Prosody: Thinking Outside the Box

Lecture 4 The Sociophonetics of Prosody

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Sociophonetics

Selected Approaches to Sociophonetics

- 1) Labov's Sociophonetics
- 2) OSCAR: Phonetic Opinion Survey:
 - 1) The Prosody of Impoliteness
 - 2) Description of Mandarin Tones
- 3) Prosodic Analysis of Discourse
 - Case 1: Prosodic Framing
 - Case 2: AM vs. FM Spectra
 - Case 3: Accent Constraints
 - Case 4: Long FM contours
 - Case 5: Emotive FM contours



Sociophonetics: several approaches

1. Methodologies:

- Interpretative methods:
 - ethnomethodology
 - conversation analysis
 - discourse analysis
- Correlationist (statistical) methods:
 - initiated by Labov
 - applied by Trudgill and many others

2. Scenarios (observational and experimental designs)

- Natural and spontaneous speech corpora
- Surveys:
 - prompted real-world elicitation (Labov)
 - online perception and description (OSCAR)

Labov's 'Correlationist' Approach: Selected Aspects

1. Dimension 1: phonetic variables

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for example:

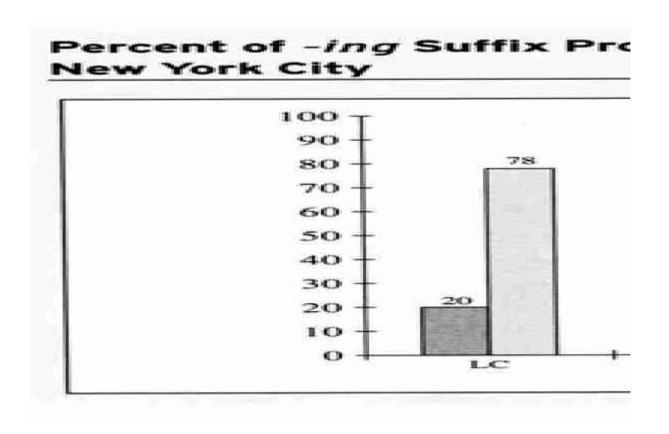
th [\theta], ng [\eta], r [r]
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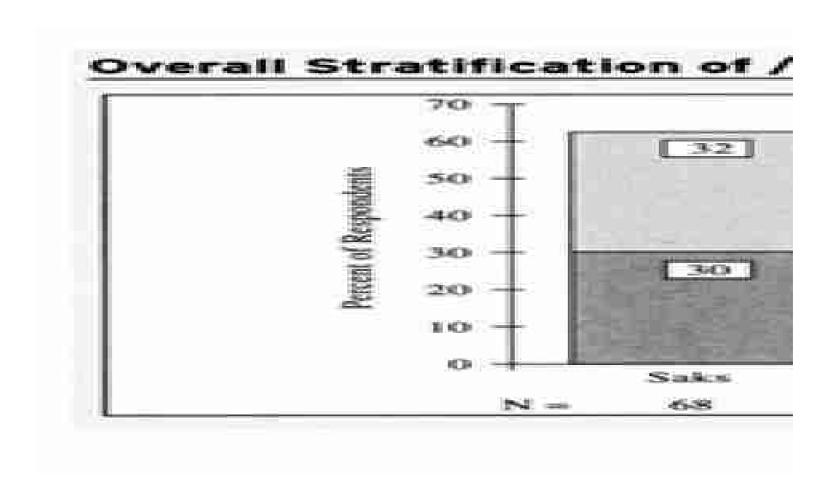
2. Dimension 2: context style variable

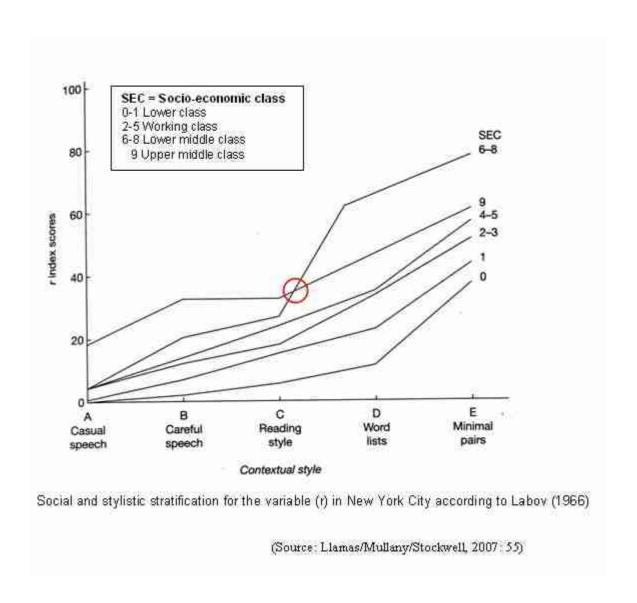
- casual speech
- careful speech
- reading style
- word lists
- minimal pairs

3. Dimension 2: socioeconomic variable

- lower class
- working class
- lower middle class
- upper middle class







An Online Sociolinguistic Survey Method: OSCAR

(Online Survey Collation and Reporting)

Different approach: Online Opinion Survey

Task of assigning pitch descriptors to tones

- metalinguistic documentation of perception
 - cf. judgment paradigm of auditory phonetics and phonology
- sociophonetics, 'folk linguistic' opinions

There are many formats for opinion surveys

- open interview
- closed set (standard: Likert scale)
 - for this test:
 - audio input, Likert format response to a statement:
 - strongly agree
 - agree
 - don't care
 - disagree
 - strongly disagree



Dr. Rensis Likert 1903-1981

Likert scale 1932 (Ph.D. thesis)

Descriptor assignment

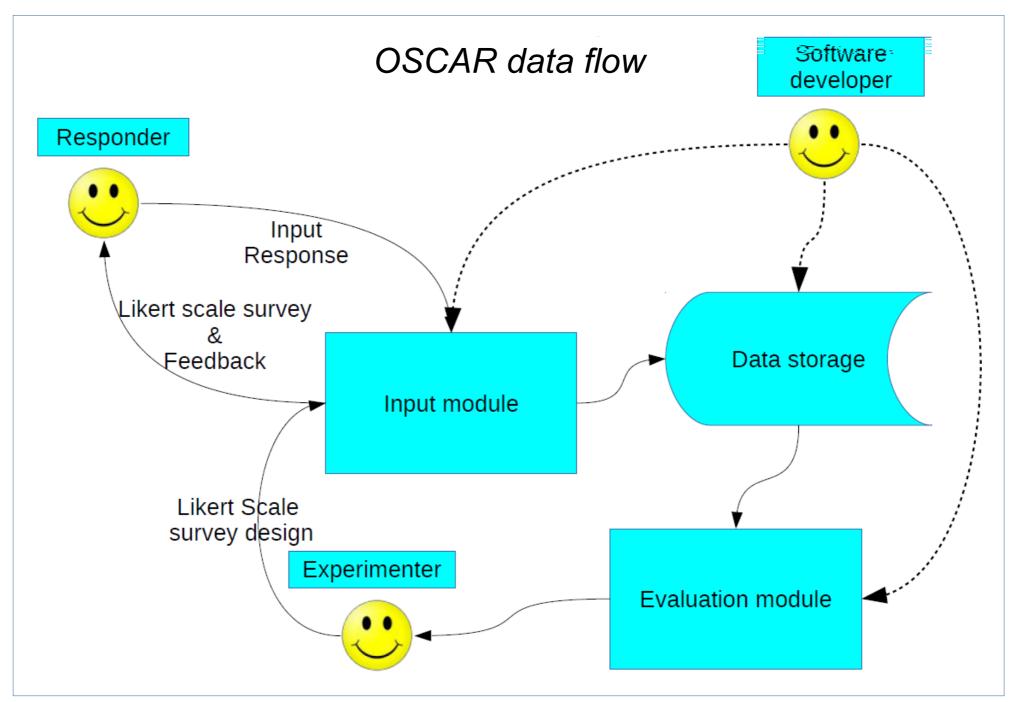
Task of assigning pitch descriptors to tones

- metalinguistic documentation of perception
 cf. judgment paradigm of auditory phonetics and phonology
- sociophonetics, 'folk linguistic' opinions

Custom online tool OSCAR

- "Online Survey Collation And Reporting"
- input:
 - responder metadata: age group, sex, L1, regional variety
 - single-page Likert format survey form
 - list of tones + pitch descriptor choices
- output:
 - for responders: notification of (in-)completeness of responses
 - for experimenter: automatic evaluation





Acknowledgment for the following section to:

Li Peng. 2018. An Analysis of Impolite Speech Acts in Donald Trump's Speeches with Special Reference to Prosodic Components. M.A. Thesis, Jinan University, Guangzhou.



Prosody and Impoliteness

1. Aim

- Examining impolite speech acts through impoliteness strategies:
- previous approaches
 - films, tv series, reality shows, debate
- here: public speech

2. Focus on the role of linguistic text

- lexical aspects
- semantic aspects
- prosodic aspects often missed out
- here: both 'textual' and prosodic aspects

3. Method

- previous approches
 - mainly qualitative
- here: qualitative and quantitative

Prosody and Impoliteness

Therefore, new questions are asked:

- 1) What are the strategies commonly employed by Donald Trump?
- 2) What role does prosody play in the comprehension of impolite speech acts?
- 3) What are respondents' perceptions of Donald Trump's speeches?

