

1 **Supplementary Material for:**
2 **Chunking of phonological units in speech sequencing**

3
4 Jennifer Segawa^{1,2}, Matthew Masapollo², Mona Tong², Dante J. Smith³, & Frank H. Guenther^{2,3,4}

5 ¹Departments of Neuroscience and Biology, Stonehill College

6 ²Department of Speech, Language and Hearing Sciences, Boston University

7 ³Graduate Program for Neuroscience, Boston University

8 ⁴Department of Biomedical Engineering, Boston University

9
10
11 **S.1 Effects of syllable position on speech motor learning**

12 We conducted two additional sets of analyses to test for effects of syllable position (syllable-initial
13 [onset] clusters vs. syllable-final [coda] clusters) as such effects are suggested by some theories of
14 speech production (see, e.g., Browman & Goldstein, 1988, 1995; Byrd, 1995, 1996; Keating,
15 Wright, & Zhang, 1999; Byrd, Lee, Riggs, & Adams, 2005; Bohland, Bullock & Guenther, 2010).

16 *S.1.1. Evidence of learning for practiced syllables.*

17 Our first set of analyses was aimed at examining performance improvements over the course of
18 the practice blocks on day one. We conducted an ANOVA (with syllable sequence type [native
19 CC vs. non-native CC], syllable position [onset vs. coda], and time (first five trials vs. last five
20 trials) as within-subjects factors) on the mean percentage of *sequencing errors* during the practice
21 blocks (on day 1). Figure S1 shows of the mean percentage of *sequencing errors* for each sequence
22 type (native CC vs. non-native CC) as a function of syllable position (onset vs. coda) and time
23 (first five trials vs. last five trials).

24 The ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of sequence type [$F(1,10) = 109.938, p <$
25 $0.001, \eta^2 = 0.917$], such that speakers produced fewer errors while executing the *native CC*
26 syllables ($M = 3.0, SD = 5.1$) compared to the *non-native CC* syllables ($M = 44.0, SD = 19.9$).
27 there was also a main effect of time, such that speakers produced more errors during the first five

28 trials (on day 1; $M = 29.6$, $SD = 28.1$) compared to the last five trials (on day 1; $M = 15.79$, $SD =$
29 20.66). The interaction effect between time and sequence type approached significance [$F(1,10)$
30 $= 3.836$, $p = 0.079$, $\eta^2 = 0.277$]. To tease apart the interaction, difference scores were computed
31 by subtracting the mean sequencing error rates averaged across the first five and last five trials for
32 each sequence type. A post-hoc LSD t -test performed on these difference scores indicated that
33 they were marginally significantly larger for the *non-native CC* syllables [$M = 18.1$, $SD =$
34 21.4] compared to the *native CC* syllables [$M = 6.1$, $SD = 5.9$; $t(10) = -1.930$, $p = 0.079$].

35 Critically, however, the main effect of syllable position [$F(1,10) = 2.518$, $p =$
36 0.144 , $\eta^2 = 0.201$] did not reach statistical significance. In addition, none of the interaction effects
37 involving syllable position were significant: syllable position \times time [$F(1,10) = .457$, $p =$
38 0.514 , $\eta^2 = 0.044$]; syllable position \times sequence type [$F(1,10) = 2.758$, $p = 0.128$, $\eta^2 = 0.216$];
39 syllable position \times time \times sequence type [$F(1,10) = .444$, $p = 0.520$, $\eta^2 = 0.043$].

40 *S.1.2. Generalization of learning to novel syllables.*

41 Our second set of analyses were designed to examine the specificity of the motor sequence learning
42 that occurred for syllables containing non-native onset and coda clusters during the practice blocks.
43 We conducted separate ANOVAs (with syllable sequence type [practiced CCVCC vs. practiced
44 CC vs. practiced CVC vs. novel CCVCC] and syllable position [onset vs. coda] as within-subjects
45 factors) on the mean percentage of sequencing errors and the mean percentage of total errors
46 (sequencing and non-sequencing) for the first five trials of the test session (to minimize practice
47 effects during the test phase). Figure S2 shows boxplots of the mean percentage of *sequencing*
48 *errors* (see main text for details) for the first five utterances of each syllable type as a function of
49 syllable position (onset vs. coda). The ANOVA showed a significant main effect of sequence type
50 [$F(3,30) = 3.306$, $p = 0.033$, $\eta^2 = 0.248$]. Post-hoc t -tests revealed that the mean sequencing error

