Speech Analysis Synthesis and Perception

Third Edition

James L. Flanagan
Jont B. Allen
Mark A. Hasegawa-Johnson

March 30, 2011

Preface to the Third Edition

The 1972 edition of *Speech Analysis, Synthesis, and Perception* defined the highest possible standards of scientific precision in the field of speech engineering, and especially in the foundational scientific disciplines upon which speech engineering is based: acoustics, audition, probability, and signal processing. Treatment of speech acoustics in the second edition continues to be unmatched by any other text. The other three foundational disciplines have moved on, leaving the 1972 edition behind. The goal of this third edition of *Speech Analysis, Synthesis, and Perception* is to teach twenty-first century acoustics, audition, probability, and signal processing with the same high standards that Flanagan applied in 1972.

James Flanagan, Warren Township, New Jersey
Jont Allen, Mahomet, Illinois
Mark Hasegawa-Johnson, Champaign, Illinois

Preface to the Second Edition

The first edition of this book has enjoyed a gratifying existence. Issued in 1965, it found its intended place as a research reference and as a graduate-level text. Research laboratories and universities reported broad use. Published reviews—some twenty-five in number—were universally kind. Subsequently the book was translated and published in Russian (Svyaz; Moscow, 1968) and Spanish (Gredos, S.A.; Madrid, 1972).

Copies of the first edition have been exhausted for several years, but demand for the material continues. At the behest of the publisher, and with the encouragement of numerous colleagues, a second edition was begun in 1970. The aim was to retain the original format, but to expand the content, especially in the areas of digital communications and computer techniques for speech signal processing. As before, the intended audience is the graduate-level engineer and physicist, but the psychophysicist, phonetician, speech scientist and linguist should find material of interest.

Preparation of the second edition could not have advanced except for discussions, suggestions and advice from many colleagues. In particular, professors and scientists who have used the book in their university lectures, both here and abroad, provided valuable comment about organization and addition of new material. Also, research colleagues, especially my associates in the Acoustics Research Department at Bell Laboratories, provided critical assessment of technical data and views about emphasis. To list individually all who influenced these factors would require inordinate space. Rather, I commend to you their many scientific contributions described among the following pages. Naturally, any shortcomings in exposition or interpretation rest solely with me.

The task of examining page proofs was shared, with notable enthusiasm, among several associates. I owe special thanks to Doctors L. R. Rabiner, R. W. Schafer, N. S. Jayant, A. E. Rosenberg, J. L. Hall, R. C. Lummis, J. M. Kelly and J. R. Haskew for this assistance. Further, I am indebted to my company, Bell Laboratories, for supporting the work and making its facilities available for typing and drafting. My secretary, Mrs. B. Masaitis, bore the brunt of this work and deserves special praise. As earlier, the efficient staff of Springer, through the organization of Dr. H. Mayer-Kaupp, shielded me from many details in actualizing the printed volume. Finally, again, to my wife and sons I express warm thanks for their contribution of weekends which might have been spent otherwise.

James Flanagan
Warren Township, New Jersey
January 15, 1972

Preface to the First Edition

This book has its origin in a letter. In November of 1959, the late Prof. Dr. Werner Meyer-Eppler wrote to me, asking if I would contribute to a series he was planning on Communication. His book "Grundlagen und Anwendungen der Informationstheorie" was to serve as the initial volume of the series.

After protracted consideration, I agreed to undertake the job provided it could be done outside my regular duties at the Bell Telephone Laboratories. Shortly afterwards, I received additional responsibilities in my research organization, and felt that I could not conveniently pursue the manuscript. Consequently, except for the preparation of a detailed outline, the writing was delayed for about a year and a half. In the interim, Professor Meyer-Eppler suffered a fatal illness, and Professors H. Wolter and W. D. Keidel assumed the editorial responsibilities for the book series.

The main body of this material was therefore written as a leisuretime project in the years 1962 and 1963. The complete draft of the manuscript was duplicated and circulated to colleagues in three parts during 1963. Valuable comments and criticisms were obtained, revisions made, and the manuscript submitted to the publisher in March of 1964. The mechanics of printing have filled the remaining time.

If the reader finds merit in the work, it will be owing in great measure to the people with whom I have had the good fortune to be associated. In earlier days at the M.I.T. Acoustics Laboratory, my association with Professor K. N. Stevens, Dr. A. S. House, and Dr. J. M. Heinz was a great privilege. During this same time, and on two separate occasions, Dr. G. Fant was a guest researcher at the M.I.T. laboratory. Later, during a summer, I had the priviledge of working as a guest in Dr. Fant's laboratory in Stockholm. On all occasions I profited from his views and opinion.

In more recent times, my associates at Bell Laboratories have been a constant stimulus and encouragement. Beginning with Dr. J. R. Pierce, under whose direction research in speech and hearing has taken on renewed vigor, Doctors E. E. David, Jr., M. R. Schroeder, M. V. Mathews, J. L. Kelly, Jr., N. Guttman, P. B. Denes, G. G. Harris, and many, many others have provided sage advice, valuable collaboration and a stimulating research atmosphere. I am certain that this collection of technical talent is duplicated at no other place in the world.

I am greatly in the debt of numerous colleagues for valuable criticism and comment of the draft material. Their appraisals have aided materially in the revisions. Besides several of those already named, Professor G. E. Peterson and Dr. H. K. Dunn, and a number of their associates at the University of Michigan, provided a wealth of valuable suggestions. Professor Osamu Fujimura of the University of Electro-Communications, Tokyo, supplied many penetrating remarks, particularly on points relating to vocal-tract acoustics. Dr. W. A. Van Bergeijk of Bell Laboratories reviewed Chapter IV in detail. Messrs. A. M. Noll, J. L. Sullivan, and H. R. Silbiger, also of the Laboratories, studied the entire manuscript and supplied numerous helpful comments.

It is with deep regret that I conclude this effort without the counsel of Professor

Meyer-Eppler. I sincerely hope that it fulfills his original concept of the volume. I wish to express my appreciation to Professor Wolter and to Professor Keidel for their continued support during the preparation. Also, the many details could not have been surmounted without the help of Dr. H. Mayer-Kaupp of Springer.

Finally, to my wife and family I express my deep appreciation for their contribution of my time.

James Flanagan
Warren Township, New Jersey
July 29, 1964

Contents

Chapter 1

Voice Communication

> "Nature, as we often say, makes nothing in vain, and man is the only animal whom she has endowed with the gift of speech. And whereas mere voice is but an indication of pleasure or pain, and is therefore found in other animals, the power of speech is intended to set forth the expedient and inexpedient, and therefore likewise the just and the unjust. And it is a characteristic of man that he alone has any sense of good and evil, of just and unjust, and the like, and the association of living beings who have this sense makes a family and a state."
> ARISTOTLE, Politics

While there is some serious doubt today about what other animals might have the gift of speech (bees and birds included), humans seem to be unique in our ability to transmit complex information via both by voice and the written word. Of the myriad varieties of life sharing our world, only humans have developed the vocal means for coding and conveying information beyond a rudimentary stage and at a high rate. Where would be be without this amazing process of speech? It is more to our credit that we have developed the facility from apparatus designed to subserve other, more vital purposes. The true extent of human's higher order is to be determined, but by any measure it is impressive.

Because humans evolved in an atmosphere, it is not unnatural that we should learn to communicate by causing air molecules to collide. In sustaining longitudinal vibrations, the atmosphere provides a medium. At the acoustic level, speech signals consist of rapid and significantly erratic fluctuations in air pressure. These sound pressures are generated and radiated by the vocal apparatus. At a different level of coding, the same speech information is contained in the neural signals which actuate the vocal muscles and manipulate the vocal tract. Speech sounds radiated into the air are detected by the ear and apprehended by the brain. The mechanical motions of the middle and inner ear, and the electrical pulses traversing the auditory nerve, may be thought of as still different codings of the speech information.

Acoustic transmission and reception of speech works fine, but only over very limited distances. The reasons are several. At the frequencies used by the vocal tract and ear, radiated acoustic energy spreads spatially and diminishes rapidly in intensity. Even if the source could produce great amounts of acoustic power, the medium can support only limited variations in pressure without distorting the signal. The sensitivity of the receiver—the ear—is limited by the acoustic noise of the environment and by the physiological noises of the body. The acoustic wave is not, therefore, a good means for distant transmission.

Through the ages men have striven to communicate at distances. They are, in fact, still striving. The ancient Greeks are known to have used intricate systems of signal fires which they placed on judiciously selected mountains for relaying messages between cities. One enterprising Greek, Aeneas Tacitus by name, is credited with a substantial improvement upon the discrete bonfire message. He placed water-filled earthen jars at the signal points. A rod, notched along its length and supported on a cork float, protruded from each jar. At the first signal light, water was started draining from the jar. At the second it was stopped. The notch on the rod at that level represented a previously agreed upon message. (In terms of present day information theory, the system must have had an annoyingly low channel capacity, and an irritatingly high equivocation and vulnerability to jamming!)

History records other efforts to overcome the disadvantages of acoustic transmission. In the sixth century B.C., Cyrus the Great of Persia is supposed to have established lines of signal towers on high hilltops, radiating in several directions from his capital. On these vantage points he stationed leather-lunged men who shouted messages along, one to the other. Similar "voice towers" reportedly were used by Julius Caesar in Gaul. (Anyone who has played the party game of vocally transmitting a story from one person to another around a circle of guests cannot help but reflect upon the corruption which a message must have suffered after several miles of such transmission.)

Despite the desires and motivations to accomplish communication at distances, it was not until humans learned to generate, control and convey electrical current, that telephony could be brought within the realm of possibility. As history goes, this has been exceedingly recent.

Telephony did not develop as an isolated advance. Rather, it occurred in the context of evolving understanding of electrical phenomena. It built upon fundamental knowledge established by early researchers, such as Oersted, Faraday, Ampere, Maxwell, Heaviside,[1] and many others. The nineteenth century was a remarkable time for invention, application, innovation and newbusiness creation, and communication over ever greater distances was a constant goal. In particular, electromagnetic behavior was key to the introduction of telegraphy—one of the earliest means of electrical communication over distances. Telegraph communication emerged as a

[1]Heaviside was profoundly influenced by Maxwell's work, and his uncle, Sir Charles Wheatstone (1802-1875), was the a co-inventor of the telegraph c1830." (paraphrased from Wikipedia, 10/12/08).

commercial endeavor in 1844.

A leading contributor to telegraphy was Samuel Finley Breese Morse, a successful portrait painter who turned inventor in mid-age, and who exploited on-off transmission of electrical pulses over conducting wires. His original receiver was an electromechanical stylus to mark long (dash) and short (dot) pulses on a paper tape. Unique sequences of dots and dashes indicated letters of text. Morse and his associate (Vail) are credited with the Morse code, whose characters are based upon the distribution of type pieces in a printer's box, the most probable letter being assigned the briefest code character (for example, the letter "e" being one dot). It was soon observed that the 'click/clack' sound of the electromagnet receiver could be apprehended auditorily, and the mechanical indentation of tape was supplanted by a "sounder" and human hearing. A skilled telegrapher could send and receive text in the order of 20 words per minute. Speech is nearly three times this speed (i.e., ≈ 1 wd/s).

Morse recognized that the serial resistance and shunt capacitance of a wire-pair attenuated the transmitted pulses to a level too feeble to actuate the receiver. He consequently conceived the electrical relay (whereby a weak current could control a stronger one) which permitted exact, noise-free regeneration of the signal before it became unusable or contaminated by noise. (This concept of regeneration of on-off (binary) signals is central to digital transmission today, and makes received quality independent of distance.) Continued improvements in transmission enabled transcontinental telegraphy in 1861. And, the ambition for greater range spurred efforts to span the Atlantic ocean with undersea cable. After initial failures, a practical cable was established in 1866. But, the great (unrepeatered) length provided very narrow bandwidth and telegraphic transmission at only about two words per minute. While quite slow, this rate still bettered the five days required for a ocean voyage. The later invention of inductive loading and improvements in automatic send/receive extended into the twentieth century, eventually providing about 400 words per minute. Even so, the transmission bandwidth remained limited to several hundred hertz (a future stimulus for "Vocoder" techniques.)

While telegraphy developed rapidly and served widely, communication was slow and the conversion and re-conversion of text in terms of dots and dashes required operational skill not found in the typical customer. Faster communication by end-to-end users, requiring no specialized training, focused continued interest on the natural mode of information exchange—human speech.

Quantify the following statements:

Little more than a hundred years have passed since the first practical telephone was put into operation (c1880); there are now more telephones than people on planet Earth.

Many early inventors and scientists labored on electrical telephones and laid foundations which facilitated the development of commercial telephony. Their biographies make interesting and humbling reading for today's communication engineer comfortably ensconced in a well equipped laboratory.

Mention AGB's father?

Among the pioneers, A. G. Bell was somewhat unique for his background in physiology and phonetics. His comprehension of the mechanisms of speech and hearing was crucial to his electrical experimentations. Similar understanding is equally important to today's telephone researcher. It was perhaps his training that influenced Bell—according to his assistant Watson—to summarize the telephony problem by saying "If I could make a current of electricity vary in intensity precisely as the air varies in density during the production of a speech sound, I should be able to transmit speech telegraphically." And this is what he accomplished, culminating in his famous patent of March 3, 1876, perhaps one of the most commercially-valuable in history.

