



Workshop on Prosody and Meaning  
University of Konstanz, October 4-6 2017



# *Early perception of the prosody of statements and questions*

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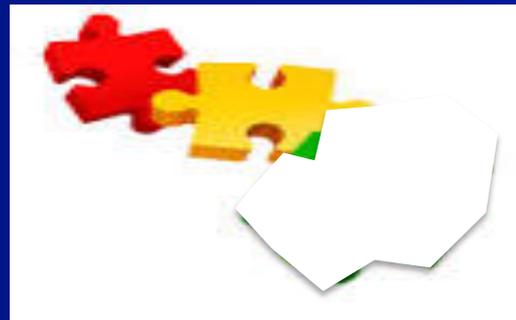
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# Introduction: Questions and prosody across languages

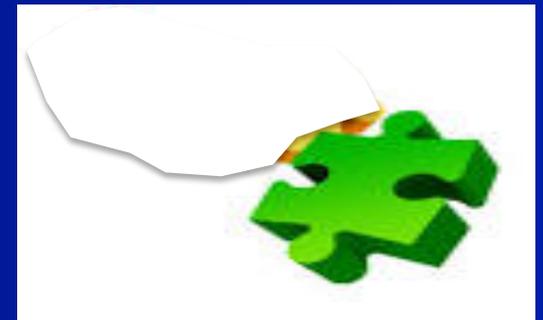
- Languages differ in how the distinction between statements and yes-no questions is conveyed



e.g., English, Catalan  
(Ladd, 2008; Prieto &  
Rigau, 2007)



e.g., Vata, Shekgalagari  
(Hyman & Monaka,  
2011; Rialland, 2007)



e.g., Italian, **Portuguese**  
(Maiden & Robustelli,  
2000; Mateus et al., 2003)

# Introduction: Questions and prosody across languages

- Use of prosody (intonation) only,  $\approx$ second most frequent means to mark the distinction (Dryer, 2011)
- Although the functions of prosody are quite general across languages, prosodic cues are language-specific

## Final pitch (boundary tones)



Rising pitch (EP)  
Falling pitch (Basque)  
Low pitch (Chickasaw)

Lexical tone, e.g. Mandarin

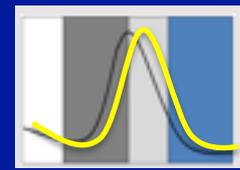
## Peak height



e.g., Balearic Catalan,  
Japanese (height of  
the rise)

Focus, e.g. English

## Peak alignment

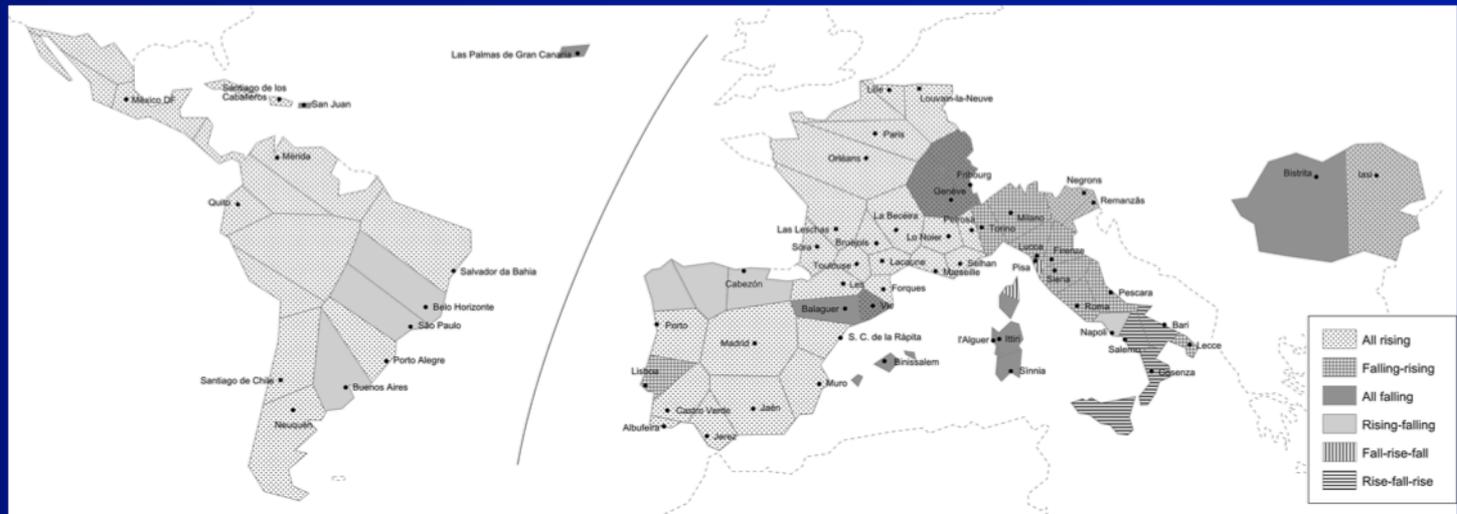


e.g., Neapolitan Italian

Focus, e.g. Portuguese

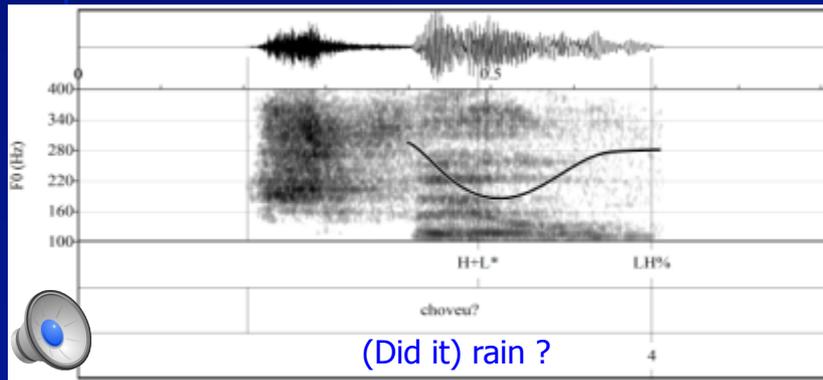
# Introduction: Questions and prosody across languages

- Romance languages: An illustration of intonational variation in signaling yes-no questions (Frota & Prieto, 2015)

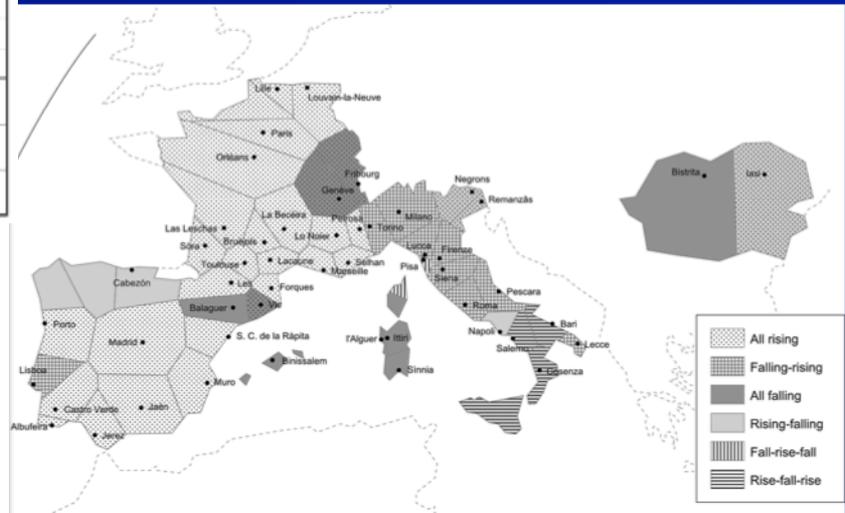
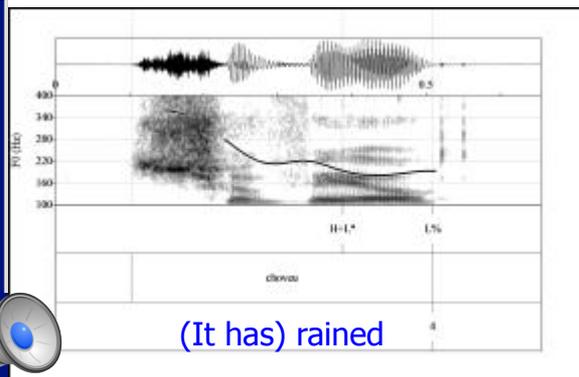