Qualitative approaches often said to be 'merely opinion'

Novel twist: validation of 'opinion' by 'opinion survey' (consensus theory of truth!):

Novel twist:

online questionnaire with sounds and descriptors to characterise the sounds

Methodology and Data

A combined research approach:

- Typical 5-point Likert scale
- Novel twist: an online questionnaire with sounds/ various attributes

Procedure:

- Data collection:
 - Prompts:
 - 1)Downloading Donald Trump's presidential election speeches from Youku (> 7 hours)
 - 2)Repeated listening, transcribing, and then cutting out the impolite clips
 - 3)Extracting 42 clips concerning impoliteness within impoliteness model
 - 4) Converting 42 video clips into audio clips (WAV) by Total Video Converter
 - 5)Choosing 10 audio clips concerning marked prosody to design a questionnaire
 - Survey:
 - Using OSCAR to distribute, collect and report on the online audio survey results (http://wwwhomes.uni-bielefeld.de/gibbon/OSCAR al02/)

Prosodically Impolite Speech Acts

Pause

Stress

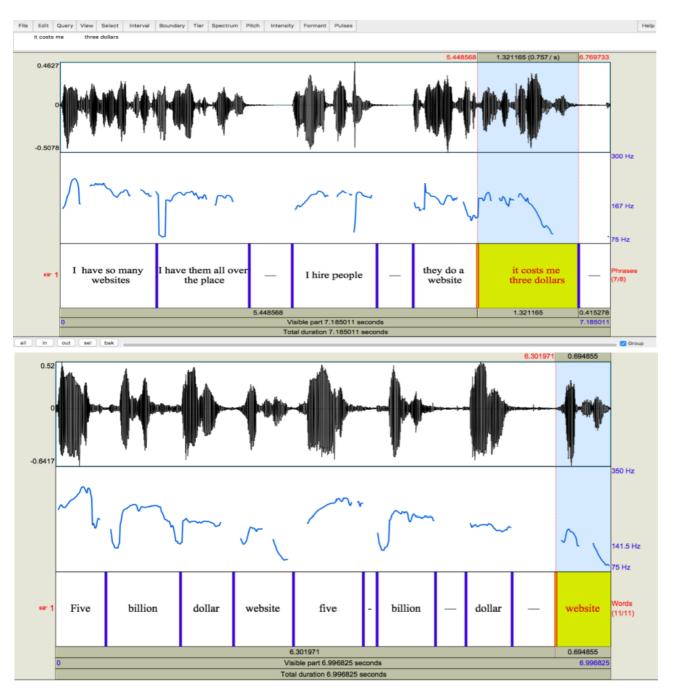
Down-stepping Intonation

Tempo of Speed

Prosodic Mimicry

Down-stepping Intonation and Impolite Speech Acts

"Five billion dollar website, I have so many websites, I have them all over the place. I hire people, they do a website, it costs me 3 dollars. Five billion dollar website." (New York)

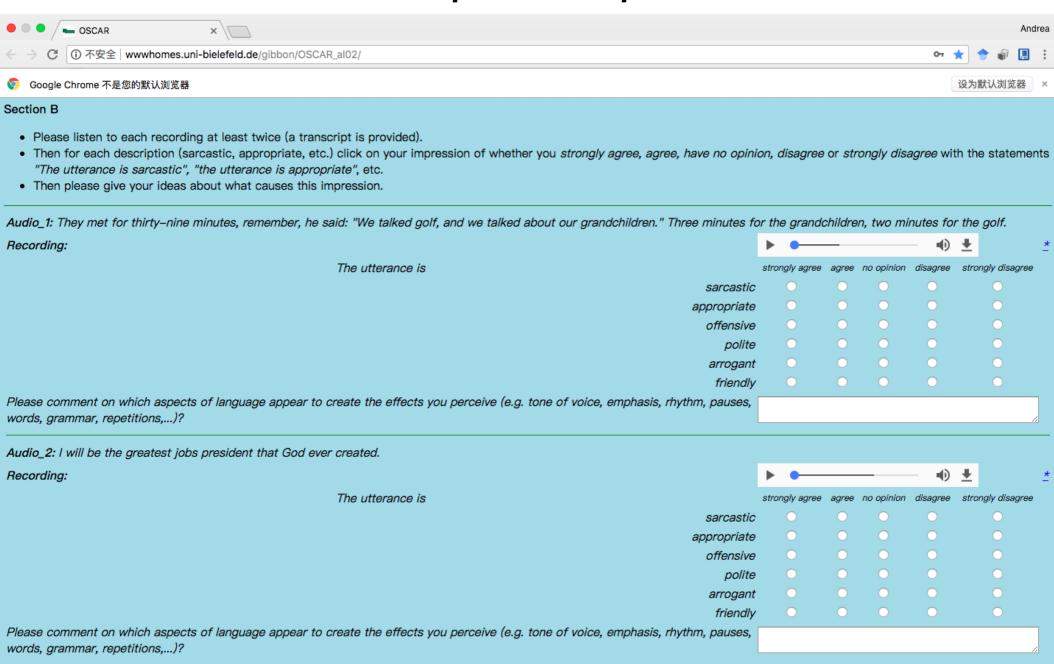


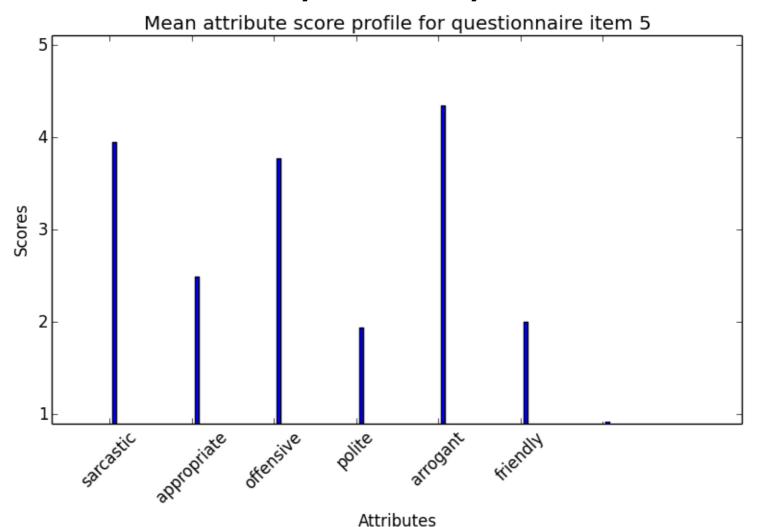
Audio_5:

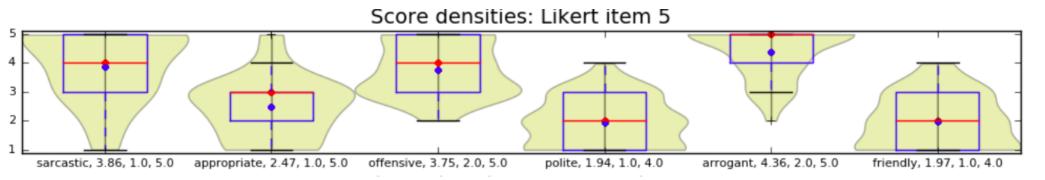
Five billion dollar website
I have so many websites, I have them all over the place.

I hire people, they do a website, it costs me 3 dollars.

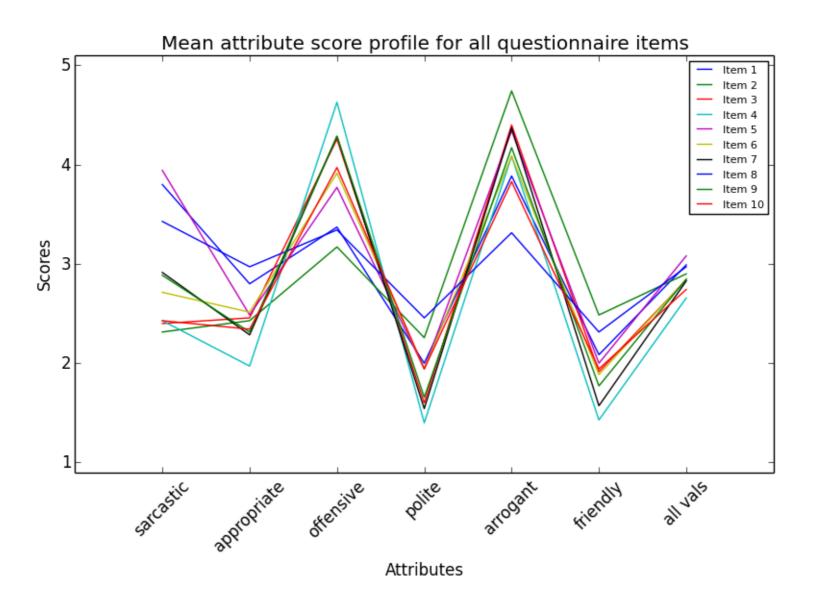
Five billion dollar website.
(Context: Donald Trump is talking about Obama's health care website. Bloomberg Government estimated that Obama's healthcare government cost less than 2.1 billion dollars.







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Gender	F=3.113	p≤0.1†	p=0.0778	
Language	F=3.199	p≤0.001***	p=0.000	
Language Variety	F=1.554	p≤0.1†	p=0.091	
Party	F=9.447	p≤0.001***	p=3.355e-06	
Descriptor	F=298.688	p≤0.001***	p=3.081e-243	
Prompts	F=1.751	p≤0.1†	p=0.073	

Acknowledgment for the following section to:

Gibbon, Dafydd and Huangmei Liu. 2018. Variability in Mandarin Tone Perception. *Proceedings of Speech Prosody 2018, Poznań, Poland* [In the ISCA Proceedings Archive]



GOALS

Test of new method

- multidialectal comparison
- contrast with previous bidialectal and bilingual comparisons
- exploratory rather than confirmatory

Sociophonetic focus

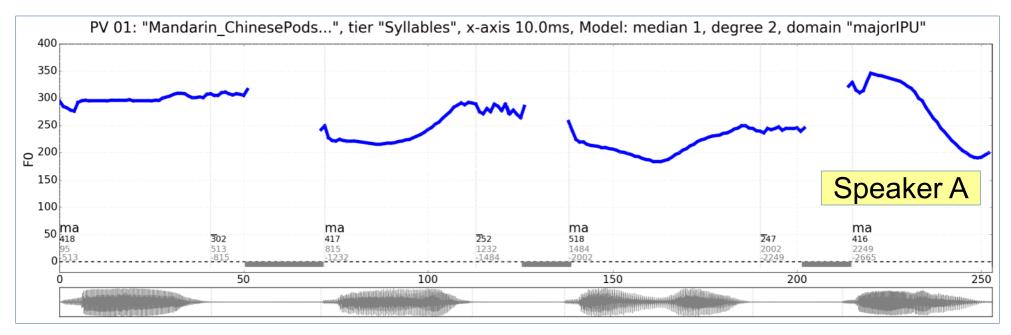
- assignment of descriptors of perceived pitch
 - to standard Mandarin (Pǔtōnghuà) tones
 - by native speaker responders from different regions
- comparison of height and contour descriptors
- focus on inter-rater <u>variability</u>
 - contrast with inter-rater reliability
- preparation for a large-scale multidialectal study
- longer-term goal of relating pitch descriptor assignments
 - to self-ascribed regional dialects
 - to linguistic dialect classification

