



VANDERBILT

# How do listeners evaluate creak: A matched-guise study in Mandarin Chinese

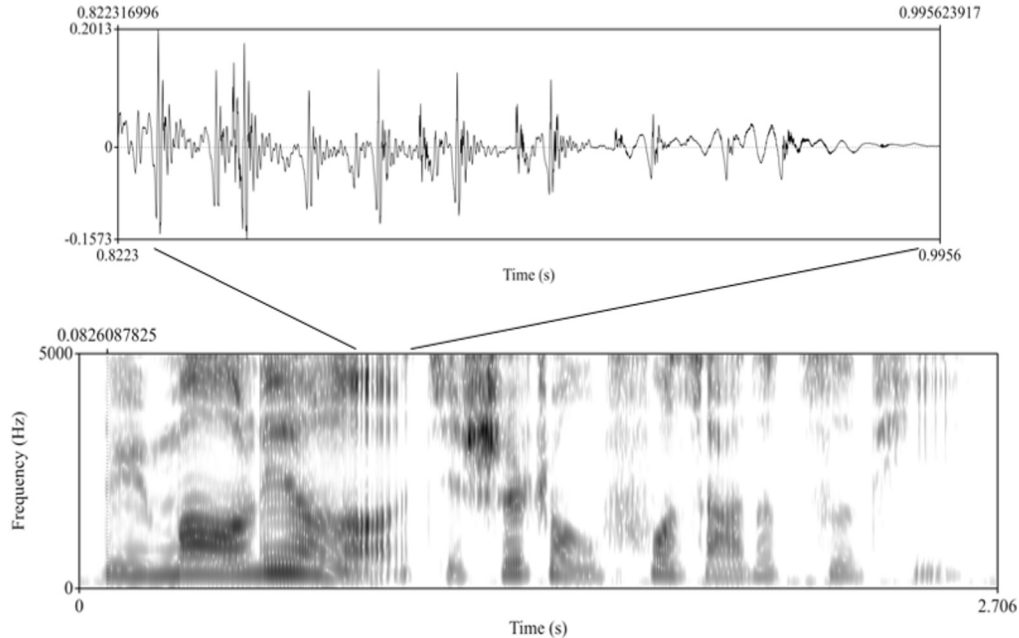
Aini Li<sup>1</sup> & Wei Lai<sup>2</sup>

1: University of Pennsylvania  
2: Vanderbilt University

Jan 5-8, LSA 2023

# Creak

- **Creak:** a phonation type in which the arytenoid cartilage in the larynx are drawn together such that the vocal folds are more constricted.



# Creak

---

- **Creak**: a phonation type in which the arytenoid cartilage in the larynx are drawn together such that the vocal folds are more constricted.
  - Contrastive
    - Southern Yi
    - Mazatec
  - Allophonic
    - English
    - Mandarin

# Allophonic creak and gender

---

- In the U.S. context, creak is negatively evaluated for male voices but even more so for female voices (e.g., Greens & Winters, 2015)
- This stereotypical binary-gender evaluative bias can influence how listeners identify creak in perception:
  - under certain conditions, American English listeners tend to identify more creak in female voices than male voices (Davidson, 2019)
  - in all conditions, Mandarin listeners tend to identify more creak in male voices than female voices (Li et al., 2022)

# Creak evaluation and identification

---

- Differences in creak identification (English vs. Mandarin) may be partially driven by how creak is evaluated in these two languages
- **Research question:** does creak have gender-differentiated social evaluation in Mandarin?
- **Solution:** A matched-guise study on Mandarin creaky voice

# **Mandarin creaky voice evaluation**

# Experimental Design

- Within-subjects evaluation
- Matched-guise paradigm



**Female** creak

**Female** modal

**Male** creak

**Male** modal



**From the same  
speaker**

# Stimulus Design

---

- 64 declarative sentences, 12-syllable long with the same syntactic structure (NP1-TP-NP2), varying in content and lexical items.

(1) 李艾在公园散步碰到了李哀。

**Li Ai4** zai gongyuan sanbu pengdao le **Li Ai1**.

Li Ai4 at park walk met ASP Li Ai1

'Li Ai4 met Li Ai1 while taking a walk in the park'.



