Phonetic cue enhancement

in hyperarticulation of Korean sibilants

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CONTRAST ENHANCEMENT

Hyperarticulation can be contrast-specific.

Speakers increase VOT of "teen" when contrasting it with "dean" but not "keen" (e.g. Maniwa et al., 2009; Schertz 2012).

Extent of hyperarticulation appears to depend on the "importance" of the dimension to the contrast.

Age differences in enhancement of f0 and VOT in Korean stop contrast (Kang and Guion 2008).

KOREAN SIBILANTS

Affricates				Fricatives			
fortis			unaspirated (short VOT)	fortis	/ss/ ᆻ	high f0	unaspirated (short VOT)
aspirated			aspirated (longest VOT)			-	aspirated
lenis	/c/ ㅈ	low f0	aspirated (long VOT)	fortis 🙏 f0		fO	(long VOT)

Laryngeal status of "nonfortis" /s/ is ambiguous (lverson 1983, Chang 2013)

phonologically: patterns with lenis phonetically: high VOT, like aspirated f0 of /s/ vs. /ss/ does not differ in **production**, but f0 affects perception of the contrast (Chang 2013)

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

2 contrasts	2 dimensions
/s/ vs. /ss/	VOT (aspiration)
/s/ vs. /c/	f0 (pitch)

- Does extent of hyperarticulation reflect baseline differences in cue use?
- Does individual variability in perception correspond to production differences?
- Is there a relationship between the extent of enhancement of multiple cues on a trialby-trial level?

What determines how much a given cue is enhanced in hyperarticulation?

- Use of the cue in baseline productions?
- Use of the cue in **perception**?
- Use of other cues in enhancement?

Sound change in progress:

VOT merger in lenis/aspirated series for younger speakers, and increase in use of f0 (Silva 2006, Kang 2014).

Positive correlation	Negative correlation
Speakers enhance the	Trading relation:
entire constellation of	One cue is enhanced
relevant features	(at the expense of
concurrently	the other)

PARTICIPANTS AND MATERIALS

62 L1 Korean speakers from Seoul and surrounding area

	Male	Female	Ages (mean)
Older	13	16	54-82 (65)
Younger	16	17	19-53 (34)

Sibilant-initial minimal pairs

- e.g. [sʌlta] vs. [ssʌlta], [sʌlta] vs. [cʌlta]
- 4 minimal pairs per contrast
- 3 vowel contexts: /a/, /ʌ/, /i/
- 2664 total tokens analyzed

TASK 1	TASK 2		
"Please read the following words as they appear"	"Please pronounce the following words carefully, as if to a foreigner"		
Baseline [sʌlta]	Clear [sʌlta]	Contrastive 진행 진행 철다 실다 성다 실다 [ssʌlta] [sʌlta]	

TASK AND SPEECH STYLE MANIPULATION

ANALYSIS

Effect of speech style on VOT/f0

4 linear mixed-effects models

Response variable	VOT or f0 (separate models for each dimension and contrast)
Fixed factors	Segment * Speech style * Age (YOB) * Gender + Vowel (+Vowel duration for VOT)
Random factors	(Segment * Style Participant) + (Style Word)

"Enhancement" = segment by style interaction

Acoustic measurements:

End of frication to following VOT vowel onset

Measured at midpoint of fO following vowel (semitones)

