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► **To cite this version:**

Paula Alejandra Cano Córdoba, Thi Thuy Hien Tran, Nathalie Vallée, Christophe Savariaux, Silvain Gerber, et al.. Unreleased Plosive Consonants in Thai: an Acoustic Study. ICPhS 2023 - 20th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, Guarant International, Aug 2023, Prague, Czech Republic. pp.629-633. hal-04210007

**HAL Id: hal-04210007**

**<https://hal.science/hal-04210007>**

Submitted on 20 Sep 2023

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## UNRELEASED PLOSIVE CONSONANTS IN THAI: AN ACOUSTIC STUDY

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### ABSTRACT

Stops are consonants usually produced with an audible noise generated by the sudden release of the complete closure of the vocal tract. However, published studies have reported that in Thai, syllable-final unvoiced stops are frequently produced without an audible release. Our aim is to provide acoustic details of such consonantal productions. By analysing acoustic data from 10 native Thai speakers and by focusing on vowel-consonant transitions, we propose a set of acoustic cues on which listeners might rely on to discriminate and categorize the unreleased stop allophones. Our study also investigates whether acoustic properties of non-released stops differ depending on whether they are at the end of monosyllables or at the end of the penult syllable of disyllabic compounds (end-of-word coda vs word-internal syllable coda). Our findings show consistent differences in stop durations, formant transitions, and intensity curves according to place of articulation, within-word position and speaker gender.

**Keywords:** unreleased final stop, Thai, syllable boundary, VC transition, acoustic cues

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Plosive consonants occur in all languages [1], [2]. They belong to the category of stops which are produced with a total blockage of the airstream in the vocal tract. Because of the complete closure of the vocal tract and the increase in pressure behind the closure, the sudden release of the airstream generates an abrupt and salient noise [3] which is called burst [4]. The burst contains acoustic information that participates to the consonant identification [5], [6]. Nevertheless, in some languages such as Korean [7], Vietnamese [8] and Thai [9] [10], there is no audible release when plosives are syllable ending consonants. The syllable-final position is particularly subject to articulatory weakening and acoustic change or lenition [11]. Some articulatory weakening processes result in phonological neutralizations leading to a restriction of syllable-final consonantal inventories. This is the case in some East or Southeast Asian languages, as for example in Korean or Vietnamese. In Korean, the three-way manner contrast /t/ (lenis) ~ /t\*/ (fortis) ~ /t<sup>h</sup>/ (aspirated) is neutralized in coda position and has the same surface phonetic

representation [t<sup>̚</sup>], an unvoiced and unreleased stop [12]. In Vietnamese, [t<sup>̚</sup>] is an allophone of /t/ and /d/ whose contrast is no longer maintained at syllable end [13]. Thai is phonologically classified as a monosyllabic language, but it is also partially polysyllabic lexically since 35% of Thai words are two-syllable semantic compounds, and 25% are words longer than 2 syllables [14]. Thai has 21 phonemic consonants. Among them there is a set of 8 plosives that can all appear in syllable-initial position /p, p<sup>h</sup>, b, t, t<sup>h</sup>, d, k, k<sup>h</sup>/ contrasting 3 places of articulation (bilabial, coronal, velar) and 3 laryngeal modes (voicing (except for the velar place), non-voicing and aspiration) [15]. However, due to a neutralization process which gives rise to onset-coda asymmetries in Thai [16], only 3 surface phonetic plosives [p<sup>̚</sup>, t<sup>̚</sup>, k<sup>̚</sup>] described as unvoiced and unreleased are found in syllable final position [10].

Several studies have shown interest in unreleased stops mainly because native speakers of these languages are able to easily identify places of articulation despite the absence of burst [8], [17], [18]. This suggests that other acoustic cues than audible release provide robust information for successful perception and categorization of syllable-final plosives. For example in Vietnamese, [19] show that spectral features of the second half of vowel duration contain information on coda's place of articulation, which can guide listeners' processes of identification of unreleased stops. [20] observed in Thai, like [19] in Vietnamese, that vowel duration is influenced by the place of articulation of the syllable-final plosive. In a cross-language perception study, [18] showed that Thai speakers perform better than native English speakers in the identification of Thai and Korean unreleased plosives. Furthermore, in Vietnamese, acoustic features of the syllable's rhyme shows differences depending on whether the unreleased plosive is an end-of-word coda or a word-internal syllable coda [19].

