

# INVESTIGATING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE, GENDER, AND VOWEL CATEGORIZATION WITHIN AND ACROSS LANGUAGES: A COMPARISON OF CANTONESE, ENGLISH, AND JAPANESE

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# STRUCTURE OF THE TALK

## ► Introduction:

- Why study the perception of vowels produced by a growing vocal tract?
- What is the bigger-picture question to be answered?
- Why Cantonese?

## ► Data Collection:

- VLAM stimuli,
- The structure of the experiments.

## ► Modeling and Analyses:

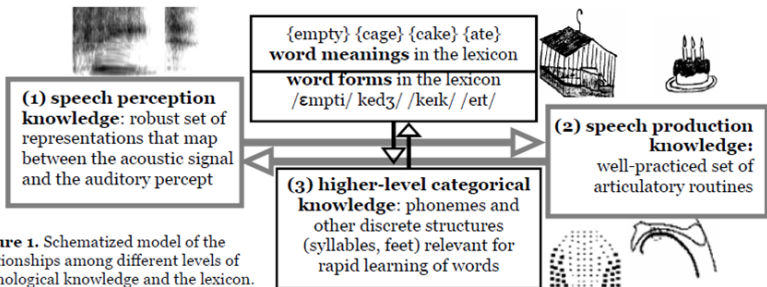
- Vowel category response surfaces,
- Age and Gender Summaries.

## ► Implications for models of phonological acquisition:

- The acquisition of vowel normalization,
- Manifold alignment.

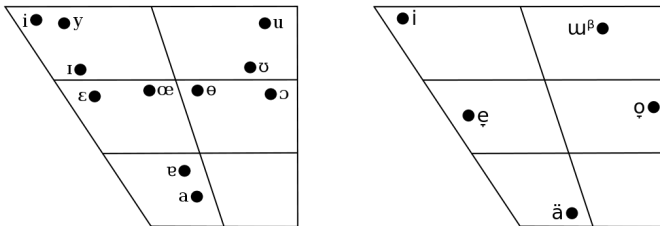
# INTRODUCTION

## THE DYNAMICS OF PHONOLOGICAL ACQUISITION



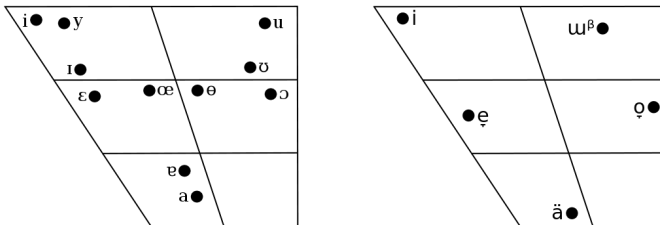
**Figure 1.** Schematized model of the relationships among different levels of phonological knowledge and the lexicon.

# INTRODUCTION



- ▶ Languages with a large number of contrasts among vowels, e.g., Cantonese (left) and American English, with eleven monophthongal vowels each, are typologically rare in relation to languages like Japanese (right), which has only five.
- ▶ Juxtaposing languages which exhibit such dramatic differences in vowel inventory size has the potential to illuminate aspects of speech perception that typically fall outside canonical consideration.

# INTRODUCTION



- ▶ For example, cross-language comparison of the relative locations and diffuseness of regions in formant space that correspond to vowel categories may reveal cross-language differences in the attention given to finer-grained phonetic detail encoding other categorical information, e.g., age and gender information.
- ▶ If so, such comparisons may also reveal within-language differences based on small-group or even individualistic vocal learning experience.

# INTRODUCTION

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- ▶ Is language specificity evident in adults' perceptions/interpretations of young children's vocalizations? How does language specificity in perception change over time? Are there universal tendencies in the perception of children's vocalizations?
- ▶ Is language specificity evident in adults' perception of age and gender typicality?
- ▶ How do these interact? Do language-specific age- and gender-perception affect how vowels are labeled?

# INTRODUCTION



- ▶ In this talk, we present an array of data derived from Cantonese, American English, and Japanese listeners' age, gender, and vowel category judgments in response to age-varying sets of synthetic vowels generated from a model of the growing vocal tract.
- ▶ The data were collected as part of the **Learning to Talk** research initiative focused on modeling the development of language-specific speech perception and production:

<http://learningtotalk.org/?q=3Dnode/25>

# MAIN POINTS

## VOWEL CATEGORY RESPONSE MODELING

- ▶ The main focus of our data analysis is a **shape-based** statistical modeling methodology which provides the means to parse the formant space for each vocal tract age into listener-specific vowel category regions based on listener-provided category judgments and goodness ratings.
- ▶ This listener-specific modeling not only serves as the basis for investigating broader language-specific vowel categorization patterns, but is crucial in modeling the likely caregiver-infant dyad-specific aspects of vowel category acquisition.

# MAIN POINTS

## AGE AND GENDER DATA

- ▶ We also examine language-specific differences in the perception of these vowels across vocal tract ages.
- ▶ Preliminary analyses focus on a bifurcation in gender rating patterns beginning at age 10, wherein vowel stimuli for this age are rated as either a young male or older female.
- ▶ Moreover, the gender rating patterns appear to differ across languages, suggesting a learned, language-specific association between vowel categories and social categories.

# MAIN POINTS

## RELATING VOWEL QUALITY WITH AGE AND GENDER

- ▶ We also take steps toward characterizing relationships among the judgments of age and gender and the vowel identifications for the stimulus set where age and gender were the most ambiguous.
- ▶ Initial examination of the data suggest that certain relationships between these three variables exhibit greater similarity with respect to the Cantonese and English vowel systems than the Japanese vowel system.
- ▶ If so, this suggests that aspects of the vowel systems of Cantonese and English, including their size, may prompt listeners to use different sources of information in disambiguation than does the vowel system of Japanese.

