# PRONUNCIATION LEXICON SPECIFICATION FOR PUNJABI LANGUAGE WITHIN W3C FRAMEWORK 

Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University<br>for the award of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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## CERTIFICATE

This thesis titled "Pronunciation Lexicon Specification for Punjabi Language within W3C Framework" submitted by Swaran Lata, Centre for Linguistics, School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institution.

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हृटां चें मठमठग्टी खंथे

नां यांटी घृवे




Dedicated to my Parents

Sh. Hans Rahi \& Smet. Raj Rani

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ASR - Automatic Speech Recognition

B- Broken Tone
BE - Burst Energy

C - Consonant
CC - Consonant Cluster
CI - Confidence Interval

Co - Coda

D - Duration
$\mathrm{F}_{0}$ - Fundamental Frequency
F - Formants

H- High / Heavy
HL- Falling Tone
HLH - Falling-Rising Tone
I - Intensity
L- Low / Light
LH- Rising Tone
LHL - Rising - Falling Tone
M - Mid

N - Nucleus

NT - Non-tonal

O - Onset

P - Pitch
$\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{r}}$. Probability

PLS - Pronunciation Lexicon Specification

POS - Parts of Speech
R - Rhyme / Rime

SH - Super Heavy

S/s - Syllable
$s_{t}$ - Empirical Stress Function
$\overline{\mathrm{s}}_{\mathrm{t}}-$ Mean of Intra-syllabic Stress

SOV - Subject Object Verb
TBU - Tone Bearing Unit (vowel)

V - Vowels (Monothongs)
$\mathrm{V}_{1}$ - Short Vowels
$\mathrm{V}_{2}$ - Long Vowels
$\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{d}}$ - Vowels (Dipthongs)
$\mu$ - Mean of Data
$\sigma$ - Standard Deviation
$\Phi$ - Cumulative Distribution Function


#### Abstract

Punjabi is a modern Indo-Aryan (Indic) language spoken primarily in the Punjab states of both India and Pakistan. Punjabi uses either Gurmukhi script (written from left to right), a Brahmi-derived script or Shahmukhi script (written from right to left), a Perso-Arabic script. The phonology discussed herein relates to Gurmukhi script as it is used by speakers in Punjab and also majority speakers across the globe. The characters in the script are normally aligned below the line of grapheme. Punjabi has concatenative morphology i.e. many words can be created using a root word and adding various morphemes. Punjabi and Dogri are the prominent tonal languages in this family. Lexical tone in Punjabi is utilized to distinguish words. The vowel is the tone bearing unit in Punjabi. A word has a single tone, which may co-occur with stress on the syllable.

The lexicon is the bridge between a language and the knowledge expressed in that language. The lexicon in any system plays an important, dynamic and necessary part in the syntactic and semantic fields. Monolingual (Punjabi) and bilingual (English \& Punjabi) dictionaries are available in printed as well as e-form containing information such as meaning, pronunciation etc. A Pronunciation Lexicon for machine learning is required for development of speech systems. W3C (World Wide Web Consortium) has defined Pronunciation Lexicon Specification (PLS) - version 1.0 (2008) which covers the multiple Pronunciation and multiple orthography in the XML structure at the lexicon level thus providing the flexibility of creating language specific PLS documents. The current version of PLS 1.0 is a broad based base line specification which covers the requirements of Latin script based languages and can be used for all global languages. The specification document also cites few examples for Japanese and Chinese. The requirements of many other global languages such as Indian languages haven't been discussed in this document.


The grammatical information is relatively encoded in its morphology than syntax in Indian languages unlike English where the grammatical information is an integral part of the syntax. Hence there is a need to augment PLS structure to broadly cater to Indo-Aryan languages.

The main objective of the thesis is to evolve a Pronunciation Lexicon Specification for Punjabi Language within W3C Framework. This Framework is expected to capture the phonological features of the Punjabi language and provide phonetic evidence for them through the experimental study of recorded speech signals of the Malwai dialect of the language. The phonetic experiments involve collection of data, recording, data segregation, annotation and analysis. The data have been sourced from published Punjabi Dictionaries. The phonetically rich and frequently occurring words of Punjabi were collected for phonological analysis covering all phonemes, tonemes, consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ and conjuncts of $/ \mathrm{h} /$ and schwa vowel of Punjabi. Monosyllabic/ disyllabic/ trisyllabic/ polysyllabic words containing various combinations of light, heavy \& super heavy syllables were selected for study of lexical stress. Ten informants (4 male and 6 female) between 25-40 age group belonging to the rural, town and city background were identified. Total of 4000 words were recorded for 10 speakers and 50 sentences across 8 speakers for prosodic study. Data was recorded in the laboratory through good quality audio recording devices in standard speech and noise free environment having SNR $>=45 \mathrm{db}$ as per standardized procedure for speech corpora development based on the ITU recommendations. The speech tools such as Praat, Gold Wave etc have been used for speech analysis. Other parameters such as frequency formants, duration and intensity of syllables in a word were also recorded for prosody analysis.

The discussion on tone has been covered under two categories of tone i.e. Independent Tone and Tone arising from Supra-laryngeal Consonants. For this words with each of five tonemes in initial, medial and final syllable of the word have been compiled ensuring the phonetic coverage in terms of various vowels, dipthongs, nasalization, gemination and other co-articulation parameters such as occurrence of Toneme as onset/ coda in above contexts across monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and polysyllabic words.

For Independent tones, the words containing consonant $/ \mathrm{h} / \mathrm{in}$ initial, medial and final syllable of the word were considered to examine these characteristics. Half /h/ does not occur in the initial syllable hence words containing conjuncts of /h / in medial and final syllable were considered. The spectrographic analysis using PRAAT of all the male \& female samples was carried out. The duration, fundamental frequency $\left(\mathrm{F}_{0}\right)$, quarter wise slope of the vowel associated with the Tone Bearing Vowel (TBU) have been recorded. The tabulation of data has been done for three categories of words i.e. tonemes, consonant $/ \mathrm{h} / \&$ conjuncts of / $\mathrm{h} /$ capturing the variety of acoustic environments. The objective of experimental work carried out was to corroborate the tone rules of Punjabi as collated through the literature survey. These rules have been experimentally verified and are applicable by and large. The detailed analysis has been presented in the thesis based on experimental observations which lead to discovery of allotones and findings on tone variations due to various co-articulatory factors.

Stress is not a prominent feature of Punjabi, as in other Indic languages, however it is utilized in di-syllabic words to distinguish between grammatical categories. The text-to-speech technology uses concatenative approach which results in artificial production of speech and lacks prosody. The research on intra-syllabic stress at the lexical level can help bridge this gap. The empirical study has been used for this purpose. To start with, non-tonal words were taken as basis for determining the interrelationship between syllables in a word to report the heaviest syllable which is the carrier of stress and can be utilized by TTS system for natural production of speech. The acoustic parameter of syllabic weight has been modeled using Linear Regression for relational analysis. The duration, Pitch and Intensity of both the syllable in a word averaged across 10 speakers for 95 words was tabulated in a spreadsheet and was plotted using Curve Expert Professional. This is a cross-platform solution for curve fitting and data analysis. The linear equations of all the three acoustic parameters i.e. Intensity (I), Pitch (P), Duration (D) which influence the lexical stress were obtained using Piece-wise curve fitting technique. The normal distribution curves for all the three acoustic parameters were plotted using Standard Deviation and mean of the data averaged over two syllables.

Analyzing the above functions driven from the stress patterns of the recorded samples, the corresponding weightage factors of the acoustic parameters viz I, P \& D have been calculated. The different categories of data i.e. Di / Tri / Poly-syllabic nontonal words, Di / Tri / Poly-syllabic tonal words were analyzed to find out the probability of occurrence of a score by standardizing the scores, known as z scores. Using this value of z -score, a value will be obtained from Z table, which gives the probability of the score. The lexical stress pattern for the given range of the data is obtained using 80-20 rule. The stress rules have been evolved based on minimum $80 \%$ probability of occurrence of that rule in the given data being analyzed using above defined heuristic approach. Based on this experimental study, the rules have been proposed for marking lexical stress in PLS for different categories of words.

Schwa is an important part of the vowel space but is considered as a weak vowel as compared to other vowels. The Schwa has been the subject of much research by phonologists yet substantially less consideration has been dedicated to the study of the phonetic attributes of Schwa vowel. In Punjabi, Schwa is a short neutral vowel, which sounds like every single other vowel, however its exact quality changes depending upon the adjacent consonants. The words containing Schwa in different positions and occurrence of these words in sentences has been considered in various phonetic contexts i.e. Word-initial Schwa or inherent Schwa in a Consonant Cluster (CC) and also Schwa as a tone bearing unit, Schwa with Nasalization, Schwa associated with geminated consonant as onset, Schwa as Release Vowel. The work has also been carried out for observing quality of Release Vowel in a sentence viz-aviz isolated word in same acoustic context. The different parameters i.e. Fundamental frequency ( $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ ), Formants F1, F2, acoustic space in terms of F1 and F2, Intensity, Duration, Slope of $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ contour over TBU and Burst Energy (BE) have been used to study the variations in the quality of schwa in these contexts. These variations have been discussed in terms of Vowel height and Vowel front-ness / back-ness. POS is an available source for feature extraction for building NLP \& speech systems as Punjabi are a highly inflectional language. There is a need to develop prosodic PLS based on morphological and overriding phonological features such as stress, tone, germination, nasalization etc.

The complete phonological coverage of PLS data needs to be ensured by incorporating words that contain maximum inflection under each POS category. This can be a useful resource for training of speech systems. The thesis discusses the prosodic features of Punjabi with the help of examples along with IPA transcription and POS information. The various POS inflections in Punjabi such as prefix/Suffixes with change in grammatical categories have been presented. The distinctive features of morphology-phonology interface of Punjabi language will be discussed in this thesis such as Tone, Nasalization, Gemination, Word variants in Homonyms, Homographs, Homophones, borrowed words, Abbreviations etc.

The Framework for Pronunciation Lexicon Specification for Punjabi Language (PLS 2.0) with addition of new element tags and attributes has been proposed. The thesis represents the sample PLS data in XML conformance with PLS 2.0 framework of different POS categories such as Noun, Pronoun, Adjective, Adverb, Demonstrative words, Verb, Postposition, Conjunction, Homographs and Multi-Word Expressions such as echo words, duplicates etc.

The phonological research findings of the present study can be leveraged to implement a computational Phonology model for Punjabi language. This can also be utilized to build large word level speech corpus containing prosodic information, syntax and semantics that can be used for development of Punjabi Text-to-speech (TTS) Systems, Language Identification Systems, and Speech Recognition Systems. The foundational work done for Punjabi prosody in this thesis can provide a strong basis for future research in areas such as co-articulation modelling of Punjabi, prosodic features based modelling techniques for language recognition and the extension of work to other Indo-Aryan languages.

## Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Research Problem

The Pronunciation Lexicon Specification (PLS 1.0) has been designed by World Wide Web Consortium (W3C) with a goal to have inter-operable specifications of pronunciation information which can be used for speech technology development. This specification provides the possibility of providing multiple pronunciations for the same orthography as well as multiple orthographies against an entry of single pronunciation in the PLS. Lexical phonology assumes that all word formation, including inflection, is carried out in the lexicon as discussed Clements \& Keyser (1983). As the morphology and part of phonology are carried out in the lexicon, the nature of syllable needs to define in terms of nature of nucleus, as nucleus is considered to be a prosodic category. It also defines type of onset and coda and such definitions are language dependent. These features are not discussed in the current PLS 1.0 specification. Among Indo-Aryan languages, tonal feature of Punjabi makes it more complex. The major hurdle in creating PLS for Punjabi is to capture the pronunciation as properly understood by a native speaker. Thus the new elements need to be identified for making PLS morphologically and phonologically richer.

The theory of Generative Phonology Chomsky \& Halle (1968), is concerned with generation of rules that apply to the phonemic level of representation to yield the phonetic level of representation. It treats the phoneme as a bundle of features. The generative phonological approach gives equal importance to theoretical concepts and principles and the facts of data analysis

The primary concern of Generative Phonology is the development of the rules that deal with the pronounceability of the strings 'generated' by the syntactic component of the grammar.

The generative approach to phonological analysis begins by stating the syntactic structure, passes this on to phonology, which can use futher any relevant syntactic facts. According to this theory, words are fully syllabified at the level of lexical representation which constitutes inputs in to the phonological components. Thus the postulation of syllabic structure in the lexicon makes it possible to achieve significant simplification of phonological component.

The proposed research focus is to derive Punjabi phonological rules for applying these on lexicon element of PLS 1.0 and its XML codification. This organizing principle is expressed by placing all lexical phonological rules in the lexicon. Therefore PLS for Punjabi language within the W3C framework will be proposed which will be useful for the development of prosodic Punjabi TTS.

### 1.2 Objectives of the Thesis

Consistent specification of word pronunciation is critical to the success of many speech technology applications. Several guidelines have been reported to define the structure of a pronunciation lexicon, ranging from simple two-column ASCII lexicons. This gap has been bridged by the W3C PLS 1.0 Specifications which have been brought out as a broad specification for generation of pronunciation data in XML format for machine learning. This specification needs to be examined for its applicability for morphologically \& phonetically richer Indian languages. The main objectives of the proposed research are as follows:
i. Adaptation of the W3C PLS 1.0 for evolving a framework capturing Punjabi language phonological features.
ii. Corroboration of the major linguistic aspects through analytical study of recorded speech signals for Punjabi Language.
iii. Identification of the challenges for designing of web based Machine-Readable Pronunciation Lexicon Specification in XML.
iv. Design of new lexeme elements and attributes to incorporate the identified features.

### 1.3 Lexical Phonology

Phonology deals with the abstract mental representation of sound rather than properties of the physical speech signal whereas morphology is concerned with the principles that regulate word structure in a language and how that structure relates to other components (e.g. syntax, phonology). The morphological structure of a complex word determines how the constituent morphemes of a word are realized phonetically. The phonological structure of a complex word reflects its morphological structure, but is not isomorphic to that structure. Thus morphological and phonological processes are tightly interrelated in speech production. During processing, morphological processes must combine the phonological content of individual morphemes to produce a phonological representation. Further, morpheme assembly frequently causes changes in a word's phonological well-formedness that must be addressed by phonology, hence morphology \& phonology are closely interrelated. Phonological structure of a language covers the inventories of phonological units (in common terms, inventories of vowels, consonants, syllables and tones, prosodic organization (in common terms, the organization of speech forms from lower to higher levels i.e. segments $\rightarrow$ syllables $\rightarrow$ words $\rightarrow$ phonological phrases $\rightarrow$ intonational phrases) and relation of phonology with syntactic, semantic and pragmatic structures Pandey (2007).


Fig 1/1: Morphology-Phonology Interface
According to the lexicalist hypothesis as proposed by Chomsky (1970), all word formation, including inflection takes place in the lexicon. The theory of lexical phonology seeks to explain the inter-relationships between morphology and phonology by allocating some of the phonological processes to the dictionary or lexicon in which the morphemes reside. The domains of both morphological and phonological rules within the lexicon are subdivided into strata which define both the type of morphological processes applicable and the mode of operation of the associated phonological rules as defined in the form of structured framework.

The phonological studies on Indian languages have been carried out in varied theoretical approaches. Majorly the framework of American structural linguistics has been used for this purpose. Such full length phonological studies can be seen in Kelkar (1968) which is based on a conception of language in which phonology manifests syntactic, semantic and pragmatic aspects of the linguistic knowledge of a sentence. Absolute phonological studies of Indian languages usually don't exhaustively cover all aspects of phonological structure. These generally follow the usual divide between segmental and suprasegmental phenomenon. There is a general lack of good quality descriptions of the phonologies of Indian languages.

Tones in Indian languages have received stray treatments Haudricourt (1971) \& Burling (1992). The Punjabi language studies by Gill \& Gleason (1969), Dulai \& Koul (1980), Gill \& H.S (1986), Singh (2001), Singh (1991), Arun \& Bhaskar (1997), Bhatia (1993) etc cover a majority of the Linguistics rules in Punjabi language. Punjabi is highly tonal Haudricourt (1971) and the tones arise as a reinterpretation of different consonant series in terms of pitch. The phonological studies on Punjabi need to be further investigated.

### 1.4 Orthography of Punjabi

Punjabi is a modern Indo-Aryan language spoken primarily in the Punjab states of both India and Pakistan.

It is one of the Indic (Indo-Aryan) languages which gets distinguished from other languages of this family (other than Dogri) as it has developed tonal contrasts.


Fig 1/2: Family tree of Indo-Aryan Languages

A language usually refers to the spoken language, a method of communication. A script refers to a set of characters used to write one or more languages. Brahmi script is the oldest known writing system of Ancient India evolved in the beginning of the 4th century BCE. Brahmi inscriptions are found on edicts of Ashoka in north-central India. Indic scripts are descendants of Brahmi script and are abugida. These use a system of diacritic marks to associate vowels with consonant symbols. Indic scripts are typified by Devanagari and have two important characteristics: conjuncts and an orthographic syllabic structure. Each Indic based orthography has a set of common conjuncts that are used, along with a possible further set of rarely used conjuncts. Conjuncts / ligatures representing consonant sequences for Gurmukhi are given in the following example:
म् + टृ + ठ = मॄठ

Punjabi uses either Gurmukhi script (written from left to right) or Shahmukhi (written from right to left) script, a Perso-arabic script. The phonology discussed herein refers to Gurmukhi script as it is used by majority speakers across the globe. According to 2011 census of India, there are 27,704.236 Punjabi speakers in India; globally there are 120 million people who speak Punjabi. Punjabi is a tonal Language. The characters are normally aligned below the line of writing. Punjabi has concatenative morphology i.e. many words can be created using a root word and adding various morphemes. Punjabi language leans very heavily on the use of suffixes whereas use of prefixes is lesser. Word order is Subject Object Verb (SOV) and is fairly fixed.

Gurmukhi has thirty five /p $\tilde{z} \mathrm{i} /$ alphabets as per old orthography. Vowels other than $/ 2 /$ are indicated by accessory symbols (Vowel Matras) written around the consonant symbols. [B] U+0A73 \& [ [ ] U+0A72 are vowel bearers and are not used as independent vowels.

The characters as per Unicode 11.0 are listed in the following table.

| $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{array}$ | Characters | Characters with Code-Point |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Vowels (referred as primary vowel) <br> Vowel <br> Matras <br> (referred as secondary symbols of the vowel) |  |
| 2 | Consonants <br> Tonemes |  |

Table 1/1: Vowels \& Consonants with Unicode Code-Points

| S. No. | Characters | Characters with Code-Point |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Numerals | $\begin{aligned} & \circ=U+0 A 66, q=U+0 A 67,2=U+0 A 68, \beta=U+0 A 69, \gamma=U+0 A 6 A, \\ & 4=U+0 A 6 B, \varepsilon=U+0 A 6 C, 2=U+0 A 6 D, \tau=U+0 A 6 E, \tau=U+0 A 6 F \end{aligned}$ |
| 2 | Special <br> Symbols | $\begin{aligned} & \dot{\varepsilon}=\mathrm{U}+0 \mathrm{~A} 02, \mathrm{C}^{\circ}=\mathrm{U}+0 \mathrm{~A} 70, \dot{\mathrm{O}}=\mathrm{U}+0 \mathrm{~A} 3 \mathrm{C}, 9 \mathrm{Q}^{\circ}=\mathrm{U}+0 \mathrm{~A} 74, \dot{\circ}=\mathrm{U}+0 \mathrm{~A} 71, \dot{\mathrm{O}}=\mathrm{U}+0 \mathrm{~A} 4 \mathrm{D}, \\ & =\mathrm{U}+25 \mathrm{CC}, \circ=\mathrm{U}+0 \mathrm{~A} 03, \dot{\circ}=\mathrm{U}+0 \mathrm{~A} 01 \end{aligned}$ |
| 3 | Punctuation | $\mathrm{I}=\mathrm{U}+0964, \mathrm{ll}=\mathrm{U}+0965$ |
| 4 | Conjuncts |  |

Table 1/2: Special Characters in Gurmukhi Script with Unicode Code-Points

## Sorting Rules in Punjabi


II. The words starting with vowels will then be combined along with the consonants in their alphabetical order
 इ,म,,ч,ढ,न,न,ढ,ल
III. The consonants combined with first primary vowels and will be arranged in their alphabetical order
IV. The consonants combined with secondary symbols of the vowels.
V. The consonants combined with consonants according to alphabetical order i.e cluster formation.
VI. The consonants combined with the secondary symbols of the consonants.

## Compounds

Compound word can be formed from already existing words by a process known as compounding. For example:

Simple Compounding - मिठ+टठट /sır+dərd/= मिगटठट /sırdərd/

Hybridation Compounding - घॅम+फॅइए /bəss+ədda/= घ̆मभॅइT /basədda/

Reduplication Compounding - मेल+भाए /mel+mal/= मेलभాए /melmal/

### 1.5 Phonological Features of Punjabi

Phonology is concerned with how sounds function in relation to each other in a language. Punjabi literature reveals that the supra-segmental phonemes such as Tone, Nasalization and Stress are realized at the syllable level. There is abundance of geminated words in which stress co-occurs on the geminated consonant.


Fig 1/3: Punjabi Phonology

Within phonology, two branches of study are usually recognized: segmental and supra-segmental. Segmental phonology deals with discrete segments, such as phonemes, supra-segmental phonology deals with those features which extend over more than one segment.

Vowels:
Oral vowels: There are 10 vowels in Punjabi i.e. 7 long vowels viz /a/, /i/, /u/, /e/, /ع/, $/ \mathrm{o} / \& / \mathrm{o} /$ and 3 short vowels viz $/ \mathrm{o} /$, $/ \mathrm{I} / \& / \mathrm{J} / \mathrm{in}$ Punjabi. Further these may be classified into two categories viz class I and class II vowels depending on their prominence. The class I vowels are phonetically less prominent and have laxer articulation then those of class II as discussed by Sharma (1971).


Fig 1/4: Vowels Categories (monophthongs)
This definition of $V_{1}$ and $V_{2}$ will be used in subsequent chapters of this thesis. It is also noted that the use of short vowels in initial position of word and use of long vowels in final position of the word is more prevalent.

Diphthongs:

| Word | IPA | Diphthongs ( $\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{d}}$ ) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| צुभr | /k ${ }^{\text {h }} \mathrm{a} /$ | /va/ |
| स्डिभा | /lia/ | /a ${ }^{\text {/ }}$ |
| गाप्टी | /gəi / | /ai/ |

Nasal vowels: Correspondingly, there are 10 nasalized vowels i.e. viz /ã/, $\tilde{\mathbf{1}} /$, /ũ/, /ẽ/,



Fig 1/5: Example of oral and nasal vowel

The nasalization is phonemic and the opposition between nasal and oral is given a special technical status in the distinctive feature theory of phonology, where it works alongside other two-way contrasts as part of the complete specification of a sound system.

Some of these features are discussed below:
a) It helps in differenciating between grammatical forms e.g.

| Word | IPA | Form |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| घेइ़ी | /beri/ | Singular |
| घेड्रीभां | /beriã/ | Plural |
| यठ | /kə̀r/ | Noun |
| यठें | /kə̀rõ/ | Ablative case |

b) When nasal consonants occur after the vowel in a word, the vowel is usually nasalized e.g.

| Word | IPA | Meaning |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| टेट | /dẽn/ | Gift/ Blessing |
| Чా्ट | /k ª̃̃ $/$ | Mine |

c) In addition, if the word ends with an open vowel, this vowel also gets nasalized e.g.

| Word | IPA | Meaning |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| टेट्ट | /dẽnã// | To give |
| Чाष्टा | /kããã/ | Food |

d) If dipthong or tripthong occurs at the end of the word with nasal vowel in the end, all the prior vowels also get nasalized e.g

| Word | IPA | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| गाट्यिभं | /giã / | Have gone |
| भाप्टिभां | /ãĩã/ | Have come |
| ঋेमीभां | / osiã / | To wait eag |

A similar phenomenon is observed in words containing द $/ \mathrm{v} /$, being semi vowel.

The consonant sounds of Punjabi, classified according to their place of articulation and manner of articulation are as below:

| Plosive(stop) | Bilabi al <br> (vluna) <br> (vuna) | Labiodental | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { Dent } \\ \text { al } \end{array}$ | Alveola <br> r | Post- <br> Alveola <br> r | Retrofle $\mathbf{x}$ | Palat al | Velar | $\begin{array}{\|l} \hline \text { Uvu } \\ \text { lar } \end{array}$ | Glott <br> al |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Voiceless unaspirate | P ( 4 ) |  | $t$ (5) |  |  | t (c) |  | $k$ (ब) | q (마) |  |
| Voiceless aspirate | $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{k}}$ (c) |  | $\mathrm{t}^{(2)}$ |  |  | t" (8) |  | $\mathrm{k}^{2}$ (4) |  |  |
| Voiced unaspirate | b (घ) |  | d (e) |  |  | d (『) |  | g (ग) |  |  |
| Nasal | m (M) |  | n ( $)$ |  |  | $\eta$ (E) | n (\#) | ¢ (a) |  |  |
| Trill |  |  |  | I ( ${ }^{\text {( ) }}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Flap |  |  |  |  |  | 1 (घ) |  |  |  |  |
| Fricative |  | f ( ${ }^{\text {( })}$ |  | $\begin{array}{lc} \hline 5 & z \\ \text { (म) } & \text { (न) } \end{array}$ | 5 (म) |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{x} \quad \mathrm{y} \\ & \text { (바) (ग) } \end{aligned}$ |  | h (d) |
| Approximant |  | v (ङ) |  |  |  |  | j (ज) |  |  |  |
| Lateral Approximant |  |  |  | 1 (8) |  | 1 ( ${ }^{(8)}$ |  |  |  |  |
| Affricates: <br> Unvoiced unaspirated |  |  |  |  |  |  | t5 ( $)^{\text {( }}$ |  |  |  |
| Unvoiced aspirated |  |  |  |  |  |  | $\mathrm{t}^{2}$ ( ${ }^{\text {(玉) }}$ |  |  |  |
| Voiced unaspirated |  |  |  |  |  |  | ds (न) |  |  |  |

Table 1/3: Consonants IPA Chart
1.5.1 Syllable: Sounds are grouped in larger units. The most important of these is the syllable. The syllable (referred as $S$ ) is a structural unit and within that structure we can identify a sequence of consonants and vowels. Just as in grammar we can parse a grammatical structure; in phonology we can parse syllabic structure. The syllable is the most basic element and it has psychological reality as a unit that speakers of a language can identify. Speakers are able to count the number of syllables in a word and can often tell where one syllable ends and the next begins phonetically. It is claimed that when identifying syllables, listeners are responding to sonority. Sonority is the relative loudness of a segment as compared with others.

Each syllable has a single sonority peak. What is a syllable? There is no definition of the syllable that phoneticians or philologists currently agree upon yet the notion of a unit at a higher level than that of the phoneme has existed since ancient times. Sonority or prominence: this is where some sounds are said to have greater prominence than others and these form the basis of syllables. Syllable boundaries fall at points of weak prominence. This is governed by a principle determing underlying syllable division known as maximal onset principle. It states that intervocalic consonants are maximally assigned to the onsets of syllables in conformity with universal and language- specific.

The syllable is seen as a unit of neural programming rather than primarily muscular or acoustic events. If an error is made in the duration of a phoneme, the error is compensated for within the syllabic unit suggesting that articulatory events are programmed in terms of higher-level articulatory units rather than single phonemes.

Every syllable consists of at least a nucleus ( N ), which is typically a vowel. The nucleus may be preceded by an onset ( O ), consisting of one or more consonants and followed by a coda (Co), again consisting of one or more consonants. The constituents are in general assumed to be hierarchically organized as consisting of Onset and Rhyme/ Rime and the Rime consisting of the nucleus and the coda, as represented below:


Fig 1/6: Components of Syllable

A syllable which ends in a vowel is called open and a syllable where the vowel is followed by one or more consonants is called closed. Here we describe some words from English \& Punjabi language.

Open syllable $\quad$ न'छ्ठ /dzao / (Punjabi)<br>No /no/ (English)<br>Closed syllable उ'वम/hakəm/ (Punjabi)<br>Odd /od/ (English)

## The syllable structure of Punjabi

The canonical syllable structure is represented byPandey (2014):
(C) (C) V (C) (C)

The valid combinations are elaborated below:
Monosyllabic Words: V, VC, CV, CVC
Di-syllabic Words: VCV, CVCV, VCVC, CVV, CVCV, CVV
Tri-syllabic Words: VCVCV, CVCVCV, CVCVCVC

The frequency of disyllabic words is maximum in Punjabi however monosyllabic words are also found in abundance. There are plenty of trisyllabic words and few polysyllabic words.
1.5.2 Tone: Most of the languages of the world which are tonal languages use tone in a systematic fashion to express either lexical or grammatical distinctions. There is no standard way in which tones are marked, either in conventional orthographies or in linguistic representations.

Most of the world's tone languages in Africa and the America, have relatively modern spelling devised by missionaries or linguists, in which tone is usually marked by some kind of diacritic within an alphabetic writing system.

According to Gill and Gleason (1969:48) "There is one tone onset on every word---the occurrence of a tone may be taken to mark a phonologic word, generally equivalent to a morphologic word."

Punjabi is highly tonal Haudricourt (1971) and this is the contrastive feature of Punjabi (other than Dogri) among Indo-Aryan languages. Punjabi doesn't have contour tones as are found in mandarin. There are five tonal characters and three types of tone i.e. high-tone /ó/, low-tone /ò/ and mid-tone / $\overline{\mathrm{o}} /$. Synchronically the tone placement interacts with accent/stress. In the production of tones there is neither friction nor stoppage of air in the mouth. These are pronounced always concurrently with a syllable. In the production of low-tone, there is a considerable amount of constriction in the larynx along with some creakiness. The fall in pitch is followed by a rise, not to the same level in all the cases. The pitch of the voice is raised and falls down in the same syllable in a monosyllabic word but in polysyllabic words the fall is realized on the tail syllable which follows the onset syllable. In mid-tone words, the pitch remains fairly level which may rise towards the end. The rise is not necessarily realized in all the cases.

Joshi (1968: 48) defines pitch as, " a sensation, perceived by the listener and referable to a scale, as well as being related to the frequency with which the vocal cords of speaker open and close during the utterance and which is measurable by instrumental techniques."

High frequency of the fundamental is related to high pitch and low frequency is related to low pitch. In Punjabi speech, as in other languages, it is the relation of the pitch of one syllable or word to another in the clause that is important and not the actual pitch.
1.5.3

Stress: Stress is the degree of prominence of a syllable and degree of force with which a syllable or a word is uttered. The usual distinction between stressed and unstressed syllables is, the former being more prominent than the latter (and marked in transcription with a raised vertical line [']). Stress systems can be divided into two types: metrical and prominence-driven. In prominence driven systems, syllables with high sonority nucleus i.e. long vowel, onsets or any of a no of other properties convey more stress.


Fig 1/7: Phonetic correlates of Stress

According to Krishnan (2003), stress placement in Punjabi has a three way syllable weight distinction as monomoraic light syllables (L), bimoraic heavy syllables ( H ) and trimoraic super-heavy syllables (S) which have a long vowel and a coda or a short vowel followed by two coda consonants. He also attested that tonal alternations have been observed viz the falling tone becoming a falling-rising tone in certain derived environments. The experimental study by Nara (2015) reported that $F_{0}$ as well as duration is used as a marker of stress in tonal words. There is only primary stress in Punjabi. The syllable with the longest rhyme such as a long vowel, receives stress.

### 1.6 Pronunciation Lexicon

### 1.6.1 Pronunciation Lexicon for Language Learning

The lexicon is the bridge between a language and the knowledge expressed in that language Sowa (2005). Dictionary, a book or electronic resource that lists the words of a language (typically in alphabetical order) and gives their meaning, or equivalent words in a different language, often also provide information about Pronunciation, origin, and usage or a reference book on a particular subject. Readers use dictionary to learn the exact Pronunciation of a word, however it may have several Pronunciations. Words belong to different syntactic categories which determine the distribution i.e. the context in which they can occur. The types of dictionaries such as phonological, morphological, syntactical, semantic, etc. depend upon the phonology, morphology, meaning, etc. of the items. Root word is used to be given as the basic entry in a common purpose dictionary because it is impossible to put all inflectional or derivational forms.

Printed Dictionaries: These can be termed as monolingual/bilingual/trilingual or multilingual dictionary. Monolingual Dictionary: Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, COBUILD's Dictionary of English Language, Shabdkosh (PunjabiPunjabi Dictionary) etc for understanding of the language usually contains information about parts of speech, irregular inflected form, definition of meaning in the same language, and often some pronunciation information etc.

A bilingual dictionary is consulted for transforming into and understanding a second language. Bilingual dictionaries carry a list of translation and Pronunciation equivalents in its target language. Trilingual dictionary has one source language with Pronunciation and more than one target language. The terms in multiple languages are mapped taking one language as source language in a Multilingual Dictionary. It may contain more information inline with other dictionaries.
e-Dictionaries: An electronic dictionary is a resource that contains a library of words and their meanings, spellings, Pronunciation and etymologies. It is used in background of other programs, such as word processors.

Some dictionaries can also serve as thesaurus or translation tools, such as EnglishHindi dictionary, etc. These days e-Readers, tablets, and smartphones also have edictionary capabilities. Some of these also have feature of recorded Pronunciation.

Online Dictionaries: An online dictionary is a dictionary that is accessible via the Internet through a web browser. These may be in audio or video forms. Online dictionaries available in mostly Indian languages provide Pronunciation also e.g. http://dictionary.cambridge.org/

### 1.6.2 Punjabi Dictionaries with Pronunciation Feature

Punjabi dictionary is available in the form of monolingual and bilingual (English \& Punjabi). It provides the full information like lexicon, meaning, Pronunciation etc.

## Printed Dictionaries

i. Punjabi-English dictionary written under the supervision of Joshi \& Gill (Ed) (1994) contains about 40,000 Punjabi words, phrases and idioms. It also contains grammatical information and pronunciation of principal words in IPA.
ii. English-Punjabi dictionary by Singh \& Sandhu (Ed) (1979) on the pattern of Webster's Third New International Dictionary for arrangement of Lexical data with Pronunciation.
iii. Punjabi-English \& English-Punjabi dictionary written by Goswami (2000) covers 25,000 entries. It provides meaning, idioms, Pronunciation etc.

## e-Dictionaries

The Punjabi e-dictionary is available for handheld devices. It provides the information of thesaurus, Pronunciation, translation, synonyms-antonyms, etc.


Fig 1/8a: Punjabi e-dictionary


Fig 1/8b: Punjabi e-dictionary

Online Dictionaries: It is a dictionary which is available on the internet and can be accessed through a web browser or a mobile device, primarily by using the search facility. Most of these provide pronunciation also. Some of the websites offering these are <Dic.learnpunjabi.org>, <yourdictionary.com>, <Dictionary.refernce.com>, $<$ Thefreedictionary.com> etc. <Tamilcube.com> provides online dictionaries from English to Multiple Indian Languages including Punjabi.

### 1.6.3 Machine Readable Pronunciation Lexicon

Pronunciation Lexicon for use in Text- to -Speech systems: Pronunciation Lexicon for machine learning is required for development of speech systems as it represents the interface between acoustic and speech layer. For example in Text-to-Speech (TTS) synthesis, phonemic transcriptions are required for the selection of the proper units to generate the desired waveform. TTS systems are developed based on following approaches (a) corpus based concatenative synthesis which concatenate speech units (waveform) from a database known as unit selection synthesis Murthy etal (2013) (b) the statistical parametric synthesis, the source-filter model (Klatt Synthesizer) and (c) Statistical acoustic model viz HMM (Hidden Markup Model) based synthesis.

Most TTS systems use a combination of pronunciation lexicon and rules. The TTS systems mainly use grapheme-to-phoneme rules as the main Pronunciation mechanism however these also provide Pronunciation lexicon for exceptional words for which rules aren't applicable. The data size of such lexicon may be large. The TTS engine refers to the lexicon and generates the Pronunciation by rules if the word isn't found in the lexicon. Sample data of such Lexicon for Punjabi is as below:

| Word | IPA |
| :---: | :---: |
| ड़ुभिब | /pùmIka/ |
| उग\% | /pà/ |
| ढिठ | /fir/ |
| รักट | /pàd3d3ən/ |
| घैठी | /bsthi/ |
| यडुीभi | /priíã/ |
| घुपय | /búdd/ |
| ठींग | /nî́/ |
| 厄̌ठट | /notftfon/ |

Table 1/4: Sample Words with Pronunciation for TTS

Pronunciation Lexicon for Machine Learning: Syntactic word is considered as the smallest unit in a prosodic hierarchy tree. TTS requires large amount of pronunciation lexicon containing morpho-phonological information. It uses three different methods to learn rules specific to a language.
i. Manually written rules
ii. Probabilistic methods
iii. Machine learning methods

The Machine learning approach is most widely used these days. The prosodically rich PLS data can be used to develop language specific models to enhance the efficacy. Hence the sample data given in Table $1 / 4$ needs to be augmented with suprasegmental information such as stress etc. may be useful for this purpose.

### 1.7 W3C Pronunciation Lexicon Specification (PLS 1.0)

PLS is designed to enable interoperable specification of Pronunciation information for both speech recognition and speech synthesis engines within voice browsing applications. It helps developers in supporting the accurate specification of Pronunciation information for international use through the use of language tag as provisioned.

W3C have developed a recommendation of Pronunciation Lexicon Specification (PLS) and its current version is PLS 1.0 (2008) produced by Voice Browser Working Group of W3C. The specification covers the multiple Pronunciations and multiple orthography in the XML structure at the lexicon level thus providing the flexibility of creating language specific PLS documents. The Meta tags feature is available for describing the domain and end use. PLS specification provides a framework and guideline which can be tailored to the needs of a specific language and consequently the XML tag set can be defined to build the PLS data using IPA as UTF 8 representation.

PLS can be used by Text to Speech (TTS) and Automatic Speech Recognition (ASR) Engines and can have a wide variety of applications like voice browsers, pedagogical tools etc. The Pronunciation Lexicon markup language enables consistent platform for independent control of Pronunciation for use by voice browsing applications. Thus this specification can be extended to all other human languages by examining the language-specific requirements. The Pronunciation Lexicon markup language consists of the following elements and attributes:

| Elements | Attributes | Description |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| <lexicon> | version xml:base xmlns xml :lang alphabet | root element for PLS |
| <meta> | name <br> http-equiv <br> content | element containing meta data |
| <metadata> |  | element containing meta data |
| <lexeme> | xml:id role | the container element for a single lexical entry |
| <grapheme> |  | contains orthographic information for a lexeme |
| <phoneme> | prefer alphabet | contains Pronunciation information for a lexeme |
| <alias> | Prefer | contains acronym expansions and orthographic substitutions |
| <example> |  | contains an example of the usage for a lexeme |

Table 1/5: XML Structure of W3C PLS 1.0

### 1.7.1 Review of Indian Efforts on PLS

An initial work on development of Pronunciation Lexicon Mandal, Lata et al (2010) on Use of Part of Speech (POS) and morphological information for resolving Multiple Pronunciation in Pronunciation Lexicon Specification (PLS) for Indian Languages has been carried out. The work has been done using Bengali as a Case Study, which was presented in W3C Workshop on Conversational Applications, June 2010, USA. Using example of Bengali word সরল / Jorlo/ (moved) and /Jorol/ (easy), the paper proposes to use the POS along with morphological information for resolving multiple pronunciations which will result in reducing the size of the lexicon. This can be used to choose the proper pronunciation among multiple pronunciations of the same orthography. Text-To-Speech (TTS) systems rely on lexicons, which contain pronunciation information for many words. PLS lexicons provide control over the text-to-speech (TTS) playback rendering on conforming reading systems. The proposed morphological features inside PLS lexicon makes voice of TTS more natural.

### 1.7.2 Review of International Efforts on PLS

## SI-PRON

In Slovenian language, occurrence of multiple orthographies is rare but multiple pronunciations are common. The lexical stress can be located on almost any syllable obeying hardly any rules. It contains all the lemmas from the dictionary of Standard Slovenian (SSKJ), the most frequent inflected word forms found in contemporary Slovenian texts. The lexicon file contains the orthography, corresponding pronunciations, lemmas and morphosyntactic descriptors of lexical entries in a format based on requirements. SI-PRON pronunciation lexicon developed over 1.4 million lexical entries. It contains a collection of over 190 context-sensitive and context-free grapheme-to-allophone rules.

It used "x-sampa-SI-reduced" phonetic alphabet, a subset of the X-SAMPA set as defined for Slovenian Gros et al (2006).

## Swedish Pronunciation Lexicon

A Swedish Pronunciation Lexicon consisting of 8529 words for TTS/ASR has been developed. It has been developed based on PLS format, in addition the data has also been stored in a tab separated format. The delivery comes in two formats namely (a) a tab-separated format and (b) an XML format. It follows the SAMPA conventions. In the current version of Swedish lexicon, there are no special diphthong phoneme symbols. The tag-set used for part of speech information is similar to the one used in Stockholm corpus (SUC). The lexicon is lacking of two forms in the genitive i.e. proper noun and adjective genitive forms.

## Finite State Pronunciation Lexicon for Turkish

Similar work has been reported for Turkish, named as Finite State Pronunciation Lexicon which has approximately $7,50,000$ words. The pronunciation is encoded using SAMPA. Turkish, being an agglutinating language with extremely productive inflectional and derivational morphology has an essentially infinite lexicon. Another important phonological feature of Turkish language is Stress. The system produces a parallel representation of the pronunciation and the morphological analysis of the word form so that morphological disambiguation can be used to disambiguate pronunciation. The computation of the position of the primary stress depends on interplay of any exceptional stress in root words and stress properties of certain morphemes and requires that a full morphological analysis be done Oflazer (2003).

### 1.7.3 Gaps in PLS 1.0 Specification

The current version of PLS 1.0, the broad based base line specification which addresses the requirements of Latin script based languages only however cites few examples for Japanese and Chinese also. The requirements of many other global languages such as Indian languages haven't been discussed.

In Indian languages, grammatical information is relatively encoded in its morphology than syntax unlike English where the grammatical information is an integral part of syntax. The tonal language like Punjabi has concatenative inflectional morphology. Hence, PLS 1.0 needs to be revisited with respect to following:
i.The provision to encode script information is currently not there and some languages use more than one script.
ii.It also needs to add some features, such as morphological \& syntactic information associated with pronunciations.
iii.It does not have provision encode borrowed words.

The task of constructing a large pronunciation lexicon is very tedious and timeconsuming, therefore there is a need to revisit current specification of PLS from perspective of Indian languages, specifically Punjabi and propose additional extension of PLS 1.0 to mainly deal with multiple pronunciations, descriptions of script, morpho-syntactic descriptions and other language specific features such as origin, script of the languge, POS tags, stem etc.

### 1.8 Research Methodology



Fig 1/9: Methodology of Research
The present research involves collection of data, recording, data segregation, annotation, experimental study and analysis.

### 1.8.1 Sources of Data \& Data Collection

(1) The data has been sourced from Punjabi corpus and published Punjabi Dictionaries. The criteria for selection of data can be broadly categorized into:
i. The words containing five tonemes in the initial, medial and final syllable
ii. The words containing consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ and conjuncts of $/ \mathrm{h} /$ i.e. Ј \& Ј् in the initial, medial and final syllable
iii. Non-tonal di-syllabic, tri-syllabic and some poly-syllabic words
iv. Words containing Geminated consonants
v. The words containing same vowel in different positions of the words
vi. The words containing schwa vowel
vii. The words containing nasalized vowels
viii. Sentences for study of release vowels
(2) Root words were selected from the dictionaries and its POS variations were obtained from online Punjabi Morphological Analyzer Tool for generating sample XML data.

### 1.8.2 Informants and Recording

Patterns of pitch variation are lexically significant in Punjabi hence are to be examined. The present study is on Malwai dialect of Punjabi language. Pronunciation Lexicon (PLS specification of W3C) being the scope of current research, the phonetically rich \& frequently occurring words of Punjabi were collected for phonological analysis covering all phonemes, tonemes,consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ and conjuncts of $/ \mathrm{h} /$ and non-tonal words of Punjabi. The frequently used words cannot be used for study of prosodic features such as tone, stress etc. analysis and data will be specifically designed so that it fully represents the tone patterns. Word selection will be across monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and polysyllabic for complete coverage.

Ten informants ( 4 male and 6 female) between 25-40 age group belonging to the rural, town and city background were identified. These informants are from Malwai region of Punjab covering Bhawanipur, Kapurthala, Mansa, Patiala, Ludhiana etc. Recording of data will be done by these informants who are native speakers of Punjabi. The prosodic features are highly variable and depend on a complex set of factors, including speaker variables hence speakers were selected from across the Malwai region. What is high with regard to pitch for one speaker, may be low for another. Hence the averaging of observations over ten informants will facilitate fair investigation of the linguistic features. Representative data viz total of 4000 words across 10 speakers and 50 sentences across 8 speakers is to be used for prosodic study. Data will be recorded in the laboratory through good quality audio recording devices in standard speech and noise free environment having $\mathrm{SNR}>=45 \mathrm{db}$ as per standard procedure for speech corpora development based on the ITU recommendations. The informants to repeat each word of the word list thrice.

All recorded data will be segregated with the help of Goldwave Tool as it is a professional digital audio editor. The middle samples of the isolated words as recorded will be free from any contaminating contextual influences and will be used for investigations. All the segregated data will be used for the measurements of the pitch, intensity, duration, formants etc. of the recorded samples.

### 1.8.3 Data Analysis and Presentation

The annotation of the recorded speech will be carried out. The label "transcription" is used to refer to any symbolic representation of the significant side of documented speech events. Types of transcription are orthographic, phonemic and phonetic transcriptions of segmental information, transcription of prosody and of paralinguistic and non-linguistic phenomenon. The use of phonetic transcription is a faithful rendition of variation in pronunciation which may turn out to have relevance for the description of sociolects or dialects Gippert et al (2006). All the recorded speech data transcribed phonetically and will be tabulated to get the nature of varitaions in pronunciation. The annotation of the recorded speech data at phoneme level will be carried out using the PRAAT software package since it is a very flexible tool to do speech analysis. The values of pitch floor and pitch ceiling of $128-390 \mathrm{~Hz}$ will be used. This tool will also be used for analysis of the $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ contour and the slope of the contour over the pitch area of the associated vowel. The spectrographic analysis of all the male \& female samples will be carried out. Data recording of the above given parameters will be done. Punjabi literature reveals that the supra-segmental phonemes such as Tone, Nasalization and Stress are realised at the syllable level, hence will require annotation at syllable level also. There is abundance of geminated words in which stress co-occurs on the geminated consonant, which will also be examined. For the analysis of the Punjabi tones, release vowel quality etc, fundamental frequency and formants of the associated vowel will be studied. MATrix LABoratory (MATLAB) algorithm will be developed to get mean pitch and duration. It is a highlevel matrix/array language with control flow statements, functions, data structures, input/output, and object-oriented programming features.

Graphs will be plotted for sample words exhibiting pitch contour, duration, intensity and formants. The analysis will be presented on acoustic features of Punjabi. Pronunciation lexicon specification for Punjabi language within W3C framework will be proposed based on above proposed analysis.

The parameters recorded for analysis will be following scientific methodology given below for corroboration of results:

| Acoustic | Auditory | Phonological Category |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| - Fundamental frequency <br> - Formants <br> - Duration <br> - Intensity <br> - Pauses/silence | - Pitch <br> - Length <br> - Loudness <br> - Stress <br> - Grouping <br> - Voice quality | - Tone <br> - Quantity <br> (Vowel duration, Gemination) <br> - Lexical stress <br> - Levels in syllable hierarchy |

Table 1/6: Parameters for analysis

The acoustic characteristics of spectrograms will be corroborated with auditory parameters and will be tabulated. This experimental data will be scientifically analysed for establishing the phonological parameters with references to PLS.

### 1.8.4 Assumptions

i. It is assumed that the work carried out will be, by and large, applicable to all other Indo-Aryan Languages except for the specific features of tone, gemination etc. specific to Punjabi.
ii. The research work will be carried out on the words recorded by native Punjabi speakers from Malwai region of Punjab.
iii. It is assumed that the speakers are the representatives of the major Punjabi community of Malwai region of Punjab.
iv. The research findings will be reported based on the analysis of data recorded by 10 speakers ( 4 male $\& 6$ female) and it is assumed that this can be extrapolated for reporting the research findings.
v. The parameters selected for acoustic analysis is selected on the basis of review of International research efforts in this area.
vi. The syllable definitions vary from one source to the other as literature review. Therefore the syllable definitions of light syllable, heavy syllable and super heavy syllable will be defined for the current scope of research.
vii. For stress analysis, the complete coverage of di / tri / poly-syllabic words will be done on the basis of various combination of syllables as per above syllable definitions.
viii. The study of stress in disyllabic words to be reported on the basis of Linear Regression Analysis.
ix. The stress findings for the tri-syllabic \& poly-syllabic words is extrapolated on the basis of the analysis carried out for di-syllabic words and also based on experimental work for small set of data.
x. Phonological study of schwa vowel to be carried out to report variations in it's behavior in different contexts and also as release vowel based on limited set of data.
xi. It is assumed that new PLS framework within W3C guidelines proposed based on the acoustic analysis of limited set of data will be largely applicable for Punjabi Language.
xii. The PLS data developed on the basis of proposed framework will be of immense benefit to TTS and ASR researchers for building Punjabi speech systems.
xiii. Drawing examples from international efforts, it is assumed that computer scientists can further develop finite state machines for faster generation of PLS data based on the proposed framework.

### 1.9 Organization of the Thesis

The Thesis is organized as follows. In Chapter 2 Literature Review on Tonogenesis of Punjabi will be discussed. The experimental verification and validation of tonal features of Punjabi will be reported in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 will focus on the lexicon stress and the stress resulting due to the presence of tone and gemination. Chapter 5 will discuss the phonetic and phonological analysis of schwa vowel and also some other findings on release vowel. The morpho-syntactic features such as POS based lexical variations and other co-articulation features will be described in Chpater 6. The suprasegmented features discussed in the previous chapters will be presented in Chapter 7 as lexeme elements, attributes \& rules for marking supra-segmental features. These features will be represented in the XML format for presenting the PLS framework (PLS 2.0) for Punjabi language within W3C framework. As per this, sample XML examples of Punjabi data are also given for reference. Chapter 8 will present the theoretical \& practical work done alongwith research findings and path for future research.

## Chapter 2

## Tonogenesis of Punjabi: Literature Review

## 2. Introduction

Tone is the use of pitch in a language to distinguish lexical or grammatical meaning that is, to distinguish or to inflect words as corroborated by Pike \& Welmers (1948 \&1959):
> "... having significant, contrastive, but relative pitch on each syllable" [Pike 1948:3]
> "... in which both pitch phonemes and segmental phonemes enter into the composition of at least some morphemes" [Welmers 1959:2]

While Pike originally saw tone as a contrastive feature on each syllable or other tonebearing unit (TBU), Welmers' definition insists on the morphological nature of tone: tone is not a property of syllables, as expressed by Pike, but rather of morphemes, not all morphemes need to have a TBU- they may be "tonal morphemes". Tone being supra-segmental in nature, the tone features as described below are 'overlaid' on segments and are not inherent to the definition of segments.The term tone language has traditionally been used to refer to those languages which use the feature of tone to distinguish between lexical items. A syllable is pronounced with different tones in order to differentiate meaning. Clark \& Yallop (1990), in "Tone Languages", tone is a feature of the lexicon being expressed as prescribed pitches for syllables or sequences of pitches for morphemes or words and in some cases, it may distinguish the meanings of words, thus tone is a significant part of a syllable. Linguists working within the Generative Phonology paradigm look for a set of features for characterizing tone and other prosodic phenomena of a language. Most tone languages have a number of rules that modify tones when spoken in a sequence i.e when spoken in normal phrases rather than in isolation.

Within the generative tradition, the study of word-prosodic typology was greatly influenced by McCawley (1968 \&1970), who attempted to set up a principled distinction between tone vs. pitch-accent systems based both on distributional properties and rule types (tones tend to assimilate, accents tend to dissimilate or reduce). A survey of subsequent literature reveals that the terms "accent", "pitch accent" and "tonal accent" have generally been used to refer to tone systems which are defective in the sense of restricting tones by number of contrasts or by position: "A pitch-accent system is one in which pitch is the primary correlate of prominence and there are significant constraints on the pitch patterns for words." Bybee et al (1998:277).

Tone exhibits long-distance effects within and across words i.e. the tone of one word migrates several syllables or words to its right. The word level tones are assigned by rule.

Tone bearing unit (TBU) can be anyone of the following:
a. The entire syllable (or the voiced part of it)
b. The rime portion of the syllable (but not the onset portion)
c. The mora (including the onset)
d. The moraic segment (the segment in the rime)

There is general consensus that in both tonal and non-tonal languages, the tone melodies that are present are best analyzed as consisting of sequence of one or more tones (generally called High/Mid/Low). In almost all cases, the rising and falling tones encountered on a single syllable (known generally as contour tones or dynamic tones) are best analyzed as being either allophonic variants of level tone, or more commonly as being the realization of a sequence of two level tones. It is difficult to draw a sharp boundary between tonal and non-tonal languages as described by Goldsmith (1994):
a. A length of the span of each tone melody is roughly the size of a word in a tone language, where as in a non-tonal language, its size ranges between that of syntactic phrase and that of a sentence.
b. The tone melody of an utterance in a tone language is composed of the tone melodies that are directly contributed by the lexical items in the utterance and to slightly lesser extent by a syntactic constructions present in the sentence, whereas the tone melody of an utterance in a non-tone language is generally determined by the information structure of the sentence.
c. Tone languages generally have phonological rules that modify the tone melody depending on the tones found around them as well as on the syntactic structure in which they occur.

Tone systems are found in approximately $50 \%$ of the languages of the world. The greatest concentrations of "tone languages" are found in Sub-Saharan Africa, East and Southeast Asia, South central Mexico and parts of Amazonia and New Guniea. The study of tone has influenced the history of phonology and has contributed to the understanding of languages in general and in particular for study of syntaxphonology. Tone systems have properties which surpass segmental and metrical systems.

Tone cannot be studied the same way as other phonological phenomenon. As in the case of voicing nasality vowel length and other phonological contrasts the normal technique is to first elicit individual words to determine the phonetic properties and ultimately the phonemic contrasts. In case of tone, it yields tonal minimal pairs and / or require specific contexts or "frames" in which the full range of contrasts can be discerned.

Welmers (1959), describes discrete level tone system as one where the pitch value of the different tones are maintained in approximately as standard relationships to each other. He also introduced the notion of down step, which is the lowering process in tonal phonology which can be applied to the second of the two high tone syllables. This means that the choice of tone after a high tone syllable.

After low tone, the tone of the next syllable can only be low or high. After high tone, however, the next tone can be low, the high or down stepped high (that is a pitch slightly lower than the preceding high but not as low as it would need to be counted as a low tone). A high tone after down stepped high is on the same level as that down stepped high. A phonological feature called up step has also been discovered. Gill H.S. \& Gleason (1969), deeply analyzed place of articulation \& manner of articulation in the context of tones and concluded that tone system in Punjabi language is well developed \& established.