The purpose of our study is to highlight acoustic cues of unreleased plosives in Thai in examining more specifically duration and spectral characteristics of vowel-consonant (VC) transitions as in previous studies cited above.

## 2. HYPOTHESES

Based on results of published studies mentioned in Section 1, we suggest that acoustic differences in VC transitions in Thai, where C is an unreleased plosive, existed (1) according to the place of articulation of the plosive, and (2) depending on whether the unreleased stop is in word-medial (i.e. coda of the first syllable of a disyllabic word) or in word-final position (in case of monosyllabic word). We target the first three formants ( $F_{1-3}$ ), the fundamental frequency ( $f_0$ ), intensity (I), and the acoustic duration of the rhyme.

## 3. METHODOLOGY

### 3.1. Corpus and speakers

Thirty-four Thai words, 17  $C_1aC_2\#$  monosyllables and 17  $C_1aC_2.C_3VC\#$  disyllables (the dot indicates the syllable boundary), were selected such as each target syllable occurred as a monosyllabic word and as the first syllable in a disyllabic word. All target syllables carried the high rising tone. For compounds' second syllable, tones are chosen (high rising for syllables with final /p t k/, mid falling for those with final sonorants) to minimise the tonal frequency gap. The low vowel /a/ was chosen for better contrast with the target stops.  $C_2$  could be /p/, /t/ or /k/. Consonants in  $C_3$  were chosen voiced and could be /l/, /d/, /j/, /b/ or /w/ to aid  $C_2$  segmentation, except for ซับซ้อน [sap<sup>1</sup>.sɔ:n<sup>1</sup>] 'complicated' (no words with a voiced  $C_3$  were found with [sap<sup>1</sup>] in the Thai lexicon, due to the high rising tone constraint). Finally, the 34 selected words were inserted into the carrier sentence พูดว่า \_\_ ค่อยๆ [p<sup>h</sup>u:t<sup>l</sup> wa:<sup>l</sup> \_\_ di:<sup>l</sup> di:<sup>l</sup>] 'Say \_\_ carefully'.

Data from five male and five female native Thai speakers were analysed. The participants were from the Bangkok area and spoke the central Thai dialect. At the time of the study, they were 20 years old and were all third-year students in the French Department at Thammasat University (Rangsit Campus). During the experiment, the participants were seated in front of a 22" screen on which the sentences were presented to them one by one. They were instructed to read them aloud at a normal and fluent rate. The recording took place in a sound proof-room, with a Marantz PMD 670 recorder, an AKG C-1000S microphone. The corpus was digitized at 44.1 kHz on 16 bits mono in .wav format. The results presented below are from 34 target words \* 3 repetitions \* 10 speakers giving 1,020 occurrences in  $C_2$  of the syllable-final target plosives (300 /p/, 360 /t/, 360 /k/).

### 3.2. Measurements and analysis

The acoustic signal was manually segmented and annotated with Praat [21] in terms of phonemic,

phonetic and sub-phonetic labels. When  $C_2$  did not correspond to a production of the phoneme, it was discarded. In total, 9 realizations were excluded (4 for /k/ and 5 for /t/). Moreover, we detected a burst in 19.7% of the plosives produced, of which 9.7% were in word-final position, and 10% were in word-internal syllable coda. These productions were not included in our analyses.

Measurements of the following acoustic parameters were performed automatically using scripts we wrote in Praat software:

- Duration of the coda  $C_2$  and duration of the preceding vowel /a/;
- Temporal evolutions of the first three formants ( $\Delta F_1$ ,  $\Delta F_2$ ,  $\Delta F_3$ ), of the fundamental frequency ( $\Delta f_0$ ), and of the intensity ( $\Delta I$ ) measured from the time points of 40% and 50% of the whole vowel duration to the time points of 60%, 70%, 80%, 90% of the vowel length (which corresponds to the acoustic transition between /a/ and the stop closure).

Before proceeding to the statistical analyses, all duration measurements were normalized to the speaker's speech rate (in syllables per minute) following the method used by [19].