# Stimulus Design

- 64 declarative sentences, 12-syllable long with the same syntactic structure (NP1-TP-NP2), varying in content and lexical items.
- Half of the sentences are fully modal and half contain creaky syllables.

(1) 李艾在公园散步碰到了李哀<sup>1</sup>。

Li Ai4 zai gongyuan sanbu pengdao le Li Ai1.

Li Ai4 at park walk met ASP Li Ai1

'Li Ai4 met Li Ai1 while taking a walk in the park'.

1: highlighted is the creak-containing target syllable

# Stimulus Design

- 64 declarative sentences, 12-syllable long with the same syntactic structure (NP1-TP-NP2), varying in content and lexical items.
- Half of the sentences are fully modal and half contain creaky syllables
  - Prosodic position: final vs. nonfinal
  - Creak amount: local vs. global
  - Balanced lexical tone

- (1) 李艾在公园散步碰到了李哀。 (local final)
  - (2) 李艾在公园散步碰到了李哀。 (global final)
  - (3) 李艾在公园散步碰到了李哀。 (local nonfinal)
  - (4) 李艾在公园散步碰到了李哀。 (global nonfinal)
- 'Li Ai4 met Li Ai1 while taking a walk in the park'.

1: highlighted is the creak-containing target syllable

# Recording and Manipulation

- 64 sentences naturally produced by a female native speaker (mean pitch: **225Hz**) ~2.5 seconds
- All the critical sentences were first read with target syllables being produced with creaky voice and then with target syllables being produced with modal voice.
- Cross-splicing to create pairs that differed only in the presence of creak



- Manipulated into low-pitched targets by adjusting vowel formant frequencies, mean pitch, and pitch range (mean pitch: **110Hz**; pitch range: **0.7**; vowel formant ratio: **0.75**)
- Cross-splicing was then conducted on the male voice



# Procedure

---

- Stimuli divided to four **blocks**: 2 creaky and 2 modal
- No guises from the same utterance appeared more than once within the same block.
- Within the block, sentences were rated in **groups**. Listeners evaluated sentences of the same type as a group

# Procedure

- Groups within a creaky block

Group 1: Sentence **final** + **global** creak + **female**

Group 2: Sentence **final** + **global** creak + **male**

Group 3: Sentence **nonfinal** + **global** creak + **female**

Group 4: Sentence **nonfinal** + **global** creak + **male**

Group 5: Sentence **final** + **local** creak + **female**

Group 6: Sentence **final** + **local** creak + **male**

Group 7: Sentence **nonfinal** + **local** creak + **female**

Group 8: Sentence **nonfinal** + **local** creak + **male**

...

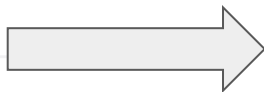
# Procedure

- **Participants:** 40 Mandarin listeners (M=15, F=23, Other =2)

请听下面两段录音 (Please listen to the two sentences)

▶ 0:00 / 0:03 ———▶ 🔊 ⋮

▶ 0:00 / 0:02 ———▶ 🔊 ⋮



- **7-point Likert scale:** likeability, competence, intelligence, attractiveness, wealthiness, educatedness, friendliness, trustworthiness.

根据您刚刚所听到的声音，您认为说话人是一个富裕的人吗？(wealthy)

