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### Background and primary questions

The first two formants in terms of the lower two relative spectral energy maxima are usually assumed as the primary acoustic cue for vowel recognition. Given this general background, the following questions are investigated concerning vowel sounds produced in isolation (V), including a variation in fundamental frequency  $(f_0)$ :

What is the perceptual effect on vowel recognition, if

- (1) the F1 frequency region of a sound is high-pass (HP) filtered?
- (2) the F2 frequency region of a sound is low-pass (LP) filtered?

### Additional question

(3) If, for sounds of single speakers, the F1 region of a low-pitched sound of a given vowel is HP filtered with CF below or equal to  $f_{o}$  of an (unfiltered) high-pitched sound of that vowel, do the sounds then differ in the perceived vowel quality?

Note: Of specific interest are sounds of single speakers of the vowels /i-y-u/, since their F1 frequency related to low-pitched sounds can by many speakers easily be surpassed producing high-pitched sounds. The same holds true for sounds of the vowels /e-ø-o/ produced by speakers with highly developed vocal abilities.

### Material: Vowel sounds, speakers, f<sub>o</sub>, formants

In the present paper, we report the results of an investigation of sounds of the long Standard German vowels /i-y-e-ø-ɛ-a-o-u/ produced in isolation (V) with a duration of 1.5–2 sec by

- a female speaker at  $f_0 = c$ . 220Hz and 660Hz
- a male speaker at  $f_0 = c$ . 130Hz and 520Hz

The middle part of the sound of 1 sec (steady state sound nucleus) was extracted for further investigation, including a 0.02 sec fade in/out.

### Formant patterns were measured for the low-pitched sounds (see Tables 1 and 4).

**Recordings:** Speakers were asked to produce vowel sounds in isolation on a given fo (presented as an electronic piano sound) and sustain the sounds for c. 1.5–2 sec. Formant measurement was conducted using PRAAT (Boersma and Weenink, 2016), LPC (robust) algorithm and gender-specific maximum number of formants. The middle 0.3 sec. of a sound of investigation was analysed. Formant tracks were visually crosschecked with sound spectrogram and spectrum. Mismatching values were replaced with estimations based on the spectrogram/spectrum (see the values in the Tables 1 and 4 marked with \*.) HP/LP filter (Hann filter with 6 dB decay per 100 Hz in cutoff frequency) was used for filtering the sounds. CFs correspond to multiples of f<sub>o</sub>. Except are additional CFs which were included for the LP filtering experiment in order to account for F2 of the vowel in question (see Table 4, CF = "Add."). Boersma, P., and Weenink, D. (2016). Praat: doing phonetics by computer. V6.0.21, retrieved 25 September 2016 from http://www.praat.org/.

### Experiment 1: HP filtering the F1 frequency region

- Sounds were HP filtered with stepwise increasing CF as shown in Table 2.
- As a consequence, the F1 frequency region of the sounds was filtered.
- Perceptual vowel quality of all sounds, unfiltered and filtered, was tested in a listening test.

Listening tests were performed as blocked speaker tests in the following order: HP filtered, LP filtered and unfiltered sounds. Each single subtest was preceded by a presentation of the test sounds (listening only). Sounds were presented in random order. Concerning the tests, five singers (with professional training) were asked to listen to each sound twice (interval = 1 sec) and to assign one of the nine vowel qualities /i-y-e-ø-ɛ-a-ɔ-o-u/ (forced choice). Note that /ɔ/ was added because of the large phonetic distance /o/–/a/ in Standard German vowels.

### Experiment 2: LP filtering the F2 frequency region

- Sounds were LP filtered with stepwise decreasing CF as shown in Table 5.
- As a consequence, the F2 frequency region of the sounds was filtered.
- Perceptual vowel quality of all sounds was tested in a listening test.

## How listeners recognise vowel sounds under highpass or lowpass filtering of vowel-specific frequency ranges

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### **Results 1: HP filtering the F1 frequency region**

The results of the HP filtering are given in Tables 3a and 3b:

- Filtered sounds of /i-y-u/ show marked closed–open shifts in the perceived vowel quality for the low and middle CFs.
- Filtered sounds of /e-ø-o/ show a tendency for closed-open shifts in the perceived vowel quality for the middle CFs.
- Filtered Sounds of  $\epsilon$ -a/ show marginal or no shifts.