Bell's basic notion—namely, preservation of acoustic waveform—clearly proved to be an effective means for speech transmission, and has supported voice communication for more than a century. Improvements on Bell's first implementations followed rapidly. In particular, Thomas Edison in 1878 used compressed lamp black to create the variable-resistance carbon button microphone (transmitter), an immediate and major advance over the original stylus/liquid transducer. Its robustness and power amplifying properties have served telephone systems for more than a hundred years, and is only now being supplanted by the electro-statically biased, solid-dielectric element (electret). Waveform coding was the most widely used form of telephony until approximately the year 2000, when the number of digital cellular telephones outnumbered the analog handsets.

Although this "waveform preserving principle" is exceedingly satisfactory and has long endured, it is not the most efficient means for voice transmission. As we shall see, digital telephony does not preserve the waveform, in that that only perceptually significant speech components are preserved.

Communication engineers have recognized for many years that a substantial mismatch exists between the information capacity of human perception and the capacity of the "waveform" channel. Specifically, the channel is capable of transmitting information at rates much higher than those the human can assimilate. As an example, if one listens to modem modulation used to send data over the acoustic channel, it sounds like noise. This is because it is formated in a way that cannot be effectively decoded by the human ear.

Modern developments in communication theory have established techniques for quantifying the information in a signal and the rate at which information can be signalled over a given channel. These analytical tools have accentuated the desirability of matching the transmission channel to the information source. From their application, conventional telephony has become a much-used example of disparate source rate and channel capacity. This disparity—expressed in numbers—has provided much of the impetus toward investigating more efficient means for speech coding and for reducing the bandwidth and channel capacity used to transmit speech.

Figure 1.1: Conversation over lunch: Renoir's *Luncheon of the Boating Party*, 1881. (Phillips Collection, Washington D.C.)

1.1 Speech as a Communication Channel

We speak to establish social bonds, and to develop complex trains of thought. The natural environment for speaking is noisy and complicated, with a continuously changing visual and auditory channel, as depicted, for example, in Fig. 1.1. In this famous painting, friends relax on a Sunday afternoon at the restaurant *Maison Fournaise*. The image provides examples of many different kinds of conversations: flirtations, expositions, relaxed subdued conversations, and even a conversation between a woman (Aline Charigot, who would later marry Renoir) and her dog.

Before (and during) speaking, every talker conceives a message: a sequence of words, possibly annotated with subtle hints of nuance and opinion (Levelt [1989]). Unlike mona Lisa's famous smile, a spoken message is 'symbolic,' meaning a sequence of "discrete" well defined symbols. In most cases, however, we find it pleasant to encode the message in an analog medium, by an expression or by configuring the speech articulators (the lips, jaw, tongue, soft palate, larynx, and lungs), in order to generate an acoustic waveform. Each listener "hears" the acoustic signal with their cochlea, or inner ear, which converts the sound into a neural code in the auditory nerve, which then passes through a series of tuned circuits, designed to detect the speech units. Eventually the listener decodes the intended symbolic linguistic message.

The subject of this book is the encoding and decoding of the messages conveyed by speech: the digital-to-analog and analog-to-digital transformations used by humans and machines to produce and understand ordinary conversation. Before considering the analog channel in more detail, however, it's worthwhile to evaluate the end-to-end channel performance.

The mathematical theory of information (Shannon and Weaver [1949]) provides a useful mechanism for analyzing the end-to-end performance of any communications channel, independent of the details of its implementation. Figure 1.2 shows the

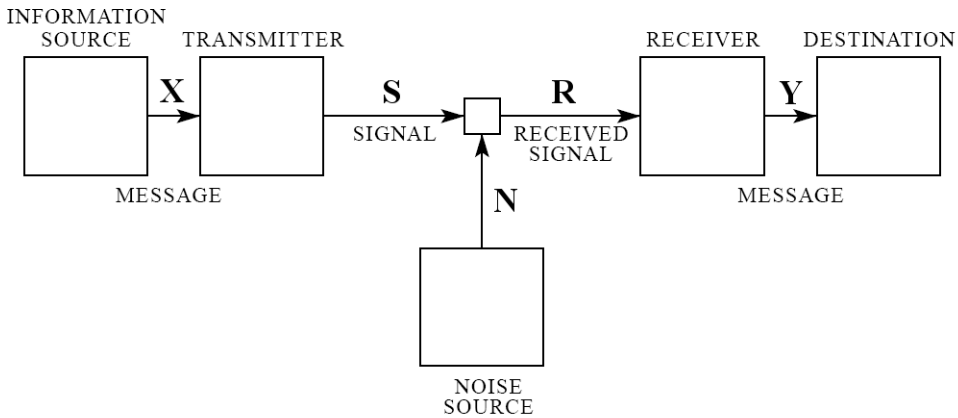

Figure 1.2: Schematic diagram of a Shannon's channel (communication model). The basic definitions are in terms of the siz boxes: X =source message, Y =received message, S =transmitted signal, R =received signal, N =noise (After Shannon and Weaver, 1949). Here it is assumed that the message X is a discrete sequence of symbols, whereas the signal S is an analog message, to which noise N is added, producing the signal R which is received and decoded by the receiver to produce the symbolic received message Y.

schematic of an abstract communication channel. There are six boxes in this figure. The boxes marked "information source" and "noise source" each draw a message or a noise signal, at random, from some probability distribution.

The definition of the ensemble of messages are the unique sequences of symbols. Each message has an entropy $\mathcal{H}$ defined as the average number of possible messages $N = 2^{\mathcal{H}}$, typically measured in *bits*. The purpose of using discrete symbols is to greatly reduce the channel error rate. The goal of the box marked "transmitter" is to encode the message, and that of the "receiver" is to decode the message, so that the received message will be as similar as possible to the transmitted message. As we shall see, the average information rate of any speech source is remarkably low. There are apparently two reasons for the low information rate of speech. First, there is evidence that human listeners are unable to process information at a rate much higher than that of the speech message; in this respect, humans appear to be less effective than machines. Second, low information rate allows speech transmission over extremely noisy acoustic channels. Human listeners (but not machines) are able to correctly understand meaningful linguistic messages transmitted at signal to noise ratios (SNR) as low as -20dB; in this respect, making humans appear to be more effective than machines. The low information rate of speech, and its remarkable noise robustness, are best understood as an adaptation to noisy natural environments like the outdoor lunch sweet cacophony exampled in Fig. 1.1.

1.2 Entropy

Shannon's theory provided a paradygm shift [Brillouin, 1962]. His elementary relations of information theory define the information associated with the selection of a discrete message from a specified ensemble. If the messages of the set are x_i, are independent, and have probability of occurrence $P(x_i)$, the partial, or *specific information* (i.e., information density), associated with a selection is $\mathcal{I}_i = \log_2 (1/P(x_i))$ bits.[2] The average information associated with selections from the set is the ensemble average

$$\mathcal{H}(X) \equiv \mathcal{E}\{\mathcal{I}\} = -\sum_i P(x_i) \log_2 P(x_i)$$

bits, or the source entropy. The log() transformation converts reciprocal probability into entropy, and with a base of 2, having units of *bits*.

A first important concept here is information being reciprocal probability; thus a rare event (small probability) is defined as having large information. The concept of probability, and thus of information, requires a *set of outcomes*. The vector of probabilities $[p_n]$ requires an index n labeling N possible outcomes, while element p_n measures the relative frequency (parts of a whole) of these outcomes, which obey the condition $\sum_n p_n = 1$.

Entropy is the average amount of information, as computed by taking a weighted average of the information density. When all the outcomes are equal (i.e., $p_n = 1/N$) the entropy $\mathcal{H}$ is maximum, and the information is minimum Cover and Thomas [1991]. The maximum in $\mathcal{H}(p_1, p_2, \cdots, p_N)$ is a measure of the maximum *size* of the message space, which numerically is $N = 2^{\mathcal{H}}$.

Discuss the conservation of probability, and the resulting variational principle (minimazation) used when defning entropy.

1.2.1 Entropy of the Speech Source

As an example consider a phonemic transcription of speech; that is, the written equivalent of the meaningfully distinctive sounds of speech. Take English for example. Table 1.2 shows a list of 42 English phones, including vowels, diphthongs and consonants, and their relative frequencies of occurrence in prose (Dewey [1923]). If the phonemes are selected for utterance with equal probability [i.e., $P(x_i) = 1/42$] the average information per phoneme would be approximately $H(X) = 5.4$ bits. If the phonemes are selected independently, but with probabilities equal to the relative frequencies shown in Table 1.2, then $H(X)$ falls to 4.9 bits. The sequential constraints imposed upon the selection of speech sounds by a given language reduce this average information still further.[3] In conversational speech about 10 phonemes are uttered

[2] The base-2 logarithm is used to compute information in bits. A base-10 logarithm computes information in "digits;" a natural logarithm computes information in "nats."

[3] Make this an exercize: Related data exist for the letters of printed English. Conditional constraints imposed by the language are likewise evident here. If the 26 English letters are considered equiprobable, the average information per letter is 4.7 bits. If the relative frequencies of the letters

Table 1.1: LDC unvoiced consonants, voiced consonants and vowels. The DARPA-bet (Dbet) and *International phonetic alphabet* (IPA) symbols are in the second and third columns. Dbet sympols use standard simple roman characters to represent standard english IPA symbols.

Unvoiced Consonants			**Voiced Consonants**			**Vowels**		
Example	Dbet	IPA	Example	Dbet	IPA	Example	Dbet	IPA
/ch/urch	C	ʧ	/th/is	D	ð	h/a/t	@	æ
/sh/e	S	ʃ	/b/ee	b	b	h/u/t	A	ʌ
/th/ink	T	θ	/d/og	d	d	b/e/t	E	ɛ
/f/ish	f	f	/g/ab	g	g	h/i/t	I	ɪ
/h/e	h	h	/j/udge	J	ʤ	b/oy/	O	ɔɪ
/c/at	k	k	/l/ook	l	l	b/ir/d	R	ɝ
/p/en	p	p	/m/an	m	m	p/u/t	U	ʊ
/s/ee	s	s	/n/ap	n	n	h/ow/	W	aʊ
ca/t/	t	t	/r/eal	r	r	wh/y/	Y	aɪ
			plea/s/ure	Z	ʒ	c/au/ght	c	ɔ
			si/ng/	G	ŋ	c/o/t	a	ɑ
			/v/ow	v	v	b/ai/t	e	e / eɪ
			/w/in	w	w	b/ee/	i	i
			/y/ou	y	j	b/oa/t	o	o / oʊ
			/z/oo	z	z	b/oo/	u	u
						th/e/		ə

per second. The written equivalent of the information generated is therefore less than 50 bits/sec.

1.3 Conditional Entropy and context

Because of noise, the speech signal arriving at the receiver may be different from the signal generated by the transmitter. If the decoding algorithm is not sufficiently robust, noise in the acoustic signal may lead to errors in the received message. Per-

are used as estimates of $P(x_i)$, the average information per letter is 4.1 bits. If digram frequencies are considered, the information per letter, when the previous letter is known, is 3.6 bits. Taking account of trigram frequencies lowers this figure to 3.3 bits. By a limit-taking procedure, the long range statistical effects can be estimated. For sequences up to 100 letters in literary English the average information per letter is estimated to be on the order of one bit. This figure suggests a redundancy of about 75 per cent. If statistical effects extending over longer "meaning" units such as paragraphs or chapters are considered, the redundancy will be still higher, leading to more robust information transfer due to the greater context [Shannon and Weaver, 1949].

Table 1.2: Relative frequencies of English speech sounds in standard prose, and the information content of each symbol $\mathcal{I}(x) = \log_2(1/p(x))$ (Data from Dewey, 1923).