非常 不富 裕	2	3	4	5	6	非常 富裕
---------------	---	---	---	---	---	----------

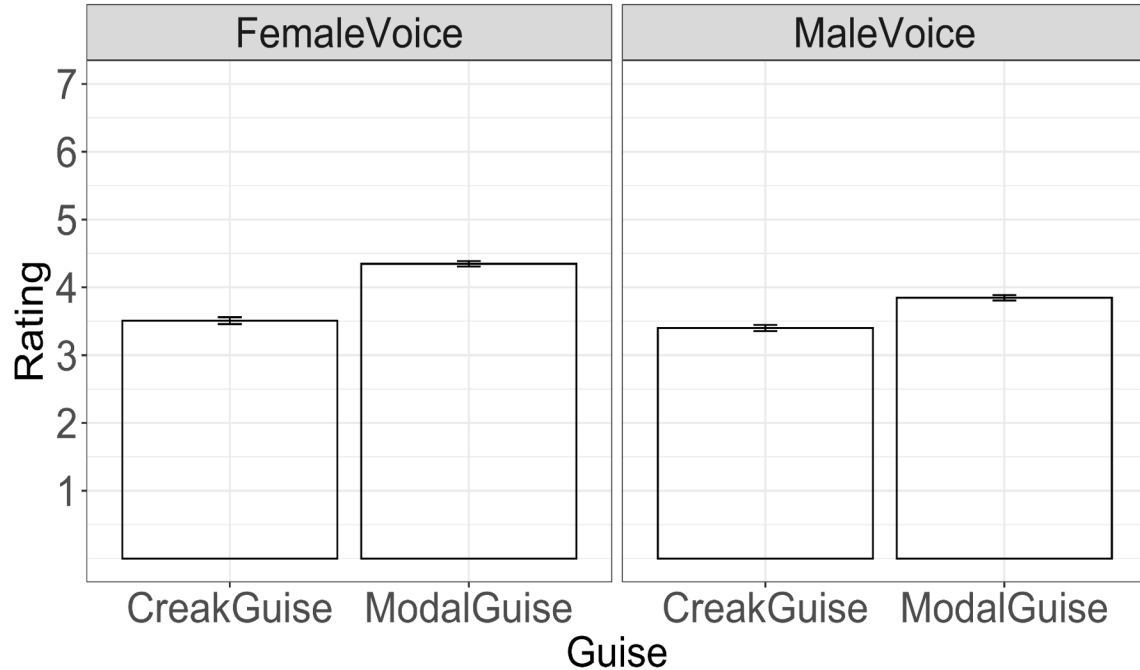
根据您刚刚所听到的声音，您认为说话人是惹人喜欢的人吗？(likeable)

非常 不惹 人喜 欢	2	3	4	5	6	非常 惹人 喜欢
---------------------	---	---	---	---	---	----------------

根据您刚刚所听到的声音，您认为说话人是一个聪明的人吗？(intelligent)

非常 不聪 明	2	3	4	5	6	非常 聪明
---------------	---	---	---	---	---	----------

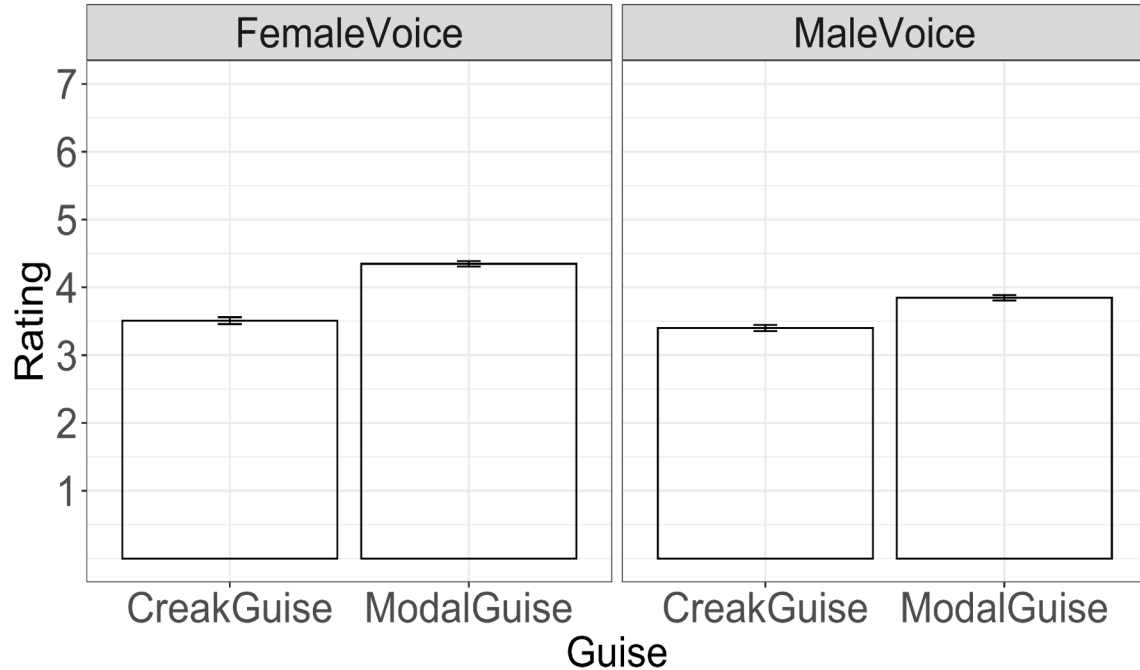
# Results : overall pattern



Mixed-effects regression

- Dependent variable: Rating (z-scored by participant)
- Fixed factors: Gender x Guise (both sum-coded)
- Random factors: Participant, Utterance