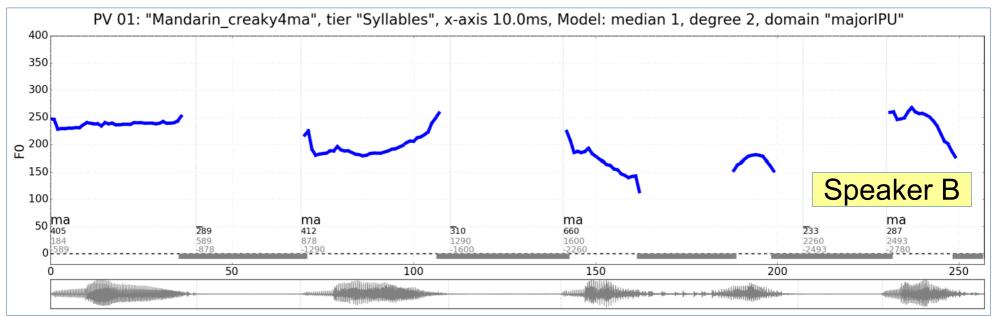
TASK

Stimuli

- 16 tone items:
 - 4 tones
 - 2 tokens each
 - 2 female speakers, standard Beijing Mandarin
- for all responders:
 - same randomised token order
 - no adjacent repetitions

Mandarin lexical tones



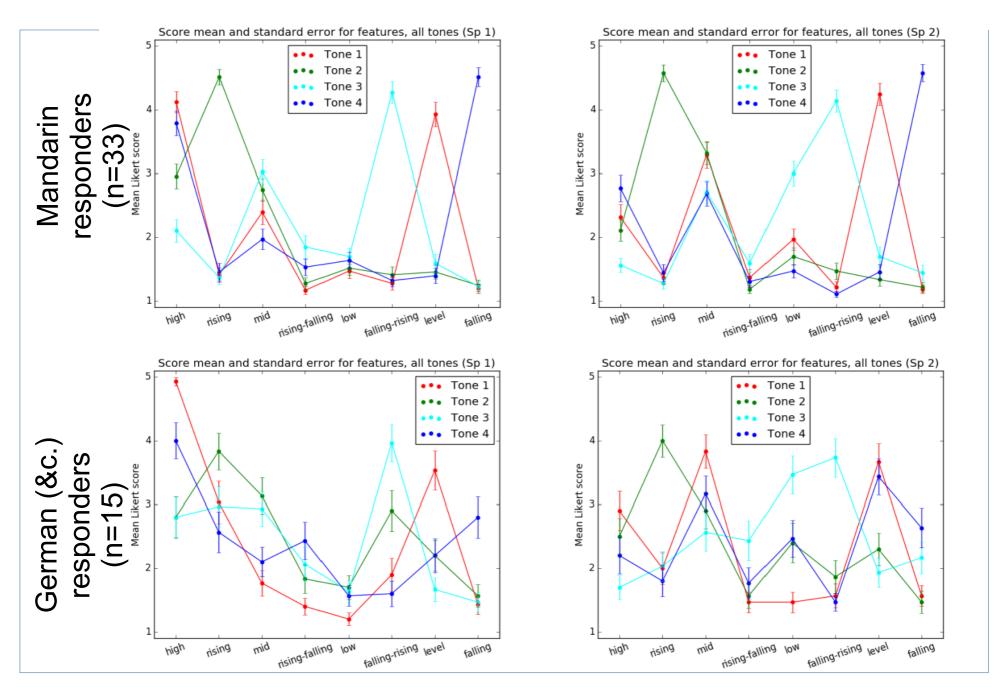


INPUT TASKS

Descriptors:

- 8 pitch descriptors
 - contours: level, rise, fall-rise, rise-fall (distractor), fall
 - heights: high, mid, low
- 5-point Likert format input scale
 - yes, maybe, not sure, maybe not, no
- coded for evaluation: 5,4,3,2,1

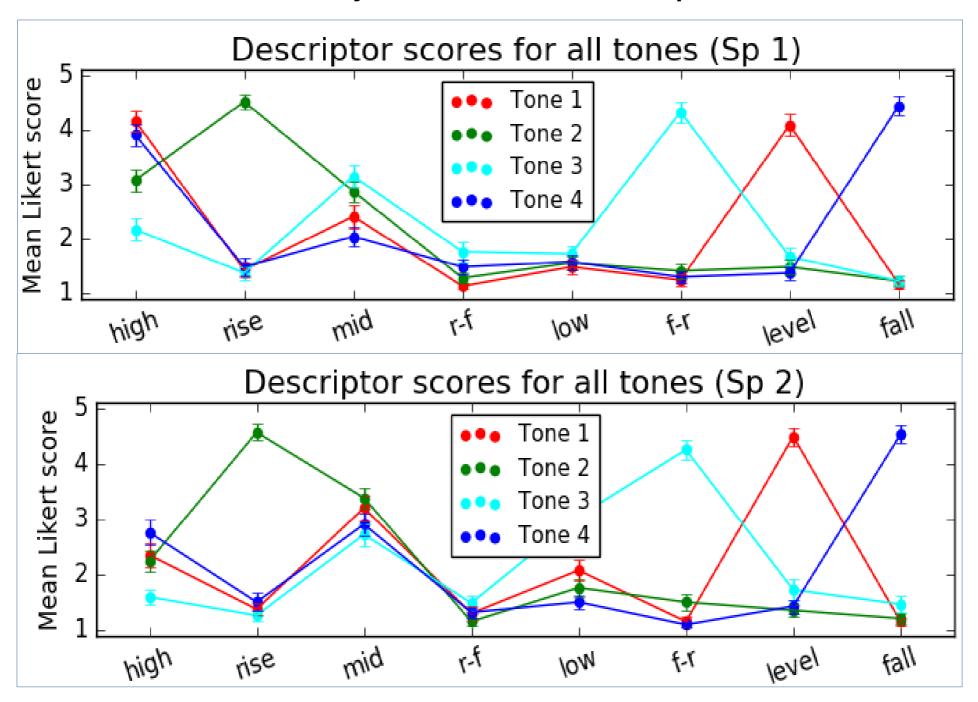




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Descriptor results

- Inter-speaker variability
 - mid varies for tones, not so much for speakers
- low varies strongly
 - for Speaker B
 - not for Speaker A
- high score
 - stronger for Speaker A
 - not for Speaker B
 - → overall higher pitch for Speaker A than for Speaker B?



Descriptor results

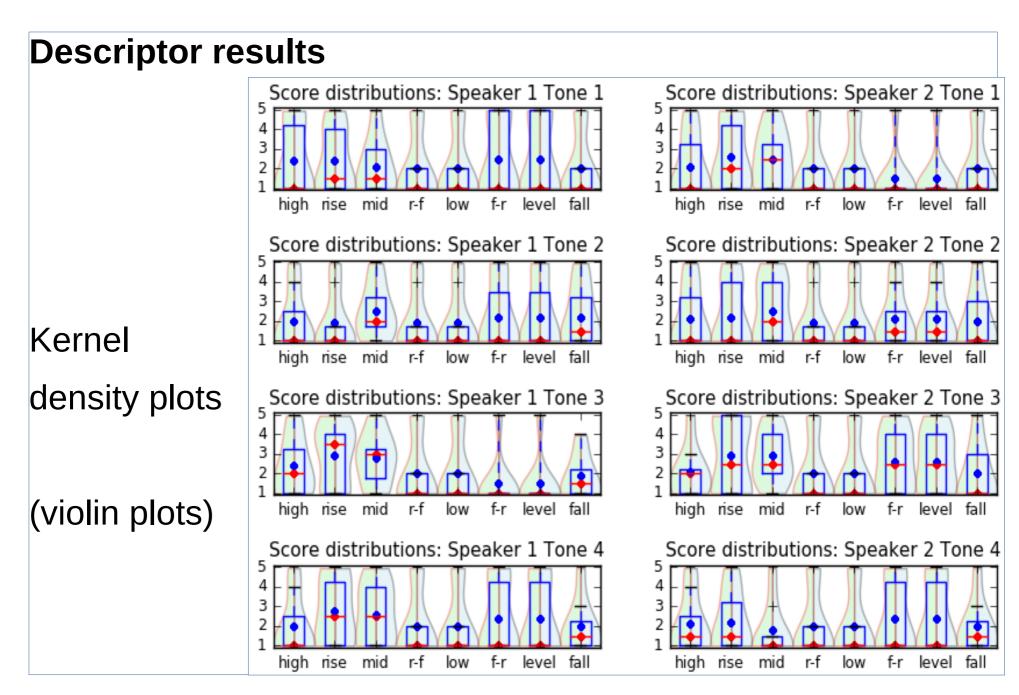
1. Contour descriptors:

- 'canonical tone descriptors':
 - high skewed distribution for high scores
 - cf. Mandarin tones:
 - Tone 1: level, Tone 2: rise, Tone 3: fall-rise, Tone 4: fall
 - Neutral tone not included
 - Distractor tone rise-fall: low

2. Height descriptors

- 'non-canonical'
 - high, mid, low
 - low scores:
 - skewed distributions
 - bimodal distributions
 - broad distributions

