# Linguistic Structure in Aggregate Variation 

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Summer, 2005

## Aggregation in Variation

Thesis: Language variation must be studied in the aggregate.

- Detailed studies of single features ([aı] vs. [a], [æ] vs. [æ $\left.{ }^{\text {² }}\right]$ ) are at best inconclusive, at worst misleading.
- Bloomfield (1933) noted how confusing details are; Coseriu $\left({ }^{1} 1956,1975\right)$ warned against "atomism" in dialectology.
- But question: is the aggregate linguistically structured?

We focus here on the question of linguistic structure.

## Outline

- Question
- Aggregating Technique
- Experiment on Southern Vowels in LAMSAS
- Results
- Reflections


## Question

Aggregate pronunciation distance:

- Is reliable, given $>20$ pronunciations/site (Cronbach $\alpha>0.8$ )
- Correlates with naive speakers' judgements ( $r \approx 0.65$ ) Gooskens \& Heeringa (2003), Heeringa (2004: Chap. 7)
- Is predictable from geography (Heeringa \& Nerbonne, 2001)
- Provides analytic foundation for dialect continua as organizing principle

But there's little assumption of linguistic structure in this work.
Question: What linguistic elements determine aggregate pronunciation distance (if any)?

## Factor Analysis

- Extract from correlation matrix those elements which reliably correlate
- Used in social science research to find common (underlying), e.g., in questionnaires
- Check reactions to local dialect vs. standard
- Status factor: intelligence, education, knowledgeable
- Sympathy factor: honest, sympathetic, unpretentious
- Leading idea: examine correlations among linguistic variables, extract commonalities


## Material

- Separate LAMSAS material into roughly 200 vowel pronunciations
- first vowel in <Alabama>, last vowel in <good_morning>
- For each vowel, for each pair of sites, measure distance in vowel pronunciation
- use LAMSAS feature chart as basis for distance
- Given that factor analysis will identify vowel occurences that function similarly (in distinguishing sites), the linguistic hypothesis is that these will reflect linguistic structure (phonemic identities, phonological processes).


## Sites Grouped to Complete Matrices



## Site Matrices

Per vowel we obtain a distance matrix (site $\times$ site):

|  | Wheeling | Winston | Raleigh | Richmond | Charlotte |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Wheeling | 0 | 41 | 44 | 45 | 46 |
| Winston | 41 | 0 | 16 | 34 | 36 |
| Raleigh | 44 | 16 | 0 | 37 | 38 |
| Richmond | 45 | 34 | 37 | 0 | 20 |
| Charlotte | 46 | 36 | 38 | 20 | 0 |

We then derive for each pair of vowels, the correlation coefficient, i.e., the degree to which they indicate the same distance between sites.

## Vowel Matrix

Per vowel-pair we obtain correlation coefficient (vowel $\times$ vowel) correlations:

|  | morning1 | Tuesday2 | pallet2 | thunderstorm2 | first1 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| morning1 | 1 | 0.02 | -0.01 | 0.73 | 0.056 |
| Tuesday2 |  | 1 | 0.23 | -0.03 | 0.02 |
| pallet2 |  |  | 1 | 0.006 | 0.09 |
| thunderstorm2 |  |  |  | 1 | 0.043 |
| first1 |  |  |  |  | 1 |

This correlation matrix is analysed for common factors.
We used varimax as an estimation procedure (in $R$ ): only orthogonal, no oblique rotations.

Condition: KCM/Bartlett's test of sphericity (variables are sufficiently distinct): $p<0.001$

## Loadings

Factor Analysis


## Importance of Factors

Factor Analysis


## Extreme Factor Loadings



## Extremes on Factors 3 \& 2



## Extremes on Factors 3 \& 1



## Extremes on Factors 3 \& 2



## Extremes on Factors 3 \& 2



## Factor 1 Loadings

| closet2 | 0.884 | kitchen2 | 0.880 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| pallet2 | 0.874 | white_ashes3 | 0.869 |
| Tennessee2 | 0.856 | Cincinnati2 | 0.851 |
| Baltimore2 | 0.844 | Massachusetts4 | 0.830 |
| Chicago1 | 0.816 | draining2 | 0.812 |

[ə] vs. [†]

