

Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences

Barcelona 3-9 August 2003

Volume 1 of 3



UAB

Universitat Autònoma
de Barcelona

Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences



Barcelona
3-9 August 2003

Volume 1 of 3

Sponsored by: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain
Co-sponsored by: The International Phonetic Association

Edited by: M.J. Solé, D. Recasens & J. Romero

PAST CONGRESSES

1932	Amsterdam
1935	London
1938	Gent
1961	Helsinki
1964	Münster
1967	Prague
1971	Montréal
1975	Leeds
1979	Copenhagen
1983	Utrecht
1987	Tallinn
1991	Aix-en-Provence
1995	Stockholm
1999	San Francisco

ISBN: 1-876346-49-3 (Book Set of 3 Volumes)
ISBN: 1-876346-48-5 (CDROM)

Copyright © 2003 The 15th ICPHS Organizing Committee. All rights reserved.
Published by: Causal Productions Pty Ltd (info@causal.on.net)

Cover design by: Causal Productions
Cover photographs courtesy of: J. Romero & M.J. Solé
ICPhS 2003 logo by: Victor Tarragó
Printed by: FUTURGRAFIC

NOTE FROM THE CHAIRS

We welcome you to the 15th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences (15th ICPhS) in Barcelona, Spain, August 3-9, 2003 – the first ICPhS in the third millennium. The Barcelona Congress, which is officially sponsored for the first time by the International Phonetic Association, provides an interdisciplinary forum for the exchange of ideas and basic research in the phonetic sciences. Since the first meeting in Amsterdam in 1932, the ICPhS has become the most important meeting in the phonetic sciences.

The congress brings together international experts in phonetics within the areas of linguistics, language acquisition, communication disorders, psychology and speech technology. The congress addresses how phonetic theory, engineering and linguistics can contribute to the solution of real-world problems in speech processing and transmission, voice identification, man-machine communication, speech deficits and language teaching. It also offers the opportunity to further our knowledge about instruments and techniques originally built for other purposes (e.g., MRI, ultrasound, etc) that are now finding a new and unexpected use in the understanding of how human speech works.

More than 1200 contributions were submitted to the Barcelona Congress. An international committee of reviewers accepted approximately 800 papers that were organized into coherent oral and poster sessions that will certainly be of interest to experts in the different areas of the phonetic sciences. We also encouraged the organization of 22 symposia coordinated by renowned experts who were in charge of inviting other specialists to participate in their symposia. Due to the large number of symposia and contributed papers, the Congress will feature 5 parallel sessions scheduled for 5 full days. The scientific program includes 5 plenary lectures, 22 symposia and about 73 oral and poster sessions with around 800 papers, which will appear in the Congress Proceedings in book and CD-ROM formats. There are also exhibitions, association and satellite meetings, a banquet, day-trip excursions, receptions and social events. The Catalan and Spanish phonetic sciences community is proud to host this large and high-quality scientific event.

The organization and attendance of the 15th ICPhS has been through some challenges due to international events – September 11th, the strikes on Afghanistan and later on Iraq, the SARS scare, etc. Despite all, the 15th ICPhS will bring the scientific community together to share knowledge, methods, aims and our desire for peace.

We hope these proceedings will be a valuable resource for your future research, as they sample the most current research in the phonetic sciences. Enjoy.

Daniel Recasens

Chair

Maria-Josep Solé

Co-chair

ICPhS 2003 COMMITTEE MEMBERS

LOCAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Daniel Recasens, <i>Chair</i>	(UAB)
Maria-Josep Solé, <i>Co-chair</i>	(UAB)
Joaquín Romero, <i>Secretary</i>	(URV)
Hortènsia Curell	(UAB)
Eugenio Martínez-Celdrán	(UB)
Asunción Moreno	(UPF)
José Manuel Pardo	(UPM)
Pilar Prieto	(UAB)
Malou van Wijk	(UAB)
Iker Bozasurrutia, <i>Executive Secretary</i>	(UAB)
Susagna Tubau, <i>Executive Secretary</i>	(UAB)
Andrea Pearman, <i>Assistant Secretary</i>	(UAB)

PERMANENT COUNCIL FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF ICPhS

Klaus Kohler, <i>Germany</i>	<i>President</i>
Kenneth Stevens, <i>USA</i>	<i>Vice President</i>
Björn Granström, <i>Sweden</i>	<i>Secretary General</i>

Arthur Abramson, *USA*
Pier Marco Bertinetto, *Italy*
Gunnar Fant, *Sweden*
Hiroya Fujisaki, *Japan*
John Laver, *UK*
Björn Lindblom, *Sweden*
Bruce Millar, *Australia*
Tatiana Nikolaeva, *Russia*
John Ohala, *USA*
Louis Pols, *Netherlands*
Jørgen Rischel, *Denmark*
Maria Josep Solé, *Spain*
Jacqueline Vaissière, *France*

MEMBERS ELECTED BY THE IPA IN 2003

Ian Maddieson, *USA*
John H. Esling, *Canada*
John C. Wells, *England*
Gerard J. Docherty, *England*
Shinji Maeda, *France*
Jens-Peter Köster, *Germany*

The President of the IPA
The Vice-President of the IPA

ABSTRACT REVIEWERS

The following graciously gave their time to review abstracts for ICPHS 2003:

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Abramson, A. | Fougeron, C. | Mattingly, I. |
| Abry, C. | Fourcin, A. | McGowan, R.S. |
| Ackermann, H. | Granström, B. | Millar, J.B. |
| Alwan, A. | Greenberg, S. | Moreno, A. |
| Andrade, A. | Gósy, M. | Mott, B. |
| Arvaniti, A. | Grønnum, N. | Nadeu, C. |
| Avesani, C. | Guenther, F. | Nearey, T. |
| Badin, P. | Gussenhoven, C. | Nguyen, N. |
| Bailey, P.J. | Hajek, J. | Nicolaidis, K. |
| Barbosa, P. | Hardcastle, W.J. | Nikolaeva, T. |
| Beckman, M. | Harrington, J. | Nooteboom, S.G. |
| Beddor, P.S. | Hawkins, S. | Ohala, J.J. |
| Bertinetto, P.M. | Hernando, J. | Ohala, M. |
| Best, C. | Hiki, S. | Ostry, J. |
| Bloothoof, G. | Hirose, K. | Pardo, J.M. |
| Boë, L.J. | Hoole, P. | Perkell, J. |
| Botinis, A. | Hualde, J.I. | Perrier, P. |
| Bruce, G. | Iivonen, A. | Poch-Olivé, D. |
| Bunnell, H.T. | Jun, S. A. | Pols, L. |
| Busà, M.G. | Julià, J. | Pompino-Marschall, B. |
| Carré, R. | Keating, P. | Recasens, D. |
| Casacuberta, F.J. | Kent, R. | Rischel, J. |
| Cedergren, H. | Kingston, J. | Romero, J. |
| Chitoran, I. | Kohler, K. | Sagisaka, Y. |
| Cohn, A. | Koopmans-van Beinum, F. | Sebastián-Gallés, N. |
| Cosi, P. | Krull, D. | Shadle, C.H. |
| Cutler, A. | Ladd, D.R. | Shockey, L. |
| Dart, S. | Ladefoged, P. | Smith, C. |
| Dauer, R. | Lahiri, A. | Solé, M.J. |
| Darwin, C. | Laver, J. | Steriade, D. |
| Demolin, D. | Lehiste, I. | Stevens, K. |
| Diehl, R.L. | Lindblom, B. | Stone, M. |
| Divenyi, P. | Llisterri, J. | Strange, W. |
| Docherty, G. | Local, J. | Sussman, H. |
| Dogil, G. | Löfqvist, A. | Teixeira, A. |
| Elenius, K. | Loporcaro, M. | Trancoso, I. |
| Elordieta, G. | Maddieson, I. | Turk, A. |
| Engstrand, O. | Maeda, S. | Vaissière, J. |
| Fant, G. | Manuel, S. | Vayra, M. |
| Farnetani, E. | Mariño-Acebal, J.B. | Vihman, M. |
| Feijóo, S. | Marotta, G. | Werker, J. |
| Flege, J.E. | Martínez-Celdrán, E. | Westbury, J.R. |
| Fletcher, J. | Mascaró, J. | Whalen, D.H. |
| Flemming, E. | Massaro, D.W. | Wood, S. |

STATISTICS FOR THE ICPHS 2003 PROCEEDINGS

<i>Sessions</i>		<i>Contributions</i>
5	Plenaries and Discussion papers	10
22	Symposia	85
55	Oral Sessions	337
18	Poster Sessions	427
100	Total	859

NUMBER OF CONTRIBUTIONS PER COUNTRY (Oral and poster sessions)

This list is taken from our database and represents the first author wherever possible.

