

1 **Interlanguage tone patterns in Thai pre-school children: A** 2 **preliminary corpus analysis**

3 4 **Abstract:**

5 The aim of this paper is to present a preliminary analysis by providing a detailed
6 corpus study of interlanguage tone patterns made by 11 pre-school children in Thailand
7 who learn Mandarin as their global language at Thai-Chinese International School in
8 Bangkok, Thailand. The novelty of this work is to collect and analyze some data from
9 a highly reliable corpus, and provide Praat acoustic parameters for the tone distribution
10 by looking at various tone combinations measured by plotting the F0 variations in
11 Mandarin. These units involved in the errors are classified by segmenting word shapes
12 into monosyllabic, disyllabic or multi-syllabic. Evidence from the data shows that Thai
13 children have no problem producing Mandarin tones, and are more likely to utter with
14 disyllabic lexicons. Different from the traditional analysis on the error patterns, this
15 study has suggested that interlanguage can be viewed as the transitional process
16 between mother tongue and target language, and those tone error patterns are not fully
17 related to their mother tongue, possibly suggesting that Thai children might have
18 constructed an independent linguistic system gradually towards Mandarin. In the near
19 future, a phonetically perceptual task in a low-pass filter for reserving tone information
20 will need to be conducted in the hope of eliminating the transcribers' bias to rely on the
21 lexical information.

22
23 Keywords: interlanguage tone patterns, Thai pre-school children, spoken corpus,
24 Mandarin Chinese

25 26 **1. Introduction**

27 Earlier studies have suggested that infants are sensitive to prosodic cues during their
28 language developmental stage, and children start to acquire suprasegmental features
29 such as stress, intonation, pitch and tone very early in the developmental process (e.g.,
30 Kaplan and Kaplan 1971; Clumeck 1980; Mehler et al. 1988; Demuth 1996). Evidence
31 from Crystal (1986), Mehler et al. (1988) and Demuth (1996) suggested that
32 suprasegmental features, such as intonation and stress, are acquired earlier and better
33 than segments. Evidence from 8 children (0;6-1;8) in Taiwan Mandarin leads Wan and
34 Yang (2017) to suggest the similar pattern and agreed that tone is considered one of the
35 most salient features in tone languages.

36 Due to different contour and level tones in the tone languages, studies reported tone
37 acquisition varied in Cantonese, Mandarin, Taiwanese, and Thai (e.g., Mandarin
38 spoken in the United States: Chao 1951, 1968; Clumeck 1977, 1980; Taiwan Mandarin:
39 Li and Thompson 1977; Hsu 2003; Wong, Schwartz and Jenkins 2005; Wong 2008,
40 2012, 2013; Chen and Kent 2009; Wan and Yang 2017; Beijing Mandarin: Zhu and
41 Dodd 2000; Zhu 2002; Cantonese: Tse 1991; So and Dodd 1995; To et al. 2013;
42 Taiwanese: Hsu 1987; Tsay 2001; Thai: Tuaycharoen 1977). Cross-linguistic studies
43 on acquisition from Thai, Cantonese, Taiwanese and Mandarin generally agreed that

44 level tones are in general acquired earlier than contour tones (Thai: Tuaycharoen 1977;
45 Cantonese: Tse 1991; So and Dodd 1995; Taiwanese: Hsu 1987; Tsay 2001; Mandarin:
46 Wan & Yang, 2017).

47 However, different from the acquisition process, studies on language learning have
48 shown that lexical tones are the most difficult linguistic unit to acquire and be stable,
49 so error patterns will vary depending on international learners' language background
50 (Zeng 1999). Studies reported in Chinese and English showed that international learners
51 might have different learning difficulties depending on their mother tongues (e.g., Yue
52 1986; Yu 1988; Shen 1989; Leather 1990; Wang 1995; Wang Y. 1995; Chen 1997;
53 Feng 1997; Miracle 1999; Zeng 1999, 2001, 2007; Liu 2006; Zeng and Furukawa 2006;
54 Lin 2007; Guo and Tao 2008; Tsai 2008; Liao 2010; Chen 2011; Ding 2012; Huang
55 2013; Huang 2014). The relevant studies have found that in production or perception,
56 the most difficult linguistic element in Mandarin is on rising and low-falling tones for
57 Dutch, English, Japanese and Korean learners (e.g., Yu 1988; Leather 1990; Wang 1995;
58 Wang, Y. 1995; Chen 1997; Feng 1997; Miracle 1999; Liu 2006; Lin 2007; Tsai 2008;
59 Liao 2010; Chen 2011; Huang 2013; Huang 2014).

60 However, for the other international learners, who have similar tone language
61 background such as Vietnam or Thai, the error patterns will be entirely different. For
62 instance, Vietnamese learners who would find that the most difficult tones to learn in
63 both perception and production are high tone and high-falling tone (Zeng 1999; Wu and
64 Hu 2004; Tran 2005; Chen 2011). However, Thai learners show very little difficulties
65 in producing tones, but in terms of perception, the error rate in perceiving rising tone is
66 significantly low, compared to a higher correction rate in perceiving high-falling tone
67 (Chen 2011). In general, if their mother tongues are stress or pitch-accent languages,
68 tone patterns on rising and low-falling tones have proved to be the most difficult
69 features to be learned; however, if their native language are tone languages, which have
70 more complicated tone contours than Mandarin, mastering tones might not be a problem
71 for them.

72 A number of the following studies provided articulatory explanations, markedness,
73 phonetic cues, or theoretical phonological framework to account for universal patterns
74 or language-specific phenomenon on tones. Evidence from the articulatory effort theory
75 lead Ohala and Ewan (1972) and Ohala (1978) to report that rising tone is cross-
76 linguistically longer than falling tones, and needs more energy with muscular control,
77 so rising tone is supposedly more difficult than falling tones to produce. Vihman (1996)
78 proposed that there is a degree of markedness to pitch, and suggested that a falling pitch
79 movement is a natural gesture of speech production and requires less physiological
80 effort than rising pitch movement.

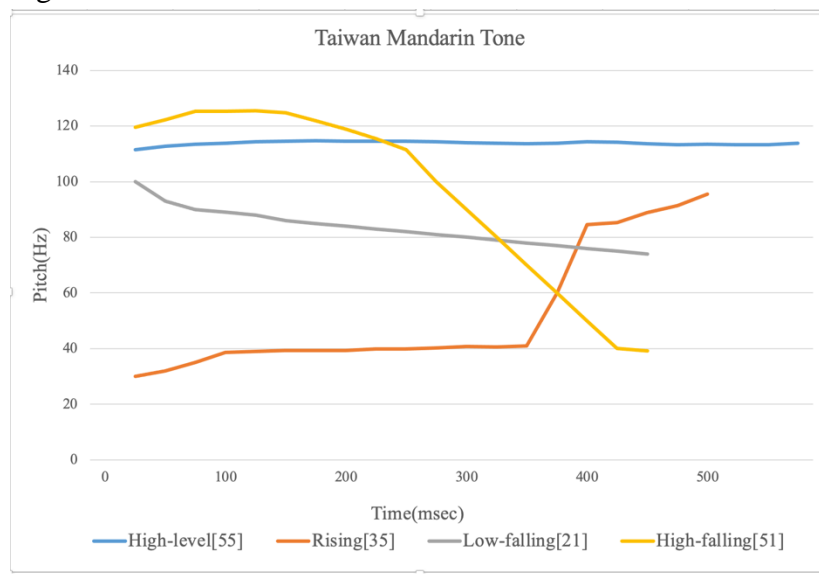
81 Many scholars in production and perceptual studies have discussed Mandarin
82 tones in relation to the phonetic cues, including duration, intensity and F_0 . In duration,
83 Tseng (1990), Fu and Zeng (2000), and Xu, Tsai and Pfingst (2002) all found that low-
84 falling tone has longer duration than rising tone, followed by high-level tone and/or
85 high-falling tone. In intensity, Ong and Yang (1997), and Xu et al. (2002) agreed that
86 high-falling tone is the strongest in intensity, and high-level tone is the next strongest,

87 followed by rising tone, and the least strong is the low-falling tone. Tsao (2008)
 88 investigated tone discrimination in Taiwan Mandarin infants between 10 and 12 months
 89 of age by testing their abilities to distinguish tone contrasts. The result showed that
 90 high-level tone and low-falling tone are a highly distinct tone pair, followed by a
 91 moderately distinct tone pair of rising and high-falling tones, and rising and low-falling
 92 tones are minimally distinct from one another.

93 Taiwan Mandarin has four distinctive lexical tones and a neutral tone. The
 94 conventionally accepted inventory of tones involves T1, high-level tones [55]; T2,
 95 rising tones [35]; T3, low-falling tones [21], and T4, high-falling tones [51]. Following
 96 shows a sample of a male speaker (aged 25) producing citation tones in Taiwan
 97 Mandarin.

