

Introduction

- Clicks: non-pulmonic stop sounds
- Phonemes in S and W African languages —mostly dental [1]
 - Stance-displayers and discourse markers in languages around the world [2,3,4,5]
- Previous studies find:

Click rate

- High or low rate clickers
- ~1/minute [6,7]

Phonetic form

- Single or multiple [3]
- Range from bilabial to lateral [3,4]
- Can be with creaky or nasal material [3,4]
- Can have audible inbreath, especially turn-initially [4]
- Co-occurs with particles uh and um [3,4,8]

Interactional function

- Conversation Analysis (CA) used for identifying function of clicks [3]
 - Stance-displaying clicks:** [click] + [response token] e.g. [l] *Aw that's too bad.*
 - Discourse clicks:** index new sequences, mark incipient speakership, backchannel, repair, word search, holding floor
- Gender stratification**
- Female speakers click more [9] (only one study!)

Research Questions

- What is the phonetic form and interactional function of clicks?
- Do male and female speakers vary in click production?

Method



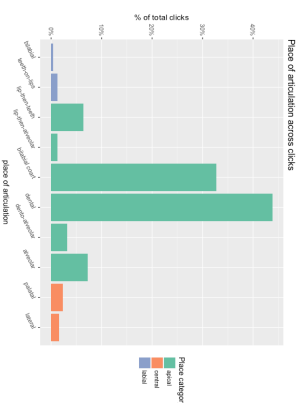
female	male
28	22

- 25 pairs of same gendered, Glasgow-area speakers, aged 17-60
- Analysis combines Variationist Sociolinguistics, Phonetics and Conversation Analysis

Results

Phonetic Form

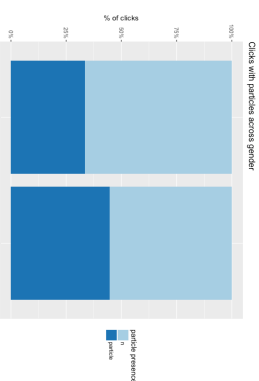
- 566 total clicks/~40 hours of speech
- 0.24/minute—from 48 speakers
- Mostly singlets, 2 sets of 2, 1 set of 3



	with	without
	%	%
	N	N
creak	13	79
	86	487
nasally	2.3	13
	97.7	553
inbreath	25	141
	75	425
particles	39	221
	61	345

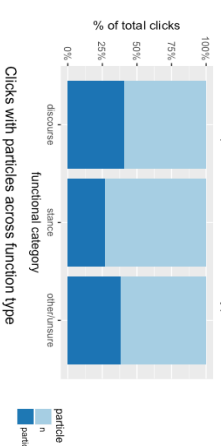
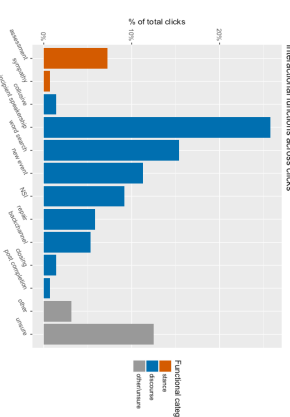
Gender and clicks

- 51% clicks from women; 49% men
- No difference in place of articulation, click form, or function except particle.



Function

- Incipient speakership clicks most common (~26% of total clicks)
- 76.5% discourse clicks, 8% stance-displayers, 15.5% unknown



- Particles were marginally more likely to occur with discourse clicks (p=0.056)
- Lead by word search clicks; significantly more likely occur with a particle (p=9.31e-13)
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Conclusion

Clicks in English are **mostly dental** and can co-occur with **creaky voice, nasality, audible inbreath**, and particles like **uh** or **um**. Clicks as **discourse markers** are **much more common** than stance-displayers. **Particles** are a predictor of click function, especially **word search**. While click rates of men and women are comparable, **men** are **marginally more likely** to produce a **particle** alongside a click.