Computational Methods in Phonetics

Visualisation of Waveforms and Frequencies 2019-07-17, 14:30-16:30

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Types of Computing in Phonetics

Consumer computation

- Praat, Audacity
- Calc, Excel, SPSS

Scripting and Programming

- Praat scripting
- R, Stata, Matlab
- Python

Software development

- C
- Java
- Python

Theses: YARD (Yet Another Discussion of Rhythm)

Domain of investigation: Prosody

- The <u>rhythms</u> and <u>melodies</u> of spoken language
- The focus here is on rhythm more than on melody

Scientific results depend on scientific methods:

- Cognitive or hermeneutic methods:
 - direct observation and analysis of speech based on understanding of speech
 - Classic methods in linguistics
- Physical methods:
 - Physical methods for analysis of speech production, transmission and perception
 - Visualisation

Theses: YARD (Yet Another Discussion of Rhythm)

There are many rhythms in speech (and in music):

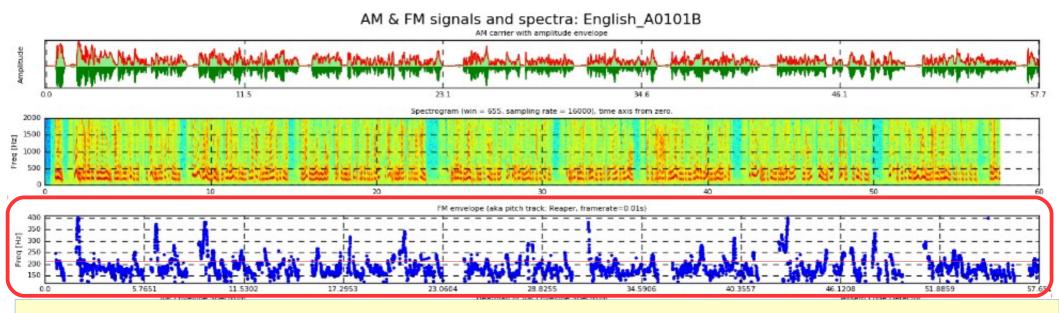
- Rhythms are oscillations, not sequences of isochronous states
- Rhythmic oscillations are essentially linear ('finite state')
- Rhythms occur in time domains of different sizes, each of them linear
- The time domains are associated with ranks of units of speech/language from discourse to phoneme

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Rhythms appear to be hierarchical, but the hierarchy

- has limited depth
- has linear layers with iterative cycles
- is not a general recursive hierarchy

Linear Layered Discourse Rhythms



57 seconds of a BBC news broadcast, from Aix-MARSEC corpus (A0101B)

Two Frequency zones:

- 1) Approximately 120 220 Hz
- 2) Approximately 300 400 Hz (on 'paratone' onsets)

Finite depth linear 2-cycle iterative layered structure

(FS, cf. Pierrhumbert, not a recursive hierarchy)

- Two independently motivated but structurally dependent linear layers (like hours & minutes on a clock)
- Each gradually declining and periodically resetting

Rhythm is oscillation

Rhythm is a marker of syntagmatic relations

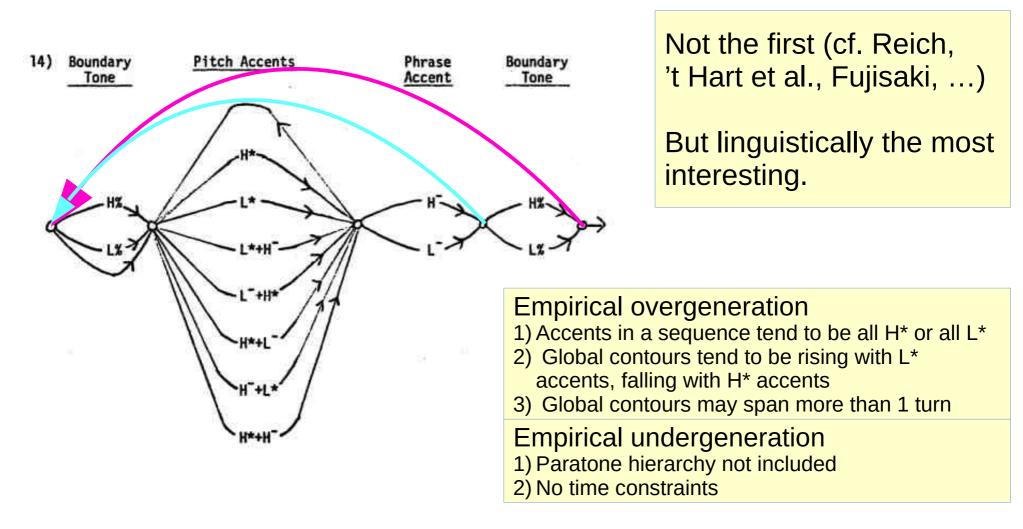
 Rhythms mark syntagmatic relations in sequences of units which belong together

Levels of abstraction:

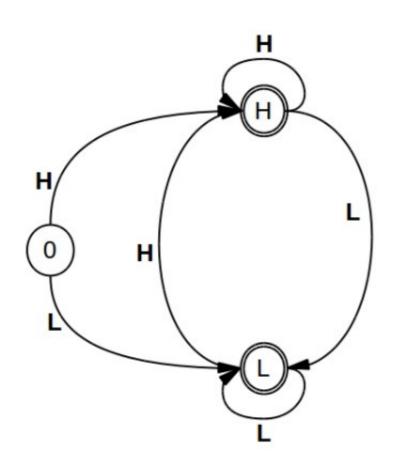
- 1) Abstract oscillation: iterations, modelled by 'loops' in Finite State Machines
 - Intonation
 - Pierrehumbert's model, with added loops
 - Tone
 - Gibbon's model of Niger-Congo 2-level terraced tone
 - Jansche's model of Tianjin tone
- 2) Physical oscillation of the amplitude of speech
 - Syllables
 - Phrases
 - ...

Abstract oscillation

Pierrehumbert's regular grammar / finite state transition network



Niger-Congo Iterative Tonal Sandhi (the most general case)

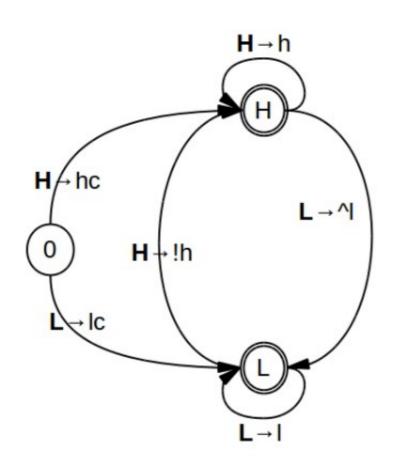


At the most abstract level, just one node with H and L cycling around it.

From an allotonic point of view:

- 3 cycles
- 1-tape (1-level) transition network

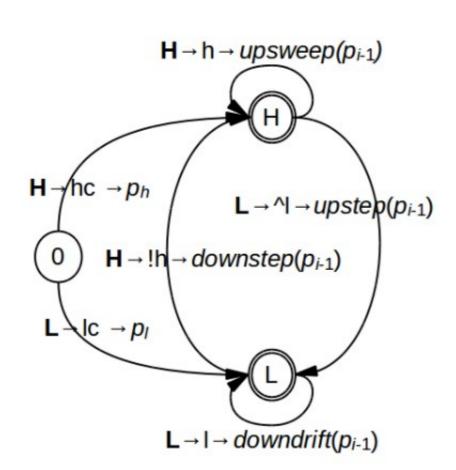
Niger-Congo Iterative Tonal Sandhi (the most general case)



From an allotonic point of view:

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- 2-tape (= 2-level) transition network

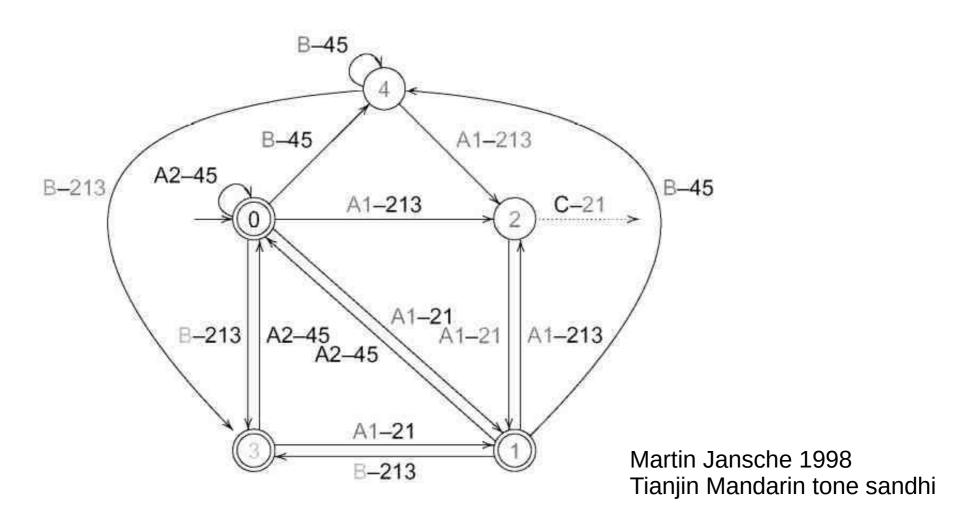
Niger-Congo Iterative Tonal Sandhi (the most general case)



From phonetic signal processing point of view:

- 3 cycles
- 3-tape (= 3-level) transition network

Tianjin Dialect Iterative Tonal Sandhi



Physical oscillation

Physical oscillation

Oscillation means that intervals – cycles – tend to have the same length (duration).

But is it enough to focus only on duration of vowels, syllables, etc., using annotation mining?

What about the alternation feature of rhythm?

- 1-dimensional annotation mining of time-stamp durations
- 2-dimensional annotation mining of time-stamp durations
- 3-dimensional annotation mining of time-stamp durations

One-dimensional because the result of the analysis is a single scale. The results are all comparable to variance or standard deviation, but differ in detail.

For example, with the *nPVI*, subtraction is between neighbouring data in a moving window (so a kind of AMDF, Average Magnitude Difference Function), not between mean and data, thus factoring out tempo variations to some extent.

Variance $(x_{1n}) = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n} (x_{i} - \bar{x})^{2}}{n-1}$	(or Standard Deviation)
$PIM\left(x_{1n}\right) = \sum_{i \neq j} \left \log \frac{I_i}{I_j} \right $	where $I_{i,j}$ are intervals in a given sequence
$PFD(d_{1n}) = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n} \bar{d} - d_{i} }{\sum_{j=1}^{n} d_{j}} \times 100$	where <i>d</i> is typically the duration of a <i>foot</i>
$nPVI(d_{1n}) = \frac{\sum_{k=1}^{k-1} \frac{ d_k - d_{k+1} }{(d_k + d_{k+1})/2}}{n-1} \times 100$	d refers to duration of vocalic segment, syllable or foot, typically

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Isochrony as variance: Roach

Textual description hard to figure out, but maybe ...

Mean Foot Length (MFL) =
$$\frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n} |foot_i|}{n}$$

Percentage Foot Deviation (PFD) = $100 \times \frac{\sum |MFL - len(foot_i)|}{n \times MFL}$

Ignore syllables before initial and after final stresses Calculate:

average length of interstress interval / foot (MFL)

percentage deviation of each interval from MFL, maybe ...

100 x (mean-interval) / mean

variance of percentage deviations (?)

This is a global measure: ignores <u>alternation</u> and <u>iteration</u> criteria

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Isochrony as ratio: Scott et al.

The Rhythmic Irregularity Measure $(RIM) = \sum_{i \neq j} \left| \log \frac{I_i}{I_j} \right|$ dual utter and to each other interval.

Perfect isochrony: RIM = 0; non-isochrony is an openended log function.

RIM applies to utterances of the same length:

Scott & al. suggest generalising the RIM by dividing by *n* for interval sequences of length *n*.

This is incorrect: the RIM calculates a (triangular) matrix so a generalised RIM must be divided by n^2 .

RIM is designed to be "symmetric":

RIM therefore just measures isochrony, not rhythm, as it ignores rhythm <u>alternation</u> and <u>iteration</u>.

