4pSC17: Influence of prosodic factors on segment articulations and acoustics in English

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Introduction

- Two kinds of prosodic effects:
 Boundary-marking vs. Prominence-marking
 - Boundaries (edges): beginnings and ends of prosodic domains, e.g. final lengthening, initial strengthening (Fougeron & Keating 1997)
 - Prominences: stresses and accents, e.g. stress lengthening, local hyperarticulaton
- Issue: Cho (2002,in press) claims that edges and prominences are marked differently, are not the same strengthening/ hyperarticulation (Question A)

Two ways that prominence and edge effects could be different

1. Opposite (conflicting) effects

Prominences and boundaries could be marked on the **same** phonetic dimensions, but in **opposite** ways, e.g. prominence marked by higher values but boundaries marked by lower values

2. Independent effects

Prominences and boundaries could be marked completely independently on different phonetic dimensions, e.g. prominence uses one dimension while boundaries use another

How prominence and edge effects could be the same

3. Converging effects:

Prominences and boundaries could be marked on the **same** phonetic dimensions, with either

- a. Across-the-board effects of both prominences and boundaries separately, with no statistical interaction
- D. Interacting effects, e.g. a ceiling effect for total strengthening of any one syllable

Secondary issues

- Does the occurrence of initial strengthening depend in any way on the location of prominences? (Question B)
- Leaving aside edge effects and just considering two kinds of prominences, lexical stress vs. phrasal accent:
 When a word is accented, does the accent affect the whole word, or just the (stressed) syllable that hosts the accent? (Question C)

Outline of current study

- Measure initial strengthening of C and V in CV along several phonetic dimensions while varying two prominence factors (Stress and Accent)
- Test Cho's claim that initial-edge and prominence effects are different (Question A)
- Test for dependencies between initial strengthening and prominences (Question B)
- Test for dependencies between the prominences themselves (Question C)

Methods: Prosodic factors tested

- Two boundary-related positions
 - Word-initial (=Utterance-medial)
 - Utterance-initial
- Two prominences
 - Lexical primary-stress (vs. secondarystress)
 - Focal pitch accent (vs. no accent)

Methods: Corpus

- 3-syllable words, but we look only at the initial CV syllables
- 4 factors, fully crossed
 - Consonant (n, t): nεbəbεn vs. tεbəbεt
 - Stress: 'nεbə,bεn vs. ,nεbə'bεn
 - Accent (focused vs. unaccented)
 - Boundary in a 3-word sentence :
 nεbəbεn fed them vs. one deaf nεbəbεn

Example test utterances

- '<u>nεb ∂bεn</u> fed them
- nεbə¹bεn fed them
- tεbəˈbεt fed them
- one deaf 'tεbəbεt
- one deaf <u>nεb∂'bεn</u>

(where ' = stress, underline = accent)

Methods:

Speakers

- four American English speakers
- one male and three female phoneticians
- the women were the 3 subjects in Fougeron & Keating (1997); one was the first author

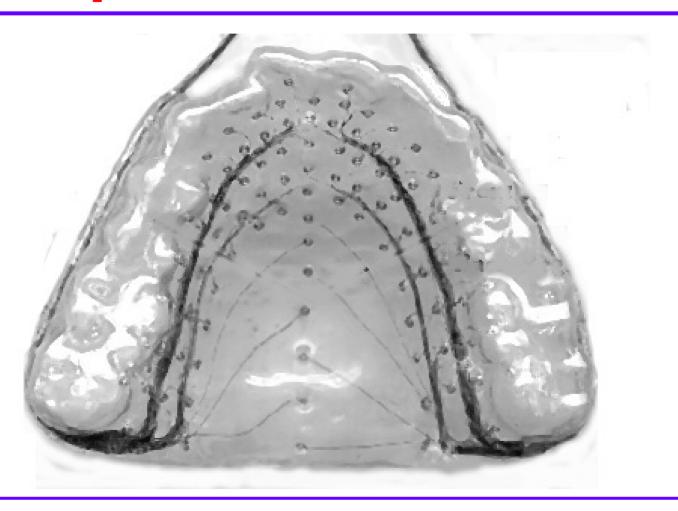
Recordings

- total 15 repetitions of each sentence from 3 speakers,
 10 or fewer from 1 speaker
- items repeated if prosodic pattern not produced, e.g. if intermediate phrase boundary occurred mid-utterance

