

THE STORY OF AN AFRICAN LAB

CLICK PERCEPT!ON

EXPERIMENTS IN XHOSA AND ZULU

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bit.ly/lisa2025clicks

THE PUZZLE

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A BIT OF A CONUNDRUM

- ▶ Why are clicks...?
 - ▶ Hand 1: super salient (the only Cs consistently louder than Vs, e.g.)
 - ▶ Hand 2: rare, restricted, limited in distribution qua consonants
- ▶ Contradictory intuitions afoot
 - ▶ Clicks are very easy to recognize as different from nonclicks
 - ▶ Click vs click distinctions seem much less easy to discern

THE PUZZLE

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P-MAPPING CLICKS

- ▶ Steriade (2001/2008) P-map: confusability of a given contrast...
 - ▶ is different in different contexts
 - ▶ projects relative ranking of faithfulness constraints (less distinct ~> less important to distinguish)
- ▶ Oddball expectations for clicks:
 - ▶ faithfulness for clickiness is supreme (predicts clicks are hard to get rid of)
 - ▶ faithfulness among clicks less crucial (because less salient)

ā.

Obstruent voicing	V_V	C_V	V_R	V_	V_T	C_T
p/ b	p/ b	p/ b	p/ b	p/ b	p/ b	p/ b
t/ d	t/ d	t/ d	t/ d	t/ d	t/ d	t/ d
k/ g	k/ g	k/ g	k/ g	k/ g	k/ g	k/ g
s/ z	s/ z	s/ z	s/ z	s/ z	s/ z	s/ z

HAND 1: CLICKS ARE EASY

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CLICKS SHOULD BE EASY TO PERCEIVE

- ▶ Ladefoged & Traill (1994:45), !Xóõ
 - ▶ “clicks are probably the most salient consonants”
 - ▶ clicks easier to ID than non-clicks
- ▶ masking level test: confounds loudness and spectral distribution
- ▶ only looked at plain [ǀ ǂ ǃ Ǆ] vs. pulmonic consonants; doesn't establish click~click baselines

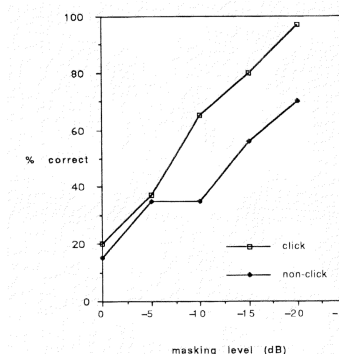


Figure 6. The perceptual saliency of clicks and non-clicks.

CLICKS SHOULD BE EASY TO PERCEIVE

- ▶ Most previous studies of click perception focus on non-native listeners (Best et al. 1988, 1999, 2003, 2008, 2020, among others)
- ▶ American click-naïve listeners do not perceive clicks as speech sounds
- ▶ Click-naïve listeners still extremely good at AXB discrimination (worst participant still 81% correct, cf. Zulu listener avg. 87%)
- ▶ Best et al. (2003) compare Sesotho & Zulu listeners, but both groups listened only to fricated clicks from !Xóǀ, which are an obviously non-native category for them
- ▶ Point: none of these establish clear baseline expectations for the perceptibility of, e.g., different Zulu click contrasts by Zulu-speaking listeners

CLICKS ARE PERCEIVED AS DIFFICULT

- ▶ Anecdotal evidence abounds that people regard clicks as complex and difficult to master
 - ▶ probably not just an artifact of eurocentrism in descriptions (“exotic!”)
 - ▶ L1 Xhosa & Zulu speaking undergraduates report this impression too
- ▶ Try it and see
 - ▶ click contrast test 1
 - ▶ click contrast test 2

FAILED ATTEMPTS AT REPLICATING PREVIOUS FINDINGS

- ▶ Pilot 1: ABX task, attempting to probe type vs accompaniment contrasts, using v!v intervals excised from real words, both Xhosa and click-experienced English speakers (Miller 2020)
 - ▶ all participants at chance (top performer ~54%) 🤔
- ▶ Pilot 2: AXB task, new stimuli recordings of nonce a!a sequences
 - ▶ all participants still at chance; they can’t discriminate
 - ▶ very much at odds with Best’s findings; even L1 listeners failed to recover the contrasts from this set of stimuli




TODAY’S EXPERIMENT: DESIGN

- ▶ AXB paradigm, audio presentation, all CVCV nonce sequences
- ▶ Bipartite structure, stimuli recorded by Khethani Yende
- ▶ Side A: click type contrasts (c ~ q ~ x) (dental ~ alveolar ~ lateral)
 - ▶ intended to probe for differences based on dialect/accent
 - ▶ is c ~ q variation rooted in perceptual difference? (Yende 2023, in prep)
- ▶ Side B: two tranches
 - ▶ “Count” (!ada vs !a!a) (cf. Gallagher 2010)
 - ▶ “Site” (!ada vs da!a)
- ▶ Each side served as distractors from the other

