



ADAM MICKIEWICZ  
UNIVERSITY  
POZNAŃ

Developmental trajectory of L2 and L3  
vowel perception:  
Acoustic and perceptual similarity of  
English and Norwegian vowels to Polish  
vowel categories

Magdalena Wrembel, Anna Balas, Kamil Kaźmierski,  
Jarosław Weckwerth

SLE 2023 Athens

# The role of language experience in non-native speech perception

- PAM (Best 1995), SLM (Flege 1995) and NGTA (Dziubalska-Kořaczyk & Wrembel 2022) state that adult listeners assimilate non-native sounds to native categories.
- The SLM (Flege 1995, Flege and Bohn 2021): in order to establish a new category for an L2 sound, learners need to detect differences between L1 and L2 sounds.
- The **more experienced** the L2/L3 learners are, the more likely they should be to discern the differences between the L1 and L2 sounds.
- Longitudinal experiments are challenging.

# Previous research on the role of experience in non-native speech perception

- Usually experienced vs. inexperienced listeners, some **heightened awareness** of phonetic differences between L1 and L2 revealed: Flege 1991, Flege, Bohn and Jang 1997.
- **Little support for the effect of experience** in L2 vowel identification or categorization: Cerbrian (2002), Cerbrian (2006) found some effect on L1 vowel identification, but no effect on L2 vowel categorization (but the two groups actually differed in the character of exposure: immersion vs. formal setting).

# Previous research on the role of experience in non-native speech perception

- In a **challenging oddity discrimination task**: Rallo Fabra and Romero (2012)
- Better effects of vowel identification than discrimination training in Carlet and Cebrian (2019).
- **L2 identification and discrimination improved** while perception of cross-linguistic similarity remained unchanged (Cebrian, Carlet, Gorba and Gavalda 2019), in line with a cross-sectional study by Flege, Munro and Fox (1994)
- Increased experience with the target language can influence the perceptual similarity between L1 and target language vowels (Flege 1991, Ingram and Park 1997)
- Iverson and Evans (2009): learners with **a larger vowel inventory in L1** are initially at an advantage, learners with a smaller vowel inventory require more training to achieve similar results.

# The perception of non-native lip rounding

- Strange, Bohn and Nishi (2004) examined acoustic and perceptual similarity of North German and American English vowels. They found that **acoustic similarity did not always predict perceptual similarity**, especially for front rounded vowels.
- Alispahic, Mulak and Escudero (2017) showed that **detailed acoustic comparisons** between native (Peruvian Spanish and Australian English) and non-native (Dutch) vowels predicted perception patterns more accurately than overall comparisons of inventory size.
- Although both Strange et al. (2004) and Alispahic et al. (2017) included **front rounded vowels** and observed peculiar assimilation patterns, they did not specifically investigate the role of lip rounding or F3 in the perceptuo-acoustic relationship.
- We are aiming at addressing this issue.

**Study**

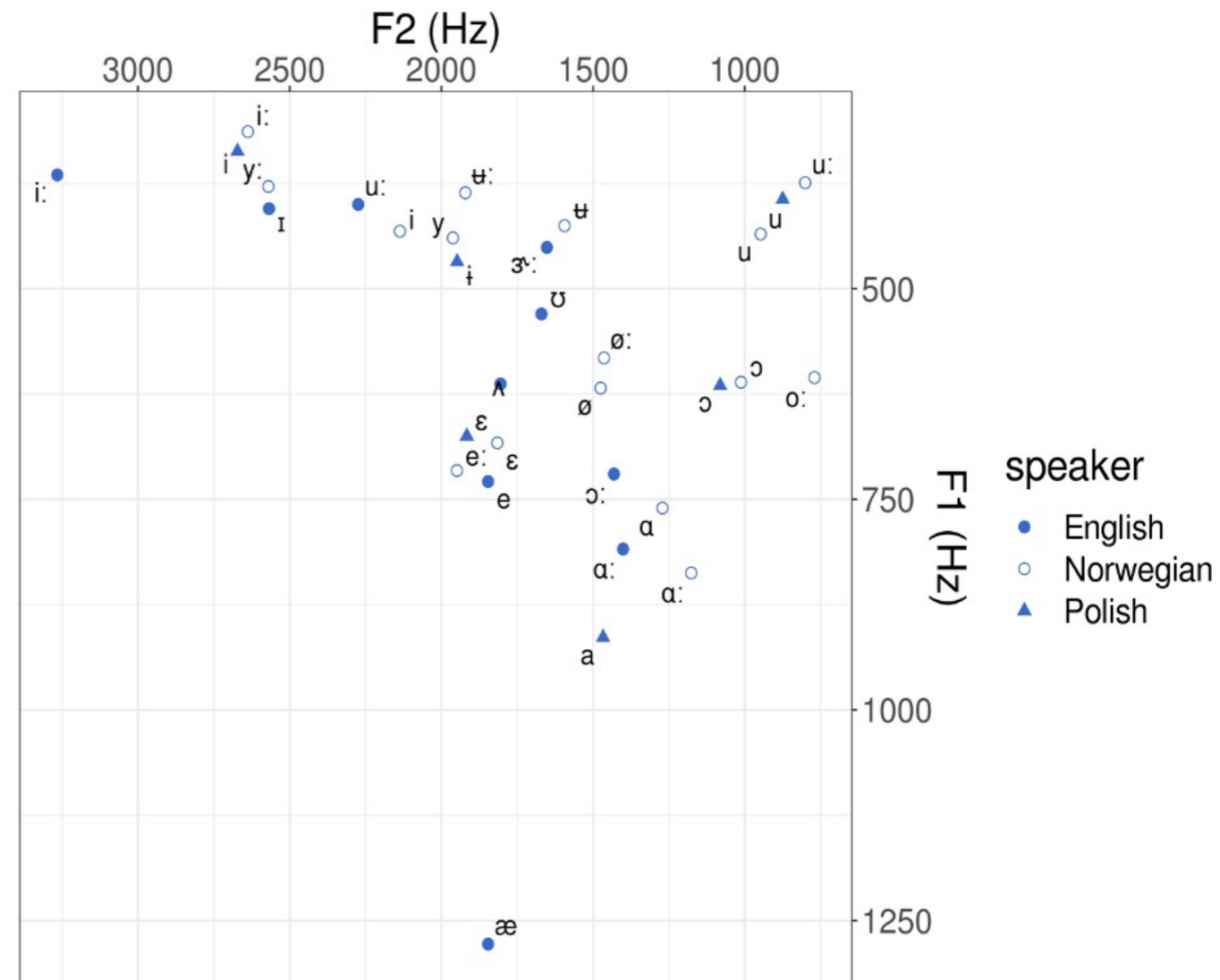
# Vowel inventories

- **Polish:** /i ɨ ɛ a ɔ u/
- **English:** /iː ɪ e æ ʌ ɑː ɒ ɔː ʊ uː ɜː ə/
- **Norwegian:** long vowels /iː, yː, tʰː, uː, eː, øː, oː, ɑː/  
and short vowels /i, y, tʰ, u, e, ø, o, ɑ/  
(Kristoffersen 2000)

# Euclidean distance

- Euclidean distance between vowels: the distance between two points in vowel space (Hz)
- It may be two-dimensional or three-dimensional: F1-F2 or F1-F2-F3.

