

Manner of Articulation, Parallel Processing,
and the Perception of Duration*

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A number of problems are connected with the study of the temporal aspects of speech production and perception. An important one is the problem of segmentation. Any study involving the measurement of duration presupposes the establishment of boundaries. The researchers in the field are by no means unanimous regarding the boundaries of speech sounds. It has to be decided at which level the boundaries are to be located--the articulatory or the acoustic level--and whether these boundaries have any perceptual reality.

Some time ago (Peterson and Lehiste (1960)) I established some practical guidelines for segmenting an utterance on the basis of the acoustic characteristics of the sound wave. Naeser (1969) has recently elaborated these rules, and they have been used by several investigators of speech sound duration. Underlying these rules was a basic assumption which I would now like to make explicit: the production and perception of timing patterns takes place with reference to major changes in manner of articulation.

Before presenting some new evidence that, in my opinion, supports this hypothesis, I should review some of the arguments against the possibility of segmentation.

One of the arguments is connected with the continuous nature of the speech wave, and the fact that there is no one-to-one correspondence between acoustic segments and linguistic segments. Fant has devoted a considerable amount of attention to this problem (Fant (1962)). He has made the observation that although the speech wave is basically continuous, spectrographic pictures of speech often display quite distinct boundaries between successive parts along the time axis. These boundaries are, according to Fant, related to switching events in the speech production mechanism, such as a shift in the primary sound source (e.g. from voice to noise), or the opening and closing off of a passage within the vocal cavities. Boundaries between sound segments are due to the beginning or end of at least one of simultaneously present sound features. But sound segment boundaries are not to be confused with phoneme boundaries. Several adjacent sounds of connected speech may carry information on several adjacent phonemes. A typical example would be the influence exerted by a consonant on a following vowel.

The notion that the same sound segment may carry information on several adjacent phonemes is intimately connected with the hypothesis of parallel processing. In essence, parallel processing

means that the same physical signal may carry more than one kind of information, which in the process of speech perception may be extracted simultaneously, as if over separate channels. Parallel processing has been discussed extensively in various recent publications (Neisser (1967); Chistovich and Kozhevnikov (1969-1970); Liberman (1970)). Given the continuous nature of the acoustic signal and the fact that perceptual cues may overlap in time, it is quite understandable that some linguists have claimed that it is not possible to establish the duration of segments in any perceptually meaningful way.

Granted that the acoustic signal is continuous and that speech processing may take in parallel fashion, I still believe that the picture is unduly complicated by not making a distinction between manner of articulation and point of articulation characteristics. It is the point of articulation cues that are continuous; they may be spread out over several adjacent segments, while the manner of articulation cues provide the abrupt changes that are seen in the visual display of an acoustic waveform. While several adjacent segments may carry information on the point of articulation, the manner of articulation can usually be determined from an examination of the pertinent segments themselves. Duration of segments relates to the manner of articulation rather than to the point of articulation, and timing information is extracted primarily from manner of articulation cues.

This is, of course, a hypothesis that should be supported by experimental evidence. I shall try to present some toward the end of this paper. But first let me bring up some further considerations that lead me to believe in the possibility of making rather precise and perceptually meaningful measurements of the duration of various sound segments.

It is an established fact that differences in duration are perceptible. In principle, the ear is capable of distinguishing between durations, be it the duration of a continuous signal (like gated white noise) or the duration of a silent interval embedded in a continuous signal. If it is claimed that listeners can distinguish the durations of non-linguistic stimuli, but cannot perceive differences in the duration of linguistic stimuli, it is assumed that speech sounds have some characteristics that make their boundaries perceptually blurred. Being a native speaker of a quantity language, in which differences in duration carry high linguistic significance, I find this notion intuitively quite unacceptable. If durational differences can serve as part of the linguistic signaling system, listeners must be able to compare the durations of speech sounds (or whatever unit possesses contrastive duration). And if they compare durations, they must know at which moment a given sound begins and ends. In other words, there must exist unambiguous boundaries to which the listener may refer in comparing either two durations heard in succession, or a perceived duration with a stored "durational image". I propose that major changes in manner of articulation

constitute the acoustic and perceptual correlates of such boundaries.

It has been suggested that differences in duration are perceived as qualitative rather than quantitative differences. While sounds differing in duration may also differ in quality in a number of cases, it is not necessarily true in other instances. As a limiting case, I would like to quote my own experiments with a set of synthetic Estonian words, in which certain stimuli differed solely in the duration of the intervocalic plosive gap (Lehiste (1970a)). The duration of the rest of the word, including the duration of the transitions to and from the consonant, was held constant. The listeners had no difficulty in assigning different linguistic labels to words falling into different intervocalic plosive duration categories. It should be obvious that there was no qualitative difference in the silence corresponding to the duration of the plosive; thus the judgments must have been based on the perception of differences in the duration of the plosive gap.

I find no contradiction between the claim that listeners can compare the durations of segments and that they perceive speech by a kind of parallel processing of the incoming signal. The timing information is simply another feature which is extracted at the same time as the information concerning the segmental nature of the incoming speech wave.

There is additional, somewhat circumstantial evidence of the importance of the manner of articulation in speech perception. In a study of the perceptual parameters of consonant sounds, Sharf (1971) established seven-point scales for duration, loudness, frequency, sharpness, and contact. Substantial numbers of significant differences were obtained only for duration comparisons based on manner of articulation. In an earlier study, Denes (1963) showed that manner of articulation carries by far the greatest functional load in the English sound system, and suggested that the acoustic correlates of manner of articulation might be used for segmentation in automatic speech recognition systems.

One way to test the hypothesis that the timing of speech sounds takes place with reference to major changes in manner of articulation would be to find some instances in which the application of a timing rule depends on such differences. The study I want to report about during the rest of this paper deals with a limited attempt to find such a situation.