Methods: Electropalatography (EPG)

- Speaker wears a false palate embedded with 96 contact electrodes
- When tongue touches electrodes, a circuit is completed and contact is registered
- Computer samples contact over entire palate every 10 msec
- A single frame of data shows how many electrodes contacted, and where

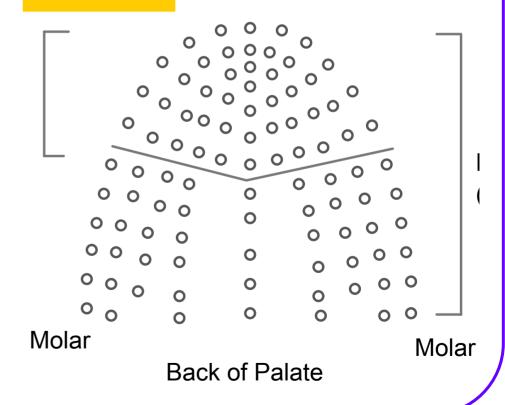
Pseudo-palate for EPG



Analysis: Regions of linguopalatal contact

- For consonants, analysis region of 45 electrodes in the front region of the palate
- For vowels, entire palate

Front Region (45 electrodes)



Analysis: Linguopalatal contact measures

- C seal duration (as in our earlier studies)
- C peak contact (as in our earlier studies)
- C contact at acoustic release (perhaps more relevant perceptually than peak contact)
- Vowel contact at peak amplitude
- C-to-V maximum contact difference

Acoustic measures for: C and V

- For /n/:
 - Nasal duration
 - Nasal energy
- For /t/:
 - VOT
 - RMS burst energy
 - Center Of Gravity (COG) of burst spectrum

- For /ε/:
 - Duration
 - Peak Amplitude
 - F1 at peak amplitude

Statistical analysis

- Basic analysis was RM ANOVA, averaging repetitions within speakers, trend p<.08
- Posthocs based on repetitions, p <.01

Error bars in graphs are standard error

Overview of <u>main effects</u>: Position vs. Prominence

More C contact ← Same C contact Same V contact ← Less V contact Greater CV contact
Greater CV contact difference difference More V amplitude More V amplitude Same V F1 **Greater V F1** Longer /t/ VOT Same /t/ VOT Longer /n/, V duration Same /n/, V duration **Longer C contact (trend) Longer C contact** Less /t/ energy, More /n/ and /t/ energy effects: opposite independent converging less /n/ energy (trend)

Main effects <u>and interactions</u>: do entries line up in same rows?

MEASURE	Main effects	Main effects	Main effects	Interactions
C peak contact	BOUNDARY			
C release contact	BOUNDARY			Bound x Str
C seal duration	BOUNDARY trend	STRESS		Bound x Str x Acc
/n/ nasal duration		STRESS	ACCENT	Bound x Acc x Speak
/n/ nasal energy			ACCENT	Bound x Str x Acc
/t/ VOT	BOUNDARY			Bound x Acc
/t/ burst energy	BOUNDARY		ACCENT	
/t/ burst COG		STRESS	ACCENT	
V min contact		STRESS		Bound x Str x Acc x Cons
V peak F1		STRESS	ACCENT	Bound x Str x Cons trend
V duration		STRESS		
V energy	BOUNDARY	STRESS trend	ACCENT	Bound x Str
CV contact difference	BOUNDARY	STRESS		Bound x Str x Acc

effects: opposite independent converging mixed

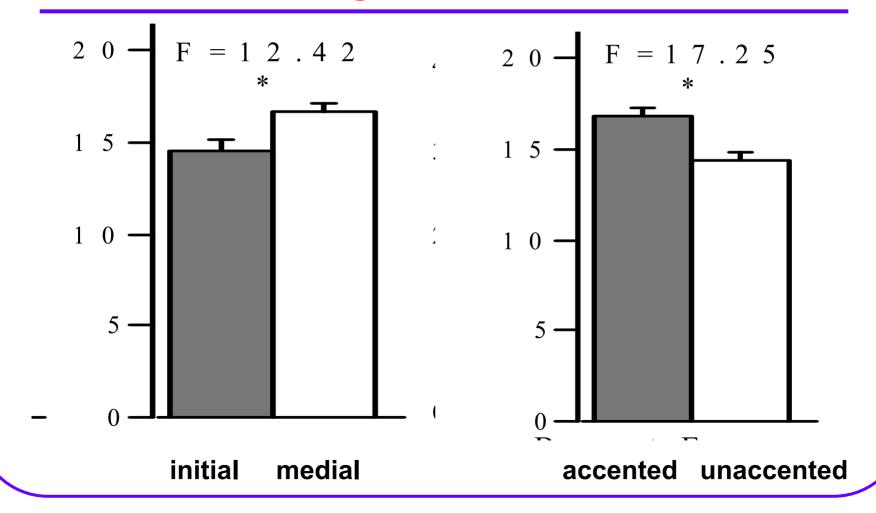
Boundary and prominence effects are different