Vowels and diphthongs			Consonants		
IPA	% relative frequence	$\mathcal{I}$	IPA	% relative frequence	$\mathcal{I}$
ɪ	8.53	3.55	n	7.24	3.79
a	4.63	4.43	t	7.13	3.81
æ	3.95	4.66	r	6.88	3.86
ɛ	3.44	4.86	s	4.55	4.46
ɒ	2.81	5.15	d	4.31	4.54
ʌ	2.33	5.42	l	3.74	4.74
i	2.12	5.56	ð	3.43	0.1669
e, eɪ	1.84	5.76	z	2.97	5.07
u	1.60	5.97	m	2.78	5.17
aɪ	1.59	5.97	k	2.71	5.21
oʊ	1.30	6.27	v	2.28	5.45
ɔ	1.26	6.31	w	2.08	5.59
ʊ	0.69	7.18	p	2.04	5.62
aʊ	0.59	7.41	f	1.84	5.76
ɑ	0.49	7.67	h	1.81	5.79
o	0.33	8.24	b	1.81	6.7
ju	0.31	8.33	ŋ	0.96	6.7
ɔɪ	0.09	10.12	ʃ	0.82	6.93
			g	0.74	7.08
			j	0.60	7.38
			tʃ	0.52	7.59
			dʒ	0.44	7.83
			θ	0.37	8.08
			ʒ	0.05	10.97
Totals	38			62	

$H(X) = -\sum_i P(x_i) \log_2 P(x_i) = 4.9$ bits. If all phonemes were equiprobable, then $\mathcal{H}_{\max}(X) = \log_2 42 = 5.4$ bits, and the *maximum entropy* condition would be achieved.

ceptual errors can be characterized by the conditional probability that the receiver decodes *heard* symbol $h \in X$, given that the transmitter encoded *spoken* symbol $s \in Y$. This probability may be writtten as $P_{h|s}(SNR)$, in order to emphasize that it is also a function of several channel characteristics, including the encoding system used by the transmitter and receiver (A), the bandwidth of the channel (B), and the SNR ($\gamma = S/N$, where S is the power of the signal coming out of the transmitter, and N is the power of the noise signal). For example, an error-free communication system is characterized by the conditional probability distribution

$$P_{h|s}(SNR) = \delta_{ij} \equiv \begin{cases} 1 & h = s \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases} \tag{1.1}$$

If $P_{h|s}(SNR) \neq \delta_{ij}$, then one may say that the communication system is increasing the entropy of the received signal. This is an undesirable behavior, because the entropy generated by the communication channel is independent of the information generated at the source, and is equivalent to a noise. The average rate at which the communication channel introduces errors into a transmitted signal is called the *equivocation* or *conditional entropy* of Y given X, and is defined to be

$$\mathcal{H}_{h|s}(SNR) \equiv \mathcal{E}\{\mathcal{I}(h|s)\} = -\sum_s \sum_h P_{h|s}(SNR) \log_2 P_{h|s}(SNR) \tag{1.2}$$

$$= -\sum_s P_s(SNR) \sum_h P_{h|s}(SNR) \log_2 P_{h|s}(SNR)$$

The average amount of information successfully transmitted over the channel is equal to the information rate of the source, $\mathcal{H}(X)$, minus the rate at which errors are introduced by the channel, $\mathcal{H}_{Y|X}(SNR)$. This rate is called the *mutual information* between the transmitted message and the received message:

$$\mathcal{I}_{s,h}(SNR) = \mathcal{H}_h - \mathcal{H}_{h|s}(SNR) \tag{1.3}$$

$$= \sum_s \sum_h P_s P_{h|s}(SNR) \left(\frac{P_{h|s}(SNR)}{P_s} \right)$$

Make this proof a assignment.

Human speech production is a coding algorithm, and may be evaluated just like any other coding algorithm: by computing the mutual information $\mathcal{I}_{AB\gamma}$ that it achieves over any particular acoustic channel. Fletcher 1922 found that, for SNRs of at least 30dB, phones in maximum entropy (e.g., nonsense) syllables are perceived correctly about 98.5% of the time, corresponding to an equivocation of roughly[4]

$$\mathcal{H}(Y|X) \approx 0.985 \log_2(1/0.985) + 0.015 \log_2(1/0.015) = 0.11 \quad \text{[bits/symbol]}. \tag{1.4}$$

In order to force listeners to make perceptual errors, Fletcher was forced to distort the acoustic channel by introducing additive noise and/or linear filtering (lowpass, highpass, or bandpass filters applied to the acoustic channel).

Eq. (1.4) is only an approximation of the speech channel equivocation: in order to calculate the equivocation exactly, it is necessary to know the probability $P_{AB\gamma}(y_j|x_i)$ for every (i, j) combination. Miller and Nicely 1955 measured conditional probability tables under fifteen different channel conditions for a subset of the English language: specifically, for the subset $x_i \in \{$ p,b,t,d,k,g,f,v,θ,ð,s,z,ʃ,ʒ,m,n $\}$, and y_j drawn from the same set. Each consonant was produced in a consonant vowel (CV) syllable, and the vowel was always /ɑ/. In order to cause perceptual errors, Miller and Nicely limited the bandwidth of the acoustic channel (9 conditions), or the SNR (5 conditions). After several thousand trials, the perceptual effect of each channel was summarized in the form of a *confusion matrix*, like the one shown in Fig. 1.3. In an *articulation count matrix*, entry $\mathcal{C}(s, h)$ lists the number of times that spoken phoneme s was heard as phoneme h. The conditional probability $P_{h|s}$ may be estimated by taking a row frequency (count) and normalizing it by the row-sum of the count

$$P_{h|s} \approx \frac{C(s,h)}{\sum_h C(s,h)} \tag{1.5}$$

Representations of the confusion matrix (CM): Figure 1.3 shows a typical MN55 consonant-vowel (CV) *confusion matrix* or *count matrix* CM for wideband speech (0.2-6.5 kHz), at a *speech-to-noise ratio* (SNR) of -6 dB [Miller and Nicely, 1955, Table III]. The 16 consonants were presented along with the vowel /a/ as in father (i.e., the first three sounds were [/pa/, /ta/, /ka/]). After hearing one of the 16 CV sounds as labeled by the first column, the consonant that was reported is given as labeled along the top row. This array of numbers form the basic CM, denoted $\mathcal{C}_{s,h}$, where integer indices s and h (i.e., "spoken" and "heard") each run between 1 and 16. For example, /pa/ was spoken 230 times (the sum of the counts in the first row), and was reported heard 80 times ($\mathcal{C}_{1,1}$), while /ta/ was reported 43 times ($\mathcal{C}_{1,2}$). For Table III the mean row count was 250, with a standard deviation of 21 counts.

[4]HSJ: we need to make the nature of this approx clear. Why not start from the actual formula rather than assume the probs are uniform? This approx never really holds (probs are not uniform, as shown in the table of $\mathcal{I}$. This approximation results from the assumption that only two events matter: the phone is either correctly or incorrectly recognized. The actual equivocation of a 42-phone communication system with a 1.5% error rate could be anywhere between 0.02 and 0.19 bits/symbol, depending on the error rates of each individual phoneme, and the distribution of errors across the various possible substitutions.

TABLE III. Confusion matrix for $S/N = -6$ db and frequency response of 200–6500 cps.

	p	*t*	*k*	*f*	*θ*	*s*	*ʃ*	*b*	*d*	*g*	*v*	*ð*	*z*	*ʒ*	*m*	*n*
p	80	43	64	17	14	6	2	1	1		1	1			2	
t	71	84	55	5	9	3	8	1				1	2		2	3
k	66	76	107	12	8	9	4					1			1	
f	18	12	9	175	48	11	1	7	2	1	2	2				
θ	19	17	16	104	64	32	7	5	4	5	6	4	5			
s	8	5	4	23	39	107	45	4	2	3	1	1	3	2		1
ʃ	1	6	3	4	6	29	195		3							1
b	1			5	4	4		136	10	9	47	16	6	1	5	4
d							8	5	80	45	11	20	20	26	1	
g					2			3	63	66	3	19	37	56		3
v				2		2		48	5	5	145	45	12		4	
ð					6			31	6	17	86	58	21	5	6	4
z					1	1	1	7	20	27	16	28	94	44		1
ʒ								1	26	18	3	8	45	129		2
m	1							4			4	1	3		177	46
n					4			1	5	2		7	1	6	47	163

STIMULUS

UNVOICED VOICED NASAL

RESPONSE

Figure 1.3: *Typical Miller-Nicely confusion (or count) matrix (CM) $\mathcal{C}$, from Table III at -6dB SNR, 6.3 kHz bandwidth. Each entry in the matrix $\mathcal{C}_{s,h} \equiv P_c(h|s)$ is the subject response count. The rows correspond to the* spoken *CVs, each row representing a different consonant, from $s = 1, \ldots, 16$. The columns correspond to the* heard *CVs, each column representing a different consonant, from $h = 1, \ldots, 16$. The common vowel /a/, as in father, was used throughout. When the 16 consonants are ordered as shown, the count matrix shows a "block-symmetric" partitioning in the consonant confusions. In this matrix there are three main blocks delineated by the dashed lines, corresponding to UNVOICED, VOICED and NASAL. Within the VOICED and UNVOICED subgroups, there are two additional symmetric blocks, corresponding to AFFRICATION and DURATION, also delineated with dashed lines. The presentation probabilities were uniform in this experiment, not the natural probabilities, given by Table 1.2. fix ref to table*

When the sounds are ordered as shown in Fig. 1.3, they form groups, identified in terms of hierarchical clusters of *articulatory features*. For example, the first group of sounds 1-7 correspond to UNVOICED, group 8-14 are VOICED, and [15,16] are NASAL and VOICED.

At an SNR of -6 dB, the intra-confusions (within a group) are much greater than the inter-confusions (between groups). For example, members of the group 1-7 (the UNVOICED sounds) are much more likely to be confused among themselves, than between the NONNASAL-VOICED sounds (8-14), or the NASAL sounds (15,16). The NASAL are confused with each other, but rarely with any of the other sounds 1-14. Two of the groups [sounds (1-7) and (8-14)] form sub-clusters.

Using the approximation in Eq. 1.5, the equivocation of the speech communication system, at -6 dB SNR, is 2.176 bits. Since each syllable is chosen uniformly from $2^4 = 16$ possible syllables, the source entropy is $H(X) = \log_2 16 = 4$ bits. The amount

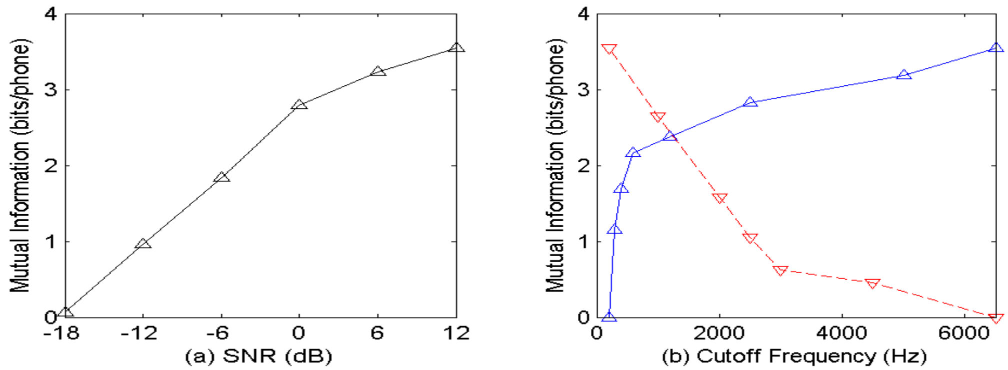

Figure 1.4: (a) Mutual information between spoken and perceived consonant labels, as a function of SNR, over an acoustic channel with 6.3 [kHz] bandwidth (0.2-6.5 [kHz]). (b) Mutual information between spoken and perceived consonant labels, at 12dB SNR, over lowpass and highpass acoustic channels with the specified cutoff frequencies. The lowpass channel contains information between 0.2 [kHz] and the cutoff; bit rate is shown with a solid line. The highpass channel contains information between the cutoff and 6.5 [kHz]; bit rate is shown with a dashed line. (After Miller and Nicely, 1955)

of information successfully transmitted from talker to listener, therefore, is $4-2.176 = 1.834$ bits. Figure 1.4(a) shows the information transmitted from talker to listener, over the wideband acoustic channel, as a function of SNR. Mutual information is greater than one bit per consonant at -12dB, and the information rate only drops to zero below -18dB SNR. Figure 1.4(b) shows the information transmitted over the lowpass and highpass filtered channels, as a function of the cutoff frequency.

1.4 Capacity of the Acoustic Channel

Mutual information is a summary of the efficiency with which algorithm A transmits information over a channel with bandwidth B and noise statistics N. Shannon has demonstrated 1949 that no algorithm can transmit more information than

$$\mathcal{I}(X,Y) \leq \mathcal{C}\left(B, \frac{S}{N}\right), \tag{1.6}$$

where B is the bandwidth of the channel, S/N is the power signal to noise ratio, and $\mathcal{C}(B, S/N)$ is called the *channel capacity*. Shannon has shown that the channel capacity of a channel with additive Gaussian noise is given by

$$C(B,S/N) = \int_0^B \log_2\left(\frac{\sigma^2_{s+n}(f)}{\sigma^2_s(f)}\right) df \approx \int_0^B \log_2\left(1+\frac{\sigma^2_s(f)}{N(f)}\right) df \quad \left[\frac{\text{bits}}{\text{second}}\right] \tag{1.7}$$

where $\sigma_s^2(f)$ and $\sigma_n^2(f)$ are the power spectra of the speech and noise, respectively. Speech is transmitted over an acoustic channel with bandwidths varying between about 3.0 [kHz] (telephone transmission) to 20kHz (the audible frequency range, usable during face-to-face communication). Under very noisy listening conditions (e.g., at an SNR of -12dB or $\sigma_s^2/\sigma_n^2 = 1/16$), the capacity of a telephone-band acoustic channel is 188 bits/second–far greater than the information transmitted from a human talker to a human listener. In a quiet room (at an SNR of about 30 [dB], or $\sigma_s^2/\sigma_n^2 \approx 1000$), the channel capacity of a 20 [kHz] channel is 20 [kbits/second] – 400 times greater than the information rate achieved by a human conversationalist.

Why is speech limited to a rate of 50 bits/second? Phrased another way: why don't people talk more quickly under quiet listening conditions, or more clearly, in order to communicate at a bit rate higher than 50 bps? Is the extra information already present, in the form of subtle nuances of intonation? Is the time waveform simply an inefficient code, incapable of carrying more than 50bps? Is the human incapable of processing information at rates much higher than 50 bits/sec? Does the receiver discard much of the transmitted information? Chapter 9 will consider these questions in much greater detail; for now, let us consider some experimental studies that have tried to answer this question.

A number of experimental efforts have been made to assess the informational capacity of human listeners. The experiments necessarily concern specific, idealized perceptual tasks. In most cases it is difficult to generalize or to extrapolate the results to more complex and applied communication tasks. Even so, the results do provide quantitative indications which might reasonably be taken as order-of-magnitude estimates for human communication in general.

