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**Changes in salivary estradiol predict changes in women's preferences for vocal
masculinity**

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22 **Abstract**

23 Although many studies have reported that women's preferences for masculine
24 physical characteristics in men change systematically during the menstrual cycle, the
25 hormonal mechanisms underpinning these changes are currently poorly understood.
26 Previous studies investigating the relationships between measured hormone levels and
27 women's masculinity preferences tested only judgments of men's *facial*
28 attractiveness. Results of these studies suggested that preferences for masculine
29 characteristics in men's faces were related to either women's estradiol or testosterone
30 levels. To investigate the hormonal correlates of within-woman variation in
31 masculinity preferences further, here we measured 62 women's salivary estradiol,
32 progesterone, and testosterone levels and their preferences for masculine
33 characteristics in men's *voices* in five weekly test sessions. Multilevel modeling of
34 these data showed that changes in salivary estradiol were the best predictor of changes
35 in women's preferences for vocal masculinity. These results complement other recent
36 research implicating estradiol in women's mate preferences, attention to courtship
37 signals, sexual motivation, and sexual strategies, and are the first to link women's
38 voice preferences directly to measured hormone levels.

39

40 Keywords: testosterone, estrogen, progesterone, mate preferences, mate choice,
41 attraction; voice

42

43 **Introduction**

44 Recent meta-analyses suggest that women's preferences for masculine men
45 are stronger during the late follicular (i.e., high-fertility) phase of the menstrual cycle
46 than during the early follicular or luteal (i.e., low-fertility) phases (Gildersleeve et al.,
47 in press; but see Wood et al., 2014). For example, this pattern of results has been
48 reported in studies of women's preferences for men's faces (Johnston et al., 2001;
49 Penton-Voak et al., 1999), bodies (Little et al., 2007), voices (Feinberg et al., 2006;
50 Puts, 2005), body odors (Havlicek et al., 2005), and behavioral displays (Gangestad et
51 al., 2004). Researchers have suggested that increased preferences for masculine men
52 during the fertile phase of the menstrual cycle may function to increase offspring
53 health (Gangestad & Thornhill, 2008) and/or dominance (Scott et al., 2013).

54

55 The majority of studies investigating changes in women's masculinity
56 preferences during the menstrual cycle have simply compared preferences between
57 high-fertility and low-fertility phases (Gildersleeve et al., in press). Far fewer studies
58 have addressed the hormonal mechanisms that may underpin these cyclic shifts in
59 women's mate preferences. Initial research on this topic examined women's estimated
60 hormone levels by converting information about each participant's position in the
61 menstrual cycle at test to estimated hormone levels using actuarial tables. These
62 studies reported negative correlations between estimated progesterone levels and
63 women's facial (Jones et al., 2005) and vocal (Puts, 2006) masculinity preferences.
64 More recent work has extended this early research by measuring estradiol,
65 testosterone, and progesterone levels from saliva (Bobst et al., 2014; Roney et al.,
66 2011; Roney & Simmons, 2008; Welling et al., 2007). These studies found that
67 women's preferences for sexually dimorphic and/or androgen-dependent

68 characteristics in men's faces were positively correlated with *either* their salivary
69 estradiol (Roney et al., 2011; Roney & Simmons, 2008) or testosterone (Bobst et al.,
70 2014; Welling et al., 2007) levels, both of which can show mid-cycle peaks (Dabbs &
71 de La Rue, 1991; Sherman & Korenman, 1975). These inconsistent results indicate
72 that further research is required to elucidate the hormonal mechanisms that might
73 contribute to within-woman variation in masculinity preferences.

74

75 Previous studies investigating the possible relationships between measured
76 salivary hormone levels and women's masculinity preferences have focused
77 exclusively on women's judgments of men's *facial* attractiveness. However,
78 masculine characteristics are also known to be important factors for women's
79 perceptions of men's *voices*, with women perceiving men with masculine voices as
80 both attractive and physically dominant (reviewed in Feinberg, 2008; Puts, 2010).

