

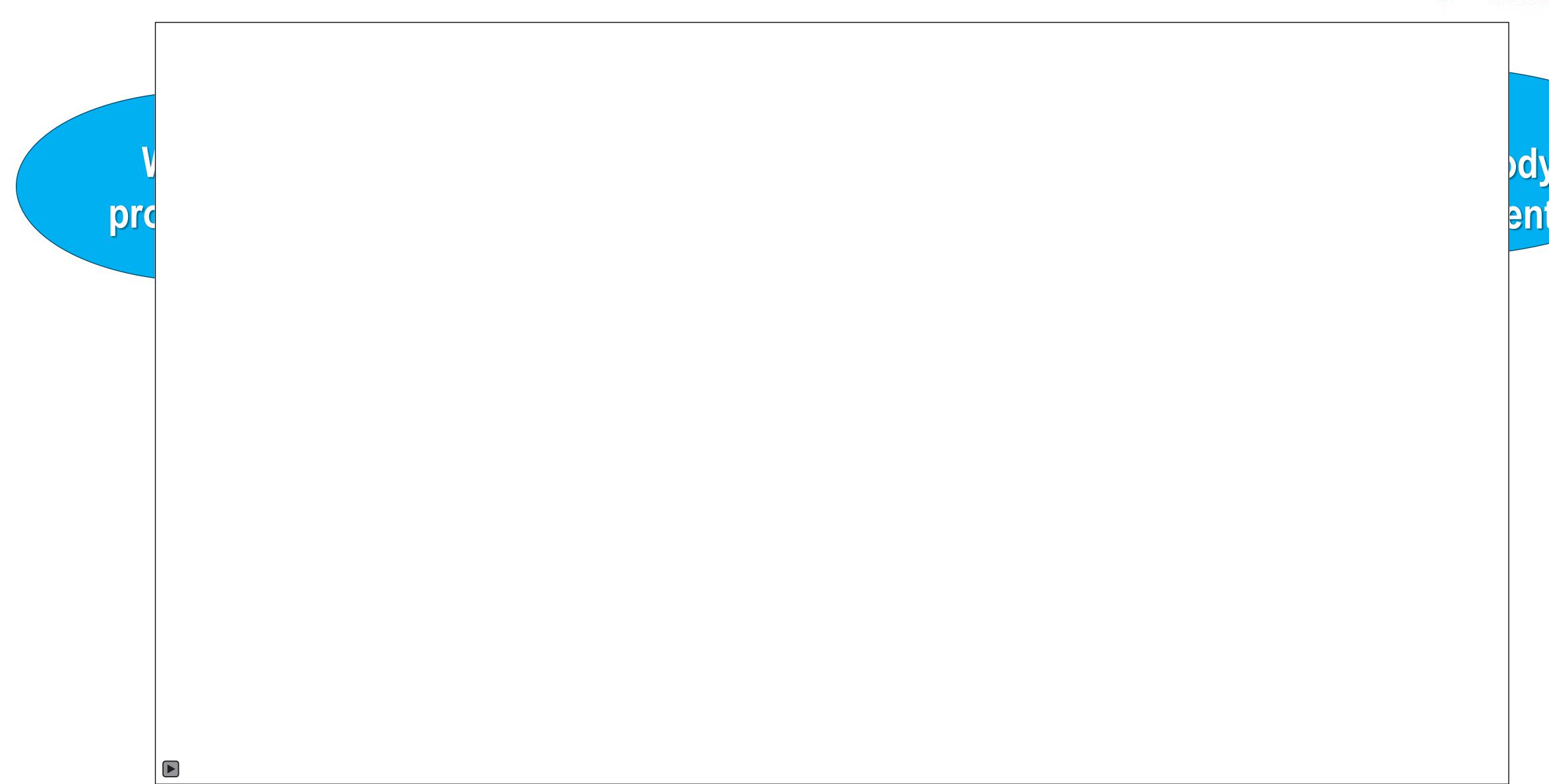
### Frank Kügler

# Multimodal marking of prominence in communication

73. StuTS 27.05.2023 – Goethe University Frankfurt

## What is prominence in communication?





(Data from Rohrer et al. 2020)

### Multimodal speech

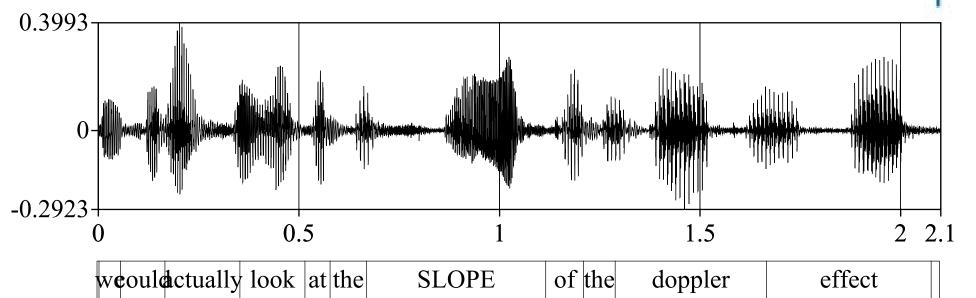
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The signal contains different levels.

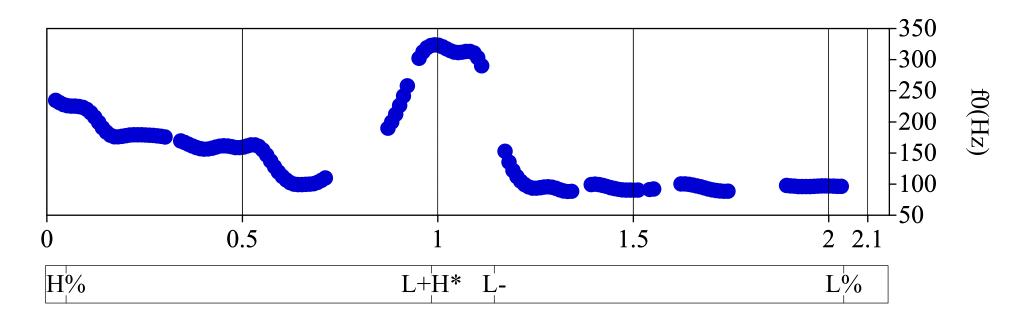
Sequence of words as sound

- Speech melody intonation
- ➤ Prosody a mode of language (parallel to words)
- Visual channel, movement of the hand / thumb and pointing finger
- The visual channel is another mode of language

  'gestures and speech are two modalities of the same framework' (McNeill 1992:23)









### Roadmap of the talk



#### Background

- Prominence in Linguistics
- Multimodality of Speech
- > Prosody, Co-Speech Gestures, Prosody-Gesture-Link

### Corpus Study (SaGA Corpus)

### Experimental study on prominence marking (work in progress)

#### Results

- Synchronisation of Gestures with Prosody
- Factor Prominence
- Overlapping Functions of Gestures

#### **Discussion**

Prominence attracts prosodic and visual marking – the more pragmatic prominence the more prominent are acoustic and gestural cues



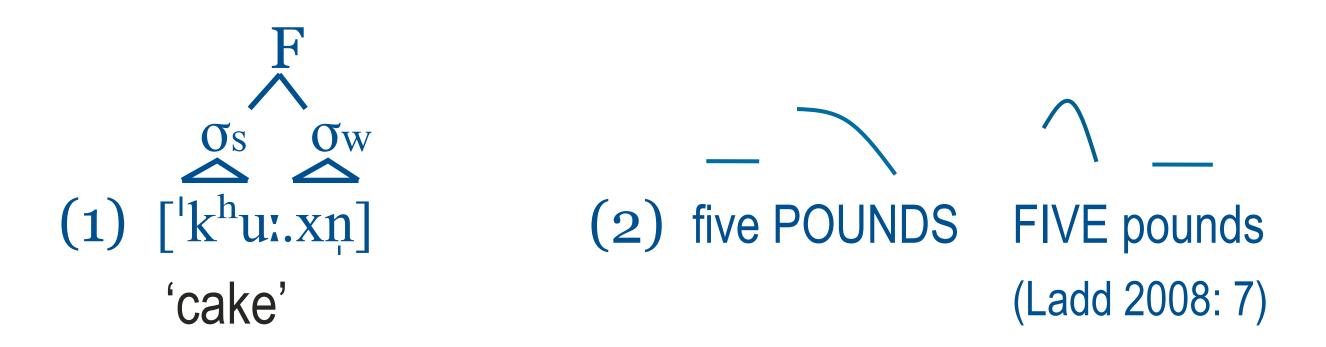
## Prominence in Linguistics



### Prominence in Linguistics



"Prominence as a **relational property**. [...] Prominence entails the property of being an '**organizational principle**' for **linguistic structure** [...] or, in other words, that a **prominent element** organizes its environment, **providing a structure** for the context in which it appears [...]." (Grice & Kügler 2021: 253)



➤ Alternation of strong — weak elements (stressed / unstressed syllables) (accented / unaccented words)

Relation – more or less prominent elements

Elements – linguistic constituents

Prosodic prominence – prosodic structure

and constituents

• • •

## Prosody



#### What is prosody about? (Gussenhoven & Chen 2020)

- Form: phonetic cues as pitch, intensity, duration, spectral patterns
- Functions: How cues create communicative effects
- A more recent perspective is, how these cues signal prosodic structure.

#### Prosody:

"core prosodic elements [are] tone, stress, prosodic constituents, and intonation." (Gussenhoven & Chen 2020:4)

#### Intonation itself needs a definition:

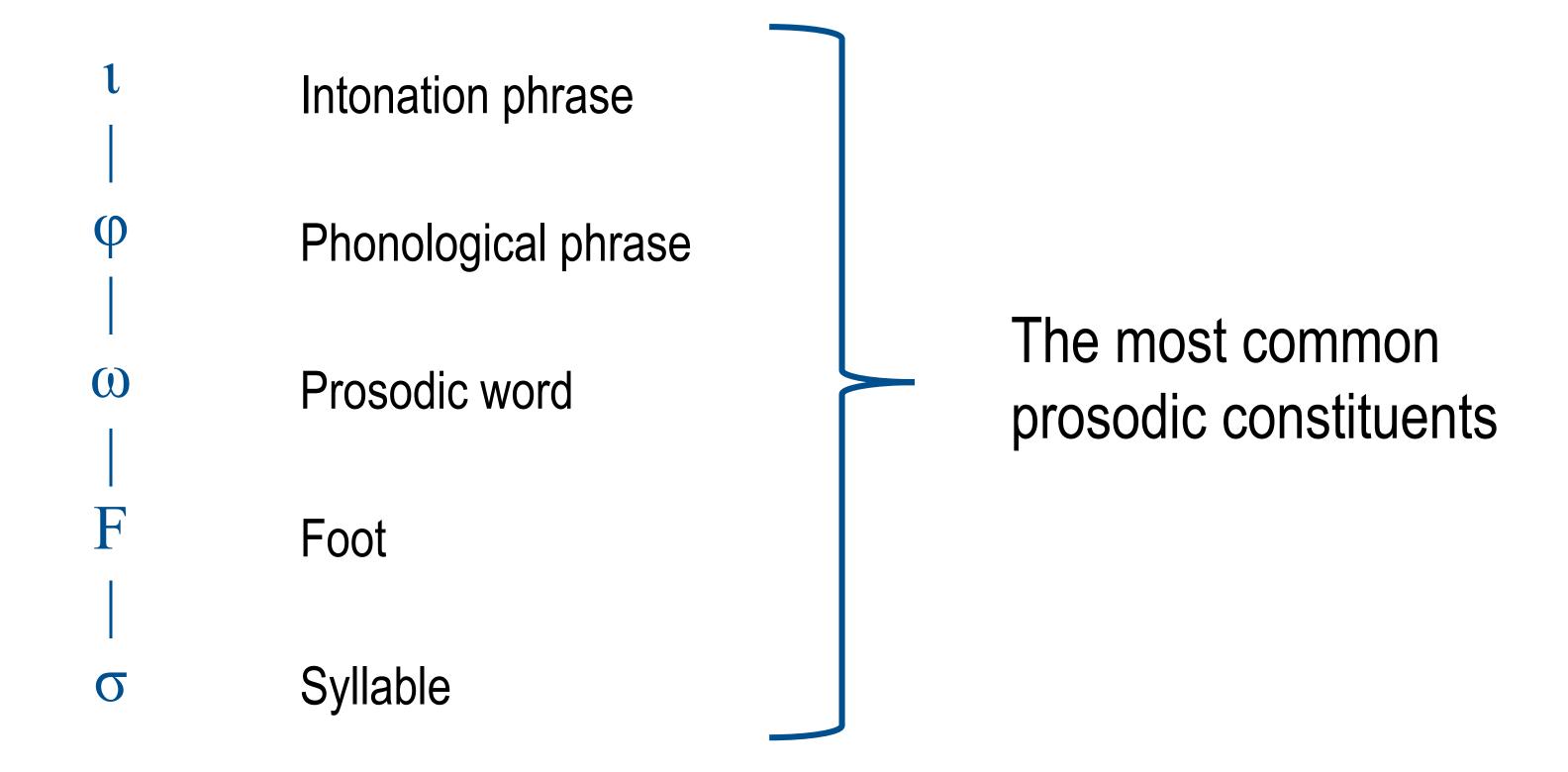
"The use of suprasegmental phonetic features to convey 'postlexical' or sentence-level pragmatic meaning in a linguistically structured way" (Ladd 2008:4)

Distinction between word-level and phrase-level prosodic properties.