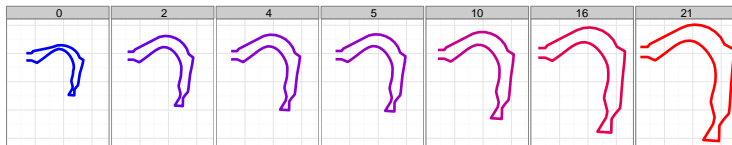
# MAIN POINTS

## IMPLICATIONS FOR PHONOLOGICAL ACQUISITION

- ▶ Finally, we show how **shape-based** vowel category response modeling can be used in the modeling of phonological acquisition.
- ▶ Specifically, we briefly walk through the use of shape-based cognitive models of the acquisition of vowel normalization in capturing the language-specific, and potentially dyad-specific aspects of this acquisition procedure.

# MAXIMAL VOWEL SPACES AND STIMULI

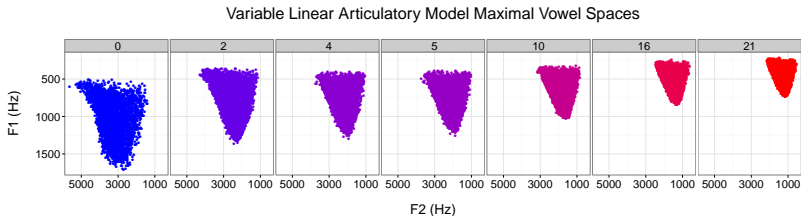
Variable Linear Articulatory Model Midsagittal Representations



## ARTICULATORY MODEL

- ▶ The VLAM (Boë & Maeda, 1998) is a computational model of the articulatory system and its speech production capacities.
- ▶ Midsagittal representations are wrought by configuring “articulatory blocks” (Lindblom & Sundberg, 1971; Maeda, 1990, 1991) corresponding to jaw height, tongue body position, tongue dorsum position, tongue apex position, lip protrusion, lip height, and larynx height.
- ▶ The VLAM is age-varying and capable of representing vocal tract lengths ranging from those of infants to young adults, calibrated in accordance with age-related “organic variation” (Beck, 1996; Goldstein, 1980).

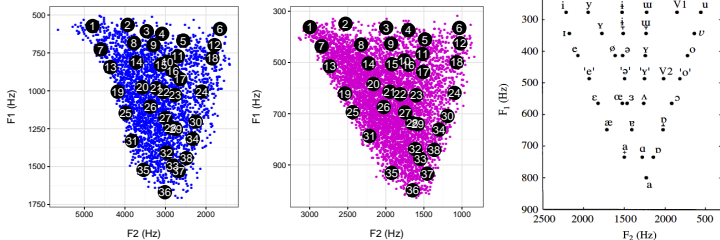
# MAXIMAL VOWEL SPACES AND STIMULI



## MAXIMAL VOWEL SPACES

- ▶ Given an age in years, the set of all articulatory configurations of the VLAM at that age that do not result in occlusion of the oral cavity yield a corresponding **maximal vowel space** (MVS, Boë et al., 1989; Schwartz et al., 2007) for that age.
- ▶ We take each MVS to be characterized by a set of formant patterns. Each formant pattern within an MVS is identified with a **formant vector** whose components are the first three formant frequencies of that formant pattern.
- ▶ We fix the following age index  $AGES = \{0.5, 2, 4, 5, 10, 16, 21\}$  for indexing the MVSs discussed below. For each  $a \in AGES$ , let  $MVS(a)$  be a dense sampling of the MVS for age  $a$ .

## MAXIMAL VOWEL SPACES AND STIMULI

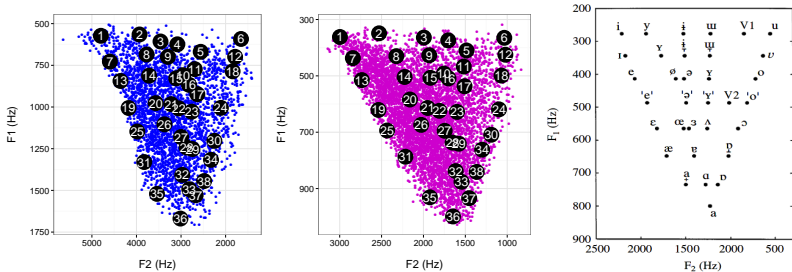


**FIGURE :** Prototype sets  $P(0.5)$  (left),  $P(10)$  (center), and those from Schwartz et al. (1997a).

## STIMULI

- ▶ The stimuli used in the perceptual experiments (Munson et al., 2010) were *vowel prototypes* (Vallée et al., 1995), or simply *prototypes*, selected from the MVSs for each  $a \in \text{AGES}$ .
- ▶ The selection process (Ménard & Boë, 2000; Ménard et al., 2002) is meant to yield a set of cross-linguistically relevant prototypes in accordance with the dispersion-focalization theory (Schwartz et al., 1997a,b).
- ▶ For each  $a \in \text{AGES}$ , a set of 38 prototypes, denoted by  $P(a)$ , were selected from  $\text{MVS}(a)$ . Prototypes in  $P(a)$  are indexed  $\mathbf{p}^i$ ,  $1 \leq i \leq 38$ , though the superscript is often dropped, or used in place of  $\mathbf{p}$ .

