

An Acoustic Study of Korean and English Voiceless Sibilant Fricatives

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates acoustic characteristics of English and Korean voiceless sibilant fricatives as they appear before the three vowels, /i/, /a/ and /u/. Three measurements - duration, center of gravity and major spectral peak - are employed to compare acoustic properties and vowel effect for each fricative sound. This study also investigates the question of whether Korean sibilant fricatives are acoustically similar to the English voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ or to the palato-alveolar /ʃ/. The results show that in the duration of frication noise, English /ʃ/ is the longest and Korean lax /s/ the shortest of the four sounds. It is also observed that English alveolar /s/ has the highest value, whereas Korean /s/ shows the lowest value in the frequency of center of gravity. In terms of major spectral peak, while English /s/ reveals the highest frequency, English /ʃ/ shows the lowest value. In addition, evidence indicates that there is a strong vowel effect in the fricative sounds of both languages, although the vowel effect patterns of the two languages are inconsistent. For instance, in the major spectral peak, both Korean lax /s/ and tense /s*/ show significantly higher frequencies before the vowel /a/ than before the other vowels, whereas both English /s/ and /ʃ/ exhibit significantly higher frequencies before the vowel /i/ than before the other vowels. These results indicate that Korean sibilant fricatives are acoustically distinct from both English /s/ and /ʃ/.

Keywords: voiceless sibilant fricatives, duration, center of gravity, major spectral peak

1. Introduction

Fricatives are produced with a very narrow constriction in the oral cavity. There is a rapid flow of air through the constriction, creating turbulence in the flow. While stops present a relative lack of spectrographic activity, fricatives are accompanied by aperiodic vibrations in the higher frequencies (Stevens, 1971, 1998).

In early studies, fricatives are characterized by a number of acoustic parameters such as spectral shape, duration and overall intensity (Hughes & Halle, 1956; Stevens, 1960; Jassem, 1965). More recent research adds other acoustic parameters to our

knowledge about fricatives such as spectral moments - centroid, variance, skewness and kurtosis (Forrest, Weismer, Milenkovic & Dougall, 1988; Nittrouer, 1995; McFarland, Baum & Chabot, 1996; Tabain, 1998; Jongman, Wayland & Wong, 2000), locus equations (Sussman, 1994; Fowler, 1994; Sussman & Shore, 1996; Yeou, 1997), and relative amplitude (Stevens, 1985; Hedrick & Ohde, 1993).

Among fricatives, the alveolars /s, z/ and palato-alveolars /ʃ, ʒ/ are called sibilants because of the hissing noise produced during articulation (Jongman et al. 2000). The voiceless sibilant fricatives /s/ and /ʃ/ are the most frequently occurring fricative sounds in the languages of the world (Maddieson, 1984). Although both English and Korean have two-way contrasts in sibilant fricatives, they contrast in different aspects of articulation. In English, two sibilant fricative sounds contrast with each other in tongue position, whereas in Korean, the sounds are differentiated by tenseness. In English, alveolar /s/ and palato-alveolar /ʃ/ are generally distinguished on the basis of the spectral properties of frication noise. That is, /s/ has a greater energy concentration at higher frequencies than /ʃ/. Major spectral

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peaks appear around 3,000 Hz for /ʃ/ and around 4,000 Hz for /s/ (Stevens, 1971; Behrens & Blumstein, 1988; Davenport & Hannahs, 1998). The spectral properties of /s/ examined in several languages show considerable interspeaker variation despite the consistently high frequency of peaks relative to /ʃ/. This interspeaker variation is related to variation in constriction location, tongue shape and tongue position (Gordon, Barthmaier & Sands, 2002). The difference in energy distribution between /s/ and /ʃ/ can also be shown by the center of gravity, the first moment when the power spectrum is treated as a probability distribution (Forrest et al., 1988; Jongman et al., 2000). Furthermore, Proctor, Shadle & Iskarous (2006) argue that the articulatory and acoustic properties of English /s/ and /ʃ/ depend on vowel context. For example, the place of articulation of /s/ varies from dental to post-alveolar depending on the vocalic environment, in some cases shifting according to the frontness or backness of the adjacent vowel.

In Korean, there are two voiceless sibilant fricatives, lax /s/ and tense /s*/.³⁾ Korean /ʃ/ and /ʃ*/ are allophonic variants of /s/ and /s*/ because Korean /s/ and /s*/ are palatalized in front of /i/ or /y/, e.g., *tasi* /taʃi/ 'again' (Sohn, 1999). The place of articulation of the fricatives is controversial, having been alternatively classified as - dental (Cheng, 1987; Maddieson, 1984), alveolar (Jung, 1962) and denti-alveolar (Cho, Jun & Ladefoged, 2002; Choo & O'Grady, 2003). Schmidt and Meyers (1995) indicate that this disagreement on the description of tongue placement is due to the fact that Korean, with only three fricatives, including /h/, has fewer fricatives than English, which has nine.

The status of the Korean tense fricative /s*/ is rigid because its phonetic and phonological properties are very similar to those of Korean tense stops and affricates. However, categorization of the lax fricative /s/ varies from lax (Cho et al., 2002) to aspirated (Park, 1999). Kang, Kochetov and Go (2009) indicate that the lax fricative /s/ shows characteristics of both lax and aspirated obstruents. They found that the fricative /s/ patterns with lax obstruents in terms of fricative duration and center of gravity, while it patterns with aspirated obstruents in fundamental frequency (F0). It is also known that Korean lax /s/ and tense /s*/ contrast in duration. Lax /s/ has shorter duration of frication than tense /s*/ (Kim, 1999; Kim & Curtis, 2002). However, Kang (2008) argues that the duration difference between these two sounds is consistent only in the word-medial position, and not in the word-initial position. Cho et al. (2002) calculate center of

gravity (centroid) in front of the vowel /a/ in order to investigate spectral characteristics of Korean sibilant fricatives. They show that the tense fricative has a significantly higher centroid than the lax one.