### 3.3 Statistical Analyses

Statistical analyses were performed using several mixed linear models (LMMs) from R software to estimate, on one side, the effects of consonant place, time-point, burst, and word type on  $\Delta F_1$ ,  $\Delta F_2$ ,  $\Delta F_3$ ,  $\Delta f_0$ , and  $\Delta I$  mean values for each gender, and, on the other side, the effect of consonant place, burst and word type on duration, without distinction between gender. The *lme* function of the *nlme* package was used to construct LMMs. Once the model was established, contrast analyses were performed with the *glht* function of the *multcomp* package, according to the method presented by [22]. Multiple comparisons were performed for the dependent variables 'formants', ' $f_0$ ', and 'intensity'. We targeted the following differences:

- Between consonants (/p/, /t/, /k/) for each combination (word type - time point);
- Between the two-word types (simple and compound) for each combination (consonant - time point);
- Between two successive time points (e.g. between 50% and 60%, 60% and 70%, etc.) for each combination (consonant - word type).

## 4. RESULTS

In terms of statistical significance, the factor place of articulation has the strongest effect on the dependant variables, except on  $\Delta f_0$ . This important and general

result is in agreement with what had been reported in Vietnamese by [19] and is consistent with the general proposal that in case of unreleased stops, the perceptual-acoustic cues for identifying the place of articulation that enables listeners to categorize the consonant are located in the transient part between the vowel and the unreleased plosive [23].

#### 4.1. Acoustic Cues for Articulation Places of Unreleased Final Consonants

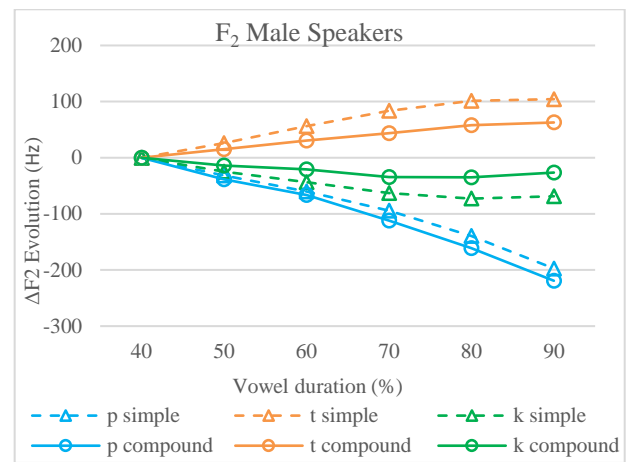
An effect of place of articulation is present in segment duration regardless of word-type: [k̚] is in average longer (21.3ms in C<sub>2</sub>#, 17.9ms in C<sub>2</sub>.C<sub>3</sub>) than [p̚] (15.8ms in C<sub>2</sub>#, 15.2ms in C<sub>2</sub>.C<sub>3</sub>) and [t̚] (19.8ms in C<sub>2</sub>#, 15.8ms in C<sub>2</sub>.C<sub>3</sub>). However, significant differences are only found for /k/ vs /p/ in C<sub>2</sub># [z=3.5; p<0.01] and for /k/ vs /t/ in C<sub>2</sub>.C<sub>3</sub> [z=3.3; p<0.05]. These observations are similar to those made on Vietnamese by [19] who found a significantly longer duration of [k̚] relative to [p̚] in monosyllables, and to [t̚] in dissyllables. However, unlike [19], no significant differences in vowel duration were found in relation to the place of articulation of coda consonants in Thai.

Also, formant transitions show a consonant articulation place effect. F<sub>1</sub> values go down more for /t/ than for the bilabial and velar stops. The difference is found significant in monosyllables for the male speakers (/t/ vs /k/ from 80% [z=4.1; p<0.01] to 90% [z=3.9; p<0.05] and /t/ vs /p/ at 90% [z=4.2; p<0.01]), and in dissyllables for the female speakers (/t/ vs /k/ from 50% [z=3.6; p<0.05] to 90% [z=6; p<0.01]).