# Introduction: Questions and prosody across languages

## ■ European Portuguese: Prosody only

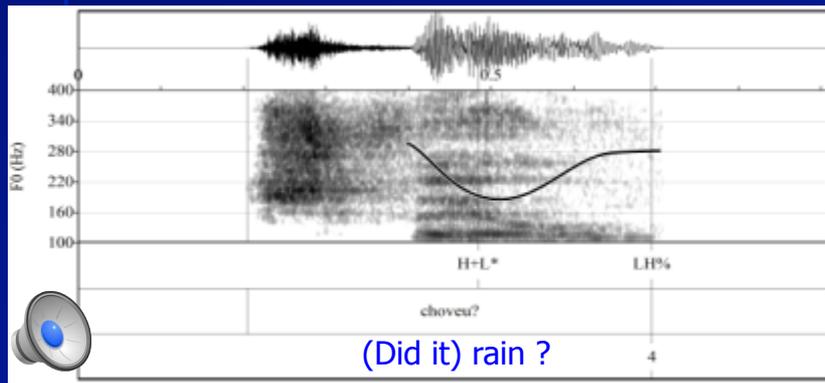


Choveu? H+L\* LH% / Choveu. H+L\* L%



# Introduction: Questions and prosody across languages

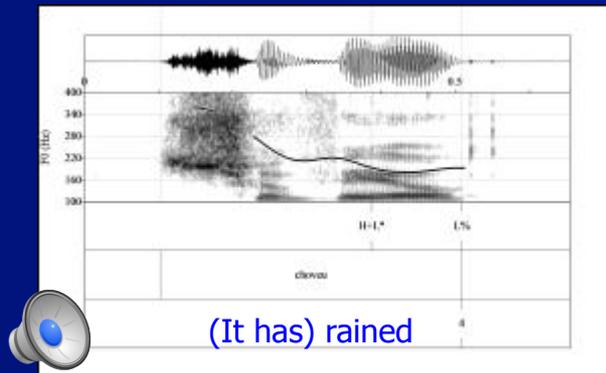
- European Portuguese (EP): Prosody only



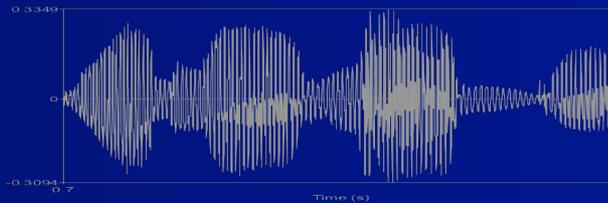
Choveu? H+L\* LH% / Choveu. H+L\* L%



MEANING



# Introduction: Early perception of prosody



My language?

- The ability to identify forms of phonetic variation in speech that are *relevant to meaning* is essential to language development.
- Learning a language involves a stronger commitment to the native language as development proceeds, modulated by perceptual assimilation and phonetic salience (e.g., Kuhl 2004, Safran et al. 2006, Best & Roberts 2003, Narayan et al. 2010)

# Introduction: Early perception of prosody

Prosody	No variability	Segmental variability
Stress	✓	✗ only after 6 mos & native
Tone	✓	✗? only after 6 months, native
Pitch accent		✓ as early as 4 mos, for Japanese learners
Tune	✓	✓ as early as 5 mos, Portuguese learners (native)



Some pitch contrasts perceived very early on, if native

Skoruppa et al. 2013; Mattock & Burnham, 2006; Mattock et al., 2008; Yeung et al., 2013; Liu & Kager, 2014; Brouwer & Fikkert, 2017; Shi 2010; Sato et al. 2009; Frota et al. 2014

# Introduction: Early perception of prosody

STATEMENT: H+L\* L%

QUESTION: H+L\* LH%

- Basic/frequent sentence types: Ability to distinguish between them is crucial (Frazier, Gelman, & Wellman, 2009; Koegel et al, 2010; Tyack & Ingram, 1977)
  - Process the input the child is exposed to
  - Communication and social interaction
- Prosodic discrimination ability
  - Prerequisite for the acquisition of statement/yes-no question categories



Little is known about infants' perception of intonation

# Introduction

## ■ Research questions

- Does early perception of intonation support precocious discrimination abilities for pitch contrasts (as in the case of pitch accent)?
- To what extent is early sensitivity to pitch contrasts independent from/dependent on the native language?
- Does the nature of the pitch cues matter?

Phonetic  
salience

Native  
listeners

- ## ■ **Implications** for the acquisition of linguistic categories cued by prosody

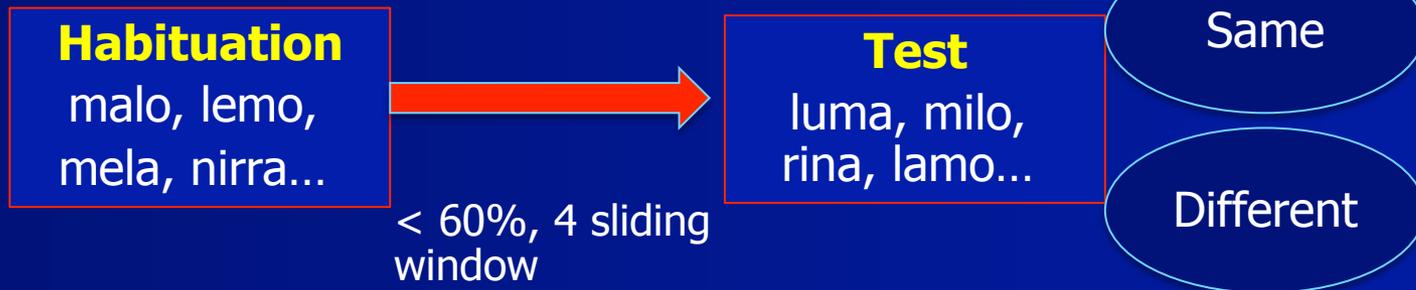
# Overview

1. Early discrimination studies
  - Study 1: native Statement vs. Yes-no question (EP)
  - Study 2: English-learning and Basque-learning infants' perception of the EP sentence type distinction
  - Study 3: EP-infants' perception of a lexical tone sequence contrast (Mandarin) and a lexical pitch accent contrast (Japanese)
2. Novel word learning and intonation – study 4
3. Other linguistic contrasts cued by prosody
  - Study 5: Broad vs. Narrow focus (EP: peak alignment)
4. General discussion

# 1. Early discrimination: Method

- Procedure

- Modified version of the visual habituation paradigm (Stager & Werker, 1997)



- Looking times to visual display were recorded and compared
- If sensitive to the prosodic contrast, infants should display longer listening times to the novel (different) trials

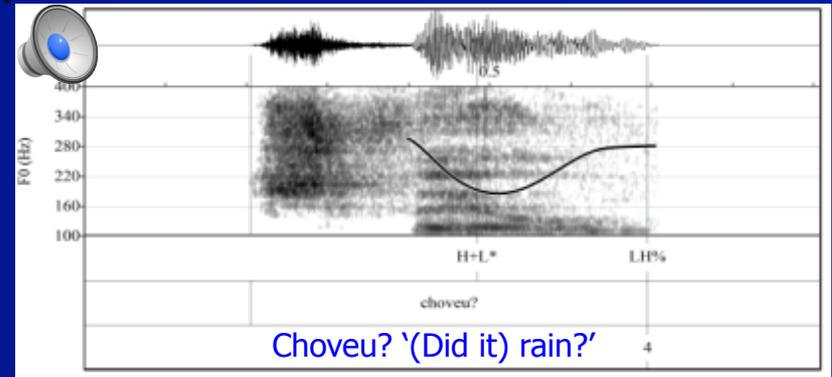
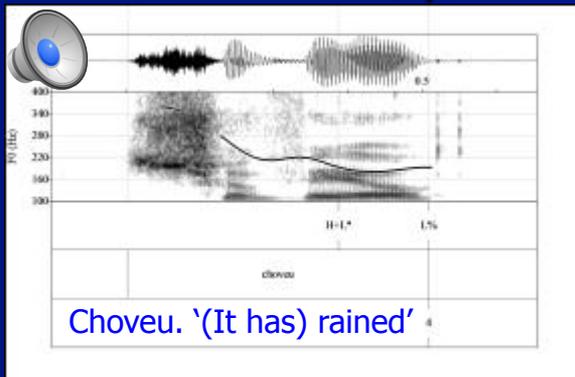
# Lisbon Babylab Visual Habituation Paradigm



