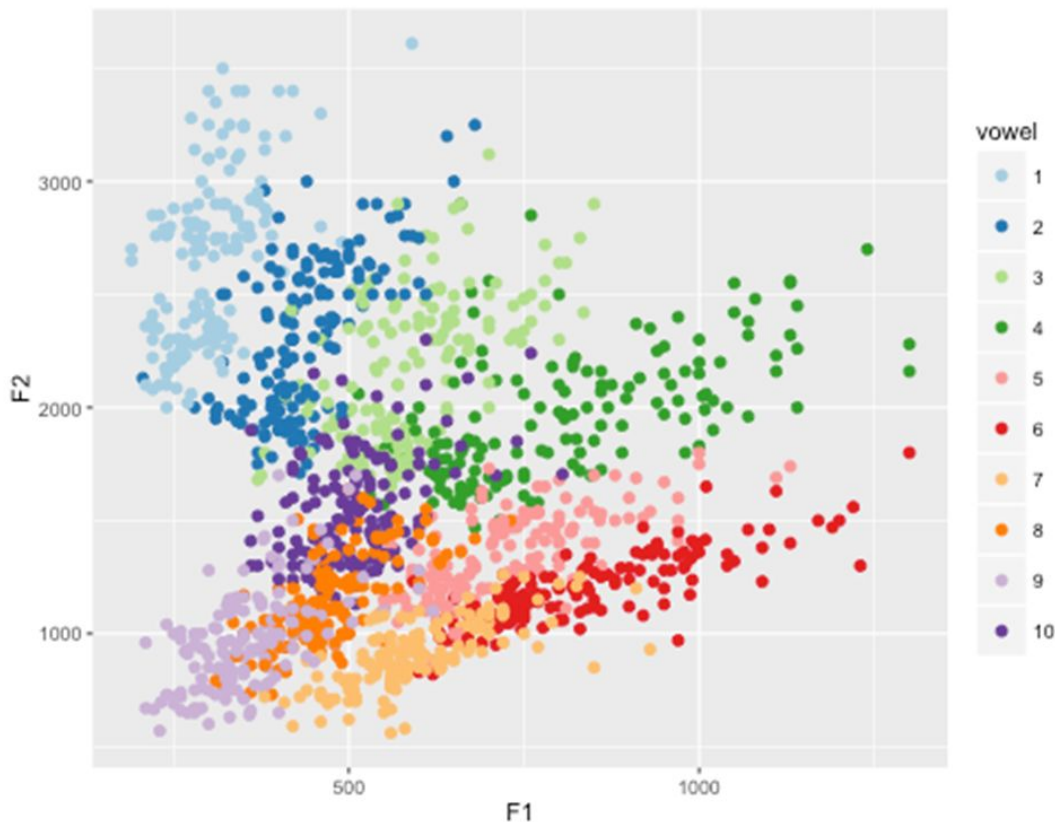


# Gaussian Mixture Model Phonetics

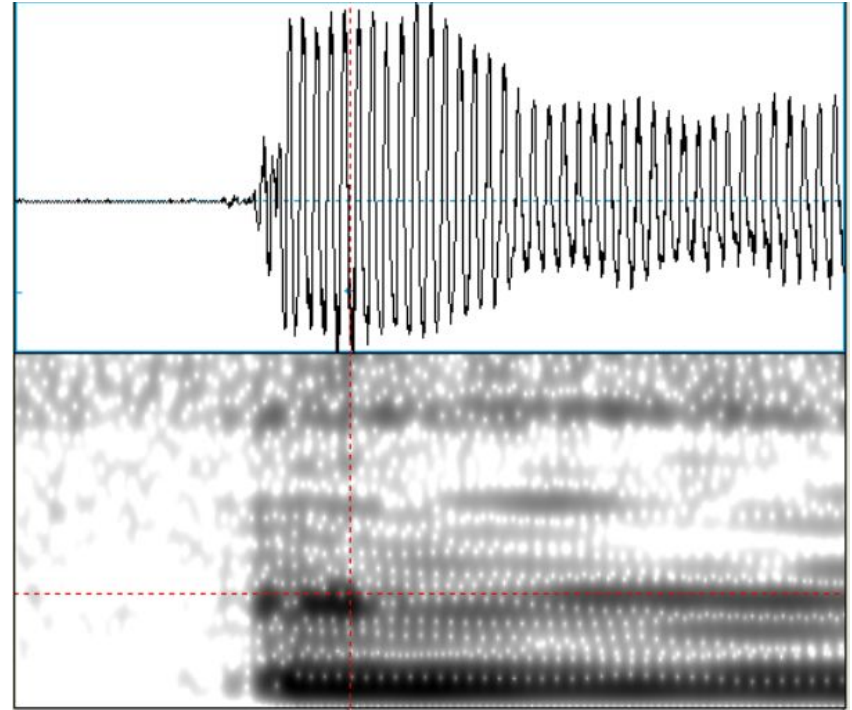
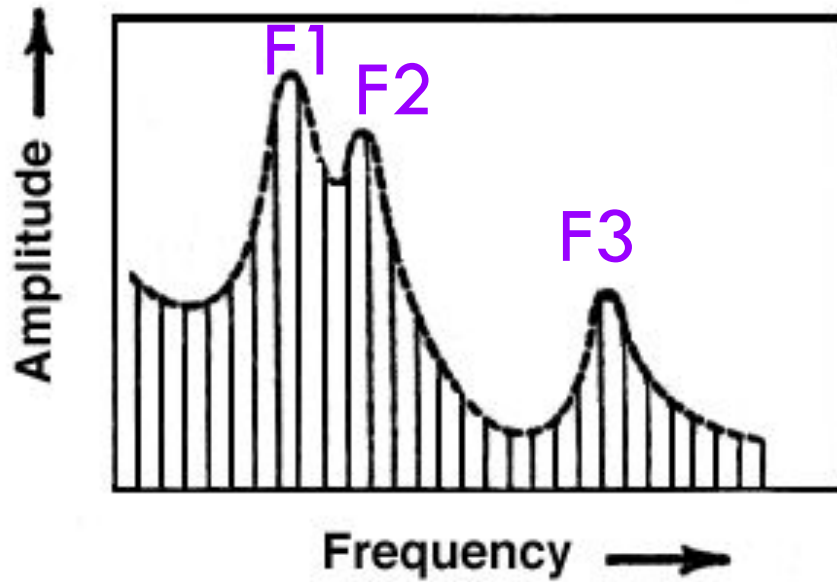
LING 492B

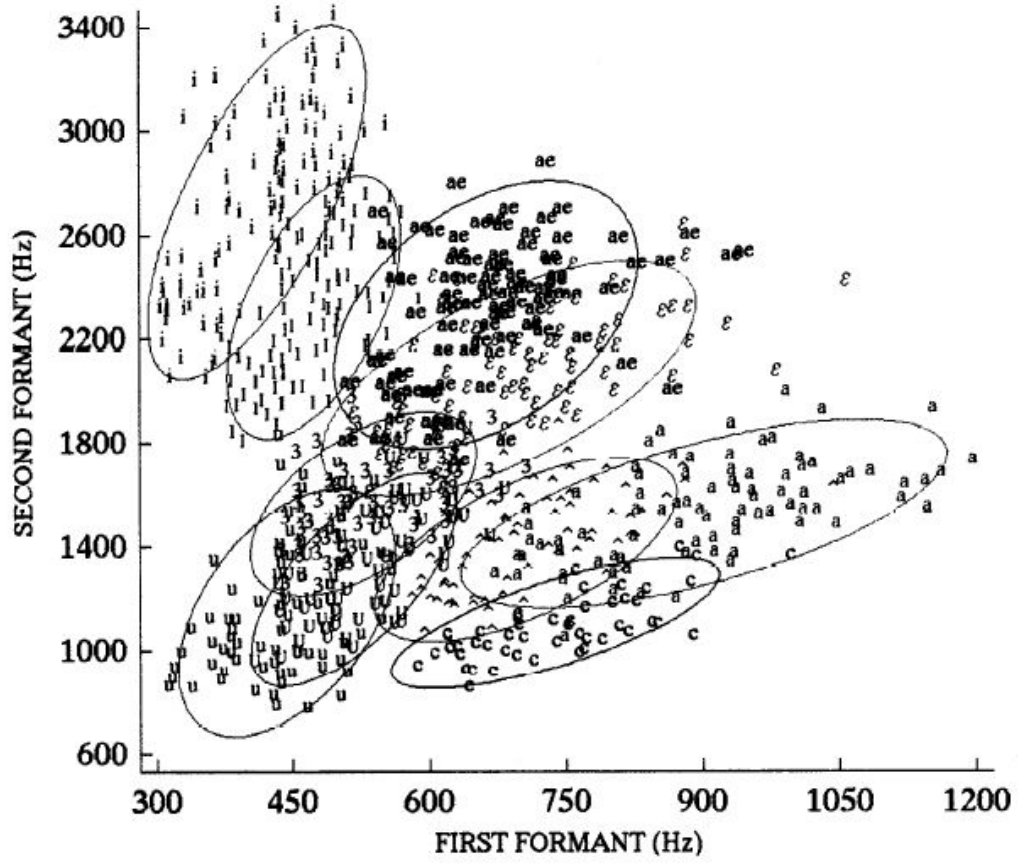
# Motivation: Phonetic Distributions

- Formants: resonant frequencies (Hz)
  - Vocal tract shape
  - e.g. F1, F2
- Acoustic cue to vowel category