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Isochrony as local distance: Grabe & al.

$$nPVI = 100 \times \sum_{k=1}^{m-1} \left| \frac{d_k - d_{k+1}}{(d_k + d_{k+1})/2} \right| / (m-1)$$

Normalises locally between neighbouring intervals for speech rate, using a distance measure:

PVI = 100 * AVG(DISTANCE) (range 0...200, asymptote)

Problems:

Magnitude operation:

If PVI = 0, then isochrony holds – this is ok.

But if PVI ≠ 0, then intervals are somehow irregular, use of the absolute value means many sequences (increasing, decreasing, mixed, non-binary, ...) may have the same PVI

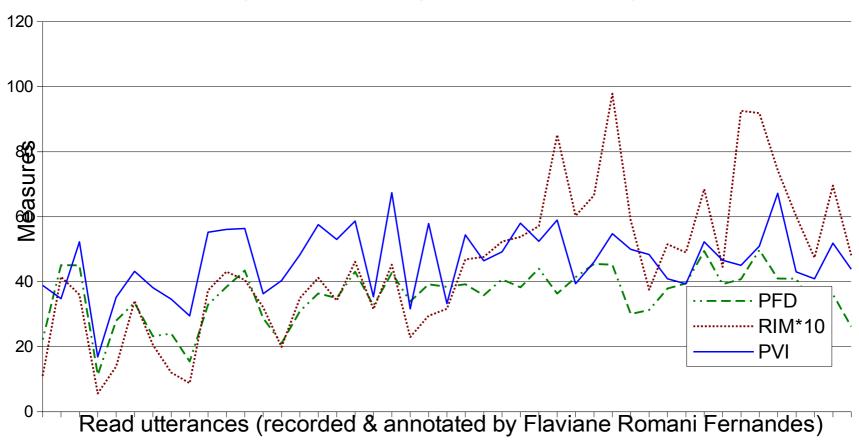
Binary comparison (supposes iambs/trochees?), but

Spondaic: That big black bear swam fast past Jane's boat.

Dactylic: Jonathan Appleby trundled along with a tune on his lips.

Empirical comparison of PFD, RIM, PVI

PFD, scaled RIM, PVI distributions (Brazilian Portuguese, MC, neutral)



The models should at least correlate...

... but they don't correlate too well

Interval duration approaches and typology

Ramus:

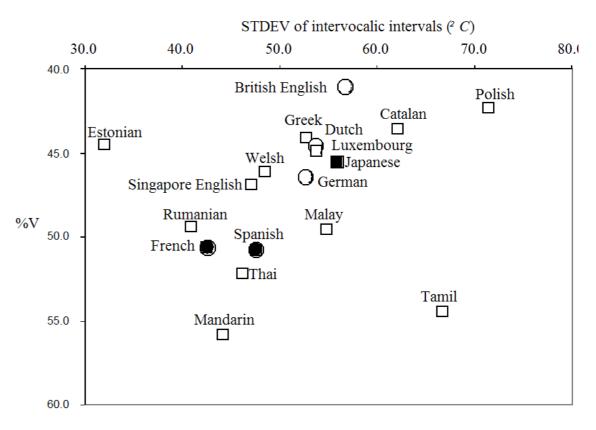
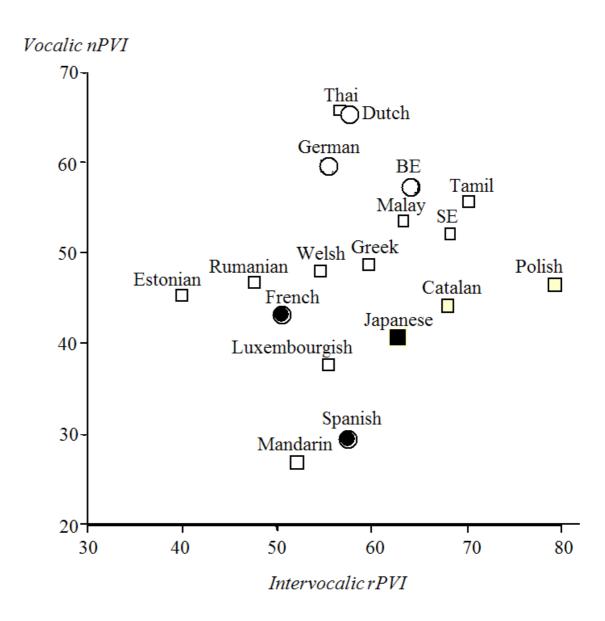


Figure 3. The measure %V is plotted on the y-axis, in reverse order. The standard leviation of intervocalic intervals ΔC , is given on the x-axis.

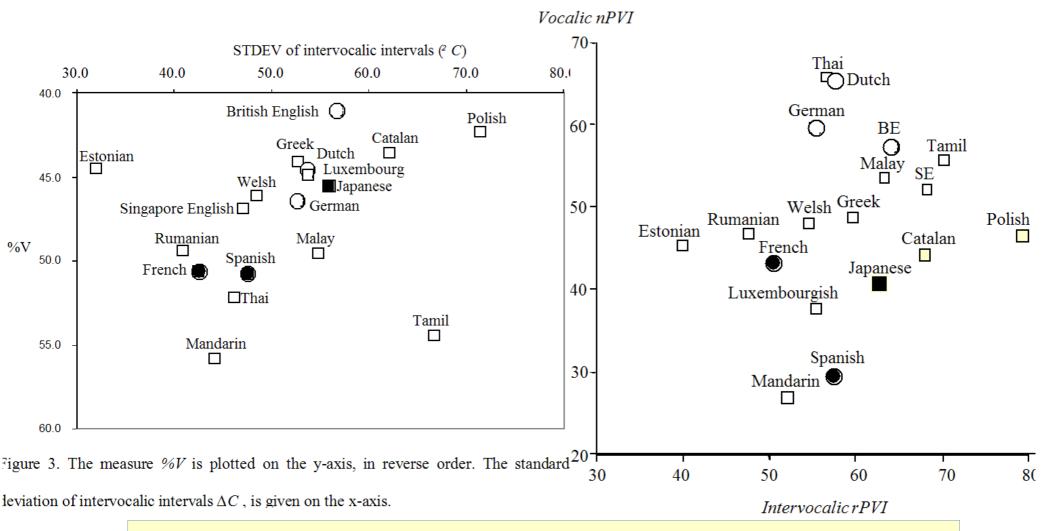
Interval duration approaches and typology

Grabe & al.:



Interval duration approaches and typology

Ramus: Grabe et al.:



Daniel Hirst pointed out that these relations can be obtained phonologically, by comparing the phonotactics of the languages, rather than phonetically, with measurements.

Summary: 1-dimensional interval duration approaches

There are many other interval duration measures perhaps most prominently in the past 5 years the non-isochronous Ramus model: ΔC x %V

<u>Isochrony/irregularity</u> is <u>not a sufficient condition</u>:

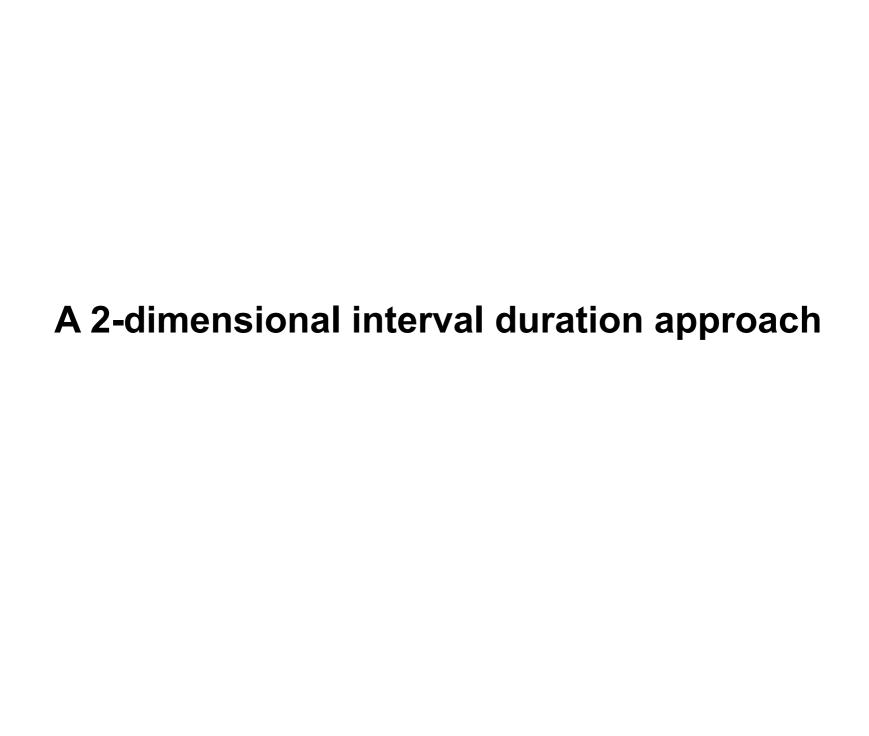
cf. Cummins (2002) on Ramus:

Where is the bom-di-bom-bom in %V?

Interval duration isochrony approaches ignore the *ordering* and *directionality*, of rhythm, *alternation* within Rhythm Units and *iteration* of Rhythm Units.

And

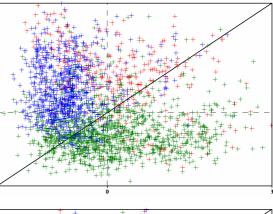
The interval duration approaches assume the relevant event is duration of segmental constructs which it may or may not be



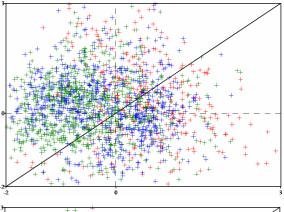
Wagner:

 addresses the absolute magnitude problem

English

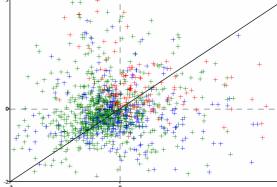


plots duration, x duration, French



creates typologically interpretable clusters

Polish



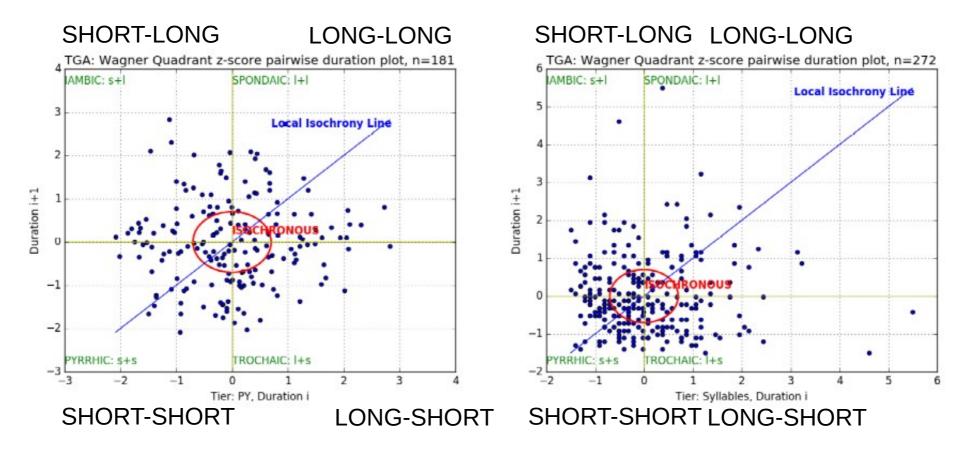
green: stressed x unstressed unstressed x stressed blue:

phrase-final red:

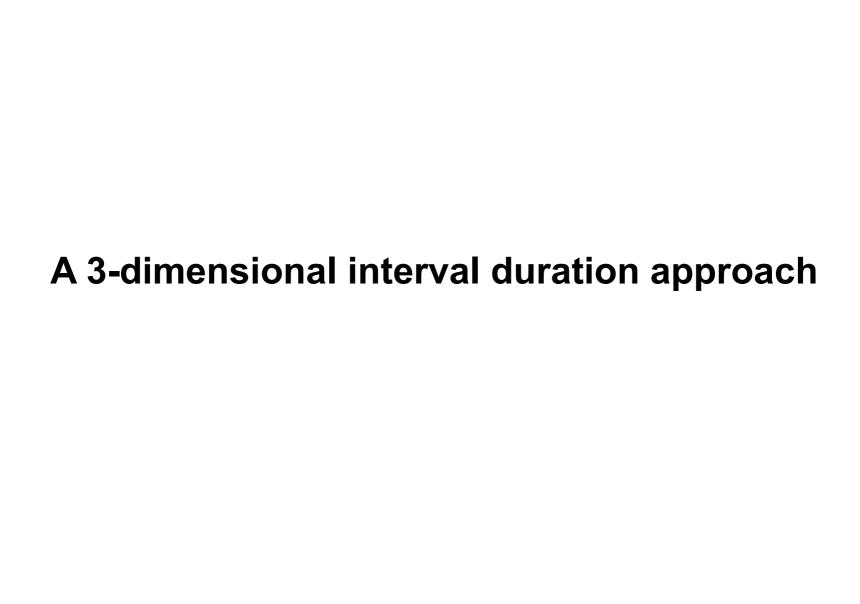
Following Wagner, two-dimensional duration relations are represented in a z-scored scatter plot, not as a single scale.