PARTICIPANTS




- ▶ 12 L1 speakers of Zulu recruited by Khethani Yende using word of mouth + snowball sampling
- ▶ Targeted recruitment to probe for regional/dialect variation
 - ▶ one group of speakers from Gauteng (=urban Zulu, "Sowetan" Zulu)
 - ▶ one group of speakers from KZN ("proper" Zulu, "deep" Zulu)
- ▶ All could also speak multiple languages (English, etc)
- ▶ No other participant factors considered here

PERCEPTIBILITY VARIATION BY CLICK TYPE

c ~ q	
c ~ x	
x ~ q	




- ▶ "Click type": synonymous with front closure place distinctions
[IPA key: c = | x = ll q = !]
- ▶ c ~ q: attested as free variation (Gunnink 2014)
~> so maybe is harder to discern?
- ▶ c ~ x: predictions unclear
- ▶ x ~ q: predictions unclear

PERCEPTIBILITY VARIATION BY CLICK CONTEXT

da!a	
!ada	
!a!a	

- ▶ Contradictory intuitions here
 - ▶ !ada > da!a would make sense bc initial prominence
 - ▶ But: da!a > !ada makes sense if the preceding vowel carries some of the cues
- ▶ Cross-interaction likely; different contrasts are made with different cues (burst vs VOT, e.g.)
- ▶ Also, count is a thing we looked at (!ada vs !a!a)

PERCEPTIBILITY VARIATION BY CLICK CONTEXT

"Site"	
da!a	
!ada	
!a!a	

- ▶ Contradictory intuitions here
 - ▶ !ada > da!a would make sense bc initial prominence
 - ▶ But: da!a > !ada makes sense if the preceding vowel carries some of the cues
- ▶ Cross-interaction likely; different contrasts are made with different cues (burst vs VOT, e.g.)
- ▶ Also, count is a thing we looked at (!ada vs !a!a)

PERCEPTIBILITY VARIATION BY CLICK CONTEXT

da!a	😡
!ada	😊
!a!a	🙄

"Count"

- ▶ Contradictory intuitions here
 - ▶ !ada > da!a would make sense bc initial prominence
 - ▶ But: da!a > !ada makes sense if the preceding vowel carries some of the cues
- ▶ Cross-interaction likely; different contrasts are made with different cues (burst vs VOT, e.g.)
- ▶ Also, count is a thing we looked at (!ada vs !a!a)

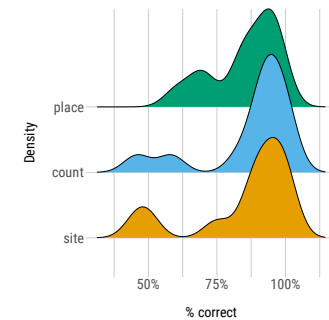
RESULTS

ANALYSIS

- ▶ Logistic mixed effects model (via `glmer`)
 - ▶ Fixed effects: tranche, place, site, correct answer, correct button
 - ▶ Random effects: intercepts for item and participant
- ▶ Marginal means computed and pairwise tests (via `marginalEffects`)

BIRD'S EYE VIEW

- ▶ Correct perception is similar in each tranche:
 - ▶ place 85.14%
 - ▶ count 87.15%
 - ▶ site 85.07%
- ▶ More in line with Best's prior work



RESULTS

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OVERALL RESULTS BY TRANCHE

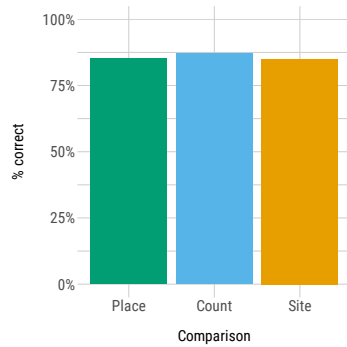
- ▶ place 85.14%
- ▶ count 87.15%
- ▶ site 85.07%

Model

Parameter	Coeff.	CI	z	p
(Intercept)	2.23	[1.36, 3.09]	5.05	0.00
correct ans [B]	0.29	[-0.14, 0.73]	1.32	0.19
tranche [count]	0.28	[-0.46, 1.01]	0.73	0.46
tranche [site]	-0.05	[-0.58, 0.48]	-0.19	0.85
place [q]	-0.04	[-0.58, 0.51]	-0.13	0.90
place [x]	-0.51	[-1.04, 0.02]	-1.88	0.06
site [2]	0.25	[-0.25, 0.75]	0.99	0.32
site [b]	0.07	[-0.82, 0.96]	0.15	0.88