			6	2.0	74		
high	rise	mid	r-f	low	f-r	level	fall
4.12	1.41	2.39	1.17	1.47	1.27	3.92	1.20
2.95	4.52	2.74	1.27	1.52	1.41	1.45	1.24
2.11	1.36	3.03	1.85	1.70	4.27	1.59	1.23
3.79	1.45	1.97	1.53	1.64	1.32	1.39	4.52
high	rise	mid	r-f	low	f-r	level	fall
2.32	1.36	3.29	1.36	1.97	1.21	4.24	1.18
2.11	4.58	3.32	1.18	1.70	1.47	1.33	1.21
1.56	1.27	2.71	1.59	3.00	4.14	1.70	1.44
2.77	1.44	2.68	1.30	1.47	1.11	1.45	4.58
	4.12 2.95 2.11 3.79 high 2.32 2.11 1.56	4.12 1.41 2.95 4.52 2.11 1.36 3.79 1.45 high rise 2.32 1.36 2.11 4.58 1.56 1.27	4.12 1.41 2.39 2.95 4.52 2.74 2.11 1.36 3.03 3.79 1.45 1.97 high rise mid 2.32 1.36 3.29 2.11 4.58 3.32 1.56 1.27 2.71	4.12 1.41 2.39 1.17 2.95 4.52 2.74 1.27 2.11 1.36 3.03 1.85 3.79 1.45 1.97 1.53 high rise mid r-f 2.32 1.36 3.29 1.36 2.11 4.58 3.32 1.18 1.56 1.27 2.71 1.59	4.12 1.41 2.39 1.17 1.47 2.95 4.52 2.74 1.27 1.52 2.11 1.36 3.03 1.85 1.70 3.79 1.45 1.97 1.53 1.64 high rise mid r-f low 2.32 1.36 3.29 1.36 1.97 2.11 4.58 3.32 1.18 1.70 1.56 1.27 2.71 1.59 3.00	4.12 1.41 2.39 1.17 1.47 1.27 2.95 4.52 2.74 1.27 1.52 1.41 2.11 1.36 3.03 1.85 1.70 4.27 3.79 1.45 1.97 1.53 1.64 1.32 high rise mid r-f low f-r f-r 2.32 1.36 3.29 1.36 1.97 1.21 2.11 4.58 3.32 1.18 1.70 1.47 1.56 1.27 2.71 1.59 3.00 4.14	high rise mid r-f low f-r level 4.12 1.41 2.39 1.17 1.47 1.27 3.92 2.95 4.52 2.74 1.27 1.52 1.41 1.45 2.11 1.36 3.03 1.85 1.70 4.27 1.59 3.79 1.45 1.97 1.53 1.64 1.32 1.39 high rise mid r-f low f-r level 2.32 1.36 3.29 1.36 1.97 1.21 4.24 2.11 4.58 3.32 1.18 1.70 1.47 1.33 1.56 1.27 2.71 1.59 3.00 4.14 1.70 2.77 1.44 2.68 1.30 1.47 1.11 1.45



Descriptor results

1. Inter-speaker variability:

- some inter-speaker variability
 - pitch height descriptor mid varies for tones but not so much for speakers
 - low varies strongly for Speaker B but not for Speaker A
 - higher score of high for Speaker A: overall higher pitch

2. MANOVA

- fixed factors: tone type, pitch descriptor, dialect, speaker, with interactions
- significant effects: dialect region, pitch descriptor
- strong interactions
 - tone + descriptor, speaker + descriptor
 - dialect + tone + shape (multiinteraction)

Descriptor results: MANOVA

Fixed factors:

- tone type, pitch descriptor, dialect, speaker, with interactions

Significant effects:

dialect region, pitch descriptor

Strong interactions:

- tone + descriptor, speaker + descriptor
- multiinteraction: dialect + tone + shape

Factors	Df	Sum	Mean	F	р
		Sq	Sq		
dial	16	480	30	12.966	<0.001
descr.	1	123	123.19	53.252	< 0.001
tone:descr.	1	130	130.39	56.365	<0.001
sp.:descr	1	38	38.26	16.54	<.0001
dial:tone:descr	16	89	5.58	2.413	<0.01

Hierarchical Clustering

Method:

- a distance matrix is maintained at each iteration; the *d*[*i,j*] entry corresponds to the distance between cluster and components (here: Pearson distance)
- distance matrix updated to reflect distance of the newly formed cluster with remaining clusters
- classifiers:
 - Nearest Point Algorithm.
 - Farthest Point Algorithm (Voor Hees Algorithm)
 - Unweighted Pair Group Method with Averaging
 - Weighted Pair Group Method with Averaging
 - Unweighted Pair Group Method with Centroid Averaging (Median)
 - Weighted Pair Group Method with Centroid Averaging (Median)
 - Ward variance minimization (incremental)

https://docs.scipy.org/doc/scipy/reference/generated/scipy.cluster.hierarchy.linkage.html

HIERARCHICAL CLUSTERING

Pearson Distance classification, 7 clustering algorithms

→ Ward incremental variance minimisation

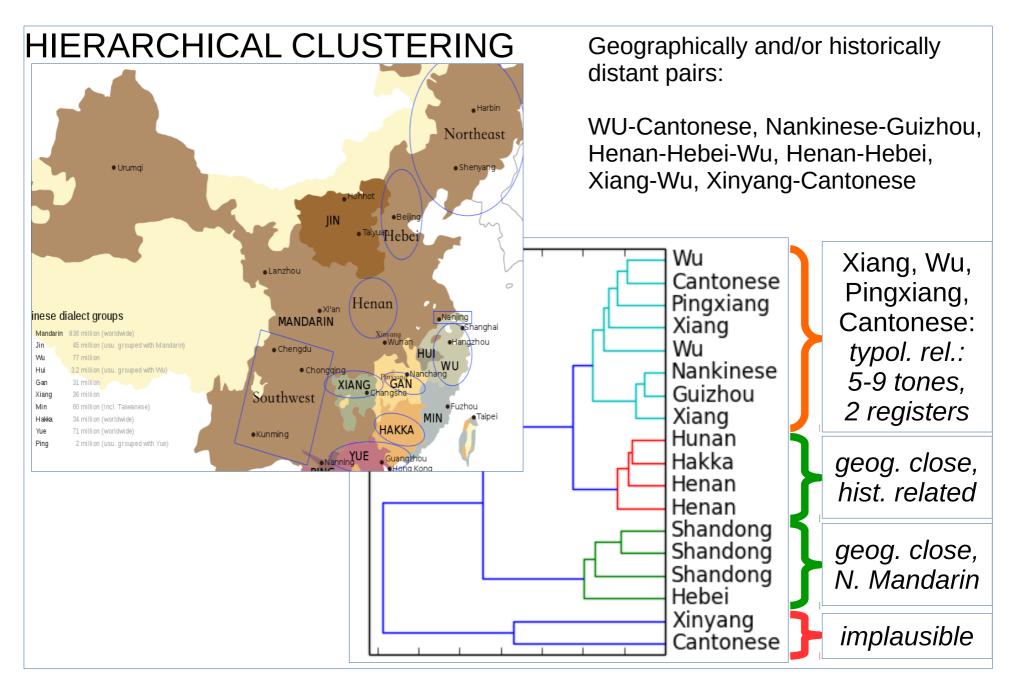
Comparison with geographical location

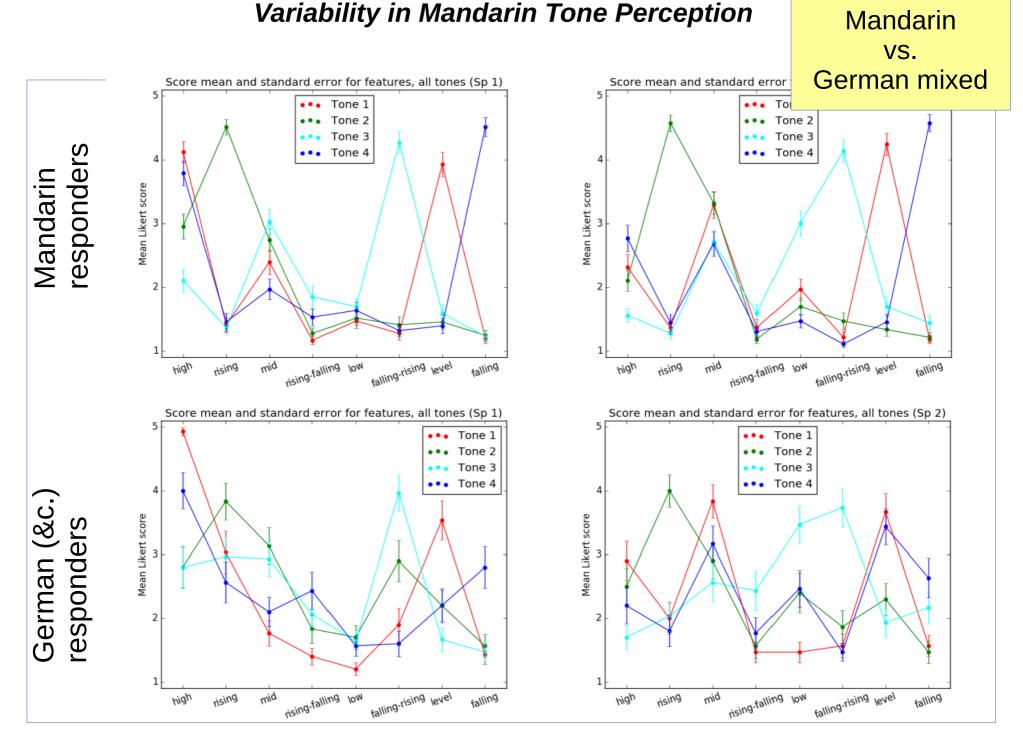
- Shandong+Hebei:
 - geographically close, N. Mandarin
- Hunan, Hakka, Henan:
 - geographically close, historically related
- others:
 - prosodic typology partly plausible, geography and history less so

Noise due small data set with large number of classes

- inaccuracies and normative element in self-ascription
- language graduates, strong influence of standard Mandarin

Variability in Mandarin Tone Perception





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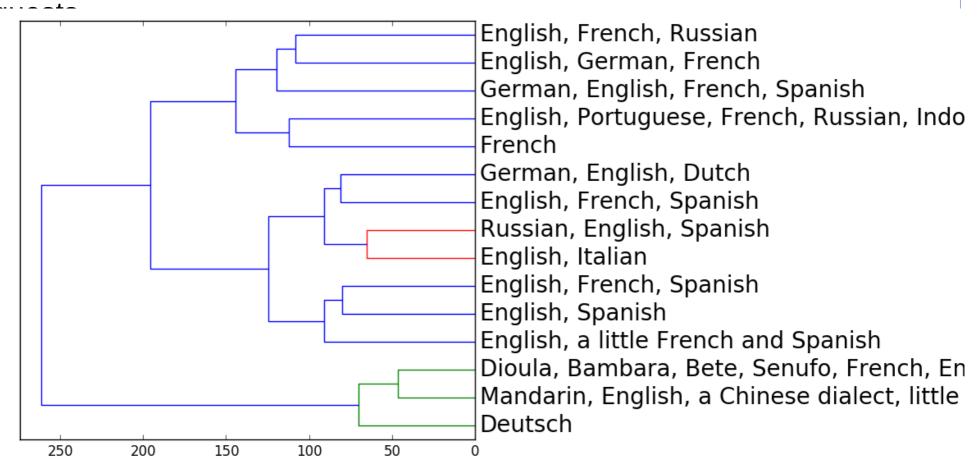
Dafydd Gibbon: Prosody: Thinking Outside the Box, Lecture 4