Extensive acoustic studies have been done on Korean and English fricative sounds separately. However, there has been little investigation of direct comparisons between Korean and English fricative sounds in front of various vowels through the same acoustic measurements.

This study compares acoustic characteristics and vowel effect of frication noise in Korean and English voiceless sibilant fricatives using three acoustic measurements - duration, center of gravity and major spectral peak. This study also investigates the question of whether Korean sibilant fricatives are acoustically more similar to English alveolar /s/ or to English palato-alveolar /ʃ/.

In this study, three acoustic measurements - duration, center of gravity and major spectral peak - were employed. The two acoustic measurements, major spectral peak and center of gravity, were chosen because these measurements have been used to capture the differences between English voiceless sibilant fricatives in much previous research (Stevens, 1971; Behrens & Blumstein, 1988; Forrest et al., 1988; Jongman et al., 2000). These measurements were also employed to differentiate between Korean lax and tense fricatives (Cho et al., 2002; Hwang, 2004; Kang et al., 2009). Another measurement, duration of frication noise, was taken because in the previous studies duration was found to be a significant acoustic characteristic for Korean fricative contrast (Kim, 1999; Kim & Curtis, 2002; Cho et al., 2002; Chang, 2008). Duration was also measured in order to determine acoustic similarity between English and Korean voiceless sibilants (Cheon & Anderson, 2008).

The following questions will be addressed: 1) Are Korean and English voiceless sibilant fricatives distinguished based on the acoustic measurements?; 2) Do Korean sibilant fricatives present a greater acoustic similarity to the English alveolar fricative /s/ than to the English palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/?; 3) Do Korean and English voiceless sibilant fricatives show consistent vowel effect?

2. Methods

2.1 Subjects

Twenty native Korean speakers (ten male and ten female) and twenty native English speakers⁴⁾ (fifteen male and five female)

3) Diacritic '*' is used to indicate tenseness in this study.

4) All of them are American English speakers.

participated in this study. The data from one English speaking subject of this group was excluded because of a recording error. All the Korean subjects (mean age: 26.6 years, mean length of stay in an English speaking country: 3.6 months) were graduate students at H University, in Seoul, Korea. The English speaking subjects (mean age: 37.4 years, mean length of stay in Korea, 5 years) were English professors or instructors at the same university. None of the subjects reported any history of speech or hearing impairments.

2.2 Stimuli

The stimuli consisted of English /s/, English /ʃ/, Korean /s/ and Korean /s*/ followed by the vowels /i/, /a/ and /u/. English and Korean words which include these sequences in word-initial position were used as test words. The test words were embedded in two carrier sentences; "Please say _____ three times" or "Jigeumbuteo _____ sebeon malhaseyo." The English speaking subjects read the English sentences and the Korean subjects read the Korean sentences. Korean orthography was provided for the Korean sentences. The test words were randomized for each subject. Each test word had three repetitions. Thus, the total number of test words was 702 (19 English subjects x 2 fricatives x 3 vowels x 3 repetitions and 20 Korean subjects x 2 fricatives x 3 vowels x 3 repetitions). The following shows the target items used for acoustic analyses.

- (1) a. English /s/ before /i/, /a/, /u/
season, sock, soup
- b. English /ʃ/ before /i/, /a/, /u/
sheep, shock, shoot
- (2) a. Korean /s/ before /i/, /a/, /u/
sigan 'time'
sagwa 'apple'
sugap 'handcuff'
- b. Korean /s*/ before /i/, /a/, /u/
ssireum 'wrestling'
ssagae 'wrapper'
ssusigae 'pick'

2.3 Recording

Recording was conducted in a sound-proof room at the Language Research Institute of H University using an audio-interface (Tascam, Model US-122), which converts analogue into 16-bit digital signals at a sampling rate of 16,000 Hz, and directs it to the computer to be stored on the hard disk using

software called Cool Edit (version 2.1). The subjects read test words in carrier sentences which were presented one by one on a computer screen prompted by *ProRec* software. In order to analyze and measure acoustic properties, a publically available speech analysis tool called *Praat* (version 5.1.4.1) was used.

2.4 Measurements

2.4.1 Duration

In total, 342 English items produced by English subjects and 360 Korean items produced by Korean subjects were employed for acoustic analyses. All measurements were taken by hand with *Praat*. For precise boundary locations and measurements, a waveform and a spectrogram were considered together. Frication was identified by the presence of high frequency noise. The duration of frication was measured from the beginning of high frequency noise to the zero-crossing of the end of the visible frequency noise preceding the onset of periodicity. If there was a portion of aspiration before the periodicity of the vowel portion, the portion of aspiration was not included in the duration of frication noise. Figure 1 shows an example of segmentation for measuring frication duration.

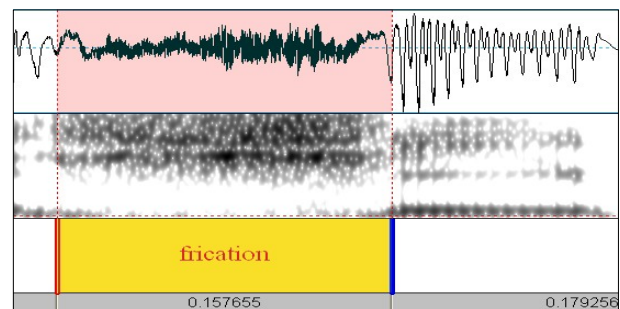


Figure 1. Waveform and Spectrogram of *sheep* produced by EM2.