- When they affect the same dimension in opposite ways (conflicting)
- When they affect different dimensions (independent)

Re #1: Boundary and prominences can conflict

- /t/ burst energy
 - Is lower in initial position than in medial
 - Is higher when accented
- /n/ nasal energy
 - Is sometimes lower in initial position than in medial
 - Is higher when accented, primary-stressed

/t/ burst energy conflict: Boundary vs. Accent

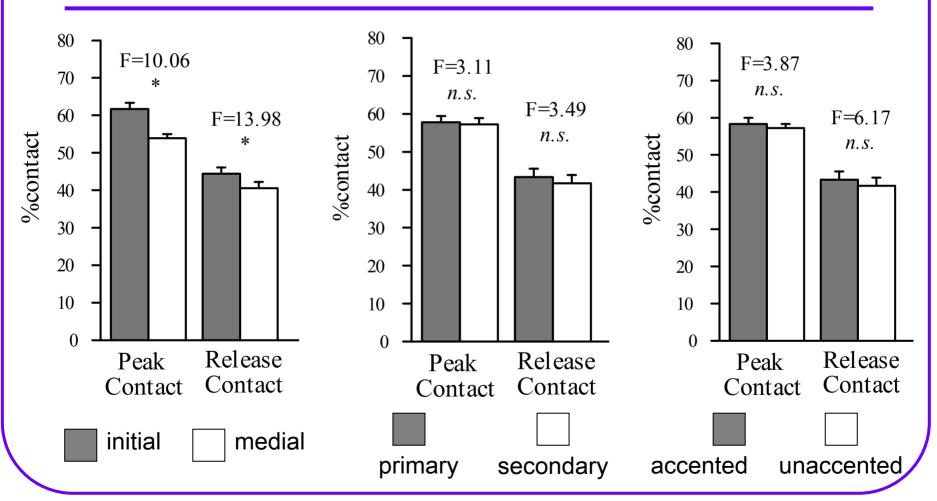


Re #2: Boundary and prominences can be independent

- C peak contact: affected only by Boundary
- V duration: affected only by Stress
- /t/ burst COG: affected only by Stress and Accent

(main effects, no interactions)

C contact measures with boundary, stress, accent

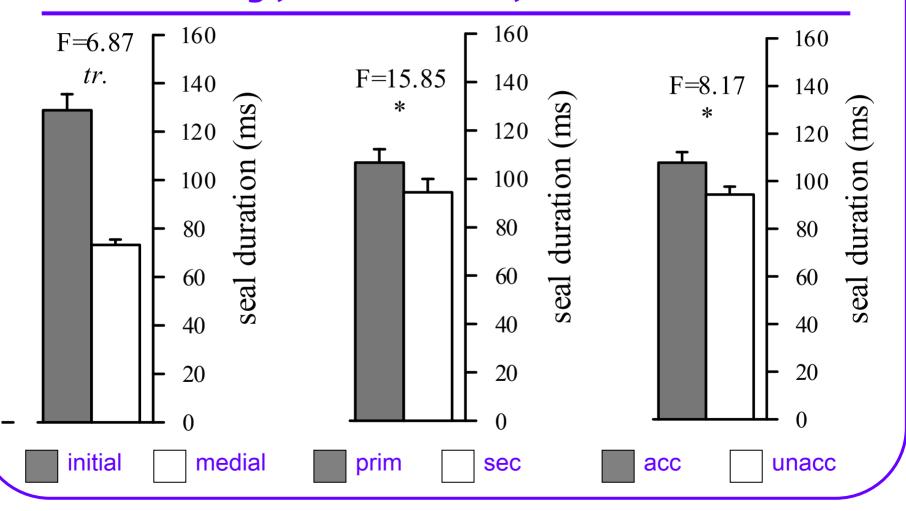


Effects can also converge on the same dimensions

 C seal duration: Lengthening of consonants occurs in all strong positions, especially primary-stressed but also to some extent initial or accented