## MAXIMAL VOWEL SPACES AND STIMULI

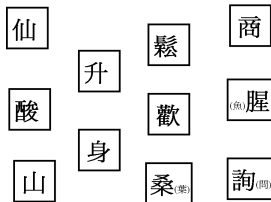
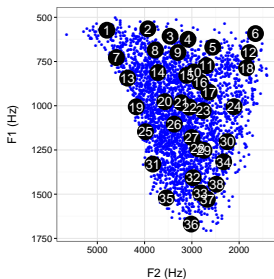


**FIGURE :** Prototype sets  $P(0.5)$  (left),  $P(10)$  (center), and those from Schwartz et al. (1997a).

## PROTOTYPE 6

Age 0.5   Age 2   Age 4   Age 5   Age 10   Age 16   Age 21

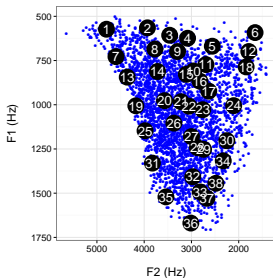
## RESPONSE DATA



## VOWEL CATEGORY RESPONSES

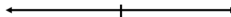
- ▶ Based on the vowel categories within their native languages, Cantonese-, American English- and Japanese-speaking listeners categorized seven sets of synthetic vowels generated from models of the vocal tract ranging in age from six months to 21 years of age.
- ▶ The stimuli were words in English, and Cantonese, and kana representing single vowels in Japanese.

# RESPONSE DATA



very bad example  
とてもよい例

very good example  
とても悪い例

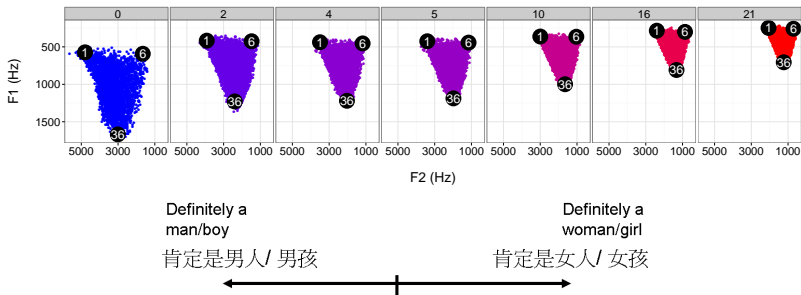


## VOWEL CATEGORY RESPONSES

- ▶ After each trial, a visual analog scale (VAS) goodness judgment was collected.
- ▶ The numeric **goodness rating** is meant to capture how well each vowel represented the chosen vowel category.

# RESPONSE DATA

Corner Vowel Stimuli within their Maximal Vowel Spaces



## AGE AND GENDER RESPONSES

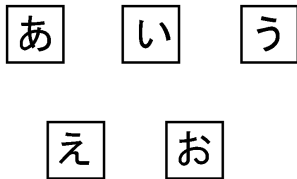
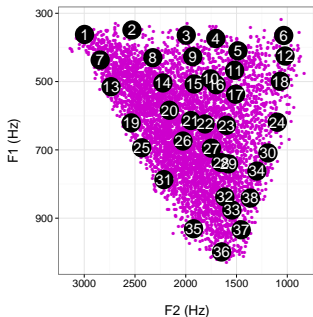
Listeners also provided numeric age judgments and gender ratings along a visual analog scale ranging from "definitely male" to "definitely female" (or their Cantonese and Japanese equivalents) for subsets of the stimuli corresponding to the corner vowels /i/, /a/, and /u/.

# FROM DATA TO MODELS AND ANALYSES

## MODELING AND ANALYSIS

- ▶ Using the rich supply of data, we next present several models and analyses that shed light on within- and cross-language differences in vowel perception.
- ▶ We begin with a shape-based modeling approach for reasoning about vowel category perception.
- ▶ We then use basic statistics as a starting point for analysis of the age and gender results.
- ▶ We conclude with discussion of potential avenues for investigating the interaction between these response data in terms of our models.

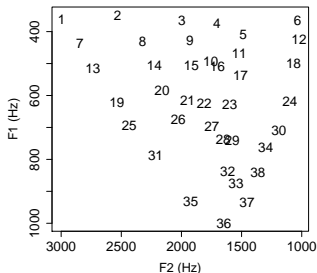
## VOWEL CATEGORIZATION DATA



## USING PROTOTYPE CATEGORIZATIONS AND GOODNESS RATINGS

- ▶ For each language, and for each subject, and for each vocal tract age, each prototype has a category associated with it, and a goodness rating.
- ▶ We want to use these responses to build models of each subject's knowledge of their language's vowel system.
- ▶ To illustrate the approach, we'll focus on the category responses provided by a Japanese subject, named  $J_{20}$ , and the 10 year old vocal tract age.

## VOWEL CATEGORIZATION DATA

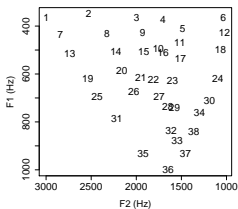


Proto.	Cat.	Good.
1	i	0.88
2	u	0.78
3	u	0.82
4	u	0.85
5	u	0.92
6	u	0.84
7	e	0.16
⋮	⋮	⋮

## ORGANIZING SUBJECT RESPONSES

- ▶ Vowel category judgements and goodness ratings for subject  $J_{20}$  with respect to the age 10 prototypes are shown above.
- ▶ Goodness values are normalized to fall between 0 (poorest) and 1 (best) to facilitate interpretation.

# VOWEL CATEGORIZATION DATA



Proto.	Cat.	Good.
1	i	0.88
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4	u	0.85
⋮	⋮	⋮
⋮	⋮	⋮

## CAN WE EXPAND THE RESPONSES ACROSS THE VOWEL SPACE?

- ▶ Each response gives us a hint about a subject's knowledge of their language's vowel system, but we need to fill in some gaps.
- ▶ For example, according to  $J_{20}$  prototype 1 is a really good example of /i/, but what about /u/, /o/, or the other vowels?
- ▶ Similarly, the response tells us that prototype 2 is a good example of /u/, but what about /i/, /o/, or the other vowels?
- ▶ And what about all of the other prototypes?