### 2.1 How to Measure Tone

The melody of an utterance is communicated chiefly by movements in time of the pitch of the voice. Pitch as such is a perceptual concept. It is phonetic correlate of the vocal folds during the voicing of segments. Pitch changes can occur due to variations in laryngeal activity and can occur independent of stress change. They are associated with the rate of vibration of the vocal folds. Because each opening and closing of the vocal folds causes a peak of air pressure in the sound wave, we can estimate the pitch of a sound by observing the rate of occurrence of the peaks in the waveform. To be more exact, we can measure the frequency of the sound in this way. Frequency is a technical term for an acoustic property of a sound - namely, the number of complete repetitions (cycles) of variations in air pressure occurring in a second. The unit of frequency measurement is the hertz, usually abbreviated as Hz . If the vocal folds make 220 complete opening and closing movements in a second, we say that the frequency of the sound is 220 Hz . The pitch of a sound is an auditory property that enables a listener to place it on a scale going from low to high, without considering its acoustic properties. In practice, when a speech sound goes up in frequency, it also goes up in pitch. For the most part, at an introductory level of the subject, the pitch of a sound may be equated with its fundamental frequency $\mathrm{F}_{0}$. Tone is observed through this change in pitch over an utterance.

According to Carnochan (1964) "Pitch is a sensation, perceived by listener and referable to a scale, as well as being related to the frequency with which the vocal cords of the speaker open and close during the utterance and which is measurable by instrumental techniques."

### 2.1.1 Methods and Apparatuses for Experimental Phonetics

There are two methods which are used to study speech sounds:
Direct Observational Method: In this method, the investigator relies upon his personal impressions and observations. He observes and listens to a subject in the act of speech and then tries to describe the physiological processes involved in the pronunciation of a particular speech sound. In this method, the degree of accuracy depends on the experience and training of the observer engaged in research. The literature survey reveals some accurate descriptions of the articulatory structures of speech sounds given by few phoneticians who have made use of this method. But now greater emphasis is laid on empirical evidence to verify and confirm the findings of the phoneticians.

Instrumental Methods: These methods are preferred over observational methods as these eliminate the possibilities of subjective distortions which could be introduced by a phonetician. However, the method of observation has not lost its significance since experienced phoneticians still use it. It doesn't exclude but presupposes instrumental methods. Thus speech should be investigated by combining both the techniques to get the best results. Instrumental methods may be divided into methods investigating articulation and methods of physical analysis of speech sounds, the nature of stress and intonation. The experimental work in this thesis will focus on physical analysis.

### 2.1.1.1 Types of Instrumental Methods

Recording the pitch and the intonation contour of spoken words and sentences has been focused by phonetic and linguistic research for a long time.

It is well recognized that a sufficient description is not possible by human hearing alone. Instead, experiments and measuring devices had to be developed for pitch analysis. "Pitch determination is one of the most important but also most delicate problems in speech analysis". This statement from the standard book on "electronic means in this field" Hess (1983.3) describes a scientific problem which was known long time before the computer found its way into the phonetic laboratories, phoneticians become aware of the importance of pitch measurement approx. The choronology of various techniques is as under:
a) Pneumatic Kymograph: This mechanism was utilized for examining the physical aspects of speech in the first laboratories of experimental phonetics. Air motions caused by the speech sounds were changed into mechanical vibrations of the stylus which left the traces of the recorded speech on the turning drum of the kymograph for example a kymogram as shown in figure below:


Fig 2/1: Kymogram
The investigations of pitch analysis using these devices offered a lot of problems and was time changing, hence it was replaced by an electronic kymograph registering speech wave and singling out the main acoustic parameters of speech-fundamental tone (melody). The time marker below the kymogram made it possible to calculate the duration of the speech signal


Fig 2/2: Electro-Kymogram
b) Intonograph: It is an electronic device which registers speech signal as a sound wave and signals out the main acoustic characteristics. The following main physical characteristics of speech can be separated and registered on the intonogram:


Fig 2/3: Intonogram

- Fundamental frequency (measured in cycles per second) is marked by a curve at the bottom of the intonogram. The higher the curve of the fundamental frequency rises, the higher is the fundamental frequency. The control signs of the fundamental frequency are situated at the upper line of the intonogram.
- Intensity (measured in mm , conventional unit is db ) is marked by a curve in the upper part of the intonogram. The lower the curve of intensity falls, the bigger is its meaning.
- Time marker makes it possible to calculate the duration of the utterance or its parts, measured in msec.
- The intonograph makes it possible to investigate intonation and stress as well as other phonetic phenomena.
c) Spectrograph: It gives the opportunities to speech investigators for the study of physical characteristics of speech and acoustic method on the borders of sounds in speech etc in the form of a spectrogram, which has time along the horizontal axis, frequency along the vertical axis, and the amplitude of the signal at any given time is shown as a grey level. Conventionally, black is used to signal the most energy, while white is used to signal the least energy.

These are of two types:

- Wide-band Spectrogram: A Spectrogram produced using an analysis scheme which emphasizes temporal changes in the signal: with short-time spectrum calculations (about 3ms) or highly damped analysis filters (about300hz).
- Narrow-band Spectrogram: A spectrogram produced using an analysis scheme which emphasizes frequency changes in the signal: with long-time spectrum calculations (about 20 ms ) or lightly damped analysis filters (about 45hz).
d) Kay Sonograph: It is a workstation for speech analysis, a powerful tool for speech-scientists or other speech professionals. It produces real time speech analysis on a high resolution display monitor. One-screen waveform editing and speech parameter extraction help to analyse speech and select segments for further work. Both narrow and wideband spectrographic analysis can be performed in real time. These analyses can be edited, stored and printed.


Fig 2/4: Kay sonogram
e) Computer: It is an electronic device which can simultaneously acquire, store in memory, analyse and display speech signals and it also produces the required results from the stored data. Computer speech programmes provide all the possibilities for phonetic professionals. They are a powerful tool for acoustic analysis of all the phonetic phenomena of speech as it can combine the results of two main types of analysis-intonographic and spectrographic.

In the upper part of the computer intonogram, speech is recorded in the form of a sound wave. In the middle part of intonograms overall fundamental frequency in the form of a curve is recorded. The higher the curve rises, the higher the meaning of the fundamental frequency is. In the lower part of the intonogram, amplitude \& the intensity of the speech signal is recorded. The bigger the intensity of the speech signal is, the higher the impulses of the intensity rise.


Fig 2/5: Computer Intonogram

Praat: It is a software tool using which one can study the acoustic characteristics of a sound file by viewing and measuring the sound files waveform and spectrogram. Pitch range settings in PRAAT are the most important parameters used in pitch analysis. As described, the pitch floor determines the window length and the pitch ceiling restricts the values being used during the analysis. The optimal default values of pitch floor and pitch ceiling are $75-500 \mathrm{~Hz}$. This tool can be used for acoustic analysis by documenting various parameters of the sound waveform such as value and slope of $\mathrm{F}_{0}$, Formants, Intensity, Duration etc.

Gold Wave: It is a professional digital audio editor that plays, records, edits, processes and converts audio on the computer. Gold Wave includes a complete set of audio processing features.

An intuitive and customizable user interface makes editing easy. An independent Control window provides direct access to audio devices. It contains controls for playback, rewind \& fast forward, recording, volume, balance and speed. Real-time visuals display the sound during playback and recording. A multiple document interface (MDI) allows several files to be opened at one time, simplifying file-to-file editing.

Matlab (matrix laboratory): It is a fourth-generation high-level programming language and interactive environment for numerical computation, visualization and programming. It has powerful built-in routines that enable a very wide variety of computations. It also has easy to use graphic commands that make the visualization of results immediately available. Specific applications are collected in packages referred to as toolbox.

### 2.2 The Analysis of Pitch Patterns in Tone Systems

Tone is a linguistic term that refers to a phonological category that distinguishes two words or utterances and is only relevant for languages in which pitch plays some sort of linguistic role. It is established through research studies that the vibrations of the vocal cord result in change of pitch and this change of pitch is used to distinguish words. The change of tone results in distinctive word formation. Tone in the linguistic domain gets mapped to $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ in phonetic domain. $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ is an acoustic term referring to the speech signal of the lexical items and reflects how many pulses per second are contained in the signal. The perception of tone must be dependent in whole or in part on pitch perception, and thus on fundamental frequency. The speech signal must contain large enough $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ fluctuations, to be perceptible as pitch differences. Therefore tone is an inherent expression of pitch that contrasts with other expressions of pitch. Tone is neither pitch variation within a defined perceptual space nor a system of pitches expressed relative to a single segment in segmentally based minimal pairs and it is phonetically analyzed relative to other $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ segments that are in sequence with rather than looking at it as a segmental attachment.

The various features of any tonal system can be broadly categorized as:

|  | General Criteria | Specifies |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a. | Number of level tones | - At least four, possibly five |
| b. | Contour tones | - Rising, falling, convex, concave <br> - Sometimes result of combining two or more levels |
| c. | Contour tones contrasts | - Two or three |
| d. | Common alternations | - Assimilation \&dissimilation, <br> simplification and formation of <br> contour |
| e. | Tonal markedness | - In a two level tone system, low is usually unmarked. <br> - In a three level tone system, mid is usually unmarked <br> - Level tones are less marked than contours. |
| f. | Tonal and laryngeal features | - Low tone associated with voicing, and especially <br> - High tone associated with voicelessness |

Table 2/1: Features of Tonal System

Thus the acoustic properties of speech signal relate to the phonological information which the signal conveys. The vibration of vocal folds is periodic and is known as phonation. Several aspects of phonation waveform combined together result in the spectrum. The slope of the spectrum represents voice quality i.e. rate of airflow during phonatory cycle. All native language speakers exhibit variation in duration \& amplitude from cycle to cycle phonation. The phonation waveforms and spectra represent idealizations of natural speech; hence can be used for phonological studies.

The pitch of the speech signal is the perceptual correlate of frequency, the higher the frequency, the higher is the pitch. The pitch contours can be studied using spectrogram of speech signal of native speakers using $\mathrm{s} / \mathrm{w}$ tools as described in section 2.1.1.1e. Thus $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ contours of recorded words can be analyticaly examined to study the tonal characteristics of a language.

The phonetic facts for publishing linguistic data on tones are plots of fundamental frequency over time. There has been a concensus among various linguistic theories that tone is always transcribed on the syllable nucleus, which is usually a vowel. Thus tone may be phonetically realized on any voiced sonorant segment in the syllable.

### 2.2.1 Types of Tones and Notations

Tone is primarily the contrastive use of pitch in grammar and lexicon, including movement from level to level. The first question is what are the fundamental pitch levels? The simplest systems have a two-way contrast between higher and lower pitch, H and L. In a tone language, distinctive pitch levels and contours along with vowels and consonants serve to make up a word. Such languages vary as to how many phonologically relevant tones they have. In contour-tone languages, at least some of the tones must be described in terms of pitch movements such as rises and falls or more complex movements such as rise-falls. This is characterized by many tone languages of south-east Asia. The nature of tones can thus be broadly categorized as:

### 2.2.2 Register Tones

Register-tone languages use tones that are level i.e. they have relatively steady-state pitches which differ with regard to being relatively higher or lower. This is characterized in many tone languages in West Africa. Register Tones are small no. of tones which are illustrated over vowels e.g. á, à and ā e.g. high, low and mid (level) tones. These symbols don't give an impression of the pitch movement.

These symbols are further combined to get combinations of high and low i.e. falling (high + low) etc. Gur, Atlantic Mande, Dogon, Nilo-Saharan, Chadic and Cushtic languages usually have two level tones. Examples of 3-level languages are Angas, Peki Ewe, Ebira, Kasem, Kotoko, Kpelle, Logo, Mbay, Yoruba and Ibibio. Kotoko has the 3-tone system H M L. The representation of Register Tones is illustrated below:


Fig 2/6: Register Tone Levels

In some languages (Shonna, Kipare, Mbololo Taita, Miya), syllables are either H or L , without phonological rising tones, which involve $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ movement from level to level.

### 2.2.3 Contour Tones

Contour tones are clusters of level tones which have been widely adopted by African phonologists, but it has met considerable scepticism from Chinese phonologists e.g. Yip (1989), Bao (1990), Cahn (1991). Contour tones pose two problems for distinctive feature theory. First, if contour tones are basic units, they require trajectory features such as rise and fall, or a modified version of it, as shown:



Fig 2/7: Model of Contour Tone Units

Many languages have phonological contour tones. Some allow contour tones only on long syllables, for example Hausa and many Bantu languages (Tachoni, Dembwa Taita) have just falling tone and only on long syllables. Many languages have contours on short vowels, thus Gen and Temne have H, L, Rising and Falling tones; Angas has 3 tone levels and the 4 rising and falling contours which do not end with Mid tone; Benchnon Wedekind (1983) has 5 levels but only one contour, a 4-3 rising tone. These languages lack long syllables.

Languages with four tone levels are much less common and include Bariba, Anlo Ewe, Grebo, Igede, Kamba and wobe. Five levels are quite rare, occurring in Benchnon and the Santa dialect of Dsan and only Chori is reported to have six. The Santa dialect of Dan Bearth \& Zemp (1967), Filk (1997) which has 5 levels and contrastive length, allows one short contour (2-3 fall) but 5 long contours (rises 3-2,31 and falls $1-5,2-5,3-5$ ), way fewer that the 20 possible contours. The representation of Contour Tones is illustrated below:


Fig 2/8: Contour Tone Levels
These pitch movements are represented on a 5 -point scale ( $1=$ lowest \& $5=$ highest $)$ by means of tone letters consisting of a vertical reference line on the right preceded by a line indicating pitch. Often the tone is also explicitly described by a series of numbers on the 5 -point scale. It is basically a stylized representation however lacks in details of actual pitch contours.

Tone Sandhi is easy to represent using tone numbers. Mandarin, Cantonese and Thai from Asian Region belong to this category. The major characteristics of Yip (2001) and Barrie's (2007) proposal for contour tones in Chinese languages are as follows. First, as is generally assumed for Chinese, contour tones are unitary entities, with only one tonal root node. Second, only one register feature [ $\pm$ upper] is specified for the whole contour tone. Third, only the tonal onset, but not tonal offset, is specified for the pitch feature [ $\pm$ raised]. That is, this is a one-target proposal, with only the tonal onset explicitly and fully specified cf. the two- target unitary-entity proposal in Yip (1989). Forth, a [contour] feature (Barrie) or an unspecified "rebound" (Yip) signals a contour tone. All these properties are illustrated by the following examples, based on Barrie's system.

| S. No. | Tone | Onset |  | Offset |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $[ \pm$ upper] | $[ \pm$ raised] | $[ \pm$ upper] | $[ \pm$ raised] |
| 1. | High -Level 55 | + | + | + | + |
| 2. | Mid-Level 33 | + | - | + | - |
| 3. | Low- Level 22 | - | + | - | + |
| 4. | High -Rising 25 | - | + | + | + |
| 5. | Low- Rising 23 | - | + | + | - |
| 6. | Low- Falling 21 | - | + | - | - |

Table 2/2: Chinese (Cantonese) Tone Levels

### 2.2.4 Standard Notation in IPA

The IPA consists of a universal set of symbols representing distinctive sound of the world's languages and is used to show pronunciation in many dictionaries (International Phonetic Association 1999).

The IPA chart consists of several sections such as vowels, Pulmonic consonants and non- pulmonic consonants. The IPA chart can be a useful tool for teaching the basics of speech production, as it shows at a glance commonalities and differences between the articulations of various speech sounds.

Different notations were being followed in Asia, Africa and America etc. to denote the tone thus IPA was devised by Henry Sweet (1889), to standardize this notation of various diacritics applied over segmental representations. Most of the world tonal languages have 5 levels of pitch heights which have been provisioned in IPA Chart for transcription. However, there are few exceptions such as African Languages (Chori, Benchnon etc.), Asian languages viz. Chao etc. IPA provides diacritics for (upstep) ( $\widehat{\square}$ ) and downstep ( $\Omega)$ to facilitate representation of desired no. of tonal heights. The various tone contours are also provisioned as below:

| Level |  |  | Contour |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| e | 1 | Estra high | ě | 1 | Rising |
| ¢ | 1 | High | ê | 1 | Falling |
| è | $\dagger$ | Jid | e | 1 | High nisimg |
| ¢ | , | Lort | e | d | Lor rising |
| e | 」 | Estra lor | ě | 1 | Rising filling |
| $\downarrow$ | Dorn step |  | 1 | Global inse |  |
| $\dagger$ | Up step |  | $\downarrow$ | Globalfill |  |

Table 2/3: Register \& Contour Tone Levels in IPA

These IPA notations will be used for data representation in this Thesis.

### 2.3 Function of Tones

Phonological theories are sharply divided into two areas: segmental and prosodic. Segmental phonology focuses on "melody": speech sounds (segments), their internal composition and external interactions.

One of the greatest discoveries by Trubetzkoy (1939) \& Jakobson (1941) in this area is that segments consist of features and it is through these that segments interact with each other. Segmental phonology is therefore concerned with phonological features, how are they organized inside segments and between segments. Prosodic phonology focuses on aspects of the sound system "above" the level of segments, such as timing, tone, stress and rhythm. Research into the nature and patterning of these phenomena suggests that speech sounds are not just arranged linearly, but are hierarchically organized into prosodic structure: segments into moras and syllables, syllables into metrical feet, metrical feet into prosodic words, prosodic words into phonological phrases, and so on. The prosodic structure is as given below:


Fig 2/9: Segmental Phonology
A tone system has lexical, morphological and syntactic functions. Tone systems have properties which surpass segmental and metrical systems. This is especially true of the long-distance effects that tone exhibits both within and across words, as when the tone of one word migrates several syllables or words to its right. Some tonal phenomena have no segmental or stress analogues, thus there is a need to understand how tone systems work.

Thus the role of Segmental phonology is not limited to only syllable structure and the distribution of the consonant and vowel phonemes but also covers the tones and tone sandhi, leading to a tone system viz. a system of six to eight contrastive tones at the lexical level. The functions of tone include the restrictions on the lexical tone system according to the part of speech and Tonal sandhi viz. the tones mark signifies grammatical contrasts in addition to lexical units which is a cue used in syntactic and discourse structure.

Based on this, tonal languages of the globe can be divided into two categories i.e. Asian Tone languages in which tone is primarily limited to lexical function (Type A languages). African and Central American tone languages in which the tone spreads to neighboring syllables and exhibits segmental morphology and have polysyllabic roots (Type B languages). However there are some languages like Japanese which don't fall under any of these categories as every word in Japanese has a fixed tone pattern.

### 2.3.1 Lexical Level Tone Function

The role of tone is limited primarily to lexical function \& it does not exhibit at morphology level and thus do not have lexical contrast. These languages have more phonemic tone and tone sandhi rules involve predictable replacement of one tone for another rather than spreading of a tone onto neighboring syllables. There is no use of segmental morphology however syntactically defined tone sandhi compounds may be present. Minor (closed) word classes marked by tone may differentiate lexical meaning. Predominantly monosyllabic roots are found in such languages. Phonological word-building resources are determined by non-tonal contrasts however a set of vocabulary is governed by tone function. Most Asian tone languages belong to this category except for Hakha Chin or Lai language which has exceptional features of type B although it is spoken in some parts of Asia viz. Mizoram in eastern India \& Burma, small number of speakers in Bangladesh. Tone is lexically contrastive in Japanese. Punjabi can be clearly categorized as Type A language.

### 2.3.2 Morphological Level Tone Function

These languages (Type B) exhibit all types of Tone functions as discussed for Type A languages however in addition to that, these also make major use of tone in morphological processes such as tonal derivation, inflection etc. Polysyllabic roots are found and these languages exhibit derivational and inflection segmental morphology. Thus Major (open) word-classes are characterized by different tone inventories or alternation of tone patterns. Number of possible syllables X and their syllable position within the non-tonal words is comparatively high. Tone Sandhi is Syntagmatic.

Tone Sandhi is governed by a number of rules that modify tones when spoken in a sequence, i.e when spoken in normal phrases rather than in isolation. One of the most well-known cases is Mandarin Chinese wherein two Tone-3 syllables occur in sequence, the first one is changed to Tone 2 as explained in the examples given below:

| mai hau chou | chi shuei guo | wo hen ho |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| $33>23$ | $13>23$ | $33>23$ |
| buy good wine | eat water fruit | I very good |

Each word consists of 3 syllables. They are spoken first as isolated syllables (without sandhi) and then as a phrase (with sandhi). The tone of the middle syllable changes in each case from Tone 3 to Tone 2 (indicated by " $3>2$ ").

Most of the Languages of African and Central American region belong to this category. Word-building in type B languages uses tonal morphology.

### 2.4 Study of Tone in Different Language Families

A language family is a group of languages that are related to their descendents from a common ancestor. All natural languages of the world have historical base. The boundary of linguistic ancestry is always not clear as the languages come into contact with each other due to conquest or trade or through other means and they tend to borrow the features from the languages with which they do not have any historical relationship.

The common ancestor of a language family can be identified by the Comparative Linguistics which studies the historical and genetic relationship between languages. The regularity of sound change is the pre-requisite for the comparative method. It implies that when a certain sound X changes in one word, the same change X tends to take place in all words where sound X occurs, or in all words where sound X occurs in a particular context e.g. sound cluster from / kt / latin undergoes a change as below:

| - Latin $/ \mathbf{k t} /$ | $>$ | Portugese $/ \mathbf{j t} /$ |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| - Latin $/ \mathbf{k t} /$ | $>$ | Spanish $/ \mathbf{t} / /$ |  |
| - Latin $/ \mathbf{k t} /$ | $>$ | Italian | $/ \mathbf{t t} /$ |
| - Latin $/ \mathbf{k t} /$ | $>$ | Romanian $/ \mathbf{p t} /$ |  |

The branching structure of a family free is based upon shared changes. These changes distinguish the group from related languages. Suffix -ic is used to designate languages families and major groups such as Turkic whereas Turkish is a language. Languages are often characterized as tonal or non-tonal. Tonal languages utilize pitch to distinguish lexical items, whereas non-tonal languages do not use pitch distinctively. Tonal languages are further divided into tone languages and pitchaccent languages. In tone languages, the tone of each syllable is unpredictable and, therefore, must be specified in the lexicon. No syllable in tone languages is considered more prominent than any other.

In pitch-accent languages, by contrast, the specification of some accent location is sufficient to predict the tonal configuration, or melody, of the entire word. Therefore, the syllable on which such an accent falls is considered more prominent than other syllables. It can also be said that moving from one tone to the next in tone languages is a syllable- level phenomenon, whereas such a movement in pitch-accent languages is a word-level phenomenon.

Japanese and Korean languages aren't specifically covered under any language family hence are being discussed here.

In standard Japanese, the only distinctive melodic characteristic of a phrase is the location of the syllable, if any, where the pitch drops. The tone pattern of a Japanese word is predictable as can be seen from following example where syllables are separated by a hyphen, where H is a high tone and L is a low tone as seen in the following example:

> ka-ki-ga -H-L-L 'oyster'
> ka-ki-ga -L-H-L 'fence'
> ka-ki-ga -L-H-H 'persimmon'

Thus, for a given word form, there are only as many possible tonal patterns as there are syllables (ignoring unaccented word). Thus a tri-syllabic word has three possible tone patterns. Accent, unlike stress, may not necessarily be accompanied by greater duration or amplitude. Apart from its effect on pitch, accent is hardly felt by native Japanese speakers. Pitch can be predicted from accent marks as follows: the pitch is high up to the first mora of the accented syllable (or up to the end of the phrase, if is unaccented, its first mora is low pitched).

Korean language made use of tones until late $16^{\text {th }}$ century. It contained a system of denoting the four tones by placing one or two dots on the left of the letter. Until around $20^{\text {th }}$ century, it was common for Koreans to distinguish certain words by pronucing them for a little longer. These vestiges of tone are today unnoticed even by Koreans themselves.

Depending on the morphological category of the morpheme, its dictionary entry will specify either the syllable, if any, on which it contributes an accent (nouns, postpositions, verb inflections) or merely whether or not it contributes an accent (verbs, adjectives). The rules apply in such a way as to yield outputs in which each phrase has at most one accent. Some accent rules make one accent predominate over others whereas others attract accent into a given position.

### 2.4.1 Niger-Congo Languages

It is largest language family of world and has 1436 languages. It covers mainly the different types of African languages. Many of these languages have phonological contour tone which is exhibited on long syllable. In some languages short syllable only have level tone and other have contour on short vowel. The main branches are:


Fig 2/10: Niger-Congo Languages
2.4.1.1 Yoruba Language (Register) has three phonemically distinctive tones-H, M, and L. H occurs in word-initial position only in marked consonant-initial words, which reveal an implicit initial vowel when preceded by another word in genitive construction. Most words start with a vowel, which is L or M but not H. Except for this minor tonotactic restriction, tones occur freely in lexical representations, without apparent restrictions on word melodies.

So there are three possible tonal patterns for monosyllables, nine possible tonal patterns for disyllables. Lexical tone contrast in such words is indicated in the following example:


Table 2/4: Tone levels in Yoruba
2.4.1.2 Ikhin (Edo) Language (Register) is spoken in Ikhin, Edo, Nigeria. Ikhin has terraced level tone system having two basic tones viz. high and low. The following minimal pairs of words get differentiated only by tonal contrast:

| S. No. | Word 1 HL | Word 2 LL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | Ákì <br> "Toad" | àkì <br> "Market" |
| 2 | "́kpà <br> "Cock" | j̀kpà <br> "One" |
| 3 | Édà <br> "High" | èdà <br> one"River" |

Table 2/5: Tone levels in Ikhin
2.4.1.3 Ibibio Language (Register) has three tones (high, low and falling). The falling tone only occurs on final syllables, giving the following combinations in twosyllable words:

| Tone on First Sylable |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Word 1 H | Word 2 L |
|  | H | á kp á I "expanse of ocean" | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { à kp á } \\ & \text { \| " } \text { first" } \end{aligned}$ |
|  | F | á kp â n <br> \| "square woven basket" | $\begin{gathered} \text { à } \widehat{\text { kp } \hat{~}} \\ \text { \| " rubber tree" } \end{gathered}$ |
|  | L | $\begin{gathered} \text { á k ù } \\ \text { \| "priest" } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { à } \mathrm{kp} \text { à } \\ \text { I (small ant) } \end{gathered}$ |

Table 2/6: Tone levels in Ibibo

### 2.4.2 Austric Languages

The Austric proto-language has been identified by some with the Hoabinhian archaeologicali industry dating from the late Pleistocene to mid-Holocene (roughly 6,000 to 12,000 years ago). Primary Hoabinhian sites have been identified in Sumatra, Thailand, Laos, Myanmar and Cambodia, while isolated inventories of stone artefacts displaying Hoabinhian elements have been found in Nepal, South China, Taiwan and Australia. Except for Nepal and Australia all of these areas are home to Austric languages and there is evidence that Austric may formerly have been spoken in the Himalayan foothills also.


Fig 2/11: Austric Languages
2.4.2.1 Thai (Contour) Language is a tonal language. Tones are the core of the language, they are essential, as important as any vowel or any consonant. Tones distinguish the meaning of one word from another.

Each syllable is pronounced with one of five distinct tones- middle, low, falling, high or rising. The middle tone starts at a middle pitch level, rises slightly and returns to mid-level. The low tone starts low and gradually falls even lower. The falling tone starts high and falls to a low pitch. The high tone rises to a peak and then drops. The rising tone starts at mid-level and gradually rises.

| S. <br> No. | Word 1 <br> $\mathbf{M}$ | Word 2 <br> $\mathbf{L}$ | Word 3 <br> F | Word 4 <br> $\mathbf{H}$ | Word 5 <br> $\mathbf{R}$ |
| ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | mai | Mài | mâi | mái | măi |
| "mile" | "new" | "not" | "wood" | "no?" |  |
| 2. | kha: | kha: | kha: <br> "a glass" <br> "galangal" | "sha: <br> "to engage <br> in trade" | kha: <br> "leg" |

Table 2/7: Tone levels in Thai
2.4.2.2 Lao (Contour) Language is an isolating tone language where most syllables form individual morphemes. There is only eight bound derivational morphemes Enfield (2007). Tone varies significantly depending on the Lao dialect; Lao linguists identified five tones on long and three tones on short vowels.

| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | Word 1 L | Word 2 <br> M | Word 3 <br> F | Word 4 <br> H | Word 5 R |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | khà: <br> "slave" | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{ha}}$ : <br> "galangal" | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{a}:$ "commerce" | khá: <br> "stuck" | $\begin{aligned} & \text { khǎ: } \\ & \text { "leg" } \end{aligned}$ |

Table 2/8: Tone levels in Lao
2.4.2.3 Vietnamese (Contour) Language is the official language of Vietnam.

Vietnamese is based on melodious syllables and stressed accent. It is a monosyllabic language with each articulated sound carrying a certain meaning. There are five types of tones and a mid-level non-tone.

| Word 1 <br> L | Word 2 <br> H R | Word 3 <br> M Dipping R | Word 4 <br> L F | Word 5 <br> L F Short | Word 6 <br> H R Glottal <br> stop |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ma <br> "ghost" | Má <br> "cheek" | mả <br> "tomb" | mà <br> "but", | mạ <br> "young rice" " | mã <br> "horse" |

Table 2/9: Tone levels in Vietnamese

Tones are realized by a complex of pitch and voice quality features. In particular, glottalization plays an important role in the production and perception of the broken and glottalized tones. The falling tones have been described by some researchers as accompanied by a breathy voice quality. The low falling tone has also been described as accompanied by light final laryngealization.

Vietnamese tones are not subject to phonological tone sandhi (i.e. the realization of a tone is not affected by the surrounding tonal environment), tonal realization in connected speech is subject to phonetic coarticulation effects.

### 2.4.3 Indo-European Languages

It is one of the largest language families in the world havingten branches of living languages. Out of these, three are primarily spoken in India i.e Armenain, Iranian and Indo-aryan (Indic). The most widely spoken Indo-European languages are Spanish, English, Hindustani, Portuguese, Bengali, Russian and Punjabi (over 100 million speakers each). The next widely spoken languages are German, French and Persian. Germanic languages possess a number of defining features compared with other Indo-European languages.


Fig 2/12: Indo-European Languages Families
2.4.3.1 Swedish Language (Register) is a pitch accent language which has two distinctive accents related to the different syllabic structures. Acute and grave accents often distinguish meaning. Monosyllabic words and words with the stress on the last syllable receive the acute accent. It can occur in any accented syllable regardless of position.

Acute Accent (accent1):

1. Monosyllabic words including their declination, e.g. /húset/
2. Words which start with an unstressed syllable, e.g. / botála /

Grave Accent (accent2):
It never occurs in the last syllable of a word. Therefore it occurs only in polysyllabic or at least dissyllabic words.

| S. <br> No. | Word 1 <br> Acute accent H | Word 2 <br> Grave accent L |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Slútet <br> "the end" | "Close perf. part of att sluta" |
| 2 | Váken <br> "the ice hole" | Vàken <br> "awake" |
| 3 | Skállen <br> "the brak" | skàllen <br> "the skull" |
| 4 | Égen | ègen <br> "own" |

Table 2/10: Tone levels in Swedish
2.4.3.2 Latvian Language (Register) is a Baltic language, hence it exhibits syllable tones (also called syllable accents or syllable intonations). There are three types of tones viz. level, falling, and broken tones (B) which are associated with a syllable having a long vowel, diphthong or a combination of a short vowel plus sonorant (socalled diphthongal sequences) respectively.

| S. No. | Word 1 <br> L | Word 2 <br> F | Word 3 <br> B |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | mĩt <br> "change" | mìt <br> "exist" | mît <br> "tread" |
| 2 | aũksts <br> "cold" | - | aûksts <br> "high" |
| 3 | - | ràuks <br> "pucker" | raûks <br> "yeast" |
| 4 | vaĩks <br> "tether" | - | val̂ks <br> "humid" |

Table 2/11: Tone levels in Latvian

For syllable tones, an obstruent occurring after a short vowel has no bearing on syllable structure and it could as well be absent from it, as syllables of this kind would have no distinctive tone in either case and are therefore called short.

| Type of vowel | Word | Type of vowel | Word |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| rin̄ch | 'row, line' | lazda | 'hazel' |

### 2.4.4 Sino-Tibetan Languages

This family has around 300 members and has 5 -main branches viz. Tibetic (Bodic, Burmic, Bai, Karenic and Sintic)


Fig 2/13: Sino-Tibetan Languages

2．4．4．1 Mandarin（Contour）belongs to contour language family．In order to differentiate meaning，the same syllable can be pronounced with different tones． Mandarin＇s tones give it a very distinctive quality，but the tones can also be a source of miscommunication if not given due attention．Mandarin is said to have four main tones and one neutral tone（or，as some say，five tones）．


The first tone is flat just like walking on a flat smooth road．
The second tone rises like going up hill．
The third tone falls and rises like riding on a roller coaster

The fourth tone goes down fast all the way．

The fifth neutral tone short and lightly spoken，and can be seen in the use of the word ＂ma＂at the end of a sentence to make it a question．Each tone has a distinctive pitch contour which can be graphed using the Chinese 5－level system．

| S． <br> No． | Word 1 L | Word 2 R | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { Word } 3 \\ \text { F R } \end{gathered}$ | Word 4 F | Word 5 N |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | 媽 mā ＂mother＂ | 麻 má ＂numb＂ | 馬 mǎ ＂horse＂ | 罵 mà ＂scold＂ | 嗎 ma ＂question word＂ |
| 2 | bī <br> ＂force＂ | bí <br> ＂nose＂ | bǎ ＂compare＂ | bì <br> ＂wall＂ | bi |

Table 2／12：Tone levels in Mandarin

2．4．4．2 Mizo Language（Contour）is a Tibeto－Burman language spoken in India， Bangladesh and Myanmar．Its tone system has been described and analyzed by native speakers（Chhangte 1986；Fanai 1989，1992）as having four tones．Chhangte describes the Mizo tone inventory as including High，Rising，Falling，and an unmarked tone，where the unmarked is phonetically mid or low．Fanai also describes the four tones of Mizo as High，Low，Rising and Falling where the Low tone can also have an allophonic variation realized as an extra low tone．The four tones in Mizo can surface in monosyllabic，disyllabic and trisyllabic words．

| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | Word 1 H R | Word 2 <br> FR | Word 3 H F | Word 4 $\mathbf{L} \mathbf{R}$ | Word 5 <br> L F |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Lúm "bushy" | Lǔm "to cheer up" | Lùm "to leave" | Lūm "warm" | Lûm "roll down" |
| 2 | tsán <br> "joint" | tsǎn <br> "To wait" | tsàn <br> "To warp" | tsán "Bird's tail" | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Tsàn } \\ & \text { "alone" } \end{aligned}$ |
| 3 | búk "hut/camp" | bǔk "To tip up" | bùk "To weigh" | búk "Sound of sudden incident" | $\begin{gathered} \text { bùk } \\ \text { "bushy" } \end{gathered}$ |
| 4 | $\begin{gathered} \text { bók } \\ \text { "knob" } \end{gathered}$ | bǒk "Swaying to one side" | bòk "Temporary village" | $\begin{aligned} & \text { bók } \\ & \text { "also" } \end{aligned}$ | bòk "To lie down" |

Table 2/13: Tone levels in Mizo
2.4.4.3 Manipuri Language (Register) is a tonal language and has lexically significant \& contrastive but relative pitch on each syllable. There are three types of tone viz. Falling, rising and level Inder Singh (1975), Chetan Singh (1976). Spectrographic analysis of Manipuri words reveals that phonemically only two tones are realised because the level tone occurring in certain words in isolation is replaced by rise-fall when preceded by roots containing the final tone.

| S. No. | Word 1 <br> L | Word 2 <br> Level |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | kə̀nbà <br> "Hard" | kənbə <br> "To protect,etc |
| 2 | tabb̀ <br> "to hear" | "to fall,etc |

Table 2/14: Tone levels in Manipuri
Level tone occurs in monosyllabic as well as polysyllabic words. It has two allotones viz. Level, unmarked in transcription and rise-fall marked as / $\wedge /$.

| S. No. | Word 1 <br> Low | Word 2 <br> Low Rising falling |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | $\begin{gathered} \text { /mà +pu/ } \\ \text { "His/her + to bring" } \end{gathered}$ | [mə̀pû] <br> "His/her mode of bringing" |
| 2 | $\begin{gathered} \text { /mì }+ \text { sin } / \\ \text { "Man+ Marker of } \\ \text { plurality' } \end{gathered}$ | [misîn] <br> "Men" |
| 3 | $\begin{gathered} \text { /sò+mu/ } \\ \text { "Animal +black" } \end{gathered}$ | [sı̀mû] "Elephant" |

Table 2/15: Allophonic variations of level tone in Manipuri
The four possible tonal sequences in Manipuri as discussed in chapter III of Shodhganga are:

| Tonal sequence | Word | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Level + Level | /kəbok/ | parched rice |
| Level + Fall | /kaphòy/ | pomegranate |
| Fall + Fall | /khàb̀̀/ | bitter |
| Fall + Level | /thòmoy/, [thə̀môy] | heart |

Table 2/16: Tonal sequences in Manipuri
2.4.4.4 Bodo Language (Register) is a Tibeto-Burman language which is tonal. It is spoken mainly in the northern parts of the State of Assam in India. Garo, Boro, Rabha, Tiwa and Kokborok all belong to the Bodo subgroup. Boro is the major dialect. Linguistic development in Bodo is relatively new, hence there is dearth of proper research of its tonal phenomenon however the available research is summed up below.

Bhattacharya (1977) described maximum four tones in Bodo language i.e. neutral, high, mid and low. Neutral tone is dependent on associated tone viz L/M/H and the quality of vowel whether centralized or more lax. In high tone, the level of pitch contour is level or rising and the quality of vowel is closer and tense.

In mid tone, the level of pitch contour is level or falling and the quality of vowel is medium as to closeness and tenseness. In the low tone, the level of pitch contour is falling and the quality of vowel is open and lax.

| $\underset{\text { So }}{\underset{\text { S. }}{2}}$ | Word 1 L | Word 2 M | Word 3 <br> H |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | $\begin{gathered} \text { ait } \\ \text { income } \end{gathered}$ | - | $\begin{gathered} \text { ait / ai1 } \\ \text { goddess / mother } \end{gathered}$ |
| 2 | Dant month | Dant to cut | Dan-1 gift |
| 3 | - | eot/eot to plough / to fry | eot to clear by cutting |
| 4 | $k^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{a}$ to test bitter | $k^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{at} / \mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{a}-$ to pluck / to tie | - |
| 5 | Onto open | Ont / Ont <br> to love / powder of rice | - |

Table 2/17: Four way tone levels in Bodo
Weidert (1987) also identifies the presence of tone in Bodo and opines that the tone patterns in Bodo are dependent on the syllable types and the consonantal specification of the syllable coda. Boro (1991) identifies a two-way tone system in Bodo which he describes as the rising and the falling tones.

| S. <br> No. | Word 1 <br> L | Word 2 <br> H |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | dəi | dái- <br> lay egg |
| 2 | water | tai- |
|  | die | blood |
| 3 | Hor | Ór |
|  | Night | fire |
| 4 | ka- | ká- |
|  | tie | bitter |
| 5 | seo- | sáo- |
|  | rot | burn |

Table 2/18: Two way tone levels in Bodo

Sarmah (2004) examined the autosegmental nature of tones using Optimality Theory. He advocated constraints viz ALIGN-L (DT, PRWD) says that each default tone should align with the left edge of the domain. Whereas ALIGN-R (PRWD, LT) says that the left edge of the domain should be specified with a lexical tone. However it needs further investigations.

### 2.5 Indic Languages

The Indo-Aryan or Indic languages are the dominant language family of the Indian subcontinent. They constitute a branch of the Indo-Iranian languages itself, a branch of the Indo-European languages family. Indo-Aryan speakers form about one-half of all Indo-European speakers (about 1.5 of 3 billion), and more than half of all IndoEuropean languages recognized by Ethnologue. While the languages are primarily spoken in South Asia, pockets of Indo-Aryan languages are found to be spoken in Europe and the Middle East. The largest in terms of native speakers are Hindustani (Hindi-Urdu, about 329 million), Bengali (242 million), Punjabi (about 100 million), Dogri (4 million) and other languages, with a 2005 estimate placing the total number of native speakers at nearly 900 million.


Fig 2/14: Family of Indic languages

The Punjabi dialect continuum has clearly been determined to possess tonal features, although it has no genetic connection with other tonal languages, including those that are geographically proximate, such as Tibetan and Chinese. However Dogri is another tonal language in this family. Ghai (1991) studied phonetics and phonology of Dogri monosyllabic words \& few disyllabic words and stated that the vowel quantity plays a position in the configuration of rules for stress in Dogri. The stress is phonetically realized by duration and pitch movement. Further she states that it is the stress feature that determines the place of the word tone. Tones in Dogri are due to tonemes and only single tone occurs on a simple word. She reported three tones in Dogri namely mid level, falling and rising tone. Kaul (2017) experimentally observed the tone in Dogri words. She also verified that the vowel bearing the falling-rising tone is the longest in duration.

| S.No. | IPA | Meaning | Tone | Average vowel <br> duration of the nucleus |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | $/$ cǎ/ | Peep | Falling-rising | 0.42 |
| 2 | $/$ cā$/$ | Tea | Mid | 0.33 |
| 3 | $/$ cà $/$ | Desire | Low | 0.16 |

Table 2/19: Tone levels in Dogri

### 2.6 Summary

The literature survey of tonal languages of the various language families has been studied in detail to understand the types of tone and tone variations within and across languages. The presence of tone has been discussed in Punjabi and Dogri only among Indic Languages. Tones in Punjabi language and its experimental verification will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

## Chapter 3

## Tonogenesis of Punjabi: Experimental Observations

## 3. Introduction

Punjabi lexicon has closer ties with early Vedic Sanskrit \& has also assimilated a wide array of words and expressions from Arabic and Farsi. The presence of pitch contours in Punjabi has been discussed by various linguists.

| Linguist | A | B | C | D |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Bailey, T, <br> G(1914) | Low rising | Ordinary | High falling |  |
| Behal, <br> K,C(1957) | Falling | Even | Rising |  |
| Sampat, K.S <br> (1964) | Falling | Level | Rising |  |
|  <br> Gleason, <br> H.A.(1969) | Low | Mid | High |  |
| Joshi, <br> S.S(1973) | Tone 1 | Tone2 | Tone3 |  |
| Sandhu, <br> B.S.(1974) | High | Level | Low |  |
| Malik, <br> A.N(1994) | High-falling | Level | Low- rising | Rising falling |

Table 3/1: Eminent linguists' description of Punjabi tones

Joshi (1987) established through research studies that the vibrations of the vocal cords results in change of pitch and this change of pitch is used to distinguish words. Tone is observed only on one syllable and may co-occur with stress on it. If the class I vowel occurs in the first syllable, tone gets extended to the second syllable.

Although one word has one tone only but phonetically its effect is observed across syllables.

Singh (2001) Punjabi has a lexically significant contrastive pitch accent (tone) which it makes use of to distinguish words which otherwise have identical phonetic form. The use of pitch by Punjabi to differentiate the meaning of various lexical items i.e. words, establishes it as a tone language beyond any doubt. The author has studied the prosodic features in Paninian linguistics and has evolved the Moraic-Model for representing the prosodic features. Especially study on tones in Punjabi has been carried out in which he has identified presence of three tones in Punjabi.

Sangha (2014) the low tone is characterized by lowering the voice below the normal pitch and then rising back in the following syllable. In the high tone the pitch of the voice rises above its normal level falling back at the following syllable. The level tone is carried by the remaining words. Thus there is a need to examine the lexical tone in this context in Punjabi. Low tone and high tone can occur in monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic environments. Following Examples illustrate that tone plays a significant role in the Punjabi lexicon as is evident from the minimal pairs given in the table:

| S. <br> No. | [व] /k/ |  |  | [Ч] /p/ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | ひ్ఞञ | / kòra/ | 'Horse' | उ'्रा | / pàra/ | 'Fare' |
| 2 | वेड़ | / kōra/ | 'Whip' | य'इञ | / pāra/ | 'Difference' |
| 3 | वेगउ | / kóra/ | 'Leper' | य'亏ुग | / pára/ | 'Student ' |

Table 3/2: Tonal Minimal Pairs in Punjabi
Thus Punjabi has three tones viz low tone / $/ 2$, high tone $/ \grave{\prime} /$, and mid tone $/ \bar{z} /$. Any vowel can be a tone carrier, however schwa is used as an example here.

The mid tone is never represented since it is predictable by rules of redundancy; if a vowel does not have any tone specification at the level of phonetic representation, by default it carries a mid tone. The tone placement also interacts with accent/stress. The low tone must be on the same syllable as the accent Bhatia (1993). Generally not more than one tone can occur in a single Punjabi word.

Tones in Punjabi can be broadly discussed under two categories:

## Tone Arising from Supra-Laryngeal Consonants

Punjabi has five voiced and aspirated consonants which are represented orthographically as: ய $/ \mathbf{g}^{\mathrm{h}} /$, इ $/ \mathbf{d} \mathbf{3}^{\mathrm{h}} /$, ढ $/ \mathbf{d}^{\mathrm{h}} /$, प $/ \mathbf{d}^{\mathrm{h}} /$, उ $/ \mathbf{b}^{\mathbf{h}} /$ also known as murmured consonants. These have disappeared and resulted into a tone. The tone is remnant of historically voiced aspirated consonants. If the murmured consonant was at the beginning of a word, it left behind a low tone; at the end, it left behind a high tone. If there was no such consonant, the pitch was unaffected; however, the unaffected words are limited in pitch and did not interfere with the low and high tones. That produced a tone of its own, mid tone. The historical connection is so regular that Punjabi is still written as if it had murmured consonants, and tone is not marked. The written consonants tell the reader which tone to use. A phoneme that is distinguished from another phoneme only by its tone is called Toneme.

The tones in Punjabi arise as reinterpretation of different consonant series in terms of pitch viz four stops: य $/ \mathbf{g}^{\mathrm{h}} /$, च $/ \mathbf{d}^{\mathrm{h}} /$, प $/ \mathbf{d}^{\mathrm{h}} /$, उ $/ \mathbf{b}^{\mathrm{h}} /$ and one affricate: इ $/ \mathbf{d}^{\mathrm{h}} /$ and these five consonants are called Tonemes. The rules for characterization of Tonemes are described in the table below taking Toneme $\mathrm{u}_{\mathrm{Y}} / \mathrm{g}^{\mathrm{f}} /$ as an example as these are well documented in the linguistic studies.

| Toneme | Word/ Meaning | Position of Toneme | Nature of Tone | Toneme Substitution | $\begin{gathered} \text { IPA } \\ \text { Transcription } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 凹 | யठ/ Home | Initial | Low/à/ | [k] <br> (voiceless unaspirate) | /kə̀r/ |
| य | भय্पग्जन/ to <br> Burn | Medial | Low / ${ }_{\text {a }}$ / | [g] (voiced unaspirate) | /məgàra / |
| щ | भग्य/ Name of the month | Final | High /á/ | [g] (voiced unaspirate) | /mág/ |

Table 3/3: Tone Marking Rules (Tonemes)

## Independent Tone

Sandhu (1968), discussed that the aspiration effect of [J] /h/ in Pali, Prakrit and Apbhransh got developed into the tone system in Punjabi during middle Indo-Aryan period. Bailey (1914), stated that the tone resulting from the middle J /h/ occurs at the last syllable and in some cases it occurs on previous syllable. Tisdall (1953), identified that in 'विण /keha/ \& ठिठ /reha/, the pronunciation of consonant/h/ [J] is very weak and it does not act like an independent character.

Singh (1991), consonant J /h/ is used in all word positions i.e. in initial, medial or final syllable. If $\mathrm{J} / \mathrm{h} /$ occurred at the end of words then it is not pronounced and ends with breathy force, which shows the occurrence of tone e.g. यीठ /pí/ Grind; छम्ठ /t $\mathrm{fa}^{\prime}$ Tea. Similarly the J /h/ occurring in the middle position also acts a tone e.g. मगित्त /séd3/ Slowness; 民िगठi /énã/ these.

Sangha (1999), /h/ in initial position is pronounced as a consonant and is non-tonal e.g. ग्टी/hani/ companion; गैस्डी /holi/ slow. The consonant J /h/ in the end of the word is realised as a high tone. The tone due to $\overline{\mathrm{J}} \mathrm{h} /$ in the medial position could be high or low depending on the context.

Thus the tone rules are summarised below:

| consonant | Position of consonant/h/ in a word | Word / Meaning | Nature of tone | IPA transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| J /h/ | Final | ठण / Wish | High /á/ | /tfá/ |
|  | Medial | प्टिठరं / These | High /é/ | /énã/ |

Table 3/4: Tone Marking Rules (Consonant /h/)

Conjuncts of /h/ consists of pairin /h/ e.g. य亏ु /pád/ to study. It does not occur in the initial syllable. The pronunciation of pairin / $\mathfrak{h} /$ in medial and final syllable is so weak that it is perceived as a tone as illustrated in the examples below:

| consonant | Position of /h/ in a word | Word / Meaning | Nature of tone | IPA transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Conjuncts of /h/ | Final | य亏ु / To study | High /á/ | /pád/ |
|  | Medial | ४वुहा / Rough | High /á/ | /krərəva/ |
|  |  | मম్రु'घ / Seepage | Low /à/ | /solàba/ |

Table 3/5: Tone Marking Rules (Conjuncts of /h/)

### 3.1 Methodology

Tone is observed through the change in pitch viz fundamental frequency $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ as discussed in section 2.1. The methodology followed for experimental study of tones is as below:
3.1.1 Criterion for Data Collection: The frequency analysis of corpus of 1 lakh sentences reveals that frequency of:
a) words containing a toneme/s is about $10-15 \%$
b) words containing consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ is $15-20 \%$
c) words containing conjuncts of $/ \mathrm{h} /$ is $1-5 \%$

Thus the data needs to be designed specifically for experimental work for tonal analysis as discussed in section 1.8.1. Word selection criteria will vary in context of:
A) For Tone arising from Supra-Laryngeal Consonants, words with each of five tonemes in initial, medial and final syllable of the word will be compiled ensuring the phonetic coverage in terms of various vowels, dipthongs, nasalization, gemination and other co-articulation parameters such as occurrence of Toneme as onset/ coda in above contexts across Monosyllabic, Disyllabic, Trysyllabic and Polysyllabic words.
B) For Independent Tones, the words containing consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ in initial, medial and final syllable of the word will be compiled to examine the tonal characteristics. Conjuncts of /h/ do not occur in the initial syllable hence words containing conjuncts of / $\mathrm{h} /$ in medial and final syllable will be compiled.

Data recording specifications were followed as elaborated in section 1.8.2
3.1.2 Data Annotation using Praat Tool: The procedure to annotate the data in this tool is listed below:

- Load a recorded wave file (.wav extension) by selecting "Read from file". The file will appear in the objects list.
- Click on "Annotate" and select "To Text Grid".
- The created TextGrid will appear in the object list of the object window. Selects both audio file and TextGrid file and click on "Edit".
- The speech wave form gives information about the duration (horizontal axis) and loudness (vertical axis) of each part of the recording. In the spectrogram one can see the energy (shade of grey or black) at each point in time (horizontal axis) and each frequency (vertical axis).


Fig 3/1: Waveform \& Spectrogram

- Formants (in red colour), the intensity curve (Yellow in Color), the pitch curve (Blue in Color) and the spectrogram (Gray part in Spectrogram) can be displayed or turned off, by clicking on the corresponding buttons on the top bar of the window.
- For setting a boundary (i.e. marking the beginning or end of a phoneme, syllable etc.) click on the appropriate place in the spectrogram. A blue circle appears on the tier. Boundary can be created by clicking on the circle.


Fig 3/2: Boundary Tier for Phoneme Marking (bottom layer)

- After having created a second boundary, IPA transcription can be added for the given phoneme. Click on the grey button underneath allows it to play back this particular part of the recording. This button also gives the exact duration, pitch and intensity of the respective phoneme/syllable.


Fig 3/3: IPA Transcription Marking of Phonemes

- Click the save button to save the file with .Collection extension in the given path.

The first layer of Praat annotation tool was used for phoneme level annotation. Syllable marking can be done by adding second layer following the same procedure. Some samples were not annotated due to improper recording (IP) i.e. presence of noise or some other factor impacted the recording such as incorrect pronunciation including non-tonal (NT) pronunciation due to error by informant etc. These samples are limited to $10 \%$ of the data and will be ignored for presentation of the data.
3.1.3 Acoustic Parameters: The spectrographic analysis of all the samples will be carried out using praat tool. After identification of the vowel bearing tone (TBU) in a word being analysed, $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ contour and the slope of the contour over the pitch area of the TBU will be examined by recording of the parameters such as $\mathrm{F}_{0}$, slope of pitch of the (TBU), quarter wise slope data of the pitch curve. The data sheets for each word will be recorded. The fundamental frequency is speaker dependent hence $F_{0}$ can be analyzed for speaker variations also. The quarter-wise slope data will be correlated to detect the contour of the tone over duration of the TBU.
The PRAAT graphs will be reported in the thesis. Some samples of Independent tone as discussed by Lata et all (2013), were verified using the MATLAB tool for which the code used for plotting the graphs is given at the end of appendix C.

The higher the slope of the pitch variation across TBU, the stronger is the tone pronounced by the speaker, which is generally the case with native speakers. Nonnative speakers or urban speakers sometimes pronounce tonal words with weak tone. The onset of tone and realization of allotones will also be examined. The effect of tone on other syllables within a word also needs to be studied. Any single tone in a tonal language is susceptible to a good deal of variation owing to contextual compulsions. These patterns may also vary across mono-syllabic, di-syllabic, trisyllabic and poly-syllabic words. Variations within a word may occur due to coarticulation and other factors as discussed below:

- The distance in tongue movement/ movement of lips between consecutive phonemes/syllables depending on the place of articulation and manner of articulation.
- The sonority of vowel bearing the tone.
- Variations across Tonemes \& variations in Independent tone across words containing consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ and conjuncts of $/ \mathrm{h} /$.
- The variations due to presence of gemination and dip- thongs.
- Speaker variations such as speaker dependency (stylistic variations / geographic variations etc) while recording, age variations of speakers, the trend of loss of tone among urban speakers and non- native speakers.
- Speakers may differ both in pitch height and in pitch range hence articulation of tone may vary from speaker to speaker.
3.1.4 Notations to Represent Tone: Symbol [ o ] has been used in the following table to denote a tone bearing vowel. Following IPA symbols will be used in the thesis for marking tone in the representation of Punjabi PLS data.

| S. No. | Types of tone | IPA | Notation |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | High tone / Rising | ó | LH |
| 2. | Low tone / Falling | ò | HL |
| 3. | Rising Falling | $\hat{o}$ | LHL |
| 4. | Falling Rising | ǒ | HLH |

Table 3/6: Tone Marking Symbols

### 3.2 Experimental Analysis of Tone arising from Supra-Laryngeal Consonants

Keeping in view the frequency of occurrence of words as discussed in section 3.1.1, the data samples were drawn for analysis as tabulated below:

| S. <br> No | Toneme | $\begin{gathered} \text { Mono } \\ \text { syllabic } \end{gathered}$ | Disyllabic |  | Trisyllabic |  |  | Polysyllabic |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Tot } \\ \text { al } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | Initial | Final | Initial | Medial | Final | Init <br> ial | Media <br> I |  |
| 1. | щ | 8 | 10 | 9 | 1 | 7 | - | 1 | - | 36 |
| 2. | इ | 9 | 8 | 8 | 3 | 5 | - | - | 1 | 34 |
| 3. | ๖ | 8 | 4 | 7 | 4 | 6 | 4 | - | - | 33 |
| 4. | य | 4 | 8 | 11 | 1 | 5 | 3 | - | 1 | 33 |
| 5. | उ | 3 | 6 | 7 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | - | 22 |
|  | Sub-total | 32 | 36 | 42 | 10 | 26 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 158 |
|  | Total | 32 | 78 |  | 44 |  |  |  | 4 |  |

Table 3/7: Size of Data Samples of Tonemes
The word list of tonemes is given in Appendix A.