Polish, English and Norwegian vowels





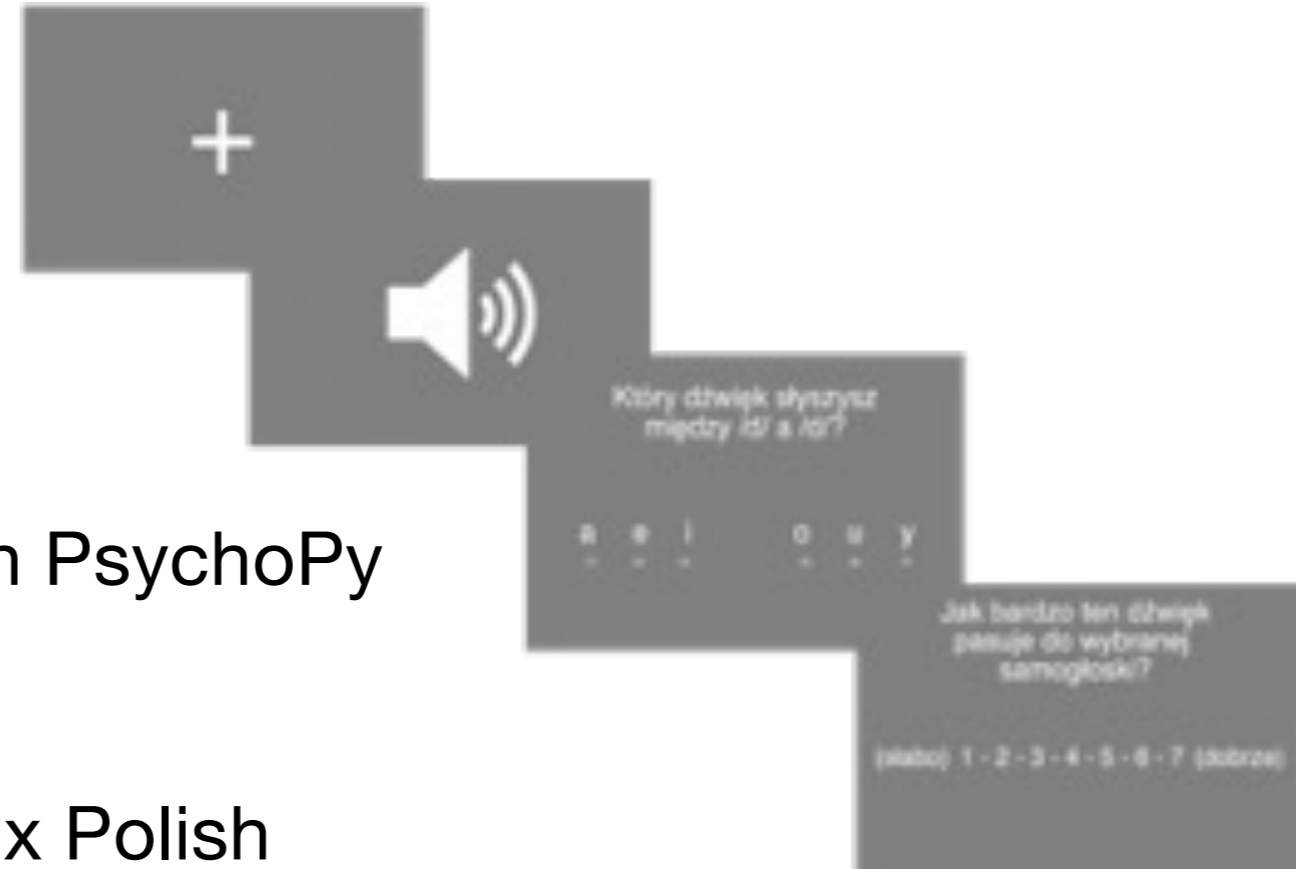
# Research questions

- RQ1: Do assimilation patterns of L2/L3 vowels depend on the Euclidean distance between a given non-native vowel and a target category?
- RQ2: Do the relationships between assimilations of L2/L3 vowels to native categories and their Euclidean distances change over time?
- RQ3: Does the Euclidean distance predict assimilation better in L2 or L3?
- RQ4: If we take into account the Euclidean distance, are L2 or L3 vowels perceived as worse exemplars of L1 categories?
- RQ5: Does lip rounding influence assimilation patterns?

# Methodology: Participants

- 15 participants (9 females, 6 males), out of original pool N=24
- L1 Polish
- L2 English (advanced, mean of language learning duration: 12 yrs)
- L3 Norwegian (2 months of intensive instruction)
- Mean age: 20
- Instructed setting
- Three testing times after the onset of L3 Norwegian learning:
  - T1 -- two months, T2 -- five months and T3 -- nine months.

# Procedure



- **Perceptual assimilation task** in PsychoPy (Peirce et al. 2019)
- 10 English and 16 Norwegian monophthongs assimilated to six Polish vowel categories
- Orthographic labels used for six Polish vowel categories /i, i:, e, a, ɔ, u/
- The stimuli in /dVd/ nonce words
- Randomised, 3x each (e.g., dąd, did)
- Tested in separate blocks, on separate days
- **Goodness of fit ratings** of each non-native vowel to the chosen L1 category, on a Likert scale: 1 (weak fit) -- 7 (good fit)

# Results

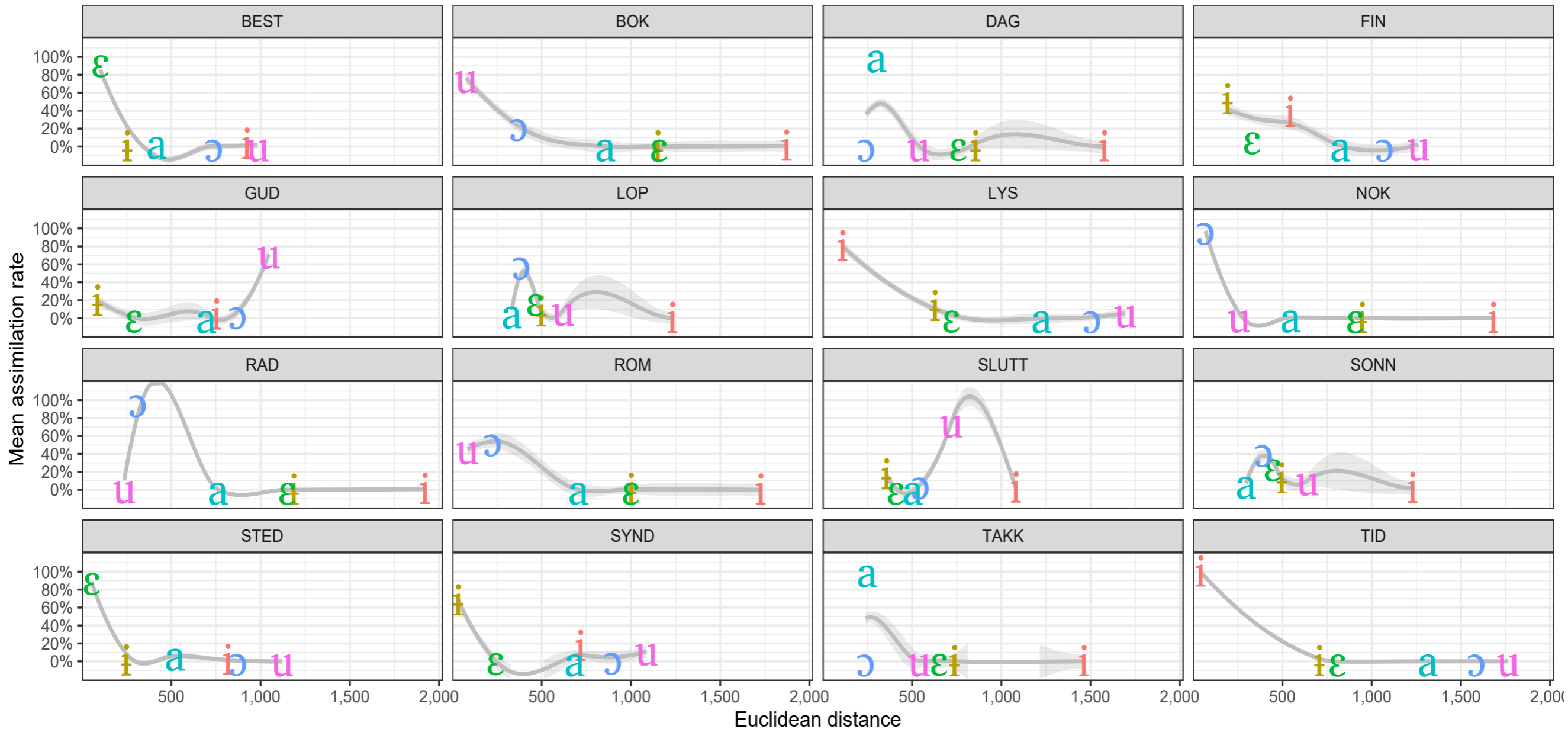
Norwegian stimulus	Polish vowel targets						NA
	/i:/ <i>	/i:/ <y>	/ɛ:/ <e>	/a/ <a>	/ɔ/ <o>	/u/ <u>	
/i:/ TID	100% (5.77)						
/i/ FIN	33.33% (5)	37.50% (5.41)	26.39% (5.21)			1.39% (3)	1.39% (4)
/y:/ LYS	70.83% (4.59)	23.61% (5)	1.39% (1)			4.17% (4.33)	
/y/ SYND	16.67% (5.25)	62.50% (4.64)	8.33% (5.17)		2.78% (5)	8.33% (2.33)	1.39%
/e:/ STED			88.89% (5.14)	6.94% (5.6)	1.39% (2)		2.78% (4)
/e/ BEST	1.39% (2)		93.06% (5.9)	5.56% (5)			
/ø:/ LØP		9.72% (3.57)	19.44% (5.14)	5.56% (3.75)	58.33% (4.45)	6.94% (3.2)	
/ø/ SØNN		11.11% (3.25)	36.11% (4.35)	8.33% (5)	33.33% (4.29)	6.94% (3.2)	4.17% (5.33)
/ɑ:/ DAG				100% (5.53)			
/ɑ/ TAKK				98.61% (5.69)			1.39% (4)
/o:/ RÅD	1.39% (5)				97.22% (5.25)	1.39% (7)	
/o/ NOK					98.61% (5.58)		1.39%
/u:/ BOK					38.89% (5.43)	61.11% (5.02)	
/u/ ROM					72.22% (5.08)	27.78% (4.9)	
/ʉ:/ GUD	2.78% (7)	18.06% (4.23)	1.39% (1)		1.39% (5)	75% (4.72)	1.39% (5)
/ʉ/ SLUTT	1.39% (3)	23.61% (4.12)			9.72% (5)	63.89% (4.65)	1.39% (7)