# 1. Early discrimination: Study 1

*Frota, Butler & Vigário (2014) Infancy, 19(2), 194-213*

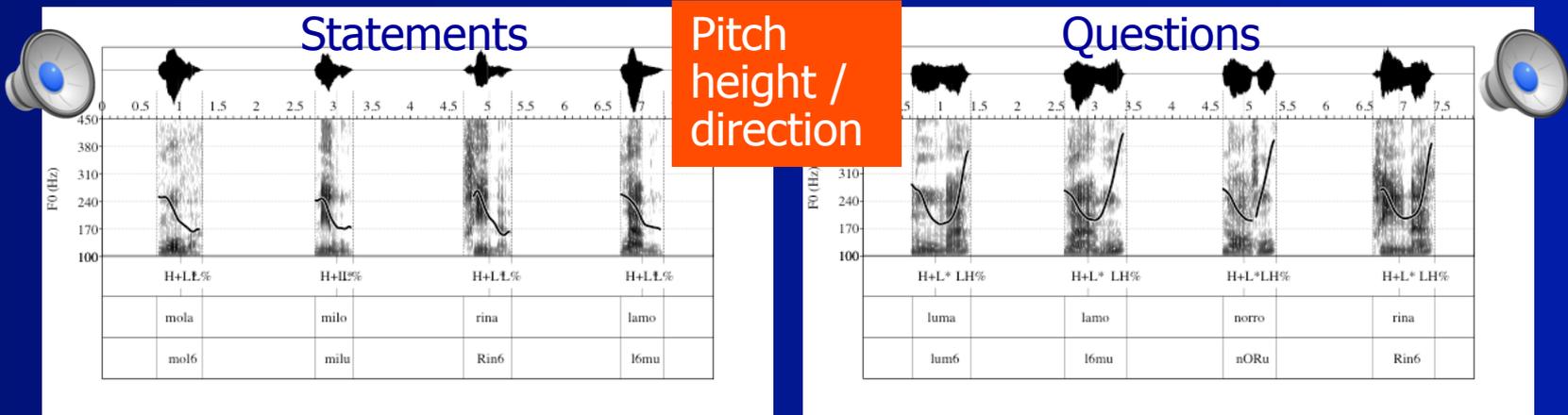
## ■ The statement/yes-no question distinction



- Yes-no questions are string identical to statements (Mateus et al. 2003)
- **Main cue final pitch**: statement: H+L\*L%; question: H+L\*LH%
- Longer durations of nuclear and post-nuclear syllables in questions
- Higher first peak in questions is optional (Frota 2002)
- The prosodic contrast is perceived by adult native speakers (Falé & Faria 2005)

# 1. Early discrimination: Study 1 statement/yes-no question

- Materials: Segmentally varied, single pseudo-word utterances produced by a female native speaker in infant-directed speech



Acoustic analysis	Statements	Questions	t-test
F0 Peak height 1 <sup>st</sup> syll (Hz)	255	255	.16, p = .91
F0 range 1 <sup>st</sup> syll (Hz)	67	66	0.12, p = .9
F0 range 2 <sup>nd</sup> syll (Hz)	-25	192	23.46, p<.001
Final F0 (Hz)	163	380	23.61, p<.001
Duration (ms)	529	765	11.91, p<.001

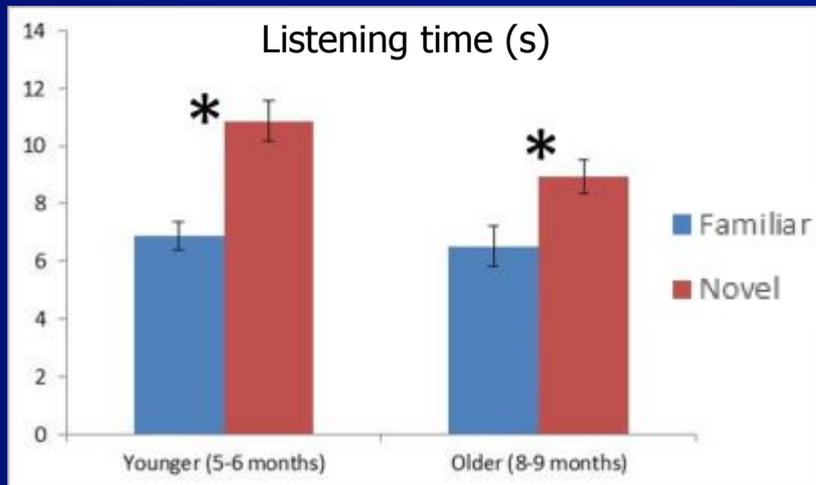
# 1. Study 1: Native discrimination of statement/yes-no question

## ■ Participants

- 40 infants (from monolingual homes in the Lisbon area) split into two age groups: 5-6 months, 8-9 months
  - 20 younger (8 female, M = 5 months 29 days, range 5 months 3 days – 6 months 23 days)
  - 20 older (10 females, M = 8 months 12 days, range 7 months 11 days-9 months 29 days)

# 1. Study 1: Native discrimination of statement/yes-no question

- Results: Both age groups display longer listening times to the novel test trials



Infants are able to discriminate utterances that differ only in the prosodic features that cue statements and questions, as early as 5 months, in the presence of segmental variability

ANOVA: within-subject factor trial type familiar/novel) and two between-subject factors age group (younger/older) and habituation (statement/question)

- Significant difference between same and switch test trials ( $F(1,36) = 54.18, p < .001, \eta^2 = .6$ )

- No effect of age group ( $F(1,36) = 2.13, p = .15, \eta^2 = .06$ )

- No effect of habituation ( $F(1,36) = 2.02, p = .16, \eta^2 = .05$ )

- No significant interactions (trial type x age group  $F(1,36) = 3.29, p = .08, \eta^2 = .08$ ; other,  $F(1,36) < 1$ ).

Paired T-tests: significant difference between same and switch trials for younger ( $t(19) = 6.1, p < .001, d = 1.474$ ) and older ( $t(19) = 4.42, p < .001, d = 0.816$ ) groups.

# 1. Early discrimination: Study 2

*Sundara, Molnar & Frota (2015) 18<sup>th</sup> ICPHS, in progress*

- Non-native discrimination: English-learning and Basque-learning infants' perception of the EP sentence type distinction

Language	Statement	Yes/no question	Cues
<b>English</b>	The ball is red. <b>L%</b>	Is the ball red? <b>LH% or H%</b>	Word order Intonation
<b>Portuguese</b>	A bola é vermelha. <b>L%</b>	A bola é vermelha? <b>LH%</b>	Intonation
<b>Basque</b>	Baloia gorria da. <b>L%</b>	Baloia gorria (al) da? <b>HL%</b>	Intonation
<b>Northern Spanish</b>	La pelota es roja. <b>L%</b>	La pelota es roja? <b>HL% or H%</b>	Intonation



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<b>Basque</b>	Baloia gorria da. <b>L%</b>	Baloia gorria (al) da? <b>HL%</b>	Intonation
<b>Northern Spanish</b>	La pelota es roja. <b>L%</b>	La pelota es roja? <b>HL% or H%</b>	Intonation

English-learning infants fail

# 1. Non-native discrimination: Study 2

## English infants, EP statement/yes-no question

Phonetic salience

General early sensitivity to pitch contrasts predicts early discrimination

### ■ Participants

- 22 infants (from English homes in the Los Angeles area): 4 months

12 female, M = 127 days,

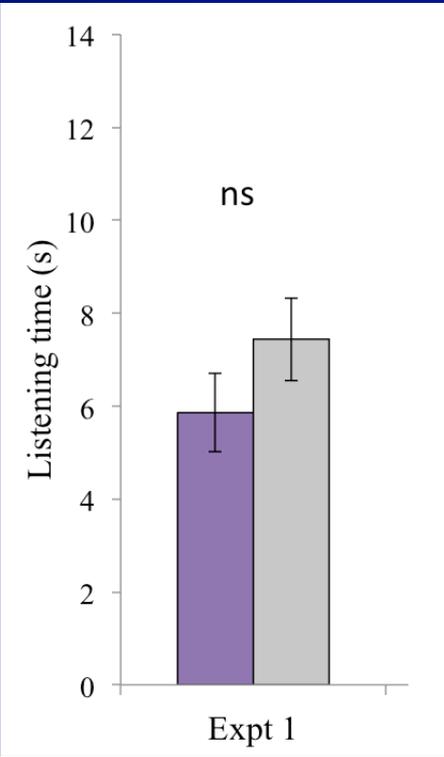
Range 114 days – 148 days

- From the literature on infant perception, no differences in discrimination abilities are expected between 4 and 5-month olds (Sato et al. 2009, for lexical pitch accent [HL / LH]; Yeung et al. 2013 for lexical tone [high-rising/mid level] also Weikum et al. 2007 for visual language discrimination)

