

Tongue root advancement and vowel duration: a gradient effect?

Stefano Coretta

The University of Manchester

13 April, BAAP 2018 (Canterbury)

- **Correlates of voicing**
 - *shorter VOT* (Westbury, 1983; Davidson, 2016; Abramson & Whalen, 2017)
 - *tongue root advancement TRA* (Westbury, 1983; Ohala, 2011)
 - *correlation VOT ~ TRA* (Ahn, 2015)
 - *longer vowel duration* (House & Fairbanks, 1953; Peterson & Lehiste, 1960; Chen, 1970; Klatt, 1973; Lisker, 1974; Fowler, 1992; Lampp & Reklis, 2004)
- **Relation between vowel duration and TRA**

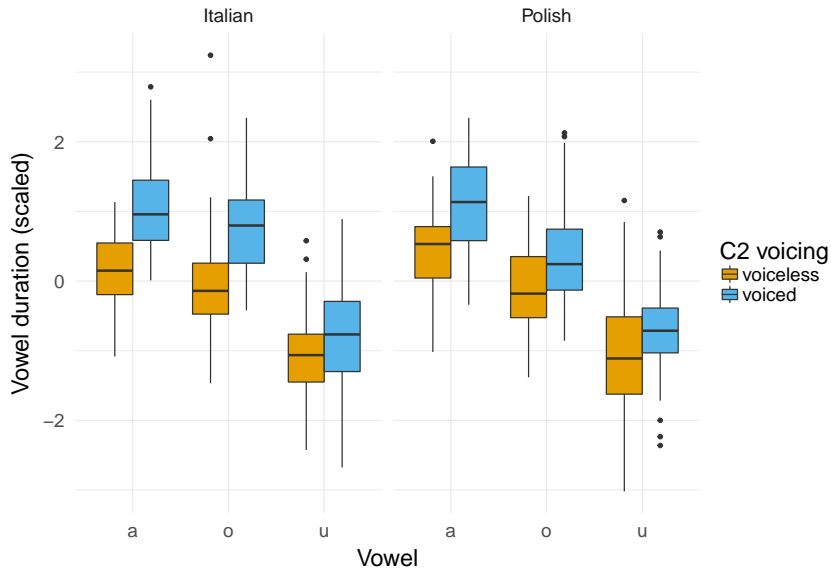
Background

- **Voicing effect (VE):** vowels are longer when followed by voiced stops
 - *Italian:* voicing effect of 35 msec (Farnetani & Kori, 1986)
 - *Polish:* mixed results
 - Keating (1984): no effect
 - Nowak (2006) PhD dissertation: 4.5 msec effect
- **Larger study:** relative timing of laryngeal and lingual activity
 - Simultaneous UTI + EGG + audio
- **This study:** exploratory, data driven

Methods (a summary)

- **Participants:** 4 Italians (2 F, 2 M), 4 Polish (2 F, 2 M)
- **Targets**
 - $C_1V_1C_2V_1$
 - $C_1 = /p/$, $V_1 = /a, o, u/$, $C_2 = /t, d, k, g/$
 - *pata, pada, paka, ..., poto, podo, ...*
- **Frame sentence**
 - *Dico X lentamente*, 'I say X slowly'
 - *Mówię X teraz*, 'I say X now'
- **Data**
 - Durational data from acoustics
 - Tongue contours from ultrasound tongue imaging