81

82 Although previous studies have shown that women's preferences for
83 masculinized versus feminized versions of men's voices are stronger during the fertile
84 phase of their menstrual cycle (Feinberg et al., 2006; Puts, 2005), no previous studies
85 have used direct measures of women's hormone levels to investigate the hormonal
86 correlates of within-woman changes in preferences for men's vocal masculinity¹.
87 Additionally, previous studies investigating the hormonal correlates of preferences for
88 experimentally-manipulated vocal masculinity (Feinberg et al., 2006; Puts, 2005)
89 assessed women's preferences for vocal masculinity by simultaneously altering two
90 anatomically and acoustically distinct sexually dimorphic characteristics in recordings

¹ Feinberg et al. (2006) did not investigate the hormonal correlates of cyclic shifts in women's masculinity preferences, but did find that women with higher average (i.e., trait) estradiol tended to show smaller cyclic shifts between fertile and non-fertile phases in their masculinity preferences.

91 of men's voices: voice pitch (i.e., the perception of fundamental frequency and/or
92 corresponding harmonics, Titze, 1994) and formants (i.e., the resonant frequencies of
93 the supralaryngeal vocal-tract and an index of body size, Titze, 1994). This is
94 potentially noteworthy, because pitch and formants are known to have independent
95 effects on women's judgments of men's vocal attractiveness (Feinberg et al., 2005;
96 Pisanski & Rendall, 2011) and both masculine pitch and masculine formants are
97 correlated with circulating testosterone levels in men (Bruckert et al., 2006; Dabbs &
98 Mallinger, 1999). Other work investigating the hormonal correlates of women's
99 preferences for vocal masculinity did not use experimental methods to assess
100 preferences, but calculated the correlation coefficient between naturally occurring
101 variation in voice pitch and each woman's attractiveness ratings of these voices (Puts,
102 2006). Consequently, the relative contribution of voice pitch and formant frequency to
103 hormone-linked variation in vocal masculinity preference is unclear.

104

105 In light of the above, we investigated the hormonal correlates of within-
106 woman variation in preferences for masculine versus feminine pitch and masculine
107 versus feminine formants in recordings of men's voices. Women (none of whom were
108 using any form of hormonal supplement, such as hormonal contraceptives) were each
109 tested once a week for five weeks (i.e., each woman completed five weekly test
110 sessions). In each of these test sessions, women's preferences for vocal masculinity
111 were assessed and a saliva sample was collected. Saliva samples were then analyzed
112 for estradiol, progesterone, and testosterone levels. Previous studies that linked
113 variation in women's preferences for facial masculinity to estradiol (Roney et al.,
114 2011; Roney & Simmons, 2008) suggest that within-woman changes in preferences
115 for vocal masculinity are likely to be best predicted by changes in salivary estradiol.

116 However, other studies of variation in women's preferences for facial masculinity
117 (Bobst et al., 2014; Welling et al., 2007) suggest that within-woman changes in
118 preferences for vocal masculinity are likely to be best predicted by changes in salivary
119 testosterone. Note that our study design directly examines the relationship between
120 variation in hormone levels and preferences, avoiding the method of allocating certain
121 days of the menstrual cycle to high-fertility and low-fertility phases using diary data
122 (see Gildersleeve et al., 2013 and Wood et al., 2014 for recent discussions of potential
123 problems with this method).

124

125 **Methods**

126 *Participants*

127 Sixty-two women (mean age=21.17 years, SD=2.51 years), all of whom
128 reported that they preferred to have romantic relationships with men, participated in
129 the main study. All participants were students at the University of Glasgow (Scotland,
130 UK) and provided informed consent. None of these women were currently pregnant,
131 breastfeeding, or taking any form of hormonal supplement and all indicated that they
132 had not taken any form of hormonal supplement in the previous 90 days.

133

134 *Voice stimuli*

135 Recordings of 6 men between the ages of 18 and 25 speaking the English
136 monophthong vowels, "ah"/Q, •ee•/i/, •e•/[/, •oh•/o/, and •oo•/u/, were made in an
137 anechoic sound-controlled booth. Recordings were made using a Sennheiser MKH
138 800 condenser microphone with a cardioid pick-up pattern and at an approximate
139 distance of 5-10 cm. Audio was digitally encoded with an M-Audio Fast Track Ultra
140 interface at a sampling rate of 96 kHz and 32-bit amplitude quantization, and stored

141 onto a computer as PCM WAV files using Adobe Soundbooth CS5 version 3.0. The
142 number of voices used in our study is similar to the numbers used in previous studies
143 examining voice preferences (e.g., Feinberg et al., 2008a; Pisanski and Rendall, 2011;
144 Riding et al., 2006), the results of which generalize well to studies using larger
145 samples of voices (e.g., Feinberg et al., 2008b; Puts, 2005).

