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#### 2 I. INTRODUCTION

Almost 100 years of research have repeatedly shown that consonantal voicing has an effect on preceding vowel duration: vowels followed by voiced obstruents are longer than when followed by voiceless ones (Belasco, 1953; Chen, 1970; Durvasula and Luo, 2012; Esposito, 2002; Farnetani and Kori, 1986; Fowler, 1992; Halle and Stevens, 1967; Heffner, 1937; House and Fairbanks, 1953; Hussein, 1994; Javkin, 1976; Klatt, 1973; Kluender *et al.*, 1988; Laeufer, 1992; Lampp and Reklis, 2004; Lisker, 1974; Maddieson and Gandour, 1976; Peterson and Lehiste, 1960; Raphael, 1975; Warren and Jacks, 2005). Evidence for such so called 'voicing effect' has been found in a variety of languages, including (but not limited to) English, German, Hindi, Russian, Italian, Arabic, and Korean (see Maddieson and Gandour, 1976, for a more comprehensive, but still not exhaustive list).

Despite of the plethora of evidence in support of the *existence* of the voicing effect, still after 100 years agreement hasn't been reached regarding the source of this effect.

Several proposal have been put forward as to where to look for the possible cause of the voicing
effect (see Maddieson and Gandour, 1976, and Sóskuthy (2013) for an overview). Most of the
proposed accounts place the source of the voicing effect in properties of speech production.<sup>1</sup> One
of these production accounts, which will be the focus of this study, relates the voicing effect to some
constant property of speech that is held constant across contexts while the local property of voiceless
vs. voiced obstruents varies, thus creating a trade-off solution within the constant property. Lindblom
(1967), Slis and Cohen (1969a), Slis and Cohen (1969b), and Lehiste (1970) (among others) argue
that the relevant invariant property of speech is a constant durational interval within which segments
of different duration results in different duration of other segments. Both the syllable/VC sequence

<sup>23</sup> (Lindblom) and the word (Lehiste, Slis) has been proposed as the fixed interval. The closure of voiced stops is shorter than that of voiceless stops. It follows that vowels followed by shorter closures (like in the case of voiced stops) are longer than vowels followed by longer closures (like in the case of voiceless stops).

However, Chen (1970) and Maddieson and Gandour (1976) criticise the compensatory temporal adjustment account on empirical grounds. Chen (1970) shows that the duration of the syllable is affected by consonant voicing (compatible with findings in Jacewicz *et al.*, 2009), contrary to Lindblom's expectations. Maddieson and Gandour (1976) reject any compensatory account based on data from a parallel of the voicing effect, the aspiration effect, by which vowel tend to be longer when followed by aspirated stops than when followed by non-aspirated stops. They find no compensatory pattern between vowel and consonant duration: the consonant /t/, which has the shortest duration, is preceded by the shortest vowel, and vowels before /d/ and /th/ have the same duration although the durations of the two consonant are different.

# A. The present study

An exploratory study of acoustic data from Italian and Polish was conducted to investigate the relationship between vowel duration and consonant voicing in two languages that reportedly differ in the magnitude of the voicing effect. Italian has been unanimously reported as a voicing effect language (Caldognetto *et al.*, 1979; Esposito, 2002; Farnetani and Kori, 1986). The mean difference in vowel duration when followed by voiceless vs. voiced consonants ranges between 22 and 24 ms (with longer vowels followed by voiced consonants, Esposito, 2002; Farnetani and Kori, 1986). On the other hand, Polish is subject to conflicting results regarding the presence and magnitude of the

- effect. While Keating (1984) reports no effect of voicing on vowel duration in data from 24 speakers,
- Nowak (2006) finds that vowels followed by voiced stops are 4.5 ms longer in the 4 speakers recorded.
- 46 Moreover, Malisz and Klessa (2008) argue based on data from 40 speakers that the magnitude of the
- voicing effect in Polish is highly idiosyncratic, and claim their results to be inconclusive.