Result, visualising the scale in two dimensions:

Mandarin: means are scattered relatively evenly around the centre English: e.g. *count(short-short)* > *count(long-long)*, not binary!



Wagner, Petra (2007). "Visualizing levels of rhythmic organisation." *Proc. International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, Saarbrücken 2007*, pp. 1113-1116, 2007



General strategy:

- take the local difference/distance measure from the PVI
- do not throw directionality away by taking absolute values of differences
- but use directionality (polarity) to determine grouping
 Specific procedure:
 - using annotation time-stamps, recursively build tree structures (Time Trees):
 - iambic parametrisation:
 if right neighbour is stronger,
 then group
 else stack and wait for a stronger right neighbour
 - trochaic parametrisation:
 if right neighbour is stronger,
 then group
 else stack and wait for a weaker right neigbour

Data – reading style presumed optimal

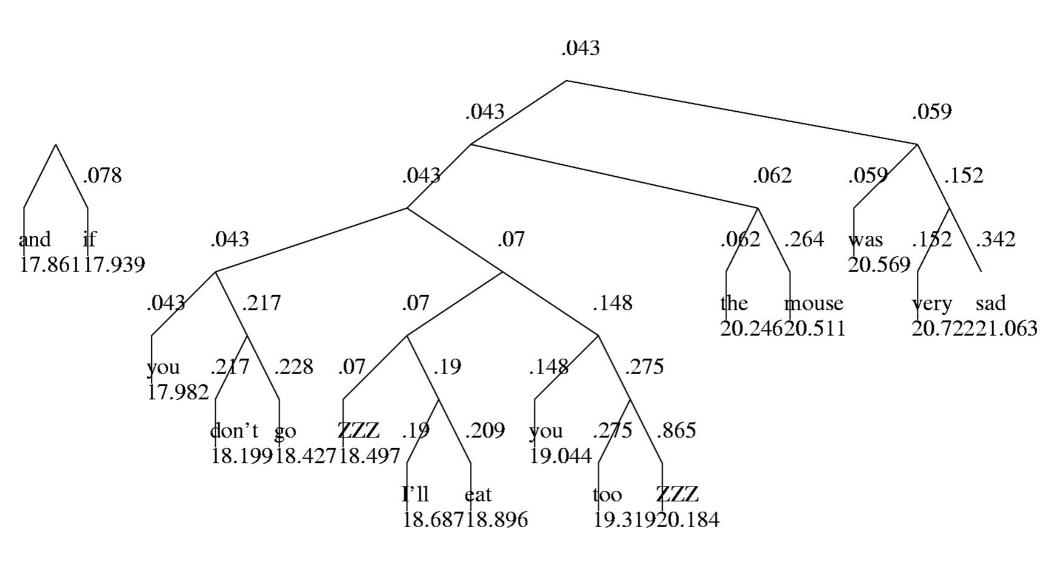
A tiger and a mouse were walking in a field when they saw a big lump of cheese lying on the ground. The mouse said: "Please, tiger, let me have it. You don't even like cheese. Be kind and find something else to eat." But the tiger put his paw on the cheese and said: "It's mine! And if you don't go I'll eat you too." The mouse was very sad and went away.

The tiger tried to swallow all of the cheese at once but it got stuck in his throat and whatever he tried to do he could not move it. After a while, a dog came along and the tiger asked it for help. "There is nothing I can do." said the dog and continued on his way. Then, a frog hopped along and the tiger asked it for help. "There is nothing I can do." said the frog and hopped away.

Finally, the tiger went to where the mouse lived. She lay in her bed in a hole which she had dug in the ground. "Please help me," said the tiger. "The cheese is stuck in my throat and I cannot remove it." "You are a very bad animal," said the mouse. "You wouldn't let me have the cheese, but I'll help you nonetheless. Open your mouth and let me jump in. I'll nibble at the cheese until it is small enough to fall down your throat." The tiger opened his mouth, the mouse jumped in and began nibbling at the cheese. The tiger thought: "I really am very hungry.."

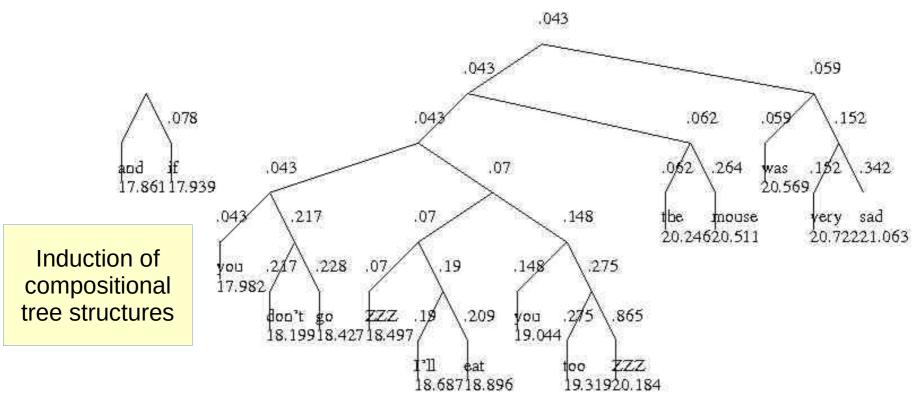


Interpreting Time Trees



Three-dimensional because alternative trees are possible, depending on the algorithm settings:

- binary/nonbinary, lower/higher percolated
- related to phrasal and discourse patterns



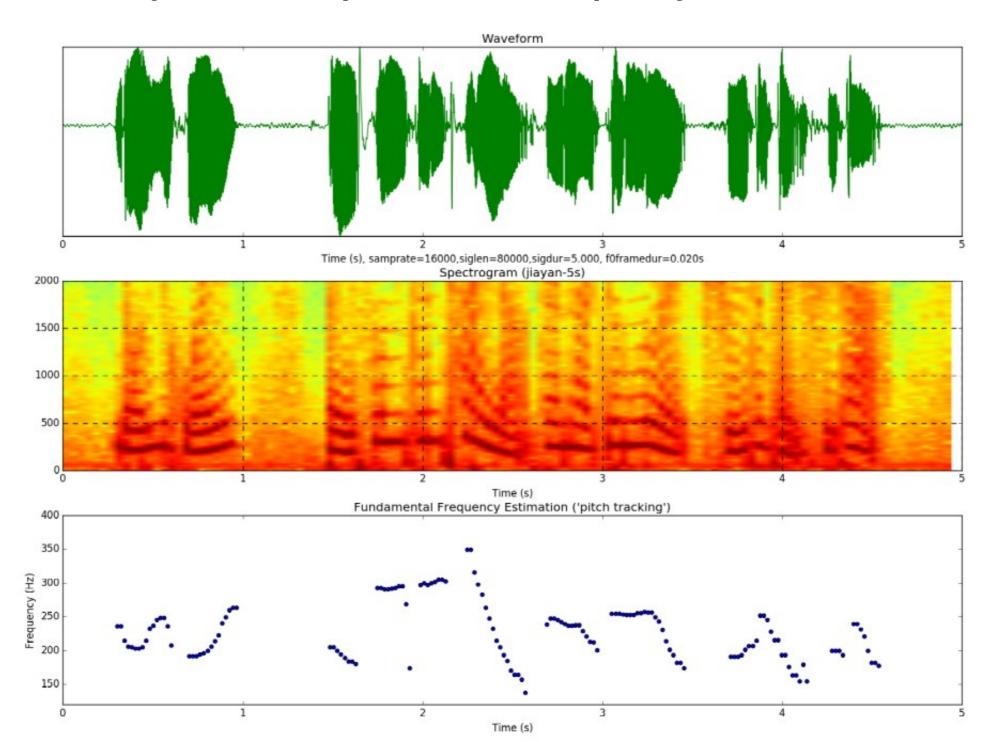
Gibbon, Dafydd. 2006. "Time types and time trees: Prosodic mining and alignment of temporally annotated data". In: Stefan Sudhoff, et al., eds. *Methods in Empirical Prosody Research*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 281–209, 2006.

But the annotation mining approaches ...

- are based on cognitive filtering by linguists (for example with annotated time-stamps, Praat etc.)
- model static durations
- use pairwise relations
- focus on isochrony, equal timing of durations
- ignore the essential property of *rhythm*, which is alternation of units with approximately equal duration
- in other words: oscillation

There is an alternative: speech signal analysis

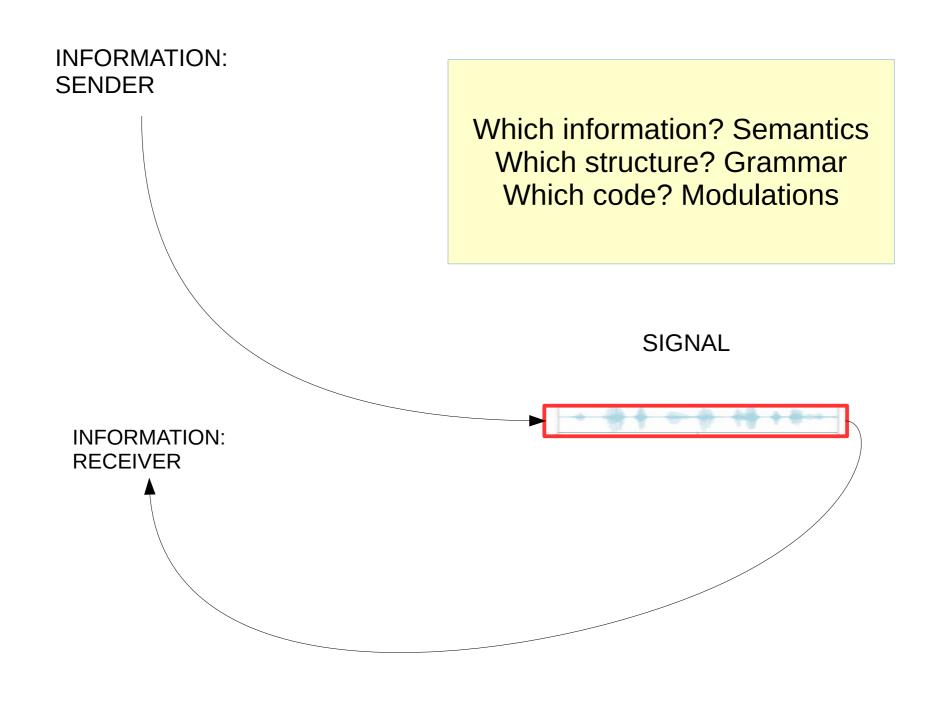
Rhythms in Amplitude AND Frequency Modulation