I investigated the duration of segments in monosyllabic English words beginning and ending in an obstruent consonant and containing syllable nuclei consisting of long and short vowels, preceded and/or followed by resonants. The boundaries between obstruents and both vowels and resonants are clearly manifested and should be easily detectable, whereas the boundaries between vowels and resonants are relatively less well defined and do not correspond to what I would call major changes in manner of

articulation. If the hypothesis is true that timing takes place with reference to major changes in manner of articulation, the span between the release of the initial obstruent and the onset of the final obstruent should function as a unit of timing, regardless of the position or even the presence of the resonant; the resonants should fuse with the vowels into syllable nuclei functioning as a whole with regard to some timing rules.

The structure of the test words may be symbolized as $C_1 R_1 V R_2 C_2$ (consonant-resonant-vowel-resonant-consonant). The first consonant was either a voiced or voiceless plosive. In the latter case, aspiration was present. The duration of initial consonants was not measurable, especially in the case of voiceless plosives; thus only the duration of aspiration will be presented in the following tables. The first resonant could be present or absent. If present, it was either /r/ or /l/. The vowel was always present; it could be either long or short. For purposes of this study, all vowels were considered long with the exception of [I e A U]. The second resonant could be present or absent; if present, it was either /m/, /n/, /r/, or /l/. The final consonant was a voiced or voiceless obstruent (in most cases, plosive). The tables report the duration of the closure part of the final consonant; release and aspiration (if present) are not included in the tables. For purposes of processing, the sounds were coded in the following manner:

| Aspiration | Resonant | Vowel | Resonant | Consonant |
|------------|----------|-----------|----------|---------------|
| 1 = + | 2 = /r/ | 1 = long | 4 = /m/ | 1 = voiced |
| 0 = - | 1 = /l/ | 0 = short | 3 = /n/ | 0 = voiceless |
| | 0 = - | | 2 = /r/ | |
| | | | 1 = /l/ | |
| | | | 0 = - | |

For example, the code 00011 refers to a word beginning with a voiced initial consonant, containing no first resonant, a short vowel, /l/ as second resonant, and ending in a voiced final consonant. An example would be the word build. The code 000R1 refers to all words of this type in which a resonant was present in the slot indicated by R.

There were 156 test words of this general structure. Each word was produced five times by three native speakers of English; thus the data consist of $15 \times 156 = 2350$ productions. A list of the test words, together with their codes, is presented at the end of this paper in Appendix A.

The tapes were processed by means of a Frøkjær-Jensen Pitch Meter and Intensity Meter and displayed on an Elema-Schönander Mingograph, operated at a speed of 10 cm/sec. The boundaries of segments were established mainly on the basis of duplex oscillograms, using principles summarized by Naeser (1969). Durations of all segments were measured, and average durations were computed for

all segments in all word types. These average durations are presented at the end of the paper in Appendix B.

The results of the study will be discussed with reference to three summary tables and five figures. Table 1 presents average durations of segments in words with syllable nuclei consisting of vowel + resonant.

TABLE 1
AVERAGE DURATIONS OF SEGMENTS IN WORDS WITH SYLLABLE NUCLEI
CONSISTING OF VOWEL + RESONANT

| Word type | N | Asp. | R | V | R | C | SN | SN+C |
|-----------|-----|------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| OOOR1 | 105 | | | 229.1 | 174.4 | 54.8 | 403.5 | 458.3 |
| OOORO | 105 | | | 163.4 | 103.6 | 106.7 | 267.0 | 373.7 |
| OOLR1 | 150 | | | 290.0 | 141.1 | 95.6 | 431.1 | 526.7 |
| OOLRO | 150 | | | 196.9 | 89.0 | 112.9 | 285.9 | 398.8 |
| 1OOR1 | 75 | 78.7 | | 212.1 | 156.9 | 55.4 | 447.7 | 503.1 |
| 1OORO | 75 | 72.2 | | 143.7 | 92.7 | 104.6 | 308.6 | 413.2 |
| 1O1R1 | 120 | 86.6 | | 284.4 | 134.4 | 61.9 | 505.4 | 567.3 |
| 1O1RO | 135 | 83.6 | | 192.4 | 79.7 | 102.2 | 355.7 | 457.9 |
| OR1R1 | 15 | | 90.7 | 347.0 | 100.4 | 38.7 | 538.1 | 576.8 |
| OR1RO | 15 | | 75.3 | 253.5 | 72.4 | 78.9 | 401.2 | 480.1 |

The word type is given in Column 1. Five pairs of word types are presented, differing in the voicing of the final obstruent consonant. The first pair consists of words beginning with a voiced plosive, followed by a short vowel and a resonant. The second pair is similar, except that the vowels are long. The third pair consists of words beginning with a voiceless plosive, followed by a short vowel and a resonant. The fourth pair contains a long vowel. The fifth pair finally consists of words in which a voiced initial plosive was followed by a sequence of resonant, long vowel and resonant, followed by a voiced and voiceless plosive. (Only one example of each type was available--bland and blank--and therefore the averages have to be interpreted with caution.)

The second column contains the number of productions used for averaging. Since there were three speakers, each producing the word five times, the number of different words may be obtained by dividing N by 15.

The third column contains the duration of aspiration, which was present in words beginning with a voiceless plosive. (All durations are in milliseconds). The fourth column shows the average duration of the prevocalic resonant, where present. The fifth

column contains the average duration of the vowel. The next column shows the average duration of the postvocalic resonant. This is followed in the next column by the average duration of the final consonant. The duration is that of the hold of the consonant and does not include release and/or aspiration. The following column gives the duration of the span from the release of the first obstruent to the onset of the second. The last column gives the sum of the syllable nucleus (consisting of vowel and one or two resonants) and the final consonant. Figure 1 presents the same information graphically.

