Acoustic Features of Japanese Vowel-Vowel Hiatus at Prosodic Boundaries

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Abstract

We investigated V-V hiatus through J-ToBI labeling and listening to whole phrases to estimate degree of discontinuity and, if possible, to determine the exact boundary between two phrases. Appropriate boundaries were found in most cases as the maximum perceptual score. Using the open quotients OQ of electroglottography (EGG), pitch mark and spectrogram, the acoustic phonological feature of these V-V hiatus was found as phrase-initial glottalization and phrase-final nasalization, as well as phrase-final lengthening and phraseinitial shortening of the morae. A small F0 dip was observable at the boundary of V-V hiatus was found as universal indication of glottalization. The test materials are taken from the "Japanese MULTEXT", consisting of a particle - vowel (36), adjective - vowel (5), and word - word (4).

1. Introduction

In normal fluent speech, phrase as well as word boundaries become obscure because of fluency and then become difficult to segment. This is the salient problem of speech recognition and speech synthesis. Marks such as juncture, punctuation, and disjunction in a stream of speech sound are crucial for effective use of prosodic corpus. Resolution of such hiatus plays an important role in listening comprehension. In Japanese, there are very few studies about hiatus, but Kawahara states that preceding vowels spread into following syllables [1].

This paper presents results of a study concerning the boundary between morphological units, i.e., words and phrases in a Japanese sentence. Here we investigate the phrasal boundary in an utterance comprising a transition between a final mora of a preceding accentual phrase and an initial mora of the succeeding accentual phrase consisting of the same two vowels, i.e., a vowel-vowel hiatus.

J-ToBI, a prosody annotation scheme, defines the phrase structure vaguely as BI label with 5 different degrees as perceived disjuncture [2]. We tried to measure this ambiguous disjuncture quantitatively through a series of perceptual experiments. Results were also investigated using EGG analyzed data (open quotient), F0, speech waveform, and spectrogram. These observed disjunctures matched with discontinuities of articulatory measurements.

2. Vowel-vowel hiatus in Japanese

Since Japanese consists of open syllables ending with a vowel, if the following phrase begins with an initial vowel, vowel-vowel (V-V) hiatus arises, the same vowel continues without pause keeping isochronal mora timing. This vowel sequence is largely common in Japanese:

body of a phrase	vowel	vowel	body of a phrase

2.1. Morphonology of vowel-vowel hiatus

Possible Japanese vowel-vowel hiatus consists of the following structure:

front phrase	rear phrase
noun + particle	predicate
morpheme + adverb	adjective
a part of compound word	a part of compound word

Example hiatus was taken from our corpus written in (3.1). The most frequent occurrence is with particles, and the next most frequent occurrence is with adjectives.

The most common phrasal unit is a morpheme (e.g. a noun) + a particle (joshi) ends with a vowel and then follows to a vowel initial phrase such as ga|aru, wa|ame, sika|arimaseN, ni|iQte, te|ekizo, to|omou, wo|osiete, no|otaku.

The second type is a phrase ends with an adjective (fukushi) then follows to a vowel initial phrase such as mada|atarasii, iQtai|itu, mosi|ikite, seQkaku|utouto, kitiNto|okonau

The third less frequent type is a compound word (word | word), such as, *komugi*|*iro*, *takusii*|*ichidai*.

Similar phenomena are observable in the TIMIT: *She* | *is thinner than I am* (sx5: /iy | ih/). *Combine all the* | *ingredients in a large bowl* (sx118: /iy | ix/). *Where were you while we were* | *away*? (sx9: /axr | ax/)

2.2. Phonological realization of Japanese hiatus

There are a number of possible factors that help perception of Japanese V-V hiatus.

2.2.1. Phrase-initial glottalization

Glottalization of word-initial vowel is a common phenomenon of world languages [3]. It is more strongly pronounced if the word has a stress or accent at the beginning of the word.

2.2.2. Phrase-final nasalization

Voiced velar consonant is nasalized at the non-word-initial position in Tokyo Japanese. This nasalization contrasts with the following word-initial vowel that should not be nasalized. This sort of hiatus resolution occurs very often since noun phrases consisting of a noun + a particle ga are very common in Japanese, and such phrases can be followed by a predicate *aru* (there is, be, have) for example, composing an a|a hiatus.