### However, the shifts mentioned vary across speaker, $f_0$ and CFs, in addition to vowel qualities, and perceptual confusions of vowels also appear.

	Table 1	: Formant	frequenci	es (in Hz)	relevant f	or HP filte	ring					Table 2: CF (	in Hz)	for H	P filter	ing			
١	/owels	Fe	male spea	ker	Ν	lale speak	er		F	emale	e speal	ker			Male s	speake	r	Vov	vels
									f <sub>o</sub> =22	20Hz		f <sub>o</sub> =220/660Hz		<i>f</i> o=13	30Hz		f <sub>o</sub> =130/520Hz		
		<b>F</b> <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	<b>F</b> 1	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	440	660	880	1100	1320	390	520	780	910	1040		
	i	395	3016	3929	251	2420	3589	Х	х	Х	X	Х	Х	х	Х	X	Х	i	
	у	346	1923	2646	253	1885	2122	х	X	Х	X	Х	Х	х	Х	X	Х	у	
clos	u	289	666	3232	289	703	2402	Х	Х	Х	X	Х	Х	Х	Х	X	Х	u	clos
sed	е	429	2633	3120	370	2317	3000*	х	Х	Х	X	Х	х	Х	Х	X	Х	е	sed
to o	Ø	419	1967	2400*	393	1678	2326	х	Х	Х	х	Х	х	Х	Х	X	Х	Ø	to o
pen	0	415	809	3100*	356	771	2264	х	Х	Х	х	Х	х	Х	Х	X	Х	0	pen
	3	849	2655	3300*	674	2191	3308	х	х	Х	Х	Х	х	х	Х	Х	Х	З	
	а	1095	1333	3416	789	1251	2733	Х	х	х	х	Х	х	х	х	Х	Х	а	

			<b>.</b>				<u> </u>		
		Table 3a: HP	filter experiment, re	esults of the list	ening test for th	e sounds of the	female speaker	•	
Intention Original sounds: recognition				Filte	ered sounds: CF	(Hz) and recogni	tion		
		<i>f</i> <sub>o</sub> =220Hz	<i>f</i> <sub>o</sub> =660Hz			<i>f</i> <sub>o</sub> =220Hz			<i>f</i> <sub>o</sub> =660Hz
				440	660	880	1100	1320	1320
	i	i-i-i-i	i-i-i-i	0-е-е-е	ε-ε-е-е-i	i-3-3-3	i-i-i-3-3	e-e-e-i-i	ε-e-e-i-i
	у	у-у-у-у-у	у-у-у-у-у	Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø	Ø-Ø-Ø-3-3	&-&-3-3-3	ε-ø-ø-у-у	а-ø-у-у-у	ε-ε-y-y-y
clos	u	น-น-น-น	น-น-น-น	0-0-0-0-0	0-0-0-0-0	о-э-э-э-а	р-а-а-а-а	u-a-ɛ-ɛ-y	3-3-3-3-6
ed	е	е-е-е-е	е-е-е-е	e-e-e-e	3-3-3-3-3	ө-з-з-з-з	9-9-3-3-3	ε-e-e-i-i	ε-ε-ε-у-у
to o	Ø	Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø	Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø	Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø	Q-Q-Q-3-3	Ø-@-3-3-3	ε-ε-ε-ø-у	а-ε-у-у-у	а-ε-у-у-у
per	0	0-0-0-0	u-u-u-u-o	0-0-0-0-0	ე-ე-ე-ე-ე	ວ-ວ-ວ-ວ-a	a-a-a-a-ɛ	a-ø-ø-ø-y	a-a-a-a-ɛ
-	3	3-3-3-3-3	9-9-9-3-3	3-3-3-3-6	3-3-3-3-8	3-3-3-3-3	9-3-3-3-3	e-e-e-3-3	а-ε-ε-е-у
	а	a-a-a-a	a-a-a-a	a-a-a-a	a-a-a-a	a-a-a-a	a-a-a-a	a-a-a-a	a-a-a-a