# VOWEL CATEGORIZATION DATA

## EXPANDING THE RESPONSES ACROSS THE VOWEL SPACE

- ▶ We can use these responses to model what a subject might know about each prototype with respect to each vowel in the subject's vowel system.
- ▶ For each prototype, we create a vector with as many components as there are vowels in the subject's vowel system:

i	u	e	o	a
-	-	-	-	-

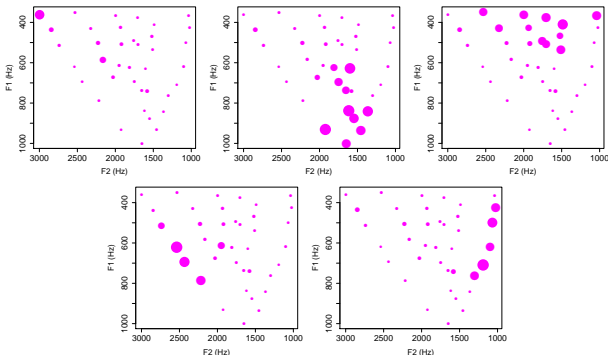
whose components are a function of the subject's response to that prototype.

- ▶ To exemplify, for prototype 1 with response (i, 0.88), the vector is

i	u	e	o	a
0.88	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06

- ▶ This function is specified in generality in Plummer et al. (2013).
- ▶ Thus, for each prototype, we have a model of a vowel category goodness for each vowel.

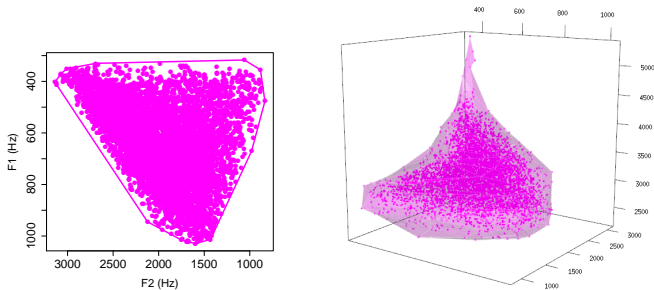
# VOWEL CATEGORIZATION DATA



## INDIVIDUAL CATEGORY RESPONSE FUNCTIONS

- ▶ For each subject, and for each age, using these vectors, we can define functions from prototypes to goodness values for each vowel category.
- ▶ We can depict these **individual category response functions** in terms of weighted scatter plots, like the ones shown above for age 10, for subject  $J_{20}$ .

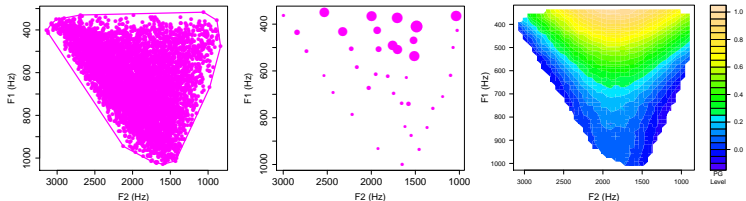
# VOWEL CATEGORIZATION DATA



## VOWEL SPACES AS SHAPES, CATEGORIES AS SCALAR FIELDS

- Now that we have models of vowel category responses for each prototype for each vocal tract age, we can extend these models to the entire maximal vowel space for each age.
- The trick is to think of the maximal vowel spaces as shapes (called **manifolds**), and the vowel categories as **scalar fields** over these shapes.
- We can derive these scalar fields from the individual category response functions using statistical models.

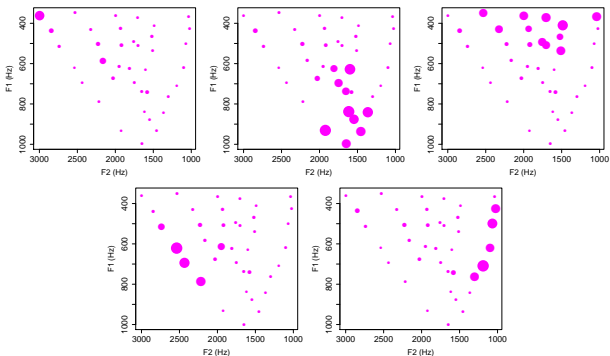
# VOWEL CATEGORIZATION DATA



## ADDITIVE MODELING

- ▶ The basic idea is to use additive models (Friedman & Stuetzle, 1981; Buja et al., 1989; Hastie & Tibshirani, 1990; Wood, 2003, 2006) based on smoothing splines (Wahba, 1990; Gu, 2002) to construct a field of responses over a maximal vowel space using an individual category response function.
- ▶ For a given vowel category, the response field value for a formant vector in a maximal vowel space is meant to approximate a subject's goodness rating of that vector as an example of that vowel category.

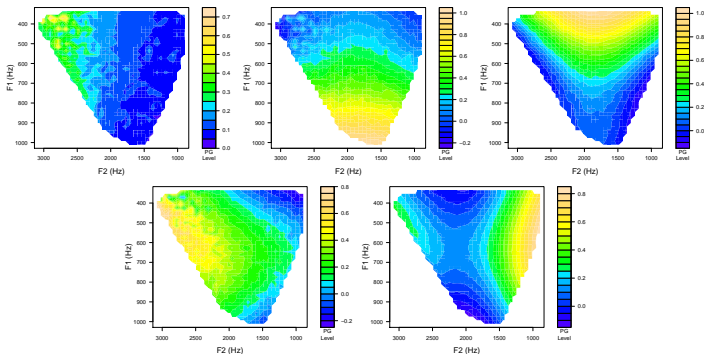
# VOWEL CATEGORIZATION DATA



## VOWEL CATEGORY RESPONSE FIELDS

- For each subject, and for each age, using individual category response functions, we can define functions from maximal vowel spaces to goodness values for each vowel category.
- We can depict these **vowel category response fields** (VCRF) in terms of contour plots, like the ones shown above for age 10, for subject  $J_{20}$ .

