

Continuous acoustic information trickles up; discourse information trickles down

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INTRODUCTION

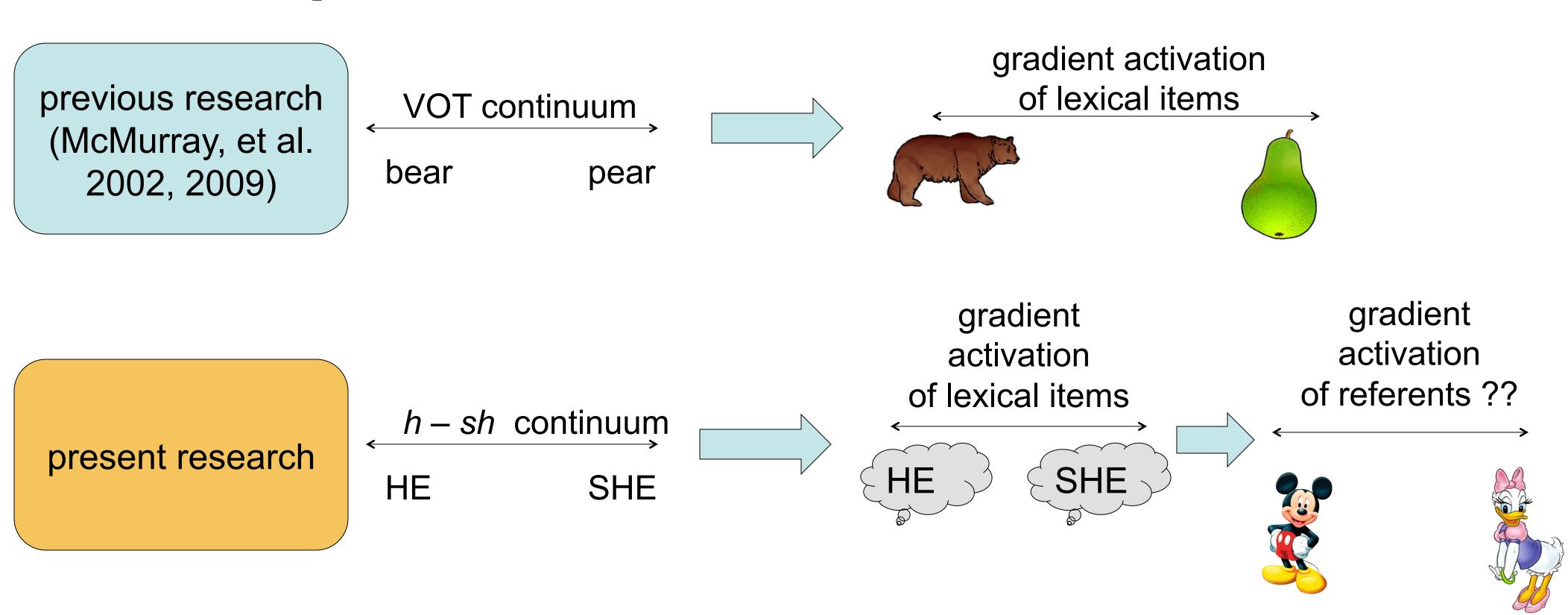
How is fine-grained acoustic information COMBINED and with high-level information about discourse structure, and MAINTAINED throughout the discourse?

PREVIOUS RESEARCH shows that differences in continuous acoustic-phonetic cues result in gradient activation of candidate lexical items during spoken word recognition.

- 5-ms differences in voice onset time (VOT) along /b/-/p/ continua result in gradient changes in lexical activation for the two words (McMurray, Tanenhaus, & Aslin, 2002)
- Gradient representations maintained across multiple phonemes (McMurray, et al. 2009).