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Figure 1: Mandarin contour tones



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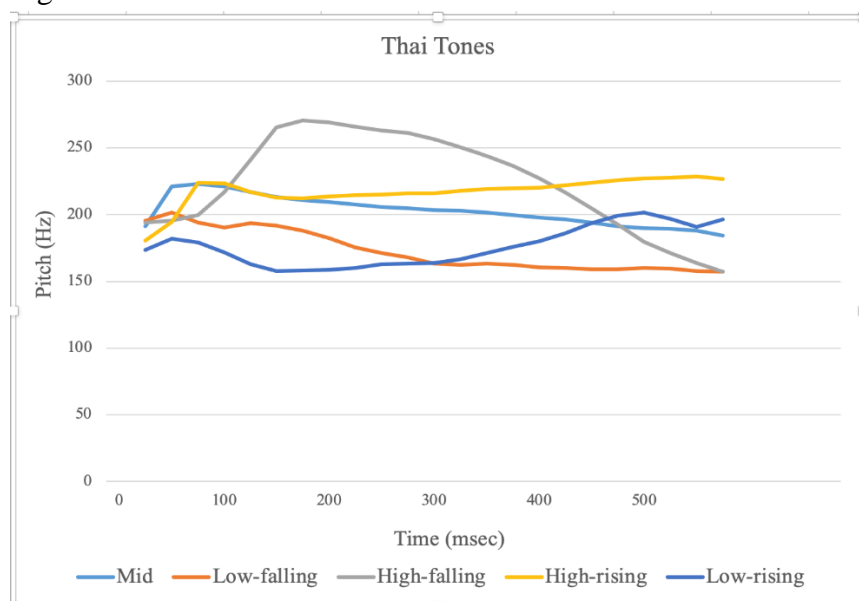
101 Note that these tone numbers are not intended to indicate underlying sequences, but
 102 simply to show the pitches involved in the contour tones. Most syllables in Mandarin
 103 carry a tone. However, some light syllables with tone can be produced as unstressed
 104 when they are functioning as grammatical particles, or as the second element in a
 105 reduplicated kinship term. In these cases, the syllable duration is shortened, and the
 106 syllable is spoken with a neutral tone which is phonetically mid-level; that is, it loses
 107 its own tone and is pronounced with a mid-level pitch on the surface. In the samples of
 108 the dataset, the mean duration is 553.7msec for high-level tone, 404.3msec for rising
 109 tone, 321.9msec for low-falling tone and 274.8msec for high-falling tone. As with the
 110 occurrence of frequency in the spoken corpora, token counts from a speech corpus
 111 (N=604,916), *NCCU Corpus of Spoken Chinese*, showed a rank order in which high-
 112 falling tone has the highest frequency of occurrence (39%), followed by low-falling
 113 tone (23%), then high-level tone (21%), and finally rising tone, being the least common
 114 (17%)¹. If each tone is expected to occur with approximately equal frequency, the above

¹ The database was collected and provided by Prof. Kawai Chui at National Chengchi University. The site contained four tones plus neutral tone in spontaneous speech. Since the present study focused only

115 counts should have been distributed evenly. Similarly, in Mandarin acquisition, high-
 116 falling tone outnumbered high-level tone, which outnumbers rising tone and low-falling
 117 tone (Wan and Yang 2017). Studies from adults and children in general agreed that
 118 high-falling tone has greater frequency than rising tone in the world's languages (Li
 119 and Thomsson 1977).

120 There are five tones in Central Standard Thai (e.g., Abramson 1975; Gandour 1979;
 121 Hudak 1987; Tingsabadh and Ambrason 1993). The tone system involves mid tone [33],
 122 low-falling [21], high-falling [41], high-rising [45], low-rising [14] with citation tones
 123 in Central Standard Thai. Figure 2 shows a sample of Thai tones drawn from a female
 124 speaker, the source of which is drawn from IPA association.

125 Figure 2: Thai tones



126 In this figure, the sample audio file is extracted from IPA (IPA Association 1999) and
 127 phonetically measured in Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2019). The duration of each
 128 tones is listed in the following: mid tone=550 msec, low-falling= 575 msec, high-
 129 falling=560 msec, high-rising=650 msec, and low-rising=552 msec. There is a large
 130 agreement showing the percentage of frequency and the rank order of lexical tones
 131 across Thai spoken corpora (Munthuli et al. 2015). All the corpora have agreed that mid
 132 tone occurs with the highest frequency, followed by low tone and falling tone. Mid and
 133 low tones amounted to more than 50% of all tones. Therefore, compared with Mandarin
 134 spoken corpus, Thai speakers showed different preference towards tone patterns. High-
 135 falling and high-level tones occurred more often in Mandarin whereas mid and low
 136 tones were the most common in Thai.

138 In addition to frequency counts in the spoken corpora, evidence from language
 139 acquisition studies recently has shown the preference for disyllables in relation to the
 140 universal tendency in favor of binary foot structure cross-linguistically (e.g., Ota 1999;
 141 Demuth and Johnson 2003; Demuth 2006; Demuth and Tremblay 2008; Miyakoda
 142 2012). Wan and Yang (2017) suggested that Mandarin children, caretakers and/or

on the four tones, the token and type for the neutral tone were excluded for the discussion.

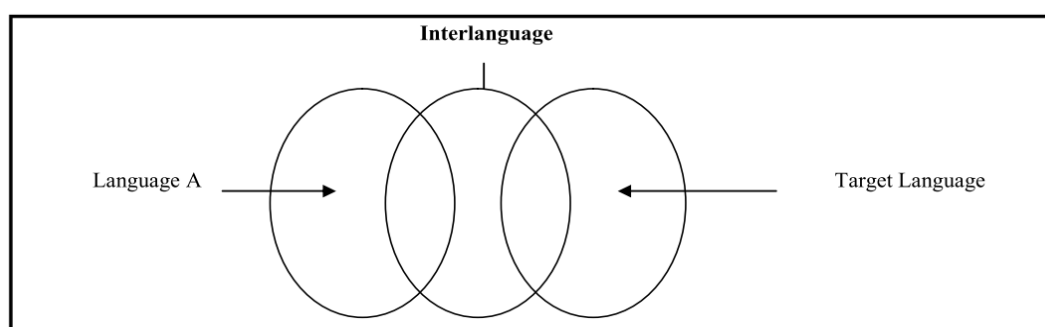
143 adults are more likely to utter in disyllables. However, most of the relevant studies on
144 language learning/acquisition have covered the production/perception on monosyllabic
145 tones only. Citation tones in Mandarin are nearly always discussed in isolated words,
146 and only when tone sandhi processes were involved would more than two syllables in
147 sequences be discussed. Recently, the preference for disyllables in language acquisition
148 has shed light on binary foot structure in cross-linguistic studies (e.g., Ota 1999;
149 Demuth and Johnson 2003; Demuth 2006; Demuth and Tremblay 2008; Miyakoda
150 2012), suggesting a universal tendency.

151 Issues with regard to how first language influences or interferes second
152 language have drawn many scholars' attention. Instead of focusing on the error patterns
153 as in the traditional analysis, Selinker (1972) suggested that interlanguage can be
154 viewed as the transitional processes between learner's mother tongue and the target
155 language. Brown (1994) and Fauziati (2011) both regarded the learner's system that
156 includes a structural status overlapping with the mother tongue and target language.
157 This fact reflected that the learner is constructing an independent linguistic system
158 progressively and gradually towards the target language system. Since many studies
159 have shown that learners' errors are not fully related to their mother tongue or target
160 languages (e.g., Bailey et al. 1974; Krashen et al. 1978, 2003; Larsen-Freeman 2002;
161 2003), interlanguage theory is to describe learners' errors, and is viewed as in the
162 process of acquiring the target language.

163 Corder (1981) and Al-Khresheh (2015) suggested the term, 'interlanguage
164 continuum,' in which the learning process continues to move on; learners tend to
165 reconstruct the rules by adding, deleting or shifting linguistic units until the target
166 language system is fully shaped. The figure and illustration are provided below.

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168 Figure 3: The notion of interlanguage (Corder, 1981)



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170 In this figure, 'Language A' represents the learner's mother tongue, and 'Target
171 Language' is the language the learner is learning. There is overlapping from the
172 learner's language system to transfer some linguistic knowledge towards the target
173 language.

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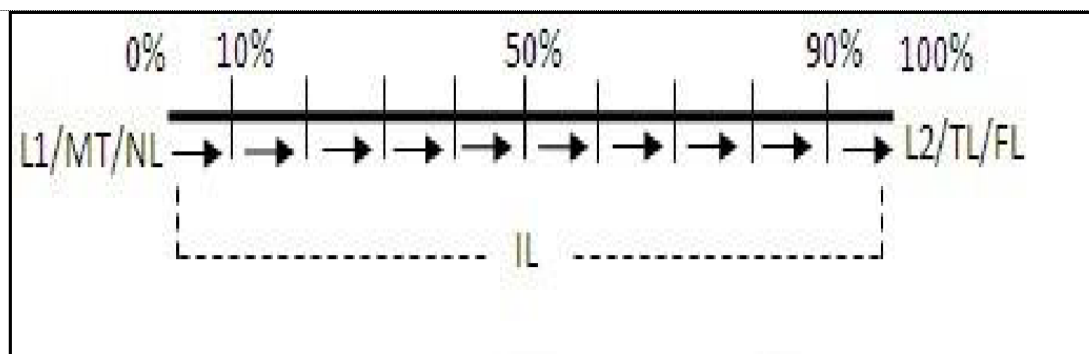
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179 Figure 4: Interlanguage Continuum

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182 In this figure when the learner is mapping the input language system to the target
183 language (including second or global language), there will be a transition scale for the
184 learner to be closer gradually to produce the correct input.