# 1. Non-native discrimination: Study 2

## English infants, EP statement/yes-no question

- Results: Unlike EP-infants, English-learning infants fail to discriminate the statement/question contrast



ANOVA: Habituation Condition (statement, question) and Trial-type (familiar, novel) as the independent variables and listening time as the dependent variable

- No effect of Habituation  $F(1, 20)=0.003, p=0.9$
- No effect of Trial type  $F(1, 20)=3.5, p=0.07$
- No interaction  $F(1, 20)=1.1, p=0.3$

English infants do NOT show an early sensitivity to the prosodic features that cue statements and questions in EP, in the presence of segmental variability

# 1. Non-native discrimination: Study 2

## Basque infants, EP statement/yes-no question

Phonetic  
salience

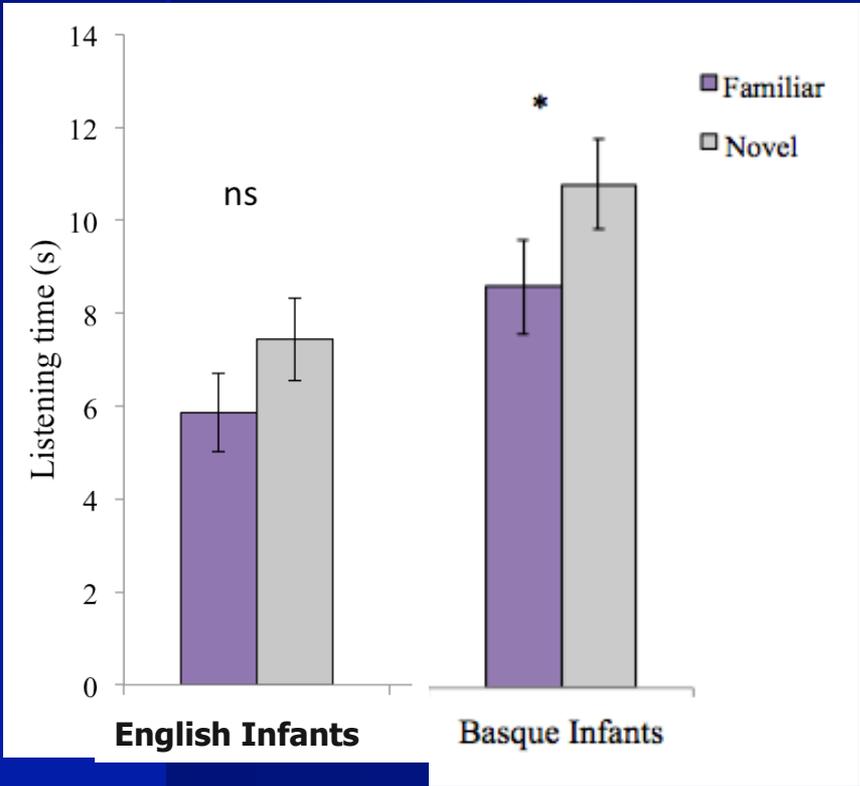
General early sensitivity to pitch contrasts predicts early discrimination

- Addresses the possibility that English infants difficulties are simply due to the non-native nature of Portuguese stimuli > if so, Basque infants are expected to fail
- Participants
  - 21 monolingual Standard Basque-learning 4-month-olds
    - 12 female, M = 130 days,
    - Range 114 days – 134 days

# 1. Non-native discrimination: Study 2

## Basque infants, EP statement/yes-no question

- Results: Unlike English-learning infants, Basque-learning infants are successful



ANOVA: Habituation Condition (statement, question) and Trial-type (familiar, novel) as the independent variables and listening time as the dependent variable

- Significant effect of Trial type  $F(1, 19)=6.7, p=0.02$
- Also a main effect of Habituation  $F(1, 19)=5.2, p=0.03$
- No interaction  $F(1, 19)=.6, p=0.4$

Basque infants successfully categorized EP statements and questions, like their Portuguese peers

# 1. Early discrimination: Study 2

## Summary

- Non-native discrimination: English-learning and Basque-learning infants' perception of the EP statement/question distinction

Language	Cues	Results
<b>English</b>	Word order Intonation	<b>X</b>
<b>Portuguese</b>	Intonation	✓
<b>Basque (Northern Spanish)</b>	Intonation	✓

- English-learning infants' difficulty is not simply due to non-native nature of the stimuli

- **Native language experience** influences the perception of pitch contrasts (boundary tones) early in development

# 1. Early discrimination: Study 3

*Frota, Butler, Lu & Vigário (2016) Speech Prosody, in progress*

- Non-native discrimination: EP-learning infants' perception of Mandarin tone and Japanese pitch accent contrasts: all **falling/low** vs. **rising/high** contrasts

Language	Statement(-like)	Question(-like)	Prosody
<b>Portuguese</b>	<b>H+L* L%</b>	<b>H+L* LH%</b>	Intonation (phrasal)
<b>Mandarin Chinese</b>	<b>Tone 1 + Tone 4</b> H      HL	<b>Tone 1 + Tone 2</b> H      LH	Tone (mora/syllable)
<b>Japanese</b>	<b>HL pattern</b>	<b>LH pattern</b>	Pitch accent (word)

Wang et al., 2001; Braun & Johnson, 2011; Broselow et al. 1987; Sato, Sogabe & Mazuka, 2009

# 1. Early discrimination: Study 3

*Frota, Butler, Lu & Vigário (2016) Speech Prosody, in progress*

- Non-native discrimination: EP-learning infants' perception of Mandarin tone and Japanese pitch accent contrasts: all **falling/low** vs. **rising/high** contrasts

Phonetic  
salience

General early sensitivity to pitch contrasts predicts early discrimination

Effects of language experience predict NO discrimination

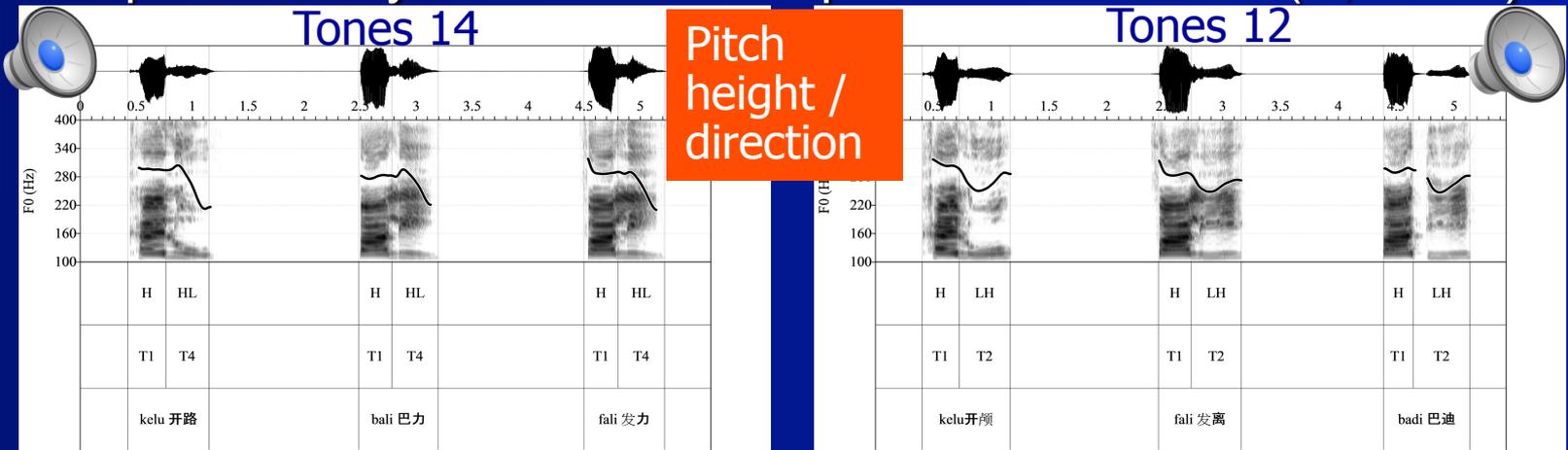
Similar overall contour shapes predict early discrimination

Pitch accent contrast expected to be closer to the **tune** than the **lexical tone** contrast

