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**Auditory-visual L2 speech perception: effects of visual cues and
acoustic-phonetic context for Spanish learners of English**

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Abstract

This study was designed to identify English speech contrasts that might be appropriate for the computer-based auditory-visual training of Spanish learners of English. It examines auditory-visual and auditory consonant and vowel confusions by Spanish speaking students of English and a native English control group. 36 Spanish listeners were tested on their identification of 16 consonants and 9 vowels of British English. For consonants, both L2 learners and controls showed significant improvements in the audiovisual condition, with larger effects for syllable final consonants. The patterns of errors by L2 learners were strongly predictable from our knowledge of the relation between the phoneme inventories of Spanish and English. Consonant confusions which were language-dependent – mostly errors in voicing and manner – were not reduced by the addition of visual cues whereas confusions that were common to both listener groups and related to acoustic-phonetic sound characteristics did show improvements. Spanish listeners did not use visual cues that disambiguated contrasts that are phonemic in English but have allophonic status in Spanish. Visual features therefore have different weights when cueing phonemic and allophonic distinctions.

1. Introduction

In the last two decades, much attention has been focused on the problems that second language learners encounter in perceiving speech sounds in the language that they are acquiring. One line of research has investigated the effect of a number of speaker and language variables of the perception of non-native phonemic contrasts. These variables include: the learner's length of exposure to L2, initial age of acquisition, degree of ongoing use of L1 (e.g. Flege, 1998), inherent 'skill' in language acquisition, the phonological status of L2 sounds in the learner's L1 (e.g., Best, 2001) and the inherent acoustic salience of L2 sounds (e.g., Werker and Logan, 1985). Models of L2 speech perception that invoke primarily language variables have generally been successful in predicting areas of perceptual difficulty in L2. For example, the Perceptual Assimilation Model (PAM: Best, 2001) predicted a range of auditory discrimination by English speakers of three Zulu contrasts from assimilation patterns between the L1 and L2 sounds. When the sounds of the Zulu contrast were assimilated to two English sounds, English speakers obtained excellent discrimination scores. However, for Zulu sounds that were assimilated to a single English phoneme, discrimination scores were moderate or poor according to the goodness of fit of the Zulu sounds to the English phoneme.

The ability to discriminate L2 phonemic categories can be improved by lengthy periods of auditory training, as long as appropriate methods are used (Logan and Pruitt, 1995). For example, training using identification tasks with feedback seems to be more effective than training using discrimination tasks, and the use of materials from multiple speakers during training promotes the creation of robust categories. Some studies have also shown that enhancing difficult phonemic contrasts for L2 learners via the amplification of key regions or alterations to the duration of segments

can be effective in improving perception (e.g., Jamieson and Morosan, 1986; Hazan and Simpson, 2000).

The potential of visual cues in computer-based auditory training has received relatively little attention, but this might be expected to be at least as important as acoustic enhancement of key regions of speech. Much face-to-face language learning or auditory training exploits information given by looking at the teacher or speech pathologist's face. It is well known from studies of auditory-visual perception that visual cues contribute to the perception of place features, and visual cues also contribute to manner perception when the auditory input is degraded. Voicing categorization has also been shown to be influenced by visual cues to place of articulation (Green and Kuhl, 1991; Faulkner and Rosen, 1999) and by visual cues to speech rate (Green and Miller, 1985). There have, however, been relatively few controlled studies of the effect of visual cues in L2 training (e.g. Akahane-Yamada et al, 1997; Davis and Kim, 1999). The most extensive study of this kind was carried out by Hardison (in press) who investigated the effect of visual cues, context and speaker variability on the perception of the /r-/l/ contrast in Japanese and Korean learners of American English. In her Japanese study, Hardison found that audiovisual training was more effective than auditory training in improving the identification of the /r-/l/ contrast (68.7% pre-test to 90% post-test). Perceptual training also had an impact on the production of this consonant contrast by the Japanese learners, with greater improvements in accent ratings for those who had received audiovisual training. Similar effects of audiovisual training were obtained with the Korean learners of English.