2.4.2 Center of gravity

Another measurement used in this study to compare the acoustic properties of English and Korean voiceless sibilant fricatives was center of gravity of frication noise. Center of gravity is the centroid of a defined part of the spectrum, each frequency being weighed according to its amplitude (Forrest et al., 1988; Zsiga, 2000). The values for center of gravity were taken from a series of Fast Fourier Transforms (FFT) spectra, and measured over a spectrum of the entire fricative portion with *Praat*.

2.4.3 Major spectral peak

The frequency of major spectral peak of voiceless sibilant fricatives was also measured. The samples were preemphasized

from 50 Hz and the power spectra were made with the power of 2.0. Spectra were LPC smoothed for better visibility. For LPC, 12 peaks were used. Figure 2 shows an example of the spectrum for measuring the major spectral peak of English /ʃ/.

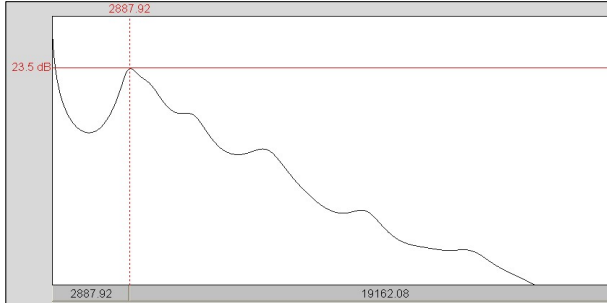


Figure 2. Spectrum of /ʃ/ shown in *sheep* produced by EM2.

3. Results

3.1 Frication duration

The following figure shows a graphic representation of mean frication duration for Korean and English fricatives. Each subject's scores were averaged over the three repetitions.

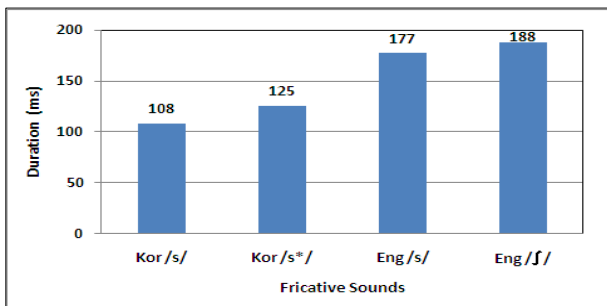


Figure 3. Mean frication duration of Korean /s/, Korea /s*/, English /s/ and English /ʃ/

As seen in Figure 3, English /ʃ/ reveals the longest frication noise (188 ms) and Korean /s/ is the shortest frication noise (108 ms) of the four sounds. The detailed individual data are given in Appendix 1.

According to a two-factor ANOVA (language, fricative sound), there was a significant effect among English /s/, English /ʃ/, Korean /s/ and Korean /s*/ sounds [$F(3, 230) = 63.390, p < .001$], as well as a significant language effect for Korean and English sounds [$F(1, 230) = 181.285, p < .001$].

A post hoc test revealed that the duration of Korean /s/ and Korean /s*/ was significantly shorter than that of English /s/ and English /ʃ/. Korean tense /s*/ was longer than Korean lax /s/ [$p < .001$]. Furthermore, English palato-alveolar /ʃ/ was longer than

English alveolar /s/ [$p = .001$].

3.2 Center of gravity

The following figure displays the mean frequencies of center of gravity for Korean and English fricatives.

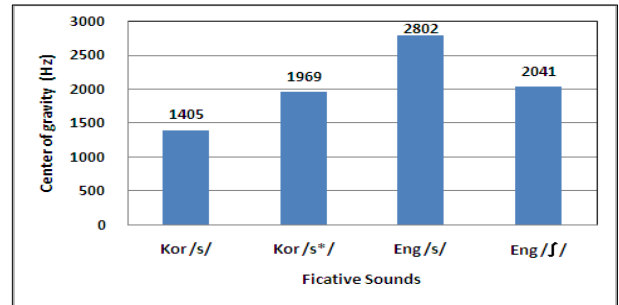


Figure 4. Mean frequencies of center of gravity of Korean /s/, Korean /s*/, English /s/ and English /ʃ/

As shown in Figure 4, English /s/ has the highest value (2802 Hz) whereas Korean /s/ has the lowest value (1405 Hz) of the four fricative sounds. The detailed individual data are shown in Appendix 2.

According to a two-factor ANOVA (language, fricative sound), there was a significant effect for English /s/, English /ʃ/, Korean /s/, and Korean /s*/ sounds [$F(3, 230) = 13.337, p < .001$], as well as a significant language effect for Korean subjects and English speaking subjects [$F(1, 230) = 21.918, p < .001$]. A post hoc test revealed that the center of gravity of Korean /s/ was significantly lower than that of Korean /s*/ and English /ʃ/. English /s/ presented significantly higher values than the other fricative sounds.

3.3 Major spectral peak

The following figure illustrates the mean frequencies of major spectral peak shown in Korean and English fricatives.

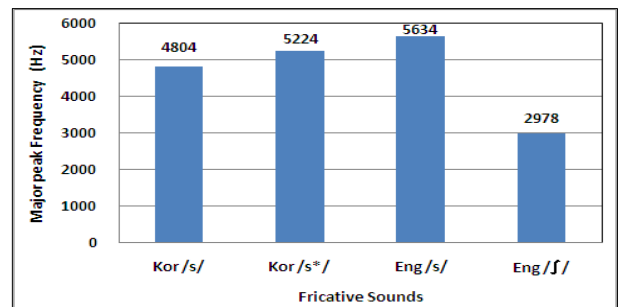


Figure 5. Mean frequencies of major spectral peak of Korean /s/, Korean /s*/, English /s/ and English /ʃ/

As shown in Figure 5, the major peak value of English /ʃ/

(2978 Hz) was much lower than that of the other fricative sounds, and English /s/ (5634 Hz) had a greater energy concentration at higher frequencies than Korean /s/ and /s*/. The individual data are shown in Appendix 3.