51 rates for the *practiced CCVCC* syllables [$M = 30.4, SD = 42.7$] were significantly lower than the
52 *novel CCVCC* [$M = 52.2, SD = 29.2; t(10) = -3.425, p = 0.006$] syllables and marginally lower
53 than *practiced CC* [$M = 42.7, SD = 22.2; t(10) = -2.218, p = 0.051$] and *practiced CVC* [$M = 44.5,$
54 $SD = 25.4; t(10) = -1.985, p = 0.075$] syllables. While sequencing error rates for the *practiced CC*
55 syllables were not significantly lower than the *practiced CVC* [$t(10) = -0.281, p = 0.785$], they
56 were significantly lower than the *novel CCVCC* [$t(10) = -2.345, p = 0.041$] syllables, suggesting
57 some minor improvement from practicing the CC portion of the CCVCC syllables but less
58 improvement than practicing the whole syllable. The *practiced CVC* and *novel CCVCC* error rates
59 were not significantly different from each other [$t(10) = -1.376, p = 0.199$]. The effect of syllable
60 position was marginally significant [$F(1,30) = 4.787, p = 0.054, \eta^2 = 0.324$], such that more errors
61 occurred during the execution of coda clusters ($M=30.3; SD=25.2$) compared to onset clusters
62 [$M=21.7; SD=17.3$]. The interaction did not reach statistical significance [$F(3,30) = 1.087, p =$
63 $0.369, \eta^2 = 0.098$].

64 Figure S3 shows boxplots of the mean percentage of *total errors* (sequencing and non-
65 sequencing) for the first five utterances of each syllable type as a function of syllable position
66 (onset vs. coda). The ANOVA showed a highly significant main effect of sequence type [$F(3,30)$
67 $= 4.636, p = 0.009, \eta^2 = 0.317$]. Post-hoc LSD paired *t*-tests showed that the mean error rates for
68 the *practiced CCVCC* syllables [$M = 46.3, SD = 25.1$] were significantly lower than the *practiced*
69 *CC* [$M = 59.5, SD = 22.2; t(10) = -2.498, p = 0.032$], *practiced CVC* [$M = 65.4, SD = 26.4; t(10)$
70 $= -2.003, p = 0.043$] and *novel CCVCC* [$M = 66.8, SD = 23.9; t(10) = -3.190, p = 0.010$] syllables.
71 The mean error rates for the *practiced CC* syllables were not significantly lower than either the
72 *practiced CVC* [$t(10) = -0.643, p = 0.535$] or *novel CCVCC* [$t(10) = -1.638, p = 0.132$] syllables.
73 The *practiced CVC* and *novel CCVCC* error rates were not significantly different from each other

74 $[t(10) = -0.420, p = 0.683]$. There was no significant effect of syllable position [$F(1,30) = 4.787,$
75 $p = 0.054, \eta^2 = 0.324]$ or interaction [$F(3,30) = 0.631, p = 0.600, \eta^2 = 0.059]$.

76 Although previous kinematic studies have consistently found effects of syllable position
77 on the spatial and temporal production of *native-language* consonant sequences (Browman &
78 Goldstein, 1988; Byrd, 1995; Keating, Wright, & Zhang, 1999; Byrd, Lee, Riggs, & Adams, 2005),
79 no clear effects emerged in the current experiment. It is important to note, however, that we
80 measured motor learning using perceptual/transcription methods and simple acoustic measures of
81 utterance duration. However, these measures provide a limited window on potential articulatory
82 differences between onsets and codas since they cannot capture movement characteristics among
83 cluster elements (such as inter-gestural timing), and how those characteristics may vary as a
84 function of syllable position and motor practice. Furthermore, the model of speech sequencing
85 presented in Figure 2 of the main article is agnostic to this distinction, largely because the current
86 findings cannot fully illuminate this issue since a given cluster was always used as an onset or
87 always used as a coda in our experiment. We plan to investigate this issue in future experiments.