# 1. Early discrimination: Study 3

## EP infants, Mandarin T1+T4 / T1+T2

- Materials: Segmentally varied bisyllabic (pseudo-)word produced by a female native speaker of Mandarin (C, V=EP)

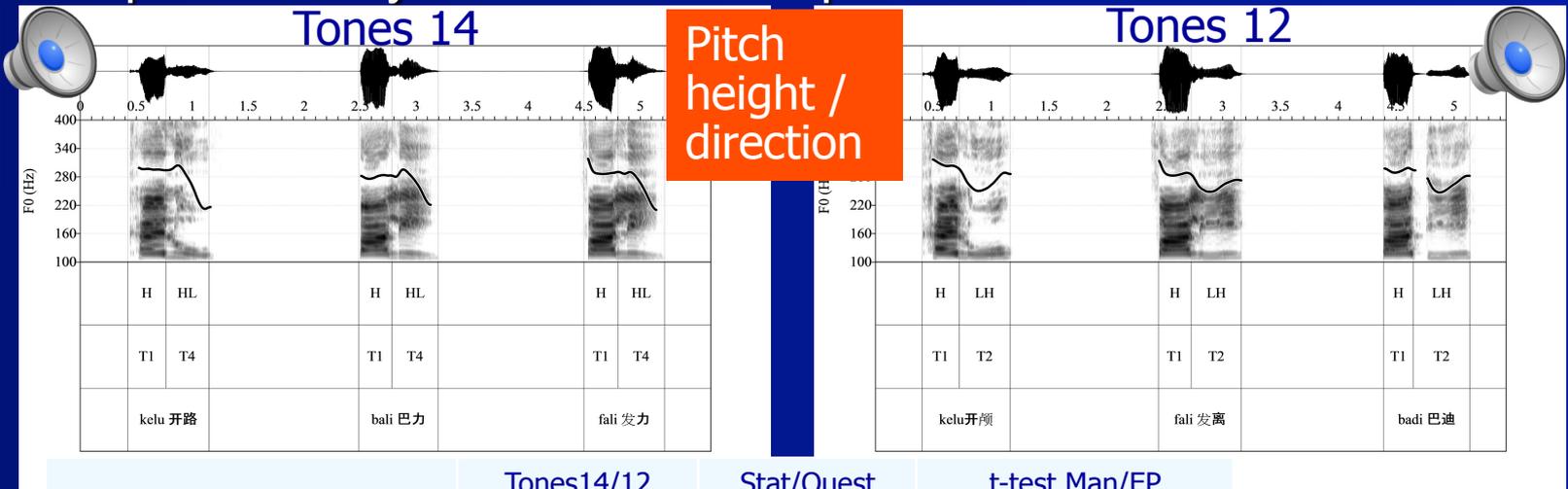


Acoustic analysis	Tones14	Tones12	t-test	t-test (EP)
F0 Peak height 1 <sup>st</sup> syll (Hz)	306	306	.172, $p = .87$	.16, $p = .91$
F0 range 1 <sup>st</sup> syll (Hz)	11	10	.74, $p = .47$	0.12, $p = .9$
F0 range 2 <sup>nd</sup> syll (Hz)	-103	35	34.94, $p < .001$	23.46, $p < .001$
Final F0 (Hz)	205	284	28.16, $p < .001$	23.61, $p < .001$
Duration (ms)	763	801	4.87, $p < .01$	11.91, $p < .001$

# 1. Early discrimination: Study 3

## EP infants, Mandarin T1+T4 / T1+T2

- Materials: Segmentally varied bisyllabic (pseudo-)word produced by a female native speaker of Mandarin



	Tones14/12	Stat/Quest	t-test Man/EP
F0 patterns 1 <sup>st</sup> syll	H / H	HL / HL	-
F0 patterns 2 <sup>nd</sup> syll	HL / HLH	L / LH	-
F0 range 2 <sup>nd</sup> syll (Hz)	103/35	25/192	-
Duration 1 <sup>st</sup> syll (ms)	270/279	310/397	$p = .07 / p < .001$
Duration 2 <sup>nd</sup> syll (ms)	493/522	310/437	$p < .01 / p < .01$

Differences between the EP and Mandarin prosodic contrasts

# 1. Non-native discrimination: Study 3

## EP infants, Mandarin T1+T4 / T1+T2

### ■ Participants

Phonetic salience

General early sensitivity to pitch-based contrasts predicts early discrimination

- 40 infants (from monolingual homes in the Lisbon area) split into two age groups : 5-6 months, 8-9 months (as in Study 1)
  - 20 younger (8 female, M = 5 months 25 days, range 5 months 2 days – 6 months 19 days)
  - 20 older (10 females, M = 8 months 21 days, range 7 months 13 days-10 months 8 days)

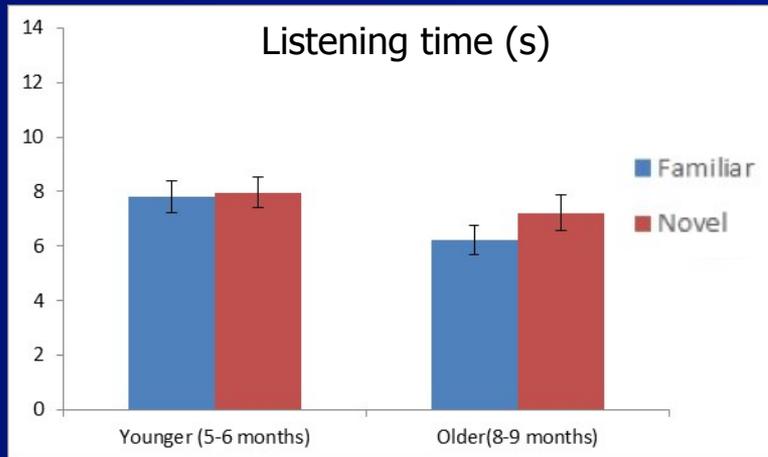
Similar overall contour shapes predict early discrimination

Effects of language experience predict NO discrimination

# 1. Non-native discrimination: Study 3

## EP infants, Mandarin Tones 14 / 12

- Results: Unlike in the intonation contrast, EP infants fail to discriminate the lexical tone contrast



EP-learning infants do NOT show an early sensitivity to the prosodic features that cue the Mandarin Tone contrast, in the presence of segmental variability

ANOVA: Habituation Condition (statement, question) and Trial-type (familiar, novel) as the independent variables and listening time as the dependent variable

### Younger

No effect of Trial type ( $F(1,18) = .07, P = .79, \eta^2 = .00$ ); No effect of hab ( $F(1,18) = .21, p = .65, \eta^2 = .01$ ); No interaction ( $F(1,18) = .93, p = .35, \eta^2 = .05$ )

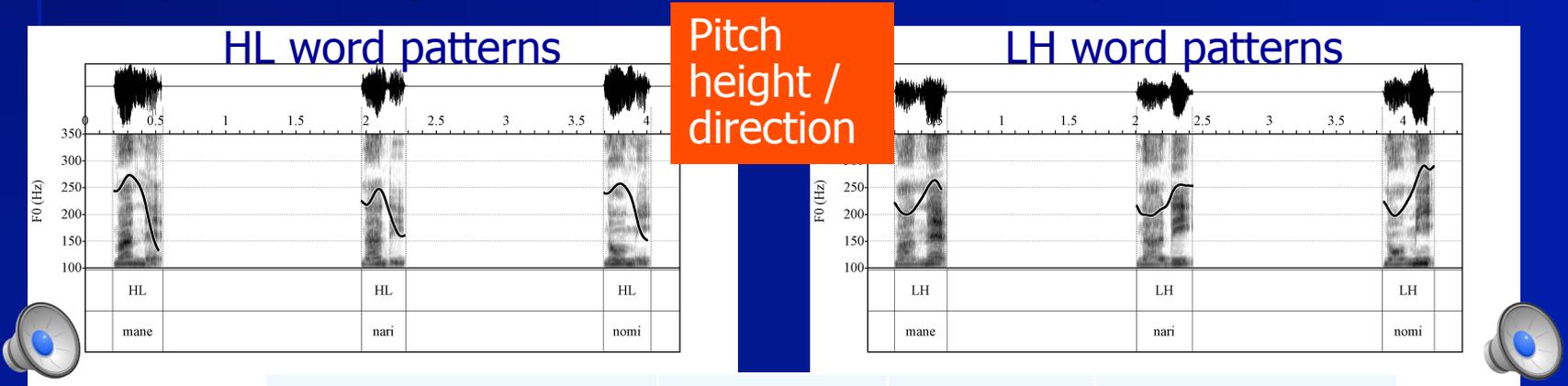
### Older

No effect of Trial type ( $F(1,18) = 1.45, p = .25, \eta^2 = .07$ ), no effect of hab ( $F(1,18) = .13, p = .72, \eta^2 = .01$ ), no interaction ( $F(1,18) = .52, p = .48, \eta^2 = .03$ )