## Data Collation and Presentation

The spectrographic analysis using PRAAT of all the male \& female samples was carried out. The duration, fundamental frequency $\left(\mathrm{F}_{0}\right)$, quarter wise slope of the vowel associated with the Tone (TBU) have been recorded. The observations on contour of the tone over TBU have been tabulated. The tabulation of data has been done for various categories of words across the male and female speakers capturing the variety of acoustic environments as per Table $3 / 7$ for studying the nature of the tone associated.

## Recording of Data Sheets

The phoneme level annotated data of above samples was used for recording various acoustic parameters. A sample data sheet is given below:

## Sample Data Sheet: घֻॅఖ /búdzo/

| Male <br> Speakers | F <br> (HZ/Sec) | Slope in <br> $(\mathbf{H Z} / \mathrm{Sec})$ | Cross-Sectional Slope of <br> TBU(HZ/Sec) |  |  | Contour of <br> tone | Duration of <br> TBU |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | $25 \%$ | $25 \%$ | $25 \%$ | $25 \%$ |  |  |
| M1 | 149 | 353 | 140 | 147 | 154 | 155 | LH | 0.08 |
| M2 | 227 | 328 | 220 | 225 | 227 | 236 | LH | 0.07 |
| M3 | 204 | 462 | 184 | 200 | 212 | 218 | LH | 0.10 |
| M4 | 157 | 287 | 148 | 156 | 161 | 161 | LH | 0.07 |
| Average | $\mathbf{1 8 4}$ | $\mathbf{3 5 8}$ | $\mathbf{1 7 3}$ | $\mathbf{1 8 2}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 3}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 3}$ | LH | $\mathbf{0 . 0 8}$ |

Table 3/8: Data Sheet of Male Speakers

| Female Speakers | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{F}_{0} \text { in } \\ (\mathbf{H Z} / \mathrm{Sec}) \end{gathered}$ | Slope in (HZ/Sec) | Cross-Sectional Slope of TBU (HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contour of tone | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Duration of } \\ & \text { TBU } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| F1 | 246 | 501 | 232 | 247 | 251 | 253 | LH | 0.07 |
| F2 | 278 | 545 | 259 | 279 | 287 | 288 | LH | 0.10 |
| F3 | 277 | 812 | 244 | 280 | 293 | 293 | LH | 0.09 |
| F4 | 284 | 803 | 265 | 282 | 292 | 297 | LH | 0.06 |
| F5 | 320 | 719 | 296 | 319 | 332 | 332 | LH | 0.09 |
| F6 | 275 | 451 | 265 | 276 | 280 | 280 | LH | 0.08 |
| Average | 280 | 639 | 260 | 281 | 289 | 291 | LH | 0.08 |

Table 3/9: Data Sheet of Female Speakers
The sample data sheets for each category of Tonemes are given in Appendix B.

The rules reported as per literature review in section 3 will be corroborated and the variations discovered will be elaborately discussed.

### 3.2.1 Monosyllabic Words

These words have been analysed under two categories depending on whether Toneme is appearing as coda or onset.

## Words with Toneme as Coda:

| S. No. | Word <br> Text \& IPA | Duration |  |  | $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ |  |  | Slope |  |  | Contour of tone M \& F |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{array}{\|c} \hline \mathbf{M} \\ \text { avg } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline \mathbf{M} \\ \text { avg } \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg |  |
|  | u |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 |  | 0.24 | 0.29 | 0.27 | 213 | 315 | 264 | 329 | 315 | 322 | LH |
| 2 | उँ्ֹय/tắg/ | 0.33 | 0.39 | 0.36 | 209 | 296 | 253 | 308 | 276 | 292 | LH |
| 3 | Uौंय / /píg/ | 0.31 | 0.39 | 0.35 | 224 | 318 | 271 | 246 | 216 | 231 | LH |
| 4 | ถixu/úg/ | 0.33 | 0.32 | 0.33 | 240 | 313 | 277 | 326 | 397 | 362 | LH |
| 5 | भrua /mág/ | 0.29 | 0.29 | 0.29 | 202 | 268 | 235 | 244 | 238 | 241 | LH |
|  | इ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | माँइ <br> /sắd3/ | 0.32 | 0.42 | 0.37 | 209 | 303 | 256 | 278 | 560 | 419 | LH |
| 2 | घ̀इ /bód3/ | 0.28 | 0.31 | 0.30 | 205 | 294 | 250 | 282 | 364 | 323 | LH |
| 3 | Êंश / ̛̃́d3/ | 0.19 | 0.26 | 0.23 | 211 | 308 | 260 | 429 | 432 | 431 | LH |
| 4 | घांइ <br> /bấd3/ | 0.30 | 0.38 | 0.34 | 206 | 278 | 242 | 290 | 351 | 321 | LH |
|  | も |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | मुंढ /sứd ${ }^{\text {d }}$ | 0.21 | 0.26 | 0.24 | 220 | 309 | 265 | 317 | 307 | 312 | LH |
| 2 | દ̌E/vód. / | 0.13 | 0.15 | 0.14 | 197 | 286 | 242 | 452 | 497 | 475 | LH |
|  | य |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | ज़ॅय/jódd/ | 0.12 | 0.14 | 0.13 | 213 | 308 | 261 | 432 | 522 | 477 | LH |
| 2 | रंय /k ${ }^{\text {a }}$ d/ | 0.21 | 0.26 | 0.24 | 215 | 304 | 260 | 334 | 339 | 337 | LH |
|  | उ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | नीउ /dsib/ | 0.27 | 0.29 | 0.28 | 223 | 310 | 267 | 400 | 360 | 380 | LH |

Table 3/10: Contour of Tone in Monosyllabic Words with Toneme as Coda

The rising tone is observed in all words．Sample word उix्य／tã́g／Anxiety：


Fig 3／4：Male Sample－LH


Fig 3／5：Female Sample－LH

## Words with Toneme as Onset：

| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | Word Text \＆ IPA | Duration |  |  | $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ |  |  | Slope |  |  | Contour of tone M \＆F |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \mathbf{a v g} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \mathbf{F} \\ \mathbf{a v g} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{array}{\|c\|c\|} \hline \mathbf{M} \\ \text { avg } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline \mathrm{F} \\ \mathrm{avg} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \mathbf{a v g} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline \mathrm{F} \\ \mathrm{avg} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | Avg |  |
|  | य |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | யठ／kı̀r／ | 0.18 | 0.20 | 0.19 | 206 | 294 | 250 | 277 | 364 | 321 | HL |
| 2 | జ్ల $/$／kùs／ | 0.38 | 0.31 | 0.35 | 233 | 320 | 277 | 327 | 416 | 372 | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { HL (50\%) } \\ \text { HLH } \\ (50 \%) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
|  | इ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | इॅग／tfòg／ | 0.13 | 0.17 | 0.15 | 234 | 298 | 266 | 280 | 459 | 370 | HL |
| 2 | इ＇大ِं／t¢ãũ／ | 0.50 | 0.48 | 0.49 | 212 | 304 | 258 | 184 | 400 | 292 | HLH |
| 3 | হֻ | 0.29 | 0.29 | 0.29 | 232 | 314 | 273 | 314 | 393 | 354 | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { HL (40\%) } \\ \text { HLH } \\ (60 \%) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
|  | ढ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | だइ／tidd／ | 0.12 | 0.14 | 0.13 | 233 | 316 | 275 | 608 | 633 | 621 | HL |
| 2 | ढेठ／tèr／ | 0.29 | 0.29 | 0.29 | 198 | 297 | 248 | 288 | 419 | 354 | HL |
| 3 | টैए／tòl／ | 0.32 | 0.36 | 0.34 | 223 | 303 | 263 | 226 | 272 | 249 | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { HL (50\%) } \\ \text { HLH } \\ (50 \%) \end{gathered}$ |
| 4 | ढేग／toั̀g／ | 0.23 | 0.27 | 0.25 | 219 | 300 | 260 | 288 | 279 | 284 | HL |
| 5 | हप्पी／／ăi／ | 0.45 | 0.46 | 0.46 | 205 | 301 | 253 | 190 | 321 | 256 | HLH |
| 6 |  | 0.44 | 0.41 | 0.43 | 221 | 328 | 275 | 249 | 293 | 271 | HLH |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Contd．． |


| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | Word Text \& IPA | Duration |  |  | $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ |  |  | Slope |  |  | Contour of tone |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \mathrm{avg} \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{M} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \mathbf{a v g} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \operatorname{avg} \end{gathered}$ | Avg |  |
|  | य |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | 4ंठ /toั̀n/ | 0.15 | 0.16 | 0.16 | 231 | 308 | 270 | 273 | 427 | 350 | HL |
| 2 | पइ /t̀̀r/ | 0.19 | 0.23 | 0.21 | 228 | 299 | 264 | 282 | 371 | 327 | HL |
| 3 | यिभाग <br> /tìan/ | 0.21 | 0.12 | 0.17 | 222 | 300 | 261 | 173 | 297 | 235 | $\begin{gathered} \text { HL (50\%) } \\ \text { HLH } \\ (50 \%) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 4 |  | 0.51 | 0.52 | 0.52 | 217 | 315 | 266 | 257 | 366 | 312 | HLH |
|  | उ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | ञ్రॅч /pùkk ${ }^{\text {h/ }}$ | 0.14 | 0.12 | 0.13 | 230 | 322 | 276 | 653 | 891 | 772 | HL |
| 2 |  | 0.30 | 0.29 | 0.30 | 230 | 319 | 275 | 244 | 352 | 298 | HL |

Table 3/11: Contour of Tone in Monosyllabic Words with Toneme as Onset

Falling tone is observed in the majority of the words. Example word इॅठ/tfàg/ Foam:


Fig 3/6: Male Sample - HL


Fig 3/7: Female Sample - HL

3．2．2 Di／Tri／Poly－syllabic Words with Toneme as Onset in Initial Syllable

| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | WordText \＆IPA | Duration |  |  | F0 |  |  | Slope |  |  | Contour of tone M \＆F |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \mathbf{a v g} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \hline \mathbf{M} \\ \mathbf{a v g} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \mathbf{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \mathbf{a v g} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \mathbf{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg |  |
|  | य |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | ひ్ञ్న／kòda／ | 0.20 | 0.21 | 0.21 | 210 | 284 | 247 | 298 | 294 | 296 | HL |
| 2 |  | 0.13 | 0.13 | 0.13 | 220 | 300 | 260 | 415 | 400 | 408 | HL |
| 3 | 巛ૅमт／kว̀ssa／ | 0.08 | 0.07 | 0.08 | 213 | 307 | 260 | 655 | 479 | 567 | HL |
| 4 | यrठी／kàhi／ | 0.17 | 0.20 | 0.19 | 211 | 285 | 248 | 349 | 330 | 340 | HL |
| 5 | ひّ̛डी／kû̀di／ | 0.20 | 0.23 | 0.22 | 221 | 306 | 264 | 492 | 475 | 484 | HL |
| 6 | लिॅगी／kiggi／ | 0.09 | 0.09 | 0.09 | 226 | 312 | 269 | 782 | 670 | 726 | HL |
| 7 | జ్రీర／kû̀na／ | 0.09 | 0.07 | 0.08 | 243 | 324 | 284 | 670 | 441 | 556 | HL |
| 8 | थ्पठర／kèra／ | 0.21 | 0.22 | 0.22 | 218 | 293 | 256 | 281 | 297 | 289 | HL |
| 9 |  | 0.18 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 233 | 296 | 265 | 317 | 335 | 326 | HL |
| 10 | 凶ेटा／kòta／ | 0.13 | 0.14 | 0.14 | 226 | 299 | 263 | 566 | 486 | 526 | HL |
| 11 | ய్ల ठర <br> ／kùrəna／ | 0.19 | 0.18 | 0.19 | 235 | 315 | 275 | 359 | 375 | 367 | HL |
|  | इ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | इंउా／tjò̀da／ | 0.18 | 0.21 | 0.20 | 221 | 290 | 256 | 336 | 403 | 370 | HL |
| 2 | इ＇S్ర／tfâtu／ | 0.22 | 0.25 | 0.24 | 221 | 290 | 256 | 251 | 348 | 300 | HL |
| 3 | इइइव <br> ／t i i चk／ | 0.11 | 0.14 | 0.13 | 240 | 320 | 280 | 323 | 448 | 386 | HL |
| 4 | इंतठ ／t fà̀dzar／ | 0.22 | 0.26 | 0.24 | 213 | 290 | 252 | 357 | 433 | 395 | HL |
| 5 | इस्टी／t¢ôli／ | 0.18 | 0.23 | 0.21 | 232 | 301 | 267 | 319 | 388 | 354 | HL |
| 6 | छ్రర <br> ／t Jùt $^{\text {tha／}}$ | 0.16 | 0.18 | 0.17 | 234 | 300 | 267 | 522 | 549 | 536 | HL |
| 7 | ईंँ <br>  | 0.19 | 0.20 | 0.20 | 227 | 304 | 266 | 463 | 464 | 464 | HL |
| 8 | इगाइ <br>  | 0.11 | 0.13 | 0.12 | 229 | 305 | 267 | 487 | 665 | 576 | HL |
| 9 | इ वृ <br> ／tjökəna／ | 0.10 | 0.09 | 0.10 | 240 | 318 | 279 | 937 | 833 | 885 | HL |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Contd．． |


| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Word } \\ \text { Text \& IPA } \end{gathered}$ | Duration |  |  | F0 |  |  | Slope |  |  | $\begin{array}{\|c} \hline \begin{array}{c} \text { Contour } \\ \text { of tone } \end{array} \\ \hline \text { M \& F } \end{array}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{M} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { F } \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \mathbf{a v g} \end{gathered}$ | Avg |  |
|  | ঢ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | ढॅवट tòkkəŋ／ | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.07 | 228 | 313 | 271 | 835 | 576 | 706 | HL |
| 2 |  | 0.09 | 0.08 | 0.08 | 235 | 328 | 282 | 503 | 552 | 528 | HL |
| 3 | ढा＇घा／tàba／ | 0.13 | 0.15 | 0.14 | 215 | 299 | 257 | 426 | 502 | 464 | HL |
| 4 | ढाठी／tà ¢i／ | 0.14 | 0.17 | 0.16 | 223 | 304 | 264 | 420 | 463 | 442 | HL |
| 5 | たिंदेग ／î̀còra／ | 0.13 | 0.15 | 0.14 | 211 | 311 | 261 | 477 | 495 | 486 | HL |
| 6 | दिल又टां <br> ／tìlkəvã／ | 0.07 | 0.08 | 0.08 | 240 | 335 | 288 | 517 | 566 | 542 | HL |
| 7 | ढठिटा <br> ／tàhena／ | 0.09 | 0.12 | 0.11 | 225 | 310 | 268 | 537 | 352 | 445 | HL |
| 8 | ह゙ंट्टा <br> ／từ申 na／ | 0.17 | 0.20 | 0.19 | 231 | 304 | 268 | 476 | 488 | 482 | HL |
|  | य |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | पेघी／tòbi／ | 0.14 | 0.16 | 0.15 | 227 | 319 | 273 | 454 | 463 | 459 | HL |
| 2 | पర్ర／tı̀nuf／ | 0.06 | 0.08 | 0.07 | 224 | 320 | 272 | 386 | 506 | 446 | HL |
| 3 | पंटा／tắda／ | 0.20 | 0.24 | 0.22 | 221 | 298 | 260 | 312 | 446 | 379 | HL |
| 4 | पరা্ট／tı̀nad／ | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.05 | 232 | 322 | 277 | 449 | 678 | 564 | HL |
| 5 | पठみ／tə̀rəm／ | 0.11 | 0.14 | 0.13 | 235 | 308 | 272 | 348 | 424 | 386 | HL |
| 6 | पुंठी／từni／ | 0.11 | 0.08 | 0.10 | 242 | 339 | 291 | 458 | 529 | 494 | HL |
| 7 | घंटला tờdəla／ | 0.15 | 0.16 | 0.16 | 228 | 312 | 270 | 507 | 600 | 554 | HL |
|  | す |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | उंगी／pà̀gi／ | 0.17 | 0.22 | 0.20 | 206 | 320 | 263 | 309 | 429 | 369 | HL |
| 2 | ชิंड्र／poั̀du／ | 0.23 | 0.25 | 0.24 | 226 | 309 | 268 | 332 | 454 | 393 | HL |
| 4 | हित्ट <br> ／pìd3d3na／ | 0.09 | 0.08 | 0.09 | 263 | 309 | 286 | 870 | 883 | 877 | HL |
| 5 | उम्न̧ी／pòsuri／ | 0.07 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 237 | 320 | 279 | 585 | 953 | 769 | HL |
| 6 |  <br> ／prìjtatfar／ | 0.08 | 0.08 | 0.08 | 224 | 315 | 270 | 583 | 764 | 674 | HL |

Table 3／12：Contour of Tone in Di／Tri／Poly－syllabic Words with Toneme as Onset in Initial Syllable

The toneme as onset in the initial syllable of the word always bears a falling tone observed on the nucleus of the syllable e.g. ढॅवट /tòkkən/ Cover


Fig 3/8: Male Sample - HL


Fig 3/9: Female Sample - HL

## Discussion

It has been discussed in literature survey that the toneme as onset in initial syllable leads to falling tone which is corroborated for mono/di/tri/poly-syllabic words as is evident from Table $3 / 11 \& 3 / 12$. There is no reference in the literature about toneme as coda in the initial syllable but experimentally rising tone has been observed in case of monosyllabic words (refer table $3 / 10$ ). Falling-rising tone has been observed in words having dipthong as an open vowel however it is observed in $50 \%$ of the speakers only in case of closed syllable as can be seen in यिभr'万 /tian/ as an example. In a monosyllabic word with toneme as onset and coda both, the toneme in coda gets substituted by corresponding voiced unaspirated consonant due to articulatory constraints e.g. क्ज है /pǜ d/. Such words occur very infrequently.

The relevant Praat graphs are given in Appendix C.

The observations are summed up below:

| S. No. | Acoustic environment | Tone observed | Allotones |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{1}$ | Monosyllabic with tonemes <br> as coda | Rising tone | - |
| $\mathbf{2}$ | Mono/ Di/ Tri/ Poly- <br> syllabic with tonemes as <br> onset | Falling tone | Falling-rising |
| • Dipthong in open |  |  |  |
| syllable |  |  |  |

Table 3/13: Tone Rules (refer Data Tables: 3/10, 3/11 \& 3/12)

### 3.2.3 Tri/ Poly-syllabic Words with Toneme in Medial Syllable



| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | Word Text \& IPA | Duration |  |  | $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ |  |  | Slope |  |  | $\begin{gathered} \hline \begin{array}{c} \text { Contour } \\ \text { of tone } \end{array} \\ \hline \text { M \& F } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \operatorname{avg} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline F \\ \text { avg } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{M} \\ \mathrm{avg} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \operatorname{avg} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \mathrm{avg} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \mathbf{A v} \\ \mathbf{g} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |  |
|  | इ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | Aॅइट्ट <br> /riç óna/ | 0.09 | 0.08 | 0.09 | 227 | 315 | 271 | 262 | 492 | 377 | LH |
| 2 | मंश़ीट्ठ <br> /sãdzídar/ | 0.10 | 0.10 | 0.10 | 212 | 301 | 257 | 335 | 482 | 409 | LH |
| 3 | घ్ష"इट <br> /budzóna/ | 0.08 | 0.09 | 0.09 | 228 | 309 | 269 | 198 | 406 | 302 | LH |
| 4 | मभइटाठी <br> /səmdzáda ri/ | 0.06 | 0.09 | 0.08 | 210 | 307 | 259 | 269 | 382 | 326 | LH |
| 5 | निइए'्छिट्र <br> /gidjàuna/ | 0.23 | 0.27 | 0.25 | 216 | 302 | 259 | 161 | 258 | 210 | HL |
| 6 | В ฤР <br> /vd3àrna/ | 0.21 | 0.22 | 0.22 | 218 | 288 | 253 | 237 | 323 | 280 | HL |
|  | ढ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | हீंट्ट <br> /từdọ́rạ | 0.08 | 0.08 | 0.08 | 210 | 286 | 248 | 192 | 238 | 215 | LH |
| 2 | मंढह <br> /sãdáņ / | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.07 | 228 | 328 | 278 | 238 | 300 | 269 | LH |
| 3 | Јंढटम <br> /hãdə́nsar/ | 0.07 | 0.08 | 0.08 | 225 | 312 | 269 | 279 | 484 | 382 | LH |
| 4 | मृंढ़ड /sũdèla/ | 0.17 | 0.18 | 0.18 | 226 | 306 | 266 | 275 | 349 | 312 | HL |
| 5 | たिढेठ <br> /tĩ̀còra/ | 0.20 | 0.24 | 0.22 | 214 | 297 | 256 | 200 | 371 | 286 | HL |
| 6 | घुछ्या <br> /budàpa/ | 0.15 | 0.16 | 0.16 | 214 | 285 | 250 | 519 | 592 | 556 | HL |
| Contd.. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |


| $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | Word <br> Text \& IPA | Duration |  |  | $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ |  |  | Slope |  |  | Contour of tone M\&F |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | M avg | F avg | Avg | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline \mathbf{M} \\ \mathbf{a v g} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \mathbf{F} \\ \text { avg } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \hline \mathbf{M} \\ \text { avg } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \mathbf{F} \\ \text { avg } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | Avg |  |
|  | य |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | वियठें <br> /kı'́ rõ/ | 0.05 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 244 | 320 | 282 | 289 | 526 | 408 | LH |
| 2 | गांयக <br> /gã ${ }^{\prime}$ la/ | 0.06 | 0.05 | 0.06 | 228 | 319 | 274 | 249 | 354 | 302 | LH |
| 3 | चैपवप्र <br> /t t dórpon <br> a/ | 0.06 | 0.05 | 0.06 | 237 | 318 | 278 | 291 | 589 | 440 | LH |
| 4 | भंयेठ <br> /ว̆dè ra/ | 0.19 | 0.20 | 0.20 | 222 | 304 | 263 | 204 | 336 | 270 | HL |
| 5 | मयग्ठर <br> /sədàrən/ | 0.21 | 0.23 | 0.22 | 221 | 296 | 259 | 161 | 274 | 218 | HL |
|  | उ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | उंउटा <br> /rãbว่ィุ | 0.08 | 0.06 | 0.07 | 245 | 321 | 283 | 162 | 377 | 270 | LH |
| 2 | लॅउट्ट <br> /labbóna/ | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.07 | 234 | 317 | 276 | 253 | 430 | 342 | LH |
| 3 | तिब'छिह्ट <br> /nibàuna/ | 0.22 | 0.22 | 0.22 | 227 | 311 | 269 | 201 | 286 | 244 | HL |

Table 3/14: Contour of Tone in Tri/ Poly-syllabic Words with Toneme in Medial Syllable

It is observed from the above table:

- The medial syllable containing short vowel and toneme results in rising tone e.g. गांयচ্য/ /gãdála/ Muddy


Fig 3/10: Male Sample - LH


Fig 3/11: Female Sample - LH

- The medial syllable containing long vowel and Toneme results in falling tone e.g. मय'गठ/sədàrən/ Simple


Fig 3/12: Male Sample - HL


Fig 3/13: Female Sample - HL

## Discussion

The rising / falling tone is observed in case of tonemes in medial syllable depending on whether the TBU is short / long vowel respectively.

The observations are summed up below:

| S. No. | Acoustic environment | Tone observed | Allotones |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Tri / Poly-syllabic with <br> tonemes in medial syllable <br> and short vowel as TBU | Rising | - |
| 2 | Tri / Poly-syllabic with <br> tonemes in medial syllable <br> and long vowel as TBU or <br> dipthong (long + short) | Falling | - |

Table 3/15: Tone Rules (refer Data Table: 3/14)

### 3.2.4 Di-syllabic Words with Toneme in Final Syllable

| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | Word Text \& IPA | Duration |  |  | $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ |  |  | Slope |  |  | Contour of tone M \& F |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | M avg | $\begin{gathered} \hline \mathbf{F} \\ \mathbf{a v g} \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c} \hline \mathbf{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{array}$ | Avg |  |
|  | य |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | तिॅur /nígga/ | 0.07 | 0.06 | 0.07 | 190 | 278 | 234 | 401 | 417 | 409 | LH |
| 2 | वंपी /kốgi/ | 0.06 | 0.22 | 0.19 | 209 | 300 | 255 | 283 | 233 | 258 | LH |
| 3 | घ̌̌ut/bว̇ggi/ | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.07 | 193 | 263 | 228 | 287 | 293 | 290 | LH |
| 4 | एप्ب్ /lágu/ | 0.08 | 0.09 | 0.09 | 195 | 273 | 234 | 193 | 363 | 278 | LH |
| 5 | मतथइ <br> /ərk ə̀r/ | 0.13 | 0.16 | 0.15 | 219 | 306 | 263 | 404 | 343 | 374 | HL |
| 6 | ठिया'म/nigăs/ | 0.39 | 0.39 | 0.39 | 216 | 299 | 258 | 186 | 386 | 286 | HLH |
| 7 |  | 0.39 | 0.34 | 0.37 | 210 | 280 | 245 | 144 | 241 | 193 | HLH |
|  | इ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | J®op/hấḑu/ | 0.16 | 0.19 | 0.18 | 193 | 278 | 236 | 349 | 243 | 296 | LH |
| 2 | ģ̌z /bú d3o/ | 0.08 | 0.08 | 0.08 | 194 | 280 | 232 | 358 | 639 | 499 | LH |
| 3 | तंश्र/ḑốd 3 / | 0.17 | 0.21 | 0.19 | 191 | 270 | 233 | 237 | 300 | 269 | LH |
| 4 | मइॅव/2tJàkk/ | 0.12 | 0.13 | 0.13 | 229 | 313 | 271 | 511 | 488 | 500 | HL |
| 5 | मुइᄁ / /sǔdza/ | 0.45 | 0.36 | 0.41 | 203 | 301 | 252 | 180 | 287 | 234 | HLH |
| 6 | मुइम्पी <br> /sudjăi/ | 0.47 | 0.42 | 0.45 | 206 | 299 | 253 | 174 | 378 | 276 | HLH |
|  | ढ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | मींढल <br> /síc 'l/ | 0.10 | 0.13 | 0.12 | 207 | 247 | 277 | 146 | 254 | 200 | LH |
| 2 | घींढू <br> /bĩqál/ | 0.15 | 0.16 | 0.16 | 235 | 331 | 283 | 146 | 228 | 187 | LH |
| 3 | मंढ़ <br> /sốd. a/ | 0.18 | 0.21 | 0.20 | 205 | 318 | 262 | 227 | 341 | 284 | LH |
| 4 | गुभाँचट <br> /guãdón/ | 0.08 | 0.13 | 0.11 | 226 | 336 | 281 | 190 | 268 | 229 | LH |
| 5 | वंढा <br> /kắ ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | 0.16 | 0.21 | 0.19 | 199 | 313 | 256 | 184 | 410 | 297 | LH |
| 6 |  | 0.21 | 0.24 | 0.23 | 231 | 324 | 278 | 269 | 338 | 304 | LH |
|  | Contd.. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |


| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | Word Text \& IPA | Duration |  |  | $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ |  |  | Slope |  |  | $\begin{gathered} \hline \begin{array}{c} \text { Contour } \\ \text { of tone } \end{array} \\ \hline \text { M \& F } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | M avg | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{M} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \operatorname{avg} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg |  |
| 7 | घ̇ढ] /búdda/ | 0.08 | 0.07 | 0.08 | 189 | 278 | 234 | 484 | 619 | 552 | LH |
| 8 | गुभांढी /goắdi/ | 0.28 | 0.32 | 0.30 | 217 | 285 | 251 | 195 | 268 | 232 | LH |
| 9 | पठा' /tànad/ | 0.33 | 0.36 | 0.35 | 221 | 307 | 264 | 170 | 284 | 227 | HL (60\%) HLH (40\%) |
| 10 | Jֹढర్ర /ho dău/ | 0.44 | 0.43 | 0.44 | 219 | 285 | 252 | 165 | 318 | 242 | HLH |
| 11 | वढ्प्टी/kədăi/ | 0.48 | 0.45 | 0.47 | 223 | 300 | 262 | 162 | 348 | 255 | HLH |
|  | य |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | प्टियठ /Iddə́r/ | 0.10 | 0.15 | 0.13 | 236 | 331 | 284 | 241 | 225 | 233 | LH |
| 2 | भयुठ /məd' r/ | 0.17 | 0.17 | 0.17 | 195 | 334 | 265 | 219 | 304 | 262 | LH |
| 3 | ट्रयीभा <br> /dudîa/ | 0.38 | 0.36 | 0.37 | 229 | 318 | 274 | 207 | 291 | 249 | LHL |
| 4 | ヶॅय /ód a/ | 0.30 | 0.23 | 0.27 | 224 | 268 | 246 | 238 | 547 | 393 | LH |
| 5 | मंयी /sṍdi/ | 0.17 | 0.21 | 0.19 | 205 | 304 | 255 | 228 | 312 | 217 | LH |
| 6 | ધ'्या /k ${ }^{\text {háda/ }}$ | 0.11 | 0.12 | 0.12 | 169 | 273 | 221 | 351 | 344 | 348 | LH |
| 7 | गाय / góda / | 0.9 | 0.10 | 0.10 | 185 | 279 | 232 | 264 | 355 | 310 | LH |
| 8 | নॉय' / gídda/ | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 184 | 279 | 232 | 457 | 571 | 514 | LH |
| 9 | गॉय /gúdda/ | 0.06 | 0.07 | 0.07 | 196 | 287 | 242 | 393 | 573 | 483 | LH |
| 10 | यूय'त <br> /prədǎn/ | 0.35 | 0.38 | 0.37 | 191 | 295 | 243 | 149 | 239 | 194 | HLH |
| 11 | वंप्रंटी /kãdǔi/ | 0.41 | 0.39 | 0.40 | 201 | 323 | 262 | 165 | 261 | 213 | HLH |
|  | उ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | ट్రॅऽठ <br> /dubbár/ | 0.11 | 0.17 | 0.14 | 222 | 335 | 279 | 165 | 313 | 339 | LH |
| 2 | गठउ /gərə́b/ | 0.11 | 0.15 | 0.13 | 187 | 292 | 240 | 219 | 413 | 316 | LH |
| 3 | च్ एॅड <br> /durlább/ | 0.10 | 0.10 | 0.10 | 191 | 283 | 237 | 232 | 334 | 283 | LH |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Contd.. |


| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Word } \\ \text { Text \& IPA } \end{gathered}$ | Duration |  |  | $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ |  |  | Slope |  |  | Contour of tone M\& F |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | M avg | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \mathbf{a v g} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { F } \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \text { Mvg } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { F } \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg |  |
| 4 | ठ'डी /nábi/ | 0.15 | 0.15 | 0.15 | 192 | 273 | 233 | 258 | 214 | 236 | LH |
| 5 | ट̇उT /tóba/ | 0.15 | 0.13 | 0.14 | 209 | 292 | 251 | 217 | 349 | 283 | LH |
| 6 | टइडT/dárba/ | 0.0.09 | 0.11 | 0.10 | 208 | 264 | 236 | 232 | 275 | 254 | LH |
| 7 | हिठडै/nírbe/ | 0.11 | 0.10 . | 0.11 | 197 | 284 | 243 | 235 | 367 | 301 | LH |
| 8 | भाठिभम्म <br> /2bǐas/ | 0.40 | 0.41 | 0.41 | 189 | 302 | 246 | 184 | 369 | 277 | HLH |
| 9 | गांडीठ /gãk r/ | 0.27 | 0.30 | 0.29 | 222 | 295 | 259 | 208 | 420 | 314 | HL |

Table 3/16: Contour of Tones in Di-syllabic Words with Toneme in Final Syllable

The majority of the words reflect rising / falling tone depending on the context as per detail given below:

- Rising tone is observed in words having open final syllable. It is also observed that tone doesn't reflect on the open vowel in the end of a word and it shifts to the prior vowel e.g. ठ'्डी /nábi/ Navel


Fig 3/14: Male Sample - LH


Fig 3/15: Female Sample - LH

- Falling tone is observed in words having closed final syllable e.g. गांडीठ / gãbìr/ Serious


Fig 3/16: Male Sample - HL


Fig 3/17: Female Sample - HL

## Discussion

Rising tone has been observed in words having open final syllable. In addition, the tone gets shifted to prior vowel as investigated. Falling tone has been observed in words having closed final syllable. Falling-rising tone has been observed in words having dipthong (short + long) and (long + long) with an exception in ट्यीभr /dudia/ where rising-falling tone is observed. Falling-rising tone is observed in case of long vowel being TBU due to fricative, flap and nasal coda.

The observations are summed up below:

| S. No. | Acoustic environment | Tone observed |  | Allotones |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Tone <br> contour | Shifting of tone <br> on prior vowel |  |
| 1 | Di-syllabic with toneme in <br> final open syllable <br> - Dipthong (long + <br> long) | Rising tone <br> Rising - <br> falling | Yes | - |

Table 3/17: Tone Rules (refer Data Table: 3/16)

### 3.2.5 Tone Patterns in Composite Words

| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | Word Text \& IPA | Duration |  |  | F0 |  |  | Slope |  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Contour } \\ \text { of tone } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { F } \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\underset{\mathbf{a v g}}{\mathbf{M}}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline \mathbf{M} \\ \hline \mathbf{a v g} \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg |  |
| 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | ひॅ"్ᅳ | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.07 | 232 | 302 | 267 | 608 | 500 | 554 | HL |
|  | याठ//kàra | 0.15 | 0.17 | 0.16 | 223 | 301 | 262 | 216 | 339 | 278 | HL |
|  | इ -হৃइరা/tfòntfòna/ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | হৃহ/tfön/ | 0.11 | 0.10 | 0.11 | 237 | 329 | 283 | 452 | 506 | 479 | HL |
|  | इగT/tృコ̀na | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.07 | 225 | 288 | 257 | 233 | 332 | 283 | HL |
|  | इ -fি्मহি /rimtfim/ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2 | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { fि } / \mathrm{rim} / \\ & + \\ & \text { इिभ } \\ & / \mathrm{t} \sqrt{\mathrm{im} /} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 0.15 | 0.13 | 0.14 | 231 | 329 | 280 | 267 | 317 | 292 | LH |
|  | य - ठ'्भय'्ठी /namtàri/ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | ठ'भ <br> /nam/ + <br> यन्ठी <br> /tàri/ | 0.15 | 0.16 | 0.16 | 226 | 317 | 272 | 254 | 338 | 296 | HL |
|  | उ- ठैडीउ/p ¢̀pit/ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | $\text { छै / } \mathrm{p} \grave{\varepsilon} /$ | 0.15 | 0.12 | 0.14 | 223 | 305 | 264 | 248 | 428 | 338 | HL |
|  | डीउ/pit/ | 0.20 | 0.22 | 0.21 | 225 | 280 | 253 | 332 | 565 | 449 | HL |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { B्रू /údz/ } \\ & + \\ & \text { घुय } \\ & \text { /búg/ } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 0.06 | 0.04 | 0.05 | 217 | 284 | 251 | 509 | 739 | 624 | LH |
|  |  | 0.09 | 0.10 | 0.09 | 226 | 321 | 286 | 185 | 564 | 338 | LH |

Table 3/18: Contour of tones in Composite Words

The tone rules as discussed in previous sections are fully applicable to the constituent members of the composite words. An example word is इగइగా /tfòntfòna/ Sound making toy is shown below:


Fig 3/18: Male Sample - HL


Fig 3/19: Female Sample - HL

### 3.2.6 Research Findings on Tone arising from Supra-Laryngeal Consonants

- As per literature survey the toneme in initial position leads to falling tone which has been corroborated experimentally and holds good for mono/ di/ tri/ polysyllabic words with toneme as onset in the initial syllable. However falling-rising allotone has been observed in $50 \%$ cases. Falling-rising tone has been observed in all cases having dipthong as coda.
- In addition falling tone has also been observed in tri / poly-syllabic words with toneme in medial syllable and long vowel as TBU and dipthong (long + short). Falling tone has been observed in di-syllabic words with toneme as onset in final closed syllable. However falling-rising tone has been observed in dipthong (long + short) \& (long + long) and flap / fricative / nasal coda.
- Mono-syllabic words with toneme as coda in initial syllable testify rising tone and rising tone has also been observed in tri / poly-syllabic words with toneme in medial syllable and short vowel as TBU.
- In addition rising tone has also been observed in di-syllabic words with toneme in final open syllable. Rising-falling tone has been observed in dipthong (long + long vowel).

These findings are summed up in the table below:

| Occurrence of Toneme in | Acoustic environment | Tonal <br> Variations |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Initial syllable | 1. Monosyllabic with toneme as coda <br> 2. Monosyllabic with toneme as onset <br> - Dipthong | LH (100\%) HL (50\%), HLH $(50 \%)$ HLH (100\%) |
|  | Tri / Poly-syllabic with toneme as onset | HL (100\%) |
| Medial syllable | 1. Tri-syllabic with toneme and short as TBU <br> 2. Tri-syllabic with toneme and long vowel as TBU or dipthong (long + short vowel) | LH (100\%) HL (100\%) |
| Final syllable | 1. Di-syllabic with toneme in final open syllable <br> With Dipthong (long + long) <br> 2. Di-syllabic with final closed syllable <br> - Toneme as onset <br> - Toneme as coda <br> - Dipthong (short + long) and (long + long) and flap / fricative / nasal coda | LH (100\%) (tone shifts to prior vowel) LHL (100\%) HL (100\%) HL (60\%), HLH $(40 \%)$ HLH (100\%) |

Table 3/19: Rules for Tone arising from Supra-Laryngeal Consonants

### 3.3 Experimental Analysis of Independent Tones

In this case, the words containing consonant J/h/ in Initial/Medial/Final syllable and conjuncts of / $\mathfrak{h} /$ in the medial/final syllable only were gathered as conjuncts of $/ \mathrm{h} /$ in the initial syllable doesn't orthographically occur. Initial /h/ is extensively used in orthography and as per literature survey it is considered non-tonal, which will be verified. The data sampling for study of independent tones is as below:

| Words Consisting of | Mono syllabic | Disyllabic |  | Trisyllabic |  |  | Polysyllabic |  | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Initial | Final | Initial | Medial | Final | Initial | Medial |  |
| Consonant /h/ | 15 | 15 | 16 | 6 | 16 | 3 | - | 3 | 74 |
| Conjuncts of /h/ | 1 | - | 6 | - | 8 | - | - | 2 | 17 |
| Sub-Total | 16 | 15 | 22 | 6 | 24 | 3 | - | 5 | 91 |
| Total | 16 | 37 |  | 33 |  |  | 5 |  |  |

Table 3/20: Size of Data Samples for study of Independent Tones
The corresponding word lists are given in Appendix A.

## Data Collation and Presentation

The spectrographic analysis using PRAAT of all the male \& female samples was carried out. The duration, fundamental frequency $\left(\mathrm{F}_{0}\right)$, quarter wise slope of the vowel associated with the Tone (TBU) have been recorded. The observations on contour of the tone over TBU have been tabulated. The tabulation of data has been done for two categories of words (consonant /h/ \& conjuncts of /h/) capturing the variety of acoustic environments as discussed in section 3.1.3 for studying the nature of the tone associated accross the male and female speakers.

These tones can be broadly divided into two categories:

### 3.3.1 Tone Variations Associated with Consonant/h/

## Recording of Data Sheets

The phoneme level annotated data of above samples was used for recording various acoustic parameters as discussed in section 3.1.3. Sample data sheets are given below:

Sample Data Sheet 1 (consonant /h/): उघ'ग /təbâ/

| Male Speakers | $F_{0}$ in (Hz/sec) | Slope in <br> (Hz/sec) | Cross - Sectional slope of TBU (Hz/sec) |  |  |  | Contour of Tone | Duration of TBU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| M1 | 167 | 244 | 134 | 169 | 188 | 177 | LHL | 0.45 |
| M2 | 245 | 168 | 232 | 241 | 257 | 249 | LHL | 0.40 |
| M3 | 217 | 156 | 212 | 224 | 220 | 211 | LHL | 0.43 |
| M4 | 170 | 318 | 175 | 171 | 183 | 150 | LHL | 0.29 |
| Average | 200 | 222 | 188 | 201 | 212 | 197 | LHL | 0.39 |

Table 3/21: Data Sheet of Male Speakers

| Female Speakers | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{0} \text { in } \\ (\mathrm{Hz} / \mathrm{sec}) \end{gathered}$ | Slope in <br> ( $\mathrm{Hz} / \mathrm{sec}$ ) | Cross - Sectional slope of TBU (Hz/sec) |  |  |  | Contour of Tone | Duration of TBU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| F1 | 269 | 202 | 247 | 257 | 276 | 296 | LH | 0.35 |
| F2 | 296 | 524 | 270 | 275 | 307 | 334 | LH | 0.27 |
| F3 | 287 | 457 | 245 | 257 | 297 | 349 | LH | 0.37 |
| F4 | 300 | 224 | 269 | 293 | 317 | 321 | LH | 0.39 |
| F5 | 352 | 194 | 322 | 346 | 369 | 370 | LH | 0.40 |
| F6 | 252 | 232 | 241 | 246 | 255 | 266 | LH | 0.23 |
| Average | 293 | 306 | 266 | 279 | 304 | 323 | LH | 0.34 |

Table 3/22: Data Sheet of Female Speakers


| Male <br> Speakers | $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ in <br> (Hz/sec) | Slope in <br> (Hz/sec) | Cross-Sectional slope of <br> TBU (Hz/sec) |  |  | Contour <br> of Tone | Duration <br> of TBU |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $25 \%$ | $25 \%$ | $25 \%$ | $25 \%$ |  |  |
| M1 | 189 | 180 | 183 | 188 | 192 | 193 | LH |
| M2 | 274 | 44 | 273 | 273 | 274 | 274 | LH |
| M3 | 254 | 226 | 248 | 254 | 257 | 258 | LH |
| M4 | 225 | 223 | 219 | 222 | 228 | 231 | LH |
| Average | 236 | 168 | 231 | 234 | 238 | 239 | LH |

Table 3/23: Data Sheet of Male Speakers

| Female Speakers | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{0} \text { in } \\ (\mathrm{Hz} / \mathrm{sec}) \end{gathered}$ | Slope in (Hz/sec) | $\begin{gathered} \text { Cross- Sectional slope of } \\ \mathrm{TBU}(\mathrm{~Hz} / \mathrm{sec}) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  | Contour of Tone | Duration <br> of TBU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| F1 | 289 | 309 | 279 | 285 | 292 | 300 | LH | 0.09 |
| F2 | 318 | 490 | 306 | 315 | 323 | 330 | LH | 0.07 |
| F3 | 329 | 407 | 316 | 326 | 334 | 339 | LH | 0.08 |
| F4 | 307 | 204 | 302 | 308 | 310 | 310 | LH | 0.07 |
| F5 | 328 | 235 | 321 | 325 | 331 | 335 | LH | 0.08 |
| F6 | 299 | 190 | 294 | 296 | 301 | 305 | LH | 0.09 |
| Average | 312 | 306 | 303 | 309 | 315 | 320 | LH | 0.08 |

Table 3/24: Data Sheet of Female Speakers

## 3．3．1．1 Monosyllabic Words

| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | Word Text \＆ IPA | Duration |  |  | $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ |  |  | Slope |  |  | $\begin{gathered} \hline \begin{array}{c} \text { Contour of } \\ \text { tone } \end{array} \\ \hline \mathbf{M \& F} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{M} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \mathbf{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \mathbf{a v g} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \mathrm{F} \\ \mathrm{avg} \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \mathrm{F} \\ \mathrm{avg} \end{gathered}$ | Avg |  |
| 1 | धुठ／ $\mathrm{k}^{\text {hó／}}$ | 0.43 | 0.35 | 0.39 | 212 | 319 | 266 | 229 | 348 | 289 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LH ( } 60 \% \text { ) } \\ & \text { LHL ( } 40 \% \text { ) } \end{aligned}$ |
| 2 | गा丁／／gá／ | 0.51 | 0.31 | 0.41 | 192 | 284 | 238 | 191 | 361 | 276 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LH (60\%) } \\ & \text { LHL (40\%) } \end{aligned}$ |
| 3 | n＇ס／á／ | 0.37 | 0.25 | 0.31 | 192 | 271 | 232 | 242 | 373 | 308 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LH (50\%) } \\ & \text { LHL (50\%) } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| 4 | च＇ठ／t 5 á／ | 0.43 | 0.34 | 0.39 | 200 | 300 | 250 | 347 | 319 | 333 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LH (50\%) } \\ & \text { LHL (50\%) } \end{aligned}$ |
| 5 | हेठ／ $\mathrm{f}^{\text {hó／}}$ | 0.42 | 0.32 | 0.37 | 199 | 299 | 249 | 220 | 598 | 409 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LH ( } 50 \% \text { ) } \\ & \text { LHL ( } 50 \% \text { ) } \end{aligned}$ |
| 6 | टृठ／vá／ | 0.31 | 0.29 | 0.30 | 192 | 276 | 234 | 216 | 502 | 359 | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { LH (50\%) } \\ & \text { LHL (50\%) } \end{aligned}$ |
| 7 | हों／ló／ | 0.43 | 0.29 | 0.34 | 217 | 287 | 252 | 214 | 472 | 404 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LH (30\%) } \\ & \text { LHL (70\%) } \end{aligned}$ |
| 8 | रे／kó／ | 0.48 | 0.29 | 0.39 | 199 | 311 | 255 | 188 | 434 | 311 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LH ( } 20 \% \text { ) } \\ & \text { LHL ( } 80 \% \text { ) } \end{aligned}$ |
| 9 | ખ্＝ర／khú／ | 0.43 | 0.33 | 0.38 | 219 | 310 | 265 | 231 | 541 | 386 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LH (20\%) } \\ & \text { LHL ( } 80 \% \text { ) } \end{aligned}$ |
|  | Concluding the nature of tone across above 9 words |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LH (50\%) } \\ & \text { LHL ( } 50 \% \text { ) } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| 10 | ప゙ठ／tŏ／ | 0.44 | 0.36 | 0.40 | 201 | 298 | 250 | 297 | 420 | 359 | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { HL (30\%) } \\ & \text { HLH (70\%) } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| 11 | ढ丁／／ă／ | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 199 | 283 | 241 | 250 | 380 | 315 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { HL (20\%) } \\ & \text { HLH }(80 \%) \end{aligned}$ |
| 12 | मवि／š̌／ | 0.24 | 0.22 | 0.23 | 198 | 289 | 244 | 333 | 522 | 428 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LHL (30\%) } \\ & \text { HLH (70\%) } \end{aligned}$ |

Table 3／25：Contour of Independent tone in Mono－syllabic Words

The tone variations may be seen from the following examples:

- छान /t t a/ To wish - observed LH in $50 \%$ of the speakers and allotone LHL in rest
$50 \%$ of the speakers


Fig 3/20: Male Sample - LHL


Fig 3/21: Female Sample - LH

- ढन्व /tǎ/ Fall - allotone HLH observed in $80 \%$ of the speakers, toneme being onset of the monosyllabic word whereas HL is seen only in $20 \%$ of the speakers


Fig 3/22: Male Sample - HLH


Fig 3/23: Female Sample - HLH

## Discussion

The tones reported by linguists as discussed in section 3 indicate high tone in $\begin{array}{r}\text { ण } \\ \hline\end{array}$ /t $\int$ á/. The data above indicates that consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ when orthographically attached as a coda in the monosyllabic words results in allotone (LHL) in $50 \%$ of the speakers. The variation in tone pattern observed due to onset being a toneme reflects the presence of falling tone coupled with allotone HLH in $75 \%$ cases. The fricative onset in case of मठि / š̌/ leads to two allotones viz LHL in 30\% speakers and HLH in 70\% speakers.

The above observations are summed up below:

| S. No. | Acoustic environment | Tone observed | Allotones |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Monosyllabic with <br> consonant /h/ as coda | Rising tone | Rising-falling in <br> $50 \%$ of the speakers |
| 2 | Monosyllabic with <br> consonant /h/ as coda and <br> toneme as onset | Falling tone | Falling-rising in <br> $75 \%$ of the speakers |
| 3 | Monosyllabic with <br> consonant /h/ as coda and <br> fricative consonant as <br> onset | - |  |

Table 3/26: Tone Rules (refer Data Table: 3/25)
3.3.1.2 Di-syllabic Words (with consonant/h/ as coda in initial syllable)

|  |  | Duration |  |  | $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ |  |  | Slope |  |  | Contour of |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | IPA | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline F \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline \mathbf{M} \\ \text { avg } \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \hline \mathbf{M} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg | M \& F |
| 1 | पिठरां <br> /énã/ | 0.15 | 0.16 | 0.15 | 142 | 252 | 197 | 171 | 326 | 248 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LH (40\%) } \\ & \text { NT (60\%) } \end{aligned}$ |
| 2 | भागळा <br> /ála/ | 0.18 | 0.13 | 0.15 | 141 | 230 | 185 | 155 | 149 | 152 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LH (50\%) } \\ & \text { NT (50\%) } \end{aligned}$ |
|  | Composite word: मगिग्नउT /sěsubà/ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | मठि /s $\varepsilon$ / <br> $+$ <br> मुठा/subà/ | 0.20 | 0.18 | 0.19 | 182 | 264 | 223 | 414 | 441 | 427 | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { HLH (60\%) } \\ \text { NT (40\%) } \end{gathered}$ |

Table 3/27: Contour of Independent Tone in Di-syllabic Words (with consonant /h/ as coda in initial syllable)

## Discussion

The tone reported by linguists taking प्टिठरा /énã/, as an example, as discussed in section 3 indicate high tone considering presence of orthographic consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ being in the medial syllable, however as per the hypothesis of word categorization followed in the present investigation, orthographically consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ is onset in the initial syllable of this disyllabic word. Rising tone is observed in $40 \%$ of the speakers. It is observed while annotating the data that $60 \%$ of the speakers ( $50 \%$ male \& $50 \%$ female) have articulated consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ which reveals the trend of loss of tone amaong some speakers. Similarly it is observed that $50 \%$ of the speakers have recorded भागס्ड /ahola/ as non-tonal and rising tone is observed in the rest.

मठि /š̌/ is monosyllabic (first part of the composite word viz मगिम्नउT /sěsubà/) which was discussed in section 3.3.1.1. Accordingly HLH tone has been observed in $60 \%$ of the speakers and rest of the speakers has pronounced the consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$.

The above observations are summed up below:

| S. No. | Acoustic environment | Tone observed | Allotones |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Di-syllabic with consonant <br> $/ \mathrm{h} /$ as coda in initial <br> syllable | Rising | - |
| 2 | Composite word with <br> consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ as coda in <br> initial syllable | - | Falling-rising |

Table 3/28: Tone Rules (refer Data Table: 3/27)

### 3.3.1.3 Di / Tri-syllabic Words (with consonant /h/ as coda in final syllable)

| $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | Word Text \& IPA | Duration |  |  | $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ |  |  | Slope |  |  | Contour of <br> tone <br> $\mathbf{M \& F}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \mathbf{a v g} \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \mathbf{a v g} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | $\underset{\mathbf{g}}{\mathbf{A v}}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline \mathbf{M} \\ \text { avg } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{A v} \\ \mathbf{g} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |  |
| 1 | उघיত <br> /təbá/ | 0.39 | 0.34 | 0.40 | 200 | 293 | 264 | 222 | 306 | 217 | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { LH (60\%) } \\ & \text { LHL (40\%) } \end{aligned}$ |
| 2 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { उठ'ण } \\ & \text { /torá/ } \end{aligned}$ | 0.39 | 0.32 | 0.36 | 196 | 216 | 206 | 188 | 521 | 355 | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { LH (80\%) } \\ & \text { NT (20\%) } \end{aligned}$ |
| 3 | हमग <br> /vəsá/ | 0.40 | 0.29 | 0.35 | 209 | 244 | 227 | 212 | 485 | 349 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LH (80\%) } \\ & \text { LHL (20\%) } \end{aligned}$ |
| 4 | द्टिभाण <br> /viá/ | 0.43 | 0.35 | 0.39 | 194 | 293 | 244 | 233 | 329 | 281 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LH (80\%) } \\ & \text { LHL (20\%) } \end{aligned}$ |
| 5 | दिटगेठ <br> /vidəró | 0.40 | 0.29 | 0.35 | 219 | 223 | 221 | 185 | 442 | 314 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LH (40\%) } \\ & \text { LHL (40\%) } \\ & \text { NT (20\%) } \end{aligned}$ |

Table 3/29: Contour of Independent Tone in Di/Tri-syllabic Words (with consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ as coda in final syllable)

In the trisyllabic word हिटनेठ /vidəró/ rebellion, allotone LHL is observed in $40 \%$ of the speakers, whereas LH is seen in $40 \%$ of the speakers and $20 \%$ of the speakers have pronounced the consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$.