In one response task, for example, subjects were required to echo verbally, as fast as possible, stimuli presented visually (Licklider *et al.* [1954]). The stimuli consisted of random sequences of binary digits, decimal digits, letters and words. The maximal rates achieved in this processing of information were on the order of 30 bits/sec. When the response mode was changed to manual pointing, the rate fell to about 15 bits/sec.

The same study considered the possibility for increasing the rate by using more than a single response mode, namely, by permitting manual and vocal responses. For this two-channel processing, the total rate was found to be approximately the sum of the rates for the individual response modes, namely about 45 bits/sec. In the experience of the authors this was a record figure for the unambiguous transmission of information through a human channel.

Another experiment required subjects to read lists of common monosyllables aloud (Pierce and Karlin [1957]). Highest rates attained in these tests were 42 to 43 bits/sec. It was found that prose could be read faster than randomized lists of words. The limitation on the rate of reading was therefore concluded to be mental rather than muscular. When the task was changed to reading and tracking simultaneously, the rates decreased.

A different experiment measured the amount of information subjects could assimilate from audible tones coded in several stimulus dimensions (Pollack and Ficks [1954]). The coding was in terms of tone frequency, loudness, interruption rate, spatial direction of source, total duration of presentation and ratio of on-off time. In this task subjects were found capable of processing 5.3 bits per stimulus presentation. Because presentation times varied, with some as great as 17 sec, it is not possible to deduce rates from these data.

A later experiment attempted to determine the rate at which binaural auditory information could be processed (Webster [1961]). Listeners were required to make binary discriminations in several dimensions: specifically, vowel sound; sex of speaker; ear in which heard; and, rising or falling inflection. In this task, the best subject could receive correctly just under 6 bits/sec. Group performance was a little less than this figure.

As indicated earlier, these measures are determined according to particular tasks and criteria of performance. They consequently have significance only within the scopes of the experiments. Whether the figures are representative of the rates at which humans can perceive and apprehend speech can only be conjectured. Probably they are. None of the experiments show the human to be capable of processing information at rates greater than the order of 50 bits/sec.

Assuming this figure does in fact represent a rough upper limit to man's ability to ingest information, he might allot his capacity in various ways. For example, if a speaker were rapidly uttering random equiprobable phones, a listener might require all of his processing ability to receive correctly the written equivalent of the distinctive speech sounds. Little capacity might remain for perceiving other features of the speech such as stress, inflection, nasality, timing and other attributes of the particular voice. On the other hand, if the speech were idle social conversation, with far-reaching statistical constraints and high redundancy, the listener could direct more of his capacity to analyzing personal characteristics and articulatory peculiarities.

1.4.1 Human speech recognition

In order to succinctly summarize our knowledge of human speech recognition (HSR), it is important to develop a model. Our model is presented in Fig. 1.5 which shows the structural relations between the various quantitative probabilistic measures of recognition. In the model, *all* of the recognition errors in HSR are a result of event extraction labeling errors, as depicted by the second box, and modeled by the articulation-band errors e_k. In other words, *sound recognition errors are modeled as a noise in the event conversion from analog to discrete "objects"*. I will argue that much of this front-end event processing is implemented as *parallel processing*, which is equivalent to assuming that the recognition of events is independent, on average, across cochlear frequency bands.

As shown in Fig. 1.5, the input speech signal is continuous while the output stream

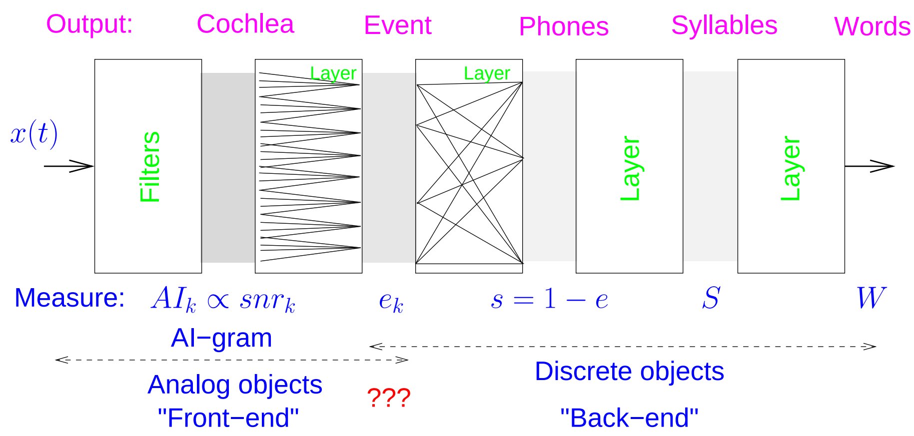

Figure 1.5: Model block diagram summary of speech recognition by humans. At the top of each block is a label that attempts to identify the physical operation, or a unit being recognized. The labels below the boxes indicate the probability measure defined at that level. See the text for the discussion of objects, at the very bottom. The speech $s(t)$ enters on the left and is processed by the cochlea (first block), breaking the signal into a filtered continuum of band-passed responses. The output of the cochlea is characterized by the specific articulation index measure AI_k, a normalized SNR, expressed in dB units Allen [1994], Regnier and Allen [2008], Li and Allen [2008]. The second box represents the work of the early auditory brain, which is responsible for the identification of events in the speech signal, such as onset transients and the detection of basic measures. The third block puts these basic features together defining phones. The remaining blocks account for context processing.

is discrete. Somewhere within the auditory brain discrete decisions must be made. A critical aspect of our understanding is to identify at what point and at what level this conversion from continuous to discrete takes place. I will argue that this conversion is early, at the event level. Once these decisions have been made, the processing is modeled as a *noiseless state machine* (i.e., a state machine having no stochastic elements).

When testing either HSR or ASR systems, *it is critical to control for language context effects*. This was one of the first lessons learned by Fletcher *et al.*, that context is a powerful effect, since the score is strongly affected by context.

The HSR model of Fig. 1.5 is a "bottom–up," divide and conquer strategy. Humans recognize speech based on a hierarchy of context layers. Humans have an intrinsic robustness to noise and filtering. In fact, the experimental evidence suggests that this *robustness* does not seem to interact with semantic context (language), as reflected by the absences of feedback in the model block diagram.

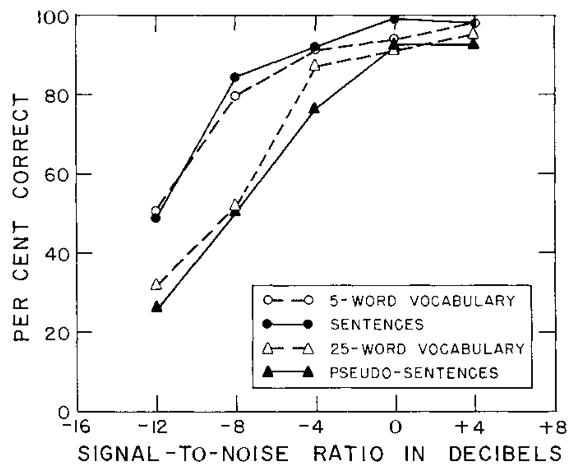

Figure 1.6: This figure, from Miller (1962), summarizes the results of a 4-way experiment, performed as a function of the signal to noise ratio. Test 1 (open circles, dashed line) shows $P_c(SNR)$ for 5 word vocabularies, with no context. In test 2 (closed circles, solid line) 5 word sentences were made from the 5, 5 word lists. As an example "Don brought his black socks." The word "Don" was one of the 5 possibilities [Don, He, Red, Slim, Who]. For tests 1 and 2, $P_c(SNR)$ is the same. Test 3 (open triangles, dashed line) was to test using the larger corpus of one of the 25 words, spoken in isolation. Test 4 (closed triangles, solid line) was to generate "pseudo-sentences" by reversing the order of the sentences of test 3. Going from 5 to 25 isolated words (test 1 to 3) causes a 4 dB SNR reduction in performance at the 50% correct level. Presenting the 25 words as pseudo-sentences, that make no sense (test 4), has no effect on $P_c(SNR)$. However adding a grammar (test 2) to a 25 word test returns the score to the 5 word test. In summary, increasing the test size from 5 to 25 words reduces performance by 4 dB. Making 5 word grammatically correct sentences out of the 25 words restores the performance to the 5 word low entropy case.

1.4.2 Context

A detailed example of the utility of context in HSR was demonstrated by Miller [1962] This example stands out because of the early use of ideas from information theory to control for the entropy of the source, with the goal of modulating human performance via context. The experiment was simple, yet it provides an insight into the workings of context in HSR.

In this experiment 5 groups of 5 words each make up the test set. This is a *closed–set*[5] listening task with the number of words and the signal to noise ratio varied. There are 4 conditions. For test condition 1 the subjects are shown 1 of the 5 lists, and they hear a word from that list. For the other 3 conditions the subjects

[5] A *closed–set* test is one with a limited number of outcomes that are known *a priori* to the subjects.

are shown 1 list of all the 25 words. The probability correct $P_c(SNR)$ was measured for each of the 4 conditions:

1. 5 words
2. 5 word grammatically correct sentences, chosen from the 25 words
3. 25 words
4. non grammatical sentences chosen from the 25 words.

As described in the caption of Fig. 1.6, in condition (1) 5 word lists are used in each block of trials. The lists are randomized. The subject hears 1 of 5 words, degraded by noise, and is asked to pick the word from the list. In condition (3) the number of words is increased from 5 to 25, causing a reduction of 4 dB in performance (at the 50% level). These two conditions (1 and 3) were previously studied in a classic paper Miller *et al.* [1951] which observed that the size of the set of CVCs has a large impact on the score, namely $P_c(SNR, \mathcal{H})$ depends on the entropy $\mathcal{H}$ of the task. In condition (2), the effect of a grammar context is measured. By placing the 25 words in a context having a grammar, the scores returned to the 5 isolated word level (condition 1). When sentences having no grammar (pseudo-sentences) were used (condition 4), generated by reversing the meaningful sentences of condition 2, the score remains equal to the 25 isolated word case of condition 3.

Thus the grammar in experiment (2) improves the score to the isolated word level (1), but not beyond. It probably does this by providing an improved framework for remembering the words. Without the grammatical framework, the subjects become confused and treat the pseudo-sentences as 25 random words Miller and Isard [1963].

1.5 Organization of this Book

The goal of this book is to teach the science and technology of speech analysis, synthesis, and perception. The book is loosely divided into a "science" half and a "technology" half. The science and technology are unified by an information-theoretic view of speech communication, based on the theory and terminology developed by Shannon.

The first half of the book (chapters 1-5) addresses the science of speech communication. The science of speech, in our view, is the study of the speech behaviors of human beings, and includes a mathematically sophisticated treatment of ideas from both physics and psychology. Like all other communication channels, the speech communication channel is best studied by methodically elucidating the characteristics of the message, the transmitter, the receiver, and the channel. Chapter 2 describes the characteristics of the message: the alphabet of phones and suprasegmental speech gestures, and the probabilistic rules that govern their combination. Chapter 3 describes the speech transmitter, with a particular emphasis on the physical acoustic principles of speech production. Chapter 4 describes the speech receiver, including the results of both physiological and psychological experiments studying the transductive processes of the ear. Finally, chapter 5 describes characteristics of the channel and the receiver that relate to the perception and understanding of speech.

The second half of the book (chapters 6-9) describes technological methods that have been used to analyze, replace or augment each component of the speech communication system. Chapter 6 describes fundamental signal analysis methods that are common to the algorithms of all succeeding chapters. Once the reader has understood chapter 6, the remainder of the book need not be read in order; each of chapters 7-9 may be studied independently as a self-contained introduction to the technology it describes. Chapter 7 describes algorithms that replace the speech transmitter by converting a text message into a natural-sounding acoustic speech signal. Chapter 8 describes algorithms that replace the speech receiver, in the sense that they automatically convert an acoustic speech signal into a written sequence of phonemes or words. Finally, chapter 9 describes algorithms that replace the acoustic channel with a low-bit-rate digital channel, for purposes of secure, cellular, or internet telephony. All three of these areas are the subjects of active ongoing research; the goal of this book is to present fundamental concepts and derivations underlying the most effective solutions available today.

Problem set: What is the information rate of a sinewave, or a square wave? How about a sine wave with a 1 Hz bandwidth modulation?

Chapter 2

The Mechanism of Speech Production

2.1 Physiology of the Vocal Apparatus

Speech is the acoustic end product of voluntary, formalized motions of the respiratory and masticatory apparatus. It is a motor behavior which must be learned. It is developed, controlled and maintained by the acoustic feedback of the hearing mechanism and by the kinesthetic feedback of the speech musculature. Information from these senses is organized and coordinated by the central nervous system and used to direct the speech function. Impairment of either control mechanism usually degrades the performance of the vocal apparatus[1].

The speech apparatus also subserves the more fundamental processes of breathing and eating. It has been conjectured that speech evolved when ancient peoples discovered that they could supplement their communicative hand signals with related "gestures" of the vocal tract. Sir Richard Paget sums up this speculation quite neatly. "What drove man to the invention of speech was, as I imagine, not so much the need of expressing his thoughts (for that might have been done quite satisfactorily by bodily gesture) as the difficulty of 'talking with his hands full.' It was the continual use of man's hands for craftsmanship, the chase, and the beginnings of art and agriculture, that drove him to find other methods of expressing his ideas–namely, by a specialized pantomime of the tongue and lips (Paget [1930])."

