Prosody: Thinking Outside the Box

Lecture 3

The Phonetics of Prosody 2: Melody Dafydd Gibbon

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Fudan University Summer School: Contemporary Phonetics and Phonology Shanghai, 7–13 July 2018

Fudan Summer School 7-13 Jul

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Observations – Measurements – Models

Models of Prosody

AM & FM signals and spectra: jiayan



Correlation AME:FME=0.74 Correlation AMS:FMS=0.27

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The Phonetics of Prosody: Melody – Overview

1. Orientation

- Data as a valuable resource
- 2. The physiology of melody
 - production: the larynx
 - perception: the cochlea
- 3. The physics of melody
 - amplitude and frequency modulation
 - frequency processing
 - frequency modulation and demodulation
- 4. F0 estimation (F0 / pitch; detection / extraction / tracking)
 - time domain: period measurement peak-picking, zero-crossings
 - frequency domain: harmonic difference measurement
- 5. Modelling melody: from discourse to phoneme



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Data-driven approaches



The Domains of Melody

Phonetic Subdomains as Time Phases

- 1. Speaker: production, articulatory phonetics:
 - articulation rate effort
- 2. Channel: acoustic phonetics:
 - fundamental frequency intensity
- 3. Hearer: reception, auditory phonetics:
 - pitch loudness





A tiger and a mouse were walking in a field ...

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Channel:

Acoustic

Phonetics







Receiver: Auditory Phonetics



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Channel:

Acoustic

Phonetics

The articulatory domain



- 2. Articulatory organs are relatively easily observable
- 3. Domain of reference for phonetic categories of the IPA
- 4. Investigated via
 - corpus creation
 - experiment paradigm



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The Auditory Domain: Anatomy of the Ear



The Phonetic Cycle

Each of the phases has subphases:

- \rightarrow brain motor activity \rightarrow nerves \rightarrow vocal tract muscles
- \rightarrow air pressure \rightarrow (electronic channel \rightarrow) air pressure
- \rightarrow ear sensors nerves brain sensory activity



The Acoustic Signal

- 1. The *period* or *interval* of a single wave in a speech signal is the duration of this single wave.
 - A *resonant signal* is a signal whose periods are regular, i.e. even in duration.
 - A signal is *noisy* if the periods are irregular, i.e. uneven in duration
 - The average period of a speech signal
- 2. The wavelength λ (lambda) in cm of a speech signal is the speed of sound in cm/sec divided by the number of periods per second.
 - You can forget the definition of wavelength...
 - A task for the very interested:
 - What is the speed of sound?
 - What is the wavelength of a sound with 100 periods per second?

Time Domain and Frequency Domain

1. The *frequency* of a speech signal is the number of waves (periods) per second in the waveform

1. Question:

 Ignoring the irregularities in the waveforms: what is the average frequency of the segment between the red lines?

0.15 seconds

Sine Waves

A sine wave of frequency F is produced by an evenly swinging pendulum (a very slow sine wave, of course).



The speech signal is not a simple sine wave, however, but a complex signal.

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The Frequency Structure of Speech

The SOURCE

- for harmonic, voiced sounds
- is the larynx.
- The larynx produces
- a complex waveform, consisting of
 - a fundamental frequency
 - about 80 Hz 200 Hz for men
 - about 160 Hz 300 Hz for women
 - many overtones, which are audible up to about 20 kHz
 - different intensities of the overtones, relative to each other, determines the overall waveform, and therefore the kind of sound which the source produces
 - during voicing, the larynx generates a waveform which is rather like a "sawtooth" sequence

Complex Sources: noisy & harmonic signals

- 1. If many sine waves of arbitrary frequencies occur together, the result is NOISE.
- 2. If many sine waves occur together, with each being an integer multiple of some lowest frequency,
 - the resulting overall wave is a HARMONIC wave:
 - the lowest frequency of a harmonic waveform is the *fundamental* frequency, F0 (f-zero, f-nought)
 - the higher frequencies in a harmonic waveform are called the harmonics or overtones of the fundamental frequency



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Sources with Integer Multiples of Sine Waves

- 1. Harmonic, resonant frequencies are created by adding several sine waves together, point by point
- 2. The larynx sound source is a special case of this



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Harmonics / overtones in complex signals