The aim of our current work is to investigate further the effectiveness of visual cues in improving the outcome of auditory training. The target population is adult Spanish learners of English, and the auditory training will focus on English phonemic contrasts that are particularly difficult for L2 learners from a Spanish background. This initial study was designed to identify training targets that might be particularly appropriate to auditory-visual training.

The areas of major auditory perceptual difficulty for Spanish speakers of English relate to obstruent voicing. Voicing is a contextual rather than a contrastive feature for Spanish fricatives. Therefore, according to PAM, Spanish speakers of English will tend to assimilate English voiced and voiceless fricatives to Spanish voiceless phonemes, making the English fricative voicing contrast difficult to perceive (Error type I, Figure 1a). PAM predicts similar patterns of assimilation between Spanish and English stops. Spanish voiced stops have [+continuant] and [-continuant] allophones. The [-continuant] allophones have shorter VOT than their English counterparts, causing Spanish speakers to assimilate both English voiced and voiceless stops to their Spanish voiceless counterparts (Error type II, Figure 1b). Moreover, voiced English fricatives tend to assimilate to the [+continuant] allophone of the Spanish voiced stop. Thus, English voiced fricatives and voiced stops tend to assimilate to a single Spanish voiced stop (Error type III, Figure 1c).

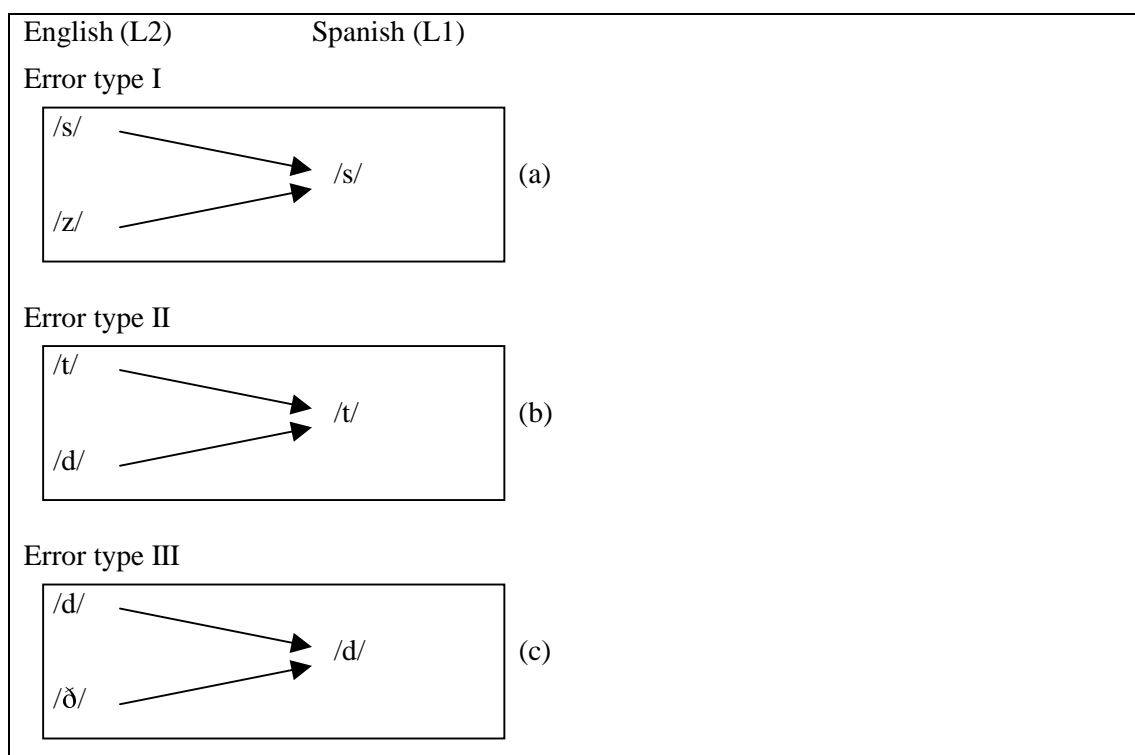


Figure 1. Patterns of assimilation of English stop and fricative phonemes to Spanish stop phonemes.