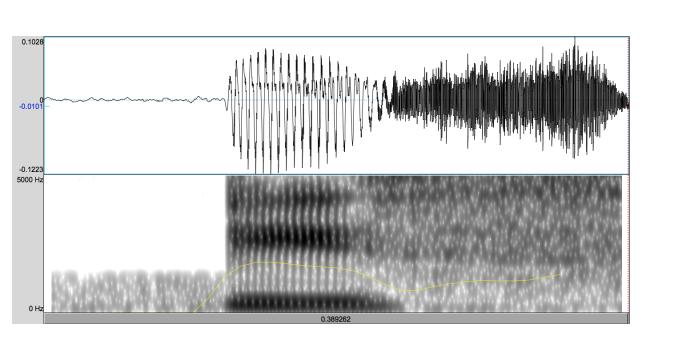
THE PRESENT RESEARCH distinguishes lexical from referential representations:

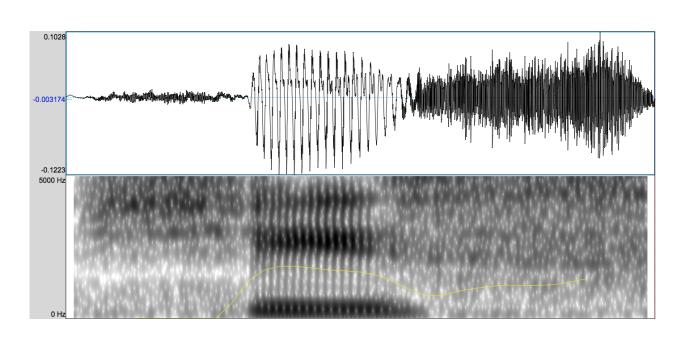
- Do gradient changes along a PRONOUN continuum from $he \rightarrow she$ result in graded activation of potential referents?

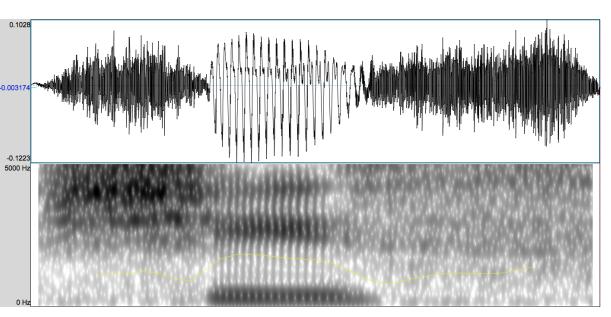


The acoustic continua

- Tokens of the pronoun and verb ("he's" and "she's") were extracted from sentence contexts, e.g., "...as the telephone is ringing. <u>She's looking at the phone</u>..."
- Twenty, seven-step continua were created from he's and she's recordings by manipulating the /h/-/J/ frication amplitude above 1.3 kHz.







