



On the mechanics of tonogenesis: Evidence from prevoicing

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INTRODUCTION

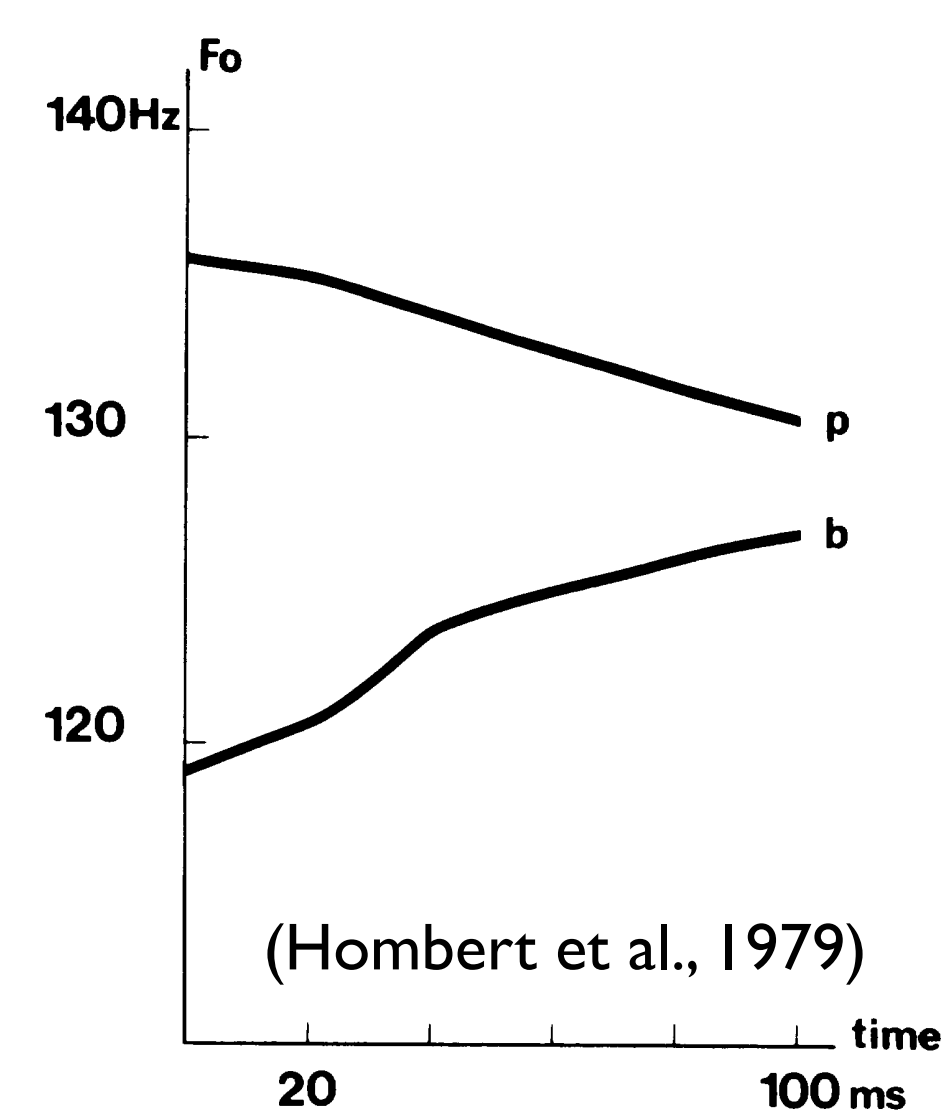
Obstruent-intrinsic F0 effect:

F0 of vowels following voiced stops lower than F0 following voiceless stops

Stage 1 Stage 2 Stage 3

pá [—] pá [—] pá [—]
bá [—] bă [—] pă [—]