146

147 We created two masculinized and two feminized versions of each original
148 voice recording by independently manipulating pitch or formants using the Pitch-
149 Synchronous Overlap Add (PSOLA) algorithm in Praat version 5.2.15 (Boersma &
150 Weenink, 2013; Moulines & Charpentier, 1990). The PSOLA method allows one
151 voice feature (e.g., pitch or formants) to be manipulated while leaving other voice
152 features unaltered, and has been used successfully in many past studies of voice
153 perception in humans (Feinberg et al., 2005, 2008b; Jones et al., 2010) and other
154 mammals (Ghazanfar et al., 2007; Reby et al., 2005). Following results of
155 psychophysical experiments identifying the optimal level of manipulation for studies
156 of the attractiveness of acoustic properties of human speech (e.g., Re et al., 2012), we
157 raised or lowered pitch by 10% from baseline while holding formants constant (*pitch*
158 *masculinity manipulation*) and raised or lowered formants by 10% from baseline
159 while holding pitch constant (*formant masculinity manipulation*). This process created
160 6 pairs of male voices that differed in pitch and 6 pairs of male voices that differed in
161 formants. Work by Pisanski & Rendall (2011) revealed that percent-based
162 manipulations of pitch and formants are perceptually equivalent.

163

164 The mean fundamental frequencies and formant frequencies of masculinized
165 and feminized voices, given in Table 1, span the natural ranges of frequencies for

166 large samples of English vowel sounds spoken by adult males (Bruckert et al., 2006;
167 Feinberg et al., 2008b; Puts et al., 2012; Rendall et al., 2005). Following masculinity
168 manipulation, we amplitude normalized the sound pressure level of all voices to 70
169 decibels using the root mean squared method.

170

171 *Masculinity manipulation check*

172 We conducted a manipulation check to verify that masculinized voice stimuli
173 influenced women's perceptions of men's masculinity and dominance. Twenty-seven
174 women (mean age=24.56 years, SD=6.55 years) listened to the 12 pairs of voices
175 (each pair consisting of a masculinized and a feminized version of the same voice)
176 and indicated which voice in each pair sounded more masculine. A different group of
177 27 women (mean age=22.77 years, SD=5.74 years) listened to the same voices and
178 indicated which voice in each pair sounded more dominant. Trial order and the order
179 in which participants listened to the masculinized and feminized versions in each pair
180 were fully randomized. None of the women who took part in the manipulation check
181 participated in the main study.

182

183 One-sample *t*-tests showed that, overall, the proportion of trials on which
184 women chose the masculinized voices as the more masculine or dominant was
185 significantly greater than what would be expected by chance alone (masculinity:
186 $t_{26}=16.91$, $p<.001$, $M=.90$, $SEM=.02$; dominance: $t_{26}=3.02$, $p<.001$, $M=.86$, $SEM=.03$).
187 Additional one-sample *t*-tests showed the same pattern of results when we separately
188 analyzed voices manipulated in either formants only (masculinity: $t_{26}=13.30$, $p<.001$,
189 $M=.90$, $SEM=.03$; dominance: $t_{26}=10.22$, $p<.001$, $M=.86$, $SEM=.04$) or pitch only
190 (masculinity: $t_{26}=15.56$, $p<.001$, $M=.90$, $SEM=.03$; dominance: $t_{26}=9.45$, $p<.001$,

191 $M=.85$, $SEM=.03$). Together, these results indicate that our voice stimuli differed
192 reliably in both perceived masculinity and dominance, and that stimuli with lowered
193 pitch and stimuli with lowered formants elicited analogous perceptions of masculinity
194 and dominance. These results replicate those in prior studies (e.g., Feinberg et al.,
195 2005; Pisanski & Rendall, 2011).

196

197 ***Procedure***

198 Each of the 62 women who participated in our main study completed five
199 weekly test sessions. In each test session, participants listened to the 12 pairs of voices
200 (each pair consisting of a masculinized and a feminized version of the same male
201 voice) on headphones, reporting which voice in each pair was more attractive. They
202 also reported the extent to which they perceived the chosen voice to be more attractive
203 than the other voice in each pair (i.e., the strength of their preference) by choosing
204 from the options ‘much more attractive’, ‘more attractive’, ‘somewhat more
205 attractive’, and ‘slightly more attractive’ (following, e.g., Feinberg et al., 2008a). Trial
206 order and the order in which participants listened to the masculinized and feminized
207 versions in each pair were fully randomized. During each test session, participants
208 provided a saliva sample via passive drool. Each woman’s own test sessions took
209 place at the same time of day to control for possible effects of diurnal changes in
210 hormone levels (Liening et al., 2010; Miller et al., 2004).