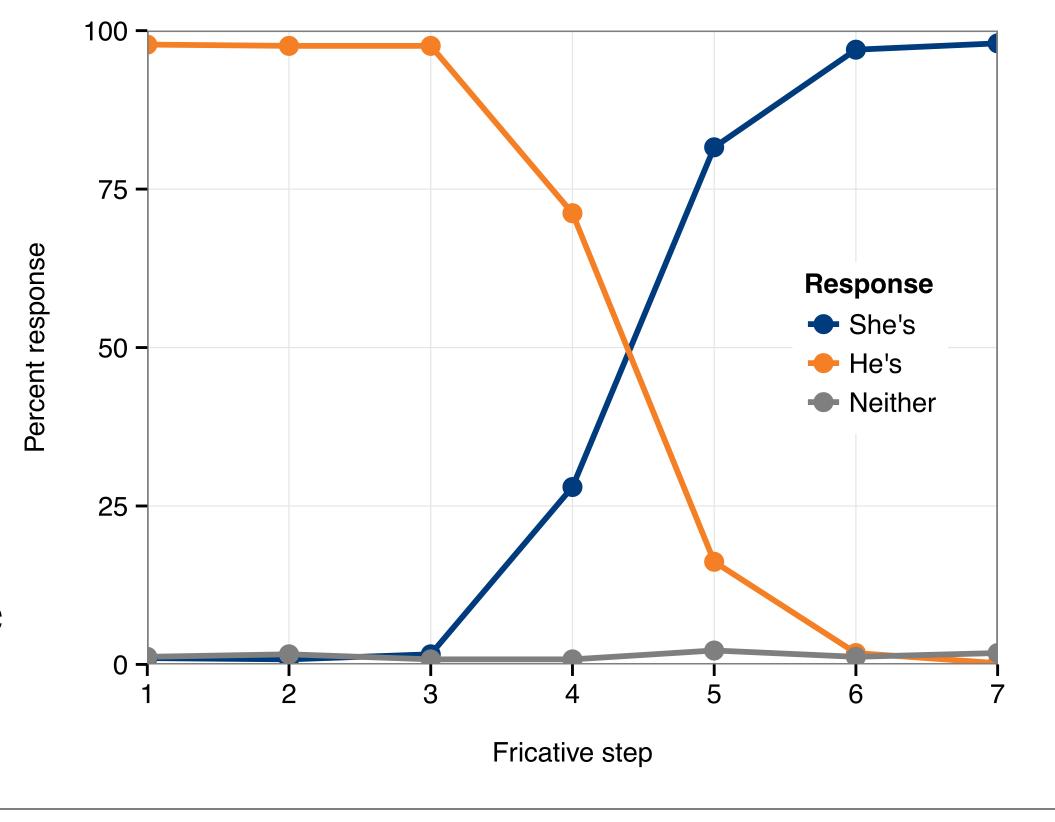
step 1 (he's)

step 4 (s/he's)

step 7 (she's)

Experiment 1: Proof of concept

- MTurk participants (n=50, native English speakers)
- Listened to 20, 7-step continua plus 2 unedited endpoints, and 20 fillers
- Responded "he's", "she's" or "neither.
- Listeners reliably categorized continua endpoints as "he's" and "she's" with a category boundary near the center of the continua. Main effect of continuum (z=16.92, p<.0001).



Experiment 2: Integration of acoustic continuum with discourse representations

QUESTION: How are these continuous acoustic cues combined with discourse-level information?

DESIGN: Native English speaking MTurk participants (N=227) listened to 32 different stories that introduced two referents of different gender, and then referred back to one with a pronoun, plus 35 filler stories.