1. If a complex signal consists of

- a series of sine waves with frequencies of f, 2f, 3f, ..., nf
 - e.g. frequencies of 150 Hz, 300 Hz, 450 Hz, 600 Hz, ..
- then the signal is a resonant signal
- and *f* is the *fundamental frequency* F0
- while 2f, 3f, ..., nf are harmonics of the fundamental frequency
- 2. Stylised example of source signal with harmonics

energy

frequency

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- 1. The filter system consists of the pharyngeal, nasal and oral cavities, which have cavities have specific resonant frequencies
- 2. These filter frequency bands are called *formants*
- 3. Formant frequencies of the oral cavity can be modified by the variable filters (articulators *tongue* and *lips*)



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F0 estimation (aka 'pitch tracking')

From waveform to F0



From Measurements to Models

Regression smoothing examples

- 1. Identify voiced intervals
- 2. Extract F0
- 3. Interpolate silent intervals Simplified in the following examples: 3rd quartile (75th percentile)
- 4. Modelling:
 - Calculate overall 'smoothing' function
 - Linear, quadratic etc. (polynomial) regression over interpolated F0 sequence
 - Calculate residuals (microprosody model):

Subtract regression values from F0 values

From phonetic measurements to phonetic models

F0 modelling (aka 'F0 stylisation')

- the simplification of the F0 trajectory to remove
 - irrelevant properties
 - noise
- the methods can be seen as 'smoothing operations'
 - moving median window
 - global regression (Huber)
 - local regression (IPO, Instituut voor Perceptie-Onderzoek, Eindhoven)
 - local quadratic spline segment interpolation (Hirst)
 - Fujisaki production model: phrase contour + accent contour sequence
 - Liberman & Pierrehumbert: downtrend + accent sequence
- the modelling functions can be applied to different interval types:
 - voiced sequences, interpausal units
 - whole utterances, whole dialogue exchanges
 - (in other words, whatever you think is a useful domain)

F0 smoothing: different approaches

- 1. Smoothing by median filter:
 - the median of sequences of 3 (or any odd number of) measurements
- 2. Smoothing by linear regression

 $y = a_0 + a_1 x + \varepsilon$

3. Smoothing by polynomial regression:

 $y = a_0 + a_1 \cdot t + a_2 \cdot t^2 + a_3 t^3 + \dots + a_0 t^n + \varepsilon$

4. Smoothing by asymptotic descent:

 $FO(t_{t+1}) = m \cdot FO(t_i) + \varepsilon$, for m < 0

 $a + FO(t_{i+1}) = a + m \cdot FO(t_i) + \epsilon$, m < 0 non-zero asymptote

F0 Models: Degrees of Approximation


Global linear regression contour



Global quadratic regression contour



Global regression contours, up to degree 20



Endlich gab der Nordwind den Kampf auf.

Simple median filter (scope: 3), often used



Each F0 value is normalised to the median F0 value of its immediate neighbours

Simple local median levelling filter – robotic!



Each F0 value in a sequence is normalised to the median F0 value for the sequence

Local voicing regression contours, degree 1





Endlich gab der Nordwind den Kampf auf.

Local voicing regression contours, degree 2





Endlich gab der Nordwind den Kampf auf.

Local voicing regression contours (1...5)



Higher degrees of polynomial regression can be difficult to interpret.

Note the progression:

- from <u>underfitting</u> with linear regression
- to <u>overfitting</u> with higher degrees polynomial regression

Other Types of Model

Hirst: quadratic spline - 'piecewise quadratic function'



Fig. 6.7 Macromelodic profile (red) for a two-second extract from recording A01, defined as quadratic transitions between anchor points (green).

Hirst: quadratic spline - 'piecewise quadratic function'



Fig. 6.7 Macromelodic profile (red) for a two-second extract from recording A01, defined as quadratic transitions between anchor points (green).

