

# 1 Chimpanzee lip-smacks confirm primate continuity for speech- 2 rhythm evolution

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## 16 Abstract

17  
18 Speech is a human hallmark, but its evolutionary origins continue to defy scientific explanation.  
19 Recently, the open-close mouth rhythm of 2-7 Hz (cycles/second) characteristic of all spoken  
20 languages has been identified in the orofacial signals of several nonhuman primate genera,  
21 including orangutans, but evidence from any of the African apes remained missing.  
22 Evolutionary continuity for the emergence of speech is, thus, still inconclusive. To address this  
23 empirical gap, we investigated the rhythm of chimpanzee lip-smacks across four populations  
24 (two captive and two wild). We found that lip-smacks exhibit a speech-like rhythm at ~4 Hz,  
25 closing a gap in the evidence for the evolution of speech-rhythm within primate order. We  
26 observed sizeable rhythmic variation within and between chimpanzee populations, with  
27 differences of over 2Hz at each level. This variation did not result, however, in systematic  
28 group differences within our sample. To further explore the phylogenetic and evolutionary  
29 perspective on this variability, inter-individual and inter-population analyses will be necessary  
30 across primate species producing mouth signals at speech-like rhythm. Our findings support  
31 the hypothesis that speech recruited ancient primate rhythmic signals and suggest that multi-  
32 site studies may still reveal new windows of understanding about these signals' use and  
33 production along the evolutionary timeline of speech.

## 34 Introduction

35

36 Throughout history, few traces for the evolution of speech have been found among nonhuman  
37 primates (hereafter primates), obscuring the precursors and processes through which our  
38 species came to develop a unique and powerful signal system. The last few decades have,  
39 however, seen promising new advances (1–4). A research frontier that has gradually yielded  
40 some of the most compelling evidence is the study of the evolutionary origin of speech-rhythm,  
41 i.e., the fast open-close mouth cycles characteristic to each and every spoken language in the  
42 world (5). This rhythm is inherent to speech and universal across spoken languages because it  
43 expresses the production of syllables, where the opening and closing of the mouth roughly  
44 correspond to vowel and consonant production, respectively (6, 7). This rhythm typically  
45 exhibits a rate of 2-7 Hz, i.e., 2 to 7 open-close mouth cycles per second (5), and is a visual and  
46 acoustic signal of speech that appears to be critical to its intelligibility (8–10).

47 Speech-like rhythm has been uncovered in a growing number of primate signals: lip-  
48 smacks of various macaque species (11, 12), stump-tailed macaques' panting calls (12),  
49 gelada's wobbles (13), gibbon song (14) and orangutan clicks and faux-speech (15). Further  
50 studies have shown that, in macaques, lip-smacks develop along a similar trajectory to human  
51 speech (16) and activate an area homologous to Broca's (17), with individuals being  
52 perceptually attuned to lip-smacks' natural frequency (18). Together, these convergent lines of  
53 evidence across fields and taxa indicate, on the basis of homology, that speech-rhythm likely  
54 derived from ancient fast-paced mouth signals from deep within the primate lineage (19–21).  
55 The overall validity of this hypothesis for the evolution of speech-rhythm and the assumption  
56 of evolutionary continuity across fast-paced mouth movements in primates rest, however, on a  
57 last phylogenetic steppingstone for which there is currently no data: the African great apes, the  
58 closest extant hominid lineage to humans.

59 Here, to directly explore this gap in knowledge, we characterize the rhythm of  
60 chimpanzee (*Pan troglodytes* spp) lip-smacks – affiliative signals typically produced by  
61 groomers during social grooming (22, 23).