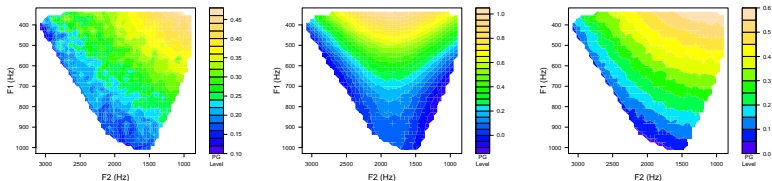
# VOWEL CATEGORIZATION DATA



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# VOWEL CATEGORIZATION DATA

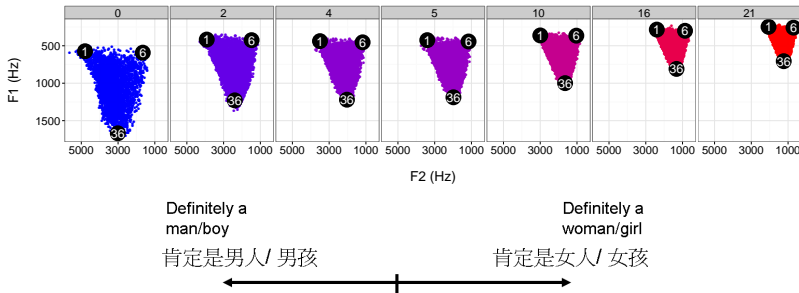


## VCRF COMPARISON

- ▶ VCRFs allow us to make within and cross-language comparisons concerning each subject's knowledge of the vowel system of their native language.
- ▶ Above are VCRFs for a high, back vowel, (left) derived from Cantonese subject C<sub>10</sub>, (center) from J<sub>20</sub>, and (right) from J<sub>04</sub>.
- ▶ The differences are visually apparent, but we can also quantify them.
- ▶ Quantitative analysis in Plummer et al. (2013) shows that “distances” between VCRFs can capture
  - cross-language differences between the five-vowel systems of Greek and Japanese, and
  - within-language sociolinguistic differences concerning Japanese /u/.

# AGE AND GENDER DATA

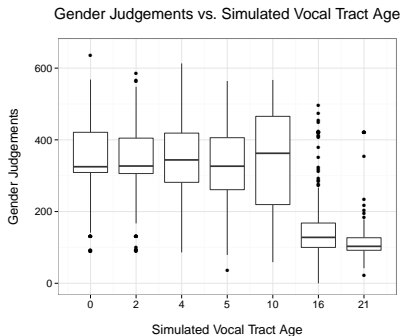
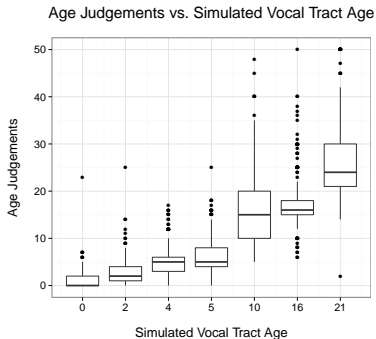
Corner Vowel Stimuli within their Maximal Vowel Spaces



## ANALYSIS OF AGE AND GENDER RESPONSES

We turn now to analysis of the age and gender responses to corner vowel prototypes.

# AGE AND GENDER DATA

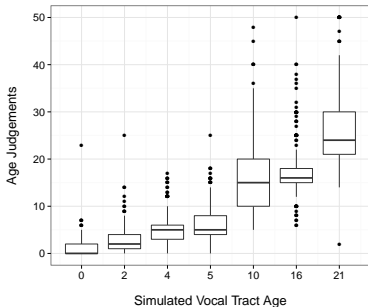


## SUMMARY OF POOLED AGE AND GENDER RESPONSES

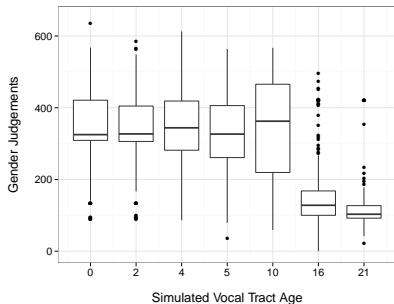
- ▶ At left, we show a boxplot (median, interquartile range, and full range of values) for the age judgments from all 57 listeners to all 6 trials for each vocal tract age (left).
- ▶ At right, we show a boxplot (median, interquartile range, and full range of values) for the gender judgments from all 57 listeners to all 6 trials for each vocal tract age.

# AGE AND GENDER DATA

Age Judgements vs. Simulated Vocal Tract Age



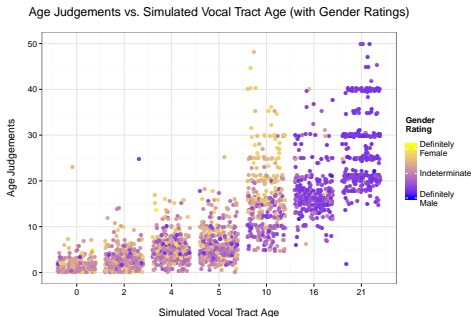
Gender Judgements vs. Simulated Vocal Tract Age



## SUMMARY OF POOLED AGE AND GENDER RESPONSES

- ▶ The age judgements generally increase as the vocal tract age of the VLAM increases, with more variable responses for the three oldest vocal tracts, and especially variable responses to vocal tract age 10.
- ▶ The gender judgements demonstrate ambiguity in interpretation up to age 10, which is resolved by sexual dimorphism at the simulated age 16.