In this study, we are investigating whether the addition of visual cues aids identification of English consonant and vowels by Spanish learners of English without any auditory training. More specifically, our research questions were as follows:

1. How does the use of visual cues by L2 listeners compare to that of native speakers when attending to segmental differences?
2. Will visual cues have any influence on errors of fricative voicing where this is allophonic in Spanish (type I), and on English voicing contrasts that use a longer VOT boundary than their Spanish counterparts (type II)?
3. Will visual cues improve the perception of contrasts such as /d/-/ð/ and /b/-/v/ (type III), which involve sounds that tend to be assimilated in Spanish, and are marked by a visible place/manner contrast?

2. Methodology

2.1. Test materials

Test materials comprised 16 consonants and 9 vowels of British English. The consonants /b, d, g, p, t, k, v, z, ð, f, s, ʃ, tʃ, dʒ, m, n/ were embedded within mono- or bi-syllables. Each contained one of the consonants in the syllabic context CV, VCV, or VC, where V was one of the following: /i, a, u/. The vowels, comprising 7 monophthongs and 2 diphthongs were presented within 9 English bVd words (bad, bed, bid, bead, bud, board, bared, bide, boughed).

2.2. Speaker and Recording procedures

A female speaker of South Eastern British English recorded the test items. Four utterances of each consonant item and seven of each bVd word were recorded. Recordings were made to a Canon XL-1 DV camcorder, using a Bruel and Kjaer type 4165 microphone.

2.3. Stimuli

The video was digitally transferred to a PC for editing. Stimuli were edited so that the start and end frames of each token showed a neutral facial expression. Two phoneticians selected the tokens that were most natural, 2 for each consonant in each syllabic and vowel context and 6 for each bVd word, yielding a total of 288 consonant and 54 vowel tokens. A low-level speech spectrum shaped noise (to CCITT Rec. G227) was added at a +18 dB speech-to-noise ratio to mask environmental sounds during testing, this low level of noise would not be expected to affect auditory intelligibility.

2.4. Listeners

The 36 Spanish subjects who participated in the experiment were native speakers of the dialect spoken in Las Palmas, and were staff or students in the English Department of University of Las Palmas in Gran Canaria. Eight were highly proficient in English. Six had lived in an English speaking country for at least a year. The remaining 28 subjects were 1st year students who had spent less than 2 months in an English speaking country. Their ages ranged from 19 to 35 years and they reported normal hearing and vision.

Control data was obtained from a group of 12 native speakers of British English, who worked or studied at UCL. They also reported having normal hearing and vision and their ages ranged from 20 to 36 years.

2.5. Experimental task

A closed-set identification task was built using the CSLU toolkit (e.g., Cole, 1999). Instructions to the listeners were explained in Spanish via Baldi (Massaro, 1998), a conversational agent. After introducing himself and the human English talker, Baldi invited subjects to do some practice exercises in order to get familiar with the program's interface and the natural female talker. In the first set of practice exercises, listeners were presented with 16 buttons that displayed graphemes representing target consonants. Subjects were asked to play natural auditory-visual speech tokens by clicking on each button as many times as they wanted. Because the subjects had some knowledge of phonetic symbols, it was very easy for the experimenter to make them aware of the two possible orthographic confusions with Spanish graphemes 'z' and 'j'. Once they were familiar with the consonant task, they repeated the task with the vowels.

A second set of practice exercises involved the identification without feedback of consonants and vowels with auditory (A) and auditory-visual (AV) presentation. Once the experimenter was sure that the listeners understood the task, the test was started.