211

212 ***Hormonal Assays***

213 Saliva samples were frozen immediately and stored at -32°C until being
214 shipped, on dry ice, to the Salimetrics Lab (Suffolk, UK) for analysis. Participants
215 were instructed to avoid consuming alcohol and coffee in the 12 hours prior to

216 participation and to avoid eating, drinking, chewing gum, or brushing their teeth in the
217 60 minutes prior to participation. Samples were assayed by Salimetrics using the
218 Salivary 17 β -Estradiol Enzyme Immunoassay Kit 1-3702 (mean=4.73 pg/mL,
219 $SD=0.91$ pg/mL, intra-assay coefficient of variation (CV) = 7.13%, inter-assay CV =
220 7.45%), Salivary Progesterone Enzyme Immunoassay Kit 1-1502 (mean=157.25
221 pg/mL, $SD=70.80$ pg/mL, intra-assay CV = 6.20%, inter-assay CV = 7.55%), and
222 Salivary Testosterone Enzyme Immunoassay Kit 1-2402 (mean=84.69 pg/mL,
223 $SD=18.04$ pg/mL, intra-assay CV = 4.60%, inter-assay CV = 9.83%). All assays
224 passed Salimetrics' quality control. Because estradiol-to-progesterone ratio is
225 correlated with fertility (Baird et al., 1991; Landgren et al., 1980) and some
226 researchers have suggested that women's masculinity preferences may covary with
227 estrogen-to-progesterone ratio (e.g., Frost, 1994), we also calculated estradiol-to-
228 progesterone ratio (mean=.052, $SD=.086$) from women's estradiol (in pg/mL) and
229 progesterone (in pg/mL) data.

230

231 *Coding of Masculinity Preference Data*

232 Following previous studies (e.g., Feinberg et al., 2008a), preference scores
233 were coded as follows:

234

235 0= feminine voice rated 'much more attractive' than masculine voice

236 1= feminine voice rated 'more attractive' than masculine voice

237 2= feminine voice rated 'somewhat more attractive' than masculine voice

238 3= feminine voice rated 'slightly more attractive' than masculine voice

239 4= masculine voice rated 'slightly more attractive' than feminine voice

240 5= masculine voice rated 'somewhat more attractive' than feminine voice

241 6= masculine voice rated ‘more attractive’ than feminine voice

242 7= masculine voice rated ‘much more attractive’ than feminine voice.

243

244 These preference scores were then used to calculate two different masculinity
245 preference measures for each participant. The first was a *formant masculinity*
246 *preference measure* in which scores were averaged from the 6 trials on which voices
247 manipulated only in formants were presented. The second was a *pitch masculinity*
248 *preference measure* in which scores were averaged from the 6 trials on which voices
249 manipulated only in pitch were presented. Higher scores on these masculinity
250 preference measures indicate stronger masculinity preferences. Preference measures
251 were calculated separately for each of the five test sessions and were the dependent
252 variable in our analyses.

253

254 **Results**

255 We first tested whether the women in our sample, on average, preferred
256 masculinized versions of male voices over feminized versions. To do this we used
257 one-sample *t*-tests to compare each woman’s average masculinity preference (i.e., her
258 masculinity preference averaged across all test sessions) with what would be expected
259 by chance alone (3.5). Analyses of the formant masculinity preference measure
260 ($t_{61}=6.23, p<.001, M=4.03, SEM=0.09$) and the pitch masculinity preference measure
261 ($t_{61}=10.02, p<.001, M=4.17, SEM=0.07$) both demonstrated that masculinity
262 preferences were significantly above chance. Average formant and pitch masculinity
263 preferences were positively correlated ($r=.42, n=62, p<.001$). Older women tended to
264 have higher scores on the formant masculinity preference ($r=.23, n=62, p=.070$) and

265 pitch masculinity preference ($r=.22$, $n=62$, $p=.082$) measures. However, neither of
266 these relationships was significant.