# AGE AND GENDER DATA

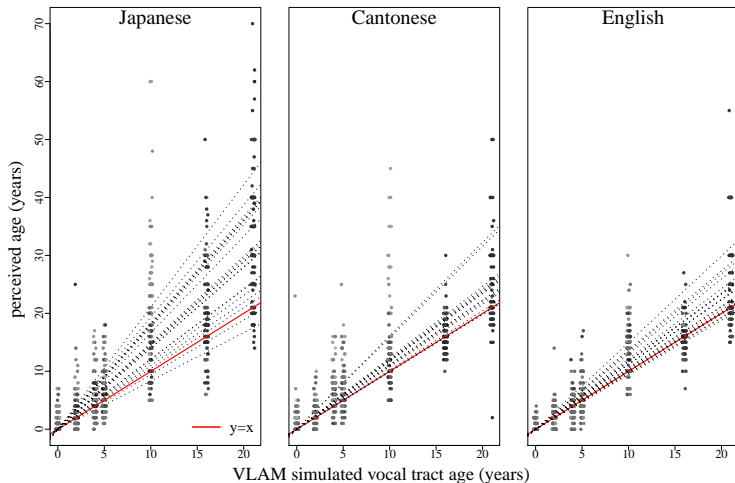


## SUMMARY OF POOLED AGE AND GENDER RESPONSES

- ▶ The figure above shows a column scatter plot grouped by simulated vocal tract age for the age judgments from all 57 listeners to all 6 trials for each vocal tract age, with the color indicating the assigned gender rating.
- ▶ A bifurcation is evident in the interpretation of age and gender for the age 10 stimuli, which subjects rated as either a younger male or older female, suggesting a nonuniformity in the resolution of variability during processing.

# AGE AND GENDER DATA

## STANDARD LINEAR REGRESSION BY SUBJECT



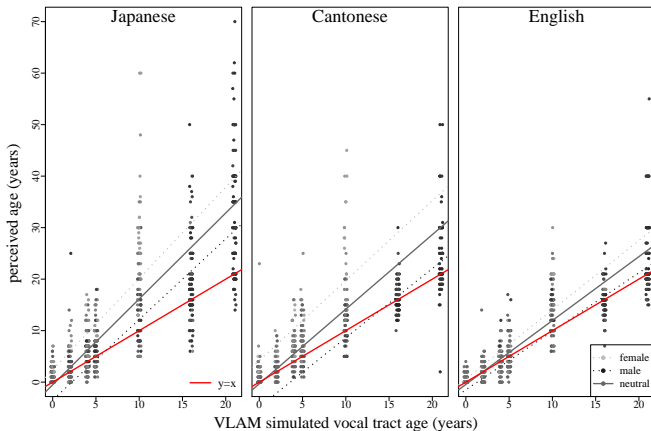
# AGE AND GENDER DATA

## MOTIVATING HIERARCHICAL MODELING

- ▶ Standard regression lines for perceived age relative to simulated vocal tract age show a lot of variation both within and across languages, and across subjects.
- ▶ The English subject models (left) appear closest to the linear identity model (red), while the Cantonese subject models (center) deviate more, and the Japanese subject models most (right).
- ▶ Moreover, the gender responses seem to be contributing to the regression lines being pulled upward, and these also appear to be language-specific.
- ▶ We can see this more clearly with a mixed effects model over perceived gender (centered), simulated vocal tract age, and language, and all two way interactions, with random effects for simulated vocal tract age, gender, and their interaction by subject.

# AGE AND GENDER DATA

FIXED EFFECTS PLOT FACTORING OUT RANDOM EFFECTS FOR THE INTERACTION BETWEEN SIMULATED VOCAL TRACT AGE AND GENDER



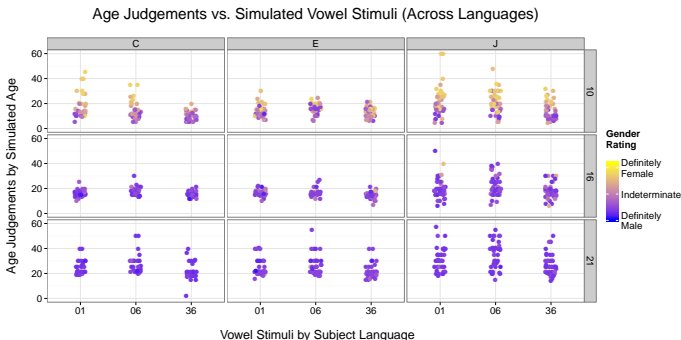
# AGE AND GENDER DATA

## USING THE RANDOM EFFECTS TO MODEL INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

- ▶ At present, we're trying to use the space of subject-specific random effects to make comparisons like we did for vowel category response fields.
- ▶ The goal is then to relate the distances between individuals in the random effects space with distances in the space of vowel category response fields.

## BUT THIS IS TRICKIER THAN IT SEEMS

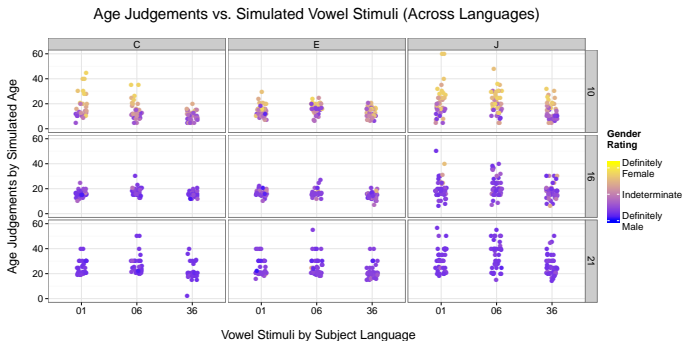
# AGE AND GENDER DATA



## RESPONSES BY VOCAL TRACT AGE, LANGUAGE, AND STIMULI TYPE

- ▶ The figure above shows a set of column scatter plots arranged by vocal tract age and language, with data points grouped by vowel stimuli, for the age judgments from all 57 listeners to all 6 trials for vocal tract ages 10, 16, and 21 years, with the color indicating the assigned gender rating.
- ▶ The Japanese subjects are assigning an older rating to 21 year old vowels, and this is especially true for stimulus 6. This suggests a complex relation between perceived age and vowel categorization.