English stimulus	Polish vowel targets						NA
	/i/ <i>	/i/ <y>	/ɛ/ <e>	/a/ <a>	/ɔ/ <o>	/u/ <u>	
/i:/ FLEECE	100% (5.81)						
/ɪ/ KIT	37.5% (5.04)	34.72% (5.84)	27.78% (6.15)				
/e/ DRESS			98.61% (6.03)	1.39% (5)			
/æ/ TRAP				100% (5.75)			
/ʌ/ STRUT			13.89% 5.3	75% (5.13)	11.11% (4.5)		
/ɑː/ PALM				97.22% 5.53	1.39% (6)	1.39% <sub>SEP</sub> (4)	
/ɔː/ THOUGHT				97.22% (5.67)	1.39 (3)	1.39 (5)	
/uː/ GOOSE						100% (5.15)	
/ʊ/ FOOT	1.39% (7)	4.17% (4.67)			43.06% (4.61)	51.39% (3.86)	
/ɜː/ NURSE	15.28% (4.09)	15.28% (2.64)	54.17% (4.62)	4.17% (1.33)	6.94% (4.8)	4.17% (6)	

# Assimilation rate as a function of ED: L3 Norwegian

Assimilation Rate (AR) as a function of Euclidean distance

AR averaged over time points and participants

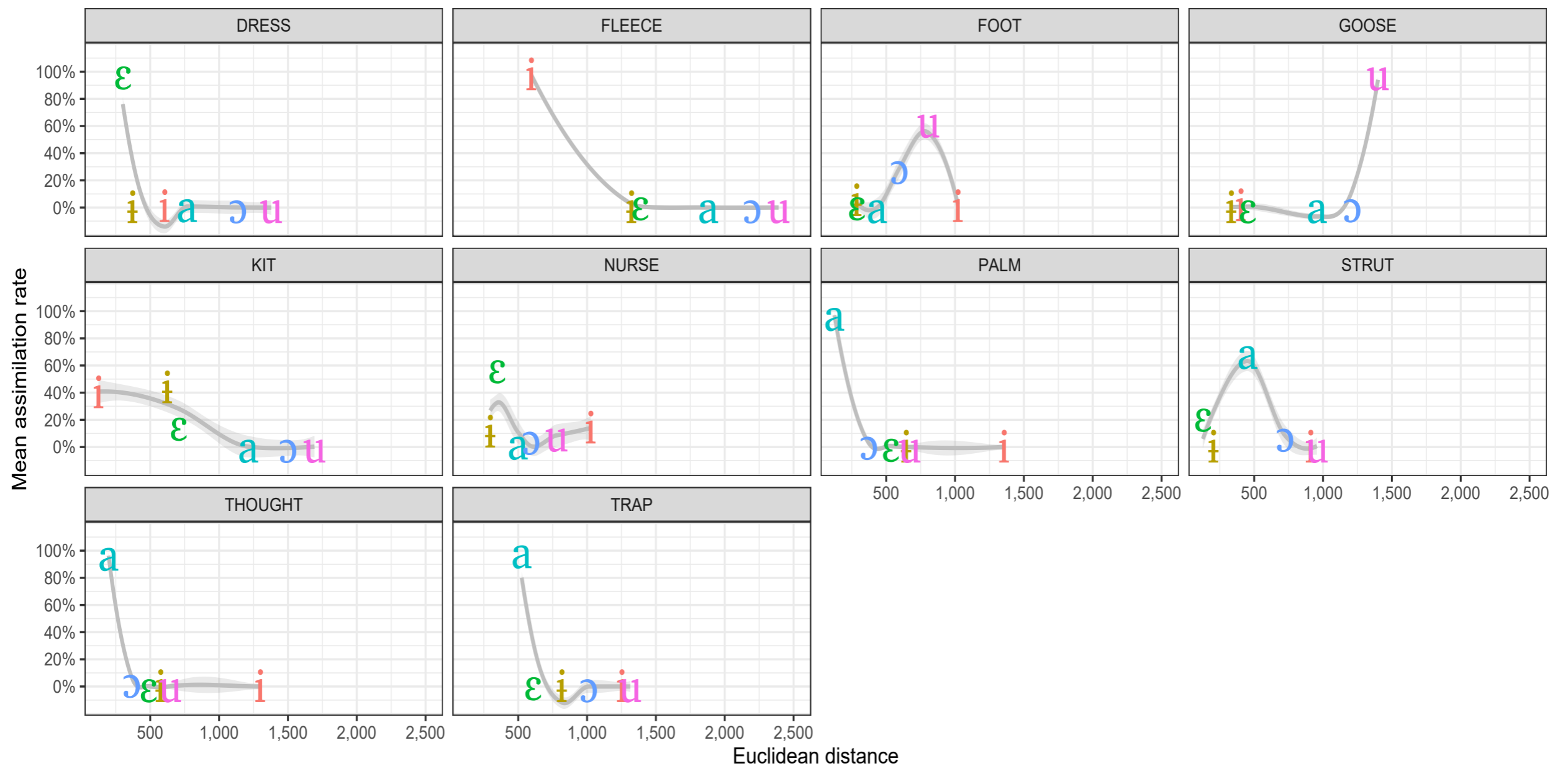


Smooths based on within participant within time point assimilation rates

# Assimilation rate as a function of ED: L2 English

Assimilation Rate (AR) as a function of Euclidean distance

AR averaged over time points and participants



Smooths based on within participant within time point assimilation rates



# Euclidean distance & assimilation count

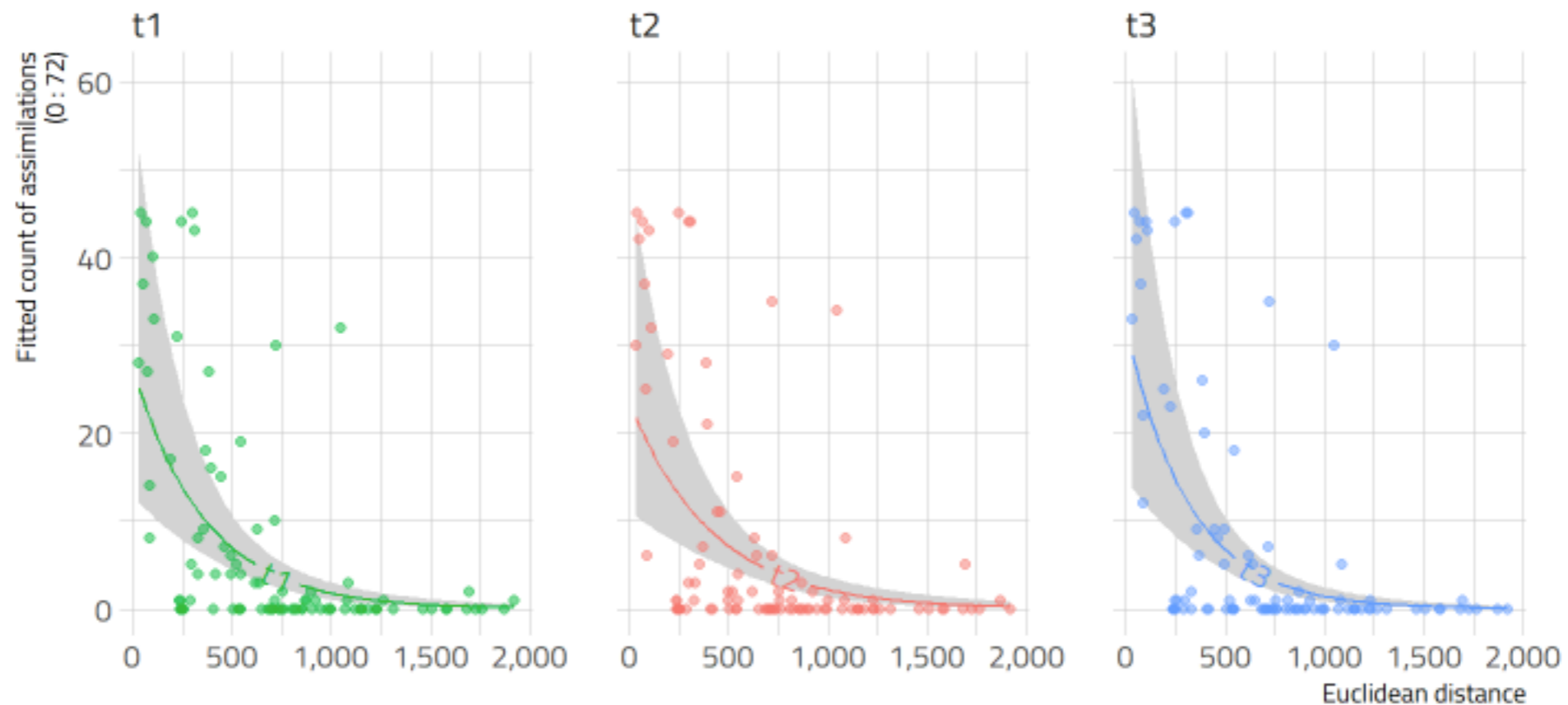
- A negative binomial model was used to capture whether the F1-F2 Euclidean distance is related to how often a given Norwegian vowel is assimilated to a given Polish vowel.
- ED is negative and significant ( $z = -6.751$ ,  $\Pr(>|z|) = 1.46e-11^{***}$ )
- Similar results for English and for all the three testing times.
- **RQ 1: YES** -> The larger the Euclidean distance, the fewer assimilations are predicted.