158	USA	4	Norway
81	France	4	Taiwan
73	Germany	3	Belgium
71	UK	3	Estonia
46	Japan	3	Tunisia
45	Spain	2	Egypt
41	Sweden	2	Hungary
31	Netherlands	2	Israel
25	Canada	2	Morocco
19	Russia	2	Northern Ireland
17	Italy	2	Saudi Arabia
14	Finland	2	South Korea
12	Australia	2	Switzerland
12	Brazil	2	Thailand
12	China	2	Venezuela
7	Ireland	1	Belarus
7	North Korea	1	Cuba
7	Poland	1	India
6	Denmark	1	Jordan
6	Portugal	1	Lebanon
5	Austria	1	Malta
5	Hong Kong	1	Mexico
5	Slovenia	1	New Zealand
4	Croatia	1	Nigeria
4	Czech Republic	1	Singapore
4	Greece		

Volume I : Proceedings of the 15th ICPHS

Invited Lectures and Discussion Papers

- Modeling and Perception of Temporal Characteristics in Speech**..... I-1
Yoshinori Sagisaka
 Domains of Temporal Control in Speech and Language from Utterance to Segment..... I-7
 Klaus J. Kohler
- Speaker, Community, Identity: Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives on Sociophonetic Variation**..... I-11
Gerard J. Docherty
 Dialectal and Sociophonetic Aspects of Preaspiration..... I-17
 Pétur Helgason, Katrin Stölten, Olle Engstrand
- The Acquisition of Language Specific Phonetic Categories in Infancy**..... I-21
Janet F. Werker
- Interarticulator Programming in Speech Production**..... I-27
Anders Löfqvist
- Acoustic and Perceptual Evidence for Universal Phonological Features**..... I-33
Kenneth N. Stevens
 Patterns of Phonetic Contrast: Towards a Unified Explanatory Framework..... I-39
 Björn Lindblom
-

The role of phonetics in speech to speech translation SYMPOSIUM

- The Role of Phonetics in Speech to Speech Translation**..... I-43
Harald Höge
- Pronunciation Modeling Using Finite State Transducers**..... I-47
Isabel Trancoso, D. Caseiro, C. Viana, F. Silva, I. Mascarenhas
- Data Driven Symbolic Prosody Modeling**..... I-51
Janez Stergar, Bogomir Horvat, Zdravko Kačič
- The Role of Phonetics in Synthesis**..... I-55
Jan P.H. van Santen
- Acoustic-Phonetic Knowledge and Statistics in Automatic Speech Recognition**..... I-59
Hermann Ney
-

Evolutionary typology of stress SYMPOSIUM

- Towards an Evolutionary Typology of Stress**..... I-63
Sandro V. Kodzasov
- Experimental Test of a Hypothesized Diachronic Change in Basque Accentuation**..... I-67
Gorka Elordieta, José Ignacio Hualde
- The Change from Left Word-Edge Stress to Right Word-Edge Stress**..... I-71
Haike Jacobs
- Restructuring of Stress Phonetic Parameters as a Stimulus for Accentual System Evolution**..... I-75
Tatyana M. Nikolaeva
-

Articulatory Phonology SYMPOSIUM

- On Neutral Vowels in Hungarian**..... I-77
Adamantios Gafos, Stefan Benus
- Coordination of Lingual and Mandibular Gestures for Different Manners of Articulation**..... I-81
Christine Mooshammer, Anja Geumann, Philip Hoole, Peter Alfonso, Pascal van Lieshout, Susanne Fuchs
- Emergence of Discrete Gestures**..... I-85
Louis M. Goldstein
- Frontiers and Challenges in Articulatory Phonology**..... I-89
Dani Byrd

Intonation and Processing	SYMPOSIUM
The Meaning of Intonational Structure I-93 <i>Mary E. Beckman</i>	
Intonation and Sentence Processing I-95 <i>Shari Speer, Paul Warren, Amy Schafer</i>	
Intonation and Discourse Processing I-107 <i>Jennifer J. Venditti, Julia Hirschberg</i>	
Phonetics of talk-in-interaction	SYMPOSIUM
Phonetics and Talk-in-Interaction I-115 <i>John Local</i>	
On Initial Boundary Tones in English Conversation I-119 <i>Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen</i>	
Voice Quality as a Resource for the Management of Turn-Taking in Finnish Talk-in-Interaction I-123 <i>Richard Ogden</i>	
Turn-Taking and Prosodic Resources in Adult-Child Talk I-127 <i>Bill Wells, Juliette Corrin</i>	
Applications of Auditory/Visual Speech Processing	SYMPOSIUM
Evaluation of a Multilingual Synthetic Talking Face as a Communication Aid for the Hearing Impaired I-131 <i>Catherine Siciliano, Geoff Williams, Jonas Beskow, Andrew Faulkner</i>	
The Role of Visual Cues in L2 Consonant Perception I-135 <i>Anke Sennema, Valerie Hazan, Andrew Faulkner</i>	
A Longitudinal Study of Audiovisual Speech Perception by Prelingually Deaf Children with Cochlear Implants I-139 <i>Tonya R. Bergeson, David B. Pisoni, Rebecca A.O. Davis</i>	
Development and Evaluation of a Computer-Animated Tutor for Language and Vocabulary Learning I-143 <i>Dominic W. Massaro, Alexis Bosseler, Joanna Light</i>	
The role of the word, foot and syllable in speech production and perception	SYMPOSIUM
Introduction to the Symposium on the Role of the Word, Foot, and Syllable in Speech Production and Perception: The Role of the Syllable in Speech Production I-147 <i>Alice Turk</i>	
The Status of Feet in Early Acquisition I-151 <i>Katherine Demuth</i>	
Is the Phonological Word a Unit of Language Production? I-155 <i>Linda Wheeldon, Aditi Lahiri</i>	
Linking behavior and the brain in neurological speech disorders	SYMPOSIUM
The Contribution of Motor Speech Disorders to Understanding Motor Speech Control I-159 <i>Joseph R. Duffy, Raymond D. Kent, Jane F. Kent</i>	
Cerebellar Contributions to Speech Motor Control and Auditory Verbal Imagery: Acoustic / Kinematic Analyses of Ataxic Dysarthria and Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging in Healthy Subjects I-163 <i>Hermann Ackermann, Ingo Hertrich</i>	
A Model of Cortical and Cerebellar Function in Speech I-169 <i>Frank H. Guenther, Satrajit S. Ghosh</i>	
Articulatory Synthesis. Advances and Prospects	SYMPOSIUM
Articulatory Synthesis: Advances and Prospects I-175 <i>D.H. Whalen</i>	
User-Centred Design for an Open-Source 3-D Articulatory Synthesizer I-179 <i>S. Sidney Fels, Florian Vogt, Bryan Gick, Carol Jaeger, Ian Wilson</i>	

CASY: The Haskins Configurable Articulatory Synthesizer	I-185
<i>Khalil Iskarous, Louis M. Goldstein, D.H. Whalen, Mark K. Tiede, Philip E. Rubin</i>	
Mechanical Properties of Lip Movements: How to Characterize Different Speaking Styles?	I-189
<i>Shinji Maeda, Martine Toda</i>	
Virtual Talking Heads and Audiovisual Articulatory Synthesis	I-193
<i>Pierre Badin, Gérard Bailly, Frédéric Elisei, Matthias Odisio</i>	
Production of Consonants with a Quasi-Articulatory Synthesizer	I-199
<i>Kenneth N. Stevens, Helen M. Hanson</i>	
<hr/>	
Phonetic Fieldwork	SYMPOSIUM
<hr/>	
Phonetic Fieldwork	I-203
<i>Peter Ladefoged</i>	
Collecting Phonetic Data on Endangered Languages	I-207
<i>Matthew Gordon</i>	
Fieldwork for Studies of Phonological Variation	I-211
<i>Paul Foulkes</i>	
Pronunciation Research by Written Questionnaire	I-215
<i>J.C. Wells</i>	
<hr/>	
Pronunciation Variability and Speech Technology	SYMPOSIUM
<hr/>	
Pronunciation Variation is Key to Understanding Spoken Language	I-219
<i>Steven Greenberg</i>	
Modelling Stylistic Variation of Speech Basic Research and Speech Technology	
Application	I-223
<i>Klaus J. Kohler</i>	
Speech is Like a Box of Chocolates	I-227
<i>Helmer Strik</i>	
<hr/>	
Sound change in Romance	SYMPOSIUM
<hr/>	
Articulation and Sound Change in Romance	I-231
<i>Daniel Recasens</i>	
Patterns of Vowel Nasalisation in Northern Italy: Articulatory versus Perceptual	I-235
<i>John Hajek</i>	
Velar Stop Voicing in Romance: Data and Phonetic Explanations	I-239
<i>Carmen Pensado</i>	
<hr/>	
Tune-Text Relations in Intonation	SYMPOSIUM
<hr/>	
On Tune-Text Relations	I-241
<i>Carlos Gussenhoven</i>	
Late Pitch Peaks in West Swedish	I-245
<i>Gösta Bruce</i>	
Phonological Conditioning of F0 Target Alignment	I-249
<i>D. Robert Ladd</i>	
An Articulatory Hypothesis for the Alignment of Tonal Targets in Italian	I-253
<i>Mariapaola D'Imperio, Noël Nguyen, Kevin G. Munhall</i>	
Three Levels of Tune-Text Relations	I-257
<i>Yi Xu</i>	
<hr/>	
Research methods and techniques in speech production	SYMPOSIUM
<hr/>	
Using Articulatory Data to Inform Speech Pathology Theory and Clinical Practice	I-261
<i>Fiona E. Gibbon</i>	
Beyond 2D in Articulatory Data Acquisition and Analysis	I-265
<i>Philip Hoole, Andreas Zierdt, Christian Geng</i>	
Studying Articulatory Variability Using Functional Data Analysis	I-269
<i>Laura L. Koenig, Jorge C. Lucero, Anders Löfqvist</i>	
Tissue Strains and Tongue Shapes: Combining tMRI and Ultrasound	I-273
<i>Maureen Stone, Vijay Parthasarathy, Khalil Iskarous, Moriel NessAiver, Jerry L. Prince</i>	