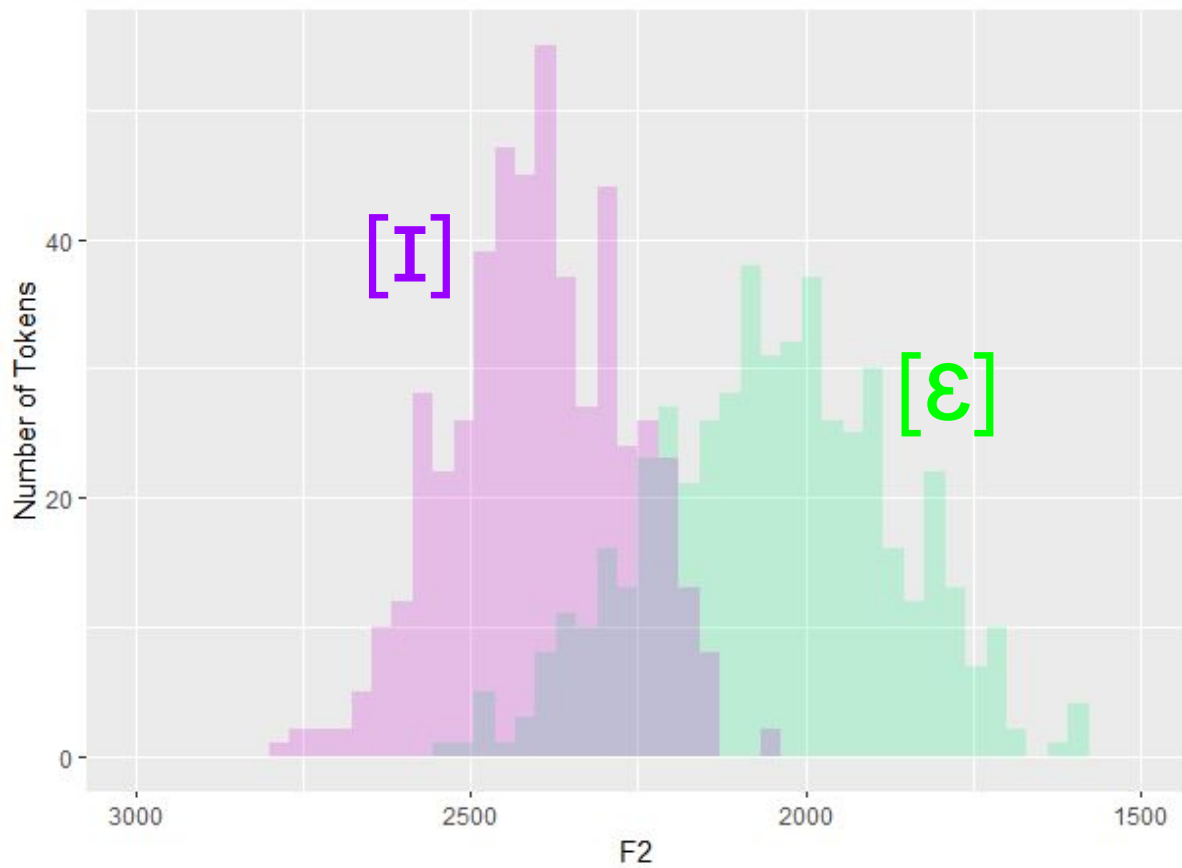


# Formants





# Focusing on F2, I, $\epsilon$

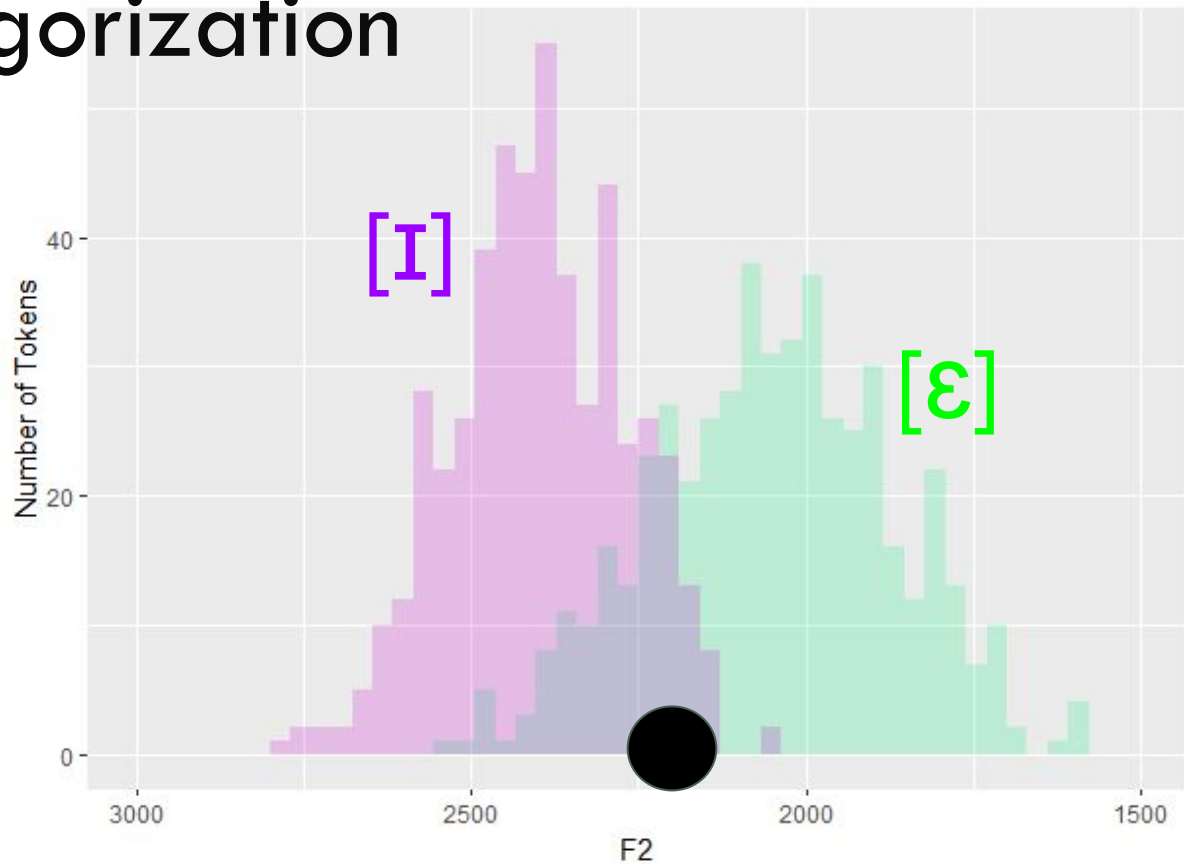


Inspired by  
Pierrehumbert  
(2001)

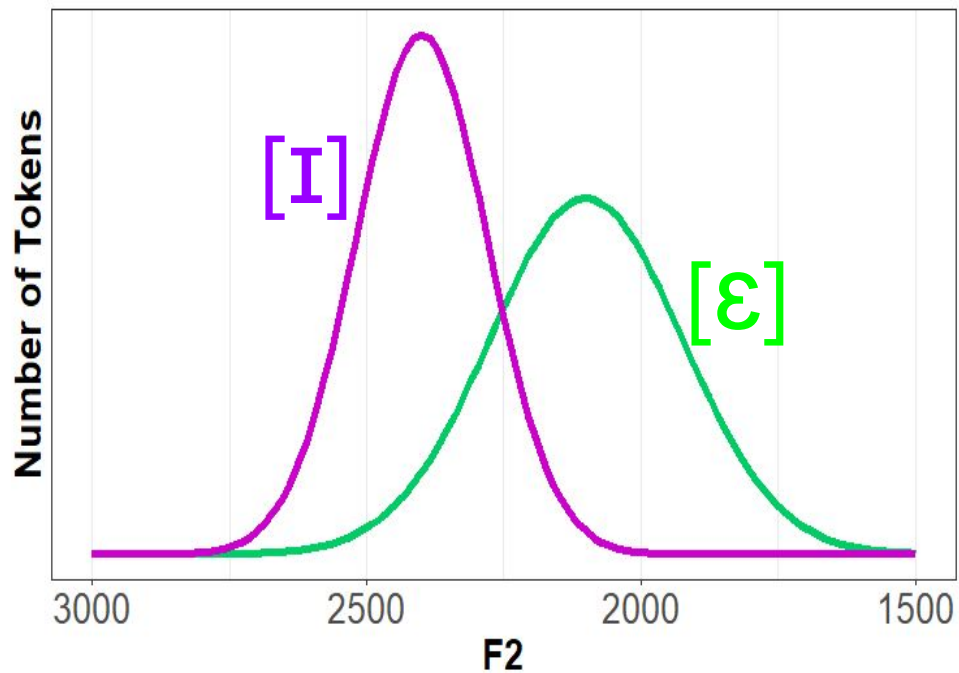
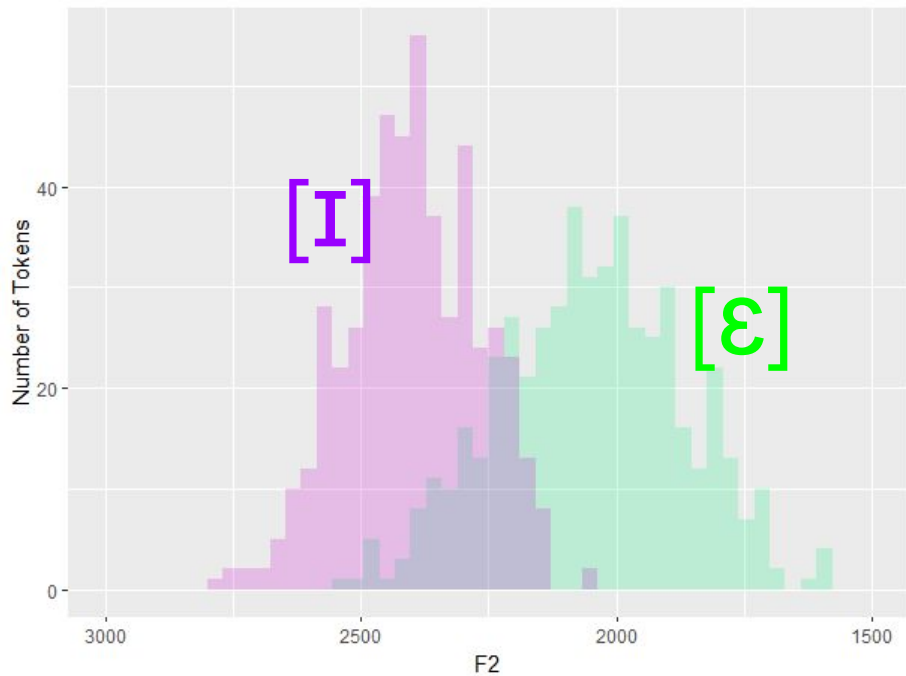
# Task 1: Categorization

F2: 2200Hz

Did I hear “pin” or  
“pen”?



# Approximating with Gaussians

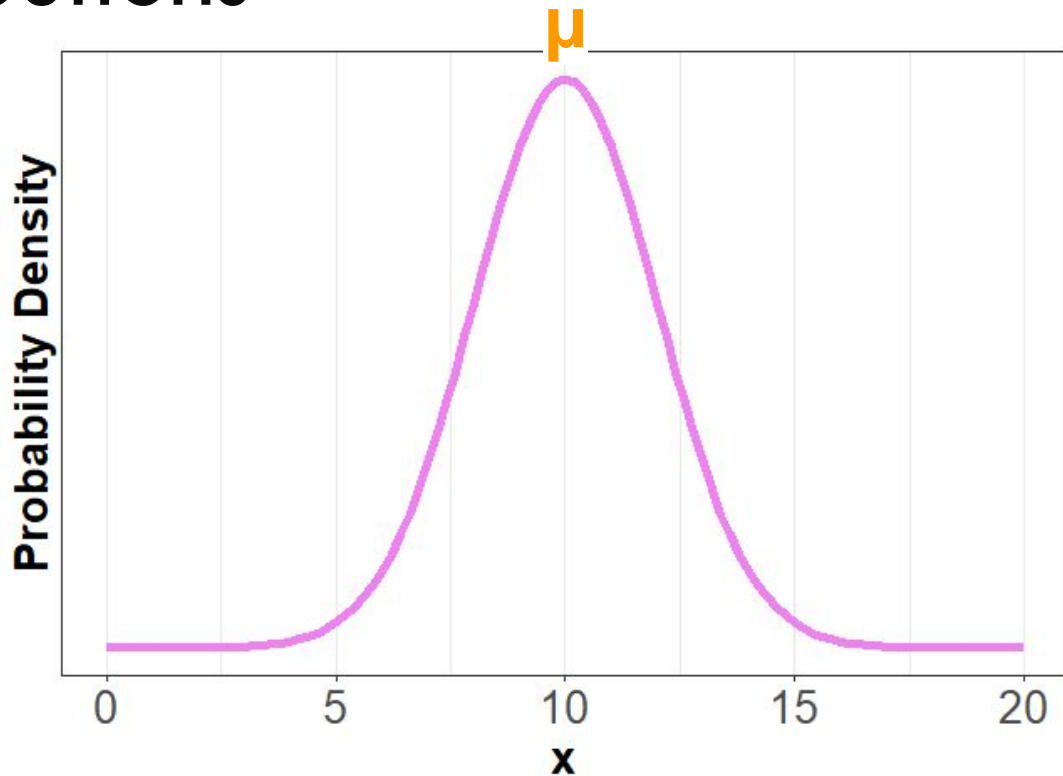


# Gaussian distributions

Parameters:

Mean (mu or  $\mu$ )

$$\sum_i^N p(X_i) X_i$$





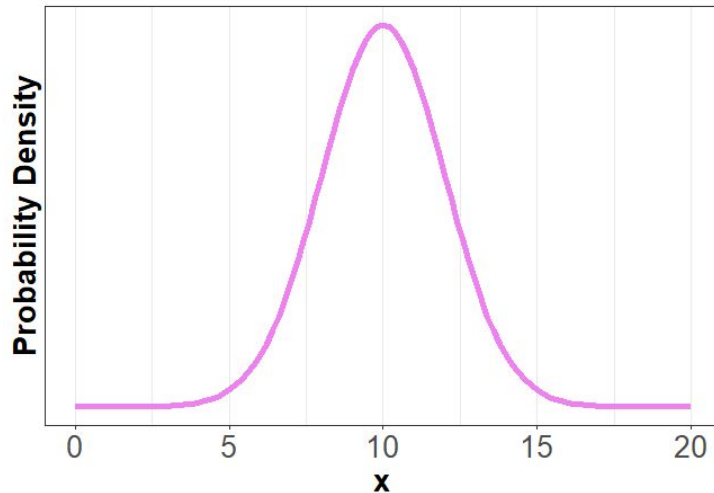
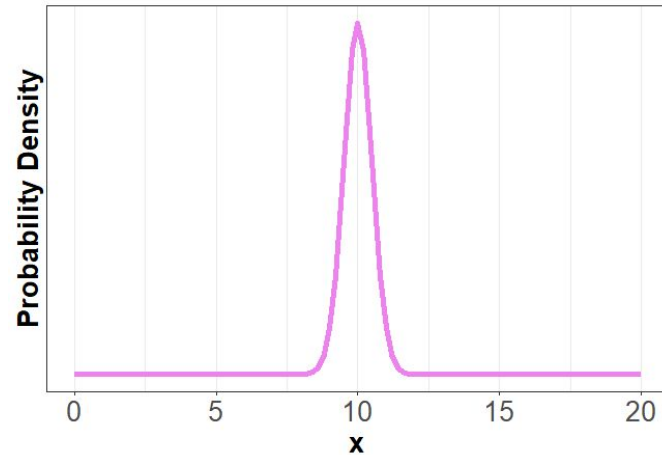
# Gaussian distributions

Parameters:

Mean ( $\mu$ )