The identification testing consisted of 4 parts, (1) vowels in bVd words with AV presentation; (2) vowels with A presentation; (3) consonants in the 288 syllables with

AV presentation; (4) consonants with A presentation. The human talker spoke all test items. Order of items was randomized within each part for each listener. The order of the four parts was counterbalanced across listeners, so that there were 9 Spanish listeners per order of presentation, of whom 2 were proficient listeners and 7 were first year students. The control group took only parts (3) and (4) of the test, so there were 6 subjects in each order of presentation.

3. Results

3.1. Accuracy of identification

The percentage of correctly identified target sounds (see Figure 2) indicated that AV presentation improved consonant identification in both language groups, by 3.7% for Spanish speakers from 71.4% in the auditory condition and by 5.7% for English speakers from 89.5%. Vowel identification by Spanish subjects improved by only 1.7% (from 82.3%). ANOVAS within language groups with factors of mode (AV, A) and order of presentation were performed for vowel and consonant identification. For Spanish listeners, the effect of presentation mode (A vs. AV) was significant only for consonants [$F(1,34)=45$; $p<0.0001$], while the interaction between mode and the order in which modes were tested was significant only for vowels, indicating that learning effects may have obscured any effect of the visual cues for vowels.

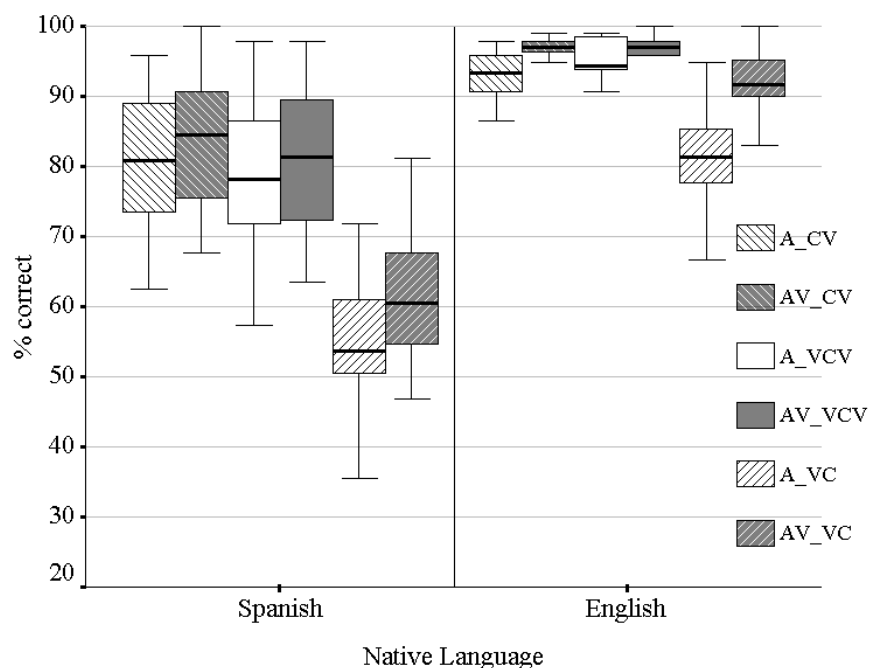


Figure 2: Percent correct identification for audio and audio-visual consonants in each syllabic context for each language group. The legend indicates the mode (A or AV) and the syllabic context

For consonants, an indication of individual listener performance is shown in Figure 3. It can be seen that both the overall intelligibility rates and the effect of visual cues varied widely across listeners. These two factors do not appear to be correlated however.

ANOVAs across language groups were performed on percentage of correct identification with factors of native language (L1), presentation mode, syllabic and vowel context. The main factors of presentation mode [$F(1, 46)=36.8$; $p<0.0001$], syllable [$F(1.4, 74.2)=252$; $p<0.0001$], and the interactions ‘mode*syllable’ and ‘syllable*L1’ were significant. Post-hoc analyses indicated that the improvement in identification due to visual cues was significant across all subjects and within each language group. There was no significant ‘mode*L1’ interaction, hence we have no evidence of any special advantage of the AV mode for L2 speakers. English subjects performed significantly better than Spanish speakers in each syllabic context. Within each language group, effects of syllabic context were similar in that VC syllables showed lower accuracy than CV and VCV syllables. The mode*syllable interaction arose mainly from the mode of presentation effect being stronger for VC than for CV and CVC syllables.

