Kinematic evidence of centering during vowel production

Ben Parrell¹, Mark Tiede², Vince Gracco², Doug Shiller³

¹ University of Wisconsin-Madison, ² Haskins Labs, ³ Université de Montreal

Background

- Vowel productions which initially fall near the edge of the sound's distribution in F1/F2 space (for a given talker) exhibit movement towards the middle of the distribution over time, a phenomenon known as *centering* [1,2].
- Centering may be driven by auditory feedback, as it is sometimes reduced in masking noise [3].
- 1. Is centering visible in speech articulation, as well as speech acoustics?
- 2. Is articulatory centering visible *prior to* acoustic onset, as predicted if centering relies at least partially on somatosensation, internal predictions [4] or increasing restrictions on variability at the planning level [5,6]?

[1] Niziolek, C. A., Nagarajan, S. S., & Houde, J. F. (2013). What does motor efference copy represent? Evidence from speech production. *Journal of Neuroscience*, *33*(41), 16110–16116.

[2] Niziolek, C. A., & Kiran, S. (2018). Assessing speech correction abilities with acoustic analyses: Evidence of preserved online correction in persons with aphasia. *International Journal of Speech-Language Pathology*, *0*(0), 1–11.

[3] Niziolek, C. A., Nagarajan, S. S., & Houde, J. F. (2015). The contribution of auditory feedback to corrective

movements in vowel formant trajectories. In T. S. C. for ICPhS 2015 (Ed.), *Proceedings of the 18th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*. The University of Glasgow.

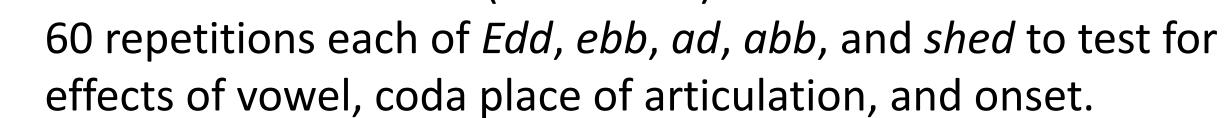
[4] Parrell, B., Ramanarayanan, V., Nagarajan, S., & Houde, J. (2019). The FACTS model of speech motor control: Fusing

state estimation and task-based control. *PLOS Computational Biology*, *15*(9), e1007321. [5] Keating, P. A. (1990). The window model of coarticulation: Articulatory evidence. In J. Kingston & M. E. Beckman (Eds.), *Papers in Laboratory Phonology I* (pp. 451–470). Cambridge University Press. [6] Guenther, F. H. (2016). *Neural control of speech*. The MIT Press.

restrictions on variability at the planning level [5,0].