Variance ( $\sigma^2$ ): average spread from mean

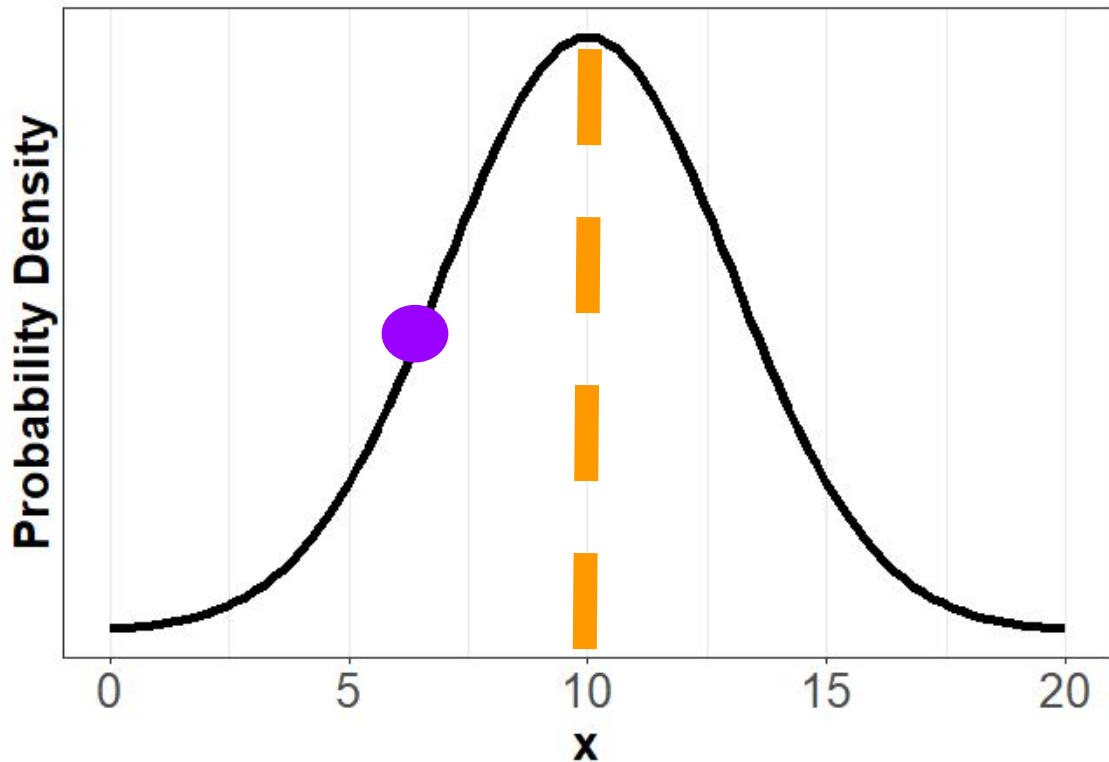
$$\sum_i^N p(X_i)(X_i - \mu)^2$$



# Relative Likelihood

$$N(x \mid \mu, \sigma^2) =$$

$$\frac{\exp\left(-\frac{1}{2\sigma^2}(x - \mu)^2\right)}{\sqrt{2\pi\sigma^2}}$$



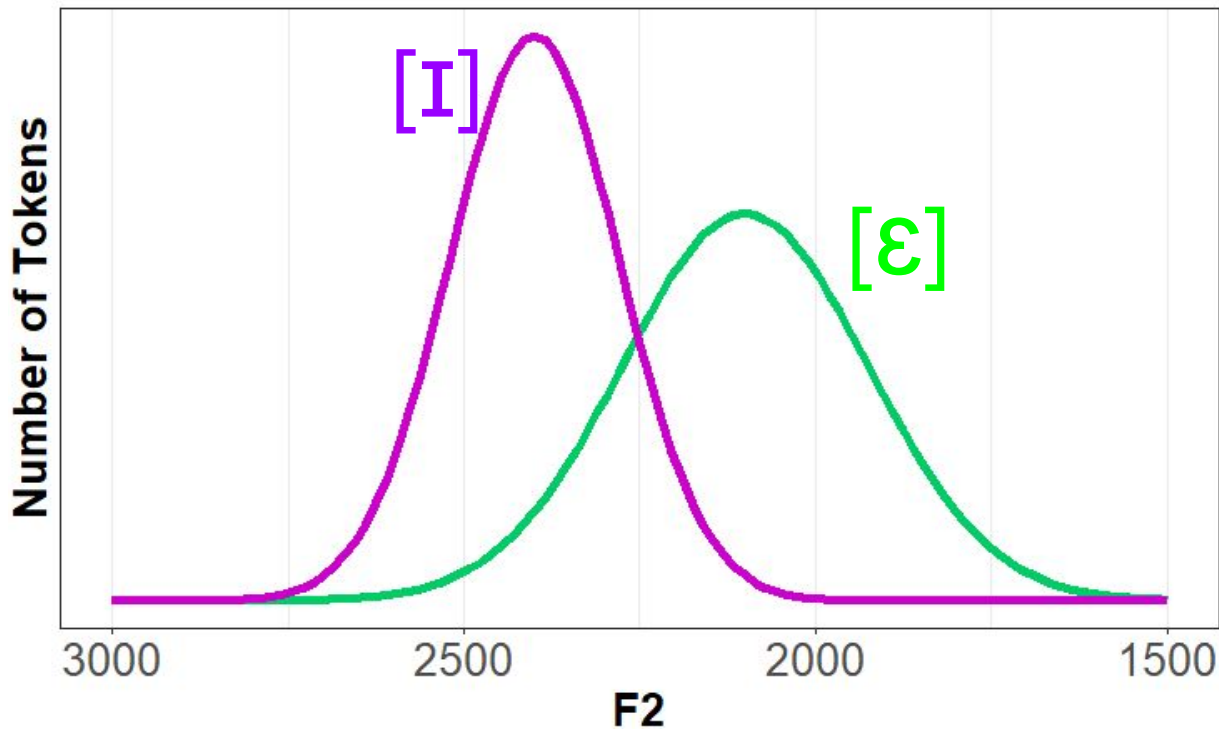
# Mixture of Gaussians Parameters

$$\mu_{\mathbf{I}}, \sigma_{\mathbf{I}}^2$$

$$P(\mathbf{I}) \text{ (also called } \pi_{\mathbf{I}})$$

$$\mu_{\mathbf{\varepsilon}}, \sigma_{\mathbf{\varepsilon}}^2$$

$$P(\mathbf{\varepsilon}) \text{ (also called } \pi_{\mathbf{\varepsilon}})$$



# GMM Categorization

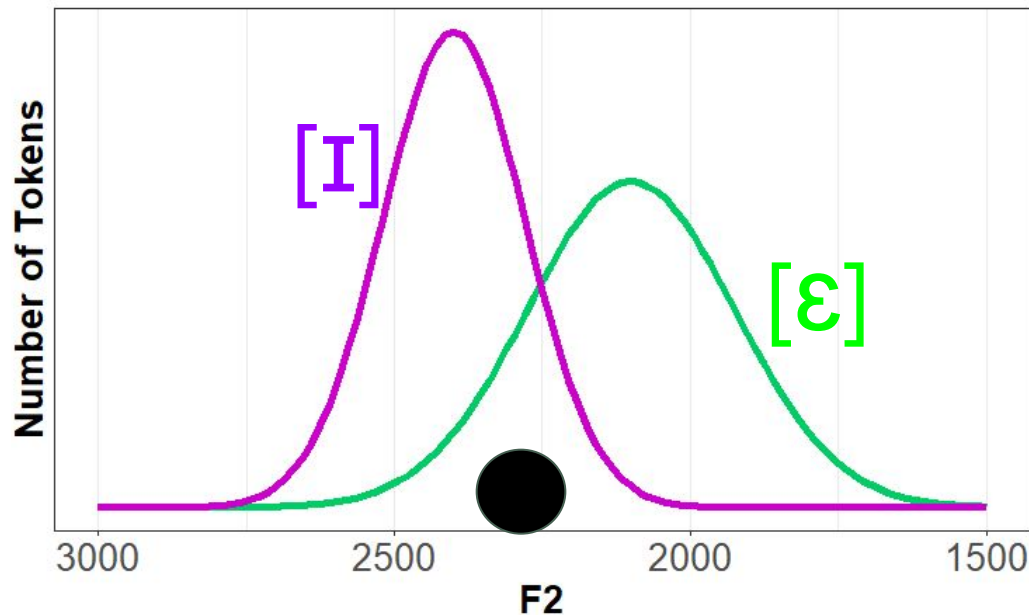
Did I hear “pin” or “pen”?

$x = 2300\text{Hz}$

We want:

$P([\text{I}] \mid x=2300)$

$P([\text{ɛ}] \mid x=2300)$

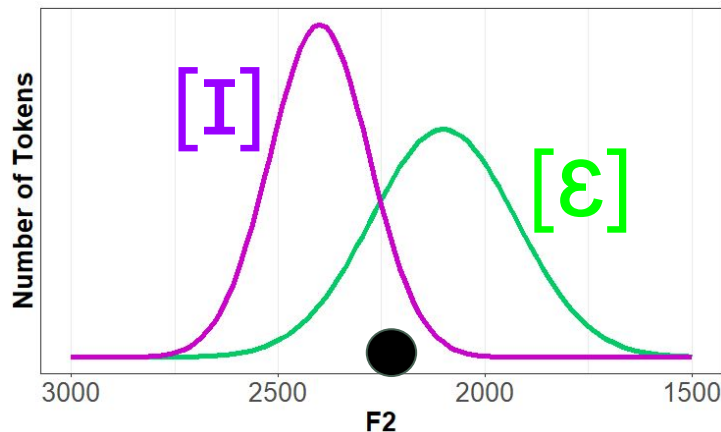


# Bayes again!

$$P(A | B) = P(B | A)P(A)/P(B)$$

$$P([I] | x) = P(x | [I])P([I])/P(x)$$

$$P([\varepsilon] | x) = P(x | [\varepsilon])P([\varepsilon])/P(x)$$



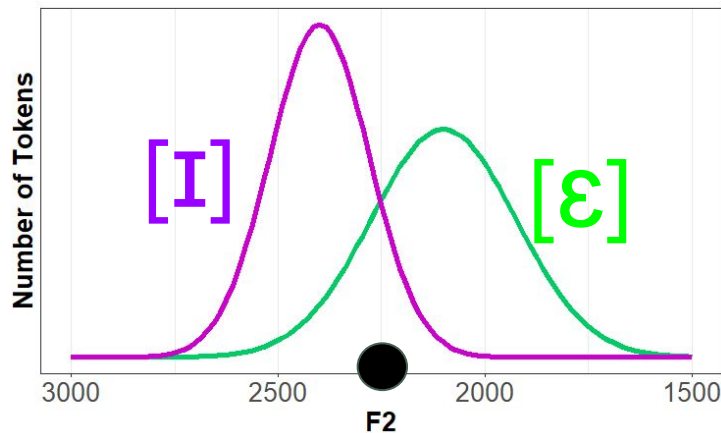
# Bayes again!

$$P([I] | x) =$$

$$P(x | [I])P([I])/P(x) =$$

$$N(x | \mu_I, \sigma_I^2) * P([I])/P(x) =$$

$$0.0012 / P(x)$$



$$\mu_I = 2400$$

$$\sigma_I^2 = 100$$

$$P([I]) = 0.5$$

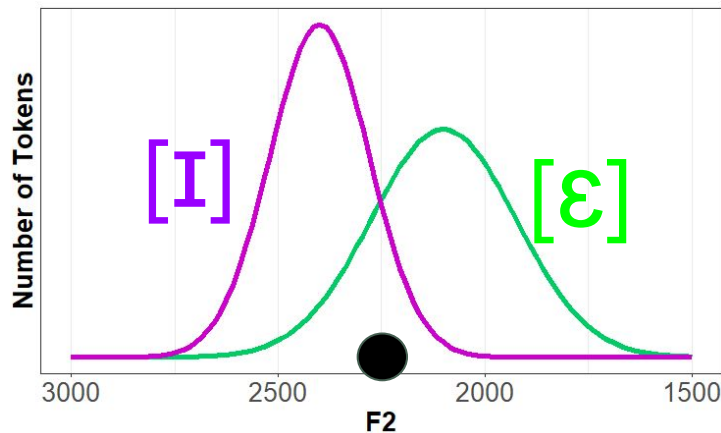
$$x = 2300$$

# Bayes again!

$$P([\epsilon] | x) =$$

$$P(x | [\epsilon])P([\epsilon])/P(x) =$$

$$N(x | \mu_{\epsilon}, \sigma_{\epsilon}^2) * P([\epsilon])/P(x) =$$
$$0.00060/P(x)$$