Trial-by-trial analysis: Cue interaction

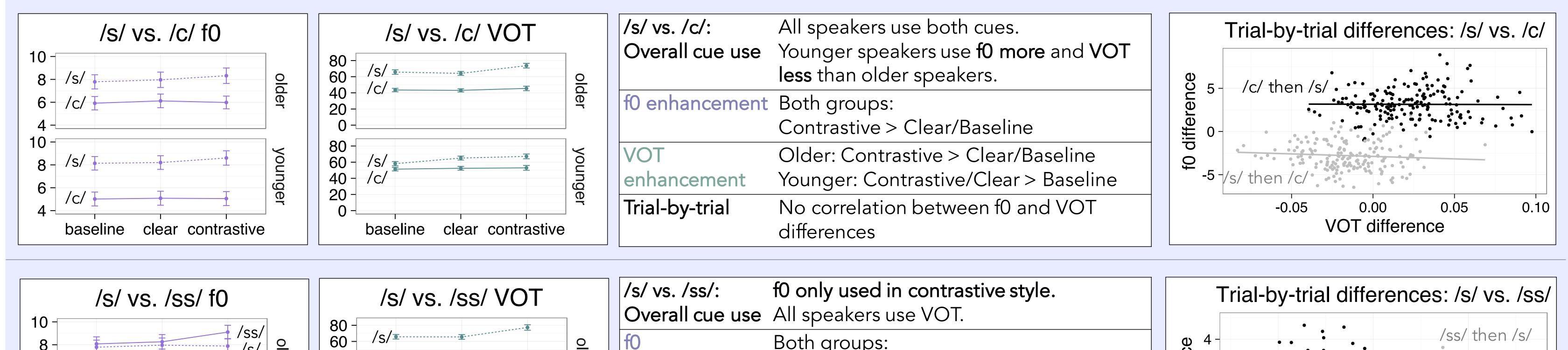
- Calculated trial-level difference on each dimension in Task 2: How much did f0 increase between clear and contrastive production in each trial?
- Checked for correlation between f0 and VOT differences.

Perception/production correlation (/s/~/ss/ only)

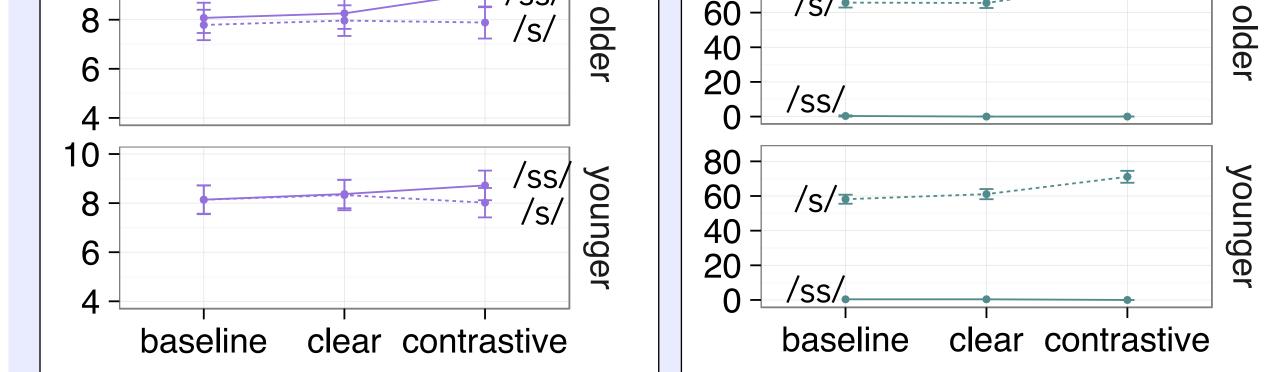
- Calculated the same individuals' use of f0 in perception from a forced-choice identification (/s/ vs. /ss/) task.
- Tested for correlations between individuals' reliance on f0 in perception and:

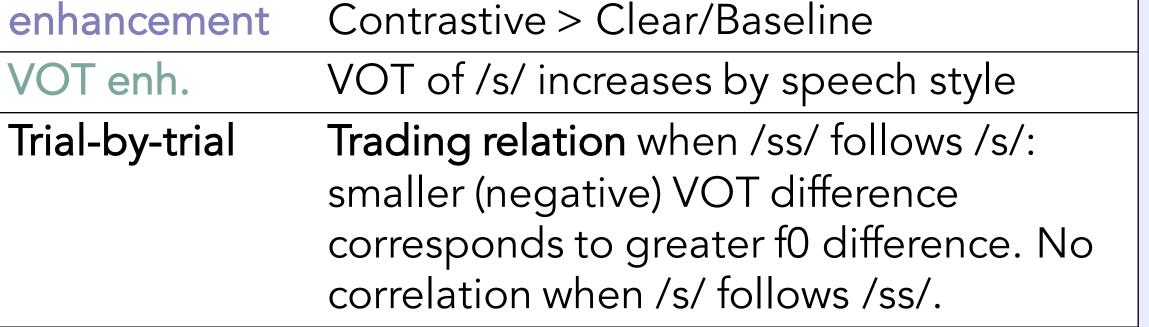
1. Use of f0 in overall production of /s/~/ss/