### Prosodic structure



#### The prosodic hierarchy –

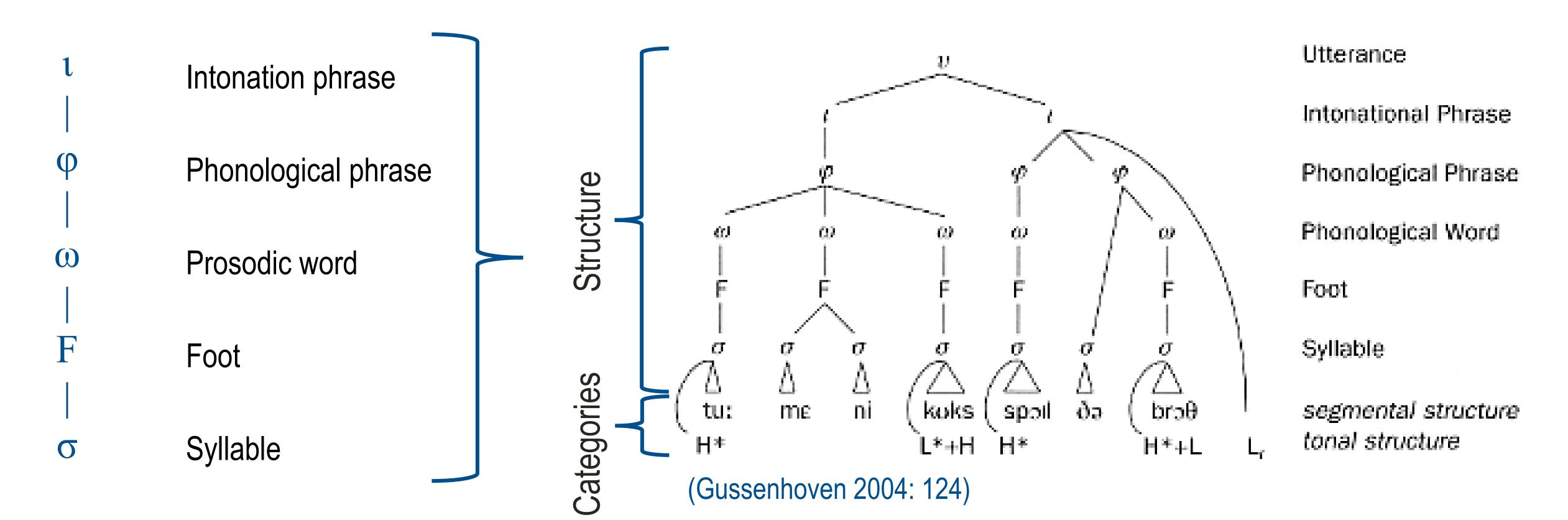


(Nespor & Vogel 1986; Selkirk 1984; most recently, Féry 2017)

### Prosodic structure

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#### The prosodic hierarchy –



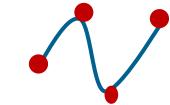
(Nespor & Vogel 1986; Selkirk 1984; most recently, Féry 2017)

## Linearity of tonal structure



(3) A: I hear Sue's taking a course to become a driving instructor.

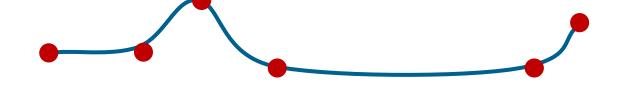
B: Sue!?





(4) A: I hear Sue's taking a course to become a driving instructor.

B: A driving instructor!?





(Ladd 1996: 44)

"AM theory represents a pitch contour phonologically as sequences of discrete intonational events." (Ladd 1996:43)

- →Two types of tonal events pitch accents & boundary tones.
- →Internal structure of a pitch contour events & transitions.

#### Pitch accents



Definition of pitch accent (Ladd 1996:45f)

"a local feature of a pitch contour – usually but not invariably a *pitch change*, and often involving a local maximum or minimum – which signals that the syllable with which it is associated is *prominent* in the utterance."

- Independence of Tones and Text
- Different types of Pitch Accents (H\*, L\*, H\*L, ...)
- Relative metrical prominence relations

(5) [Marianna]









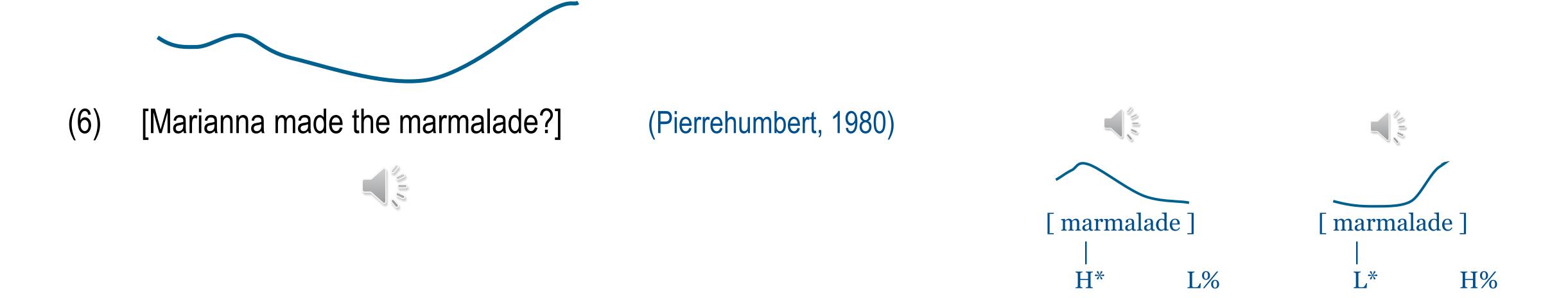


## Boundary tones – Where do they occur?



A boundary tone is associated with the very end of an intonation phrase.

- Recall: Pitch accents associate with metrically strong syllables (Pierrehumbert, 1980; Gussenhoven, 2004; Ladd, 2008)
- A boundary tone: F0 movement at an edge adjacent element
- Intervening unstressed syllables between a pitch accent and a phrase boundary show the independence of boundary tones from pitch accents.
- Metrically independent realization independent of stress



## Summary – Prosodic categories



### Prosodic categories (phrase level)

Pitch accents (head of a prosodic domain)

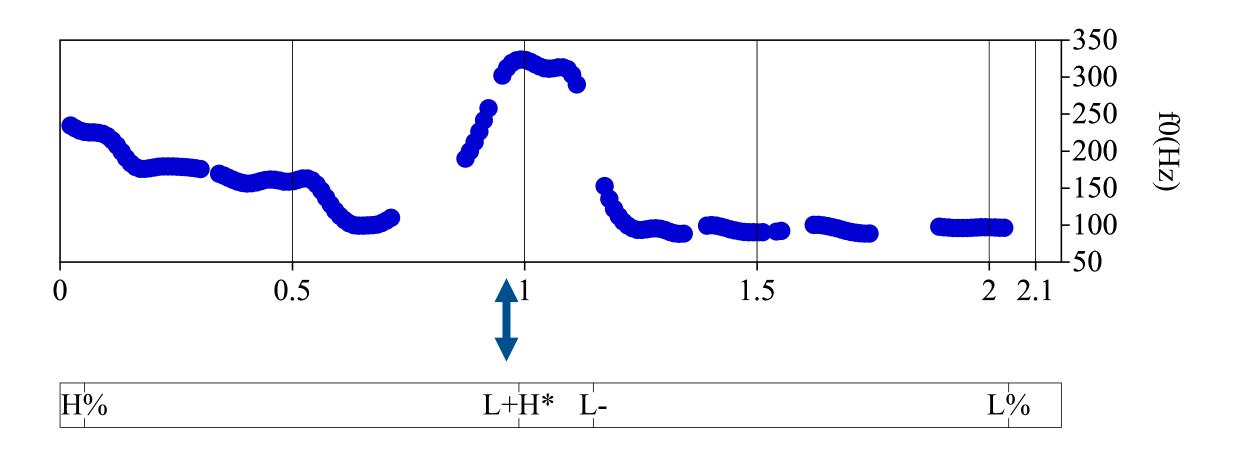
#### highlighting function

> prominence

Boundary tones

#### demarcation function

> structure



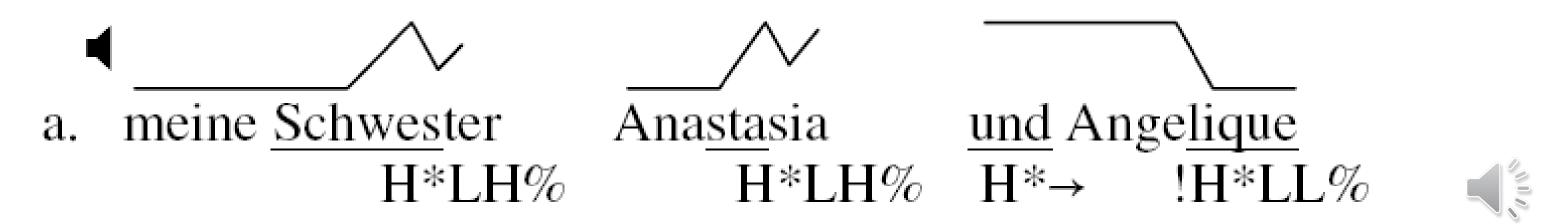
## Intonation – what do the categories achieve in perception?



Linguistic function of prosody – Phrasing

#### How many people came for a visit?

Paul, wer war gestern bei dir zu Besuch?



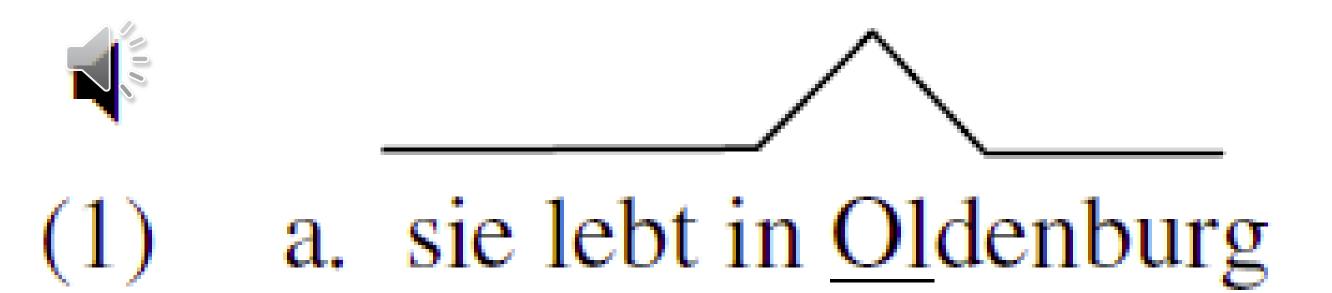


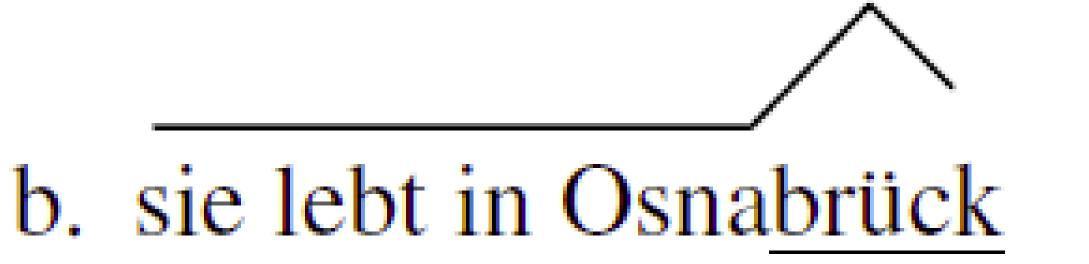
(Peters 2014)