Fig 3/24: Male Sample - LHL


Fig 3/25: Female Sample - LH

## Discussion

Rising tone was observed in $70 \%$ of the speakers and rising-falling in $20 \%$ speakers.
A trend of loss of these tones has been observed.

| S. No. | Acoustic environment | Tone observed | Allotones |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Di-syllabic / Tri-syllabic <br> with consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ as coda <br> in final syllable | Rising | Rising-falling |

Table 3/30: Tone Rules (refer Data Table: 3/29)

### 3.3.1.4 Independent Tone Rules Associated with Consonant /h/

Based on the above discussions, the tone rules are summed up below:

| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | Independent Tone | Corroboration of tone | Acoustic environment | Observations on tone variations / Allotone |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Consonant <br> /h/ | LH | Monosyllabic with consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ as coda <br> - Fricative onset <br> - Composite word with consonant/h/ in initial syllable | LHL (50\%) |
|  |  |  |  | HLH (70\%) <br> LHL (30\%) |
|  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { HLH (60\%) } \\ \text { NT (40\%) } \end{gathered}$ |
|  |  |  | Di-syllabic with consonant /h/ as coda in initial syllable | - |
|  |  |  | Di / Tri-syllabic with consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ as coda in final syllable | LHL (20\%) |
| 2 |  | NA | Monosyllabic with consonant /h/ as coda and toneme as onset | $\begin{gathered} \text { HLH (75\%) } \\ \text { HL (25\%) } \end{gathered}$ |

Table 3/31: Independent Tone Rules associated with Consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ and Allotone
Variations
3.3.2 Tone Variations Associated with Conjuncts of /h/

### 3.3.2.1 Monosyllabic Words

| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | Word Text \& IPA | Duration |  |  | $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ |  |  | Slope |  |  | $\begin{gathered} \begin{array}{c} \text { Contour of } \\ \text { tone } \end{array} \\ \hline \mathbf{M \& F} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\begin{array}{\|c\|c\|} \hline \mathbf{M} \\ \text { avg } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \mathrm{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \mathbf{a v g} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \mathbf{a v g} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \mathbf{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg |  |
| 1 |  | 0.29 | 0.31 | 0.30 | 207 | 288 | 248 | 241 | 210 | 226 | LH (100\%) |

Table 3/32: Contour of Tone in Mono-syllabic Words

## Discussion

Rising tone is observed based on the single word examined as such words are infrequently used in the language.

### 3.3.2.2 Tri / Poly-syllabic words Conjunct containing /f/ in Medial Syllable

| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | Word Text \& IPA | Duration |  |  | $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ |  |  | Slope |  |  | $\begin{gathered} \hline \begin{array}{c} \text { Contour of } \\ \text { tone } \end{array} \\ \hline \mathbf{M \& F} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{M} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\underset{\mathbf{a v g}}{\mathbf{M}}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\underset{\text { avg }}{\underset{\text { M }}{\prime}}$ | $\underset{\text { avg }}{\underset{\mathrm{F}}{ }}$ | Avg |  |
| 1 | ษभटी <br>  | 0.07 | 0.06 | 0.07 | 238 | 300 | 269 | 284 | 489 | 387 | LH (100\%) |
| 2 | पनुहा <br> /k ${ }^{\text {haráva/ }}$ | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 184 | 286 | 235 | 326 | 270 | 298 | LH (100\%) |
| 3 | ખ్రહ్ट゙ <br> /k ${ }^{\text {holóna/ }}$ | 0.08 | 0.08 | 0.08 | 236 | 312 | 274 | 168 | 306 | 237 | LH (100\%) |
| 4 | प్రૅM్మ ${ }^{\top}$ <br> /khollávã/ | 0.05 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 224 | 315 | 270 | 286 | 326 | 324 | LH (100\%) |
| 5 | Fि గुटा <br> /sĩnə́na | 0.08 | 0.08 | 0.08 | 230 | 311 | 271 | 201 | 257 | 229 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LH (50\%) } \\ & \text { LHL (50\%) } \end{aligned}$ |
| 6 | गाइुवहा /gəţ́kəņa/ | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 205 | 298 | 252 | 836 | 733 | 785 | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { LH (30\%) } \\ & \text { LHL (70\%) } \end{aligned}$ |
| 7 | मম్తु'घा <br> /səlàba/ | 0.13 | 0.13 | 0.13 | 219 | 295 | 257 | 333 | 417 | 375 | HL (100\%) |
| 8 | उभТउइ <br> /təmàtro/ | 0.13 | 0.12 | 0.13 | 224 | 291 | 258 | 318 | 364 | 341 | HL (100\%) |
| 9 | यन్హ'छిटा <br> /pəràuna/ | 0.23 | 0.23 | 0.23 | 247 | 294 | 271 | 195 | 263 | 229 | HL (100\%) |
| 10 | צக్రुगర <br> /kblàrna/ | 0.19 | 0.20 | 0.20 | 194 | 264 | 229 | 123 | 215 | 169 | HL (100\%) |

Table 3/33: Contour of tone associated with Conjunct of /h/ in Medial Syllable in Tri
/ Poly-syllabic Words

It is observed from the above table:

- The medial syllable containing short vowel and conjunct of / $\mathrm{h} /$ results in rising tone e.g. யभुटी /k $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ əmə́ni/ Multicoloured yarn


Fig 3/26: Male Sample - LH


Fig 3/27: Female Sample - LH

- The medial syllable containing long vowel and conjunct of $/ \mathrm{h} /$ results in falling tone e.g. मக్ᅥु'्या /səlàba/ Seepage


Fig 3/28: Male Sample - HL


Fig 3/29: Female Sample - HL

## Discussion

The rising / falling tone is observed incase conjunct of /h/ in medial syllable depending on whether the TBU is short / long vowel as in the case of tonemes in the same acoustic environment as discussed in section 3.1.3. Rising-falling allotone is observed in case of short vowel being TBU due to flap and nasal onset.

The observations are summed up below:

| S. No. | Acoustic environment | Tone observed | Allotones |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | Tri / Poly-syllabic with <br> conjunct of $/ \mathrm{h} /$ in medial <br> syllable and short vowel as <br> TBU | Rising | Rising-falling |
| 2 | Tri / Poly-syllabic with <br> conjunct of $/ \mathrm{h} /$ in medial <br> syllable and long vowel as <br> TBU or dipthong (long + <br> short) | Falling | - |

Table 3/34: Tone Rules (refer Data Table: 3/33)

### 3.3.2.3 Di-syllabic Words Containing Conjunct of /f/in Final Syllable

| $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | Word Text \& IPA | Duration |  |  | $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ |  |  | Slope |  |  | Contour oftone $\|$M\&F |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \text { avg } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F} \\ \text { avg } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{array}{\|c} \hline \mathbf{M} \\ \text { avg } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \mathbf{F} \\ \text { avg } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | Avg | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \text { avg } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \mathbf{F} \\ \text { avg } \end{gathered}$ | Avg |  |
| 1 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { गা'্ভुइ } \\ & \text { /galór/ } \end{aligned}$ | 0.10 | 0.13 | 0.12 | 233 | 320 | 277 | 169 | 325 | 247 | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { LH (60\%) } \\ & \text { LHL } \\ & (40 \%) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| 2 | गंभुन <br> gũmór/ | 0.11 | 0.13 | 0.12 | 235 | 324 | 280 | 208 | 264 | 236 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LH (70\%) } \\ & \text { LHL } \\ & (30 \%) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| 3 | तिম्युट <br> /duılón/ | 0.11 | 0.12 | 0.12 | 236 | 315 | 276 | 161 | 210 | 186 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LH (50\%) } \\ & \text { LHL } \\ & (50 \%) \end{aligned}$ |
| 4 | ठ్ర్ु <br> /th ${ }^{\text {holá/ }}$ | 0.22 | 0.20 | 0.21 | 206 | 322 | 264 | 123 | 182 | 153 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LH (50\%) } \\ & \text { LHL } \\ & (50 \%) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| 5 | यड्विभा /pría/ | 0.38 | 0.32 | 0.35 | 224 | 308 | 266 | 181 | 286 | 234 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LH (50\%) } \\ & \text { LHL } \\ & (50 \%) \end{aligned}$ |
| 6 | यञ्नग्पी <br> /pərǎi/ | 0.47 | 0.41 | 0.44 | 198 | 295 | 247 | 158 | 299 | 229 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { HLH } \\ & (100 \%) \end{aligned}$ |

Table 3/35: Contour of Tone in Di-syllabic Words containing Conjunct of /h/ in Final Syllable

- LH is observed in words having final syllable in $50 \%$ of the speakers and LHL is observed in rest $50 \%$ e.g. गा'স्डुइ /galór/ Squirrel


Fig 3/30: Male Sample - LHL


Fig 3/31: Female Sample - LH

## Discussion

Rising tone is observed in $50 \%$ cases and allotone rising-falling in rest $50 \%$. In case of dipthong (long vowel + long vowel), falling-rising tone is observed.

The observations are summed up below:

| S. No. | Acoustic environment | Tone observed | Allotones |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{1}$ | Di-syllabic with conjunct <br> containing /h/ in final <br> syllable or dipthong (short <br> + long vowel) | Rising | Rising-falling |
| $\mathbf{2}$ | Di-syllabic with conjunct <br> containing /h/ in final <br> syllable followed by <br> dipthong (long + long <br> vowel) | Falling-rising | - |

Table 3/36: Tone Rules (refer Data Table: 3/35)

### 3.3.2.4 Independent Tone Rules Associated with Conjunct of /h/

Based on the above discussions, the tone rules are summed up below:

| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | Independent Tone | Corroboration of tone | Acoustic environment | Observations on tone variations / Allotone |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Conjunct of /h/ | LH | Monosyllabic with conjuncts of / $\mathrm{h} /$ in final position | - |
|  |  |  | Di-syllabic with conjuncts of / $\mathrm{h} /$ in final syllable or dipthong (short + long) | LHL (50\%) |
|  |  |  | Open syllable with dipthong (long + long $)$ | HLH (100\%) |
|  |  |  | Tri / Poly-syllabic with conjuncts of / $\mathrm{h} /$ in medial syllable containing short vowel | - |
|  |  |  | Flap / nasal onset | LHL (60\%) |
| 2 |  | HL | Tri / Poly-syllabic with conjuncts of/ $/ \mathrm{h} /$ in medial syllable containing long vowel or dipthong (long + short vowel) | - |

Table 3/37: Tone Rules associated with Conjunct of /h/ and Allotone Variations

### 3.3.3 Non-Tonal (NT) Occurrences of Consonant /h/

In section 3 discussed that $/ \mathrm{h} /$ in initial position is non-tonal Sangha (2014). The following data was analysed to verify it.

| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | Word | IPA transcription | Meaning | $\begin{array}{\|c} \hline \text { S. } \\ \text { No } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | Word | IPA transcription | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | उठिवग | /hoka/ | Sigh | 1 | गमघ | /hasab/ | law |
| 2 | Јगा'ס | /həgar/ | Excreta of houseflies | 2 | Јत्ञभ | /həzəm/ | Digested |
| 3 | विमיघ | /hisab/ | calculation | 3 | विव'प्टिडी | /hikati/ | Apologal |
| 4 | विभग्ठल | /hımat 1 / | Himachal Pradesh | 4 | Јতరठ | /hunər/ | Art, skill, |
| 5 | ग्रलיס | /hulara/ | Swing | 5 | Ј'वम | /hakəm/ | Ruler |
| 6 | गיतठ | /hadzər/ | Present | 6 | ठीभr | /hia/ | courage |
| 7 | गीटठ | /hitro/ | Heater | 7 | ग్=रट' | /hukəŋа/ | To raise |
| 8 | गुठ | /hura/ | buffet | 8 | चैमीभउ | /hesiot/ | Status |
| 9 | गैहा'त | /hevan/ | uncivilized person | 9 | गठढा | /hot ${ }^{\text {ha/ }}$ / | Mean |
| 10 | ठठ | /hor/ | More, else | 10 | गैमญౌ⿰氵 | /hoslamãd/ | Patience |
| 11 | गेत | /hod3/ | Water tank | 11 | ทֹठवम | /ahãkar/ | Pride |
| 12 | भठगठ | /2har/ | Food, diet | 12 | भfo | /2hĩsək/ | Peaceful |
| 13 | भfिमग्ट्र | /2hĩsavad/ | Doctrine | 13 | पिम्नडिगण | /IJtehar/ | Poster |
| 14 | हिउउग | /Itehas/ | History | 14 | मगठठ | /sahit/ | Literature |
| 15 | म'गिघ | /saheb/ | Master | 15 | मुगिठट | /sohird/ | kind, gentle |
| 16 | मुवेल | /suhela/ | Soothing | 16 | मुग्टउ | /Sohadət/ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Martyrdo } \\ & \mathrm{m} \end{aligned}$ |
| 17 | मुगीट | /Sahid/ | Martyr | 17 | भิगठ | /ohər/ | Diseases |
| 18 | nfor | /Ehəd/ | Resolve | 18 |  | /shodnama/ | Treaty |
| 19 | Wrod | /ahər/ | Impulse | 19 | भrगळा | /ála/ | Superior |
| 20 | पिटठां | /énã/ | These | 20 | टिभडिठי' | /Imtehan / | Test |
| 21 | मगिमुठ | /sèsubà/ | Naturally | 21 | मग्ग | /sahes/ | Courage |
| 22 | मिगउरंट | /sehətəmãd/ | Healthy | 22 | मिगठ | /sehəra/ | Honour |
| 23 | मुगत | /suhəd3/ | Grace | 23 | मुणट्ट | /sohəna/ | Good looking |
| 24 | मुठगा | /suhaga/ | Borax | 24 | मुगिड्ड | /SEhətut/ | Mulburry |


| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | Word | IPA transcription | Meaning | $\underset{\sim}{\text { S. }}$ | Word | IPA transcription | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 25 | मुगिठ | / SEhrr/ | City, town | 25 | मुग्टी | /Jahədi/ | Testimon |
| 26 | मंगठ | / Oh hro/ | Husband | 26 | मग'प्टिर | /səhark/ | Assistant |
| 27 | मग'प्टिउ' | /soharta/ | support | 27 | मगग्पी | /sohai/ | Who provides help |
| 28 | म১गסర | /soharna/ | Bear | 28 | मगग' | /səhara/ | Support |
| 29 | मगित | /schəd3/ | Easy |  |  |  |  |

Table 3/38: Words with Non-Tonal Consonant /h/

## Discussion

The acoustic environment in which /h/ is non-tonal i.e. mono/ di/ tri/ poly-syllabic having consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ as onset in associated syllable. Some sample graphs are given below:

Monosyllabic $\overline{\text { J }}$ /hor/ More


Fig 3/32: Male Sample - NT


Fig 3/33: Female Sample - NT

Disyllabic म्नठीट / Jahid/ Martyr


Trisyllabic पिभडिठיठ /mmtehan/ Examination


Fig 3/36: Male Sample - NT


Fig 3/37: Female Sample - NT

Polysyllabic भภिमम्ट्ट्ट/ohĨsavad/ Doctrine


Fig 3/38: Male Sample - NT


Fig 3/39: Female Sample - NT

### 3.3.4 Research Findings on Independent Tones

The rising (LH) \& falling (HL) tone as discussed in the literature survey (refer section 3 Independent Tone) has been corroborated by and large other than some specific acoustic environments as discussed below:

- The allotone rising-falling (LHL) has been observed in $50 \%$ of the speakers in monosyllabic words having consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ as coda, di-syllabic words having conjuncts of / $\mathrm{h} /$ in final syllable and tri / poly-syllabic words having conjuncts of / $\mathrm{h} /$ in medial syllable with flap / geminated nasal onset.
- The allotone falling-rising (HLH) have been observed in following acoustic environments:
a) Toneme / fricative onset in monosyllabic words having consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ as coda.
b) Dipthong (long + long vowel) in open final syllable containing conjuncts of /h/.
c) Composite word having first syllable having consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ as coda.
- The Mono/ Di/ Tri/ Poly-syllabic words having consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ as onset in the initial syllable are found non-tonal.

| Occurrence of Consonant /h/in | Acoustic environment | Tonal variations |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Initial syllable | Monosyllabic with consonant/h/ and conjunct containing / $\mathfrak{h} /$ as coda <br> - Fricative onset <br> - Toneme as onset and $/ \mathrm{h} /$ as coda <br> - Composite word (initial syllable with /h/ as coda) | LH (50\%), LHL (50\%) HLH (70\%), LHL (30\%) HL (25\%), HLH (75\%) HLH (60\%), NT (40\%) |
|  | Di-syllabic with consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ as coda in initial syllable | LH (100\%) |
| Medial syllable | Tri-syllabic with conjunct containing / $\mathrm{h} /$ and short vowel <br> - Flap / nasal onset | LH (100\%) LH (40\%), LHL (60\%) |
|  | Tri-syllabic with conjunct containing / $\mathrm{h} /$ and long vowel or dipthong (long + short vowel) | HL (100\%) |
| Final syllable | Di /Tri-syllabic with consonant/h/, conjunct containing / $\mathrm{h} /$ as coda <br> - Open syllable with dipthong (long + long) | LH (70\%), LHL (30\%) HLH (100\%) |

Table 3/39: Independent Tone Rules

### 3.4 Summary

- The historical origin of tone in Punjabi has been discussed in the Introduction section. The rules for contextual substitution of Tonemes orthographically by their voiced / voiceless unaspirated counter parts belonging to same group of consonants and the tone associated marking rules have also been discussed for Tones arising from Supra-Laryngeal Consonants. The nature of tones associated with consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ and conjuncts of $/ \mathrm{h} /$ has been deliberated under the Independent Tone section and rules have been summed up including non-tonal exceptions.
- The objective of experimental work carried out in this chapter was to corroborate the tone rules of Punjabi as collated through the literature survey. These rules have been experimentally verified and are applicable by and large. The detailed analysis has been presented in the chapter based on experimental observations which lead to discovery of allotones and findings on tone variations due to various co-articulatory factors.
- The presence of rising and falling tone as discussed in literature survey is attested as seen from the table below. The major research findings are the presence of allotones viz LHL, HLH for example:
a) LHL (100\%) : ट्रीभभT/dudîa/ Milky white
b) LH (70\%); LHL (30\%) : गा'সूइ /galór/ Squirrel
c) LH (50\%); LHL (50\%) : हृठ/vá/ Wonderful
d) LH ( $100 \%$ ), Tone shifts to nucleus of prior syllable : কिॅur /nígga/ Warm
e) HLH $(100 \%)$, Dipthong monosyllabic open vowel : हाप्पी/tǎi/ Two and a Half
f) HLH (100\%), Dipthong disyllabic final closed vowel : यूया' /prədăn/ Chief
g) HLH ( $100 \%$ ), Dipthong trisyllabic final open vowel : यञुग्पी /pə 2 ǎi/ Education
h) $\mathrm{HL}(50 \%)$; $\mathrm{HLH}(50 \%)$ : यिभార /tian/ Attention
i) HL (60\%), HLH (40\%) : यठ'्ప /tə̀ra d/ Rich Person

| ```Tone on vowel of syllable under consideration``` | Category of words (syllable under consideration) | Co-articulation parameters in a syllable | Tone variations (percentage of speakers) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| LH | Monosyllabic | Consonant /h/ as coda | LH (50\%); <br> LHL (50\%) |
|  | Mono/di/ tri/poly-syllabic <br> syllable)(initial | Toneme or conjunct containing conjuncts of / $\mathrm{h} /$ as coda | LH (100\%) |
|  | Di/tri/poly-syllabic (medial syllable with short vowel as nucleus) | Toneme or conjunct containing /h/ as onset | LH (100\%) |
|  | Di/tri/poly-syllabic (final open syllable) | Toneme as onset | LH (100\%) Tone shifts to nucleus of prior syllable |
|  | Tri/-syllabic (final open syllable) | Dipthong (long + long) | LHL (100\%) |
|  | Di/ tri-syllabic (final closed syllable) | Consonant /h/ or conjunct containing / $\mathrm{h} /$ as coda | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { LH (70\%); } \\ \text { LHL (30\%) } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |
| HL | Monosyllabic (closed syllable) | Toneme as onset Consonant /h/ as coda <br> Any other consonant as coda | HL (100\%) <br> HL (50\%); <br> HLH (50\%) |
|  | Monosyllabic (open syllable) | Dipthong | HLH (100\%) |
|  | Di/ tri/poly-syllabic (initial syllable) | Toneme as onset. | HL (100\%) |
|  | Tri/poly-syllabic (medial open syllable and long vowel as nucleus) | Toneme or conjunct containing /h/ in the onset <br> Dipthong (long + short vowel) | HL (100\%) |
|  | Di-syllabic (final closed syllable) | Toneme as onset <br> Toneme as coda <br> Dipthong (short + long) and (long + long) and flap / fricative / nasal coda | HL (100\%) HL (60\%), HLH (40\%) HLH (100\%) |
|  | Tri-syllabic (final open syllable) | Consonant /h/ or conjunct containing / $\mathfrak{\kappa} /$ as coda with dipthong (long + long) | HLH (100\%) |

Table 3/40: Tone Marking Rules for Punjabi Language

The sample data sheets and few reference graphs have been given at Appendix B \& C

## Chapter 4

## Experimental Study of Lexical Stress

## 4. Introduction

Stress is a large topic which has been extensively studied for a very long time and still has many areas of disagreement. However, it is true that in all languages some syllables are in some sense stronger than other syllables. The difference between strong and weak syllables is of linguistic importance and in every language strong and weak syllables do not occur at random. It is observed that in all languages the words get distinguished by the position of strong syllable alone are comparatively few in number. Thus stress alone, without the accompaniment of some other distinguishing feature does not constitute a very effective means of differentiating words. The effort of pronouncing syllables with strong stress is clearly felt by the speaker but the resulting prominence is not always easily perceived by hearers Jones (1967-146).

### 4.1 Syllabification

How are syllable structures assigned to words? There are two main types of principles that determine syllabification in words in languages- one, universal syllabification principles and two, language-specifc syllabification principles.

In most languages, syllabication in words follows the following generalizations:
i. Each vowel is assigned to a syllable:
E.g. mæ. ti. ni: 'matinee' go.. in 'going'
ii. A consonant between two vowels goes with the following syllable.
E.g. mæ. tir ni: 'matinee' i:. try 'eating'
iii. A final consonant goes with the preceding vowel.
E.g. i:. tip 'eating'
iv. Between two consonants, there is a syllable division.

## E.g. len.dən 'London'

v. Languages differ with regard to restrictions on syllable structures.
a) Universal Syllabification Principles

The two most important universal principles influencing syllabification are: Maximal Onset Principle (MOP) and Sonority Sequencing Principle (SSP).

The Maximal Onset Principle (MOP) the syllabification of a sequence of consonants requires that they occur as onsets not as codas. Thus when there is a single consonant it is syllabified with the following vowel not with the preceding vowel in a majority of languages, for example, [mæ.tı.ni:] 'matinee' not *[mæt.m.i:].

The Sonority Sequencing Principle (SSP) requires that the sonority of a syllable increases from the centre to the edge of a syllable. The sonority scale is given below.

Vowels or syllabic consonants- Glides- Liquids - Fricatives -Stops - Geminate stops The sonority scale could also be given with the least sonorous first and the most sonorous last.

Thus a look at the sonority in the following English words- tend, great, swat, etc. In all these words, the sonority of the consonants increases towards the centre of the syllable. There are also violations of SSP. For example, in the word "pest" the SSP is working at the end, but not at the beginning in stop. The fricative $/ \mathrm{s} /$, which is more sonorous than $/ \mathrm{t} /$ is towards the edge of the word.
b) Language-specific syllabification constraints

A language-specific constraint on syllabification in English is the following:
There is no syllable division between $\mathrm{s}+\mathrm{C}, \mathrm{C}+\mathrm{r} / \mathrm{l} / \mathrm{w} / \mathrm{j}$ and $\mathrm{s}+\mathrm{C}+\mathrm{r} / \mathrm{l} / \mathrm{w} / \mathrm{j}$
Followng this constraint, the syllabification in the following English words is as follows:
deprive: dı.praiv replay: rı.pleı equate: ı.kwaeıt inspect: $\mathrm{m} . \mathrm{spekt}$

The following syllabifications are unacceptable: * dıp.raıv, *rıp.lei, *rk.weıt, *ins.pekt.

Consonant Clusters in Punjabi:

Two consonant clusters:

Initial: 1) $\mathrm{p} / \mathrm{k} / \mathrm{g} / \mathrm{t} / \mathrm{t}+\mathrm{r}$; 2) $\mathrm{s}+\mathrm{l}$; 3) $\left.\mathrm{p} / \mathrm{t} / \mathrm{k} / \mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}+\mathrm{j} ; 4\right) \mathrm{k} / \mathrm{g}+\mathrm{w}$

Final: General

Medial: General

Three consonant clusters:

Initial: Nil

Final: Nil

Medial: $\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{S}+\mathrm{r} / \mathrm{l} / \mathrm{r}$

### 4.2 Linguistic Theories of Syllabic Structure

### 4.2.1 Metrical Phonology

The structure of the syllable as proposed in Selkirk (1982) is binary branching:

$$
\sigma>\text { Onset-Rime; Rime }>\text { Nucleus-Coda }
$$

This structural representation allows the syllable to represent quantity, by separating the Onset from the Rime. Rime carries the weight of a syllable in languages in which weight plays an important role in word-stress. The structure is exemplified below:


Fig 4/1: Structure- Metric Phonology

In this representation a binary branching Rime represents a Heavy syllable; a nonbranching Rime represents a Light syllable.

### 4.2.2 Moraic Theory

Hyman (1985), Hayes (1989) The binary branching structure can be alternatively represented in terms of a mora ( $\mu$ ), which only shows the weight of the syllable, as below:


Fig 4/2: Structure- Moraic

The phenomenon of word-stress in many languages, including Punjabi, involves the weight of the syllable, as we will see below. For Punjabi, as also for Hindi see Kelkar (1968), Pandey (1989), a three-degree classification is crucial: Light (a short vowelV), Heavy (a long vowel (VV) or a short vowel followed by a consonant (VC) and Superheavy (a long vowel followed by a consonant (VVC) or a short vowel followed by two consonants (VCC))


Fig 4/3: Weight of Syllables

The above definition doesn't characterise the consonant clusters occurring as onset / coda or dipthongs. Which result in three -tier syllables.

For example:


Fig 4/4: Syllable Definition
Based on the syllable definition as discussed above \& also in section 1.5.1, word categories in Punjabi based on the number of syllables in a word as discussed by Singh (1991) as given below:

Monosyllabic Words: The words containing only one syllable.

V : भा /a/, पे/e/, B/o/

CV : यी/pi/, टे/de/, मे/so/
CVC: वठ $/ \mathrm{krr} /$, यैठ $/ \mathrm{per} /$, চיल $/ \mathrm{nal} /$

Di-syllabic Words: The words containing two syllables

VCV: पेटां/edã/, छुठे/णre/, छिपें/othõ/
CVCV: मग्ठ /sara/, मेटा /mota/, वीउा/kita/

CVVः க্য'ম্टिभr/laa/, Јष्टिभr/hoia/

# CVCV: छुभ्डी /tfuati/, गुभान्ठT /guat $\mathrm{fa} /$, विभान्ठी /kuari/ <br> CVV: लिभिम्टी /luai/, ધुभा 

Tri-syllabic Words: The words containing three syllables

VCVCV: भठा'्री /ogari/, छुमान्ठी/usari/, पिल्गי्टा/Ilava/
CVCVCV: मट्ठी /səvari/, भुटा्थ /mutapa/, व్ँचत्ती /kvtfəd3d3i/
CVCVCVC: मふेठ'्ट/sərehan/, व्रीमाठ/kurimar/, उग्रेघान्त/tərebad3/

The frequency of disyllabic words is maximum and there are loan words borrowed from other Indo-Aryan languages. The vocabulary is mainly composed of "tadbhavas", however the percentage of "tatsama" words is also on the rise. The vocabulary logs words in the domain of politics, science and technology. The morphological forms in Punjabi can't be directly related to the parts-of- speech. New word forms are constructed by using pre-fixes and suffixes however no. of prefixes is much less than suffixes. Prefixes are mainly used in formation of adjectives. Compound words are also quite frequently used and there is reduplication also in their use. Some of the notable features of Punjabi are:

1) Punjabi has abundance of masculine words.
2) It is known as /a/ ending language as most of the nouns and many verbs and adjectives also follow this pattern.
3) The gemination is a special feature of Punjabi among Indo-Aryan languages.
4) It has lexically significant constractive tone.
5) Nasalization is phonemic.

### 4.3 Word-Stress

### 4.3.1 Phonetics of Word-Stress

The phonetic definition of stress is one of the most difficult topics.

According to Hayes (1995:5) says, "The definition of stress is one of the perennially debated and unsolved problems of phonetics".

Trask (1996.336) "Stress is invariably associated with greater loudness, higher pitch and greater duration, any of which may be more important in a given case, and sometimes also with vowel quality. Earlier attempts to identify stress with greater intensity of sound are now discredited, and current thinking holds that stress is primarily a matter of greater muscular efforts by the speaker and that hearers take advantage of several types of information to identify that effort".

Thus, phonetically it may be realized by any or a combination of any of the following features: extra breath force, vowel lengthening, loudness and pitch change. An example of stress realized as extra breathforce is the pronunciation of the word potato as [pə 'thertər]. The stressed syllable with an onset /t/ is aspirated, but the unaspirated syllable with an onset /t/ is unstressed. Stressed syllables are realized in most languages with the vowel longer. For example, in the word /a:ka: $/ /$ the stressed second /a:/ is longer than the unstressed first /a:/. As we will see vowel lengthening of the stressed syllable and the complementary feature of vowel shortening in unstressed syllable is a prominent feature of stress in Punjabi. Stressed syllables are found to be louder than the unstressed syllables in most languages. Stressed syllables are perceived to bear change of pitch from Low to High in Hindi.

The production of stress is generally believed to depend on the speaker using more muscular energy than is used for unstressed syllables.

Measuring muscular effort is difficult, but it seems possible, according to experimental studies, that when we produce stressed syllables, the muscles that we
use to expel air from the lungs are more active, producing higher sub glottal pressure. It seems probable that similar things happen with muscles in other parts of our speech apparatus. Phonetically, stress is also employed to express emphasis. The phonetic correlate of stress is a combination of length and pitch. Unstressed syllables lack length and a high pitch.

### 4.3.2 Phonology of Word-Stress

The phonological account of word-stress has passed through several stagesStructuralist (e.g.), Generative Phonology by Chomsky \& Halle (1968) and Metrical Phonology by Selkirk (1980), Hayes (1981) being the most prominent. Metrical Phonology (refer section 4.2.1) later came to be subsumed by Prosodic Phonology Selkirk (1984), Nespor \& Vogel (1986). Our main concern here is with the metrical phonological approach to the study of stress. It would not be out of place to briefly discuss to the theory of Prosodic Phonology

Prosodic Phonology proposes that the phonological structure consists of the hierarchical units as given below:


Fig 4/6: Stages of Phonological Stress

An Intonational Phrase has at least one nuclear tone. A Phonological Phrase has at least one phrasal accent, a word has at least one stress Foot, and a Foot has at least one Syllable.

The theory of Prosodic Phonology claims that a unit at a certain level consists of the unit at the immediately lower level. Thus a word consists of at least one Foot, and a Foot consists of at least one Syllable. Given a word such as examination [ıg,zæmi 'neifən], it has the following prosodic/ metrical structure:


Fig 4/7: Metrical Structure
Metrical Tree Theory of Word-stress Hayes (1981) proposes that word-stress in languages can be represented in terms of relative prominence on the labelled tree structure. All branches are labeled either strong (s) or weak (w), where strength is the formalization of stress as shown below for the words differ and defer:


Fig 4/8: Labelled Tree Structure
This not only presents stress as relative prominence, but also explicates secondary and other level of stress.

Extrametricality: In the theory of metrical phonology, the notion of 'extrametricality' plays a crucial role in the assignment of stress in words.

In languages, a syllable, mora, vowel or consonant may not be counted at the periphery, i.e. at the beginning or the end of the word. Hayes (1995) discusses the notion in full. The extrametrical constituent is shown with an angled bracket ( $<>$ ), as in the representations of the words in Hindi below.


Fig 4/9: Notion of Extrametrical
It is important to note here that in Punjabi, the final foot is extrametrical.

### 4.4 Parameters of Stress

Hayes (1981 \& 1995) proposes the following parameters along which stress systems in world languages vary:

Quantity-sensitivity: Quantity-sensitive (QS) vs. Quantity-insensitive (QI)
Boundedness: Bounded vs. unbounded
Dominance: Left- dominant (LD) vs. Right-dominant (RD)
Directionality: Left-to-Right (LR) vs. Right-to-Left (RL)

These parameters are further illustrated by Gussenhoven and Jacobs (2001):
Quantity-sensitivity: It refers to the difference in the quantity of syllables affecting stress. For example, in Hindi, the words ['məhila:] 'lady' and [mə'hi:na:] 'month' have identical syllable structure, with the difference in the middle syllables. The difference causes the stress pattern to differ in the two words.

Boundedness: It refers to the difference in stress systems allowing a single stress at the edges in words of any length (undbounded) or words having stress within a number of syllables (bounded). In Punjabi, for instance, word-stress must be placed maximally until the ante-penultimate syllable.

Dominance: It refers to languages allowing either the left branch or the right branch to be strong. For instance, in Adi, a language spoken in Arunachal Pradesh, the right branch has stress, whereas in Punjabi, it is the opposite. This difference can be illustrated with the help of the pronunciations of the English word "city" by an Adi speaker and a Punjabi speaker: [si'ti:] (Adi English), ['siti] (Punjabi English). Adi is Right dominant (or RD) and Punjabi is Left-dominant (or LD).

Directionality: It refers to the stress assignment going from one of the two directions-Left-to-Right (lr) or Right-to-Left (rl). For instance, in Tamil, the first syllable of the word is stressed. The stress assignment in Tamil starts at the left. In Malayalam, however, stress begins at the right: Leaving out the final long vowel, the first long vowel from the right is stressed; e.g. [molə 'ja:ləm]; if there is no long vowel, then the first vowel is stressed ['kəmələm] 'lotus'.

### 4.5 Rules for Assignment of Stress

The rules for stress assignment are presented at two levels- at level of the Foot (containing a single stress) and the Word level (containing one or more stresses)

The following rule applies for English Hayes (1995)
Foot level: $\quad$ Raise LD, QS, bounded tree from right to left (LR)
Word level: Raise a LD word-tree

The word-tree gives us the primary and secondary stress in the presence of more than a foot in multi-syllabic word eg: 'deva, state.

The rules yield the correct output in a majority of English words, subject to morphological structure of words.

### 4.6 Review of Studies on Stress in World Languages

Language in which meaning depends in any degree upon types of stress or upon the location of strong stress in sequences of syllables is termed as "stress languages." They fall into three categories:
(i) Those in which the the location of strong stress in words of more than one syllable is an integral part of the pronunciation of words.
(ii) Those in which the use of special types of stress is an integral part of the pronunciation of words.
(iii) Those in which strong stress is used in sentences but do not have fixed positions in particular words known as intonation and isn't discussed here as it is outside the scope of defined research problem.

Stress languages of the first category are numerous. Among them are English, German, Russian, Spanish, Danish, Hungarian, Icelandic, Welsh, Greek, etc. In these languages a given word always, or generally, has strong stress on a particular syllable. Some of these words of more than one syllable may be differentiated by the position of the strongest stress. Stress is accentuations of syllables within words and this type of stress is known as lexical stress and fits into second category. The IndoAryan language falls into this category.

Stress functions only to point out the existence, at some point in the utterance, of a significant unit carrying the amount of information which is expected from a lexical unit. In lexical- stress languages, the syllables of any polysyllabic word are not created equal. Some syllables may serve as the focus of accentual prominence; others may not. Perceptually, this results in a distinction between the syllables within a word.

According to M. Ohala (1977) "Stress involves morpho-syntactically conditioned intonational difference rather than lexically marked accentual differences", Languages may differ as to the place of stress in a word.

Proto-Indo-European (PIE) is the linguistic reconstruction of the hypothetical common ancestor of the Indo-European languages, the most widely spoken language family in the world.


Fig 4/10: Proto-Indo-European Languages Representation

### 4.6.1 European Languages

The ancient Greeks studied no language but their own; they took it for granted that the structure of their language embodied the universal forms of human thought or, perhaps, of the cosmic order. Accordingly, they made grammatical observations, but confined these to one language and stated them in philosophical form. They discovered the part of speech of their language, its syntactic constructions, such as, especially, that of subject and predicate, and its chief inflectional categories: genders, numbers, cases, persons, tenses and modes. They defined these not in terms of recognizable linguistic forms, but in abstract terms which were to tell the meaning of the linguistic class. These teachings appear most fully in the grammar of dyscolus Thrax (Second Century B.C) and of Apollonius Dyscolus (Second Century A.D).

Greek is a language with lexical stress that marks stress orthographically with a special diacritic. Thus, the orthography and the lexicon constitute potential sources of stress assignment information in addition to any possible general default metrical pattern. In Greek spelling, contemporary rules dictate that every word with more than one syllable must bear a stress diacritic on the vowel of its stressed syllable Petrounias (2002). Greek words with two or more syllables written without a stress diacritic are thus considered misspelled, even though stress assignment can usually be guessed successfully from the phoneme sequence Protopapas (2006). Extending and complementing previous studies in Italian and Spanish, Greek allows investigation of stress assignment free from the structural (Phonological) constraints that interact with default placement in those languages.

Phonological changes concern the segmental and supra-segmental characteristics. Changes in both aspects are bounded through production and perception. Expending more muscular energy in the articulatory movements for making a syllable more prominent influences timing which may possibly result in different vocal tract configurations in stressed versus unstressed vowels. This may cause more or less perceptible changes in time, leading eventually to a different set of syllables depending on position in the word.

When an unstressed syllable is emphasised, jaw lowers and the short vowels tend to be perceived and perceived as more open (short $\mathrm{i}>\mathrm{e}$; short $\mathrm{u}>\mathrm{o}$; short $\mathrm{e}>\varepsilon$, short $\mathrm{o}>0$, etc.).

Classical Latin is considered to have a melodic accent on the penultimate or the antepenultimate Roudet (1910). The prosodic anchor point for the pitch-accent was the penultimate syllable, if the penultimate was a heavy syllable, i.e. a closed syllable ("syllable entravée"), ending by a consonant (mam), ending by a consonant (amantem $>$ amant[ amA\$] 'loving') or had a long vowel (farina > farine '[faÂin] 'flour' , amatus > aimé [Eme]'loved'), and on the ante-penultimate on the other cases (asinus > asne> âne[An]'donkey', fragile > frêle [frEl] 'frail'). French descends from Vulgar latin, e.g. the Latin spoken by the soldiers, the merchants, the immigrants after the roman conquest.

Stress can be on the first or penultimate or final syllable as in Czech, polish and French respectively. Similarly there can even be complicated stress on penultimate syllable if it is long and on the third syllable from the end if the penultimate syllable is short in classic Latin. In French the distribution of stress serves only as a kind of gesture: ordinarily the end of a phrase is louder than the rest; sometimes, in emphatic speech, some other syllable is especially loud; often enough one hears a long succession of syllables with very little fluctuation of stress. In languages such as Italian, Spanish, the selvic languages etc. the stress characterizes combination of linguistic forms; the typical case is the use of one high stress on each word in the phrase, with certain unstressed or low stressed words as exceptions. Thus there are differences in the manner of applying stress among stress using languages.

In English, the prominence results from the pitch movement and gives the strongest type of stress. The stress in English is either primary'/ or secondary /// . Primary stress is stronger than secondary stress and there may be some syllables which are unstressed e.g: Photographic- / fəota' græfik/. Stress placement in a word in some cases divides its function as a noun/verb hence it is called functional stress e.g. in word delegate

$$
\text { ['d } \varepsilon l ə, \text { get] } \quad \text { verb; } \quad \text { ['d } \varepsilon \text { ləgət] } \text { noun }
$$

In order to decide on stress placement, it is necessary to make use of some or all of the following information:

1. Whether the word morphology is simple, or whether it is complex as a result of either containing one or more affixes (that is, prefixes or suffixes) or of being a compound word.
2. The grammatical category to which the word belongs (noun, verb, adjective, etc.).
3. The number of syllables in the word.
4. The phonological structure of those syllables.

### 4.6.2 Indo-Iranian Languages

The rapid initial expansion of Islam in the seventh century brought Arabic as the sacred language of the Quran to all the vast territories of the Caliphate, but as a spoken language only to the Middle East and North Africa. In the eastern lands of Iran and Central Asia, Persian continued to be spoken and soon evolved as a literary language also. This classical Persian, the most prominent representative of the Iranian languages which are quite closely related to Indo-Aryan retained its Indo-European structure and basic vocabulary but incorporated a huge number of loan-words from Arabic and was written in the Arabic script. Persian language was also known as "Farsi" an Arabic adaptation of the word "Parsi".

Chodzko (1852), was the first person to discuss stress in Persian. He identified the basic rule that stress is word final in simple, derived \& compound nouns and adjectives, and nominal verbs. As to verbal stress, he has different rules for different tenses. Another researcher Mahootian (1997), explained stress point of Persian language: stress is word-final in simple nouns, derived nouns, compound nouns, simple adjectives, derived adjectives, infinitives, and the comparative and superlative forms of adjectives as well as in nouns with plural suffixes, and mentions verbal stress as one of the exceptions to this rule.

Vahid Sadeghi (2011), discussed the Persian stress pattern by examining the acoustic correlates i.e. duration \& intensity and concluded that the majority of lexical words in Persian are stressed on final syllable. Word-final, stress pattern applies to nouns, adjectives, most adverbs \& simple verbs.

The phonological literature typically describes Arabic stress as predictably falling on a particular location in the word, depending on the internal structure of the syllables making up the word. The pattern of stress location varies considerably in colloquial and modern renditions of classical Arabic Jong \& Zawaydeh (1998). The general pattern of stress placement in Arabic is that the last heavy syllable is typically stressed. Here heavy is a term grouping syllables which are closed and open syllables which contain a long vowel. If there are no heavy syllables in a word, then stress falls in some other predictable location.

### 4.6.3 Lexical Stress due to Gemination in Japanese and Italian

Gemination of consonants as a distinctive feature occurs in some languages however it is subject to various phonological constraints depending on the language. Languages such as English and Spanish do not have geminates. Japanese and Italian geminates are exemplified by the minimal pairs as given:

1. Japanese geminate contrast (Tsujimura 2007)
a. [saka] 'hill'
b. [sakka] 'author'
2. Italian geminate contrast
a. [fato] 'fate'
b. [fatto] 'fact'

Leben (1980), posited an autosegmental representation of geminates in which a single phoneme is linked to two slots on a skeletal tier that encodes the prosody of the word. This skeletal tier is also referred to as a CV-tier, an X-tier, or a length tier depending on the specific conception of the researcher.

Important earlier works that incorporate a CV-tier include McCarthy (1979 \& 1981), Halle and Vergnaud (1980), Clements and Keyser (1983) and Hayes (1986). Geminate representation on this view is exemplified by the geminate [kk] of the Japenese word in (1b).

## CV -tier representation



Fig 4/11: Skeletal Tier (CV -tier representation) - [sakka]
Languages with geminates vary considerably with respect to the durational difference between the geminate and its singleton counterparts. The Ratio may vary from 3:1 (in Japanese to 1.8:1 ratio for Italian) Idemaru and Guion (2008). Thus geminate consonants are transcribed by a sequence of two identical letters in orthographic representation. The phenomenon of pronouncing geminated consonants leads to stress.

### 4.7 Lexical Stress in Indo-Aryan Languages

The history of the easternmost branch of the Indo-European language family, known as Indo-Aryan, dated back at least three thousand years to the earliest hymns of the Rigveda, the most ancient of the sacred texts of Hinduism. When the natural processes of linguistics change threatened to corrupt the sacred vedic texts and thereby sap their ritual power, the world's first linguists emerged from the ranks of the Brahmins to codify and thereby artificially preserve their language. This process reached its culmination in the grammar of Panini (4thc.B.C.), which fixed Old IndoAryan in the stage of 'Classical Sanskrit'.

### 4.7.1 Hindi - Urdu Languages

Thus Hindi and Urdu can be described as being ultimately descended from Sanskrit, near relatives of such contemporary New Indo-Aryan languages as Panjabi or Bengali, quite closely related to the next languages of the vast Indo-European family (refer Fig 4/10), such as Persian and still more distantly connected to languages such as English and Portuguese belonging to remoter branches. Such relationships can be objectively demonstrated by reference to shared grammatical structures or to etymologically shared vocabulary e.g. Hindi-Urdu /mã/, Sanskrit /mãtrr/, Persian /mãdər/, English /mothər/.

Husain (1997) discussed that stress falls on the right most heavy syllable in the word. If there is no heavy syllable, stress falls on penultimate syllable. Word final segments are extrametrical (invisible to the stress rules).

Halpern (2009) presents five stress rules which govern word-level stress patterns in Modern Standard Arabic. First, stress always falls on the ultimate syllable, should the ultimate syllable be superheavy e.g. in the word /dja.di:d'/ meaning 'new', the stress falls on the final syllable as it is superheavy. This rule takes precedent over all others. Second, in monosyllabic words, stress always falls on the ultimate syllable. Though this seems obvious, it is necessary to remember that words which contain proclitics are considered monosyllabic, and thus the ultimate syllable must be stressed. This is important because in a disyllabic word with a proclitic, if the proclitic was considered in applying stress, the stress rules would dictate that the stress be penultimate instead of ultimate. For example, the word /bi.k'ámmeaning 'how much', contains the proclitic /bi/ and thus the ultimate syllable is stressed rather than the penultimate. Third, the stress in disyllabic words falls on the pentultimate syllable, regardless of syllable weight, should the word be lacking a superheavy syllable. This pattern can be seen in the word /kta: $\mathrm{rb} /$ meaning 'writer', in which the stress falls on the penultimate syllable because the final syllable is not superheavy. Fourth, stress falls on the pentultimate syllable in polysyllabic words if that syllable is heavy.

The word $\hbar u . k u: ' . \mathrm{ma}$ / meaning 'government', has stress on the penultimate syllable because it is a heavy syllable. Finally, if the penultimate syllable is light in a polysyllabic word, then the stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable. The verb /ka'.ta.ba/ meaning 'write' demonstrates this pattern, with stress falling on the antepenultimate syllable because the following penultimate syllable is light Erica Lauren Shifflet (2011). Halpern (2009) mentions a few points which are necessary in understanding how to apply these stress rules. As previously stated, though words with proclitics are technically disyllabic or more, the proclitic is ignored when applying stress. As a result, words with proclitics that are disyllabic are treated as monosyllabic and polysyllabic words with three syllables are treated as disyllabic, with regards to the stress pattern rules. Examining how a word is actually pronounced is also important with Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) because in formal situations words are pronounced with case endings. When these case endings are excluded and not pronounced, the stress pattern of the world will change, as will the number of syllables in the word. For example, the word /dja.di:d'/ meaning 'new' has final stress as mentioned above. However, with a formal marking of case, the stress moves to the penultimate syllable because a new syllable is added to the end of the original word. Therefore the word becomes /dja.di:'.dun/ with stress on the heavy penultimate syllable, which follows the rule for polysyllabic words.

### 4.7.2 Punjabi Language

Assignment of stress in Punjabi is entirely predictable, yet it patterns differently in disyllabic and trisyllabic words. Optimality Theory provides a unified system in which both disyllabic and trisyllabic words can be handled under a single ranking using typologically attested constraints. Dhillon (2007) presented Optimality Theoretic analysis of Punjabi stress as well as a brief exploration of Hindi, Sindhi, and Urban Hijazi Arabic- three languages with stress systems similar to that of Punjabi. Punjabi exhibits a three-way distinction in syllable weight with monomoraic light syllables, bimoraic heavy syllables and trimoraic superheavy syllables.

Secondary stress is not found in Punjabi and main stress is not contrastive except for few minimal word pairs. Stress is also not affected by morphology. In the verb forms, the addition of a suffix to the verb stem does not alter stress placement nor does the addition of the plural suffix alter stress placement for the nominal forms. Stress in Punjabi is distributed solely according to a pattern based on the syllables present in a word, the same phenomenon is evident in Hindi Hayes (1995), Pandy (1989), Kelkar (1968) and Sindhi Walker (1997)- two Indo-Aryan Languages closely related to Punjabi. Sangha (2014) discussed although Punjabi is not a stress language like English however in many words the change in stress position is lexically significant and sometimes may result in change of POS category. Stress is a multidimensional suprasegmental feature of Punjabi.

Nara (2016) carried out study of 85 words on stress and tone analysis for Doabi dialect of Punjabi using mixed effects model of stress. He also reported only primary stress. The stress analysis by him is briefly given here:

- The syllable with longest rhyme is stressed e.g. विउ'घ्य/kı'tab/viz book घुठिभा'्//bv'nıad/ viz foundation
- If there is no long rhyme then the penultimate syllable is stressed e.g.
Өิగֹता /v'nãdza/ viz forty nine
- Singleton coda consonants do not contribute to the weight of the rhyme e.g.

ढिवठ / 'p ${ }^{\text {hik }} \mathrm{k} ə r / \mathrm{viz}$. worry
विठठ /'kırən/ viz. ray

- Homorganic Nasal stops and geminate consonants do contribute to the weight of the rhyme:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ทरंट /a'nãd/ "happiness" } \\
& \text { यमंट /p' sãd/ "Preference" } \\
& \text { यहिँउठउT / po' vittrrta/ "Purity" } \\
& \text { પૂکॅษ /par' təkk }{ }^{\text {h/ "Obvious" }}
\end{aligned}
$$

Pitch starts out low on the stressed syllable and rises through the syllable boundary so that it is the syllable following the stressed syllable that has the highest pitch. A phonemically long vowel may become a phonemically short vowel when the syllable within which it occurs loses its stress e.g. ba'taa (To tell) viz.' baat (utterance). Thus stress falls on highest sonority syllable.
Stress placement in Punjabi is determined by syllable structure and morphology similar to Hindi - Urdu stress placement. The stress bearing syllable carries high tone.

### 4.8 Stress Patterns of Punjabi

Stress is not a prominent feature of Punjabi, however it is utilized in di-syllabic words to distinguish between grammatical categories, known as functional stress. In the noun category stress falls on the initial syllable and in the verb category stress falls on the final syllable. In gemination, stress falls on the geminated consonant and it additionally co-occurs with tone in tonal words. The acoustic characterization of the properties can help in identifying the stressed syllable from other unstressed syllables in a word.

### 4.8.1 Functional Stress

Stress can be used to establish a distinction in meaning between two words, where the only difference is with regards to the placement of stress. Such stress is known as functional stress. English has functional stress. Punjabi also exhibits functional stress in a very small set of words.

Stress placement in these words divides their function as noun / verb / adjective etc i.e. the POS changes with the change in the position of stress e.g.

| Sr No | Noun | Verb |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | Јठग /'hə ra/ (Green colour) | Јठ'/hə'ra:/ (Defeat) |
| 2. | उठ /'pəra/ (Brother) | डठग /pə ra:/ (Filling) |
| 3. | मढा /'sə pha/ (Page of book) | मढт /sə 'pha:/ (Clean) |
| 4. | गाल्欠 /'gola/ (Throat) | गाष्ग / gə 'la:/ (Cause to melt) |
| 5. | उषי/ /'tala/ (Sole) | उ区्' /ta'la:/ (Cause to fry) |

Table 4/1: Pairs of Functional Words
It is noted that there is also an alternation of vowel quality depending on the position of stress. The last vowel gets elongated when second syllable is stressed, it is also referred as prolative vowel.

### 4.8.2 Stress due to Gemination

Gemination in Punjabi is phonemic. The minimal pairs (non- nasal and nasal) are given below:

| Non-Geminate |  |  | Geminate |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Word | IPA | Meaning | Word | IPA | Meaning |
| यउ | pet | Honour | ฯॅउ | pətt | Leaf |
| मउ | sət | Essence | मॅउ | satt | Seven |
| तित | d3In | Who | fio | dJĩn | Devil |

Table 4/2: Minimal Pairs (non- nasal and nasal)
Orthographically gemination is represented by double consonants and such consonants occur in medial \& final position only. These are preceded by short vowels $/ \mathbf{D}, \mathbf{I}, \boldsymbol{\sigma} /$.

For example, the geminate clusters are written by the sign $\breve{\mu}$ known as /əddək/. The consonantal segments $/ \mathbf{\eta} /, / \mathbf{l} /, / \mathbf{r} /, / \mathbf{r} /$, $/ \mathbf{h} /$ and $/ \mathbf{j} /$ do not occur as geminates.

Geminates of $/$ ढ $/ \mathbf{p}^{\mathrm{h}} /$, घ $/ \mathbf{t}^{\mathrm{h}} /$, ठ $/ \mathbf{t}^{\mathrm{h}}$, 玉 $/ \mathbf{t}^{\mathrm{h}} /$, ४ $/ \mathbf{k}^{\mathrm{h}} /$ aspirate only at the final release in a geminated word. They are phonetically similar to a cluster of an unaspirated stop and homorganic aspirate. There is, however, no structural reason to consider such geminates as different from others. S.S.Sangha (2014)

| Word | IPA |
| :---: | :---: |
| तॅढा | /dзəpp ${ }^{\text {ha/ }}$ |
| Јॅपी | /hatt ${ }^{\text {i/ }}$ |
| वॅठी | /ketth ${ }^{\text {i/ }}$ |
| हॅढी | /wattt $\mathrm{f}^{\mathrm{n}}$ i/ |
| צ゙४> | /k ${ }^{\text {h}}{ }^{\text {k }}{ }^{\text {ha/ }}$ / |

Table 4/3: Examples- Geminate Aspirates
The geminate cluster can be within the same cluster e.g. वॅக /kəll/ or can go across the syllable e.g. वॅल्ญी /kəlli/ as illustrated below:


ब"ल /kəll/


वॅल्डी/kalli/

Phonetically, the duration of double consonant becomes 1.5 to 2 times longer than the non-geminate consonant, thus leading to the increased duration of the syllable of which geminate consonant is the part. Such syllable becomes stressed as compared to other syllables in a word.

## Phonotactics

(i) Diphthongs do not occur in word initial position.
(ii) Short vowels don't occur in word final position.
(iii) Short vowels $/ \mathrm{I} / \& / \mathrm{U} /$ generally occur in word initial position.
(iv) The vowels $/ \varepsilon / \& / 0 /$ generally do not occur in word final position except for some monosyllabic words.

(vi) There is abundance in use of vowel diphthongs in the end of the words including three or more than three vowels.

The generalization about where stress occurs, can only be made in reference to syllable types for the study of stress patterns. These types are usually described in terms of weight of syllables categorized into types such as light, heavy or super heavy. The following syllable definitions have been followed for the purpose carrying out the experimental study of intra-syllabic stress the definitions of light (L), heavy (H) and super- heavy (SH) syllable have been evolved by Slata et al (2015).

## Light Syllable (L)

(i) Open syllable containing a class I vowel i.e. $\quad \mathbf{V}_{\mathbf{1}}$ or $\mathbf{C V}_{\mathbf{1}}$

## Heavy Syllable (H)

(i) Open syllable containing a class II vowel or a diphthong viz. $\mathbf{V}_{\mathbf{2}}, \mathbf{C} \mathbf{V}_{2}, \mathbf{V}_{\mathbf{d}}$, $\mathrm{CV}_{\mathrm{d}}$
(ii) Any syllable having class I vowel with a coda or onset \& coda viz. $\mathbf{V}_{1} \mathrm{C}$ (C), $\mathrm{CV}_{1} \mathrm{C}$

## Super Heavy Syllable (SH)

(i) Class II vowel or a dipthong followed by one or more consonants viz.
$\mathbf{V}_{2} \mathbf{C}(\mathbf{C}), \mathbf{V}_{\mathrm{d}} \mathbf{C}(\mathbf{C})$
(ii) Class II vowel or a dipthong having onset as well as coda viz. $\mathbf{C V}_{2} \mathbf{C}$,
(C) $\mathbf{C V}_{2} \mathbf{C}, \mathbf{C V}_{\mathrm{d}} \mathbf{C},(\mathrm{C}) \mathrm{CV}_{\mathrm{d}} \mathbf{C}$
(ii) Class I vowel followed by two or more consonants viz. $\mathbf{C V}_{1} \mathbf{C C}$

Table 4/4: Syllable Definitions for Experimental Work

### 4.9 Experimental Study

### 4.9.1 Articulatory Features for Determining Syllabic Stress

Co-articulation is a phenomenon in which the articulatory movements required for a syllable are often anticipated (anticipatory Co-articulation) or carried over (carry over Co- articulation) during the production of an adjacent syllable. Stress plays an important role in this. It depends on: quality of syllable peak, openness or closeness of the syllable, type of syllable margin, position of the syllable in the word under consideration, presence of germination/tone etc.