I couldn't find evidence for a different magnitude of the effect of voicing on vowel duration in

Italian and Polish. However, the data support a compensatory temporal adjustment account by which

the placement of the closure onset within an interval which is invariant between voiceless and voiced

contexts (which is insensitive to C2 voicing) determines the respective durations of the vowel and

the stop closure. While the data from the present study confirms that word is not affected as shwon

in ..., a problem of that account is that they don't discuss the internal structure of the word. While

it is true that the duration of words is not affected by C2 voicing, I will show that the interval be
tween two consecutive releases corresponds to a more elegant view, which is in turn compatible with

current theories of gestural timing (which fits with current views on gestural timing [add references

to C-centre]). I will show that the Release to Release is invariant and that this is compatible with

a gestural timing in which the C2 is right-edge aligned with C1/V. I will also offer an interpreta
tion of Maddieson and Gandour (1976) that is compatible with a compensatory temporal adjustment

account.

### 61 II. METHOD

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# A. Participants

Seventeen subjects in total participated to this exploratory study. Eleven participants were native speakers of Italian (5 female, 6 male), while six were native speakers of Polish (3 female, 3 male).

The Italian speakers were from the North and Centre of Italy (8 speakers from Northern Italy, 3 from Central Italy). The Polish group had 2 speakers from Poznań and 4 speakers from Eastern Poland.

For more information on the speakers, see Appendix A. Ethical clearance was obtained for this study from the University of Manchester (REF 2016-0099-76). The participants signed a written consent and received a monetary compensation.

#### B. Equipment

The acquisition of the audio signal was achieved with the software Articulate Assistant Advanced<sup>TM</sup> (AAA, v2.17.2) running on a Hawlett-Packard ProBook 6750b laptop with Microsoft Windows 7, with a sample rate of 22050 MHz (16-bit) in a proprietary format. A FocusRight Scarlett Solo pre-amplifier and a Movo LV4-O2 Lavalier microphone were used for audio recording.

#### C. Materials

The target stimuli were disyllabic words with  $C_1V_1C_2V_2$  structure, where  $C_1 = /p/$ ,  $V_1 = /a$ , o, u/,  $C_2 = /t$ , d, k, g/, and  $V_2 = V_1$  (e.g. /pata/, /pada/, /poto/, etc.). The lexical stress of the target words was placed by speakers of both Italian and Polish on  $V_1$ , as intended. The make-up of the target words was constrained by the design of the experiment, which included ultrasound tongue imaging (UTI).

Front vowels are difficult to image with UTI, since their articulation involves tongue positions which
are particularly far from the ultrasonic probe, hence reducing the visibility of the tongue contour. For
this reason, only central and back vowels were included. Since one of the variables of interest in the
exploratory study was the closing gesture of C<sub>2</sub>, only lingual consonants were used. A labial stop was
chosen as the first consonant to reduce possible coarticulation with the following vowel (although see
Vazquez-Alvarez and Hewlett 2007). The target words were embedded in a frame sentence, *Dico X*lentamente 'I say X slowly' in Italian (following Hajek and Stevens, 2008), and Mówię X teraz 'I say X
now' in Polish. These sentences were chosen in order to keep the placement of stress and emphasis
similar across languages, so to ensure comparability of results.

### D. Procedure

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The participant was asked to read the sentences with the target words which were sequentially presented on the computer screen. The order of the sentence stimuli was randomised for each participant. Each participant read the list of randomised sentence stimuli 6 times. Due to software constraints, the order of the list was kept the same across the six repetitions within each participant. Each speaker read a total of 12 sentences for 6 times (with the exceptions of IT02, who repeated the 12 sentences 5 times, and IT07, with whom words containing /u/ were not recorded due to technical difficulties relating to the ultrasound data collection). with a grand total of 1224 tokens (792 from Italian, 432 from Polish). The reading task lasted between 15 and 20 minutes, with optional short breaks between one repetition and the other.