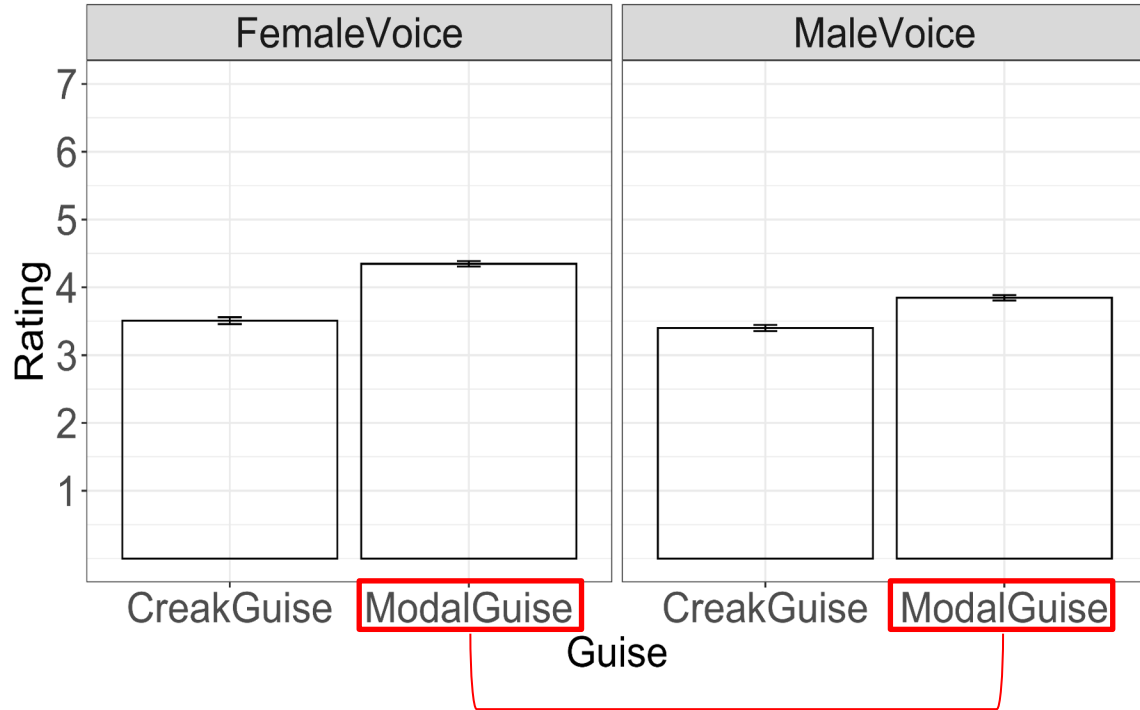
# Results : overall pattern



Creak guises were significantly dispreferred ( $\beta=-0.31, p<0.001$ )