$$\mu_{\epsilon} = 2100$$

$$\sigma_{\epsilon}^2 = 180$$

$$P([\epsilon]) = 0.5$$

$$x = 2300$$

# Bayes again!

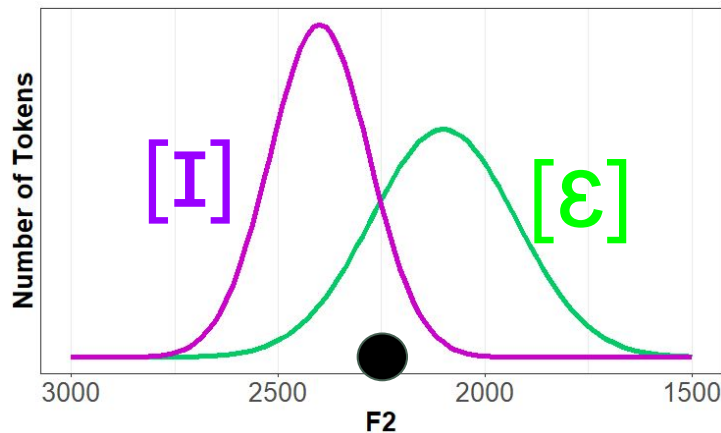
$$P([\varepsilon] | x) = 0.00060 / P(x)$$

$$P([I] | x) = 0.0012 / P(x)$$

$$P([\varepsilon] | x) = 0.00060 / (0.00060 + 0.0012) = .33$$

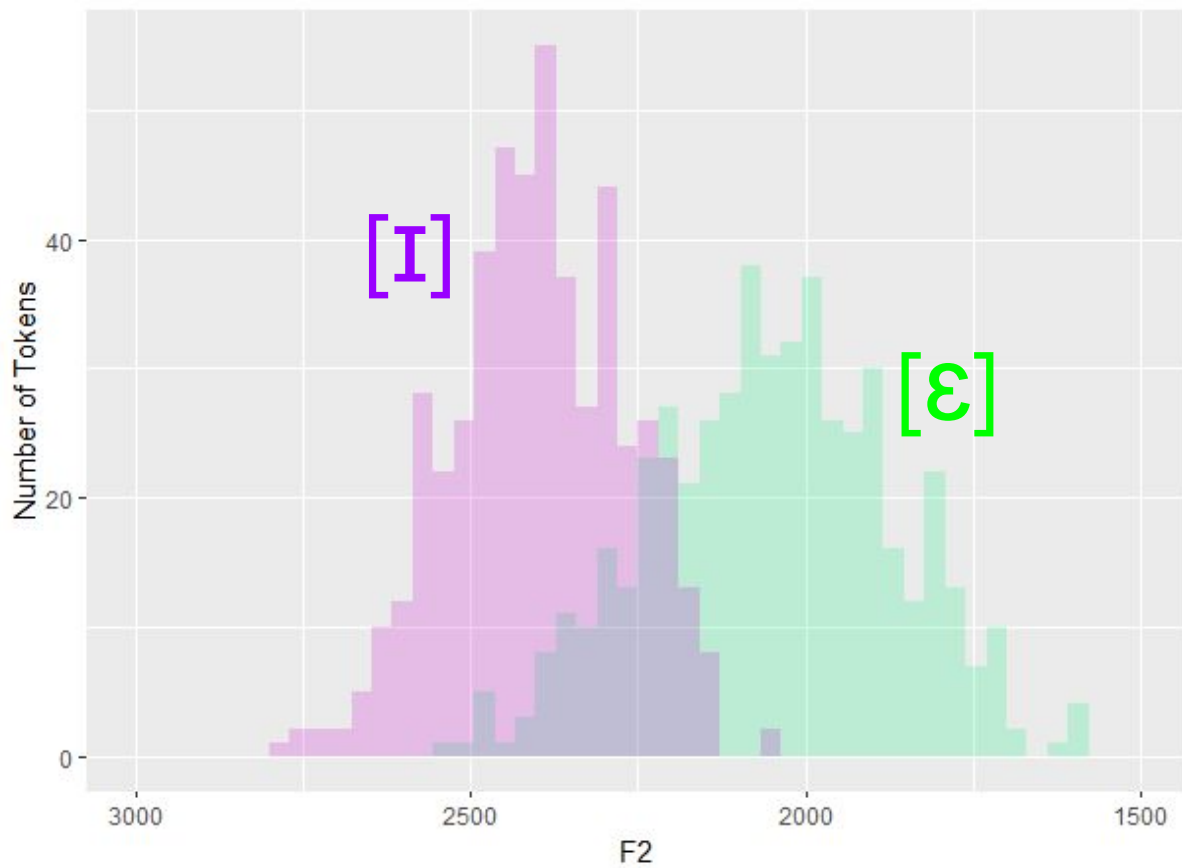
$$P([I] | x) = 0.0012 / (0.00060 + 0.0012) = .67$$

$$P([I] | x) > P([\varepsilon] | x)$$





# Estimating GMM parameters: labeled data



# Estimating parameters: Labeled Data

[I]: 2600Hz

[ $\epsilon$ ]: 2200Hz

$\mu_I = ?$

[I]: 2500Hz

[ $\epsilon$ ]: 1600Hz

$\sigma^2_I = ?$

[I]: 2300Hz

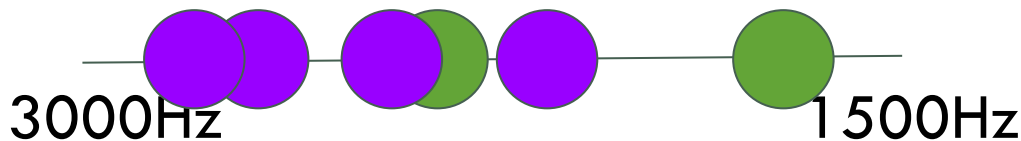
$\mu_\epsilon = ?$

[I]: 2100Hz

$\sigma^2_\epsilon = ?$

$P(\epsilon) = ?$

$P(I) = ?$



# Estimating GMM: Labeled Data

[I]: 2600Hz

[ $\epsilon$ ]: 2200Hz

[I]: 2500Hz

[ $\epsilon$ ]: 1600Hz

[I]: 2300Hz

[I]: 2100Hz

$$\mu_I = 2375$$

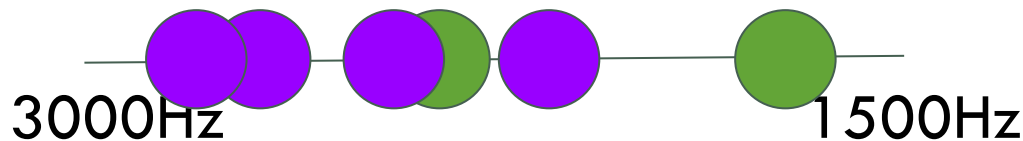
$$\sigma^2_I = ?$$

$$\mu_\epsilon = ?$$

$$\sigma^2_\epsilon = ?$$

$$P(\epsilon) = ?$$

$$P(I) = ?$$



# Estimating GMM: Labeled Data

[I]: 2600Hz

[ $\epsilon$ ]: 2200Hz

[I]: 2500Hz

[ $\epsilon$ ]: 1600Hz

[I]: 2300Hz

[I]: 2100Hz

$$\mu_I = 2375$$

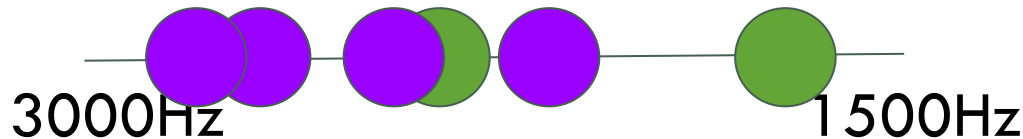
$$\sigma^2_I = 221$$

$$\mu_\epsilon = ?$$

$$\sigma^2_\epsilon = ?$$

$$P(\epsilon) = ?$$

$$P(I) = ?$$



# Estimating GMM: Labeled Data

[I]: 2600Hz

[ $\epsilon$ ]: 2200Hz

[I]: 2500Hz

[ $\epsilon$ ]: 1600Hz

[I]: 2300Hz

[I]: 2100Hz

$$\mu_I = 2375$$

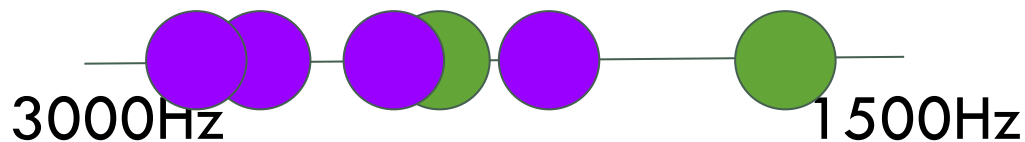
$$\sigma^2_I = 221$$

$$\mu_\epsilon = 1900$$

$$\sigma^2_\epsilon = ?$$

$$P(\epsilon) = ?$$

$$P(I) = ?$$



# Estimating GMM: Labeled Data

[I]: 2600Hz

[ $\epsilon$ ]: 2200Hz

[I]: 2500Hz

[ $\epsilon$ ]: 1600Hz

[I]: 2300Hz

[I]: 2100Hz

$$\mu_I = 2375$$

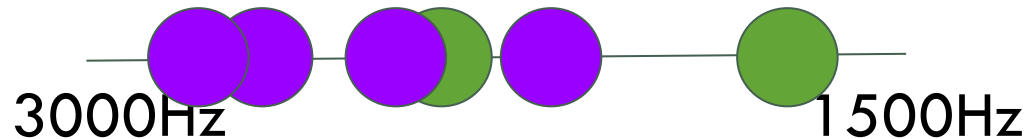
$$\sigma^2_I = 221$$

$$\mu_\epsilon = 1900$$

$$\sigma^2_\epsilon = 424$$

$$P(\epsilon) = ?$$

$$P(I) = ?$$



# Estimating GMM: Labeled Data

[I]: 2600Hz

[ $\epsilon$ ]: 2200Hz

[I]: 2500Hz

[ $\epsilon$ ]: 1600Hz

[I]: 2300Hz

[I]: 2100Hz

$$\mu_I = 2375$$

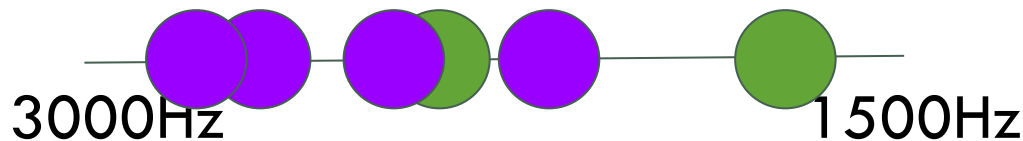
$$\sigma_I^2 = 221$$

$$\mu_\epsilon = 1900$$

$$\sigma_\epsilon^2 = 424$$

$$P(\epsilon) = 2/6$$

$$P(I) = ?$$



# Estimating GMM: Labeled Data

[I]: 2600Hz

[ $\epsilon$ ]: 2200Hz

[I]: 2500Hz

[ $\epsilon$ ]: 1600Hz

[I]: 2300Hz

[I]: 2100Hz

$$\mu_I = 2375$$

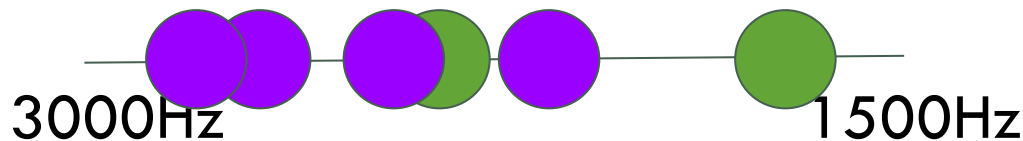
$$\sigma_I^2 = 221$$

$$\mu_\epsilon = 1900$$

$$\sigma_\epsilon^2 = 424$$

$$P(\epsilon) = 2/6$$

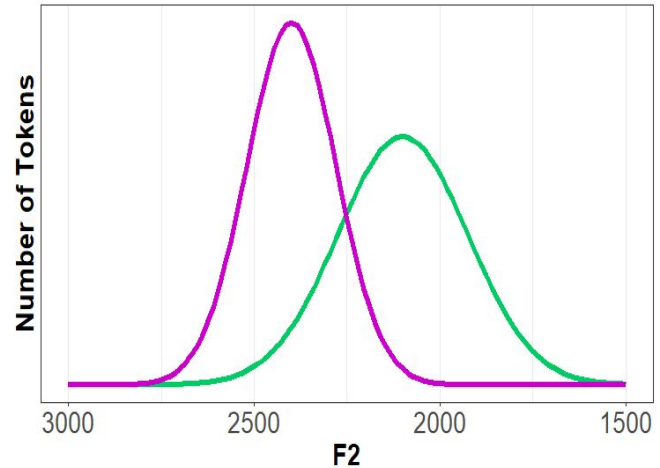
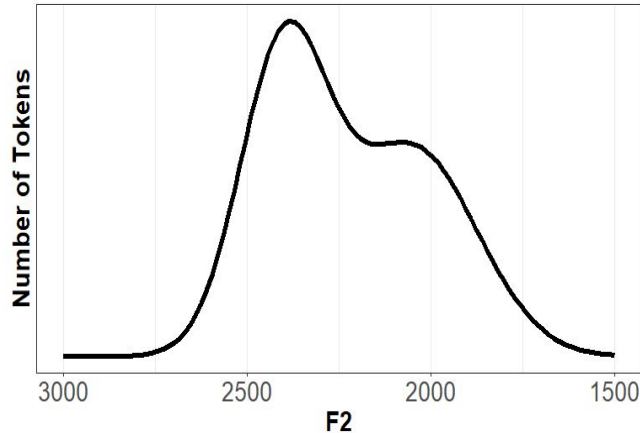
$$P(I) = 4/6$$





# Task #2: Unsupervised Learning

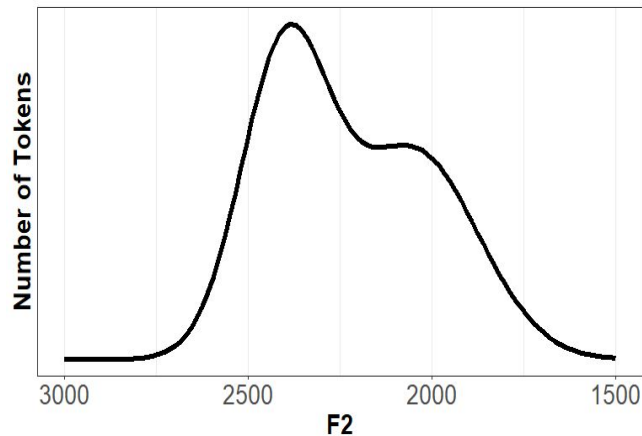
What are the categories? What are their parameters ( $\mu$ ,  $\sigma$ ,  $\pi$ )?