TABLE I. List of measurements as extracted from acoustics.

landmark		criteria
vowel onset	(V1 onset)	appearance of higher formants in the spectrogram
		following the burst of /p/ (C1)
vowel offset	(V1 offset)	disappearance of the higher formants in the
		spectrogram preceding the target consonant (C2)
consonant onset	(C2 onset)	corresponds to V1 offset
closure onset	(C2 closure onset)	corresponds to V1 offset
consonant offset	(C2 offset)	appearance of higher formants of the vowel following
		C2 (V2); corresponds to V2 onset
consonant release	e (C1/C2 release)	automatic detection + manual correction
		(Ananthapadmanabha et al., 2014)

## E. Data processing and measurements

The audio recordings were exported from AAA in .wav format for further processing. A forced aligned transcription was accomplished through the SPeech Phonetisation Alignment and Syllabification software (SPPAS) (Bigi, 2015). The outcome of the automatic annotation was manually corrected when necessary, according to the criteria in Table I. The releases of C1 and C2 were detected automatically by means of a Praat scripting implementation of the algorithm described in

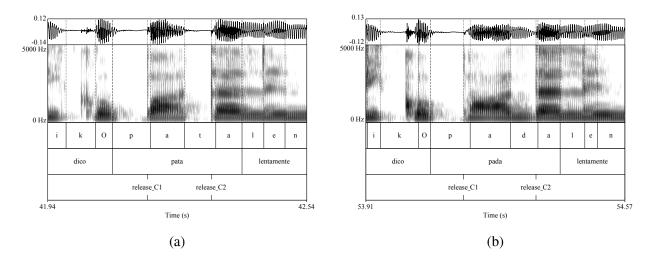


FIG. 1. Segmentation example.

Ananthapadmanabha *et al.* (2014). The durations in milliseconds of the following intervals were
extracted from the annotated acoustic landmarks with Praat scripting: sentence duration, word duration, vowel duration (V1 onset to V1 offset), consonant closure duration (V1 offset to C2 burst),
and Release-to-Release duration (RR duration, C1 release to C2 release). Figure 1 shows an example of the segmentation of /pata/ (a) and /pada/ (b) from an Italian speaker. Syllable rate (syllables
per second) was used as a proxy to speech rate (Plug and Smith, 2018) for duration normalisation,
and was calculated as the number of syllables divided by the duration of the sentence (8 syllables in
Italian, 6 in Polish).

# F. Statistical analysis

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Given the exploratory nature of the study, all statistical analyses reported here are to be considered data-driven or hypothesis-generating rather than hypothesis-driven (Gelman and Loken, 2013; Kerr, 1998). The durational measurements were analysed with linear mixed-effects models using 1me4

v1.1-17 in R v3.5.0 (Bates et al., 2015; Team, 2018). All factors were coded with treatment contrasts. 117 P-values for the individual terms were obtained with 1merTest v3.0-1, which uses the Satterthwaite's 118 approximation to degrees of freedom (Kuznetsova et al., 2017; ?). P-values below the alpha level 0.05 were considered significant. The estimates of the relevant effects are then calculated by refitting 120 the models including only the significant terms (step-down approach, Diggle et al., 2002; Zuur et al., 121 2009, pp. 121–122). Bayes factors were used to specifically test the null hypotheses that word and RR duration are not affected by C2 voicing (i.e., the effect of C2 voicing on duration is 0). For each set of 123 null/alternative hypotheses, a full model (with the predictor of interest) and a null model (excluding 124 it) were fitted separately using Maximum Likelihood estimation (Bates et al., 2015, p. 34). The BIC 125 approximation was then used to obtain Bayes factors (Jarosz and Wiley, 2014; Raftery, 1995, 1999; 126 Wagenmakers, 2007). The approximation is calculated according to the equation in 1 (Wagenmakers, 127 2007, p. 796).

$$BF_{01} \approx exp(\Delta BIC_{10}/2)$$
 (1)

where  $\Delta BIC_{10} = BIC_1 - BIC_0$ ,  $BIC_1$  is the BIC of the full model, and  $BIC_0$  is the BIC of the null model. Values of  $BF_{01} > 1$  indicate a preference of  $H_0$  over  $H_1$ . The interpretation of the Bayes factors follows the recommendations in Raftery (1995, p. 139).

The extracted measurements were filtered before statistical analysis. Measures of vowel duration, closure duration, word duration, and RR duration that are 3 standard deviations lower or higher than the respective means were excluded from the final dataset. This operation yields a total of 920 tokens of vowel and closure durations, 1176 tokens of word duration, and 848 tokens of RR duration.