185 With the input language system mapping to the target language (including second or
186 global language), the learner is getting close to produce the correct output.

187 In the current study, data are drawn from 11 pre-school learners in the intensive
188 summer school at Thai-Chinese International School in Bangkok, Thailand. The data
189 were collected during a three-hour intensive learning session (including the break/snack
190 time). Each class has three sessions, involving 60-min grammatical lecture notes, 60-
191 min Question-Answering and 30-min repetition sessions. During the first session with
192 grammatical lecture notes, the instructor used picture cards or toys to introduce the
193 Chinese grammar, and the children thus had a chance speaking, the voices were
194 overlapped so the source of the multiple learners would not be easily identified (Note
195 that speech diarization is a new cutting-edge technique and is not the main focus in the
196 study). Each child has a chance to talk to the instructor individually for the last two
197 sessions and that was how the recording started to take place. Note that the lexicons or
198 utterances in the question-answering and repetition sessions are drawn from the
199 textbook materials in a naturalistic setting. Tone patterns in the ‘repetition’ and ‘Q-A
200 questions’ were both lumped together for discussion since such pre-school children did
201 not make too many changes deviant from the two types; they barely produced a
202 complete sentence when they uttered in Mandarin. The total recorded hours are 63 hours,
203 and the validated hours structured in the phone-aligned Praat system with 17 tiers are
204 1.5 hours at the current stage².

205 In general, the learners have difficulty in learning a tone language as their global
206 language especially when their mother tongue languages are stress or pitch-accented
207 languages ; however, certain learners whose mother tongue is a tone language will not
208 produce many tone errors (e.g., Leather 1990; Wang 1995; Tseng 1997; Chen 1997;

² One might find that 1.5 hours could not provide sufficient data to support the aforementioned relevant issues; however, the released spoken corpus at Academia Sinica contains 3.5-hour speech data with verified phone boundaries (Sinica Phone-aligned Chinese Conversational Speech Database) and 8-hour speech data in segmented speaking turns (Sinica MCDC8). In this preliminary study, the data are presented to show how Thai pre-school learners produce Mandarin tones, and thus the amount has not necessarily reached a level of the production quality for machine learning paradigms for speech recognition.

209 Miracle 1999, Lin 2007). Therefore, the aim of this paper is to present a preliminary
210 analysis by providing a detailed corpus analysis of interlanguage tonal distribution and
211 patterning. An observational data collection was drawn by 11 pre-school children in
212 Thailand learning Mandarin as their global language at Thai-Chinese International
213 School in Bangkok, Thailand. The novelty of this work is to collect and analyze
214 interlanguage tone patterns through a highly reliable corpus, and to provide Praat
215 acoustic parameters for the assessed error distribution by looking at the frequency and
216 the various patterns involving tone units in Chinese lexicon. These units involved in the
217 errors are classified by segmenting word shapes, based on the number of syllable, into
218 monosyllabic, disyllabic or multi-syllabic. These children's tone patterning along with
219 the instructor's speech were systematically measured by plotting the F₀ variation when
220 they were asked to repeat or respond questions from their Chinese instructor in
221 Mandarin. Evidence from the data would be able to show how Thai children utilize their
222 own linguistic knowledge in learning Mandarin, and how Mandarin four tones
223 interacting with one another.

224 This paper is organized as follows. The following section includes the
225 methodology for the data collection and the workflow annotating the dataset. Section
226 three presents the preliminary analysis in terms of some theoretical framework. The
227 final section will summarize the study, and will suggest some plans for the future study.

228

229 **2. Methodology**

230 The entire data collection session containing 63 hours was collected by my
231 research team. Data collection took place between June 11 and June 30, 2018, from an
232 intensive summer Chinese class for pre-school beginners at Thai-Chinese International
233 School, Bangkok, Thailand. Under the study, meaningful words were classified based
234 on the criteria proposed by Vihman (1996), Vihman and McCune (1994), Zhu (2002),
235 and Wan and Yang's (2017) work under the following three conditions: 1) when
236 children's vocalizations would be identified as words that are matched more than two
237 segments of the adult form; 2) when children's tone matches the adult target; 3) when
238 children produced the words more than twice with similar phonological shapes across
239 different uses. For example, in [twej51] 'correct', [tɕ^hjow35] 'ball', and [fan51] 'rice',
240 many children would produce them as in [tej51], [t^hjow35], and [fa51]. Since more than
241 two segments match the adult form, examples like these that appear more than twice in
242 different contexts are considered meaningful words. However, if the tone is not
243 recognizable, they are classified as non-meaningful words. The current dataset in the
244 study is selected from a corpus accumulated to 63 hours for pre-school Thai children
245 (N=11, 4;1-6;5), and 516 hours for elementary school children (N=13, 7;00-12; 08),
246 and 388 hours for high school students (N=14, 13;03-15;11).

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252 Table 1: Participants

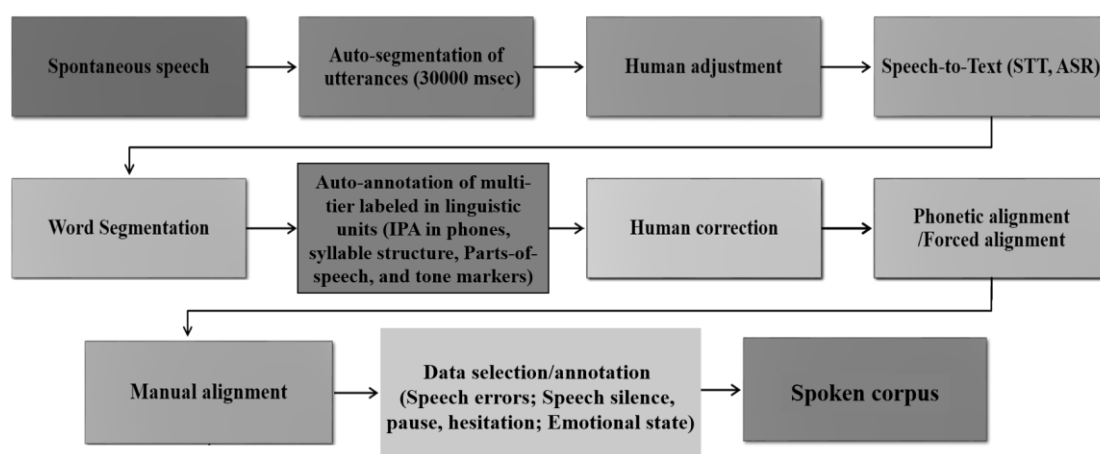
Participants	Gender	Age	Language background
1	M	5	Thai
2	M	6	Thai
3	M	6	Thai
4	M	6	Thai
5	M	6	Thai
6	M	5	Thai
7	M	6	Thai
8	F	5	Thai
9	F	4	French/English/Thai
10	M	5	Thai
11	F	6	Thai

253 To gain information concerning the tone contour, eleven children (8 boys, 3 girls), who
 254 learn Mandarin as their second or third language, participated in the study. The 11
 255 participants were all healthy and had not detected with any hearing or intellectual
 256 impairment, and were all willing to utter in Mandarin with the instructor. All sessions
 257 were audio-recorded in Zoom (H6 Handy Recorder) with high quality sound files for
 258 audio signals in 16-bit 44100 Hz sampling rate.

259 I have constructed spoken corpora in Mandarin from normal and aphasic adult
 260 speakers as well as from normally developing and phonologically disordered children
 261 for more than 25 years; the spoken corpora were listed in the appendix. For normal
 262 adult speakers, due to the recent improvement of state-of-the-art speech recognition
 263 with sequence-to-sequence models, the spoken files are semi-automatically transcribed
 264 and annotated. The workflow in processing each sound file is provided as follows.