It is a well known rule in English that vowels are shortened before a voiceless final consonant and lengthened before a voiced final consonant. In an earlier study (Peterson and Lehiste (1960)), we had established the ratio between vowel durations before voiceless and voiced final consonants as 0.66, i.e. approximately 2/3. The present set of data shows that both the vowel and the postvocalic resonant are subject to either shortening or lengthening, depending on the voicing of the final obstruent.

When all parts of the syllable nucleus from the release of the initial plosive to the onset of the postvocalic resonant were combined, the ratio between their average durations before a voiceless and a voiced plosive was 0.73. The duration ratio for postvocalic resonants was 0.62. The ratio of the durations of the whole span from the release of the initial plosive to the closure of the final plosive was 0.69.

In a recent study devoted to vowel length variation as a function of the voicing of the consonant environment, Chen (1970) included 96 word tokens containing vowel + resonant sequences. He obtained comparable ratios: 0.73 for the vowel, 0.60 for the resonant, and 0.66 for the whole vowel + resonant sequence. This, as may be remembered, is identical with the ratio obtained for vowels by Peterson and Lehiste (1960), and very close to the 0.69 ratio obtained in the present study.

I believe it to be obvious that with regard to the timing rule in question, the sequence vowel + resonant functions indeed as a unitary syllable nucleus, albeit a segmentally complex one. The timing of the sequence appears to proceed indeed from the release of the initial obstruent to the formation of the closure of the final obstruent, which constitute major changes in the manner of articulation.

The question whether sequences of resonant + vowel function in the same manner turned out to be somewhat more complicated. Table 2 presents four sets of words in which resonants, if present, preceded and/or followed vocalic syllable nuclei.

TABLE 2
 AVERAGE DURATIONS OF SEGMENTS, SYLLABLE NUCLEI AND WORDS
 IN VARIOUS WORD TYPES INVOLVING RESONANTS

| Word type | N | Asp. | R | V | R | C | SN | SN+C |
|-----------|-----|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 10100 | 135 | 75.1 | | 234.9 | | 135.0 | 310.0 | 445.0 |
| 101R0 | 135 | 83.6 | | 192.4 | 79.7 | 102.2 | 355.7 | 457.9 |
| 1R100 | 165 | 95.5 | 42.9 | 211.4 | | 125.0 | 349.8 | 474.8 |
| 1R1R0 | 30 | 105.3 | 20.8 | 223.5 | 65.7 | 88.6 | 415.3 | 503.9 |
| 00101 | 45 | | | 428.1 | | 76.4 | 428.1 | 504.5 |
| 001R1 | 150 | | | 290.0 | 141.1 | 95.6 | 431.1 | 526.7 |
| OR101 | 60 | | 83.2 | 394.6 | | 68.1 | 477.8 | 545.9 |
| OR1R1 | 15 | | 90.7 | 347.0 | 100.4 | 38.7 | 538.1 | 576.8 |
| 10000 | 45 | 71.0 | | 180.3 | | 130.2 | 251.3 | 381.5 |
| 100R0 | 75 | 72.2 | | 143.7 | 92.7 | 104.6 | 308.6 | 413.2 |
| 1R000 | 75 | 94.0 | 45.8 | 172.0 | | 120.2 | 311.8 | 432.0 |
| 1R0R0 | 15 | 89.2 | 42.5 | 149.7 | 79.6 | 75.4 | 361.0 | 436.4 |
| 00001 | 45 | | | 292.5 | | 84.9 | 292.5 | 377.4 |
| 000R1 | 105 | | | 229.1 | 174.4 | 54.8 | 403.5 | 458.3 |
| OR001 | 60 | | 83.6 | 258.4 | | 85.5 | 342.0 | 427.5 |
| OR0R1 | 15 | | 90.6 | 238.1 | 144.9 | 49.7 | 473.6 | 523.3 |

The first set of four consists of words containing long vowels and beginning and ending in a voiceless plosive. The second set is similar, except the words began and ended in voiced plosives. The third set is analogous to the first, except for the vowel being short; the fourth set is in the same way analogous to the second. Sets one and two are shown on Figure 2; Figure 3 presents comparable material for sets three and four.

The differences in the average duration of syllable nuclei (including vowels and resonants) range from 3.0 msec (for 00101 - 001R1) to 181.1 (for 00001 - OR0R1). In trying to assess the relative significance of the differences, it appears reasonable to ask first whether the differences are perceptible. Just noticeable differences (jnd's, or difference limens - DLs) in duration have been studied by several investigators (summarized in Lehiste (1970b)). Table 3 gives the differences between the average durations for all pairs within each set of word types presented in Table 2.