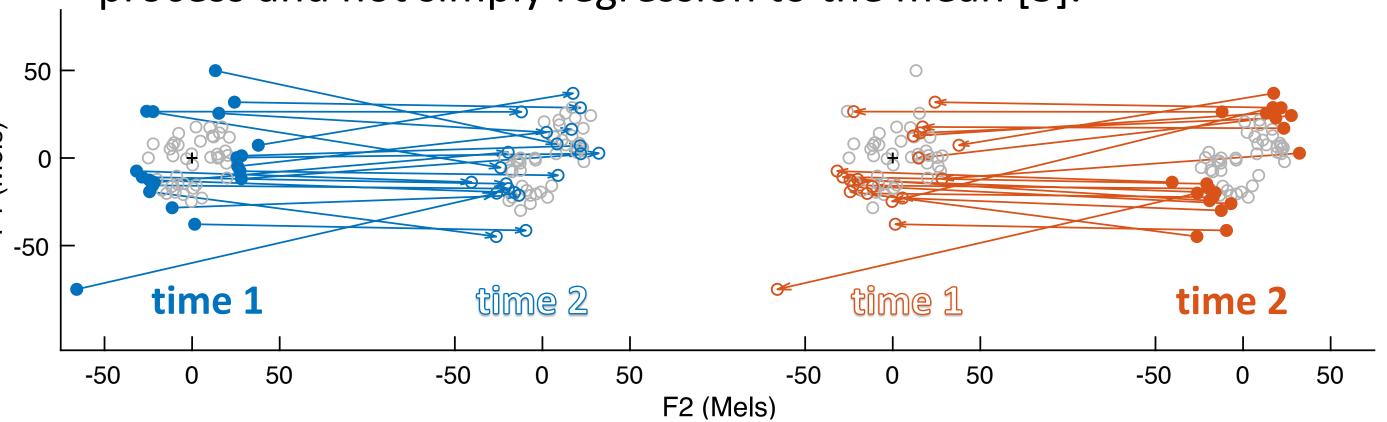
Methods

- 2 participants (S1, S2)
- Sensors placed on tongue tip, tongue body, tongue dorsum, and jaw (lower incisors) and tracked with EMA (NDI WAVE).