## Intonation – what do the categories achieve in perception?



Linguistic function of prosody — Highlighting







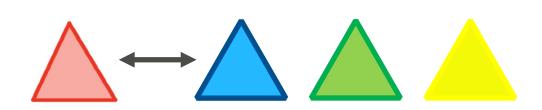
(Peters 2014)

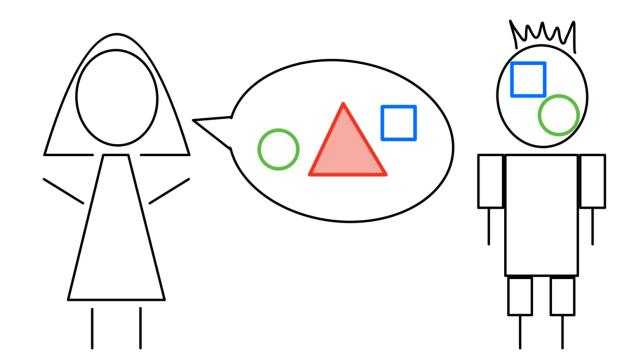
#### Prominence and Focus



Highlighting = Focus (information structure)

"Focus indicates the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions." (Krifka 2008: 247)

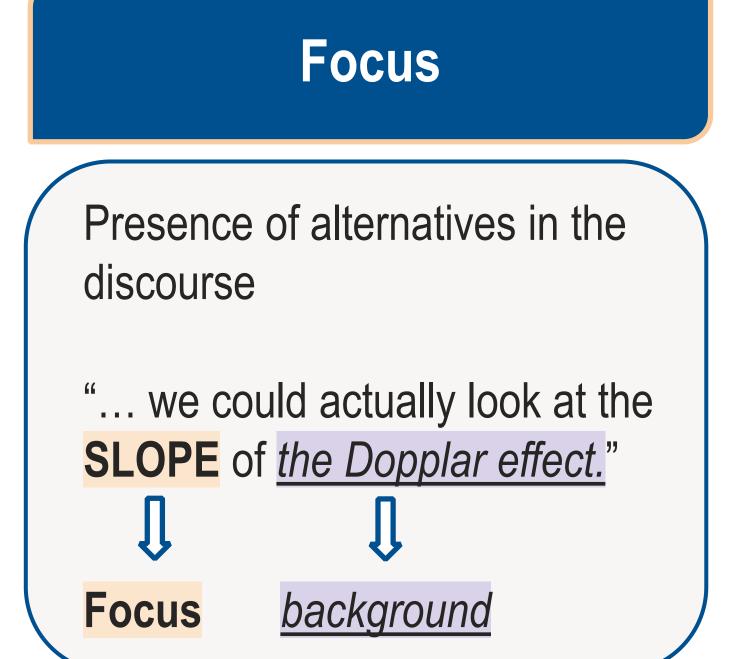




The focus is prominent. The background is less prominent.







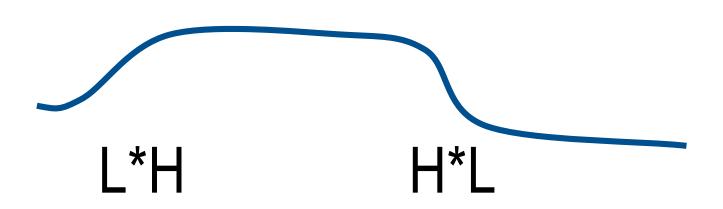
### Prosody, Prominence and Focus



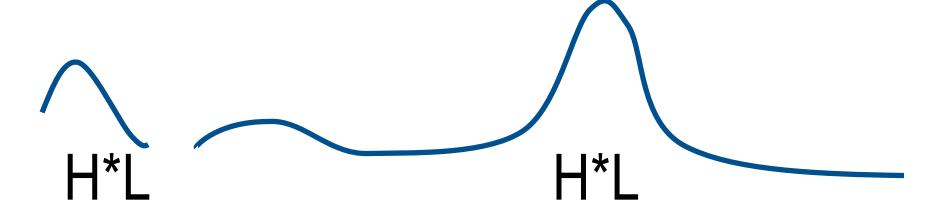
Pitch accents can be used as indicators for prominence (Ladd 2008).

- Higher f0 → higher prominence (Baumann & Röhr 2015, Kügler & Calhoun 2020).
- Higher prosodic prominence indicates greater newness or informativeness

(7) (a) (b) Erzähl mir bitte, was passiert ist. (b) Hat Martin den Frosch gesehen?



[Martin hat den Wal gesehen.] foc 'Martin has seen the whale.'



Nein, Martin hat den [Wal]foc gesehen. 'No, Martin has seen the whale.'

(Kügler & Gollrad 2015)

(8) Iila − Iila → degrees of prominence (Data from MultIS)



## Co-speech gestures



## Co-speech gestures



Gestural research is a "new" discipline in linguistics (Gregori et al. to appear)

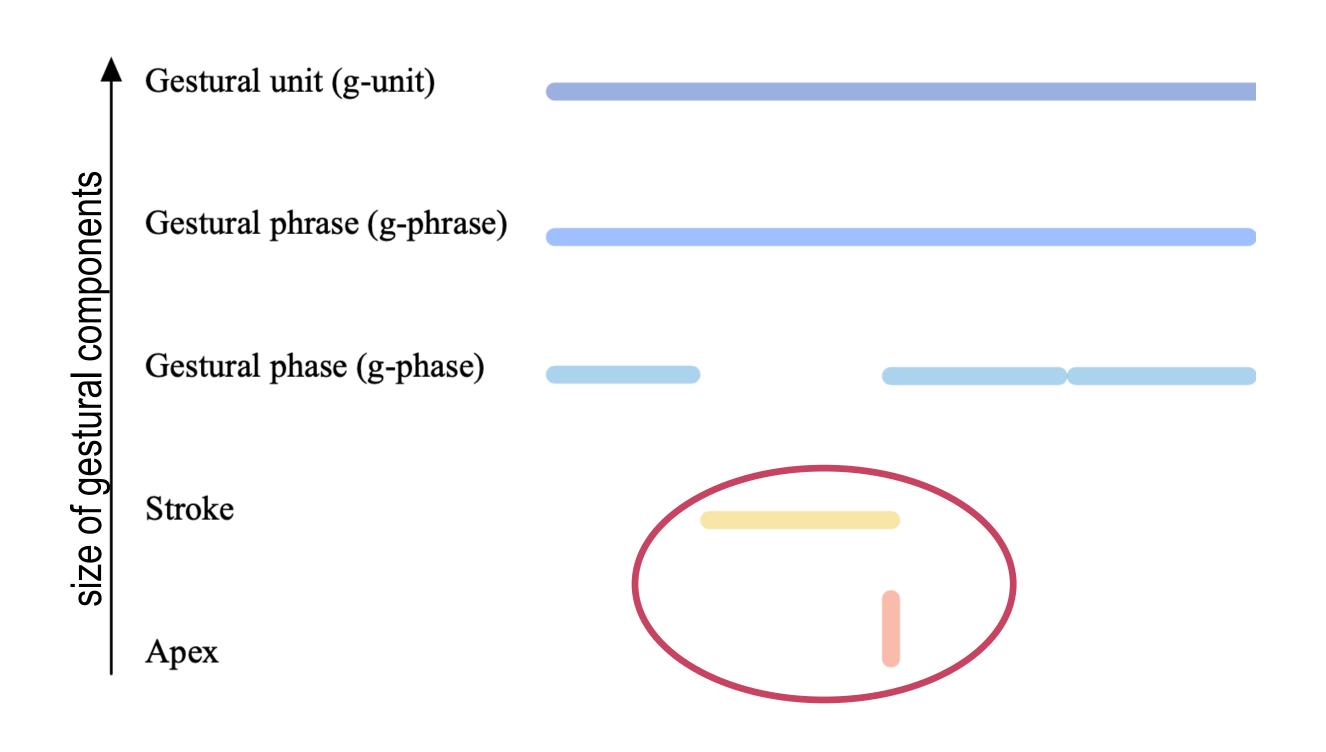


Co-speech gestures are "visible bodily action" accompanying speech (Kendon 2004)

performed by body, hands, face, eyebrows

Gestures comprise of multiple hierarchically ordered components (Kendon 2004)

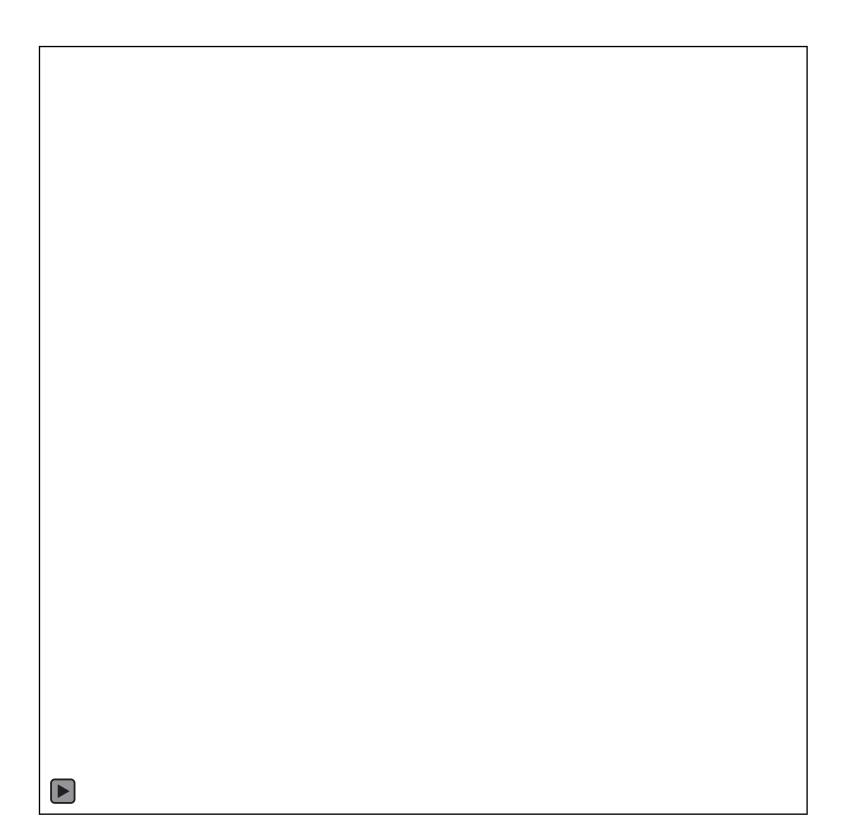
 apex of the stroke: gestural peak, temporal point of no velocity → direction change (Rohrer et al. 2020)





### Iconic – Metaphoric – Deictic – Beat

- images of concrete entities and/or actions
- formal and structural resemblance to event or objects



Object: a bowl, a pillar, and a smaller bowl

(SaGA corpus; Lücking et al. 2010)



#### Iconic – Metaphoric – Deictic – Beat

- depictions of concrete or abstract events
- abstract meaning is presented as if it had form and/or occupied space



Abstract event: back (in time)

(Data from Rohrer et al. 2020)



#### Iconic – Metaphoric – Deictic – Beat

- prototypically an extended 'index' finger
- Deixis entails locating entities and actions in space vis-à-vis a reference point



Direction: left, completely left, a little to the left

(SaGA corpus; Lücking et al. 2010)



Iconic – Metaphoric – Deictic – Beat (non-referential)

- the hand appears to beating time
- mere flicks of the hand(s) up and down or back and forth
- zeroing in rhythmically on the prosodic peaks (purely speech-related; discourse functionality)

#### Beat: movement of both fists







(Data from MultIS)