TABLE 3
DIFFERENCE IN THE AVERAGE DURATIONS OF SYLLABLE NUCLEI
INVOLVING RESONANTS BEFORE AND AFTER THE VOWEL

| Word type | N | Average duration of SN, in msec | Difference in SN, in msec | Nearest absolute DL, in msec |
|-----------|-----|---------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| 10100 | 135 | 310.0 | | |
| 101R0 | 135 | 355.7 | 45.7 | 48.0 (Stott, 1935) |
| 10100 | 135 | 310.0 | | |
| 1R100 | 165 | 349.8 | 39.8 | 48.0 (Stott, 1935) |
| 10100 | 135 | 310.0 | | |
| 1R1R0 | 30 | 415.3 | 105.3 | 48.0 (Stott, 1935) |
| 101R0 | 135 | 355.7 | | |
| 1R100 | 165 | 349.8 | 5.9 | 48.0 (Stott, 1935) |
| 00101 | 45 | 428.1 | | |
| 001R1 | 150 | 431.1 | 3.0 | 48.0 (Stott, 1935) |
| 00101 | 45 | 428.1 | | |
| 0R101 | 60 | 477.8 | 49.7 | 68.64 (Henry, 1948) |
| 00101 | 45 | 428.1 | | |
| 0R1R1 | 15 | 538.1 | 110.0 | 69.0 (Stott, 1935) |
| 001R1 | 150 | 431.1 | | |
| 0R101 | 60 | 477.8 | 46.7 | 68.64 (Henry, 1948) |
| 10000 | 45 | 251.3 | | |
| 100R0 | 75 | 308.6 | 57.3 | 47.64 (Henry, 1948) |
| 10000 | 45 | 251.3 | | |
| 1R000 | 75 | 311.8 | 60.5 | 47.64 (Henry, 1948) |
| 10000 | 45 | 251.3 | | |
| 1R0R0 | 15 | 361.0 | 109.7 | 48.0 (Stott, 1935) |
| 100R0 | 75 | 308.6 | | |
| 1R000 | 75 | 311.8 | 3.2 | 47.64 (Henry, 1948) |
| 00001 | 45 | 292.5 | | |
| 000R1 | 105 | 403.5 | 111.0 | 48.0 (Stott, 1935) |
| 00001 | 45 | 292.5 | | |
| 0R001 | 60 | 342.0 | 49.5 | 47.64 (Henry, 1948) |
| 00001 | 45 | 292.5 | | |
| 0R0R1 | 15 | 473.6 | 181.1 | 48.0 (Stott, 1935) |
| 000R1 | 105 | 403.5 | | |
| 0R001 | 60 | 342.0 | 61.5 | 48.0 (Stott, 1935) |

The last column contains the absolute DL, in msec, established for reference durations that are closest to the duration of the syllable nuclei under consideration. Table 4 summarizes the pertinent data for durational difference limens. The information is presented graphically in Figures 4 and 5.

TABLE 4

| Reference duration (msec) | $\Delta T/T$ | Absolute DL (msec) |
|------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| 200 | .142 | 28.4 (Stott, 1935) |
| 277 | .172 | 47.64 (Henry, 1948) |
| 400 | .120 | 48.0 (Stott, 1935) |
| 480 | .143 | 68.64 (Henry, 1948) |
| 600 | .115 | 69.0 (Stott, 1935) |

Looking at the first set, we see one difference that is clearly nonperceptible; another that is considerably above threshold and should be perceptible; and two that hover around the difference limen. Similar observations may be made with regard to the other sets.

Some generalizations may be drawn from comparing all four sets. The picture seems a little more systematic with long vowels than with short vowels. Here all differences are below or near the threshold with the exception of that between a vowel occurring alone and a vowel flanked on both sides by a resonant. In words with short vowels and voiceless initial and final plosives, the relative shortness of the vowel raises these differences slightly above threshold in those word pairs in which a vowel occurring alone is compared with vowel preceded and/or followed by a resonant. However, the ordering of the resonant before or after the vowel does not affect the timing in any significant way, as had also been the case with long vowels.

In words with short vowels and voiced plosives, there are two pairs whose differences are clearly above threshold, and two that are close to threshold value.

If the sets are combined according to the voicing or voicelessness of the plosives (ignoring the intrinsic differences in vowel duration), the differences drop below threshold except for the word types containing two resonants. These are longer than the other words by approximately the average duration of one resonant.

Table 2 reveals a number of other interesting facts about

the temporal structure of the test words which are, however, not directly relevant to the question under consideration. For example, the duration of final consonants stands in a compensatory relationship to the duration of syllable nuclei, so that the differences between the average durations of words are usually smaller than those between syllable nuclei. For many word types, these differences are likewise below the perceptual threshold.

Consideration of words with resonants preceding and following vowels thus adds some further support to the hypothesis that the timing patterns are related to major changes in the manner of articulation. Roughly speaking, long vowels seem to fuse into a timing unit with either a preceding or a following resonant; with short vowels the evidence is less clear, but at least with voiced initial and final consonants, the vowel and a preceding resonant seem to have the same average duration as the vowel by itself. The ordering of the vowel - resonant sequence is irrelevant for overall duration. Number of segments begins to play a part when more than one resonant is involved; these cases thus provide the limit to which the argument can be carried. It is possible that some of the exceptions to the general pattern are due to the accidents of test word selection; a larger corpus, with a better balanced set of test words, might yield a clearer picture.

Footnote

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APPENDIX A

List of test words used in the study, arranged according to their structural code.