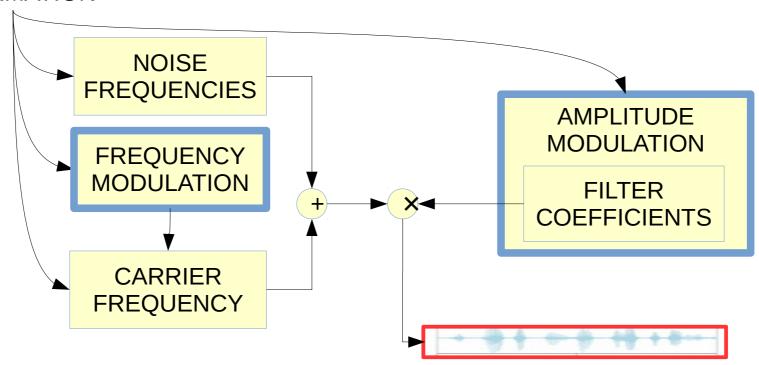
Rhythm as Physical Oscillation

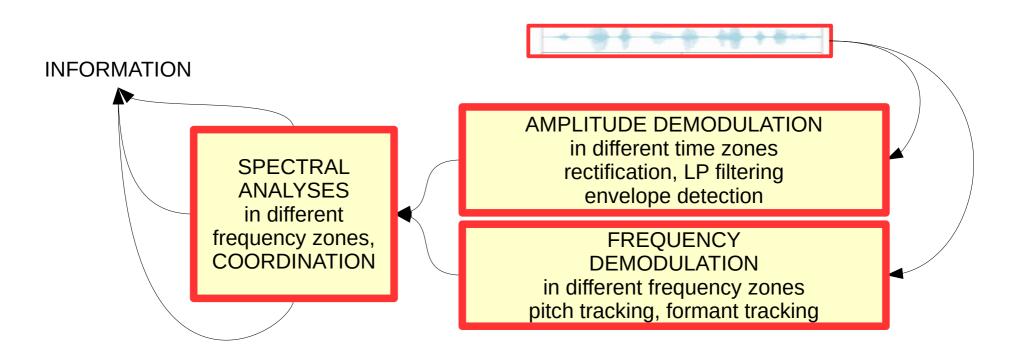
Amplitude Modulation and Frequency Modulation

INFORMATION: **SENDER SIGNAL INFORMATION: RECEIVER**

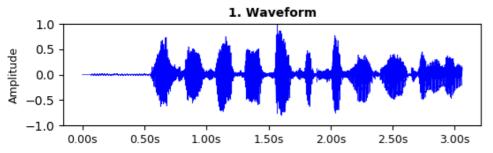


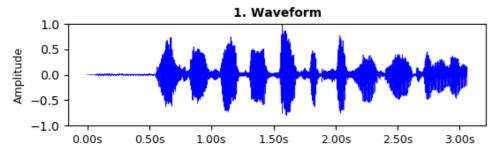
INFORMATION

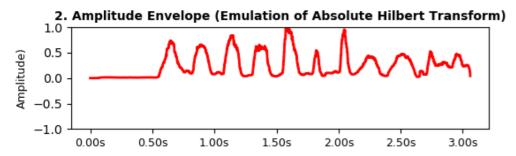


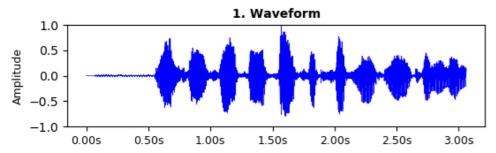


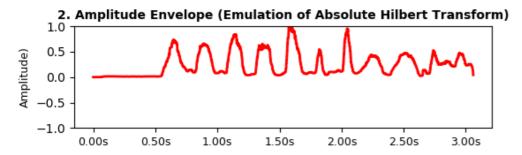
INFORMATION NOISE **FREQUENCIES AMPLITUDE MODULATION FREQUENCY MODULATION FILTER** COEFFICIENTS **CARRIER FREQUENCY INFORMATION** AMPLITUDE DEMODULATION in different time zones **SPECTRAL** rectification, LP filtering **ANALYSES** envelope detection in different frequency zones, **FREQUENCY** COORDINATION **DEMODULATION** in different frequency zones pitch tracking, formant tracking

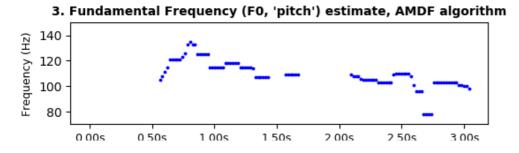


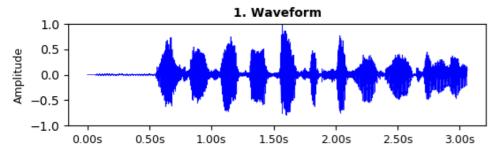


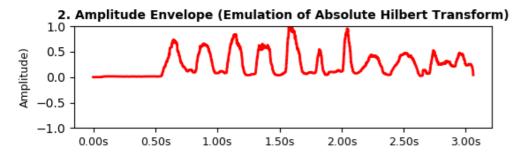


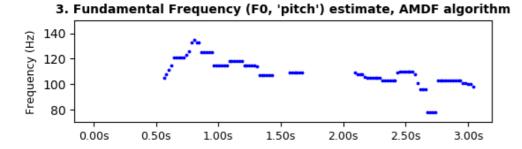


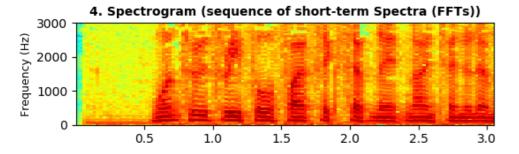








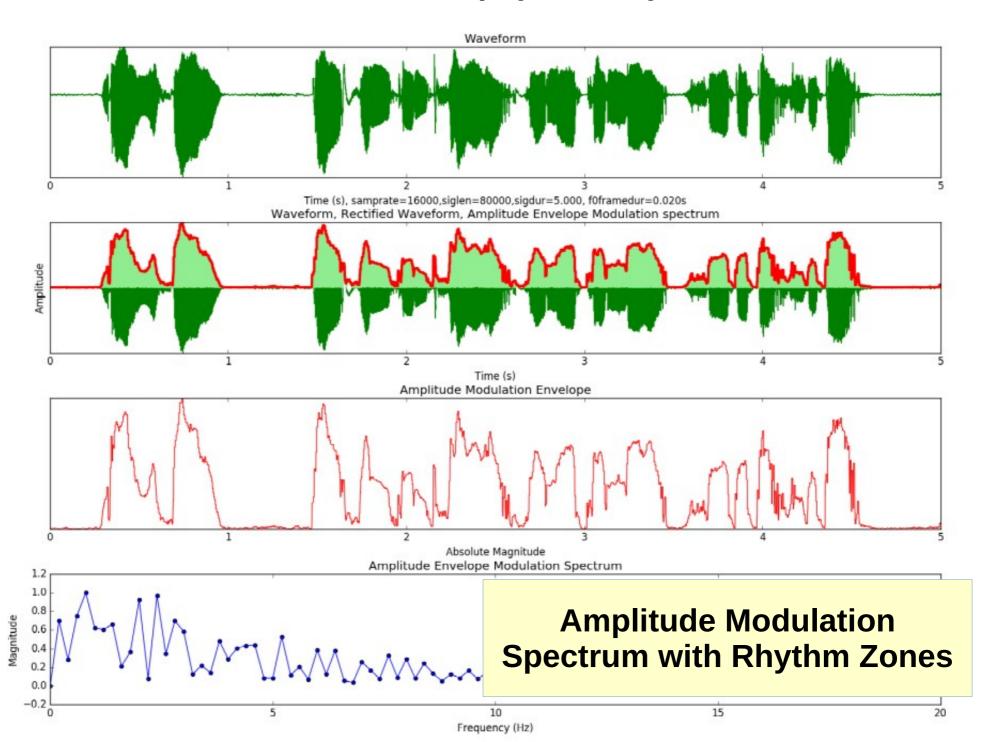




The Reality of Rhythm!



How to measure physical rhythm



The Role of F0

If a spectrum can be derived from the **AM envelope**, why not derive a spectrum from the **FM track** and see whether they correlate?

Preliminary answer:

Yes, they do correlate to some extent, but not overwhelmingly strongly!

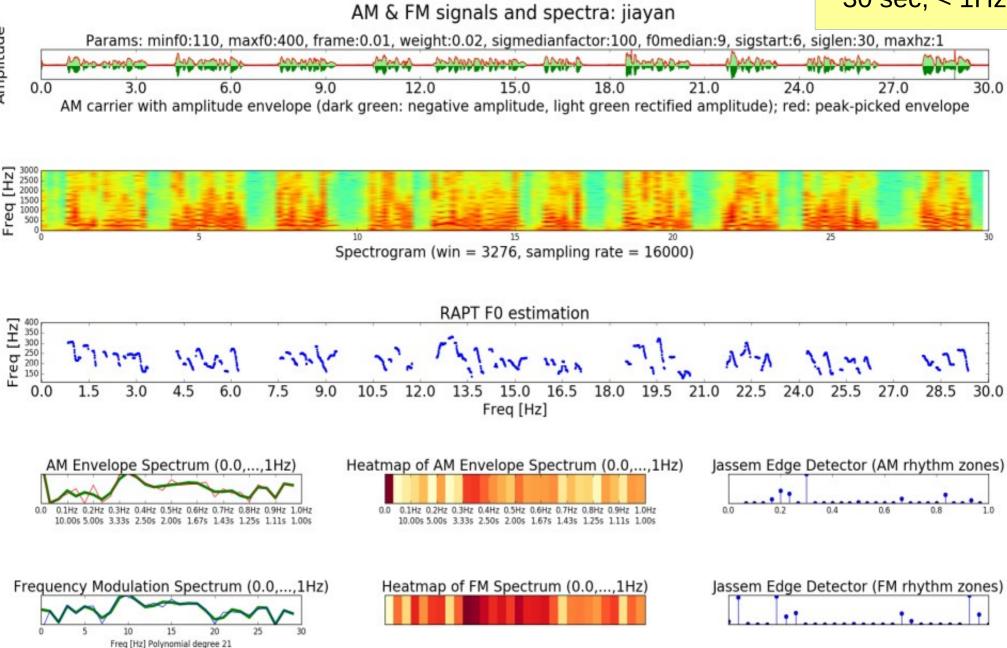
This is not very surprising, of course, since they are partly co-extensive locally and globally, though locally not too similar.

I will look at both AM and FM spectra.

AM and FM Demodulation

Mandarin, female 30 sec, < 1Hz

Amplitude



IKIU Prosody Workshop, April 2019

Correlation AME:FME=0.74
Correlation AMS:FMS=0.29

D. Gibbon, Rhythms and Melodies of Speech

Envelope Demodulation: Extending to Discourse Spectra

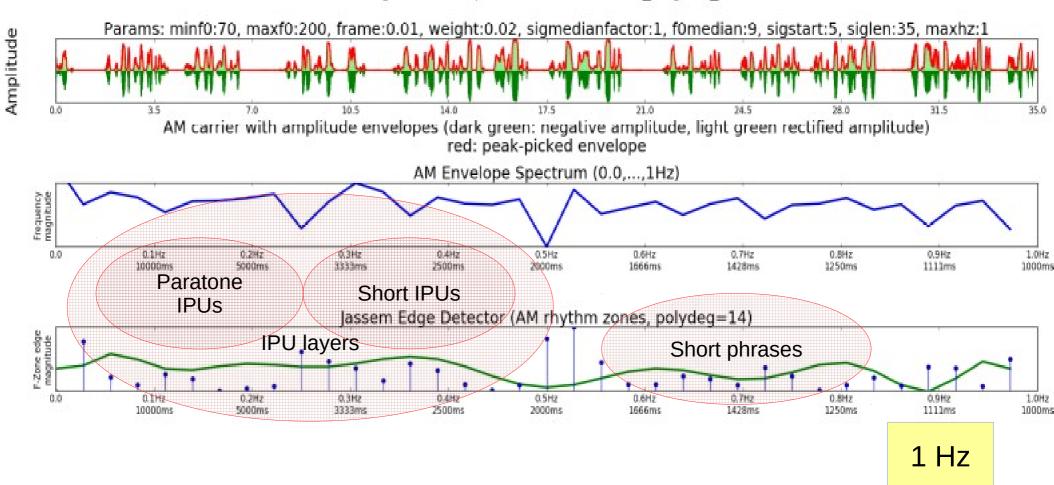
English (RP) Edinburgh corpus "The North Wind and the Sun"

