

Polysemy and acoustic duration: Different senses come with different durations

Background

Motivation

- Research on lexical ambiguity and phonetic realisation has shown that morphological differences in homophonous elements influence fine-phonetic detail
- For example, different types of word-final /s/ in English and German affect subphonemic acoustic duration [1, 2, 3]
- However, almost all studies in this area focus on homonymy, while polysemy has only recently been examined in this context
 - In a reading task, speakers produced the word-final -er suffix (/ɐ/) significantly shorter when producing the gender-specific sense of a masculine role noun in German as opposed to its generic sense counterpart [4]

Aim

- The present study
 - uses more natural speech elicited in a recall task showing that the effect is robust and not a mere artefact of the reading task, and
 - analyses found durational differences using a lexicon-based measure from the discriminative lexicon model: semantic co-activation [5]

Generic vs. specific masculine

- Generic masculines are masculine forms with feminine counterparts used for referents irrespective of their gender / for referents of unknown gender
- Generic masculines have been shown to come with a clear male bias [6]

Method

Items

- 10 stereotypically female, 10 stereotypically male items [7]

stereotypically female

<i>Balletttänzer</i> 'ballet dancer'	<i>Eiskunstläufer</i> 'ice skater'	<i>Flugbegleiter</i> 'flight attendant'	<i>Geburtshelfer</i> 'obstetrician'	<i>Haushälter</i> 'housekeeper'
<i>Hellseher</i> 'clairvoyant'	<i>Kosmetiker</i> 'beautician'	<i>Pfleger</i> 'carer'	<i>Schneider</i> 'tailor'	<i>Verkäufer</i> 'salesperson'

stereotypically male

<i>Bauarbeiter</i> 'construction worker'	<i>Elektriker</i> 'electrician'	<i>Fußballspieler</i> 'football player'	<i>Kranführer</i> 'crane operator'	<i>Maurer</i> 'mason'
<i>Programmierer</i> 'programmer'	<i>Rennfahrer</i> 'race driver'	<i>Reporter</i> 'reporter'	<i>Schreiner</i> 'carpenter'	<i>Wahrsager</i> 'fortuneteller'

Contexts

- Each item was embedded in 3 contexts

Specific Das ist **Nico**. **Nico** ist **Pfleger** im Hospiz. Was ist **Nico**?
'This is Nico. Nico is a nurse at the hospice. What is Nico?'

Generic Das ist **Nina**. **Nina** ist **Pfleger** im Hospiz. Was ist **Nina**?
'This is Nina. Nina is a nurse at the hospice. What is Nina?'

Feminine Das ist **Nina**. **Nina** ist **Pflegerin** im Hospiz. Was ist **Nina**?
'This is Nina. Nina is a nurse at the hospice. What is Nina?'

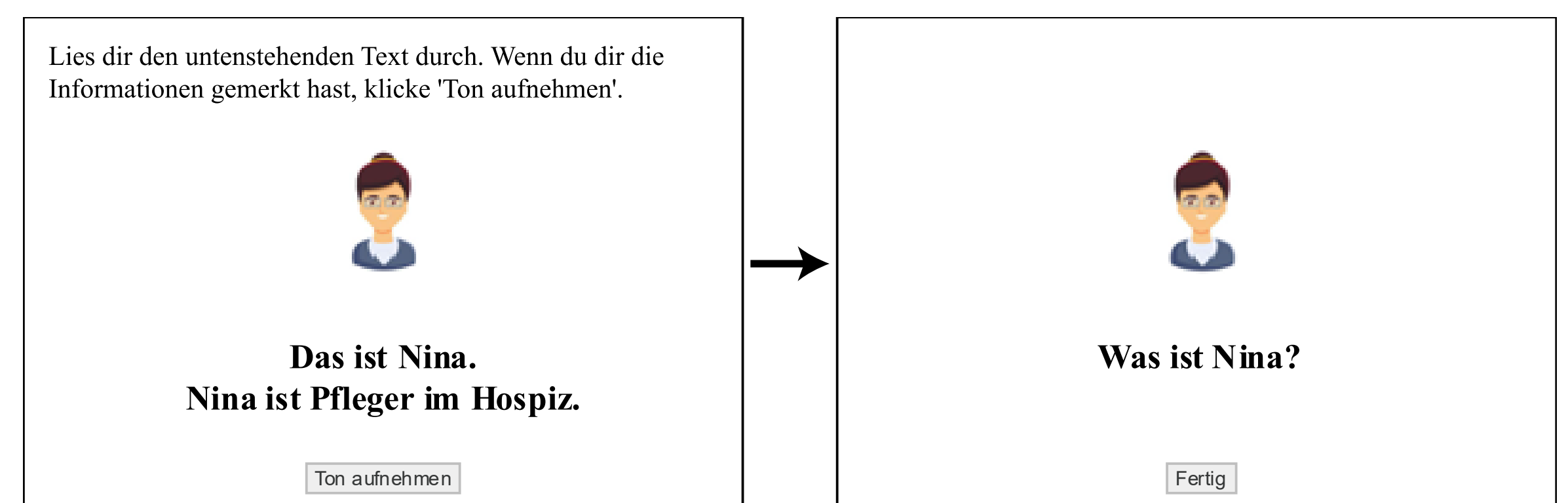
- Contexts were split into 3 lists of 20 stimuli each, randomised within participant