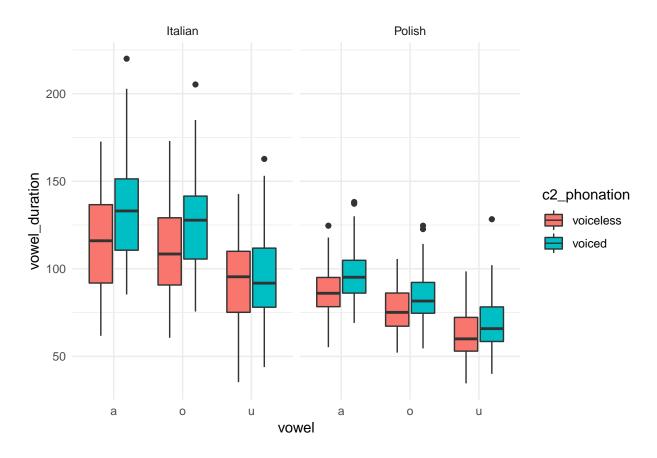


FIG. 2. Vowel duration in Italian and Polish.

# 136 III. RESULTS

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Only the most relevant terms will be presented. For the others see tables and appendixes.

#### A. Vowel duration

A linear mixed-effects model was fitted with the following terms: vowel duration as the outcome variable; fixed effects for C2 voicing (voiceless, voiced), vowel (a, o, u), language (Italian, Polish), and speech rate (as syllables per second); by-speaker and by-word random intercept with by-speaker random slopes for C2 voicing.<sup>4</sup> All possible interactions between C2 voicing, vowel, and language were included. The following terms are significant: C2 voicing, vowel, language, and speech rate. No

interaction was significant. The vowel /a/ (when followed by voiceless stops) has a duration of 202.5 ms (se = 8.5 ms). The vowel /o/ is 9.5 ms shorter (se = 3 ms), while the vowel /u/ is 30.5 ms shorter (se = 3). Vowels are 11 ms longer (se = 3) when followed by a voiced stop. Polish has on average shorter vowels than Italian ( $\hat{\beta}$  = -28 ms, se = 8 ms), although the effect of voicing is estimated to be the same in both languages (the interaction of language and C2 voicing is not significant). Speech rate has a negative effect on vowel duration, such that faster rates correlate with shorter vowel durations ( $\hat{\beta}$  = -15 ms, se = 1 ms).

#### B. Consonant closure duration

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The same maximally specified model as with vowel duration has been fitted to consonant closure durations as the outcome variable. Only C2 voicing and speech rate were significant. Stop closure is 13 ms shorter (se = 3 ms) if the stop is voiced. Finally, faster speech rates correlate with shorter closure durations ( $\hat{\beta}$  = -8 ms, se = 1 ms).

#### C. Vowel and closure duration

The full model was specified with the following terms and interactions: vowel duration as the outcome variable; as fixed effects, closure duration, vowel, speech rate; an interaction between closure duration and vowel; by-speaker and by-word random intercepts, and by-speaker random slopes for C2 voicing. Closure duration has a significant effect on vowel duration when the vowel is  $\frac{1}{3}$  ( $\hat{\beta}$  = -0.2 ms, se = 0.06 ms). The effect with the vowel  $\frac{1}{3}$  does not significantly differ from the one with  $\frac{1}{3}$  while with  $\frac{1}{3}$  the effect is -0.5 ms ( $\hat{\beta}$  = -0.3 ms, se = 0.06 ms). In general, then, closure duration is inversely correlated with vowel duration after controlling for speech rate. However the correlation

is quite weak. A 1 ms increase in closure duration corresponds to a 0.2–0.5 ms decrease in vowel duration.

### D. Word duration

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The following full and null models were fitted to test whether word duration is affected by C2 voicing. In the full model, I entered as fixed effects: C2 voicing, C2 place, vowel, speech rate, and language. The model also included by-speaker and by-word random intercepts, plus a by-speaker random slope for C2 voicing. The null model was the same as the full model, with the exclusion of the fixed effect of C2 voicing. The Bayes factor of the null model against the full model is 21.5. Thus, the null model (in which the effect of C2 voicing is 0) is 21.5 times more likely under the observed data than the full model. This indicates that there is strong evidence for word duration not being affected by C2 voicing.