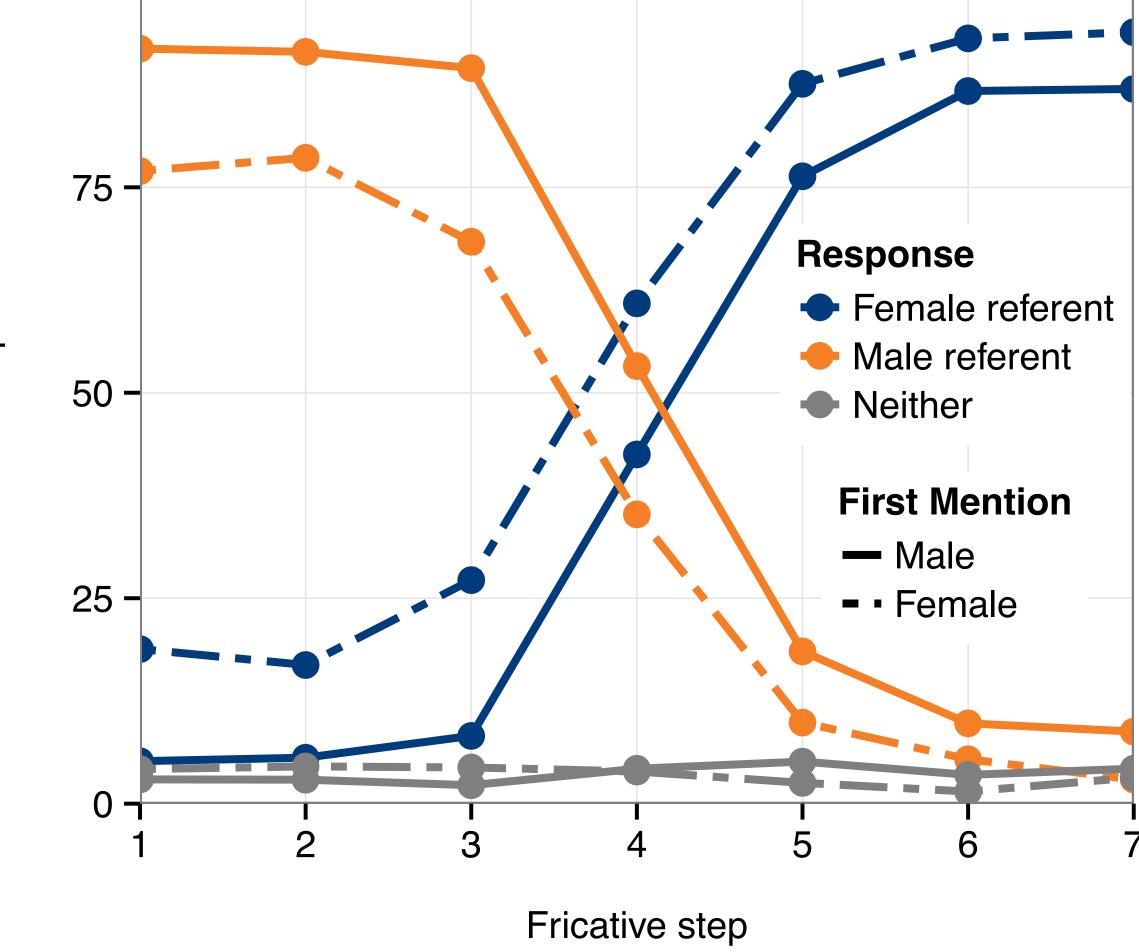
"Daisy is playing the cello for Mickey, as the telephone is ringing. **He/She** is looking at the phone, but it doesn't look like anyone is going to answer it."

"Who is looking at the phone?"

- 1) Mickey
- 2) Daisy
- 3) Neither.

Stories were modeled after Arnold, et al. (2000) but not accompanied by a picture. Two factors were manipulated: (1) the pronoun step on the continuum; (2) whether the 1st-mentioned character was male or female. Following the story, participants clicked a button to get to a new page. Participants read and answered a question that probed interpretation of the pronoun.

RESULTS: Representation of discourse event structure was guided by both acoustic differences AND discourse salience. A linear effect of continuum (z=22.47) was overlaid with a main effect of firstmention (z=3.94), with participants more likely to have encoded a representation of the discourse in which the pronoun referred back to the 1st-mentioned character, even at the endpoints (zs>2.9, ps<.01).



CONCLUSIONS

Our findings allow for two important conclusions:

- Continuous acoustic differences not only guide consideration of isolated words (e.g., she/he), but also lead to graded activation of referential candidates (Daisy/Mickey).
- Discourse can override a clear acoustic signal pointing to a different interpretation. While consistent with discourse effects on ambiguous stimuli (Rohde & Ettlinger, 2012), we show the stimulus need not be ambiguous to find strong discourse effects.

These findings go beyond previous work (McMurray, et al., 2002) by showing that continuous acoustic information affects both lexical and referential interpretation. Ongoing research examines whether this fine-grained acoustic information (McMurray, et al, 2009) guides integration of right-context information during referential interpretation.

References

Arnold, et al. (2000). *Cognition 76*, B13-B26. **McMurray, Tanenhaus, & Aslin** (2002). *Cognition 86*, B33-B42. **McMurray, Tanenhaus, & Aslin** (2009). *JML 60*, 65-91. **Rohde & Ettlinger**, (2012). *JEP:LMC 38*, 967-983.

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