### Gesture Dimensions

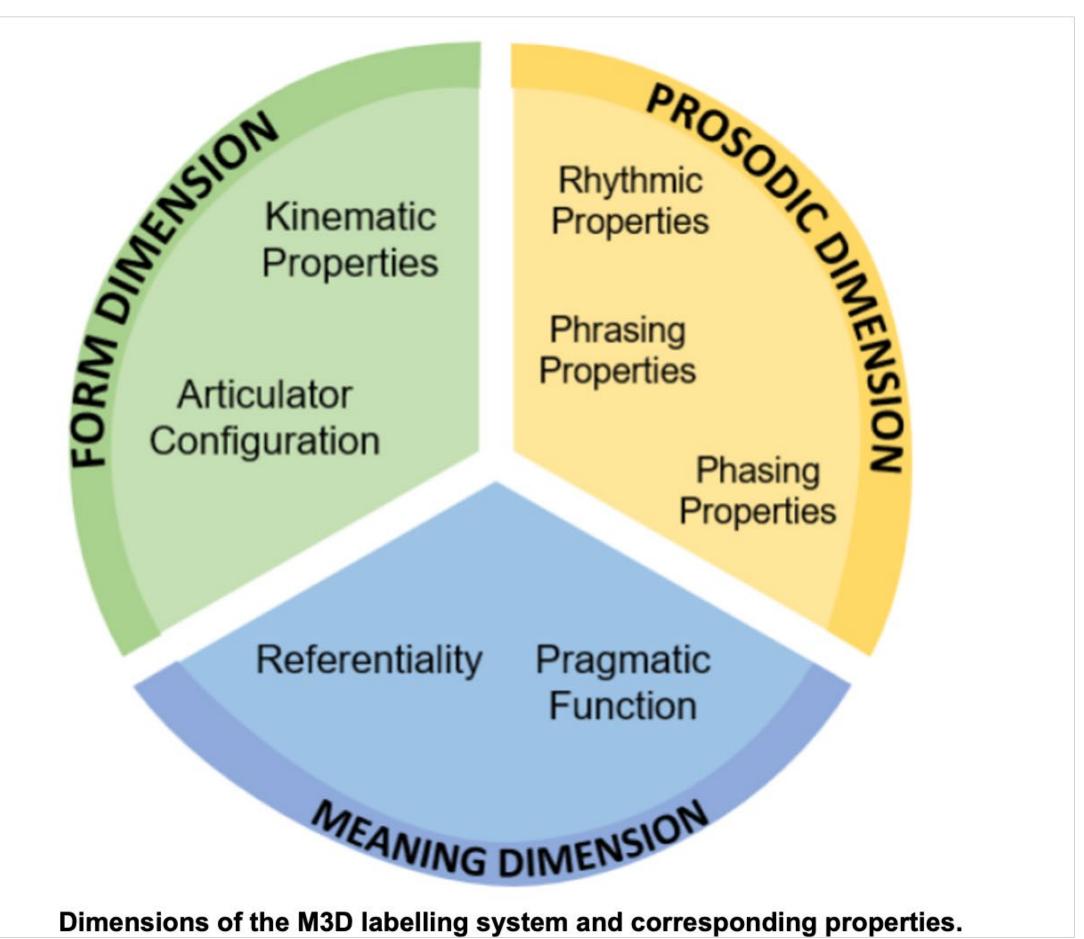


#### **Dimension:**

"We often find iconicity, metaphoricity, deixis and other features mixing in the same gesture." (McNeill 2006)

### MultiModal MultiDimensional (M3D)

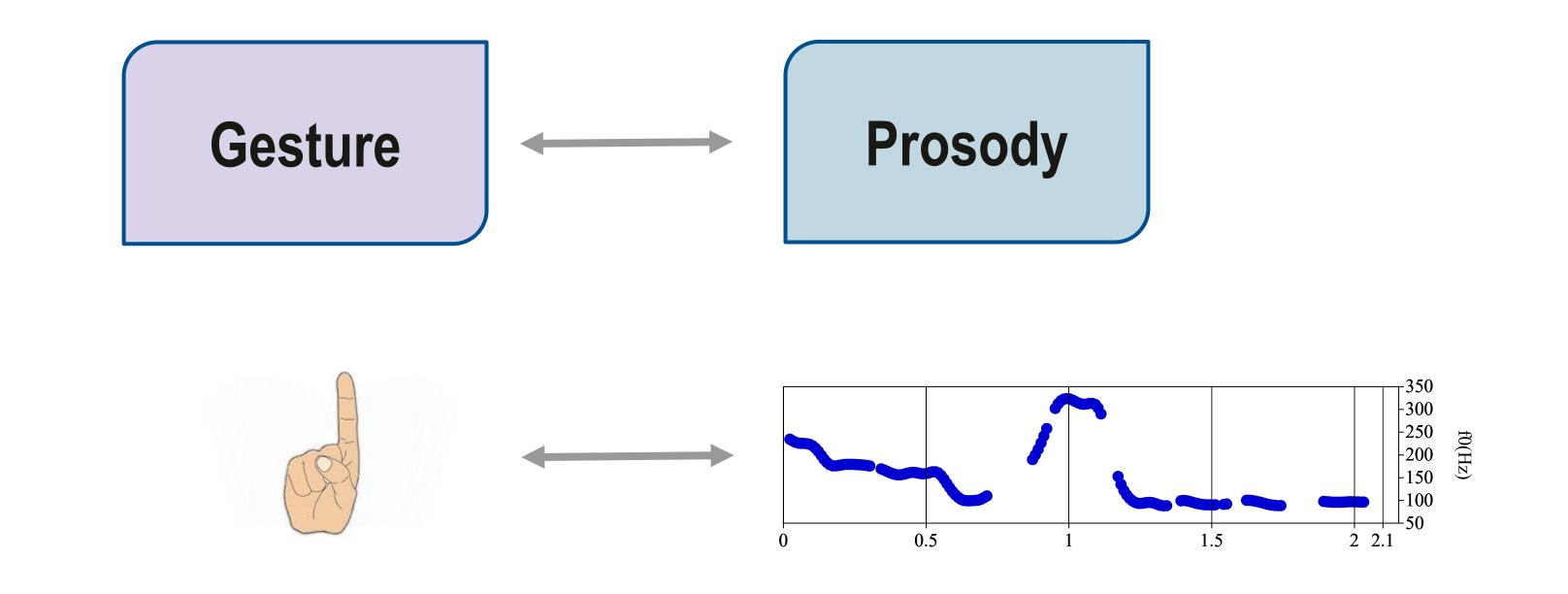
- New approach (Rohrer et al. 2020, Rohrer 2022)
- Gestures do not have to be classified into one distinct type
- Gestures have multiple dimensions
- They can receive multiple labels per dimension
- Classification is based on McNeill 1992, 2006
- Comprehensive system for labelling gestures



OSF Project: The MultiModal MultiDimensional (M3D) labeling system
Patrick Louis Rohrer, Ingrid Vilà-Giménez, Júlia Florit-Pons, Glenda Gurrado, Núria Esteve Gibert,
PeiLin Ren, Stefanie Shattuck-Hufnagel, Pilar Prieto



### Gesture – Prosody – Link



## Background - The Prosody-Gesture Link



#### McNeill (1992) on synchrony:

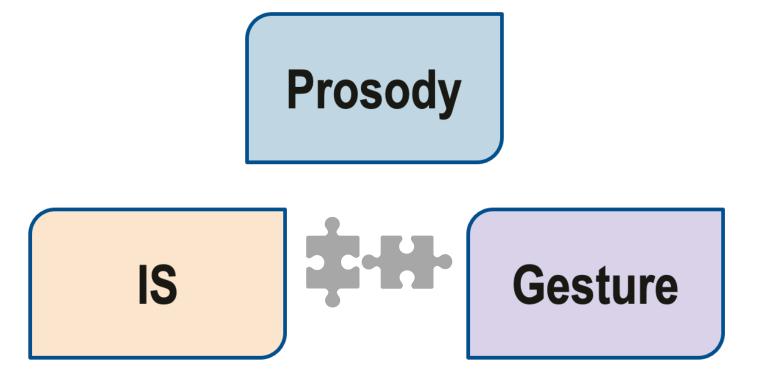
- Gestures and speech are two modalities of the same framework
- Phonological synchrony rule: "the stroke of the gesture precedes or ends at, but does not follow, the phonological peak syllable of speech" (McNeill 1992, p. 26)

Gestures and speech have been empirically found to occur together

- Temporal synchronization (Shattuck-Hufnagel et al. 2007, Loehr 2012)
- Synchronization of the stroke and pitch accent (McNeill 1992), but also bigger constituents (e.g. g-phrases and phonological phrases) (Loehr 2012)

Influence of IS on their synchronization (Rohrer 2022, Im & Baumann 2020 on English)

- Newness facilitates the occurrence of gestures (and pitch accents)
- Gestures occur less often than pitch accents

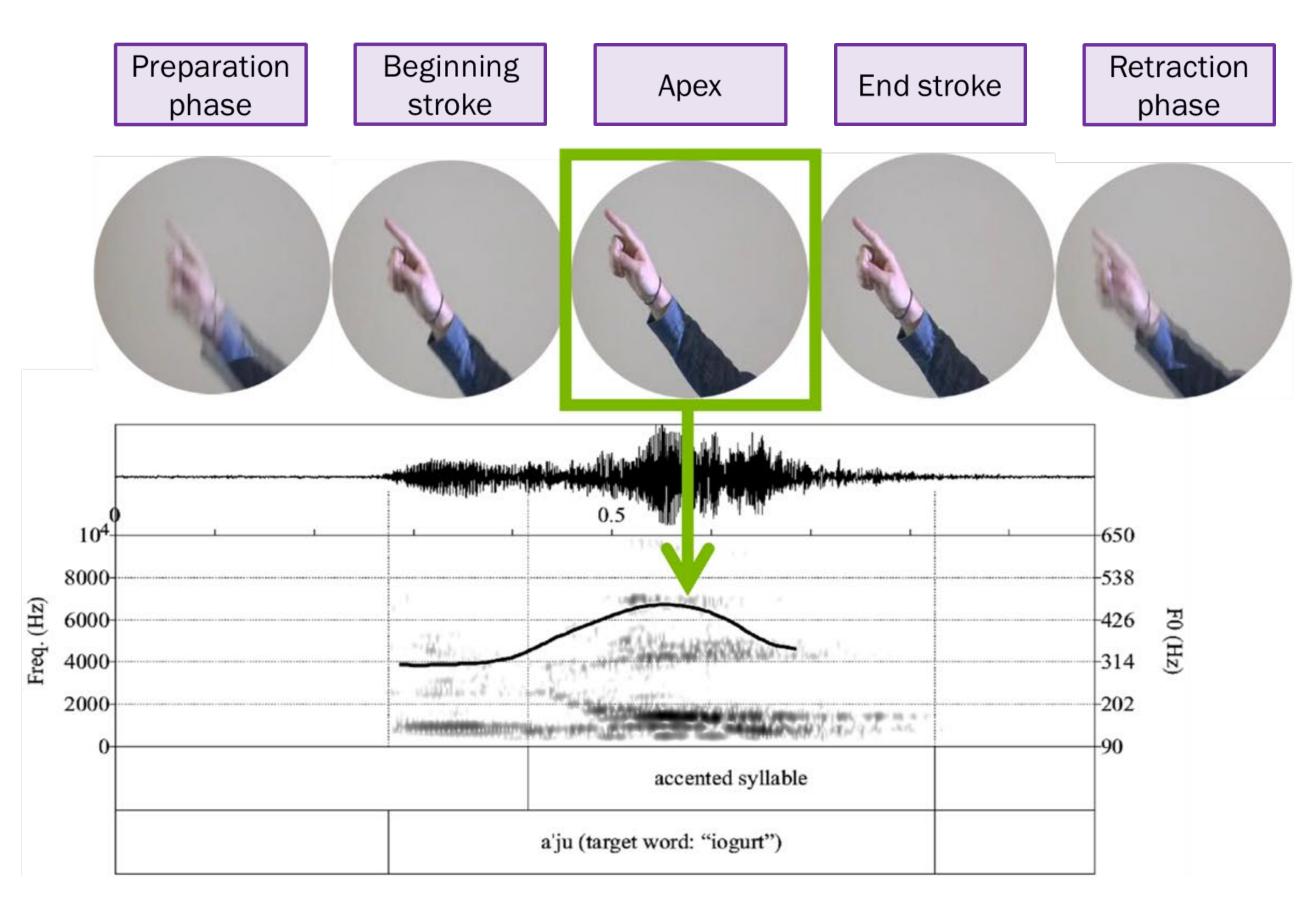


## Temporal alignment between prosodic and gesture prominence



Previous studies have shown that **prosodic** and **gesture prominence** generally are aligned in many languages (semantically, pragmatically, **phonologically**).