62

## 63 Methods

### 64 *Study subjects and data collection*

65 We identified lip-smack bouts present in video recordings collected at Edinburgh Zoo (*Pan*  
66 *troglodytes verus* and one hybrid, UK) (Table 1) during August and September 2013 with a

67 Panasonic HDC SDX1; at Leipzig Zoo (*P. t. verus*, Germany) (Table 1) during June and July  
 68 2017 with a Panasonic HDC-SD90 camcorder with a Sennheiser MKE 400 microphone  
 69 attached; and in the wild in the Kanyawara community (*P. t. schweinfurthii*, Kibale National  
 70 Park, Uganda) (Table 1) during December 2014 and August and September 2016 with a  
 71 Panasonic HDC-SD90 camcorder with a Sennheiser MKE 400 microphone attached; and from  
 72 the Waibira community (*P. t. schweinfurthii*, Budongo Forest Research, Uganda) (Table 1)  
 73 community during December 2011, March 2012, December 2014, and August 2017 with a  
 74 Panasonic SD90. All videos were 25 frames per second. Videos were selected for analysis  
 75 when the face of the emitter was clearly visible during lip-smack production and this was the  
 76 sole criteria to include a bout in the analysis. There was no proactive selection of particular  
 77 individuals. All videos had been collected during opportunistic observation of the subjects’  
 78 behaviour.

79 Permission to collect video data had been previously obtained from the authors’  
 80 institutions (either for other projects or routine data collection) and all the relevant bodies  
 81 responsible for managing research at each population. All procedures followed the Association  
 82 for the Study of Animal Behaviour/Animal Behavior Society Guidelines for the Use of Animals  
 83 in Research (Animal Behaviour, 2018, 135, I-X), all institutional guidelines, the legal  
 84 requirements of the countries in which the work was carried out, and was granted ethical  
 85 approval by the Biology Animal Welfare Ethical Review Board (AWERB), University of  
 86 York.

87

88 Table 1. *Lip-smack data used for analysis.*

<b>Population</b>	<b># individuals</b>	<b># bouts (# open-close mouth cycles)/individual</b>
<i>Edinburgh</i>	3 (1 female, 2 males)	<i>Female</i> : 8(49) <i>Males</i> : 16(104), 7(53.5)
<i>Leipzig</i>	3 (1 female, 2 males)	<i>Female</i> : 6(24) <i>Males</i> : 1(3), 1(9)
<i>Kanyawara</i>	5 (1 female, 4 males)	<i>Female</i> : 1(5) <i>Males</i> : 2(6), 2(8), 1(5), 1(3)
<i>Waibira</i>	3 (1 female, 2 males)	<i>Female</i> : 1(2) <i>Males</i> : 2(9), 5(25)

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91 *Data analyses*

92 We used Filmora9 (Wondershare Technology Co., Shenzhen) to extract all identified lip-smack  
93 bouts from the grooming bout videos. We used the *VideoReader* function to load all lip-smack  
94 videos to MATLAB R2018a (MathWorks, Natick, MA) and extracted all frames of each bout.

95 To investigate whether chimpanzee lip-smacks exhibit a speech-like rhythm, we  
96 calculated the dominant frequency of lip-smacking behaviour by extracting the power spectral  
97 density, i.e., the quantity of power for each frequency component of a signal, of all lip-smack  
98 bouts and then calculating its peak, which reflects the most representative frequency of mouth  
99 aperture, and which we considered to be the approximate rate of mouth oscillation across lip-  
100 smack bouts (15, 16). To do this, we used the *imtool* function to load all frames individually to  
101 MATLAB and used the *Measure Distance* tool to measure the distance between a fixed point  
102 in the top lip and a fixed point in the bottom lip of the emitter (15, 16, 18) (S2 Supplementary  
103 Material, Fig. S1). For open-mouth cycles in which lip movement did not match jaw  
104 displacement, we measured the distance between a point in the lower lip and the most fixed  
105 and easily identifiable point of the video (e.g., the nasion or the glabella), which allowed us to  
106 capture the movements of opening and closing of the jaw (16, 18). For the frames in which the  
107 marking points were not clearly visible, we estimated mouth displacement to be the mean of  
108 the adjacent frames (15). This estimation was possible because there was never more than one  
109 consecutive frame during which we couldn't identify the marking points.