| | | | |
|-------------|-------|-------------|-------|
| 1. felt | 00010 | 41. daunt | 00130 |
| 2. guilt | 00010 | 42. bank | 00130 |
| 3. built | 00010 | 43. faint | 00130 |
| 4. dug | 00001 | 44. burnt | 00130 |
| 5. dead | 00001 | 45. feigned | 00131 |
| 6. bed | 00001 | 46. joined | 00131 |
| 7. guild | 00011 | 47. dawned | 00131 |
| 8. build | 00011 | 48. mound | 00131 |
| 9. felled | 00011 | 49. band | 00131 |
| 10. sent | 00030 | 50. found | 00131 |
| 11. dint | 00030 | 51. burned | 00131 |
| 12. bent | 00030 | 52. bled | 01001 |
| 13. shunt | 00030 | 53. blend | 01031 |
| 14. bent | 00030 | 54. gloat | 01100 |
| 15. bend | 00031 | 55. bleat | 01100 |
| 16. send | 00031 | 56. black | 01100 |
| 17. bend | 00031 | 57. blurt | 01100 |
| 18. dinned | 00031 | 58. blade | 01101 |
| 19. shunned | 00031 | 59. blurred | 01101 |
| 20. beat | 00100 | 60. glues | 01101 |
| 21. doubt | 00100 | 61. blank | 01130 |
| 22. beach | 00100 | 62. bland | 01131 |
| 23. back | 00100 | 63. bread | 02001 |
| 24. goat | 00100 | 64. dread | 02001 |
| 25. gape | 00100 | 65. drug | 02001 |
| 26. died | 00101 | 66. grape | 02100 |
| 27. bayed | 00101 | 67. drought | 02100 |
| 28. bird | 00101 | 68. breach | 02100 |
| 29. goos | 00101 | 69. dried | 02101 |
| 30. molt | 00110 | 70. brayed | 02101 |
| 31. bolt | 00110 | 71. puck | 10000 |
| 32. bold | 00111 | 72. tuck | 10000 |
| 33. mold | 00111 | 73. kick | 10000 |
| 34. sort | 00120 | 74. pug | 10001 |
| 35. mart | 00120 | 75. ted | 10001 |
| 36. marred | 00121 | 76. tilt | 10010 |
| 37. sword | 00121 | 77. cult | 10010 |
| 38. fount | 00130 | 78. tilled | 10011 |
| 39. mount | 00130 | 79. culled | 10011 |
| 40. joint | 00130 | 80. tent | 10030 |

| | | | | | |
|------|--------|-------|------|---------|-------|
| 81. | tint | 10030 | 126. | pleat | 11100 |
| 82. | tent | 10030 | 127. | plot | 11100 |
| 83. | tend | 10031 | 128. | clerk | 11100 |
| 84. | tend | 10031 | 129. | cloud | 11101 |
| 85. | tinned | 10031 | 130. | plod | 11101 |
| 86. | cap | 10100 | 131. | played | 11101 |
| 87. | peach | 10100 | 132. | plan | 11101 |
| 88. | pot | 10100 | 133. | claws | 11101 |
| 89. | coke | 10100 | 134. | clues | 11101 |
| 90. | cape | 10100 | 135. | ploys | 11101 |
| 91. | peat | 10100 | 136. | plant | 11130 |
| 92. | tout | 10100 | 137. | planned | 11131 |
| 93. | tight | 10100 | 138. | clamp | 11140 |
| 94. | kirk | 10100 | 139. | truck | 12000 |
| 95. | tooth | 10100 | 140. | crick | 12000 |
| 96. | pod | 10101 | 141. | tread | 12001 |
| 97. | cause | 10101 | 142. | trent | 12030 |
| 98. | cowed | 10101 | 143. | trend | 12031 |
| 99. | pan | 10101 | 144. | preach | 12100 |
| 100. | paid | 10101 | 145. | crepe | 12100 |
| 101. | tied | 10101 | 146. | crap | 12100 |
| 102. | goos | 10101 | 147. | trout | 12100 |
| 103. | poise | 10101 | 148. | croak | 12100 |
| 104. | colt | 10110 | 149. | trite | 12100 |
| 105. | cold | 10111 | 150. | truth | 12100 |
| 106. | cart | 10120 | 151. | tried | 12101 |
| 107. | tart | 10120 | 152. | crowd | 12101 |
| 108. | court | 10120 | 153. | craws | 12101 |
| 109. | card | 10121 | 154. | prayed | 12101 |
| 110. | tarred | 10121 | 155. | crews | 12101 |
| 111. | cord | 10121 | 156. | cramp | 12140 |
| 112. | cant | 10130 | | | |
| 113. | pint | 1013 | | | |
| 114. | paint | 10130 | | | |
| 115. | pant | 10130 | | | |
| 116. | canned | 10131 | | | |
| 117. | panned | 10131 | | | |
| 118. | pined | 10131 | | | |
| 119. | pained | 10131 | | | |
| 120. | camp | 10140 | | | |
| 121. | click | 11000 | | | |
| 122. | pluck | 11000 | | | |
| 123. | plug | 11001 | | | |
| 124. | cloak | 11100 | | | |
| 125. | clap | 11100 | | | |

APPENDIX B

Average durations, in milliseconds, of segments occurring in the test words, each produced 5 times by three speakers. N = number of words of a given type.