		Table 3b: H	P filter experiment, r	results of the lis	tening test for t	he sounds of th	e male speaker						
Intention Original sounds: recognition				Filtered sounds: CF (Hz) and recognition									
		<i>f</i> <sub>o</sub> =220Hz	<i>f</i> <sub>o</sub> =660Hz			<i>f</i> <sub>o</sub> = 30Hz			<i>f</i> <sub>o</sub> =520Hz				
				390	520	780	910	1040	1040				
	i	i-i-i-i	i-i-i-i	e-e-e-e	i-e-e-3-3	e-i-i-i-i	e-i-i-i	i-i-i-i	ɛ-е-е-i				
	у	у-у-у-у-у	у-у-у-у-у	Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø	ø-ø-ø-y-y	ø-у-у-у-у	у-у-у-у-у	у-у-у-у-у	$f_0=520Hz$ 1040 $\epsilon$ -e-e-i         ·y $\epsilon$ -y-y-y-y         ·i       u-o-a-a- $\epsilon$ '-y $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ -e-e         -y $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ -e				
clos	u	น-น-น-น	น-น-น-น	0-0-0-0-0	ე-ე-ე-ე-ე	o-ɔ-ɔ-a-ø	3-3-6-0	o-a-ɛ-y-i	u-o-a-a-ɛ				
ed	е	е-е-е-е	е-е-е-е	ø-e-e-e	e-e-3-3-3	ε-ε-е-у-у	ε-ε-y-i-i	ε-е-е-у-у	e-e-3-3-3				
to o	Ø	Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø	Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø	Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø	Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø	&-&-&-3-3	a-ɛ-ø-ø-ø	a-ø-ø-ø-y	a-a-a-ø				
per	0	0-0-0-0	C-C-C-O-O	0-0-0-0-0	0-0-0-0-0	0-Ე-Ე-Ე-Ე	о-э-э-а-а	о-а-а-а-а	0-2-a-a-ø				
-	3	3-3-3-3-3	3-3-3-3-3	a-ɛ-ɛ-ø	3-3-3-3-3	3-3-3-3-3	9-3-3-3-3	ε-ε-e-e-y	a-ɛ-ɛ-e				
	а	a-a-a-a	р-а-а-а	a-a-a-a	a-a-a-a	a-a-a-a	a-a-a-a	a-a-a-a	<b>Э-а-а-а</b>				

**Table 1:** Formant frequencies  $F_1$ ,  $F_2$  and  $F_3$ , measured for the low-pitched sounds of the speakers. The order of the vowels is given in closed-open direction related to correspondingly increasing  $F_1$ .

**Table 2:** CF frequencies (Hz) for HP filtering. **Grey:** CFs clearly above measured  $F_1$  of a vowel. **Table 3:** Results of the listening test for unfiltered and HP filtered sounds (3a = sounds of the female speaker; 3b = sounds of the male speaker). **Blue:** Differences between intended and recognised vowel quality of the unfiltered sound. **Red:** Indications of closed-open shifts in the perceived vowel quality (light red = 3/5 listeners, dark red = 4/5 or 5/5 listeners).

# Additional results

Addressing the additional question above, the results of the listening tests indicate:

- Sounds of /i-y-u/ show marked perceptual differences between filtered low- and unfiltered high-pitched sounds.
- Sounds of /e-ø-o/ show a tendency for a corresponding perceptual difference.
- Sounds of /ε-a/ show no corresponding perceptual effect.

### **Results 2: LP filtering the F2 frequency region**

The results of the LP filtering (see Tables 6a and 6b) show a general tendency of unrounded–rounded and front–back shifts in the perceived vowel quality. Again, the shifts vary across speaker,  $f_{o}$  and CFs, in addition to vowel qualities, and perceptual confusions of vowels also appear.