Phonetics-Phonology interface	SYMPOSIUM
The Phonetics-Phonology Interface	I-277
<i>John J. Ohala</i>	
Grammar-Internal and Grammar-External Assimilation	I-281
<i>John Harris</i>	
What are Phonetic Categories?	I-285
<i>John Kingston</i>	
Is Variation Encoded in Phonology?	I-289
<i>Maria-Josep Solé</i>	
Models of connected-speech perception and word recognition	SYMPOSIUM
Contribution of Fine Phonetic Detail to Speech Understanding	I-293
<i>Sarah Hawkins</i>	
The Interplay of Perception and Production in Phonological Development: Beginnings of a Connectionist Model Trained on Real Speech	I-297
<i>Christopher T. Kello, David C. Plaut</i>	
Retroflexes and Dentals in the FUL-Model	I-301
<i>Aditi Lahiri, Henning Reetz</i>	
Tools for teaching phonetics	SYMPOSIUM
Physical and Computer-Based Tools for Teaching Phonetics	I-305
<i>Takayuki Arai</i>	
New Tools for Teaching Phonetics	I-309
<i>Jacqueline Vaissière</i>	
Speech on the Web: An MIT Lab Course	I-313
<i>Janet Slifka, Stefanie Shattuck-Hufnagel, Laura Koller</i>	
Using Arai's Vocal Tract Models for Education in Phonetics	I-317
<i>Terri Lander, Takayuki Arai</i>	
The phonetics of indigenous languages	SYMPOSIUM
An Instrumental Analysis of Focus and Juncture in Warlpiri	I-321
<i>Andrew Butcher, Jonathan Harrington</i>	
Stress and rhythm	SYMPOSIUM
Rhythmic Grouping in Word Lists: Competing Roles of Syllables, Words and Stress Feet	I-325
<i>Fred Cummins</i>	
Rhythmic Similarity Effects in Non-Native Listening?	I-329
<i>Anne Cutler, Lalita Murty, Takashi Otake</i>	
What does Phonology Tell us About Stress and Rhythm? Some Reflections on the Phonology of Stress	I-333
<i>Giovanna Marotta</i>	
The Psychological Reality of Rhythm Classes: Perceptual Studies	I-337
<i>Franck Ramus, Emmanuel Dupoux, Jacques Mehler</i>	
Speech analysis tools	SYMPOSIUM
The Interactive Design of an F0-Related Spectral Analyser	I-343
<i>Ton G. Wempe, Paul Boersma</i>	
Automatic Phonetic Transcription: An Overview	I-347
<i>Catia Cucchiarini, Helmer Strik</i>	
Tools for a Combined Analysis of Speech and Gestures	I-351
<i>Volker Dellwo</i>	
Building an Interface Between EMU and Praat: A Modular Approach to Speech Database Analysis	I-355
<i>Jonathan Harrington, Steve Cassidy, Tina John, Michel Scheffers</i>	

Phonetic Explanation in Phonology: Overview of the Symposium	I-359
<i>Keith Johnson, Elizabeth Hume</i>	
Knowledge of Perceptual Similarity and its Phonological Uses: Evidence from Half-Rhymes	I-363
<i>Donca Steriade</i>	
Reinterpreting Loanword Adaptations: The Role of Perception	I-367
<i>Sharon Peperkamp, Emmanuel Dupoux</i>	
Feature Economy as a Phonological Universal	I-371
<i>G.N. Clements</i>	
Phonetic and Other Influences on Voicing Contrasts	I-375
<i>Patricia A. Keating</i>	

Typology of Sound Systems

SYMPOSIUM

Universal Intrasyllabic Patterns in Early Acquisition	I-379
<i>Barbara L. Davis, Peter F. MacNeilage</i>	
Intersyllabic and Word-Level Regularities in Early Acquisition	I-383
<i>Peter F. MacNeilage, Barbara L. Davis</i>	

Perception : Consonants I

M.2.3 - ORAL

Acoustic Cues to Word-Initial Stop Length in Pattani Malay	I-387
<i>Arthur S. Abramson</i>	
Perception of Consonant Place of Articulation: Phonological Categories Meet Natural Boundaries	I-391
<i>Willy Serniclaes, Caroline Bogliotti, René Carré</i>	
Perceptual and Acoustic Cues of Polish Coronal Fricatives	I-395
<i>Marzena Zygis, Silke Hamann</i>	
Markedness Asymmetries in Place Perception in Consonant Clusters	I-399
<i>John Kingston, Takahito Shinya</i>	
Voicing and Temporal Order Perception by Spanish Speakers	I-403
<i>Luis E. López-Bascuas, Burton S. Rosner, José E. García-Albea</i>	
Perception of Prenasalized Stops	I-407
<i>Patrice Speeter Beddor, Chutamane Onsuwan</i>	
Length as an Acoustic Cue in the Perception of Consonant Syllabicity	I-411
<i>Joan C. Mora, Brian Mott</i>	
Formant Transition Duration versus Prevoicing Duration in Voiced Stop Identification ...	I-415
<i>René Carré, Willy Serniclaes, Egidio Marsico</i>	

Production : Production mechanisms

M.2.5 - ORAL

Anticipatory and Carryover Coarticulation in Turkish	I-419
<i>Aline Ascí, Béatrice Vaxelaire, Véronique Ferbach-Hecker, Mélina Guedet</i>	
Continuancy and the Aerodynamics of /r/ Production in Spanish	I-423
<i>Anthony M. Lewis</i>	
A Numerical Model of Coarticulation Based on a Principal Components Analysis of Tongue Shapes	I-427
<i>Björn Lindblom</i>	
Resynthesis of Facial and Intraoral Articulation from Simultaneous Measurements	I-431
<i>Jonas Beskow, Olov Engwall, Björn Granström</i>	
Linking Speech, Imagery and Memory processes: Intrasyllabic Articulatory Control Constraints in Verbal Transformations	I-435
<i>Marc Sato, Jean-Luc Schwartz</i>	
Cross-Subject Relations Between Measures of Vowel Production and Perception	I-439
<i>Joseph S. Perkell, Frank H. Guenther, Harlan Lane, Melanie L. Matthies, Ellen Stockmann, Mark K. Tiede, Majid Zandipour</i>	
Control of Articulator Stiffness as a Means to Achieve the Precision Requirements of Speech	I-443
<i>Douglas M. Shiller, David J. Ostry</i>	

Audible and Inaudible Anticipatory Gestures in French	I-447
<i>Béatrice Vaxelaire, Rudolph Sock, Johanna-Pascale Roy, Aline Ascii, Véronique Ferbach-Hecker</i>	
<hr/>	
Prosody : Stress & rhythm	M.2.6 - ORAL
<hr/>	
Metrical Stress in Speech Production: A Time Course Study	I-451
<i>Niels O. Schiller</i>	
Stød and Length in Standard Danish: Experiments in Laboratory Phonology	I-455
<i>Nina Grønnum, Hans Basbøll</i>	
Effects of Foot Structure on Mora Duration in Japanese?	I-459
<i>Mitsuhiko Ota, D. Robert Ladd, Madoka Tsuchiya</i>	
Durational Evidence of the Psychological Reality of the Mora in Japanese Speakers' French	I-463
<i>Mariko Kondo, Shigeko Shinohara</i>	
A Comparison of Speech Rhythm in British and Hong Kong English	I-467
<i>Jane Setter</i>	
Relations Between Language Rhythm and Speech Rate	I-471
<i>Volker Dellwo, Petra S. Wagner</i>	
Investigation of Non-Pitch-Accented Phrases in Brazilian Portuguese: No Evidence Favoring Stress Shift	I-475
<i>Plínio A. Barbosa, Pablo Arantes</i>	
<hr/>	
Prosody : Phrasing	M.2.7 - ORAL
<hr/>	
Prosodic Typology and Compound - Phrasal Contrasts	I-479
<i>John Ingram, Thu Nguyen</i>	
The Effect of Phrase Length and Speech Rate on Prosodic Phrasing	I-483
<i>Sun-Ah Jun</i>	
Effects of Constituent Length and Syntactic Branching on Intonational Phrasing in Ibero-Romance	I-487
<i>Gorka Elordieta, Sónia Frota, Pilar Prieto, Marina Vigário</i>	
Degree of Initial Lowering in Japanese as a Reflex of Prosodic Structure Organization	I-491
<i>Elisabeth Selkirk, Takahito Shinya, Mariko Sugahara</i>	
The Role of Post-Lexical Tonal Contours in Word Segmentation	I-495
<i>Sahyang Kim</i>	
Virtual and Real Pauses at Clause and Sentence Boundaries	I-499
<i>Nina B. Volskaya</i>	
Structural and Rhythmic Influences on the Occurrence of the Initial Accent in French	I-503
<i>Corine Astésano, Ellen G. Bard</i>	
Perceptually Based Prediction of Upcoming Prosodic Breaks in Spontaneous Swedish Speech Materials	I-507
<i>Rolf Carlson, Marc Swerts</i>	
<hr/>	
Second Language Acquisition : Acquisition of non segmental features	M.2.8 - ORAL
<hr/>	
Training English and Chinese Listeners to Perceive Thai Tones	I-511
<i>Ratree P. Wayland</i>	
Learning to Form New L2 Phonetic Categories in Sentence Contexts	I-515
<i>Yukari Hirata</i>	
Production and Perception of Temporal Contrasts in Foreign-Accented English	I-519
<i>Bruce Smith, Ann R. Bradlow, Tessa Bent</i>	
Why Don't Russians Answer my Questions? Finnish Students' Problems in Producing Russian Interrogative Intonation	I-523
<i>Anne Kuosmanen, Viola de Silva</i>	
Prosodic and Rhythmic Patterns Produced By Native and Non-native Speakers of a Quantity-Sensitive Language	I-527
<i>Z.S. Bond, Dace Markus, Verna Stockmal</i>	
Perception of Vowel Length in Native Speakers and Second-Language Users of a Quantity Language	I-531
<i>Sari Nenonen, Anna Shestakova, Paavo Alku, Minna Huottilainen</i>	
The Detection of Foreign Accent in Backwards Speech	I-535
<i>Murray J. Munro, Tracey M. Derwing, Clifford S. Burgess</i>	