# Unsupervised learning: cognition

How do infants learn phoneme categories with so much overlap? [Feldman 2009, Vallabha 2007]

Without knowing anything about the categories beforehand, input data looks like this:



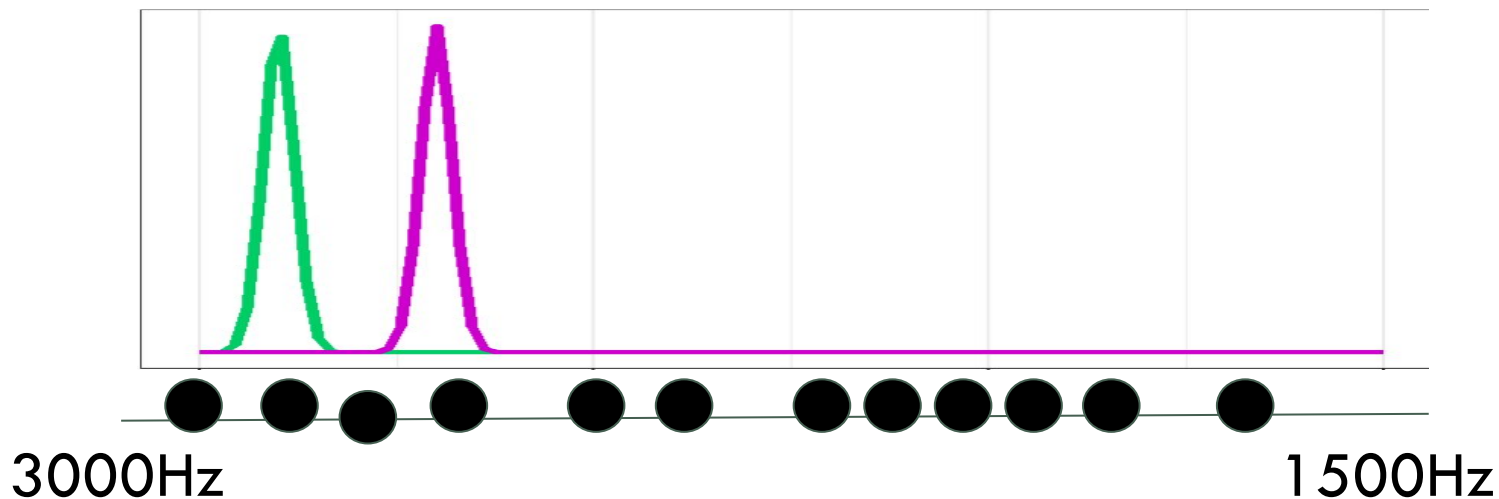
# GMM Expectation-Maximization

Intuition:

- If we knew the vowel labels, we could estimate  $\mu$  and  $\sigma$  for each category
  - But we don't know the vowel labels :(
- If we knew  $\mu$  and  $\sigma$  for each category, we could estimate the vowel labels
  - But we don't know the  $\mu$ s and  $\sigma$ s :(

# GMM Expectation-Maximization

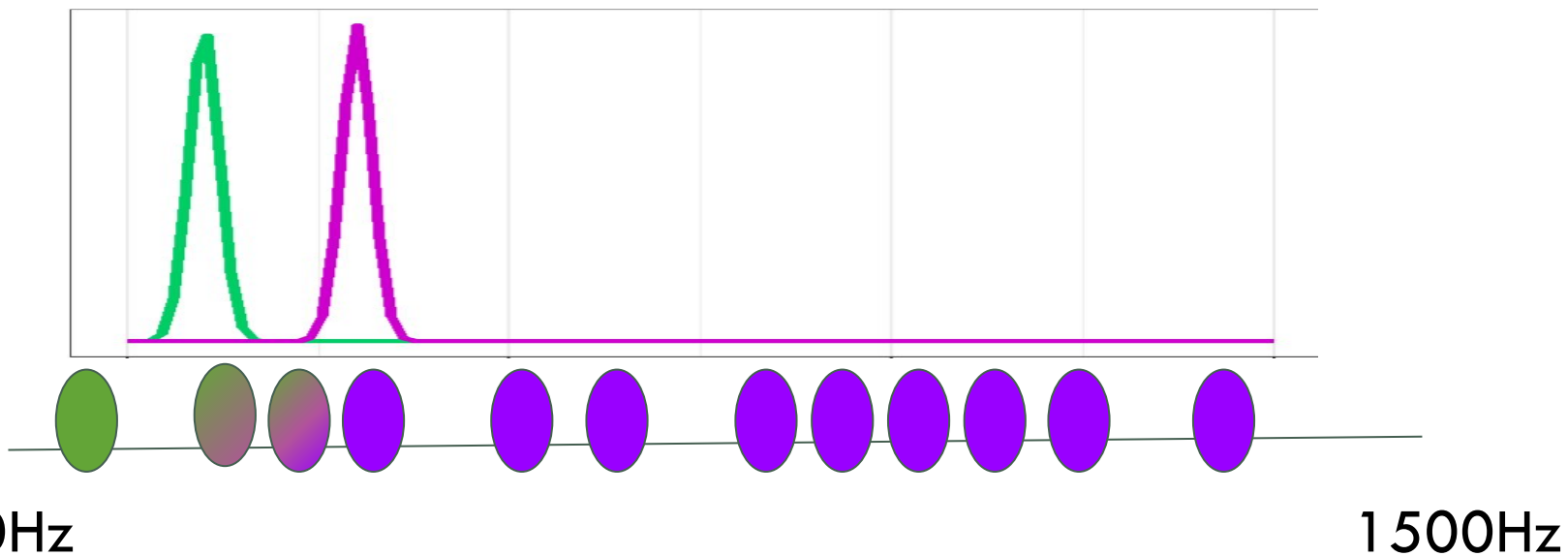
Initialization: Start with  $k$  categories with random means and variances [cf. k-means!]



Based on  
demo from  
Victor  
Lavrenko

# GMM Expectation-Maximization

Expectation: How likely is each category for each label?

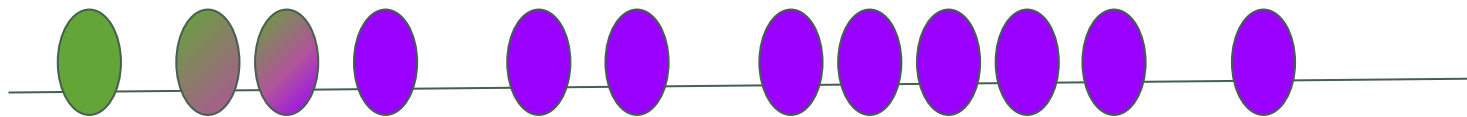


# GMM Expectation

Expectation: How likely is each category for each label?

For each observation  $\mathbf{x}$ , for each category  $c$  ( $\mu_c, \sigma_c^2$ ), compute:

$$P(\mathbf{c} | \mathbf{x}) = N(\mathbf{x} | \mu_c, \sigma_c^2) * P(\mathbf{c}) / P(\mathbf{x})$$



3000Hz

1500Hz

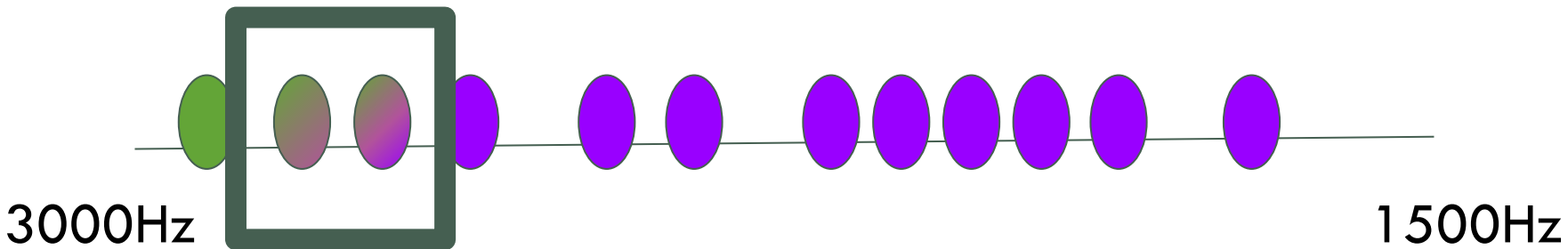
# GMM Expectation

Expectation: How likely is each category for each label?

For each observation  $\mathbf{x}$ , for each category  $c$  ( $\mu_c, \sigma_c^2$ ), compute:

$$P(\mathbf{c} | \mathbf{x}) = N(\mathbf{x} | \mu_c, \sigma_c^2) * P(\mathbf{c}) / P(\mathbf{x})$$

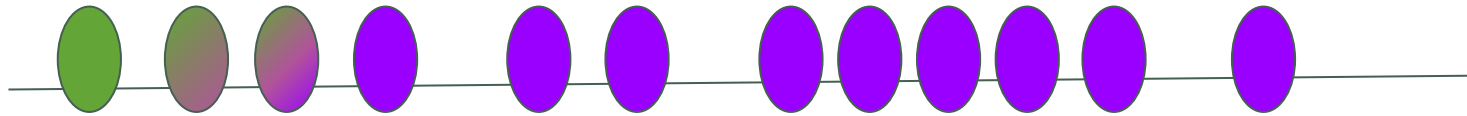
cf. k-means: \*soft\* categorization



# GMM Maximization

Maximization: Update each category's parameters based on the observations

Each observation's contribution to the parameters is **weighed** by  $P(\text{category} \mid \text{observation})$



3000Hz

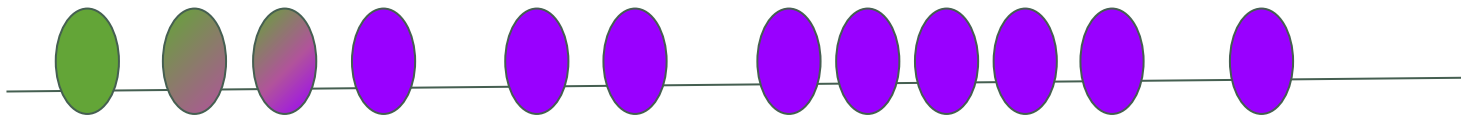
1500Hz



# GMM Maximization

Maximization: Update each category's parameters based on the observations

$$\text{New } \mu_c = \frac{x_1 P(c | x_1) + x_2 P(c | x_2) + \dots + x_n P(c | x_n)}{P(c | x_1) + P(c | x_2) + \dots + P(c | x_n)}$$

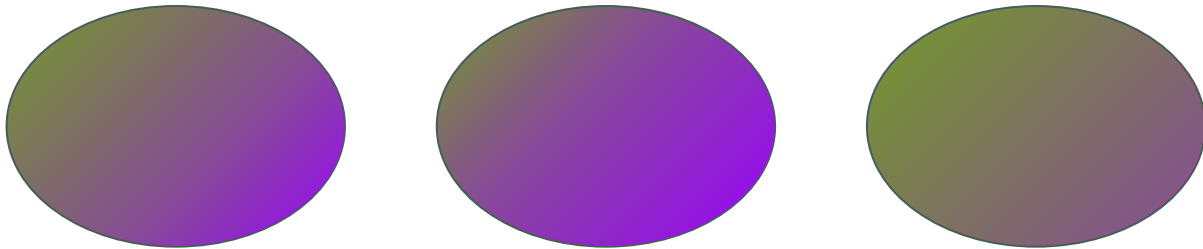


3000Hz

1500Hz

# GMM Maximization

- Think of each category as taking part of the responsibility for each observation
- That responsibility could be really big or small