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266 Figure 5: A workflow for normal Mandarin adult speakers



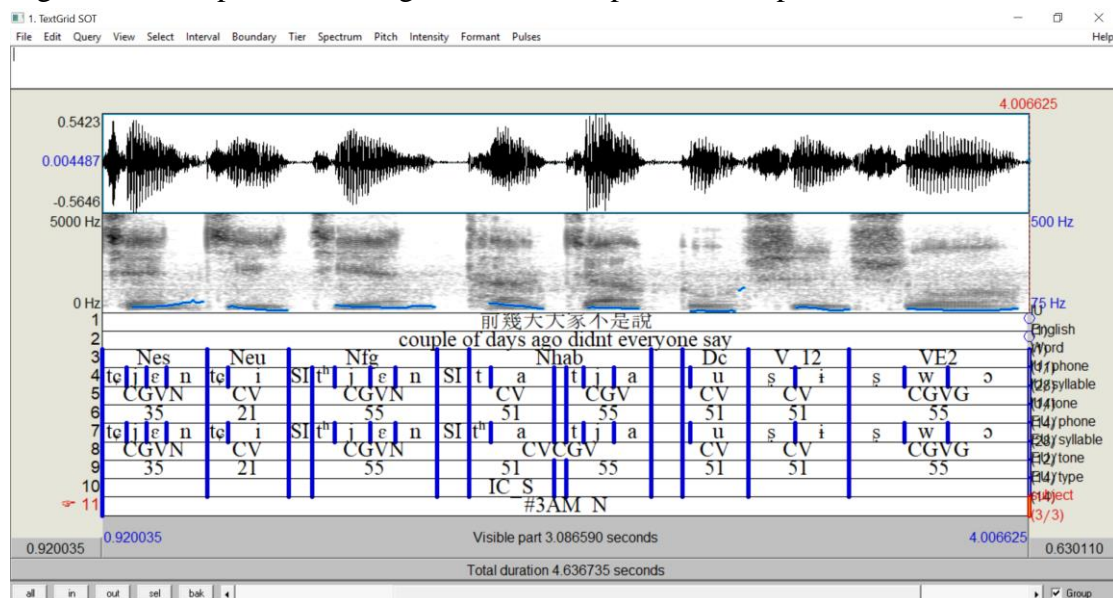
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268 Each audio file involving the spontaneous speech between multi-speakers was pre-
 269 processed into auto-segmented frames of 30000 msec at the sampling rate of 16-bit
 270 44100Hz. To avoid a phone or utterance cut in half across different files, the assistant
 271 double-checked the beginning and the end points of the frames to make sure that each

272 frame contained complete linguistic units in a fully contextual utterance. All the
 273 obtained frames were first sent to a Speech-to-Text (STT) system for transcription³.
 274 The output of the STT system was then verified by comparing with an assistant's
 275 manual transcription⁴. The entire transcript is then automatically segmented by the
 276 CKIP parser, Chinese Knowledge and Information Processing, 2004 (Ma and Chen
 277 2003).⁵ The audio file and transcription were processed in Praat with automatically
 278 forced alignment to phone level with the accuracy of 85 percent⁶, followed by manually
 279 adjusting on the alignment of the phones in each utterance. Further editing and
 280 correction are made by two research assistants. The boundaries of each phone are then
 281 checked manually by research assistants. All the information of Chinese characters,
 282 parts of speech, and phonetic units in IPA involving consonants, vowels, syllables and
 283 tones are automatically generated in each tier constructed by a hidden phoneme
 284 dictionary. The sample of a Mandarin adult speech data is provided as follows.

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Figure 6: A sample of time-aligned multi-tier spontaneous speech in Mandarin



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In the entire corpus, the first tier showed the utterance in Chinese characters, automatically dragging the English translation in the second tier; parts-of-speech, the third tier; phonetic units in IPA, the fourth tier; syllable structure, the fifth tier, and tone units, the sixth tier. Two well-trained assistants will need to double- or triple-check

³ The audio files were automatically transcribed in Speech-to-Text systems powered by AI Labs in Taiwan or Google API depending on the recording quality.

⁴ The average error rate of the STT systems was 30%. Main influencing factors were the recording environment and the voice quality of the speakers.

⁵ I appreciate to get the open source code from Professor Wei-yun Ma at Academia Sinica before the coding is released to the public.

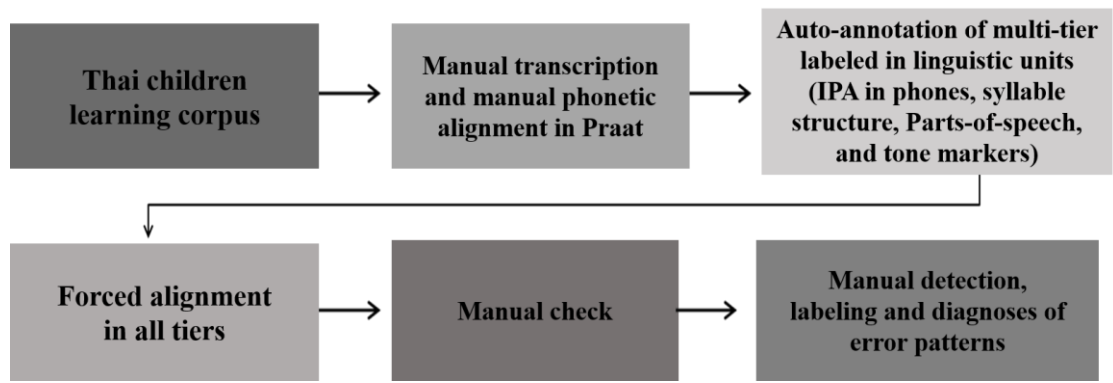
⁶ The current forced aligner is originally based on traditional method HMM with a phoneme dictionary and further refined by DNN models, the system of which is hoping to handle spontaneous speech in challenging noisy environment and to reduce the cost of annotating labeled datasets for trained assistants. I appreciate the original source software from Professor Li-hsin Ning and Professor Jiahong Yuan, and my deepest appreciation goes to Dr. Chain-wu Lee for training the accuracy rate amounted to higher than 85%.

292 whether the speech errors exist in Tier 7 through Tier 9, and mark the type of errors
 293 patterning in the tenth tier if possible. The final tier stated the emotional status of the
 294 speaker. Therefore, in this sample, the speaker #3, male, said the utterance [tɛ^hjɛn35
 295 tɛi21 t^hjɛn55 t^a51 tɛja55 pu35 ʂi51 ʂwə55] ‘couple of days ago didn’t everyone said,”
 296 and erroneously said the utterance [tɛ^hjɛn35 tɛi21 t^hjɛn55 t^ha51 tɛja55 pu35 ʂi51 ʂwə55]
 297 in a neutral state of emotion. In this case of initial single-consonant substitution errors,
 298 the consonant [t^h] is perseverated and substituted for the following consonant [t],
 299 rendering a meaningless utterance.

300 Unfortunately, the current spoken corpus does not yield the same workflow since
 301 all the participants in the study are nonnative speakers of Mandarin, and they are pre-
 302 school children; the STT system does not successfully transcribe the speech data to the
 303 corresponding text automatically. Therefore, a different method is utilized, and the
 304 workflow is provided as follows. The automatic speech recognition will need certain
 305 quality time to improve in the near future.

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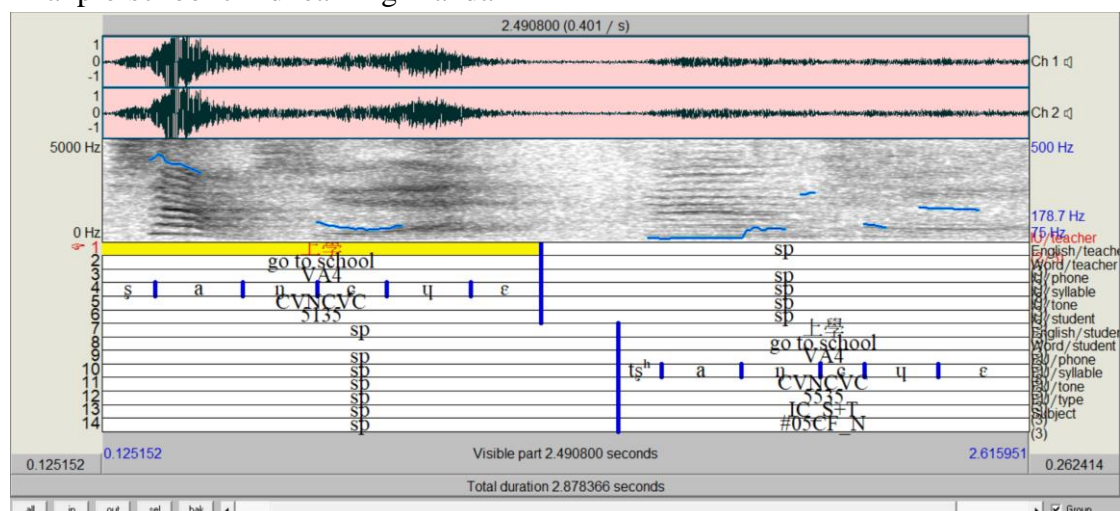
Figure 7: A workflow for Thai children learning Mandarin



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Each audio file involves the lexicon extracted from the read speech or spontaneous speech from the 11 participants. The data were pre-processed into auto-segmented frames of 30000 msec at the sampling rate of 16-bit 44100Hz. To avoid a phone or utterance cut in half across different files, the assistant double-checked the beginning and the end points of the frames to make sure that each frame contained complete linguistic units in a fully contextual utterance. All the obtained frames sent to Praat were annotated and verified by two linguists manually. The first tier of the phonetic alignment was manually segmented, and the following corresponding tiers, with the multi-tier labeled in different linguistic units and intervals, will be automatically generated.