The gesture apex occurs at the intonation F0 peak (Esteve-Gibert & Prieto, 2013): Phonological Synchrony Rule (McNeill, 1992)



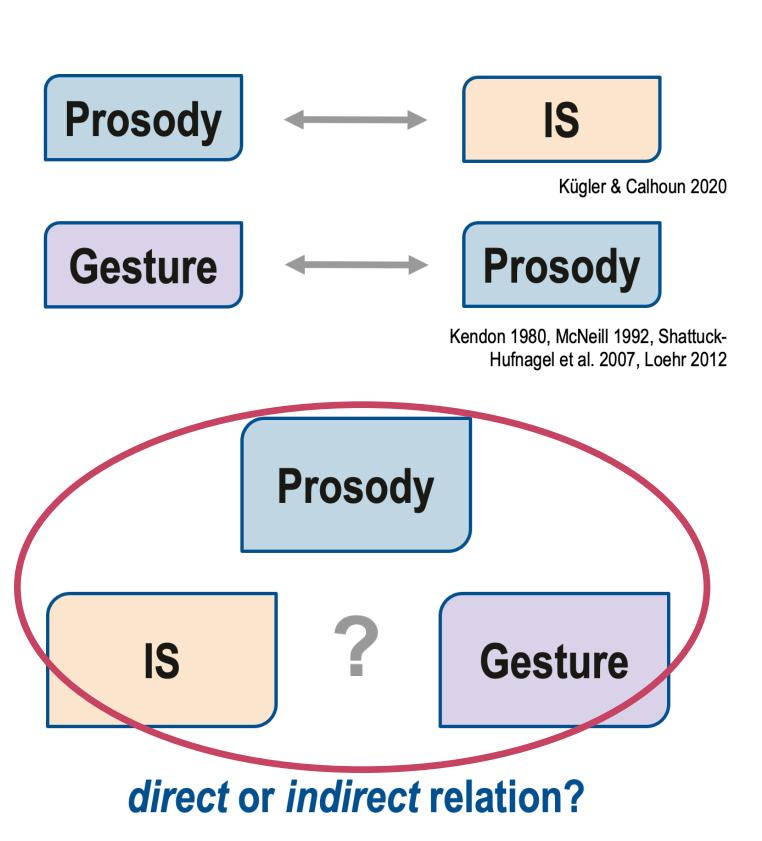
(Apex-accent alignment taken from Esteve-Gibert & Prieto 2013)

### Research Questions



How is prominence (focus) encoded multimodally?

- Q1: Does prominence influence the occurrence of gestures in spontaneous German speech?
- Q2: Is pitch accentuation temporally aligned with gesture apexes in German and does prominence influence this alignment?
- Q3: Are different types of gestures (iconic and non-referential) affected by prominence in the same way and extent?
- Q4: Are different degrees of prominence encoded with different degrees multimodal prominence?





### A corpus study

Joint work with Alina Gregori (Gregori 2022; Kügler & Gregori to appear)

#### Alina Gregori





### The Corpus



/R environment: Bus drive Conversation: Route description			

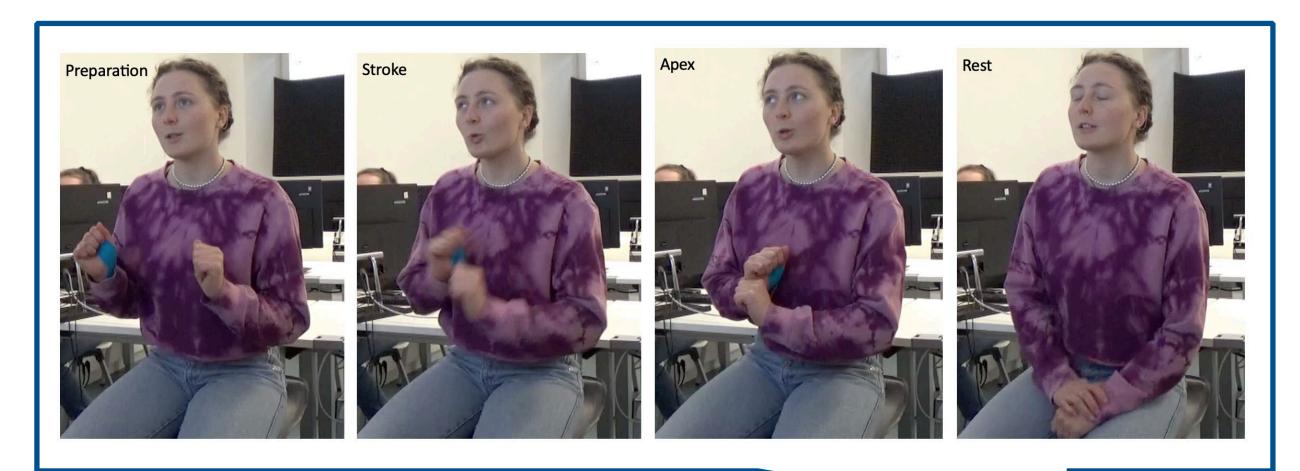
Bielefeld Speech and Gesture Alignment (SaGA) corpus (Lücking et al. 2010)

- audio-visual corpus containing German spontaneous speech conversations
- VR town environment to provide a stimulus and direction-giving task
- 204 min of dialogues, gesture types provided

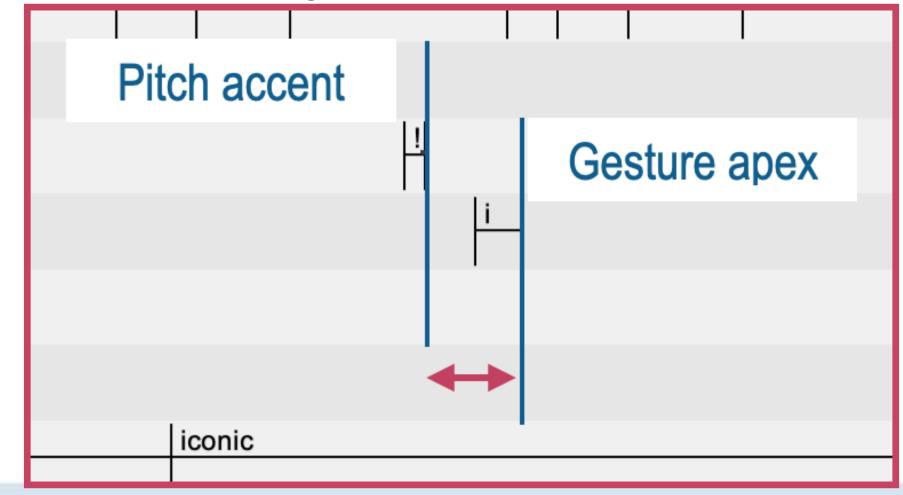
### Method



#### Conversations were annotated for:



### Temporal alignment procedure:



#### **IS Annotation**

IS levels annotated in accordance with Götze et al. (2007) and Krifka (2008)

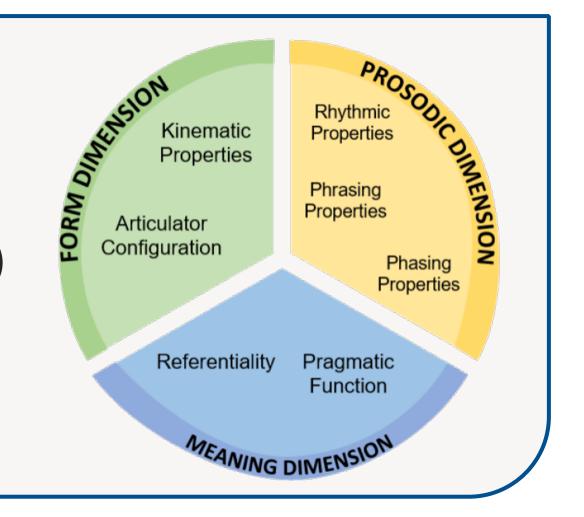
#### **Prosodic Annotation**

Phonological annotation in GToBI (Grice et al. 2005)

Phonetic analyses

#### **Gesture Annotation**

The MultiModal
Multidimensional (M3D)
labelling System
(Rohrer et al. 2020)



Analysis of iconic (referential) and beat (non-referential) gestures

### Corpus study – Hard Numbers

Selection: 00:00:00.000 - 00:00:00.000 0

 $\leftarrow$   $\rightarrow$   $\downarrow$   $\uparrow$ 





geht dann genau es geht dann irgendwann nicht mehr geradeaus weiter am fluss lang sondern die strasse knickt dann nach rechts ab der folgst du dann einfach nach rechts haelst dich aber immer noch soweit links wie es geht also hier is der fluss daneben die strasse die geht irgendwann nach rechts hier komm n paar haeuser sind ueberall haeuser und dann haelst du dich aber links und wenn du dann dich links umdrehst kommst du auf so n grossen platz und aeh auf der linken seite von dem platz steht eine kirche auf der rechten seite steht auch ne kirche die linke sieht son kleines bisschen aus wie ne moschee naja die hat in der mitte ein turm der oben n rundes dach hat mit nem kreuz drauf aber und auf der rechten seite is ne andere kirche die hat zwei kirchtuerme die spitz sind auf dem rechten der beiden kirchtuerme is auch n kreuz auf dem linken nich wolln die das gleich noch wissen in der mitte von der von der kirche mit den zwei spitzen tuermen is n rundes fenster n rundes kirchenfenster gut das is der platz mit den zwei kirchen danach aehm kannste von dort aus einfach weiter geradeaus laufen ueber den platz drueber und kommst dann ja in strassenfolgen ja lass mich nur kurz nachdenken aeh mmm tja ich glaube du bist dann wenn du weiter geradeaus gehst kommt auf deiner rechten seite n grosser park das siehst du siehst du erstmal nur ne hecke auf der roenten seite dann laeufst du weiter bis du irgendwann auf der rechten seite son eingangstor zu dem park findest dort drehst du dich tein laeufst durch den park bist du kannst im prinzip rumlaufen wie d willst inner mitte is n grosser see und aehm um deu see funkt din hinks dre hen laeufst durch den park bist dus den roenten bist bist dan den park bist bist du kannst im prinzip rumlaufen wie d willst inner mitte is grosser see und aehm um deu see funkt din keine laeufst dirch den park bist dan den park bist bist dan bist

Pitch accent type (n = 4394)

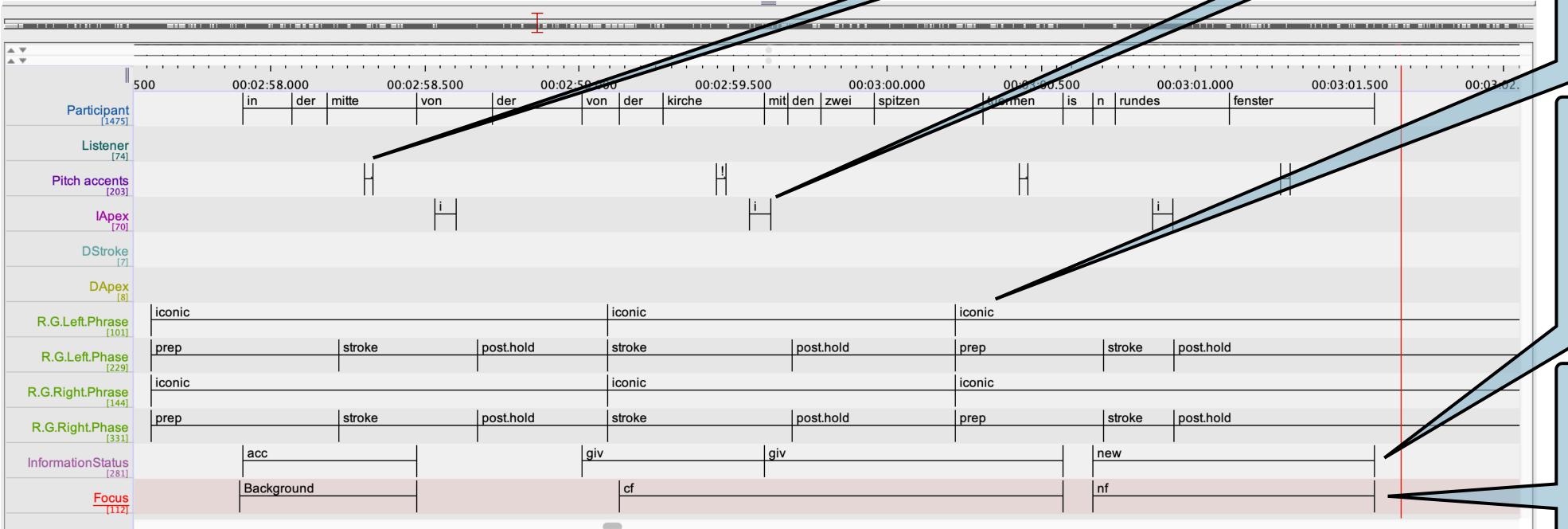
Apex (n = 2402)

Gesture type (n = 2402): lconic (n = 1627) non-referential (n = 775) other types

Info status (n = 3939):

new
accessible
given
NoInfo (n = 1085)

Focus (n = 2773):
cf = contrastive focus
nf = new-information focus
Background (n = 2251)



### Results – Distribution of Gestures

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#### Gesture occurrence split by Information status