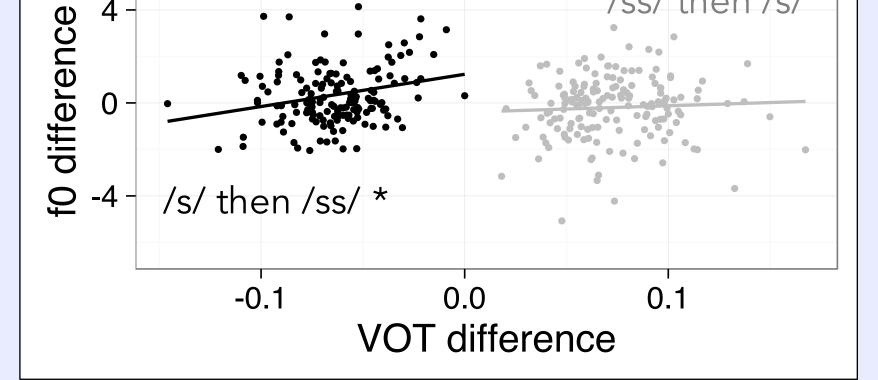
2. Enhancement of f0 in hyperarticulation of /s/~/ss/



Both groups:

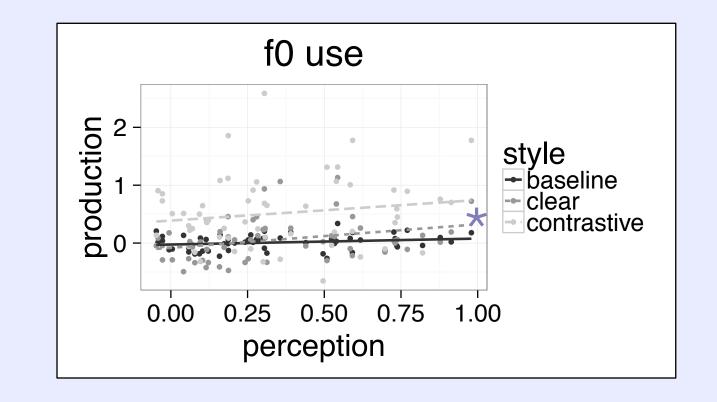






Perception vs. Production: /s/~/ss/ Individual use of f0 in perception weakly predicts overall use in production (shown below), but not enhancement (not shown).

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Overall cue use

- Sound change in progress for /c/-/s/ contrast: decrease in use of VOT, increase in f0.
- Use of f0 to distinguish /s/-/ss/ only emerges in hyperarticulation.

DISCUSSION

All dimensions are enhanced.

Larger baseline differences in

cue use did not predict more

VOT enhancement for /s/-/c/

occurs at different styles for

younger vs. older speakers.

Enhancement

enhancement.

Factors influencing enhancement

Speakers may dynamically adapt enhancement strategies if one dimension is not available (inverse relationship of f0 and VOT enhancement when /ss/ follows /s/). Weak perception-production link in use of f0 (strongest in clear speech), but enhancement was not predicted by perception.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to thank Yunyan Luo and Yuanyang Song for help with the data collection process, as well as Rachel Soo for help with data annotation. This research was supported by SSHRC Grant #435-2013-2092 to Yoonjung Kang.

Abstraction, Diversity, and Speech Dynamics, Herrsching am Ammersee, May 3-5, 2017