327 Figure 8: A sample of time-aligned multi-tier speech dataset involving repetition in
 328 Thai pre-school child learning Mandarin



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 330 In the data, the first and seventh tiers are manually transcribed and aligned by the
 331 assistants; however, the rest of the information involving parts-of-speech, phonetic
 332 units in IPA, syllable structure and tone markers in those tiers is automatically generated
 333 by the system; 'sp' stands for speech pauses or speech silence in the dataset. The teacher
 334 said [ʃaŋ⁵¹ eʉε³⁵] 'go to school' and the imitative response to a verbal stimulus in a
 335 neutral state of emotion from the participant #5, a girl, is [tʃ^haŋ⁵⁵ eʉε³⁵]; in this case,
 336 the initial target consonant is mispronounced as a [tʃ^h] with a wrong tone [55]. In this
 337 case, the teacher produced louder in volume than the pre-school child since she was
 338 timid repeating the Chinese word. Note that when there appeared to be a questionable
 339 utterance such as a tone that was not clearly audible, or when there was a conflict
 340 between the two transcribers, the data were not included in the study. Transcription
 341 conventions were based on Chao's tone markers.

342 The usual methodology for collecting tone data is to rely on the transcribers'
 343 intuitions as to the categorization of the tone in the spoken utterance with lexical
 344 information. This methodology is subject to some problems of listener/transcriber bias,
 345 as noted in the studies of Wong, Schwartz and Jenkins (2005) and Wong (2008, 2012,
 346 2013). However, one could still argue that the perception that tones carried with lexical
 347 information might be more valid psycholinguistic measure than the acoustic properties
 348 of tones⁷. As stated in Demuth (2006), the challenge with the field of phonological
 349 acquisition or learning has been the lack of longitudinal phonetically transcribed data
 350 from multiple children, let alone that these pre-school children were just beginning to
 351 learn Mandarin. Therefore, the data to be discussed below is hoping to provide a
 352 preliminary analysis showing how Thai pre-school children transfer their first tone

⁷ The trained transcribers and I have transcribed the data from adults' speech-error corpus, aphasic adult speakers' corpus, children's corpora including normally developing children and phonologically disordered children, from both spontaneous and elicited production experiments. I have collected those data for 25 years, and when we transcribe the data, lexical information is not the feature we rely on. Especially, the majority of the data in adults' speech errors or in Chinese aphasic patients do not carry any lexical information, and many of them are simply related to sound errors, which utter meaningless forms.

353 system to another tone language.

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355 3. Results and Discussion

356 In the study, for a 90-min length of validated dataset, it yields 1234 Chinese
357 lexicon with 777 meaningful lexical items (63%) whereas 457 lexical items (37%) are
358 not able to be identified, thus rendering meaningless output. For instance, low-rising
359 tone [k^ha14] in Thai means ‘legs’, and a child consistently pronounced [tɛ^ha51] for
360 [tɛjaw21] ‘legs’ in Mandarin, which render meaningless form. When there is a phonetic
361 distance between the target language and mother tongue, I decide to consider
362 ‘meaningful words’ only in this study. Of 777 words, 271 words are monosyllables;
363 451, disyllables; 20, tri-syllables; 3, four-syllables, and 32 words in neutral tone
364 syllables. Among the dataset, the following shows the errors categorized into each
365 linguistic unit.

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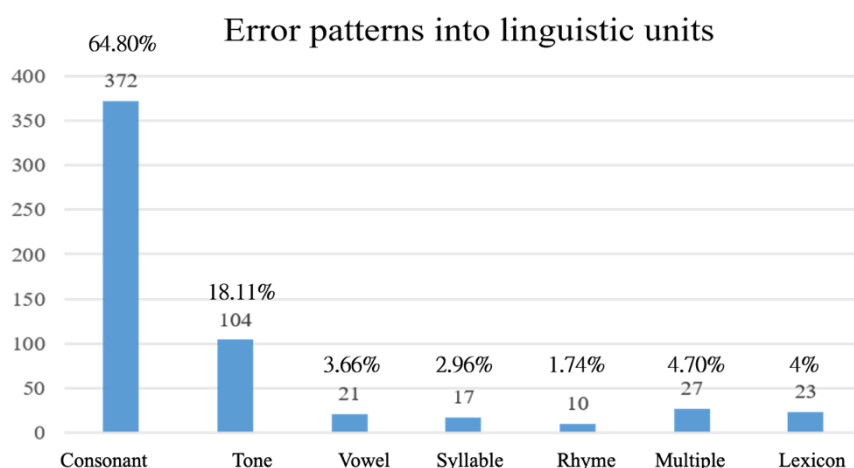
367 Table 2: Error patterns into linguistic units

Consonant	Tone	Vowel	Syllable	Rhyme	Multiple	Lexicon	Total
372 (64.8%)	104 (18.11%)	21 (3.66%)	17 (2.96%)	10 (1.74%)	27 (4.7%)	23 (4%)	574

368 In the table and the following figure, consonant errors evidently occur more often than
369 the other types, and Thai children seem not to produce many tone errors. This finding
370 has been confirmed in the Thai adults’ learning data (Chen, 2011).

371

372 Figure 9: Error patterns into linguistic units



373

374 The following table and confusion matrix summarize the distribution of tone
375 patterns between target language (TL) and mother tongue (MT) in monosyllables,
376 disyllables and multi-syllables from the 11 pre-school Thai children’s production
377 system. The following tones refer to the four-tone system in Mandarin. For those tones
378 produced in Thai tones are not the focus in this paper.

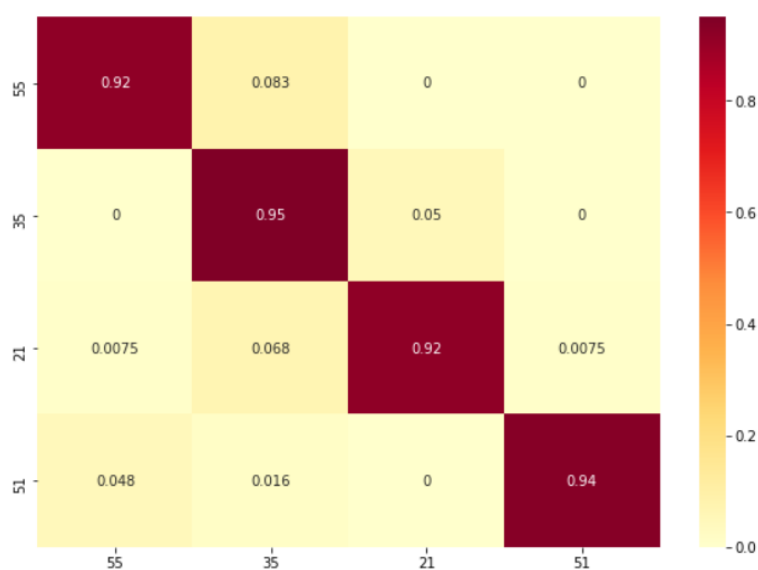
379 Table 3: TL-MT pair in Mandarin monosyllabic tones

TL \ IT	55	35	21	51
55	25	2	0	0
35	0	21	1	0
21	1	10	138	1
51	4	1	0	67

380 In this table, of 271 tokens, 25 tokens in high-level tone are produced correctly, 21
 381 tokens, rising tone; 138 tokens, low-falling tone and 67 tokens in high-falling tone.
 382 Wilcoxon test of distinct and shared tones between target and responded monosyllabic
 383 words using a 95% confidence interval shows a statistically significant difference ($p <$
 384 005). In high-level tone, 2 tokens are mistakenly produced to rising tone, and in rising
 385 tone, 1 token produced to low-falling. Low-falling and high-falling tones have wider
 386 variabilities; in low-falling tone, 10 tokens produced to rising tone, and 1 token to either
 387 high-level or high-falling tone. In high-falling tone, 4 tokens were produced to high-
 388 level tone and 1 token to rising tone. The 11 pre-school Thai children showed that low-
 389 falling tone is the most common, followed by high-falling tone, high-level tone is the
 390 third common, and rising tone is the least common. The main reason is these Thai
 391 children are just beginning to learn Mandarin, and the most common lexicon is [wǒ21]
 392 ‘I’ in their utterance. So the occurrence of frequency from the database is generally
 393 related to the input verbal stimulus given by the instructor. In addition, all those
 394 erroneously produced tones are true Mandarin tones, showing that Thai learners do not
 395 transfer their mother tongue to the target language. The following confusion matrix
 396 shows the accuracy rate.

397

398 Figure 10: Confusion matrix in monosyllables



399

400 In this matrix, it shows that Thai pre-school children have no problem producing
 401 monosyllabic tones in Mandarin since all four tones amount to 90 percent accurate with
 402 the rank order of the following: Rising > High-falling > High-level = Low-falling. The

403 error rate in other target-error pairs is relatively low.