# Effect of ED on assimilation over time: L3 Norwegian

## Norwegian vowels

Effect of Euclidean Distance over time

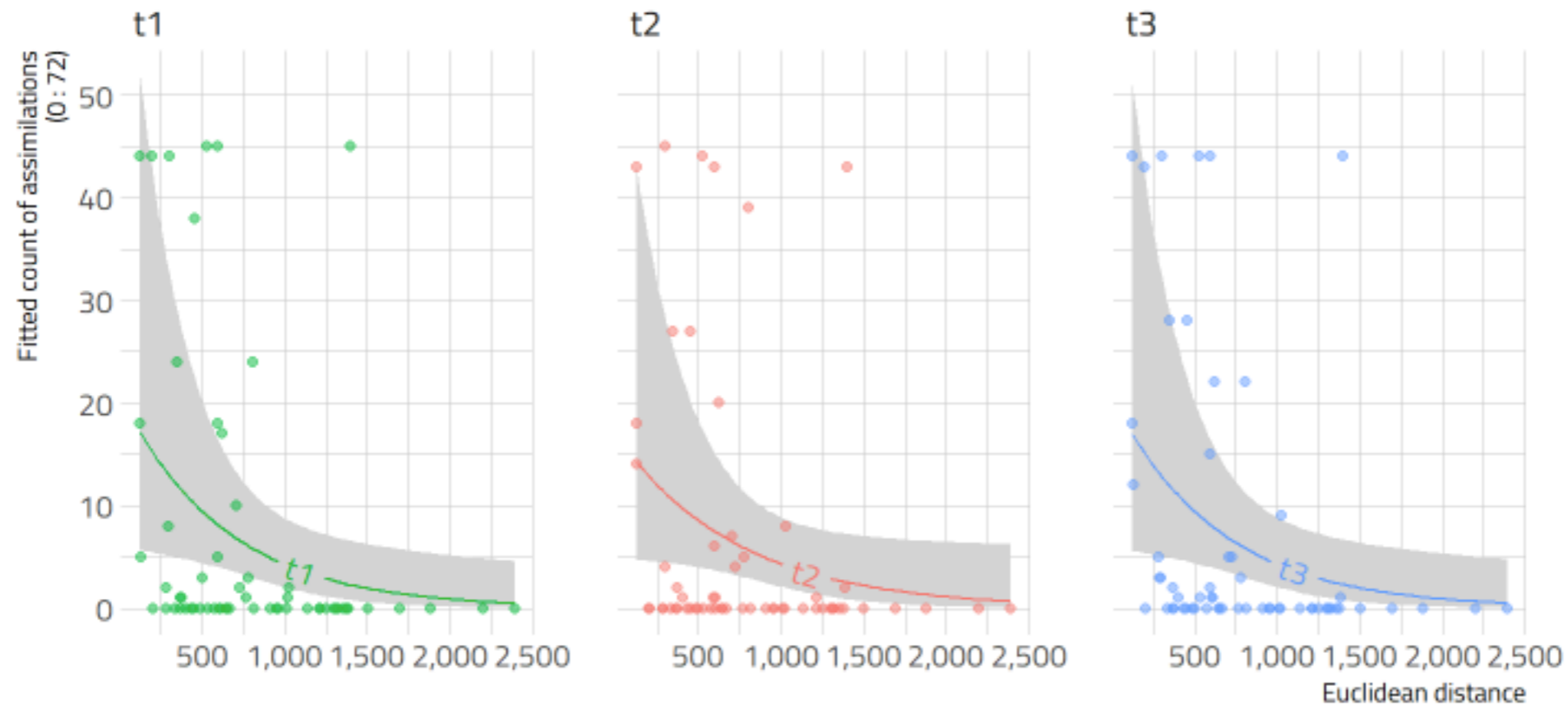


**RQ 2A: NO** -> Weak and insignificant differences between testing times.

# Effect of ED on assimilation over time: L2 English

## English vowels

Effect of Euclidean Distance over time



**RQ 2B: NO** -> Weak and insignificant differences between testing times.

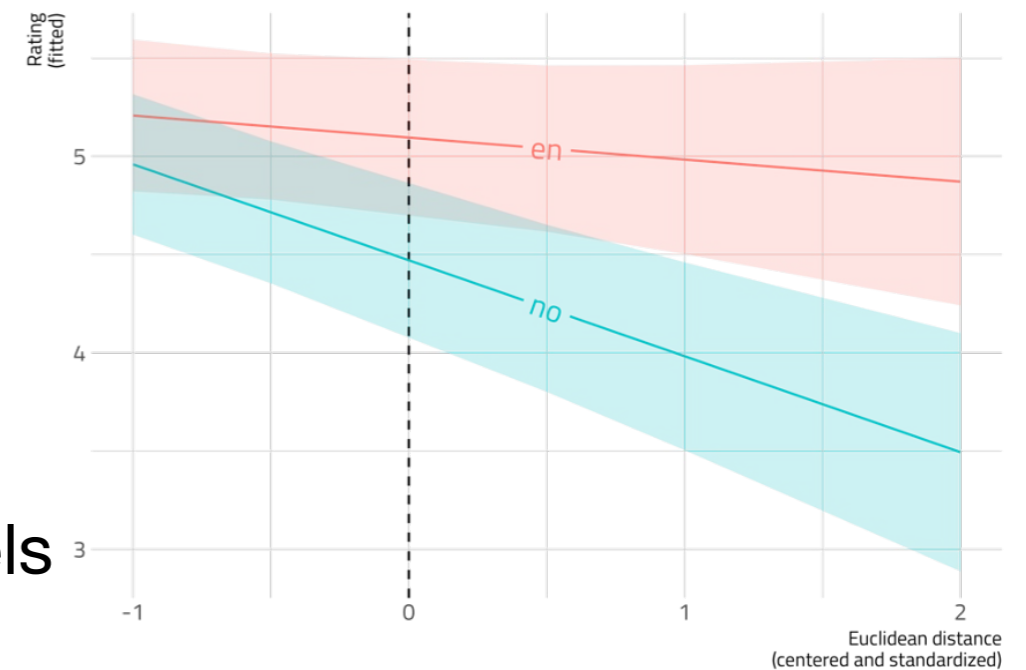
# Euclidean distance as predictor of assimilation in L2 vs. L3

- Stronger effect of the ED in L3 than in L2
  - coefficient in Norwegian  $ed_z = -1.7 >$  English  $ed_z = -0.61$
  - assimilations in the better-known L2 English have stabilized
  - Due to **more experience** in L2 than L3, the learners discern the differences between the L1 and foreign sounds

✓ **RQ 3:** The Euclidean distance predicts assimilation better in L3 than L2.

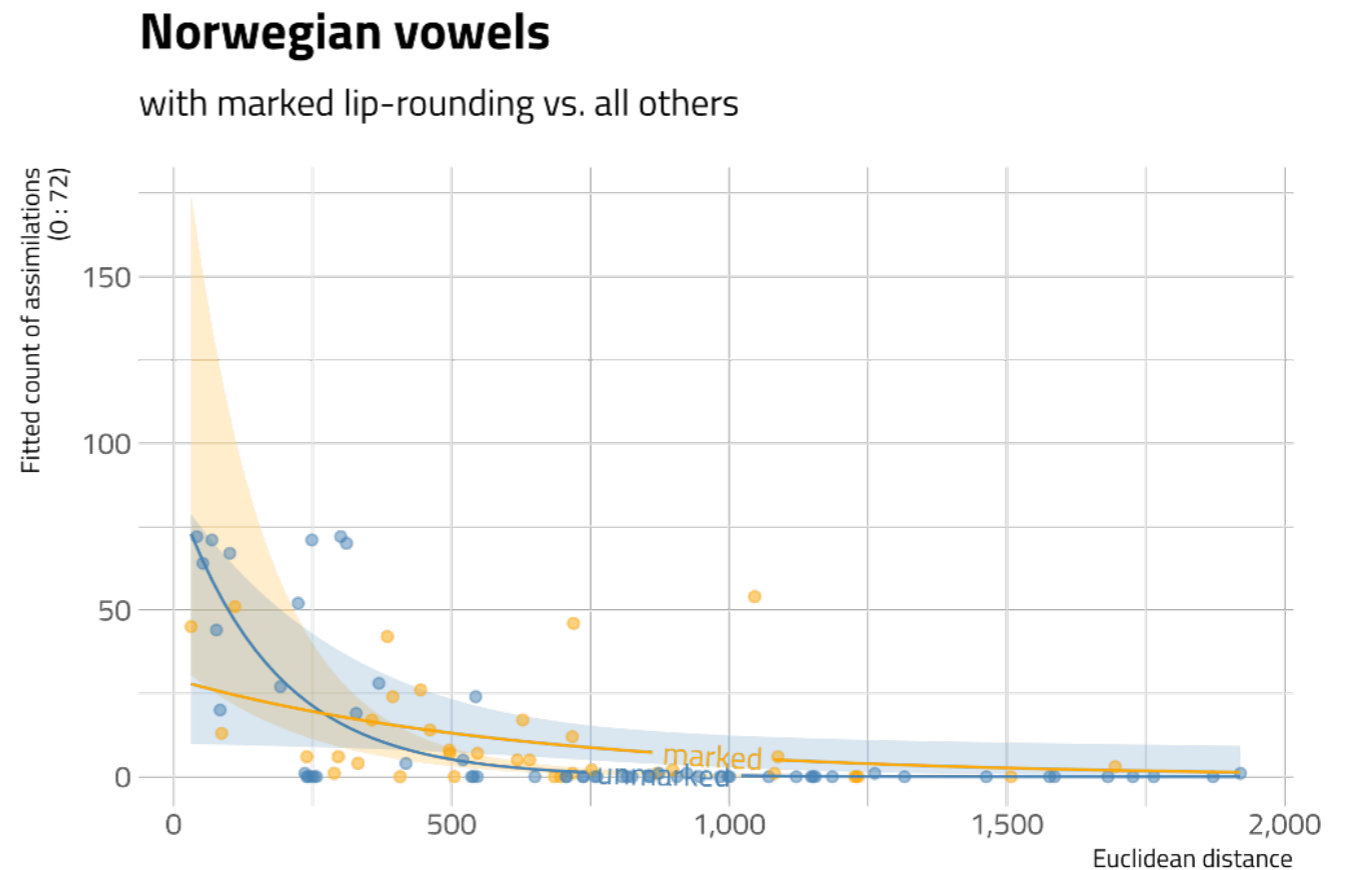
# Goodness of fit in L2 vs. L3

- Mixed effects linear model of Likert rating as a function of ED, language (L2, L3) and their interaction; by-participant random intercept.
  - Larger Euclidean distance means lower goodness of fit ratings in both languages.
- Significant effect of language; L2 > L3
  - L2 English vowels seem more similar to L1 Polish vowels than L3 Norwegian vowels
- **RQ 4:** L2 English vowels rated as better exemplars of L1 categories than L3 Norwegian vowels