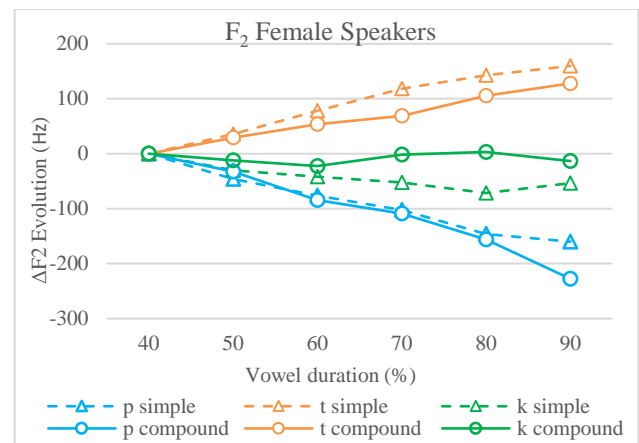
Three specific directions of F<sub>2</sub> transitions, which are consistent between speaker genders and word-types, are noted according to the stop place of articulation (Fig. 1 and 2). Differences are significant for /p/ vs {/t/, /k/}: /p/ vs /t/ from 60% and /p/ vs /k/ from 70% of the vowel duration, for both female and male speakers (p<0.01) and whatever the stop position in coda (C<sub>2</sub># or C<sub>2</sub>.C<sub>3</sub>) (p<0.01). Concerning /t/ vs /k/ differences, a significant F<sub>2</sub> deviation is found in monosyllables from 70% of the vowel duration for the male [z=4.3; p<0.01] and female speakers [z=-4.6; p<0.01], whereas in compound words, the deviation of F<sub>2</sub> is significantly different only for the female speakers at 90% of the vowel duration [z=-4.2; p<0.01]. F<sub>2</sub> transition for /k/ shows relatively stable values independently of speakers and word-types. However, it should be noted that we have not observed the expected theoretical ascending F<sub>2</sub> transition for /a/ with a rather steeper slope in velar context as proposed by [24] from synthetic speech.

Regarding F<sub>3</sub> transitions, significant differences are present between /t/ vs {/p/, /k/} for both female and male speakers, but with different parts of

evolution depending on word-type. For female speakers, as proposed by [24] with synthetic speech, an ascending F<sub>3</sub> evolution in the second half of the vowel duration is noted for the coronal stop (from 3 to 93Hz), significantly attested from 60% until the end of the vowel in C<sub>2</sub># and from 80% in C<sub>2</sub>.C<sub>3</sub>. For male speakers, ΔF<sub>3</sub> of /t/ has a slight increase (C<sub>2</sub>#: from 6 to 37Hz; C<sub>2</sub>.C<sub>3</sub>: from 6 to 26Hz). ΔF<sub>3</sub> of /t/ differs significantly from /p/ from 60% of the vowel duration independently of word-type (p<0.01), and deviates from /k/ remarkably from 60% to 80% in C<sub>2</sub># (p<0.05), but only at 60% in C<sub>2</sub>.C<sub>3</sub> position [z=-3.5, p<0.05]. A difference in F<sub>3</sub> evolution between /p/ and /k/ is significantly attested at only 90% of the vowel duration for male speakers in compound words.



**Figure 1:** Temporal evolution of ΔF<sub>2</sub> estimated from 40% to 90% of the vowel duration (expressed in Hz) for male speakers as a function of word type (simple or compound).



**Figure 2:** Temporal evolution of ΔF<sub>2</sub> estimated from 40% to 90% of the vowel duration (expressed in Hz) for female speakers as a function of word type (simple or compound).

No significant effect of place of articulation was found on Δf<sub>0</sub> values for both genders. This result is inconsistent with the observation of [19] on Vietnamese in which a significantly increase in Δf<sub>0</sub>

from 70% until the end of the vowel was found before a non-released velar coda.

Our results also show that place of articulation impacts the temporal evolution of intensity. For all speakers, intensity significantly slopes down more for /k/ than for /p/ ( $p < 0.01$ ) and /t/ ( $\text{♀}$ :  $p < 0.05$ ;  $\text{♂}$ :  $p < 0.01$ ) in  $C_2.C_3$  from 70% of the vowel duration, and in  $C_2\#$  for  $\text{♀}$  from 80% ( $p < 0.01$ ) and for  $\text{♂}$  only at 90% ( $p < 0.01$ ). For both word-types, the drop of  $\Delta I$  for /k/ is significant from 40% until vowel endings ( $p < 0.01$ ). These results for  $\Delta I$  are in agreement with what was observed in Vietnamese by [19].

#### 4.2. Effect of Word Type on Final Stop Production

Analyses of our data show that the unreleased coronal stop /t/ is significantly longer in  $C_2\#$  (20ms on average) than in  $C_2.C_3$  (12ms) [ $z = -3.6$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ], regardless of the speakers' gender. /k/ and /p/ are also longer in word-final position  $C_2\#$  but the difference according to word types is not statistically proven (respectively  $p = 0.6$  and  $p = 1$ ). The duration of /a/ is also significantly different depending on whether the consonant is in  $C_2\#$  or in  $C_2.C_3$ : /a<sub>p</sub>/ (14.5ms vs 11.9ms,  $z = -3$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), /a<sub>v</sub>/ (15.8ms vs 11.6ms,  $z = -5$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ), or /a<sub>k</sub>/ (16.2ms vs 12.8ms,  $z = -3.8$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). These findings partially confirm results of a previous two-speaker study on Thai [20], in which difference in consonant duration as a function of word type was found for stops.