- Given and New always marked prosodically
- Pragmatically more prominent:more Accent + Apex
- Preferable pitch accents / gestures alone
- In NoInfo gestures predominantly without accent (55%)

#### Gesture occurrence split by Focus

- Focus always marked prosodically
- In 25% additionally by gesture
- Preferably pitch accents / gestures alone
- In *non-focus* gestures without accent (33%)



## Results - Temporal Alignment

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iconic

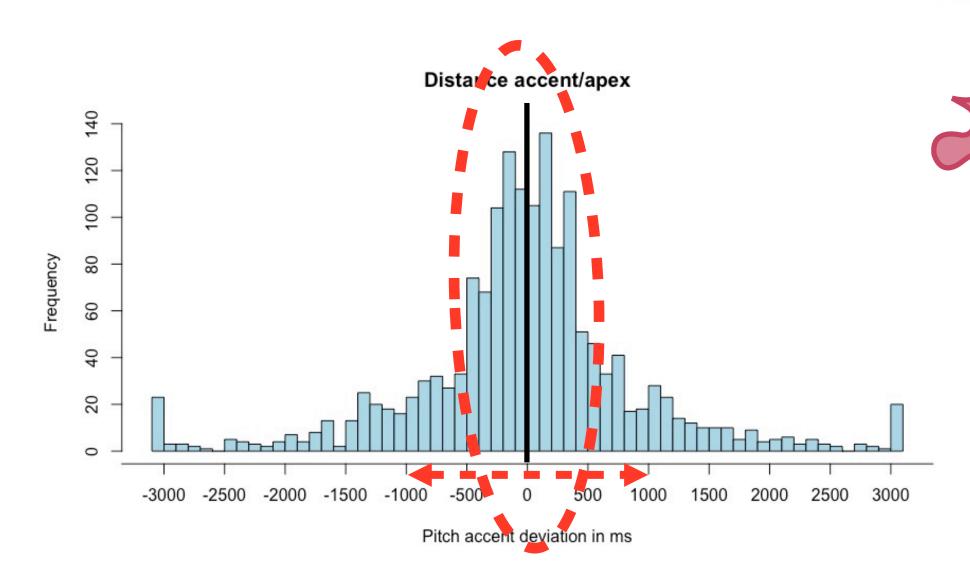
Pitch accents and apexes tend to occur near each other

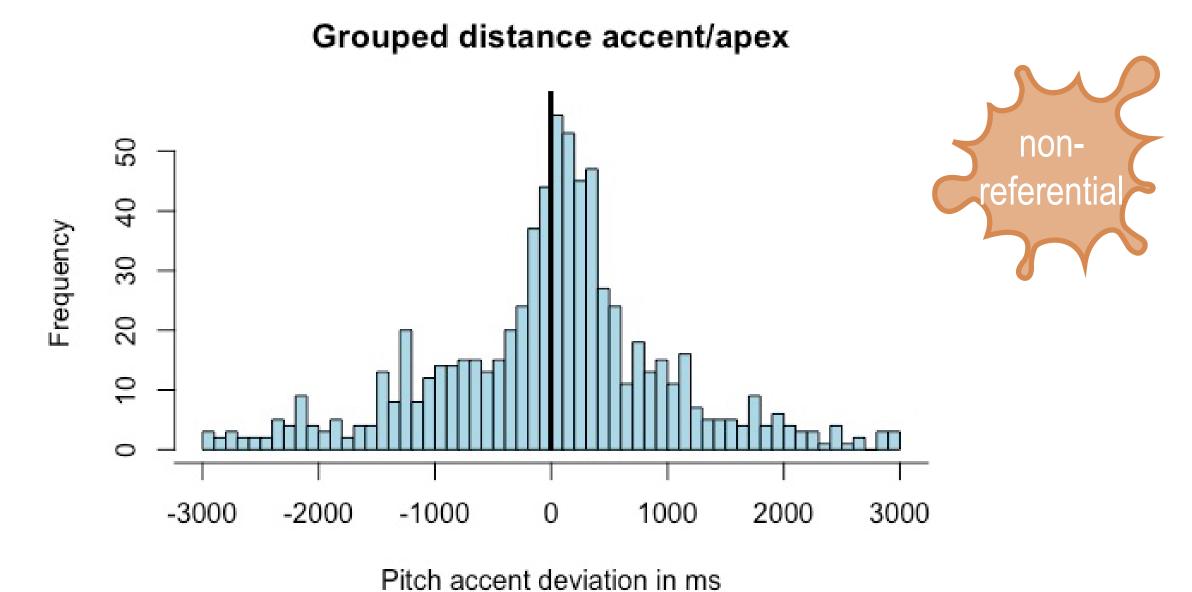
#### Iconic

- mean deviation 7ms, pitch accent before apex
- standard deviation 375ms
- 50,3% PA after apex; 0,1% exactly aligned
- 78,4% within one second distance

#### Non-referential

- mean deviation 38ms, pitch accent after apex
- standard deviation 385ms
- 54,5% PA after apex; 3,6% exactly aligned
- 66,8% within one second distance



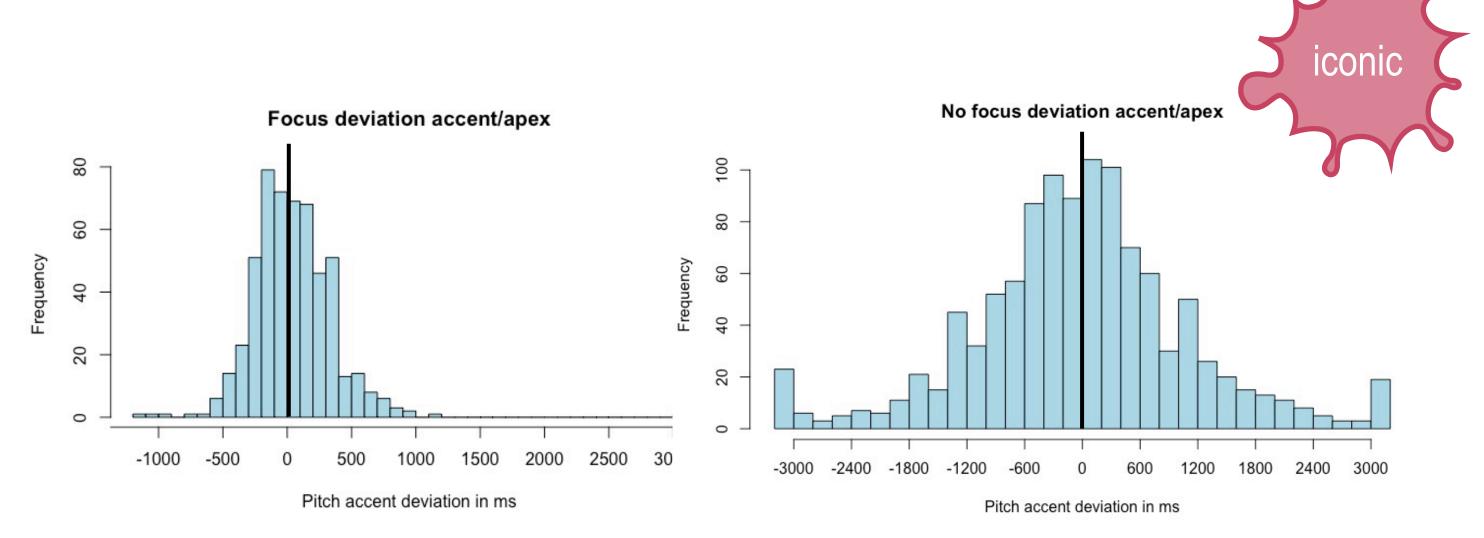


## Results - Temporal Alignment



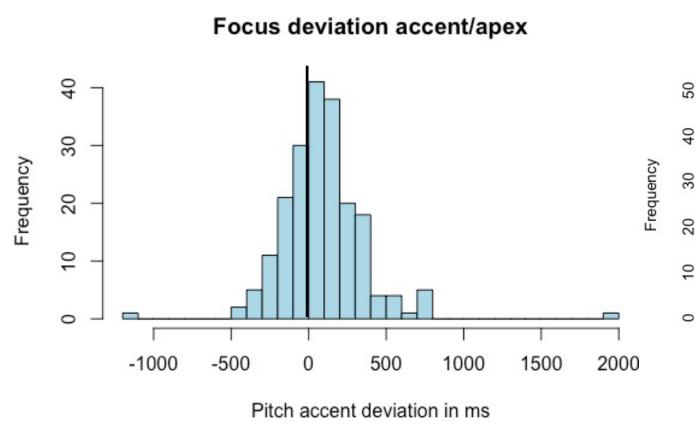
#### Focus - Iconic

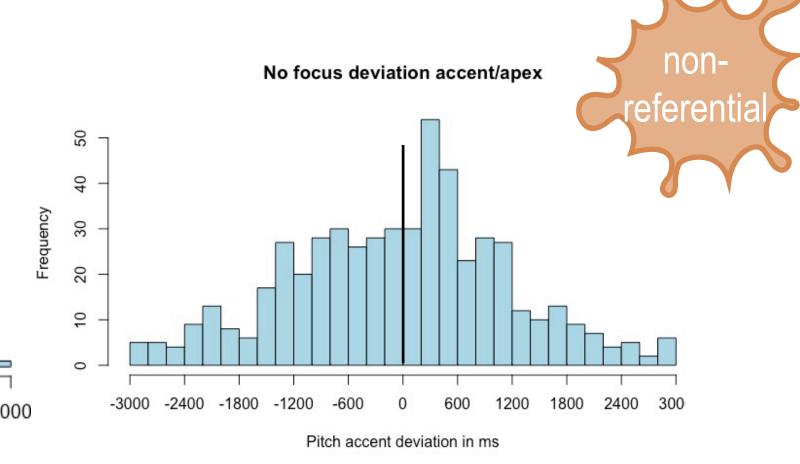
	Mean	Standard deviation	PA after apex	within -500 & 500ms
Focus	41ms	267ms	53 %	91,3 %
Non-focus	-9ms	416ms	49,1 %	44,7 %



#### Focus - Non-referential

	Mean	Standard deviation	PA after apex	within -500 & 500ms
Focus	81ms	220ms	65 %	95 %
Non-focus	22ms	432ms	51,6 %	35 %





### Corpus study: Discussion



Pitch accents and apexes tend to occur close to each other

in line with Loehr (2012) and the phonological synchrony rule McNeill (1992)

Even closer when pragmatically prominent (focused)!

#### Similar behavior of iconic and non-referential (beat) gestures towards focus marking

→ Evidence towards M3D approach Rohrer et al. 2020, Rohrer 2022: a gesture has multiple dimensions contributing to the discourse structurally and semantically (see also McNeill 2006).

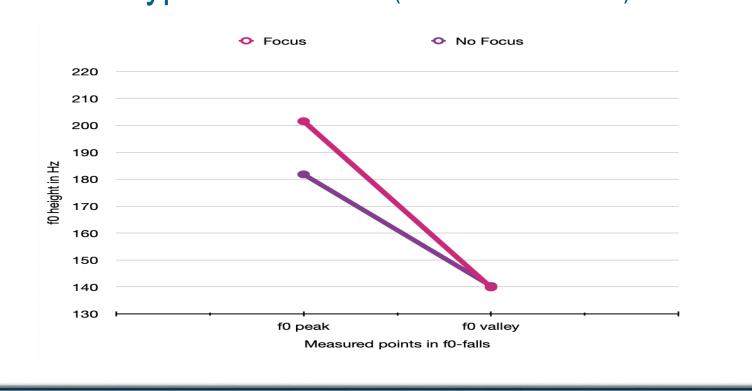
#### Prominence multimodally

Multimodal Hyperarticulation (Kügler & Gregori to appear), parallel to phonetic hyperarticulation (Lindblom 1990, Hanssen et al. 2008).

Acoustic and visual prominence marking cumulative instead of trading relation (Ambrazaitis & House 2022).

What about prominence degrees?