# 1. Early discrimination: Study 3

## EP infants, Japanese HL and LH word patterns

- Materials: Segmentally varied bisyllabic (pseudo-)word produced by a female native speaker of Japanese (C, V=EP)



	HL/LH	Stat/Quest	t-test Jap/EP
F0 patterns 1 <sup>st</sup> syll	H / L	HL / HL	-
F0 patterns 2 <sup>nd</sup> syll	L / LH	L / LH	-
F0 range 2 <sup>nd</sup> syll (Hz)	122/75	25/192	$p < .001$ / $p < .001$
Duration 1 <sup>st</sup> syll (ms)	141/165	310/397	$p < .01$ / $p < .001$
Duration 2 <sup>nd</sup> syll (ms)	190/232	310/437	$p < .001$ / $p < .01$

(materials from Sato, Sogabe & Mazuka 2009)

# 1. Non-native discrimination: Study 3

## EP infants, Japanese HL and LH word patterns

### ■ Participants

Phonetic salience

General early sensitivity to pitch-based contrasts predicts early discrimination

- 48 infants (from monolingual homes in the Lisbon area) split into two age groups : 5-6 months, 8-9 months (as in Study 1)
  - 24 younger (11 female, M = 6 months 3 days, range 4 months 28 days – 7 months 11 days)
  - 24 older (13 females, M = 9 months 3 days, range 7 months 19 days-10 months 20 days)

Similar overall contour shapes predict early discrimination

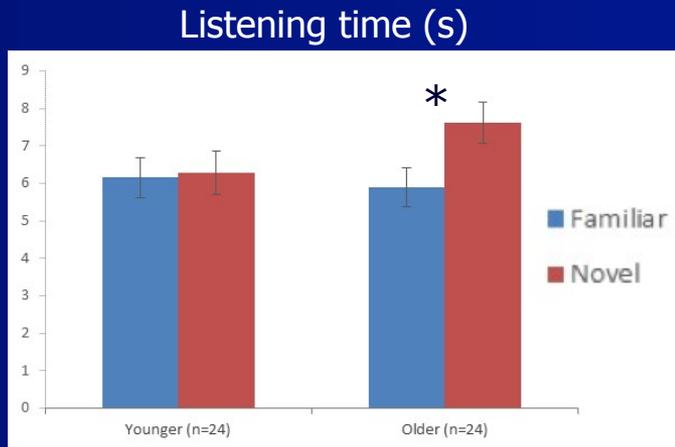
Effects of language experience predict NO discrimination

Pitch accent contrast expected to be closer to the tune than the lexical tone contrast

# 1. Non-native discrimination: Study 3

## EP infants, Japanese HL and LH word patterns

- Results: The older age group of EP infants, but not the younger, discriminates the pitch accent contrast



Sensitivity to the prosodic features that cue the Japanese pitch accent contrast was found for the **older** infants

ANOVA: Habituation Condition (statement, question) and Trial-type (familiar, novel) as the independent variables and listening time as the dependent variable

### Younger

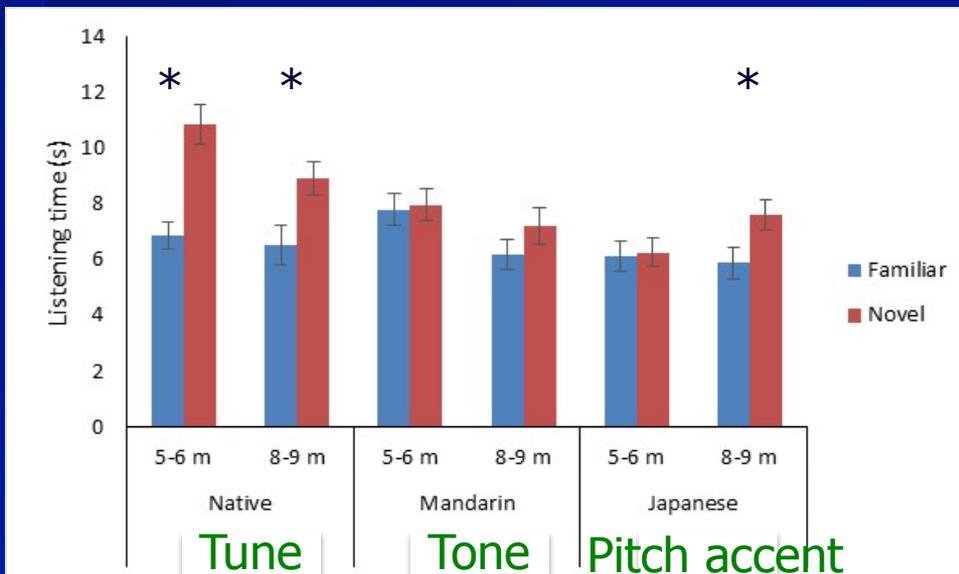
No effect of Trial type ( $F(1,22) = .00, p = .99, \eta^2 = .00$ ), no effect of hab ( $F(1,22) = .37, p = .55$ ), no interaction ( $F(1,22) = .1, p = .75, \eta^2 = .07$ )

### Older

**Significant effect of Trial type** ( $F(1,22) = 5.72, p < .05, \eta^2 = .21$ ), no effect of hab ( $F(1,22) = .25, p = .62, \eta^2 = .01$ ), no interaction ( $F(1,22) = .09, p = .77, \eta^2 = .00$ )

# 1. Early discrimination: Study 3 Summary

- Non-native discrimination: EP-learning infants' perception of the Mandarin and Japanese lexical pitch contrasts



A GLMM was used (along the lines of Skoruppa et al. 2013)

- Effect of **language** ( $F(2,122) = 8.26$ ,  $p < .001$ )

. Borderline **interaction Language x Age** ( $F(2,122) = 2.91$ ,  $p = .058$ )

**EP vs. Mandarin:** only an effect of language ( $F(1,76) = 15.28$ ,  $p < .001$ )

**EP vs. Japanese:** effect of language ( $F(1,84) = 11.7$ ,  $p < .01$ ) and **interaction Language x Age** ( $F(1,84) = 5.68$ ,  $p < .05$ )

# 1. Early discrimination of statement (-like) and question(-like) prosody: Summary & Discussion

Language (Tune)	Cues	Results
<b>English</b>	Word order Intonation	<b>X</b>
<b>Portuguese</b>	Intonation	✓
<b>Basque (Northern Spanish)</b>	Intonation	✓

Language	Statement(-like)	Question(-like)	Results
<b>Portuguese</b> (Tune)	<b>H+L* L%</b>	<b>H+L* LH%</b>	Younger ✓ Older ✓
<b>Mandarin Chinese</b> (Tone)	<b>Tone 1 + Tone 4</b> H HL	<b>Tone 1 + Tone 2</b> H LH	Younger <b>X</b> Older <b>X</b>
<b>Japanese</b> (Pitch accent)	<b>HL pattern</b>	<b>LH pattern</b>	Younger <b>X</b> Older ✓

# 1. Early discrimination of statement (-like) and question(-like) prosody: Summary & Discussion

- Findings do NOT support

General early sensitivity to pitch-based contrasts, independent from the native language (early discrimination expected)

Phonetic salience

Similar overall contour shapes (similar discrimination patterns)

- By contrast, they point to the influence of native language experience on infants' perception

Effects of language experience (different discrimination patterns)

Native listeners

Differences in discrimination abilities

Cues available in the language



Tune ≠ Tone & Pitch accent; Pitch accent contrast closer to tune

## 2. Novel word learning and intonation

- Discrimination studies strongly suggest **early ambient language** effects (e.g., Yeung et al. 2013), rather than general discrimination abilities for **statement(-like) and question(-like) prosody**, involving a **pitch height & direction difference**, in the presence of segmental variability
- Whether and when do infants assign a function to the native prosodic contrast they perceive as early as 5 months?
- Young learners' interpretation of phonetic variation: meaningless variation; variation that conveys meaning  $\approx$  phonological contrast (at what level)