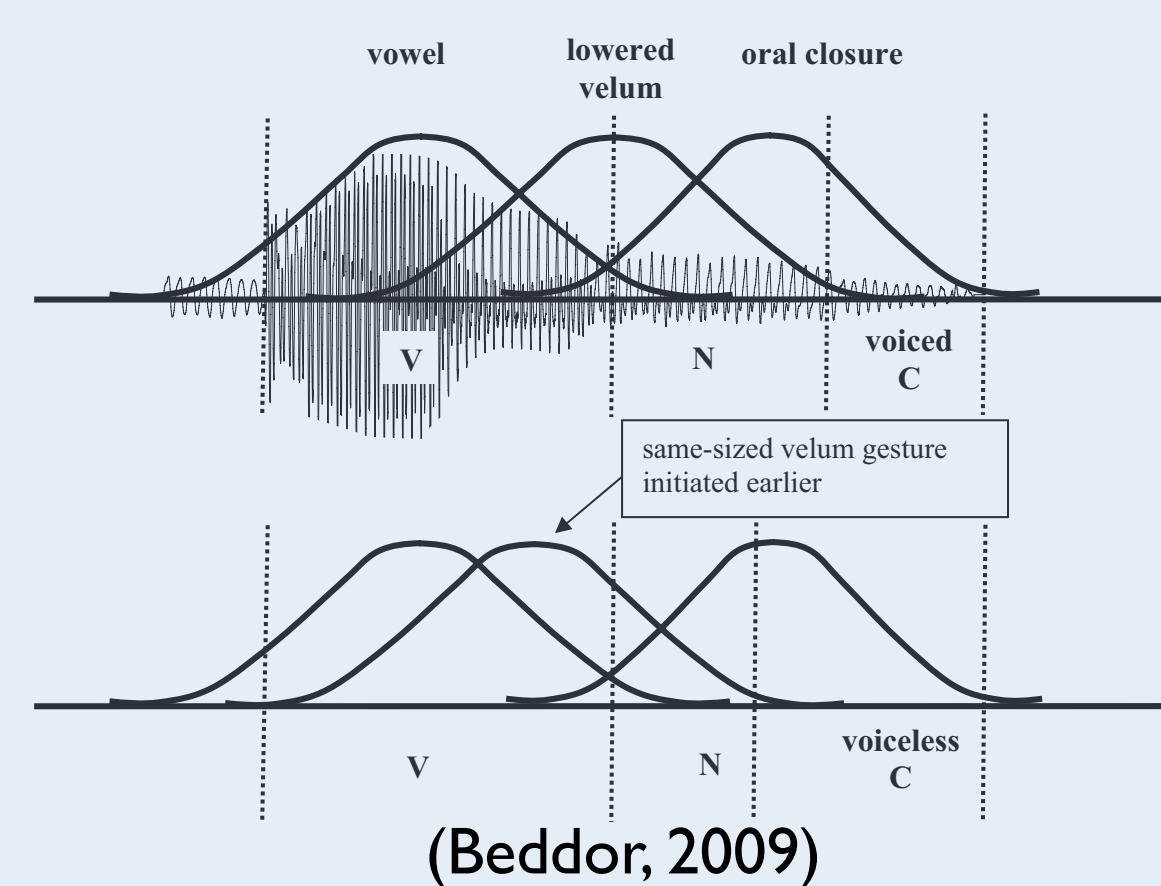
Phonologization of F₀ (after Hyman, 1976).