	Table	e 4: Formant fre	equencies	(in Hz) rele	evant for l	P filtering	I					Table	5: CF	(in Hz)	for LP	filterin	g				
Vov	vels	Fema	le speake	r	Μ	ale speak	er		F	emale	speak	er				Male s	peaker	•		Vow	els
un									A	ll soun	ds		Add.		Al	lsoun	ds		Add.	un	
roun		F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	3300	2640	1980	1320	660		2600	2080	1560	1040	520		nuo.	
Ided	i	395	3016	3929	251	2420	3589	X	x	X	Х			Х	х	Х	X			Ided	i
đ	е	429	2615	3132	368	2316	3000*	X	x	Х	Х			Х	х	Х	Х			to	е
nuo	З	849	2655	3300*	674	2189	2900*	x	x	х	х			х	х	х	X			nuo.	З
Ided	у	346	1923	2646	253	1885	2122			x	Х				Х	Х	X			Ideo	у
l / fr	Ø	419	1966	2400*	393	1678	2326			x	Х				х	х	Х			/fr	ø
onti	а	1095	1333	3416	787	1250	2756			x	х	Х	1100			х	х	Х	780	ont t	а
to b	0	416	810	3100*	359	769	2264				Х	Х					Х	Х		to ba	0
ack	u	289	666	3232	289	703	2402				Х	х	440				Х	х	440	ack	u