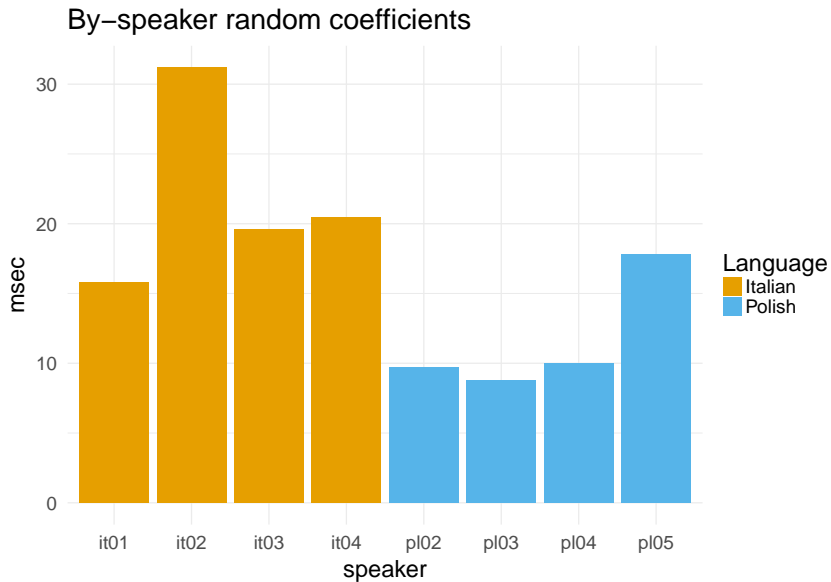
Results: Vowel duration



Results: Vowel duration

- Linear mixed-effects models (Bates et al., 2015; Kuznetsova et al., 2016)
- **Italian:** $\beta = 22$ msec, $\chi^2(3) = 15.8$, $p = 0.0012434$
- **Polish:** $\beta = 12$ msec, $\chi^2(3) = 12.39$, $p = 0.0061556$

Results: Vowel duration

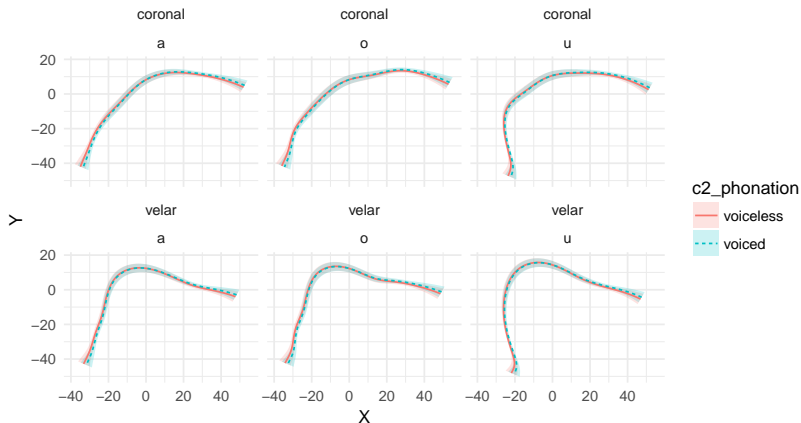


Results: Tongue contours

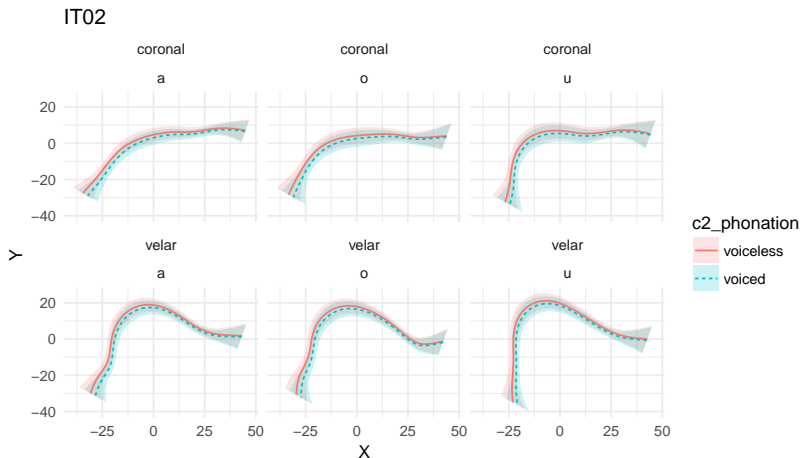
- **Midsagittal tongue contours**
 - From *within consonant closure* (at maximum tongue displacement, Strycharczuk & Scobbie, 2015), polar coordinates (Heyne & Derrick, 2015b,a; Mielke, 2015)
- **Generalised additive mixed effects models (GAMMs)** (Wood, 2006; Sóskuthy, 2017; van Rij et al., 2017)
- **Polar GAMMs** with the `rticulate` R package (Coretta, 2018a,b)
- **General trends**
 - Idiosyncratic use of TRA
 - 2 speakers with relatively greater TRA