267

268 We used multilevel modeling to test for within-subject effects of hormone
269 levels on vocal masculinity preferences. Analyses were conducted using R (R Core
270 Team, 2013), *lme4* (Bates et al., 2014), and *lmerTest* (Kuznetsova et al., 2013).
271 Masculinity preference scores served as our dependent variable. The intercept was
272 allowed to vary by participant and also by participant's test session. For each test
273 session, each participant provided two vocal masculinity preference scores: one for
274 formants and one for pitch. Consequently, *manipulation type* (0 = formant, 1 = pitch)
275 was entered for each score and *testosterone*, *estradiol*, *progesterone*, and *estradiol-to-*
276 *progesterone ratio* (each centered on their grand means) were entered for each test
277 session to test for independent within-subject effects of these hormones. All four
278 interactions between *manipulation type* and each hormone level were also entered for
279 each test session. Following an instruction from the Editor, *session number* (1 - 5) was
280 entered for each test session to control for possible order effects. We also entered
281 *participant age* (centered on its grand mean) for each participant to control for
282 possible effects of age on masculinity preferences (Little et al., 2010). All four
283 interactions between age and each hormone level were entered for each test session to
284 control for age-related changes in the magnitude of hormonal changes during the
285 menstrual cycle (Lee et al., 1988; Sherman & Korenman, 1975). This initial analysis
286 revealed no interactions between *participant age* and any hormone levels (all $|t| <$
287 1.28 , all $p > .20$) and no interactions between *manipulation type* and any hormone
288 levels (all $|t| < 1.41$, all $p > .16$) except *progesterone* ($t = 2.60$, $p = .010$). The full
289 results for this model (and the equations) are given in the Supplemental Materials.

290

291 Next, all non-significant interactions were removed from the model. This
292 reduced model revealed a near-significant positive effect of *estradiol* ($t = 1.92, p =$
293 $.055$), a significant positive effect of *participant age* ($t = 2.16, p = .034$), a significant
294 negative effect of *session number* ($t = -2.28, p = .023$), and a significant positive
295 effect of *manipulation type* ($t = 2.99, p = .003$), whereby masculinity preference
296 scores were greater for the pitch manipulation than they were for the formant
297 manipulation. This model also showed a significant interaction between *manipulation*
298 *type* and *progesterone* ($t = 2.54, p = .011$). The effect of *progesterone* on preference
299 for masculine formants was negative ($t = -1.53, p = .13$) and the effect of
300 progesterone on preference for masculine pitch was positive ($t = 1.48, p = .14$).
301 However, neither of these effects was significant. There were no significant effects of
302 *testosterone* ($t = -0.32, p = .75$), or *estradiol-to-progesterone ratio* ($t = 0.41, p = .68$).

303

304 An anonymous reviewer asked that we demonstrate that the observed effect of
305 estradiol was not specific to analyses that controlled for the effects of other hormone
306 levels. Consequently, we conducted an additional analysis including only *estradiol*,
307 *session number*, *manipulation type*, and *participant age*. As in the analysis described
308 above, there was a near-significant positive effect of *estradiol* ($t = 1.96, p = .050$), a
309 significant positive effect of *participant age* ($t = 2.21, p = .031$), a significant negative
310 effect of *session number* ($t = -2.25, p = .025$), and a significant positive effect of
311 *manipulation type* ($t = 2.97, p = .003$).

312

313 The equations for all of the models reported above are given in our
314 Supplemental Materials. Repeating all of these analyses without *participant age* did
315 not alter the pattern of results.

316

317 **Discussion**

318 Consistent with previous studies (e.g., Feinberg et al., 2005; Pisanski &
319 Rendall, 2011), women generally preferred recordings of men's voices with
320 masculinized pitch to versions with feminized pitch and generally preferred
321 recordings of men's voices with masculinized formants to versions with feminized
322 formants. Furthermore, analyses showed that women's preferences for masculine
323 pitch and formants in men's voices tended to be stronger in test sessions where
324 salivary estradiol level was high ($p = .050$ when no other hormones were included in
325 the model and $p = .055$ when all other hormones tested were included in the model).
326 These results complement findings from recent studies linking estradiol to women's
327 preferences for androgen-dependent characteristics in men's faces (Roney et al., 2011;
328 Roney & Simmons, 2008), attention to courtship signals (Rosen & Lopez, 2009),
329 sexual motivation (Roney & Simmons, 2013), and mating strategy (Durante & Li,
330 2009).