| Word type | N | Asp. | R | V | R | C | SN | SN + C |
|-----------|---|------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|
| 00001 | 3 | | | 292.5 | | 84.9 | 292.5 | 377.4 |
| 00010 | 2 | | | 147.1 | 102.9 | 125.0 | 250.0 | 375.0 |
| 00011 | 2 | | | 227.1 | 181.2 | 65.5 | 408.3 | 473.8 |
| 00030 | 5 | | | 179.7 | 104.2 | 88.4 | 283.9 | 372.3 |
| 00031 | 5 | | | 231.1 | 167.5 | 44.1 | 398.6 | 442.7 |
| 00100 | 6 | | | 270.6 | | 152.3 | | 422.9 |
| 00101 | 3 | | | 428.1 | | 76.4 | | 504.5 |
| 00110 | 2 | | | 190.7 | 97.5 | 127.7 | 288.2 | 415.9 |
| 00111 | 2 | | | 298.6 | 148.1 | 62.0 | 446.7 | 508.7 |
| 00120 | 1 | | | 161.1 | 85.4 | 122.5 | 246.5 | 369.0 |
| 00121 | 1 | | | 208.1 | 150.1 | 174.2 | 358.2 | 532.4 |
| 00130 | 7 | | | 238.8 | 84.1 | 88.5 | 322.9 | 411.4 |
| 00131 | 7 | | | 363.4 | 125.1 | 50.6 | 488.5 | 539.1 |
| 01001 | 1 | | 89.0 | 256.1 | | 82.7 | 345.1 | 427.8 |
| 01031 | 1 | | 90.6 | 238.1 | 144.9 | 49.7 | 473.6 | 523.3 |
| 01100 | 4 | | 89.2 | 225.4 | | 131.1 | 314.6 | 445.7 |
| 01101 | 2 | | 91.1 | 376.6 | | 70.0 | 467.7 | 537.7 |
| 01130 | 1 | | 75.3 | 253.5 | 72.4 | 78.9 | 401.2 | 480.1 |
| 01131 | 1 | | 90.7 | 347.0 | 100.4 | 38.7 | 538.1 | 576.8 |
| 02001 | 3 | | 78.2 | 260.6 | | 88.4 | 338.8 | 427.2 |
| 02100 | 3 | | 72.8 | 243.2 | | 158.3 | 316.0 | 474.3 |
| 02101 | 2 | | 75.3 | 412.5 | | 66.3 | 487.8 | 554.1 |
| 10000 | 3 | 71.0 | | 180.3 | | 130.2 | 251.3 | 381.5 |
| 10001 | 2 | 71.6 | | 260.6 | | 95.4 | 332.2 | 427.6 |
| 10010 | 2 | 77.9 | | 114.8 | 90.8 | 116.3 | 283.5 | 399.8 |
| 10011 | 2 | 87.6 | | 205.2 | 153.5 | 66.3 | 446.3 | 512.6 |
| 10030 | 3 | 66.4 | | 172.6 | 94.6 | 92.9 | 333.6 | 426.5 |
| 10031 | 3 | 69.7 | | 219.0 | 160.3 | 44.6 | 449.0 | 493.6 |
| 10100 | 9 | 75.1 | | 234.9 | | 135.0 | 310.0 | 445.0 |
| 10101 | 7 | 77.6 | | 373.9 | | 77.2 | 451.5 | 528.7 |
| 10110 | 1 | 83.5 | | 154.2 | 88.1 | 125.0 | 325.8 | 450.8 |
| 10111 | 1 | 86.5 | | 252.2 | 146.6 | 62.5 | 485.3 | 547.8 |
| 10120 | 3 | 90.9 | | 165.1 | 73.6 | 118.9 | 329.6 | 348.5 |
| 10121 | 3 | 97.1 | | 260.9 | 126.6 | 70.7 | 484.6 | 555.3 |

| Word type | N | Asp. | R | V | R | C | SN | SN+C |
|-----------|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 10130 | 4 | 76.8 | | 218.6 | 84.8 | 83.6 | 380.2 | 463.8 |
| 10131 | 4 | 76.2 | | 340.0 | 130.1 | 52.6 | 546.3 | 598.9 |
| 10140 | 1 | 83.1 | | 231.9 | 72.1 | 81.3 | 387.1 | 468.4 |
| 11000 | 2 | 91.1 | 47.8 | 156.1 | | 129.5 | 295.0 | 424.5 |
| 11001 | 1 | 100.7 | 47.5 | 244.4 | | 90.3 | 392.6 | 482.9 |
| 11100 | 5 | 94.5 | 47.3 | 206.0 | | 116.2 | 347.8 | 464.0 |
| 11101 | 5 | 95.1 | 51.9 | 412.0 | | 82.9 | 559.0 | 641.9 |
| 11130 | 1 | 97.9 | 46.7 | 248.6 | 85.3 | 69.3 | 478.5 | 547.8 |
| 11131 | 1 | 92.9 | 38.9 | 322.8 | 132.3 | 46.5 | 586.9 | 633.4 |
| 11140 | 1 | | 117.1 | 211.4 | 64.0 | 94.4 | 392.5 | 486.9 |
| 12000 | 3 | 96.8 | 43.9 | 187.9 | | 110.9 | 328.6 | 439.5 |
| 12030 | 1 | 89.2 | 42.5 | 149.7 | 79.6 | 75.4 | 361.0 | 436.4 |
| 12031 | 1 | 103.3 | 50.3 | 208.9 | 162.3 | 47.1 | 524.8 | 571.9 |
| 12100 | 6 | 96.5 | 38.4 | 216.8 | | 133.9 | 351.7 | 485.6 |
| 12101 | 4 | 95.6 | 47.7 | 375.4 | | 72.2 | 518.7 | 590.9 |
| 12140 | 1 | 93.5 | 41.6 | 235.5 | 67.5 | 82.8 | 438.1 | 520.9 |