#### E. Release to Release interval (RR) duration

The models specifications for the RR duration were the same as for word duration. The Bayes factor of the null model against the full model for RR duration is 19, which means that the null model (without C2 voicing) is 19 times more likely than the full model. The data suggests there is positive evidence that duration of the RR interval is not affected by C2 voicing.

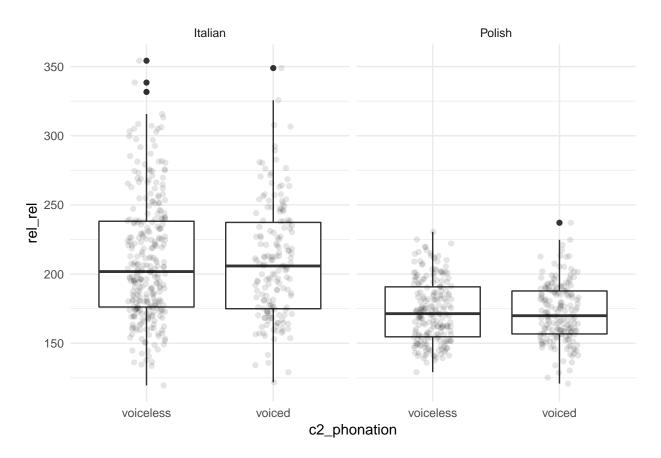


FIG. 3. Release to Release interval duration.

## 180 IV. DISCUSSION

In this exploratory study of Italian and Polish acoustic data, I found that the duration of interval between the releases of two consecutive consonants is insensitive to the phonological voicing of the second consonant. The difference in vowel duration before voiceless vs. voiced stops derives from differences in placement of the closure onset within the fixed interval between the releases of C1 and C2.

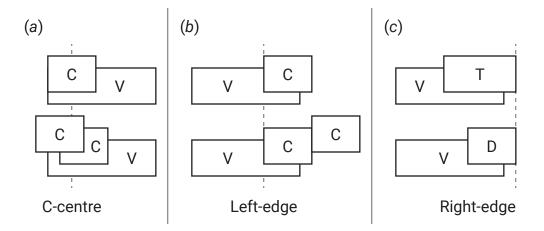


FIG. 4. Gestural organisation patterns for onsets (a), codas (b), heterosyllabic onsets (c). See Section IV A for details. Based on Marin and Pouplier (2010).

# A. Gestural alignment

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According to the coupled oscillator model of syllabic structure (Browman and Goldstein, 1988) 187 2000; Goldstein et al., 2006; Goldstein and Pouplier, 2014), articulatory gestures can be timed ac-188 cording to two coupling modes: in-phase (synchronous) mode, by which two gestures start in syn-189 chrony, or anti-phase (sequential) mode, in which one gesture starts when the preceding one has reached its target. Marin and Pouplier (2010) showed that onset consonants in American English are 191 in-phase with the vowel nucleus and anti-phase with each other. Such phasing pattern establishes a 192 stable relationship between the centre of the consonant or consonant cluster and the following vowel. 193 Independent of the number of onset consonants, the midpoint of the onset, the so-called 'C-centre', 194 is maintained at a fixed distance from the vowel, such that increasing number of consonants in the 195 onset does not change the C-centre/vowel distance (Figure 4(a)). On the other hand, coda consonants 196 are timed anti-phase with the preceding vowel and between themselves. Stability in codas is seen in the lag between the vowel and the left-most edge of the coda, which is not affected by the number of coda consonants (Figure 4(b)). Other studies found further evidence for the synchronous and sequential coupling modes (see extensive review in Marin and Pouplier (2010) and Marin and Pouplier (2014)), although the use of one mode over the other depends on the language and the consonants under study.

Consonants can thus be said to follow either a C-centre organisation pattern or a left-edge organisation pattern. In both cases, of course, the pattern is relative to the tautosyllabic vowel (the following vowel for onsets, the preceding vowel for codas). To the best of my knowledge, no study has reported the timing of onset consonants relative to the *preceding* (heterosyllabic) vowel. The results from this acoustic study on Italian and Polish are compatible with a right-edge organisation pattern for onset consonants and preceding stressed vowels Figure 4(c). The release of C2 (which is the onset of the second syllable in CÝCV words)—which can be thought as the acoustic parallel of the articulatory right edge of C2—is invariantly timed relative to V1 (which is the nucleus of the first syllable).