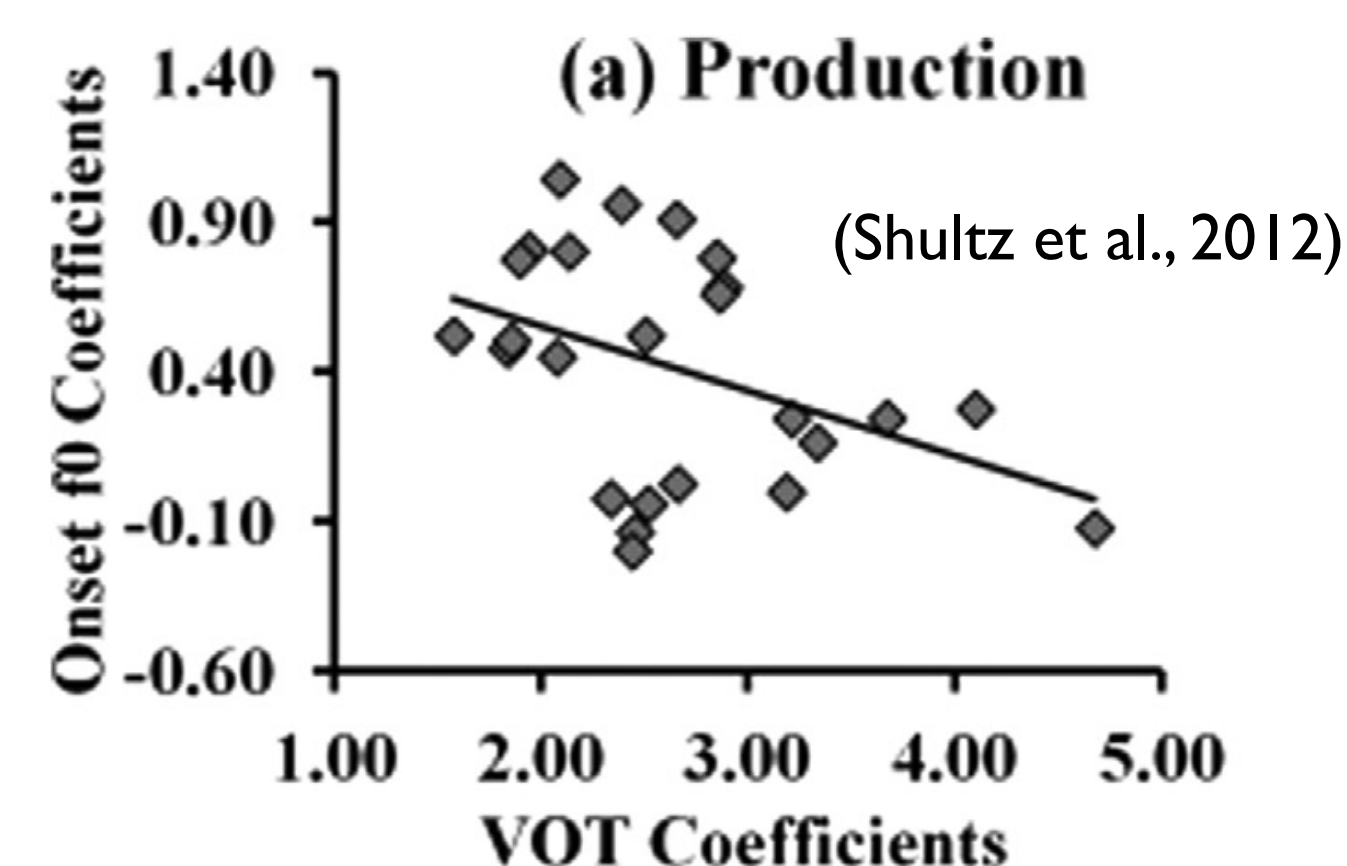
- Implicated in emergence and evolution of tone systems
- What factor(s) might contribute to exaggeration of this effect?
- Kingston & Diehl (1994): onset F0 is **actively lowered** to enhance the perception of the [voice] contrast

• If onset F0 is under speaker control, it might be in a **trading relation** with VOT (Repp, 1982)

• If informativity of F0 increases as that of VOT decreases, listeners might misattribute the source of the effect (Beddor, 2009; Solé, 2014)