The machinery involved in speech production is shown schematically in Fig. Fig. 2.1. The diagram represents a mid-sagittal section through the vocal tract of an adult. The primary function of inhalation is accomplished by expanding the rib cage, reducing the air pressure in the lungs, and drawing air into the lungs via nostrils, nasal cavity, velum port and trachea (windpipe). Air is normally expelled by the same

[1]Most of us are aware of the difficulties that partially or totally deaf persons have in producing adequate speech. Even more familiar, perhaps, are the temporary difficulties in articulation experienced after the dentist desensitizes a large mouth area by an injection of anesthetic.

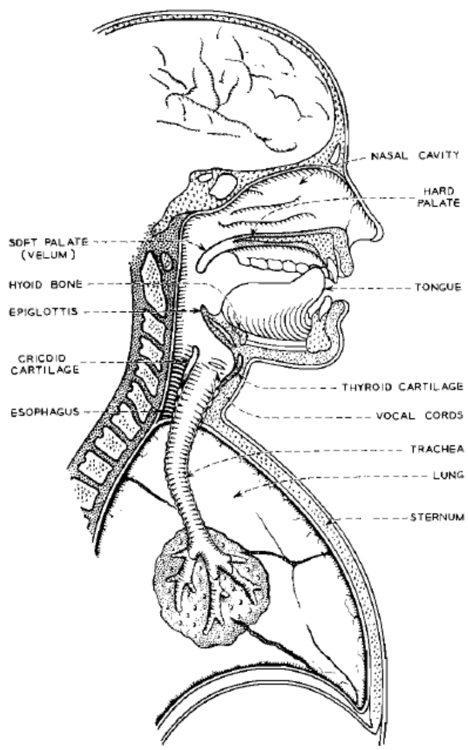

Figure 2.1: Schematic diagram of the human vocal mechanism

route. In eating, mastication takes place in the oral cavity. When food is swallowed the structures at the entrance to the trachea are drawn up under the epiglottis. The latter shields the opening at the vocal cords and prevents food from going into the windpipe. The esophagus, which normally lies collapsed against the back wall of the throat, is at the same time drawn open to provide a passage to the stomach.

The vocal tract proper is an acoustical tube which is nonuniform in cross-sectional area. It is terminated by the lips at one end and by the vocal cord constriction at the top of the trachea at the other end. In an adult male the vocal tube is about 17cm long and is deformed in crosssectional area by movement of the articulators; namely, the lips, jaw, longue and velum. The cross-sectional area in the forward portion of the tract can be varied from zero (i.e. complete closure) to upwards of 20 cc.

The nasal tract constitutes an ancillary path for sound transmission. It begins at the velum and terminates at the nostrils. In the adult male the cavity has a length of about 12 cm and a volume on the order of 60 cc, It is partitioned over part of its front-to-back extent by the nasal septum. Acoustic coupling between the nasal and vocal tracts is controlled by the size of the opening at the velum. In Fig. Fig. 2.1 the velum is shown widely open. In such a case, sound may be radiated from both the mouth and nostrils. In general, nasal coupling can substantially influence the character of sound radiated from the mouth. For the production of non-nasal sounds the velum is drawn tightly up and effectively seals off the entrance to the nasal cavity. In an adult male the area of the velar opening can range from zero to around 5 cc.

The source of energy for speech production lies in the thoracic and abdominal musculatures. Air is drawn into the lungs by enlarging the chest cavity and lowering the diaphragm. It is expelled by contracting the rib cage and increasing the lung pressure. Production of vowel sounds at the softest possible level requires a lung pressure of the order of 4 cm H_20. For very loud, high-pitched sounds, on the other hand, pressures of about 20 cm H_20 or more are not uncommon. During speaking the lung pressure is maintained by a steady, slow contraction of the rib cage.

As air is forced from the lungs it passes through the trachea into the pharynx, or throat cavity. The top of the trachea is surmounted by a structure which is shown in additional detail in Fig. Fig. 2.2. This is the larynx. The cartilaginous frame houses two lips of ligament and muscle. These are the vocal cords and are denoted VC. The slit-like orifice between the cords is called the glottis. The knobby structures, protruding upward posterior to the cords, are the arytenoid cartilages, and are labelled AC. These cartilages support the fleshy cords and facilitate adjustment of tension. The principal outside cartilages of the larynx "box" are the anterior thyroid (labelled TC in Fig. Fig. 2.2) and the posterior cricoid. Both of these can be identified in Fig. Fig. 2.1.

The voiced sounds of speech are produced by vibratory action of the vocal cords. Production of sound in this manner is called phonation. Qualitatively, the action of the vocal folds is very similar to the flapping of a flag, or the vibration of the reed in a woodwind instrument. Like a flag flapping in the wind, the vocal folds must have

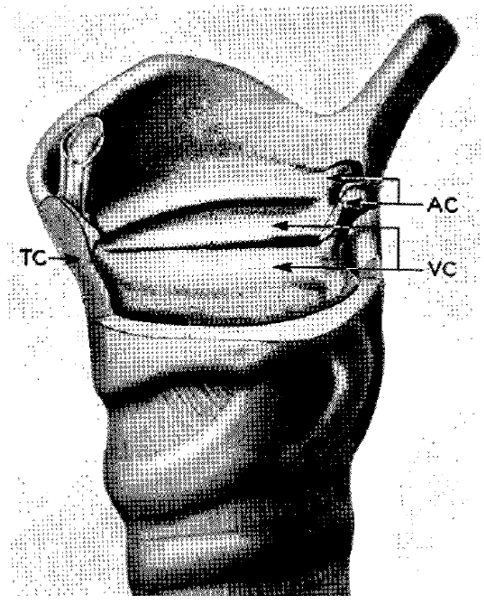

Figure 2.2: Cut-away view of the human larynx. (After Farnsworth.) VC-vocal cords; AC-arytenoid cartilages; TC-thyroid cartilage

at least two regions that are out of phase with one another. Like the jet of air passing over the surface of a flag, the jet of air passing through the glottis has two regimes: a laminar regime, and a turbulent regime. In the laminar regime, Bernoulli's equation holds, so air pressure is inversely proportional to the square of air jet velocity. In the turbulent regime, differences in velocity are absorbed by the creation of vortices, so that air pressure remains low and constant throughout the turbulent regime. The glottis flaps from bottom to top: the lower vocal folds separate first, followed by the upper folds. While the lower folds are wider than the upper folds, air flow within the glottis is laminar, and therefore the pressure within the glottis is high, driving the folds open. When the upper folds flap open to a position wider than the lower folds, air within the glottis becomes turbulent, and therefore the pressure within the glottis drops to a low constant value. At this point, the stiffness of the vocal folds forces them back together again, and the cycle repeats. Notice that it is not necessary for the vocal folds to completely close at any point in the cycle. The "breathy voice" employed to great effect by some singers and actresses is apparently a form of phonation in which the glottis never completely closes. The mass and compliance of the cords, and the subglottal pressure, essentially determine the period of the oscillation. This period is generally shorter than the natural period of the cords; that is, the cords are driven in a forced oscillation.

The variable area orifice produced by the vibrating cords permits quasi-periodic pulses of air to excite the acoustic system above the vocal cords. The mechanism is somewhat similar to blowing a tone on a brass instrument, where the vibrating lips

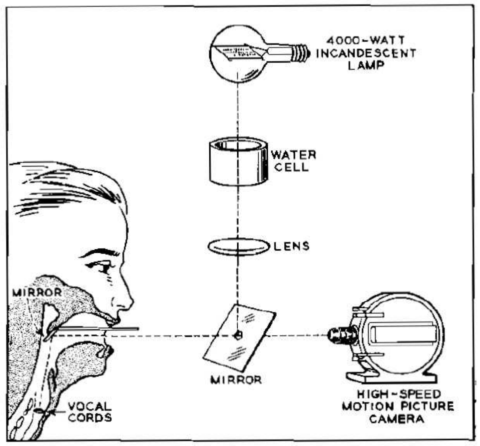

Figure 2.3: Technique for high-speed motion picture photography of the vocal cords. (After Farnsworth)

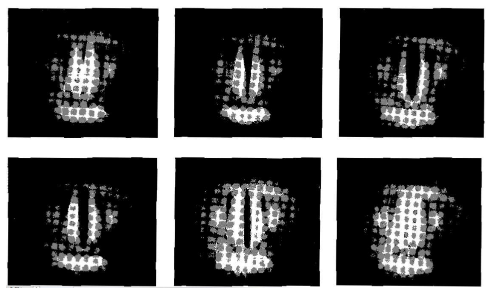

Figure 2.4: Successive phases in one cycle of vocal cord vibration. The total elapsed time is approximately 8 msec

permit quasiperiodic pulses of air to excite the resonances of the flared horn. Over the past years the vibratory action of the vocal cords has been studied in considerable detail. Direct observations can be made by positioning a 45-degree mirror toward the back of the mouth, near the naso-pharynx. Stroboscopic illumination at the proper frequency slows or "stops" the vibratory pattern and permits detailed scrutiny.

Still more revealing and more informative is the technique of high-speed photography, pioneered by Farnsworth(Farnsworth [1940]), in which moving pictures are taken at a rate of 4000 frames/sec, or higher. The technique is illustrated in Fig. Fig. 2.3. The cords are illuminated by an intense light source via the arrangement of lenses and mirrors shown in the diagram. Photographs are taken through an aperture in the large front mirror to avoid obstructing the illumination. The result of such photography is illustrated in Fig. Fig. 2.4. The figure shows six selected frames in one cycle of vibration of the cords of an adult male. In this case the fundamental frequency of vibration, or voice "pitch," is 125Hz.

The volume flow of air through the glottis as a function of time is similar to (though not exactly proportional to) the area of the glottal opening. For a normal voice effort and pitch, the waveform can be roughly triangular in shape and exhibit duty factors (i.e., ratios of open time to total period) commonly of the order of 0.3 to 0.7. The glottal volume current therefore has a frequency spectrum relatively rich in overtones or harmonics. Because of the approximately triangular waveform, the higher frequency components diminish in amplitude at about 12db/octave.

The waveform of the glottal volume flow for a given individual can vary widely. In particular, it depends upon sound pitch and intensity. For low-intensity, low-pitched sounds, the subglottal pressure is low, the vocal cord duty factor high, and the amplitude of volume flow low. For high-intensity, high-pitched sounds, the subglottal pressure is large, the duty factor small and the amplitude of volume flow great. The amplitude of lateral displacement of the vocal cords, and hence the maximum glottal area, is correlated with voice intensity to a surprisingly small extent (Fletcher(Fletcher [1950])). For an adult male, common peak values of glottal area are of the order of 15 mm^2.

Because of its relatively small opening, the acoustic impedance of the glottal source is generally large compared to the acoustic impedance looking into the vocal tract, at least when the tractis not tightly constricted. Under these conditions changes in tract configuration have relatively small (but not negligible) influence upon the glottal volume flow. For tight constriction of the tract, the acoustic interaction between the tract and the vocal-cord oscillator can be pronounced.

Another source of vocal excitation is produced by a turbulent flow of air created at some point of stricture in the tract. An acoustic noise is thereby generated and provides an incoherent excitation for the vocal system. The unvoiced continuant sounds are formed from this source. Indirect measurements and theory suggest that the spectrum of the noise, at its point or region of generation, is relatively broad and uniform. The vocal cavities forward of the constriction usually are the most influential in spectrally shaping the sound.

A third source of excitation is created by a pressure buildup at some point of closure. An abrupt release of the pressure provides a transient excitation of the vocal tract. To a crude approximation the aperiodic excitation is a step function of pressure, and might be considered to huvc a spectrum which falls inversely with frequency. The closure can he effected at various positions toward the front of the tract; for example, at labial, dental, and palatal positions. The transient excitation can be used with or without vocal cord vibration to produce voiced or unvoiced plosive sounds.

Whispered speech is produced by substituting a noise source for the normally vibrating vocal cords. The source may by produced by turbulent flow at the partially closed glottis, or at some other constricted place in the tract.

2.2 The Sounds of Speech

To be a practicable medium for the transmission of information, a language must consist of a finite number of distinguishable, mutuallyexclusive sounds. That is, the language must be constructed of basic linguistic units which have the property that if one replaces another in an utterance, the meaning is changed. The acoustic manifestations of a basic unit may vary widely. All such variations, however–when heard by a listener skilled in the language–signify the same linguistic element. This basic linguistic element is called a phoneme (Bloch and Trager [1942]). Its manifold acoustic variations are called allophones.

The phonemes might therefore be looked upon as a code uniquely related to the articulatory gestures of a given language. The allophones of a given phoneme might be considered representative of the acoustic freedom permissible in specifying a code symbol. This freedom is not only dependent upon the phoneme, but also upon its position in an utterance.

The set of code symbols used in speech, and their statistical properties, depend upon the language and dialect of the communicators. When a linguist initially studies an unknown language, his first step is to make a phonetic transcription in which every perceptually-distinct sound is given a symbol. He then attempts to relate this transcription to behavior, and to determine which acoustically-distinguishable sounds belong to the same phoneme. That is, he groups together those sounds which are not distinct from each other in meaning. The sounds of each group differ in pronunciation, but this difference is not important to meaning. Their difference is merely a convention of the spoken language.