88 **Supplementary References**

89

90 Bohland, J.W., Bullock, D., & Guenther, F.H. (2010). Neural representations and mechanisms for
91 the performance of simple speech sequences. *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, 22(7),
92 1504-1529.

93 Browman, C. & Goldstein, L. (1988). Some Notes on Syllable Structure in Articulatory
94 Phonology. *Phonetica*, 45, 140-155.

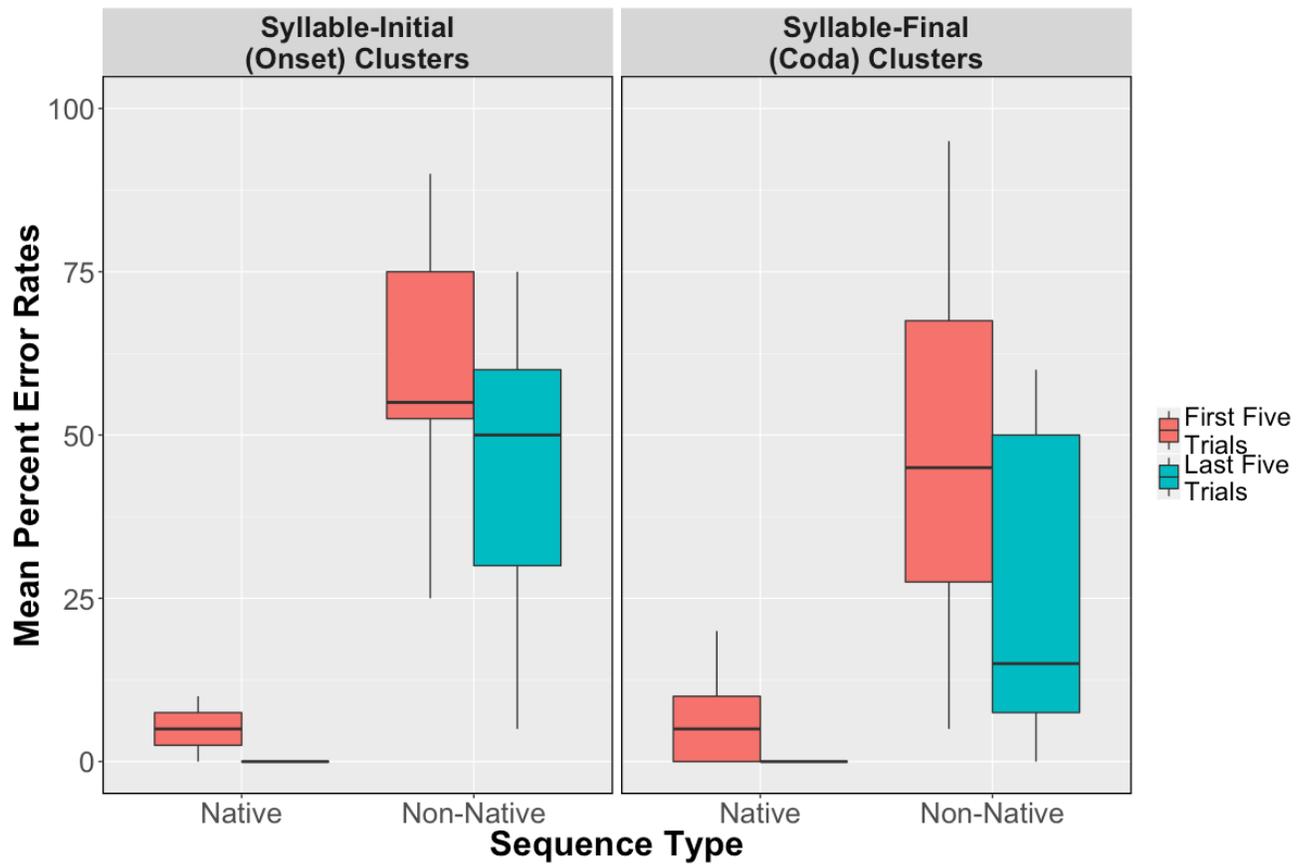
95 Browman, C., & Goldstein, L. (1995). "Gestural syllable position effects in American English,"
96 in *Producing Speech: Contemporary Issues*. For Katherine Safford Harris, edited by F.
97 Bell-Berti and L. Raphael AIP, Woodbury, NY, pp. 19–34.