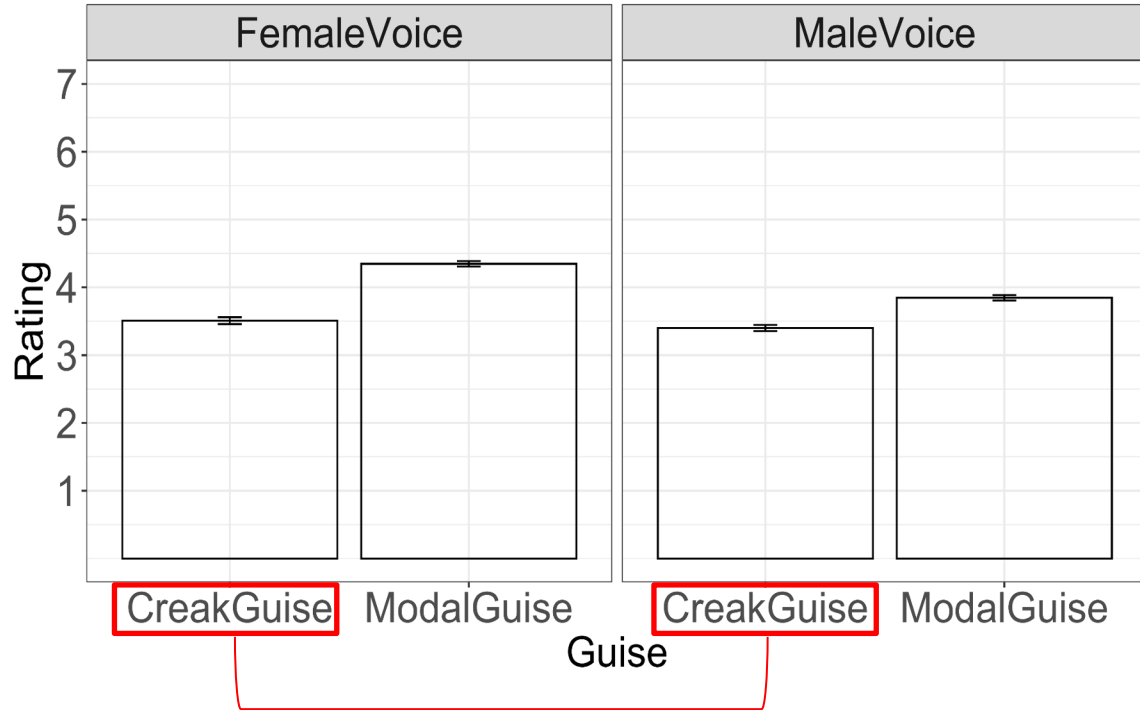
# Results : overall pattern



Creak guises were significantly dispreferred ( $\beta=-0.31, p<0.001$ )

Male modal voice was dispreferred than female ( $\beta=0.49, p<0.01$ )