Syllable peaks and syllable margins show considerable reduction of quantity, quality, and intensity and pitch when occurring in weak position of a syllable whereas there is an all around rise in a stronger syllable. Reduction in quality of the initial syllable in disyllabic words is a common feature. Sharma (1971) discusses syllabic structure of Punjabi in detail with reference to the variations in quality of syllable peaks, vowel reduction, schwa deletion etc. as is evident from following examples:

| $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | Description | Example word | IPA | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | Preference for class I syllable peaks | भॅग | /ogg/ | Fire |
|  |  | ढ్ర"स | /phell/ | Flower |
|  |  | 今̌4T | /tikk ${ }^{\text {ha/ }}$ | Sharp |
| 2. | Reduction / centralization of first syllable to neutral schwa when second syllable is heavy and closed |  | /bazar/ $\rightarrow$ /bəzar/ | Market |
| 3. | Reduction of class II (phonemically shorter duration of vowel) syllable peak in the final syllable of di/ploysyllabic words | वटी | /kəvi/ | Poet |
|  |  | विठय'प्ष्र | /krrpalu'/ | Kind |


| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | Description | Example word | IPA | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 4. | Occurrence of class I syllable peak in final open syllable only in mono-syllabic function words | वि | /kı/ | That |
|  |  | ㅈ | /kv/ | Approximately |
| 5. | Preference for nasalization with long and open syllable peaks | मोंग | /mí/ | Rain |
|  |  | ड़् | /tũ/ | You |
| 6. | Regressive nasalization of syllable peak | वহ़ीभां | /kudĩã/ | Girls |
|  |  | 历י्टां | /lãvã/ | May take |
| 7. | Schwa deletion | मइवां | /sərkã/ | Roads |
|  |  | वगतד़ां | /kagzã/ | Papers |

Table 4/5: Variations in Quality of Syllable Peaks \& Vowel Reduction in Punjabi

Crystal (1997) further describes syllables by their position within the word e.g. in a tri-syllabic word, final syllable is referred to as the ultimate syllable, while the second to the last syllable is the penultimate syllable and the third to final syllable is the antepenultimate syllable. All of these placements are determined beginning from the rightmost edge of the word, which would be the ultimate syllable.

Lexical Stress in terms of Intra-syllabic stress needs to be examined to aid the prosodic PLS development in Punjabi.

### 4.9.2 Empirical Research

"Empirical" means "based on observation or experience," according to the MerriamWebster Dictionary. Empirical research is a research using empirical evidence. It is a way of gaining knowledge by means of direct or indirect observation or experience. Empirical evidence can be analyzed quantitatively or qualitatively.
Empirical analysis is an evidence-based approach to the study and interpretation of information. Empirical analysis is integral to the scientific method and is the usual approach used to study subjects for a probable answer through quantified observations of empirical evidence.

Scientific method begins with scientists forming hypotheses and then acquiring the knowledge through observations and experiments to either support or disprove a specific theory. The scientific method often involves lab experiments and these experiments result in quantitative data in the form of numbers and statistics. The role of empirical study is to develop a general hypotheses which relies upon the capacity to characterize computational models as far as sets of features that can be utilized to make and evaluate predictions about what influences the conduct under investigation Cohen (1995), Sparck-Jones and Galliers (1996), Walker (1996).

### 4.9.3 Acoustic Parameters

The stress measurement parameters as discussed in section 4.3.1 viz. Pitch (P), Duration (D) and Intensity (I) of the syllables in a word form the hypothesis for determining the Intra-syllabic stress experimentally. As per literature study, intensity, fundamental frequency (Pitch) and duration of vowels is greater within stressed syllables. Though data is still lacking to establish definite correlates, however Erica Lauren Shifflett (2011) says fundamental frequency, intensity and duration can be used as phonetic correlate measurements to determine the stress pattern of a language. Thus a systematic approach needs to be taken to measure these parameters of Punjabi word samples. Di-syllabic words have highest frequency of occurrence in Punjabi. The frequency analysis also reveals presence of $10-15 \%$ tonal words. Therefore the empirical study is based on this premise and to start with, non-tonal words will be taken as basis for determining the inter-relationship of these parameters in the context of stress.

### 4.10 Methodology

### 4.10.1 Data Selection, Recording and Annotation

The phonologically rich words in various combinations of syllables as per definition given in Table: $4 / 4$ are being considered for analysis for 10 speakers (4 Male \& 6 Female).

The distribution of data across various catogries of words is given in the table below:

| S. No. | Word category | Total words |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | Di-syllabic | 185 |
| 2. | Tri-syllabic | 86 |
| 3. | Poly-syllabic | 12 |
|  | Total | 283 |

Table 4/6: Data Samples for Study of Lexical Stress

Recording of data done as per specifications as discussed in section 1.8.2. Data annotation using PRAAT tool was done at the phoneme level as per procedure discussed in section 3.1.2. The syllables in each word were also marked. A sample annotation is depicted below:


Fig 4/12: Sample Annotation (syllable \& phoneme level)

### 4.10.2 Recording of Data Sheets

The syllable level annotated data of above samples was used for recording various acoustic parameters as discussed in section 4.9.3. A sample data sheet is given below:

| मठघ/sarab/ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Speakers |  | Syb1 |  |  | Syb2 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | D | P | I | D | P | I |  |
| M1 (S8) | 0.13 | 135 | 71 | 0.18 | 165 | 70 |  |
| M2(S13) | 0.2 | 200 | 71 | 0.21 | 192 | 66 |  |
| M3 (S5) | 0.29 | 188 | 63 | 0.22 | 186 | 65 |  |
| M4 (S7) | 0.2 | 171 | 65 | 0.16 | 176 | 67 |  |
| F1 (S1) | 0.27 | 241 | 67 | 0.25 | 205 | 64 |  |
| F2 (S2) | 0.23 | 241 | 63 | 0.24 | 248 | 62 |  |
| F3 (S3) | 0.4 | 239 | 63 | 0.22 | 227 | 65 |  |
| F4 (S11) | 0.27 | 305 | 70 | 0.31 | 357 | 71 |  |
| F5 (S6) | 0.26 | 241 | 62 | 0.23 | 248 | 62 |  |
| F6 (S9) | 0.32 | 246 | 72 | 0.25 | 261 | 72 |  |
| Average | $\mathbf{0 . 2 6}$ | $\mathbf{2 2 0 . 7 0}$ | $\mathbf{6 6 . 7 0}$ | $\mathbf{0 . 2 3}$ | $\mathbf{2 2 6 . 5 0}$ | $\mathbf{6 6 . 4 0}$ |  |

Table 4/7: Sample of Syllable Level Data of different Acoustic Features

### 4.10.3 Linear Regression Analysis

Linear regression is a linear approach to modelling the relationship between a scalar response (or dependent variable) and one or more explanatory variables (or independent variables). Linear regression is a basic and commonly used type of predictive analysis.

These regression estimates are used to explain the relationship between one dependent variable and one or more independent variables. Linear regression is very extensible and can be used to capture non-linear effects. There are typically a small number of coefficients. If we have a small number of features that are important, it predicts future data quite well in a lot of cases, despite its simplicity.

The standard deviation (represented by the Greek letter sigma $\sigma$ ) is a measure that is used to quantify the amount of variation or dispersion of a set of data values. A low standard deviation indicates that the data points tend to be close to the mean of the set, while a high standard deviation indicates that the data points are spread out over a wider range of values. In statistics, a confidence interval (CI) is a type of interval estimate, computed from the statistics of the observed data. The confidence level represents the frequency (i.e. the proportion) of possible confidence intervals that contain the true value of the unknown population parameter. In other words, if confidence intervals are constructed using a given confidence level from an infinite number of independent sample statistics, the proportion of those intervals that contain the true value of the parameter will be equal to the confidence level. Most commonly the $95 \%$ confidence level is used. However, other confidence levels can be used in the range of $90 \%-99 \%$.

In two-dimensional linear regression, the general form for a model is a distribution concentrated along a line. A line is determined by two parameters - its slope and it yintercept - and we want to find the parameters that determine the best fit line for a given set of points. We know that the data points probably won't all fall right on any one line, so there will always be some error. For any given line, we can define a distribution that is equal to one along the line and decreases as we move away from the line. In particular, the probability will be defined by the Gaussian function $\mathrm{e}^{-\mathrm{d} \wedge 2(\mathrm{x}, \mathrm{y}) / 2 \sigma^{\wedge} 2}$ where d is the distance, so that as we move away from the line, the probability will follow a bell curve.


Standard deviation
Fig 4/13: Graph of the Distribution Function

The properties of a normal distribution are:

- The mean is at the middle ( $50 \%$ of the data are above and $50 \%$ of the data are below)
- $68 \%$ of the data fall between -1 and 1 standard deviation
- $95 \%$ of the data fall between -2 and 2 standard deviation
- $99.7 \%$ of the data fall between -3 and 3 standard deviation

The acoustic parameters as discussed in section 4.9 .3 will be modelled using Linear Regression for relational analysis. Linear regression is a standard mathematical technique which has been used to predict the intra-syllabic stress in percentage i.e. the heaviest syllable will be identified for marking the stress. The duration, pitch and intensity of both the syllables in a word averaged across 10 speakers for 95 words was tabulated in a spreadsheet and was plotted using Curve Expert Professional, a cross-platform solution for curve fitting.

A sample spreadsheet and graph-plot for duration of first syllable of all sample words is given below. Similar plots were made for Pitch and Intensity for both the syllables in each word.


Fig 4/14: Plot for Duration


Fig 4/15: Piecewise Linear Curve Fitting

The process of finding the best fit piecewise linear curve was automated using this tool. Linear regression attempts to model the relationship between two variables by fitting a linear equation to observed data. A linear regression line has an equation of the form $\mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{ax}+\mathrm{b}$, where X is the explanatory variable and Y is the dependent variable. Using Nonlinear model, the piecewise linear curve fitting equations: $\mathrm{ax}+\mathrm{b} \mid \mathrm{cx}+\mathrm{d} \quad(\mathrm{ax}+\mathrm{b}<50 \quad ; \quad \mathrm{cx}+\mathrm{d}>=50)$ were obtained from this tool for all the three parameters for both the syllables.

| Duration(D) | Syllable 1 | Syllable 2 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & 2.04 \mathrm{~d}+7.48 \\ & \mathrm{n}<50 \\ & 3.50 \mathrm{~d}+3.84 \\ & \mathrm{n}>50 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 2.73 \mathrm{~d}+2.51 \\ & \mathrm{n}<50 \\ & 3.74 \mathrm{~d}+1.72 \\ & \mathrm{n}>50 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| Linear Curve Equation (1) | $5.54 \mathrm{~d}+11.32$ | $6.47 \mathrm{~d}+4.23$ |
| Pitch(P) | $\begin{array}{ll} \hline 6.21 \mathrm{p}+2 & \\ \mathrm{n}<50 & \\ 1.32 \mathrm{p}+1.48 & \mathrm{n}>50 \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{ll} 4.95 \mathrm{p}+2.20 & \mathrm{n}<50 \\ 5.91 \mathrm{p}+2.12 & \mathrm{n}>50 \end{array}$ |
| Linear Curve Equation (2) | $7.53 \mathrm{p}+3.48$ | $10.86 \mathrm{p}+4.32$ |
| Intensity(1) | $\begin{aligned} & 6.61 \mathrm{i}+6.58 \\ & \mathrm{n}<50 \\ & 8.27 \mathrm{i}+6.51 \\ & \mathrm{n}>50 \end{aligned}$ | $8.06 \mathrm{i}+6.43$ $\mathrm{n}<50$ <br> $4.88 \mathrm{i}+6.64$ $\mathrm{n}>50$ |
| Linear Curve Equation (3) | $14.87 \mathrm{i}+13.09$ | $12.94 \mathrm{i}+13.07$ |

Table 4/8: Piecewise Linear Curve Fitting Equations of Acoustic Parameters

Averaging over two syllables, the linear equations of all the three acoustic parameters which influence the lexical stress are:
$\mathrm{f}(\mathrm{d})=6.00 \mathrm{~d}+7.77$
$\mathrm{f}(\mathrm{p})=9.19 \mathrm{p}+3.90$
$\mathrm{f}(\mathrm{i})=13.90 \mathrm{i}+13.08$
The normal distribution curve for all the three acoustic parameters is as below using Standard Deviation and mean of the data averaged over two syllables.

Analyzing the above functions derived from the stress patterns of the recorded samples, the corresponding weightage factors of the acoustic parameters have been calculated. Thus the empirical stress function $\left(\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}}\right)$ can be defined as
$s_{t}=\mathbf{0 . 4 9 d}+\mathbf{0 . 1 6 p}+\mathbf{0 . 3 5 i}$ where
d is the duration (ms)
p is the pitch measured in terms of frequency (hz)
i is the intensity (db)

This reveals that duration and intensity have higher importance in determining lexical stress as compared to pitch.

The syllabic weight of all the syllables using above stress function will be calculated and the heaviest syllable needs to be identified for determining the strongest syllable in a word.

### 4.11 Data Analysis

Statistics and Probability are interrelated but separate academic disciplines. Statistical analysis often uses probability distribution.

When a frequency distribution is normally distributed, we can find out the probability of a score occurring by standardizing the scores, known as standard scores (or z scores).

The standard normal distribution simply converts the group of data in our frequency distribution. Z-scores are expressed in terms of standard deviations from their means. The absolute value of z represents the distance between the raw score and the mean value in units of the standard deviation. $z$ is negative when the raw score is below the mean, positive when above. Thus $z$-scores are a way to compare results.


Fig 4/16: Normal Distribution of z-score

The formula for calculating the standard score is given below:

$$
\text { z-score }=(x-\mu) / \sigma
$$

Where:
$\mu$ is the mean of the data
$\sigma$ is the standard deviation

Applying this definition on the stress data:

$$
\mathrm{z} \text {-score }=\left(\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}}-\overline{\mathrm{s}}_{\mathrm{t}}\right) / \sigma
$$

where
$\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}}$ is reference value taken as 0 to get the point to the left of which intra-syllabic stress is negative
$\bar{s}_{t}$ is the mean of the intra-syllabic stress (in \%)
$\sigma$ is the standard deviation

The z -score gives the percentage that scored lower than the reference value.
A standard normal table ( Z Score Table) gives the values of the cumulative distribution function $(\Phi)$ of the normal distribution. Using this value of $z$-score, a value will be obtained from the online Z Score Table. This value gives the probability of the score lower than the defined reference value that gives the lexical stress pattern for the given range of the data.

The heuristic is an approach to problem solving, learning or discovery that employs a practical method, not guaranteed to be optimal, perfect, logical, or rational, but instead sufficient for reaching an immediate goal. Thus taking a clue from 80-20 rule, the stress rules will be evolved based on minimum $80 \%$ probability of occurrence of that rule in the given data being analysed using above defined heuristic approach.

### 4.11.1 Di-syllabic Words

Di-syllabic words have highest frequency of occurrence in Punjabi hence lexical stress will be experimentally examined for these words and findings will be extrapolated. The frequency of tonal words is only $10-15 \%$, therefore the basis will be evolved first for di-syllabic non-tonal words and then will be validated for tonal words.

## a) Di-syllabic Non-Tonal Words

Ninety five phonetically annotated words are being analysed. The stress of syllable 1 and syllable 2 of each word was calculated using the empirical stress function $\left(\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}}\right)$. The intra-syllabic stress was calculated using the formula $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{ti}}=\left(\left(\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}_{2}}-\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}}\right) / \mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t} 1}\right) * 100$ and $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{ti}}$ is tabulated as at Annexure I in Appendix D, where i varies from 1 to 95 .

Mean of $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{ti}}$ for 95 words $\left(\overline{\mathrm{s}}_{\mathrm{t}}\right)=4.50$

Standard Deviation $(\sigma)=\operatorname{sqrt}\left[\left(1 / n \sum_{i=0}^{n}\left(s_{t i}-\bar{S}_{t}\right)^{\mathrm{h}}\right)\right] \quad-----------------$ eq (1)

Where $\mathrm{n}=95$; $\mathrm{h}=2$
Using this formula, $\sigma=3.11$
The range is $-3.65 \leq \mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}} \leq 11.51$
The normal distribution curve is:


Fig 4/17: Graph of the Distribution of Lexical Stress Data of Non-Tonal Di-syllabic Words

It is observed that majority of data is positive which reflects that the stress lies on the second syllable. The probability ( $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{r}}$ ) of words having intra-syllabic stress less than 0 can be calculated using $z$ score.
$z=(0-4.50) / 3.11=-1.44$
The corresponding value of $\Phi$ against this z -score is calculated given below:
$P_{r}(x<0)=P_{r}(z<-1.44)=0.075$ i.e. $7.5 \%($ marked red in fig)

Therefore there is $92.5 \%$ probability of lexical stress being present on second syllable (ultimate syllable).

| S. <br> No. | Word <br> category | Rule | Probability of <br> occurrence | Exception |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | Di-syllabic <br>  <br>  <br>  <br> non-tonal <br> words | Stress on <br> syllable 2 <br> (R1) | 0.93 | - |

Table 4/9: Lexical Stress Rules for Di-syllabic Non-Tonal Words

## Rule 1: Stress falls on ultimate syllable

## b) Di-syllabic Toneme Words

Sixty six phonetically annotated words have been analysed out of which 33 words contain toneme in initial syllable and balance 33 having toneme in final syllable. The stress of syllable 1 and syllable 2 of each word was calculated using the empirical stress function $\left(\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}}\right)$. The intra-syllabic stress was calculated and $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{i}}$ is tabulated as at Annexure II in Appendix D, where i varies from 1 to 66.

Mean of $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{ti}}$ for 66 words $\left(\overline{\mathrm{s}}_{\mathrm{t}}\right)=0.99$

Using eq (1), Standard Deviation $(\sigma)=7.86$
Where $n=66$; $h=2$

The range is $-14.36 \leq \mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}} \leq 20.45$
The normal distribution curve is:
$\mathrm{z}=(0-.99) / .7 .86=-.12$
$P_{r}(x<0)=P_{r}(z<-.12)=0.45$ i.e. $45 \%$


Fig 4/18: Graph of the Distribution of Lexical Stress Data of Di-syllabic Toneme
Words

The Rule 1 (R1) is largly applicable for tonal di-syllabic words also however it is noted from the above figure that words towards the left side of the mean do not carry any lexical stress as these contain toneme in the initial syllable due to which the syllable 1 also becomes emphasised and counter balances the stress which is generally observed on syllable 2 in such words.

## Rule 2: No Stress

Hence the Rule Table can be represented as:

| S. | Word | Position of |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No. | category <br> toneme | Rule |  |
| 1. | Di-syllabic | Final syllable | Stress on syllable 2 (R1) |
|  | Toneme <br> words | Initial syllable | No Stress (R2) |
|  |  |  |  |

Table 4/10: Lexical Stress Rules for Di-syllabic Toneme Words

## c) Di-syllabic Words (consisting of cosonant /h/ or conjuncts of /h/)

Twenty four words containing cosonant /h/ and conjuncts of / $\mathrm{h} /$ were examined. The stress of syllable 1 and syllable 2 of each word was calculated using the empirical stress function $\left(\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}}\right)$. The intra-syllabic stress of was calculated and $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{i}}$ is tabulated as at Annexure III in Appendix D, where i varies from 1 to 24.

Mean of $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{ti}}$ for 24 words $\left(\overline{\mathrm{s}}_{\mathrm{t}}\right)=4.82$

Using eq (1), Standard Deviation $(\sigma)=5.40$
Where $n=24 ; h=2$

The range is $-3.07 \leq \mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}} \leq 14.8$
The normal distribution curve is:


Fig 4/19: Graph of the Distribution of Lexical Stress Data of Di-syllabic Words (consisting of cosonant /h/ or conjuncts of /h/)
It is observed that majority of data is positive which reflects that the stress lies on the second syllable. The percentage of words having intra-syllabic stress less than 0 can be calculated using z score.
$\mathrm{z}=(0-4.82) / 5.40=-0.892$
$P_{r}(x<0)=P_{r}(z<-0.892)=0.186$ i.e. $18.6 \%($ marked red in fig $)$

Therefore there is $81 \%$ probability of lexical stress being present on second syllable. The Rule 1 (R1) is largely applicable for this category of words however it is noted from the above figure that three words marked in the red region do not carry any lexical stress. Hence the rule table can be represented as:

| S. <br> No. | Word category | Rule | Probability of <br> occurrence | Exception |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | Di-syllabic Words <br> $($ consisting of cosonant <br> /h/ or conjuncts of /h/) | Stress on syllable 2 <br> (R1) | 0.81 | - |

Table 4/11: Lexical Stress Rules for Di-syllabic Words (consisting of cosonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ or conjuncts of $/ \mathrm{h} /$ )

### 4.11.2 Tri-syllabic Words

In tri-syllabic words, the stress may fall on final syllable or penultimate syllable in case of European languages as discussed in section 4.6.1. This needs to be examined in the context of Punjabi. The experimental data of second and third syllable will be compared and stress will be reported along with exceptions if any.

## a) Tri-syllabic Non-Tonal Words

Thirty phonetically annotated words have been analysed out of which three words contain toneme in initial syllable. The stress of all three syllables of each word was calculated using the empirical stress function $\left(\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}}\right)$. The intra-syllabic stress of was calculated using the formula $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{i}}=\left(\left(\mathrm{s}_{\left.\left.\mathrm{t}_{3}-\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}_{2}}\right) / \mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}_{2}}\right) * 100 \text { and } \mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{ti}_{1}} \text { is tabulated as at Annexure }}\right.\right.$ IV in Appendix D, where i varies from 1 to 30.
Mean of $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{ti}}$ for 30 words $\left(\overline{\mathrm{s}}_{\mathrm{t}}\right)=4.5$
Using eq (1), Standard Deviation $(\sigma)=3.25$
Where $\mathrm{n}=30$; $\mathrm{h}=2$
The range is $-1.48 \leq \mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}} \leq 10.85$

The normal distribution curve is:


Fig 4/20: Graph of the Distribution of Lexical Stress Data of Tri-syllabic Non-Tonal Words

It is observed that majority of data is positive which reflects that the stress lies on the third syllable. The percentage of words having intra-syllabic stress less than 0 can be calculated using z score.
$\mathrm{z}=(0-4.5) / 3.25=-1.38$
$P_{r}(x<0)=P_{r}(z<-1.38)=0.083$ i.e. $8 \%($ marked red in fig $)$

Therefore there is $92 \%$ probability of lexical stress being present on third syllable.

The Rule 1 (R1) is largely applicable for this category of words and stress falls on the third syllable. However, it is observed from the data that syllable 1 is stronger in case of occurance of toneme in initial syllable hence the stress gets counter balanced and there is no need to mark stress.

Hence the rule table can be represented as:

| S. <br> No. | Word <br> category | Rule | Probability of <br> occurrence | Exception |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | Tri-syllabic <br> non-tonal <br> words | Stress on syllable 3 <br> (R1) | 0.92 | - |
|  |  |  |  |  |

Table 4/12: Lexical Stress Rules for Tri-syllabic Non-Tonal Words

## b) Tri-syllabic Toneme Words

Twenty eight phonetically annotated words have been analysed out of which 7 words contain toneme in initial syllable. The stress of all three syllables of each word was calculated using the empirical stress function $\left(\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}}\right)$. The intra-syllabic stress of 28 words was calculated using the formula $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{ti}}=\left(\left(\mathrm{s}_{\left.\left.\mathrm{t}_{3}-\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}_{2}}\right) / \mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}_{2}}\right)}\right) 100\right.$ and $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{ti}}$ is tabulated as at Annexure V in Appendix D, where i varies from 1 to 28.

Mean of $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{ti}}$ for 28 words $\left(\overline{\mathrm{s}}_{\mathrm{t}}\right)=4.85$
Using eq (1), Standard Deviation $(\sigma)=5.92$
Where $\mathrm{n}=28$; $\mathrm{h}=2$
The range is $-4.54 \leq \mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}} \leq 16.49$
The normal distribution curve is:


Fig 4/21: Graph of the Distribution of Lexical Stress Data of Tri-syllabic Toneme Words

It is observed that majority of data is positive which reflects that the stress lies on the third syllable. The percentage of words having intra-syllabic stress less than 0 can be calculated using z score.
$\mathrm{z}=(0-4.85) / 5.92=-0.81$
$P_{r}(x<0)=P_{r}(z<-0.81)=0.20$ i.e. $20 \%$ (marked red in fig)

Therefore there is $80 \%$ probability of lexical stress being present on third syllable. It is observed that seven words (* marked) containing toneme as onset in the initial syllable have $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t} 1}$ as the heaviest syllable and thus stress falls on the syllable 1 in these cases for example:

उम्=
The Rule 1 (R1) is largely applicable for this category of words and stress falls on the third syllable however observing from the data, it is noted that syllable $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t} 1}$ is stronger if it contains toneme in the initial syllable. In this case the stress which generally falls on the ultimate syllable gets counter balanced. Hence the rule table can be represented as:

| S. <br> No. | Word category | Position of <br> toneme | Rule |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | Tri-syllabic | Medial / Final | Stress on syllable 3 |
|  | Toneme words | syllable | (R1) |
|  |  | Initial syllable | No Stress (R2) |

Table 4/13: Lexical Stress Rules for Tri-syllabic Toneme Words

## c) Tri-syllabic Words (consisting of cosonant /h/ or conjuncts of /h/)

Twenty eight words containing consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ and conjuncts of / $\mathrm{h} /$ were examined. The stress of syllable 1 , syllable $2 \&$ syllable 3 of each word was calculated using the empirical stress function ( $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}}$ ).

The intra-syllabic stress of was calculated using the formula $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{ti}}=\left(\left(\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}_{3}}-\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}_{2}}\right) / \mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}_{2}}\right) * 100$ and $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{ti}}$ is tabulated as at Annexure V1 in Appendix D, where i varies from 1 to 28.

Mean of $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{ti}}$ for 28 words $\left(\overline{\mathrm{s}}_{\mathrm{t}}\right)=3.82$

Using eq (1), Standard Deviation $(\sigma)=4.5$
Where $\mathrm{n}=28$; $\mathrm{h}=2$
The range is $-8.03 \leq \mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{t}} \leq 17.6$
The normal distribution curve is:


Fig 4/22: Graph of the Distribution of Lexical Stress Data of Tri-syllabic Words (consisting of cosonant /h/ or conjuncts of/h/)

It is observed that majority of data is positive which reflects that the stress lies on the third syllable. The percentage of words having intra-syllabic stress less than 0 can be calculated using z score.
$\mathrm{z}=(0-3.82) / 4.5=-0.85$
$\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{r}}(\mathrm{x}<0)=\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{r}}(\mathrm{z}<-0.85)=0.19$ i.e. $19 \%$ (marked red in fig)

Therefore there is $81 \%$ probability of lexical stress being present on third syllable.

The Rule 1 (R1) is largely applicable for this category of words however it is noted from the above figure that three words marked in the red region do not carry any lexical stress. Hence the rule table can be represented as:

| S. <br> No. | Word category | Rule | Probability of <br> occurrence | Exception |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | Tri-syllabic Words <br> (consisting of <br> cosonant /h/ or <br> conjuncts of/h/) | Stress on <br> syllable 3 (R1) | 0.81 | - |

Table 4/14: Lexical Stress Rules for Tri-syllabic Words (consisting of cosonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ or conjuncts of $/ \mathrm{h} /$ )

### 4.11.3 Poly-syllabic Words

Twelve poly-syllabic (8 quadri-syllabic \& 4 penta-syllabic) annotated words have been analysed. The syllabic weights of all the syllables of each word were calculated and have been tabulated as at Annexure VII in Appendix D.

| S. <br> No. | Word <br> category | Rule | Exception |
| ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | Poly-syllabic <br> words | Stress on ultimate <br> syllable (R1) | Noted in $50 \%$ of the <br> words |
|  |  | Stress on penultimate <br> syllable (R3) | Noted in 50\% of the <br> words |
|  |  | No Stress (R2) | Toneme in initial syllable |

Table 4/15: Lexical Stress Rules for Poly-syllabic Words

### 4.12 Findings and Discussion

| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | Word category |  | Rule |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | Di / Tri-syllabic non-tonal words |  | Stress on ultimate syllable |
| 2. | Di/Trisyllabic SupraLaryngeal tonal words | Toneme in medial or final syllable | Stress on ultimate syllable |
|  |  | Toneme in initial syllable | No Stress |
| 3. | Di /Tri-syllabic words (consisting of cosonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ or conjuncts of $/ \mathrm{h} /$ ) |  | Stress on ultimate syllable |
| 4. | Polysyllabic words | Noted in $50 \%$ of the words | Stress on ultimate syllable |
|  |  | Noted in $50 \%$ of the words | Stress on penultimate syllable |
|  |  | Toneme in initial syllable | No Stress |

The difference between strong and weak syllables is of linguistic importance as discussed in section 4. In this context few examples of words having functional stress which is phonemic has been discussed in section 4.8.1. The experimental work carried above has focused on identifying the strongest syllable in a word so that stress can be marked on this syllable based on which prosody modeling can be done for text to speech system development.

## Chapter 5

## Acoustic Variability of Schwa

## 5. Introduction

Speech science is the study of all the factors involved in producing, transmitting, perceiving and comprehending speech, including all relevant aspects of anatomy, physiology, neurology and acoustics, as well as phonetics. Speech analysis began in 1940 in the United States of America. The study of speech production from an acoustical point of view provides the means for looking at a very complex process in a simple way. The source of sound with which we are most concerned is the human voice. Here fluctuations in air pressure are caused by a variety of means. The most important of these is the rapid opening and closing of the vocal cords. Each time the vocal folds are closed pressure is built up, which is suddenly released when they are opened. Consequently the rapid opening and closing of the folds causes a series of sharp variations in air pressure. The air in the vocal tract will vibrate in different ways when the vocal organs are in different positions.

Speech sounds in a language are generally classified in two broad categories, viz, segment and supra-segmental. Segmental sounds are further divided into vowels and consonants. Supra-segmental sounds are classified into stress, tone, nasalization etc. Vowels can be defined in terms of both phonetics and phonology. Phonetically, they are sounds articulated without a complete closure in the mouth or a degree of narrowing which would produce audible friction; the air escapes evenly over the centre of the tongue. If air escapes solely through the mouth, the vowels are said to be oral; if some air is simultaneously released through the nose, the vowels are nasal. It is very difficult to classify the vowels and this classification is usually carried out using acoustic or auditory criteria, supplemented by details of lips position. There are several systems for representing vowel position visually. From a phonological point of view, vowels are those units which function at the centre of syllables.

In some approaches, the term 'vowel' is reserved for the phonological level of analysis; vocoid is then used for the phonetic vowel which generally is called a semi-vowel also.


Fig 5/1: Tongue Positions in Production of Vowels

In the production of vowels, air stream coming from the lungs passes through the oral cavity without any obstruction. While producing vowels, different parts of the tongue move to different heights within the oral cavity, the shape of the lips is modified. In the production of vowels, vocal cords may vibrate to produce voiced vowels. The nasal passage remains closed when the non-nasal oral vowels are produced and it remains open allowing the air stream to pass through the nasal cavity thus producing nasalized vowels. Point 1 in the above Figure indicates the height to which the front of the tongue can be raised in the production of vowel sound. Points $1 \& 4$ represent the front close and the back close position respectively. Point 3 represents back open unrounded vowel i.e. /a/. Point 2 represents front unrounded vowel between half-open and open position i.e. vowel /œ/.

Vowel systems vary greatly in their complexity from language to language. English happens to be relatively rich in vowel contrasts, with the added complexity that the vowel system is by no means uniform across the English-speaking world. Lindblom (1986), provides a brief but useful survey of 'some facts' about vowel systems as well as discussion of how languages exploit the 'vowel space'. His paper includes references to both classic and recent work on universal aspects of vowel systems.

At the end of the nineteenth century, scholars began to feel the need for a standardized and internationally acceptable, system of phonetic transcription. Although there was and still is much to be said for non-alphabetic system of representation, it is the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) developed and promulgated by the International Phonetic Association since 1888 which with or without minor modification is now most widely used by linguists. The basic principle upon which the IPA is constructed is that of having a different letter for each distinguishable speech-sound.

## Primary \& Secondary Cardinal Vowels

A reference system of vowel pronunciation in terms of the vowel sounds that is independent of any given language has been devised. A famous example of such a system is the Cardinal Vowels. Daniel Jones (1976) postulated the vowel quadrilateral and the cardinal vowels, a Primary set and a secondary set of cardinal vowels. Each set comprising eight vowels, the choice of 8 vowels in the primary cardinal vowel system was probably strongly influenced by the vowel system of late $19^{\text {th }} /$ early $20^{\text {th }}$ century. A given cardinal vowel is described by its articulation in terms of three dimensions: tongue height, front-back position of the tongue and degree of rounding.

| Primary Cardinal Vowels |  |  | Secondary Cardinal Vowels |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Front | Back | Front | Back |
| Close | i | U | y | uu |
| Close-mid | e | O | $\varnothing$ | $\gamma$ |
| Open-mid | $\varepsilon$ | $\supset$ | $\propto$ | $\Lambda$ |
| Open | a | a | ๔ | p |

Table 5/1: Cardinal Vowels (i)

The primary and secondary cardinal vowel categories provide a suitable framework for comparison for many languages.


Fig 5/2: Cardinal Vowels (ii)
The neutral Schwa vowel sound is produced without tightening the throat and vocal cords, which is not the case for the other vowel sounds. Recasens (1991), claims that Schwa is the vowel with the highest degree of variability; hence it is important to discuss this in detail.

Quality of Schwa
Schwa is an important part of the vowel space but is considered as a weak vowel as compared to other vowels. The pitch of the neutral Schwa vowel sound is low and it is barely audible. It goes by so fast when someone is speaking that you may not even notice it's there. Thus orthographically also it is not written in some cases. To produce the neutral Schwa vowel sound, the throat must be relaxed and the air passage must remain open. The mouth will remain open slightly as well in order to produce this sound. Schwa is often taken to be a mid-central vowel, in accordance with the denotation of the Schwa symbol [ə] in the International Phonetic Alphabet. The three phonological processes of vowels are well known viz. Initial Vowel Truncation, Vowel Reduction and Vowel Deletion.

## Initial Vowel Truncation

Vowel Schwa when used in initial position of the word sometimes gets truncated in pronunciation. This phenomenon may vary from language to language and is also speaker dependent. This variation may also be found in various dialects of a language.

Vowel Reduction
Phonetic reduction most often involves a centralization of the vowel that is, amount of movement of the tongue in pronouncing the vowel is reduced, as with the characteristic change of many unstressed vowels at the end of English words to something approaching Schwa. A well-researched type of reduction is that of the neutralization of acoustic distinctions in unstressed vowels, which occurs in many languages. Vowel reduction is a phenomenon that happens around the world, according to different rules for each language. The most common reduced vowel is Schwa which is particularly vulnerable to the co-articulatory effects of adjacent consonants.

## Vowel Deletion

An elision or deletion is the omission of one or more sounds (such as a vowel, a consonant, or a whole syllable) in a word or phrase. The word elision is frequently used in linguistic description of living languages, and deletion is often used in historical linguistics for a historical sound change. Many studies have confirmed that Schwa deletion is influenced by multiple factors such as lexical stress position, sonority, lexical frequency, word length, phonotactic environment and speech style.

The basis for the weakness of Schwa has been the subject of much research by phonological experts Van Oostendrop (2000), but much less attention has been devoted to the question of what the phonetic characteristics of Schwa vowel are, hence acoustic analysis of only Schwa vowel has been undertaken in this thesis.

### 5.1 Variations of Schwa in English

In linguistics, mainly phonetics and phonology, Schwa is the mid-central vowel sound amidst the vowel chart, indicates by the IPA sound $/ \partial /$. It was first utilized in English texts between 1890 and 1895. In Hebrew writing, "shva"/९ (two vertical dots) / is a vowel diacritic that can be written under letters to indicate an 'eh' sound (which is not the same as our Schwa). The term was first used in linguistics by $19^{\text {th }}$ century Germany philologists, which is why we use the German spelling, "Schwa". Styler (2012), discussed the difference between Schwa / $2 /$ and wedge $/ \mathrm{L} /$. The difference between $/ \partial /$ and $/ \Lambda /$, at a fundamental level, is that $/ \partial /$ is a reduced vowel, whereas $/ \Lambda /$ is a full vowel. The language-specific Variations of Schwa are being discussed in this section.

### 5.1.1 Schwa in British English

In English, there are 44 distinctive speech sounds 20 of these are vowels and the remaining 24 are consonants. $/ 2 /$ is a very frequently occurring vowel in English. It occurs only in unaccented syllables. The vowel is articulated with 2 different tongue-positions, depending upon whether it occurs finally in a word or elsewhere. During the articulation of non-final $/ 2 /$, the centre of the tongue is lifted towards the roof of the mouth to a height along with half-close and half-open. The lips are neutral. Non-final $/ 2 /$ is therefore a central unrounded vowel lies between half-close and half-open.


Fig 5/3: Cardinal Vowels (British English)
$/ 2 /$ occurs initially, medially and finally in a word.

| Initial ap'point | /a'pont/ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Medial | 'excellent $/$ /'eksələnt/ |
| Final 'drama /'dramə/ |  |

English is a stress-timed language displaying phonological vowel reduction: weak vowels, such as Schwa [ə], are part of the phonological form of many words in the language. Schwa in English is mainly found in unstressed positions, but in some other languages it occurs more frequently as a stressed vowel. It is a particularly frequent vowel in English, as it is the one most commonly heard when a stressed vowel becomes unstressed, e.g. telegraph becoming telegraphy /'telogra:f/ /tə'legrəfi/.

### 5.1.2 Schwa in American English

Vowel reduction is a prominent feature of American English, as well as other stresstimed languages. The vowel $/ \Lambda /$ is an unrounded mid-back morpheme, more or less lowered and fronted. It take places before all consonants excepting /h,z,j,w/ e.g supper /sıpper/, cup $/ \mathrm{c} \wedge \mathrm{p} /$, nut $/ \mathrm{n} \wedge \mathrm{t} /$ etc. it can also precede clusters consisting of a resonant and a plosive e,g. hunt, bundle, punch etc or a plosive alone e.g. husk and lust. Schwa / $/$ / is used only in unstressed syllable word initially medially and finally e.g. initial arise /ərise/, medial begin /bə'gin/, final comma/'kamə/.


Fig 5/4: Cardinal Vowels (American English)

### 5.2 Schwa in Indo-Aryan Languages - Literature Survey

The Schwa sound in Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit (where it is called a svarabhakti vowel) and the notation of $\langle ə>$ was used for Indo-European languages. The modern Indo-Aryan languages also prevalently use this notation. These languages are spoken in most of the north and centre of the Indian subcontinent, with outliers in Sri Lanka and the Maldives. Hindi-Urdu and Bengali are by far the largest; of the remainder, Marathi in south of the main area, Gujarati in south-west, Sindhi to the west, Punjabi in the north-west, Assamese in the east, Oriya in the south-east and Sinhalese in Sri Lanka all have a current literary standard and are linked to major political units. Others such as Bhojpuri or Maithili also have speakers in ten of millions. Across the main area, separate languages have arisen largely by division with a geographical continuum. The occurrence of vowel Schwa in these languages will be discussed in this section as deliberated by Pandey (2014) and many other linguists.

### 5.2.1 Assamese

Assamese has eight oral vowels. Vowel harmony is a distinguishing feature of the Assamese vowel system.

| অ | a | ぬ | ri |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| आ | $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ | 9 | e |
| ₹ | i | ® | ai |
| 凸 | i | 3 | $\bigcirc$ |
| ৬ | u | 3 | au |
| \% | u |  |  |

Fig 5/5: Cardinal Vowels (Assamese)
Mahanta (2012), discussed the Vowel Triangle of Assamese. It is observed that there is no Schwa in Assamese.

### 5.2.2 Bengali

Schwa viz. /s/ is open-mid central rounded vowel in Bengali. Vowel sequences of two and three occur e.g. /se so/, /seno sea/

|  | Front | Central | Back |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Close | i |  | u |
| Close-mid | e |  | o |
| Open-mid | $\mathfrak{x}$ | ® |  |
| Open |  | a |  |

Table 5/2: Cardinal Vowels (Bengali)
Schwa /c/ in Bengali is a mid-low vowel and is realized as full vowel e.g.
/mel/ ‘dirt’ [smol] 'pure’,[snek] ‘many’.

### 5.2.3 Dogri

Dogri also uses mid-central open Schwa like Punjabi. In addition it has vowel allophone /ă/i.e. extra short Schwa.

### 5.2.4 Gujarati

Murmur has been reported in Gujarati vowels which are attributed to loss of $h$ in casual and rapid speech. Thus Schwa also gets breathy and is represented as $/ \mathrm{g} /$ e.g.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { /məhino/ [mọ jno] 'month' } \\
& \text { /pəholũ/ [pon lũ] ‘broad' }
\end{aligned}
$$

There are two allophones of Schwa / $\partial / \mathrm{viz}[3][$ : $]$

## Example

/wəhelũ/ [vę lũ] 'early’

### 5.2.5 Hindi

Schwa does not occur word finally.

Allophone $[\mathrm{e}]</ \mathrm{g} /$ occurs when followed by $/ \mathrm{h} /$, e.g.

कहना /kæna/

लहर /lær/

### 5.2.6 Kashmiri

Kashmiri has in addition a long Schwa also. Both the Schwa do not occur word finally.

### 5.2.7 Konkani

In Konkani, Schwa is a close-mid central vowel. There are two allophones of Schwa viz. The raised, [ $\upharpoonright$ ] and [ $\imath$ ] lowered allophones occur before high and low vowels as dipthongs i.e. /əi əu/.

### 5.2.8 Maithili

Schwa is close-mid central vowel in Maithili and is instrumental in formation of geminates similar to Punjabi. Geminate consonants occur intervocalically. They are however in free variation with single consonants in this position.
/ petta / ['petta]
Schwa also is found as part of two and three-vowel clusters.
/ iəu iau әia әua uia /

### 5.2.9 Sindhi

Schwa occurs in the end of syllables unlike other Indian languages. Sindhi syllables in most of the cases end with vowels or semi-vowels and consonant can occur at initial, medial and final position of words Jatoi (1983)

For example:

| S. <br> No. | Vowel <br> contrast |  | Sindhi <br> in IPA | English | Sindhi in <br> IPA | English |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | $/ \mathrm{a} / \mathrm{/a} /$ | sarə | Miss | sərə | reeds |  |

Table 5/3: Occurrence of Schwa in end of Open Syllable in Sindhi

### 5.2.10 Urdu

In Urdu first alphabet alif ( 1 ) is also used to represent Schwa/ / / The behavior of alif in various contexts is described below:

Alif + jabar on top $=/ 2 /$ and is used as full vowel in the initial position of the word e.g.
(अल्हा) الحi
Alif + madd $=/ a /$ in the initial position and is used as full vowel e.g.
آم (आम)

Alif in the medial and final position of a word is used as /a/ matra.
Alif + Zer below alif $=/ \mathrm{I} /$ and is used as full vowel in initial position e.g.
الى (इमली)

Schwa is also found as part of vowel consonant clusters:
Alif $+\mathrm{vao}=/ \mathrm{ao} /$ which is a diphthong. e.g.
(आओ)

### 5.3 Phonetic Variations of Schwa in Punjabi

The Schwa has been the subject of much research by phonologists yet substantially less consideration has been dedicated to study of the phonetic attributes of Schwa vowel. Punjabi is a tonal language wherein Schwa is a short neutral vowel sounds like every single other vowel, its exact quality changes depending upon the adjacent consonants, which needs to be investigated.

### 5.3.1 Occurrence of Schwa in Isolated Words

(i) Word-initial Schwa or inherent Schwa in a consonant cluster (CC) and also Schwa as a tone bearing unit
e.g. भम'ठ (/əsan/), वमव (/kəsək/), u্ /kə̀r/
(ii) Nasalized Schwa
e.g. गंठट्ट/rãbə́na/, घमंउ/bəsว̃t/
(iii) Schwa associated with Geminated Consonant as Onset

(iv) Schwa as Release Vowel

Schwa doesn't occur in word-final position in Punjabi Panday Pramod (2014), however it is observed as consonantal release in words ending with closed syllable

### 5.3.2 Schwa as Release Vowel in Sentences

The most psycholinguists have discussed the selection of lexical concepts and the generation of a syntactic structure of a sentence appropriate for conveying the speaker's intended meaning or "message".

Levelt $(1989,1992)$ argues that the unit of phonological encoding is the phonological word. He postulates a prosody generator that takes as input the rhythmic information about the selected words and combines them into phonological word frames. The phonological segments for each word are made available separately and then associated to the newly constructed phonological word frames in a left to right manner.

Short release vowel schwa is observed in following Punjabi sentence in some speakers:
(i) में य्यठ ताट्टंगा। /mẽ kว̀r ḑavãga/


This neutral Schwa vowel may sound like nothing or its something like a low volume, low pitch, very short grumble or grunt which ought to be verified experimentally. In this context, the phenomenon of Release Vowel as discussed in the context of Isolated Words needs to be examined in the context of a sentence and comparison needs to be drawn in both the acoustic contexts.

### 5.4 Experimental Study

### 5.4.1 Acoustic Parameters

The following parameters will be used to study the Schwa quality:

- Fundamental frequency $\left(\mathrm{F}_{0}\right)$
- Formants (F1, F2)
- Acoustic space in terms of F1 and F2
- Intensity, Duration, slope
- Burst Energy (BE)

The acoustic space is calculated in order to determine the tongue position involved in articulation. The few examples of different categories of words will be recorded.

There can be more than one Schwa in a word occurring in different contexts as discussed in section 5.3. The Schwa in the words being analyzed will be highlighted in the word list. Burst energy i.e. (Intensity * Duration) of Schwa vowel will be calculated to determine the quality of a vowel viz lax/tense.

### 5.4.2 Methodology

### 5.4.2.1 Data Selection, Recording and Annotation

The list of phonetically balanced words was collated for this experimental analysis. The selection of the word will be prepared based on the criteria of occurrence of $/ \mathrm{\partial} /$ in different contexts as discussed in the section 5.3.1 by using available published dictionary from authentic sources such as Punjabi-English Dictionary, Punjabi University (2011). Phoneme level annotation of the data was done based on auditory perception. The Release Vowel study is not limited to only Isolated Words and is being extended to sentence level containing that word. The Isolated Words containing tonemes and their occurrence in two different sentences were taken for two sentences containing these isolated words to examine the significance of release vowel in the Punjabi language. The informants were selected from region of Punjab where Malwai dialect is spoken. Each informant recorded the entire set of words thrice. Out of this, words containing toneme will also be recorded in sentences i.e. each word in two different sentences for study of release vowel in an isolated word viz-a-viz it's occurrence in a sentence. The sentence data was recorded only for 8 speakers ( 4 male \& 4 female) and the corresponding Isolated Words were also recorded by these speakers for the study of release vowel.The recording and annotation of the data was carried out as per details discussed in section 1.8.2. The spectrographic analysis of all the male \& female samples was carried out and phoneme level annotation was done and Release Vowel was marked in Isolated Words as well as sentences.
$\mathrm{F}_{0}$, first two formants ( $\mathrm{F} 1 \& \mathrm{~F}$ ), Intensity \& duration of the schwa vowel under examination were recorded for each word by using PRAAT software for all the words being analyzed and also for the Release Vowel associated with Isolated Words as well as its occurrence in a sentence. Based on this data, the analysis of vowel quality will be carried out in various acoustic settings.

### 5.4.2.2 Recording of Data Sheets

The various acoustic parameters as discussed in section 5.3 were recorded and are given in the respective sections given below.

### 5.4.2.3 Analysis of Schwa Vowel in Isolated Words

Wilder (1975), Vowel height is inversely correlated with the frequency of the first formant: the higher the vowel (the higher the tongue position), the lower the F1. Vowel backness is reflected in the frequency of the second formant or more precisely, in the distance between the first and second formant frequencies. The frequency of the third formant does not change as much as that of F1 \& F2. Formant frequencies higher that F3 are not considered important clues to the identity of the vowel. The production of nasalized vowel requires two resonators, the oral and nasal cavity. The difficult interface between these two resonators and the heavy damping of the nasal cavity give results in several differences between oral and nasalized vowels. In nasal vowel typically represent greater formants bandwidth, lower overall amplitude, a low frequency nasal formant. A traditional "vowel diagram" can be obtained by plotting the vowel formants in a graph where the horizontal axis is (F2-F1) and the vertical axis is inverse of F1. Burst energy i.e. (Intensity * Duration) of Release Vowel was recorded for Isolated Words vis-a-vis its burst energy in a sentence to identify the quality of a vowel viz lax/tense in both the contexts.

### 5.4.2.3.1 Oral Schwa Vowel

Schwa occurs in only word-initial and word-medial positions in Punjabi language.

The word－medial Schwa is usually used functionally to break the consonant clusters and is not represented orthographically but is phonetically realized．

| Words | IPA | F1 | F2 | F2－F1 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| थमएठ | ／วsan／ | 625.1 | 1526.40 | 901.3 |
| भमीठ | ／əmir／ | 634.22 | 1414.22 | 780 |
| भढीभ | ／əp ${ }^{\text {him／}}$ | 649.33 | 1240.83 | 591.5 |
| भट甘 | ／ənək ${ }^{\text {／}}$ | 711.22 | 1526.78 | 815.56 |
| भविभग्म | ／abǐas／ | 637 | 1306.90 | 669.9 |
| भवएव | ／2kal／ | 660 | 1484.00 | 824 |
| भरंट | ／ənว̃d／ | 665.1 | 1558.90 | 893.8 |
| भइ＂व | ／atfòkk／ | 603.8 | 1701.30 | 1097.5 |
| भइ＂व | ／ətfòkk／ | 751.8 | 1678.80 | 927 |
| ヶॅगे | ／ogge／ | 620.8 | 1547.90 | 927.1 |
| गमघ | ／həsəb／ | 669.5 | 1505.50 | 836 |
| Јमघ | ／həsəb／ | 606.1 | 1506.70 | 900.6 |
| वमव | ／kəsək／ | 594.25 | 1380.75 | 786.5 |
| वमव | ／kəsək／ | 590.75 | 1406.45 | 815.7 |
| मठघ | ／sərəb／ | 626.1 | 1565.20 | 939.1 |
| मगघ | ／sərəb／ | 599.5 | 1569.20 | 969.7 |
| मइव | ／sərək／ | 614 | 1609.90 | 995.9 |
| मइव | ／sərək／ | 610.50 | 1684.80 | 1074.3 |
| मृठర | ／Jəgən／ | 573.4 | 1685.00 | 1111.6 |
| मुठार | ／$\partial$ əən／ | 577.7 | 1640.10 | 1062.4 |
| मंवट | ／sə̃kət！ | 582.2 | 1633.20 | 1051 |
| ढॅवट | ／tàkkəŋ／ | 683.3 | 1665.80 | 982.5 |
| 历ॉउट्ट | ／ləbbóņ／ | 655.3 | 1500.70 | 845.4 |
| щॅम | ／kèssa／ | 592 | 1562.00 | 970 |
| घरंउ | ／bəsว̃t／ | 492.5 | 1527.40 | 1034.9 |
| प्－एॅउ | ／durlább／ | 814.3 | 1472.19 | 657.89 |
| इॅग | ／ţàgg／ | 748.1 | 1686.50 | 938.4 |
| पूप्पी | ／bággi／ | 584.2 | 1457.87 | 873.67 |
|  | ／kòllukàra／ | 654.6 | 1561.00 | 906.4 |
| Average |  | 635.40 | 1538.14 | 902.74 |

Table 5／4：F1 \＆F2－Oral Schwa

### 5.4.2.3.2 Nasalized Schwa ( )

Schwa before a nasal in the same syllable tends to be nasalized. The few examples of Schwa with nasalization are shown below:

| Words | F1 | F2 | F2-F1 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| भरंट/ ənว̃d / | 541.30 | 1498.20 | 956.90 |
| घमंड/ bəsว̃t / | 560.80 | 1505.90 | 945.10 |
| मंवट/ sə̃kət/ | 523.10 | 1427.20 | 904.10 |
|  | 499.78 | 1274.40 | 774.63 |
| पंटा/ tà̀da / | 476.50 | 1557.20 | 1080.70 |
| मंढट्र /sõ¢ そ¢ / | 522.00 | 1653.70 | 1131.70 |
| बंप्यू /kz̃dǔi / | 453.67 | 1456.77 | 1003.10 |
| गंयகு / /gãdə́la / | 475.80 | 1615.90 | 1140.10 |
| घंयूभr /bãdǔa / | 471.33 | 1359.33 | 888.00 |
| Jंठट्ट /rãbว́ņa/ | 585.10 | 1532.20 | 947.10 |
| भீयेठ /ãdèra/ | 491.40 | 1594.90 | 1103.50 |
| Average | 534.99 | 1502.19 | 967.20 |

Table 5/5: F1 \&F2 - Nasalized Schwa

### 5.4.2.3.3 Schwa Associated with Geminated Consonant as Onset ( $\mathbf{o g}_{\mathrm{g}}$ )

The effect of occurrence of geminated toneme as onset of the syllable containing Schwa $\left(\partial_{\mathrm{g}}\right)$ needs to be examined to understand the variation of schwa in this context.

| Words | F1 | F2 | F2-F1 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| క్ర̆इহ /bv'd3d3ágna/ | 510.90 | 1861.9 | 1351.00 |
| বি इटு /ri'd3d3ógna/ | 504.70 | 1901.6 | 1396.90 |
|  | 493.10 | 1927.4 | 1434.30 |
| एॅठट्ट/la'bbógna/ | 564 | 1498 | 934 |
| प्टियठ/I'ddógr ${ }^{\text {r }}$ / | 624.40 | 1729 | 1104.60 |
| Average | 539.42 | 1783.58 | 1244.16 |

Table 5/6: F1 \& F2 - Geminated Schwa

The analysis of above examples reveals that the tongue moves higher and forward in the phonetic realization of schwa in such cases.