98 Byrd, D. (1995). C-Centers Revisited. *Phonetica*, 52, 285-306.

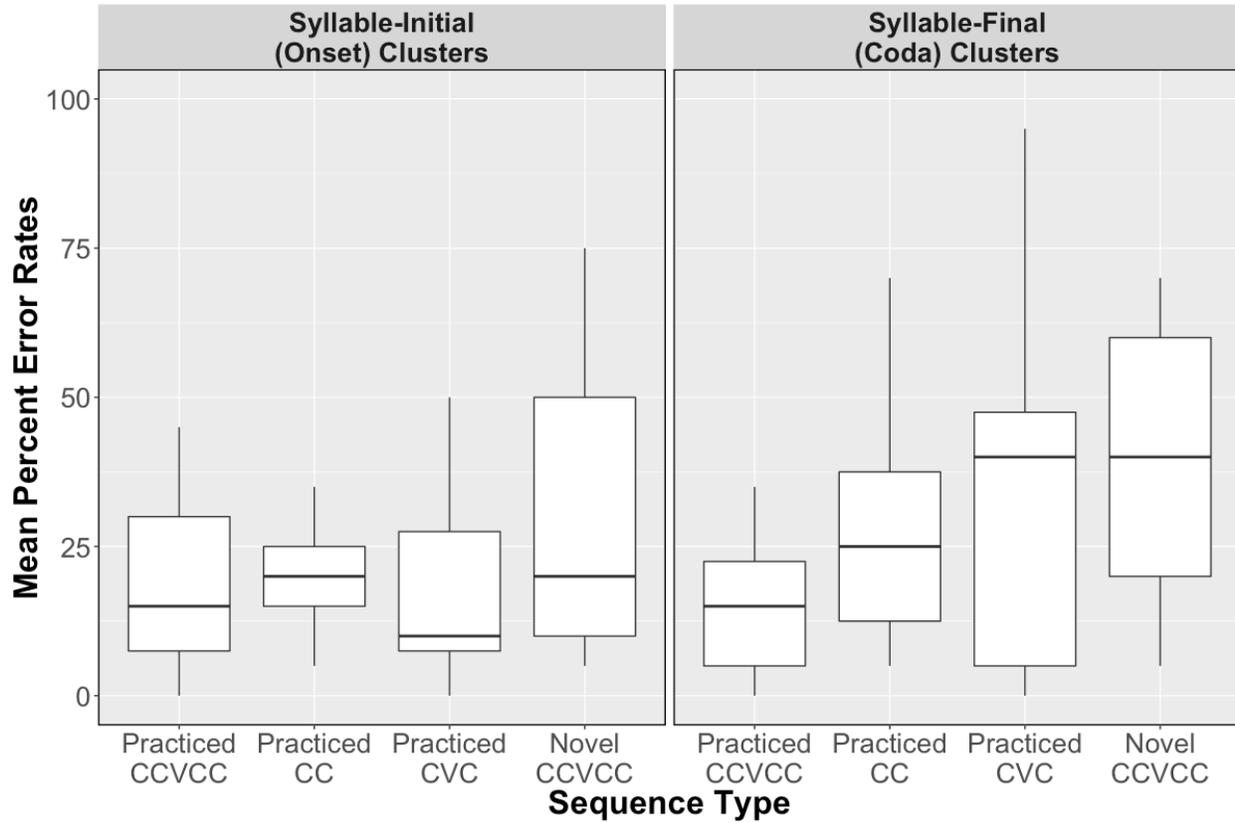
99 Byrd, D. (1996). Influences on articulatory timing in consonant sequences. *Journal of Phonetics*,
100 24, 209-244.

101 Byrd., D., Lee, S., Riggs, D., Adams, J. (2005). Interacting effects of syllable and phrase position
102 on consonant articulation. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, 118(6), 3860-
103 3873.