# Results : overall pattern

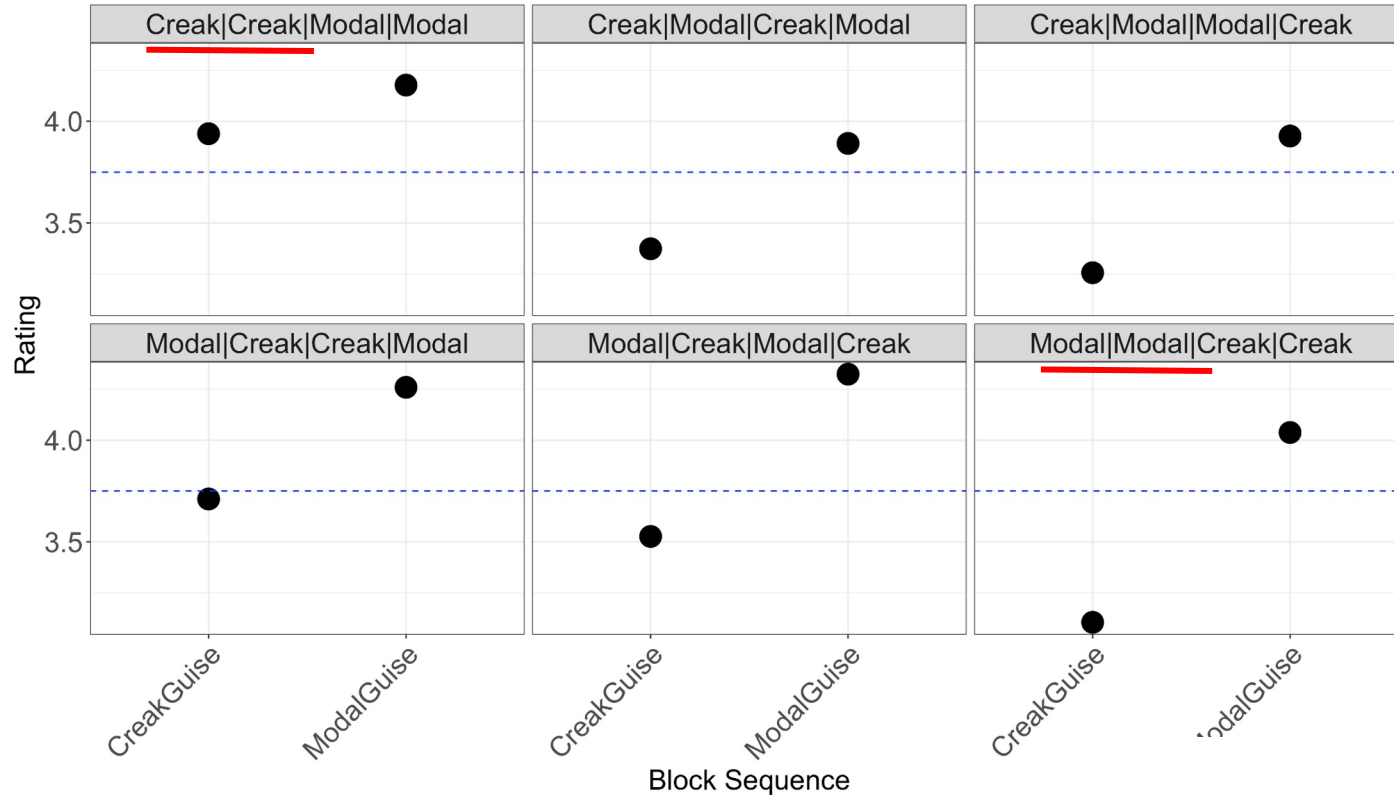


Creak guises were significantly dispreferred ( $\beta=-0.31, p<0.001$ )

Male modal voice was dispreferred ( $\beta=0.49, p<0.01$ )

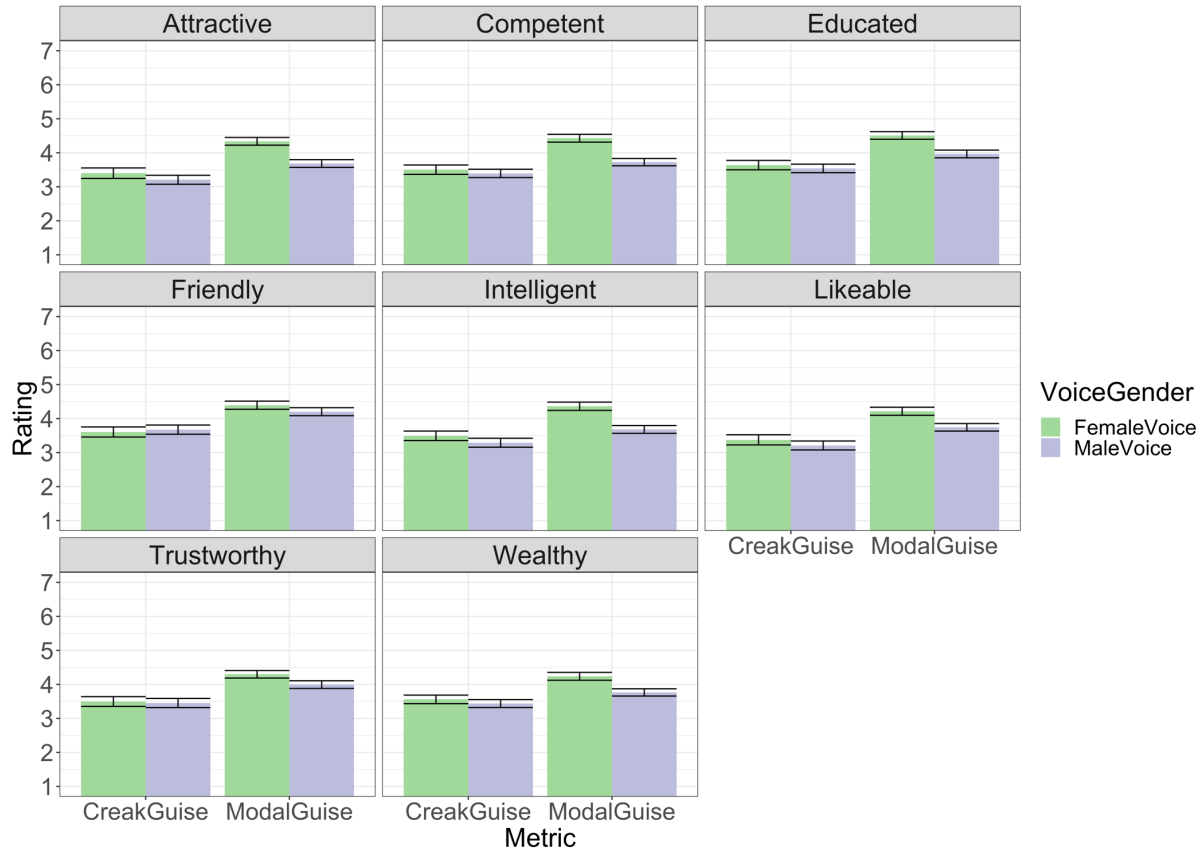
For the **creaky guise**, gender difference was **insignificant** ( $\beta=0.10, p= 0.54$ )