Missouri2 $0.857 \quad\left[t^{\ominus}\right]$ vs. $\left[t^{2}\right]$

Factor 1: Geography


## Phonological Alternations Factor 1



Conclusion

- The first factor is sensitive to phonological alternations along the North-South division


## Factor 2 Loadings

| weatherboarding2 | 0.936 | Saturday2 | 0.926 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Virginia1 | 0.905 |  |  |

[Vr] vs. V] (including [ $\quad$ ] vs. [ə])

| good_morning2 | 0.929 | New_York2 | 0.922 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| forty1 | 0.906 | thunderstorm3 | 0.893 |

[วə] vs. [ $\leadsto \sim$ ә]

Factor 2: Geography


## Phonological Alternations Factor 2


[邓] vs. [ə]

[วə] vs. [ว~ ə]

- The second factor is sensitive to alternations distinguishing the Piedmont area, especially the absence of syllable final [r].
- Does [r]-lessness promote the lowering of [0]?


## Factor 3 Loadings

| Wednesday2 | 0.967 | Saturday3 | 0.961 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| thirty2 | 0.928 | foggy2 | 0.854 |

[ $\dagger \wedge$ ] vs. [ $\dagger$ ]

| Georgia2 | 0.876 | Tennessee1 | 0.766 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sofa2 | 0.760 | good_day1 | 0.775 |
| Russia2 | 0.751 | good_morning1 | 0.738 |

[ə] vs. [i] (!)
[ $\varepsilon$ ] vs. [ $\varepsilon$ ^]
[u] vs. [ $\mathrm{Ur}_{\mathrm{r}}$ ]

Factor 3: Geography


## Phonological Alternations Factor 3


[ $\dagger$ ] vs. [ $\dagger$ ]

[ $\varepsilon$ ] vs. [ $\varepsilon$ ^]

[u] vs. [Ur]

- Only the [ $\dagger \wedge$ ] vs. $[\mathfrak{+}]$ distinction seems to pick out West Virginia as opposed to Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland, and Delaware.


## Noncontrasting Vowels (in Factor Analysis)

| he_died_with1 | April2 | seven2 | kitchen1 | Chicago3 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| he_died_with3 | France1 | twelve1 | January2 | Louisiana3 |
| New_England2 | Missouri3 | bureau1 | St._Louis1 | February1 |
| Sunday_week3 | attic2 | ten1 | second2 | all_at_once1 |
| half_past_seven1 | backlog1 | bottom2 | froze_over1 | Alabama2 |
| what_time_is_it1 | chimney1 | driven1 | dry_spell1 | dry_spell2 |
| New_Orleans2 | fourteen2 | broom1 | froze_over2 | Tennessee3 |
| half_past_seven2 | eleven2 | mantel1 | hog_pen2 | Charleston2 |
| Sunday_before_last5 | my_wife2 | night1 | northeast2 | northwest2 |
| steady_drizzle1 | quilt1 | rose1 | second1 | a_little_ways2 |
| twenty-seven1 | seventy1 | sofa1 | tomorrow1 | Washington3 |
| twenty-seven2 | three1 | pallet1 | January1 | Baltimore1 |
| twenty-seven3 | thirteen2 | twenty1 | wardrobe2 | bureau2 |
| white_ashes2 |  |  |  |  |

## Tentative Conclusions

- Linguistic structure is exploited in dialectal distinctions. For example, phonemic distinctions are consistent across lexical items.
- Factor analysis effectively identifies linguistic structure in mass comparision
- The technique is enabled by the numeric measure of distance between segments.
- Total explained variance is low, only $36 \%$ in the first three factors. Data is noisy.
- Some factors link non-trivial linguistic variations, e.g., [ə] vs. [ $\dagger$ ] on the one hand with $[\varepsilon]$ vs. [ $\varepsilon \wedge$ ] on the other


## Future Work

- Identifying which variations to focus on (e.g., [ə] vs. [ $\dagger$ ] $)$ wrt a given factor is subjective. Can we systematize this?
- Can this technique suggest deeper linguistic relationships, e.g., different concrete alternations that are loaded for the same factor?
- Are there more general, e.g., data-mining techniques, that could be used to probe in data for which no numerical measure of difference has been established?