AM & FM signals and spectra: Abercrombie English NW048 Params: minf0:70, maxf0:200, frame:0.01, weight:0.02, sigmedianfactor:1, f0median:9, sigstart:5, siglen:35, maxhz:1 Amplitude 21.0 AM carrier with amplitude envelopes (dark green: negative amplitude, light green rectified amplitude) red: peak-picked envelope AM Envelope Spectrum (0.0,...,1Hz) 0.1Hz 0.2Hz 0.3Hz 0.4Hz 0.5Hz 0.6Hz 0.7Hz 0.8Hz 10000ms 5000ms 3333ms 2500ms 2000ms 1666ms 1428ms 1250ms 1111ms 1000ms Jassem Edge Detector (AM rhythm zones, polydeg=14) 0.4Hz 0.5Hz 0.7Hz 0.8Hz 0.1Hz 0.2Hz 0.3Hz 1.0Hz 1250ms 10000ms 5000ms 3333ms 2500ms 2000ms 1666ms 1428ms 11111ms

1 Hz

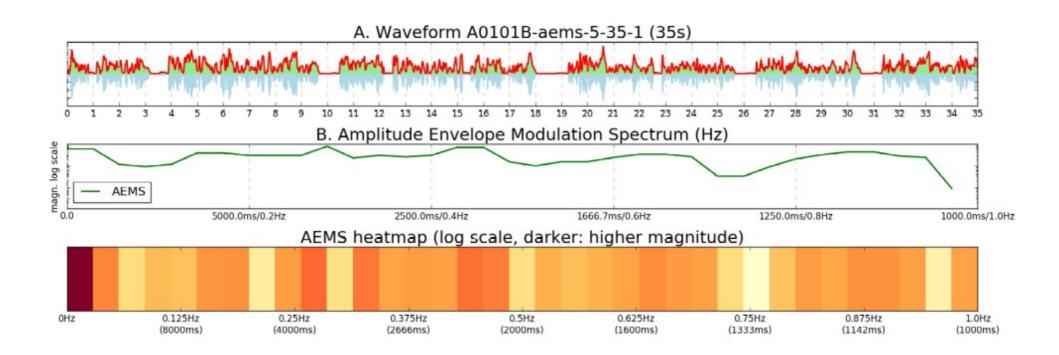
English (RP) Edinburgh corpus "The North Wind and the Sun"

AM & FM signals and spectra: Abercrombie_English_NW048



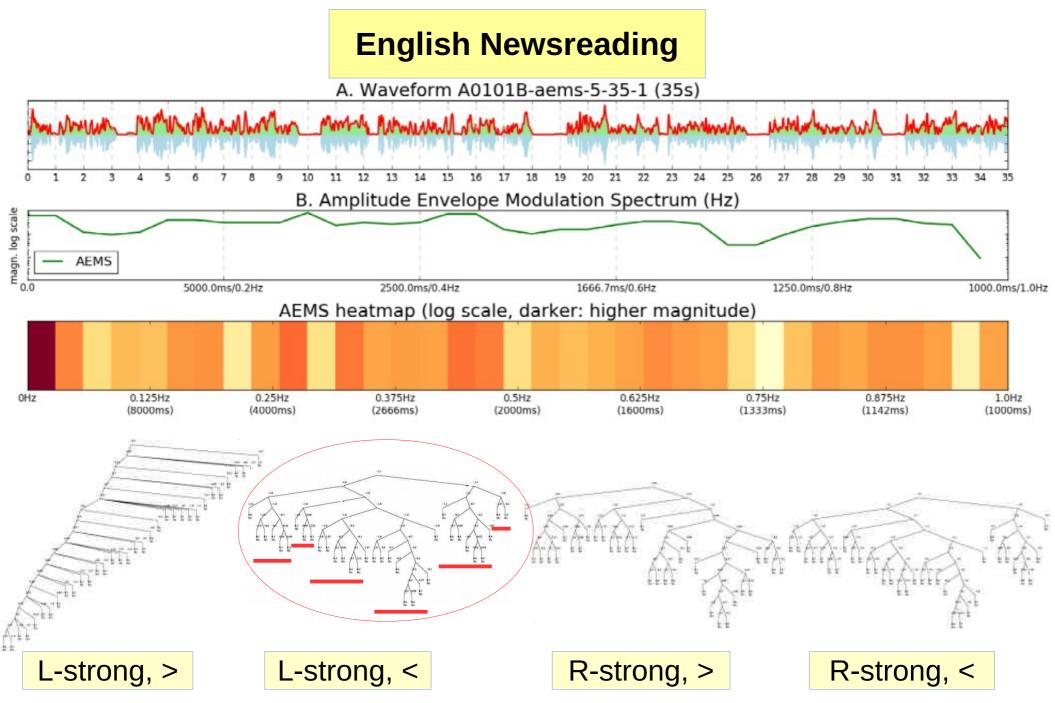
Extending to Discourse Spectra: English Genres

English Newsreading



Spectral Rhythm Zone Boundaries (lighter colours)

AM and FM Demodulation and Spectral Tree Induction

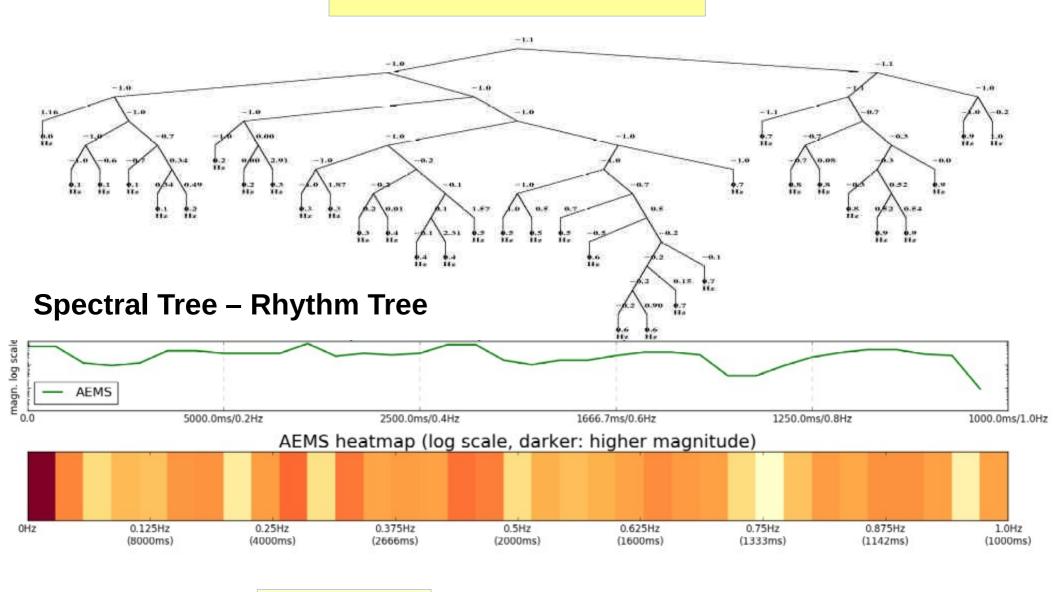


IKIU Prosody Workshop, April 2019

D. Gibbon, Rhythms and Melodies of Speech

AM and FM Demodulation and Spectral Tree Induction

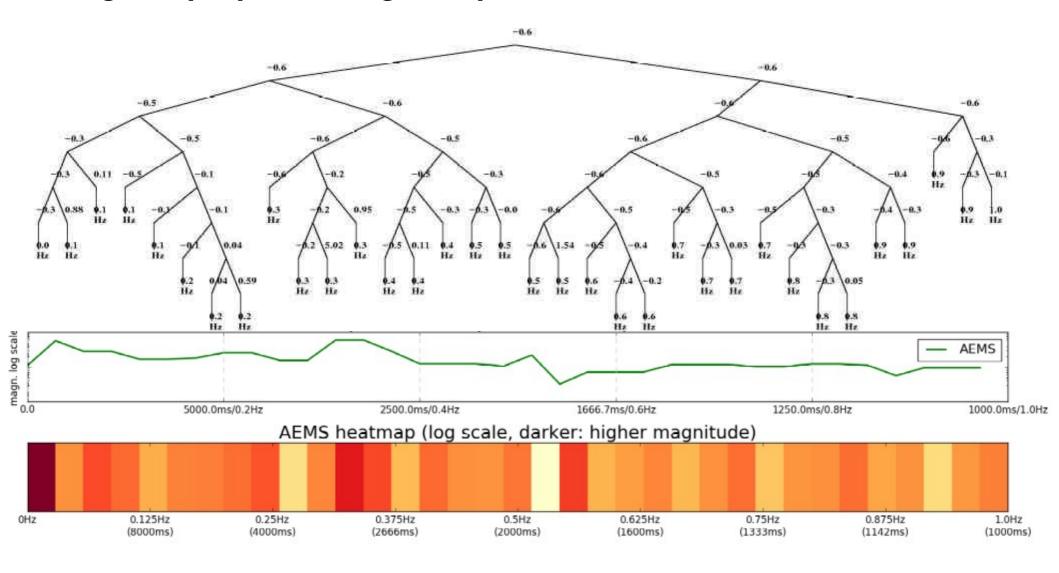
English Newsreading



L-strong, <

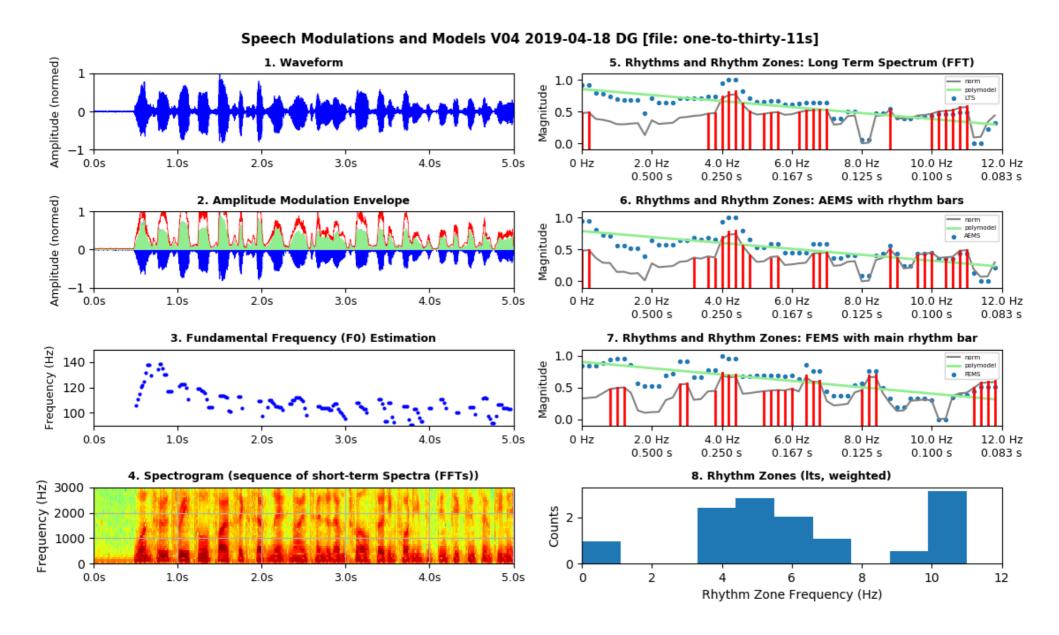
AM and FM Demodulation and Spectral Tree Induction

English (RP) Edinburgh corpus "The North Wind and the Sun"