Features of speech which may be phonemically distinct in one language may not be phonemic in another. For example, in many East Asian and Western African languages, changing the pitch of a vowel changes the meaning of the word. In European and Middle Eastern languages, this generally is not the case. Other striking examples are the Bantu languages of southern Africa, such as Zulu, in which tongue clicks and lip smacks are phonemes.

The preceding implications are that speech is, in some sense, discrete. Yet an oscillographic representation of the sound pressure wave emanating from a speaker producing connected speech shows surprisingly few gaps or pause intervals. Connected speech is coupled with a near continuous motion of the vocal apparatus from sound to sound. This motion involves changes in the configuration of the vocal tract as well as in its modes of excitation. In continuous articulation the vocal tract dwells only momentarily in a state appropriate to a given phoneme.

The statistical constraints of the language greatly influence the precision with which a phoneme needs to be articulated. In some cases it is merely sufficient to make a vocal gesture in the direction of the normal configuration to signal the phoneme. Too, the relations between speech sounds and vocal motions are far from unique, although normal speakers operate with gross similarity. Notable examples of the "many–valuedness" of speech production are the compensatory articulation of ventriloquists and the mimicry of parrots and myna birds.

Despite the mutability of the vocal apparatus in connected speech, and the continuous nature of the speech wave, humans can subjectively segment speech into phonemes. Phoneticians are able to make written transcriptions of connected speech events, and phonetic alphabets have been devised for the purpose. It has been argued that the concept of a phonetic alphabet was invented only once in human history, by the Phoenicians of Lebanon in the early first millenium B.C., but the uniqueness of this invention is obscured by the rapidity with which it was adopted worldwide. By 300 B.C., the Indus river scholar Panini had organized the phonemes of his language into a rank-three array, with dimensions specifying the manner of articulation (vowel, glide, nasal, fricative, stop), place of articulation (lips, teeth, alveolar ridge, hard palate, soft palate, uvula, pharynx), and glottal features (voiced vs. unvoiced, aspirated vs. unaspirated). Panini's organization remains the foundation of all modern phonetic alphabets, including the international standard alphabet developed by the International Phonetic Association (IPA). The international phonetic alphabet (also abbreviated IPA: the meaning of the acronym is usually apparent from context) provides symbols for representing the speech sounds of most of the major languages of the world.

Linguists transcribe speech at several different levels of precision. As specified previously, two phonemes are different only if it is possible to change the meaning of a word by interchanging the two. A transcription in terms of phonemes is called "phonemic," and is conventionally enclosed in virgules // (Fairbanks [1940]). On the other hand, the IPA provides notation for many subtle acoustic distinctions that are never used, in any given language, to change the meaning of a word; a transcription that specifies any of these allophonic or sub-phonemic distinctions is called "phonetic," and is conventionally enclosed in brackets []. In the remainder of this book, most transcriptions will be phonemic, but we will occsionally also make use of phonetic transcription.

Classification of speech sounds is customarily accomplished according to their manner and place of production. Phoneticans have found this method convenient to indicate the gross characteristics of sounds. For example, the articulation of vowel sounds is generally described by the position of the tongue hump along the vocal tract (which is often, but not always, the place of greatest constriction) and the degree of the constriction. This classification method will be employed in the following discussion of speech sounds. The examples extend to the sounds of English speech of General American (GA) dialect.

2.2.1 Vowels

Vowels are speech sounds with no narrow constriction in the vocal tract. They are usually voiced (produced with vocal fold excitation), though they may of course

Table 2.1: Vowels

Degree of constriction	Tongue hump position					
	front		central		back	
High	/i/	eve	/ɜʳ/	bird	/u/	boot
	/ɪ/	it	/əʳ/	lover (unstressed)	/ʊ/	foot
Medium	/e/	hate*	/ʌ/	up	/o/	obey*
	/ɛ/	met	/ə/	ado (unstressed)	/ɔ/	all
Low	/æ/	at			/ɑ/	father

*These two sounds usually exist as diphthongs in GA dialect. They are included in the vowel table because they form the nuclei of related diphthongs. See Section 2.27 for further discussion. (See also (Lehiste and Peterson [1961]).)

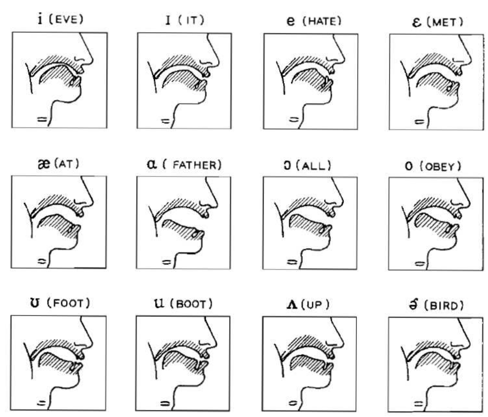

Figure 2.5: Schematic vocal tract profiles for the production of English vowels. (Adapted from Potter, Kopp and Green)

be whispered. In normal articulation, the tract is maintained in a relatively stable configuration during most of the sound. The vowels are further characterized by negligible (if any) nasal coupling, and by radiation only from the mouth (excepting that which passes through the cavity walls). If the nasal tract is coupled to the vocal tract during the production of a vowel, the vowel becomes nasalized. The distinction between nasalized and non-nasalized versions of any particular vowel is phonemic in some languages (e.g., French), but not in English; thus, for example, some comedians produce an entertaining effect by nasalizing all of their vowels.

When the 12 vowels of GA speech are classified according to the tongue-hump-position degree-of-constriction scheme, they may be arranged as shown in Table 2.1. Along with each vowel is shown a key word containing the vowel.

The approximate articulatory configurations for the production of these sounds

Table 2.2: All consonants may be divided into four broad manner classes, using the two binary features [sonorant] and [continuant]. The opposite of "sonorant" is "obstruent," sometimes denoted [−sonorant] the opposite of "continuant" is "discontinuant," sometimes denoted [−continuant]

	Continuant [+continuant]	Discontinuant [−continuant]
Sonorant [+sonorant]	Glides (/w,j/) and Semivowels (/l,r/)	Nasals (/m,n,ŋ/)
Obstruent [−sonorant]	Fricatives (/f,v,θ,ð,s,z,ʃ,ʒ,h/)	Stops (/p,b,t,d,k,g/) and Affricates (/tʃ,dʒ/)

(exclusive of the two unstressed vowels) are shown qualitatively by the vocal tract profiles in Fig. Fig. 2.5 (Potter *et al.* [1947]). The physiological basis for the front-back/high-low classification is particularly well illustrated if the profiles for the vowels /i,æ,a,u/ are compared[2].

2.2.2 Consonants

Consonants are sounds produced with a constriction at some point in the vocal tract. Consonants may be further divided into four classes, based on two binary manner features: the feature **sonorant**, and the feature **continuant**.

The literal meaning of the word "sonorant" is "song-like." A sonorant consonant is a consonant with no increase of air pressure inside the vocal tract, either because the vocal tract constriction is not very tight (/w,j,r,l/), or because the soft palate is opened, allowing air to escape through the nose (/m,n,ŋ/). Because there is no increase in air pressure, the voicing of a sonorant consonant is free and easy, and, for example, it is possible to sing a sonorant consonant.

A discontinuant consonant is produced with a complete closure at some point in the vocal tract. Because of this complete closure, the transition between a discontinuant consonant and its neighboring vowel is always marked by a sudden acoustic discontinuity, when the sound quality changes dramatically in a space of one or two milliseconds. A continuant consonant has no complete vocal tract closure.

Based on these two binary features, it is possible to divide all consonants into four broad manner classes, as shown in Table 2.2.

[2]These profiles, and the ones shown subsequently in this chapter, mainly illustrate the oral cavity. The important pharynx cavity and the lower vocal tract are not drawn. Their shapes may be deduced from x-rays (see Figs. Fig. 5.34 through Fig. 5.36, for example).

Fricative Consonants

Fricatives are produced from an incoherent noise excitation of the vocal tract. The noise is generated by turbulent air flow at some point of constriction. In order for the air flow through a constriction to produce turbulence, the Reynold's number $R_{ee} = ud\rho/\mu$ must be larger than 1800, where u is the air particle velocity, ρ and μ are the density and viscosity of air, and d is the smallest cross-sectional width of the constriction (all expressed in consistent units, so that the Reynolds number itself is dimensionless). Since velocity is inversely proportional to the area of the constriction, small constrictions lead to high Reynolds numbers; the threshold Reynolds number for turbulence is usually reached by by constrictions of less than about 3mm width. In order to produce a fricative, a talker must position the tongue or lips to create a constriction with a width of 2-3mm, and allow air pressure to build up behind the constriction, so that the air flow through the constriction is turbulent. If the constriction is too wide, it will not produce turbulence; if it is too narrow, it will stop the air flow entirely. Because of the precise articulation required, fricatives are rarely the first phonemes acquired by infants learning to speak.

Common constrictions for producing fricative consonants are those formed by the tongue behind the teeth (dental: /θ,ð/), the upper teeth on the lower lip (labio-dental: /f,v/), the tongue to the gum ridge (alveolar: /s,z/), the tongue against the hard palate (palatal: /ʃ,ʒ/), and the vocal cords constricted and fixed (glottal: /h/). Radiation of fricatives normally occurs from the mouth. If the vocal cord source operates in conjunction with the noise source, the fricative is a voiced fricative. If only the noise source is used, the fricative is unvoiced.

Both voiced and unvoiced fricatives are continuant sounds. Because a given fricative articulatory configuration can be excited either with or without voicing, the voiced and voiceless fricatives form complementary pairs called cognates. The fricative consonants of the GA dialect are listed in Table 2.3, along with typical "places" of articulation and key words for pronunciation.

Vocal tract profiles for these sounds are shown in Fig. 2.6. Those diagrams in which the vocal cords are indicated by two small lines are the voiced fricatives. The vocal cords are shown dashed for the glottal fricative (/h/).

The phoneme /h/ is a special case because, like the sonorant consonants, it requires no increase of air pressure within the vocal tract. For this reason, some phoneticians class /h/ as a glide rather than a fricative (e.g., (Stevens [1999])). In inter-vocalic context (e.g., in the word "ahead"), the acoustic quality of /h/ may be very sonorant-like, e.g., the amplitude of voicing may not decrease at all. In other contexts, /h/ may have weakened voicing (like a typical voiced fricative), or it may be completely unvoiced (like a typical unvoiced fricative). All of these different allophones are produced and perceived interchangeably, by native speakers of English, as examples of the same underlying phoneme /h/.

Table 2.3: Fricative consonants

Place of articulation	Voiced		Voiceless	
Labio-dental	/v/	vote	/f/	for
Dental	/ð/	then	/θ/	thin
Alveolar	/z/	zoo	/s/	see
Palatal	/ʒ/	azure	/ʃ/	she
Glottal			/h/	he

Table 2.4: Stop consonants

Place of articulation	Voiced		Voiceless	
Labial	/b/	be	/p/	pay
Alveolar	/d/	day	/t/	to
Palatal/velar	/g/	go	/k/	key

Stop Consonants

Among those consonants which depend upon vocal tract dynamics for their creation are the stop consonants. To produce these sounds a complete closure is formed at some point in the vocal tract. The lungs build up pressure behind this occlusion, and the pressure is suddenly released by an abrupt motion of the articulators. Stops are distinguished from other phonemes by complete closure, followed by a characteristic acoustic "explosion" called a "transient." The transient typically lasts only one or two milliseconds, but it may be followed by a fricative burst of 5-10ms in duration, if the lips or tongue pass too slowly through the 2-3mm frication region.

Stops in English come in voiced/unvoiced cognate pairs, as do fricatives. Cognate pairs are distinguished in two ways. First, the vocal folds may continue to vibrate during the closure interval of a voiced stop. Closure voicing is often heard in carefully produced speech, but rarely in casual speech. Instead, most speakers of GA English signal that a stop is voiced by allowing the vocal folds to begin vibrating immediately after stop release. An unvoiced stop, by contrast, has a period of aspiration following release, during which the vocal folds are held open and turbulence is produced at the glottis. The acoustic effect is exactly what one would achieve by producing an unvoiced stop followed immediately by an /h/.

The cognate pairs of stops, with typical places of articulation, are shown in Table 2.4. Articulatory profiles for these sounds are shown in Fig. Fig. 2.7. Each position is that just prior to the pressure release.