404

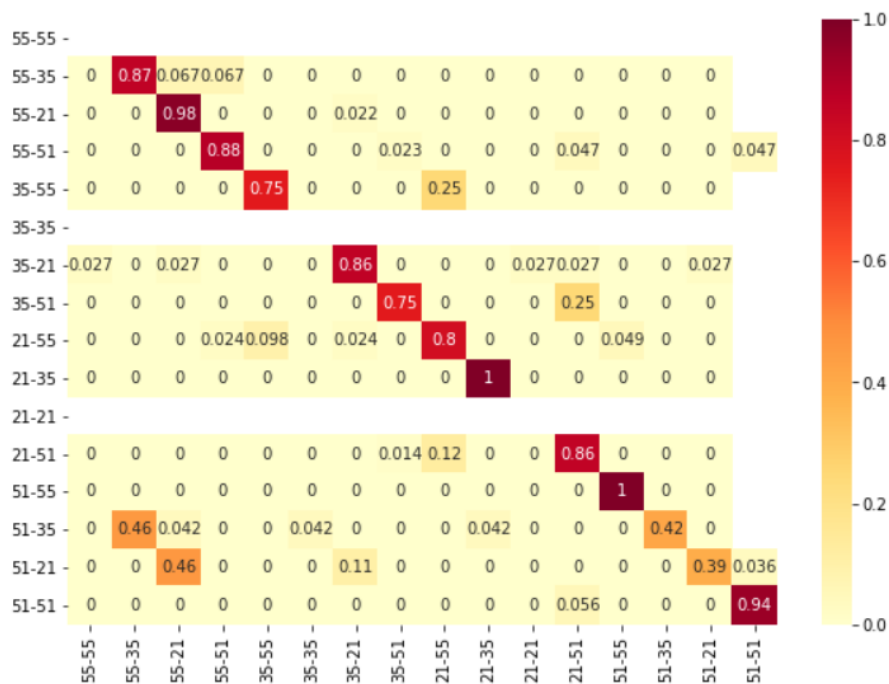
405 Table 4: TL-MT pair in Mandarin disyllabic tones

Error Target	55-55	55-35	55-21	55-51	35-55	35-35	35-21	406 407 408
55-55								
55-35		17	1	1				
55-21			58				1	
55-51				50				412
35-55					8			
35-35								
35-21	1		1				42	
35-51								410 411 417
21-55				1	5		1	
21-35								
21-21								
21-51								421 422
51-55								
51-35		11	1			1		
Error Target	21-55	21-35	21-21	21-51	51-55	51-35	51-21	423 424 425 426
55-55								
55-35								
55-21								
55-51				3				3
35-55	3							
35-35								
35-21			1	1			1	
35-51				1				
21-55	43				3			
21-35		9						
21-21								
21-51	12			81				
51-55					3			
51-35		1				13		

444 At this current stage, in this table, it shows that the pattern of [21-51] (N=81) are
 445 produced more common, and the following order is [55-21] (N=58), [55-51] (N=50),

446 [21-55] (N=43), and [35-21] (N=42). Wilcoxon test of distinct and shared tones
 447 between target and responded disyllabic words using a 95% confidence interval shows
 448 a statistically significant difference ($p < .005$). The 11 pre-school Thai children show
 449 that tonal pattern involving the combination of falling tones, low-falling + high-falling
 450 are the most common, followed by the combination of high-level + low-falling, the one
 451 of high level+ high-falling is the third common, and so far those participants have not
 452 yet been able to produce all the 15 combinations. Again, the frequency of the tone
 453 combination simply reflects the patterns in the instructor's given lexicon. The following
 454 confusion matrix shows the accuracy rate of each combination. Note that the accuracy
 455 rate of disyllabic tones is comparatively lower than that of monosyllabic tones.

456 Figure 11: Confusion matrix in disyllables



457 If one looks at the matrix alone, it shows that the accuracy rate of rank order higher
 458 than 80 percent is the following: [21-35] (100%, N=9) = [51-55] (100%, N=3) > [55-
 459 21] (98%, N=58) > [51-51] (94%, N=22) > [55-51] (88%, N=50) > [55-35] (87%, N=17)
 460 > [35-21] (86%, N=42) = [21-51] (86%, N=81) > [21-55] (80%, N=43). However, if
 461 one compares the token frequency with the accuracy rate, it might explain the difference
 462 in that the tone pattern [21-51] is the most common and the accuracy rate is 86 percent
 463 whereas there are only 2 tokens of tone pattern [51-55], but the accuracy rate reaches
 464 100%. Therefore, if one combines the token frequency with the accuracy rate, the data
 465 show the following information: [21-51]: N=81, 86%; [55-21]: N=58, 98%; [55-51]:
 466 N=50, 88%; [21-55]: N=43, 86%; [35-21]: N=42, 86%. Since the number is not
 467 sufficient to run a solid statistical analysis, the figure might only suggest that Thai
 468 children are more familiar with certain tone patterns, and possibly tone combination
 469 involving the falling contour is their preference. Note that all those patterns of tone
 470 combinations are given evenly from the classroom instructors.

472
 473

474 Table 5: TL-IT pair in Mandarin tri-syllabic tones

TL \ IT	55-55-51	55-51-51	51-51-21	51-35-51	51-21-55	51-21-35	51-21-51
55-55-51		2					
55-51-51		3					
51-51-21			2				
51-35-51				4			
51-21-55					2		
51-21-35						5	
51-21-51				2			

475 There is not sufficient data in the tri-syllabic tones and it is thus not able to make a
 476 plausible generalization. Note that the instructor in class has inputted more lexicon in
 477 disyllables, followed by monosyllables, and the number of tri-syllables and multi-
 478 syllables will still need more time to accumulate.

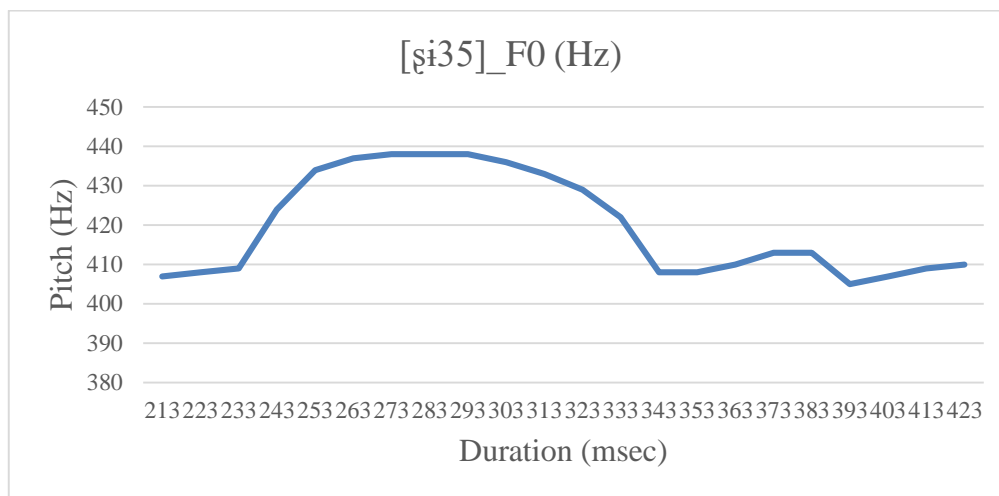
479 The fact that these Thai children prefer to produce disyllables might have largely
 480 been influenced by the instructor’s input tokens, and this is similar to the study of first
 481 language acquisition. Wan and Yang (2017) found that Mandarin children in Taiwan
 482 are more likely to produce more disyllabic lexicons due to the fact that the caretakers
 483 have greater input lexicons on disyllables; in the children’s tokens, disyllables
 484 (N=6,172, 78%) occur more than three times than monosyllables (N=1,729, 22%), and
 485 in the caretakers’ speech as well as in linguistic environment, the speech corpus
 486 (N=604,916), *NCCU Corpus of Spoken Chinese*, showed that Taiwan Mandarin
 487 speakers have a preference to produce more disyllables (N=368,997, 61%) than tri-
 488 syllables (N=96,789, 16%), monosyllables (N=90,738, 15%), and multi-syllables
 489 (N=48,392, 8%). Therefore, data from Thai and Mandarin acquisition might confirm
 490 the universal preference in cross-linguistic studies for binary foot structure (e.g., Ota
 491 1999; Demuth and Johnson 2003; Demuth 2006; Demuth and Tremblay 2008;
 492 Miyakoda 2012).

493 In the further study when the validated hours reach 20 hours, which is estimated
 494 to yield 25000 tokens, a different method suggested by Wong, Schwartz and Jenkins
 495 (2005) and Wong (2008, 2012, 2013) must be conducted. The usual methodology for
 496 collecting tone data is to rely on the transcriber’s intuitions as to the categorization of
 497 the tone in the spoken utterance with lexical information. However, this methodology
 498 is subject to the transcriber’s bias. The following example shows a sample of the entire
 499 pitch range from the start to end points in a disyllabic word: [ʃi35 ər51] ‘twelve’.