Modelling and Perception of the Estonian General Questions with the <i>kas</i>-Particle.....	I- 539
<i>Meelis Mihkla, Hille Pajupuu, Krista Kerge</i>	
Initial Pitch in Words Beginning with a CVV Syllable with a Long Vowel in Tokyo Japanese	I- 543
<i>Takeki Kamiyama</i>	
EGG and Spectral Investigations on Final Focalised Positions in French	I- 547
<i>Cédric Gendrot</i>	
Modeling Intonation: Asking for Confirmation in English.....	I- 551
<i>Chilin Shih, Greg Kochanski</i>	
Analysis and Modelling of the Carrier Declination for the Greek Language	I- 555
<i>Georgios P. Giannopoulos, Stavroula-Evita F. Fotinea, Aimilios E. Chalamandaris, Theologos D. Athanaselis, George V. Carayannis</i>	
The fields on the Way to Prosody: Alternatives to Phrase Structure Based Approaches to Prosody	I- 559
<i>Kim Gerdes, Hi-Yon Yoo</i>	
ANN F0 Modeling for Female-Voice Synthesis in Spanish: Restricted and Non-Restricted Domains.....	I- 563
<i>J.M. Montero, L.F. D'Haro, R. Córdoba, J.A. Vallejo, J. Gutiérrez-Arriola, J.M. Pardo</i>	
Automatic Modelling of Rhythm and Intonation for Language Identification.....	I- 567
<i>Jean-Luc Rouas, Jérôme Farinas, François Pellegrino</i>	
Reported Discourse and its Acoustic/Prosodic Characteristics in Venezuelan Spanish	I- 571
<i>Elsa Mora, Alexandra Alvarez</i>	
Prosodic Hierarchy and Nasalization in Taiwanese	I- 575
<i>Ho-hsien Pan</i>	
Evaluation of the Effectiveness of "X-JToBI": A New Prosodic Labeling Scheme for Spontaneous Japanese Speech	I- 579
<i>Hideaki Kikuchi, Kikuo Maekawa</i>	
Pitch Range in Spontaneous Speech: Semi-Automatic Approach versus Subjective Judgement	I- 583
<i>Cristel Portes, Albert Di Cristo</i>	
Identification of Southern French Accent Based on Suprasegmental Elements	I- 587
<i>Annelise Coquillon</i>	
A Grammar of Intonational Units in German Digit Numbers	I- 591
<i>Irene Jacobi, Uwe D. Reichel</i>	
Pre-Nuclear Tonal Inventories of Spanish Intonation	I- 595
<i>Eugenio Martínez-Celdrán, Ana Ma. Fernández-Planas, Natalia Fullana-Rivera</i>	
Towards the Organization of Mandarin Speech Prosody: Units, Boundaries and Their Characteristics.....	I- 599
<i>Chiu-yu Tseng</i>	
The Intonation of <i>instruct</i> and <i>explain</i> in Neapolitan Italian	I- 603
<i>Rosa Giordano, Renata Savy</i>	
Coherence Among Prosodic Phrases	I- 607
<i>Petra Hansson</i>	
Phonatory Demarcations of Intonation Phrases in Bulgarian.....	I- 611
<i>Bistra Andreeva, Jacques Koreman, William J. Barry</i>	
A Phonological Effect on Tonal Alignment in Tokyo Japanese.....	I- 615
<i>Takeshi Ishihara</i>	
How Mis-Specified Focus Accents Can Distress Our Brain.....	I- 619
<i>Ulrike Toepel, Kai Alter</i>	
A Computational Model of Low Tones in Ibibio	I- 623
<i>Eno-Abasi Urua, Dafydd Gibbon, Ulrike Gut</i>	
Pitch Contours in Negative Sentences	I- 627
<i>Nancy Hedberg, Juan M. Sosa</i>	
Categorical Perception of Boundary Tones in German.....	I- 631
<i>Katrin Schneider, Britta Lintfert</i>	

Nasalization in Japanese Back-Channels Bears Meaning	I-635
<i>Nigel Ward, Masafumi Okamoto</i>	
The Moving Boundaries of the First-Acquired Variety's Phonological Features: Evidence from Production/Perception of Moroccan Arabic's Vowels	I-639
<i>Mohamed Embarki, Christian Guilleminot</i>	
Use of a Large-Scale Spontaneous Speech Corpus in the Study of Linguistic Variation	I-643
<i>Kikuo Maekawa, Hanae Koiso, Hideaki Kikuchi, Kiyoko Yoneyama</i>	
Modeling Perceived Vowel Height, Advancement, and Rounding	I-647
<i>Patti Adank, Roel Smits, Roeland van Hout</i>	
Is Voice Quality Language-Dependent? Acoustic Analyses Based on Speakers of Three Different Languages	I-651
<i>Anita Wagner, Angelika Braun</i>	
Fricated Pre-Aspirated /t/ in Middlesbrough English: An Acoustic Study	I-655
<i>Mark J. Jones, Carmen Llamas</i>	
The Vowels of Standard Albanian	I-659
<i>Sylvia Moosmüller, Theodor Granser</i>	
Stress and Accent in French Television Discourse	I-663
<i>Primoz Vitez</i>	
Voice and Information Processing	I-667
<i>Claire Gélinas-Chebat, Jean-Charles Chebat, Robert Boivin</i>	
The Matter with the Penultimate: Prosodic Change in the Vernacular of Lower-Class Immigrant Youth in Paris	I-671
<i>Zsuzsanna Fagyal</i>	
Place of Articulation for Swedish /t/ and /d/: Cross-Dialectal Observations	I-675
<i>Peder Livijn</i>	

Forensic Phonetics

M.3.P2 - POSTER

Czech Vocalic System in Realizations of Individual Speakers	I-679
<i>Barbora Hedbávná</i>	
Imitation, Expectation and Acceptance: The Role of Age and First Language in a Nordic Setting	I-683
<i>Elisabeth Zetterholm, Kirk P.H. Sullivan, James Green, Erik Eriksson, Peter E. Czigler</i>	
Acoustic Study of the Vowel Formant Frequencies and F0: A Contribution to Catalan Forensic Phonetics	I-687
<i>Jordi Cicres Bosch</i>	
A Forensic Phonetic Investigation into the Speech Patterns of Identical and Non-Identical Twins	I-691
<i>Deborah Loakes</i>	
Development of a Multiparametric Speaker Profile for Speaker Recognition	I-695
<i>Antti Iivonen, Kirsi Harinen, Leena Keinänen, Jussi Kirjavainen, Einar Meister, Launo Tuuri</i>	
The Influence of Different Linguistic Units and Unfamiliar Phonemes on Speaker Discrimination in a Foreign Language	I-699
<i>Marion Libossek, Jacqueline Anthes</i>	
Inter-Speaker Variation in Spanish. An Experimental and Acoustic Preliminary Approach	I-703
<i>Victoria Marrero, Juana Gil, Elena Battaner</i>	