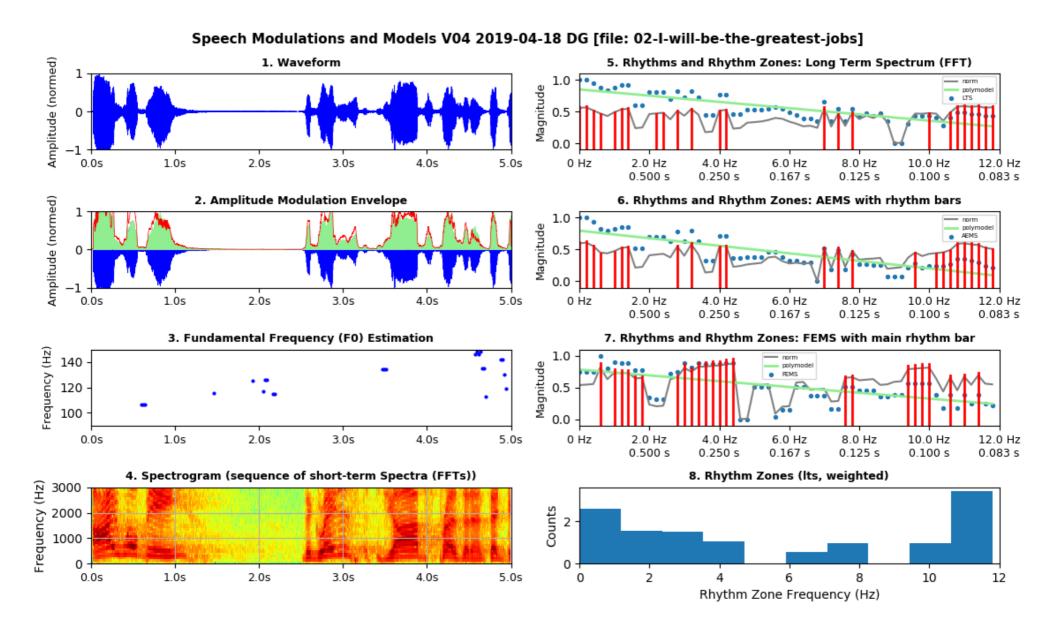


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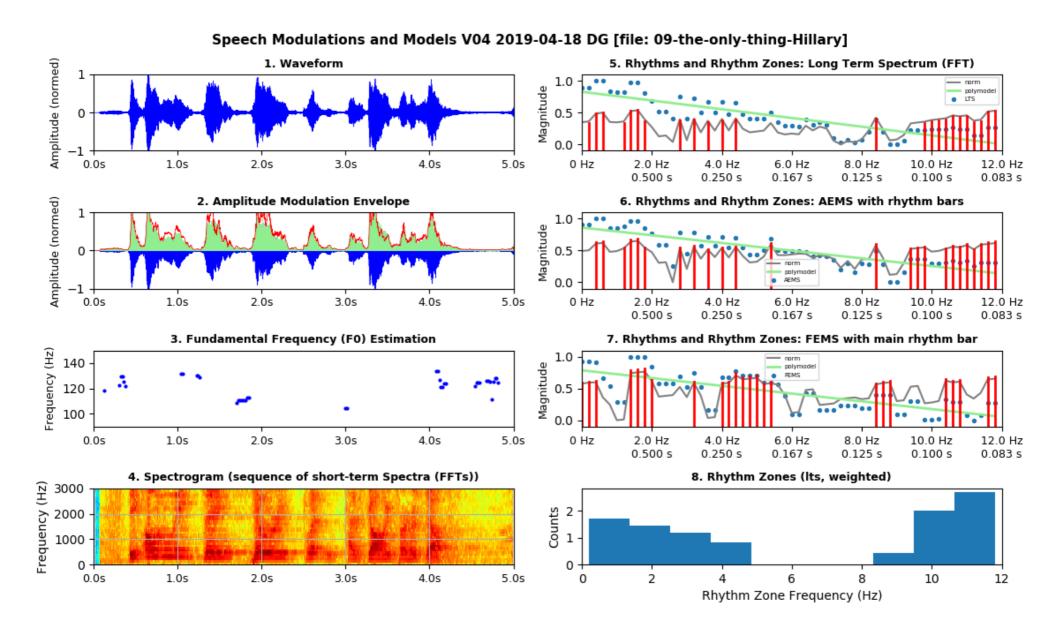
Rhythm Zones



Rhythm Zones



Rhythm Zones



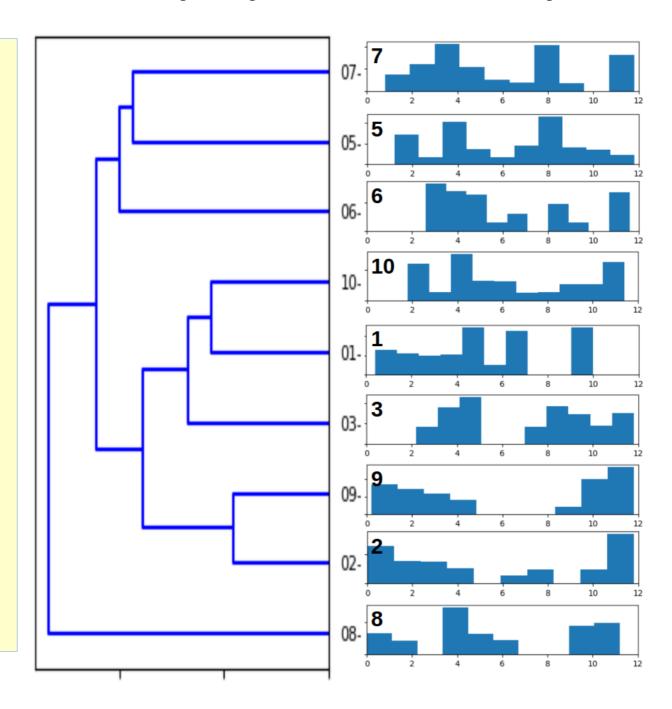
Classification of Utterances by Rhythm Zone Similarity

- Data: rhythm zone vectors
- Calculate Manhattan
 Distance (differences)

$$d_i(p,q) = \sum_{i=1}^{n} |p_i - q_i|$$

 Group distances by Average Pair Group Method with Arithmetic Mean (UPGMA)

$$d_{i}(p,q) = \sum_{i,j} \frac{dist(p_{i},q_{j})}{|p| \times |q|}$$



Discourse Rhythms: Long FM contours

Thesis: in evolution,

- frequency modulation and rhythm came first
 - emotional cries
 - turn-taking came before grammar, Levinson, "Turn-taking in Human Communication – Origins and Implications for Language Processing", 2015

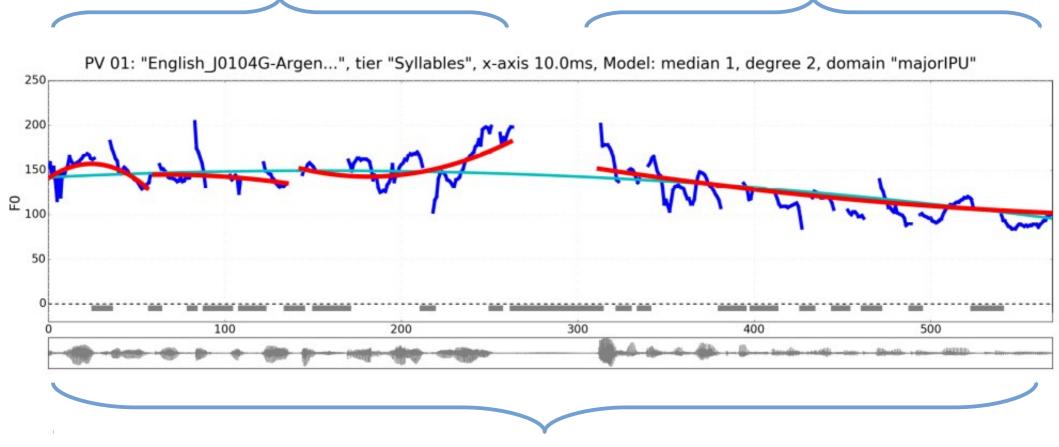
Note: in infant speech,

- frequency modulation and rhythm also come first
 - emotional cries
 Wermke, Sebastian-Galles
 - turn-taking
 - cf. the 'bootstrapping' literature
 - the infant 'twin-talk' videos on YouTube 🙂

Discourse Rhythms: Long FM contours

Question: rising utterance contour

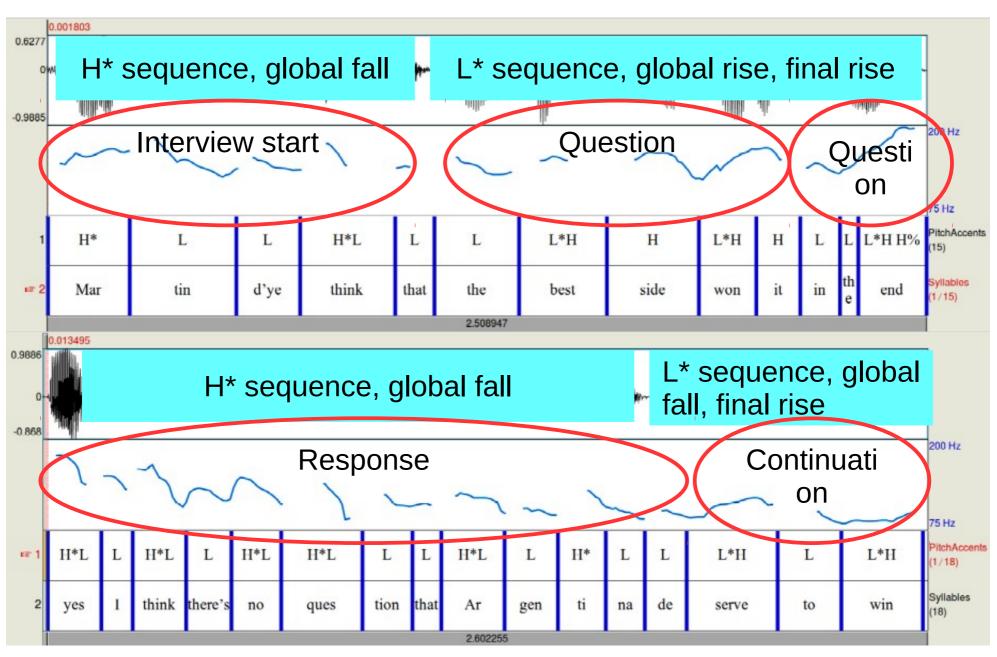
Answer: falling utterance contour



Question+Answer: rising-falling adjacency pair contour

syntagmatic entrainment

Discourse Rhythms: Long FM contours



But there are Methodological Problems in F0 / Pitch estimation

1. Terminology:

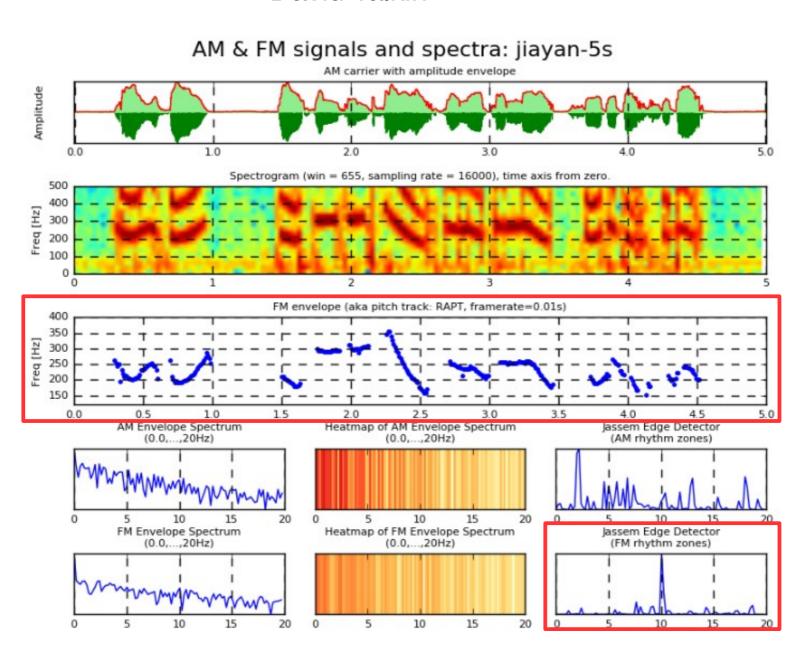
- articulation rate (production)
- F0 (acoustic transmission)
- pitch (perception)

2. Measurement:

- F0 estimation implementations yield slightly different results
 - Autocorrelation
 - Normalised Cross-correlation
 - Average Magnitude Difference Function (AMDF)
 - FFT peak detection
 - Cepstrum
- Environment differences
 - Preprocessing: low-pass filter; centre-clipping
 - Postprocessing: moving median