110 For each bout, we used the mouth displacement measurements to construct a time-series  
111 of mouth displacement (15, 16, 18) (S1 Supplementary Material). To allow for comparability  
112 between bouts, we normalized the amplitude of every time-series so that the mouth  
113 displacement measures of each time-series varied between 0 and 100. We did so by subtracting  
114 the minimum mouth displacement measurement of each time-series from all its mouth  
115 displacement measurements and followed by setting all measurements as a percentage of the  
116 maximum mouth displacement measurement of the series (16). For each time-series, we  
117 subtracted the mean of all normalized mouth displacement measurements from each  
118 normalized measurement to eliminate the D-C offset (i.e. mean amplitude displacement from  
119 zero) and, thus, avoiding getting 0 as the dominant frequency. Subsequently, we used  
120 MATLAB's *fft* function to perform a fast Fourier transform (FFT) of each time-series (16) (S2  
121 Supplementary Material). We set the "NFFT", a parameter that defines the frequency scale of  
122 the *fft*, to 1024 for every time-series, a value large enough to allow good resolution of the signal  
123 in all series without compromising computational time. We squared the magnitude of each  
124 time-series' FFT to obtain the series' power spectrum density (S2 Supplementary Material).

125 Finally, we used the R package *ggplot2* (24) to plot the smoothed out mean  $\pm$  95%  
126 confidence interval of the standardized power spectrum density of all time-series and used  
127 custom R scripts to find the peak of the curve, i.e., the dominant frequency of chimpanzee lip-  
128 smacking behaviour. We standardized all power spectrum density curves by standardizing the  
129 spectral power variation (Y-axis) from 0 to 100 following the procedure previously described  
130 for the standardization of the time-series. This standardization allowed us to account for the  
131 relative spectral power at all frequencies of all bouts while avoiding having individual curves  
132 contributing differently to the mean curve. To help visualize the data, we used the same  
133 procedure to plot the mean  $\pm$  95% confidence interval of the power spectrum density of all  
134 time-series of each individual in each population, as well as of each pair of populations. All  
135 time-series and each time-series' plot and power spectrum density plot can be found in S1  
136 Supplementary Material. All code and steps to replicate the analysis described here are  
137 available in S2 Supplementary Material.

138 To statistically compare frequency peaks between captivity and the wild, we used the  
139 *glmer* function from the R package *lme4* (25) to build a generalized linear mixed model, which  
140 we set up with a gamma error structure and inverse link function; the peak of each individual  
141 bout was input as the dependent variable; population (Edinburgh, Leipzig, Kanyawara or  
142 Waibira) was input as a fixed factor, and the identity of each individual was input as a random  
143 factor to control for repeated measures. We confirmed that the distribution of the residuals was  
144 normally distributed and that there was no issue of overdispersion. The code for this analysis  
145 can be found in S2 Supplementary Material. Because the highest peak of some individual lip-  
146 smack bouts reflected the distribution of inter-bout intervals (typically <1Hz) instead of the  
147 real peak, which is a regular occurrence in studies of speech rhythmicity (e.g. 14), we assessed  
148 all bouts individually and, for such deviant cases, only included the peaks of the dominant  
149 frequency plot (S1 Supplementary Material) that corresponded to the true mean of open-mouth  
150 cycles per second, as observed from each bout's time-series (S1 Supplementary Material).