331

332 While our results are consistent with previous studies linking estradiol to
333 women's preferences for masculine characteristics in men's faces (Roney et al., 2011;
334 Roney & Simmons, 2008), no evidence for a significant relationship between
335 testosterone level and women's masculinity preferences was observed in the current
336 study. Further research is needed to establish why some studies of variation in
337 women's masculinity preferences have found that masculinity preferences are

338 predicted by estradiol levels (Roney et al., 2011; Roney & Simmons, 2008; the
339 current study), while others have found that masculinity preferences are predicted by
340 testosterone levels (Bobst et al., 2014; Welling et al., 2007).

341

342 Many researchers have suggested that systematic variation in women's
343 preferences for masculine men during the menstrual cycle functions primarily to
344 increase the likelihood that women mate with masculine men at points during each
345 cycle where conception risk is particularly high (Johnston et al., 2001; Penton-Voak et
346 al., 1999). Other researchers have suggested that within-cycle changes in masculinity
347 preferences are byproducts of mechanisms that function primarily to increase
348 women's preferences for masculine men during ovulatory cycles, compared to
349 anovulatory cycles (Roney & Simmons, 2008). Ovulatory cycles are characterized by
350 higher estradiol levels (Hambridge et al., 2013), while estradiol-to-progesterone ratio
351 is a good predictor of within-cycle variation in conception risk (Baird et al., 1991;
352 Landgren et al., 1980). Thus, our data linking masculinity preferences to estradiol,
353 rather than estradiol-to-progesterone ratio, may support Roney and Simmons' (2008)
354 proposal.

355

356 We also found little evidence for links between masculinity preferences and
357 progesterone, therefore failing to support the suggestion that changes in women's
358 masculinity preferences partly reflect increased attraction to prosocial men when
359 raised progesterone level prepares the body for pregnancy (Jones et al., 2005). Studies
360 that estimated hormone levels by converting information about each woman's
361 position in the menstrual cycle at test to estimated hormone levels using actuarial
362 tables have reported negative correlations between estimated progesterone level and

363 women's masculinity preferences (Jones et al., 2005; Puts, 2006). However, the
364 current study's null results for progesterone add to a growing body of evidence
365 suggesting that this pattern does not occur when participants' hormone levels are
366 actually measured from saliva (Bobst et al., 2014; Roney & Simmons, 2008; Welling
367 et al., 2007).

368

369 In conclusion, here we present the first evidence that within-woman changes
370 in measured salivary hormone levels during the menstrual cycle predict changes in
371 their preferences for masculine men's voices. Our analyses suggest that estradiol may
372 be the primary hormonal correlate of within-woman variation in preferences for
373 masculine voices, compared with progesterone, testosterone, and estrogen-to
374 progesterone-ratio. While further research is needed to establish whether estradiol has
375 a direct and/or causal effect on women's mate preferences, our findings add to a
376 growing body of evidence linking estradiol to women's mate preferences, sexual
377 motivations, and sexual strategy (Durante & Li, 2009; Roney et al. 2011; Roney &
378 Simmons, 2008, 2013). Our findings also complement a growing body of evidence
379 that may implicate estradiol in female sexual motivation and mate preferences in non-
380 human mammals (see, e.g., Roney et al., 2011 and Wallen, 2013).

381

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539 Table 1. Mean voice pitch and formant measures taken from feminized and
 540 masculinized male voice stimuli (given in Hz).

Manipulation	<i>F0</i>	<i>F1</i>	<i>F2</i>	<i>F3</i>	<i>F4</i>	<i>F_n</i>
Masculinized Pitch	111	457	1525	2567	3440	1997
Feminized Pitch	135	460	1525	2571	3437	1998
Masculinized Formants	123	421	1375	2351	3145	1823
Feminized Formants	123	513	1682	2817	3756	2192

541 Acronyms: *F0* = fundamental frequency (pitch); *F1-F4* = first to fourth formant; *F_n* =
 542 mean formant frequency (an average of *F1-F4*). Mean *F0* was measured using Praat's
 543 autocorrelation algorithm with a search range set to 65-300 Hz. Formants *F1-F4* were
 544 measured using the Burg Linear Predictive Coding algorithm. Formants were first
 545 overlaid on a spectrogram and manually adjusted until the best visual fit of predicted
 546 onto observed formants was obtained. All acoustic measurements were taken from the
 547 central, steady-state portion of each vowel, averaged across vowels for each voice,
 548 and then averaged across voices. This was done separately for each type of
 549 masculinity manipulation.