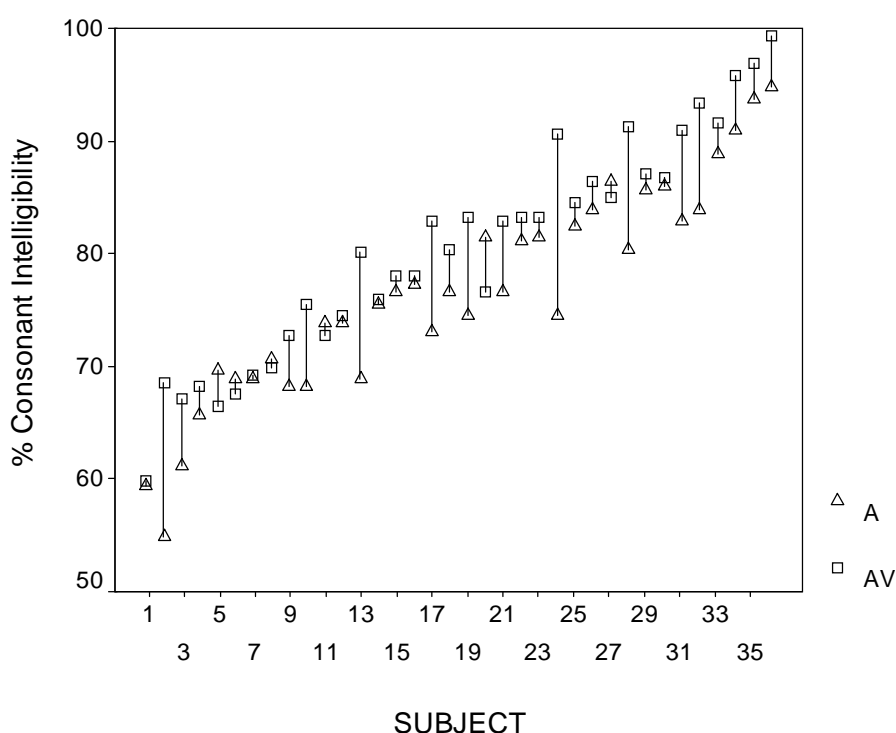


Figure 3: Consonant Intelligibility rates obtained for individual subjects in the audio and audiovisual conditions.

3.2. Vowel confusions

Even though the overall effect of presentation mode on vowel perception was not significant, it is of interest to examine which vowel confusions were the most common for Spanish learners of English and whether any of these confusions were disambiguated by the addition of visual cues. Vowel perception is likely to be problematic for Spanish learners of English as there are only 5 vowel phonemes in Spanish (/i/, e, a, o, u/). The English sounds in this corpus most prone to confusion are therefore likely to be those in 'bared' and 'bud'. Also, even though the English /i/ is

close phonetically to the Spanish /e/, confusions with /i/ could be expected because the orthographic representation of /i/ in English is similar to that of /i/ in Spanish.

| Auditory condition | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | bad | bed | bid | bead | bud | board | bared | bide | boughed |
| bad | 75 | | | | 17 | | | 7 | |
| bed | 3 | 81 | | 2 | 7 | | | 6 | |
| bid | | 3 | 89 | 6 | | | | 1 | 1 |
| bead | | | 18 | 78 | | | | | 3 |
| bud | 29 | | | | 68 | | | 1 | 1 |
| board | | | | | | 94 | | | 5 |
| bared | 9 | 20 | | 13 | 2 | | 56 | | |
| bide | | | | | | | 1 | 99 | |
| boughed | | | | 1 | | | | | 99 |