2.2.3. Lengthening and shortening

Phrase-initial syllable or mora is shortened, while phrase-final syllable or mora is lengthened. This mora timing is a built in rhythm of Japanese as well as other languages. Duration of the concatenated vowel might be segmented with a built in timer of the perception mechanism. The mechanism will help the human hearing to resolve the hiatus.

2.2.4. Morphonological constraints

Part of speech plays some role in realization of the hiatus. Vowel sequence at the phrase boundary often occurs in the environments stated in 2.1. Such constraints help to resolve the hiatus.

3. Prosody data base

Phonetic prosodic labeling is performed on voice data collected for Japanese prosody database.

3.1. Japanese MULTEXT prosody corpus [4]

The Japanese version of MULTEXT (multi-language prosody corpus) is created by the specification of EUROM1 [5]. It aims at recording same-content of speech consisting of 40 small paragraphs, then the extraction of prosody parameter, and the prosody notation of five languages.

Speakers are native speakers of the Tokyo dialect. A text is given for a reading and to evoke a simulated spontaneous utterance. Speech was recorded with apparatus based on the specifications of EUROM1, in an anechoic chamber, using a B&K 1/2" condenser microphone, a DAT recorder (SONY PCM2300). In addition, electroglottographs are recorded with the EGG (KAY (Co.) 4338) from which F0's and open quotients are extracted.

3.2. Phonetic and prosodic labeling[6]

Phoneme segmentation by hand-eye is good, but still is difficult to segment when the same two vowels connect. Those cases were conventionally marked at the mid point to achieve equality of morae duration [6].

J-ToBI labeling is applied for prosodic annotation according to the manual [2]. Although, the X-JToBI [7] extended the J-ToBI in spontaneities of speech, e.g. descriptions of fillers and disfluencies, it does not describe V-V hiatus. J-ToBI is sufficient for our prepared speech.

4. Method of hiatus analysis

The prosodic boundary of phrases was segmented with reference to the waveform (speech and EGG) and the spectrogram of wide-band and narrow-band, and then evaluated by listening to the separated accentual phrases.

4.1. Perceptual analysis of phrase

The hiatus we treat is a V-V boundary between adjacent accentual phrases in Japanese. Samples were taken from the Japanese MULTEXT prosodic corpus spoken by a female speaker fhk. The examined phrases consist of 45 phrases producing hiatus of |a/|a/, |i/|i/, |u/|u/, |e/|/e/, |o/|/o/. There is no gap or transition between these two vowels.

In order to investigate deviations of V-V segment boundary, the following short speech waveforms are prepared. Referring to the hand labeled boundary as a fixed point, a front phrase and a rear phrase are separated and excised for speech materials in a perceptual experiment. The excising points are moved forward and backward from the fixed point with a step width of one vocal cord vibration period up to 5 periods. As a result, it amounted to 11 speech sounds for each side, to a total of 22 speech sounds per hiatus. Speech sounds are presented in random order for each subject. Subjects were asked to judge the naturalness or the sharpness of each phrase sound, paying special attention to the ending and beginning. Responses were scored on a scale from 5 to 0, with 5 points awarded for natural clear-cut speech, and 0 for utterances appearing completely unnatural or contaminated with the adjacent component. Each answer is scored from +2, +1, 0, -1, -2 accordingly. Subjects' answers are summed and averaged for individual speech materials. The listeners participating in the perceptual experiments were 6 male students and 2 female students. Figure 1 explains results of the best separation point as +3 glottal periods from the hand labeled point. At the same time, the EGG signal of this hiatus is shown in Figure 2, and the analysis explained in the next section.

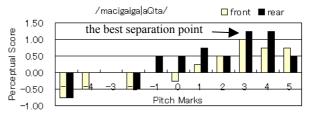
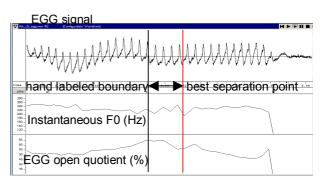


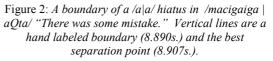
Figure 1: Phrase listening result for /macigaiga\aQta/ "There was some mistake." Perceptual score shows sharpness of either cut and separation of the front (white bar) and the back (black bar) phrases consisting with an /a\a/ hiatus.