# Results : order effects

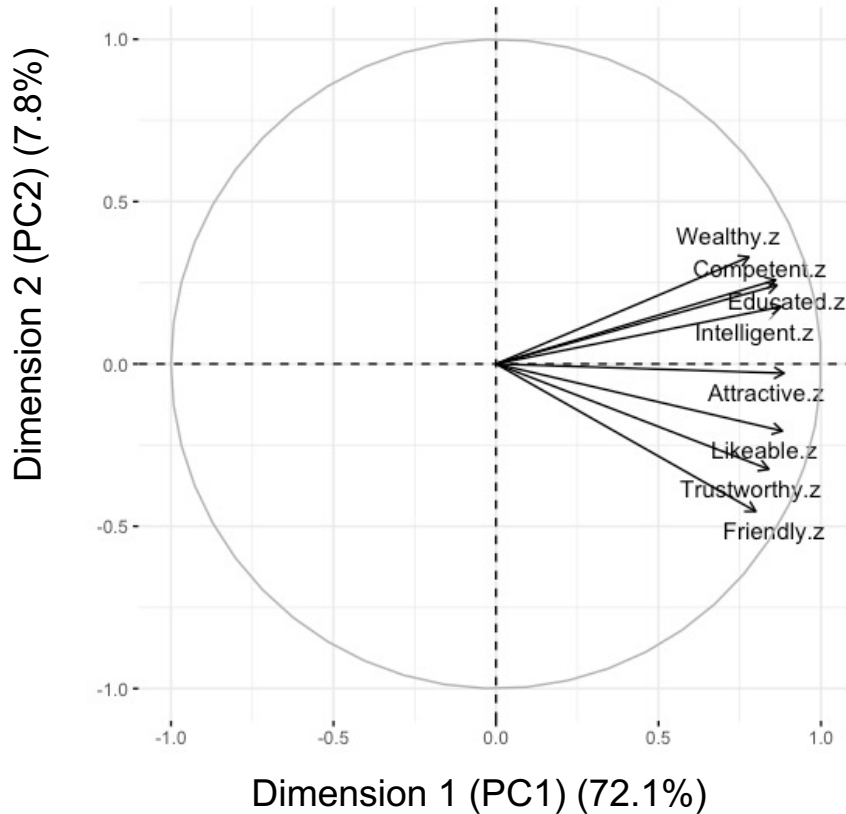


Listeners tended to rate creak more harshly if they were first exposed to two blocks with modal utterances