| Auditory-visual condition | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | bad | bed | bid | bead | bud | board | bared | bide | boughed |
| bad | 70 | | | | 22 | | | 8 | |
| bed | 2 | 86 | | 6 | | | | 6 | |
| bid | | | 94 | 5 | | | | | 1 |
| bead | | | 17 | 77 | | | | | |
| bud | 28 | | | | 71 | | | 1 | |
| board | | | | | | 95 | | | 4 |
| bared | 5 | 21 | | 8 | 1 | | 65 | | |
| bide | | | | 1 | | | | 98 | |
| boughed | | | | | | | | | 99 |

Table 1: Matrices showing vowel confusions (%) made by the Spanish listeners. Stimuli presented are on the y-axis and response given on the x-axis.

As expected, in the audio condition, the vowels that received error rates of 20% or higher were those in 'bad' /ɒ/ (25%), 'bead' /i/ (22%), 'bud' /ʌ/ (32%) and 'bared' /ɛ/ (44%). Vowel distinctions based primarily on duration cues (e.g. 'bed'-'bared') or between vowels with similar lip gestures (e.g. strong bilateral 'bad'-'bud' confusions) were not disambiguated by the addition of visual information. However, confusions between vowels with very different lip gestures were reduced when visual cues were present. This was the case for 'bed' to 'bud' confusions that were totally eliminated in the AV condition and for 'bared' to 'bead' confusions.

3.3 Consonant confusions

Confusion matrices for both groups in the A and AV conditions are shown in the Appendix. Information transfer and simple accuracy analyses of voicing, place, and manner perception was also carried out. Information transfer results for the perception of VC contrasts by Spanish listeners are shown in Figure 4.

Both these and simple percent correct scores indicated that subjects from both language groups extracted broadly similar information from visual cues. As expected, AV presentation significantly improved both Spanish and English subjects' perception of consonant place and manner. Place errors were reduced by visual cues within each of the manner classes of plosive, fricative and nasal. The reduction of manner information is at least in part likely to arise from the strong correlation of manner and place for anterior English consonants. As predicted, errors of voicing in L2 were

common in the A condition. These were not significantly reduced in the AV condition.