500
 501
 502
 503
 504

505 Figure 12a: A sample of pitch listing the disyllabic tone movement

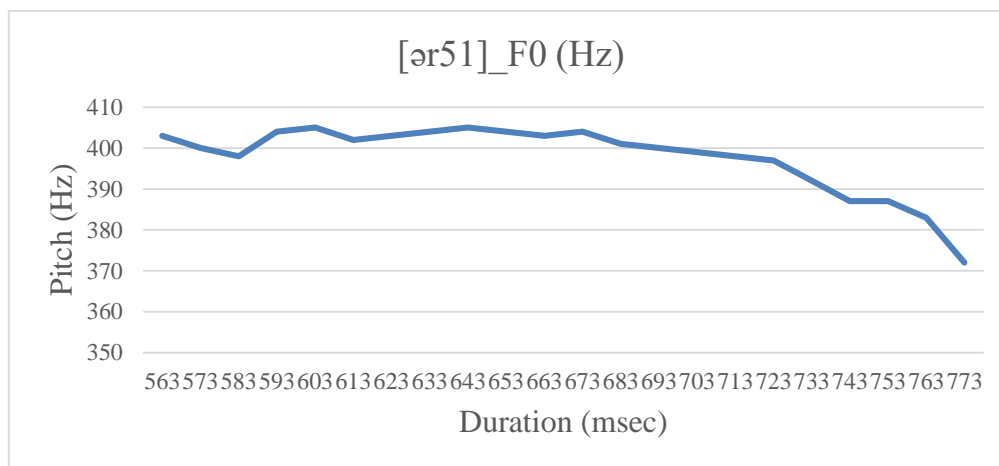
506



507

508 Figure 12b: A sample of pitch listing the disyllabic tone movement

509



510

511

512 In these two figures, it shows the tone pitch contour ranging in every 10 msec of the
513 disyllabic word. The following four three-dimension figures list the first and last 100
514 msec mean pitch with the duration of tones in Mandarin monosyllables from the
515 dataset (x= the first-100 msec mean pitch; y = the last-100 msec mean pitch; z = the
516 duration of tone).

517

518

519

520

521

522

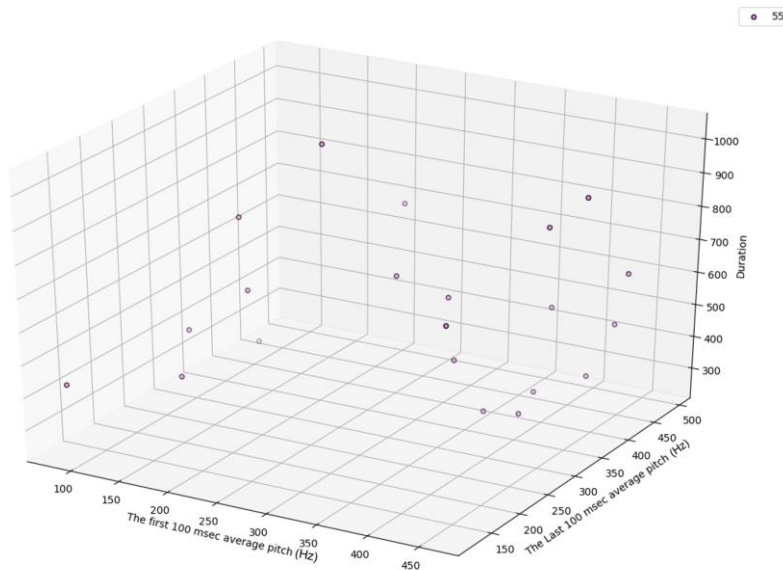
523

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525

526

527 Figure 13: Three dimension plots of high-level tone in categorical perception



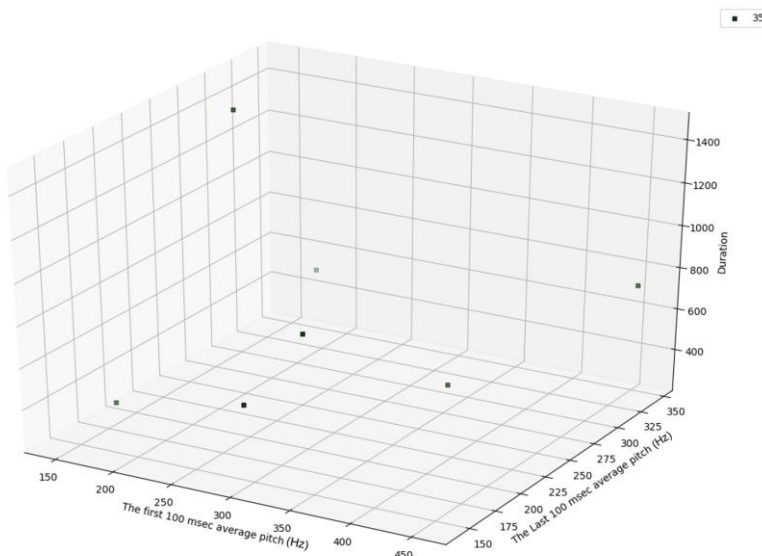
528

529 In this figure, 25 tokens in high-level tone are produced by Thai pre-school children,
530 and perceived in the ‘correct’ category judged from the transcribers’ evaluation. Among
531 the tokens, the duration in length ranges from 300msec to 800msec, the first 100-msec
532 mean pitch ranges from less than 100 Hz to 425 Hz, and the last 100-msec mean pitch,
533 from 160 Hz to 450 Hz, meaning that high-level tone from the start to end points could
534 be within a possible range such as 100 Hz through 160 Hz, or from 425 Hz through 450
535 Hz, but within a wider range stretching between 100 Hz and 450 Hz, or between 160
536 Hz and 425 Hz. If one looks at the distribution in the three-dimensional plots, it is rather
537 difficult to capture a generalization in which the scattered dots all point to the high-
538 level tone category. The similar finding is shown in the following plots.

539

540 Figure 14: Three dimension plots of rising tone in categorical perception (x=the first
541 100 msec average pitch in Hz, y=the last 100 msec average pitch in Hz, z=duration in
542 msec)

543

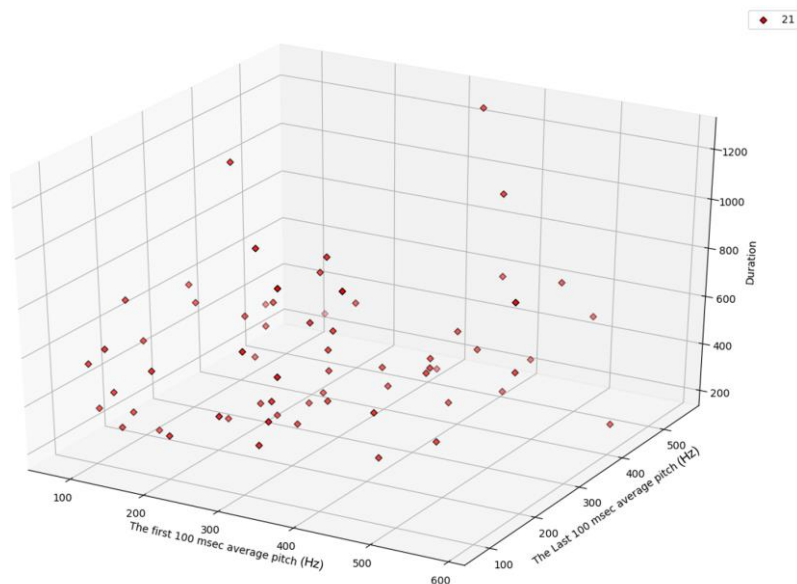


544

545 In this figure, 21 tokens in rising tone are produced by Thai pre-school children and
546 perceived in the 'correct' category judged from the transcribers' evaluation. Among the
547 tokens, the duration in length ranges from 400 msec to 1300 msec, the first 100-msec
548 mean pitch ranges from less than 20 Hz to 340 Hz, and the last 100-msec mean pitch,
549 from 210 Hz to 325 Hz, meaning that rising tone from the start to end points could be
550 within a possible range such as 100 Hz through 160 Hz, or from 425 Hz through 450
551 Hz, but within a wider range stretching between 100 Hz and 450 Hz, or between 160
552 Hz and 425 Hz. Since the tokens of rising tone are relatively rare, and the dots of rising
553 tone are scattered in the three-dimensional plots, it is insufficient to make a fine
554 judgment.

555 Figure 15: Three dimension plots of low-falling tone in categorical perception (x=the
556 first 100 msec average pitch in Hz, y=the last 100 msec average pitch in Hz, z=duration
557 in msec)

558



559

560 In this figure, 138 tokens in low-falling tone are evidently produced the most often by
561 Thai pre-school children. The 'correct' category judged from the transcribers'
562 evaluation shows that the duration in length ranges from 120 msec to 1200 msec, the
563 first 100-msec mean pitch ranges from less than 40 Hz to 580 Hz, and the last 100-msec
564 mean pitch, from 200 Hz to 580 Hz. Judged by the duration and the mean pitch of the
565 start and end points, it is impossible to draw a fine line of categorizing the best low-
566 falling-tone exemplars.