# GMM Maximization

Just like a weighted/soft version of computing category mean

**GMM new mean**

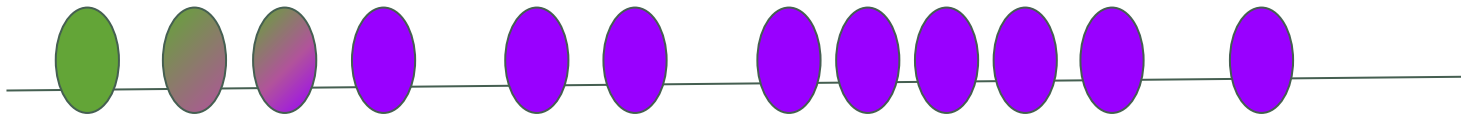
**K-Means new mean**

$$x_1 P(c | x_1) + x_2 P(c | x_2) + \dots + x_n P(c | x_n)$$

$$0 * x_1 + 1 * x_2 + \dots + 1 * x_n$$

$$P(c | x_1) + P(c | x_2) + \dots + P(c | x_n)$$

$$0 + 1 + \dots + 1$$



3000Hz

1500Hz

# GMM Maximization

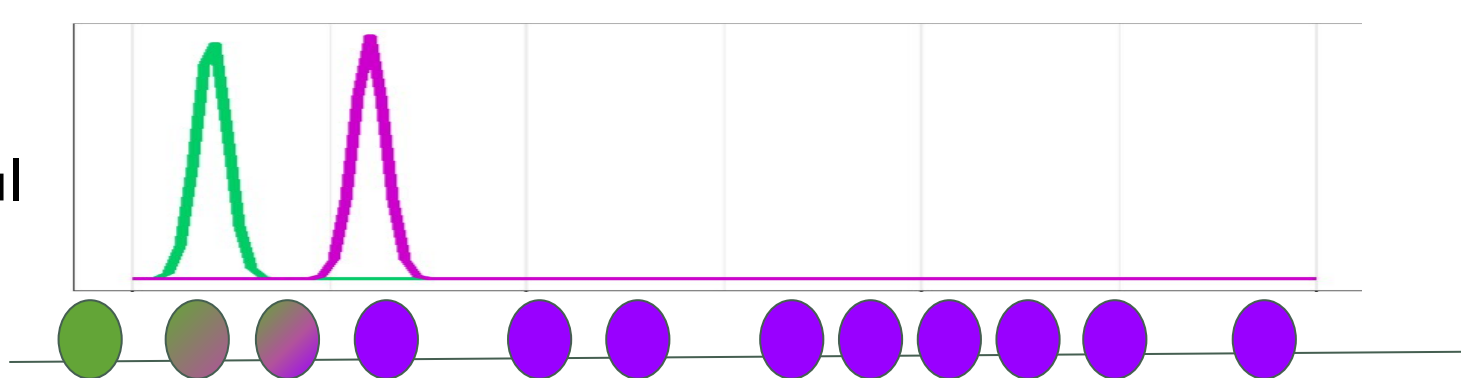
More expectation: do the same weighted estimates for the rest of the parameters

$$\text{New } \sigma_c^2: \frac{P(c|x_1)(x_1 - \mu_c)^2 + P(c|x_2)(x_2 - \mu_c)^2 + \dots + P(c|x_n)(x_n - \mu_c)^2}{P(c|x_1) + P(c|x_2) + \dots + P(c|x_n)}$$

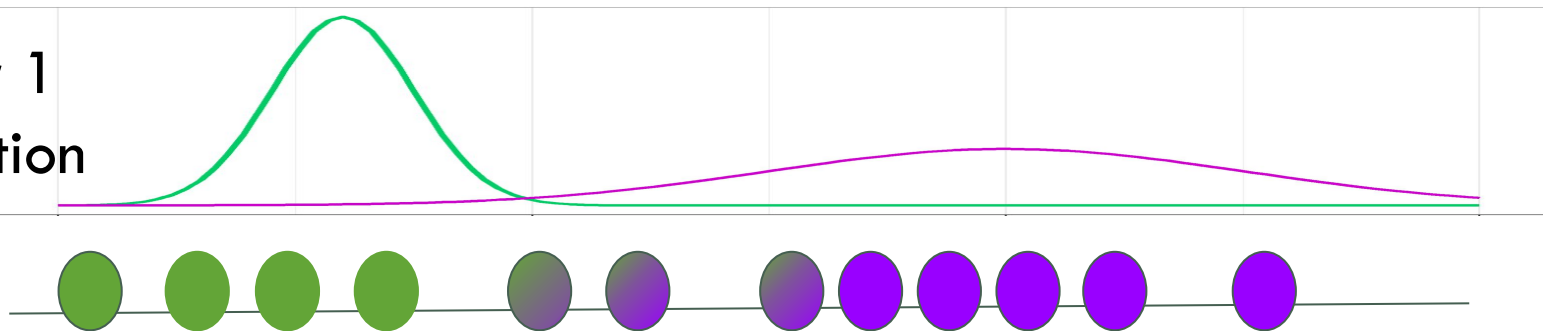
$$\text{New } P(c): \frac{P(c|x_1) + P(c|x_2) + \dots + P(c|x_n)}{N}$$

# GMM Expectation-Maximization

Initial



After 1 iteration



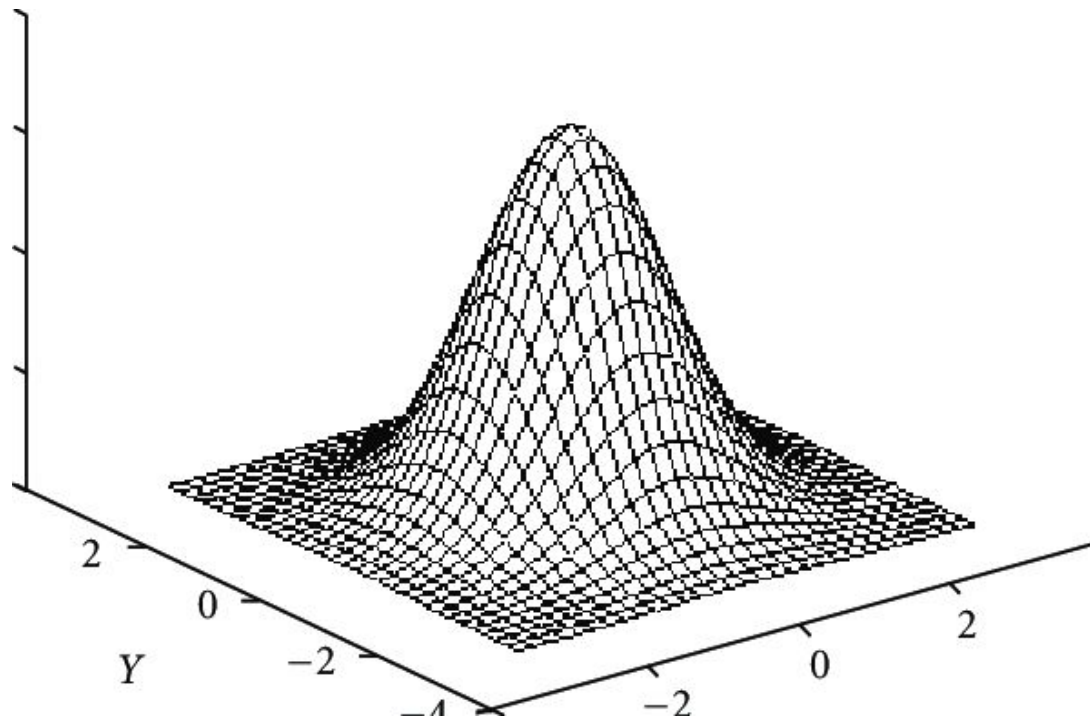
# Differences from k-means

- Soft instead of hard categorization while learning
- More parameters: prior probability of category, variance
- Guaranteed to increase likelihood of data given model at every step
- Could converge on local instead of global maximum

# Multiple dimensions

Beyond just F2: can characterize vowels with F1 and F2 for 2-D Gaussian

+ more! (e.g. length)



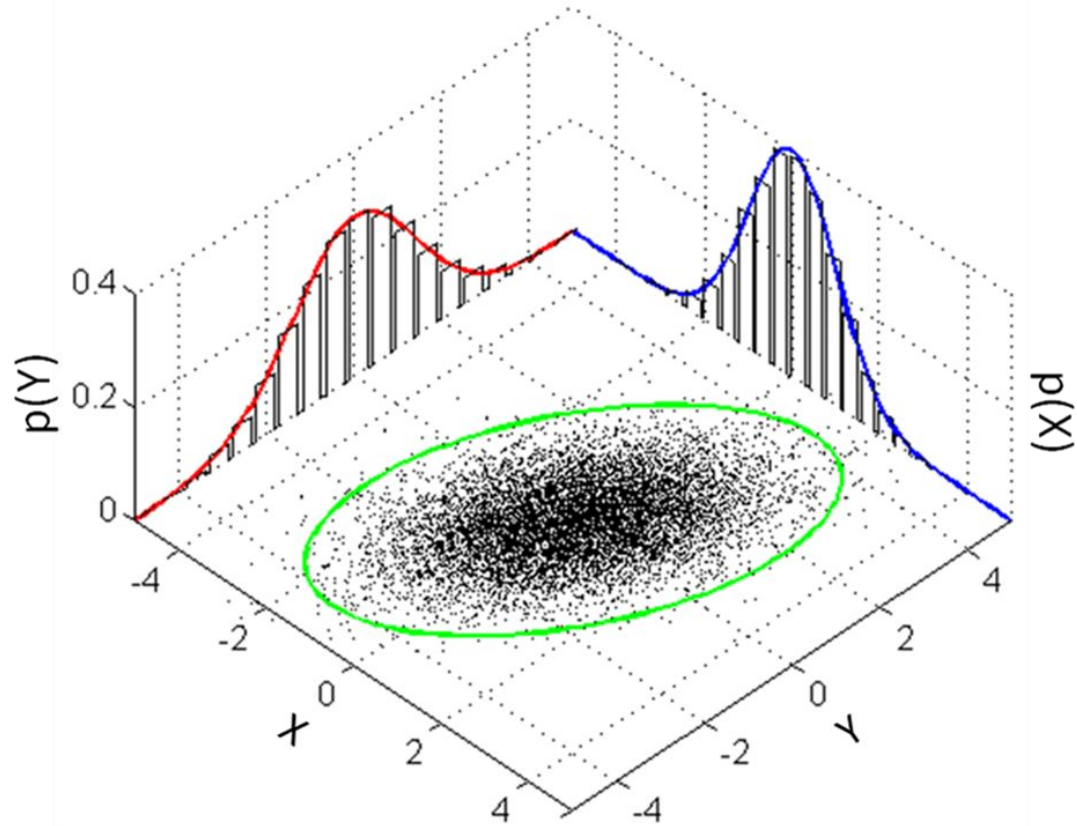
# Multiple dimensions

- Category means for each dimension

$$\bar{\mu} = \begin{bmatrix} 0 \\ 0 \end{bmatrix}$$

- Instead of just  $\sigma^2$ , covariance matrix

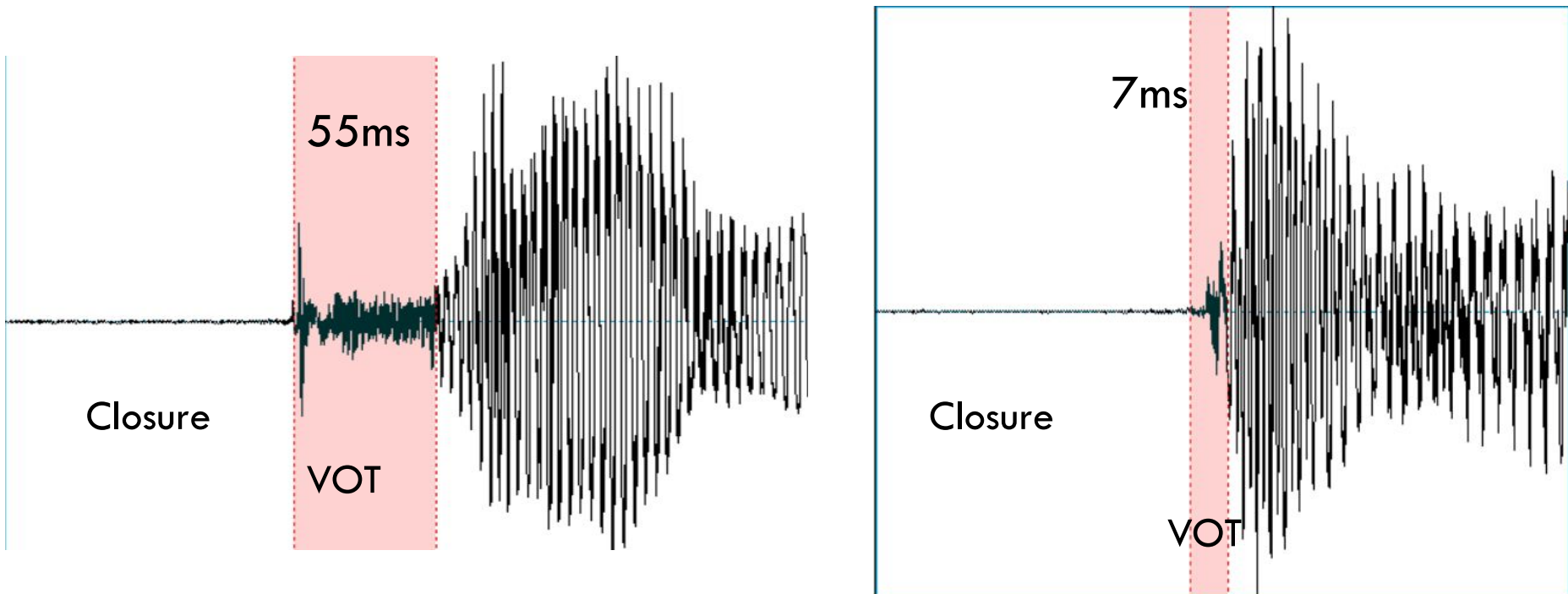
$$\begin{bmatrix} 1 & 3/5 \\ 3/5 & 2 \end{bmatrix}$$