A two-factor ANOVA (language, fricative sound) revealed that there was a significant effect of fricative sounds for English /s/, English /ʃ/, Korean /s/ and Korean /s*/* [F(3, 230) = 70.978, p < .001], as well as a significant language effect between Korean and English sounds [F(1, 230) = 26.497, p < .001]. A post hoc test exhibited that the mean frequency of major spectral peak of English /ʃ/ was lower than that of Korean /s*/* and Korean /s/. Furthermore, the mean spectral peak frequency of Korean /s*/* was higher than that of Korean /s/ (p=.001). English /s/ showed the highest spectral peak frequency.

The following table summarizes statistical differences for the four fricative sounds across vowels.

Table 1. Statistical differences in three acoustic measurements

| | |
|------------|---|
| Dur | English /ʃ/ > English /s/ > Korean /s*/* > Korean /s/ |
| CG | English /s/ > Korean /s*/* & English /ʃ/ > Korean /s/ |
| MSP | English /s/ > Korean /s*/* & Korean /s/ > English /ʃ/ |

(Dur=duration, CG=center of gravity, MSP=major spectral peak)

3.4 Vowel effect

In each measurement, the vowel effect of each sound was investigated. For frication duration, the following figure represents the general patterns of duration shown in Korean /s/, Korean /s*/*, English /s/ and English /ʃ/ in front of the three vowels, /i/, /a/ and /u/.

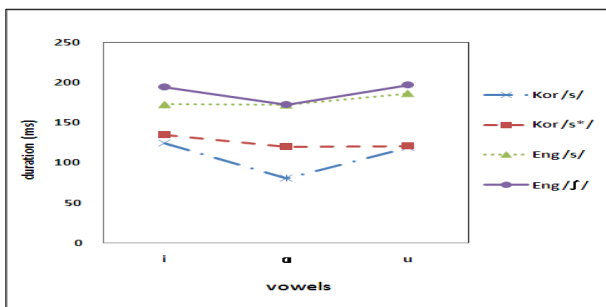


Figure 6. Mean frication duration of Korean /s/, Korean /s*/*, English /s/ and English /ʃ/ before three vowels

As depicted in Figure 6, the duration of English /s/ and /ʃ/

was longer than that of Korean /s/ and /s*/*. Statistical analysis was performed for each sound in order to check the vowel effect. A repeated measures ANOVA revealed that there was a significant vowel effect for all four fricative sounds [F(19, 40) = 15.539, p < .001 for Korean /s/; F(19, 40) = 8.662, p = .002 for Korean /s*/*; F(18, 38) = 6.301, p = .009 for English /s/; F(18, 38) = 13.167, p < .001 for English /ʃ/]. Post hoc pairwise comparisons for each fricative sound indicated that the duration of Korean /s/ before /a/ was significantly shorter than that of Korean /s/ before /i/ or /u/ (p = .002 and p < .001, respectively). Also, the duration of Korean /s*/* before /i/ was significantly longer than that of Korean /s*/* before /a/ or /u/ (p = .012 and p = .003, respectively). In addition, the duration of English /s/ before /u/ was marginally longer than that of English /s/ before /i/ or /a/ (p = .016 and p = .035, respectively). Furthermore, the duration of English /ʃ/ before /a/ was significantly shorter than that of English /ʃ/ before /i/ or /u/ (p = .011 and p < .001, respectively). In terms of the duration of frication noise, the vowel effect patterns were not consistent among the sounds, but in general, the fricative noise was shorter before /a/ than before other vowels. This pattern was more prominent in Korean /s/ compared to the other sounds as the percentage of aspiration occurrence was high (about 80%) and the duration of aspiration was relatively long in this sound.

The following figure illustrates the aspiration shown in Korean /s/ before /a/.

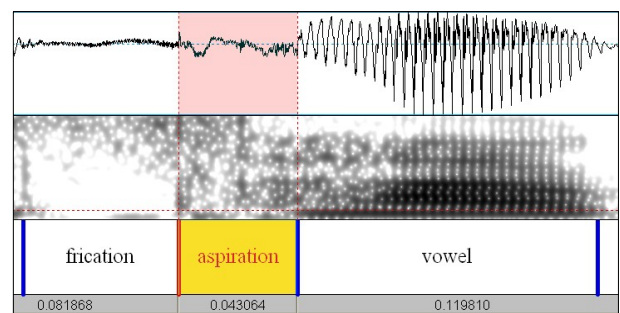


Figure 7. Waveform and spectrogram shown in *sagwa* 'apple' produced by KF2.

For the mean frequencies of center of gravity, the following figure depicts the general patterns shown in Korean /s/, Korean /s*/*, English /s/ and English /ʃ/ in front of the three vowels, /i/, /a/ and /u/.