Universals : Sound inventories and syllable structure

M.4.3 - ORAL

Syllable-Based Phonology of Ibero-Romance Languages	I-707
<i>J.C. Williams</i>	
Vowel Nasalization and Nasal Loss in Italian	I-711
<i>M. Grazia Busà</i>	
From Lexical to Syllabic Organization: Favored and Disfavored Co-Occurrences	I-715
<i>Isabelle Rousset</i>	
Phonological Typology in Geographical Perspective	I-719
<i>Ian Maddieson</i>	
Production and Perception of Vowels: Does the Density of the System Play a Role?	I-723
<i>Christine Meunier, Cheryl Frenck-Mestre, Taïssia Lelekov-Boissard, Martine Le Besnerais</i>	

[b]-[d]-[g] as a Universal Triangle as Acoustically Optimal as [i]-[a]-[u]	I-727
<i>Christian Abry</i>	
<hr/>	
Automatic Speech Recognition I	M.4.5 - ORAL
<hr/>	
Improvement of Speech Recognition Method Using Speech Production Mechanism	I-731
<i>Jianwu Dang, Yosuke Iizuka, Konstantin Markov, Satoshi Nakamura</i>	
Recasting the Time Map Model as a Multi-Agent System	I-735
<i>Michael Walsh</i>	
A Multi-Linear HMMs System for Articulatory Features Extraction	I-739
<i>Tarek Abu-Amer, Julie Carson-Berndsen</i>	
On-Line Frame-Synchronous Noise Compensation	I-743
<i>Vincent Barreaud, Irina Illina, Dominique Fohr</i>	
Phonetic Knowledge, Phonotactics and Perceptual Validation for Automatic Language Identification	I-747
<i>Martine Adda-Decker, Fabien Antoine, Philippe Boula de Mareüil, Ioana Vasilescu, Lori Lamel, Jacqueline Vaissière, Edouard Geoffrois, Jean-Sylvain Liénard</i>	
Improved ASR in Noise Using Harmonic Decomposition	I-751
<i>David M. Moreno, Philip J.B. Jackson, Javier Hernando, Martin J. Russell</i>	
<hr/>	
Prosody : Perception	M.4.6 - ORAL
<hr/>	
Perceiving Question Intonation: The Role of Pre-Focal Pause and Delayed Focal Peak	I-755
<i>David House</i>	
The Perception of Preheads as Accents	I-759
<i>Toni Rietveld, Carlos Gussenhoven</i>	
Perception of English Intonation by English, Spanish and Chinese Listeners	I-763
<i>Esther Grabe, Burton S. Rosner, José E. García-Albea, Xiaolin Zhou</i>	
Spectral Tilt as a Cue to Word Stress in Polish, Macedonian, and Bulgarian	I-767
<i>Katherine Crosswhite</i>	
Intonational Equivalence: An Experimental Evaluation of Pitch Scales	I-771
<i>Francis Nolan</i>	
The Function of F₀ in Phonemic Restoration	I-775
<i>Ching X. Xu</i>	
<hr/>	
Acoustics : Consonant cues	M.4.7 - ORAL
<hr/>	
Temporal and Devoicing Analysis of European Portuguese Fricatives	I-779
<i>Luis M.T. Jesus, Christine H. Shadley</i>	
Models of Aspirated Stops in English	I-783
<i>Helen M. Hanson, Kenneth N. Stevens</i>	
The Effect of Stress on Consonantal Loci	I-787
<i>Augustine Agwuele</i>	
Voice Onset Time in Egyptian Arabic: A Case where Phonological Categories Dominate ..	I-791
<i>Khaled Rifaat</i>	
A Perceptual Study of Tenseness. Some Acoustic Cues Identifying Tense vs Non-Tense Contrast in Berber	I-795
<i>Omar Ouakrim</i>	
<hr/>	
Sociophonetics : Dialectal and cross-language	M.4.8 - ORAL
<hr/>	
The Pronunciation of Loanwords in German	I-799
<i>Reinhold Greisbach</i>	
Sounds Cocos	I-803
<i>Lisa Lim, Umberto Ansaldo</i>	
A Contrastive Acoustical Investigation of Orkney and Shetland Intonation	I-805
<i>Vincent J. van Heuven, Klaske van Leyden</i>	
<hr/>	
Perception I	M.5.P1 - POSTER
<hr/>	
The Effects of Spectral Smearing on Hebrew Phoneme and Word Recognition	I-809
<i>Liat Kishon-Rabin, S. Patael, M. Menachemi, Noam Amir</i>	

Simulating the Effects of Additive White Noise on Speech – A Perceptual Study	I-813
<i>Noam Amir, Liat Kishon-Rabin</i>	
Can we Recover Vowel Gestures from Speech Sounds? An Experimental Study Based on an Original Psychophysical Paradigm	I-817
<i>Nathalie Vallée, Sonia Kandel</i>	
On Perceiving Certain Voiceless Unaspirated Stops	I-821
<i>Leigh Lisker</i>	
Representational Specificity of Lexical Form in the Perception of Spoken Words	I-825
<i>C.T. McLennan, P.A. Luce, J. Charles-Luce</i>	
Vowel Normalization for Accent: A Comparison of Northern and Southern British English Speakers	I-829
<i>Bronwen G. Evans, Paul Iverson</i>	
Perception of Speaker Age, Sex and Vowel Quality Investigated Using Stimuli Produced with an Articulatory Model	I-833
<i>Hartmut Traunmüller, Anders Eriksson, Lucie Ménard</i>	
Interpretation of Emotions in Natural Speech – A Comparison Between Written, Auditive and Gestural Information	I-837
<i>Åsa Abelin</i>	
Benefit of Audiovisual Presentation in Close Shadowing Task	I-841
<i>Denis Beutemps, Marie-Agnès Cathiard, Yvon Le Borgne</i>	
Spoken Word Recognition of Accented and Unaccented Speech: Lexical Factors Affecting Native and Non-Native Listeners	I-845
<i>Satomi Imai, James E. Flege, Amanda Walley</i>	
The Effects of Language Experience on the Perceptual Organization of Consonant Categories for English and Mandarin Adults	I-849
<i>Feng-Ming Tsao, Huei-Mei Liu, Patricia K. Kuhl</i>	
!Xóõ Click Perception by English, Isizulu, and Sesotho Listeners	I-853
<i>Catherine T. Best, Anthony Traill, Allyson Carter, K. David Harrison, Alice Faber</i>	
Phonetic Variation in Production and Perception of Speech: A Comparative Study of Two Arabic Dialects	I-857
<i>Melissa Barkat-Defradas, Jalal-Eddin Al-Tamimi, Thami Benkirane</i>	
A Cross-Language Study of Vowel Categorization and Vowel Acoustics: Canadian English versus Canadian French	I-861
<i>Paola Escudero, Linda Polka</i>	
Speech Understanding While Driving: Sentence and Word Perception Using a Hand-Held Mobile Phone versus a Hands-Free Head Set	I-865
<i>Jukka Selenius, Reijo Aulanko, Markus Vaalgamaa, Jukka Harjula, Heikki Summala</i>	
Perception of Stress Related Vowels in Brazilian Portuguese	I-869
<i>Leonardo Oliveira, Eleonora Cavalcante Albano</i>	
Prosodic Boundary Perception in Spontaneous Speech of Standard Chinese	I-873
<i>Aijun Li</i>	
The Brain's Response to Hummed Sentences	I-877
<i>Ann Pannekamp, Ulrike Toepel, Anja Hahne, Angela Friederici</i>	
On the Perception of Prominence in Short Phrases: A quantitative Experimental Study ...	I-881
<i>Soundes Azabou-Kacem</i>	
Relation Between Categorical Perception of Speech and Reading Acquisition	I-885
<i>Caroline Bogliotti</i>	
Is the Development of Cue Weighting Strategies in Children's Speech Perception Context-Dependent?	I-889
<i>Catherine Mayo, Alice Turk</i>	
Visual Speech Interference in an Auditory Shadowing Task: The Dubbed Movie Effect	I-893
<i>Jordi Navarra</i>	
Are Tones Phones?	I-897
<i>Denis Burnham, Chris Davis, Jeesun Kim, Zeina Issa, Helen Tam, Benjawan Kasisopa, Prajaree Tantong, Colin Schoknecht, Caroline Jones, Sudaporn Luksaneeyanawin</i>	

Acoustics

M.5.P2 - POSTER

Speech Input to Infants: The Acoustic-Phonetic Characteristics of Infant-Directed Speech in Mandarin Chinese	I-901
<i>Huei-Mei Liu, Feng-Ming Tsao, Patricia K. Kuhl</i>	