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## 153 Results

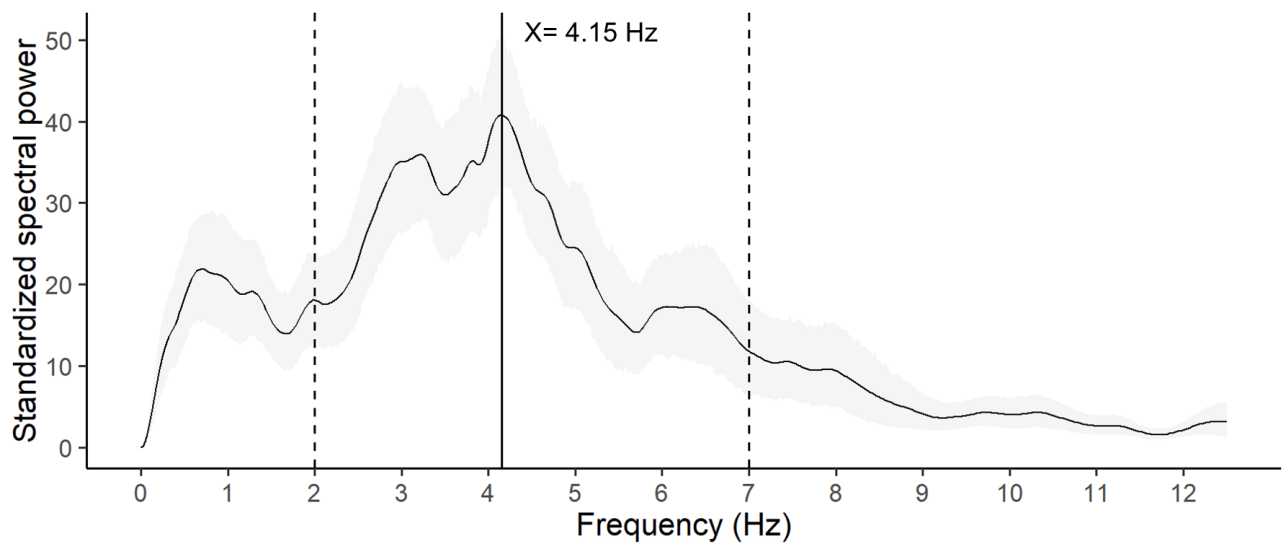
154

155 We found that chimpanzee lip-smacks exhibited a mean rhythm per bout of 4.15Hz (Fig. 1).

156 We identified rhythm variation in lip-smack rate production across individuals who exhibited

157 the behaviour within and across populations (Fig. 2). For each of the populations, individual  
158 lip-smack rhythm spanned a frequency range of at least 1Hz, with maximum differences above  
159 2Hz between some individuals in some of the populations (coloured vertical dashed lines, Fig.  
160 2A-D). Per population, chimpanzees produced lip-smacks with a mean rhythm of 4.20 Hz at  
161 Edinburgh (*P. t. verus* or hybrid, captive), 4.08 Hz at Leipzig (*P. t. verus*, captive), 2.86 Hz at  
162 Kanyawara (*P. t. schweinfurthii*, wild) and 1.95 Hz at Waibira (*P. t. schweinfurthii*, wild)  
163 (coloured vertical lines, Fig. 2E-J). The average (arithmetic mean) of the mean rhythm per  
164 population was 3.27Hz. The mean rhythm between the two captive populations was nearly  
165 equal. Between the two wild populations there was an observed difference of ~1Hz. Any dyad  
166 with a captive vs. wild population exhibited a difference between >1 and <2.5Hz in lip-smack  
167 rhythm. To investigate the apparent differences in the rhythm of lip-smacks between captive  
168 vs. wild populations, we ran a generalized linear mixed model with contrasts between the  
169 weighted means of the two captive populations and the two wild populations (S2  
170 Supplementary Material). The mean average (standard deviation) rhythm peak in captivity was  
171 4.69 Hz ( $\pm 1.32$  Hz) and in the wild was 3.07 Hz ( $\pm 0.79$  Hz) (corresponding arithmetic average,  
172 that is, sum of each population average divided by number of populations, was 4.37 Hz in  
173 captivity and 3.09 Hz in the wild), however, we found no difference between groups  
174 ( $p=0.0866$ ).