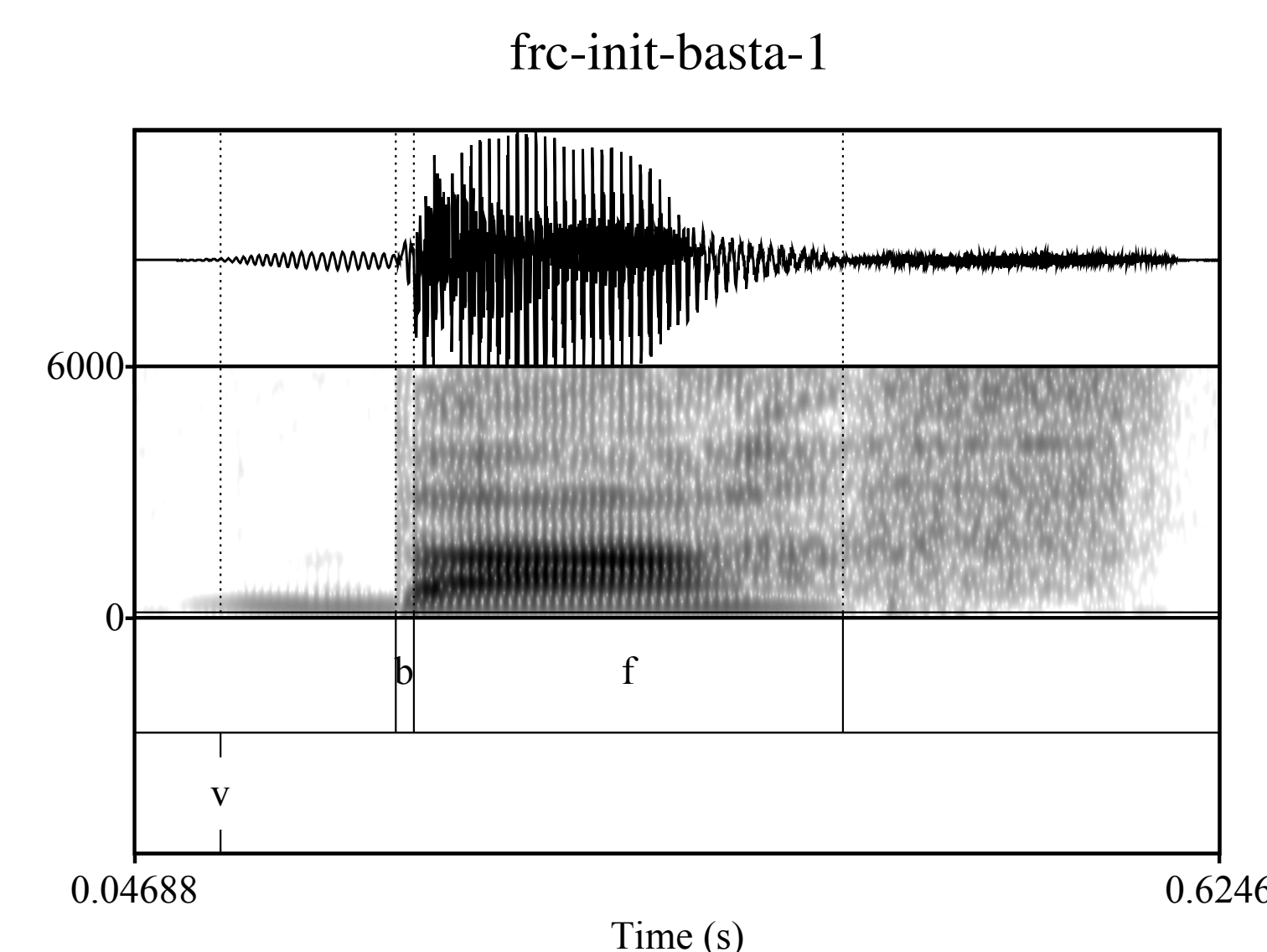
- Shultz et al. (2012) present evidence of just such a relation between VOT and F0 for (phonetically **voiceless**) English stops
- Replicated (by us) in pilot