Fig. 1

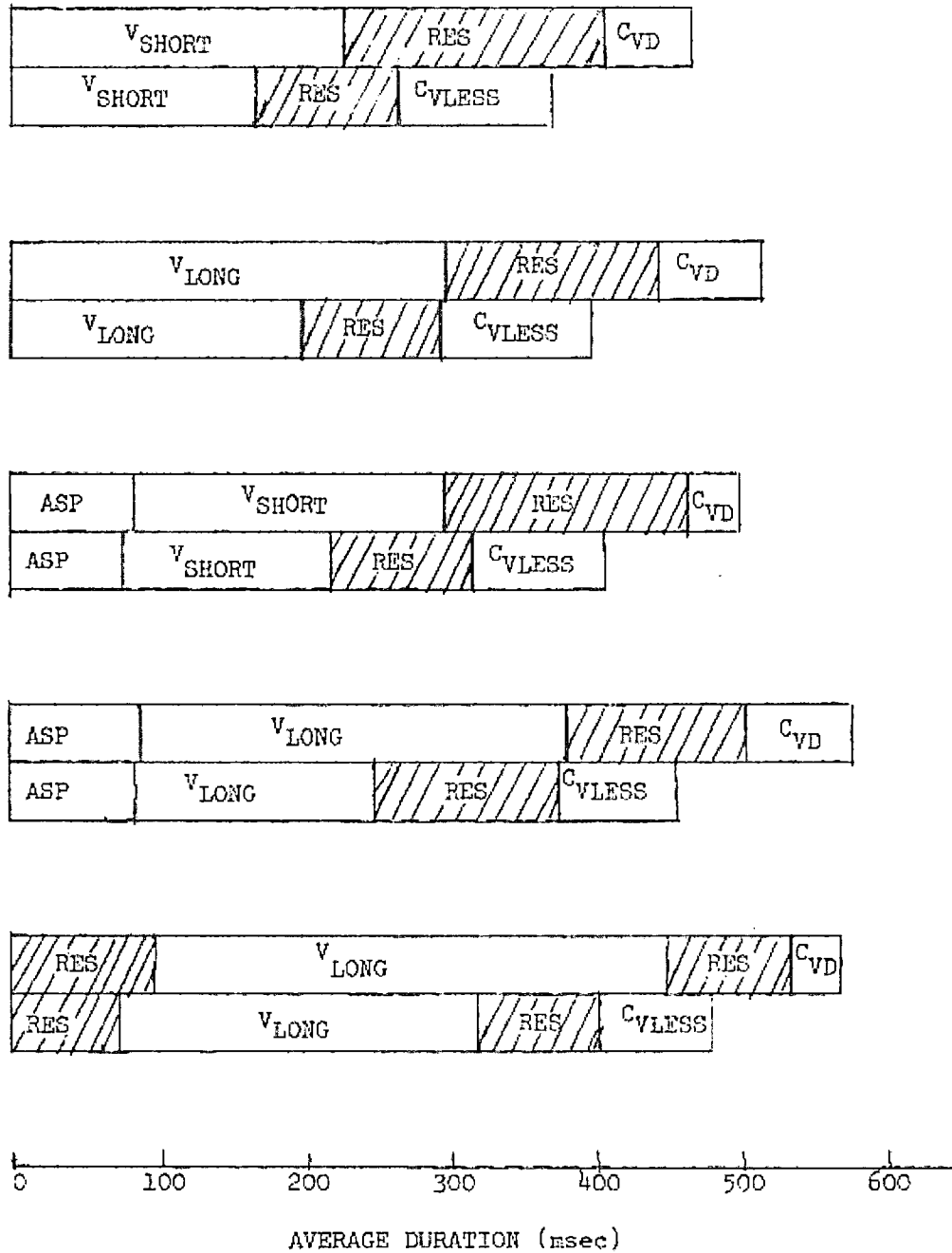


Fig. 2

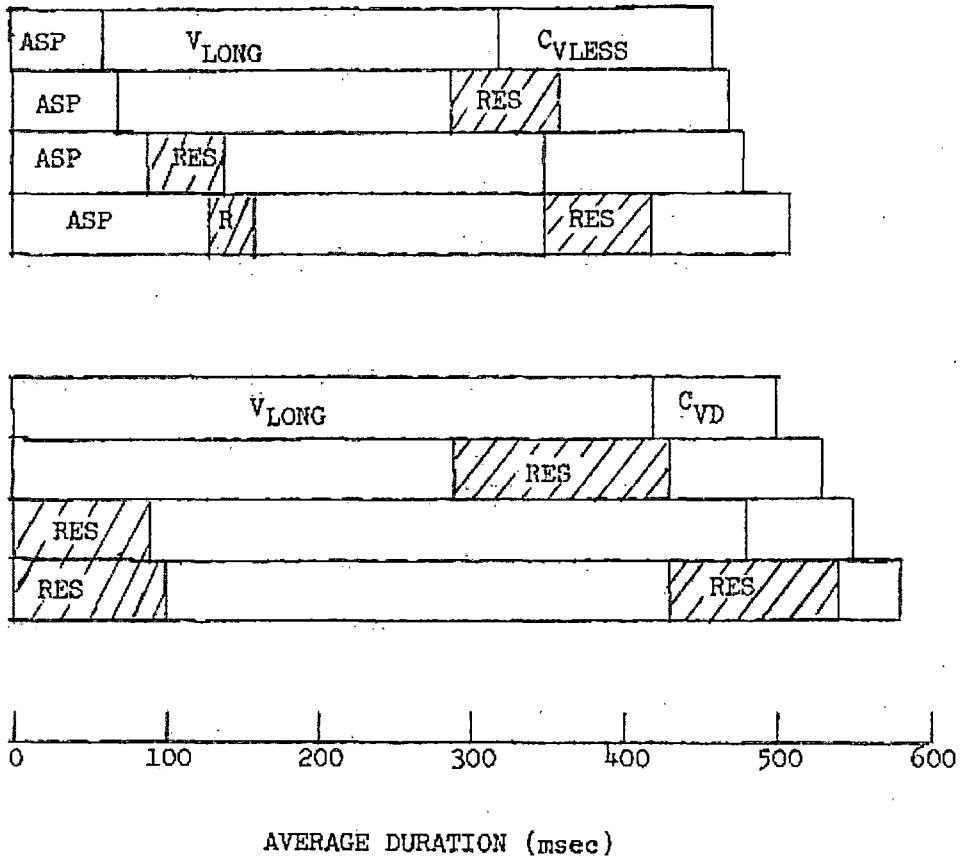