RAPT (Robust Algorithm for Pitch Tracking)

David Talkin

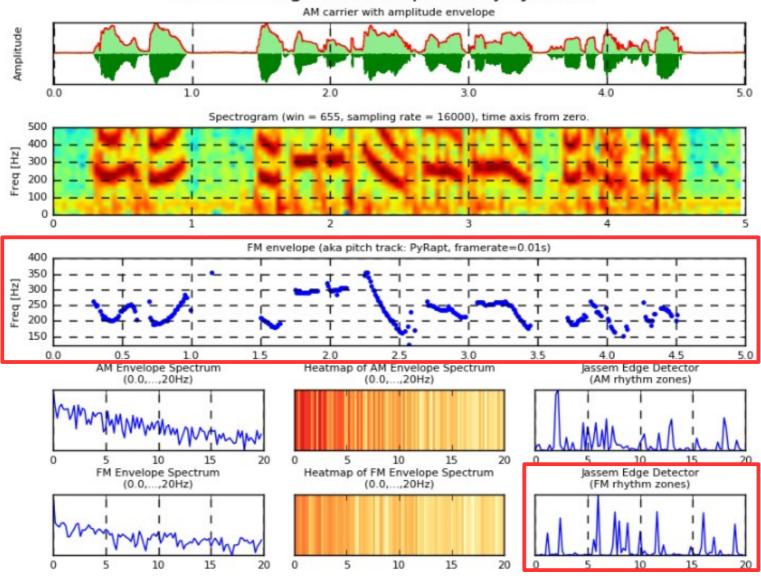


D. Gibbon, Rhythms and Melodies of Speech

RAPT (Python emulation)

Daniel Gaspari

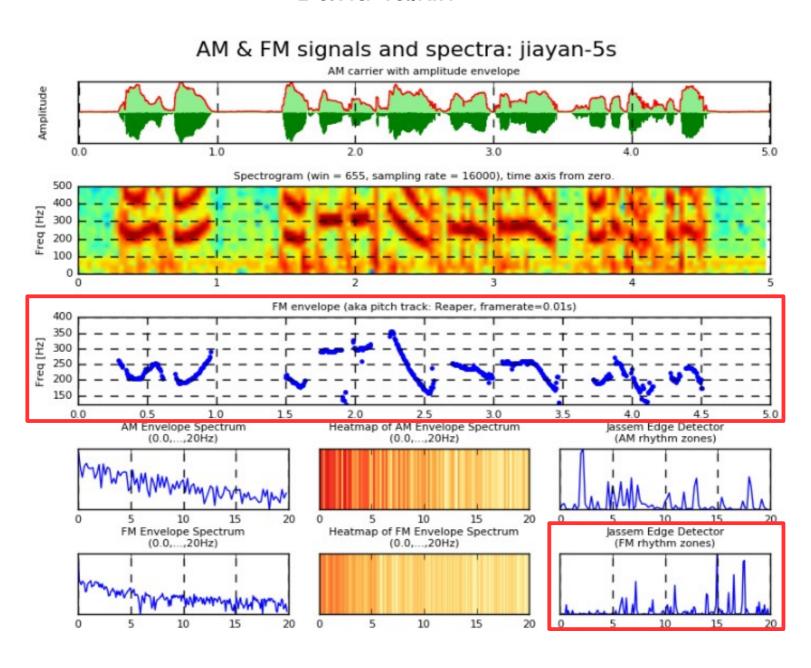
AM & FM signals and spectra: jiayan-5s



D. Gibbon, Rhythms and Melodies of Speech

Reaper (Robust Epoch And Pitch EstimatoR)

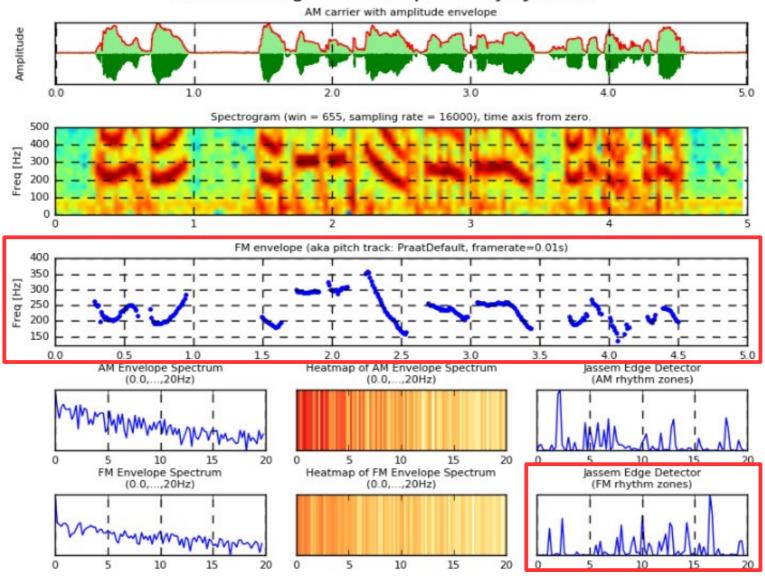
David Talkin



Praat

Paul Boersma

AM & FM signals and spectra: jiayan-5s

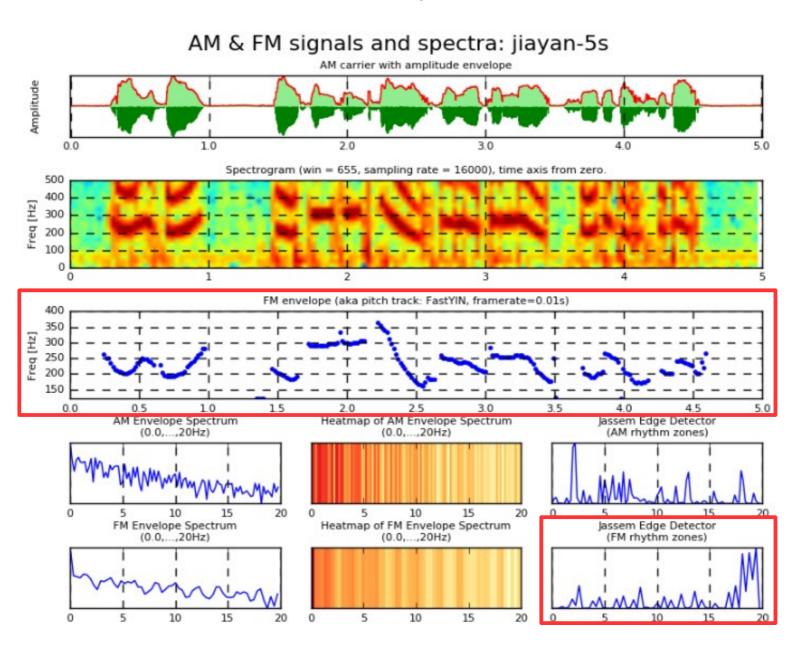


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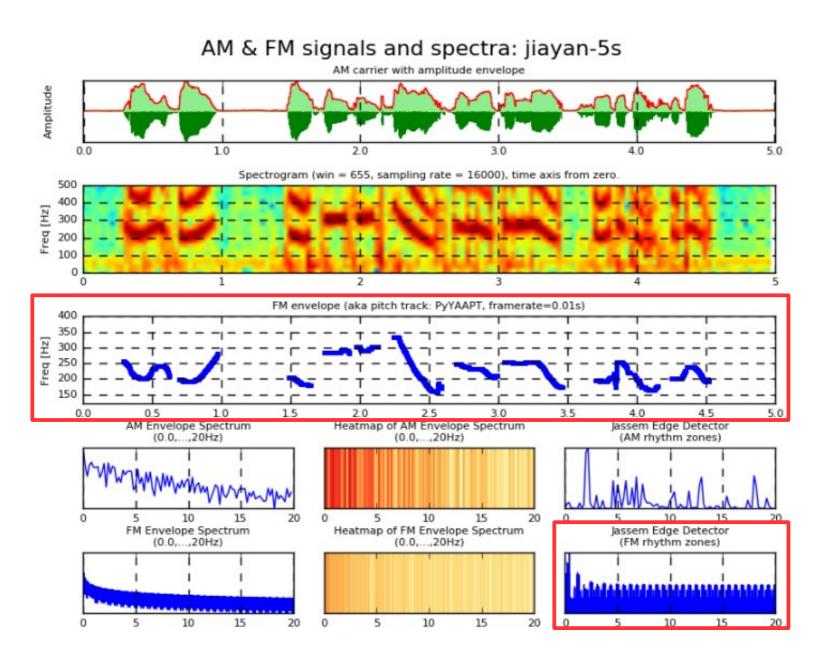
YIN (as opposed to YANG, Python emulation)

Patrice Guyot



YAAPT (Yet Another Algorithm for Pitch Tracking, Python emulation)

Bernardo J. B. Schmitt

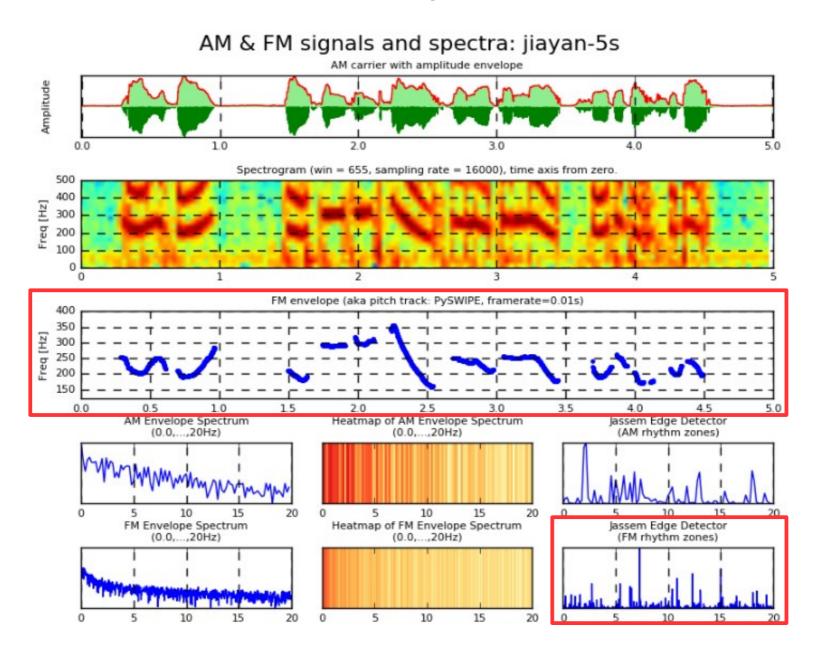


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SWIPE (Square Wave Inspired Pitch Estimator, Python emulation)

Disha Garg



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F0 - Pitch: A Constructive Do-It-Yourself Strategy

Time domain:

AMDF

A kind of auto-correlation, but with subtraction minima not correlation maxima

Preprocessing:

- centre-clipper
- low-pass filter

Postprocessing:

moving median

Simple: no

- voice detection
- candidate weighting

(code on GitHub)

Frequency domain:

FFT+spectrum peak-picking

Finding the lowest frequency spectral peak in the Fourier transform

Preprocessing:

- · centre-clipper
- low-pass filter

Postprocessing:

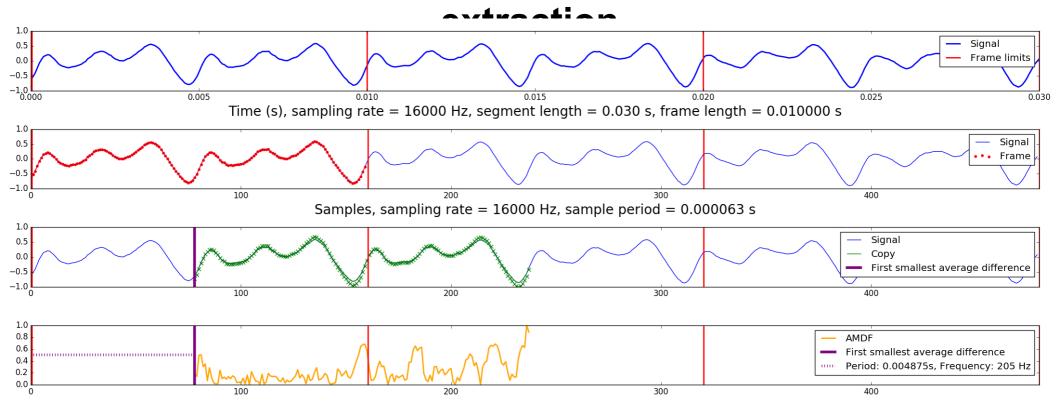
moving median

Simple - no

- voice detection
- candidate weighting

(code on GitHub)