### 5.4.2.3.4 Schwa as Release Vowel ( $\boldsymbol{\partial}_{\mathrm{r}}$ )

Schwa doesn't occur in word-final position. In Panday (2014) however it is observed as consonantal release in words ending with closed syllable which is termed as Release Vowel (RV). The examples are shown below:

| Words | IPA | F1 | F2 | F2-F1 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| पइ | /tòr $\mathrm{r}^{\text {/ }}$ | 554.08 | 1681.56 | 1127.48 |
| मट्यु | /ənkə̀rər/ | 565.48 | 1694.52 | 1129.04 |
| भइ"व | /ətJòkkər $/$ | 518.2 | 1539.6 | 1021.4 |
| भाज्斤 | /màgar/ | 535.37 | 1545.62 | 1010.25 |
| म'इ | /sằd3ər/ | 436.98 | 1766.85 | 1329.87 |
| इंत्त | /tfädzərər | 539.99 | 1682.13 | 1142.14 |
| ढॅवट | / tòkkənər / | 556.94 | 1606.6 | 1049.66 |
| यठ | /kə̀rər ${ }_{\text {/ }}$ | 523.42 | 1675.41 | 1151.99 |
| इग | /tfòggər ${ }_{\text {/ }}$ | 515.51 | 1586.65 | 1071.14 |
| छ్ర | /tfùt ${ }^{\text {r }} \mathrm{r}^{\text {/ }}$ | 549.13 | 1518.61 | 969.48 |
| यंठ | /tàn ${ }_{\text {r }} /$ | 556.42 | 1598.79 | 1042.37 |
|  | Contd |  |  |  |


| Words | IPA | F1 | F2 | F2-F1 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| घेइ | /bòd3ar $/$ | 451.06 | 1687.67 | 1236.61 |
| Өิइघ्বय | /ùḑəbúgar ${ }_{\text {/ }}$ | 471.43 | 1459.12 | 987.69 |
| 太ึur |  | 564.83 | 1602.56 | 1037.73 |
| उांख्य | /tằgor $/$ | 517.84 | 1568.88 | 1051.04 |
| यौंय | /pì̀ ¢ $_{\text {/ }}$ ( | 490.42 | 1588.66 | 1098.24 |
| ถิंय | /ùig ${ }_{\text {r }} /$ | 597.81 | 1477.94 | 880.13 |
| Average |  | 526.17 | 1604.775 | 1078.6 |

Table 5/7: F1 \& F2 - Release Vowel in Isolated Words

### 5.4.2.3.5 Vowel Diagram of Schwa

Based on the above findings, the acoustic space is depicted in the below graph for various phonological settings plotting the average values of each category as discussed above:


Fig 5/6: F1, F2-F1 Plot of Schwa in different Acoustic Contexts

The acoustic variations of Schwa can be observed from F1 \& F2 plot given below:


F1
Fig 5/7: F1, F2 Scattered Graph of Schwa

The range of F1 \&F2 of Schwa vowel in above acoustic contexts is tabulated below:

## F1 Table

| Categories | F1 range | Vowel height |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ${ }^{\text {r }}$ | $500-800$ | Mid |
| $\partial_{\mathrm{n}}$ | $450-600$ | Transition zone high |
| $\partial_{\mathrm{g}}$ | $500-650$ |  |
| $\partial_{\mathrm{r}}$ | $450-600$ |  |

Table 5/8: F1 Range in different Acoustic Contexts

## F2 Table

| Categories | F2 range | Articulatory zone |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\partial^{1}$ | $1200-1700$ | Central |
| $\partial_{\mathrm{n}}$ |  |  |
| $\partial_{\mathrm{g}}$ | $1500-1950$ | Transition zone front |
| $\partial_{\mathrm{r}}$ | $1450-1800$ | Transition zone front |

Table 5/9: F2 Range in different Acoustic Contexts


Fig 5/8: F1, F2 Average Values Bar Chart in different Acoustic Contexts

### 5.4.2.4 Comparison of Release Vowel ( $\partial_{\mathrm{r}}$ ) in Isolated Words viz-a-viz Sentences

The average of burst energy of Release Vowel in Isolated Words viz-a-viz average of burst energy when the same word occurs in two sentences is tabulated below:

|  | Word with in a Sentence |  |  | Isolated Words |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Words | F1 | F2 | Burst Energy <br> (Duration * <br> Intensity) | F1 | F2 | Burst Energy (Duration * Intensity) |
| யठ /kə̀rə ${ }_{\mathrm{r}}$ / | 443.25 | 1792 | 2.71 | 470.00 | 1725.00 | 9.03 |
| ढॅवट <br>  | 391 | 1498 | 0.78 | 567.00 | 1730.50 | 6.04 |
| पंठ /taั̀nər | 409 | 1969.5 | 2.28 | 538.50 | 1686.00 | 9.23 |
| पइ /tòrar $/$ | 497.5 | 1650.5 | 3.23 | 506.50 | 1705.50 | 10.87 |
|  | 387 | 2342 | 2.26 | 494.00 | 1612.00 | 10.15 |
| হ্রర /tfùt ${ }^{\text {h }} \partial_{r} /$ | 475.5 | 1921 | 2.21 | 442.00 | 1522.00 | 10.02 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | Contd.. |


|  | Word with in a Sentence |  | Isolated Words |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Words | F1 | F2 | $\begin{array}{c}\text { Burst } \\ \text { Energy } \\ \text { (Duration } \\ \text { * }\end{array}$ |  |  |
| Intensity) |  |  |  |  |  |$]$

Table 5/10: F1 \& F2 - Isolated Words viz-a-viz Sentence

Fundamental frequency $\left(F_{0}\right)$ male $\boldsymbol{\&}$ female speakers

|  | Male | Female |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Isolated Words | 190.11 | 263.33 |
| Word occurrence in sentence | 188.32 | 268.58 |

Table 5/11: $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ - Isolated Words viz-a-viz Sentence

### 5.5 Results \& Discussion

The variations as observed from above data analysis are reported below with reference to pure vowel /2/ characteristics:


Fig 5/9: Cardinal Vowels (Punjabi)- Acoustic Variabiality of Schwa
The data analysis from the above tables and graphs reveals that there is variation in the quality of Schwa in Punjabi language. The Schwa in IPA is indicated as midcentral vowel as discussed in this chapter however the data analysis shows changes in the vowel height and degree of backness. The following is observed from the above tables and graphs:

- The values of F1 are decreasing for nasalized Schwa and also for Release Vowel associated with Isolated Words. Similar phenomenon is also observed in case the geminated toneme occurring as onset of the syllable containing Schwa. In these cases the vowel height is $20-25 \%$ higher.
- The F2-F1 value is maximum for geminated toneme as onset of the syllable containing Schwa ( $\partial_{\mathrm{g}}$ ) and decreases in case of Release Vowel associated with Isolated Words having closed last syllable ( $\partial_{\mathrm{r}}$ ) \& nasalized Schwa $\left(\partial_{\mathrm{n}}\right)$ as compared to mid-central Schwa i.e. there is a relative shift in the vowel position towards the front. This shift in case of $\partial_{n}$ is negligible.

The Release Vowel in Isolated Words ( $\left(_{\mathrm{r}}\right.$ ) gets shifted towards the front by $20 \%$ in articulation. The major change in the place of articulation happens in case of g which can be considered in between the front and central in the vowel triangle.

- It is observed that Burst energy of Release Vowel in a sentence is much less (only $25 \%$ ) as compared to the Release Vowel associated with Isolated Words. Hence can be ignored. It is also noted that there is not much variations in fundamental frequency and the first two formants.
- Thus the Release Vowel in a sentence gets suppressed due to the continuation of speech in the sentence due to accompanying intonation features whereas the release energy in maximum in Isolated Words due to un-interrupted pronunciation. Hence the Release Vowel in a sentence is not phonologically significant. Thus midcentral Schwa /a/ is a pertinent vowel in terms of acoustic variations as discussed above and can be represented in IPA as follows:
(i) All nasalized Schwa ( $\partial_{\mathrm{n}}$ )
(ii) Schwa associated with geminated consonant as onset ( $\partial_{\mathrm{g}}$ )
(iii) Schwa as Release Vowel ( $\partial_{\mathrm{r}}$ )

The above findings can assist TTS developers in realizing natural speech in Punjabi TTS.

## Chapter 6

## Correlation of Morpho-syntactic Features with Lexical Representation and its Co-articulation

## 6 <br> Introduction

In spoken production, there is an intimate link between morphological and phonological processing. First and foremost, the output of morphological operations serves as the input to phonological processes. When morphological processes combine lexical representations (morphemes) to form a multi-morphemic word, the constituent sounds must also be combined in such a way that the resulting phonological representation is suitable for driving spoken production.

The PLS provides inter-operable specification of pronunciation information which can be used for speech technology development. W3C PLS 1.0 represents the requirements of Latin script based languages with few examples mentioned for Japanese and Chinese, thus keeping the specification very broad, however it currently does not cover morphological, syntactic and semantic information associated with pronunciations (such as word stems, inter-word semantic links, pronunciation statistics, prosody etc.). POS is an available source for feature extraction for building NLP \& speech systems. PLS based on morphology with overriding phonological features such as stress, tone, gemination, nasalization etc covering phonological words that contain maximum inflection under each POS category can be a useful resource for training of speech systems. An initial work on Part of speech (POS) and morphological pronunciations in Pronunciation Lexicon Specification (PLS) Bengali has been carried out as discussed in section 1.7.1. The paper proposed addition of POS feature in PLS XML structure either as an attribute or an element. This can be used to choose the proper pronunciation among multiple pronunciations of the same orthography of a word. This information can reduce the search time in a large vocabulary recognition and synthesis system. This needs to be further investigated for Punjabi language. Therefore there is a need to standardized the tags to be used for part-of-speech information to be encoded in PLS data.

### 6.1 Standard POS Tag Set

Parts of Speech tagging is one of the key building blocks for developing speech applications. A Part-Of-Speech Tagger (POS Tagger) is a piece of software that reads text in a language and assigns parts of speech tag to each word such as noun, verb, adjective etc. Punjabi has a rich base of POS based inflections e.g.

| Word | IPA | POS | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| छैवगटां | /ukkaruã/ | JJ,M,S | engraved, etched |
|  | /vkərvauna/ | VM, M, S | to get engraved, inscribed |
| छिवठह्प्पी | /vkərvai/ | N,F,S | wages for |

Table 6/1: Example of POS Based Inflections

The POS tag set for Punjabi language has been standardised as discussed in Paper "Standardization of POS Tag Set for Indian Languages based on XML Internationalization best practices guidelines" by Lata et al (2012), the same is enclosed at Annexure I of Appendix D. The prosodic features of Punjabi are discussed here with the help of examples transcribed in IPA using these standard POS Tags.

### 6.2 POS Inflections in Punjabi

Punjabi is highly inflectional language like most other Indo-Aryan Languages. POS is an important feature in Punjabi language. Main parts of speech (POS) in Punjabi are noun, pronoun, verb, adjective, adverb, preposition, conjunction and interjection etc. An affix is a morpheme that is attached to a word stem to form a new word. Affixes are divided depending on their position with reference to the stem as discussed below:

### 6.2.1 Prefix

A prefix is a morphological unit, for example 'un-' or 'multi-', which is added to the beginning of a word in order to form a different word. For example, the prefix 'un-' is added to 'happy' to form 'unhappy'. Use of prefixes is much lesser as compared to the use of suffixes in Punjabi. These are mostly used with Nouns, Adjectives. Its use with verbs is very rare. For example:

| Word | IPA | POS | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| यठिए | /pél/ | N,F | first step/initiative |
| यठि®্য | /pél-a/ | JJ,M | First |
| यठिए్ట | /pél-u/ | N,M | aspect/point of view |
| यठिसे | /pél-e / | JJ,M | first/foremost |
| यठिएֻट | /pél-əŋ/ | JJ | calved for the first time |
| यठिए্' | /pél-ã/ | RB | formerly/before hand |

### 6.2.2 Suffix

A suffix is a morphological unit attached to the end of a word to form a new word or to change the grammatical function (or part of speech) of the original word. For example, the verb read is made into the noun reader by adding the suffix -er. Similarly, read is made into the adjective readable by adding the suffix -able. The addition of suffix may also lead to change in number, gender \& person. The Punjabi examples related to these changes are covered in the following section.

### 6.2.2.1 Change in Grammatical Categories

| Word | IPA | POS | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| भुख | /mũd-a/ | N,M,S | boy |
| मُّ ${ }^{\text {d }}$ | /mũd-e/ | N,M, P | boys |
| मुंड भा' | /mũd-Iã/ | N,M,P | boys |
| भُंब 6 | /mũd-Io/ | N,M, ${ }^{\text {P }}$ | boys |

### 6.2.2.2 Word Inflection for Number, Gender and Person

Inflection for Number change

| Word | IPA | POS | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| मृЗ | /mũd-a/ | N,M,S | boy |
| मृళे | /mũd-e/ | N,M,Pl | boys |
| वउ़ | / kur-i / | N,F,S | girl |
| वुरीभri | / kur-ia / | N,F,Pl | girls |

Gender change

| Word | IPA | POS | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| घֻँढT | / bưd d-a/ | N,M | old man |
| घुँढी | / búd d-i / | N,F,S | old woman |
| यउ़ | /kor-a/ | N,M | horse |
| युरी | /kor-i/ | N,F,S | mare |

### 6.3 Distinctive Features of Morphology-Phonology Interface

The morphological structure of a complex word determines how the constituent morphemes of a word are realized phonetically. The phonological structure of a complex word reflects its morphological structure, but is not isomorphic to that structure. A native speaker understands that spoken words are made up of sequences of speech sounds and has the ability to hear and manoeuvre the sounds in spoken words. This ability is known as phonemic awareness. Phoneme is capable of distinguishing meanings of words. Phonemic awareness is a subset of phonological awareness in which listeners are able to hear, identify and manipulate phonemes, the smallest mental units of sound that helps to differentiate units of meaning (morphemes). Phonology plays a role in the selection of one from a set of competing affixes. The supra-segmental phonemes i.e. patterns of articulations due to presence of tone, stress, nasalisation, germination etc are phonemic. Hence the distinctive features of morphology-phonology interface of Punjabi language will be discussed in this section. These features are essential for the completeness of PLS and should necessarily be captured for complete phonological coverage of the language.

### 6.3.1 Tone

Tone in Punjabi language has been discussed in detail in chapter $2 \& 3$. The tonal minimal pairs based on three types of tone i.e. high-tone /ó/, low-tone /ò/ and midtone / $\overline{\mathrm{o}} /$ have been discussed in this section. Level tone is also phonemic however it is customary not to mark it in the pronunciation lexicon. For example:

| Word | IPA | POS | TONE | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| मठ | /sən/ | V,Aux | Nil | were |
| मंत | /sə̃n/ | N,M | Nil | year |
| मंగु | /səิ́n/ | N,M | HighTone | hole made by thieves |
| उगठ | /pàr/ | N, M | Low Tone | load |
| यठ | /par/ | RB ,Both | NiL | beyond |
| घगठ | /bahər/ | RB, Both | NiL | out |

## 6．3．2 Nasalization

Nasalisation is phonemic in Punjabi．Tippi（ひ्巛）and Bindi（में）are used to represent nasalisation．Functionally both are same however there are some rules in orthography with regard to use of tippi and bindi．Tippi is used only in conjunction with some
 matras use bindi．For example：

| Word | IPA | POS | Gloss |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| यटा | ／kòta／ | $\mathrm{N}, \mathrm{F}$ | to subtract／decrease |
| ひ̛ंटा | ／kò̀ta／ | $\mathrm{N}, \mathrm{M}$ | large bell |
| में | ／so／ | N | hundred |
| में | ／s̃̃／ | V | to sleep |

## 6．3．3 Gemination

Punjabi has a large number of geminates．In Punjabi，gemination is phonemic and it results in unique words．For example：

| Word | IPA | POS | Gloss |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :--- |
| टम | ／das／ | JJ | digit ten |
| टॅम | ／dass／ | V | to tell |
| fिली | $/ \mathrm{dIlli} /$ | JJ | from heart |
| टिल्मी | $/$ dIlli／ | N | delhi |


| Word | IPA | POS | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| मउ | /sot/ | N, M | strength |
| मॅउ | /satt/ | QTC | seven |
| मer | /səda/ | RB | always |
| मॅटा | /sədda/ | N, M | invite |
| ய్రटट | / kòtrial / | N | knee |
| Щ్ॅटट | /kùttna/ | V | to press |

### 6.4 Word variants

### 6.4.1 Free variations

It is the phenomenon of two (or more) sounds or forms appearing in the same environment without a change in meaning. There is an alternative textual representation for the same word or phrase in Punjabi. For example:

| Word | IPA | POS | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| गुगEVभग | /goruduara/ | N | place of worship |
| गुठटह्व | /gordəvara / | N | place of worship |
| वुउवुउगी | / kutkutari/ | V | tickling |
| वउउतु | /kutkuti / | V | tickling |
| कै | /pè / | N | fear |
| के | / pò/ | N | fear |

## 6．4．2 Homonyms

Homonyms are words which sound alike，but have different meanings．There is abundance of homonyms in Punjabi．

| Word | IPA | POS | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ધ゙匚्ट | $/ \mathrm{k}^{\text {han }}$ | V | to eat |
| Ч゙्ट | $/ \mathrm{k}^{\text {han }}$／ | N | mine |
| इ๋ | ／exd／ | N | push－up |
| इจ | ／end $/$ | N | punishment |
| इ๋ | ／egd $/$ | N | noise |

## 6．4．3 Homographs

Homographs are words with the same spelling（and sometimes different pronunciations），but different meanings．For example：

| Word | IPA | POS | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| उठ | ／pàra／ | N，M | brother |
| उठ | ／pàra：／ | V | to get filled |
| Јठ | ／həra／ | JJ | green colour |
| Јठ | ／həra：／ | V | to defeat |

### 6.4.4 Homophones

Words with the same pronunciation but different meanings and different spellings. For example:

| Word | IPA | POS | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| वइ | /kər/ | N | hard layer |
| वउु | /ka'r/ | V | continuous boiling at low temperature |
| य'इT | /para/ | N | gap |
| य'ञु1 | /pára/ | N | learner |

### 6.4.5 Borrowed Words

A loan word is a word borrowed from a donor language and incorporated into a recipient language. Borrowed words are adapted to the sound system and grammatical system of the language in which they are borrowed. Like when Punjabi borrows word from other languages it changes its gender or other categories according to its nature or behaviour. Punjabi language has borrowed extensively from
 borrowed words from Perso-Arabic. Such borrowed words have been assimilated in Punjabi however some of the native speakers do not pronounce nukta hence both the variants are in use. For example:

| Word in Urdu | Word variants in Punjabi | IPA |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| زمانـ | त़भיס | /zəmana/ |
|  | तभगי' | /dzəmana/ |

These words pose a challenge in building PLS for Punjabi language, in deciding which pronunciation should be kept in the database, either or both.

### 6.4.6 Acronyms / Abbreviations

An acronym is a word or name formed as an abbreviation from the initial components in a phrase or a word, usually individual letters and sometimes syllables. There are no universal standards for abbreviations and the orthographic styling. For some words and phrases pronunciation can be expressed quickly and conveniently as a sequence of other orthographies. Acronyms / Abbreviations as used in some Punjabi language terms is given below:

```
उग्म़ा दिउग्रा भंत्ताप्य
/pàja/ /vibàg/ /pãḑab/ /pà./ /vı./ /pã./
मठटाठ वेमठ मिथ
/sərdar/ /kesər/ /sî́g/
हैं \(े\)
/vitftyõ
भडे/ - 'डे
/ate छै3ें /uttõ/ /’̃/
```


### 6.4.7 Multi-Word Expressions (MWEs)

Multiword expressions (MWEs) are expressions which are made up of at least 2 words and which can be syntactically and/or semantically idiosyncratic in nature. These act as a single unit for linguistic analysis e.g.

> भंत्वमी ज़्नीटटमिटी यटिभाप्ला
> /pãḑabi/ /junivərsti/ /pətrala/

Such language specific data of all possible MWEs also needs to be encoded in PLS. The value of this attribute can be "NER" for encoding this type of data. The corresponding abbrevaiation can be encoded using <alias> element. These value can be defined suitabily for example "echo" or "duplicate" for encoding echo words and duplicate words. The examples will be covered in the next chapter.

### 6.5 Conclusion

The data covering the Morpho-syntactic features of Punjabi as elaborated in this chapter need to be encoded in the PLS to get prosodically rich PLS. The word list of unique words in Punjabi from major POS categories such as Noun, Verb, Adjective, Adverb and other granular features may be collated along with the variations for developing phonologically rich PLS data.

## Chapter 7

## Prosodic Lexical XML Database-PLS Framework, Rules and Sample Data

## 7. Introduction

Pronunciation Lexicons are of critical importance in the development of speech technology for a language. They represent the interface between the interpretation and analysis of speech.


Fig 7/1: Interface between the Interpretation and Analysis of Speech
In text-to-speech (TTS) synthesis, for example, phonemic transcriptions of the pronunciations of words help determine the selection of the acoustic models for generating the targeted waveform. The Automatic Speech Recognition (ASR) engine developed based on Speech Recognition Grammar Specification (SRGS) uses PLS to leverage multiple pronunciations of words and phrases. PLS entries are also applied to the graphemes inside SRGS grammar rules to convert them into the phonemes to be recognized.

In Indian languages, Part of Speech (POS) plays an important role in pronunciation as discussed in chapter 6 . The XML schema needs to be evolved which will help in capturing the language specific morphological features in PLS. The proposed XML design will also be targeted towards search optimization of PLS data.

### 7.1 Punjabi Lexicon

Punjabi lexicon is mainly composed of Tadbhavas and use of Tatsama words is very limited. The borrowed words pronunciation is adapted by the Punjabi speaker as discussed in section 6.4.5. Punjab being an agricultural state, the vocabulary is rich in this domain whereas vocabulary of science and technology is not so much developed. Punjabi has inflectional morphology as discussed in section 6.2. Punjabi singular nouns abundantly use $\boldsymbol{\nu}^{T /-a /}$ as suffix and this is indicative of the major use of masculine gender. It is also used in conjunction with singular form of verb and verbadjective. The corresponding feminine suffix is प्टी/-i/.

The tone is phonemic and has been discussed in section 6.3.1. There is only single tone in a word and exhibits on the nucleus of the syllable containing toneme or consonant / h/conjuncts of J/h/. The frequency of use of short vowels i.e. पि /i/, 领 $/ v /$ is very less. Among long vowels, use of भे/ $\varepsilon /$ and $\hat{\boldsymbol{\gamma}} / 0 /$ is less. Punjabi vocabulary contains monosyllabic and polysyllabic words however the frequency of disyllabic words is maximum. Many monosyllabic words end in long vowels. Use of dipthongs is frequently found in Punjabi. Four to five vowels can get aglutted to a verb and are commonly found in the language.

### 7.2 Current Framework for Pronunciation Lexicon Specification (PLS 1.0)

The current version of PLS may be referred as base line specification as it addresses the requirements of Latin script based languages.

The specification covers the multiple pronunciations and multiple orthography in the XML structure at the lexicon level thus providing the flexibility of creating language specific PLS documents.

| Elements | Attributes | Description |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| <lexicon> | version xml:base xmlns xml:lang alphabet | root element for PLS |
| <meta> | name <br> http-equiv <br> content | element containing meta data |
| <metadata> |  | element containing meta data |
| <lexeme> | xml:id <br> role | the container element for a single lexical entry |
| <grapheme> |  | contains orthographic information for a lexeme |
| <phoneme> | prefer <br> alphabet | contains pronunciation information for a lexeme |
| <alias> | Prefer | contains acronym expansions and orthographic substitutions |
| <example> |  | contains an example of the usage for a lexeme |

Table 7/1: Markup Language Definition of PLS 1.0

It only covers segmental features of the language. There is no provision to cover morphological, syntactic and semantic information associated with pronunciations (such as word stems, inter-word semantic links, prosody etc.), hence the research undertaken has addressed these additional language specific requirements in this context and proposed a new framework.

### 7.3 Proposed Framework for Pronunciation Lexicon Specification for Punjabi Language (PLS 2.0)

The main objective of the research undertaken has been:

- Adaptation of the W3C PLS 1.0 for evolving a framework for capturing Punjabi language phonological features.
- Corroboration of the major linguistic aspects through analytical study of recorded speech signals for Punjabi Language.
- Identification of the challenges for designing of web based Machine-Readable Pronunciation Lexicon Specification in XML.
- Design of new lexeme elements to incorporate identified features.

The supra-segmental features of Punjabi language have been experimentally examined using recorded speech samples and reported in the previous chapters. Based on these findings, W3C PLS 1.0 has been augmented as discussed here.

### 7.3.1 Addition of New XML Tags/Attributes

The co-rrelation of Morpho-Syntactic features with lexical representation and its coarticulation has been discussed in chapter 6 . Based on these findings, new xml elements/attributes in yellow colour are proposed for addition in the existing PLS 1.0 as given in the table below:

| Elements | Attributes | Description |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| <lexicon> | version xml:base xmlns xml:lang alphabet xml:script | root element for PLS |
| <meta> | name <br> http-equiv <br> content | element containing meta data |
| <metadata> |  | element containing meta data |
| <lexeme> | xml:id <br> role | the container element for a single lexical entry |


| Elements | Attributes | Description |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| <rootword> |  | Container element for a rootword that contains nested derived root words with their prefixes and suffixes information |
| <stem> |  | Container elements for derivational words containing affixes of the root word |
| <grapheme> | Origin, pos, pre-fix, MWE , meaning | Contains orthographic information for a lexeme, its origin and it's Parts-ofspeech label, Pre-fix and multi word expression viz MWE, meaning if any. Origin attribute will contain ISO 639-3 code of the language from which the word has been borrowed. <br> The standard POS tagset will be referred as "BIS" |
| <suffix> |  | Element contains all the suffixes of the particular root word that may be nested |
| <inf> |  | Container contains all the inflections of a particular stem |
| <phoneme> | prefer alphabet | contains pronunciation information for a lexeme |
| <alias> | Prefer | contains acronym expansions and orthographic substitutions |
| <example> |  | contains an example of the usage for a lexeme |

Table 7/2: XML Structure of PLS 2.0 Framework

## "Script Attribute" of <lexicon>:

Punjabi is written in two scripts i.e. Gurmukhi script (used in Punjab, India) or Shahmukhi script, a Perso-arabic script (used in Punjab, Pakistan). Although the
scope of the thesis is limited to Gurumukhi script yet it will be appropriate to add script attribute in the lexicon to cater to the users of both the scripts to keep the framework resilient. The script values for these languages can be encoded in the PLS lexicon, which is a four-letter code as per ISO: 15924 "Codes for the representation of names of scripts". The code value for Gurmukhi is "Guru" and the code value for Shahmukhi is not yet assigned in the standard. The xml: lang tag is already provisioned in the PLS, code value of "Pan" will be encoded in the sample PLS data as per ISO: 639-3 "Codes for the representation of names of languages".

## Element <rootword>

It is a container element for a rootword and all other word inflections. The <rootword> element contains one <grapheme> element and corresponding <phoneme> element. The <rootword> element forms multiple orthographies and corresponding pronunciations using affixes.

## Origin Attribute

There are many borrowed words as discussed in chapter 6 . The origin attribute contains the information of the language from which the word has been borrowed and will be used only for borrowed words.

## POS Attribute

It is important to encode POS information for each lexeme viz rootword and its inflected words. The Standrad POS labels will be used as per Annexure I (appendix D) of Chapter 6 to encode POS attribute for each lexeme and the tagset will be referred as "BIS".

## Prefix Attribute

The words generated from the root with addition of pre-fix will also be entered as lexemes within the rootword container however pre-fix attribute will be added with it's < grapheme> and <phoneme> elements.

## Suffix Element

The words generated from the root with addition of suffix will also be entered as lexemes within the rootword container and suffix element will be added.

## Multi-Word Expression (MWE) Attribute

The combination of two or more words which conveys specific information needs to be encoded as use of such words is very common as discussed in section 6.4.7. This attribute will also be used for encoding echo words, duplicate words, idioms/ proverbs, compound words etc.

### 7.4 Sample PLS Data in Conformance with PLS 2.0 Framework

Punjabi morphology is highly inflectional as discussed in section 6.2. Verbs have maximum inflections. There are some words which are used both as native and borrowed. The linguistic variations as discussed in the previous chapters need to be captured in the PLS data for complete coverage of the language hence XML of representative examples is given in the following sections:

### 7.4.1 Verb/ Noun वएठ /kar/

As Tadbhava, it is native word of Punjabi and is used as a verb and as Tatsama, it is a word borrowed from English and used as a noun. Samples of lexicon xml are given below:

वएס/kar/ - verb has 10 inflections viz 3 prefixes and 7 suffixes

```
    <?xml version=" 1.0" encoding="UTF-8"?>
    <lexicon version="1.0"
```

        xmlns="http://www.w3.org/2005/01/pronunciation-lexicon"
    ```
    xmlns:xsi="http://www.w3.org/2001/XMLSchema-instance"
    xsi:schemaLocation="http://www.w3.org/2005/01/pronunciation-lexicon
    http://www.w3.org/TR/2007/CR-pronunciation-lexicon-20071212/pls.xsd"
    alphabet="ipa" xml:lang="pan">
<lexeme>
<rootword> // native root word /kar/ as verb starts here
<grapheme pos="BIS: V_VM"> व'ठ </grapheme>
<phoneme>/kar/ </phoneme>
<stem> // stems of the root word /kar/ start here
<inf> // inflections of native root word /kar/ using prefix start here
<grapheme prefix="भ%" pos="BIS: N_NN"> भ\alpha'ठ </grapheme>
<phoneme> /`'kar/ </phoneme>
<grapheme prefix="भयि" pos="BIS: N_NN"> भयिव'ठ </grapheme>
<phoneme> /\partialdì'kar/ </phoneme>
<grapheme prefix="岂" pos="BIS: JJ"> घेव'ठ</grapheme>
<phoneme>/be'kar/ </phoneme>
</inf> // inflections of native root word /kar/ using prefix end here
<suffix> // suffixes of the native root word /kar/ start here
```

<inf> // inflections of native root word /kar/ using suffixes starts
here

```
<grapheme> वיठगठ </grapheme>
<phoneme> /kar'gər/ </phoneme>
<grapheme MWE="compound"> Х'ठ-भrみट </grapheme>
<phoneme>/kar-a'məd/ </phoneme>
<grapheme MWE="compound"> वग्ठ-मेटा </grapheme>
<phoneme>/kar-se'va/ </phoneme>
<grapheme MWE="compound"> वי्ठ-वठटдी </grapheme>
<phoneme> /kar-kərdə'gi/ </phoneme>
<grapheme MWE="compound"> वי्ठ-fिटमउ </grapheme>
<phoneme> /kar-xidə'mət/ </phoneme>
```



```
<phoneme>/kar-muxtr'ar/ </phoneme>
```

<grapheme MWE="compound"> वיठ-दिग्ठ </grapheme>
<phoneme>/kar-vi'har/ </phoneme>
</inf> // inflections of native root word /kar/ ends here
</suffix> // suffixes of native root word /kar/ end here

```
</stem> // stems of native root word/kar/ end here
</rootword> // native root word /kar/ ends here
<lexicon>
```



Fig 7/2: Tree view by XML Reader

A sample xml entry of lexicon for a rootword वיס /kar/ as borrowed from English, used as noun in Punjabi language having 2 inflections viz suffixes
<lexeme>
<rootword> //Borrowed root word /kar/ starts here
<grapheme origin= "eng" pos="BIS: N_NN"> व'ठ </grapheme>
<phoneme>/kar/ </phoneme>
<stem> //stems of borrowed root word /kar/ start here

| <suffix> | //suffixes of Borrowed word /kar/ starts here |
| :---: | :---: |
| <inf> | //inflections starts here |
| <grapheme> वरठं </grapheme> |  |
| <phoneme>/ka'rõ/ </phoneme> |  |
| <grapheme> | </grapheme> |
| <phoneme>/ka'rã/ </phoneme> |  |
| </inf $>$ | //inflections borrowed root word /kar/ end here |
| </suffix> | // suffixes of Borrowed word /kar/ viz car end here |
| </stem> | //stems word of borrowed root word /kar/ end here |
| </rootword> | // Borrowed root word /kar/ ends here |
| </lexeme> |  |



Fig 7/3: Tree view by XML Reader

### 7.4.2 Pronouns

The hierarchy of Pronouns (6 layers) as defined in the Standard POS Tag Set has been implemented in xml as given below:
<lexeme>
<grapheme pos="BIS: PR_PRP"> में </grapheme>
<phoneme> /m $\tilde{\varepsilon} /$ </phoneme>
<grapheme pos="BIS: PR_PRF"> भग्यत" </grapheme>
<phoneme> /apə' na/ </phoneme>
<grapheme pos="BIS: PR_PRL"> तिम </grapheme>
<phoneme>/d3Is/ </phoneme>
<grapheme pos="BIS: PR_PRC"> भायम </grapheme>
<phoneme> /a'pəs/ </phoneme>
<grapheme pos="BIS: PR_PRQ"> व己ें </grapheme>
<phoneme>/kə'dõ/ </phoneme>
<grapheme pos="BIS: PR_PRI"> वेपी </grapheme>
<phoneme>/koi/ </phoneme>
</lexeme>


Fig 7/4: Tree view by XML Reader

### 7.4.3 Demonstrative Words

The hierarchy of Demonstrative words (4 layers) as defined in the Standard POS Tag Set has been implemented in xml as given below:
<lexeme><grapheme pos="BIS: DM_DMD"> प्टिठ </grapheme>
<phoneme> /í/ </phoneme>
<grapheme pos="BIS: DM_DMR"> ${ }^{\text {+ }}$ </grapheme>
<phoneme>/d3o/ </phoneme>
<grapheme pos="BIS: DM_DMQ"> वेट </grapheme>
<phoneme>/kəๆ/ </phoneme>
<grapheme pos="BIS: DM_DMI"> विम</grapheme>
<phoneme>/kis/ </phoneme>
</lexeme>


Fig 7/5: Tree view of Demonstrative Words by XML Reader

### 7.4.4 Verb ய్इ /kə̀r/

A sample xml entry of lexicon for a rootword ய्पइ /kə̀r/, verb containing toneme य्ץ $/ \mathrm{g}^{\mathrm{f}} /$ having nine stems, total 41 inflections out of which there are 4 prefixes. The causative form of यद्इ /kə̀r/ i.e. यइट्रा /'k̀̀rva / has been encoded as a separate root word with 9 stems and total 37 inflections:

```
<lexeme>
<rootword>
```

```
<grapheme pos="BIS: V_VM"> ய్న </grapheme>
<phoneme> /kə̀r/ </phoneme>
<stem>
<grapheme pos="BIS: V_VM"> याइिभr </grapheme>
<phoneme>/kòrıa/ </phoneme>
<inf>
<grapheme prefix="भஜ"> भट्याइञभा </grapheme>
<phoneme> /əŋkà' ıа/ </phoneme>
<grapheme prefix="भع">महघ्पड्रिभां </grapheme> <phoneme> /ənkà' 'ĩã/
</phoneme>
<grapheme prefix="भ巨">मஜट्यకी </grapheme> <phoneme> /ənkà' ri/
</phoneme>
```



```
</phoneme>
</inf> </prefix>
<suffix>
<inf>
<grapheme> யふे </grapheme> <phoneme>/kə̀re/ </phoneme>
<grapheme> ய्रू </grapheme> <phoneme>/kə̀ri/ </phoneme>
```

```
    <grapheme> य\\\भri </grapheme> <phoneme> /k\partial̀riã/ </phoneme>
    <grapheme> य{िभrं </grapheme> <phoneme> /k\grave{n}\textrm{ĩa}/ </phoneme>
    </inf> </suffix>
    </stem>
    <stem>
    <grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> ய्इटT </grapheme>
    <phoneme>/k\partial̀rada/ </phoneme>
    <suffix>
    <inf>
    <grapheme> अअटे </grapheme> <phoneme> /k\partial̀rəde/
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme> अइटी </grapheme> <phoneme> /k\grave{rədi/}
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme> यइटीभrं </grapheme> <phoneme> /kòrədĩã/
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme> यइसटिभrं </grapheme> <phoneme> /kòrədĩã/
    </phoneme>
    </inf> </ suffix >
</stem>
<stem>
```

```
    <grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> யइనైे </grapheme>
    <phoneme>/kə̀rədõ/ </phoneme>
    <suffix>
    \(<\) inf \(>\)
    <grapheme> ய્રटीலिं </grapheme> <phoneme> /kòrədĩõ/
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme> अइइटिछ </grapheme> <phoneme> /kə̀rədıo/
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme> யइटीठ </grapheme> <phoneme> /kò̀ədio/
    </phoneme>
    </inf> </suffix >
</stem>
    <stem>
    <grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> यइञ </grapheme>
    <phoneme>/kə̀rəna/ </phoneme>
    <suffix>
    <inf>
    <grapheme> யइふे </grapheme> <phoneme> /kə̀rəne/
    </phoneme>
```

```
    <grapheme> யइగी </grapheme> <phoneme> /k\grave{rəni/}
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme> अइञीभrं </grapheme> <phoneme> /k⿱亠乂ənĩã/
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme> ய्इగ </grapheme> <phoneme>/kə̀rən/ </phoneme>
    <grapheme> युふें </grapheme> <phoneme> /k\partial̀rənõ/
    </phoneme>
    </inf> </ suffix>
</stem>
<stem>
<grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> अ्ञञञां </grapheme>
<phoneme> /k\grave{rã// </phoneme>}
<inf>
<grapheme prefix="भ&"> भट्य\\\ </grapheme>
<phoneme> /ən'k̀̀re/ </phoneme>
</inf>
<suffix>
<inf>
<grapheme> य{ीपे </grapheme> <phoneme> /k\partialेrie/ </phoneme>
```

```
    <grapheme> யञञें </grapheme> <phoneme>/k\grave{rõ/ </phoneme>}
    <grapheme> ய్ञे </grapheme> <phoneme> /k\grave{ro/ </phoneme>}
    <grapheme> ய్ञे </grapheme> <phoneme> /k\grave{re/ </phoneme>}
    <grapheme> थ्इत </grapheme> <phoneme> /kə̀rən/ </phoneme>
    </inf> </suffix>
</stem>
    <stem>
    <grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> थञांगा" </grapheme>
    <phoneme> /k\grave{rãga/ </phoneme>}
    <suffix>
    <inf>
    <grapheme> யइांगे </grapheme> <phoneme> /k\grave{rãge/}
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme> थञेंगा </grapheme> <phoneme> /k\grave{rẽga/}
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme> थ३ेठो </grapheme> <phoneme> /kòroge/
    </phoneme>
```

```
    <grapheme> अ३ेगए </grapheme> <phoneme> /k\grave{rega/}
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme> अइतठो </grapheme> <phoneme> /k\partial̀rənge/
    </phoneme>
    </inf> </suffix>
</stem>
<stem>
    <grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> यञांगी </grapheme>
    <phoneme> /k\grave{tãgi/ </phoneme>}
    <suffix>
    <inf>
    <grapheme> यञांगीभri </grapheme> <phoneme> /k\grave{ããĩã/}
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme> अञेंगी </grapheme> <phoneme> /koे̀ẽgi/
    </phoneme>
```



```
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme> युञेगी </grapheme> <phoneme> /koेregi/
    </phoneme>
```

```
    <grapheme> யइतठीभri </grapheme>
    </phoneme>
    </inf> </suffix>
</stem>
    <stem>
    <grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> ய\ञीटा </grapheme>
    <phoneme>/kə̀rida/ </phoneme>
    <suffix>
    <inf>
    <grapheme> ய्ञीटे </grapheme>
                                    <phoneme>
                                    /k\grave{rcide/}
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme>य्रीटी</grapheme>
                                    <phoneme>
                                    /k\grave{ridi/}
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme>यञीटीभां</grapheme>
                                <phoneme>
                                    /k\grave{ridiã/}
    </phoneme>
    </inf> </suffix>
</stem>
    <stem>
```

```
    <grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> यञ्=्रं </grapheme>
    <phoneme>/k̀̀r̀ũ/ </phoneme>
    <suffix>
    <inf>
    <grapheme> यञीं </grapheme> <phoneme> /kà rĩ/ </phoneme>
    <grapheme> य\হिठ </grapheme> <phoneme> /k\grave{rro/ </phoneme>}
    <grapheme> யञ्= </grapheme> <phoneme> /k\grave{ru/ </phoneme>}
    </inf> </suffix>
</stem>
    </rootword>
    <rootword>
    <grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> अञ्ञट्
    <phoneme> /kà `əva/ </phoneme>
    <stem>
    <grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> यइट`'््=िट" </grapheme>
    <phoneme>/k\grave{rəvauna/ </phoneme>}
    <suffix>
    <inf>
```



```
    </phoneme>
```



```
    </phoneme>
```



```
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme> अइइह'छ्ठिट </grapheme> <phoneme> /k⿱亠乂`vaun/
    </phoneme>
```



```
    </phoneme>
    </inf>
    </suffix>
</stem>
    <stem>
```



```
    <phoneme>/kò rəvãõda/ </phoneme>
    <suffix>
    <inf>
```

```
    <grapheme> अइइग्仑िंटे </grapheme> <phoneme> /k\grave{rəvãũde/}
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme> अइइए`Ө्रिंटी </grapheme> <phoneme> /k⿱亠乂`əvãõdi/
    </phoneme>
```



```
    </phoneme>
```



```
    </phoneme>
    </inf> </suffix>
</stem>
<stem>
<grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> यइञह'छिंटें </grapheme>
<phoneme> /kò 饣əvãõdõ/ </phoneme>
<suffix>
<inf>
```



```
</phoneme>
<grapheme> अञइह`छ⿴囗十िंटिठ </grapheme> <phoneme> /kàrेəvãũdıo/
</phoneme>
```

```
    <grapheme> यइञ्रह्छेंटीठ </grapheme>
    </phoneme>
    </inf> </suffix>
</stem>
    <stem>
    <grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> यइञह'仑्=िं </grapheme>
    <phoneme> /k⿱亠乂`vãũ/ </phoneme>
    <suffix>
    <inf>
    <grapheme> अइइहיप्पीं </grapheme>
                                    <phoneme>
                                    /k\grave{̀วvãĩ/}
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme> यइञह「प्टिठ </grapheme> <phoneme> /k⿱亠\`vaıo/
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme> यइह``्= </grapheme>
                                <phoneme>
                                    /k\grave{rəvau/}
    </phoneme>
    </inf> </suffix>
</stem>
    <stem>
```

```
<grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> यइट्मएप्टभा</grapheme>
<phoneme>/kòrəvaıa/ </phoneme>
<suffix> <inf>
<grapheme> यइहग्पे </grapheme> <phoneme> /kə̀rəvae/
</phoneme>
<grapheme> यइइट्पी </grapheme> <phoneme> /kə̀rəvai/
</phoneme>
<grapheme> यइइटיपीभां </grapheme> <phoneme> /kə̀rəəããã/
</phoneme>
<grapheme> युइटगप्टिभां </grapheme> <phoneme> /kə̀rəəvãĩã/
</phoneme>
</inf>
</suffix>
</stem>
<stem>
<grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> अइ्इह"प्टीटा </grapheme>
<phoneme>/kə̀rəvaida/ </phoneme>
<suffix> <inf>
<grapheme> यइहम्पीटे </grapheme> <phoneme> /kə̀əəvaide/
</phoneme>
```

| <grapheme> யइट्'प्पीटी </grapheme> | <phoneme> | /kə̀rəvaidi/ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| </phoneme> |  |  |
| <grapheme> यइृह्प्पीटीभri </grapheme> | <phoneme> | /kı̀rəvaidiã/ |
| </phoneme> |  |  |
| </inf> </suffix> |  |  |
| </stem> |  |  |
| <stem> |  |  |
| <grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> युइट्ट्टां</grapheme> |  |  |
| <phoneme>/kò rəvavã/ </phoneme> |  |  |
| <suffix> |  |  |
| <inf> |  |  |
| <grapheme> यइइ़्प्पीप्टे </grapheme> | <phoneme> | /kı̀̀əvaie/ |
| </phoneme> |  |  |
| <grapheme> यइह口प्टें </grapheme> | <phoneme> | /kə̀rəvaẽ/ |
| </phoneme> |  |  |
|  | <phoneme> | /kə̀rəvao/ |
| </phoneme> |  |  |
| <grapheme> यइृहप्टे </grapheme> | <phoneme> | /kə̀rəvae/ |
| </phoneme> |  |  |



```
    </phoneme>
    </inf> </suffix>
</stem>
    <stem >
    <grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> यइइह्टांगा" </grapheme>
    <phoneme>/k\grave{rəvavãga/ </phoneme>}
    <suffix> <inf>
    <grapheme>Mइट्ट्ट्टंगे</grapheme> <phoneme> /k\grave{rəvavãge/}
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme>Mइञ\प्टेंगा</grapheme> <phoneme> /kว̀rəvãẽga/
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme>Mइट्ठिगे </grapheme> <phoneme> /k⿱亠乂`vaoge/
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme>Mइह्प्टेठाए </grapheme> <phoneme> /k⿱亠乂`әvaega/
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme>Mइह'छ्ठिटगो </grapheme> <phoneme> /k\grave{rəvaunge/}
    </phoneme>
    </inf> </suffix>
</stem>
```

```
    < stem >
    <grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> अइहह्टांगी </grapheme>
    <phoneme>/k\partial̀rəvavãgi/ </phoneme>
    <suffix> <inf>
    <grapheme> अइड्ट्टंगीभां </grapheme>
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme> अइ्इटग्पेंगी </grapheme> <phoneme> /kàrəvãẽgi/
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme> अइ्ञट्ठिगीभrं </grapheme> <phoneme> /kə̀rəvãõgĩã/
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme> यइञट्पेगी </grapheme> <phoneme> /kỳrəvaegi/
    </phoneme>
```



```
    </phoneme>
    </inf> </suffix>
</stem>
</rootword>
```


## 

A sample xml entry of lexicon for a rootword गा'्豸ु /ga' tá/, adjective tonal wordconjunct of $/ \mathrm{h} /$, is having 2 inflections of the root word and 1 inflection of the stem Jा'కुी / gá' ii/.
<lexeme>
<rootword>
<grapheme pos="BIS:JJ"> गा'ふु</grapheme> <phoneme>/ga'tá/ </phoneme>
<suffix>
<inf>
<grapheme> गा•శुे </grapheme>

</inf $>$
</suffix>
<stem>
<grapheme pos="BIS:JJ"> गा'्ञुी </grapheme> <phoneme>/ga'tĩ/ </phoneme>
<suffix>
<inf>
<grapheme> गा'కुीभri </grapheme> <phoneme>/ga' 'ĩă/ </phoneme>
</inf>

```
</suffix>
</stem>
    </rootword>
</lexeme>
```

Tree View Result:


Fig 7/6: Tree view by XML Reader

### 7.4.6 Adverb घंग्गठट्ग /bahər' var/

A sample XML entry of lexicon for a word घंगठह्ग /bahər'var/:
<lexeme>

```
    <grapheme pos="BIS:RB"> घ'गठह्ठठ </grapheme> <phoneme> /bahər'var/
    </phoneme>
</lexeme>
```


### 7.4.7 Postposition চ'ল্ড /nal/

A sample XML entry of lexicon for a word চ'க /nal/, postposition:
<lexeme>
<grapheme pos="BIS:PSP"> চיু </grapheme> <phoneme> /nal/ </phoneme> </lexeme>

### 7.4.8 Conjunction भアड /a'te/

A sample XML entry of lexicon for a word भडे /a'te/, conjunction:
<lexeme>
<grapheme pos="BIS:CC"> म/डे </grapheme> <phoneme> /''te/ </phoneme>
</lexeme>

### 7.4.9 Multi-Word Expressions

Sample xml data of echo words:
<lexeme>

</phoneme>
 pu'djdzər/ </phoneme>
</lexeme>


Fig 7/7: Tree view by XML Reader

Sample xml entry of duplicates:

```
    <lexeme>
    <grapheme MWE="duplicate"> उ'्इ-उ'इ्र</grapheme> <phoneme> /tar-tar/
    </phoneme>
    <grapheme MWE="duplicate"> ड़ूप-ड्నिय</grapheme> <phoneme> /'torip-'trrip/
    </phoneme>
</lexeme>
```

A sample xml entry of abbreviations and Cardinal-ordinal pair:
<lexeme>
<grapheme origin= "eng" pos="BIS: N_NN" > इ'्वटठ </grapheme> <alias> इए.
</alias>
<phoneme> /dak' '七r/ </phoneme>
<inf> ふ'वटवं </inf> <phoneme>/daktə'rã/ </phoneme>
</lexeme>
<lexeme>
<grapheme> टि̃ </grapheme> <alias> 1 </alias> <phoneme> /Ikk/
</phoneme>
</lexeme>


Fig 7/8: Tree view by XML Reader

### 7.4.10 Homographs

Sample XML Entry of homographs:

```
<lexeme>
<rootword>
<grapheme pos="JJ"> Jठ'</grapheme> <phoneme> /hə' ra/ </phoneme>
    <suffix>
    <inf>
    <grapheme> Jठे </grapheme> <phoneme>/hə're/</phoneme>
    <grapheme> Jठெभां </grapheme>
                                    <phoneme>/hə'rıã/</phoneme>
```

```
<grapheme> Jठी </grapheme>
<grapheme> Јठीभri </grapheme> <phoneme>/hə'riã/</phoneme>
</inf>
</suffix>
</stem>
<stem>
<grapheme pos="MWE"> Jठा-उठ' </grapheme> <phoneme> /ho'ra-pà'ra/
</phoneme>
<suffix>
<inf>
<grapheme> गठे-उठे </grapheme> <phoneme> /hə're-pà're/
</phoneme>
<grapheme> Јठिभri-סठिभri </grapheme> <phoneme>/hə' rıã-pà' rıã/ </phoneme>
<grapheme> Jठी-उठी </grapheme> <phoneme> /hə'ri-pà'ri/ </phoneme>
<grapheme> Јठीभri-उठीभri </grapheme> <phoneme> /hə' riã-pà' riã/ </phoneme>
</inf>
</suffix>
</stem>
```

```
<grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> Jठ'</grapheme> <phoneme>/hə'ra:/
</phoneme>
<suffix>
<stem>
<grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> Jठ'仑्⿱िए" </grapheme> <phoneme> /hərav'na/
</phoneme>
<suffix>
<inf>
<grapheme> Jठ'Өि⿱丶万一\mp@code{</grapheme> <phoneme> /hrav'ne/ </phoneme>}
<grapheme> Jठ'छ̈二िटी </grapheme> <phoneme>/ hrav'ni/
</phoneme>
<grapheme> Jठ'囵टीभां </grapheme> <phoneme> /hrrav'niã/ </phoneme>
<grapheme> Jठ'छ्छिट </grapheme> <phoneme> /hə'rau\eta/
</phoneme>
```



```
                                    <phoneme>
                                    /hərau'nõ/
</phoneme>
</inf>
</suffix>
</stem>
```

```
<stem>
<grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> Jठ'छिंटT </grapheme>> <phoneme>
/həraũ'da/ </phoneme>
<suffix>
<inf>
<grapheme> Jठ'छिंटे </grapheme> <phoneme> /həraõ'de/
</phoneme>
<grapheme> Jठ'छ्Өिंटी </grapheme> <phoneme> /həraõ'di/
</phoneme>
<grapheme> Jठ'Ө्छिंटीभri </grapheme> <phoneme> /həraṽ'diã/ </phoneme>
<grapheme> Jठ`Өिंटिभri </grapheme> <phoneme> /həraũ'dıã/ </phoneme>
</inf>
</suffix>
</stem>
<stem>
<grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> Jठ'Ө्⿱िंटें </grapheme> <phoneme>
/həraũ'dõ/ </phoneme>
<suffix>
<inf>
```

|  | <phoneme> | /həraũ' diõ/ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| </phoneme> |  |  |
| <grapheme> JЈ'Өِंटिठ </grapheme> | <phoneme> | /həraũ' dıo/ |
| </phoneme> |  |  |
|  | <phoneme> | /həraũ' dio/ |
| </phoneme> |  |  |
| </inf> |  |  |
| </suffix> |  |  |
| </stem> |  |  |
| <stem> |  |  |
| <grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> Jठ'ف్فि </grapheme> <phoneme> |  |  |
| /hə'raũ/ </phoneme> |  |  |
| <suffix> |  |  |
| <inf> |  |  |
| <grapheme> Jठग्पीं </grapheme> < | <phoneme> /hə'raĩ/ </phoneme> |  |
| <grapheme> Jठगप्टिठ </grapheme> | <pho | /ha'raio/ |
| </phoneme> |  |  |
| <grapheme> Jठ'Ö </grapheme> | <phoneme> | /ho' rau/ |
| </phoneme> |  |  |
| </inf> |  |  |

```
</suffix>
</stem>
<stem>
<grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> Jठ't्टिभr </grapheme> <phoneme>
/hə'raIa/ </phoneme>
<suffix>
<inf>
<grapheme> Jठग्पे </grapheme> <phoneme>/hrrae/ </phoneme>
<grapheme> Jठ'प्टी </grapheme> <phoneme>/hə'rai/ </phoneme>
<grapheme> Jठ'प्टीभां </grapheme> <phoneme> /hə'raiã/ </phoneme>
<grapheme> Jठ'पिभri </grapheme> <phoneme> /hə'raaã/ </phoneme>
</inf>
</suffix>
</stem>
<stem>
<grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> Jठग्पीटा </grapheme> <phoneme>
/hrrai'da/ </phoneme>
```

<suffix>
<inf>
<grapheme> Jठग्पीटे </grapheme> <phoneme> /hərai'de/
</phoneme>
<grapheme> Jठग्पीटी </grapheme> <phoneme> /hərai'di/ </phoneme>
<grapheme> Jठप्पीटीभri </grapheme> <phoneme> /hərai' diã/ </phoneme>
</inf>
</suffix>
</stem>
<stem>
<grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> Jठग्टां </grapheme> <phoneme>
/həra'vã/ </phoneme>
<suffix>
<inf>
<grapheme> Jठग्पीपे </grapheme> <phoneme> /hə'raie/
</phoneme>
<grapheme> Jठग्टें </grapheme> <phoneme> /hə'raẽ/ </phoneme>
<grapheme> Jठ'ठ </grapheme> <phoneme> /hə'rao/ </phoneme>
<grapheme> Jठיप्टे </grapheme> <phoneme> /hə'rae/ </phoneme>


```
</inf>
</suffix>
</stem>
<stem>
<grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> Jठ्ट्टांगा </grapheme> <phoneme> /həravã'ga/
</phoneme>
<suffix>
<inf>
<grapheme> गठग्टांगे </grapheme> <phoneme> /həravã'ge/
</phoneme>
<grapheme> Jठ'पेंगा </grapheme> <phoneme> /həraẽ'ga/
</phoneme>
<grapheme> Jठ'छिगे </grapheme> <phoneme> /hərao'ge/
</phoneme>
<grapheme> Jठ'प्टेगा </grapheme> <phoneme>/hərae'ga/ </phoneme>
<grapheme> Jठ'㫿टो </grapheme> <phoneme> /həraun'ge/ </phoneme>
</inf>
</suffix>
```