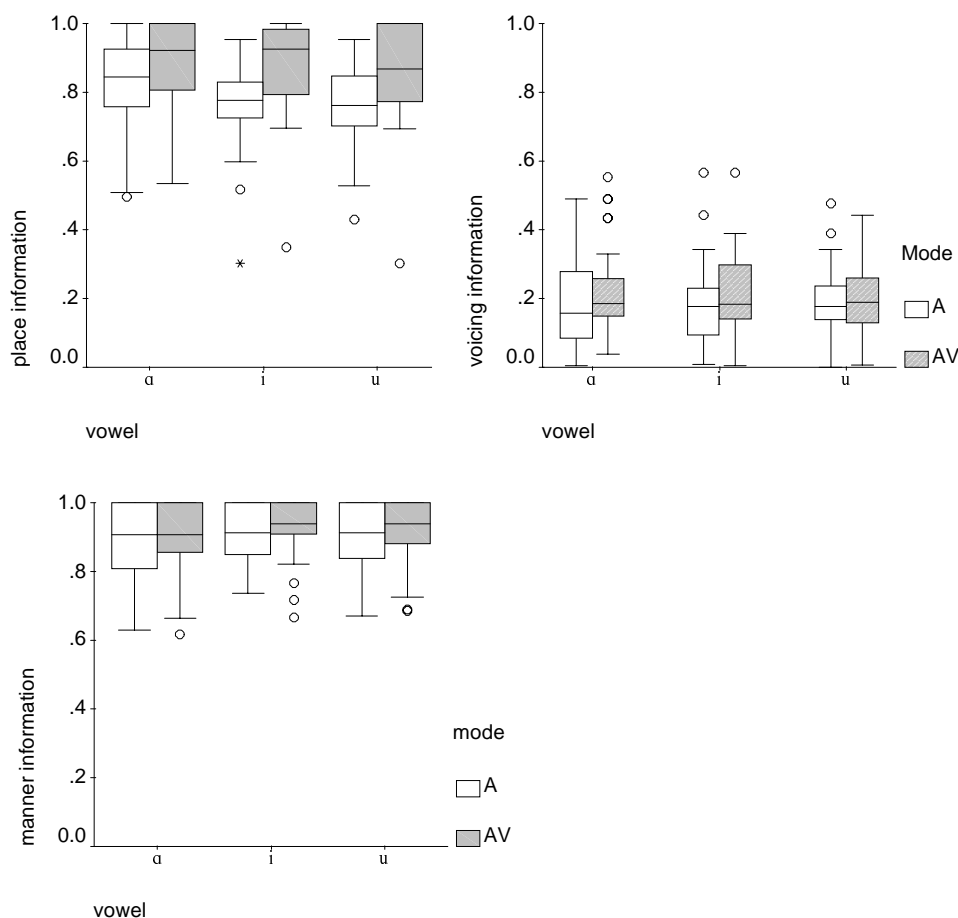


Figure 4: Information transfer scores for the perception of the place, voicing and manner features for VC stimuli by Spanish learners of English. Scores are shown separately for consonants presented in the context of /a/, /i/ and /u/.

A comparison of confusion matrices (see Appendix) showed that Spanish speakers made two groups of errors. One group includes the errors that were made by both language groups, were not predicted by the L1-L2 phoneme assimilation patterns and related to the acoustic-phonetic sound characteristics. This group involved target sounds that showed a significant improvement in the audio-visual condition: [+anterior] sounds /p, b, ð, m, n/ for English listeners, and /p, f, ð, m, n/ for Spanish listeners. These sounds were mostly confused with sounds that contrasted in place and manner features in both language groups, but also with sounds contrasting in voicing in the case of the Spanish subjects. For example, the 11.2% errors that English subjects made in perceiving target /p/ in CV syllables in the auditory condition were mostly related to confusions that involved place and manner, i.e. /k/, /t/, /tʃ/. For Spanish speakers, the 20.4% errors in the perception of /p/ included errors of place and/or manner with voicing, i.e., /d/, /g/, /v/, /dʒ/, and also pure voicing errors, i.e. /b/. The addition of visual cues reduced the errors of place and manner in both language groups.

The second group of errors included those predicted by the assimilation patterns described in Figure 1. These errors were found only in the L2 speakers. Pure voicing errors refer to error type I (fricative voicing) and II (stop voicing), which are illustrated in the assimilation patterns of Figure 1a and b. For example, in the auditory condition, Spanish speakers identified voiced stops with their voiceless counterparts, with errors ranging from 24.3% to 45.2% (see Appendix). The addition of visual cues did not improve these errors, which ranged from 22.7% to 46.3% in the AV condition.

The assimilation pattern illustrated in Figure 1c (type III), between voiced fricatives and stops, involved the confusions /v/-/b/ and /ð/-/d/. These confusions were indeed made by Spanish listeners, mainly in CV and VCV syllables. In contrast, English listeners only occasionally labeled auditory /b/ as /v/, and they never labeled /v/ as /b/. The addition of visual cues did not reduce the rate these errors by the Spanish subjects. In the auditory condition, 20.8% of /v/ targets were identified as /b/ in CV syllables, and 24.5% in VCV syllables. In the audiovisual condition these confusions occurred at rates of 18.1% and 25.5% respectively. The /ð/-/d/ confusion was bi-directional. In the auditory condition, 14.4% of /d/ targets were identified as /ð/ in CV syllables, and 16.2% in VCV syllables. 33% of responses to target /ð/ were /d/ in CV, and 32.9% in VCV. Visual cues did not improve these scores, which reached 14.8% in CV and 16.7% in VCV for /d/ targets, and 29.7% and 29.4% for /ð/ targets.