Variability in Mandarin Tone Perception

Mandarin vs. German mixed

HIERARCHICAL CLUSTERING

An experiment with an ad hoc group of German linguistics students, plus



Variability in Mandarin Tone Perception

Conclusions on tone descriptor assignment

Main descriptive outcomes

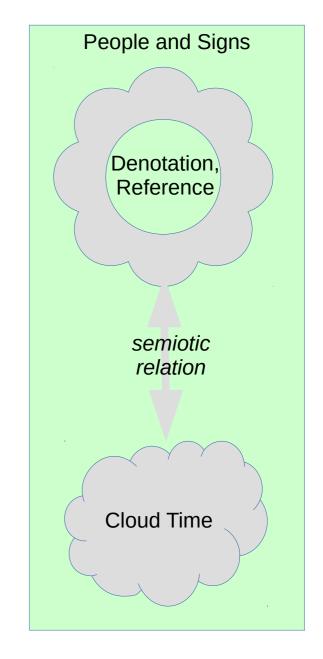
- expected: contour unlike height descriptors
 - canonical descriptors more consistent: categorial perception
- significant effects
 - dialect, descriptor; interactions for tone + descriptor, speaker + descriptor, dialect + tone + descriptor

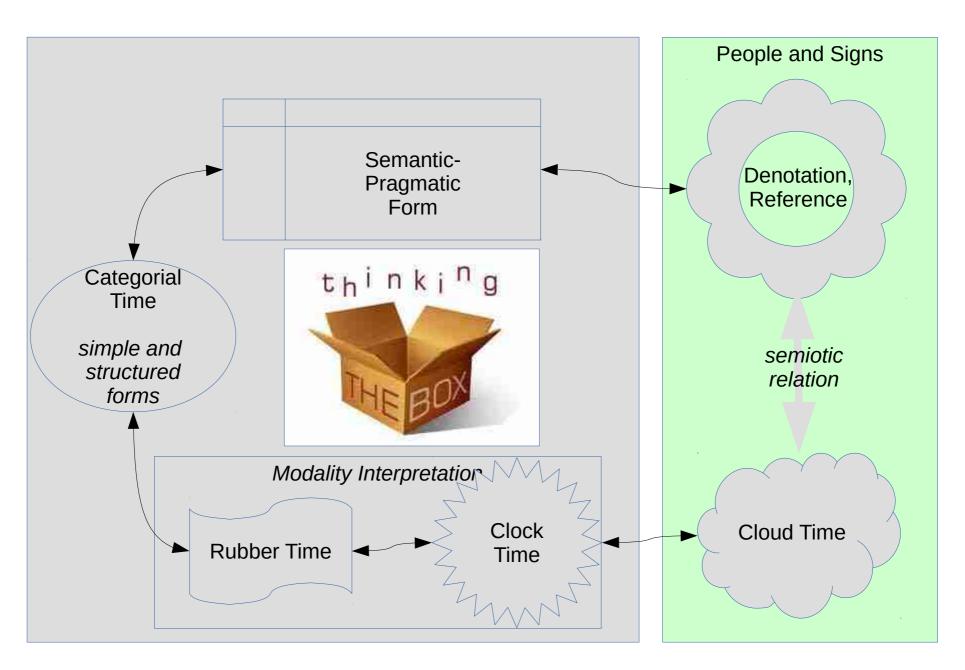
Classification

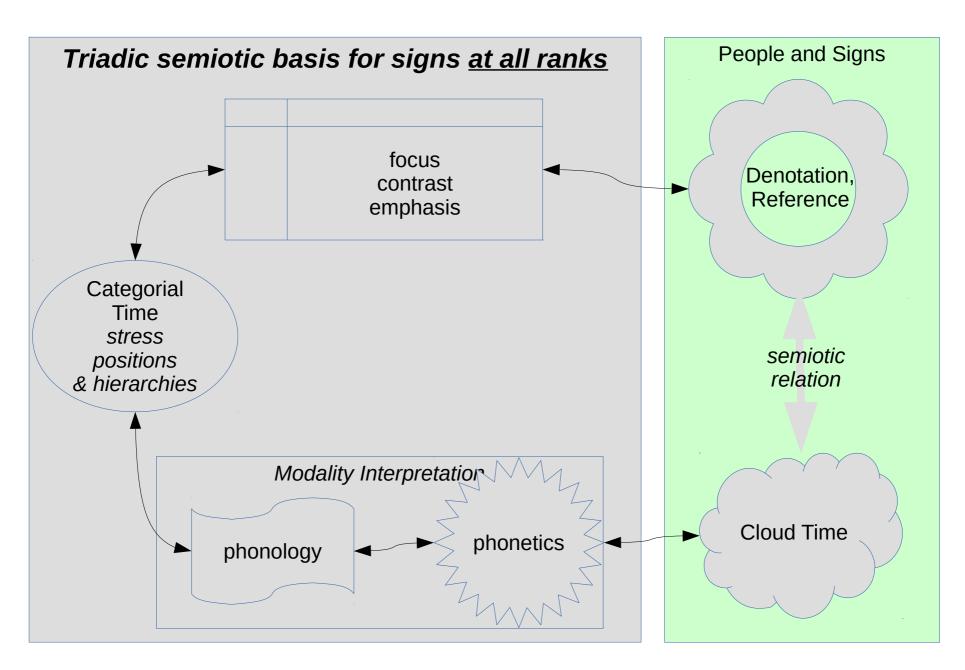
- partly plausible classification results
- despite small dataset but more data needed

Main strategic outcome

- the novel method is fit for purpose for planning
 - a larger dialect survey
 - more complex contextual data: tone sandhi, accent, intonation
 - more systematic dialect classification for self-ascription
 - more speakers, gender balance, socio-economic information





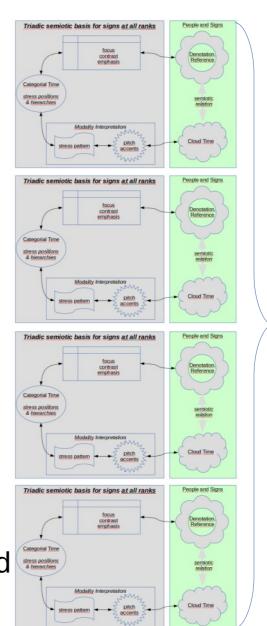


Discourse: Monologue, Dialogue

Utterance: turn, IPU, ...

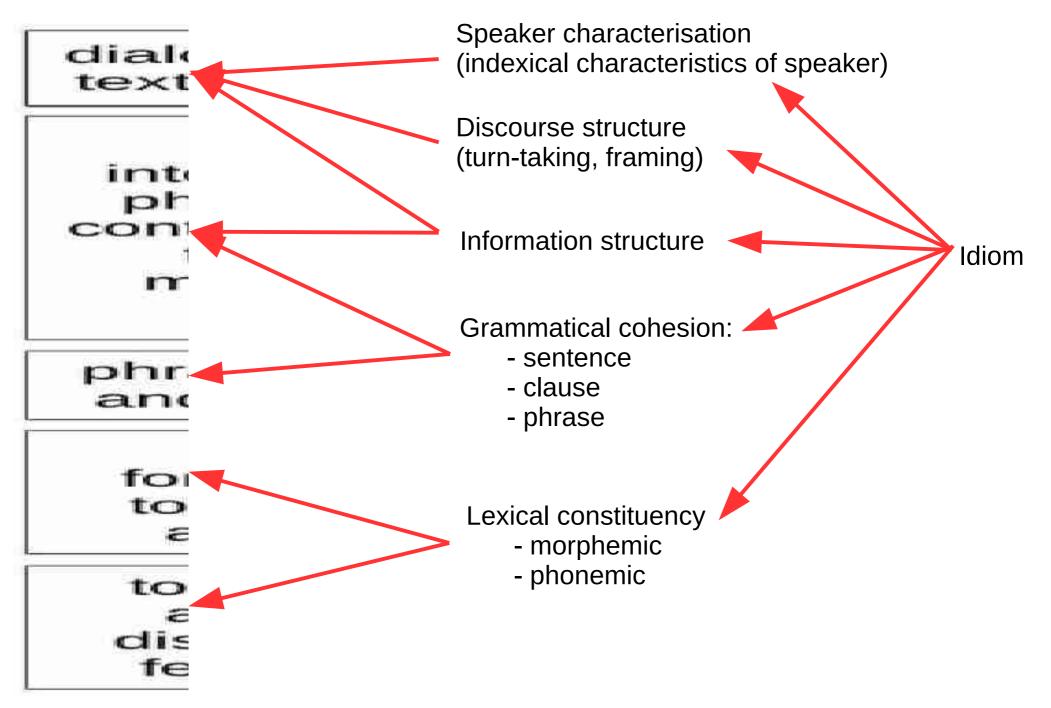
Sentence, phrase, clause

Word: simple, inflected, compound, derived



Rank
Interpretation
Architecture

The Rank Interpretation Architecture - Prosody



Discourse Based Prosodic Analysis

Discourse functions

- discourse framing
 - "call contours"
 - strategic use of hesitation phenomena, vocalisations
- turn-taking continuity
 - start with high pitch
 - end with low pitch
- dialogue act and speech act marking marking
 - adjacency pair marking
 e.g. question-answer pattern

Hirschberg & Pierrehumbert 1983

"semantico-pragmatic effects":

- structure:
 - discourse segmentation, topic structure
 - parallelism between mentioned items
 - subordination relationships between propositions salient in the discourse
 - topic shift, digression, interruption
 - turn-taking
- semantics:
 - disambiguation of ambiguous utteranaces (MW: scope)
 - appropriate choice of referent (reference resolution)
 - distinction between 'given' and 'new' information (information status: given/new, topic/comment, focus/presupposition)
 - conceptual contrast
 - indirect speech acts (MW: other speech acts, too)

"The central thesis of this work is that there are many ways in which intonation helps to structure discourse."

Grosz & Sidner 1986

Discourse structure marking

- linguistic structure (phrasing, framing)
 - pitch register, pitch range
- intentional structure (purposes, speech acts)
 - pitch accent contour type
 - boundary tone type
- attitudinal state (objects, properties, relations, and discourse intentions that are most salient at any given point)
 - accent placement, focus, contrast, emphasis
 - given/new, theme/rheme

Grosz, B. J. and C. L. Sidner. 1986. Attention, intentions and the structure of discourse. BBN report.