Results: Tongue contours

IT01

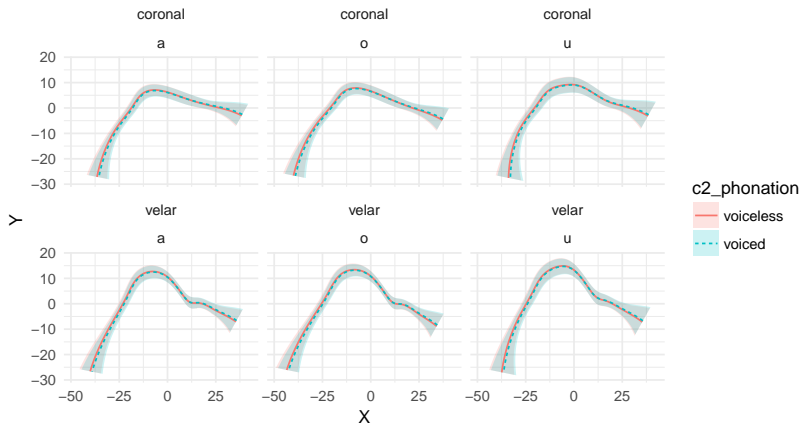


Results: Tongue contours



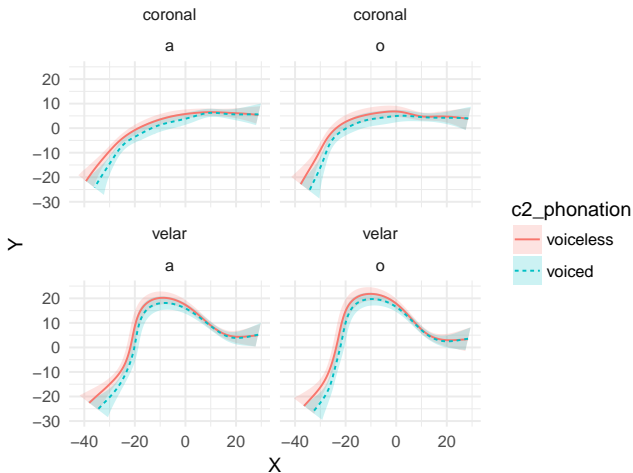
Results: Tongue contours

PL04



Results: Tongue contours

PL05

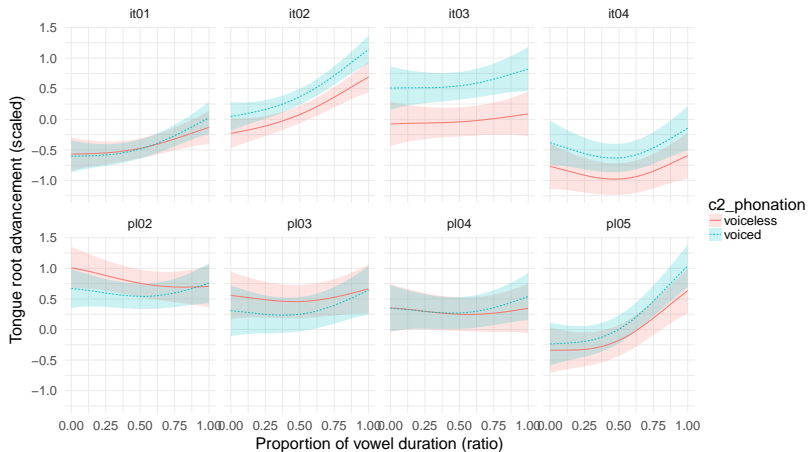


Discussion: Results summary

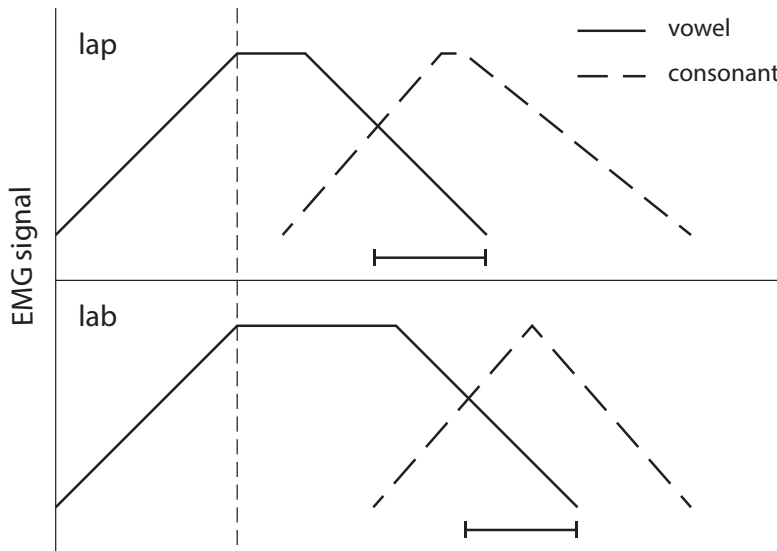
- **Effect of voicing on vowel duration**
 - Italian: +22 msec
 - Polish: +12 msec
- **Tongue contours**
 - 4 of 8 speakers (IT01, IT02, IT03, PL05) show TRA within closure
- **2 speakers** (IT02, PL05) with stronger VE and greater TRA

- **TRA hypothesis:** *Longer vowel duration allows for greater tongue root advancement.*
 - Cf. with Halle & Stevens (1967): laryngeal adjustments
- If TRA hypothesis is correct:
 - TRA during the vowel
 - Greater TRA in IT02 and PL05

Discussion: TRA during the vowel



Discussion: Electromiography (EMG, Raphael, 1975)

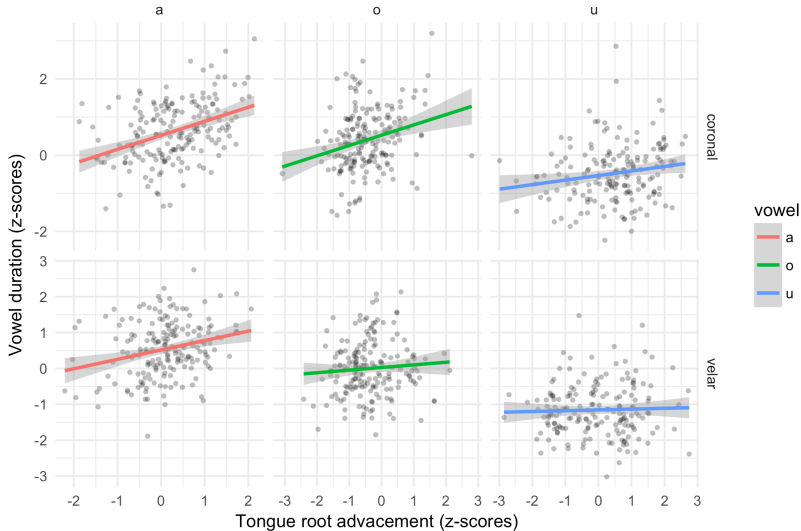


Discussion

- Raphael (1975): sustained muscular activity in voiced consonants
 - *extra time allows more tongue root advancement?*
- Is this a gradual (linear) relationship?
 - We might see a **positive correlation between vowel duration and degree of TRA** (but caveat!)

Discussion: Vowel Duration ~ TRA

Correlation between tongue root advancement and vowel duration



Conclusion

- Durational and ultrasound data from 8 speakers
 - Stronger VE ~ Greater TRA
 - TRA during the vowel
 - Vowel duration ~ TRA
- Future work
 - More speakers
 - Can the TRA gesture account for durational difference?

References

- Abramson, Arthur S. & Douglas H. Whalen. 2017. Voice Onset Time (VOT) at 50: Teoretical and practical issues in measuring voicing distinctions. *Journal of Phonetics* 63. 75–86.
- Ahn, Suzy. 2015. The role of the tongue root in phonation of American English stops. Paper presented at Ultrafest VII.
- Bates, Douglas, Martin Mächler, Ben Bolker & Steve Walker. 2015. Fitting linear mixed-effects models using lme4. *Journal of Statistical Software* 67(1). 1–48.