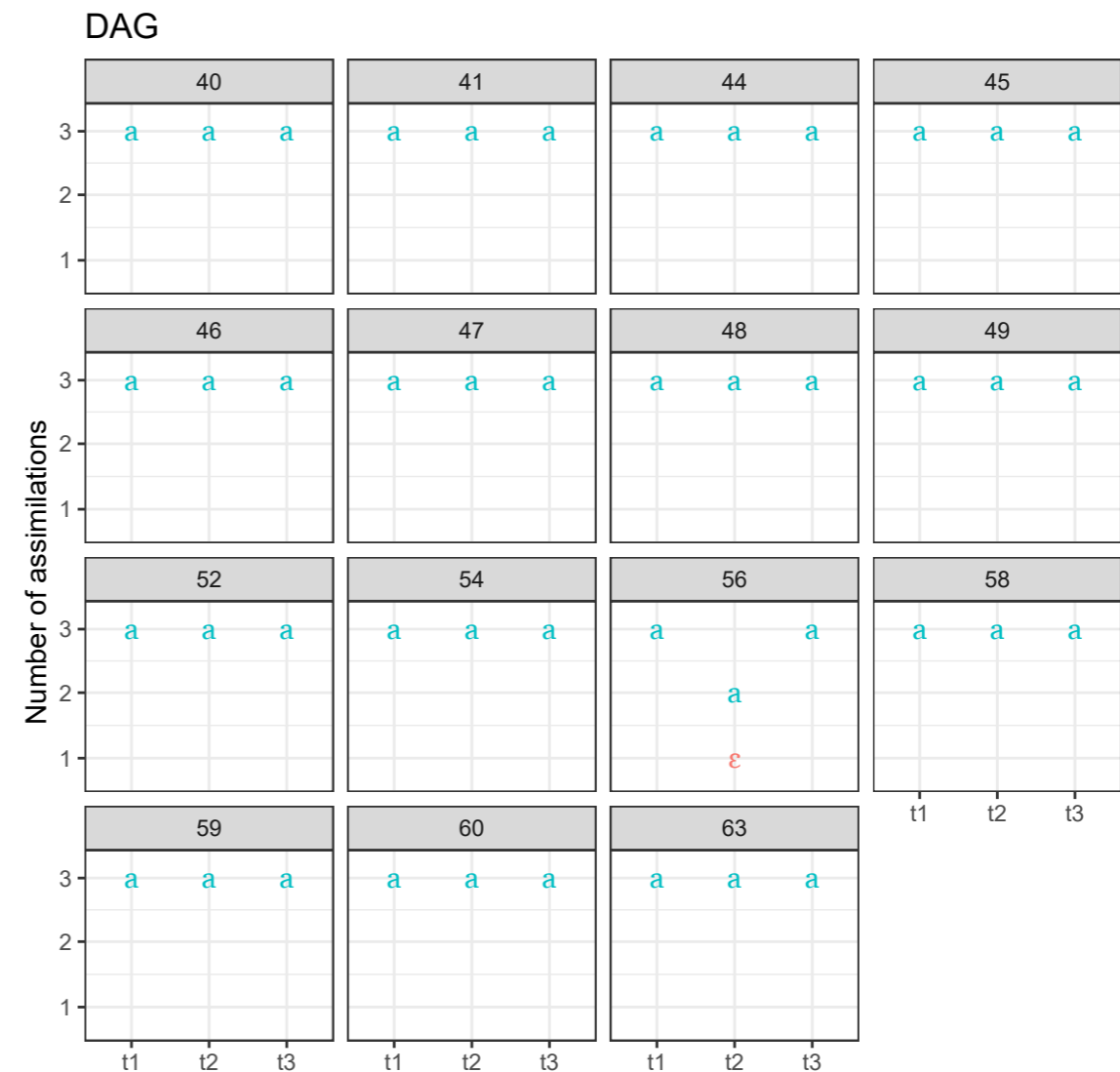
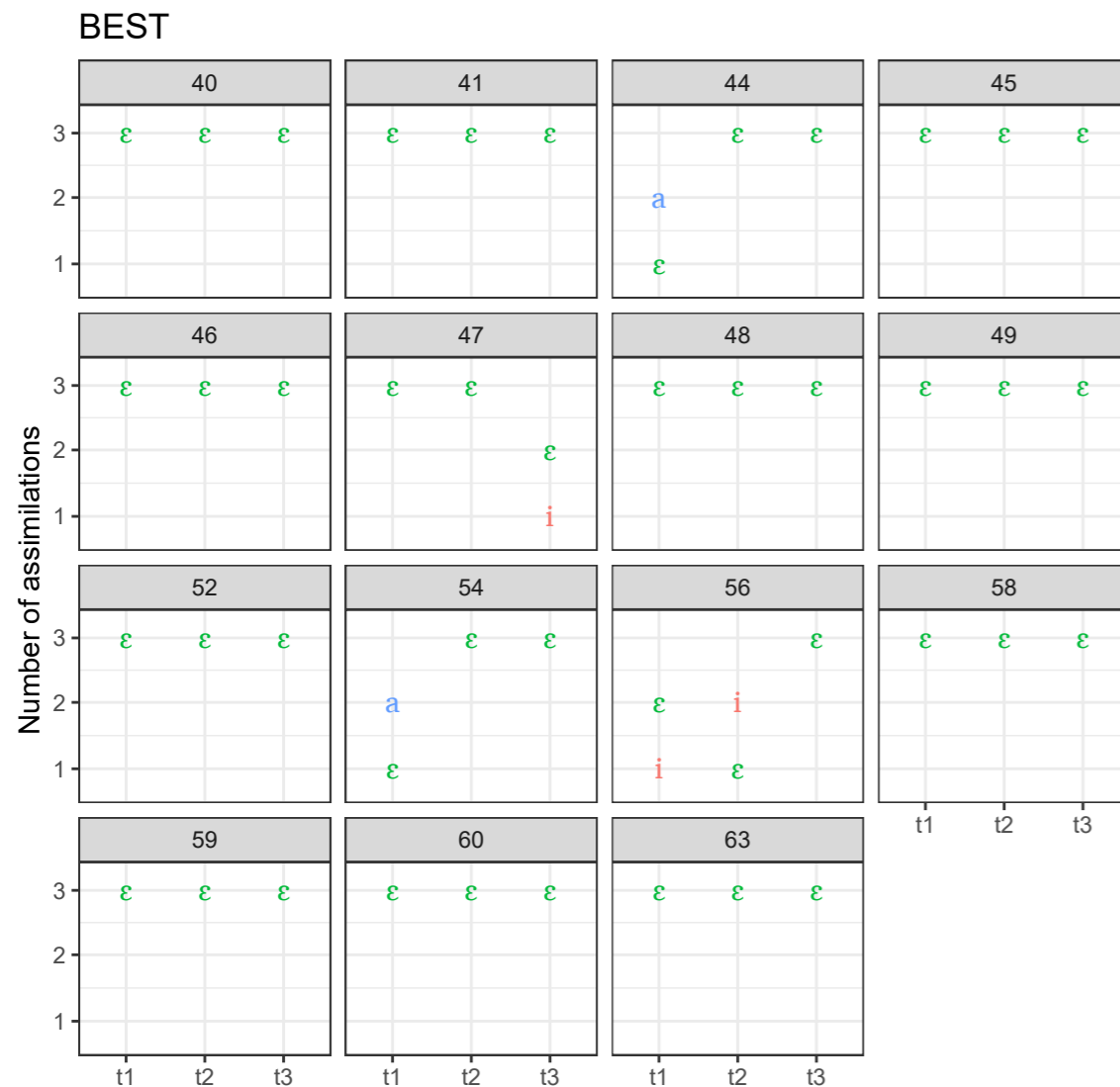
# Effect of lip rounding

- The interaction `ed:marked_rounding` is positive and significant,
- but the effect of `marked_rounding` is not significant
- **RQ 5: hard to interpret**