Participants

- 210 participants: L1 German, mean age 42.3, age range 22–64 years

Procedure

- Self-paced continuation: blank screen, context screen, question screen



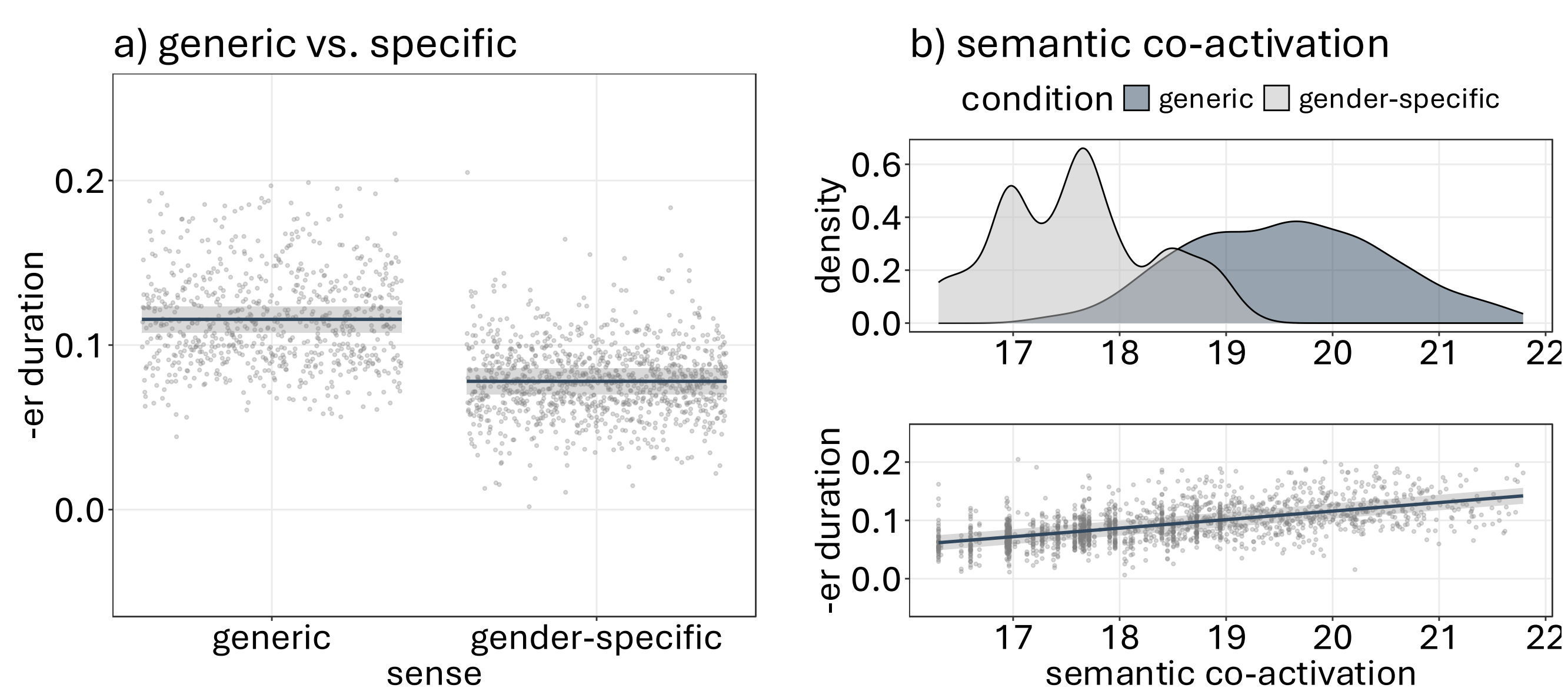
Linear Discriminative Learning

- Computational implementation of the discriminative lexicon, a simple, linear model of the lexicon [6]
- Maps form \mathcal{C} onto semantics \mathcal{S} to simulate comprehension $CF = \hat{S}$
 - Triphones onto context-specific embeddings created with BERT [7]
- Based on \hat{S} , different measures can be computed to provide insight into comprehension and the interrelations in the mental lexicon
 - Semantic co-activation, i.e. the Euclidean norm of a vector \hat{s} [8];
larger value = more/stronger semantic dimensions are activated

Analysis

- Linear mixed-effects regression models: a) generic vs. specific; b) co-activation
- Based on $n = 1790$ after exclusion of production errors, stuttering, and laughter

Results



Discussion

- In recalled speech – just as in read speech – the word-final -er suffix is produced significantly shorter in gender-specific than in generic masculines
- Goes against established theories of speech production [9, 10]
- Semantic co-activation as a measure offers an explanation for the durational difference: generic masculines show higher degrees of semantic co-activation, which in turn lead to a longer acoustic duration
- Future research in this area should investigate the non-attributive usage of the present role nouns, other polysemous items altogether, and make use of other experimental paradigms as well as of natural speech data

References

[1] Plag, I., Homann, J., & Kunter, G. (2017). Homophony and morphology: The acoustics of word-final /s/ in English. *Journal of Linguistics*, 53(1), 181–216. [2] Schmitz, D., Baer-Henney, D., & Plag, I. (2021). The duration of word-final /s/ differs across morphological categories in English: Evidence from pseudowords. *Phonetica*, 78(5–6), 571–616. [3] Schmitz, D., & Baer-Henney, D. (2024). Morphology renders homophonous segments phonetically different: Word-final /s/ in German. *Proceedings of Speech Prosody 2024*, 587–591. [4] Schmitz, D. (forthcoming). Homophonous semantic minimal pairs differ in their subphonemic acoustic durations: The case of generic and specific masculines in German. *Proceedings of 20. Phonetik und Phonologie Tagung, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Halle (Saale), 01-02 October, 2024*. [5] Baayen, R. H., Chuang, Y.-Y., Shafaei-Bajestan, E., & Blevins, J. P. (2019). The discriminative lexicon: A unified computational model for the lexicon and lexical processing in comprehension and production grounded not in (de)composition but in linear discriminative learning. *Complexity*, 2019, 4895891. [6] Gyga, P., Sato, S., Öttl, A., & Gabriel, U. (2021). The masculine form in grammatically gendered languages and its multiple interpretations: A challenge for our cognitive system. *Language Sciences*, 83, 101328. [7] Misersky, J., Gyga, P. M., Canal, P., Gabriel, U., Garnham, A., Braun, F., Chiarini, T., Englund, K., Hanulíková, A., Öttl, A., Valdová, J., Von Stockhausen, L., & Sczesny, S. (2014). Norms on the gender perception of role nouns in Czech, English, French, German, Italian, Norwegian, and Slovak. *Behavior Research Methods*, 46(3), 841–871. [8] Devlin, J., Chang, M. W., Lee, K., & Toutanova, K. (2018). BERT: Pre-training of Deep Bidirectional Transformers for Language Understanding. *NAACL HLT 2019 - 2019 Conference of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics: Human Language Technologies - Proceedings of the Conference*, 1, 4171–4186. [9] Schmitz, D., Plag, I., Baer-Henney, D., & Stein, S. D. (2021). Durational differences of word-final /s/ emerge from the lexicon: Modelling morpho-phonetic effects in pseudowords with linear discriminative learning. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 12. [10] Chomsky, N., & Halle, M. (1968). *The sound pattern of English*. Harper and Row. [11] Levelt, W. J. M., Roelofs, A., & Meyer, A. S. (1999). A theory of lexical access in speech production. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 22(01), 1–75.