An effect of word-type is found on  $F_1$  transition but is different according to speaker gender. We observed in male speakers that, relative to 40% of the vowel duration (reference point),  $\Delta F_1$  of /p/ declines significantly more at 60% (-13Hz) in single words than in compound words (-9.6Hz) [ $z = -3.7$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ], whereas in female speakers,  $\Delta F_1$  of /t/ decreases further in compounds from 50% (-13Hz) to 70% (-70Hz) of the vowel duration than in simple words (respectively from 1Hz to -49Hz) [ $z = -4.2$ ;  $p < 0.01$ ]. These results are partially consistent with [19]s' findings for Vietnamese, which show that  $\Delta F_1$  drops significantly when the unreleased stop is an inner final syllable ending ( $C_2.C_3$ ) rather than a word ending ( $C_2\#$ ). Unlike to  $F_1$  transition, we found no effect of word-type on  $F_2$  and  $F_3$  transitions.

Our statistical analyses show significant differences for  $\Delta f_0$  as a function of word type but only for female speakers. Indeed,  $\Delta f_0$  curve decreases during the entire second half of the vowel duration for /t/, more in compound (from -1.7Hz to -6Hz) than in simple words (from -1.3Hz to -2Hz) ( $p < 0.01$ ). For /p/,  $\Delta f_0$  curve is downward in compound words (from -1Hz to -2.5Hz) whereas it is slightly upward in monosyllables (from -1Hz to -0.06Hz). This  $\Delta f_0$  difference is shown to be significant for /p/ ( $p < 0.01$ ). These results for the female speakers are consistent

with those found in Vietnamese [19] which also reveal differences in the  $f_0$  evolution from 60% until the end of the vowel depending on whether it is a simple word or a first syllable in a compound word. In terms of intensity, we did not observe an effect of word type on temporal evolution of  $\Delta I$  that is partly inconsistent with what was observed in Vietnamese for which the intensity drop at 90% of the vowel duration is less important before a word-final stop than before a syllable-final within-word stop [19].

## 5. CONCLUSION

Knowing that burst helps listeners to discriminate the plosives of a system [25], and that native speakers are able to correctly identify a consonant even in the absence of its audible release [8] [17] [18], this study investigated acoustic cues of unreleased final stops in Thai in order to highlight perceptual-acoustic properties that allow listeners to categorize the unreleased allophones of stops. Based on a previous study [19], we also investigated effects of gender and of word type (simple monosyllables vs dissyllabic compounds) on acoustic cues. We analysed, as in [19], the duration of three target stops /p, t, k/ and of the preceding vowel /a/, as well as the temporal evolutions of  $I$ ,  $f_0$ , and  $F_{1-3}$  by considering place of articulation, word type and gender as independent variables.

Our findings confirm that differences in duration of unreleased stops and in other acoustic parameters of VC transitions (i.e.  $F_1$ ,  $F_2$ ,  $I$ , and in a lesser extent  $F_3$ ) according to place of articulation are present in Thai.  $F_2$  transition show three specific temporal evolutions depending on the articulation place (rising for coronal, flat for velar and downward for labial), thus partially confirming Delattre's work [24] in synthetic speech. Most of these results on Thai are consistent with those of [8] [19] for Vietnamese and provide information to suggest what acoustic parameter is useful for the categorization of unreleased stops and what is not. However, to be conclusive, they will need to be verified by perceptual tests. More broadly, the studies on relevant acoustic cues to the discrimination of unreleased stops contribute to validate the important role of acoustic transitions in speech perception (see e.g. [26] [27]).

Another result of this study concerns significant effects of word type on the production of syllable rhyme: the realization of a number of acoustic parameters (consonant duration, vowel duration,  $F_1$ ,  $f_0$ ) varies as a function of word-type, suggesting that it could probably be the result of different degrees of coarticulation between intra-word vs inter-word syllables in this language.

## 6. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was conducted within the research framework of the SCALA project (*Stop Consonants in Asian Languages*) (reference ANR 15 IDEX 02).

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