

## Amplitude envelopes as a means to quantify vowel length contrasts

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The analysis of amplitude envelopes has become a wide-spread method in the speech sciences, language acquisition and neurolinguistics (Assaneo et al., 2019; Frota et al., 2022; Goswami, 2019; Gross et al., 2013; Leong & Goswami, 2015; Poeppel, 2014). Amplitude envelopes track the amplitude distribution over an utterance and are interesting because they track the part of the signal that is relevant to convey rhythm. Furthermore, the method is easy to apply without demanding manual annotation. Despite the increasingly wide-spread usage across disciplines, there is little research on which aspects of the speech signal influence the amplitude envelopes in what way. Cross-linguistic research has shown that stress-timed German led to higher power between 7 and 10 Hz than more syllable-timed Brazilian Portuguese (Frota et al., 2022). In this paper we compare amplitude envelopes in disyllabic words in German differing in vowel length. We hypothesize that target words with short vowels have an amplitude distribution more similar to syllable-timing than those with long vowels and hence have higher power between 7 and 10 Hz. In carrier sentences, the effect of vowel length is expected to be reduced because longer stretches of speech convey the general rhythmic structure of the language, rather than segmental length.

Nine German native speakers each recorded 20 disyllabic word pairs that differed in the length of the stressed vowel (e.g. Mitte ['mi:tʰə] 'centre' vs. Miete ['mi:tʰə] 'rent') in a carrier sentence (*Das nächste Wort war XXX*. 'The next word was XXX'). The long vowels were nearly twice as long as the short vowels: 155.0 vs. 80.9 ms). The target word was cut out of the carrier sentence. Following Gross et al. (2013), the signal (target word and carrier sentence) was first filtered into nine frequency bands in the range from 100–10,000 Hz, which are equidistant on the cochlear map. The cutoff frequencies were 100.5Hz, 250.7Hz, 458.6Hz, 748.8Hz, 1159.0Hz, 1449.0Hz, 2619.8Hz, 3954.2Hz, 6121.8Hz and 10000.8Hz. To remove high-frequency components, the amplitude envelopes were low-pass filtered using a Hann Band pass filter from 0 to 10 Hz in praat (He & Dellwo, 2016). The resulting narrowband envelopes were added to compute the wideband amplitude envelope, which were spectrally analyzed (Fast Fourier transform) in 100 0.1-Hz steps. The effect of vowel length on the amplitude modulation spectra was investigated using general additive mixed models (Porretta et al., 2016; Wood, 2006; Zahner et al., 2019; Zahner-Ritter et al., 2022), which allow comparison of power across frequency bands. For model fitting and plotting, we employed the R packages *mgcv* (Wood, 2015) and *itsadug* (van Rij et al., 2015). The response variable was log-normalized power. The initial model included *length* as parametric effect (fixed effect), along with a factor smooth for the modulation of *length* over frequency bands,  $s(\text{fband}, \text{by} = \text{length})$ . Smooths for *speakers* and *items* (random intercept and over frequency bands) were also included. The model was corrected for auto-correlation in the data using a correlation parameter, determined by the `acf_resid()` function and used the `scat` linking function to normalize the otherwise skewed distribution of residuals. The results showed a significant effect of length, see Figure 1 for the target words, but not for the sentences (not shown for space reasons). The target words with a long vowel had a lower power in a small frequency band just below 2Hz and, importantly, between 5 and 8.5 Hz.

Amplitude envelopes can capture the length contrast in German word pairs, but the difference disappears when the same contrast is analysed in longer utterances. For the target words, the energy differences mirror those for stressed- vs. syllable-timed languages. For sentences, the pervasive stressed-timed rhythm (*Das NÄCHste WORT war MIETE*, stressed syllables are capitalized) seems to reduce the effect of vowel length of a single word.

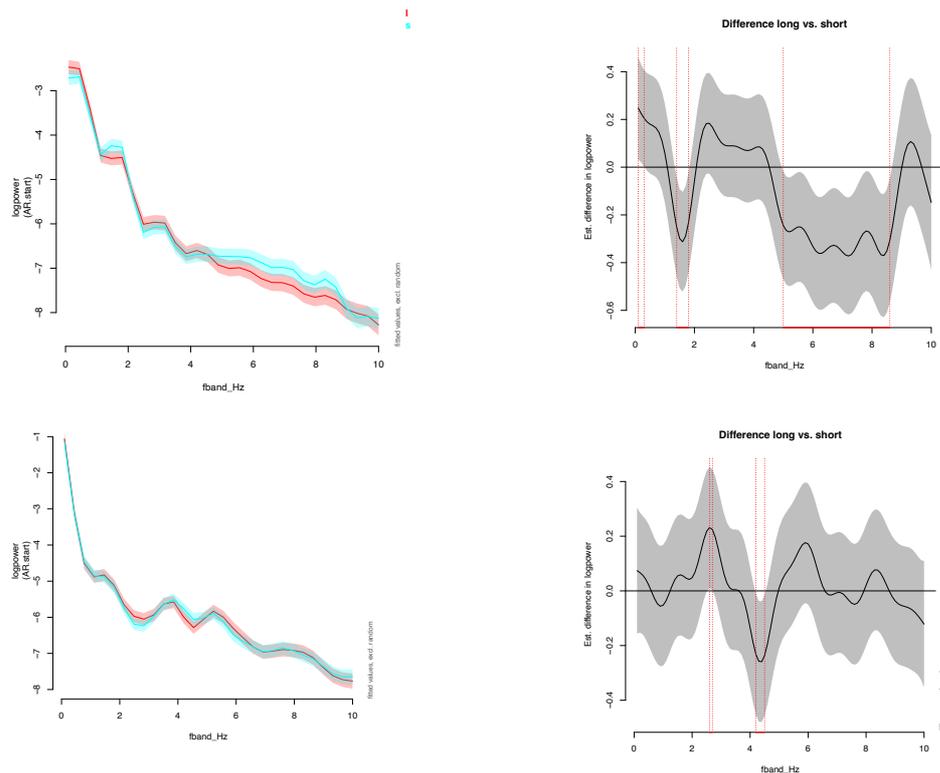


Figure 1. Factor smooths (left panels, long vowels in red, short vowels in blue) and the difference plots (long vs. short vowels). Top: target word, bottom: whole utterance.

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