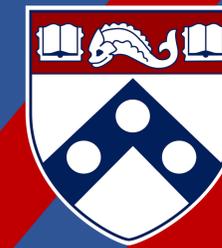


# The Acquisition of Vowel Harmony from Simple Local Statistics

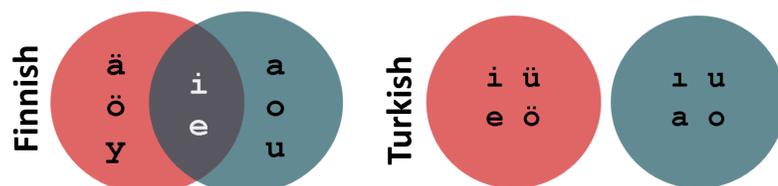
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## Vowel Harmony

- **System-wide vowel alternation patterns** in languages across the world
- Affects roots and affixes, and languages may have multiple processes
- Vowels are either **neutral** or **harmonizing**. Harmonizing vowels are partitioned into sets.
- Generally, **words contain vowels from only one harmonizing set**



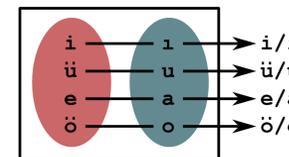
- **“Spreading” of phonological features**
  - Turkish: Frontness (Turkish, Finnish...) ATR (Mongolian, Fula...) Roundness (Turkish, Warlpiri...)
  - Finnish: ...kissansakaankopahan vs. ...myydellänsäkäänköhän

## Distributional Hypothesis

1. In **non-harmonizing languages** (eg English), no particular vowels should be more or less likely to follow one another (**near-uniform co-occurrence distribution**)
2. In **harmonizing languages** (eg Turkish, Finnish), we expect **strongly non-uniform co-occurrence distributions**, since vowel co-occurrence is partitioned by the phonology

## Model Implementation

1. **Over word list OR unsegmented input**,  
Example Input: kababesisata  
Co-occurrence Matrix:  
Vowel Freqs:  $C(a)=4, C(e)=1, C(i)=1$   
Probs:  $P(a)=4/6, P(e), P(i)=1/6$
2. **Tabulate vowel co-occurrence matrix** counting adjacent vowels ignoring consonants
3. **Convert to normalized conditional probabilities**  
$$normP(a|e) = \frac{C(a|e)}{C(a)P(e)}$$
4. **Remove neutral vowels** with  $normP$  consistently below threshold proportional to vowel set cardinality  
$$Threshold = \frac{0.5}{\#Vowels}$$
5. **Find featural partition** (eg online k-means clustering,  $k=2$ )
6. **Collapse over features and repeat.**



## Results

Language	Primary	Secondary	Neutral Vowels	Harmony Found
Hungarian	yes	yes	2	Primary only
Turkish	yes	yes	(2ary only)	yes
Finnish	yes	-	2	yes
Warlpiri	yes	-	1	yes
Uyghur	yes	-	-	yes
Estonian	remnant	-	-	finds remnant
German	-	-	-	no
English	-	-	-	no

- **Primary harmony correctly partitioned for all harmonizing languages.**
- Secondary harmony was discovered for **Turkish**.
- No harmony identified for **English** and **German**.
- Partial historical system discovered for **Estonian**
- **Hungarian** results depend on removing vowel length from orthography.

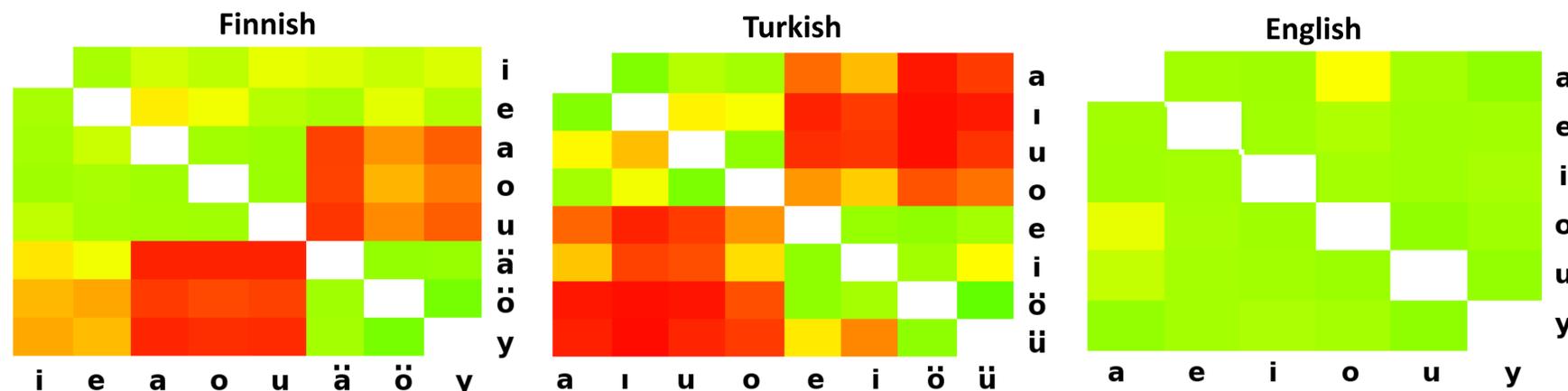
## Early Acquisition

- Infants **as young as seven months** are sensitive to vowel harmony alternations in acoustic input in preferential listening over continuous unsegmented speech [4]

A computational model should:

- **Connect raw input to phonological theory**
- **Require little data** and function over unsegmented speech (rather than individual words from a wordlist)
- **Leverage plausible cognitive tools** (online processing, simple calculations, innate ability to differentiate consonants and vowels) [1]

## Distributional Cues



- Heatmaps showing  $normP$  for each vowel pair in Finnish, Turkish, and English
- **Red** indicates low  $normP$  (unlikely to co-occur) and **Green** is high  $normP$
- Self- $normP$  is omitted
- **The distribution for English (non-harmonizing) is near-uniform**
- **Turkish is clearly partitioned into its two harmonizing sets**
- **Finnish neutral i and e are distinct from harmonizing vowels**

## Empirical Questions

- Is primary harmony in fact acquired first?
- Are children sensitive to more complex harmony processes early on?
- Must harmony function over a single phonological feature?
- How do learners differentiate productive harmony (eg Finnish, Turkish) from non-productive (eg Estonian, Uzbek)? (cf [5])
- How helpful is harmony in word segmentation tasks?
- What minimum signal-to-noise ratio is necessary? Harmony exceptions (eg common in Turkish) and average word length in infant-directed-speech affect this.

## Acknowledgements

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## Selected References

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## Code and Contact

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