When we compared the mean frequencies of center of gravity, English /s/ and /ʃ/ were higher than Korean /s/ and /s*/*, and Korean /s/ revealed the lowest frequency of center of gravity. Statistical analysis was performed for each sound in order to

check the vowel effect. A repeated measures ANOVA revealed that there was a significant vowel effect for Korean /s/, Korean /s*/ and English /f/ [F(19, 40) = 15.539, p < .001; F(19, 40) = 6.870, p = .006; F(18, 38) = 7.280, p < .001, respectively]. There was no vowel effect in English /s/. Post hoc pairwise comparisons for each fricative sound indicated that the center of gravity of Korean /s/ before /a/ was significantly lower than that of Korean /s/ before /i/ or /u/ (p < .001, and p = .002, respectively). Also, the center of gravity of Korean /s*/ before /a/ was significantly lower than that of Korean /s*/ before /i/ (p = .006). There was no significant difference for the other vowels. In addition, the center of gravity of English /f/ before /a/ was significantly lower than that of English /f/ before /i/ or /u/ (p < .001 for both comparisons). In terms of the center of gravity of frication noise, the vowel effect patterns were consistent among the sounds. That is, in general, the center of gravity for frication noise was shorter before /a/ than before the other vowels.

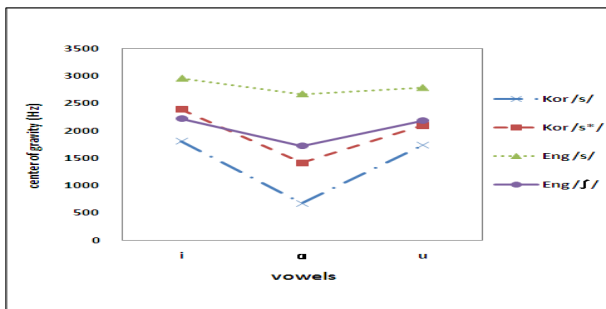


Figure 8. Mean frequencies of center of gravity of Korean /s/, Korean /s*/, English /s/ and English /f/ before three vowels

For the major spectral peak of frication, the following figure shows the general patterns of Korean /s/, Korean /s*/, English /s/ and English /f/ in front of the three vowels, /i/, /a/ and /u/.

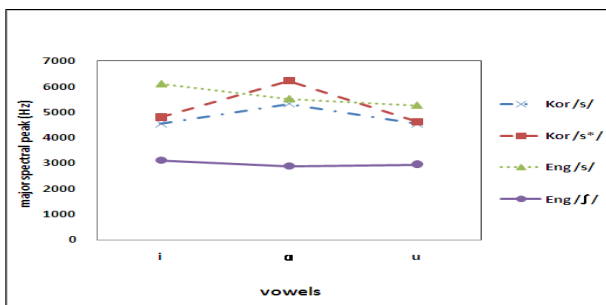


Figure 9. Mean frequencies of major spectral peak of Korean /s/, Korean /s*/, English /s/ and English /f/ before three vowels

Figure 9 displays that the frequency of major spectral peak of English /f/ was lower than that of Korean /s/, Korean /s*/ and English /s/.

Statistical analysis was performed for each sound in order to check the vowel effect. A repeated measures ANOVA revealed that there was a significant vowel effect for all four fricative sounds [F(19, 40) = 9.241, p = .002 for Korean /s/; F(19, 40) = 1.726, p < .001 for Korean /s*/; F(18, 38) = 7.530, p = .005 for English /s/; F(18, 38) = 8.324, p = .003 for English /f/]. Post hoc pairwise comparisons for each fricative sound indicated that the spectral peak frequency of Korean /s/ before /a/ was significantly higher than that of Korean /s/ before /i/ or /u/ (p = .003 and p = .008, respectively). Also, the spectral peak frequency of Korean /s*/ before /a/ was significantly higher than that of Korean /s*/ before /i/ or /u/ (p < .001 for both comparisons). In addition, the spectral peak frequency of English /s/ before /i/ was significantly higher than that of English /s/ before /a/ or /u/ (p = .024 and p = .007, respectively). Furthermore, the spectral peak frequency of English /f/ before /i/ was significantly higher than that of English /f/ before /a/ or /u/ (p = .016 and p = .008, respectively). In terms of the major spectral peak frequency of frication noise, the vowel effect patterns of the two languages were different. That is, in Korean the vowel /a/ was different from the other vowels, whereas in English, the vowel /i/ showed a different pattern from the other vowels.

The following figure shows the waveforms and spectrograms of Korean /s/ before three different vowels.

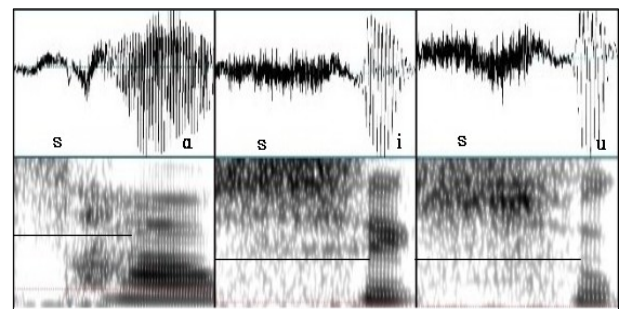


Figure 10. Spectrograms of /sa/, /si/, and /su/ produced by KF2

Figure 10 shows the different energy distribution of Korean /s/ before the three vowels. Korean /s/ before /a/ consists of frication noise, aspiration, and the vowel /a/, whereas that before /i/ or /u/ has no aspiration, hence a sequence of frication noise and the vowel. Moreover, the boundary of frequency of /s/ before /i/ or /u/ is around 2000 Hz, whereas the boundary of frequency of /s/ before /a/ is around 3500 Hz, as illustrated by horizontal lines. The mean value of major spectral peak of Korean /s/ before /a/ is higher than that before /i/ or /u/ by about 1000-1500 Hz (refer to the table in appendix).

The following table summarizes the statistical differences for the four fricative sounds before the three vowels.