104 Keating, P., Wright, R., & Zhang, J. (1999). Word-level asymmetries in consonant articulation.
105 *UCLA Working Papers in Phonetics*, 97, 157-173.

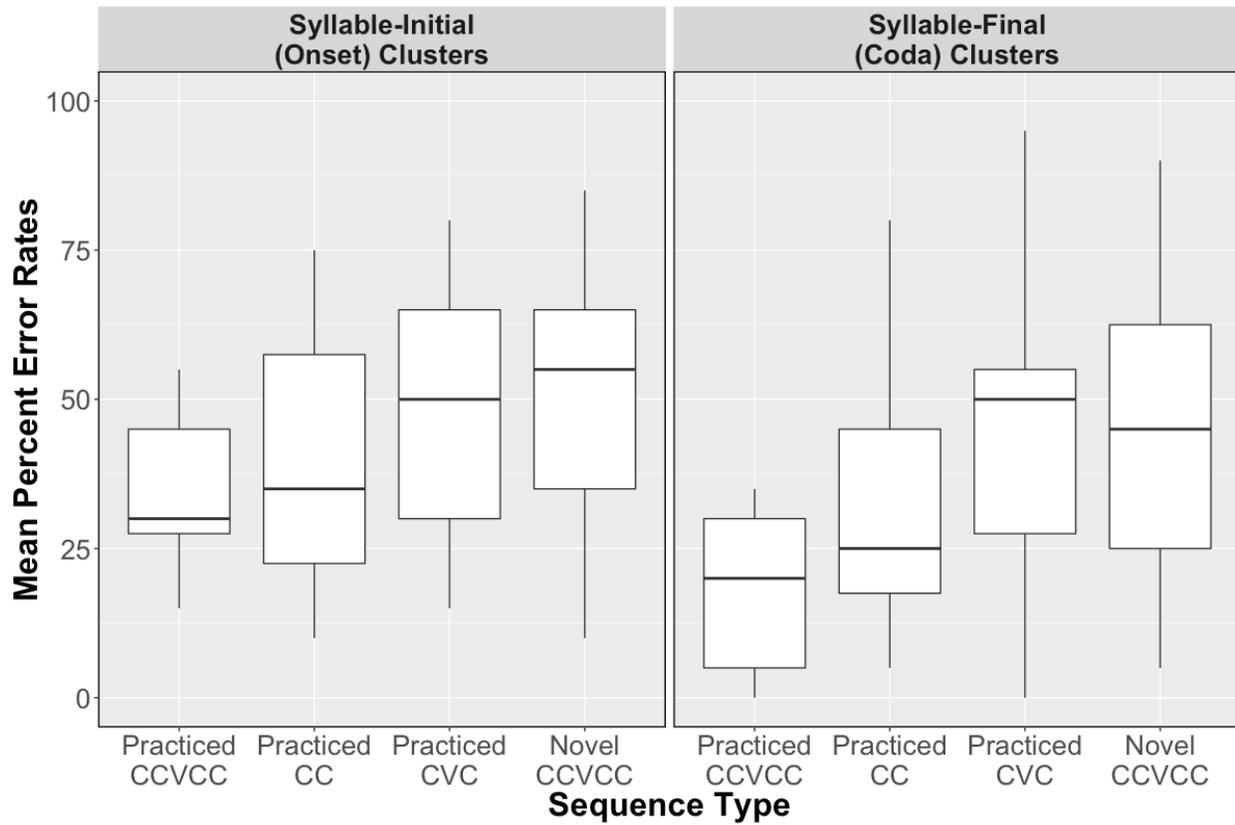


109 **Figure S1:** Boxplots of the mean percentage of *sequencing errors* for the first and last five
110 utterances of each syllable type (on Day 1) as a function of sequence type (native CC vs. non-
111 native CC) and syllable position (onset vs. coda).



114

115 **Figure S2:** Boxplots of the mean percentage of *sequencing errors* for the first five utterances of
 116 each syllable type as a function of syllable position (onset vs. coda).



117

118 **Figure S3:** Boxplots of the mean percentage of *total errors* (sequencing and non-sequencing) for
 119 the first five utterances of each syllable type as a function of syllable position (onset vs. coda).