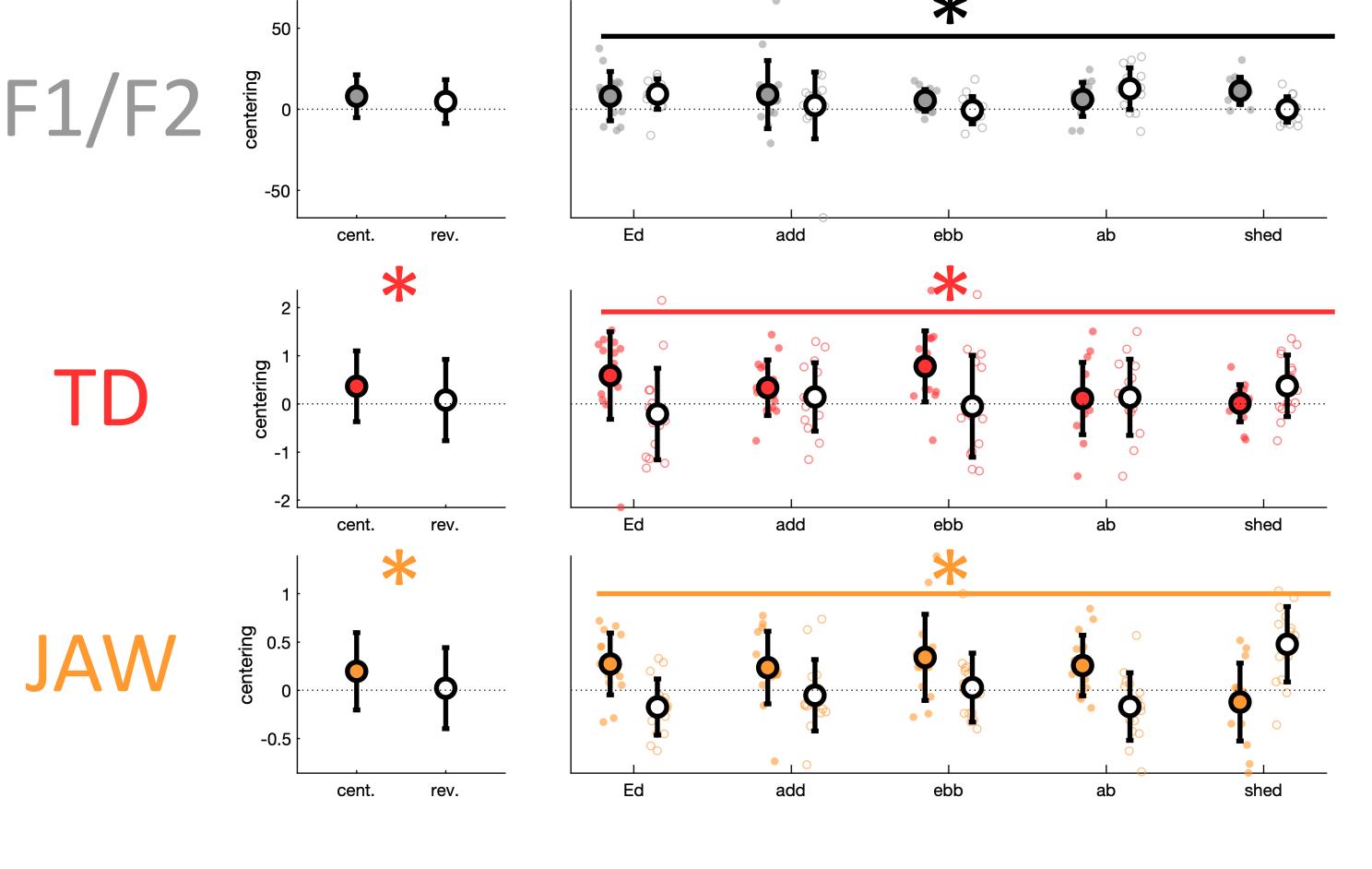
Centering

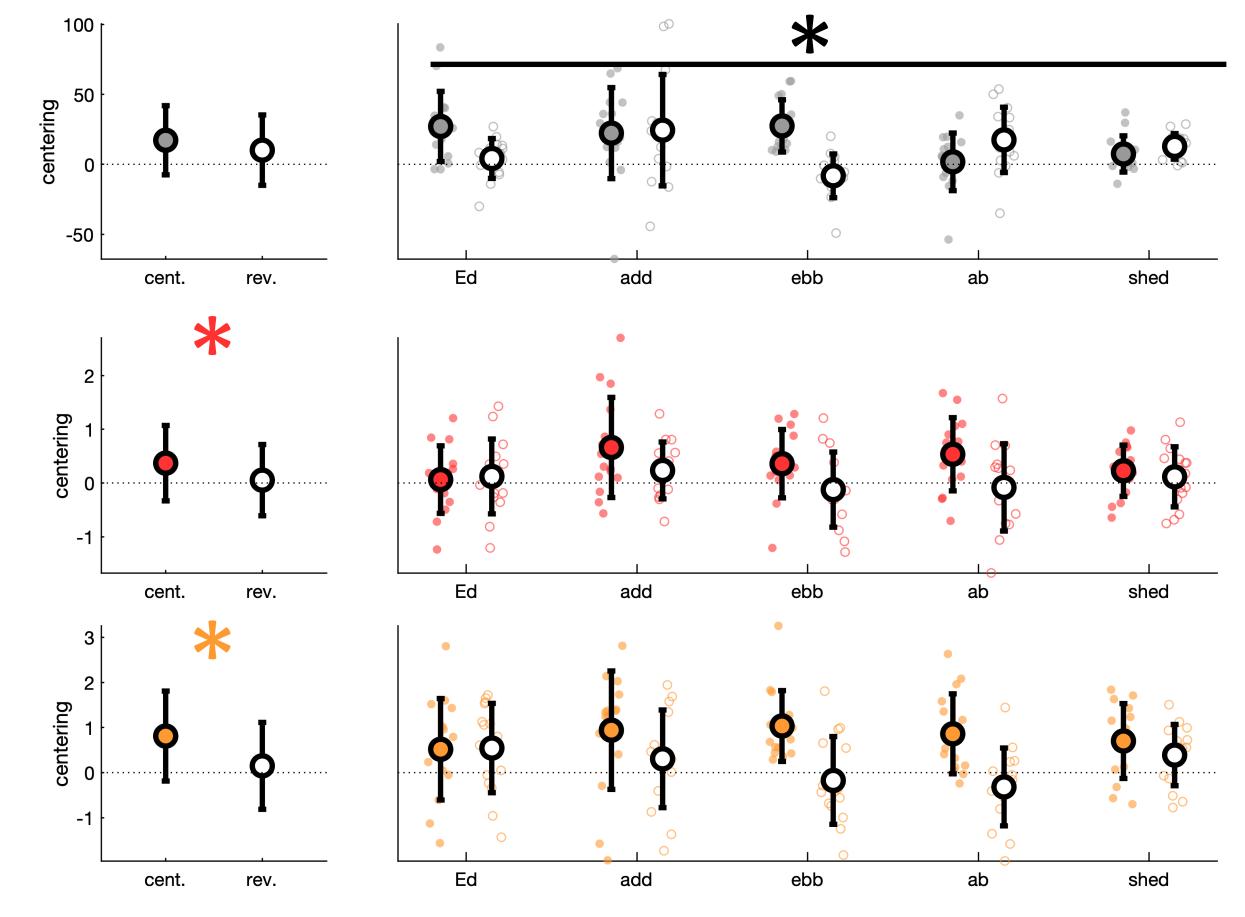
- Centering: the change in F1/F2 distance to overall median values from time 1 (e.g., onset) to time 2 (e.g., midpoint) in *peripheral* trials (1/3 most distant from median at time 1).
- Reverse centering: the change in variability from time 2 to time
 1 for peripheral trials defined at time 2.
- Higher centering than reverse centering suggests an active process and not simply regression to the mean [3].