4.2. Electroglottography waveform analysis

Electroglottography waveforms were analyzed for the open quotient (as shown in the bottom tier of the Figure 2) and the fundamental frequency (the middle tier in Figure 2) was computed from each glottal cycle using the KAY CSL tool [8]. The open quotient is related to voice quality, i.e., over 50% is harsh voice, 50% is modal voice, and 20-30% is breathy voice.

The quotient changes smoothly along time, but abrupt change can be an evidence of glottalization. The fundamental frequency extracted from EGG is an instantaneous F0, i.e., an inverse of every pitch period, drops simultaneously with glottalization as well. This F0 differ from the conventional F0 that are quantized within an analysis frame, but defined for every glottal period.





It is interesting that the glottalization point correspond to the best separation point obtained in the previous example (+3 glottal period in Figure 1). Therefore the perceptual boundary can be related to a drop of the instantaneous F0.

5. Analysis results of vowel-vowel hiatus

Hiatus resolution is possible based on glottalization in most cases and nasalization in some cases. And the resultant lengthening of phrase-final vowel and shortening of phraseinitial vowel is common.

5.1. Phrase-initial glottalization

In most cases, the phrase-initial vowel is stressed on its phonation by glottalization. This is also true in cases where the preceding phrase-ending vowel is the same as the following phrase-initial vowel. An example is shown in Figure 2 below, showing that the EGG open quotient goes up once to 65% then decreases down to 56% and then goes up again to 61%. The most appropriate point to separate the phrases is before this bottom (8.907s.). Simultaneously, the F0, which is computed from the EGG period, showed lowering: 249 Hz to 195 Hz then 239 Hz movements. Where the hand labeled boundary was at 8.890s.

Similar phenomena were observed in other cases in different degrees of prominence. Figure 3 shows another $a \mid a$ hiatus where F0 drops about 10 Hz and then returns. The open quotient goes down before the F0 change. Among 45 hiatuses analyzed, 17 items showed clear glottalization with dip in F0 and open quotient, and 23 items showed weak glottalization accompanied with other features, the remaining 5 items showing phrase-final nasalization. If the phrase-initial word is emphasized, the boundary showed prominent glottalization, while a particle $ga \mid a$ -initial phrase and a particle $wo \mid o$ -initial phrase depict rather vague features of glottalization if the following phrase is not emphasized. In those cases, the acoustic features are too small in magnitude

to detect visually. Although syntactic condition may help to resolve hiatus, probably human perception of glottalization must be far more sensitive than present signal processing.

5.2. F0 change in glottalization

As we stated in 4.2, the glottalization point correspond to the best separation point of perceptual experiments. Therefore the perceptual boundary can be related to a dip of the instantaneous F0. We examined for other speakers of this hypothesis found to be true.

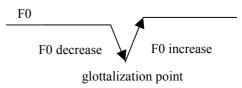


Figure 4: F0 change pattern.

Table 1: Average F0 change as % decrease and % increase of F0 for indication of glottalization and the acoustic feature of hiatus.

Vowel of hiatus	% decrease of F0	% increase of F0		
<i>a</i> <i>a</i>	0.96	3.25		
<i>i</i> <i>i</i>	3.22	1.70		
0 0	3.46	5.12		

The F0 change is measured as differences between the fundamental frequencies of the adjacent periods as shown in Figure 4. Table 1 shows F0 changes at the glottalization point in vowel-vowel hiatus. The patterns ...u|u... and ...e|e... are not common compared to the above three vowels among Japanese 5 vowels. The F0 changes are about 3% that is perceiable amount of change. The standard deviation is 0.9%