# Results : personality metrics



# Results : personality metrics

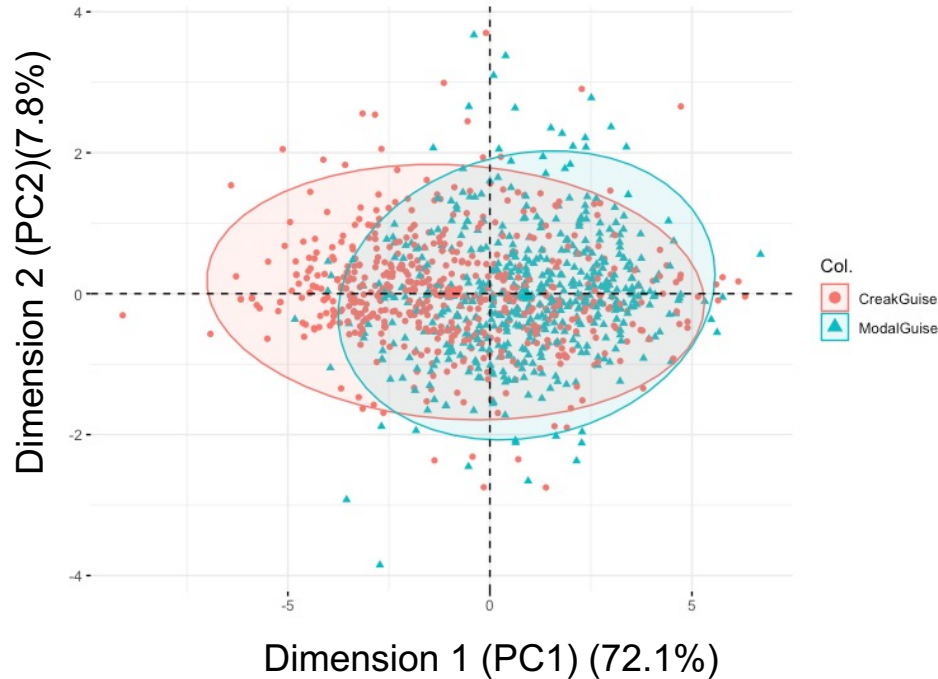


-The top metric contributes to the PC1: Attractiveness

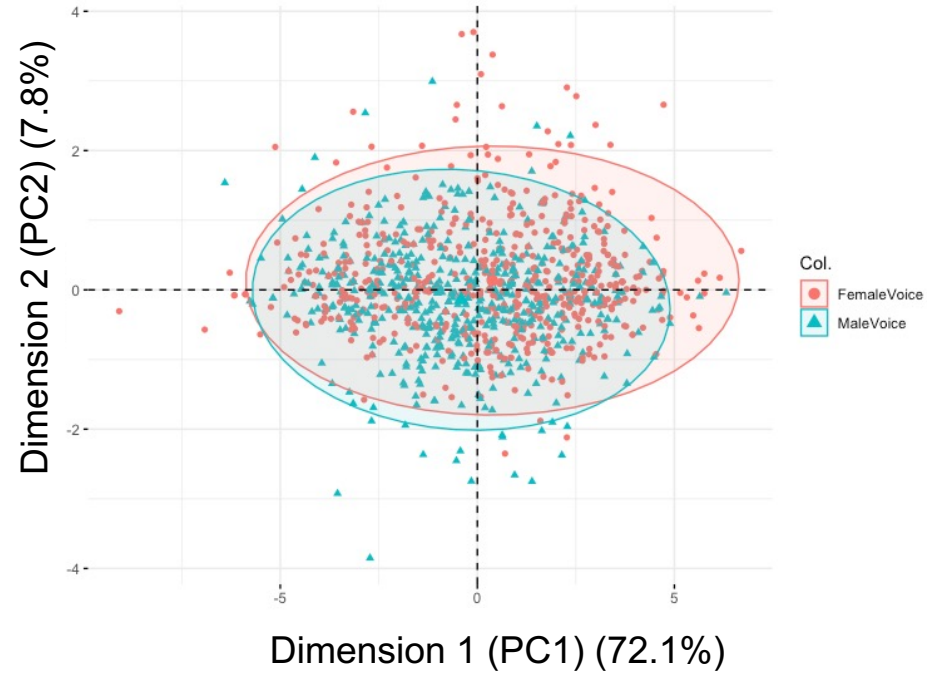
-The top metric contributes to the PC 2: Friendliness

# Results : personality metrics

On guises



On voice gender



# Discussion & Conclusion

---

- In Mandarin, listeners do not display explicit gender biases with respect to creaky voice.
- Although creaky utterances are evaluated negatively compared to their modal counterparts, female creak and male creak were evaluated as equally negative.
- Even though listeners did not evaluate female creak and male creak differently, they tended to downgrade the low-pitched modal voice: a result of manipulation?

# Discussion & Conclusion

---

- Order of exposure matters: listeners tended to rate creak more harshly if they were first exposed to blocks with modal utterances, compared to those who were first exposed to creaky utterances
- Back to English vs. Mandarin: Earlier we found a language difference in the identification of creak for female and male speech, and that might be mediated by social evaluation.



# Thank you for your attention!

**Acknowledgement:** special thanks goes to Nicole Holliday, Jianjing Kuang, Meredith Tamminga, Gwen Hildebrandt and members of the Penn Language Variation and Cognition Lab for their input, suggestions and comments.

Contact us at: [liaini@sas.upenn.edu](mailto:liaini@sas.upenn.edu) & [weilai.phonetics@gmail.com](mailto:weilai.phonetics@gmail.com)