- Chen, Matthew. 1970. Vowel length variation as a function of the voicing of the consonant environment. *Phonetica* 22(3). 129–159.
- Coretta, Stefano. 2018a. rticulate: Ultrasound Tongue Imaging in R. R package version 1.3.1.9000.
<https://github.com/stefanocoretta/rticulate>.
- Coretta, Stefano. 2018b. Using generalised additive models (GAM) with polar coordinates for assessing tongue contours.
<https://github.com/stefanocoretta/rticulate>.
- Davidson, Lisa. 2016. Variability in the implementation of voicing in American English obstruents. *Journal of Phonetics* 54. 35–50.

References iii

- Farnetani, Edda & Shiro Kori. 1986. Effects of syllable and word structure on segmental durations in spoken Italian. *Speech communication* 5(1). 17–34.
- Fowler, Carol A. 1992. Vowel duration and closure duration in voiced and unvoiced stops: There are no contrast effects here. *Journal of Phonetics* 20(1). 143–165.
- Halle, Morris & Kenneth Stevens. 1967. Mechanism of glottal vibration for vowels and consonants. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 41(6). 1613–1613.

References iv

- Heyne, Matthias & Donald Derrick. 2015a. Benefits of using polar coordinates for working with ultrasound midsagittal tongue contours. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 137(4). 2302–2302.
- Heyne, Matthias & Donald Derrick. 2015b. Using a radial ultrasound probe's virtual origin to compute midsagittal smoothing splines in polar coordinates. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 138(6). EL509–EL514.
- House, Arthur S. & Grant Fairbanks. 1953. The influence of consonant environment upon the secondary acoustical characteristics of vowels. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 25(1). 105–113.

- Keating, Patricia A. 1984. Universal phonetics and the organization of grammars. *UCLA Working Papers in Phonetics* 59.
- Klatt, Dennis H. 1973. Interaction between two factors that influence vowel duration. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 54(4). 1102–1104.
- Kuznetsova, Alexandra, Per Bruun Brockhoff & Rune Haubo Bojesen Christensen. 2016. **lmerTest**: Tests in linear mixed effects models. <https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=lmerTest>. R package version 2.0-33.

- Lampp, Claire & Heidi Reklis. 2004. Effects of coda voicing and aspiration on Hindi vowels. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 115(5). 2540–2540.
- Lisker, Leigh. 1974. On “explaining” vowel duration variation. In *Proceedings of the Linguistic Society of America*, 225–232.
- Mielke, Jeff. 2015. An ultrasound study of Canadian French rhotic vowels with polar smoothing spline comparisons. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 137(5). 2858–2869.
- Nowak, Pawel. 2006. *Vowel reduction in Polish*: University of California, Berkeley dissertation.

- Ohala, John J. 2011. Accommodation to the aerodynamic voicing constraint and its phonological relevance. In *Proceedings of the 17th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, 64–67.
- Peterson, Gordon E. & Ilse Lehiste. 1960. Duration of syllable nuclei in english. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 32(6). 693–703.
- Raphael, Lawrence J. 1975. The physiological control of durational differences between vowels preceding voiced and voiceless consonants in English. *Journal of Phonetics* 3(1). 25–33.

- Sóskuthy, Márton. 2017. Generalised additive mixed models for dynamic analysis in linguistics: a practical introduction. arXiv preprint arXiv:1703.05339.
- Strycharczuk, Patrycja & James M. Scobbie. 2015. Velocity measures in ultrasound data. Gestural timing of post-vocalic /l/ in English. In *Proceedings of the 18th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, 1–5.
- van Rij, Jacolien, Martijn Wieling, R. Harald Baayen & Hedderik van Rijn. 2017. itsadug: Interpreting time series and autocorrelated data using GAMMs. R package version 2.3.

- Westbury, John R. 1983. Enlargement of the supraglottal cavity and its relation to stop consonant voicing. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 73(4). 1322–1336.
- Wood, Simon. 2006. *Generalized additive models: An introduction with R*. CRC Press.