		Table	6a: LP filter exp	eriment. resu	Its of the list	enina test for	the sounds of	of the female	speaker							
	Intention	Original soun	ds: recognition			Filtere	d sounds: CF	(Hz) and reco	gnition							
		f <sub>o</sub> =220Hz	<i>f</i> <sub>o</sub> =660Hz		f <sub>o</sub> =22	20Hz		f <sub>o</sub> =660Hz								
			•	3300	2640	1980	1320	3300	2640	1980	1320					
unroi	i	i-i-i-i	i-i-i-i	i-i-i-i	е-у-у-у-у	у-у-у-у-у	น-น-น-น-น	e-e-i-i-i	у-у-у-у-у	u-u-u-y	u-u-u-i					
under	е	e-e-e-e	e-e-e-e	e-e-e-e	e-e-e-e-e	0-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø	0-0-0-0-Ø	e-e-e-i	e-e-e-y	ø-ø-ø-ø-y	U-U-O-O-O					
d to r	3	3-3-3-3	9-9-9-3-3	3-3-3-3	3-3-3-3-B	3-2-3-3-B	ე-ე-მ-მ-მ	ε-e-e-e-e	ε-e-e-e	Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø	u-0-0-ɔ-a					
ound	У	у-у-у-у-у	у-у-у-у-у	_	_	у-у-у-у-у	น-น-น-น	_	_	у-у-у-у-у	u-u-u-o-y					
ed / f	Ø	Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø	Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø	-	-	Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø	0-0-0-0-Ø	-	-	Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø	u-u-o-o-o					
ront t																
o ba				1980	1320	660	Add.	1980	1320	660						
×	а	a-a-a-a	a-a-a-a	a-a-a-a-a	a-a-a-a-a	u-u-o-o-o	a-a-a-a-a	a-a-a-a-a	a-a-a-a-a	u-u-u-o-y	-					
	0	0-0-0-0	u-u-u-u-o	_	0-0-0-0-0	0-0-0-0-0	-	_	u-u-u-o-y	u-u-u-o-ø	—					
	u	น-น-น-น	น-น-น-น	-	u-u-u-u-o	u-u-u-u-y	น-น-น-น	-	u-u-u-u-y	u-u-u-u-y	-					
		Table	e 6b: LP filter ex	periment. res	ults of the lis	tening test fo	r the sounds	of the male s	speaker							
	Intention	Intention Original sounds: recognition				Filtered sounds: CF (Hz) and recognition										
f = 220Hz $f = 60$ Hz						Filtere	d sounds: CF	(Hz) and reco	gnition							
		f <sub>o</sub> =220Hz	$f_0$ =660Hz		f <sub>o</sub> =22	Filtere 20Hz	d sounds: CF	(HZ) and reco	gnition f <sub>o</sub> =66	60Hz						
		f <sub>o</sub> =220Hz	f <sub>o</sub> =660Hz	2600	f <sub>o</sub> =22 2080	Filtere 20Hz 1560	d sounds: CF 1040	(Hz) and reco 2600	gnition <i>f</i> <sub>o</sub> =66 2080	60Hz 1560	1040					
unro	i	f <sub>o</sub> =220Hz	t₀=660Hz i-i-i-i-i	2600 e-i-i-i-i	f <sub>o</sub> =22 2080 u-y-y-y-y	Filtere 20Hz 1560 u-u-u-y-y	d sounds: CF 1040 u-u-u-u	(Hz) and reco 2600 e-y-y-y-y	gnition f <sub>o</sub> =66 2080 u-ø-ø-y-y	60Hz 1560 u-o-y-y-y	1040 u-u-u-u					
unrounde	i e	i-i-i-i-i e-e-e-e-e	i-i-i-i-i e-e-e-e-e	2600 e-i-i-i-i e-e-e-e-e	f <sub>o</sub> =22 2080 u-y-y-y-y ø-ø-e-e-e	Filtere 20Hz 1560 u-u-u-y-y o-o-ø-ø-ø	d sounds: CF 1040 u-u-u-u-u 0-0-0-0-ø	(Hz) and reco 2600 e-y-y-y-y e-e-e-e-y	gnition f <sub>o</sub> =66 2080 u-ø-ø-y-y ø-ø-ø-ø-ø	60Hz 1560 u-o-y-y-y u-u-u-o-o	1040 u-u-u-u u-u-u-o					
unrounded to r	i e ε	i-i-i-i-i         e-e-e-e         ε-ε-ε-ε-ε	$f_{o} = 660 \text{Hz}$ $i - i - i - i - i$ $e - e - e - e$ $\epsilon - \epsilon - \epsilon - \epsilon$	2600 e-i-i-i-i e-e-e-e-e ε-ε-ε-ε-ε	f <sub>o</sub> =22 2080 u-y-y-y-y Ø-Ø-e-e-e ε-ε-ε-ε	Filtere 20Hz 1560 u-u-u-y-y ο-ο-ø-ø-ø a-ε-ε-ε-ε	d sounds: CF 1040 u-u-u-u 0-0-0-ø a-a-ε-ε-ε	(Hz) and reco 2600 e-y-y-y-y e-e-e-y ε-ε-ε-ε-ε	gnition f <sub>o</sub> =66 2080 u-ø-ø-y-y ø-ø-ø-ø-ø a-a-a-a	50Hz 1560 u-o-y-y-y u-u-u-o-o ɔ-a-a-a-a	1040 u-u-u-u u-u-u-u u-u-u-o u-o-o-o-o					
unrounded to round	i e ε y	i-i-i-i-i         e-e-e-e         ε-ε-ε-ε-ε         y-y-y-y-y	i-i-i-i-i e-e-e-e $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ y-y-y-y-y	2600 e-i-i-i-i e-e-e-e ε-ε-ε-ε –	f <sub>o</sub> =22 2080 u-y-y-y-y Ø-Ø-Θ-Θ-Θ ε-ε-ε-ε y-y-y-y-y	Filtere 20Hz 1560 u-u-u-y-y 0-0-Ø-Ø-Ø a-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ u-u-y-y-y	d sounds: CF 1040 u-u-u-u 0-0-0-0-ø a-a-ε-ε-ε u-u-u-u	(Hz) and reco 2600 <u>e-y-y-y-y</u> <u>e-e-e-y</u> ε-ε-ε-ε –	gnition f <sub>o</sub> =66 2080 u-ø-ø-y-y ø-ø-ø-ø-ø a-a-a-a-a ø-y-y-y-y	50Hz 1560 u-o-y-y-y u-u-u-o-o ɔ-a-a-a-a u-u-u-o-ø	1040 u-u-u-u-u u-u-u-u-0 u-o-o-o-o u-u-u-u-u					
unrounded to rounded / f	i e ε y ø	i-i-i-i-i         e-e-e-e-e         ε-ε-ε-ε-ε         y-y-y-y-y         ø-ø-ø-ø	$f_0$ =660Hz         i-i-i-i         e-e-e-e-e $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ y-y-y-y-y         ø-ø-ø-ø	2600 e-i-i-i-i e-e-e-e-e ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ –	f <sub>o</sub> =22 2080 u-y-y-y-y Ø-Ø-Θ-Θ-Θ ε-ε-ε-ε y-y-y-y-y Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø	Filtere 20Hz 1560 u-u-u-y-y 0-0-Ø-Ø-Ø a-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ u-u-y-y-y Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø	d sounds: CF 1040 u-u-u-u-u 0-0-0-0-ø a-a-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ u-u-u-u-u 0-0-0-0-ø	(Hz) and reco 2600 e-y-y-y-y e-e-e-y ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ –	gnition f <sub>o</sub> =66 2080 u-ø-ø-y-y ø-ø-ø-ø-ø a-a-a-a-a ø-y-y-y-y ø-ø-ø-ø-ø	50Hz 1560 u-o-y-y-y u-u-u-o-o o-a-a-a-a u-u-u-o-ø ø-ø-ø-ø-y	1040 u-u-u-u-u u-u-u-u-0 u-o-o-o-o u-u-u-u u-u-u-u					