## 2. Novel word learning and intonation

- Previous word learning studies, including EP

Type of contrast	Language	Age
Stress	English EP	1;2 ✓ 1;0 ✓; 2;0 ✓; 3;0 ✓; 4;0 (✓)
Tone (Tone 2, Tone 4) (Rising, Falling)	Mandarin-English *English(-X) *English	1;6 ✓; 2;0 ✓; 3;0 ✓; 4;0 (✓) 1;6 ✓; 2;0 X 1;2 ✓; 1;5 (X) ; 1;7 X
Tune	English (Rise-fall, Level) EP (statement, question)	2;6 X 1;0 ✓; 2;0 ✓; 3;0 X; 4;0 X
Vowel	English Mandarin-English	< 2;0 ✓; 2;6 ✓ 3;0 (✓); 4;0 ✓

Curtin, 2009; Curtin et al., 2009; Quam & Swingley, 2010; Frota et al., 2012; Singh et al., 2014, 2015; Hay et al., 2015

# 2. Novel word learning and intonation: Study 4

*Frota, Butler, Correia, Severino & Vigário (2012) 36<sup>th</sup> BUCLD, 190-201  
Frota et al., submitted*

- Findings that EP learners are **sensitive to statement/question prosody** in a novel word learning task (lexically irrelevant pitch is NOT ignored)

	<b>Training Phase (51 sec)</b>	
	19 sec: Doll introduces toys, labels one of them	
Animation		
	32 sec: Toy repeatedly labeled 10 times	
Ostensive Labelling		
	<b>Test Phase (67 sec)</b>	
	4 sec: Trial duration	
Test Trials	NP trial:	
		o   ['milu]   0.360 ms
	Utterance trial:	
		está aqui o   ['milu]?   0.670 ms

An eyegaze-based procedure (similar to Quam & Swingley 2010) where visual fixation to the labeled picture in the training phase is the response variable

# 2. Novel word learning and intonation: Study 4

Exp1

## Auditory stimuli:

Stress contrast: penult / final [milu] / [milu]

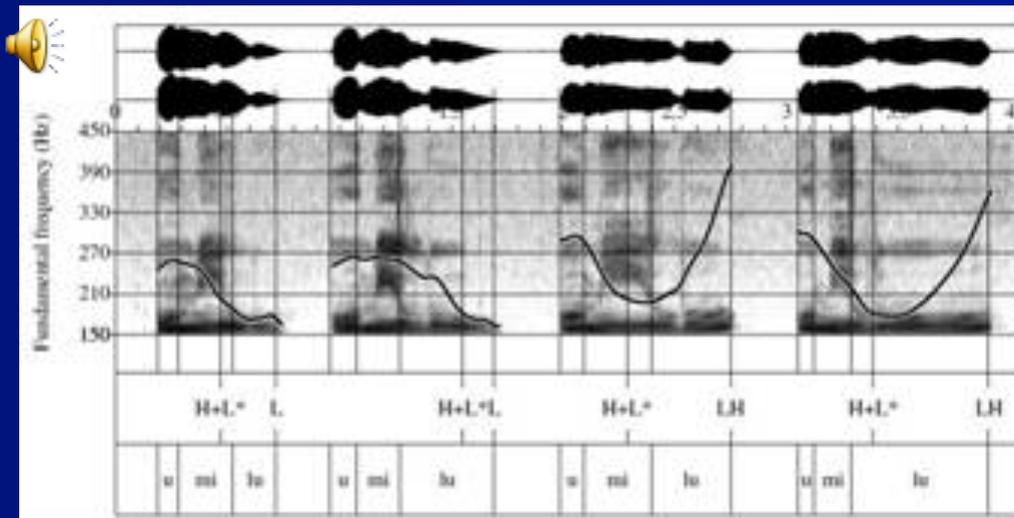
- Stress can be lexically contrastive (as in English, Spanish)

Pitch contrast: declarative / interrogative (H+L\* **L%** / H+L\* **LH%**)

- Intonation contrast not lexically relevant

Exp2

Vowel contrast: [i] and [a] [mili] / [mala]



Trained label  
Deviant labels:  
Stress Change  
Intonation Change  
Vowel Change





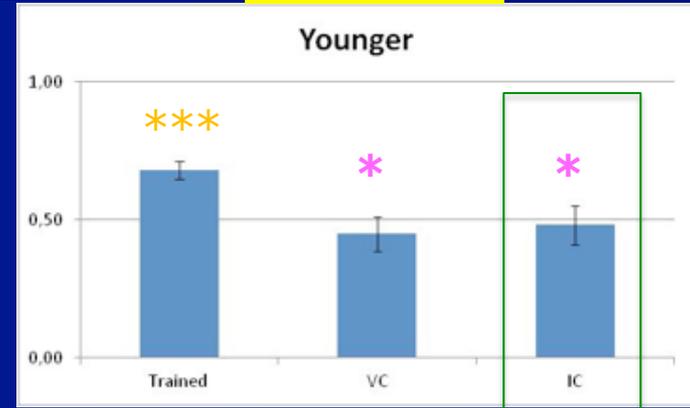
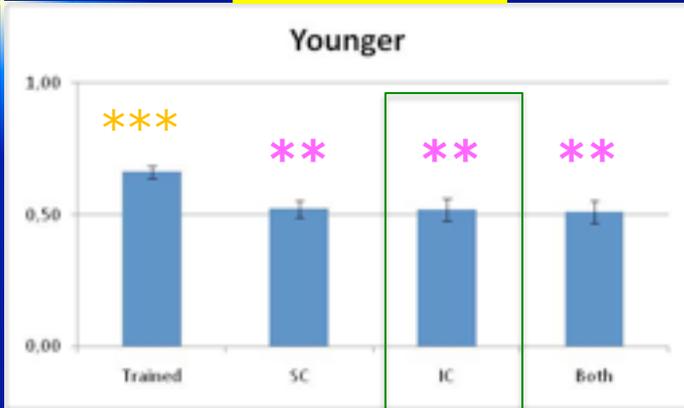
- Coding for analysis:** For each subject in each test trial, proportion looking time at the labeled object picture 'A' (looking at 'A' divided by the total looking time for both pictures)
- We used two time windows after the onset of the target word: 367+2000 ms for 1&2 year-olds, 367+1500 ms for 3&4 (Fernald et al. 1998, Swingley & Aslin 2002, Gredebäck et al. 2010, Gonzalez-Gomez, et al., 2013 )

# 2. Novel word learning and intonation:

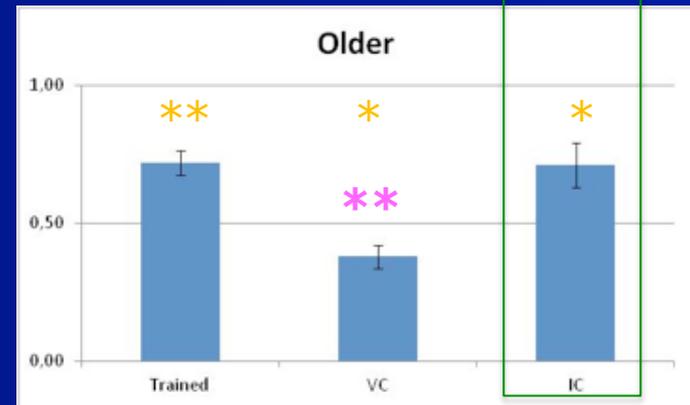
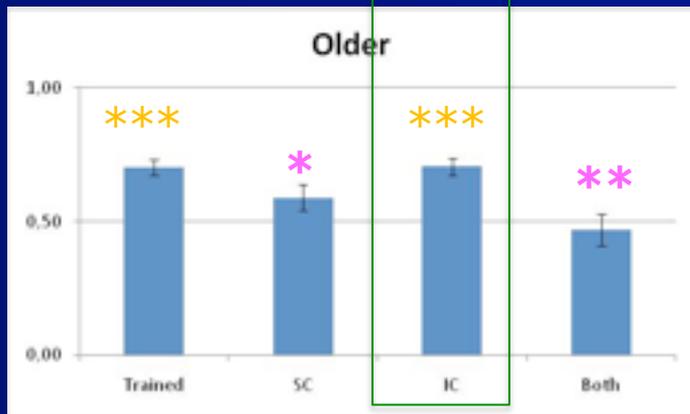
## Study 4 - Proportion looking time to the labeled object picture

Exp1 (n=48)

Exp2 (n=24)



Younger: 1-year olds and 2-year olds



Older: 3-year olds and 4-year olds

Significant results against change

Significant difference from trained

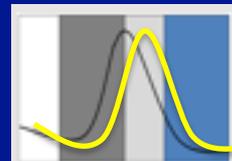
## 2. Novel word learning and intonation: Summary & Discussion

- Whether and when do infants assign a function to the native prosodic contrast they perceive as early as 5 months?
- EP learners regard **statement/question prosody** as relevant in a novel word learning task by 1;0; only at 3;0 they interpret the prosodic contrast as lexically irrelevant
- Although at odds with native language phonology, EP learners respond differently to one-word utterances depending on their **statement or question prosody**, showing that the prosodic contrast affects **meaning**

### 3. Other linguistic contrasts cued by prosody

- **Early ambient language** effects, rather than general discrimination abilities where shown for **statement(-like) and question(-like) prosody**, involving a **pitch height & direction difference**, in the presence of segmental variability
- EP learners treat the statement/question prosodic contrast as relevant to meaning
- Prosodic cues to linguistic categories vary across and within languages: Does the nature of the pitch cues matter?