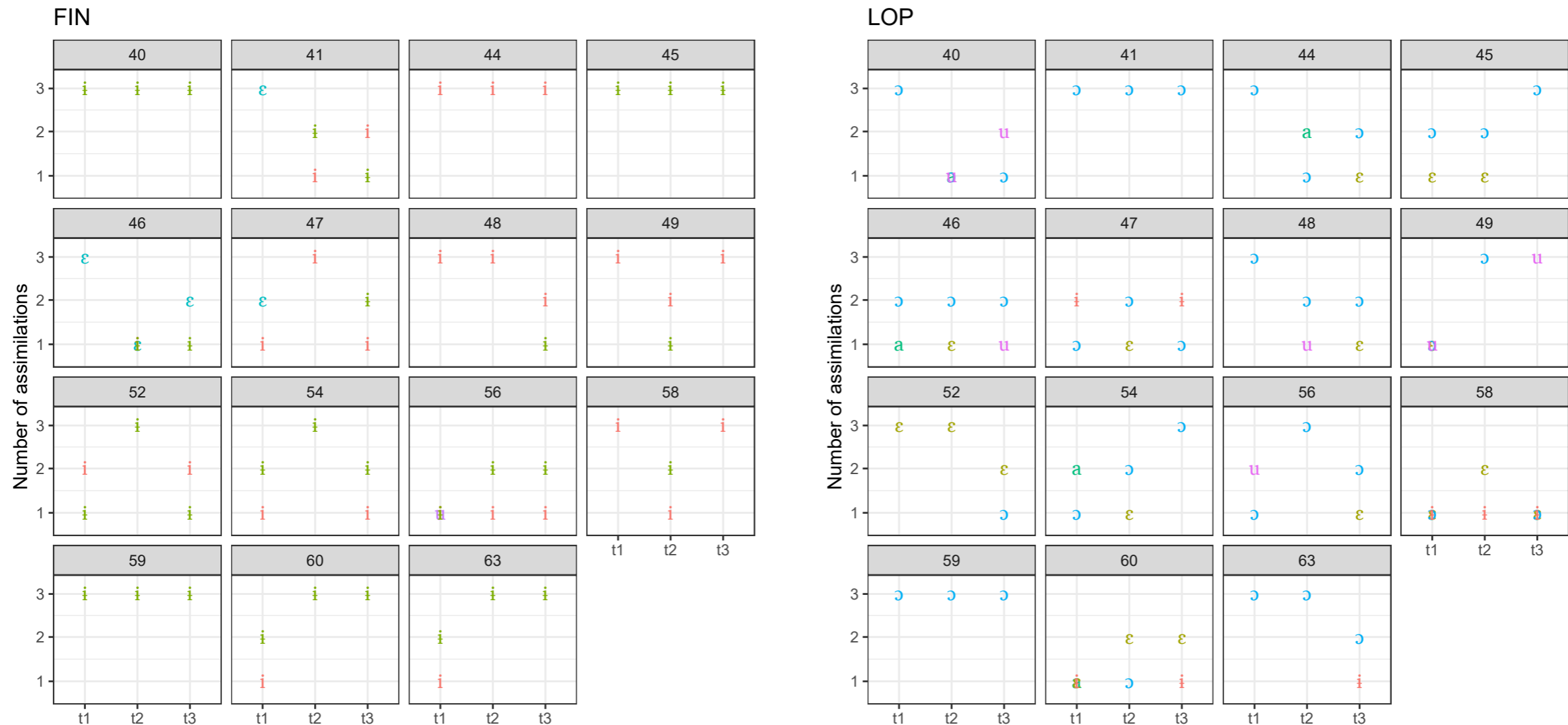
# Individual variation: developmental trajectories (1)

- Examples of vowels with relatively stable assimilations over time across participants



# Individual variation: developmental