S1 Vowel onset (first 50 ms) to midpoint (middle 50%)

- No overall acoustic centering, but a significant interaction with word.
- Centering occurred in tongue dorsum and jaw, though variably across words.
- No overall acoustic centering, but a significant interaction with word
- Consistent centering was found for the tongue dorsum, jaw, tongue tip and tongue body.

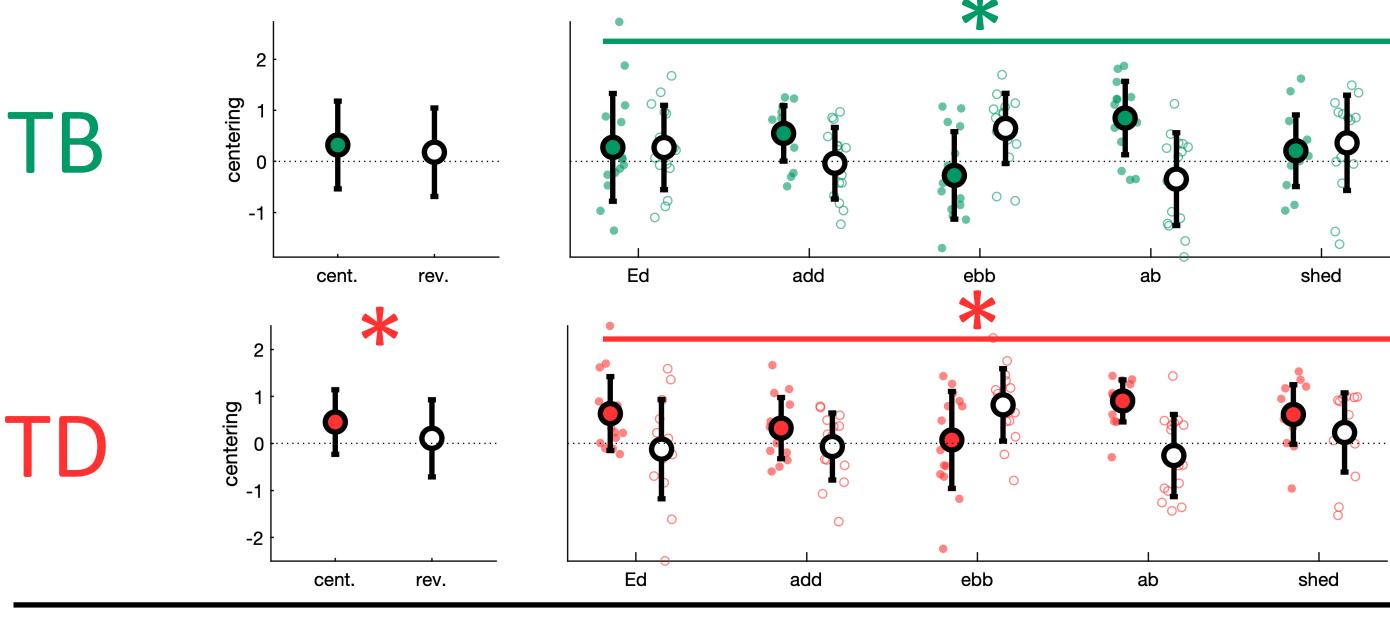


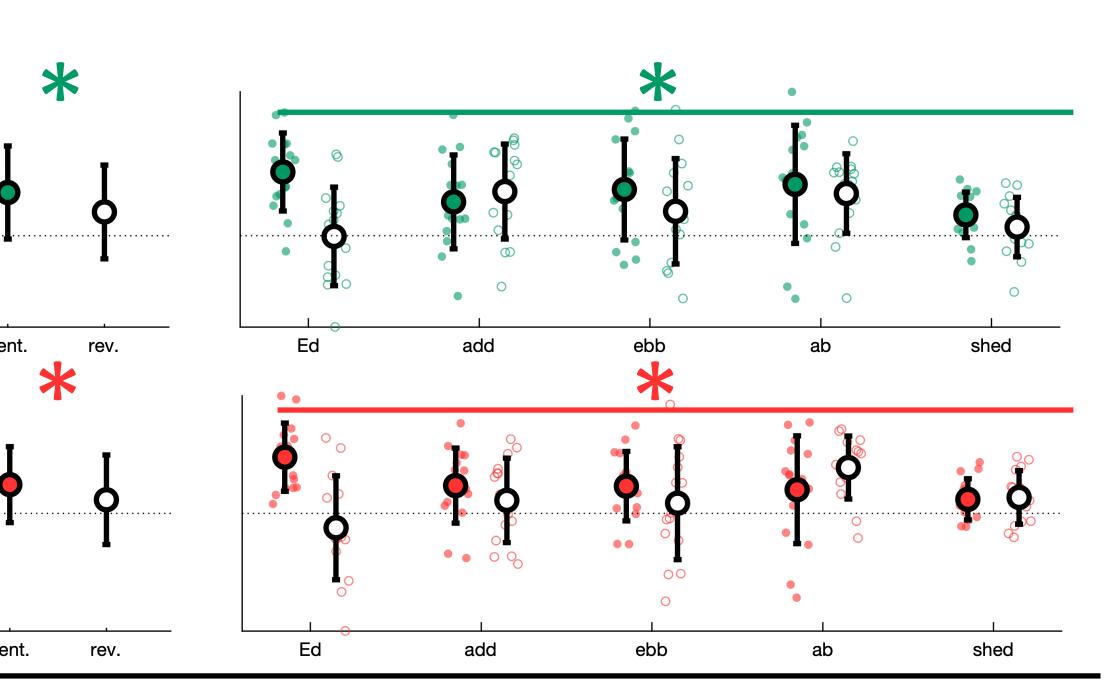


Pre-onset to post-onset

- Centering occurred in tongue tip and tongue dorsum, though variably across words.
- For the tongue body, there was a significant interaction between word and centering vs anticentering but no overall effect of centering

 Centering occurred in tongue body and tongue dorsum, though variably across words.





Conclusions

- We found limited evidence for centering in vowel formants, suggesting these speakers may be on the lower range of centering behavior.
- Despite this, we found significant evidence of centering in speech kinematics for both participants, most consistently in the tongue dorsum and jaw.
- We additionally found kinematic evidence for centering prior to vowel onset.
- This suggests that centering is driven, at least partly, by factors other than auditory feedback (e.g., somatosensory feedback, internal predictions, increasing restrictions on the permitted variability at vowel midpoint compared to vowel onset)