A consequence of a right-edge organisation pattern of C2 relative to V1 in CVCV words is that differences in C2 closure duration do not affect the lag between V1 and the release of C2, as shown by the results of this study. The invariance of the lag between the release of C1 and that of C2 then can be seen to follow from the invariance in timing between, on the one hand, C1 (which is always /p/ in this study) and V1, and, on the other, between V1 and the right edge of C2.

A right-edge organisation account is compatible with findings from electromyographic, x-ray microbeam, and ultrasonic data by, respectively, Raphael (1975), de Jong (1991), and Celata *et al.*(2018). Celata *et al.* (2018) show that vowels before tautosyllabic clusters have the same duration
as before heterosyllabic clusters. However, vowels followed by geminates are shorter than when fol-

lowed by singletons, although from a syllabic structure point of view geminates correspond to heterosyllabic clusters and singletons to tautosyllabic clusters (i.e., V-final syllables followed by singletons
and tautosyllabic clusters are open, while those followed by geminates and heterosyllabic clusters are
closed). Celata *et al.* (2018) argue that these results corroborate a rhythmic account in which the relevant unit is the rhythmic syllable, i.e. the VC(C) sequence (independent of the traditional syllabic
structure), which is kept constant. Such view reflects a gestural timing view in which the timing of
the right edge of the consonant is held constant relative to the vowel.

de Jong (1991) reports that the closing gesture of voiceless stops (following stressed vowels) is faster than that of voiced stops, and that also it is timed earlier with respect to the opening gesture of 228 the stressed vowel. According to de Jong (1991), the differences in vowel duration are driven by the 220 timing of the consonantal closing gesture relative to the vocalic opening gesture (also see Hertrich and Ackermann 1997). Moreover, the data in de Jong (1991) show that the final portion of the 231 vocalic opening gesture is prolonged before voiced stops. This finding corresponds to what Raphael 232 (1975) reported based on electromyographic data. The electromyographic signal corresponding to the vocalic gesture reaches its plateaux at the same time in the voiceless and voiced context, but the 234 plateaux is held for longer in the case of vowels followed by voiced stops, indicating that muscular 235 activation is kept for longer.

These studies taken together, plus the results from this study, bring evidence to the view that
two factors contribute to the difference in vowel duration observed before consonants varying in
their voicing specification. These two factors are: (1) the right-edge alignment of coda consonants
following stressed vowels relative to the latter, and (2) the differential timing of the closing gesture
onset for voiceless vs. voiced stops. These two factors together can be synthesised into a compensatory

temporal adjustment account, in which the fixed interval is generated by factor (1) and the temporal adjustment is brought about by factor (2).

#### B. Limitations and future work

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The generalisations reported in this paper strictly apply to disyllabic words with stress on the first 245 syllable. It is possible that the organisation pattern found in this context does not occur in sequences 246 including an unstressed vowel. For example, it is known that the difference in closure duration between voiceless and voiced stops is not stable when the stops precede a stressed vowel, although the vowels preceding the pre-stress stops have different durations (Davis and Van Summers, 1989). 249 According to the gestural interpretation given here, no differences in closure durations should corre-250 spond to no difference in vowel durations. The constraints on experimental material brought about 251 by the use of ultrasound tongue imaging have been already mentioned in Section II C. In the previous 252 section I mention that the invariance of the RR duration could be a consequence of the timing of C2 253 rather than of a holistic CVC motor plan in which the RR interval is held constant. Disambiguating between these two interpretations is not possible based on the data from this study. 255

# C. A reinterpretation of Maddieson and Gandour (1976)

Before concluding, I would like to offer a reinterpretation of the results in Maddieson and Gandour (1976). An issue with the analysis in Maddieson and Gandour (1976) is that the consonant
duration was in fact measured from the closure of the relevant consonant to the release of the following consonant, due to difficulties in detecting the release of the consonant of interest (e.g., in *ab*  $s\bar{a}th \ kaho$ , the duration of  $t^h$  in  $s\bar{a}th$  was calculated as the interval between the closure of  $t^h$  and the

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release of /k/). This measure includes the burst and (eventual) aspiration of the consonant. Slis and

<sup>263</sup> Cohen (1969a), however, states that the inverse correlation between vowel duration and the following

consonant raises when consonant *closure* duration is taken into account, and not the entire *consonant* 

265 duration.