Table 2. Statistical differences involving vowel effect in three acoustic measurements

| | Kor /s/ | Kor /s*/ | Eng /s/ | Eng /ʃ/ |
|------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| Dur | /i/ or /u/ > /a/ | /i/ > /a/ or /u/ | /u/ > /a/ or /i/# | /i/ or /u/ > /a/ |
| CG | /i/ or /u/ > /a/ | /i/ > /a/ | no vowel effect | /i/ or /u/ > /a/ |
| MSP | /a/ > /i/ or /u/ | /a/ > /i/ or /u/ | /i/ > /a/ or /u/ | /i/ > /a/ or /u/ |

(Dur=duration, CG=center of gravity; MSP=major spectral peak,

Difference is marginal.)

4. Discussion and conclusion

This study compared acoustic properties of the English voiceless sibilant fricatives, /s/ and /ʃ/, and the Korean fricatives, /s/ and /s*/, as they occurred before the three vowels, /i/, /a/ and /u/ at the word-initial position. Three acoustic measurements - duration, center of gravity, and major spectral peak of frication noise - were used in order to investigate acoustic characteristics and vowel effect. The results showed that a strong fricative sound effect and a language effect appeared in all three measurements.

In the duration of frication noise, English /s/ and /ʃ/ were significantly longer than Korean /s/ and /s*/. Korean tense /s*/ was longer than Korean lax /s/, while English palato-alveolar /ʃ/ was longer than English alveolar /s/. Thus, English /ʃ/ exhibited the longest frication and Korean /s/ showed the shortest frication of the four fricative sounds. When the frequency of center of gravity in frication noise was measured, English /s/ had the highest value whereas Korean /s/ showed the lowest value. There was no significant difference between Korean /s*/ and English /ʃ/. In each language, Korean /s*/ showed significantly higher frequency than Korean /s/, and English /s/ presented higher frequency than English /ʃ/. These results are consistent with the previous research exploring spectral moments (McFarland et al., 1996; Shadle & Mair, 1996; Cho et al., 2002; Hwang, 2004). In the frequency of major spectral peak in frication noise, English /s/ showed the highest frequency whereas English /ʃ/ revealed the lowest frequency. The frequency of Korean /s*/ was higher than Korean /s/. Therefore, a distinction among the four fricative sounds was shown in all three measurements.

Vowel effect was also explored in each measurement. In the duration of frication, there was a vowel effect for all four fricatives. In general, the fricative sounds before /a/ were shorter

than those before /i/ or /u/. Specifically, Korean lax /s/ before /a/ was much shorter in frication duration than before the other vowels. This pattern can be explained by the high percentage of occurrence of aspiration, some instances of which were accompanied by a strong burst. This phenomenon is also consistent with previous studies. Cheon & Anderson (2008) reported that Korean /s/ before /a/ was significantly longer in aspiration duration than both English /s/ and Korean /s*/ before /a/, and Korean /s/ before /a/ was significantly shorter in frication duration than the other sounds before /a/. Kang, Kochetov & Go (2009) also demonstrated that Korean lax /s/ had a significant VOT difference only before /a/ in the word-initial position.

In terms of center of gravity, the three fricative sounds, Korean /s/, Korean /s*/ and English /ʃ/ showed significantly lower frequencies before /a/ than before the other vowels. However, English /s/ did not reveal any vowel effect.

For the major spectral peak frequency, English and Korean fricative sounds did not show consistent patterns. For Korean, both /s/ and /s*/ were significantly higher before /a/ than before the other vowels, whereas both English /s/ and /ʃ/ were significantly higher before /i/ than before the other vowels. Thus, the Korean /s/-palatalization rule involving the vowel /i/ was not clearly shown in this study as the frequencies of major spectral peak were lower before both /i/ and /u/ than before /a/. In other words, the place of articulation of Korean /s/ and /s*/ moved backwards before both /i/ and /u/ compared to those sounds before /a/.

In summary, Korean and English voiceless sibilant fricatives are distinguished from one another based on the three acoustic measurements. Furthermore, Korean sibilant fricatives are acoustically differentiated from both English /s/ and /ʃ/. This implies that Korean learners of English should be aware of acoustic differences in temporal and spectral aspects between Korean and English voiceless sibilant fricatives. Moreover, a strong vowel effect is shown for all the fricative sounds in both languages except English /s/, which does not exhibit vowel effect in center of gravity. However, vowel effect is not consistent between the two languages. For example, both Korean /s/ and /s*/ display longer duration and higher frequency of major spectral peak before /a/ than before /i/. This pattern, however, is not revealed for the English sounds.

Future study is needed to compare the acoustic characteristics of Korean and English voiceless sibilant fricatives at word-medial or final position. In order to investigate L2 acquisition, a comparison of English voiceless sibilant fricatives produced by English native speakers and native Korean speakers should be

considered. That is, whether Korean speakers and English speakers show similar acoustic characteristics when they pronounce English voiceless sibilant fricatives is a question to be examined. In addition, perception tests involving the continuum between /s/ and /ʃ/ are needed to see whether native Korean speakers reveal the same perception categorization as native English speakers.