# Beyond vowels: Stop voicing

Voice Onset Time (VOT): pIn vs bIn

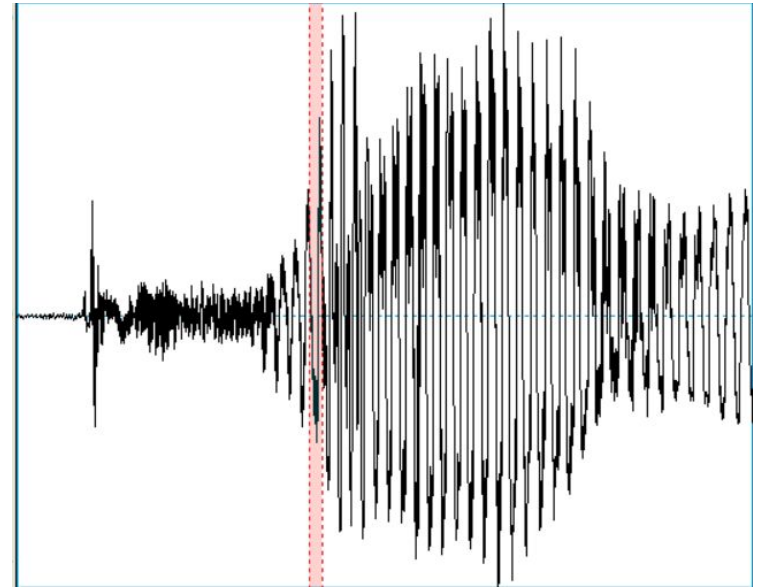
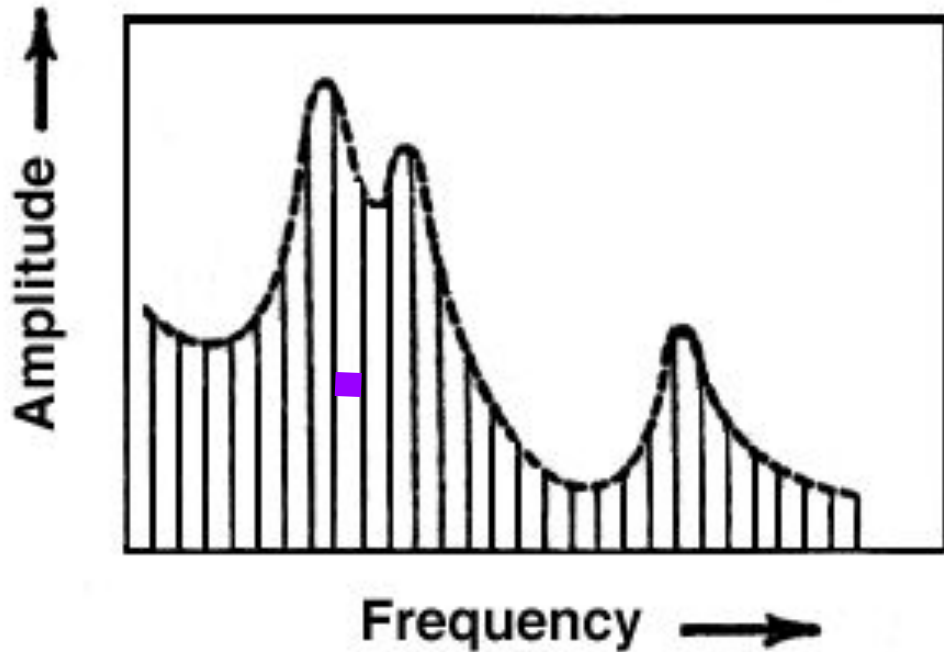


# Stop voicing

Fundamental frequency ( $f_0$ ) also correlates with stop voicing!  $f_0$  is:

- rate at which vocal folds are vibrating
- associated with pitch
  
- Tend to have **lower  $f_0$**  right next to **voiced stops**
- Tend to have **higher  $f_0$**  right next to **voiceless stops**