266 If the correlation exists between vowel and closure duration, the inclusion of burst/aspiration du-

ration clearly alters this relationship. This is what I think is happening in Maddieson and Gandour

68 (1976). Indeed, the data in Durvasula and Luo (2012) show that closure duration, appropriately

measured, decreases from voiceless unaspirated > voiced > voiceless aspirated > voiced aspirated,

which closely resembles the order of increasing vowel duration in Maddieson and Gandour (1976).<sup>5</sup>

271 This considered, I think the aspiration effect is indeed compatible with a compensatory temporal

272 adjustment account. Such claim will need to be verified in future work.

# V. CONCLUSION

## 4 ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks to...

TABLE II. Participants' sociolinguistic information.

ID	Age	Sex	Native L	Other Ls	City of birth	Spent most time in	> 6 mo
it01	29	Male	Italian	English, Spanish	Verbania	Verbania	Yes
it02	26	Male	Italian	Friulian, English, Ladin-Venetan	Udine	Tricesimo	Yes
it03	28	Female	Italian	English, German	Verbania	Verbania	No
it04	54	Female	Italian	Calabrese	Verbania	Verbania	No
it05	28	Female	Italian	English	Verbania	Verbania	No
it09	35	Female	Italian	English	Vignola	Vignola	Yes
it11	24	Male	Italian	English	Monza	Monza	Yes
it13	20	Female	Italian	English, French, Arabic, Farsi	Ancona	Chiaravalle	Yes
it14	32	Male	Italian	English, Spanish	Frosinone	Frosinone	Yes
pl02	32	Female	Polish	English, Norwegian, French,	Koło	Poznań	Yes
				German, Dutch			
pl03	26	Male	Polish	Russian, English, French, German	Nowa Sol	Poznań	Yes
pl04	34	Female	Polish	Spanish, English, French	Warsaw	Warsaw	No
pl05	42	Male	Polish	English, French	Przasnysz	Warsaw	No
pl06	33	Male	Polish	English	Zgierz	Zgierz	Yes
pl07	32	Female	Polish	English, Russian	Bielsk Podlaski	Bielsk Podlaski	Yes

#### 276 APPENDIX A: SOCIO-LINGUISTIC INFORMATION OF PARTICIPANTS

<sup>1</sup>Two accounts that point to perceptual features are Javkin (1976) and Kluender *et al.* (1988). To the best of my knowledge, Javkin (1976)'s proposal remains empirically untested, while see Fowler (1992) for arguments against Kluender et al. 278 (1988). 279 <sup>2</sup>These estimates should be taken as a gross approximation. There are several issues: number of speakers, different 280 contexts, statistical modelling. 281 <sup>3</sup>IT01 and IT02 (the first two participants of this study) read also sentences with words starting with /b/, which were later excluded from the experimental design. The data from /b/-initial words are not included in the analysis reported in this 283 paper. 284 <sup>4</sup>The place of articulation of C2 was not included in any of the models discussed. This decision is based on the visual inspection of the data, which suggests C2 place does not have major effects on the outcome variables. Preliminary models 286 including the effect of C2 place and interactions with other terms showed the model fit indeed does not improve. 287 <sup>5</sup>Durvasula and Luo (2012) does not find a negative correlation between vowel duration and consonant closure duration, but rather a (small) positive effect: vowel duration increases with closure duration when including an voicing and aspi-289 ration as fixed effects. However, it is likely that this result is a consequence of not controlling for speech rate. Moreover, 290 the estimated effect of closure duration on vowel duration is in fact very small (0.15 ms, se = 0.03). 291 292 Ananthapadmanabha, T. V., Prathosh, A. P., and Ramakrishnan, A. G. (2014). "Detection of the 293 closure-burst transitions of stops and affricates in continuous speech using the plosion index," The 294 Journal of the Acoustical Society of America 135(1), 460–471. 295 Bates, D., Mächler, M., Bolker, B., and Walker, S. (2015). "Fitting linear mixed-effects models using 296

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