Intentional structure: prosody and speech acts

1. Grice 1975: conversational maxims

2. Austin 1962 & Searle 1969:

- locutionary acts:
 - meaning: modality, mood, possibility, predicate & arguments
 - lexical morphemic tone; phrasal intonational meaning
 - metalocutionary acts
 - marking of properties of locutions (boundary tones, accents, ...)
- illocutionary acts:
 - interactive creation of new bond between interlocutors
 - question, promise, command; marriage, official appointment, ...
- perlocutionary acts:
 - creation of an effect by the speaker on the hearer
 - impress, disappoint, interest, excite, bore; praise, insult, ...

Discourse Prosody Case 1: Metalocutionary I	Framing - Calls

Intonation meaning is 'metalocutionary'

1. Paralinguistic metalocutionary channel

- two aspects:
 - gradient constraints on pitch/intensity/tempo variation
 - affect, sentiment, attitude
- not necessarily automatic: can be imitated

2. Linguistic metalocutionary channel

information marking – a rough correspondence:

Prague school	Halliday	ToBI
delimitative	tonality	- boundary assignment
culminative	tonicity	- tone assignment
distinctive	- tone	- tone

Metalocutionary discourse framing:

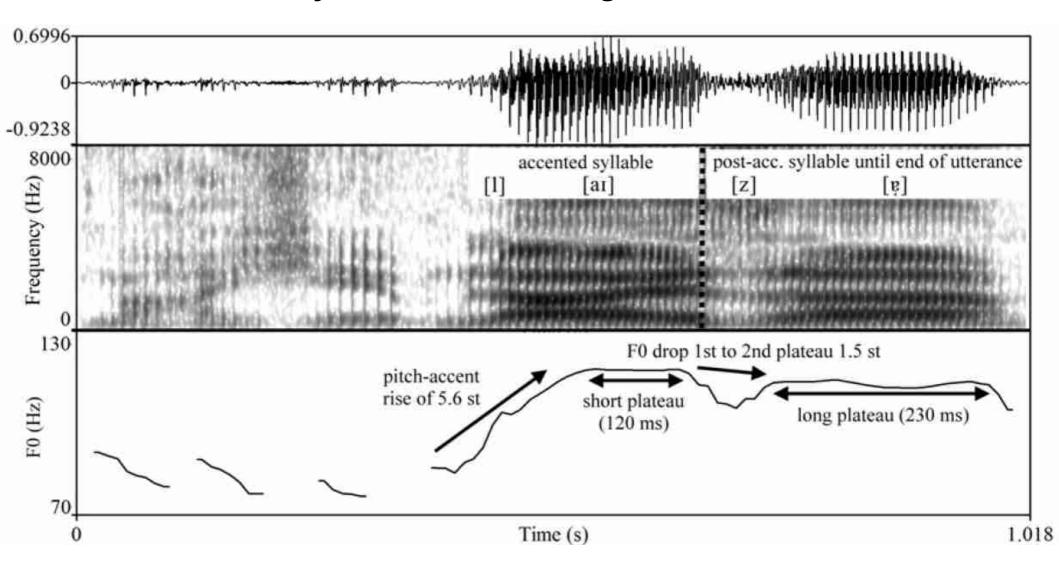
3 basic conditions on speech acts:

- Uptake condition / Channel condition
 - Normal input and output conditions obtain
- Essential condition
 - commitment
- Sincerity condition
 - truth probability certainty

Example – "call contours"

- Only discourse framing:
 - Start: "Jooohn-neee!"
 - End: "Byyy-eee!"
 - * Yesterday I saw Jooohn-neee in town.

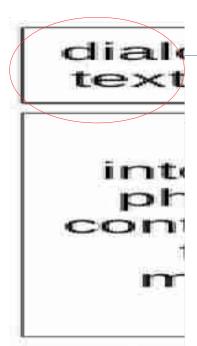
Metalocutionary discourse framing: German 'call contour'



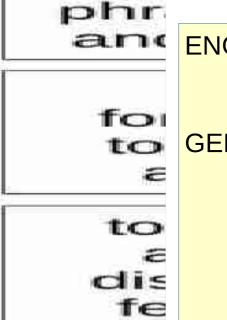
"Dann mach ich eben leiser!"

Niebuhr, O. 2013. Resistance is futile – the difference between continuation rise and falling contour in German. Interspeech.

Metalocutionary discourse framing:



- 1. Discourse functions of: "call contour":
 - Uptake condition / Channel condition
 - Normal input and output conditions obtain
 - But: missing (English, German), disturbed (German) or closing (English, German) channel
 - So normal input and output conditions do NOT obtain!



ENGLISH: JOHN-NY - - - - - - - - BY-E

GERMAN: Manu⁻E-LA - - - - ⁻LAU-TER - - - - - ⁻WIEDER-SEHEN

discourseinitial discoursemedial

DISCOURSE FRAME TIMELINE →

discourse-

final

AM and FM spectra:

If a spectrum can be derived from the **AM envelope**, why not derive a spectrum from the **FM track** and see whether they correlate?

Preliminary answer:

Yes, they do correlate, but not overwhelmingly strongly, and depending on which subspectra are measured.

	~ h
Englis	5 I I

A0101B	0.996	0.626	0.645
A1202B	0.993	0.597	0.368
NW048	0.95	0.561	0.549

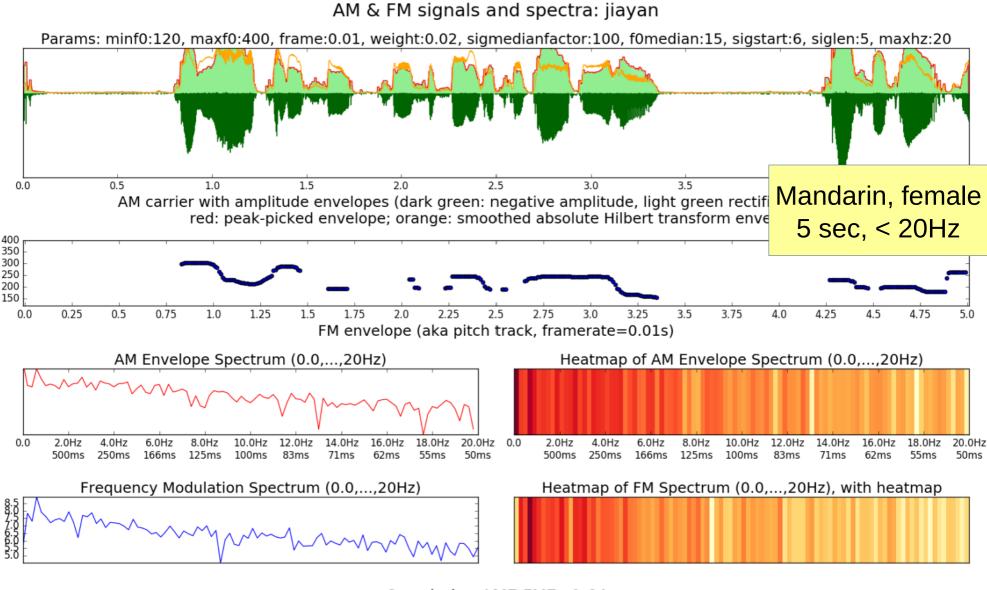
Mandarin

jiayan	0.994	0.694	0.632
wuxi	0.991	0.561	0.48

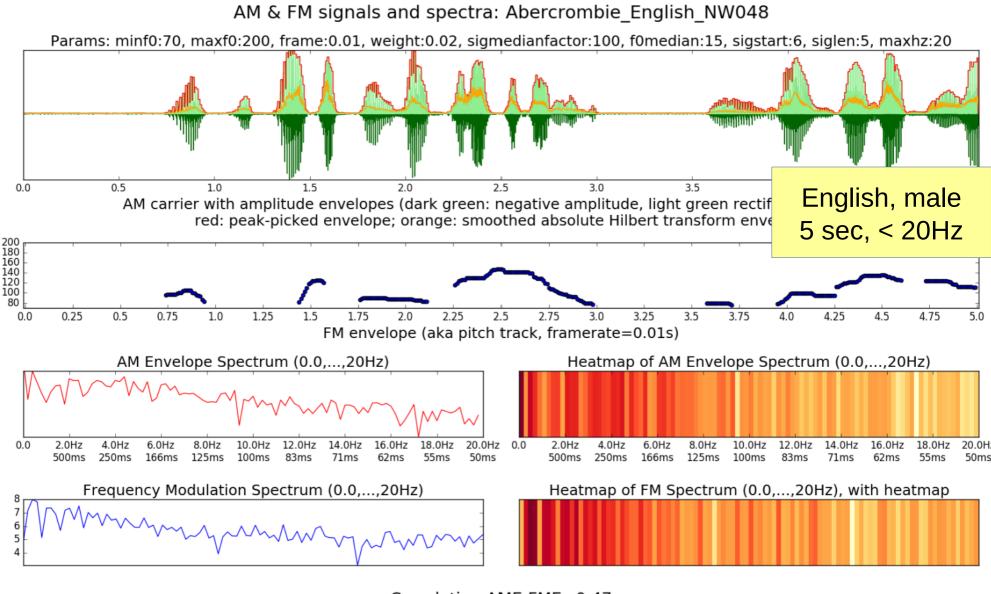
12s: full spectrum over the selected signal suspiciously strong correlations

12s: spectrum
0...20Hz
(1200...50ms)
more interesting
weaker correlations

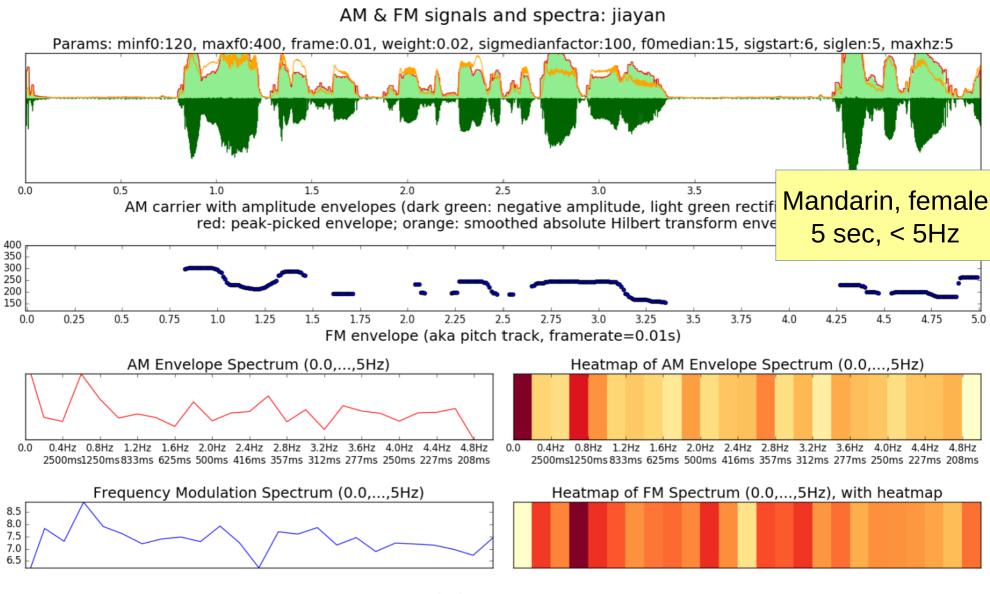
12s: spectrum
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very interesting
weaker correlations