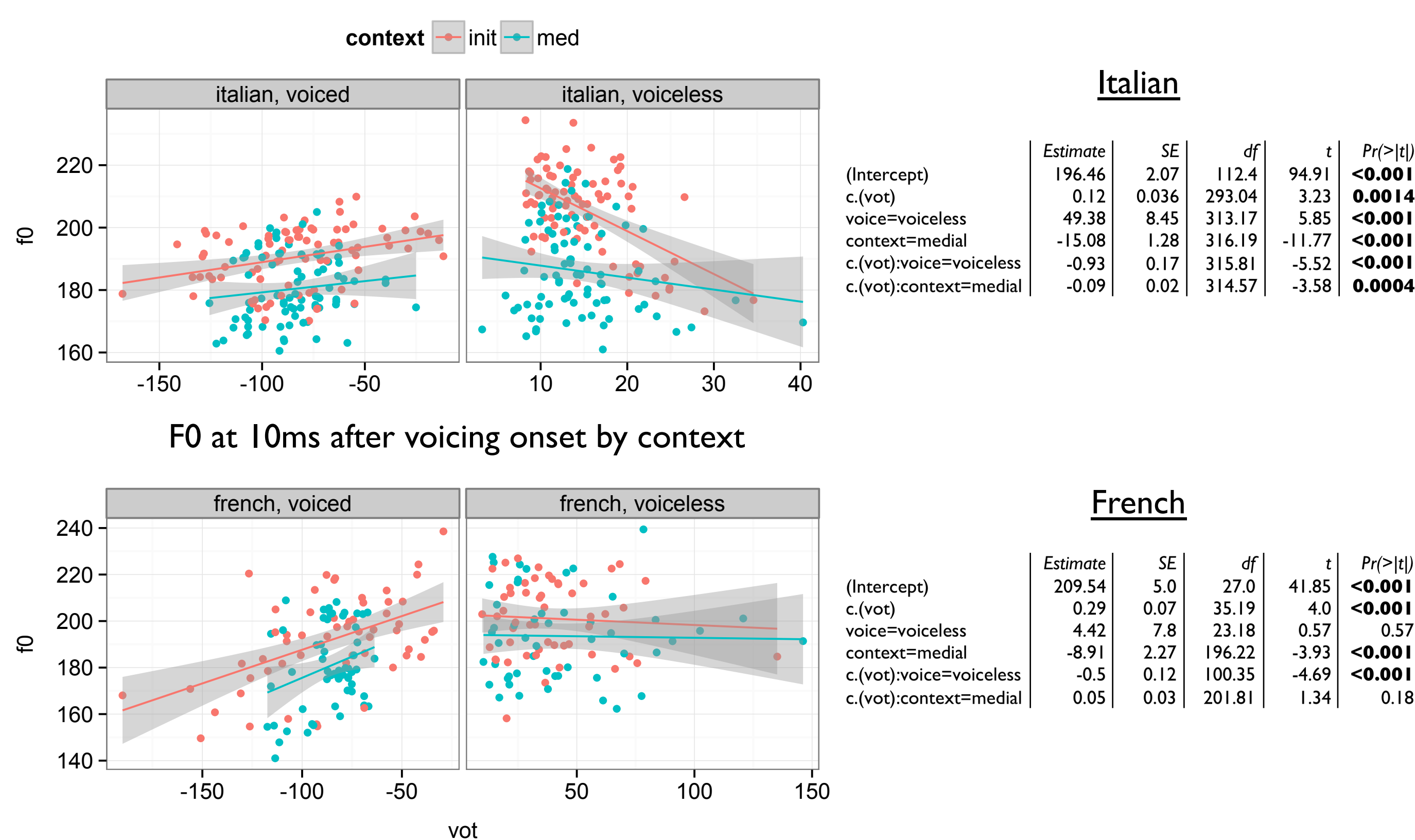
Does there exist a similar trading relation between **voicing lead** and F0?

MATERIALS & METHODS

- 5 female speakers each of French & Italian
- 3 repetitions each of 11 (near-) minimal triplets: two bilabial target items (e.g. *balla* ~ *palla*, *boule* ~ *poule*) and one rhyming distractor (e.g. *stalla*, *foule*) in initial and medial positions
- Vowels were mainly /a/, with a few /ε/s and (for French) /u/s
- Durational measures: **voicing onset, burst onset/offset, duration of following vowel**
- Spectral measures: F0 at seven timepoints starting 10ms after vowel onset (start of f)