trajectories (2)

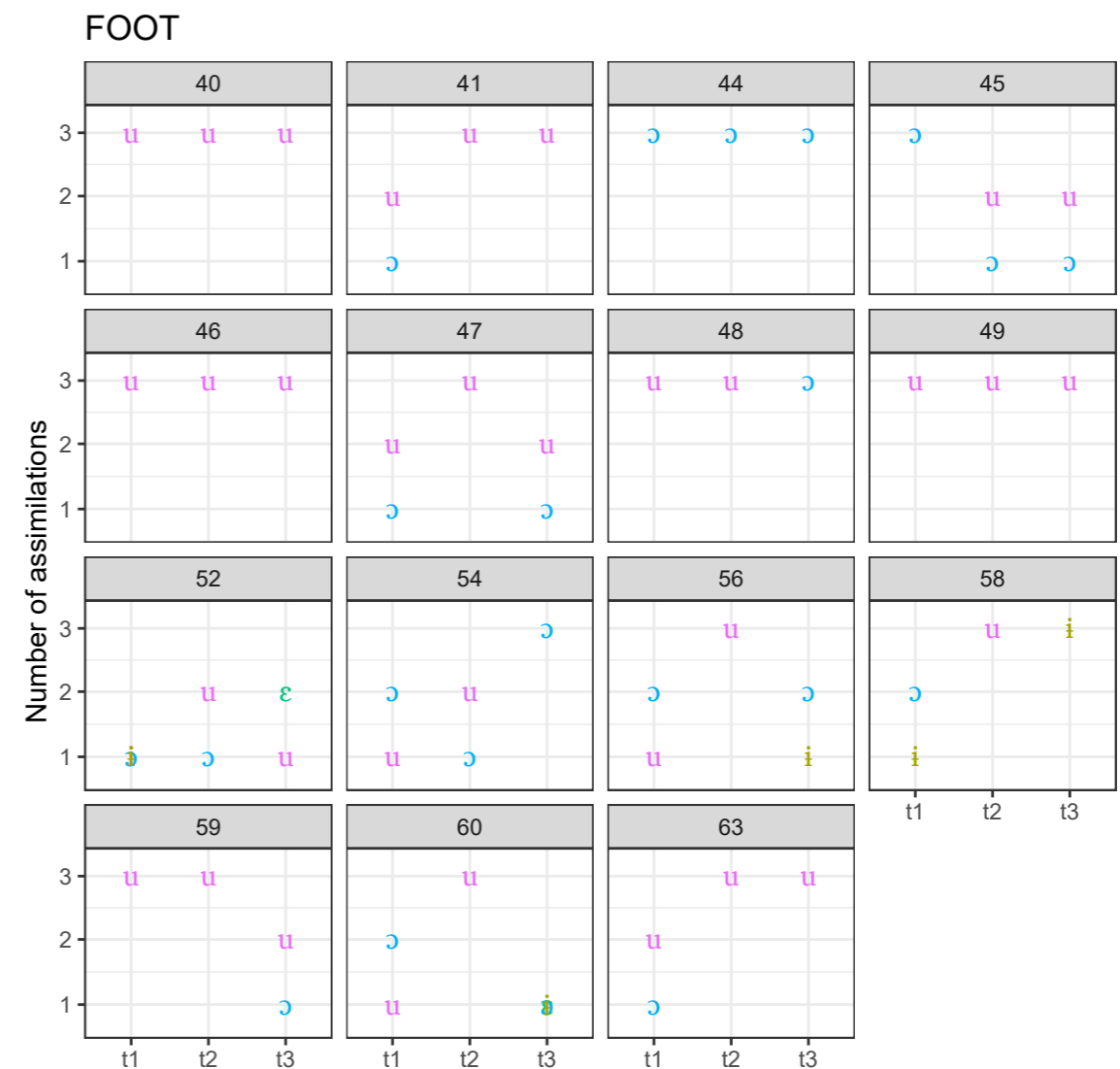
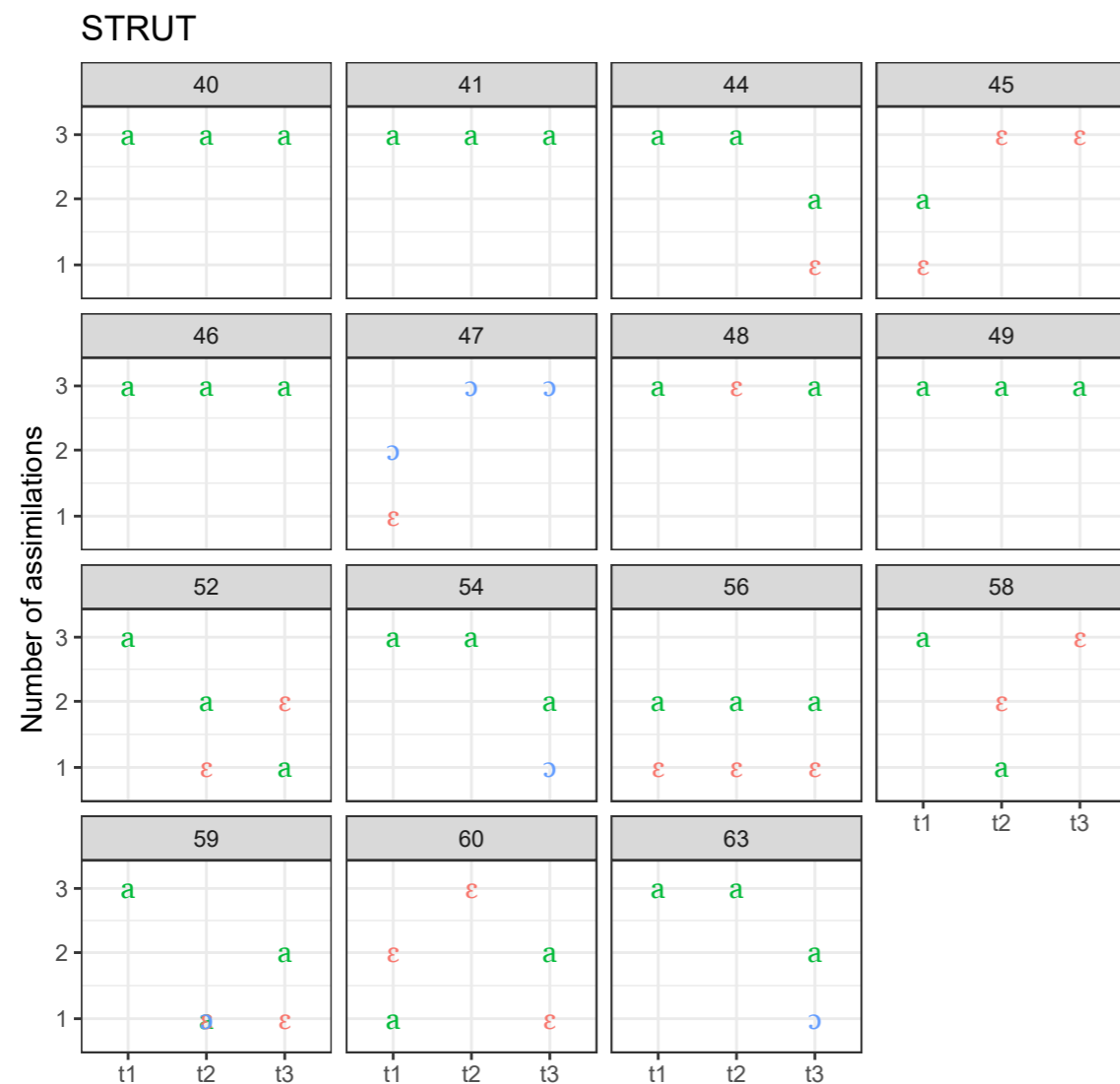
- Examples of vowels with considerable variability in assimilations over time across participants – L3 NORWEGIAN