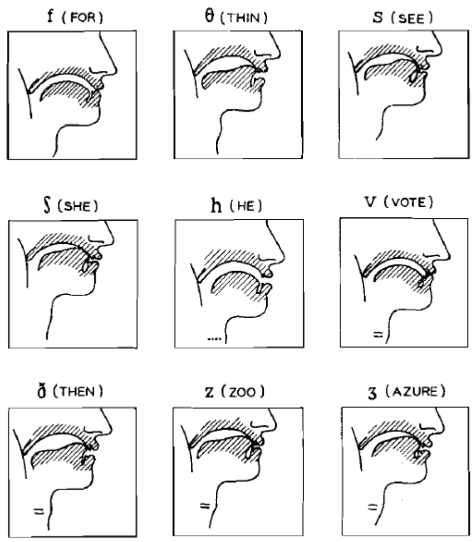

Figure 2.6: Vocal tract profiles for the fricative consonants of English. The short pairs of lines drawn on the throat represent vocal cord operation. (Adapted from Potter, Kopp and Green)

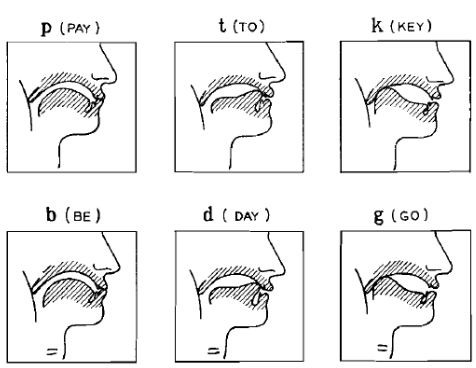

Figure 2.7: Articulatory profiles for the English stop consonants. (After Potter, Kopp and Green)

Table 2.5: Nasals

Place		
Labial	/m/	me
Alveolar	/n/	no
Palatal/velar	/ŋ/	sing (no initial form)

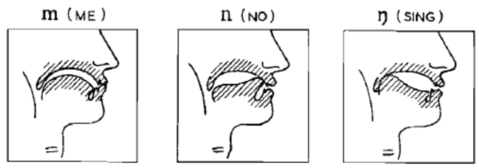

Figure 2.8: Vocal profiles for the nasal consonants. (After Potter, Kopp and Green)

Nasal Consonants

The nasal consonants, or nasals, are sonorant consonants; they are normally voiced in GA English, although unvoiced allophones might be heard in some contexts (e.g., some speakers will devoice the /n/ in "fishnet"). A complete closure is made toward the front of the vocal tract, either by the lips, by the tongue at the gum ridge, or by the tongue at the hard or soft palate. The velum is opened wide and the nasal tract provides the main sound transmission channel. Most of the sound radiation takes place at the nostrils. The closed oral cavity functions as a side branch resonator coupled to the main path, and it can substantially influence the sound radiated. Because there is no increase of the air pressure in the mouth, nasals are classed as sonorant consonants; because there is a complete closure within the vocal tract, they are discontinuant. The GA nasal consonants are listed in Table 2.5, and their vocal profiles are illustrated in Fig. Fig. 2.8.

Glides and Semivowels

Two small groups of consonants contain sounds that greatly resemble vowels. These are the glides /w,j/ and the semivowels /r,l/ (Fairbanks [1940]). Both are characterized by sonorant voicing, no effective nasal coupling, and sound radiation from the mouth. All four phonemes may be optionally devoiced (as in "which" or "rheum"); speakers of GA English usually consider voiced and devoiced allophones to be examples of the same underlying phoneme.

The glides /w/ and /j/, respectively, may be interpreted as extreme examples of the vowels /u/ and /i/—the former involves an extreme lip constriction, the latter an extreme palatal tongue constriction. In both cases, the constriction is a dynamic one, released gradually into the following vowel.

The semivowels, by contrast, may be produced either dynamically or in a rela-

Table 2.6: Glides and semi-vowels

Place		
Palatal	/j/	you
Labial	/w/	we (no final form)
Palatal	/r/	read
Alveolar	/l/	let

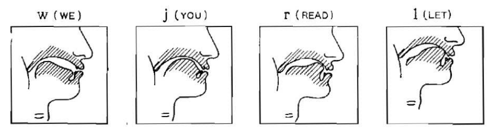

Figure 2.9: Vocal tract configurations for the beginning positions of the glides and semivowels. (After Potter, Kopp and Green)

tively static configuration; in fact, either of these two consonants may be produced as the nucleus of a syllable in English (e.g., in the words "bird" and "bull"; when produced as a syllable nuclei, these phonemes may be transcribed as /ɜ^r/ and /l̩/, respectively). Both sounds are most reliably identified by a unique acoustic pattern: /r/ is the only sound in English with a third formant below 2000Hz, and /l/ is one of the few sounds in English with a third formant above 3000Hz. Both sounds are typically produced in syllable-initial position with both a tongue body constriction and a tongue tip constriction; in syllable-final position, both sounds are optionally produced with only a tongue body constriction. The tongue tip constriction for /r/ is curled back ("retroflex"), and the tongue body constriction is tightly bunched in the middle of the hard palate. The tongue tip constriction for /l/ is made with the tip touching the gum ridge like a /d/, but open on the left and/or right ("lateral"); the tongue body constriction is near the uvula. These are the only retroflex and lateral phonemes in English, but other languages have other phonemes (in some cases, stops and fricatives) with similar tongue tip positions.

The glides and semivowels for the GA dialect are listed, according to place of articulation, in Table 2.6. Their profiles, for the beginning positions, are given in Fig. Fig. 2.9.

Combination Sounds: Diphthongs and Affricates

Some of the preceding vowel or consonant elements can be combined to form basic sounds whose phonetic values depend upon vocal tract motion. An appropriate pair of vowels, so combined, form a diphthong. The diphthong is vowel-like in nature, but is characterized by change from one vowel position to another. For example, if the vocal tract is changed from the /e/ position to the /ɪ/ position, the diphthong /eɪ/ as in say is formed. Other GA diphthongs are /ɪu/ as in new, /ɔɪ/ as in boy; /ɑʊ/ as in out, /ɑɪ/ as in I, and /oʊ/ as in go.

As vowel combinations form the diphthongs, stop-fricative combinations likewise create the two GA affricates. These are the /tʃ/ as in chew and the /dʒ/ as in jar.

Each of these combination sounds is perceived to be a phoneme by typical speakers of GA English. For example, in games where subjects are asked to reverse the order of phonemes in a word (turning "scram" into "marks," for example), an affricate or diphthong will be treated as a single phoneme (e.g., turning "chide" into "daytch" rather than "dyasht"). The acoustic signal also gives us one reason to treat a combination sound as if it were a single phoneme: the average duration of a combination phoneme is shorter than the average total duration of its component phonemes (e.g., the average duration of /tʃ/ is shorter than the sum of the average durations of /t/ and /ʃ/). In most other respects, however, a combination sound has exactly the same articulatory and acoustic characteristics as a sequence of two separate phonemes, e.g., a /tʃ/ is produced with an unvoiced alveolar closure that looks (e.g., if viewed using MRI) and sounds exactly like a /t/ closure, followed by an unvoiced palatal fricative that looks and sounds exactly like an /ʃ/. The standard IPA notation for these sounds writes them as the sequence of two phonemes (e.g., /t/ followed by /ʃ/) in order to emphasize their articulatory and acoustic decomposibility.

2.3 Quantitative Description of Speech

The preceding discussion has described the production of speech in a completely qualitative way. It has outlined the mechanism of the voice and the means for producing an audible code which, within a given language, consists of distinctive sounds. However, for any transmission system to benefit from prior knowledge of the information source, this knowledge must be cast into a tractable analytical form that can be employed in the design of signal processing operations. Detailed inquiry into the physical principles underlying the speech-producing mechanism is therefore indicated.

The following chapter will consider the characteristics of the vocal system in a quantitative fashion. It will treat the physics of the vocal and nasal tracts in some depth and will set forth certain acoustical properties of the vocal excitations. The primary objective–as stated earlier–is to describe the acoustic speech signal in terms of the physical parameters of the system that produced it. Because of physiological and linguistic constraints, such a description carries important implications for analysis-synthesis telephony.

2.4 Homework

Problem 2.1

Mary and John are talking about something they found on the internet. What are they saying?

Mary: heidʒɑnlʊkætðɪs
John: wʌt
Mary: sʌmgɑisɛzhikənridɑipieinoʊteiʃʌnwɪðaʊtənɑipieitʃɑrt
John: wʌtsiriʌsli
Mary: bɔiɑiwɪʃɑikʊdduðæt

Problem 2.2

Create IPA transcriptions of the following sentences.

a. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.

b. A stitch in time saves nine.

c. Measure twice, cut once.

d. How much wood would a woodchuck chuck if a woodchuck could chuck wood?

Problem 2.3

Create a table showing the manner, place, and voicing features of all phonemes in the phrase “better speech.”

Chapter 3

Acoustics of speech and hearing

The production of speech by the vocal tract and the reception of sound by the cochlea, have a common mathematical framework in that they have both been represented as inhomogeneous transmission lines. While these representations may be improved upon, they capture the essence of the underlying physical mechanisims of production and reception processes. In this chapter we shall outline the underlying theory required to represent both these system. Then in the following chapter (4) we shall concentratate on production, and then in Chapter 7, develop models of the inner ear.

3.1 Equivalent Circuit for the Lossy Cylindrical Pipe

Consider the length dx of lossy cylindrical pipe of area A shown in Fig. 3.1a. Assume plane wave transmission so that the sound pressure and volume velocity are spatially dependent only upon x. Because of its mass, the air in the pipe exhibits an inertance which opposes acceleration. Because of its compressibility the volume of air exhibits a compliance. Assuming that the tube is smooth and hard-walled, energy losses can occur at the wall through viscous friction and heat conduction. Viscous losses are proportional to the square of the particle velocity, and heat conduction losses are proportional to the square of the sound pressure.

The characteristics of sound propagation in such a tube are easily described by drawing upon elementary electrical theory and some well known results for one-dimensional waves on transmission lines. Consider sound pressure analogous to the voltage and volume velocity analogous to the current in an electrical line. Sound pressure and volume velocity for plane wave propagation in the uniform tube satisfy the same wave equation as do voltage and current on a uniform transmission line. A dx length of lossy electrical line is illustrated in Fig. 3.1b. To develop the analogy let us write the relations for the electrical line. The per-unitlength inductance, capacitance, series resistance and shunt conductance are $L(x)$, $C(x)$, $R(x)$, and $G(x)$ respectively.

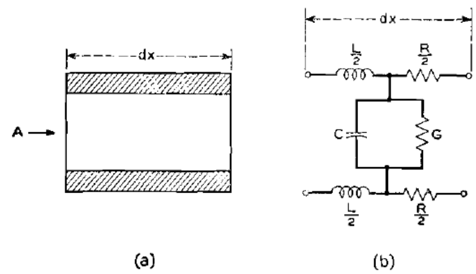

Figure 3.1: Incremental length of lossy cylindrical pipe. (a) acoustic representation; (b) electrical equivalent for a one-dimensional wave

Assuming sinusoidal time dependence for voltage and current, ($i(x,t) = I(x,\omega)e^{j\omega t}$ and $e(x,t) = E(x,\omega)e^{j\omega t}$), the differential current loss and voltage drop across the dx length of line are

$$dE = -\mathcal{Z}(x,s)I dx \quad \text{and} \quad dI = -\mathcal{Y}(x,s)E dx, \tag{3.1}$$

where $\mathcal{Y}(x,s) = G(x) + sC(x)$ and $\mathcal{Z}(x,s) = R(x) + sL(x)$, with complex *Laplace frequency* given by $s = \sigma + j\omega$.

Radian frequency ω is appropriate when taking the *Fourier transform* of say a voltage or a current, pressure, displacement, etc., however the Laplace frequency is the appropriate variable when taking the *Laplace transform* of causal functions,[1] such as an impedance $\mathcal{Z}(s)$ or an admittance $\mathcal{Y}(s)$, which due to their inherent causality must be *analytic* functions of complex frequency s, containing poles and zeros, or other singularities in the complex plane (e.g., branch cuts). More on this topic will be found in Sec. ??. When the Laplace frequency s is used typically the right half s plane ($\sigma > 0$). It will be used with the Laplace transform (indicated as $\leftrightarrow$) when the frequency dependence indicates any causal function, such as the impulse response of a capacitor $\frac{1}{sC} \leftrightarrow \frac{1}{C}\Delta(t) = \int_{\omega=-\infty}^{\infty} \frac{1}{Cs} e^{-st} ds$, where $\Delta(t)$ is the Heaviside *unit step function*, zero for $t < 0$, 1 for $t > 0$ and undefined at $t = 0$.

A short review secti
Laplace in Sec. ??.

In matrix form these equations may be written

$$\frac{d}{dx}\begin{bmatrix} E(x,\omega) \\ I(x,\omega) \end{bmatrix} = -\begin{bmatrix} 0 & \mathcal{Z}(x,s) \\ \mathcal{Y}(x,s) & 0 \end{bmatrix}\begin{bmatrix} E(x,\omega) \\ I(x,\omega) \end{bmatrix}. \tag{3.2}$$

This is the 2×2 matrix form of the *Webester Horn equation* Webster [1919], which allows for the variation of the series *per-unit-length impedance* $\mathcal{Z}(x,s)$ and shunt *per-unit-length admittance* $\mathcal{Y}(x,s)$, as functions both the Horn area $A(x)$, and when losses are considered, the Laplace frequency s.

[1] A *causal function* is zero for $t < 0^-$.