175

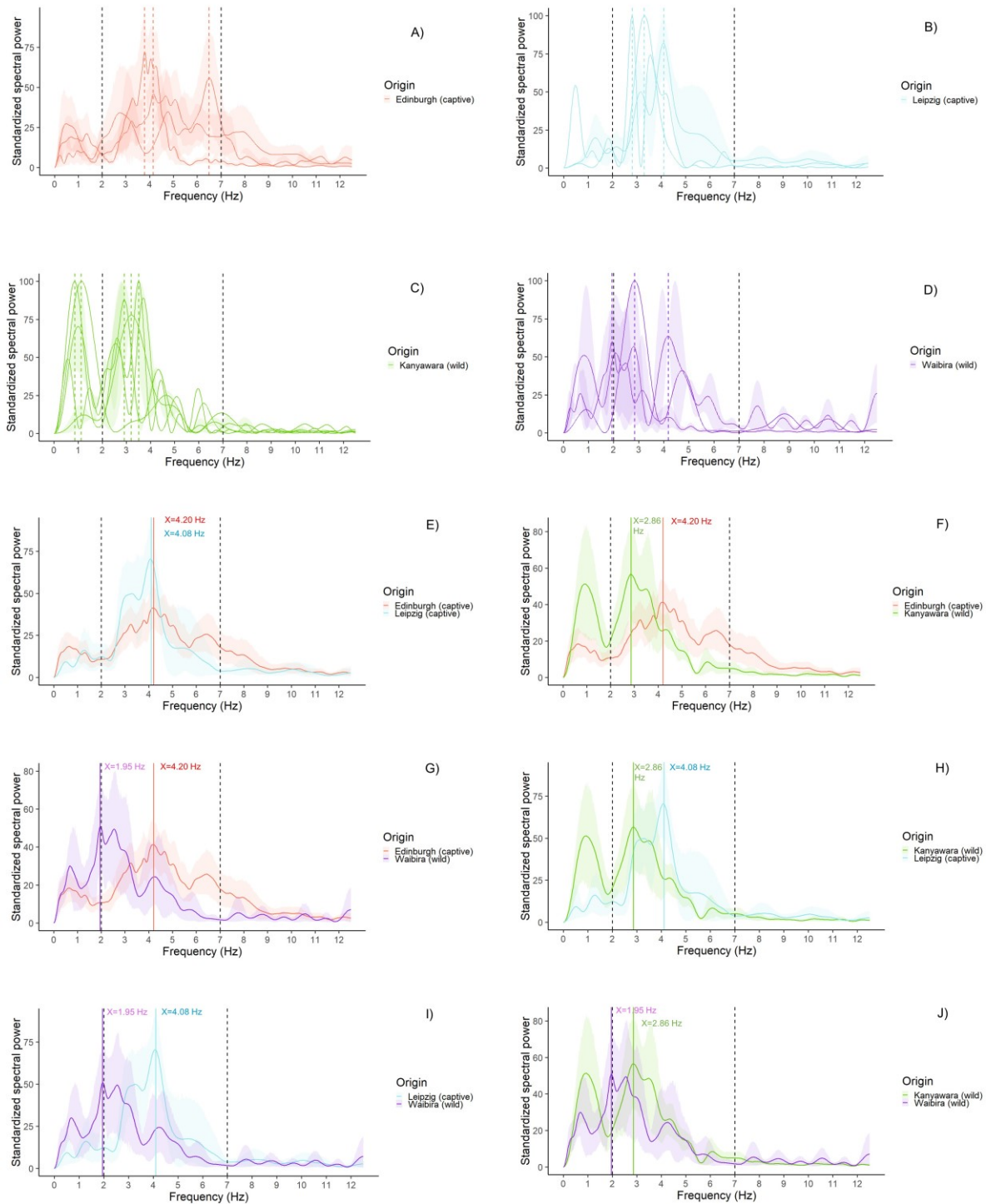


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177

178 Fig. 1. Mean standardized power spectral density plot of chimpanzee lip-smacking. The mean  
 179  $\pm$  95% confidence interval standardized power spectral density plot of all 54 analysed  
 180 chimpanzee lip-smack bouts peaks at 4.15 Hz, which represents the dominant frequency of  
 181 chimpanzee lip-smack production rate.