```
</stem>
<stem>
<grapheme pos="BIS:V_VM"> Jठ'ह्हंगी </grapheme> <phoneme> /həravã'gi/
</phoneme>
<suffix>
<inf>
<grapheme> Јठगह्टंगीभभं </grapheme> <phoneme> /həravã'giã/
</phoneme>
<grapheme> Jठग्टेंगी </grapheme> <phoneme> /həraẽ'gi/
</phoneme>
<grapheme> Јठ'லिगीभri </grapheme> <phoneme> /hərao'giã/
</phoneme>
<grapheme> Jठग्टेठी </grapheme> <phoneme>/hərae'gi/ </phoneme>
<grapheme> Jठ'छिटठीभआं </grapheme> <phoneme> /həraun'giã/ </phoneme>
</inf>
</suffix>
</stem>
</rootword>
</lexeme>
```


### 7.5 Conclusion

Phonetically rich PLS data in conformance with PLS 2.0 framework covering segmental as well as suprasegmental features such as stress, tone, gemination, nasalization etc. can be developed based on the representative samples as described above.

## Chapter -8

## Research Findings and Future Work

## 8 Research Goal

The main objectives of the proposed research have been:
i. Adaptation of the W3C PLS 1.0 for evolving a framework capturing Punjabi language phonological features.
ii. Corroboration of the major linguistic aspects through analytical study of recorded speech signals for Punjabi Language.
iii. Identification of the challenges for designing of web based Machine-Readable Pronunciation Lexicon Specification in XML.
iv. Design of new lexeme elements to incorporate identified features.

### 8.1 The Research Undertaken

A given phoneme is not always pronounced the same way in every context. Therefore the concepts of articulatory phonetics need to be explored to model pronunciation. Machine-Readable Pronunciation Lexicon in Punjabi can be spawned by leveraging the existing W3C Pronunciation Lexicon Specification recommendations which are global in nature and need to be internationalized from this perspective. It is a step-in-step inter- disciplinary process which involves study of language specific phonological features using experimental phonetics. The specific emphasis was laid on the study of suprasegmental features of Punjabi to evolve a rule set leveraging the existing knowledge found in linguistic literature. The layered approach was adopted to verify the existing rules and discover exceptions. New knowledge base has been created to report and handle these exceptions by evolving additional rules to augment the machine learning approaches in speech processing. Thus the framework PLS 2.0 has been developed which can capture such model Punjabi lexicon pronunciation in global IPA standard.

The Extensible Markup Language (XML) which can be used both for machine and human consumption however machine readable pronunciation lexicon is the major outcome which will aid production of Punjabi speech systems. The phonology specific to the Punjabi language when systematically approached through experimental effort using computer-aided tools, can help discover the way sounds are differently realized in different environments as governed by the grammar of the language. The phonological rules thus discovered can be used for building computational models of phonological learning i.e. how the phonological rules can be automatically induced by machine learning algorithms.

### 8.2 Evidence from Quantitative Analysis for Phonological Rules

Quantitative research involves the use of computational, statistical, and mathematical tools to derive results. It is conclusive in its purpose as it tries to quantify the problem and understand how prevalent it is by looking for projectable results largely applicable. Thus the segmental and suprasegmental prosodic features require in-depth analysis for arriving at phonological rules.

Segments, usually phonological units of the language, such as vowels and consonants, are of very short duration. A given feature may be limited to a particular segment but may also be longer (as a suprasegmental feature). Suprasegmental refers to a phonological property of more than one sound segment. Suprasegmental information applies to several different linguistic phenomena (such as pitch, duration, intensity and loudness). The data gathered was annotated at phoneme level for study of segmental features and at syllable level for examining the suprasegmental features. The parameters were recorded as discussed in the previous chapters. The proposed hypothesis was validated and variations reported.
Tone is a very important feature of Punjabi language which makes it distinct from other Indo-Aryan languages. Hence an elaborate study of this has been carried out as discussed in chapters $2 \& 3$. Stress has not been considered a very crucial parameter by Punjabi linguists.

However it has been given due attention as it becomes relevant from machine perspective. Stress has been dealt at intra-syllabic level within a word which is meaningful for building a lexicon that can be utilized for artificial production of speech via text-to-speech tools. These tools can utilize this stress information to produce near human voice by machine learning of prosodic features incorporated in the data developed based on PLS 2.0. Similarly these features can be leveraged by speech recognition systems for attaining an acceptable level of efficacy in recognizing native speakers' speech.

The steps involved in quantitative research can be divided into:

1. Current hypothesis based on literature survey
2. Collection of appropriate data to verify the hypothesis
3. Analysis of data to validate the hypothesis and report rules along with exceptions
4. Evolve new hypothesis

### 8.3 Research Findings

### 8.3.1 Tones

The observational experimental methodology as deliberated in chapter 3 was adopted to report the types of tones observed in Punjabi lexicon based on the slope pattern of the fundamental frequency of the tone bearing vowel (TBU).

### 8.3.1.1 Verification and Validation

The available hypothesis on high and low tones in Punjabi has by and large been corroborated in both types of tones viz tones arising from supra-laryngeal consonants and independent tones which have been experimentally verified as discussed in chapter 3.

### 8.3.1.2 Discovery of Allotones

The level tone in Punjabi is not marked and existence of low (HL) and high tone (LH) is well recognized and are not represented orthographically. However Punjabi native speakers handle the tone variations in their speech naturally and predictably.

Allotones are linguistically non-significant variants of tones but are considered important for the development of technologies such as speaker identification, language identification and speech recognition as these may vary from person to person and occasion to occasion. Two new allotones have been discovered viz LHL as an allotone of LH and HLH as an allotone of HL. This phenomenon has been noted in $50-70 \%$ of the speakers and very rarely in all speakers in a particular context as elaborated in the table below.

| Tone on vowel of syllable under consideration | Category of words (syllable under consideration) | Co-articulation parameters in a syllable | Tone/Allotones (percentage of speakers) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| LH | Monosyllabic | Consonant /h/ as coda | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LH (50\%); } \end{aligned}$ |
|  | Mono/di/ tri/polysyllabic (initial syllable) | Toneme or conjunct containing / $\mathrm{h} /$ as coda | LH (100\%) |
|  | Di/tri/poly-syllabic (medial syllable with short vowel as nucleus) | Toneme or conjunct containing / $\mathrm{h} /$ as onset | LH (100\%) |
|  | Di/ tri/poly-syllabic (final open syllable) | Toneme as onset | LH (100\%) Tone shifts to nucleus (vowel) of prior syllable |
|  | Tri/-syllabic (final open syllable) | Dipthong (long + long) | LHL (100\%) |
|  | Di/ tri-syllabic (final closed syllable) | Consonant /h/ or conjunct containing / $\mathrm{h} /$ as coda | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LH (70\%); } \\ & \text { LHL (30\%) } \end{aligned}$ |
|  | Contd.. |  |  |


| Tone on vowel of syllable under consideration | Category of words (syllable under consideration) | Co-articulation parameters in a syllable | Tone/Allotones (percentage of speakers) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| HL | Monosyllabic (closed syllable) | Toneme as onset Consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ as coda <br> Any other consonant as coda | HL (100\%) <br> HL (50\%); <br> HLH (50\%) |
|  | Monosyllabic (open syllable) | Dipthong | HLH (100\%) |
|  | Di/ tri/poly-syllabic (initial syllable) | Toneme as onset. | HL (100\%) |
|  | Tri/poly-syllabic (medial open syllable and long vowel as nucleus) | Toneme or conjunct containing / $\mathrm{h} /$ in the onset Dipthong (long + short vowel) | HL (100\%) |
|  | Di-syllabic (final closed syllable) | Toneme as onset <br> Toneme as coda <br> Dipthong (short + long) and (long + long) and flap / fricative / nasal coda | HL (100\%) <br> HL (60\%), <br> HLH (40\%) <br> HLH (100\%) |
|  | Tri-syllabic (final open syllable) | Consonant $/ \mathrm{h} /$ or conjunct of /h/ as coda with dipthong (long + long) | HLH (100\%) |

Table 8/1: Research Findings on Tones/Allotones

### 8.3.1.3 Extrapolation of the Existing Knowledge Base

- The detailed experimental analysis of the co-articulation parameters examined through recording, annotation and quarter-wise slope observations of the fundamental frequency taking tone rich data covering large variety of phonetic contexts lead to indepth understanding of the tone patterns of the Punjabi language.
- The visualization of the tone patterns using the scientific tools has corroborated the perceptual \& X-ray studies done by linguists and added conviction.
- The speaker dependent reflection of allotones in certain acoustic contexts has also been discovered.
- Tone in Punjabi gets exhibited on the associated vowel of tonemes (viz nucleus of the syllable containing toneme) however it has been discovered that it shifts to nucleus of prior syllable in the phonetic context of di/tri/poly-syllabic words having toneme as onset and having final open syllable.
- The tone patterns of mono-syllabic words do not find much discussion in the literature. A significant amount of data was analyzed to report the findings.
- Allotone HLH has been discovered in all the speakers in case of open dipthongal monosyllabic words, Final closed dipthongal di-syllabic words having flap/fricative/ nasal coda and dipthongal tri-syllabic words with toneme or Consonant/h/ or conjunct of / $\mathfrak{h} /$ as coda.


### 8.3.2 Lexical Stress

Stress in Punjabi is distributed solely according to a pattern based on the syllables contained within a word. The linear regression technique was used to investigate the relationship between the outcome variable and multiple explanatory variables that are potentially correlated with each other. The statistical analysis of each parameter was carried out. The intra-syllabic stress was calculated to report the stress patterns in Punjabi lexicon across various word categories. The literature survey discusses the possibility of its occurrence on ultimate/penultimate syllable in a word however stress related information is not found in Punjabi dictionaries.

The following research contributions were made:

- Empirical formula for stress function was derived through Linear Regression analysis by modeling the relationship between the dependent variables viz pitch, duration \& intensity to determine the extent of contribution each variable makes towards intra-syllabic stress which is significant research contribution as no quantitative research has been reported so far.

The empirical formula was used to calculate the syllable weight for each syllable in a word covering all the words. The heaviest syllable in each word was identified.

- The statistical approach such as Normal Distribution was adopted to analyze this data and stress rules were evolved for each category of words by calculating Mean, Standard Deviation and plotting the normal distribution curve to report the stress marking rules in the Punjabi PLS data.
- These stress rules are largely applicable depending on the position and context of syllables in a word :
i. Stress on ultimate syllable (majorly applicable)
ii. No stress (in case toneme is present in the initial syllable)
iii. Stress on penultimate syllable (discovered in $50 \%$ of the polysyllabic words)

| Rule <br> No. | Rule for marking <br> Intra-syllabic stress | Condition |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| R1 | Ultimate syllable | Di/Tri/Poly syllabic non-tonal words and tonal words except words having toneme in initial syllable |
| R2 | No Stress | Di/Tri/Poly tonal words having toneme in initial syllable |
| R3 | Penultimate syllable | Some Poly syllabic words |

Table 8/2: Rules for Marking Intra-syllabic Stress

### 8.3.3 Acoustic Variability of Schwa

As discussed by linguists, schwa in Punjabi is a mid-central vowel as indicated in the vowel triangle shown below. No further study has been reported on variations in its acoustic properties.


Fig 8/1: Vowel Triangle
The schwa has been the subject of much research by phonologists globally. The schwa not written orthographically as a part of consonant cluster however phonetically it is realized as is observed through data annotation. The current Punjabi dictionaries also mark it in the pronunciation. The analysis has been done by taking the different classes of Phonetic context, which has lead to discovery of certain acoustic variations.

| Allophones <br> of schwa(ə) | Phonetic context | Vowel height | Vowel frontness |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\partial_{\mathrm{n}}$ | Nasalized Schwa | Close-Mid | Central |
| $\partial_{\mathrm{g}}$ | Schwa in Tri-syllabic <br> Words having <br> Geminated Toneme as <br> onset | Close-Mid | Transition zone <br> front |
| $\partial_{\mathrm{r}}$ | Schwa as Release <br> Vowel in Isolated <br> Words | Approaching Near- <br> close | Transition zone <br> front |

Table 8/3: Acoustic Variations of Schwa

Three allophones of schwa have been discovered:
i. $\quad \partial_{\mathrm{n}}$ is Close-Mid and Central
ii. $\quad \partial_{\mathrm{g}}$ is Close-Mid and lies on the rear border of transition zone front
iii. $\quad \partial_{\mathrm{r}}$ is approaching near-close and lies on the front border of transition zone front

The augmented vowel triangle incorporating acoustic variations of schwa is as below:


Fig 8/2: Acoustic Variations of Schwa (augmented vowel triangle)
The analysis of same set of words in a sentence revealed that the release vowel in a sentence is insignificant in comparision to its occurrence to isolated words.

### 8.3.4 Pronunciation Lexicon Specification For Punjabi Language Within W3C Framework

The World Wide Web Consortium (W3C) in 2008 recommended the machine readable pronunciation lexicon framework (PLS 1.0) which is being used globally with suitable language specific adaptations as discussed in section 1.7.2.

### 8.3.4.1 Research Contributions

Grammatical information in Punjabi is majorly encoded in morphology not syntax unlike English.

Therefore the Morpho-syntactic features of Punjabi were examined in correlation with the current PLS framework. Ten additional features were identified.
i. New features:

- Script - To provision for additional Shahmukhi script
- Rootword
- Stem
- Prefix
- Suffix
- Inf
- POS
- Origin - To encode borrowed words
- MWE - To accommodate compound, duplicate, echo, named entities etc.
- Meaning - To differentiate homographs
ii. Incorporation of features in PLS framework
- Elements - Rootword, Stem, Suffix, Inf

The primary information to represent Morphological features is rootword which will be treated as element. Similarly Stem, Suffix and Inf constitute the secondary information to be encoded as elements wherever applicable

- Attributes - script, prefix, pos, origin, MWE , meaning

The script attribute is required to have composite data of language having multiple scripts. The prefixes find limited use in lexicon hence can be incorporated as attributes. The pos attribute will be used to define the Part-of-speech of the rootword/stem element. The origin attribute would help in identification of borrowed words. The MWE attribute is required to accommodate multiple words entries which semantically need to be treated as single entity. The meaning attribute will differentiate homographs.

These new elements/attributes (represented in yellow colour) are proposed for addition in the current framework as presented below:

| Elements | Attributes | Description |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| <lexicon> | version <br> xml:base <br> xmlns <br> xml:lang <br> alphabet <br> xml:script | root element for PLS |
| <meta> | name <br> http-equiv <br> content | element containing meta data |
| <metadata> |  | element containing meta data |
| <lexeme> | xml:id <br> role | the container element for a single lexical entry |
| <rootword> |  | Container element for a rootword that contains nested derived root words with their prefixes and suffixes information |
| <stem> |  | Container elements for derivational words containing affixes of the root word |
| <grapheme> | Origin, pos, pre-fix, <br> MWE , meaning | Contains orthographic information for a lexeme, its origin and it's Parts-of-speech label, Pre-fix and multi word expression viz MWE, meaning if any. Origin attribute will |


| Elements | Attributes | Description |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | contain ISO 639-3 of the language from the word has been borrowed. <br> The standard POS tagset will be referred as "BIS" |
| <suffix> |  | Element contains all the suffixes of the particular root word that may be nested |
| <inf> |  | Container contains all the inflections of a particular stem |
| <phoneme> | prefer <br> alphabet | contains pronunciation information for a lexeme |
| <alias> | Prefer | contains acronym expansions and orthographic substitutions |
| <example> |  | contains an example of the usage for a lexeme |

Table 8/4: Proposed PLS 2.0 Framework for Punjabi
The sample data as per this framework covering various categories of words to give a representative set from completeness point of view and also as a guideline to develop machine readable PLS data has been presented in the previous chapter.

### 8.4 Impact of Research Outcome on Speech Technologies in Punjabi

All the above phonological research findings can be leveraged to implement a computational Phonology model for Punjabi language. The proposed PLS 2.0 framework can be utilized to build large word level speech lexicon corpus containing prosodic information, syntax, and semantics that can be used for machine learning. The specific end use cases are discussed below.

### 8.4.1 Punjabi Text-to-Speech (TTS) Systems

The Open-source Festival Engine or similar other engines are used to quickly build a TTS prototype which delivers synthetic speech difficult to comprehend by humans. The prototype can be made useable by incorporating prosody to realize human like speech. It may not be easy to have TTS prototype for Punjabi, as Punjabi is tonal which compulsorily requires implementation of prosodic feature of tone, therefore no Punjabi TTS has been developed so far unlike Hindi. The in-depth treatment given to tonal features of Punjabi in this thesis will enable speech researchers in developing a TTS prototype system. The incorporation of the other research outcomes of this thesis can help in getting TTS of useable quality.

### 8.4.2 Language Identification Systems

$\mathrm{F}_{0}$ and amplitude contours on a syllable-by-syllable basis are useful parameters. Language -specific prosodic cues such as stress, tone examined in this thesis can be utilized in Punjabi language identification.

### 8.4.3 Speech Recognition Systems Based on Prosody

Presently the speech recognition systems in Punjabi are in nascent stage. Prosody could be used to improve word recognition in ASR systems. Parameter such as pitch, intensity, and duration of different contexts has been reported in the thesis that will be utilized to generate speech vectors that can be optimized by Punjabi Speech recognition system. The work reported in this thesis can be used to develop language model and pattern matching probabilistic framework which makes use of these prosodic features of the word in question along with the information from word sequence associated.

### 8.5 Future Research

The foundational work done for Punjabi prosody in this thesis can provide a strong foundation for future research in following areas:

### 8.5.1 Extension of Work from Word to Sentence Level in Punjabi

8.5.1.1 Intonation Study: The prosodic work currently done at the intra-syllabic level within a word can be extended by recording sentences for studying intonation, juncture etc.
8.5.1.2 Co-articulation Modeling of Punjabi: The syllables having significant coarticulation features can be examined for capturing Morpho-Phonemic features which will help in reconstruction of the phonological knowledge from the speech stream. It may be desirable to capture such features for consonants (other than stops), semi vowels etc as lot of variation has been noted from the data analyzed. The spreading of nasal prosody can also be studied.
8.5.1.3 Speaker Variation: The data can be used for further analysis for reporting variations among male and female speakers and also for capturing acoustic variations across 10 speakers.
8.5.1.4 High Quality Acoustic Models in Punjabi: These rely on availability of large \& reliably transcribed training sets that match the underlying distribution of speech in different acoustic environments. The large set of phonetically and prosodically rich data can be generated based on the sample data which can improve the word recognition accuracy.
8.5.1.5 Rule Based Formant Synthesis: The Klatt synthesizer approach requires rule based approach for hand crafting of phonetic units for which PLS data can be utilized. This data can also be useful for unit selection synthesis.
8.5.1.6 Language Identification: The tone patterns of Punjabi can further be investigated and based on tonal feature extraction from multilingual data stream, Punjabi language data can be segregated.
8.5.1.7 Comparative Study of Vowel Features: The acoustic variations of schwa vowel have been reported. Similar study can be done for other vowels.
8.5.1.8 Prosodic Features Based Modeling Techniques for Language Recognition: By capturing the prosodic features such as $\mathrm{F}_{0}$, duration, Intensity etc., the model that captures the prosodic information can be developed by using the various modeling techniques such as Neural Network, HMM, GMM, DNN, N-Gram , Histogram etc for Punjabi language speech recognition.
8.5.1.9 Extension of Work to other dialects of Punjabi: The similar data and analysis can be done for other dialects of Punjabi such as Majhi, Doabi and Lehndi.
8.5.1.10 Extension of Work to other Indo-Aryan Languages: The other IndoAryan languages are phonetically similar to Punjabi but are non-tonal. The data could be recorded for other languages and similar analysis may be done to corroborate the findings for a specific language.

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## Appendix A－WORD LISTS

## Chapter 3 －Word list of Tonemes

## Monosyllabic

| S．No． | Words | IPA transcription | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | यठ | ／kə̀r／ | Home |
| 2. | य్ర | ／kùs／ | Bribe |
| 3. | Şu | ／dîg／ | Pace |
| 4. | उंख्य | ／tấg／ | Anxiety |
| 5. | यौंय | ／pîg／ | Swing |
| 6. | Bिंय | ／ưg／ | Doze |
| 7. | तึ¢ | ／d3さ̃́g／ | Thigh |
| 8. | भाज्य | ／mág／ | Name of month |
| 9. | इँग | ／tfòg／ | Foam |
| 10. | হర | ／tfüth／ | Lie |
| 11. | मі＇इ | ／sã́d3／ | Partnership |
| 12. | घेइ | ／bód3／ | Weight |
| 13. | भॅइ | ／mád3d3／ | Buffalo |
| 14. | Qिं | ／（̛̃）3／ | Otherwise |
| 15. | だ「 |  | Ring for fighting game |
| 16. | तंइ | ／d3əั́d3／ | Marriage procession |
| 17. | घ＇इ | ／bấd3／ | Unproductive woman |
| 18. | たिउ | ／tìd／ | Belly |
| 19. | ढेठ | ／tèr／ | Heap |
| 20. | ढेप | ／tòl／ | Drum |
| 21. | ठंग | ／tò̀g／ | Method |
| 22. | छग्पी | ／tài／ | Two and a Half |
| 23. | ढ़्टपी | ／tùi／ | Back |
| 24. | मींढ | ／síd／ | Nosy |


| S.No. | Words | IPA transcription | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 25. | मुंढ | /sứdd | Trunk/dry ginger |
| 26. | पंत | /toั̀n/ | Money |
| 27. | पइ | /ṫ̀r/ | Upper part of body |
| 28. | ज़ॅय | /júdd/ | War |
| 29. | वंय | /kấd/ | Wall |
| 30. | ड్రॅч | /pùkk ${ }^{\text {/ }}$ | Hunger |
| 31. | S్రై | /pû́d/ | Female Pig |
| 32. | तीउ | /dzib/ | Tongue |

Table 1

## Disyllabic

| S.No. | Words | IPA transcription | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | येइ़ | /kòda/ | Horse |
| 2. | अर्ञी | /k` \({ }^{\text {c/ }}\) & Watch \\ \hline 3. & щॅम & /kı̀ssa/ & Push with hip \\ \hline 4. & யागी & /kàhi/ & Grass cutter \\ \hline 5. & ひ్రీనी & /kừdi/ & Trick/Problem \\ \hline 6. & सिॅगी & /kìggi/ & Hiccup caused by crying \\ \hline 7. & ひ̛ठ & /kờna/ & Cunning \\ \hline 8. & येठ & /kèra/ & Circumference \\ \hline 9. & येक्टी & /b` li/ | Lazy |
| 10. | थेटा | /kòta/ | Cramming |
| 11. | तियुग्म | /nigàs/ | Warmth |
| 12. | भగप्पइ | /ənkə́r/ | Crude |
| 13. | fिய | /tJİgàt/ | To cry out |
| 14. | Qिइष्युप्प | /ùdzəlóg/ | Not in shape |
| 15. | तियु | /nígga/ | Warm |
| 16. | ®ैप्य | /úg a/ | Prominent |
| 17. | बंपी | /kốgi/ | Comb |


| S．No． | Words | IPA transcription | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 18. | घ̆थ्यी | ／bággi／ | Horse driven cart |
| 19. | एप्य | ／lágu／ | Small |
| 20. | इंड | ／tfò̀de／ | Flag |
| 21. | इ＇了్ర | ／ţàru／ | Broom |
| 22. | इइइव | ／tfî̀ək／ | Scold |
| 23. | इंतठ | ／tjằd3ər／ | Anklet |
| 24. | इस्डी | ／tsòli／ | Possessing something in one＇s cloth worn |
| 25. |  | ／ţàũ／ | Not vey smart |
| 26. | 区्रटा | ／ţùta／ | sense of enjoyment while in a moving vehicle／on swing |
| 27. | मइॅव | ／aţı゙k／ | Bold |
| 28. | मुइ | ／súḑ a／ | Suggestion |
| 29. | मुइग्टी | ／sudzài／ | To suggest |
| 30. | गिभशिभ | ／rimt／im／ | In slow motion |
| 31. | Ј＂\＄ | ／hấḑu／ | Tears |
| 32. | पूॅ\％ | ／búd3o／ | To put question |
| 33. | मेइी | ／sód3i／ | Insight |
| 34. | भाइी | ／mádzi／ | Language in Punjab |
| 35. | तंश | ／d3ốd 3 u／ | Sacred thread |
| 36. | ढॅवट | ／t̀̀̀kıə／ | Cover |
| 37. | हैल্য | ／tilla／ | Loose |
| 38. | ढ＇घा | ／tàba／ | Small Restaurant |
| 39. | ढाही | ／tàdi／ | Particular Religious Singing Group |
| 40. | मींढ区 | ／sĩ¢ ${ }^{\text {l／}}$ | Nosy person |
| 41. | घींढल | ／bĩól 1 | Munder |
| 42. | मंढा | ／sốd¢／ | Bull |
| 43. | Jंढ | ／hốda／ | To wear |
| 44. | वंढा | ／kốca／ | Edge |

| S.No. | Words | IPA transcription | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 45. | छुंढी | /tfúdi/ | To pinch |
| 46. | घ్రెढा | /búdda/ | Old |
| 47. | यूंभ¢' | /tứã/ | Smoke |
| 48. | यिभార | /tian/ | Attention |
| 49. | पेघी | /tòbi/ | Washerman |
| 50. | यర్నम | /ṫ̀̀r $\mathrm{J} /$ | Bow |
| 51. | पंटा | /tốch / | Profession |
| 52. | यठ'ص | /tə̀m d/ | Rich Person |
| 53. | यठभ | /tı̀rəm/ | Religion |
| 54. | पंटी | /tờn / | Navel |
| 55. | पिँयठ | /Iddár/ | This side |
| 56. | यूय'ठ | /prədán/ | Chief |
| 57. | भयె | /mad'r ${ }^{\text {r }}$ | Sweet |
| 58. | भॅया | /ádda/ | Half |
| 59. | मॅया | /sídda/ | Simlpe |
| 60. | मंयी | /sốd/ | Joining |
| 61. | צग्या | /kháda/ | Ate |
| 62. | गया | /gáda/ | Donkey |
| 63. | Аॉया | /gídda/ | Type of Ladies' Dance |
| 64. | गुॅय | /gúdda/ | Kneaded |
| 65. | उंगी | /pò̀ $\mathrm{i} /$ | Simpleton |
| 66. | ชิंट्ड | /poั̀du/ | Wanderer |
| 67. | छैडीउ | /pèpit/ | Scared |
| 68. | उमभ | /p`sem/ | Ash |
| 69. | बैत तट्ट | /pìd3d3na/ | Get wet |
| 70. | भविभग्म | /2bias/ | Practice |
| 71. | गांडीठ | /gã ${ }^{\text {r }}$ / | Serious |
| 72. | ड్రॅउठ | /dubbór/ | To make it difficult |

| S.No. | Words | IPA transcription | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 73. | गाठउ | /gərə́b/ | Pregnant |
| 74. | Ш్రएँত | /durlóbb/ | Rare |
| 75. | ठ'डी | /nábi/ | Navel |
| 76. | टठठ | /tóba/ | Small Water Pond |
| 77. | टइठा | /dárba/ | Small congested space |

Table 2

## Tri-syllabic

| S.No. | Words | IPA transcription | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | щ్లురा | /kùrəna/ | To stare |
| 2. | उंप्पट्ट | /tãgə̀na/ | To desire |
| 3. | तियठరा | /nıgórra / | To swallow |
| 4. | तिथागठ | /nıgàrna/ | To sink |
| 5. |  | /pãgùra/ | Cradle |
| 6. | Вिष्संप्यहा | /vlãgว̀na/ | Violation |
| 7. | हैंयुप्ट | /ư ว̀ņa/ | To doze |
| 8. |  | /khãgàlna/ | To rinse |
| 9. | భீ4ठర | /pãgə́rna/ | To melt |
| 10. | इగइగי | /tföntSəna/ | Sound making toy |
| 11. | इं |  | Hut |
| 12. | इठाइ | /t「ə̀gəra/ | Quarrel |
| 13. | इवष्ट | /ţökəna/ | To bend |
| 14. | Ǎ इट्ர | /rid3ə̀na/ | Getting cooked |
| 15. | मांशीटाठ | /sãḑìdar/ | Partner |
| 16. | घूइइट | /budzàna/ | To guess and answer |
| 17. | বিइएי্টিटு | /gidzàuna/ | To make habitual |
| 18. | Вिइए | /vdzárna/ | To spread |
| 19. | たिंढेठ | /tìdòra/ | Public Announcement |
| 20. | दिलवटां | /(tilkəoã/ | Loose |


| S．No． | Words | IPA transcription | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 21. | ढठिट्ट | ／tı̀hena／ | To fall |
| 22. | టోंढट | ／từcàna／ | To find |
| 23. | मंढट्ट | ／sõdə̀ņa／ | Two chords for pulling the bull |
| 24. | मुंढ़ए | ／sũ⿻日乚㇒⿻日乚㇒⿻⿱一⿱日一丨一力 la／ | Jaggery and Dry ginger |
| 25. | Jंढटम ${ }^{\text {d }}$ | ／hõcónsar／ | Long life |
| 26. | उँ包 | ／hãdàu／ | Durable |
| 27. | वठग्पी | ／kədài／ | Embroidery |
| 28. | गुभांढट | ／guã⿻日乚㇒ ${ }^{\text {n／}}$ | Neighbour |
| 29. | घ्रहTr | ／budàpa／ | Old Age |
| 30. | गुभांद्धी | ／guắdi／ | Neighbour |
| 31. | Uंटญ | ／tũdə̀la／ | Hazy |
| 32. | भீयेठ | ／2̃d ra／ | Darkness |
| 33. | मय＇ठठ | ／sədárən／ | Simple |
| 34. | वंयूटी | ／kãdùi／ | Big sewing needle |
| 35. | वियें | ／kıdı̀rõ／ | From where |
| 36. | गंयष्ड | ／gãdə̀la／ | Muddy |
| 37. | ट्रयीभr | ／dudia／ | Milky white |
| 38. | ठभयग्ठी | ／namtàri／ | Religious Community |
| 39. | घंयूभ | ／bãdùa／ | Bonded |
| 40. | उम్వरी | ／pàsựi／ | Stampede |
| 41. |  | ／nıbávña／ | Cope up |
| 42. | ठंडटा | ／rõbə̀ņa／ | Sound produced by Cow／Bull |
| 43. | एॅउट्ट | ／labbə̀na／ | To find |
| 44. | గिठडै | ／nírpe／ | Unfearful |

Table 3

## Polysyllabic

| S.No. | Words | IPA transcription | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | यૅस్ర్য় | /kı̀llukàra/ | Massacre |
| 2. | मभइडाठी | /səmd3ə̀dari/ | Wisdom |
| 3. | उँयव्युट्ट | /ţodárpuna/ | Purposeless leadership |
| 4. |  | /prìjtatfar/ | Corruption |

Table 4

## Chapter 3 - Word list of Laryngeal Consonant /h/

## Monosyllabic

| S.No. | Words | IPA transcription | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | भाठ | 'á/ | Sigh |
| 2. | मठि | /s ¢́/ | Indicating togetherness |
| 3. | वे | /kó/ | Mountain |
| 4. | H్ర | /khú/ | Well, irrigation well |
| 5. | 时 | /kº́/ | Discomfort, uneasiness |
| 6. | गाग | /gá/ | Disorder, spread of harvested crop awaiting |
| 7. | चס | /ţá/ | Wish, desire, avidity |
| 8. | हेठ | / tf ${ }^{\text {hó/ }}$ | Touch, dab, contact, tap |
| 9. | ढण | /tà/ | Fall, defeat, destruction |
| 10. | ढेग | /tò/ | Back-rest, rest |
| 11. | होग | /ló/ | Iron |
| 12. | हण | /vá/ | Wonderful, well-done |

Table 5

## Disyllabic

| S.No. | Words | IPA transcription | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | उप्य'ग | /təbá/ | Destroyed, ruined, spoiled |
| 2. | उठ'ण | /tráá | Fright, sudden fear |
| 3. | हम'ण | /vəsá/ | Trust, reliance, faith |
| 4. | हिभाग | /vıá/ | Marriage, matrimony |
| 5. | भग्गष्ड | /ála/ | Superior, excellent |
| 6. | पिडరां | /énã/ | These |
| 7. |  | /hoka/ | Sigh |
| 8. | Јमघ | /həsəb/ | According to rules, law |
| 9. | गठा'ठ | /həgar/ | Excreta of houseflies |
| 10. | Јत्ञभ | /həzəm/ | Digested |


| S.No. | Words | IPA transcription | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 11. | गिम'घ्व | /hisab/ | Account, calculation, rate |
| 12. | Јুర | /hunər/ | Art, skill, technique |
| 13. | Јवम | /hakəm/ | Ruler, governor, officer |
| 14. | गत्तठ | /had3ər/ | Present, ready, available |
| 15. | गीभा | /hia/ | Heart, courage, nerve |
| 16. | गीटठ | /hitər/ | Heater |
| 17. | गुठ | /hura/ | Fist, box, buffet |
| 18. | गैहग्त | /hevan/ | Animal, uncivilized person |
| 19. | ЈЈฮ | /hot ${ }^{\text {a }}$ / | Blunt, flippant, mean |
| 20. | ठठ | /hor/ | More, else, further |
| 21. | गेत | /hod3/ | Water tank, masonry tub |
| 22. | भठगठ | /ohar/ | Food, diet, meal |
| 23. | मगठउउ | /sahit/ | Literature, literary art |
| 24. | मगठिघ | /saheb/ | Master, lord, boss |
| 25. | मगीट | /Sohid/ | Martyr |
| 26. | भेगठ | /ohər/ | Ailment, diseases, malady |
| 27. | भविए | /Ehəd/ | Resolve, promise |
| 28. | भागठ | /ahər/ | Impulse, enthusiasm |
| 29. | मग्ठम | /sahəs/ | Courage, boldness, daring |
| 30. | मुगत | /suhəd3/ | Grace, beauty, delicacy |
| 31. | मुगठ | / f ¢hər/ | City, town |
| 32. | मेंगठ | /Sohər/ | Husband |
| 33. | मग'प्टिव | /sphark/ | Assistant, helper, colleague |
| 34. | मगित | /schad3/ | Easy, slow, tranquil |

Table 6

## Trisyllabic

| S.No. | Words | IPA transcription | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | हिटठेठ | /vidəró/ | Rebellion, defiance, revolt |
| 2. | मगिम्नउ' | /sèsubà/ | Naturally, spontaneously |
| 3. | चिवगप्टिडी | /hrkarti/ | Apologal, anecdotal |
| 4. | चिभ'ד্চவ | /hımatfol/ | Himachal Pradesh |
| 5. | ग्रफ्य'ठ | /hulara/ | Swing, oscillation, kick |
| 6. | ग్=वट्ट | /hukəna/ | To raise, utter cry of pain |
| 7. | Јैमीभउ | /hesiot/ | Status, position, property |
| 8. |  | /hoslamãd/ | Courageousness, patience |
| 9. | भवंरगठ | /əhõkar/ | Pride, arrogance |
| 10. | भगिमव | /2hĩsək/ | Nonviolent, peaceful |
| 11. | पिमझडिग्ठ | /Iftehar/ | Advertisement, poster |
| 12. | पिउडगम | /Itehas/ | History, the past |
| 13. | मुठिठट | /sohIrd/ | Good-hearted, kind, gentle |
| 14. | मुगेल | /suhela/ | Comfortable, soothing |
| 15. | मुग्टउ | /Johadət/ | Martyrdom, self-sacrifice |
| 16. | पिभडिठ'ठ | /mtehan / | Examination, test, trial |
| 17. | मिगठ | /sehəra/ | Chaplet, wreath, honour |
| 18. | मुगट्ट | /sohəna/ | Good looking |
| 19. | मुगगा | /suhaga/ | Borax, tincal, leveller |
| 20. | मुगिड्रु | /Sehətut/ | Mulburry |
| 21. | माग्टी | / Sahədi/ | Evidence, testimony |
| 22. | मग'प्टिउ' | /sohata/ | Help, support, relief |
| 23. | मगי्पी | /sahai/ | Who provides help |
| 24. | मगगठग | /soharna/ | Bear, suffer, to support |
| 25. | मठग | /səhara/ | Support, refuge, shelter |

Table 7

## Polysyllabic

| S.No. | Words | IPA transcription | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | भfिमग्हांट | /ohĨsavad/ | Doctrine |
| 2. | भविटत'भा | /Ehədnama/ | Treaty, formal agreement $\mathrm{b} / \mathrm{w}$ nations \& states |
| 3. | मिगउमْं | /sehətəmãd/ | Healthy |

Table 8

## Chapter 3 －Word list having Conjuncts of／h／

## Monosyllabic

| S．No． | Word | IPA Transcription | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | गोलु | ／gól／ | Fruit of mulberry |

Table 9

## Disyllabic

| S．No． | Word | IPA Transcription | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | गाיपू亏 | ／galór／ | Squirrel |
| 2. | गुंभु | ／gõmór／ | Boil |
| 3. | तिल్टुट | ／d3ılón＇ | Mire，bog，mud，marsh |
| 4. | यञ్వ＇प्टी | ／prài／ | Education，study，teaching |
| 5. | यక్龴⿵⿰丿⺄帀㇒ | ／pría／ | Read，studied |
| 6. | ठర区্ড | ／tholá／ | Fat person |

Table 10

## Trisyllabic

| S．No． | Word | IPA Transcription | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | ษभुटी | ／k ${ }^{\text {h}}$ ¢mə́ni／ | Multicoloured yarn |
| 2. | ४ठुहा | ／krəə́va／ | Rough，rude，impolite |
| 3. | પ్రM్ర | ／kºlóna／ | To open，become open |
| 4. | પ్రૅल్మై | ／k ${ }^{\text {hullb́vã／}}$ | Loose，expansible |
| 5. | मญ్गुप्षा | ／solàba／ | Water－logging，seepage |
| 6. | मिं | ／sĩnóna／ | To moisten，make wet |
| 7. | उभगउइ | ／təmàtry／ | Someone like you，you |
| 8. | यহ্তיӨిटा | ／pràuna／ | To teach，educate，tutor |

Table 11

## Polysyllabic

| S.No. | Word | IPA Transcription | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. |  | /k $\mathrm{k}^{\text {ha }}$ àrna/ | To stop, to interrupt |
| 2. | गउुवह | /gərókəņa/ | To boil, thunder, roar |

Table 12

## Chapter 4 - Word list of Stress

## Di-syllabic

| S.No. | Word | IPA transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | मठघ | /sərəb/ |
| 2. | मइव | /sərək/ |
| 3. | Јमघ | /həsəb/ |
| 4. | Јুठ | /hunər/ |
| 5. | गत्ञभ | /həzəm/ |
| 6. | Bिगठ | /vgər/ |
| 7. | ®ิד़० | /vzər/ |
| 8. | В उ०मह | /vtsəo/ |
| 9. | В उुमूव | /utsuk/ |
| 10. | मगठ | /Jəgən/ |
| 11. | वमव | /kəsək/ |
| 12. | गाठढढ了 | /grift/ |
| 13. | छुगाल | /tfugal/ |
| 14. | Өิम | /vmər/ |
| 15. | ঋट์ | /əŋək ${ }^{\text {²/ }}$ |
| 16. | ঋरंट | /ənว̃d/ |
| 17. | मंवट | /sãkət/ |
| 18. | मंगाल | /mãgəl/ |
| 19. | घर्मउ | /bəsãt/ |
| 20. | मसंग | /məlãg/ |
| 21. | दिवт | /p ${ }^{\text {h }}$ Ikka/ |
| 22. | भॅगे | /ogge/ |
| 23. | मत्त | /səd3a/ |
| 24. | यवग | /poka/ |
| 25. | घउ' | /bata/ |
| 26. | घुष्ग | /bula/ |


| S.No. | Word | IPA transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 27. | दि ${ }^{\text {Er }}$ | /p ${ }^{\text {h }}$ Idda/ |
| 28. | ढिटा | $/ \mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{I}$ da/ |
| 29. | भज్= | /məjur/ |
| 30. | भठт | /məna/ |
| 31. | वम | /kəma/ |
| 32. | मुठ | /suna/ |
| 33. | Јम ${ }^{1}$ | /rəsa/ |
| 34. | उट्' | /təna/ |
| 35. | उत্ড'व | /tfolak/ |
| 36. | गिष्য | /gila/ |
| 37. | जम్ | / jesu/ |
| 38. | जवीठ | /jokin/ |
| 39. | Јमउ' | /rəsta/ |
| 40. | चिम'घ | /hisab/ |
| 41. | घत्त'ठ | /bəd3ar/ |
| 42. | भठीत | /mərid3/ |
| 43. | वठीघ | /kərib/ |
| 44. | Qิדैठ | /vd3En/ |
| 45. | भवग्ऽ | /əkal/ |
| 46. | भढीभ | /əp ${ }^{\text {him/ }}$ |
| 47. | Qिउ'亏 | /vtar/ |
| 48. | ®४'ర | $/ \mathrm{t}^{\text {than/ }}$ |
| 49. | भमगठ | /วsan/ |
| 50. | भमीठ | /2mir/ |
| 51. | तע'ठ | /dzəban/ |
| 52. | वटी | /kəпi/ |
| 53. | उ़मां | /tusã/ |
| 54. | उसें | /tədõ/ |


| S.No. | Word | IPA transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 55. | भंग्गठ | /ãgur/ |
| 56. | गागत | /gadzər/ |
| 57. | गोव్ल | /gokul/ |
| 58. | గ్రउర | /nutən/ |
| 59. | हैटठ | /vetrr/ |
| 60. | जैदत | /jovən/ |
| 61. | गैठउ | /herat/ |
| 62. | จैउट | /kedot/ |
| 63. | Јवम | /hakəm/ |
| 64. | צ'उठ | /khatrr/ |
| 65. | भิठउ | /orst/ |
| 66. | ठ'वठ | /thakər/ |
| 67. | भ'वउ | /akər/ |
| 68. | छరटट | /tJanən/ |
| 69. | घי्लव | /balək/ |
| 70. | भrडिम | /atif/ |
| 71. | में ${ }^{\text {c }}$ | /sõkəๆ/ |
| 72. | उंइड | /tãdəo/ |
| 73. | ขैंइल | /2 $\mathrm{z}_{\text {¢ }} 1 /$ |
| 74. | यึ์¢ | /pak ${ }^{\text {hãd/ }}$ |
| 75. | ठण | /t 5 at $5 \mathrm{a} /$ |
| 76. | ढेटा | /p ${ }^{\text {heta/ }}$ |
| 77. | तीट | /dsina/ |
| 78. | भग्ली | /mali/ |
| 79. | टठ | /deo/ |
| 80. | होष | /leo/ |
| 81. | रेड | /kora/ |
| 82. | ढीउ | /p ${ }^{\text {hita/ }}$ |


| S.No. | Word | IPA transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 83. | घेतठी | /benti/ |
| 84. | मेइटाठ | /mordar/ |
| 85. | मेत्रु | /mod3ud/ |
| 86. | ®日̇ | /una/ |
| 87. | म'ठ | /sara/ |
| 88. | प्रीमए | /iman/ |
| 89. | ठיट्टी | /rani/ |
| 90. | व'ढญ్ | /kap ${ }^{\text {¹a/ }}$ |
| 91. | धीठ | /khira/ |
| 92. | गाग्ठी | /gani/ |
| 93. | मीटा | /sina/ |
| 94. | उ'घ | /tãba/ |
| 95. | वंटा | /kãta/ |
| 96. | छंट्टी | /tañdi/ |
| 97. | यैंडी | /pẽti/ |
| 98. | टेटांड | /vedãt/ |
| 99. | भुंगी | /mũgi/ |
| 100. | मुरृती | /mũḑi/ |
| 101. | પ్రీరీరी | /knũdi/ |

Table 13

## Tri-syllabic

| S.No. | Words | IPA transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | भवठमव | /əkərmək/ |
| 2. | भभिउा | /2mıta/ |
| 3. | भमढल | /əsəp ${ }^{\text {hel/ }}$ |
| 4. | घेम़वल | /befəkəl/ |
| 5. | घेमिटव | /besidək/ |


| S.No. | Words | IPA transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 6. | चिलमची | /tfrimst5i/ |
| 7. | चिलगोत़T | /tfilgoza/ |
| 8. | उग्टांबेल | /davãdol/ |
| 9. | गौनगग़्̣ठ | /gerhadzər/ |
| 10. | पिवॅउठ | /ikettrr/ |
| 11. | तगठट' | /djagana/ |
| 12. | तவיलउ | /dyalalat/ |
| 13. | नलेटठ | /d3əlodər/ |
| 14. | तौघ | /ḑobənvãt/ |
| 15. | वי्लयतिव | /kalpənık/ |
| 16. | वमभवम | /kə m ¢ $\mathrm{k}^{\text {a }}$ / |
| 17. | ษुम्नटिसी | $/ \mathrm{k}^{\text {h}} \mathrm{U}$ drili/ |
| 18. | वेगपट | /korapən/ |
| 19. | గीटॅउट | /nilettrn/ |
| 20. | य'गटगमूव | /pardərək/ |
| 21. | येषपपट | /polapən/ |
| 22. |  | /rupãtər/ |
| 23. | मुठउभंट | /suratmãd/ |
| 24. | उंघप्ण | /tãbaku/ |
| 25. | उपेघర | /təpobən/ |
| 26. | उउवग | /tatkəra/ |
| 27. | टीव'वग | /tikakar/ |
| 28. | टिवटा | /tıkəŋа/ |
| 29. | Q | /vd3ərat/ |
| 30. | Вिड़टट्ट | /ultəra/ |

Table 14

## Poly-syllabic

| S.No | word | IPA transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | भविठिभ'्मील | /2kırrasil/ |
| 2. | मैंटीमीटठ | /sẽtimitər/ |
| 3. | ठेउग्दटी | /tjetavəni/ |
| 4. | गातगंट्टי्या | /gud3rãvala/ |
| 5. | पिरहग्मग्य | /Ikvasapən/ |
| 6. | צांत्ठेट्ट़ | /khãtfevala/ |
| 7. | ठ'व'घंटंटी | /nakabãdi/ |
| 8. | यंษडीदट्टा | /pãk ${ }^{\text {h }}$ ivala/ |
| 9. |  | /rupãtərən/ |
| 10. | मगंउड्टत्टी | /samãtvadi/ |
| 11. | मगठ'तहग्टी | /samrad3vadi/ |
| 12. | मघए欠ंउठत | /st ${ }^{\text {thnãtərən/ }}$ |
| 13. | Вिगठरंघी | /vgərpãthi/ |
| 14. | Qितुउप्टा | /vdzəddpuna/ |

Table 15

## Appendix B - DATA SHEETS

## Chapter 3 - Data sheets of Tonemes


凶ॅ్ㅡ

| Male <br> Speakers | $\mathbf{F}_{\mathbf{0}}$ in <br> $(\mathbf{H Z} / \mathbf{S e c})$ | Slope in <br> $(\mathbf{H Z / S e c})$ | Cross-Sectional Slope of <br> TBU(HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contour <br> of tone | Duration <br> of TBU |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ |  |  |
| M1 | 199 | 628 | 209 | 203 | 196 | 188 | HL | 0.04 |
| M2 | 248 | 348 | 254 | 248 | 246 | 243 | HL | 0.07 |
| M3 | 256 | 321 | 263 | 259 | 256 | 248 | HL | 0.10 |
| M4 | 224 | 1135 | 249 | 229 | 218 | 205 | HL | 0.06 |
| Average | $\mathbf{2 3 2}$ | $\mathbf{6 0 8}$ | $\mathbf{2 4 4}$ | $\mathbf{2 3 5}$ | $\mathbf{2 2 9}$ | $\mathbf{2 2 1}$ | HL | $\mathbf{0 . 0 7}$ |

Table 1: Data of Male Speakers

| Female <br> Speakers | F $_{\mathbf{0}}$ in <br> $(\mathbf{H Z} / \mathbf{S e c})$ | Slope in <br> $(\mathbf{H Z} / \mathbf{S e c})$ | Cross-Sectional Slope of <br> TBU (HZ/Sec) |  |  | Contour <br> of tone | Duration <br> of TBU |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ |  |  |
| F1 | 295 |  | 307 | 292 | 290 | 289 | HL | 0.07 |
| F2 | IP | IP | IP | IP | IP | IP | IP | IP |
| F3 | 323 | 402 | 331 | 325 | 322 | 316 | HL | 0.06 |
| F4 | 280 | 778 | 301 | 282 | 272 | 264 | HL | 0.07 |
| F5 | IP | IP | IP | IP | IP | IP | IP | IP |
| F6 | 309 | 371 | 316 | 309 | 309 | 305 | HL | 0.07 |
| Average | $\mathbf{3 0 2}$ | $\mathbf{5 0 0}$ | $\mathbf{3 1 4}$ | $\mathbf{3 0 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 9 8}$ | $\mathbf{2 9 4}$ | HL | $\mathbf{0 . 0 7}$ |

Table 2: Data of Female Speakers

யाग

