Recent work has revealed systematic variation in the phonetic realization of word forms, including voice quality variation across different prosodic contexts. Phenomena related to glottal configuration (e.g. breathiness and irregular pitch periods) occur at the onsets of prosodic constituents, and at prominences marked by pitch accents (Pierrehumbert & Talkin 1992, Dilley et al. 1996, inter alia); phrase-finally (Henton and Bladon 1987, Docherty et al. 1997, Redi and Shattuck-Hufnagel 2001); and as glottalized variants of word-internal -final /t/. We asked whether speakers imitating utterances reproduce voice quality variations in the target, or use their own typical voice quality patterns. Results suggest that listeners do not reproduce target voice quality variation, consistent with the hypothesis that, although patterns of laryngeal marking of prosodic structure are systematic, and contain information perceptible to listeners, they do not form part of the representation formed by a listener to govern an imitation of a heard utterance.