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Appendix 1. Individual data in mean frication durations

Korean /s/ and /s*/ before three vowels (ms)

| Kor Sub | /si/ | /sa/ | /su/ | /s*i/ | /s*ɑ/ | /s*u/ |
|---------|------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|
| KM1 | 114 | 123 | 114 | 103 | 115 | 94 |
| KM2 | 168 | 68 | 81 | 136 | 90 | 125 |
| KM3 | 124 | 57 | 91 | 124 | 124 | 131 |
| KM4 | 156 | 48 | 99 | 136 | 113 | 124 |
| KM5 | 130 | 123 | 78 | 136 | 100 | 90 |
| KM6 | 136 | 110 | 152 | 156 | 127 | 116 |
| KM7 | 136 | 96 | 123 | 112 | 120 | 114 |
| KM8 | 156 | 81 | 133 | 121 | 122 | 81 |
| KM9 | 89 | 96 | 124 | 137 | 116 | 139 |
| KM10 | 75 | 75 | 93 | 126 | 116 | 127 |
| KF1 | 152 | 65 | 133 | 135 | 157 | 146 |
| KF2 | 134 | 62 | 130 | 124 | 117 | 122 |
| KF3 | 173 | 81 | 133 | 203 | 158 | 185 |
| KF4 | 187 | 78 | 153 | 155 | 164 | 133 |
| KF5 | 101 | 58 | 113 | 143 | 121 | 124 |
| KF6 | 158 | 65 | 152 | 121 | 101 | 123 |
| KF7 | 109 | 55 | 104 | 128 | 131 | 104 |
| KF8 | 51 | 59 | 119 | 122 | 96 | 109 |
| KF9 | 86 | 108 | 121 | 147 | 116 | 121 |
| KF10 | 47 | 98 | 133 | 133 | 96 | 105 |
| Mean | 124 | 80 | 119 | 135 | 120 | 121 |

English /s/ and /ʃ/ before three vowels (ms)

| Eng Sub | /si/ | /sa/ | /su/ | /ʃi/ | /ʃɑ/ | /ʃu/ |
|---------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| EM1 | 179 | 151 | 187 | 174 | 139 | 194 |
| EM2 | 138 | 142 | 158 | 151 | 148 | 165 |
| EM3 | 167 | 175 | 181 | 198 | 202 | 198 |
| EM4 | 133 | 128 | 149 | 161 | 123 | 164 |
| EM5 | 162 | 159 | 206 | 202 | 173 | 227 |
| EM6 | 160 | 153 | 155 | 202 | 177 | 168 |
| EM7 | 196 | 184 | 209 | 217 | 172 | 210 |
| EM8 | 213 | 273 | 254 | 235 | 270 | 274 |
| EM9 | 160 | 185 | 153 | 185 | 177 | 168 |
| EM10 | 149 | 157 | 151 | 165 | 139 | 176 |
| EM11 | 239 | 222 | 266 | 243 | 261 | 281 |
| EM12 | 181 | 185 | 211 | 183 | 195 | 203 |
| EM13 | 180 | 154 | 180 | 160 | 138 | 183 |
| EM14 | 148 | 129 | 162 | 174 | 143 | 171 |
| EF1 | 252 | 286 | 301 | 293 | 250 | 291 |
| EF2 | 197 | 169 | 180 | 196 | 159 | 176 |
| EF3 | 162 | 134 | 175 | 147 | 136 | 161 |
| EF4 | 165 | 193 | 183 | 218 | 178 | 226 |
| EF5 | 97 | 88 | 78 | 185 | 94 | 102 |
| Mean | 173 | 172 | 186 | 194 | 172 | 197 |

cf) KM = Korean male speaker, KF = Korean female speaker
 EM = English male speaker, EF = English female speaker
 Each subject's scores were averaged over the three repetitions.

Appendix 2. Individual data in mean frequencies of center of gravity

Korean /s/ and /s*/ before three vowels (Hz)

| Kor Sub | /si/ | /sa/ | /su/ | /s*i/ | /s*α/ | /s*u/ |
|---------|------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|
| KM1 | 2384 | 327 | 3230 | 3105 | 2334 | 2932 |
| KM2 | 553 | 160 | 1167 | 693 | 615 | 753 |
| KM3 | 631 | 321 | 566 | 622 | 503 | 411 |
| KM4 | 1646 | 294 | 1157 | 1768 | 1274 | 351 |
| KM5 | 4179 | 532 | 3428 | 4168 | 2323 | 3729 |
| KM6 | 1900 | 437 | 1533 | 1903 | 2849 | 823 |
| KM7 | 1315 | 490 | 1681 | 542 | 797 | 1793 |
| KM8 | 1893 | 368 | 128 | 3831 | 453 | 217 |
| KM9 | 109 | 432 | 726 | 799 | 404 | 566 |
| KM10 | 1722 | 242 | 1250 | 2672 | 1905 | 1875 |
| KF1 | 1180 | 1394 | 3917 | 3108 | 1378 | 5259 |
| KF2 | 3081 | 3584 | 2653 | 3271 | 548 | 1584 |
| KF3 | 2532 | 727 | 2077 | 3340 | 1193 | 1745 |
| KF4 | 4212 | 2539 | 3594 | 5115 | 3260 | 3746 |
| KF5 | 2030 | 545 | 514 | 4440 | 1570 | 3248 |
| KF6 | 1651 | 216 | 467 | 1259 | 217 | 769 |
| KF7 | 1064 | 267 | 975 | 907 | 344 | 1271 |
| KF8 | 2489 | 343 | 3226 | 2673 | 3713 | 3702 |
| KF9 | 341 | 135 | 1926 | 879 | 781 | 4413 |
| KF10 | 1174 | 168 | 510 | 2740 | 1869 | 2797 |
| Mean | 1804 | 676 | 1736 | 2392 | 1416 | 2099 |