Subtract the reference line from the F0 trajectory

Define the asymptotic declination line

Define the relation between focus and non-focus accent types

Define the relation between first pitch accent and reference line

Define final lowering

Model 1

a. General F0 transform T(P) = P - r

P and r in Hz

Modified transform for model 1 $T(P) = (1/l) \cdot (P - r)$ where l < 1 in final position, l = 1 otherwise

b. Downstep

 $\mathbf{T}(\mathbf{P}_i) = s \cdot \mathbf{T}(\mathbf{P}_{i+1})$

where P_i is the F0 target in Hz of a step accent in position *i*, down-stepped with respect to the previous accent target P_{i-1}

c. Answer-background relation

 $\mathbf{T}(\mathbf{P}_{A}) = k \cdot \mathbf{T}(\mathbf{P}_{B})$

where P_A is the F0 target in Hz of the A accent, and P_B Model 1A the B accent Substitute

d. Relation of r to initial accent target

$$r = f \cdot (\mathbf{P}_0 - b)^c + d + b$$

 $r = f \cdot (\mathbf{P}_0)^e + d$

for equation (5d) in model 1.

1.

where P_0 is the target in Hz of the first pitch accent, and *d. e. f.* and *b*

	are constants	Model 1C	Model IB	
e.	Final Lowering	Substitute	Substitute	
	$\mathbf{P} \rightarrow r + l \cdot (\mathbf{P} - r) / __\$$	$\mathbf{P} \rightarrow l \cdot \mathbf{P} / \\$$	$r = f \cdot \mathbf{P}_0 + d$	
	where $l < 1$	for rule (5e) in model 1.	for equation (5d) in model	



Figure 9

An F0 contour for Anna came with Manny, produced as a response to What about Manny? Who came with him?



Figure 10

An F0 contour for Anna came with Manny, produced as a response to What about Anna? Who did she come with?



The F0 curve of an utterance is a model of the melody of this utterance:

- It is a simplified representation of reality
- It is an abstraction, and ignores many aspects of reality
- It is a complex function:
 - Overall shape from beginning to end
 - Pitch accent shape and position
 - Patterns of weak syllables
 - Effects of vowels and consonants (perturbations)



Identification of the main factors with partial models:

- Even more simplifications of reality!
- Many methods:
 - IPO method with local linear models
 - Huber's method: utterance-size linear models
 - Hirst's "MoMel" with local quadratic splines
 - Wavelet analysis



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Procedure:

- 1. Calculate F0
 - In these examples: Talkin's RAPT algorithm:
 - "A Robust Algorithm for Pitch Tracking"
- 2. Calculate polynomial regression line
- 3. Calculate residuals:

d - p (subtract polynomial values from data values)

Question: What do the residuals model? Is this a good model?

Orientation: The F0 Curve in Dialogue





Shanghai Summer School 2016

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Overview of the Main Components of the F0 Time Function





Evaluation of stylised contours – 2 methods:

Difference between F0 and stylised contour

Difference between contours in perception test

From:

Demenko Grażyna, Wagner Agnieszka (2006). The Stylization of Intonation Contours. *Proceedings of Speech Prosody 3,* May 2-5, 2006, Dresden, Germany.



Figure 1: Sentence: In my opinion, the face of the lilac gentleman lacks something. From top to bottom of the picture: waveform, .lab, .syl and .break tiers, and the stylization window. The original F0 contour is marked by dotted black line and the stylized F0 contour in red line.

D&W 2006 stylisation model (SP3):					
IP → IE ⁺ IE _i + SL _{i+1} + IE _{i+1} IP: Intonation Phrase IE: Intonation Event	 IE ∈ {R, F, C} IE parameters: slope Fp (F0 at start of event) range of F0 change shape coefficient of curve: 				
SL: Straight Line	y = y ^y for 0 <x<1 y = 2-(2-x)y^y for 1<x<2< td=""></x<2<></x<1 				

Evaluation of stylised contours: Demenko & Wagner . All human () and () blue out HURNER landing and the the F, R, C curves 1.40 ans 0.1 0.62 0.02 0,62 6165 3004 20014 1004

Figure 1: Sentence: In my opinion, the face of the lilac gentleman lacks something. From top to bottom of the picture: waveform, lab, syl and break tiers, and the stylization window. The original F0 contour is marked by dotted black time and the stylized F0 contour in red line.