Local and Global Influences on Vowel Formants in Three Australian Languages	I-905
<i>Janet Fletcher, Andrew Butcher</i>	
Phonetic ‘Conspiracy’. Low Vowels and Velarized Lateral in Leghorn Italian	I-909
<i>Giovanna Marotta, Nadia Nocchi</i>	
On Some Acoustic Features of Spontaneous Speech and Reading in Russian (Quantitative and Qualitative Comparison Methods)	I-913
<i>Olga Bolotova</i>	
Consonant Reduction in Three Dialects of English	I-917
<i>Zoë Evans, Catherine I. Watson</i>	
Tense/Lax Vowel Classification Using Dynamic Spectral Cues	I-921
<i>Janet Slifka</i>	
Acoustic and Perceptual Comparison of Speech and Drum Sounds in the North Indian Tabla Tradition: An Empirical Study of Sound Symbolism	I-925
<i>Aniruddh D. Patel, John R. Iversen</i>	
French Nasal Vowels Spoken in Haut-Jura: A Quantitative Acoustic Study	I-929
<i>Vincent Arnaud</i>	
Acoustic Analysis of the Uvular Unvoiced Fricative	I-933
<i>Ashraf Alkhairy</i>	
A Contrastive Study of Voiced Alveolo-Palatal Affricates in the Catalan of Lleida and Barcelona	I-937
<i>Ana Ma. Fernández-Planas, Josefina Carrera-Sabaté, Miquel Àngel Pradilla-Cardona</i>	
The Front and Sub-Lingual Cavities in Coronal Stops: An Acoustic Approach to Volume Estimation	I-941
<i>Svante Granqvist, Johan Sundberg, Elisabet Eir Cortes, Josefina Larsson, Peter Branderud</i>	
An Acoustic Approach to Galician <i>Gheada</i>	I-945
<i>Sabela Labraña-Barrero, Carlos van Oosterzee</i>	
Acoustic Analysis of Preschool Children’s Speech	I-949
<i>Serdar Yildirim, Shrikanth Narayanan, Dani Byrd, Sonia Khurana</i>	
On Phonetic Aspects of Tonal Register Feature	I-953
<i>Jenny J. Liu, Harvey D. Blankespoor, William S-Y. Wang</i>	
<hr/>	
Phonetics Pedagogy	M.5.P2 - POSTER
<hr/>	
Manipulation of Foreign-Accented Speech: Improving English-Accented French	I-957
<i>Colleen C. Martin</i>	
The Learning of English Prosodic Structures by Speakers of Tunisian Arabic : Word Stress and Weak Forms	I-961
<i>Salem Ghazali, Nadia Bouchhioua</i>	
Intonational Interference in Japanese Learners’ English	I-965
<i>Masaki Taniguchi</i>	
A New Dictionary of Contemporary Catalan Pronunciation	I-969
<i>Joan Julià-Muné, Imma Creus</i>	
A European Accent Map	I-973
<i>Lee Harkis, Martin Cooke</i>	
Wave, Resonance, and Vowel Formants: Application of Physics Software to Education of Language and Speech Science	I-977
<i>Yuki Kakita</i>	
A Web-Based Transcription Tool	I-981
<i>M. Luisa Garcia Lecumberri, John Maidment, Martin Cooke, Anders Eriksson, Mircea Giurgiu</i>	
An Empirical Study on the Role of Metacompetence in the Acquisition of Foreign Language Phonology	I-985
<i>Magdalena Wrembel</i>	
<hr/>	
Perception : Vowels	T.1.3 - ORAL
<hr/>	
Perception and Production of the Short and Long Finnish [i] Vowels: Individuals Seem to Have Different Perceptual and Articulatory Templates	I-989
<i>Osmo Eerola, Juha-Pertti Laaksonen, Janne Savela, Olli Aaltonen</i>	
Dynamics in Diphthong Perception	I-993
<i>Ewa Jacewicz, Osamu Fujimura, Robert A. Fox</i>	

Towards an Auditory Reference System for Primary Vowel Types: Interviewing Experts at ICPhS'99	I-997
<i>Doris Mücke</i>	
The Effects of Distinctive Features on the Perception of Vowel Categories	I-1001
<i>Janne Savela, Tuulia Kleimola, Leena Mäkelä, Jyrki Tuomainen, Olli Aaltonen</i>	
Comparison of Several Proposed Perceptual Representations of Vowel Spectra	I-1005
<i>Terrance M. Nearey, Michael Kieffe</i>	
Perceptual Role of Duration Feature (Non-Distinctive in Russian) in Vowel Discrimination	I-1009
<i>V. Kouznetsov</i>	
<hr/>	
First Language Acquisition : Cross-linguistic studies	T.1.4 - ORAL
<hr/>	
Learning Abstract Phonological from Auditory Phonetic Categories: An Integrated Model for the Acquisition of Language-Specific Sound Categories	I-1013
<i>Paul Boersma, Paola Escudero, Rachel Hayes</i>	
Experimental Evidence for an Effect of Vocal Experience on Infant Speech Perception	I-1017
<i>Marilyn M. Vihman, Satsuki Nakai</i>	
Word Segmentation in Monolingual and Bilingual Infant Learners of English and French	I-1021
<i>Linda Polka, Megha Sundara</i>	
On the (Un)Markedness of Spirantization: Evidence from First Language Acquisition	I-1025
<i>Martin Rakow, Conxita Lleó</i>	
Influences on Infant Vowel Acoustics	I-1029
<i>Rory A. DePaolis, Marilyn M. Vihman</i>	
Development in Utterance Structures of Deaf and Hearing Infants	I-1033
<i>Florien J. Koopmans-van Beinum, Lillian Doppen</i>	
<hr/>	
Production : Kinematics	T.1.5 - ORAL
<hr/>	
Articulator Movements in Ventriloquists' Speech	I-1037
<i>John R. Westbury, Clarissa J. Weiss</i>	
The C/D Model: A Progress Report	I-1041
<i>Osamu Fujimura</i>	
From the Bony Structure of the Head to Soft Tissues of the Vocal Tract	I-1045
<i>Louis-Jean Boë, Denis Autesserre, Laurent Cavazzana, Jean-Louis Heim, Fleur Letellier-Willemin</i>	
An Expanded Taxonomy of States of the Glottis	I-1049
<i>John H. Esling, Jimmy G. Harris</i>	
Sensorimotor Adaptation to Auditory Perturbations During Speech: Acoustic and Kinematic Experiments	I-1053
<i>Ludo Max, Marie E. Wallace, Irena Vincent</i>	
An EMMA/EPG Study of Voicing Contrast Correlates in German	I-1057
<i>Susanne Fuchs, Pascal Perrier</i>	
<hr/>	
Prosody : Variation	T.1.6 - ORAL
<hr/>	
Universal and Language-Specific Aspects of Intonation in English and Polish	I-1061
<i>Esther Grabe, Maciej Karpinski</i>	
Identifying Regional Varieties by Pitch Information: A Comparison of Two Approaches	I-1065
<i>Jörg Peters, Peter Gilles, Peter Auer, Margret Selting</i>	
Language Dependence in Continuation Intonation	I-1069
<i>Aoju Chen</i>	
Modelling Intonation in Three Irish Dialects	I-1073
<i>Martha Dalton, Ailbhe Ní Chasaide</i>	
The Origins and Scope of Final Lowering in English and Greek	I-1077
<i>Amalia Arvaniti, Svetlana Godjevac</i>	
Modelling Intonational Variation with GIMEL	I-1081
<i>Stefan Werner, Eric Keller, Brigitte Zellner Keller</i>	

Pre-Nuclear Tonal Inventories of Spanish Intonation

Eugenio Martínez-Celdrán[†], Ana Ma. Fernández-Planas[†] and Natalia Fullana-Rivera[†]

[†] Laboratori de Fonètica. Universitat de Barcelona, Spain

E-mail: emartine@fil.ub.es, planas@fil.ub.es, fullnat@yahoo.es

ABSTRACT

The present study examined the main pitch accents in Spanish declarative and interrogative sentences. We looked at speech produced under laboratory conditions, as it allowed us to control for the word type according to its stress. Contrary to Sosa's [8] conclusions that the peaks in declarative utterances are always on post-tonic syllables and the pitch accent is L*+H, our results show that a certain degree of variability of pre-nuclear contours exists, mainly H* and L+H*, in both sentence types. Our results also show that the predominant structure in sentences with paroxytone words is L*+H in the first pitch accent of the sentence, but this structure is less frequent in sentences containing oxytone words. Furthermore, if the sentence consists of several pitch accents, the pitch accent immediately preceding the nuclear tone is normally H*, due to the downstep effect of the sentence.

1. INTRODUCTION

J.M. Sosa [8] pointed out about the intonation of Spanish declaratives that «the peaks are always on unstressed syllables. At least for pre-nuclear contours, the common assertion that the highest point corresponds to stressed syllables is not in keeping with my findings. The stressed syllable is always low, followed by the high on the subsequent unstressed syllable, even across words and syntactic phrases. If there is at least one accented syllable in the pre-nuclear contour, the pitch accent will be L*+H». Other authors [2, 4, 5] have endorsed Sosa's [8] findings. The aim of this study was to examine whether Sosa's assertion applies to both the declarative sentence type and the interrogative sentence type.

As Sosa's work focused on declarative sentences only, which were mostly made up of paroxytone words (or words accented on the penultimate syllable), in this paper we extended the study of both sentence types to oxytone words (or words accented on the last syllable).

2. METHOD

2.1. POINTS OF ANALYSIS

The study of pitch accents in Spanish declaratives and interrogatives was based on two types of stressed words: oxytone and paroxytone words¹.

¹ Proparoxytone words were not included in this study, due to their infrequent use in Spanish [6] presents the usage percentages of the different types of stressed words: oxytone words 17.75%, paroxytone words 79.50%, and proparoxytone words 2.75%.