- 141 falling accents (H\*L): 100 focus, 41 non-focus
- F0-max on average 40 Hz higher in focus (cf. Féry & Kügler 2008)
- Steeper slopes in focus (cf. Hanssen et al. 2008 for Dutch)
- More precise f0 on focused word
- Effect of hyperartikulation (see Lindblom 1990)









# An interactive production study (work in progress)

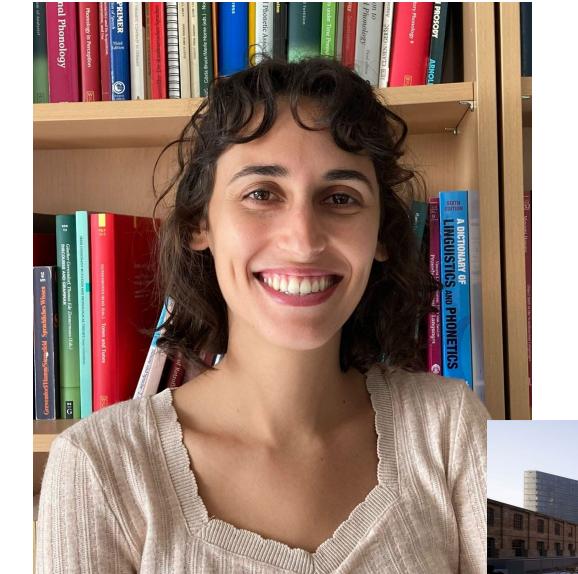
Joint work within MultIS project – Universitat Pompeau Fabra, Barcelona & Goethe University Frankfurt (Gregori, Sánchez-Ramón, Prieto & Kügler 2023)

Alina Gregori



Prof. Dr. Pilar Prieto

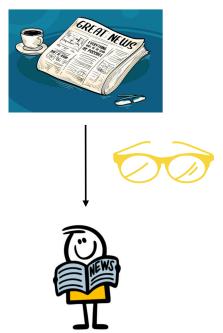
Paula G. Sánchez-Ramón

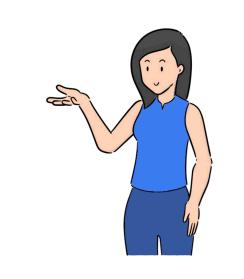


#### Method – Data elicitation



Wenn du ihren Beutel siehst, sag Maria welchen Gegenstand sie nehmen muss, um die Zeitung zu lesen.

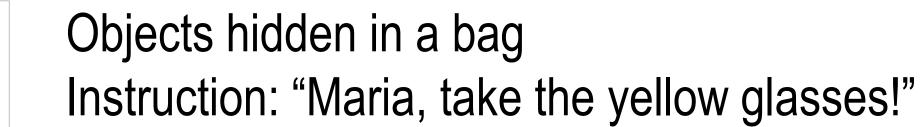




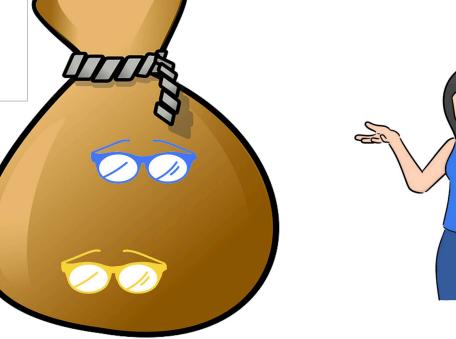
Participants sitting on a high chair

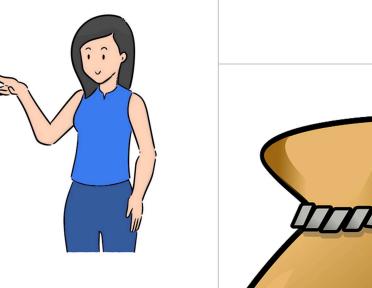
Interactive task: Maria, learning German, needs to learn instructions and colours

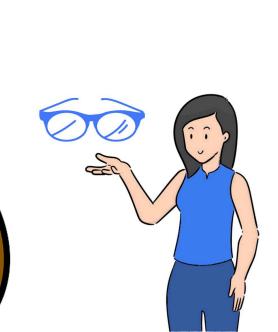
Context given through an action (reading newspaper)



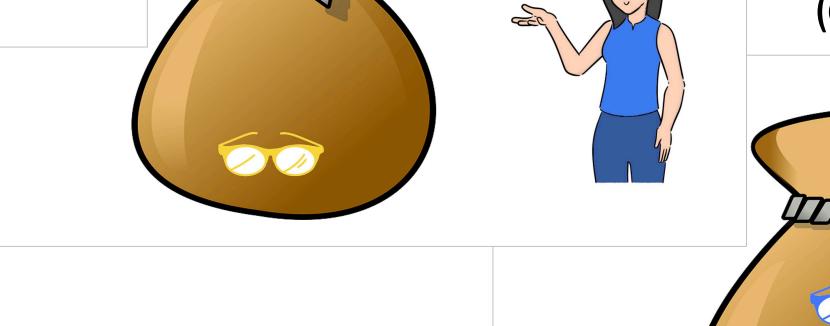
(contrastive focus)







Task failed, Maria needs new instruction. (corrective focus)



Task succeeded



Three speakers x

7 items x 4 conditions = 84 sentences

#### Method – Data



## Elicitation of different degrees of prominence through context manipulation Degrees of prominence:

Background: Wofür braucht Maria die gelbe Brille?

Maria nimm die gelbe Brille [zum Zeitunglesen]foc

Narrow focus: Was braucht Maria zum Zeitunglesen?

Maria nimm die [gelbe Brille]foc zum Zeitunglesen

Contrastive focus: Wähle zwischen der blauen und der gelben Brille.

Maria nimm die [gelbe]foc Brille zum Zeitunglesen

Corrective focus: Maria nimmt die blaue Brille.

