contact information:

Michael Grosvald
Center for Mind and Brain
267 Cousteau Place
Davis, CA 95618

E-mail: mgrosvald@ucdavis.edu

Phone: (530) 297-4427