Our objective was to determine automatically which tone – high (H) or low (L) – is for the most part associated with the stressed position, pre-stressed or post-tonic position in each of those two word types. In all cases, a post-tonic syllable was the unstressed syllable that came after a stressed syllable, even if the stressed syllable belonged to another word (as was the case of oxytone words). And in the case of paroxytone words, a pre-stressed syllable of the preceding word (if present) was analyzed when the word did not contain a pre-stressed syllable.

2.2. DECISION AS TO THE RESULTING TYPE OF PITCH ACCENT

In order to determine whether the resulting pitch accents were monotonal or bitonal, we followed the psycho-acoustic principle that takes into account the differential threshold of perception of the existing difference between two tones. Thus, we adopted the threshold that [7] proposed. That is, when two consecutive tones had a difference smaller than 1.5 semitones (ST), they were considered as one tone only². When the difference was larger than 1.5 ST, bitonal accents were considered to have been produced.

2.3. STIMULI AND SUBJECTS

A total of 32 sentences comprised the corpus of study. They were distributed into four blocks of eight sentences each. Each sentence was composed of either oxytone words or paroxytone words. More precisely, block 1 contained sentences made up of oxytone words such as *La mansión se dibujó sobre el azul* and *El peral se destacó sobre el jardín*. Block 3 comprised sentences with paroxytone words. Examples of sentences in block 3 were *Las casonas estaban en la colina* and *Las manzanas estaban en la mesita*. Blocks 2 and 4 were designed by means of adding an adjective to the grammatical subject of the sentence (e.g., *Las casonas marinas estaban en la colina* and *La mansión añil se destacó sobre el jardín*). Another varying characteristic of the stimuli was the number of pitch accents in the sentences. Out of the 32 sentences, 16 sentences had three pitch accents (blocks without enlargement) and the remaining 16 had four pitch accents (enlarged blocks). For this study, one less pitch accent in each type of block was analyzed, resulting in 80 pitch accents in total ((16 sentences x 2 pre-nuclei) + (16 sentences x 3 pre-nuclei)).

Eight subjects (4 male, 4 female) participated in the experiment. They were speakers of Standard Peninsular Spanish without a noticeable regional accent. Four

² H* indicates that there are no perceptual differences (no larger than 1.5 ST) between the stressed syllable and its adjacent syllables.

subjects produced the declarative sentences, while the other four speakers produced the interrogative sentences. In both cases, all subjects read the sentences twice. A total of 640 pre-nuclear accents was obtained for declarative sentences (80 pre-nuclear accents x 4 subjects x 2 repetitions), and another 640 accents for interrogative sentences (80 pre-nuclear accents x 4 subjects x 2 repetitions).

2.4. ANALYSIS OF DATA

SIL's program, *Speech Analyser* v. 1.06a, was used to analyze F0. Frequency values were always measured at the centre of the vowel. For that purpose, four windows were present on the computer screen: waveform, spectrogram, F0 curve, and intensity curve. The maximum value of intensity was chosen, provided that it was located approximately at the vowel midpoint. At that point, the F0³ value was noted down. Finally, the resulting pitch accents were obtained by means of specific rules created with the statistical package SPSS10.0.

3. RESULTS

The results obtained are classified according to the five pitch accents that appear in Tables I and II. The classification was also based on the word type (oxytone or paroxytone word) and its order of appearance in the pre-nuclear contour (1st, 2nd, and 3rd position). Values with higher frequencies are highlighted in bold type in the tables below:

Pitch accent	Oxytone word (%)			Paroxytone word (%)		
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	1 st	2 nd	3 rd
1. H*	6.3	32.8	20.3	3.9	21.9	48.4
2. L+H*	71.1	35.9	45.3	17.2	6.3	3.1
3. L*+H	21.1	16.4	34.4	77.3	41.3	15.6
4. H+L*		3.1			30.5	32.8
5. H*+L	1.6	11.7		1.6		

Table I. Frequencies of declarative intonation accents.

Pitch accent	Oxytone word (%)			Paroxytone word (%)		
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	1 st	2 nd	3 rd
1. H*	0.8	40.6	76.6	0.8	14.1	50
2. L+H*	14.1	3.1	12.5	0.8		
3. L*+H	83.6	14.1	3.1	98.4	24.2	
4. H+L*	0.8	30.5	1.6		28.9	25
5. H*+L	0.8	11.7	6.3		32.8	25

Table II: Frequencies of interrogative intonation accents.

A quick look at the results points to the fact that Sosa's [8]

³ It is important to mention this procedure, for several people contributed to the analysis of data. The following members on the research group of the Phonetics Lab at the Faculty of Philology at the U.B. analyzed the declarative sentences: V.Salcioli, L.Romera, J. Castellví, A.Ortega, and M^a C.Amorós, as well as G.Toledo and, of course, the authors of this study. And three advanced students on the Experimental Phonetics course, N.Ariet, J.Frago, and M.Gil, helped in the analysis of interrogative sentences. Consequently, an objective criterion of analysis was necessary, so that collaborators could carry out the analysis on the same basis.

assertion should be refined both for declarative utterances (in particular, when they are composed of oxytone words) and interrogative sentences.

Next, the most frequent pitch accents obtained in the study are displayed in Table III. In addition to the sentence type, the word type, according to its stress, and the position of the word in the sentence in relation to the nucleus were taken into account.

Sent.	Word type	1 st position pre-nuc.	2 nd position pre-nuc.	3 rd position pre-nuc.
Decl.	oxytone	L+H*	L+H*	L+H*
	paroxytone	L*+H	L*+H	H*
Inter.	oxytone	L*+H	H*	H*
	paroxytone	L*+H	H*+L	H*

Table III: Most frequent pitch accents.

As seen in Table III, the typological variety existent in the production of speech is clearly demonstrated. Moreover, the most frequent pitch accents found point to the importance of considering the type of accent and its position in the sentence in the analysis of pre-nuclear contours.

By arranging the results of Table III in bar graphs, it is possible to find out which positions of the pre-nucleus are better defined as to their most frequent typology:

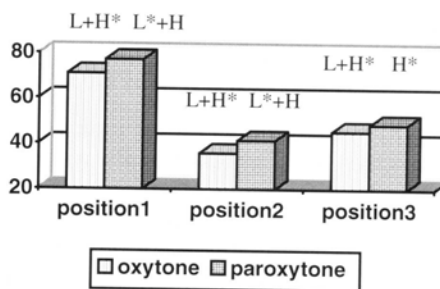


Figure 1. Declarative sentence type.

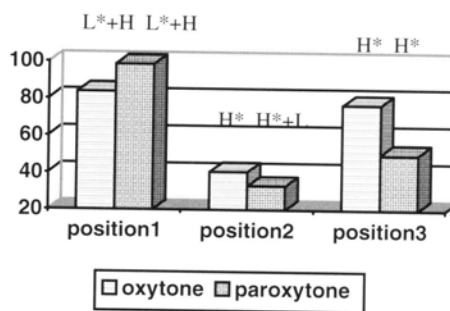


Figure 2. Interrogative sentence type.

In Figure 1, it can be seen that position 1 has a clear presence in the type of the most frequent pitch accents obtained, since the percentage values of position 1 are closer to 100% than those of positions 2 and 3 in both sentence types. On the other hand, in all sentence positions the paroxytone word presents a better-defined taxonomy by position in the declarative sentence type; while the paroxytone word is better defined only in the first position

in the case of interrogative sentences.

It should also be noted that the third position is better defined in interrogative utterances than in declarative sentences (especially in oxytone words), as they approximate more the nucleus, which invariably has a rising tone in these sentences.

The two graphs in Figure 3 further illustrate the taxonomic variety of Table III by means of the waveform and the F0 curve. The first graph corresponds to the declarative sentence *La mansión añil se dibujó sobre el azul* (made up of oxytone words). The second graph contains the declarative sentence *Los tomates pelados estaban en la cocina* (with paroxytone words).

The first graph in Figure 4 corresponds to the interrogative sentence *¿El peral se destacó sobre el jardín?* (oxytone words), and the second one to the interrogative sentence *¿Las manzanas cocidas estaban en la mesita?* (paroxytone words).