3.1.1 The homogeneous transmission line

Shown in Fig. 3.1b is the case of an elementary *homogeneous* piece of transmission line, where $\mathcal{Z}(s)$ and $\mathcal{Y}(s)$ are independent of position x, the equations for the voltage E and current I reduce to the wave equation

$$\frac{d^2E}{dx^2} - \mathcal{Z}\mathcal{Y}\,E = 0 \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{d^2I}{dx^2} - \mathcal{Z}\mathcal{Y}\,I = 0, \tag{3.3}$$

having solutions

$$\begin{bmatrix} E(x,\omega) \\ I(x,\omega) \end{bmatrix} = \begin{bmatrix} E_\omega^+ & E_\omega^- \\ I_\omega^+ & I_\omega^- \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} e^{-\gamma x} \\ e^{+\gamma x} \end{bmatrix} \tag{3.4}$$

where $\gamma(s) \equiv +\sqrt{\mathcal{Z}\mathcal{Y}} = \alpha(s) + j\beta(s)$ is the so-called *propagation constant* (the sign determines the wave direction), and the frequency-dependent *integration constants* E_ω^+, E_ω^-, I_ω^+ and I_ω^- are frequency dependent integration factors, determined by the 2-port terminal *boundary conditions*. Again, solutions Eq. 3.4 do *not* apply to the Webster Horn equation (Eq. 3.2), where a very different solution approach must be used due to the inhomogeneous *constituent relations* $\mathcal{Z}(x,s)$ and $\mathcal{Y}(x,s)$.

Transmission ($\top$-matrix) ABCD representations Specifically, as shown in Fig. 3.1 for a *finite* piece of homogeneous line, having length l, with sending-end (left) voltage and current E_1 and I_1, the receiving-end (right) voltage and current E_2 and I_2 are given by[2]

$$\begin{bmatrix} E_1(x,\omega) \\ I_1(x,\omega) \end{bmatrix} = \begin{bmatrix} A & B \\ C & D \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} E_2(x+l,\omega) \\ I_2(x+l,\omega) \end{bmatrix}, \tag{3.5}$$

where

$$A(s) \equiv \left.\frac{E_1}{E_1}\right|_{I_2=0}, \qquad B(s) \equiv \left.\frac{E_1}{I_2}\right|_{E_1=0}, \qquad C(s) \equiv \left.\frac{I_1}{E_2}\right|_{I_2=0} \qquad D(s) \equiv \left.\frac{I_1}{I_2}\right|_{E_2=0}.$$

The inverse Laplace transforms of the $\top$-matrix parameters $a(t) \leftrightarrow A(s)$, $b(t) \leftrightarrow B(s)$, $c(t) \leftrightarrow C(s)$ and $d(t) \leftrightarrow D(s)$ must be analytic functions of Laplace frequency s in the right-half plane because they must represent causal functions (e.g., $a(t < 0^-) = 0$). This follows from the fact the the voltages and currents of the circuit must all obey causal relationships. Furthermore, the determinite of the $\top$-Matrix must be unity, that is $\Delta_\top \equiv AB - CD = 1$. This follows from the requirement that the passive physical system being modeled is reciprocal.

Given our example in Fig. 3.1a of a stub of transmission line of length l,

$$\begin{bmatrix} E_1(x,\omega) \\ I_2(x,\omega) \end{bmatrix} = \begin{bmatrix} \cosh(\gamma l) & Z_0 \sinh(\gamma l) \\ Y_0 \cosh(\gamma l) & \sinh(\gamma l) \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} E_2 \\ I_2 \end{bmatrix}, \tag{3.6}$$

[2]The transmission element C should not be confused with the acoustic compliance "C".

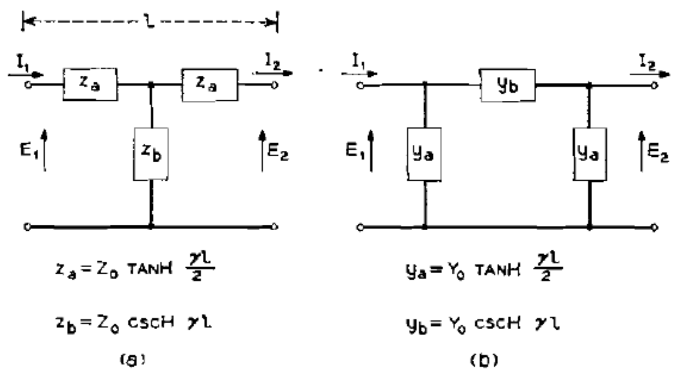

Figure 3.2: Equivalent 2-port networks for a length l of uniform transmission line. (a) T-section; (b) Π-section. These represent two alternative ways of specifying the impedances. For example the pipe representation of Fig. 3.1b is a T-section with $z_a = sL/2$, $z_c = R/2$ and $z_b = 1/(G + sC)$. in (a) z_c and (b) y_c need to be added.

where

$$Z_0 = 1/Y_0 \equiv \sqrt{\mathcal{Z}/\mathcal{Y}} \tag{3.7}$$

is the *characteristic impedance* (Y_0 is the *characteristic admittance*) of the line and

$$\gamma \equiv +\sqrt{\mathcal{Z}\mathcal{Y}} \tag{3.8}$$

is the wave's *propagation function.* This relationship follows from Eq. 3.4, the solution of the wave equation.

One recalls from conventional circuit theory the lossless case corresponds to $\gamma = \sqrt{\mathcal{Z}\mathcal{Y}} = j\beta = s\sqrt{LC}$, and $Z_0 = \sqrt{L/C}$. The hyperbolic functions then reduce to circular functions which are purely reactive. Notice, too, for small loss conditions, (that is, $R \ll \omega L$ and $G \ll \omega C$) the attenuation and phase constants are approximately[3]

$$\alpha \approx \frac{Y_0 R}{2} + \frac{Z_0 G}{2}$$

$$\beta \approx \frac{\omega}{c}, \tag{3.9}$$

with wave velocity (i.e., speed of sound) $c \equiv 1/\sqrt{LC}$.

The $\top$-matrix is useful for calculations since it is designed to be cascaded, to build a network. However it is frequenly more convient to define a system in terms of the *impedance matrix* $\mathbb{Z}(s)$. We need to know how to transfrom between the $\top$ and $\mathbb{Z}$ matrix forms.

[3]In the case of losses, the signs of α and β for the forward and reverse traveling waves must be determined such that the solution is both causal and stable. This involves the careful choice of the branch cut resulting from the square root in Eq. 3.8.

	$[\mathbb{Z}]$	$[\top]$	T-section (Fig. 3.2a)
$[\mathbb{Z}]$	$z_{11} \quad z_{12}$ $z_{21} \quad z_{22}$	$A/C \quad \Delta_\top/C$ $1/C \quad D/C$	$z_a + z_c \quad z_b$ $z_b \quad z_a + z_c$
$[\top]$	$z_{11}/z_{21} \quad \Delta_\mathbb{Z}/z_{21}$ $1/z_{21} \quad z_{22}/z_{21}$	$A \quad B$ $C \quad D$	$(z_a + z_c)/z_b \quad z_a^2/z_b + 2z_a$ $1/z_b \quad (z_a + z_c)/z_b$

Table 3.1: Table of transformations between $\mathbb{Z}$-matrix (Eq. 3.10) and $\top$-matrix (Eq. 3.5) representations. Note that the sign of I_2 in the $\top$-matrix is switched for the $\mathbb{Z}$-matrix (i.e., $I_2' = -I_2$).
On the right-most column the forms are defined in terms of the T-secion parameters of Fig. 3.2a. $\Delta_\top$ and $\Delta_\mathbb{Z}$ represent the determinates of $[T]$ and $[\mathbb{Z}]$.

Impedance matrix representation The general 2-port *impedance matrix* $\mathbb{Z}(s)$ representation is defined as

$$\begin{bmatrix} E_1(x,\omega) \\ E_2(x,\omega) \end{bmatrix} = \mathbb{Z}(s) \begin{bmatrix} I_1 \\ I_2' \end{bmatrix} \equiv \begin{bmatrix} z_{11}(s) & z_{12}(s) \\ z_{21}(s) & z_{22}(s) \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} I_1 \\ I'_2 \end{bmatrix} \tag{3.10}$$

with $I'_2 \equiv -I_2$.

The T-section format for the l length of line is shown in Fig. 3.2a, along with the Π-section format in Fig. 3.2b. These forms (T and Π sections) are the most schematic way of specifying a transmission line in terms of its physical parameters. From the T-section parameters (e.g., z_a, z_b) the $\top$-matrix and $\mathbb{Z}$-matrix parameters may be easily derived.

This relationship between the T-section parameters (Fig. 3.2a), the $\top$-matrix parameters $A(s)$, $B(s)$, $C(s)$ and $D(s)$ and the $\mathbb{Z}$-matrix elements z_{ij}, etc., are summarized in Table 3.1. By inspection of Eq. 3.10 and Fig. 3.2a,

$$z_{11} \equiv \left.\frac{E_1}{I_1}\right|_{I'_2=0} = z_a + z_b \qquad z_{12} \equiv \left.\frac{E_1}{I'_2}\right|_{I_1=0} = z_b$$
$$z_{21} \equiv \left.\frac{E_2}{I_1}\right|_{I'_2=0} = z_b \qquad z_{22} \equiv \left.\frac{E_2}{I'_2}\right|_{I_1=0} = z_a + z_c.$$

A system is *reciprocal* when $z_{12} = z_{21}$, or in terms of the $\top$-matrix representation, when $\Delta_\top \equiv AC - BD$. If a network is identical when run in reverse (if the system is invariant to having the ports flipped), the networks is called *symmetrical*, leading to $z_{11} = z_{22}$, or equivalently $A = D$.

It is important to note that there are cases where a physical system does not have an impedance representation, for example, when $C = 0$. The $\top$-matrix form, on the otherhand, always exists. Thus the prefered form must be for the $\top$-matrix form.

3.2 Acoustic transmission lines

Having reviewed the relations for the uniform, lossy electrical line, we may next interpret plane wave propagation in a uniform, lossy pipe (Fig. 3.1a) in analogous terms. Since the sound pressure $p(t) \leftrightarrow P(\omega)$ is considered analogous to voltage and the acoustic volume velocity, $u(t) \leftrightarrow U(\omega)$ analogous to current, the lossy, one dimensional, sinusoidal sound propagation is described by Eq. 3.3. The propagation constant is complex (that is, the velocity of propagation is in effect complex) and therefore the wave attenuates as it travels. In a smooth hard-walled tube the viscous and heat conduction losses can be represented, in effect, by an I^2R loss and an E^2G loss, respectively. The inertance of the air mass is analogous to the electrical inductance, and the compliance of the air volume is analogous to the electrical capacity. We can draw these parallels quantitatively.[4]

3.2.1 The Acoustic Mass "L"

The mass of air contained in the dx length of pipe in Fig. 3.1a is $\rho_0 A dx$, where ρ_0 is the air density. The *excess pressure* $p(x,t)$ accelerating this mass is (i.e., Newton's law):

$$dp = \rho_0 dx \frac{dv}{dt} = \rho_0 \frac{dx}{A} \cdot \frac{du(x,t)}{dt},$$

where $v(x,t)$ is particle velocity and $u(x,t)$ is the *volume velocity*, define as the area times the normal component of the particle velocity, namely

$$u(x,t) \equiv Av. \tag{3.11}$$

If we take the *Fourier Transform*[5] of these relations [e.g., $p(x,t) \leftrightarrow P(x,\omega)$ and $u(x,t) \leftrightarrow U(x,\omega)$] we obtain frequency domain relationships

$$\frac{d}{dx} P(x,\omega) = sL_a U(x,\omega), \tag{3.12}$$

where

$$L_a = \rho_0 / A \tag{3.13}$$

is the *per-unit-length acoustic inertance* .

It is our convention to use radian frequency ω for non-causal functions, having a Fourier transfrom, and complex radian frequency $s = \sigma + j\omega$ for *causal functions* of frequency having a *Laplace transform* (e.g., impedance sL_a defined via Eq. 3.12). We shall keep track of causality with this notational difference in frequency dependence (i.e., ω vs. s).

[4]The first-time reader might wish to omit the following detailed sections and jump to the summary Eq. 3.46 in Section 3.2.5.

[5]The *Fourier Transform relations* are defined as $P(\omega) \equiv \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} p(t) e^{-j\omega t} dt \quad \leftrightarrow \quad p(t) \equiv \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} P(\omega) e^{j\omega t} d\omega / 2\pi$.

3.2.2 The Acoustic "C"

The analogous acoustic capacitance, or compliance, arises from the compressibility of the volume $\mathcal{V}$ of air contained in the dx length of tube shown in Fig. 3.1a. The elemental air volume $\mathcal{V} = Adx$ experiences compressions and expansions following the adiabatic gas law

$$p\mathcal{V}^{\eta} = \text{constant},$$

where p is the total pressure (the static + excess), $\mathcal{V}$ is the volume of the gas, and η is the adiabatic constant defined as the ratio of specific heat at constant pressure c_p to that at constant volume c_v.[6]

After taking the log and differentiating with respect to time

$$\frac{1}{p}\frac{dp}{dt} = -\frac{\eta}{\mathcal{V}}\frac{d\mathcal{V}}{dt}.$$

[6]For diatomic air at normal conditions, $\eta = c_p/c_v = 1.4$.

The diminution of the original air volume, owing to compression caused by an increase in pressure, must equal the volume current into the compliance; that is,

$$u = -\frac{d\mathcal{V}}{dt},$$

and

$$\frac{1}{p}\frac{dp}{dt} = \frac{\eta}{\mathcal{V}}u.$$

For sinusoidal time dependence $P = P_0 + P(x,\omega)e^{j\omega t}$, where P_0 is the quiescent (ambient) static pressure, large[7] compared with the *excess pressure* $P(x,\omega)$.[8]

[7] Under standard conditions $P_0 = 10^5$ [Pa].

[8] The *excess pressure* is the small (e.g. less than 10 Pascals) acoustic time-varying component riding on the ambient static pressure.