unrounded to rounded / front t	i e ε y Ø	i-i-i-i-i         e-e-e-e         ε-ε-ε-ε         y-y-y-y-y         ø-ø-ø-ø	as: recognition $f_0$ =660Hz i-i-i-i e-e-e-e-e $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ y-y-y-y-y Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø	2600 e-i-i-i-i e-e-e-e-e ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ –	f <sub>o</sub> =22 2080 u-y-y-y-y Ø-Ø-e-e-e ε-ε-ε-ε-ε y-y-y-y-y Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø	Filtere 20Hz 1560 u-u-u-y-y 0-0-Ø-Ø-Ø a-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ u-u-y-y-y Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø	d sounds: CF 1040 u-u-u-u-u 0-0-0-0-ø a-a-ε-ε-ε u-u-u-u-u 0-0-0-0-ø	(Hz) and reco 2600 e-y-y-y-y e-e-e-e-y ε-ε-ε-ε-ε – –	gnition f <sub>o</sub> =66 2080 u-ø-ø-y-y ø-ø-ø-ø-ø a-a-a-a-a ø-y-y-y-y ø-ø-ø-ø-ø	50Hz 1560 u-o-y-y-y u-u-u-o-o o-a-a-a-a u-u-u-o-ø ø-ø-ø-y	1040 U-U-U-U-U U-U-U-U-O U-O-O-O-O U-U-U-U-U U-U-U-O-O					
unrounded to rounded / front to ba	i e ε y ø	i-i-i-i-i         i-i-i-i-i         e-e-e-e         ε-ε-ε-ε         y-y-y-y-y         ø-ø-ø-ø	as: recognition $f_0$ =660Hz i-i-i-i-i e-e-e-e-e $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ y-y-y-y-y ø-ø-ø-ø-ø	2600 e-i-i-i-i e-e-e-e-e ε-ε-ε-ε-ε – – 1560	f <sub>o</sub> =22 2080 u-y-y-y-y Ø-Ø-e-e-e ε-ε-ε-ε-ε y-y-y-y-y Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø 1040	Filtere 20Hz 1560 u-u-u-y-y 0-0-Ø-Ø-Ø a-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ u-u-y-y-y Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø 520	d sounds: CF 1040 u-u-u-u o-o-o-ø a-a-ε-ε-ε u-u-u-u o-o-o-ø Add.	(Hz) and reco 2600 e-y-y-y-y e-e-e-y ε-ε-ε-ε - - 1560	gnition f <sub>o</sub> =66 2080 u-ø-ø-y-y ø-ø-ø-ø-ø a-a-a-a-a ø-y-y-y-y ø-ø-ø-ø-ø 1040	50Hz 1560 u-o-y-y-y u-u-u-o-o o-a-a-a-a u-u-u-o-ø ø-ø-ø-y 520	1040 U-U-U-U-U U-U-U-U-O U-U-U-U-U U-U-U-U-U U-U-U-O-O Add.					
unrounded to rounded / front to back	i e e y y ø	i-i-i-i-i         i-i-i-i-i         e-e-e-e-e         ε-ε-ε-ε-ε         y-y-y-y-y         ø-ø-ø-ø-ø	as: recognition $f_0$ =660Hz i-i-i-i e-e-e-e-e $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ y-y-y-y-y Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø	2600 e-i-i-i-i e-e-e-e ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ – – 1560 a-a-a-a	f <sub>o</sub> =22 2080 u-y-y-y-y Ø-Ø-e-e-e ε-ε-ε-ε-ε y-y-y-y-y Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø 1040 a-a-a-a-ε	Filtere 20Hz 1560 u-u-u-y-y 0-0-Ø-Ø-Ø a-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ u-u-y-y-y Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø 520 0-0-0-ɔ-ɔ	d sounds: CF 1040 u-u-u-u 0-0-0-0-Ø a-a-ε-ε-ε u-u-u-u 0-0-0-0 Add. 2-a-a-ε-ε	(Hz) and reco 2600 e-y-y-y-y e-e-e-e-y ε-ε-ε-ε-ε - - 1560 a-a-a-a-a	gnition f <sub>o</sub> =66 2080 u-ø-ø-y-y ø-ø-ø-ø-ø a-a-a-a-a ø-y-y-y-y ø-ø-ø-ø-ø 1040 u-u-u-o-o	50Hz 1560 u-o-y-y-y u-u-u-o-o o-a-a-a-a u-u-u-o-ø ø-ø-ø-ø-y 520 u-u-u-y-y	1040 u-u-u-u u-u-u-u u-o-o-o-o u-u-u-u u-u-u-o-o Add. –					
unrounded to rounded / front to back	i e e v y ø a o	i-i-i-i-i         i-i-i-i-i         e-e-e-e-e         ε-ε-ε-ε-ε         y-y-y-y-y         ø-ø-ø-ø-ø	as: recognition $f_0=660Hz$ i-i-i-i-i e-e-e-e-e $\epsilon-\epsilon-\epsilon-\epsilon$ y-y-y-y-y Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø o-a-a-a-a 0-0-o-o-o	2600 e-i-i-i-i e-e-e-e ε-ε-ε-ε - - 1560 a-a-a-a -	f <sub>o</sub> =22 2080 u-y-y-y-y Ø-Ø-Θ-Θ-Θ ε-ε-ε-ε-ε y-y-y-y-y Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø 1040 a-a-a-a-ε O-O-O-O-O	Filtere 20Hz 1560 u-u-u-y-y 0-0-Ø-Ø-Ø a-ε-ε-ε-ε u-u-y-y-y Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø 520 0-0-0-0-0-Ø	d sounds: CF 1040 u-u-u-u 0-0-0-0-Ø a-a-ε-ε u-u-u-u 0-0-0-0-Ø Add. o-a-a-ε-ε _	(Hz) and reco 2600 e-y-y-y-y e-e-e-e-y ε-ε-ε-ε-ε - - 1560 a-a-a-a -	gnition f <sub>o</sub> =66 2080 u-ø-ø-y-y ø-ø-ø-ø-ø a-a-a-a-a ø-y-y-y-y ø-ø-ø-ø-ø 1040 u-u-u-o-o u-u-o-o	50Hz 1560 u-o-y-y-y u-u-u-o-o o-a-a-a-a u-u-u-o-ø ø-ø-ø-ø-y 520 u-u-u-y-y u-u-u-y-y	1040 u-u-u-u u-u-u-u u-u-u-u u-u-u-u u-u-u-o Add. – –					