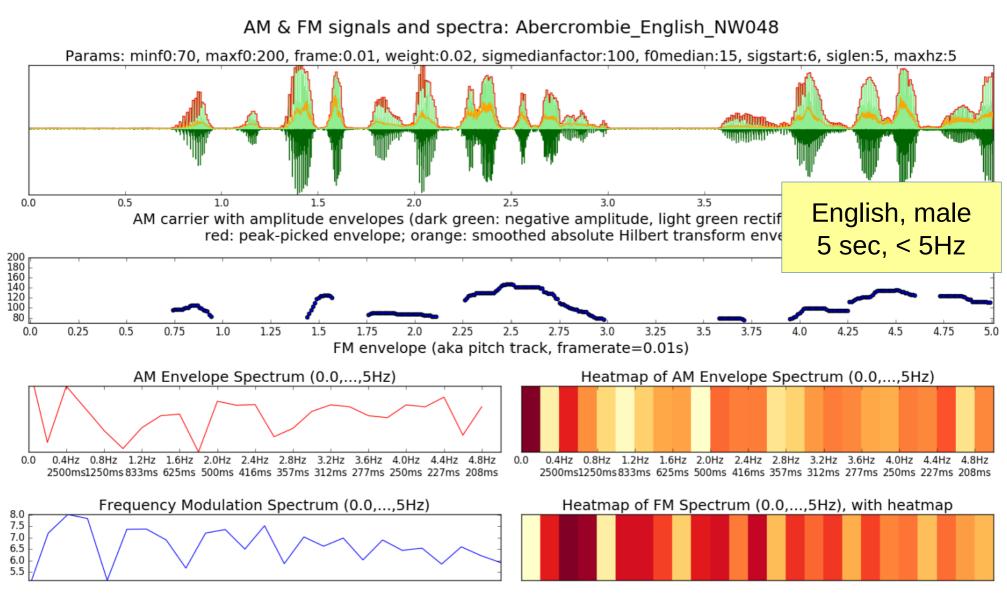
Correlation AME:FME=0.64 Correlation AMS:FMS=0.58



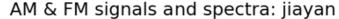
Correlation AME:FME=0.47 Correlation AMS:FMS=0.56

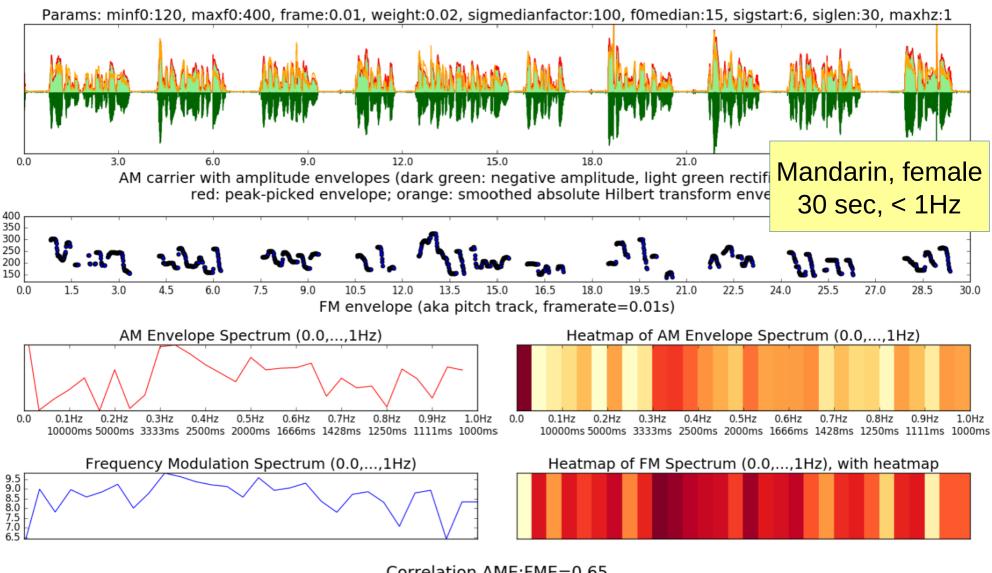


Correlation AME:FME=0.64 Correlation AMS:FMS=-0.16

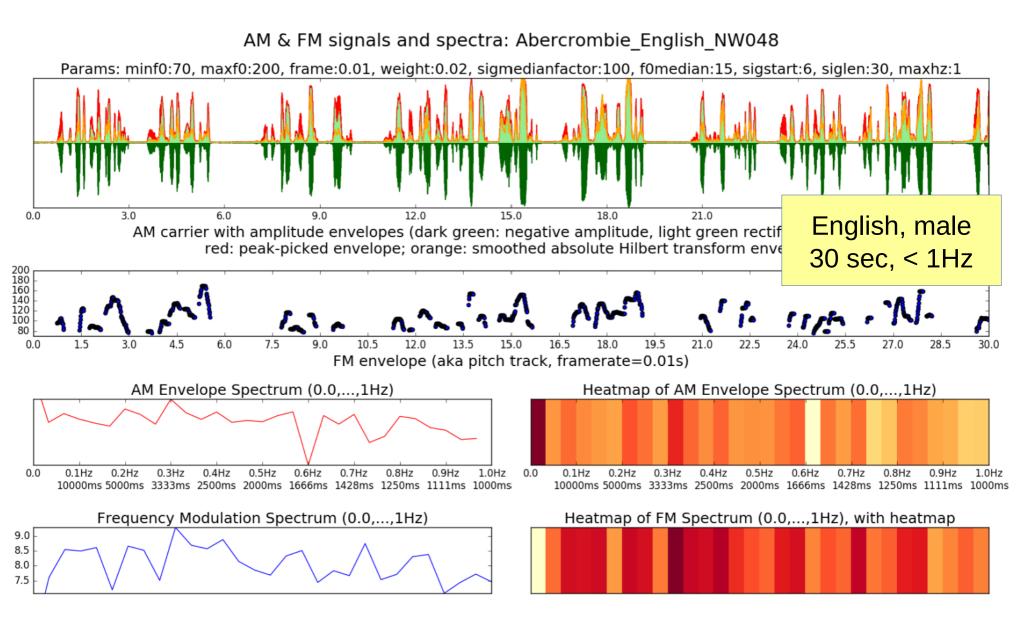


Correlation AME:FME=0.47 Correlation AMS:FMS=-0.19





Correlation AME:FME=0.65 Correlation AMS:FMS=0.15



Correlation AME:FME=0.63 Correlation AMS:FMS=0.07

Discourse Prosody Case 3: Accent Constraints

Discourse prosody, Case 2: Accent constraints

Constraint 1:

Pitch accents in the same sequence tend to be of the same type.

Constraint 2:

Pitch accent sequences tend to match the final phrasal accent:

- low rising types tend to be followed by a rising final accent
- high rising types tend to be followed by a rising final accent

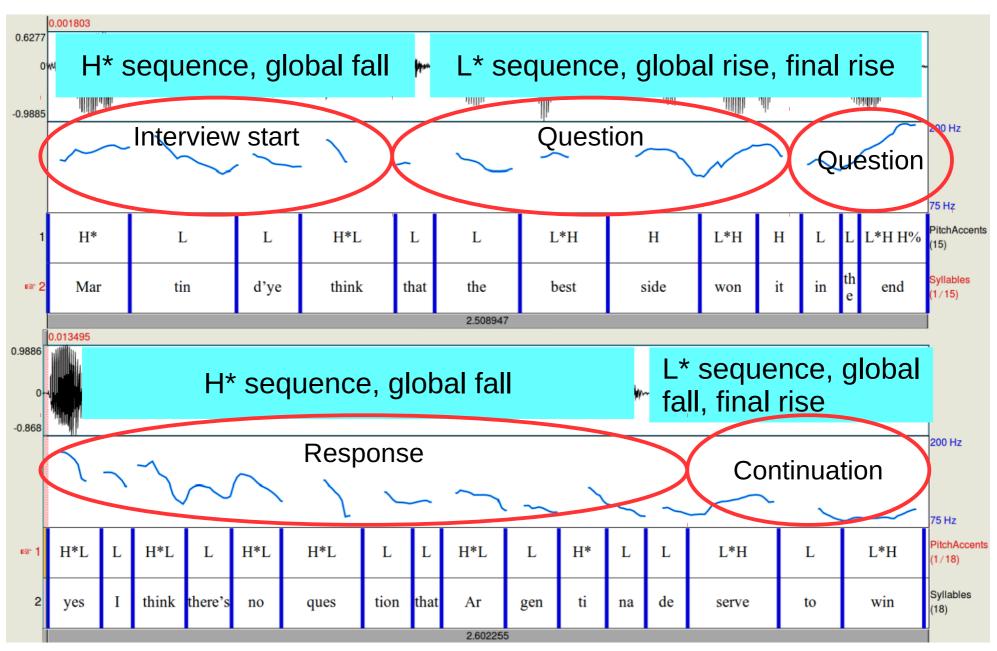
Constraint 3:

Pitch accent sequence types tend to match information structure

- low pitch accent sequences tend to be introductory or questioning
- high pitch accent sequences tend to be closing or stating

with typologically relevant constraint violations in different languages and dialects

Discourse Prosody Case 3: Accent Constraints



Discourse Prosody Case 4: Long FM Contours

Thesis: in evolution,

- frequency modulation and rhythm came first
 - emotional cries
 - turn-taking came before grammar

Levinson, "Turn-taking in Human Communication – Origins and Implications for Language Processing", 2015

Note: in infant speech,

- frequency modulation and rhythm also come first
 - emotional cries
 Wermke, Sebastian-Galles
 - turn-taking