C seal duration with boundary, stress,

accent



Some effects that look converging, but probably aren't

- C-V contact difference: larger both when initial and when primary-stressed, but this is because effects on C and V contact are largely independent
- Venergy: greater especially when initial, but to some extent also when accented/stressed;

BUT initial V, unlike accented/stressed V, is *not* more *open*; could its greater energy come from the voice source (as in Epstein 2002)?

Some mixed effects

- /n/ nasal duration
- V contact
- V F1

All combine **opposite** and **converging** patterns, either across speakers or across conditions

Discussion, Question A Boundaries vs. Prominence: Independent effects

- Initial strengthening is more about having a more constricted initial consonant with more aspiration
- Prominence is more about having a more open, longer, louder vowel

Boundaries vs. Prominence: Opposite effects

- Initial strengthening decreases C energy measures
- Prominence increases C energy measures

Question B: Location of initial strengthening tied to prominences?

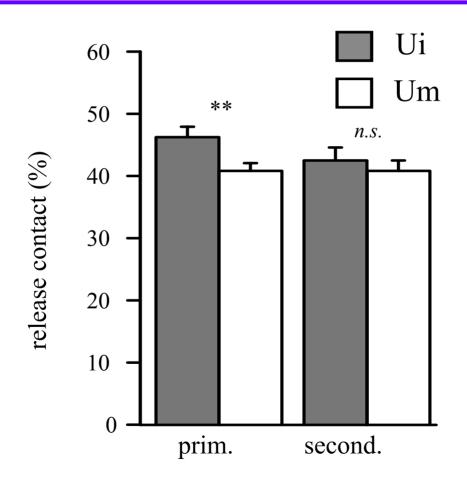
 If initial strengthening is part of a larger system of making some parts of an utterance more prominent, we might expect it to occur preferentially with already-prominent parts of an utterance: stressed syllables and/or accented words

Only one clear effect like this

- Initial strengthening of C release contact occurs only when *primary-stressed*
- Not a converging or ceiling effect

 ALSO /t/ VOT shows initial strengthening only when unaccented – not a ceiling effect - unexpected!

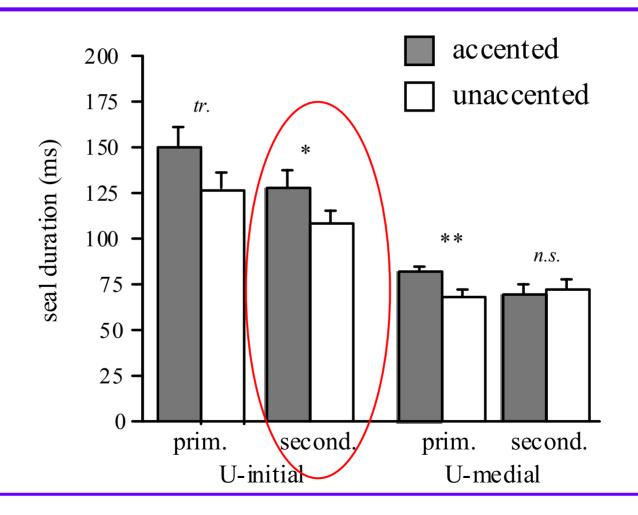
Stress-dependent C release contact



Question C: Is the domain of accent the stressed syllable, or the word?

- Most measures, especially V measures, showed accent limited to primary-stress syllables
- Some /t/ measures (seal duration, COG, VOT) show a whole-word accent effect on the initial syllable of words with final stress (i.e., the initial /t/ in tεbəˈbεt reflects an accent on the word)

Accent across stress levels



Conclusions

 Question A: Boundaries and prominences were articulated differently on several phonetic dimensions, with boundary effects seen more in consonants and prominence effects more in vowels

Conclusions

- Question B: Initial strengthening not much tied to the prominence system
- Question C: Accent generally limited to primary-stressed syllables, but some phonetic dimensions reflect accent through the word

Selected references

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