# AGE AND GENDER DATA



## AGE AND VOWEL CATEGORIZATION

- ▶ The much older responses to stimulus 6 in the Japanese speakers' judgements could be an artifact of the quality of this stimulus, which is [u] rather than the unrounded [ɯ] that is the prototypical value for the high back vowel of Japanese.
- ▶ The rounded quality of the [u] might make it be heard as “careful speech” by Japanese listeners (see Okada, 1999), which could suggest an older, more deliberate talker.

## AGE AND GENDER DATA

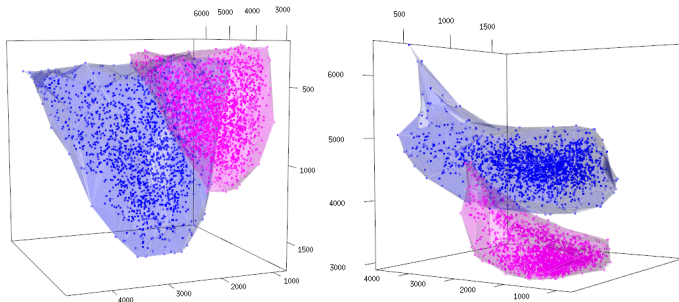
		Listener Group	
		Older/Woman	Younger/Man
judgment	ø	52	39
	e	10	11
	ɛ	40	52
	i	13	32
	y	36	30

		Listener Group	
		Older/Woman	Younger/Man
judgment	æ	21	22
	e	8	25
	ɛ	40	28
	i	16	16
	ɪ	21	14

### PERCEIVED AGE, PERCEIVED GENDER, AND VOWEL CATEGORIZATION

- ▶ Vowel identification patterns for vocal tract age of 10 differed between individuals who identified that speaker as a younger male and those who identified the speaker as an older woman.
- ▶ Exploring these language effects further may reveal the depth of influence of culture on aspects of perception, especially vowel normalization.

# ACQUISITION OF VOWEL NORMALIZATION

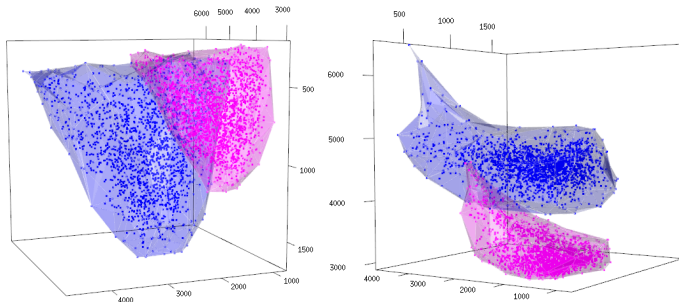


**FIGURE :** The maximal vowel spaces  $MVS(0.5)$  (blue) and  $MVS(10)$  (red) in first-three-formant space.

## ACQUISITION MODELING

- ▶ In order to acquire language, infants must either possess, or come to possess a set of relations between mostly disjoint vowel spaces in order to form their language-specific vowel categories.
- ▶ The analyses presented in the previous section seem to suggest that this set is acquired over the course of development.

# ACQUISITION OF VOWEL NORMALIZATION



**FIGURE :** The maximal vowel spaces  $MVS(0.5)$  (blue) and  $MVS(10)$  (red) in first-three-formant space.

## ACQUISITION MODELING

- ▶ If so, we can seek ways to model the acquisition of this set of relations that occurs during early infancy.
- ▶ Before concluding, we briefly sketch a computational modeling methodology for the acquisition of vowel normalization that makes use of vowel category response fields.

# ACQUISITION OF VOWEL NORMALIZATION

## BASIC MODELING COMPONENTS

- ▶ We assume a dyad structure with one caretaker, one infant.
- ▶ Caretakers are modeled as sets of VCRFs, one set for the infant, and one for the caretaker.
- ▶ Infants are modeled as sets of structures, called **cognitive manifolds**.
- ▶ Dyadic vocal interaction is modeled as the weighted pairing of formant vectors from the caretaker's VCRFs with those from the infant's.
- ▶ Phonological acquisition is modeled as the development of the infant's cognitive structures in relation to vocal interaction with the caretaker.
- ▶ Specifically, the acquisition of vowel normalization is the alignment of cognitive manifolds based on vocal interaction.

# ACQUISITION OF VOWEL NORMALIZATION

## JAPANESE CARETAKER $J_{20}$

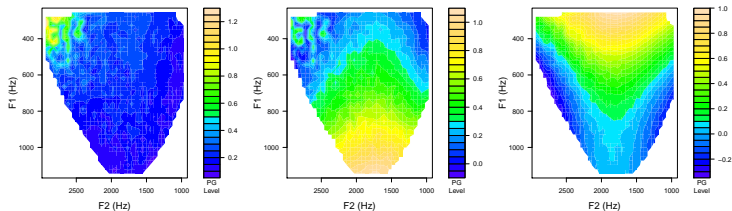


FIGURE : VCRFs over MVS(10).

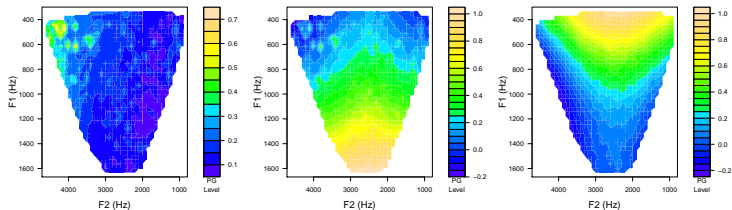


FIGURE : VCRFs over MVS(0.5).