Appendix 3. Individual data in mean frequencies of major spectral peak

Korean /s/ and /s*/ before three vowels (Hz)

| Kor Sub | /si/ | /sa/ | /su/ | /s*i/ | /s*α/ | /s*u/ |
|---------|------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|
| KM1 | 4515 | 4940 | 3691 | 4397 | 6370 | 3691 |
| KM2 | 4397 | 4433 | 3574 | 4162 | 4958 | 3809 |
| KM3 | 2814 | 4352 | 3583 | 4687 | 4506 | 3655 |
| KM4 | 3474 | 4470 | 4723 | 3872 | 4506 | 4813 |
| KM5 | 4293 | 5786 | 5012 | 4334 | 6379 | 3167 |
| KM6 | 4008 | 4813 | 3601 | 3786 | 5908 | 3728 |
| KM7 | 4109 | 4370 | 3303 | 4515 | 5733 | 3351 |
| KM8 | 4188 | 4828 | 4594 | 5063 | 4820 | 4350 |
| KM9 | 4940 | 4671 | 6832 | 4126 | 6067 | 7437 |
| KM10 | 3348 | 5038 | 3833 | 4510 | 6959 | 6911 |
| KF1 | 5447 | 7329 | 6813 | 5175 | 6352 | 4361 |
| KF2 | 4234 | 6388 | 3628 | 4270 | 8523 | 3927 |
| KF3 | 4524 | 6270 | 4289 | 4632 | 6551 | 4831 |
| KF4 | 5356 | 6080 | 4542 | 5094 | 5926 | 4967 |
| KF5 | 5026 | 5908 | 5189 | 5374 | 6089 | 4560 |
| KF6 | 4513 | 5355 | 4902 | 4824 | 6391 | 4462 |
| KF7 | 4669 | 4728 | 4089 | 5211 | 6234 | 4180 |
| KF8 | 6877 | 5330 | 4377 | 5984 | 7636 | 4425 |
| KF9 | 5420 | 6216 | 4542 | 7401 | 7501 | 5266 |
| KF10 | 4887 | 5094 | 5691 | 4759 | 7139 | 6840 |
| Mean | 4552 | 5320 | 4540 | 4809 | 6227 | 4637 |

English /s/ and /ʃ/ before three vowels (Hz)

| Eng Sub | /si/ | /sa/ | /su/ | /ʃi/ | /ʃα/ | /ʃu/ |
|---------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| EM1 | 4799 | 3420 | 3456 | 1912 | 1003 | 2772 |
| EM2 | 1644 | 1454 | 1358 | 1857 | 1233 | 1375 |
| EM3 | 1259 | 1720 | 3679 | 3255 | 2632 | 3017 |
| EM4 | 651 | 459 | 780 | 838 | 433 | 771 |
| EM5 | 2187 | 3668 | 3386 | 2891 | 2184 | 2781 |
| EM6 | 2661 | 2865 | 3191 | 1557 | 1739 | 2284 |
| EM7 | 1381 | 1826 | 1187 | 1058 | 862 | 757 |
| EM8 | 4564 | 4301 | 3938 | 3235 | 3590 | 3647 |
| EM9 | 2661 | 1557 | 2865 | 1557 | 1739 | 2284 |
| EM10 | 4018 | 4344 | 3132 | 1549 | 1093 | 1359 |
| EM11 | 1908 | 1498 | 1579 | 2375 | 1971 | 2466 |
| EM12 | 5014 | 3632 | 4173 | 2565 | 1756 | 2067 |
| EM13 | 4619 | 4398 | 3921 | 3241 | 2235 | 3047 |
| EM14 | 3440 | 3184 | 1898 | 1425 | 1382 | 1499 |
| EF1 | 1651 | 1249 | 3486 | 2920 | 2498 | 3111 |
| EF2 | 1599 | 1200 | 1639 | 1297 | 549 | 884 |
| EF3 | 4796 | 1369 | 2330 | 3046 | 2226 | 2745 |
| EF4 | 4783 | 4803 | 4592 | 3250 | 2391 | 2708 |
| EF5 | 2515 | 3752 | 2315 | 2269 | 1226 | 1943 |
| Mean | 2955 | 2668 | 2784 | 2216 | 1723 | 2185 |

English /s/ and /ʃ/ before three vowels (Hz)

| Eng Sub | /si/ | /sa/ | /su/ | /ʃi/ | /ʃα/ | /ʃu/ |
|---------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| EM1 | 6976 | 5094 | 4687 | 3194 | 3004 | 3094 |
| EM2 | 5456 | 5456 | 4582 | 2741 | 2397 | 2542 |
| EM3 | 4958 | 4777 | 4822 | 3366 | 2587 | 3456 |
| EM4 | 4542 | 4524 | 4524 | 2886 | 2651 | 2660 |
| EM5 | 5899 | 5664 | 5411 | 3167 | 3139 | 3212 |
| EM6 | 5040 | 5148 | 5121 | 3103 | 3167 | 2968 |
| EM7 | 5646 | 5202 | 4397 | 2379 | 2379 | 2370 |
| EM8 | 7062 | 6828 | 5203 | 3599 | 3661 | 3489 |
| EM9 | 5040 | 3103 | 5148 | 3103 | 3167 | 2968 |
| EM10 | 4931 | 4994 | 4415 | 3438 | 3176 | 3112 |
| EM11 | 3715 | 3530 | 3235 | 2404 | 2816 | 2361 |
| EM12 | 7564 | 4388 | 5139 | 2651 | 2416 | 2117 |
| EM13 | 5546 | 4958 | 4451 | 2986 | 2226 | 2949 |
| EM14 | 6677 | 6062 | 4334 | 2750 | 2651 | 2669 |
| EF1 | 7428 | 7175 | 7772 | 3773 | 3519 | 3709 |
| EF2 | 6542 | 6162 | 5999 | 2841 | 2578 | 2687 |
| EF3 | 7075 | 5999 | 6551 | 3510 | 2768 | 2796 |
| EF4 | 6686 | 6433 | 7582 | 3103 | 2868 | 3031 |
| EF5 | 9335 | 9424 | 6718 | 3966 | 3585 | 3841 |
| Mean | 6111 | 5522 | 5268 | 3103 | 2882 | 2949 |