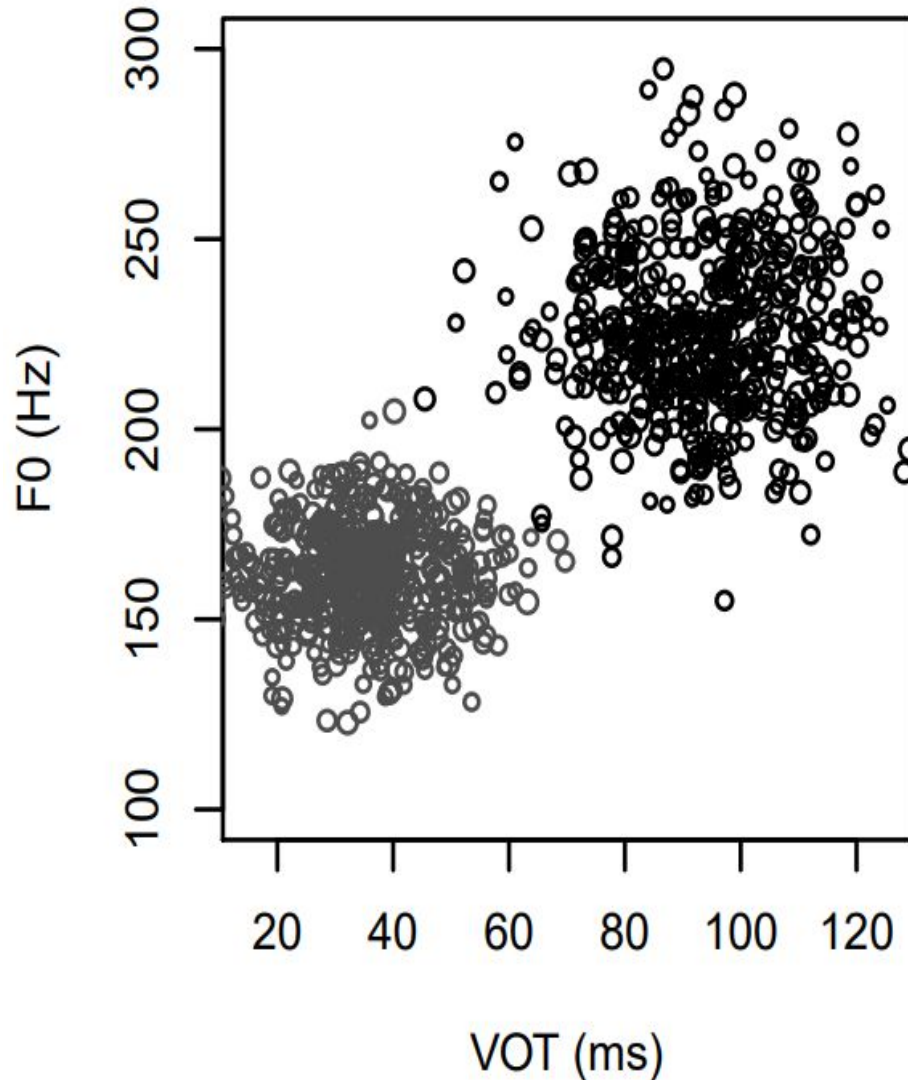
# Measuring $f_0$



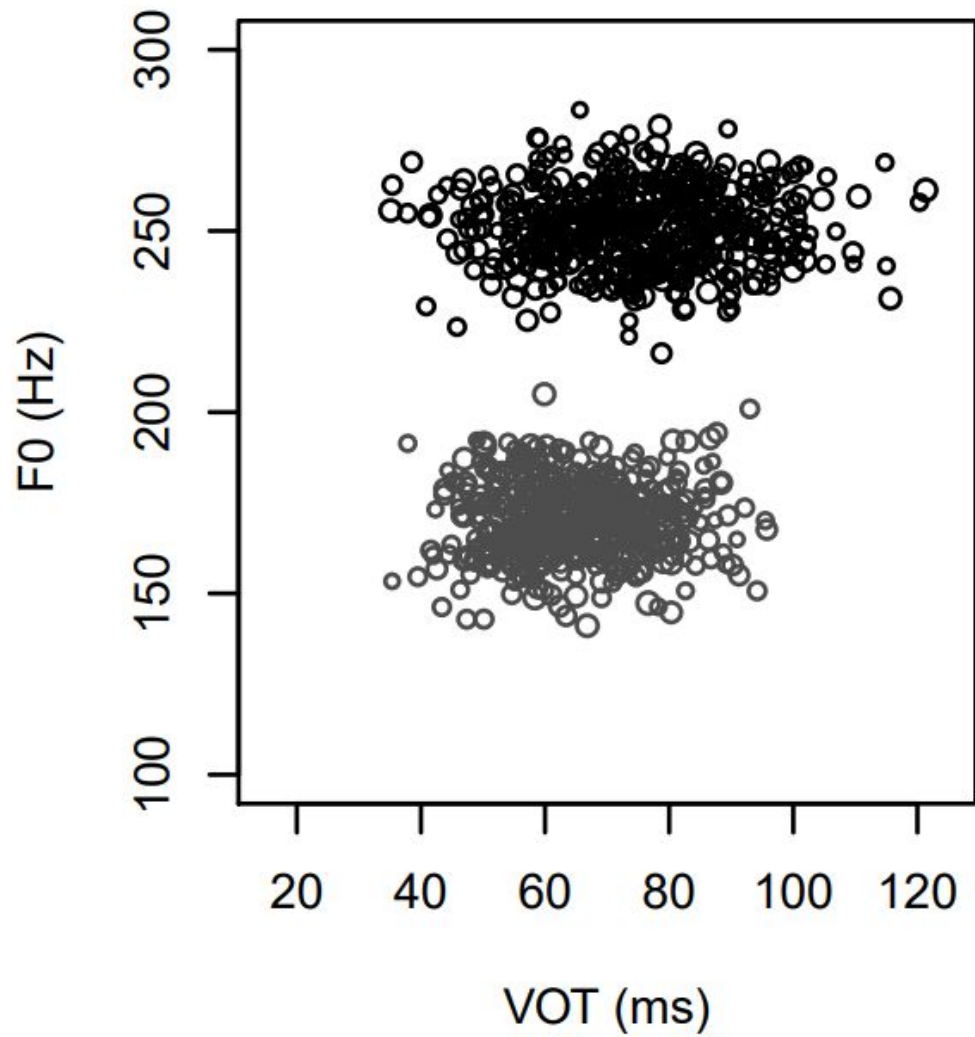
# f0 and VOT in Korean stops

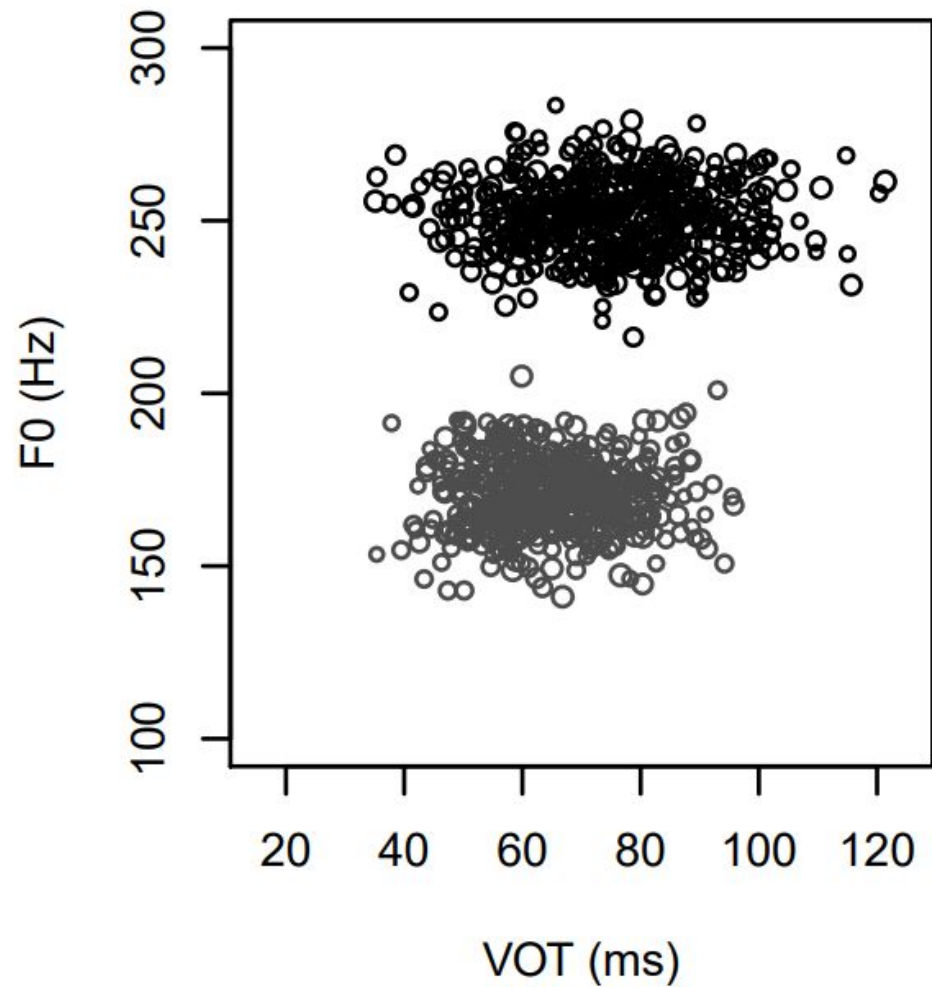
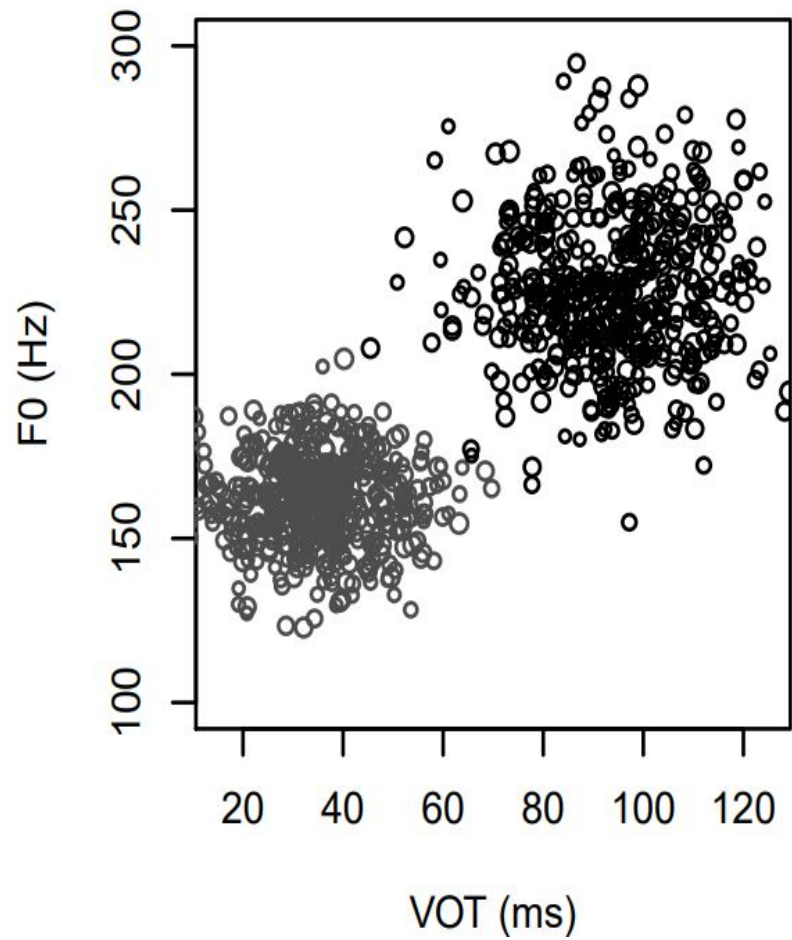
- Kirby (2013)
- Categories changing over time (ongoing!)
- Categories distinguished more and more by f0 than VOT
- Case of tonogenesis

1960



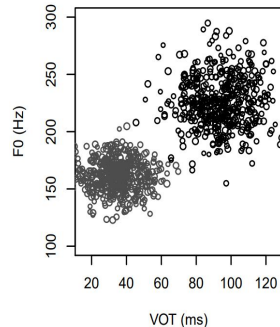
2000s





# Sound Change with GMM

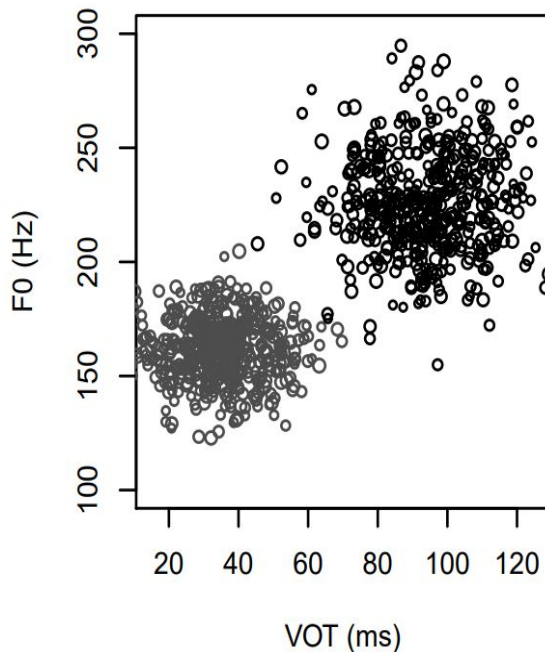
- “Agents”
  - Have a memory of categorized observations  $x_1 \dots x_n$
  - Each observation has an f0 and VOT value
  - Has a mixture of Gaussians model estimated from memory observations
  - Adds each perceived observation to memory
  - Memory observations decay over time





# Sound Change with GMM

- “Agents”
  - Produce: sample from Gaussian mixture model
    - Sample a category from  $P(c)$
    - Sample  $f_0$  and VOT values from Gaussian distributions for that category:
      - $N_{\text{VOT}}(x | \mu_{\text{VOT}}, \Sigma)$
      - $N_{f_0}(x | \mu_{f_0}, \Sigma)$

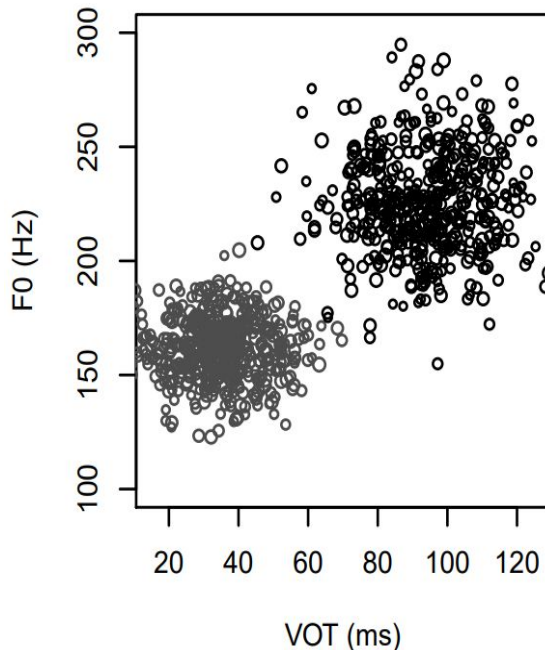


# Sound Change with GMM

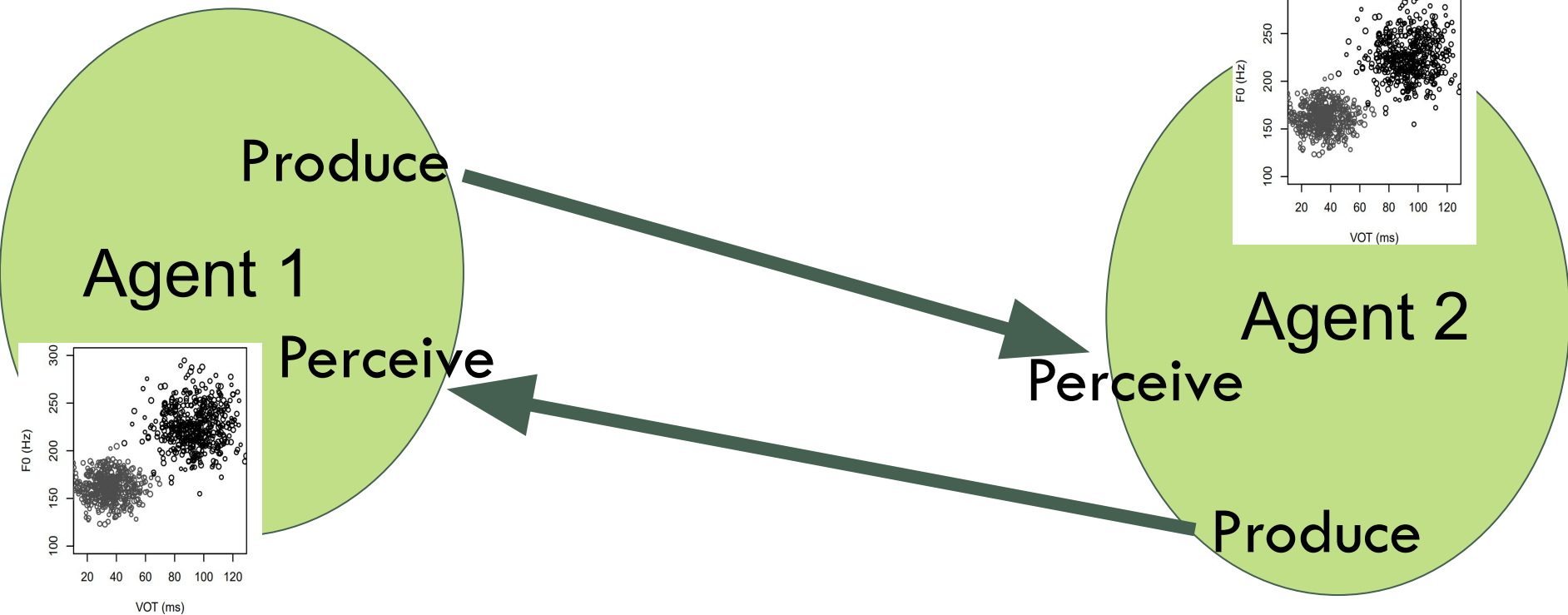
- “Agents”
  - Perceive: receive observation with  $f_0$ , VOT value
    - Categorize observation:
      - maximize  $P(c | x)$
      - $= P(c)P(x | \mu_c, \Sigma)$
      - Ideal observer?

$$P(c | x) = 0.6\dots$$

- Add to memory



# Sound Change with GMM



# What makes distributions move?

Biases in production:

- Alter produced values
- $\lambda$ : constant values added to one or more dimensions (f0, VOT)
- $\beta$ : chance of “enhancing” category distinction
  - Move means further apart and reduce variance before sampling

# Korean Simulations

- Initialize agent memories to 1960 distribution
- Run perception+production for many iterations
- Manipulate  $\lambda$  and  $\beta$  to eventually produce the 2000s distribution: what kind of bias and enhancement is necessary?

# Evaluation

- How to compare simulation distribution to 2000s distribution?
- KL divergence: how much 'dirt' to move from one to the other

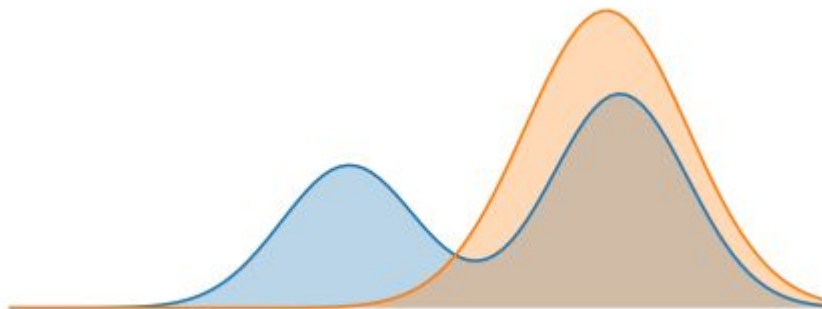


image source:  
Dibya Ghosh

# Korean Simulations Findings

- Both enhancement and bias influences necessary to produce most 2000s-like distribution
- Other cues involved (spectral tilt, vowel length) -  $f_0$  takes over without any bias specifically preferring it