Fig. 3

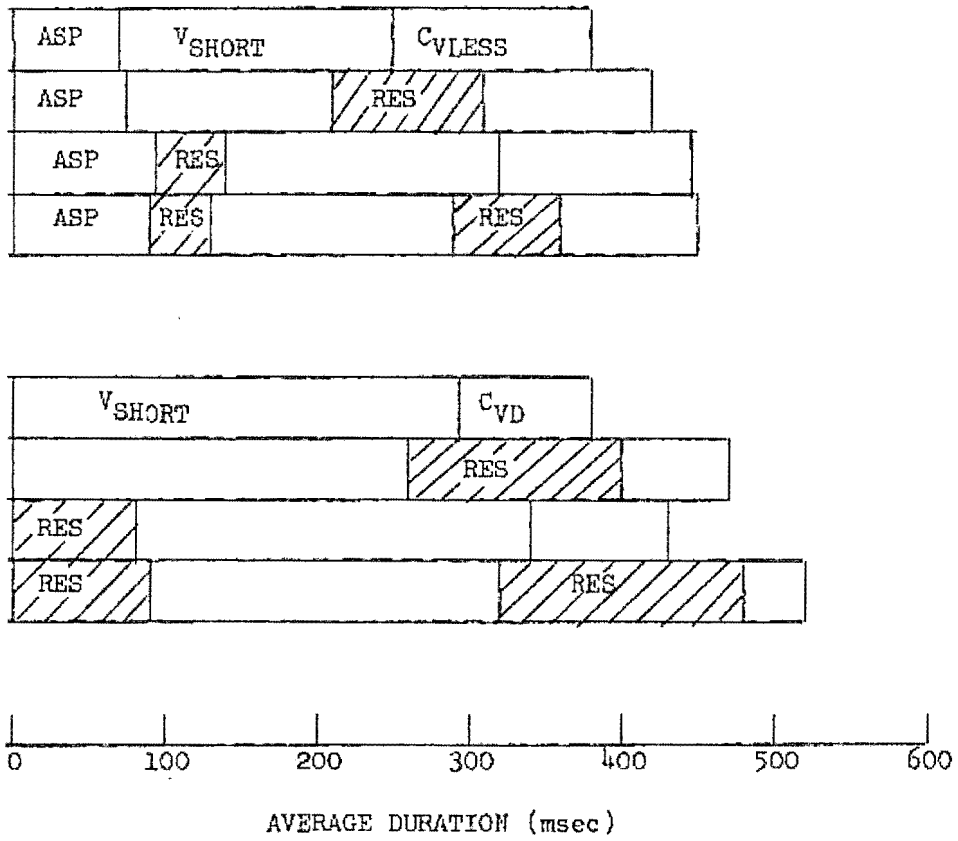


Fig. 4

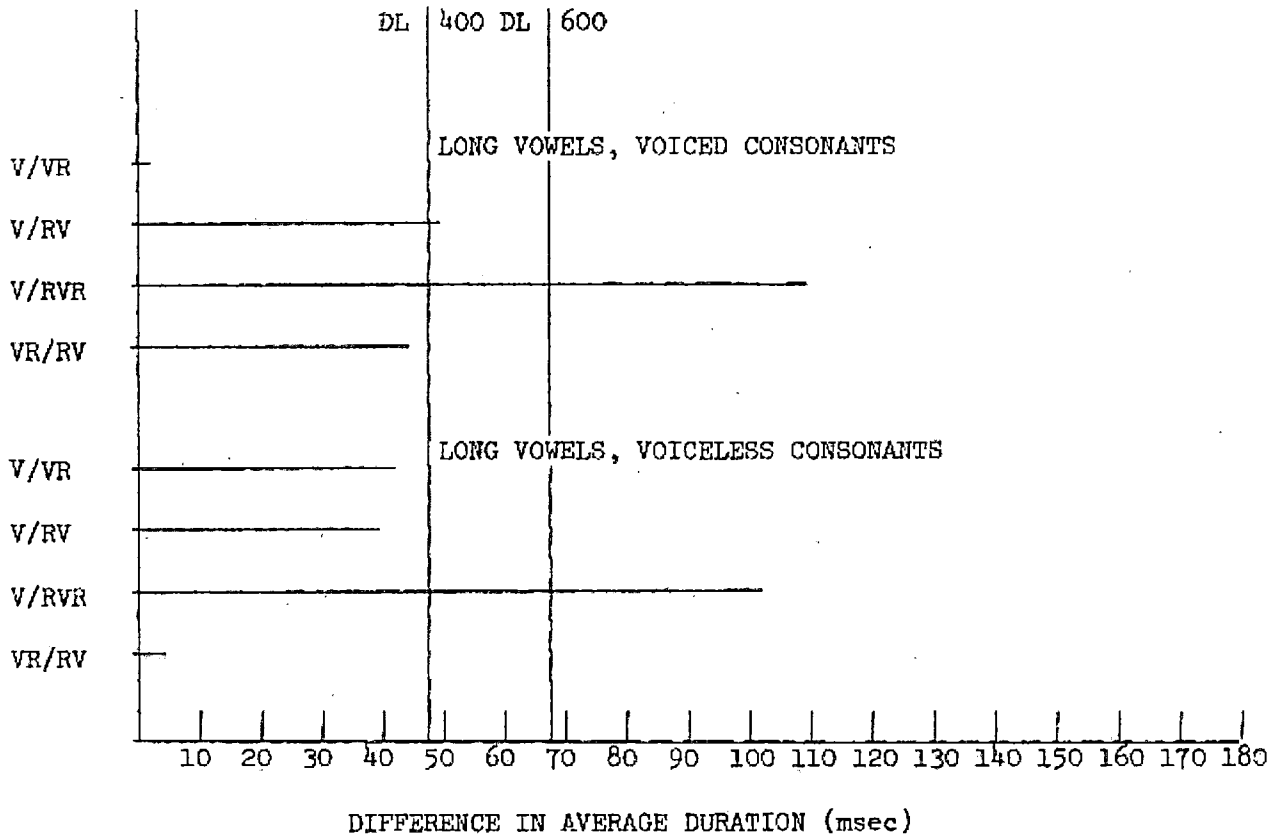


Fig. 5