Final pitch (boundary tones)



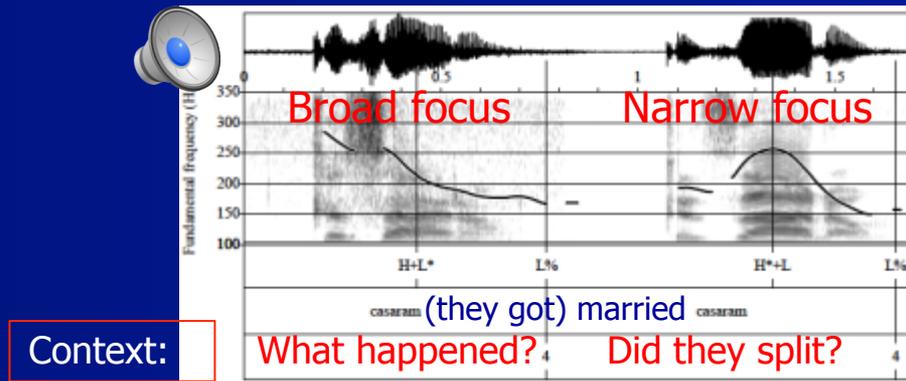
Peak alignment

Questions, Neapolitan Italian  
Focus, EP

# 3. Other linguistic contrasts cued by prosody: Study 5

*Butler, Vigário & Frota (2016) Language Learning & Development*

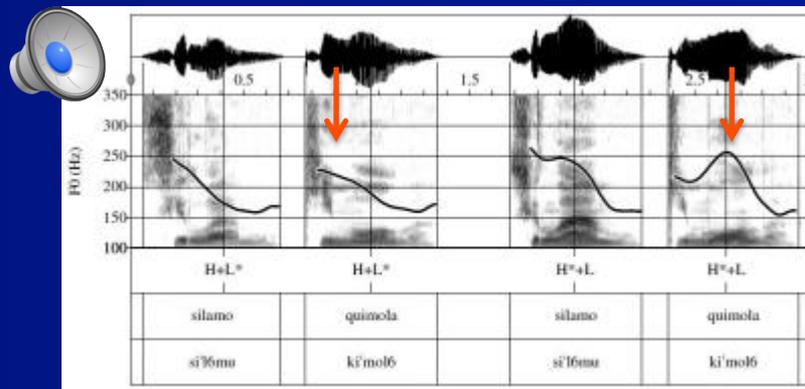
## ■ The broad/narrow focus distinction



- Broad focus: the whole sentence expresses new information; Narrow focus: a particular element is the relevant part of the utterance (identification, contrast/correction, Krifka 2007, Gussenhoven 2008, Ladd 2008)
- **Main cue pitch alignment:** broad focus **H+L\***L%; narrow focus **H\*+L** L%
- Longer durations in narrow focus; Peak height is optional (Frota 2000, 2002)
- The prosodic contrast is perceived by adult native speakers (Frota<sub>46</sub>2012)

# 3. Other linguistic contrasts cued by prosody: Study 5 – Broad vs. Narrow focus

- Materials: Segmentally varied one pseudo-word utterances produced by a female native speaker in infant-directed speech



Pitch timing:  
early/late  
alignment of  
the pitch fall

Acoustic analysis	Focus	Neutral	t-test
F0 peak (Hz)	249.79	230.8	7.4, $p < .001$
F0 low (Hz)	160.26	161.53	1.05, $p = .31$
Timing of the fall (ms)	140	- 29	22.12, $p < .001$
Duration pre-tonic (ms)	101	159	6.95, $p < .001$
Duration stressed (ms)	262	254	1.22, $p = .24$
Duration post-tonic (ms)	236	229	1.49, $p = .16$

### 3. Other linguistic contrasts cued by prosody: Study 5 – Broad vs. Narrow focus

#### ■ Participants

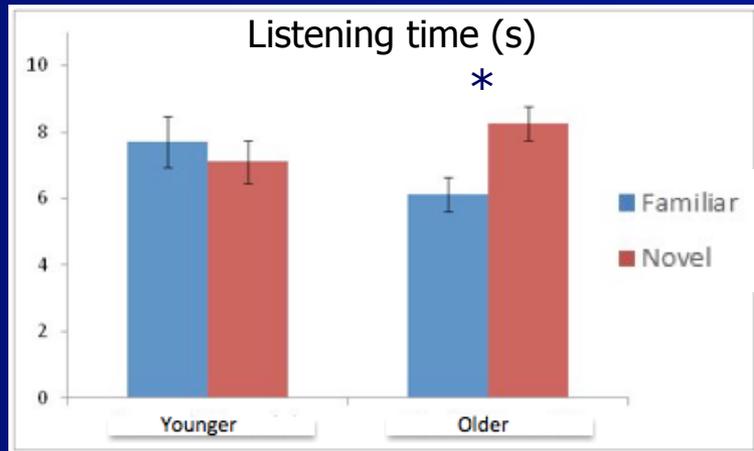
- 40 infants (from monolingual homes in the Lisbon area) split into two age groups: 7 months, 12 months
  - 20 younger (10 female, M = 6 months 28 days, range 6 months– 8 months 3 days)
  - 20 older (9 females, M = 12 months 7 days, range 10 months 16 days-14 months 6 days)

#### ■ Procedure

- Same as all previous discrimination studies
- **If sensitive to the intonational contrast, infants should display longer listening times to the novel (different) trials**

### 3. Other linguistic contrasts cued by prosody: Study 5 – Broad vs. Narrow focus

- Results: Only the older infants display longer listening times to the novel test trials



Difference in discrimination abilities for the **statement/question** prosodic contrast (as early as 5 months), and for the **broad/narrow focus** contrast only by 12 months

The nature of the pitch cues seems to matter!

## 4. General Discussion

- Statements and Questions: the ability to distinguish between them is crucial
- **Prosody** is frequently the key: prosodic discrimination abilities as a prerequisite for the acquisition of Questions
- Our findings do NOT support general discrimination abilities for pitch contrasts across languages: **Similar** contour shapes > **different** discrimination patterns
- Effects of **language experience** emerge early in the 1<sup>st</sup> year and may constrain young learners' interpretation of phonetic variation as meaningful (phonological contrast)

## 4. General Discussion

- Perceptual trajectory of prosodic contrasts may depend on the **primary cues** involved (pitch height & direction vs. pitch alignment)
  - relating to previous reports on diffs. between infants' perception of lexical pitch, stress and duration contrasts
- Discrimination abilities as a prerequisite for the acquisition of linguistic categories cued by prosody > our findings suggest an **advantage of certain prosodic cues over others** with implications for the **acquisition of distinctions cued by prosody**, within and across languages



# Questions and prosody



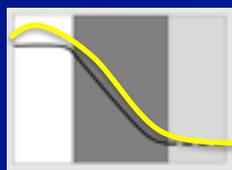
My language!



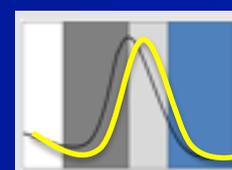
Final pitch (boundary tones)



Peak height



Peak alignment



Thanks to all the families and nurseries that have taken part in these studies.

*Obrigada*  
*Thank you*

DEPE: PTDC/CLE-LIN/108722/2008  
EBELa: EXCL/MHC-LIN/0688/2012  
H21: PTDC/MHC-LIN/3901/2014





Workshop on Prosody and Meaning  
University of Konstanz, October 4-6 2017



# *Early perception of the prosody of statements and questions*

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