5.3. Phrase-final nasalization

Switching from nasalization to non-nasalization may sign a

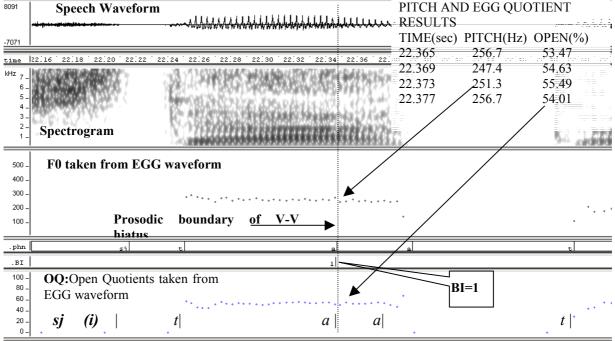


Figure 3: An example hiatus from /(soreo)sita | ato/ with observed dips in OQ and F_0 from EGG.

perceptual cue, and indicates a segmental boundary by spectrogram texture as relatively lower high frequency energy for nasalized speech. The nasalization contrast is observable even in a continuation of the same vowel. A phrase-final particle ga has to be nasalized in Tokyo Japanese. Around the central part of Figure 5., a long vowel /a/ in the context of /ga | aru/ is shown with a vertical bar that is the best separation point between two phrases. The left part is nasalized (albeit weakly) and the right part is not nasalized. Although the speaker fhk, as a younger generation in the drift of phonological change, tends to pronounce these ga with nonnasals or at least weakly nasalized, the spectrographic contrast is not very clear.

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Figure 5: A contrast of nasalized+/- at the phrase boundary of /myuHzjkaruga-aruhazu/ "There must be a musical program".

Nasalization is helpful to detect hiatus since the preceding phrase-final nasalization ends and the following phrase starts without nasalization. This +/-nasal contrast as well as glottalization resolves many hiatus (in our example, 4 cases was +/-nasal contrast alone and 12 cases accompanied with glottalization as well as the nasal contrast).

5.4. Segmental duration analysis

A phrase ending mora is lengthened to indicate the end of a phrase, while a phrase initiating mora is shortened in order to catch up with the isosyllabic mora timing. A V-V sequence of the same vowels has duration of about two morae, however, the boundary is found usually in the right half region.

Statistics of our 45 hiatus showed that the ratio of duration of the vowel segment in the preceding phrase-final position to that of the following phrase-initial position was 1.7 in average. In cases of emphasized following word, the preceding vowel is not lengthened, while the initial vowel of the following word is kept normal duration, then the ratio was reduced as low as to 0.76 for example.

6. Conclusion

J-ToBI labeled phrase boundaries are examined through perceptual evaluation of disjuncture, i.e. tidiness or flawless perfection. We investigated V-V hiatus by listening to whole phrases. The best perceptual score was obtained in most cases as the maximum perceptual score of a single peak.

"A phrase-final particle | a vowel", the most common pattern of V-V hiatus, was found to have the following acoustic features: (1) " $ga \mid a$ ", " $nji \mid i$ ", " $no \mid o$ ": " $ga \mid a$ "s showed +/-nasal contrast in the spectrographic pattern, since ga is normally nasalized while the following a is not nasalized. (2) " $wa \mid a$ ", " $sjika \mid a$ ", " $te \mid e$ ", " $to \mid o$ ": phrase initial vowel was glottalized. This glottalization was observable in F0 drop and a dip in EGG open quotient. (3) In " $wo \mid o$ ":, another frequent pattern, glottalization was not so distinct, since the EGG open quotient was not stable, but spectral change was also useful. "A phrase-final adjective | a vowel" and "a word ending with a vowel | a word beginning with a vowel" were cases characterized with stronger glottalization than the abovementioned cases.

Phrase-initial glottalization observable in the EGG open quotient, F0 or period of each glottal cycle, and phrase ending nasalization are important in resolving the hiatus phenomena. From our perceptual experiments and observations of EGG signals, the instantaneous change of F0 period was found to correspond to the perceptual boundary and to the phrase initial glottalization of the vowel-vowel hiatus. This finding was confirmed in different vowel environments and different speakers.

Duration of vowels that constitute hiatus, depend on relative emphasis of the adjacent phrases, however, usually the former is longer than the follower.

The findings in this paper indicate that some small abrupt discontinuity in vocal source generator is sharply sensed by our auditory system to effectively segment phrases, words, and phonemes. Accordingly, speech synthesizers may need to take much more care in their smoothness and discontinuity of the artificial vocal source generator so as to cause natural prosodic signs as well as to prevent unnecessary signs to confuse listeners.

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8. References

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