567

568

569

570

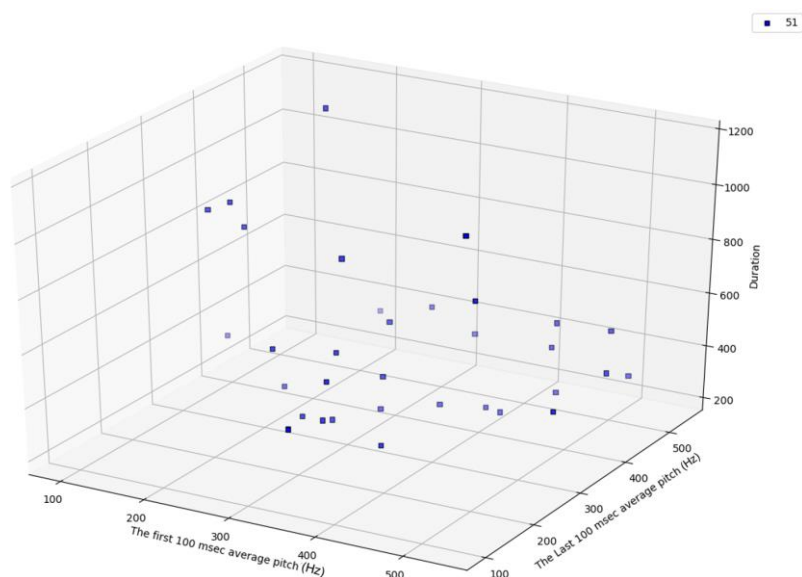
571

572

573

574

575 Figure 16: Three dimension plots of high-falling tone in categorical perception (x=the
 576 first 100msec average pitch in Hz, y=the last 100msec average pitch in Hz, z=duration
 577 in msec)
 578



579
 580 In this figure, 67 tokens in high-falling tone are produced by Thai pre-school children
 581 and perceived in the ‘correct’ category judged from the transcribers’ evaluation. Among
 582 the tokens, the duration in length ranges from 200 msec to 1050 msec, the first 100-
 583 msec mean pitch ranges from 80 Hz to 450 Hz, and the last 100-msec mean pitch, from
 584 300 Hz to 550 Hz, showing a wider range of distribution, so it is still insufficient to
 585 make a fine boundary in the scattered pattern of three-dimensional plots.

586 One might wonder the pitch range seems to be wider in the Thai children
 587 learning Mandarin; however, research from Keating and Bhur (1978) had long showed
 588 that some participants evidence remarkable ranges of F0 values with utterance as low
 589 as 30 Hz in F0 to as high as 1500Hz with American children. The following table shows
 590 the information of children’s age, gender, range of F0 and type of utterances.

591 Table 6: Ranges of F0 values in American children (Keating and Bhur 1978)

Child	Sex	Age (weeks)	Range of F0 (Hz)	Type of utterance
L.S.	M	33	40-850	Babbling
		66	90-1150	Babbling
J.S.	M	67	250-2500	Babbling and Words
F.R.	M	125	66-750	Sentences
		169	30-1100	Sentences
G.R.	M	69	60-850	Words
		128	120-1050	Sentences
J.B.	F	66	30-1500	Words
		109	50-1150	Sentences
R.C.	F	33	80-500	Babbling
		69	60-900	Babbling

592

593 These four three-dimensional scattered patterns might confirm the findings in
594 Wong, Schwartz and Jenkins (2005) and Wong (2008, 2012, 2013). The transcribers
595 seem to categorically rely on their lexical information to judge whether the tone errors
596 exist; namely those transcribers largely relied on the lexical understanding to help
597 perceive better in tone languages. Therefore, whenever they need to make a decision to
598 see whether those lexical items are understandable, their judgments on good or bad
599 exemplars might have been influenced as to whether or not they understand the spoken
600 utterances from those Thai children. In the next study, a phonetically perceptual task in
601 a more rigorous experimental control in a low-pass filter is required for those
602 transcribers to eliminate lexical information but only reserve tone information from
603 those spoken tokens.

604

605 **4. Conclusion**

606 Based on the preliminary analysis, the data might not be able to make a robust
607 claim on the tone error patterns; however, the 11 pre-school Thai children do show
608 interlanguage tonal distribution, and they seem to have no difficulty producing
609 Mandarin tones since they have more complicated tone contours in their mother tongue,
610 and Thai is also a tone language. In addition, the children are more likely to utter with
611 disyllabic tones, but disyllables are not the main syllable structure in Thai. This shows
612 the preference for disyllables in relation to the universal tendency in favor of binary
613 foot structure cross-linguistically. Since those Thai children uttered [wə21] ‘I’ most
614 often, low-falling tone outnumbers the rest of the tones. When more validated hours of
615 data are confirmed, it is necessary to calculate the type of the data instead of the tokens
616 of them.

617 Different from the traditional analysis on the error patterns, this study has
618 suggested that interlanguage can be viewed as the transitional process between Thai
619 and Mandarin, and those tone error patterns are not fully related to their mother tongue,
620 possibly suggesting that Thai children might have constructed an independent linguistic
621 system gradually towards Mandarin. The study has provided a preliminary analysis
622 through a highly reliable corpus, and provided Praat acoustic parameters for the tone
623 distribution by looking at various tone combinations measured by plotting the F0
624 variations in Mandarin. In the near future, a phonetically perceptual task in a low-pass
625 filter for reserving tone information will need to be conducted in the hope of eliminating
626 the transcribers’ bias to rely on the lexical information.

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640

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Major Corpora in Taiwan Mandarin in the Phonetics and Psycholinguistics Laboratory
at National Chengchi University

Corpus types	Participants	Cumulative hours	Recording date	Location	Progress rate	Structure database	PRAAT multi-tier labeled corpus
Thousand hours of NLP corpus (dialogue: multiple speakers)	>50 Taiwanese studying overseas	1000+ hrs	1995-1999; 1999-2002	SUNY-Buffalo, NY, USA; Taiwan	86%	V	55 hours
Experimental corpus of speech error (single word: a speaker)	22 college students	0.9K hrs	2003-2005	Chengchi University Taipei	100%	V	N/A
Aphasia corpus (dialogue: two speakers)	18 patients	1K hrs	2003-2009	Taiwan University Hospital	90%	V	N/A
Experimental corpus of aphasia (single word: a speaker)	10 patients	0.3K hrs	2006-2010	Taiwan University Hospital	100%	V	N/A
Child acquisition corpus (dialogue: mother and children)	24 children (0;7-6;11)	1.6K hrs	2012-2016	Children's home (Taipei and New Taipei)	10%	under construction	1%
Children experimental spoken corpus (single word/description: a speaker)	260 children (0;7-6;11)	260 hrs	2012-2014	Recording: RCMBL; Corpus data: PPL	50%	Under construction	N/A

Spoken corpus of Phonologically disordered children (dialogue: two speakers)	18 children (3;0-6;11) (VGH patients)	0.2K hrs	2014-2016	Taipei Veterans General Hospital (VGH)	1%	N/A	N/A
Experimental corpus of children with phonological disorder (single word: a speaker)	20 children (3;0-6;11) (VGH patients)	20 hrs	2014-2016	Research Center for Mind, Brain & Language (RCMBL)	64%	Under construction	N/A
Mandarin corpus of Thai learners	11 toddlers 13 children 14 teenagers	967 hrs	2018-2019	Thai-Chinese International School	40% (Toddlers)	Under construction	5% (Toddlers)

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862 中文摘要

863 本文主要是對於泰國曼谷中華國際學校 11 位幼童學習華語提出初步聲調中
864 介語研究。本案所有學習語料庫建構於 Praat 聲學聲檔中，語料庫自動分成 17 層，
865 其中涵蓋授課老師與參與幼童的口語語音，並且採用機器學習方式半自動處理
866 聲學語料（人工處理僅佔 30%，系統自動標註語言學標記佔 70%）。本研究將
867 幼兒詞彙中的音節數量（單音節、雙音節及多音節）搭配聲學基頻(F0)做一初步
868 觀察。目前結果顯示為泰國幼童本身母語為五調聲調多音節語言，比華語複雜，
869 因此他們口語產製華語聲調並沒有任何困難，而且他們對於雙音節詞彙有相當
870 高的使用比例。傳統研究提及的第二語言偏誤，在本文中則是建議該以中介語
871 作為學習外語的過渡中介期，主因在於這群泰國幼童產生的聲調偏誤類別，聲
872 學基頻參數顯示並非來自於泰語母語聲調，而是偏向近似華語的聲調調型。由
873 此可見，泰國幼童或許刻意建構一個獨立聲調新系統，作為學習新語言的中介
874 過渡期。未來研究將會在華語聲調辨識上執行另一項語音辨識實驗，亦即將所
875 有聲檔以低頻波過濾(low-pass filter)所有的語意詞彙，以求更精準的譯寫正確率。

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