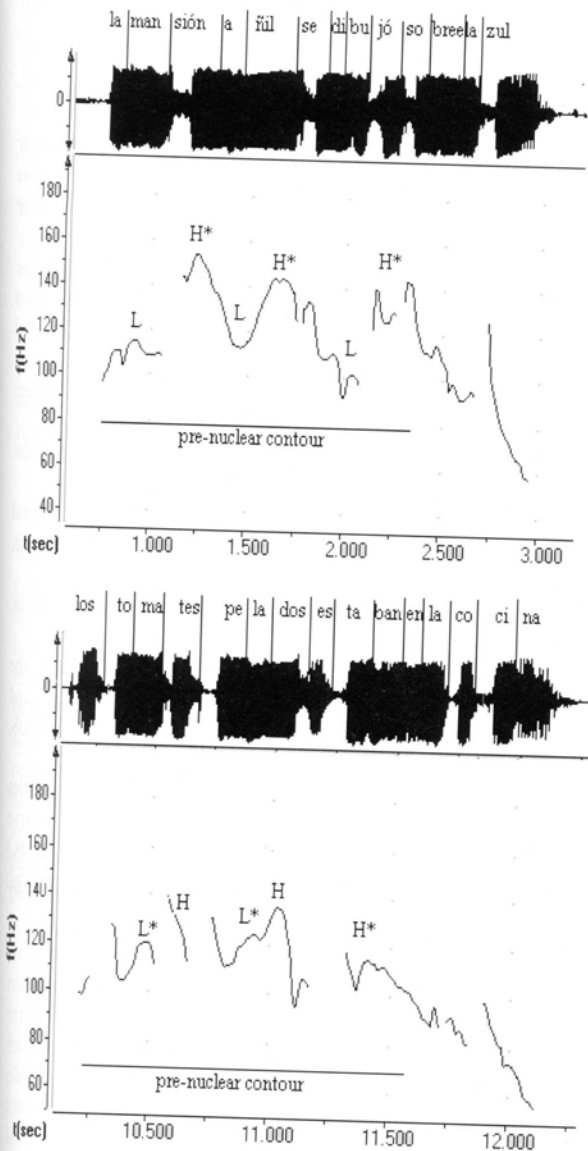


Figure 3. Declarative sentence type.

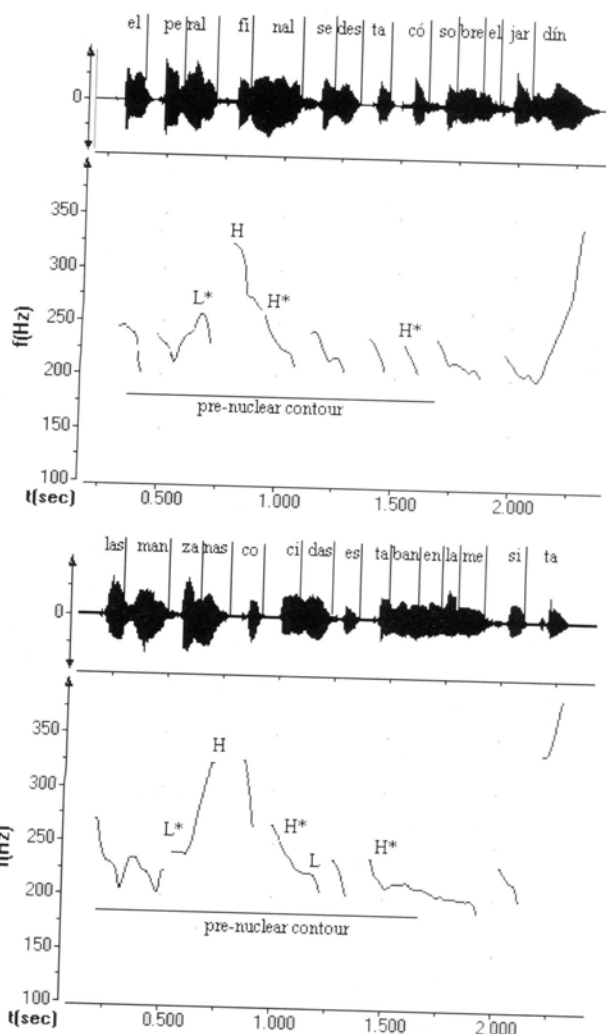


Figure 4. Interrogative sentence type.

Figure 5 displays the correspondence between the various pitch accents and their position in the sentence (labeled with the numbers 1-3, that is, from first accent to third accent). This figure is a broad generalization of the results obtained, as neither the word type nor the sentence type was taken into account. The predominance of the type L*+H in the first pre-nuclear sentence position can be observed, as well as that of the type H* in the last position before the nucleus.

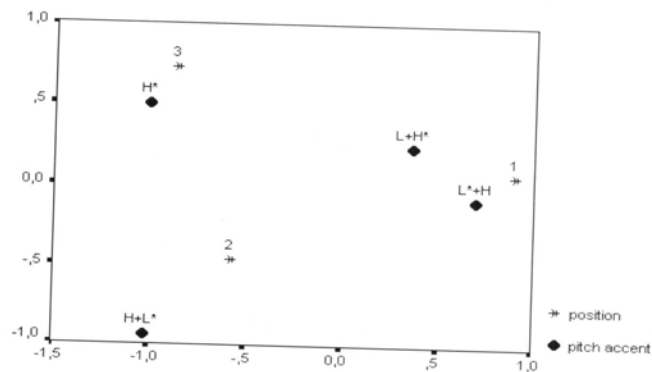


Figure 5. Analysis of the correspondences between pitch accents and their position in the sentence.

4. DISCUSSION

Based on the results reported here, it then seems necessary to refine Sosa's [8] statement that: «the peaks are always on unstressed syllables [...] If there is at least one accented syllable in the pre-nuclear contour, the pitch accent will be L*+H». Another reason for refinement lies in the fact that [8]'s work looked at sentences with paroxytone words almost exclusively, and did not consider any filter, such as the filter used in this study – the threshold of 1.5 ST – to examine whether there were perceptual differences between a valley and a peak.

According to our results, there seems to exist a great variety of pitch accents in all sentence positions. Although the results are consistent with Sosa's findings in that the predominant pitch accent in the first position of the pre-nuclear contour is L*+H, this is not the case of positions 2 and 3. Nor is it (L*+H) predominant in declarative sentences with oxytone words. Instead, in the third position the most common pitch accent is H*, probably due to the downstep effect that takes place in any sentence [3]. Furthermore, if we take, for instance, a male voice and a declarative sentence type, the following mean values are obtained: the minimum value is 77 Hz, and the value of the post-tonic syllable, according to its sentence position, steps down progressively towards the minimum value: 143-133-126-80 Hz. The last value is that of the declarative nucleus. If the mean values for interrogative sentences are calculated, the minimum value is 97 Hz, and the values of post-tonic syllables are as follows: 150-130-113-165 Hz. In this case, the third position is the closest one to the minimum value, as the interrogative nucleus is not only rising, but also one of the highest values. In Table III, it can be observed that the most frequent pitch accent for the third position is H*, whereas L*+H is always the most frequent pitch accent for the initial position, especially in interrogative sentences. Starting with a high value allows the differences between the valley and peak to go beyond the filter of 1.5 ST. But when the value is low, the differences hardly ever excel the filter, and so the resulting pitch accent is basically monotonal. In declarative sentences, the means of the differences in ST of stressed and post-tonic syllables adopt the following sequence, according to the order of appearance in the sentence: 1.70-1.40-1.00-1.90 ST; and in the interrogative sentence type: 4.40-2.60-0.90-4.00 ST. All this gives us an idea of the differences between valleys and peaks, and how these differences diminish from the initial position to the third position, while the nucleus presents noticeable differences again. In both sentence types, the differences of the third position are below the threshold considered.

Last, it should be noted that in the first position of declarative sentences the predominant pitch accents have the peak at the end of the word, despite the fact that the stress is on the last syllable of oxytone words and on the penultimate syllable of paroxytone words. That is to say, the peak signals the end of the word, which agrees with the results found for Catalan [1].

5. CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, although there exists a great deal of variety of declarative pitch accents, the predominant accent in the first position of the nucleus is L*+H. But this is not the case of the second and third positions. Rather, the most frequent accent is H* in the position immediately preceding the nucleus, as long as there is more than one pitch accent in the pre-nuclear contour of the sentence, both in declarative and interrogative sentences. Furthermore, there seems to be a tendency to the alignment of the peak with the end of the word, at least in declarative sentences.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to thank Pilar Prieto for discussion of this material.

This research was supported by SEUID– Department of the State of Education, Universities, Research and Development–from the Ministry of Science and Technology in Spain, Reference # PB98-1230.

REFERENCES

- [1] E. Estebas-Vilaplana, "The modelling of prenuclear accents in central Catalan declaratives", *Catalan Journal of Linguistics 2, Special Issue on Romance Intonation*, in press
- [2] T. L. Face, "Intonation in Spanish declaratives. Differences between lab speech and spontaneous speech", *Catalan Journal of Linguistics 2, Special Issue on Romance Intonation*, in press
- [3] D. R. Ladd, *Intonational phonology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- [4] T. Navarro Tomás, *Manual de entonación española*. Madrid: Guadarrama, 1974, 4th ed.
- [5] P. Prieto, J. van Santen and J. Hirschberg, "Tonal alignment patterns in Spanish" *Journal of Phonetics*, vol.23, 4, pp.429-451, 1995.
- [6] A. Quilis, *Fonética acústica de la lengua española*, Madrid: Gredos, 1981.
- [7] A. C. M. Rietveld, and C. Gussenhoven, "On the relation between pitch excursion size and prominence", *Journal of Phonetics*, 13, pp. 299-308, 1985.
- [8] J. M. Sosa, "Nuclear and pre-nuclear tonal inventories and the phonology of Spanish declarative intonation", in K. Elenius and P. Branderud (eds.) *Proceedings of the ICPhS 95*. Arne Stomberg: Stockholm, vol. 4, pp. 646-649, 1995.