4. Discussion

The addition of visual cues improved consonant perception by both native and L2 speakers. Language background had no discernible effect in this improvement. However, the syllabic context did affect the audio-visual improvement. In the VC context where consonants were most difficult to identify in the auditory condition, both native and L2 subjects obtained the most improvement with the addition of visual cues.

Feature analysis showed that visual cues led to a reduction of errors in place and manner of articulation for English consonants that is similar for Spanish listeners to that shown by native listeners. Since place and manner of articulation are correlated in English consonants, it is possible that subjects extracted information mainly about place of articulation from [+anterior] sounds, which have visible articulations. Errors that were common to both languages can be related to the acoustic-phonetic characteristics of the stimuli.

Errors related to differences in the phonemic systems of Spanish and English offer some interesting results. Given that visual information can influence stop VOT boundaries in categorisation tasks with native speakers, it is conceivable that visual cues might enable Spanish L2 listeners to switch to the use of English VOT boundaries and consequently improve errors of stop voicing. Although visual information could have helped Spanish speakers to hear these differences in VOT length, they did not use them in phoneme classification, although this may change after auditory-visual training. Further research with discrimination tasks could assess whether L2 perception of VOT can be influenced by the addition of visual cues.

Confusions due to assimilation of voiced stops and voiced fricatives (type III) /v/-/b/ and /ð/-/d/, did not show any significant lessening in the presence of visual cues,

despite these involving [+anterior] targets that were confused both in place and manner of articulation. Spanish subjects may have learnt to disregard certain visual cues to place/manner in their L1, since voiced stops have [+continuant] and [-continuant] allophones, and may have transferred this perceptual pattern to L2. Consequently, Spanish speakers of English may have used the visual cues to place/manner as allophonic features, not as distinctive cues to a phonemic distinction. This explanation would indicate that visual features, like auditory features, can have different weights when cueing phonemic and allophonic distinctions. Learning an L2 may establish an L2-specific representation involving L2 visual as well as auditory feature weights. Therefore, L2 confusions linked to L1 allophonic relations may be an important target for auditory-visual training.

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English listeners:

| | m | p | b | v | t | ð | d | l | n | z | s | j | ʃ | ʒ | g | k |
|---|----|----|---|----|----|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|-----|
| m | 82 | | | | | | | | 13 | | | | | | | |
| p | | 93 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| b | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | 4 |
| v | | | | 82 | | | | | | | | | | | | 4 |
| f | | | | | 92 | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| ð | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| d | | | | | | | 65 | | | | | | | | | |
| t | | | | | | | | 99 | | | | | | | | |
| n | | | | | | | | | 99 | | | | | | | |
| z | | | | | | | | | | 87 | | | | | | |
| s | | | | | | | | | | | 90 | | | | | |
| j | | | | | | | | | | | | 10 | | | | |
| ʃ | | | | | | | | | | | | | 100 | | | |
| ʒ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 96 | | |
| g | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 99 | |
| k | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 4 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 72 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 24 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 100 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 95 |

Spanish listeners:

| | m | p | b | v | t | ð | d | l | n | z | s | j | ʃ | ʒ | g | k |
|---|----|----|---|----|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|---|----|---|----|----|
| m | 85 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| p | | 88 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| b | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| v | | | | 57 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| f | | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ð | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| d | | | | | | | 8 | | | | | | | | | |
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| n | | | | | | | | | 49 | | | | | | | |
| z | | | | | | | | | | 24 | | | | | | |
| s | | | | | | | | | | | 62 | | | | | |
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| ʒ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | | |
| g | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 88 | |
| k | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 11 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 36 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 74 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 6 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 89 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 86 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 7 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 35 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 54 |
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| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 45 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 6 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 91 |

APPENDIX: The upper matrices shown auditory confusions, the lower matrices show auditory-visual confusions. Stimuli are in rows, responses in columns. For the Spanish subjects (right panels) assimilation errors are shown by boxed cells: single line, type I; double line, type II; triple line, type III.