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184

185 Fig. 2. Mean standardized power spectral density plot of each individual's lip-smack  
186 production rate in each population (A-D) and mean standardized power spectral density plot  
187 of each pair of populations (E-J). Shaded areas represent the mean  $\pm$  95% confidence interval  
188 standardized power spectral density plot per individual (A-D) and per population (E-J).  
189 Coloured dashed vertical lines indicate max frequency peak per individual (A-D) and per  
190 population (E-J). Black dashed vertical lines indicate limits of speech-like rhythm frequencies.  
191

## 192 Discussion

193

194 We found that chimpanzees produce lip-smacks at an average speech-like rhythm of 4.15 Hz.  
195 These results close the gap between available data on primate fast-paced rhythmic mouth  
196 signals and human speech, offering clear support for the hypothesis that speech-rhythm has  
197 deep origins within the primate lineage (3, 19, 20) and was built upon existing signal systems  
198 (e.g. 26).

199 Our multi-population analyses revealed a level of variation in chimpanzee lip-smack  
200 rhythmic production that to our knowledge has not been so far reported in any primate species  
201 with similar signals. Differences between individuals and populations reached more than 2Hz  
202 at times. Considering that in great apes, the fastest oscillatory vocal signals do not surpass  
203 mouth rhythms of 1 Hz (15), the observed variability span in lip-smack production may suggest  
204 that these are not hard-wired or stereotypical signals, and/or that socio-ecological factors  
205 differently affect lip-smack rhythm by chimpanzees at the level of individuals and/or  
206 populations. Despite having pooled for the first-time data across four populations for the  
207 analyses of primate fast-paced mouth signals, current sample sizes did not offer adequate  
208 statistical power to identify significant differences with confidence or help identify possible  
209 correlates. Comparison between captive and wild populations was possible; Despite rhythmic  
210 differences of  $>1.5\text{Hz}$  between the two types of populations, we found no systematic  
211 difference, likely as the result of striking within-population variability and substantial overlap  
212 in the range of rhythms present.

213 Alas, despite several primate species being known to exhibit mouth signals at speech-  
214 like rhythm, few of the respective studies have disclosed or analysed the levels of variation  
215 found between individuals. Although measures of variation in cycle durations (e.g. *SD*) are  
216 available, it is impossible to deduce whether this variation is attributable to intra-individual  
217 variation, context or inter-individual variation. Moreover, the lack of multi-site analyses in any



218 of these species prevents a comparison with our results and an interpretation of evidence from  
219 a wider phylogenetic or evolutionary angle. Data on variation between individuals and sites  
220 would be particularly valuable for gaining new insight into the natural history of primate  
221 signals with speech-like rhythm. For example, signals exhibiting speech-like rhythm in  
222 macaques and gibbons are generally thought to be innate (27, 28), but orangutan speech-rhythm  
223 has been identified in idiosyncratic, species-atypical, individual-specific calls presumed to be  
224 learned (15). In our own analyses, there seemed to be variation in the frequency with which  
225 individual chimpanzees produced lip-smacks, with some never or only very rarely observed to  
226 produce lip-smacks despite similar observation hours as their group members (Hobaiter,  
227 unpublished data). Together with the observed degree of variation in lip-smack rhythm across  
228 chimpanzee individuals and populations, available great ape data could hint at the intriguing  
229 possibility of a fixed-to-flexible transition in the ontogeny of the primate speech-like rhythmic  
230 phenotype at the base of the hominid lineage. However, this possibility remains tentative until  
231 new, more detailed data become available from both non-hominid and hominid primates.  
232 Future research across primate species employing a similar inter-individual and inter-  
233 population approach and focusing on prevalence and rhythm variation distributions is critical  
234 to discerning the evolutionary trajectory of fast-paced facial movements along the primate  
235 lineage, movements that ultimately culminated in the 2-7 Hz rhythm of speech in our species.

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237

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242

## 243 Competing Interests

244 The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

245

## 246 Author contributions

247 ASP and EK conducted analyses and wrote the paper. CH and KES provided materials and  
248 wrote the paper. ARL conceived the study, conducted analyses and wrote the paper.

249

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