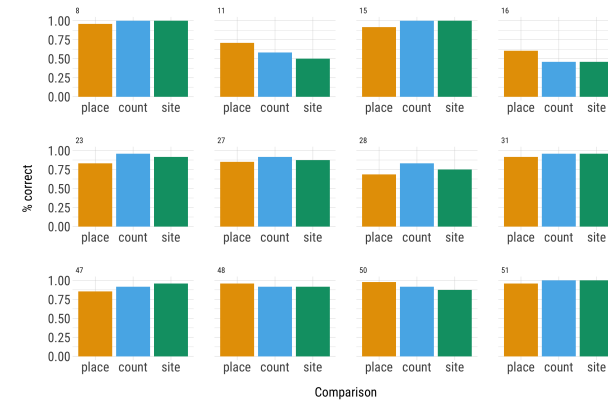
Marginal means for tranche

	Est.	statistic	p	CI
count - place	0.03	0.75	0.45	[-0.04, 0.10]
site - place	-0.01	-0.19	0.85	[-0.06, 0.05]



RESULTS BY TRANCHE AND SPEAKER

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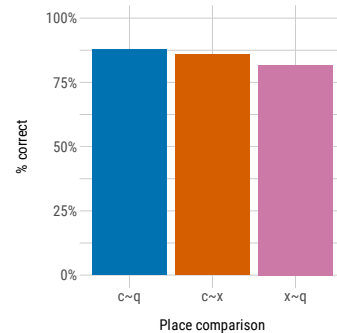
RESULTS

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PLACE COMPARISONS

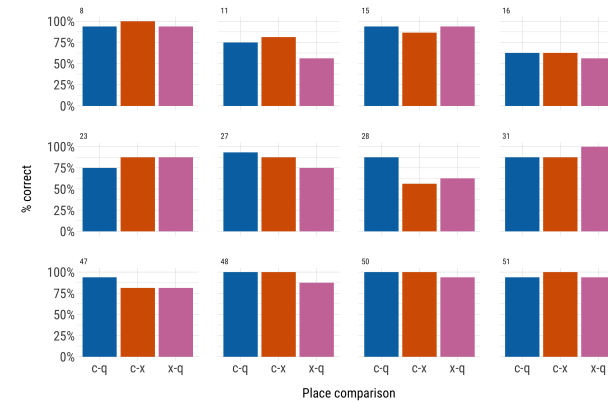
- ▶ Mean percent correct: 85.14%
- ▶ Place comparison type is not a significant predictor in the model
- ▶ Pairwise comparison of marginal means show no differences between any pair of place comparisons

Comparisons	Contrast	conf.low	conf.high	p.value
x-q - c-q	-0.06	-0.16	0.04	0.22
x-q - c-x	-0.04	-0.14	0.06	0.46
c-q - c-x	0.02	-0.07	0.11	0.62



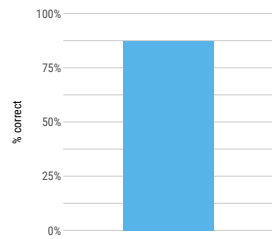
RESULTS BY PLACE COMPARISON AND SPEAKER - PLACE TRIALS

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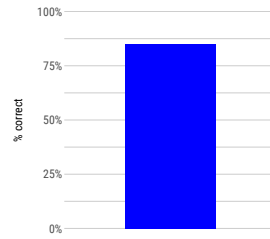
COUNT COMPARISONS

- Mean percent correct: 87.15%

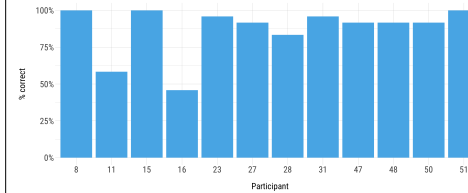


SITE COMPARISONS

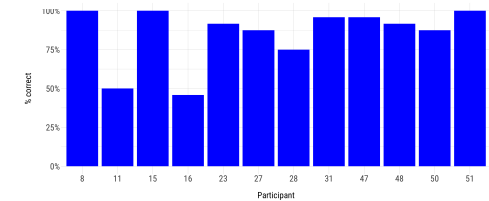
- Mean percent correct: 85.07%



► Count



► Site



CONCLUSION

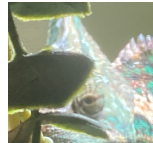
- We have established now that the procedure we used in expt 3 is a good way to get some functional baselines
- Pilot experiment kinks seem mostly worked out
 - AXB > ABX
- Further task effects remain to be studied
 - CV vs. VCV vs. CVCV stimuli

NEXT QUESTIONS

- Place (c ~ q ~ x) vs. accompaniment (q ~ nq ~ ngq ~ gq)
- Does accompaniment modify place perception?
- Do clicks pattern like ejectives with respect to perceptual biases of site and count?
- How common is metathesis as a perceptual illusion with clicks (qada perceived as daqa)?
- Click-naïve vs. click-experienced listeners (SA vs. US English L1s)
- Cue weighting within each accompaniment (e.g. pitch effects)

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