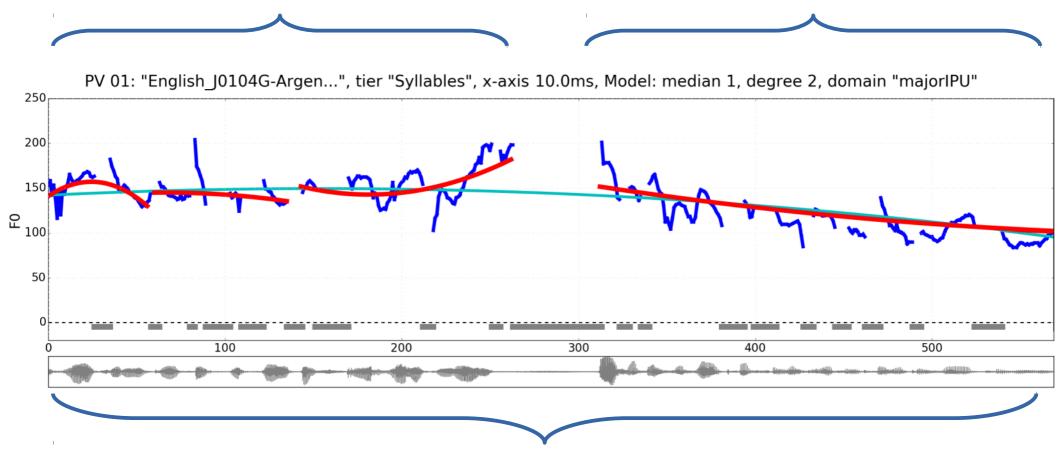
Check the infant 'twin-talk' videos on YouTube



Discourse Prosody Case 4: Long FM Contours

Question: rising utterance contour

Answer: falling utterance contour



Question+Answer: rising-falling adjacency pair contour syntagmatic entrainment

Thesis 1:

In the evolutionary time domain, emotive modulations came before structural modulations

Thesis 2:

"Wow!" is among the first emotive utterances

Thesis 3:

Or maybe it was the wolf whistle

Thesis 4:

In any case, other primates wowed and whistled first – we continued the custom

Is this why in some societies whistling is tabooed?

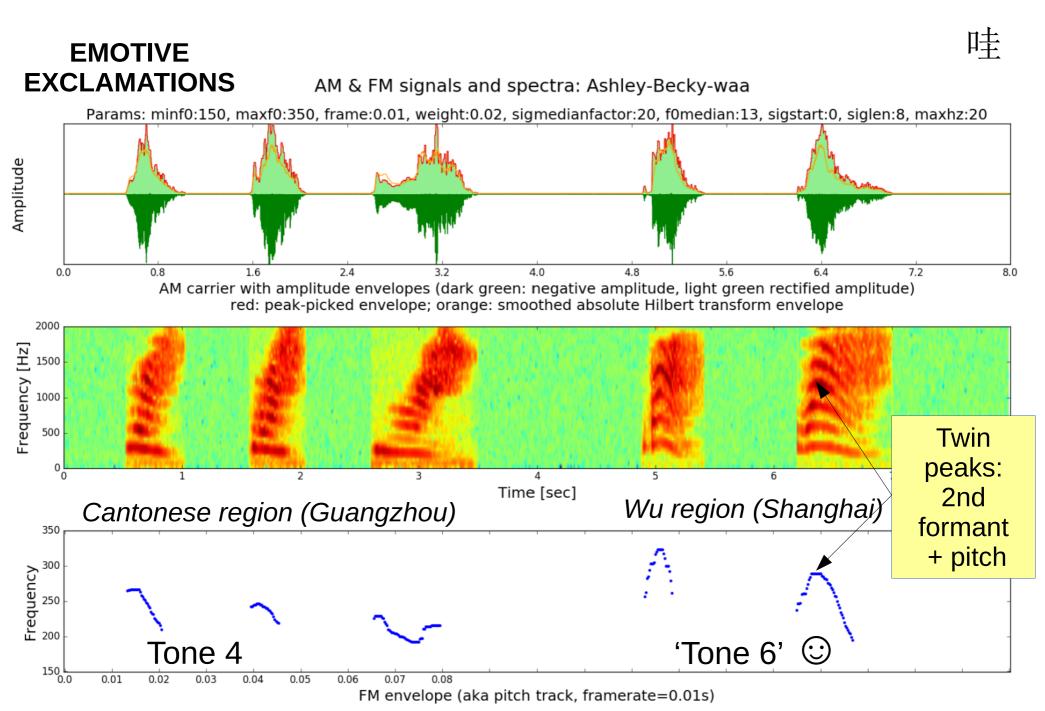
Short discourse contributions:

Wow! Aah! Oh my!

The Wolf Whistle is not just 'cat-calling'

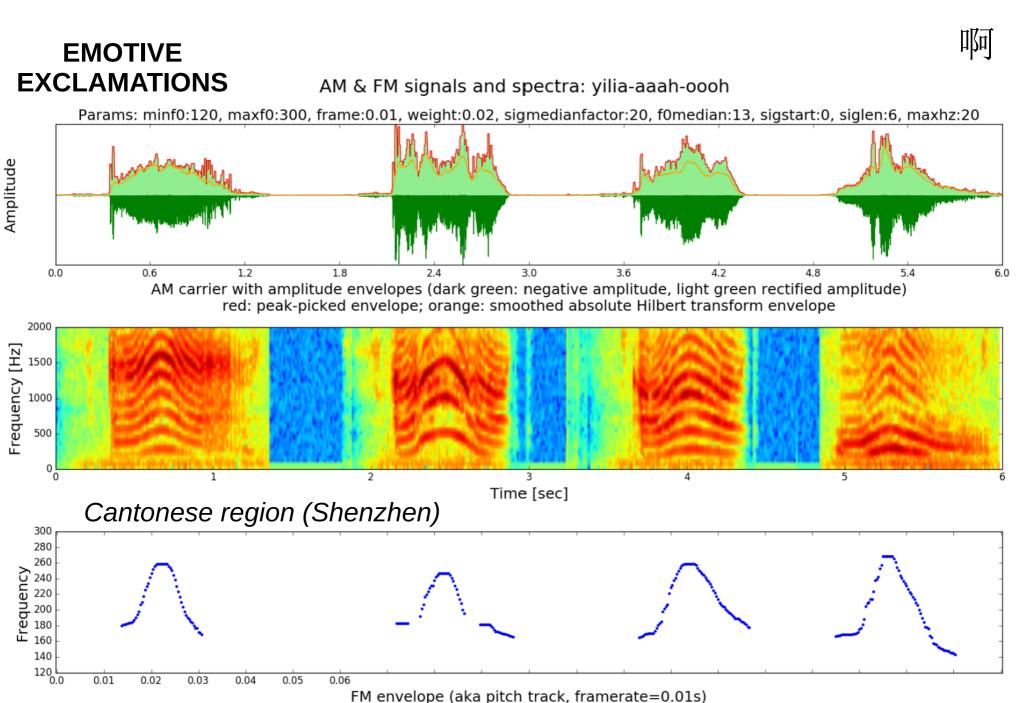
... and the Mandarin '6th tone' [^] 🙂

Emotions. Exclamations. Teleglossia.



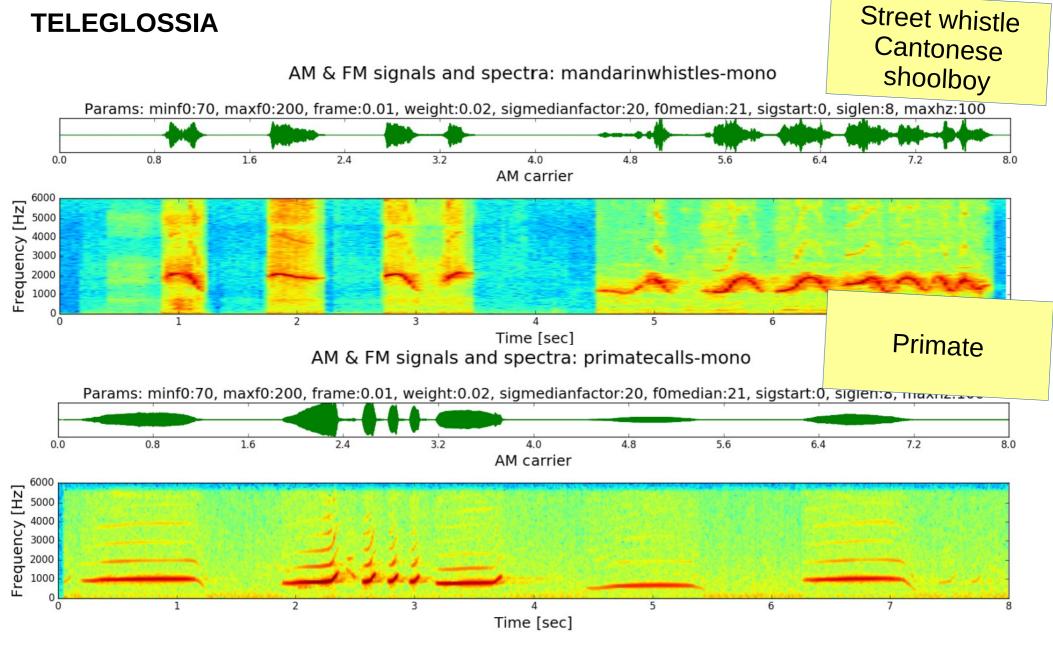
Fudan Summer School, July 201

Dafydd Gibbon: Prosody: Thinking Outside the Box, Lecture 4



Fudan Summer School, July 201 Dafydd Gibbon: Prosody: Thi

Dafydd Gibbon: Prosody: Thinking Outside the Box, Lecture 4



Fudan Summer School, July 201 Dafydd G

TELEGLOSSIA

A Rising Contour: back-channel communication from the richest ex-linguist in the world

Falling, Rising-Falling and Rising F0 Contours: Intonation and Gesture

Summary:

Labov's Sociophonetics

OSCAR: Phonetic Opinion Survey:

1. The Prosody of Impoliteness

2. Description of Mandarin Tones

Phonetic Analysis of Discourse:

Case 1: Discourse framing

Case 2: AM vs. FM Spectra

Case 3: Accent Constraints

Case 4: Long FM contours

Case 6: Emotive FM contours





... thinking outside the box

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Conclusion:

... thinking outside the box

Thank you! 谢谢!