# ACQUISITION OF VOWEL NORMALIZATION

## CANTONESE CARETAKER $C_{10}$

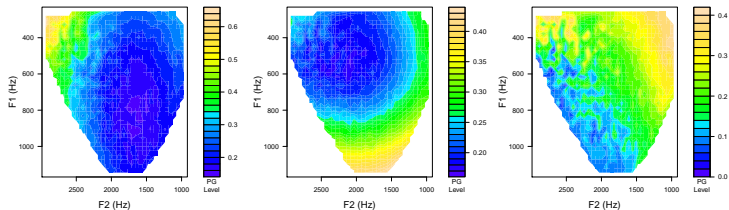


FIGURE : VCRFs over MVS(10).

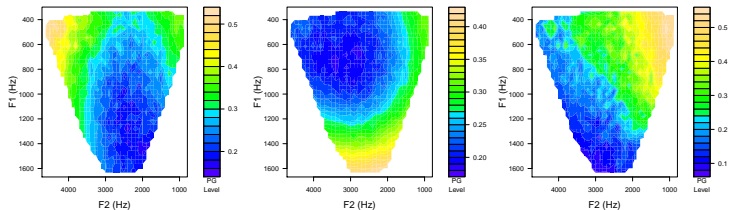


FIGURE : VCRFs over MVS(0.5).

# ACQUISITION OF VOWEL NORMALIZATION

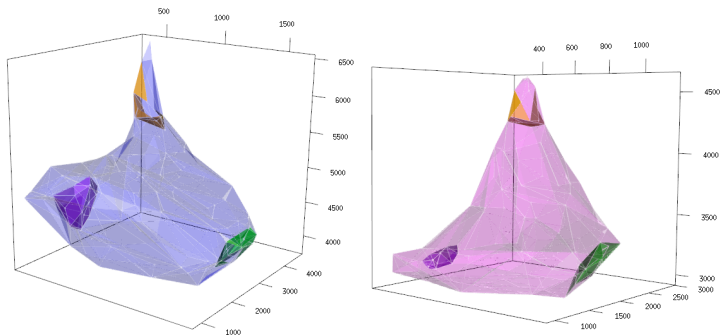


FIGURE : Vocal interaction between  $J_{20}$  and infant.

## MODELING VOCAL INTERACTION

- ▶ The VCRFs for  $J_{20}$  yield weighted pairings of formant vectors which model vocal interaction.
- ▶ The weighted pairings are derived from the orange (i), purple (u), and green (a) regions of the maximal vowel spaces.

# ACQUISITION OF VOWEL NORMALIZATION

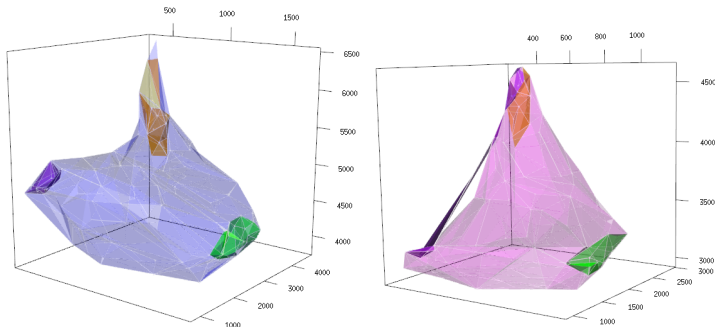
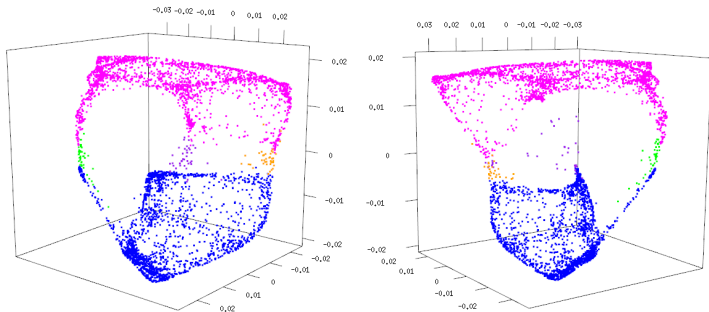


FIGURE : Vocal interaction between  $C_{10}$  and infant.

## MODELING VOCAL INTERACTION

- ▶ Similarly, the VCRFs for  $C_{10}$  yield weighted pairings of formant vectors which model vocal interaction.
- ▶ The weighted pairings are derived from the orange (i), purple (u), and green (a) regions of the maximal vowel spaces.

# ACQUISITION OF VOWEL NORMALIZATION



**FIGURE :** Representations from aligned cognitive manifolds following vocal interaction. The Japanese infant (left) has internalized a different location for [u] than the Cantonese infant (right).

## ACQUISITION MODELING

- ▶ VCRFs provide the language-specific input to models of the acquisition of these relations.
- ▶ The modeling shows that individualistic aspects of the VCRFs also carry through the acquisition computation.
- ▶ This suggests that phonological acquisition may be dyad-specific.

## RECAP

### SUMMARY

- ▶ Language specificity seems to be evident in adults' perceptions/interpretations of vocalizations from a wide range of vocal tract ages. We can model this using vowel category response fields derived from responses to VLAM stimuli.
- ▶ Language specificity seems to be evident in adults' perception of age and gender typicality. We can model this (more or less) using mixed effects models derived from age and gender responses to the same VLAM stimuli.
- ▶ Language-specific age- and gender-perception seem to affect how vowels are labeled, but this is tricky to show, even with the models we have presently developed.

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