D&W 2006 stylisation m	straight	
$\begin{split} & \text{IP} \rightarrow \text{IE}^+ \\ & \text{IE}_i + \text{SL}_{i+1} + \text{IE}_{i+1} \\ & \text{IP: Intonation Phrase} \\ & \text{IE: Intonation Event} \\ & \text{SL: Straight Line} \end{split}$	IE \in {R, F, C} IE parameters: - slope - Fp (F0 at start of event) - range of F0 change - shape coefficient of curve: y = y ^y for 0 <x<1 y = 2-(2-x)y^y for 1<x<2< td=""><td>lines</td></x<2<></x<1 	lines

Evaluation of stylised contours: Demenko & Wagner

Alltraum based Descart



Evaluation 1: goodness of fit

Compare F0 with stylised function with Normalised Mean Square Error:

$$NMSE(t) = \frac{\overline{(F_0(t_i) - Sty(t_i))^2}}{\overline{F_0(t)} \cdot \overline{Sty(t)}}$$

	a 12	Accente	d syllable		
	Slope (Hz/s)	Fp (Hz)	Range (Hz)	bend	error
median	58,51	112	14,2	1,51	0,01
min	-357,5	70,1	-96,8	I	0
max	401,7	176,7	93,7	9,549	0,64
	Р	ost-accer	nted syllable		
	Slope (Hz/s)	Fp (Hz)	Range (Hz)	bend	error
median	-64,5	129	-13,1	1,05	0,001
min	-529,4	65	-135,6	1	0
max	364,7	208,5	86,6	9,549	0,25

lingto and the line

Table 1. The range of variability of parameters describing accented and post-accented syllables.

Evaluation of stylised contours: Demenko & Wagner

an Kinuma nggag ung



Evaluation 2: perception test

1 (identical: F0 & Sty perceived as same)
2 (a bit different: small differences in pitch height (<10Hz) perceived between F0 & Sty (e.g. pitch too high at stylized phrase end), from microprosody, errors in F0 extraction or phone or syllable segmentation.
3 (very different: F0 & Sty differ significantly – different melody, from unrecognized accents (i.e. syllable accented but not labelled "A"; cf. also #2). Subjects could listen as often as necessary.

Result:

<i>n</i> =400	Test	
Score 1:	256	
Score 2:	68	
Score 3:	76	

After revision of stylisation criteria, items with score 3 re-tested: 30% still with score 3.

Rhythm again: Phonetic Oscillators as Modulators

Amplitude Modulation Frequency Modulation







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]
 - **[10] 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.
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Amplitude Modulation and Demodulation



Amplitude Modulation and Demodulation



AM & FM signals and spectra: sine-200x5x12

Correlation AME:FME=0.76 Correlation AMS:FMS=0.26

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Amplitude Modulation and Demodulation



AM & FM signals and spectra: sine-200x5x12

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Amplitude Modulation and Demodulation



Correlation AMS.F

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Data:

"The North Wind and the Sun"

Male, English: 40s

Female, Mandarin: 40s

Method:

Comparison of non-overlapping adjacent 5s audio chunks

- offsets into recording: 0, 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35
- AEMS for each chunk
- Inter-speaker comparison (AEMS pointwise means, *r*=0.82)
- Comparison by hierarchical similarity / distance



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AM & FM signals and spectra: Abercrombie_English_NW048

Phonetic Oscillators: summary

- Amplitude
- 200 180 160 100 80 0.0 0.0 2.0Hz 4.0Hz 6.0Hz 500ms 250ms 166m
- Oscillations in emulations of speech production:
 - coupled oscillators
 - time-domain coupling (syllable ~ phrase)
 - interlocutor entrainment
 - Oscillation in emulations of speech perception:
 - Amplitude vs. Frequency Modulation
 - Amplitude demodulation
 - AEMS and AEMDS edge detection
 - F0 demodulation (aka pitch trackiing)
 - F0 spectrum with zone edge detection
 - Hierarchical induction of spectral zones

Correlation AME:FME=0.66 Correlation AMS:FMS=0.55

Frequency M

5.0

5.0

20



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Summary:

From the Phonology of Prosody to the Phonetics of Prosody

Melody: Pitch Patterns

From Time to Frequency: the Rhythm Spectrum



Conclusion:

... thinking outside the box

Summary:

From the Phonology of Prosody to the Phonetics of Prosody

> Melody: Pitch Patterns The Rhythm Spectrum





... thinking outside the box

Thank you! 谢谢!