RESULTS



Finding in **opposite direction** to predicted effect

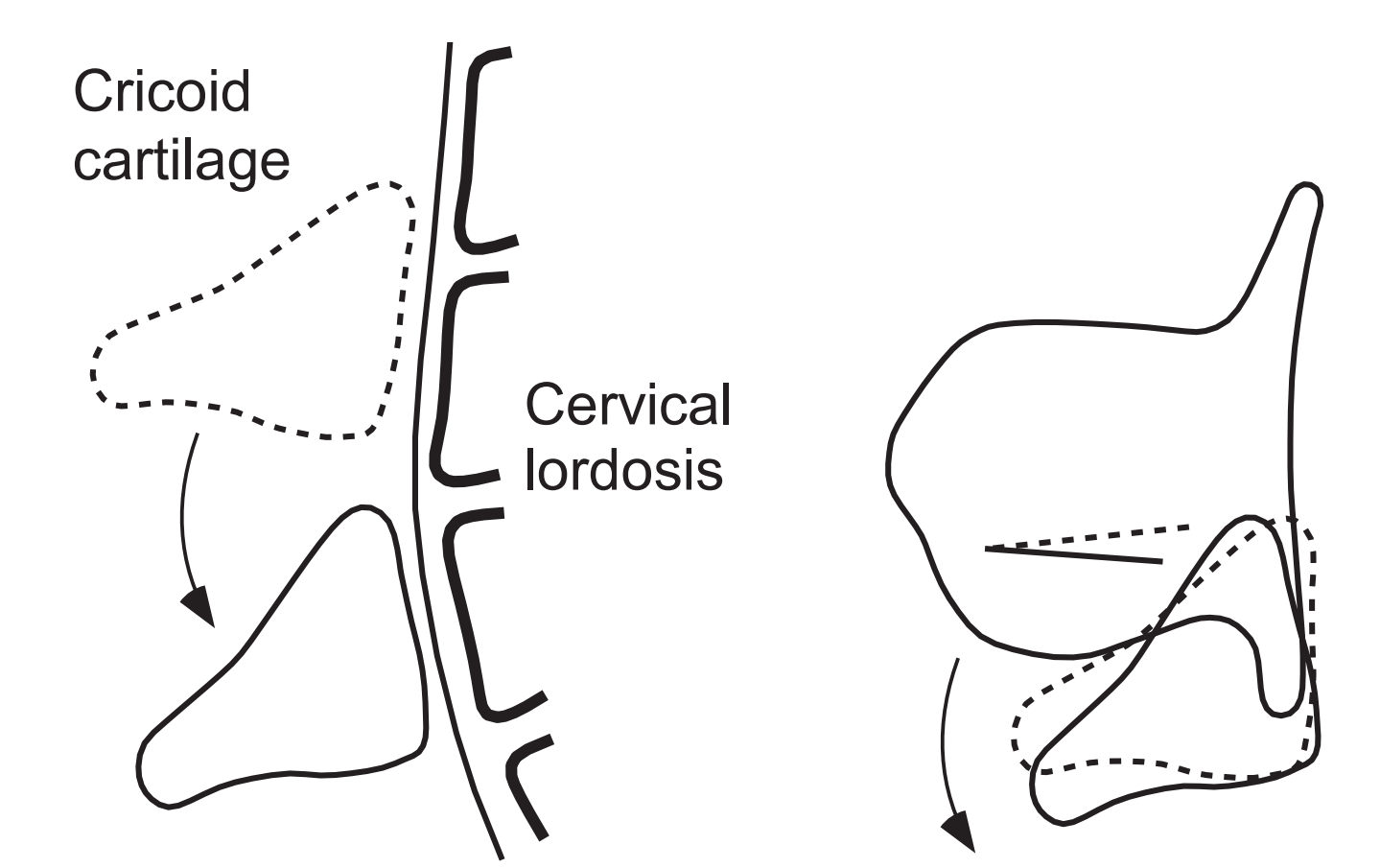
- **Positive** correlation between duration of voicing lead and onset F0 in both languages; onset F0 for [+voice] lower in medial context
- $F_0 \sim VOT + \text{voicing} + \text{context} + (VOT:\text{voicing}) + (VOT:\text{context}) + (1+VOT|\text{subject}) + (1|\text{item})$

DISCUSSION

No evidence for trading relation: speakers tend to use **more** low F0 as voicing lead time **increases**

Consistent with primarily **automatic** account of onset F0 effects, e.g.:

- Larynx and hyoid bone are consistently lower for voiced stops than for voiceless (Kent & Moll, 1969)
- Accompanied by downward movement of the cricoid cartilage and slacking of the vocal folds (Honda, 2004)



(Honda 2004, Fig. 6)

However, relationship between voicing and F0 still important for the emergence and evolution of tone

- Maintaining prevoicing is aerodynamically challenging; lowering of larynx could prolong prevoicing while also lowering onset F0, consistent with present findings
- If the low-frequency pulsing is not perceived, percept could instead be of a low- vs high-F0 [-voice] stop

Misattribution of coarticulatory source need not involve **active** enhancement or trading relation

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