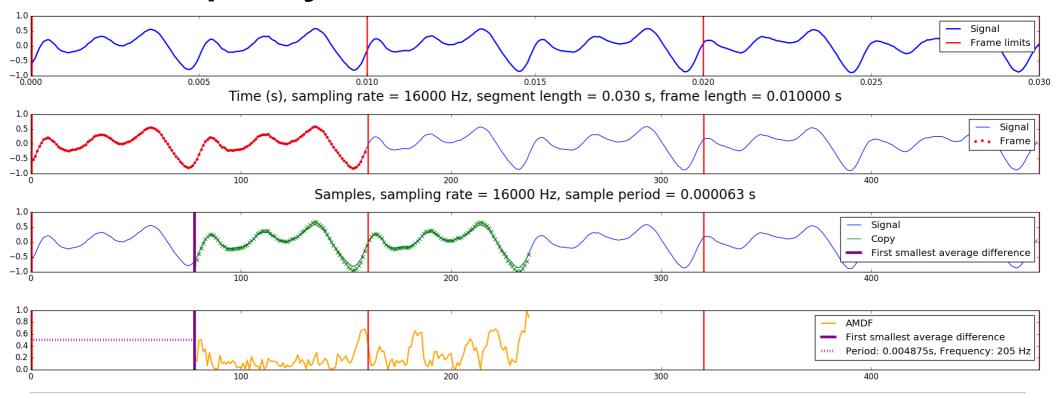
Frequency Demodulation – F0 estimation - 'pitch'



The Average Magnitude Difference Function works by subtracting segments of the signal from each other and picking the smallest difference, giving the fundamental period.

Then: fundamental frequency = 1 / fundamental period

Frequency Demodulation: the AMDF method



Divide the signal into frames into frames, and for each frame (current frame in red):

Define a frame-sized copy of the frame, and move the copy along the signal for the length of the frame (moving window). For each sample in the frame:

At each step collect average differences between frame and moving window

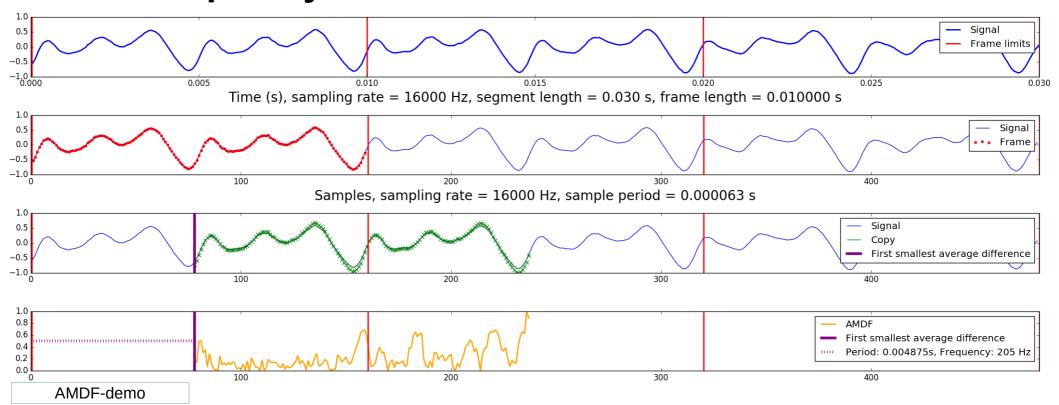
Find the smallest average difference for all average differences in the frame

Frame start subtracted from time of difference = duration of fundamental period

fundamental frequency = 1 / fundamental period

fundamental frequency = 1 / fundamental period

Frequency Demodulation: the AMDF method

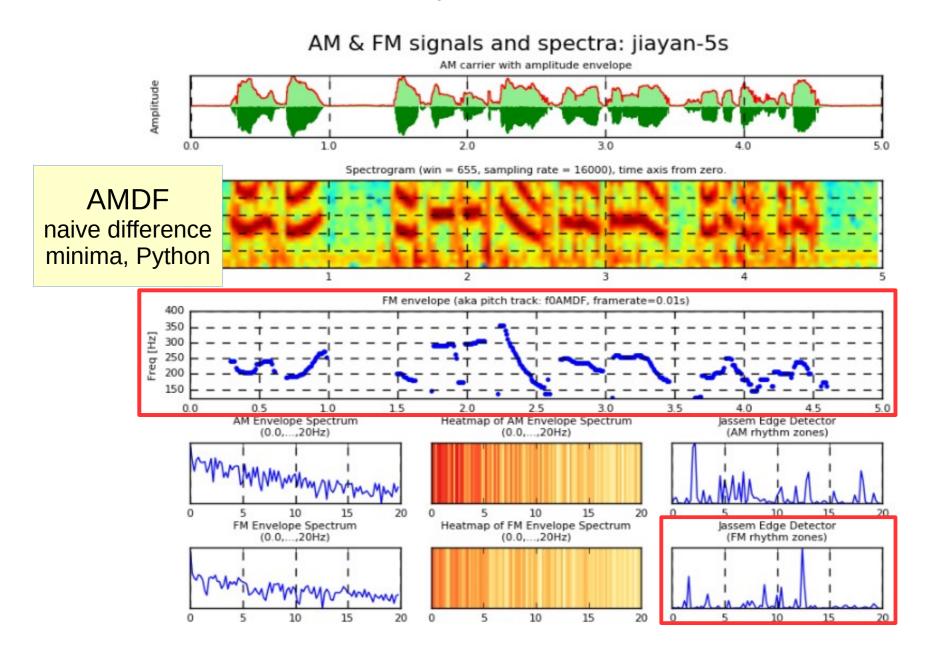


Autocorrelation functions on the same principle, except that copies are multiplied, not subtracted, and the largest product is taken.

This is how Praat works:

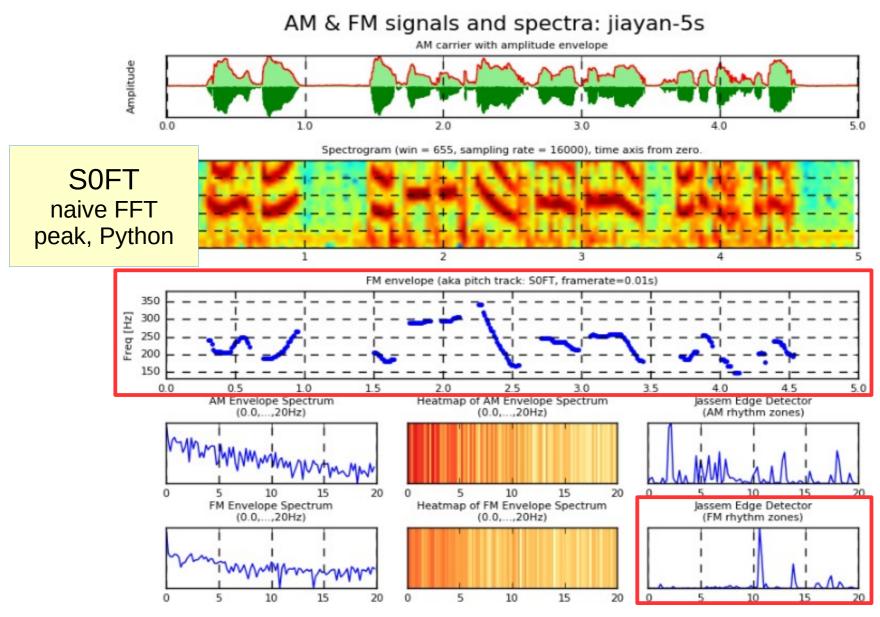
How about AMDF (Average Magnitude Difference Function, Python)

Dafydd Gibbon



FFTpeak (Simple F0 Tracker, Python)

Dafydd Gibbon*



^{*} inspired by a snippet from 'Jonathan', gist.github.com/endolith/255291

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Comparing F0 estimators with RAPT as 'gold standard'

F0 estimator pair	Correlation
RAPT:PyRAPT	0,8902
RAPT:Praat	0,8657
RAPT:FFTpeak	0,9096
RAPT:f0AMDF	0,8605
FFTpeak:RAPT	0,9096
FFTpeak:Praat	0,8409
FFTpeak:PyRAPT	0,8352
FFTpeak:f0AMDF	0,8016

Benchmark against standard F0 estimators

Encouraging for FFTpeak (problems remain, of course):

- correlation ignores some relevant properties such as overall difference in pitch height
- (slightly positively biased) idea of the relationship
- not enough test data
- not as robust as RAPT
- but suggests that RAPT is fit for purpose

Frequency Modulations – Emotive Rhythms

Thesis 1:

In the evolutionary time domain: emotive 'animal' modulations came before structural modulations

Thesis 2:

In the beginning was "Wow!" (Or "Aaah!")

Thesis 3:

Or the wolf whistle (it's not simply 'cat-calling')

Thesis 4:

Other primates wowed, aahed and whistled first. Humans continued the custom.

... I recommend these topics for future M.A. theses!

Selected Work on Amplitude Envelope Demodulation Spectra

- **[1] Cummins**, Fred, Felix **Gers** and Jürgen **Schmidhuber**. "Language identification from prosody without explicit features." *Proc. Eurospeech*. 1999.
 - [2] He, Lei and Volker **Dellwo**. "A Praat-Based Algorithm to Extract the Amplitude Envelope and Temporal Fine Structure Using the Hilbert Transform." In: *Proc. Interspeech* 2016, San Francisco, pp. 530-534, 2016.
 - [3] Hermansky, Hynek. "History of modulation spectrum in ASR." Proc. ICASSP 2010.
 - [4] Leong, Victoria and Usha Goswami. "Acoustic-Emergent Phonology in the Amplitude Envelope of Child-Directed Speech." *PLoS One* 10(12), 2015.
 - **[5] Leong**, Victoria, Michael A. **Stone**, Richard E. **Turner**, and Usha **Goswami**. "A role for amplitude modulation phase relationships in speech rhythm perception." *JAcSocAm*, 2014.
 - [6] Liss, Julie M., Sue LeGendre, and Andrew J. Lotto. "Discriminating Dysarthria Type From Envelope Modulation Spectra." *Journal of Speech, Language and Hearing Research* 53(5):1246–1255, 2010.
 - [7] Ludusan, Bogdan Antonio Origlia, Francesco Cutugno. "On the use of the rhythmogram for automatic syllabic prominence detection." *Proc. Interspeech*, pp. 2413-2416, 2011.
 - [8] Ojeda, Ariana, Ratree Wayland, and Andrew Lotto. "Speech rhythm classification using modulation spectra (EMS)." Poster presentation at the 3rd Annual Florida Psycholinguistics Meeting, 21.10.2017, U Florida. 2017.
- [9] Tilsen Samuel and Keith **Johnson**. "Low-frequency Fourier analysis of speech rhythm." *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*. 2008; 124(2):EL34–EL39. [PubMed: 18681499]
- **Tilsen**, Samuel and Amalia **Arvaniti**. "Speech rhythm analysis with decomposition of the amplitude envelope: Characterizing rhythmic patterns within and across languages." *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 134, p. 628 .2013.
- **[11] Todd**, Neil P. McAngus and Guy J. Brown. "A computational model of prosody perception." *Proc. ICSLP* 94, pp. 127-130, 1994.
 - [12] Varnet, Léo, Maria Clemencia Ortiz-Barajas, Ramón Guevara Erra, Judit Gervain, and Christian Lorenzi. "A cross-linguistic study of speech modulation spectra." *JAcSocAm* 142 (4), 1976–1989, 2017.

Thank you