**Table 4:** The same formant frequencies  $F_1$ ,  $F_2$  and  $F_3$  as shown in Table 1, but presented in the order unrounded-rounded and front-back, related to correspondingly decreasing  $F_2$ . **Table 5:** CF frequencies (Hz) for LP filtering. **Grey:** CFs clearly below measured  $F_2$  of a vowel. **Table 6:** Results of the listening test for unfiltered and LP filtered sounds (6a = sounds of the female speaker; 6b = sounds of the male speaker). Blue: Differences between intended and recognised vowel quality of the unfiltered sound. Red: Indications of unrounded-rounded and front-back shifts in the perceived vowel quality (light red = 3/5 listeners, dark red = 4/5 or 5/5 listeners)

Although the present investigation relates to a highly limited number of sounds, speakers, fundamental frequencies and listeners, we consider three indications to be of primary importance for the acoustics of vowels:

- The perceptual role of the F1 frequency region for vowel recognition is neither uniform across vowel qualities nor independent of  $f_0$ .
- Sounds with filtered F1 or F2 frequency region are very often recognised as a specific vowel (equal or different from the intended vowel). Thus, F1-F2 is not a prerequisite of vowel recognition.
- relation (Maurer, 2016, pp. 80–83).

Maurer, D. (2016): Acoustics of the Vowel – Preliminaries. Bern/Frankfurt a.M., Peter Lang.

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### Discussion

• The present perceptual findings confirm an earlier claim that the vowel sound has to be considered as a phenomenon of a spectral foreground-background