Maria nimm die [gelbe]foc Brille zum Zeitunglesen

Increase of prominence

Recall: lila – lila

→ increase of prosodic prominence

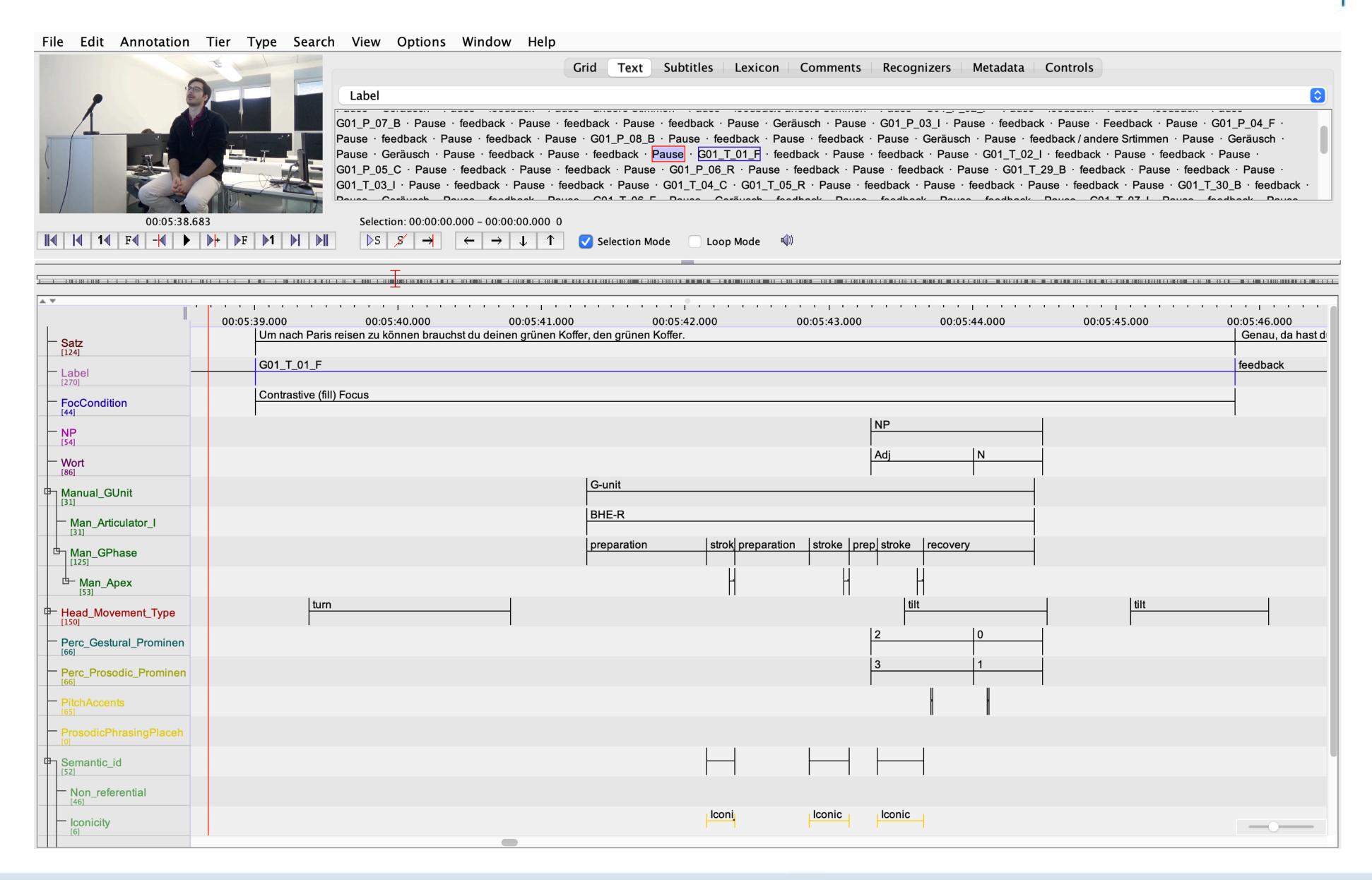


## Method - Data



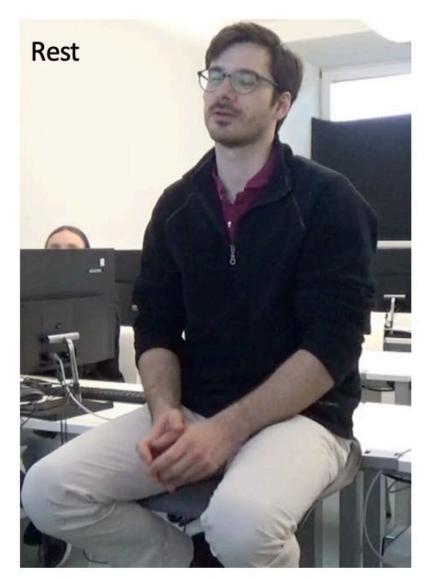
#### Method – Data annotation

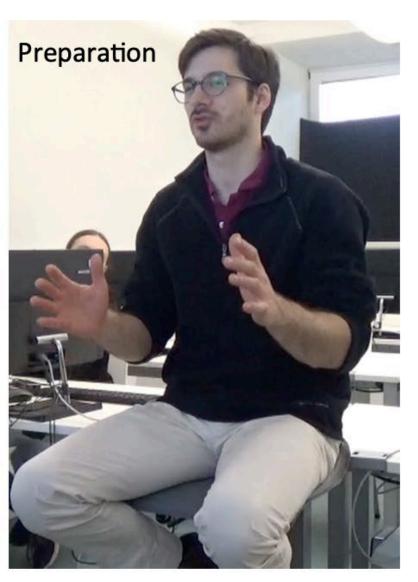


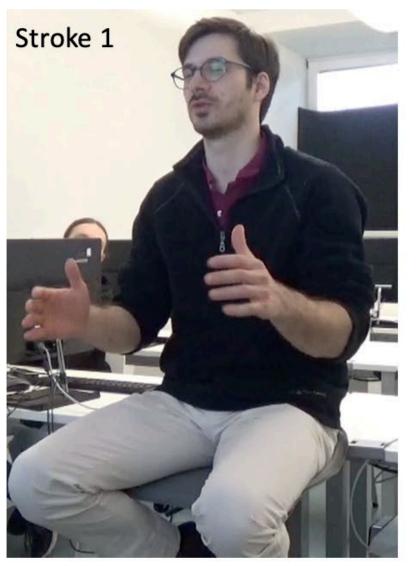


## Inspection of a gesture

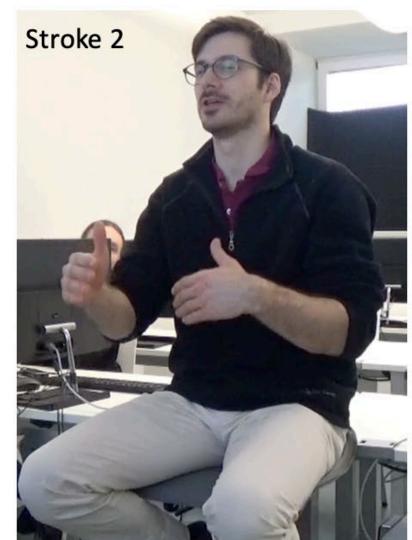




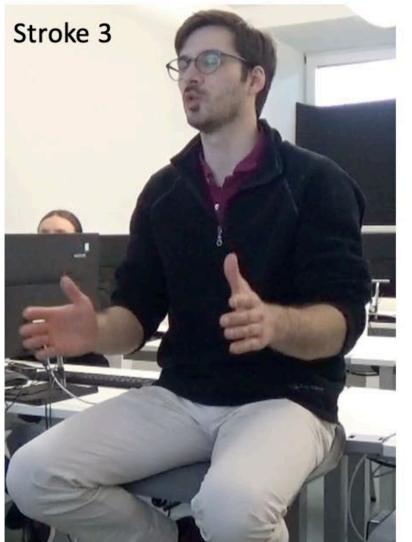














## Results – Overall inspection of gesture rate



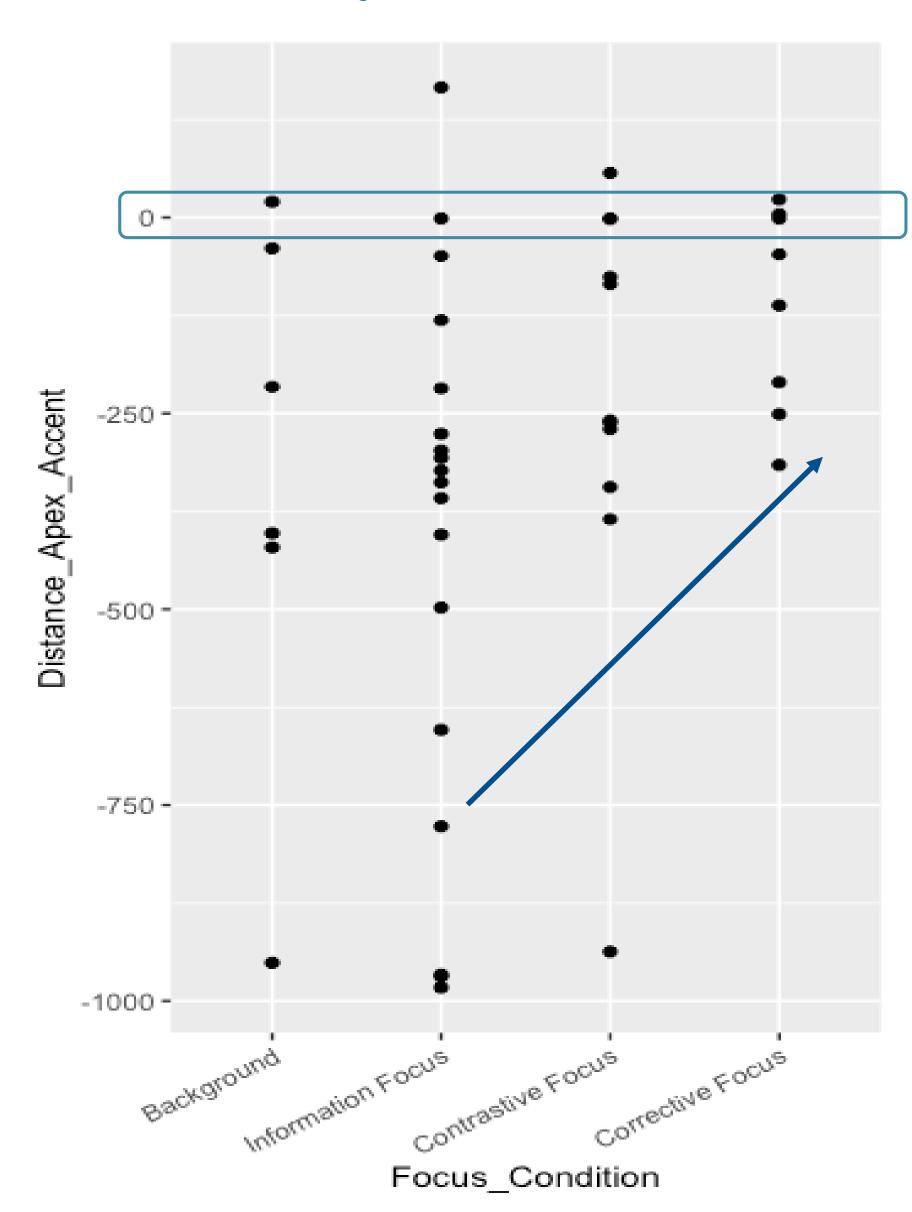
Condition	Seconds (rounded)	Gestures	Gesture Rate (g/sec)
Background	170 sec	26	0,153
Information Focus	157 sec	35	0,223
Contrastive Focus	209 sec	62	0,3
Corrective Focus	156 sec	44	0,282
Total	703 sec	167	0,238

ncrease of prominence

- Increase of gesture rate from less prominent to more prominent target sentences
- Measurement for the whole sentence!

## Results – Synchronisation of gesture and pitch accent



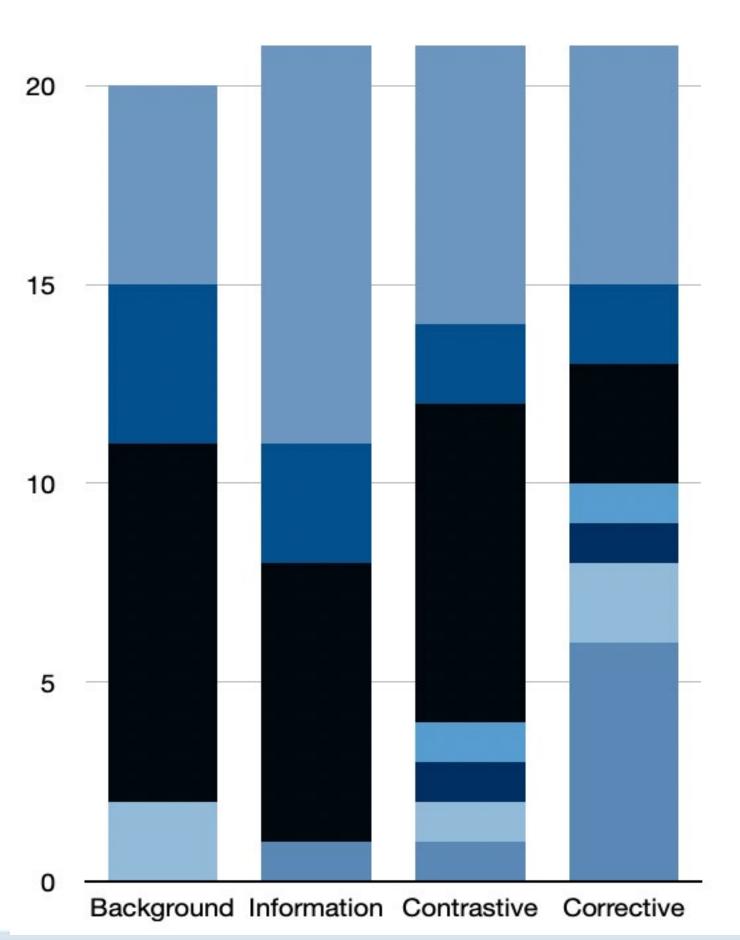


Increasing prominence ~ more precise gesture—to—speech coordination

### Results – Prosody, pitch accent types





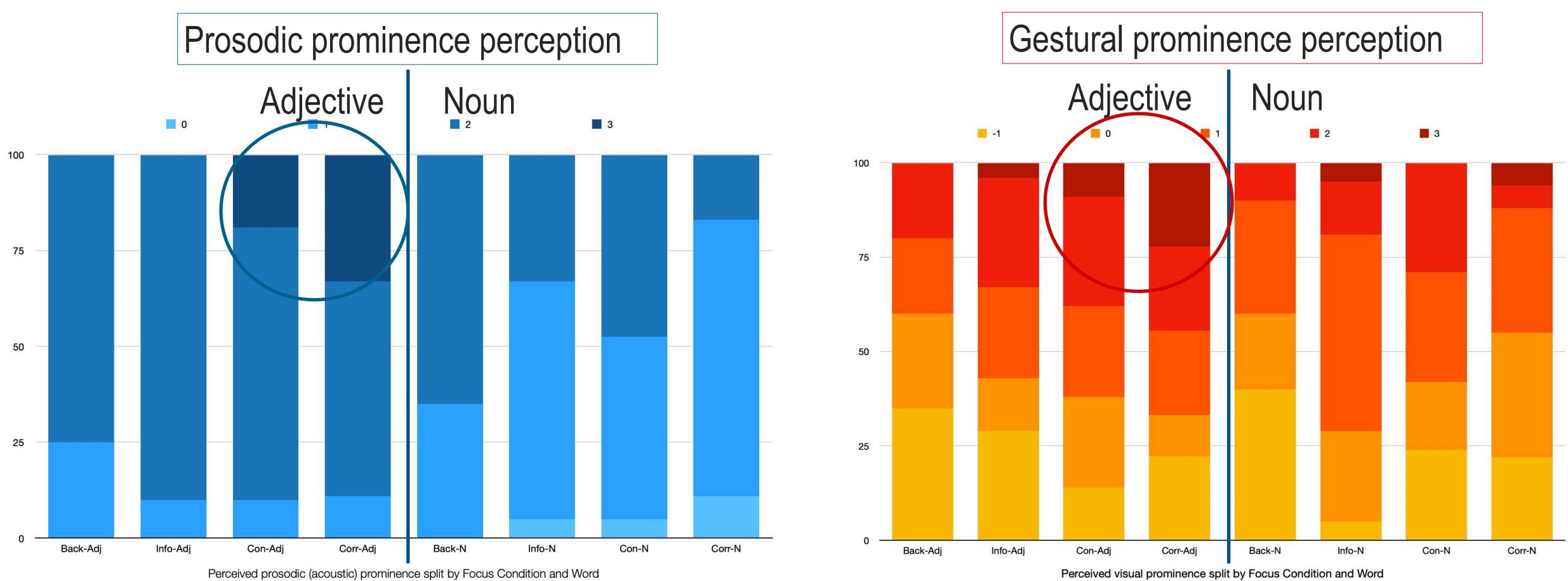


- Main pitch accent on the target phrase (adjective + noun)
- No clear pattern, except for all constituents are accented
- In need of another measure for prosodic prominence!

### Results – Prominence perception



- Four prominence levels (according to DIMA, Kügler et al. 2022) level 0 1 2 3
- Prosody perception in Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2023) without video; Gesture perception in ELAN without sound



- An increase in prominence on adjective ~ increase in perceived prominence (both acoustically and visually)
- The noun is less prominent (both acoustically and visually)

#### Discussion



Audio-visual prominence elicitation in the lab ©

Global measure of gesture rate shows more gestures with higher prominence in the sentence.

Phonological pitch accent types are not informative (despite assumed differences of prominence across different pitch accent types, cf. Baumann & Röhr 2015).

Perceived prominence of audio and video signal alone appear to show promising results.

> Increasing pragmatic prominence (context) leads to increased prosodic and gestural prominence.

## Summary & Conclusion



Corpus data of spontaneous speech (direction task) and experimentally elicited spontaneous speech show similar results.

Q1: Does prominence influence the occurrence of gestures in spontaneous German speech?

Yes! Corpus data: Increased occurrences of gestures in more prominent contexts.

Experimental data: Globally increased gesture rate (more gestures) in more prominent contexts.

> Prominence attracts co-speech gestures.

Q2: Is pitch accentuation temporally aligned with gesture apexes in German and does prominence influence this alignment?

Yes! Corpus data: More tight alignment of gestures with pitch accents in focus (prominent) than non-focus. Experimental data: Increasing tighter alignment with increasing prominent contexts.

➤ Visual / gestural hyperarticulation (Kügler & Gregori to appear) (similar to articulatory hyperarticulation; Lindblom 1990)

## Summary & Conclusion



- Corpus data of spontaneous speech (direction task) and experimentally elicited spontaneous speech show similar results.
- Q3: Are different types of gestures (iconic and non-referential) affected by prominence in the same way and extent?
  - Yes! Corpus data: no difference in gesture-speech synchronization between iconic and non-referential gestures.
    - Experimental data: both iconic (Koffer 'suitcase') and non-referential (Löffel 'spoon') occur on prominent elements
  - > Confirmation of the multidimensional hypothesis of gestures (McNeill 2006, Rohrer et al. 2020)
- Q4: Are different degrees of prominence encoded with different degrees multimodal prominence?
  - Yes! Experimental data: Increase of audio-visual prominence as a function of increased pragmatic prominence.
    - > Prominence attracts gestures, and increased prominence leads to more prominent gestures
    - > higher gestural prominence in terms of velocity, amplitude and "beat-like-ness"

#### Take home message



Prominence attracts prosodic and visual marking – the more pragmatic prominence the more prominent are acoustic and gestural cues

The gesture-prosody link is thus indirect – mediated by prominence









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