| Male <br> Speakers | $\mathbf{F}_{\mathbf{0}}$ in <br> $(\mathbf{H Z} / \mathbf{S e c})$ | Slope in <br> (HZ/Sec) | Cross-Sectional Slope of <br> TBU <br> (HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contour <br> of tone | Duration <br> of TBU |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ |  |  |
| M1 | 179 | 149 | 183 | 180 | 179 | 176 | HL | 0.13 |
| M2 | 256 | 125 | 258 | 258 | 256 | 252 | HL | 0.12 |
| M3 | 243 | 293 | 257 | 245 | 239 | 231 | HL | 0.19 |
| M4 | 214 | 297 | 230 | 215 | 207 | 204 | HL | 0.15 |
| Average | $\mathbf{2 2 3}$ | $\mathbf{2 1 6}$ | $\mathbf{2 3 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 2 5}$ | $\mathbf{2 2 0}$ | $\mathbf{2 1 6}$ | HL | $\mathbf{0 . 1 5}$ |

Table 3: Data of Male Speakers

| Female Speakers | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{0} \text { in } \\ (\mathrm{HZ} / \mathrm{Sec}) \end{gathered}$ | Slope in (HZ/Sec) | $\begin{gathered} \text { Cross-Sectional Slope of } \\ \text { TBU } \\ (\mathbf{H Z} / \mathbf{S e c}) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  | Conto ur of tone | Duration of TBU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| F1 | 325 | 315 | 325 | 315 | 297 | 278 | HL | 0.21 |
| F2 | IP | IP | IP | IP | IP | IP | IP | IP |
| F3 | 335 | 328 | 335 | 328 | 321 | 304 | HL | 0.15 |
| F4 | 292 | 278 | 292 | 278 | 275 | 275 | HL | 0.14 |
| F5 | IP | IP | IP | IP | IP | IP | IP | IP |
| F6 | 301 | 298 | 301 | 298 | 298 | 290 | HL | 0.16 |
| Average | 313 | 305 | 313 | 305 | 298 | 287 | HL | 0.17 |

Table 4: Data of Female Speakers

Sample Data sheet 2: নৈइহ्ट /ridzdzána /

| Male <br> Speakers | $\mathbf{F}_{\mathbf{0}}$ in <br> (HZ/Sec) | Slope in <br> (HZ/Sec) | Cross-Sectional Slope of <br> TBU(HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contour <br> of tone | Duration <br> of TBU |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | $25 \%$ | $25 \%$ | $25 \%$ | $25 \%$ |  |  |
| M1 | 191 | 324 | 177 | 191 | 196 | 201 | LH | 0.11 |
| M2 | 266 | 156 | 263 | 266 | 267 | 269 | LH | 0.10 |
| M3 | 232 | 296 | 224 | 230 | 236 | 239 | LH | 0.09 |
| M4 | 217 | 403 | 207 | 218 | 221 | 222 | LH | 0.06 |
| Average | $\mathbf{2 2 7}$ | $\mathbf{2 6 6}$ | $\mathbf{2 1 9}$ | $\mathbf{2 2 6}$ | $\mathbf{2 3 0}$ | $\mathbf{2 3 2}$ | $\mathbf{L H}$ | $\mathbf{0 . 0 9}$ |

Table 5: Data of Male Speakers

| Female <br> Speakers | $\mathbf{F}_{\mathbf{0}}$ in <br> $(\mathbf{H Z} / \mathbf{S e c})$ | Slope in <br> $(\mathbf{H Z / S e c})$ | Cross-Sectional Slope of <br> TBU (HZ/Sec) |  |  | Contour <br> of tone | Duration <br> of TBU |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ |  |  |
| F1 | 289 | 419 | 278 | 289 | 293 | 296 | LH | 0.06 |
| F2 | 301 | 850 | 282 | 301 | 311 | 313 | LH | 0.05 |
| F3 | 314 | 433 | 298 | 313 | 320 | 325 | LH | 0.10 |
| F4 | 345 | 474 | 329 | 346 | 352 | 353 | LH | 0.09 |
| F5 | 346 | 346 | 333 | 344 | 350 | 354 | LH | 0.08 |
| F6 | 309 | 428 | 297 | 309 | 314 | 317 | LH | 0.09 |
| Average | $\mathbf{3 1 7}$ | $\mathbf{4 9 2}$ | $\mathbf{3 0 3}$ | $\mathbf{3 1 7}$ | $\mathbf{3 2 3}$ | $\mathbf{3 2 6}$ | LH | $\mathbf{0 . 0 8}$ |

Table 6: Data of Female Speakers

Sample Data sheet 3 (Dipthong): छग्पी /tăi/

| Male Speakers | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{0} \text { in } \\ (\mathrm{HZ} / \mathrm{Sec}) \end{gathered}$ | Slope in (HZ/Sec) | Cross-Sectional Slope of TBU(HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contour of tone | Duration of TBU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| M1 | 173 | 229 | 182 | 160 | 175 | 175 | HLH | 0.46 |
| M2 | 261 | 150 | 267 | 261 | 258 | 258 | HL | 0.35 |
| M3 | 242 | 155 | 255 | 230 | 242 | 242 | HLH | 0.51 |
| M4 | 201 | 187 | 211 | 192 | 192 | 206 | HLH | 0.34 |
| Average | 205 | 190 | 216 | 194 | 203 | 208 | HLH | 0.44 |

Table 7: Data of Male Speakers

| Female <br> Speakers | $\mathbf{F}_{\mathbf{0}}$ in <br> $(\mathbf{H Z / S e c})$ | Slope in <br> $(\mathbf{H Z / S e c})$ | Cross-Sectional Slope of <br> $\mathbf{T B U}(\mathbf{H Z / S e c})$ |  |  | Contour <br> of tone | Duration <br> of TBU |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ |  |  |
| F1 | 308 |  | 322 | 279 | 294 | 337 | HLH | 0.39 |
| F2 | 332 | 362 | 343 | 321 | 318 | 345 | HLH | 0.33 |
| F3 | 333 | 312 | 345 | 318 | 319 | 351 | HLH | 0.44 |
| F4 | 309 | 192 | 329 | 302 | 295 | 308 | HLH | 0.45 |
| F5 | 365 | 128 | 374 | 365 | 361 | 361 | HLH | 0.44 |
| F6 | 319 | 300 | 353 | 315 | 294 | 312 | HLH | 0.43 |
| Average | $\mathbf{3 2 8}$ | $\mathbf{2 9 3}$ | $\mathbf{3 4 4}$ | $\mathbf{3 1 7}$ | $\mathbf{3 1 4}$ | $\mathbf{3 3 6}$ | HLH | $\mathbf{0 . 4 1}$ |

Table 8: Data of Female Speakers

Sample Data sheet 4: पठम /tı̀rəm/

| Male <br> Speakers | $\mathbf{F}_{\mathbf{0}}$ in <br> $\mathbf{( H Z / S e c )}$ | Slope in <br> (HZ/Sec) | Cross-Sectional Slope of <br> TBU(HZ/Sec) |  |  | Contour <br> of tone | Duration <br> of TBU |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | $25 \%$ | $25 \%$ | $25 \%$ | $25 \%$ |  |  |
| M1 | 187 | 627 | 207 | 196 | 182 | 165 | HL | 0.08 |
| M2 | 272 | 274 | 280 | 272 | 270 | 266 | HL | 0.11 |
| M3 | 262 | 308 | 265 | 264 | 263 | 256 | HL | 0.15 |
| M4 | 218 | 184 | 223 | 220 | 216 | 212 | HL | 0.10 |
| Average | $\mathbf{2 3 5}$ | $\mathbf{3 4 8}$ | $\mathbf{2 4 4}$ | $\mathbf{2 3 8}$ | $\mathbf{2 3 3}$ | $\mathbf{2 2 5}$ | HL | $\mathbf{0 . 1 1}$ |

Table 9: Data of Male speakers

| Female <br> Speakers | $\mathbf{F}_{\mathbf{0}}$ in <br> $(\mathbf{H Z} / \mathbf{S e c})$ | Slope in <br> $(\mathbf{H Z / S e c})$ | Cross-Sectional Slope of <br> $\mathbf{T B U}(\mathbf{H Z / S e c})$ |  |  | Contour <br> of tone | Duration <br> of TBU |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ |  |  |
| F1 | 297 |  | 307 | 299 | 297 | 287 | HL | 0.13 |
| F2 | 321 | 410 | 331 | 322 | 322 | 311 | HL | 0.13 |
| F3 | 317 | 379 | 328 | 325 | 316 | 299 | HL | 0.12 |
| F4 | 278 | 519 | 300 | 283 | 272 | 256 | HL | 0.14 |
| F5 | 343 | 299 | 349 | 349 | 344 | 330 | HL | 0.16 |
| F6 | 293 | 611 | 307 | 307 | 291 | 268 | HL | 0.17 |
| Average | $\mathbf{3 0 8}$ | $\mathbf{4 2 4}$ | $\mathbf{3 2 0}$ | $\mathbf{3 1 4}$ | $\mathbf{3 0 7}$ | $\mathbf{2 9 2}$ | HL | $\mathbf{0 . 1 4}$ |

Table 10: Data of Female speakers

Sample Data sheet 5: すिम्रिटा्ठण्ठ /prìjtatfar/

| Male <br> Speakers | F0 <br> in(HZ/Sec) | Slope in <br> $(\mathbf{H Z} / \mathbf{S e c})$ | Cross-Sectional Slope of <br> TBU(HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contour <br> of tone | Duration <br> of TBU |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | $25 \%$ | $25 \%$ | $25 \%$ | $25 \%$ |  |  |
| M1 | 177 | 612 | 196 | 185 | 170 | 156 | HL | 0.08 |
| M2 | 270 | 249 | 275 | 272 | 270 | 263 | HL | 0.08 |
| M3 | 236 | 544 | 238 | 247 | 239 | 221 | HL | 0.11 |
| M4 | 214 | 926 | 229 | 225 | 211 | 194 | HL | 0.05 |
| Average | $\mathbf{2 2 4}$ | $\mathbf{5 8 3}$ | $\mathbf{2 3 5}$ | $\mathbf{2 3 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 2 3}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 9}$ | HL | $\mathbf{0 . 0 8}$ |

Table 11: Data of Male speakers

| Female Speakers | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{0} \text { in } \\ (\mathrm{HZ} / \mathrm{Sec}) \end{gathered}$ | Slope in (HZ/Sec) | Cross-Sectional Slope of TBU (HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contour of tone | Duration of TBU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| F1 | 302 | 928 | 296 | 312 | 309 | 292 | HL | 0.07 |
| F2 | 341 | 707 | 341 | 348 | 346 | 328 | HL | 0.06 |
| F3 | 312 | 629 | 334 | 319 | 302 | 294 | HL | 0.07 |
| F4 | 281 | 820 | 296 | 295 | 282 | 251 | HL | 0.08 |
| F5 | IP |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| F6 | 338 | 736 | 342 | 350 | 342 | 319 | HL | 0.12 |
| Average | 315 | 764 | 322 | 325 | 316 | 297 | HL | 0.08 |

Table 12: Data of Female speakers

## Chapter 3 - Data sheets of Consonant /h/

Sample Data sheet 1: খ్ర

| Male Speakers | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{0} \text { in } \\ (\mathrm{HZ} / \mathrm{Sec}) \end{gathered}$ | Slope in (HZ/Sec) | Cross-Sectional Slope of TBU (HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contour of tone | Duration of TBU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| M1 | 181 | 251 | 154 | 192 | 198 | 181 | LHL | 0.43 |
| M2 | 258 | 202 | 239 | 265 | 267 | 263 | LHL | 0.43 |
| M3 | 235 | 200 | 234 | 245 | 236 | 225 | LHL | 0.53 |
| M4 | 203 | 271 | 178 | 201 | 219 | 215 | LHL | 0.33 |
| Average | 219 | 231 | 201 | 226 | 230 | 221 | LHL | 0.43 |

Table 13: Data of Male speakers

| Female Speakers | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{0} \text { in } \\ (\mathrm{HZ} / \mathrm{Sec}) \end{gathered}$ | Slope in (HZ/Sec) | Cross-Sectional Slope of TBU (HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contour of tone | Duration of TBU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \mathbf{2 5} \\ \% \end{array}$ | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| F1 | 307 | 317 | 287 | 291 | 316 | 332 | LH | 0.35 |
| F2 | 343 | 471 | 319 | 331 | 363 | 357 | LHL | 0.33 |
| F3 | 295 | 875 | 291 | 299 | 333 | 252 | LHL | 0.38 |
| F4 | 324 | 347 | 285 | 321 | 348 | 340 | LHL | 0.31 |
| F5 | 282 | 713 | 347 | 372 | 214 | 197 | LHL | 0.38 |
| F6 | 310 | 525 | 274 | 288 | 325 | 356 | LH | 0.24 |
| Average | 310 | 541 | 301 | 317 | 317 | 306 | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{LHL}+ \\ \mathbf{L H} \end{gathered}$ | 0.33 |

Table 14: Data of Female speakers

Sample Data sheet 2: ढाठ / / $\mathbf{a} /$

| Male Speakers | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{F}_{0} \text { in } \\ (\mathbf{H Z} / \text { Sec }) \end{gathered}$ | Slope in (HZ/Sec) | Cross-Sectional Slope of TBU (HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contour of tone | Duration of TBU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| M1 | 159 | 232 | 157 | 139 | 165 | 175 | HLH | 0.48 |
| M2 | 230 | 293 | 231 | 221 | 230 | 237 | HLH | 0.17 |
| M3 | 217 | 229 | 243 | 224 | 224 | 217 | HL | 0.43 |
| M4 | 188 | 245 | 188 | 171 | 191 | 202 | HLH | 0.35 |
| Average | 199 | 250 | 205 | 189 | 203 | 208 | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { HLH + } \\ \text { HL } \end{gathered}$ | 0.36 |

Table 15: Data of Male speakers

| Female Speakers | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{0} \text { in } \\ (\mathrm{HZ} / \mathrm{Sec}) \end{gathered}$ | Slope in (HZ/Sec) | Cross-Sectional Slope of TBU (HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contour of tone | Duration of TBU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| F1 | 271 | 454 | 281 | 252 | 254 | 295 | HLH | 0.39 |
| F2 | 261 | 327 | 274 | 261 | 247 | 262 | HLH | 0.37 |
| F3 | 250 | 536 | 296 | 280 | 227 | 195 | HL | 0.30 |
| F4 | 298 | 382 | 314 | 279 | 294 | 304 | HLH | 0.38 |
| F5 | 346 | 192 | 358 | 331 | 340 | 354 | HLH | 0.42 |
| F6 | 270 | 390 | 275 | 278 | 255 | 272 | HLH | 0.30 |
| Average | 283 | 380 | 300 | 280 | 270 | 280 | $\begin{gathered} \text { HLH + } \\ \text { HL } \end{gathered}$ | 0.36 |

Table 16: Data of Female speakers

Sample Data sheet 3: हमग्ण /vəsá/

| Male Speakers | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{0} \text { in } \\ (\mathrm{HZ} / \mathrm{Sec}) \end{gathered}$ | Slope in (HZ/Sec) | Cross-Sectional Slope of TBU (HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contour of tone | Duration of TBU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| M1 | 166 | 233 | 138 | 163 | 185 | 179 | LHL | 0.37 |
| M2 | 239 | 198 | 220 | 234 | 248 | 257 | LH | 0.39 |
| M3 | 223 | 206 | 218 | 227 | 225 | 224 | LHL | 0.44 |
| M4 | NT |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Average | 209 | 212 | 192 | 208 | 219 | 220 | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{L H L}+ \\ \mathbf{L H} \end{gathered}$ | 0.40 |

Table 17: Data of Male speakers

| Female <br> Speakers | $\mathbf{F}_{\mathbf{0}}$ in <br> $(\mathbf{H Z / S e c})$ | Slope in <br> $(\mathbf{H Z / S e c})$ | Cross-Sectional Slope of <br> $\mathbf{T B U}(\mathbf{H Z / S e c})$ |  |  |  | Contou <br> r of <br> tone | Duration <br> of TBU |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ |  |  |
| F1 | 266 | 318 | 246 | 251 | 271 | 296 | LH | 0.30 |
| F2 | 305 | 392 | 283 | 283 | 309 | 345 | LH | 0.27 |
| F3 | 283 | 465 | 255 | 256 | 286 | 336 | LH | 0.38 |
| F4 | 275 | 435 | 269 | 277 | 289 | 265 | LH | 0.19 |
| F5 | 339 | 230 | 317 | 328 | 349 | 361 | LH | 0.34 |
| F6 | 257 | 232 | 251 | 251 | 261 | 266 | LH | 0.23 |
| Average | $\mathbf{2 8 8}$ | $\mathbf{3 4 5}$ | $\mathbf{2 7 0}$ | $\mathbf{2 7 4}$ | $\mathbf{2 9 4}$ | $\mathbf{3 1 2}$ | LH | $\mathbf{0 . 2 9}$ |

Table 18: Data of Female speakers

Sample Data sheet 4: हिटठेठ /vidəró/

| Male Speakers | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{F}_{0} \text { in } \\ (\mathbf{H Z} / \mathbf{S e c}) \end{gathered}$ | Slope in (HZ/Sec) | Cross-Sectional Slope of TBU (HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contour of tone | Duration of TBU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| M1 | 181 | 194 | 152 | 180 | 199 | 191 | LHL | 0.47 |
| M2 | 246 | 178 | 227 | 245 | 255 | 256 | LH | 0.37 |
| M3 | 231 | 183 | 223 | 238 | 236 | 228 | LHL | 0.35 |
| M4 |  |  |  |  | P |  |  |  |
| Average | 219 | 185 | 201 | 221 | 230 | 225 | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{L H L}+ \\ \mathbf{L H} \end{gathered}$ | 0.40 |

Table 19: Data of Male speakers

| Female Speakers | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{0} \text { in } \\ (\mathrm{HZ} / \mathrm{Sec}) \end{gathered}$ | Slope in (HZ/Sec) | Cross-Sectional Slope of TBU (HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contour of tone | Duration of TBU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| F1 | 281 | 337 | 253 | 267 | 292 | 312 | LH | 0.27 |
| F2 | 303 | 422 | 285 | 290 | 310 | 328 | LH | 0.22 |
| F3 | Non- Tonal |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| F4 | 301 | 284 | 277 | 289 | 315 | 324 | LH | 0.33 |
| F5 | 339 | 232 | 311 | 338 | 354 | 353 | LHL | 0.30 |
| F6 | 298 | 978 | 279 | 282 | 319 | 313 | LHL | 0.18 |
| Average | 304 | 451 | 281 | 293 | 318 | 326 | $\begin{gathered} \hline \mathbf{L H L}+ \\ \mathbf{L H} \end{gathered}$ | 0.26 |

Table 20: Data of Female speakers

## Chapter 3 - Data sheets of Conjuncts of /h/

Sample Data sheet 1: गोম্ভ/gól/

| Male Speakers | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{0} \text { in } \\ (\mathrm{HZ} / \mathrm{Sec}) \end{gathered}$ | Slope in (HZ/Sec) | Cross-Sectional Slope of TBU (HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contour of tone | Duration of TBU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| M1 | 169 | 262 | 140 | 161 | 180 | 195 | LH | 0.06 |
| M2 | 251 | 170 | 230 | 247 | 261 | 267 | LH | 0.04 |
| M3 | 223 | 259 | 195 | 217 | 236 | 245 | LH | 0.12 |
| M4 | 186 | 274 | 158 | 174 | 199 | 214 | LH | 0.11 |
| Average | 207 | 241 | 181 | 200 | 219 | 230 | LH | 0.08 |

Table 21: Data of Male speakers

| Female Speakers | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{0} \text { in } \\ (\mathrm{HZ} / \mathrm{Sec}) \end{gathered}$ | Slope in (HZ/Sec) | Cross-Sectional Slope of TBU (HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contour of tone | Duration of TBU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| F1 | 260 | 246 | 249 | 250 | 262 | 279 | LH | 0.24 |
| F2 | 323 | 259 | 314 | 314 | 321 | 343 | LH | 0.32 |
| F3 | 303 | 277 | 278 | 295 | 312 | 326 | LH | 0.30 |
| F4 | 282 | 147 | 261 | 277 | 292 | 297 | LH | 0.43 |
| F5 | 329 | 186 | 319 | 326 | 332 | 341 | LH | 0.25 |
| F6 | 232 | 143 | 226 | 230 | 232 | 240 | LH | 0.31 |
| Average | 288 | 210 | 275 | 282 | 292 | 304 | LH | 0.31 |

Table 22: Data of Female speakers

Sample Data sheet 2: मস্ডু'মт /solàba/

| Male Speakers | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{0} \text { in } \\ (\mathrm{HZ} / \mathrm{Sec}) \end{gathered}$ | Slope in (HZ/Sec) | Cross-Sectional Slope of TBU (HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contour of tone | Duration of TBU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| M1 | 175 | 415 | 187 | 181 | 173 | 158 | HL | 0.11 |
| M2 | 272 | 226 | 282 | 277 | 269 | 261 | HL | 0.14 |
| M3 | 235 | 268 | 243 | 242 | 235 | 219 | HL | 0.15 |
| M4 | 195 | 423 | 208 | 201 | 192 | 179 | HL | 0.11 |
| Average | 219 | 333 | 230 | 225 | 217 | 204 | HL | 0.13 |

Table 23: Data of Male speakers

| Female Speakers | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{0} \text { in } \\ (\mathrm{HZ} / \mathrm{Sec}) \end{gathered}$ | Slope in (HZ/Sec) | Cross-Sectional Slope of TBU (HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contour of tone | Duration of TBU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| F1 | 276 | 411 | 291 | 286 | 273 | 254 | HL | 0.13 |
| F2 | 304 | 381 | 319 | 311 | 300 | 286 | HL | 0.12 |
| F3 | 317 | 519 | 340 | 328 | 311 | 288 | HL | 0.13 |
| F4 | 253 | 353 | 271 | 258 | 248 | 235 | HL | 0.15 |
| F5 | 334 | 459 | 345 | 343 | 334 | 312 | HL | 0.12 |
| F6 | 283 | 380 | 294 | 292 | 285 | 262 | HL | 0.13 |
| Average | 295 | 417 | 310 | 303 | 292 | 273 | HL | 0.13 |

Table 24: Data of Female speakers


| Male Speakers | $\mathrm{F}_{0}$ in$(\mathrm{HZ} / \mathrm{Sec})$ | Slope in (HZ/Sec) | Cross-Sectional Slope of TBU (HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contour of tone | Duration of TBU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| M1 | 145 | 58 | 148 | 147 | 145 | 143 | HL | 0.18 |
| M2 | 241 | 75 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 240 | HL | 0.18 |
| M3 | IP |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| M4 | 220 | 237 | 220 | 203 | 185 | 178 | HL | 0.22 |
| Average | 203 | 123 | 203 | 197 | 191 | 187 | HL | 0.19 |

Table 25: Data of Male speakers

| Female Speakers | $\underset{(\mathrm{HZ} / \mathrm{S}}{\mathrm{F}_{0} \text { in }}$ <br> ec) | Slope in (HZ/Sec ) | Cross-Sectional Slope of TBU (HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contour of tone | Duration of TBU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| F1 | 270 | 342 | 289 | 282 | 264 | 243 | HL | 0.17 |
| F2 | 293 | 171 | 303 | 293 | 290 | 289 | HL | 0.19 |
| F3 | 285 | 153 | 295 | 288 | 282 | 278 | HL | 0.17 |
| F4 | 228 | 313 | 240 | 226 | 222 | 219 | HL | 0.21 |
| F5 | 287 | 192 | 291 | 289 | 285 | 283 | HL | 0.20 |
| F6 | 218 | 121 | 226 | 220 | 215 | 212 | HL | 0.23 |
| Average | 264 | 215 | 274 | 266 | 260 | 254 | HL | 0.20 |

Table 26: Data of Female speakers

Sample Data sheet 4: गי्लुइ /galór/

| Male Speakers | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{0} \text { in } \\ (\mathrm{HZ} / \mathrm{Sec}) \end{gathered}$ | Slope in (HZ/Sec) | Cross-Sectional Slope of TBU (HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contour of tone | Duration of TBU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| M1 | 204 | 264 | 202 | 204 | 206 | 202 | LHL | 0.09 |
| M2 | 282 | 143 | 282 | 286 | 283 | 279 | LHL | 0.11 |
| M3 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| M4 | 212 | 101 | 212 | 214 | 212 | 211 | LHL | 0.09 |
| Average | 233 | 169 | 232 | 235 | 234 | 231 | LHL | 0.10 |

Table 27: Data of Male speakers

| Female <br> Speakers | $\mathbf{F}_{\mathbf{0}}$ in <br> $(\mathbf{H Z / S e c})$ | Slope in <br> $(\mathbf{H Z / S e c})$ | Cross-Sectional Slope of <br> $\mathbf{T B U}(\mathbf{H Z / S e c})$ |  |  |  | Contour <br> of tone | Duration <br> of TBU |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ |  |  |
| F1 | 304 | 554 | 282 | 297 | 309 | 327 | LH | 0.11 |
| F2 | 344 | 560 | 326 | 338 | 347 | 365 | LH | 0.11 |
| F3 | 355 | 135 | 355 | 358 | 357 | 351 | LHL | 0.16 |
| F4 | 292 | 158 | 284 | 290 | 294 | 298 | LH | 0.13 |
| F5 | 341 | 260 | 331 | 335 | 344 | 356 | LH | 0.12 |
| F6 | 284 | 283 | 277 | 281 | 288 | 292 | LH | 0.14 |
| Average | $\mathbf{3 2 0}$ | $\mathbf{3 2 5}$ | $\mathbf{3 0 9}$ | $\mathbf{3 1 7}$ | $\mathbf{3 2 3}$ | $\mathbf{3 3 2}$ | LH <br> +LHL | $\mathbf{0 . 1 3}$ |

Table 28: Data of Female speakers

Sample Data sheet 5: ర్ర్త / th ${ }^{\text {thlá/ }}$

| Male Speakers | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{0} \text { in } \\ (\mathrm{HZ} / \mathrm{Sec}) \end{gathered}$ | Slope in (HZ/Sec) | Cross-Sectional Slope of TBU (HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contour of tone | Duration of TBU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| M1 | 197 | 179 | 196 | 198 | 197 | 196 | LHL | 0.20 |
| M2 | IP |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| M3 | IP |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| M4 | 215 | 67 | 215 | 217 | 216 | 213 | LHL | 0.24 |
| Average | 206 | 123 | 206 | 208 | 207 | 205 | LHL | 0.22 |

Table 29: Data of Male speakers

| Female Speakers | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{0} \text { in } \\ (\mathrm{HZ} / \mathrm{Sec}) \end{gathered}$ | Slope in (HZ/Sec) | Cross-Sectional Slope of TBU (HZ/Sec) |  |  |  | Contou $r$ of tone | Duration of TBU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% | 25\% |  |  |
| F1 | 322 | 140 | 310 | 321 | 328 | 329 | LH | 0.21 |
| F2 | 309 | 129 | 302 | 304 | 312 | 320 | LH | 0.23 |
| F3 | 340 | 267 | 326 | 332 | 346 | 359 | LH | 0.21 |
| F4 | 287 | 188 | 280 | 289 | 291 | 288 | LHL | 0.14 |
| F5 | 351 | 112 | 351 | 353 | 350 | 350 | LHL | 0.27 |
| F6 | 325 | 253 | 309 | 323 | 335 | 335 | LH | 0.14 |
| Average | 322 | 182 | 313 | 320 | 327 | 330 | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{L H L}+ \\ \mathbf{L H} \end{gathered}$ | 0.20 |

Table 30: Data of Female speakers

## Appendix C- GRAPHS

## Chapter 3- Graphs of Tonemes

1. ढम्पी tǎi/


Fig 1: Male pitch sample


Fig 3: Male formant sample


Fig 2: Female pitch sample


Fig 4: Female formant sample

## 2. यिभrত /tìan/



Fig 5: Male pitch sample


Fig 7: Male formant sample


Fig 6: Female pitch sample


Fig 8: Female formant sample

## 3. छैपगय्ट्ट /tfodárpona/



Fig 9: Male pitch sample


Fig 11: Male formant sample


Fig 10: Female pitch sample


Fig 12: Female formant sample

## 4. S्= ${ }^{\text {in }} / \mathrm{pù̀d/}$



Fig 13: Male pitch sample


Fig 15: Male formant sample


Fig 14: Female pitch sample



Fig 16: Female formant sample

## 5. চিত'ট্তিटा/nibàona/



Fig 17: Male pitch sample


Fig 19: Male formant sample

Fig 18: Female pitch sample


Fig 20: Female formant sample

## 6. Ёंढटा/từqóna/



Fig 21: Male pitch sample

Fig 23: Male formant sample



Fig 22: Female pitch sample


Fig 24: Female formant sample
7. ठम्मयन्ठी/namtàri/


Fig 25: Male pitch sample


Fig 27: Male formant sample


Fig 26: Female pitch sample


Fig 28: Female formant sample

## 



Fig 29: Male pitch sample

Fig 31: Male formant sample



Fig 30: Female pitch sample


Fig 32: Female formant sample

## 9. ट्रीीभr/dudîa/



Fig 33: Male pitch sample


Fig 35: Male formant sample


Fig 34: Female pitch sample

Fig 36: Female formant sample

## 10. मुइए্গ /sǔdza/



Fig 37: Male pitch sample


Fig 38: Female pitch sample


Fig 39: Male formant sample

Fig 40: Female formant sample
11. मुइా्टी/sud3ǎi/


Fig 41: Male pitch sample


Fig 43: Male formant sample
12. ठिय्य'्म/nigǎs/


Fig 45: Male pitch sample


Fig 42: Female pitch sample


Fig 44: Female formant sample


Fig 46: Female pitch sample


Fig 47: Male formant sample

## 



Fig 49: Male pitch sample


Fig 51: Male formant sample


Fig 48: Female formant sample


Fig 50: Female pitch sample


Fig 52: Female formant sample

## 14. यूप'ठ /prədǎn/



Fig 53: Male pitch sample


Fig 55: Male formant sample


Fig 54: Female formant sample


Fig 56: Female formant sample

## Chapter 3- Graphs of Consonent /h/

1. हाठ /vá/


Fig 57: Male pitch sample


Fig 59: Male formant sample


Fig 58: Female pitch sample


Fig 60: Female formant sample
2. मரि $/ \mathbf{s} \hat{\varepsilon} /$


Fig 61: Male pitch sample


Fig 63: Male formant sample
3. ढेठ / tô/


Fig 65: Male pitch sample


Fig 62: Female pitch sample


Fig 64: Female formant sample


Fig 66: Female pitch sample


Fig 67: Male formant sample


Fig 68: Female formant sample

## 4. उठ'ण /tərá/



Fig 69: Male pitch sample


Fig 71: Male formant sample


Fig 70: Female pitch sample


Fig 72: Female formant sample

Chapter 3- Graphs of Conjuncts of /h/

1. गोट्ड /gól/


Fig 73: Male pitch sample


Fig 75: Male formant sample


Fig 74: Female pitch sample


Fig 76: Female formant sample

## 



Fig 77: Male pitch sample


Fig 78: Female pitch sample


Fig 79: Male formant sample

## 3. मिंగुष्ट / sĩnə́na/



Fig 81: Male pitch sample


Fig 83: Male formant sample


Fig 80: Female formant sample


Fig 82: Female pitch sample


Fig 84: Female formant sample
4. यふ্ృృ


Fig 85: Male pitch sample


Fig 87: Male formant sample
5. यङ্ৰিभr/pəría/


Fig 89: Male pitch sample


Fig 86: Female pitch sample


Fig 88: Female formant sample


Fig 90: Female pitch sample


Fig 91: Male formant sample

## 6. यふ़ुग्पी /pərâi/



Fig 93: Male pitch sample


Fig 95: Male formant sample


Fig 92: Female formant sample


Fig 94: Female pitch sample


Fig 96: Female formant sample

## Chapter 3- MATLAB code for plotting Independent tone graphs

[x,fs]=wavread('C:\Users\tempS\Desktop\Matlablchidak.wav');
$\mathrm{y}=\mathrm{x}(:, 1)$;
[fx, tt]=fxrapt(y,fs,'u');
subplot(2,1,1),plot(y)
hold on
subplot(2,1,2),plot(fx)

## Appendix D - ANNEXURES

## Chapter 4 - Experimental Study of Lexical Stress

## Annexure I

## Di-syllabic non-tonal words



| S. No. | Word |  | Syllabic weight |  |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| stress ( $\mathbf{s}_{\mathbf{i}}$ in \%) |  |  |  |  |$]$.


| S. No. | Word | Syllabic weight |  | Intra-syllabic stress ( $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{i}}$ in \%) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | s1 | s2 |  |
| 54. | ढीउए /p ${ }^{\text {hita/ }}$ | 63.3 | 66.96 | 5.78 |
| 55. | उ'घ̇ /tãba/ | 58.74 | 61.42 | 4.56 |
| 56. | वंटा /kãta/ | 58.52 | 63.27 | 8.12 |
| 57. | चंटी /ťãdi/ | 60.21 | 62.17 | 3.26 |
| 58. | บैंडी /p c ti/ | 59 | 63 | 6.78 |
| 59. | भुำगी /mũgi/ | 59.63 | 62.48 | 4.78 |
| 60. | ठ'वठ /thakər/ | 61.2 | 64.87 | 6.00 |
| 61. | ધ'उठ/k ${ }^{\text {hatər/ }}$ | 60.5 | 63.65 | 5.21 |
| 62. | भrवइ/akər/ | 60.63 | 64.75 | 6.80 |
| 63. | ठర'గट/tfanəŋ | 64.77 | 66.75 | 3.06 |
| 64. |  | 64.41 | 63.71 | -1.09 |
| 65. | घ'प্ডু /balək/ | 59.39 | 63.26 | 6.52 |
| 66. | माठ /sara/ | 59.72 | 64.03 | 7.22 |
| 67. | भُㅜती /mũdzi/ | 62.85 | 65.3 | 3.90 |
| 68. | ठ'्टी/rani/ | 61.37 | 66.79 | 8.83 |
| 69. | वए्ठถ্ / kaphla | 61.68 | 66.07 | 7.12 |
| 70. | तीटा / ḑinina/ | 58.23 | 64.87 | 11.40 |
| 71. | धीठ /khira/ | 63.02 | 65.37 | 3.73 |
| 72. | गाי्ठी /gani/ | 63.38 | 67.27 | 6.14 |
| 73. | मीट्/sina/ | 61.07 | 65.69 | 7.57 |
| 74. |  | 64.3 | 66.41 | 3.28 |
| 75. | भज్= /məjur/ | 62.01 | 63.15 | 1.84 |
| 76. | চচ্ড'व/tfəlak/ | 61.83 | 60.23 | -2.59 |
| 77. | जवीठ/jəkin/ | 59.35 | 63.38 | 6.79 |
| 78. | निमיघ /hisab/ | 62.19 | 62.43 | 0.39 |
| 79. | घत्तr /bəzar/ | 58.11 | 59.56 | 2.50 |
| 80. | भठीत /mərid3/ | 63.13 | 62.56 | -0.90 |
| 81. | वठीघ /kərib/ | 61.89 | 61.56 | -0.53 |
| 82. |  | 59.62 | 60.16 | 0.91 |
| 83. | भवएי्ड/2kal/ | 59.4 | 62.01 | 4.39 |


| S. No. | Word | Syllabic weight |  | Intra-syllabic stress ( $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{i}}$ in \%) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | s1 | s2 |  |
| 84. | ขढीभ/2p ${ }^{\text {him }}$ / | 60.52 | 64.71 | 6.92 |
| 85. | Qउउ'इ/vtar/ | 60.75 | 63.11 | 3.88 |
| 86. |  | 61.58 | 63.29 | 2.78 |
| 87. | भमיठ/osan/ | 60.6 | 63.27 | 4.41 |
| 88. | भमीठ /omir/ | 61.39 | 65.56 | 6.79 |
| 89. | तघ'ర/ḑ / | 59.84 | 63.97 | 6.90 |
| 90. |  | 62.78 | 65.36 | 4.11 |
| 91. | भैत्रुट/mっḑud/ | 59.8 | 59.36 | -0.74 |
| 92. | टेटांड/vedãt/ | 59.25 | 60.38 | 1.91 |
| 93. | पीमा'/iman/ | 66.57 | 67.39 | 1.23 |
| 94. | घेठउी/benti/ | 57.11 | 61.75 | 8.12 |
| 95. | मउइट्ठ/mordar/ | 60.02 | 62.43 | 4.02 |

## Annexure II

## Di－syllabic Supra－Laryngeal tonal words

| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | Word | Syllabic weight |  | Intra－syllabic stress（ $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{i}}$ in \％） |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | s1 | s2 |  |
| 1 |  | 68.47 | 58.63 | －14．36 |
| 2 | யठ（／kə̀r／） | 66.64 | 57.57 | －13．60 |
| 3 | 民ॅॅटी（／kiggi／） | 68.94 | 60.92 | －11．63 |
| 4 | इিइ又（／tiripk） | 70.20 | 63.04 | －10．20 |
| 5 | प्रंగी（／tờn／） | 72.25 | 65.41 | －9．46 |
| 6 | येघी（／tòbi／） | 69.67 | 63.29 | －9．15 |
| 7 |  | 68.07 | 62.94 | －7．53 |
| 8 | डैडीउ（／pèbit／） | 66.94 | 62.23 | －7．04 |
| 9 | もठिषா（／t̀̀hıa／） | 68.39 | 63.61 | －6．99 |
| 10 | ठाप्या（／tàba） | 67.74 | 63.00 | －6．99 |
| 11 | ひ్ఞీరT（／kừm／） | 70.08 | 65.39 | －6．70 |
| 12 | युगी（／kàhi／） | 65.78 | 61.38 | －6．69 |
| 13 | इॅठ（／tfògg） | 67.76 | 63.77 | －5．88 |
| 14 | दिए | 70.43 | 66.31 | －5．85 |
| 15 | யহ̧（／kàd／） | 67.06 | 63.22 | －5．73 |
| 16 | यठग（／tวेəəm／） | 69.67 | 66.09 | －5．13 |
| 17 | Шॅटा／kòta／ | 67.74 | 64.33 | －5．05 |
| 18 | उमभ（／pə̀səm／） | 70.01 | 66.47 | －5．05 |
| 19 | ひेठ／kèra／ | 66.07 | 62.76 | －5．01 |
| 20 | इ＇＞ी（／tföli／） | 68.71 | 65.40 | －4．81 |
| 21 | ひّ女్మ／kòli／ | 68.06 | 65.34 | －3．99 |
| 22 | इ్రटT（／fùùa／） | 66.34 | 63.90 | －3．68 |
| 23 | ढॅवट（／†̀̀kkəŋ） | 68.76 | 66.27 | －3．63 |
| 24 | इ＇नठ（／ffằḑ ər／） | 66.01 | 63.74 | －3．43 |
| 25 | ひูंछी（／kừd／） | 67.65 | 65.60 | －3．04 |


| S．No． | Word | Syllabic weight |  | Intra－syllabic stress（ $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{i}}$ in \％） |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | s1 | s2 |  |
| 26 | इ＇ड్三（／tfàdu／） | 67.23 | 65.28 | －2．90 |
| 27 | ふंगी（／paั̀gi／） | 69.44 | 67.65 | －2．57 |
| 28 | पర్म్（／tı̀nđf／） | 70.15 | 68.41 | －2．49 |
| 29 | थेञा（／kòda／） | 65.35 | 64.27 | －1．65 |
| 30 | य్లరठర（／kùrəna／） | 66.31 | 65.22 | －1．64 |
| 31 | इंडा／tfò̀da／ | 66.03 | 65.07 | －1．46 |
| 32 | ชิंड़（／poั̀du／） | 68.96 | 68.05 | －1．31 |
| 33 | पరाढ्ప（／tònad／） | 65.96 | 65.53 | －0．64 |
| 34 |  | 66.58 | 66.84 | 0.38 |
| 35 | वढ＇प्टी（／kədái／） | 66.85 | 67.18 | 0.50 |
| 36 | वंप्प्पी（／kว̃dúi／） | 68.95 | 69.71 | 1.11 |
| 37 | मुइాप्टी（／sudzái／） | 65.73 | 66.49 | 1.15 |
| 38 | मुइञ्भ（／sud3áa／） | 66.23 | 66.99 | 1.15 |
| 39 | गंडीठ | 64.34 | 65.65 | 2.04 |
| 40 | तिथा＇्म（／nıgás／） | 65.49 | 67.56 | 3.16 |
| 41 | 丩ूप＇ठ（／prədán／） | 68.56 | 70.98 | 3.52 |
| 42 | मंयी（／sz̃dí） | 65.11 | 67.52 | 3.70 |
| 43 | ఫ్ర̇ंढी（／t）ũdí／） | 70.19 | 73.04 | 4.06 |
| 44 |  | 63.15 | 65.91 | 4.37 |
| 45 | নিসহিभ（／rımd3ìm／） | 65.43 | 68.81 | 5.16 |
| 46 | ठ＇ठी（／nabi／） | 62.15 | 65.43 | 5.29 |
| 47 | ट＇उा（／tobá／） | 65.12 | 68.63 | 5.39 |
| 48 | भగप్రহ（ənkə́r） | 62.84 | 66.34 | 5.57 |
| 49 | भइ¢（／əd3dろə́k／） | 62.87 | 66.84 | 6.30 |
| 50 | भठिभग्म（abias） | 62.53 | 66.70 | 6.67 |
| 51 | मींढष्प（／sĩḑ́l／） | 65.64 | 70.09 | 6.78 |
| 52 | भयठ（／mədúr／） | 63.35 | 68.53 | 8.18 |
| 53 | గिठすै（／nırbé／） | 63.07 | 68.23 | 8.19 |
| 54 | צ゙्या（／k $\mathrm{k}^{\text {adá／}}$ ） | 59.90 | 64.85 | 8.26 |


| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | Word | Syllabic weight |  | Intra-syllabic stress ( $\mathrm{s}_{\mathrm{i}}$ in \%) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | s1 | s2 |  |
| 55 | च్ర్ लॅड / durláb / | 63.12 | 69.30 | 9.79 |
| 56 | टइडт (/də¢bá) | 63.47 | 70.15 | 10.53 |
| 57 | ड్ర"उठ | 60.44 | 67.51 | 11.70 |
| 58 | गाया (/gədá) | 60.85 | 68.08 | 11.88 |
| 59 | भॅया (/əddá) | 57.53 | 64.54 | 12.19 |
| 60 | गुॅया (/guddá) | 59.95 | 67.65 | 12.83 |
| 61 | गुभケ'もट (/gvã¢' \!) | 62.04 | 70.10 | 12.99 |
| 62 | घींढल /bǐ¢ $1 /$ | 62.10 | 70.85 | 14.09 |
| 63 | ड्रीhभr (/dudia/) | 59.53 | 68.02 | 14.26 |
| 64 | घ̇ँEr (/buddá/) | 58.70 | 67.08 | 14.29 |
| 65 | नॉया (/giddá) | 58.03 | 66.41 | 14.45 |
| 66 | ट̌ǔ (/Idd ̀ेr/) | 59.53 | 71.70 | 20.45 |

## Annexure III

Di-syllabic laryngeal words

| S. No. | Word | Stress (s1) | Stress (s2) | \%age increase of stress ( $\mathbf{s}_{\mathrm{i}}$ ) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | मग'प्टि/səhark/ | 64.62 | 62.63 | -3.07 |
| 2. | मЈ'्पी /səhai/ | 64.89 | 62.92 | -3.04 |
| 3. | પহुग्पी / pərài/ | 68.4 | 67.23 | -1.7 |
| 4. | मரित /s\&həd3/ | 62.76 | 62.8 | 0.07 |
| 5. | गैट्ठ/hevan/ | 61.58 | 61.89 | 0.5 |
| 6. | मगठिय /saheb/ | 62.52 | 62.95 | 0.69 |
| 7. | ЈЈढ / hotf ${ }^{\text {ha/ }}$ | 63.57 | 64.26 | 1.07 |
| 8. | मेंगठ / Coh / | 64.53 | 65.23 | 1.09 |
| 9. | गत्तठ /had3ər/ | 60.64 | 61.58 | 1.55 |
| 10. | ग्=ठ /hura/ | 63 | 64.19 | 1.89 |
| 11. | भठिट /Ehəd/ | 62.34 | 63.57 | 1.98 |
| 12. | भागठ/ahər/ | 63 | 64.65 | 2.61 |
| 13. | भेगठ /ohər/ | 63.55 | 65.85 | 3.62 |
| 14. | उघाठ/təbá/ | 61.73 | 64.39 | 4.31 |
| 15. | उठण्र/tərá/ | 64.16 | 67.15 | 4.66 |
| 16. | गीटठ /hitər/ | 61.1 | 65.15 | 6.63 |
| 17. | यక్তিभr / pr cia/ | 64.4 | 69.16 | 7.39 |
| 18. | ర్ర<్খ /tholá/ | 63.64 | 69.31 | 8.91 |
| 19. | टमग्ठ/vəsá/ | 58.9 | 64.84 | 10.8 |
| 20. | प्टिगठां/énã/ | 60.81 | 68.02 | 11.87 |
| 21. | भागप्ड /ála/ | 54.61 | 61.31 | 12.28 |
| 22. | गाיप्पुइ / galór/ | 60.69 | 68.6 | 13.04 |
| 23. |  | 60.89 | 69.27 | 13.75 |
| 24. | तिম్ర̧ट/dıılóఇ/ | 58.8 | 67.5 | 14.8 |

## Annexure IV

## Tri-syllabic non-tonal words

| S. No. | Word | Stress <br> (s1) | Stress (s2) | Stress (s3) | $s 3-s 2 / s 2 * 100$ $(\%$ age increase of stress $\left(s_{i}\right)$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | घेमिटव <br> /besıdək/ | 60.60 | 62.31 | 61.39 | -1.48 |
| 2. | वम्नरम <br> /kə m əkə「/ | 60.90 | 61.80 | 61.16 | -1.04 |
| 3. | उँघ' <br> /tõbaku/ | 56.74 | 58.13 | 57.54 | -1.01 |
| 4. | वेगत्यट <br> /korapən/ | 59.21 | 62.27 | 62.43 | 0.26 |
| 5. | उउवठ <br> /tatkəra/ | 58.59 | 62.73 | 63.56 | 1.33 |
| 6. | इग्टांइेप्ड <br> /davãdol/ | 54.82 | 59.76 | 60.75 | 1.65 |
| 7. | तচיুত <br> /dzalalat/ | 55.87 | 58.32 | 59.31 | 1.69 |
| 8. | ठौठग'ऩतन <br> /gerhadzər/ | 57.28 | 59.10 | 60.33 | 2.08 |
| 9. | टीव'वग <br> /tikakar/ | 58.96 | 62.03 | 63.78 | 2.82 |
| 10. | चिस्ममची <br>  | 62.27 | 62.64 | 64.51 | 2.98 |
| 11. | घेम्नवल <br> /befakəl/ | 55.97 | 57.34 | 59.05 | 2.99 |
| 12. | तघ तहُंड <br> /dzobənvãt/ | 56.12 | 60.06 | 62.00 | 3.24 |
| 13. | छिल़ूटट्ट /ultəna/ | 59.18 | 62.71 | 65.00 | 3.66 |
| 14. | टिवट्ट /tıkəna/ | 60.17 | 62.03 | 64.48 | 3.95 |
| 15. | उयेघट <br> /təpobən/ | 58.19 | 59.70 | 62.08 | 3.98 |
| 16. | भवठみव <br> /əkərmək/ | 54.69 | 59.99 | 62.84 | 4.75 |


| S. No. | Word | Stress <br> (s1) | Stress (s2) | Stress (s3) | $\begin{gathered} s 3-s 2 / s 2 * 100 \\ \text { \%age increase of } \\ \text { stress }\left(s_{i}\right) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 17. | म्ठ उअंट <br> /surətmə̃d/ | 60.92 | 60.98 | 63.88 | 4.75 |
| 18. | चिलगोत्रा <br> /tfilgoza/ | 59.51 | 56.84 | 59.71 | 5.05 |
| 19. | वי्ডयतिव <br> /kalpənık/ | 58.67 | 58.94 | 62.02 | 5.24 |
| 20. | येম্ডவट /polapən/ | 62.17 | 59.44 | 62.62 | 5.36 |
| 21. | ठीसॅ उट <br> /nilettən/ | 58.30 | 57.70 | 60.91 | 5.56 |
| 22. | यग्गटठम्न /pardər•2k | 58.77 | 56.08 | 59.42 | 5.96 |
| 23. | तहेटन <br> /dzəlodər/ | 56.62 | 57.71 | 61.78 | 7.05 |
| 24. | भभिउा <br> /2mita/ | 56.52 | 59.18 | 63.63 | 7.53 |
| 25. | प्टिरॅउठ <br> /Ikəttər/ | 56.09 | 59.67 | 64.49 | 8.08 |
| 26. | П्= /rupãtrar/ | 56.99 | 58.06 | 63.02 | 8.54 |
| 27. | भमढल /əsəp ${ }^{\mathrm{h}}$ əl/ | 56.84 | 59.24 | 64.45 | 8.78 |
| 28. | Bितठउ /vd3ərat/ | 56.48 | 56.59 | 61.56 | 8.79 |
| 29. | तग्गा <br> /dзagəna/ | 54.65 | 55.44 | 61.14 | 10.26 |
| 30. | घुम्नटिक्डी <br> /k ${ }^{\text {h }}$ Udrili/ | 65.13 | 61.95 | 68.68 | 10.85 |

## Annexure V

## Tri－syllabic Supra－Laryngeal tonal words

| S．No． | Word | IPA | Stress （s1） | Stress （s2） | Stress （s3） | s3－s2／s2＊100 <br> \％age increase of stress（ $\mathbf{s}_{\mathrm{i}}$ ） |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | मृंखे | ／sõdóla／ | 65.54 | 67.59 | 64.52 | －4．54 |
| 2. | उम्＝री＊ | ／p＇suri／ | 69.71 | 68.98 | 66.35 | －3．8 |
| 3. | たिढेठ＊ | ／（̂̀̀dora／ | 68.1 | 67.22 | 65.42 | －2．68 |
| 4. | मयगठ | ／sədárən／ | 66.17 | 67.18 | 65.57 | －2．41 |
| 5. | भंयेठ | ／ãdè ra／ | 64.25 | 67.93 | 66.71 | －1．79 |
| 6. |  | ／nıbauna／ | 65.54 | 68.37 | 67.45 | －1．34 |
| 7. | तिय্যगठ | ／nıgárna／ | 63.08 | 65.41 | 64.96 | －0．68 |
| 8. | घुढा | ／budápa／ | 61.59 | 65.56 | 65.2 | －0．55 |
| 9. | Јँटमग | ／hõdว́nsar／ | 61.14 | 67.09 | 67.44 | 0.52 |
| 10. |  | ／gidzáuna／ | 60.67 | 66.54 | 67.43 | 1.34 |
| 11. | उं्यC官 | ／tãgòrę／ | 64.22 | 67.48 | 69.02 | 2.28 |
| 12. | यंयठరा | ／pãgàrna／ | 62.76 | 66.53 | 68.72 | 3.28 |
| 13. | Өिंप्यट्ट | ／ũgə́na／ | 62.83 | 66.95 | 70.07 | 4.65 |
| 14. | मंढट्ट | sã¢ ¢ ¢a／ | 64.12 | 68.19 | 71.43 | 4.75 |
| 15. | इవट्ट＊ | ／ţökəı／ | 69.74 | 62.75 | 66.1 | 5.33 |
| 16. | ड्रिमृटाण्ठ＊ | ／prìjtatfar／ | 68.13 | 63.8 | 67.29 | 5.46 |
| 17. | मांशीटाठ | ／sãdzídar／ | 59.21 | 62.06 | 65.89 | 6.18 |
| 18. | तियुठర | ／nıgə́rna／ | 62.63 | 64.37 | 68.44 | 6.33 |
| 19. | गांयচு | ／gã¢＇la／ | 61.93 | 67.47 | 72.15 | 6.93 |
| 20. | घंटถा | ／từd la／ | 67.86 | 63.23 | 68.14 | 7.76 |
| 21. | इगइన＊ | ／tfògra／ | 68.36 | 61.11 | 66.32 | 8.53 |
| 22. | ईैं |  | 68.09 | 60.65 | 66.15 | 9.06 |
| 23. | ®उइघ్రu | ／vdzábùg／ | 62.6 | 59.01 | 64.52 | 9.34 |
| 24. | 太ॅतटr＊ | ／pìdzdzəna ／ | 70.61 | 61.5 | 69.64 | 13.23 |
| 25. | 历ॅত¢্য | ／ləbbə̀na／ | 61.65 | 63.27 | 72.02 | 13.83 |


| S. No. | Word | IPA | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { Stress } \\ (\text { s1 }) \end{gathered}$ | Stress (s2) | Stress (s3) | s3-s2/s2*100 \%age increase of stress ( $\mathbf{s}_{\mathrm{i}}$ ) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 26. | घ్ర్হष्ट | /bud3dzón a/ | 58.7 | 62.72 | 71.42 | 13.87 |
| 27. | वियें | /kı¢' 「õ/ | 65.08 | 62.83 | 71.92 | 14.47 |
| 28. | Aॅ इट्' | /זıd3dzóņa/ | 60.21 | 61.61 | 71.77 | 16.49 |

## Annexure VI

## Tri-syllabic laryngeal words

| $\begin{gathered} \text { S. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | Word | Syllabic weight |  |  | Intra-syllabic stress (si in $\%)$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | s1 | s2 | s3 |  |
| 1. | मญ్ర'घ্ /solàba/ | 66.43 | 67.81 | 62.37 | -8.03 |
| 2. |  | 62.01 | 64.04 | 62.75 | -2.02 |
| 3. | पिडिग /r /itehas/ | 61.53 | 64.86 | 63.92 | -1.46 |
| 4. | पिमडडिग्ठ/Iftehar/ | 59.64 | 64.78 | 64.07 | -1.09 |
| 5. |  | 59.74 | 62.14 | 62.61 | 0.76 |
| 6. | पिभउिउיס/imtehan/ | 64.65 | 66.21 | 66.91 | 1.05 |
| 7. | मुगिड्डउ / /Ehətut/ | 67.67 | 67.58 | 68.29 | 1.05 |
| 8. | मुगेप्ल /sohela/ | 63.81 | 63.79 | 65.05 | 1.98 |
| 9. | मिगउर्भंट/sehətəmว̃d/ | 66.37 | 66.38 | 68.14 | 2.65 |
| 10. | मठिमुठт /sèsubà/ | 59.25 | 60.36 | 62.09 | 2.87 |
| 11. | मगगठర /soharna/ | 64.63 | 63.03 | 64.92 | 3.00 |
| 12. | ग=बटए/hukəna/ | 59.39 | 62.58 | 64.48 | 3.03 |
| 13. | ग्रচ্ডי'/hulara/ | 59.82 | 60.86 | 62.90 | 3.35 |
| 14. | मुग्टी / /ahədi/ | 63.43 | 63.13 | 65.25 | 3.37 |
| 15. | मिगठ /sehəra/ | 66.58 | 66.54 | 69.36 | 4.25 |
| 16. | मग'प्टिउT/səhata/ | 64.25 | 63.10 | 65.81 | 4.30 |
| 17. | मुगटा/sohəna/ | 65.38 | 67.45 | 70.43 | 4.42 |
| 18. | मगיס/səhara/ | 63.82 | 62.40 | 65.25 | 4.57 |
| 19. | Јैमीभड /hesiət/ | 58.83 | 61.99 | 65.01 | 4.86 |
| 20. | मिंగुट//sinóna/ | 64.17 | 66.98 | 70.42 | 5.14 |
| 21. |  | 63.45 | 67.79 | 71.43 | 5.36 |
| 22. | भटिम又 /ohĩsək/ | 61.44 | 61.42 | 65.00 | 5.83 |
| 23. |  | 66.01 | 68.26 | 72.90 | 6.80 |
| 24. | fिभ'্ठธ /himatf1/ | 60.56 | 59.63 | 63.82 | 7.02 |
| 25. | चिवएप्टिडी /hrkarti/ | 58.76 | 59.48 | 63.95 | 7.51 |
| 26. | Чभृटी/k²móni/ | 59.33 | 64.62 | 70.46 | 9.03 |
| 27. |  | 63.98 | 63.74 | 69.99 | 9.81 |
| 28. | हिटठेठ/vidəró/ | 58.60 | 57.60 | 67.74 | 17.61 |

## Annexure VII

## Poly-syllabic words

| S. No. | Word | Syllabic weight |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | s1 | s2 | s3 | s4 | 55 |
| 1. | भविठिभ'ग्मील /2krrafil/ | 58.52 | 59.53 | 60.67 | 57.58 | - |
| 2. | ఫ్ల丩'उठర /rupãtərən/ | 55.43 | 57.99 | 60.85 | 60.31 | - |
| 3. |  | 56.95 | 61.63 | 62.08 | 61.53 | - |
| 4. |  | 57.94 | 59.80 | 62.28 | 62.56 | 62.25 |
| 5. | गुतठंट्टי्ு /gudurãvala/ | 54.22 | 51.92 | 60.39 | 62.07 | 62.20 |
| 6. | ठ'व'घंदी /nakabãdi/ | 57.07 | 61.28 | 60.08 | 60.95 | - |
| 7. |  | 53.71 | 57.01 | 60.82 | 61.85 | - |
| 8. | मैंटीमीटठ/sẽtimitor/ | 58.04 | 62.21 | 61.10 | 62.21 | - |
| 9. | Вिठाठरंघी /vgərpãt ${ }^{\text {i}}$ / | 51.81 | 58.96 | 60.73 | 62.69 | - |
| 10. | В | 57.40 | 58.04 | 57.13 | 60.30 | 63.39 |
| 11. | चेउग्टटी/tfetavəni/ | 58.36 | 59.19 | 59.35 | 62.75 | - |
| 12. | माभठ्तह्टी /samrad3vadi/ | 58.09 | 61.49 | 56.60 | 54.06 | 60.73 |

## Chapter 6 - Correlation of Morpho-Syntactic features with lexical representation and its co-articulation

## Annexure I

## POS for Punjabi

| S. No. | Categories |  |  | Label | Annotation |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Top-level | Sub-type level 1 | Sub-type level 2 |  |  |
| 1 | Noun |  |  | N | N |
| 1.1 |  | Common |  | NN | N__NN |
| 1.2 |  | Proper |  | NNP | N_NNP |
| 1.4 |  | Nloc |  | NST | N_NST |
| 2 | Pronoun |  |  | PR | PR |
| 2.1 |  | Personal |  | PRP | PR_PRP |
| 2.2 |  | Reflexive |  | PRF | PR_PRF |
| 2.3 |  | Relative |  | PRL | PR_PRL |
| 2.4 |  | Reciprocal |  | PRC | PR__PRC |
| 2.5 |  | Wh-word |  | PRQ | PR_PRQ |
| 2.6 |  | Indefinite |  | PRI | PR_PRI |
| 3 | Verb |  |  | V | V |
| 3.1 |  | Main |  | VM | V__VM |
| 3.1.2 |  |  | Non-finite | VNF | V__VM_VNF |
| 3.1.3 |  |  | Infinitive | VINF | V__VM__VINF |
| 3.1.4 |  |  | Gerund | VNG | V__VM__VNG |
| 3.2 |  | Auxiliary |  | VAUX | V__VAUX |
| 4 | Adjective |  |  | JJ |  |
| 5 | Adverb |  |  | RB |  |
| 6 | Demonstrative |  |  | DM | DM |
| 6.1 |  | Deictic |  | DMD | DM__DMD |
| 6.2 |  | Relative |  | DMR | DM__DMR |
| 6.3 |  | Wh-word |  | DMQ | DM__DMQ |
| 6.4 |  | indefinite |  | DMI | DM_DMI |
| 7 | Postposition |  |  | PSP |  |


| S. No. | Categories | Label | Annotation <br> Convention | Label | Annotation <br> Convention |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| $\mathbf{8}$ | Conjunction |  |  | CC | CC |
| 8.1 |  | Co-ordinator |  | CCD | CC__CCD |
| 8.2 |  | Subordinator |  | CCS | CC__CCS |
| $\mathbf{9}$ | Particles |  |  | RP | RP |
| 9.1 |  | Default |  | RPD | RP__RPD |
| 9.2 |  | Classifier |  | CL | RP__C |
| 9.3 |  | Interjection |  | INJ | RP__INJ |
| 9.4 |  | Intensifier |  | INTF | RP__INTF |
| 9.5 |  | Negation |  | NEG | RP__NEG |
| $\mathbf{1 0}$ | Quantifiers |  |  | QT | QT |
| 10.1 |  | General |  | QTF | QT__QTF |
| 10.2 |  | Cardinals |  | QTC | QT__QTC |
| 10.3 |  | Ordinals |  | QTO | QT__QTO |
| 11 | Residuals |  |  | RD | RD |
| 11.1 |  | Foreign word |  | RDF | RD__RDF |
| 11.2 |  | Symbol |  | SYM | RD__SYM |
| 11.3 |  | Punctuation |  | PUNC | RD__PUNC |
| 11.4 |  | Unknown |  | UNK | RD__UNK |
| 11.5 |  | Echowords |  | ECH | RD__ECH |