# Individual variation: developmental trajectories (3)

- Examples of vowels with considerable variability in assimilations over time across participants – L2 ENGLISH



# Discussion

- Perceptual targets in L3 phonology are largely **modulated by Euclidean distance**, but they are influenced by other phonetic features -> these factors/factor combinations need further investigation.
- The perceptuo-acoustic similarity patterns, based on PAT and ED, are **not substantially restructured** during the first year of L3 learning.
- ED influences perception **more in L3** Norwegian than in L2 English.
- With regard to the comparison of **goodness of fit ratings**, in the present language combination, L3 Norwegian has more marked vowels than the L2 English. Languages with comparable vowel inventories/less marked vowels should be examined (e.g. L1 Polish, L2 English, L3 Spanish?).
- Some indication that **marked lip rounding** may influence assimilation patterns.

# Discussion

- The perception of cross-linguistic similarity **remained unchanged over time** – in line with Cebrian et al. (2019), Flege et al. (1994)
- The **character of exposure** may play a role (cf. Cebrian 2006) – here: formal setting not immersion
- L1 Polish learners with a **small vowel inventory** may be at a disadvantage (cf. Iverson and Evans 2009)
- For **front rounded vowels more peculiar assimilation patterns** were observed (as in Strange et al. 2004 and Alispahic et al. 2017)

# Conclusions

- We aimed to trace developmental trajectory on 2 levels:
  - (1) L2 vs. L3
- **Macro level (across languages)** → differences attested as a function of language experience, in the expected direction (L2 categories more established, L3 more reliance on ED)
- (2) T1-T2-T3
- **Micro level (within language, across-participants)** → little/no visible restructuring over time, maybe too short a time window (7 months);  
→ individual trajectories of development for some vowels
- Longitudinal experiment proved challenging (high drop-out rate)

# Further research

- Future research should also investigate the **relationship between L2 and L3** vowel assimilation and **production** development (cf. Wrembel et al. 2022).
- More challenging **oddity discrimination task**, rather than perceptual assimilation task, could shed further light.
- Free classification (Daidone et al. 2023), suitable for L1s with few vowels.
- **Fit index** as an additional measure in the statistical analysis, in addition to the assimilation count and goodness of fit.
- Calculating overlap between pairs of vowels.

# Bibliography

- Alispahic, S., Mulak K.E., & Escudero P. 2017. Acoustic properties predict perception of unfamiliar Dutch vowels by adult Australian English and Peruvian Spanish listeners. *Frontiers in Psychology* 8 (52).
- Best C. & Tyler, M. (2007). Non-native and second language speech perception: Commonalities and complementarities. In M. Munro & O-S. Bohn (Eds.), *Language experience in second language speech learning: In honor of James Emil Flege* (pp. 13-34). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Carlet, A. & Cebrian, J. (2019) Assessing the effect of perceptual training on L2 vowel identification, generalization and long-term effects. In Anne Mette Nyvad, Michaela Hejná, Anders Højen, Anna Bothe Jespersen & Mette Hjortshøj Sørensen (eds.): *A Sound Approach to Language Matters – In Honor of Ocke-Schwen Bohn*. Dept. of English, School of Communication & Culture, Aarhus University, pp. 91-119.
- Cebrian, J., Carlet, A., Gorba, C., Gavaldà, N. (2019). Perceptual training affects L2 perception but not cross-linguistic similarity. In Sasha Calhoun, Paola Escudero, Marija Tabain & Paul Warren (eds.), *Proceedings of the 19th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, Melbourne, Australia 2019* (pp. 929-933). Canberra, Australia: Australasian Speech Science and Technology Association Inc. 2019. ISBN 978-0-646-80069-1.
- Cebrian, J. (2002) Acquiring a new vowel contrast: The perception of English lax-tense vowels by native Catalan subjects. In A. James & J. Leather (Eds.), *Proceedings of the “New Sounds 2000” 4th International Symposium on the Acquisition of Second Language Speech*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam (pp. 48-57).
- Cebrian, J. (2006) Experience and the use of duration in the categorization of L2 vowels. *Journal of Phonetics* 34, 372-387. ISSN: 0095-4470.
- Flege, J.E. (1995) *The Speech Learning Model: Theory, findings and problems*. In W. Strange (Ed.), *Speech perception and linguistic experience: Issues in cross-language research* Publisher: York Press
- Flege, J.E. & Bohn, O-S. (2021) *The Speech Learning Model revised*. In R. Wayland (Ed.) *Second language speech learning: Theoretical and empirical progress*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Ingram, J.C.L., Park, S.G. 1997. Cross-language vowel perception and production by Japanese and Korean learners of English. *Journal of Phonetics* 25, 343-370.
- Peirce, J. W., Gray, J. R., Simpson, S., MacAskill, M. R., Höchenberger, R., Sogo, H., Kastman, E., Lindeløv, J. 2019. PsychoPy2: experiments in behavior made easy. *Behavior Research Methods*.10.3758/s13428-018-01193-y
- Tyler, M.D., Best C.T., Faber, A. & Levitt, A.G. (2014). Perceptual Assimilation and Discrimination of Non-Native Vowel Contrasts. *Phonetica* 71, 4-21.

# Acknowledgements



**Norway**  
grants

- This research is supported by a grant of the Polish National Science Centre (NCN), OPUS-19-HS project (UMO-2020/37/B/HS2/00617), CLIMAD "Cross-linguistic influence in multilingualism across domains: Phonology and syntax"
- Norway funds/NCN grant GRIEG-1 (UMO- 2019/34/H/HS2/00495) ADIM "Across-domain investigations in multilingualism: Modeling L3 acquisition in diverse settings"



 NARODOWE  
CENTRUM  
NAUKI

